Immigration and Integration in a Mediterranean City:

The Making of the Citizen in Fifteenth-Century Barcelona

Volume 1

Carolina Obradors Suazo

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization of the European University Institute

European University Institute  
Department of History and Civilization  

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Immigration and Integration in a Mediterranean City: The Making of the Citizen in Fifteenth-Century Barcelona

Carolina Obradors Suazo
Thesis Supervisor: Professor Luca Molà

Abstract.

This thesis explores the norms, practices, and experiences that conditioned urban belonging in Late Medieval Barcelona. A combination of institutional, legal, intellectual and cultural analysis, the dissertation investigates how citizenship evolved and functioned on the Barcelonese stage.

To this end, the thesis is structured into two parts. Part 1 includes four chapters, within which I establish the legal and institutional background of the Barcelonese citizen. Citizenship as a fiscal and individual privilege is contextualised within the negotiations that shaped the limits and prerogatives of monarchical and municipal power from the thirteenth to the late fourteenth centuries. This analysis brings out the dialogical nature of citizenship. I study how the evolution of citizenship came to include the whole citizenry of Barcelona as a major actor in the constant definition and perception of the rights and duties of the citizen. In an attempt to mirror the considerable literature on Italian jurists, the last chapter of part 1 contrasts the legal intricacies of Barcelonese citizenship with the thought developed by major contemporary Catalan jurists.

From the analyses conducted in these first chapters, I argue that reputation was the basis of citizenship in fifteenth-century Barcelona. Thus, the three chapters that constitute part 2 are devoted to a cultural analysis of citizenship and unravel the social mechanisms that determined the creation of citizen reputation. The making of the citizen is therefore placed at the core of Barcelonese daily life in an attempt to elaborate on the social imagination and experience of citizenship in the Catalan city.

Throughout the whole dissertation, Barcelona and the Barcelonese remain at the core of the analysis. The richness of the material conserved for this city allows me to employ micro-analytical lenses in the study of the citizenry and its citizens, exploring, in the words of Pietro Costa, the ‘exasperation of differences’ that characterised the experience of medieval citizenship. Nonetheless, Barcelona also emerges in this study as a methodological reference point that can help to reframe medieval citizenship in broader terms, shedding new light on the meaning of civic life in the Late Medieval Mediterranean.
A mis abuelos y abuelas.
Casimiro y Susana. Manuel y Manuela.
# VOLUME I

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Late Medieval Citizenship and Fifteenth-Century Barcelona: A historiographical account

Sources and Methodology

Structure of the Thesis

---

**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

---

**LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES**

---

**INTRODUCTION**

Late Medieval Citizenship and Fifteenth-Century Barcelona: A historiographical account

Sources and Methodology

Structure of the Thesis

---

**PART I**

LATE MEDIEVAL BARCELONA AND THE DEFINITION OF THE CITIZEN. AN INSTITUTIONAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND.

---

**Chapter I: Features of Urban Society in the Crown of Aragon (The Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries). The Model of Barcelona**

Building a Political Interaction. The Urban Political System of the Crown of Aragon

On the Features of Urban Institutional Organisation: An Approach to the Role and Dynamics of the Council of the Hundred (1249–Fifteenth Century)

Living in the Cities under the Rule of the King of Aragon: Considering Barcelona’s main Social and Economic Features (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries)

---

**Chapter II: The Progressive Articulation of a Citizenship Law between the Monarchy and the Council of the Hundred (1249–1385)**

Introduction

Citizenship under the Control of the Crown: Emergence

Towards a Municipal Citizenship

New Royal Interventions

The Crown and the City in the Projection of Citizenship: Retracing the Reception of Barcelonese Citizenship in the ‘Viles de Carreratge’

Conclusions

---

**Chapter III: From Citizenship to Citizenry. Citizenship as a Prerogative of the City and its Citizens (1385–1457)**

Introduction: On the First Evidences of a New Documentary Tradition

‘Admetre en Ciutadanatge’: The *Informacions de la Ciutadania* (1375–1457)

The Citizen in Fifteenth-Century Barcelona: Rights, Duties and Ambiguities

‘Expel·lir/Gitar de Ciutadanatge’: Citizenship and Institutional Exclusion

‘Sortir de Ciutadanatge’: Rejecting Citizenship

Conclusions
| Chapter IV: From Legal Practice to Legal Theory. Thinking the Citizen in Late Medieval Catalonia... | 147 |
| Introduction... | 147 |
| Medieval Citizenship within the Tradition of Legal Thought: The Mirror of the Italian Jurists: Bartolus de Sassoferrato (1313-1357) and Baldus degli Ubaldi (1327-1400)... | 153 |
| Other Contexts, Other Concerns: Gradating Citizenship in Late Medieval Catalonia... | 164 |
| Some Final Thoughts: Jurists’ Reflections between Political Thought and Social Practices... | 186 |

**PART II**

**BECOMING A CITIZEN: INTEGRATION EXPERIENCES IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BARCELONA**

| Chapter V: Foreign Citizens in Late Medieval Barcelona... | 195 |
| Introduction: Foreigners, Strangers and Foreign Citizens... | 195 |
| Barcelona and Its Foreigners: Precedents (twelfth-fourteenth centuries)... | 201 |
| Foreigners in the Informaciones de la Ciutadania: Description of the Main Profiles... | 206 |
| Foreign Citizens Practising Citizenship... | 218 |
| Conclusions... | 246 |

| Chapter VI: On the Spaces of the Citizenry. Forms, Mechanisms, and Influence of Solidarity Networks... | 253 |
| Introduction: Completing the Social Experience of Medieval Citizenship... | 253 |
| For the Sake of Friendship: On the Nature and Role of Protectors in the Definition of Citizenship... | 257 |
| Families and Kinsmen in the Making of the Citizen... | 263 |
| Negotiating Citizenship within Professional Solidarities... | 285 |
| The Citizen in the Streets: Neighbourliness, Belonging and Citizenship... | 302 |
| Conclusions... | 321 |

| Chapter VII: At the Margins of the Citizenry? Women, Converts, the Poor and Citizenship... | 325 |
| Introduction: On Marginal Lenses... | 325 |
| Gender and Citizenship in Fifteenth-Century Barcelona... | 328 |
| Jews and Converts as Citizens... | 341 |
| The Poor within the Citizenry... | 361 |
| Conclusions... | 366 |

**CONCLUSIONS**... | 369 |
| Defining the Citizen, Becoming a Citizen: Barcelonese Citizenship in light of Institutional, Legal, Intellectual and Cultural Analysis... | 370 |
| An Exercise of Asymmetrical Comparison... | 376 |
| Moving Forward... | 380 |
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Barcelonese citizens of the Late Middle Ages entered my life well before the EUI. In July 2008, Dr. Roser Salicrú i Lluch first proposed to me to undertake a doctoral research along these lines. I want to thank her warmly, not only for the initial idea of this dissertation but also for her dedication in pushing me towards research. While I am the author of this PhD, she was the mother of this project and it is my pleasure and honour to ‘close’ this research with her among the members of the evaluating committee.

This research has benefited considerably from encounters and discussions with other professors at the EUI. My second readers, Professors Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla and Regina Grafe carefully read different drafts of this thesis and attended several of the presentations I gave at seminars and workshops. The discussions we had and their comments have helped me to clarify and reshape many of my ideas. I only hope I was able to enrich the final text accordingly. I am also deeply grateful for the interest that Professor Antonella Romano has always shown towards my work. Some of the questions she asked first during my interview and in several seminars later pushed me to considerably rethink the methodological basis of this dissertation.

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Back in Florence, the European University Institute places its researchers within an atmosphere of continuous intellectual challenge, a very diverse community where we share our different views and methodologies, and listen and comment on a large variety of research. It gives us the very unique opportunity of listening to others and being continuously pushed to
reshape and rethink our work to present it on different occasions to a variety of fellows. Throughout these last five years, my companions at the EUI have therefore been a crucial intellectual and emotional support, without whom this project would have been carried out with much difficulty. I thank Hélène Soldini, Ozden Mercan, and Lisa Dallavalle for the many emails and the many coffees we shared together. Social life in Florence was daily animated with the company of Alan Granadino, Pol Dalmau, Robrecht Declercq, Tilmann Kulke, and Moritz von Brescias, among many others. I shared many library hours with José Miguel Escrín. Ievgen Khvalkov helped me with some of the transcriptions included in the appendix. I am deeply grateful to James White for his language corrections, which he did with much efficiency and accuracy. Besides my new friends in Florence, old friends, wherever they have been, have continued to be important in my professional and personal development. I thus thank Julieta, María, Clara, and Liana for being there, for being a model of friendship, and for remaining a continuous source of stimulation and encouragement.

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My last word should go to my soul mate, whom I encountered here in Florence. Thank you Brian, for your patience and your honesty, for your love and your humour, from which I learned to view things in a brighter light. Thank you for laughing, worrying, discussing, and thinking with me, whether in Italy, Spain, or Denmark.

A todos, gracias.

Florence, April 2015.
ABBREVIATIONS

AHCB: Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona
AHPB: Arxiu Històric de Protocols
ACB: Arxiu Capitular de la Santa Església Catedral de Barcelona
ANC: Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Sant Cugat.
ACA: Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó.
ABL: Antiquiores Barchinonensium Leges, quas vulgus Usaticos appellant.

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1: Foreign citizens profiles (origins and professions) from the Informacions (1395-1425).

Table 2: Catalan migration to Barcelona through the Informacions (1395-1425).

Figure 1. Map. Catalan migration to Barcelona from the Informacions de la Ciutadania: main localities of provenance.

Figure 2. Map. Catalan migration to Barcelona from the Informacions de la Ciutadania: surrounding localities.

Figure 3: Genealogical tree of the Sarrovira family.

Figure 4: Manuscript reproduction of the stone slab in the Plaça del Blat which represented the city of Barcelona in a circular form. Extracted from Albert García Espuche and Manuel Guàrdia i Bassols, Espai i Societat a la Barcelona pre-industrial. Barcelona: Edicions de la Magrana, 1986.

Figure 5: The four quarters of Barcelona. Image extracted from Cristina Borau Morell, Els promotors de capelles i retaules a la Barcelona del segle XIV. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2003.

Figure 6: The streets of Barcelona in the fourteenth century, according to censuses and notarial documentation. Extracted from Cristina Borau Morell, Els promotors de capelles i retaules a la Barcelona del segle XIV. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2003.
Introduction

A city is a multitude of people united by a bond of community, named for its ‘citizens’, that is, from the residents of the city [because it has jurisdiction over and contains the lives of many]. Now urbs is the name for the actual buildings, while civitas is not the stones, but the inhabitants.

Isidore of Seville, *Etimologiae*, XV, 2

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**LATE MEDIEVAL CITIZENSHIP AND FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BARCELONA: A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT.**

‘The developments between, say, 1050 and 1150 mark the end of one urban age and the beginning of another.’ With this statement, Peter Riesenberg evoked the host of transformations that restructured the economic, political, intellectual and social features of Late Medieval Europe from the twelfth century onwards. The revival of commerce turned cities into vibrant centres of continuous exchange: merchants, pilgrims, students, professors, peasants, and artisans seeking new opportunities constantly roamed the roads and thronged the cities. Urban Europe was reborn as a frantic and dynamic space in constant motion.  

This context of urban growth entailed dramatic changes in the relationships between individuals and the political and social communities they inhabited. As these

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1 Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A Beach, Oliver Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 305. Latin original: ‘Civitas est hominum multitudo societatis vincula adunata, dicta a civibus, id est ab ipsis incolis urbis [pro eo quod plurimum consciscat et contineat vitas]. Nam urbs ipsa moenia sunt, civitas autem non s saxa, sed habitatores vocantur.’ See in Isidoro de Sevilla, *Etimologiae*, ed. J. Oroz Reta, M.A Marcos Casquero and M.C Diaz y Diaz (latin-spanish edition) (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2004), 1059. This claim for the human essence of the city (‘the city is not its walls but the people who inhabit it’) has a long tradition among commentators of urban life. First mentioned by Thucydides, it has also been used by a diversity of authors such as Shakespeare in *Coriolanus* and the Catalan lawyer Narcís Feliu de la Penya (1642-1712) in his *Anales de Cataluña*. On this tradition: James Amelang, “Gent de la Ribera” i altres assaigs sobre la Barcelona moderna, (Vic: Eumo, 2008), 19.


relationships became more complex, a new consciousness of citizenship emerged. It did so within the framework of a revived focus on Roman law and in respect to new economic concerns such as privileges, profit, and organisation. Bearing this context in mind, this thesis will explore how citizenship was legally articulated (part I) and experienced through diverse feelings of belonging to the city (part II) in Late Medieval Barcelona. The following review will provide an account of the major literature on medieval citizenship, thereby producing a framework structuring the questions and hypotheses which will guide this research.

Medieval citizenship: approaches, sources, and traditions.
In his book A Brief History of Citizenship, Derek Heater affirmed that ‘in medieval Europe citizenship was of relatively peripheral importance.’ Such a statement has been continually revised, since a varied literature has shown that, on the contrary, citizenship lay at the very heart of medieval urban life. Often, but not exclusively, from the perspective of the Italian city-state, a range of sources have helped to develop the study of medieval citizenship from institutional, legal, intellectual, socio-economic, and cultural perspectives. Scholars have retraced the specificities of medieval citizenship by thoroughly contextualising it. Traditionally seen as a formal relationship between individuals and their political community, deeper insights have revealed that ‘even though the legal definition was at the heart of citizenship, that relationship went far from the legal domain,’ as Simona Cerutti, Maarten Prak, Marc Boone, and Robert Descimon claimed in 1996. Taking the example of Barcelona, this thesis is precisely devoted to reaching an integrative view on citizenship, one that combines the legal basis of citizenship with an exploration of the further domains where it was formed.

4 Riesenberg, Citizenship, 108.
5 Riesenberg, Citizenship, 108-110.
An account of the literature on medieval citizenship must refer first to the classic contribution of Dina Bizzarri (1916). A pioneer, Bizzarri established the use of the *statuti* (local laws) of the medieval *communi* as the main sources from which to draw a legal picture of the medieval citizen. Interested in identifying the different legal capacities of city’s inhabitants, Bizzarri reviewed the range of rights and duties that determined the attachment of the citizen to the political community. She also reflected on the differences between the *civis* and other minor figures such as the *habitator* and the *habitante*.\(^8\) As William Bowsky showed later when focusing on the case of Siena,\(^9\) the contrast of various *statuti* pushed Bizzarri to pinpoint the variability of citizenship, thus suggesting the need to choose specific frameworks of analysis when conducting scholarly examination on this topic. Later studies followed in the steps of these two scholars, analysing the normative features of the citizen and the notable differences in this category from one city to the next.\(^10\) These pioneering studies defined a new historiographical trend, one which turned the Italian city-state into a privileged laboratory for grasping the nature and dynamics of medieval citizenship. Scholarship took several decades to broaden this analytical space and take more interest in expressions of citizenship in other areas of Western Europe.\(^11\)

Studies such as Bizzarri’s and Bowsky’s recreated the legal framework of the citizen, understanding the citizen’s belonging to the community in terms of allegiance to a common normative code: citizens were those who accepted to live under, and commit to, one law. From the 1970s, Julius Kirshner highlighted the more dynamic nature of citizenship as a legal phenomenon. Focussing on the *consilia*, that is, on the opinions of relevant jurists over specific conflicts, Kirshner unravelled the uncertainty of citizenship: since the prerogatives, duties, and limits of the citizen were easily

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\(^11\) Most significantly through the analysis of immigration, see footnote 27 below for some examples.
questioned, the opinion of legal experts was requested on myriad occasions. The thoughts and conclusions of jurists such as Bartolus de Sassoferrato (1314-1357) and Baldus degli Ubaldi (1327-1400), among many others, contributed strongly to developing the legal definition of citizenship, which was far from being rigidly established: rather, it was progressively developed by each of the cases that questioned it.\(^\text{12}\)

To be sure, other scholars dealt with citizenship by examining the work and thought of medieval jurists.\(^\text{13}\) Diego Quaglioni, for instance, put them at the core of his reflections on the legal definition of citizenship. In his view, jurists dealing with citizenship had to face a vacuum in Roman law in this respect. ‘In a quest for substance,’ they combined local laws with their knowledge of the classics and thus elaborated some formulations regarding citizenship. Some of these elaborations had a major impact on Early Modern and Modern thought, such as the defence of the parity between native and acquired citizenship. In the words of Quaglioni himself, this was ‘the most important theoretical contribution the Middle Ages left as a legacy to the modern and contemporary world: the parity established between acquired and native citizenship as a \textit{fictio iuris}.’\(^\text{14}\)

Quaglioni’s exalted reference recalls one of the historiographical debates that has developed within medieval citizenship studies, that of the relationship between citizenship and equality. Indeed, despite the opposition of jurists to nativism, only natives were able to access public office in many medieval \textit{communi}, while professional and economic conditions determined strong gradations within the


\(^{14}\) Diego Quaglioni, “The Legal Definition of Citizenship in the Late Middle Ages,” in \textit{City-States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy}, eds. A. Mohlo, K. Raaflaub, and J. Emlen, (Stuttgart: Frank Steiner Verlag, 1991), 164.
citizenry and shaped citizenship as a mechanism of social exclusion. Nonetheless, the legal historian Riesenberg did not hesitate in defending the idea that citizenship in the Middle Ages created equality: despite the unbalanced access to political office, it ensured a space for equal legal capacities used mainly in economic terms. The result was, in Riesenberg’s words, ‘an incomplete egalitarian society.’

Riesenberg’s ‘equalitarian’ view on citizenship stemmed from his ‘realistic’ understanding of the medieval citizen. He argued that individuals, mainly merchants and artisans, sought citizenship privileges for benefits and exemptions rather than with the intention of consolidating any sort of strong sentiment with the civic community they inhabited. Although these strong claims have been considered polemical and used with reservation by other scholars, it should be recalled that Riesenberg himself recognised that this pragmatic function of citizenship could only be considered as one part of this complex phenomenon: medieval thinkers certainly thought of citizenship in more ethical terms.

Perhaps with the hope of reaching a more comprehensive understanding of citizenship, Riesenberg wrote his book Citizenship in the Western Tradition. Plato to Rousseau (1992). A book on legal and political theory, this work retraces thought about citizenship from Ancient Greece to the eve of the French Revolution. In the parts devoted to medieval citizenship, Riesenberg noted the progressive displacement of theologians in thought about citizenship. While these authors had had an important role in the early Middle Ages through their development of a universalising Christian theory of citizenship that paved the way to Heaven (St. Augustine), the emergence of citizenship as a practical and concrete privilege regulating specific and individual conditions distanced them from the debates on citizenship. Indeed, Riesenberg claims that scholastics did not contribute much to theories on citizenship: with the exception

of Marsilius of Padua, they could not connect the moral excellence and political action of the Aristotelian citizen with their own realities.19

Thus, thinking about citizenship developed in more analytical and technical terms and became the realm of legalists who, relying on their knowledge of both the *lus Commune* and the classics, discussed its intricacies through the numerous *consilia* they delivered.20 This, of course, did not prevent citizenship from also evolving on a moral basis as jurists themselves contributed to this endeavour by reflecting on the defining qualities of the good citizen in their work. Furthermore, in their attempt to retain citizens, governments utilised monumental architecture, impressive ceremonies, and other resources which were supposed to nurture citizens' identification with their city and develop feelings such as civic love and loyalty. Thus, citizenship became ‘a condition of mind and sentiment, an emotional state carefully created and nurtured by city government.’21

Riesenberg’s remarks are deeply concerned with the effects of social and economic context in the ways citizenship functioned and was considered. Exclusively concerned with the Italian city-state,22 this context is framed in very general terms as the revival of commerce and urban growth. Nonetheless, it succeeds in arguing that new forms of citizenship emerged throughout the Middle Ages.

Similar concerns about the meaningful specificities of medieval citizenship pushed Pietro Costa to open his massive three-volume study on the history of citizenship in the Middle Ages.23 Regardless of his more theoretical interests, this major contribution has become a fundamental reference for any medievalist dealing with citizenship.

In this work, Costa synthesised previous claims regarding medieval citizenship and gave a more precise picture of the problems it poses and the potential strategies

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20 Riesenberg, *Citizenship*, 162.
22 This exclusivity of focus is taken to the point where he argues that one of the reasons which might explain the lack of interest in citizenship among Late Medieval theologians, mostly settled in Paris, was that ‘cities and citizens really mattered only in Italy.’ Riesenberg, *Citizenship*, 163.
with which it can be analysed. In short, he defined citizenship as the relationship of belonging between the individual and the political community. Thus, citizenship rested on three fundamental pillars: the individual, rights, and belonging. From this complex basis, the articulation of citizenship came to life in a rich diversity of forms:

There is not a single citizenship but a plurality of subjective conditions that are differentiated and hierarchised. Citizenship is not a uniform status: its contents are determined by a diversity of parameters that result in complex typologies: native or acquired citizens; *cives ex privilegio* or *de gratia*; citizens who have been settled in the city for long time or, in contrast, have recently arrived; citizens living mainly in the city or citizens spending long periods outside the city, who are therefore entitled to minor protection.  

To face this variability, Costa recognised the need to choose a historiographical position when studying medieval citizenship. Analysis interested in the legal practices of citizenship would have to deal with the strong fragmentation of medieval society and, therefore, the impossibility of making rigorous generalisations. It follows that it is necessary to focus on specific contexts to deal precisely with the internal complexities and multiple forms of citizenship. However, Costa stated clearly that this was not the purpose of his research, which he devoted to ‘arguments about how culture elaborates in order to delineate the image of an individual and his relationship with the *civitas* or the *respublica*, that is, the political community.’ Interested in understanding how belonging was conceived throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, Costa composed a history of the ‘discourse of citizenship.’

In this respect, this dissertation distances itself from Costa’s work and falls under the first historiographical trend he himself mentioned. Focussing on the case of Late Medieval Barcelona, this study aims to unravel in detail the specificities of one case study without renouncing the intention to present it as an inspiration for further research on medieval citizenship. In so doing, the thesis will follow a considerable

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24 ‘Non vi è una cittadinanza, ma una pluralità di condizioni soggettive differenziate e gerarchizzate. La cittadinanza non è uno status unforme: i suoi contenuti sono determinati da parametri volta a volta diversi che danno luogo a complicate tipologie: cittadini originari o acquisiti, *cives ex privilegio* o *de gratia*, cittadini di antica o recente immigrazione; ancora: cittadini che abitano prevalentemente in città o cittadini residenti per lungo tempore fuori città, e allora dotati di minore tutela’ Pietro Costa, *Civitas*, vol 1, 15.
26 On the historiographical relevance of Costa’s work, see also: Trebbi, “I diritti di cittadinanza nelle republiche italiane,” 137.
number of studies that have also analysed citizenship from the perspective of a single case.\(^{27}\)

In terms of this literature, it is necessary to highlight the contributions of Reinhold Mueller. In his exploration of the Venetian case, he connected local law with a large number of preserved citizenship privileges. In so doing, he painted a concrete picture of citizenship in Late Medieval Venice which brought stronger socio-economic perspectives into the study of medieval citizenship and uncovered the heterogeneity of the Venetian citizen.

More specifically, Mueller and his disciples undertook intensive research which covered the analysis of 3,628 citizenship privileges offered to more than 4,000 people during the period between 1300 and 1500. This revealed the highly economic nature of Venetian citizenship, since it emerged chiefly as a trading privilege determining the limits of a group that stood between the patriciate and the larger mass of *habitatores*. Yet, this group of *cittadini* was far from being uniform, as it included native citizens (*civis originarius*) and immigrants who could either be graciously conferred with the privilege (*privilege de gratia*) or acquire it by fulfilling specific residence requirements. In 1305, for instance, these requirements were fixed at 15 years for the *privilege de intus*, which enabled the practice of local trade, and at 25 years of residence for the *privilege de extra*, which permitted trade on a more international scale. The context of the city and its demographical needs modified the residence requirements needed to receive each of these two citizenships on various occasions, but their duality was always respected.\(^{28}\) Highlighting the uses of citizenship, these studies insist on the fundamental role of immigration in the creation and definition of the citizen. Thus, it is

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\(^{28}\) Reinhold Christopher Mueller, *Immigrazione e cittadinanza nella Venezia medievale*, (Roma: Viella, 2010). The results of this intensive analysis have been gathered in a database which is now accessible on-line: [http://www.civesveneciarum.net](http://www.civesveneciarum.net)
from the analysis of foreign groups that further details on citizenship in other Italian and Western cities have been revealed.

The presence of foreigners in medieval Europe has developed as a dense field of study in its own right. The topic regained popularity in the late 1980s when a series of major conferences were organised first in Italy and then in other countries such as France and Germany. The proceedings from these events made public a variety of case studies, methods, sources, and approaches for grasping how the presence of foreigners was organised and experienced in urban medieval Europe.\(^{29}\) From a large range of sources (institutional, notarial, trials, and documents related to the procedures of citizenship acquisition), the diversity of foreigners has been portrayed (their close or distant origins, their occupations) and models of integration have been discussed, such as merchants who remained closely associated with their fellow countrymen within the structure of the ‘nationes’ or traders who established sound economic and familial ties with local business men. Some artisans of foreign origin engaged actively in the industries of their new cities: in some cases, some trades became foreign-held monopolies. Historiography driven by research on the Italian city-states has retracted the elements that conditioned the belonging and commitment of these foreign minorities to their new communities, exploring decisions like entering local families through marriage or remaining in close contact with cities of origin. Relationships with the authorities have also been carefully studied. Indeed, it was not uncommon for foreign merchants to offer their economic resources to monarchs and local authorities in order to gain their protection against arbitrary protectionist measures or xenophobic attacks, particularly noted in England.\(^{30}\)


\(^{30}\) On the attacks against Flemish and Lombard merchants in medieval London, see, for instance: Derek Pearsall, “Strangers in Late Fourteenth-Century London,” in The Stranger in Medieval Society, eds. F.R.P. Akehurst and S. Cain Van d’Elden (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 46-62. For two examples of monographic research on foreign communities which have focused on the questions and problems exposed above, see Luca Molà, La comunità dei Lucchesi a Venezia. Immigrazione e industria della seta nel tardo medioevo (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1994); Maria Elisa Soldani, Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani nella Barcellona del Quattrocento (Barcelona: CSIC, 2010).
As the literature has noted, access to citizenship was paramount in all these contexts. While helping to create a more stable atmosphere for foreigners, citizenship also had a pragmatic use, since the possession of a citizenship privilege entailed tantalising economic benefits in the form of trading exemptions: this turned dual and even triple citizenships into a common phenomenon around the Mediterranean.

Placing citizenship at the core of integration processes, studies on foreigners have allowed historians to successfully reframe it from social and economic perspectives. Further developments have introduced cultural concerns in citizenship studies. In this regard, two major examples are to be noted: the book by Tamar Herzog, *Defining Nations. Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (2003) and Simona Cerutti’s most recent work, *Étrangers. Étude d’une condition d’incertitude dans une société d’Ancien Régime* (2012). With an emphasis on the citizen rather than on citizenship, these authors have both reflected on and recreated the strong role of performance, observation, and reputation in the making of the citizen.

In an intensive study of eighteenth-century Turin, Cerutti employed ‘a radical empiricism’ to explore the uncertain position of foreigners. She conceived of the foreigner not so much as an individual of distinct geographical origin but rather as an urban actor unable to access the principal ‘citizen resources’ and therefore incapable of practising citizenship. From the category of the foreigner, Cerutti, like Herzog, reinterpreted citizenship as an informal and primary pact between the citizen and the citizenry he lived amongst, a constant dialogue that seals belonging to the citizen body with no need of further formal recognitions:

Before a ‘state-controlled’ perspective, according to which social statutes such as the ‘citizen’ and the ‘native’ depend on the recognition of central authorities, a ‘social’ model needs to be considered, one which connects these statutes to inscription within local fabrics. Within this framework, belonging is seen as a process, the first steps of which are linked to social recognition within the local community: it is only from this first level that naturalisation, that is, belonging to the state, is formed.

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32 À une vision “étatiste” qui fait dépendre les statuts sociaux de “bourgeois” et “naturel” de la reconnaissance des autorités centrales, un modèle “social” est opposé, qui relie ce statut à une inscription dans les tissus locaux. Dans ce cadre, l’appartenance est un processus dont la première étape
Cerutti’s ideas were framed by an eighteenth century context and include concepts of the state, central authorities, and naturalisation that should not be projected onto fifteenth-century Barcelona, where medieval citizenship remained an essential urban phenomenon. Nonetheless, my research rests on a deep interest in unravelling the cultural dimension of the Barcelonese citizenship at the end of the Middle Ages. With a particular concern for the daily life of the citizens of Barcelona in these distant times, the thesis aims to explore whether citizenship and belonging in Barcelona were also based on a primary alliance between citizens and their fellow citizens and questions the forms and dynamics of such a pact. Yet, the research cannot ignore the multi-faceted nature of citizenship that historiographical traditions have brought to light. Believing that the potential of medieval Barcelona provides an integrative view on citizenship, I will also discuss how precise institutional, legal, and intellectual backgrounds conditioned the making of the citizen. In short, this thesis will be devoted to uncovering the diverse negotiations that influenced the definitions, perceptions, and experiences of citizenship in early fifteenth-century Barcelona.

**Why Barcelona? Placing citizenship within Barcelonese historiography.**

It is a fact that historiography on medieval Barcelona has not tackled citizenship in detail: it has certainly retraced the lives, interests, backgrounds, conditions, and decisions of a variety of citizens inhabiting Barcelona in the Late Middle Ages but has never intensively dealt with the nature and meaning of their citizenship.

This lack of interest mirrors the general condition of Barcelonese historiography. Research on medieval Barcelona remains scarce and certainly does not correspond with the richness found in the archival fonds. Of course, such a general observation needs to be nuanced: while classical works from the 1960s and 1970s have done much for our knowledge of the economic and institutional evolution of Barcelona from the thirteenth to the late fifteenth centuries, young scholars are now conducting...
more refined research on specifically defined problems. This is improving the position of Barcelonese studies in the field of medieval history.\textsuperscript{33}

To give a very brief picture, classic works on medieval Barcelona focussed on debates surrounding the so-called Catalan crisis of the Late Middle Ages.\textsuperscript{34} Claude Carrère’s massive *Barcelone, centre économique à l’époque des difficultés 1380-1462* (1967) followed the thesis developed by Pierre Vilar, and supported by Jaume Vicens Vives, which pictured a long structural crisis that had its first episodes in the second half of the fourteenth century. In her intensive work, Carrère showed how the city maintained its active commercial projection towards the Mediterranean until the 1430s. At this point, a comprehensive drop in the import rate laid the foundations for a more substantive economic recession. Mario del Treppo (1972) presented a real alternative to this traditional model. Investigating later periods of commercial dynamism in Barcelona during the 1450s, he suggested a deceleration of economic growth rather than a more dramatic recession in the 1430s. As a result, del Treppo presented the Civil War (1462-1472) as a cause rather than a consequence of the crisis and defended the strong commercial prominence of the Catalan city throughout the first half of the fifteenth century. Recently, Maria Elisa Soldani (2010) came to similar conclusions and gave life to the city’s vitality by reconstructing in detail the presence, strategies, and economic interests of Tuscan merchants settling in fifteenth-century Barcelona.\textsuperscript{35}

However, the evolution of Barcelona’s international projection needs to be understood within the background of the internal political and economic tensions that characterised the city’s life throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This

\textsuperscript{33}For instance: Iván Armenteros Martínez, “La esclavitud en Barcelona a fines de la Edad Media (1479-1516). El impacto de la primera trata atlántica en un mercado tradicional de esclavos,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Barcelona, 2012). Miquel Raufast Chico has been reflecting on the relationship between the monarch of the crown of Aragon and Barcelona by studying ceremonies and public celebrations. See, for instance: “‘E vingueren los officis e confraries ab llur entremeses e balls’. Una aproximación al estamento artesanal en la Barcelona bajomedieval, a partir del estudio de las ceremonias de entrada real,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 36 no.2, (2006): 651-686 or Miquel Raufast Chico, “¿Un mismo ceremonial para dos dinastías? Las entradas reales de Martín el Humano (1397) y Fernando I (1412) en Barcelona,” *En la España Medieval* 30, (2007): 91-30. Intensive research on the fiscal regime of Barcelona has also been conducted: Pere Ortí i Gost, *Renda i fiscalitat en una ciutat medieval: Barcelona, segles XIII-XIV*, (Barcelona: CSIC, 2000). This renewal of Barcelonese studies should also include the intensive and well-documented research of Elisa Soldani on the presence of Tuscan merchants in the city.

\textsuperscript{34}For a detailed account of this historiographical debate: Gaspar Feliu i Montfort, “La crisis catalana de la Baja Edad Media: Estado de la cuestión,” *Hispania* LXIV/2 no 217, (2004): 435-466.

\textsuperscript{35}Soldani, *Uomini d'affari e mercanti toscani*. 
task was first fulfilled by Carme Batlle i Gallart in her book *La crisis social y económica de Barcelona a mediados del siglo XV* (1973). She framed the fratricidal opposition between the party of the *Biga* (oligarchy) and the *Busca* (popular party), and the institutional and economic instability it provoked, within a continuum of tensions and agitations that had their first manifestations in the late thirteenth century. Her exhaustively documented research described issues that were still rather unstudied at the time. Later, Pere Ortí i Gost (2000) analytically reinterpreted the institutional evolution of the urban council with a deep examination of its fiscal system.\(^{36}\)

Within this basic overview of Barcelonese historiography, we may also include the efforts of Teresa Maria Vinyoles Vidal to combine these economic and institutional approaches with a wide-ranging interest in the daily life of Barcelonese citizens in the twilight of the Middle Ages. She recreated these lives by combining sources like notarial deeds, trials, art, and contemporary literature.\(^{37}\)

However, as I have already mentioned, these economic, political, fiscal, social, and even cultural accounts of the history of Barcelona gave little space to the analysis of citizenship. The picture is different for the Early Modern period, mainly because of the studies of James Amelang. His book, *Honored Citizens of Barcelona: Patrician Culture and Class Relations, 1490-1714*, richly detailed the formation of the honoured citizenry in terms of its cultural distinction. Nonetheless, little has been done for the previous period, despite a very abundant source base that is far from unknown. Carrère read citizenship reports and registers when defining the legal framework in which merchants, the major protagonists of her work, operated. In so doing, her aim was to localise those foreign merchants who chose to become citizens in order to improve their situation in the city. Carrère briefly defined the basic criteria required to acquire a citizenship charter (honourability, sufficient means, residence in the city, fiscal contributions, and the intention to remain) and named a few candidates clearly identified as strangers to the crown of Aragon. This analysis, which occupied less than

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\(^{37}\)Teresa-Maria Vinyoles i Vidal, *La vida quotidiana a Barcelona vers 1400*, (Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1985).
one page in a book more than one thousand pages long, closed with the following consideration: ‘certainly, the possibility of becoming a citizen of Barcelona was only a marginal element within the liberty offered to foreign merchants.’ In contrast, Maria Elisa Soldani gave a more comprehensive picture of the citizen of Barcelona, using the citizenship applications of the Tuscan merchants she studied to delineate the main features of the Barcelonese citizen (stable residence, intention to remain, property, fiscal contribution, and marriage with a Catalan woman). Bringing up the cultural concerns mentioned above, Soldani teased from the sources themselves the importance of reputation in recognising citizens of Barcelona. Portraying the vibrancy of these very same sources, Teresa Vinyoles i Vidal provided a varied, albeit brief, array of case studies whereby she identified what she considered to be the defining features of the citizen: stable residence, marriage, profession, and fiscal contribution.

These scholars had only a fleeting interest in citizenship. Consequently, their reading of the conserved citizenship reports and registers was incomplete. Most importantly, their own research interests conditioned their view on the figure of the citizen, placing different degrees of priority on what they interpreted as its main characteristics. They all pointed towards the flexibility and variability of citizenship status, but this can only be fully grasped through a complete exploration of citizenship sources.

When Carrère was writing, such an investigation had already been completed. In 1957, Eulàlia Duran i Grau based her unpublished BA thesis on a detailed exploration of the citizenship reports and registers of Barcelona, which are conserved in the

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39Soldani, Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani, 133-134.
40Vinyoles, La vida, 80-86. Some contributions have also been done in the field of legal history. In her attempt to shape in historical terms the legal condition of the ‘Catalan’ (in the context of transition to democracy and the composition of ‘estatutos de autonomía’), Encarna Roca pushed back her analysis to the first privileges and jurists’ comments related to the citizen of Barcelona. Encarna Roca i Trias, ‘“Unde Cathalanus quasi in Cathalonia stans,”La condición de catalán en el derecho histórico,” Revista Jurídica de Cataluña 77/1, (1978): 7-44. In the same direction, Pilar Domínguez Lozano, Las circunstancias personales determinantes de la vinculación con el Derecho Local. Estudio sobre el Derecho Local Altomedieval y el Derecho Local de Aragón, Navarra y Cataluña (siglos IX-XV), (Madrid: Ediciones de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1986), particularly 174-181. Studying the reflections of the seventeenth-century jurist Joan Fontanella,Montserrat Bajet also referred, as Fontanella did himself, to older definitions of the Barcelonese citizen. Montserrat Bajet i Royo, “Ciutadans de Barcelona, ciutadans honrats i donzells en l’obra de Fontanella,”Barcelona. Quaderns d’Història 5, (2001):159-170.
Historical Archives of the City (AHCB) and are known as the *Informaciones de la Ciutadania*.\textsuperscript{41} In her intensive work, Duran, who afterwards developed very different concerns, went through all the citizenship reports and registers conserved for the period 1375 to 1457. Her work has been very useful throughout this research, notably for the complete list of candidates (1,111) she provided. However, at that time she opted for quantitative analysis: she was principally interested in using the *Informaciones* to give a fixed picture of Barcelona’s society at the dawn of the fifteenth century. Rich in tables and graphs, her work is predominantly focussed on relating the principal origins and professions of the candidates to the citizenship charter. Using Duran’s early work as a starting point, my dissertation aims to further explore the richness of the *Informaciones*, an archival series of a unique nature. Placing on a single stage both Barcelonese reporting on candidates and the candidates themselves, the *Informaciones* give life to the dialogue of citizenship and therefore make it possible to delve into the fabrics of social daily relationships. By reaching into the ‘deepest life of the city,’ my work will be a history of the *social imagination* of citizenship.\textsuperscript{42}

**Sources and Methodology.**

*The Informaciones de la Ciutadania and the Notarial Registers: A Research Strategy.*

The thesis starts therefore from a very definite body of sources: the *Informaciones de la Ciutadania*, which include a large number of citizenship reports from the period between 1395 and 1457. Essentially, the *Informaciones* contain numerous interrogation reports of other Barcelonese on the habits of those requesting a citizenship charter. There are also two citizenship registers recording the actual grant of charters for two periods: 1375-1381 (36 f.) and 1413-1425 (192f.) To the best of my knowledge, these sources are unique. While citizenship procedures can be mostly retraced in other cities through lists of accepted citizens or scattered privileges, detailed interrogations on the

\textsuperscript{41}Eulàlia Duran i Grau, “Apuntes para un estudio sobre la obtención de la ciudadanía de Barcelona a fines de la Edad Media (1375-1457),” (BA thesis, University of Barcelona, 1957). I am grateful to Prof. Duran for her personal attention, her interest in this research, and her openness in providing me with a copy of her work.

\textsuperscript{42}On the importance of sociability; Amelang, *Gent de la Ribera*, 19. I borrow from Amelang the expression ‘social imagination.’ Amelang, *Gent de la Ribera*, 23. As with Amelang himself, I use the term here with no theoretical sociological meaning: I refer solely to the capacity of the *Informaciones* to provide an actual idea of the opinions of fifteenth-century Barcelonese on citizenship.
habits of the candidates have not been conserved, or at least certainly not in the same scale, richness, or condition as those from Barcelona. This does not mean that public interrogations as part of citizenship acquisition processes were unique to the Catalan city. On the contrary, it is known that the adequacy of candidates as citizens was tested through public opinion in Toledo, Venice, and Florence, albeit in specific circumstances. Documentary traces of such practices, however, have not been conserved, either because they were not properly recorded or because they have been lost. For the case of Barcelona, the nature of these sources will be described in more detail in chapter III, where they will be used to reproduce the actual procedure of citizenship acquisition. The following section will briefly discuss the decisions and interests that have determined the corpus of sources at the basis of the research.

My primary intention was to read and analyse all the documents included within the fonds of citizenship sources, just as Eulàlia Duran did herself. To do this, an Access database was designed with the intention of registering the details of the main protagonists of the Informaciones: the candidates, witnesses, and guarantors of the charters. As far as possible, I included information on their status, their places of residence, their professions, family relations, and other social relationships. However, it was soon evident that, despite their multi-faceted and exceptional nature, the Informaciones could not always give a deep image of these individuals’ conditions as citizens. Other sources needed to be analysed in order to test the strength of the connections emerging from the Informaciones and, eventually, to investigate the nature of these bonds when too few details were provided. This concern for further grasping the emplacement of candidates in the city took me to the notarial archives of the city (AHPB). With more than 3,500 registers produced by 197 notaries from the late thirteenth to the mid fifteenth centuries, the Notarial Archives of Barcelona are one

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43Pilar Morollón Hernández, “La vecindad en la ciudad de Toledo hacia 1400,” Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie III. Historia Medieval 17, (2004): 189. In Florence, the potential access of foreign citizens to public office was only possible if approved by public opinion, De Angelis, “La cittadinanza a Firenze,” 146. In Venice, native citizenship could be tested through public opinion, whereas a foreigner without a privilege needed to prove his rights to be treated as a citizen by appealing to public opinion. Mueller, Immigrazione e cittadinanza, 45.

44On the Notarial Archives of Barcelona: http://arxiu.notarisdecatalunya.org:8081/AdminPaginas/SobreAhPB/9ea22dbd-4a9b-40fd-8554-a55b4b6442b9. The Archives are digitalizing their fonds and it is now possible to access digitalised versions of 45 notaries. For a catalogue regarding the fourteenth and fifteenth-century registers, see:
of the largest such archives in Europe. Therefore, a precise strategy had to be designed in order to combine this large amount of material with the *Informacions*.

To begin with, the chronological scope of the dissertation was significantly modified and reduced to the period 1395-1425. I read carefully every citizenship report and register for this period, adding relevant information to the databases. It was necessary to distinguish the period 1413-1425, since it was only from this limited timeframe that both reports and records have been preserved. These 12 years are therefore the richest in terms of citizenship sources. Carefully cross-checking both citizenship reports and records for this brief period has allowed me not only to recreate in detail the citizenship procedure but also to define in more concrete terms the nature of Barcelonese citizenship itself, as will be explored in chapter III. By adding the reports produced between 1395-1413 to the information from this 12 year period, I included in the research a larger amount of data and was also able to define a more logical timeframe, one which would coincide with what historians, both those following Carrère’s model as well as those in the footsteps of Mario del Treppo’s alternative, have firmly established as a period of relative calm and economic success for the city of Barcelona, especially in comparison with earlier and later periods.

Beyond this focus on the citizenship sources produced between 1395 and 1425, I have also analysed the first and very brief citizenship register of 1375-1381. Less uniform and with little data on the candidates, the records therein have not been included in the analytical database, although they were useful for retracing the birth of a new procedure of citizenship acquisition in the late fourteenth century. Finally, I have also chosen and analysed a few reports produced between 1425-1457 with the intention of evaluating whether the procedure underwent any substantial changes in a less stable period.

First and foremost, this considerable reduction in the time frame aimed to make it possible to include a significant amount of notarial sources in the research. Wills and matrimonyes have been considered because of their obvious potential in providing crucial information on any given individual’s social strategies and relationships. A database listing the wills conserved in the archives for the period

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1344-1529 helped me to locate the testaments of 103 candidates or candidates’ wives and widows, as well as the final wills of 91 witnesses.\footnote{Witnesses’ wills have not been searched systematically but rather found and considered by chance.} In terms of matrimony, the marriage registry of the notary Gabriel Canyelles (1395-1448), preserved at the archives of the Cathedral of Barcelona, has been particularly useful. The research has also benefited from a complete examination of the registers (36) produced by two chosen notaries throughout the period 1413-1425, the period for which most candidates for the charter have been documented through the coincidence of reports and records. The choice of the two notaries, Bernat Nadal and Bernat Pí, was based on their productivity and the high number of registers conserved on their name,\footnote{185 registers for 47 years of practice for Bernat Nadal (1385-1432) and 109 registers for 42 years of practice for Bernat Pí (1408-1450).} as well as for their close contacts with merchants, who came to them in considerable numbers in order to establish a large variety of contracts. As we shall see, merchants were obviously interested in acquiring a citizenship charter and formed the largest group of candidates. No less than this, it is also to be noted that Nadal and Pí’s registers made it possible to retrace the activities of some of the artisans and sailors requesting the charter.

This decision proved fruitful: each of the notarial registers provided an average of 50 documents relating to identified petitioners for the charter. Aside from marriages and testaments, these notarial sources were powers of attorney, business contracts, arbitrations, and slave purchases. This material allowed me to select candidates with enough information to build detailed case studies by which the intricacies of the networks emerging from the Informacions could be illustrated further. In contrast with Nadal and Pí’s registers, the very few by Bernat d’Esplugues (1402-1431) did not provide any further data. Notary of the urban council, Esplugues was actually in charge of producing the 1413-1425 citizenship register. As such, his registers had to be consulted but the task did not provide meaningful information.

All in all, cross-referencing the Informacions with a selection from notarial material has formed a corpus of 1,050 documents, relating to 767 candidates to citizenship. This whole amount includes 285 citizenship reports, 585 citizenship...
records, and 180 notarial documents. This is the precise extent of material that I have finally included in the Access database, which has helped to concentrate information on single individuals whilst always rigorously relating it to the documents from which the data was extracted. The database has been useful in visualising the main relationships entertained by each of the candidates and in following in detail the characteristics of every candidate’s citizenship acquisition procedure.

Besides this definite body of sources, the dissertation has been enriched with other materials that I used less systematically. Chapters referring to both the Catalan and Barcelonese legal framework have benefited from consulting the Constitucions i altres drets de Catalunya, a compendium of various legal texts (costums, royal regulations, decisions reached in the Corts) from the principality of Catalonia. The minutes issued by the urban council (called Llibre del Consell until 1433, Registre de Deliberacions afterwards) have been partially conserved for the period considered here: there are only two volumes, the ones for 1399 and 1433. However, some interesting notes have been extracted from the first and last volumes of the Llibre. The Archives of the City also preserve a large collection of letters sent by a diversity of authorities to the councillors of the city. I have examined the letters falling under the chronological scope of this dissertation, thereby finding rare but significant correspondence in which the issue of Barcelonese citizenship was at stake, in one way or another. Chapter IV needed to engage with a very different sort of material when it dealt with the reflections on citizenship of the main contemporary Catalan jurists: namely, the commentaries of jurists on legal Catalan texts, mainly one of the so-called Usatges de Barcelona, a feudal code soon extended to the whole principality of Catalonia. These reflections were compiled in the sixteenth century in Antiquiores Barchinonensium Leges, quas vulgus Usaticus appellat, which I consulted at the National Library of Catalonia (BC). Finally, it is worth mentioning the account books of

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47 Among the citizenship records, some had specific characteristics. In 32 cases, the recipient was not present in the city when he was granted the charter. A representative would then promise that the new citizen would retire his charter and take the oath of citizenship as soon as possible. In three cases, the granting of the charter was not made out to inhabitants of Barcelona but rather to individuals promising to move to the city in a near future. In regard to the notarial sources, these 180 documents correspond to 87 testaments and a diversity of documents that I have selected from the large material I collected by working on the registers of Bernat Nadal and Bernat Pi (ca. 1,800 documents).

the merchant Joan Torralba, a set of massive registers where Torralba, a native of Aragon who requested a citizenship charter of Barcelona in 1412, kept track of all his very diverse commercial activities.49 This material is difficult to access since I am unfamiliar with accounting sources. However, these books also include personal letters conserved in the book’s jackets. When possible, the voices of Torralba’s closest acquaintances will be taken up in the dissertation.

It is through the process of writing that one realises the many other paths that research could have taken. The Informacions de la Ciutadania could have been combined with a large variety of other sources that might have defined more rigorously the social and economic contexts that determined the creation and recognition of the citizen. For instance, I have not considered trials, guild records, and censuses within the framework of this dissertation.

As well as providing a stage for social relationships, trials may have also discussed citizenship. However, a quick review of those conserved in the Historical Archives of the City and the Diocesan Archives did not uncover anything of this sort.50 Citizenship could have been studied through guild records and confraternity sources, thereby exploring the strong role traditionally granted to these institutions in defining belonging to the civic community.51 A first look at the catalogue of the archives discouraged such an attempt, as the sources are dispersed and the chronological span rarely coincides with my own. Finally, censuses (fogatges) are partially conserved, with the exceptions of those in 1390 and 1399, which are fully preserved. Censuses were produced with the intention of making some of the most fundamental actions in a citizen’s life possible, such the protection of the city (like on the occasion of the military census of 1390) and the payment of taxes. Although the published census of 1390 has been very useful in my reflection on the basis of the neighbourhood in fifteenth-century Barcelona,52 the names listed in these documents are rarely fully identified. It became difficult, therefore, to use this material to give precise form to citizenship practices. All in all, the methodological problems that these other sources

49This material is conserved in the National Archives of Catalonia (ANC). Torralba’s accounts books were first analysed in Del Treppo, Els mercaders, 475-535.
50 It is also to be noted that the trials I consulted were generally incomplete and in a bad state of repair.
51 The issue is discussed in Chapter VI. I refer there for bibliographical references.
52 Francesc Marsà, Onomàstica Barcelonina del segle XIV, (Barcelona: Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 1977).
would have posed were avoided in exchange for the more promising choice of delving into the notarial archives. A more rigorous confrontation with these other sources remains for the future.

Despite their richness, the Informaciones also have strong limitations. Besides the loss of documentation, the Informaciones should be approached whilst bearing in mind Tamar Herzog’s thoughts on citizenship in the Early Modern period: it was the ‘ability to act as citizens’ that created status: the formalisation of the prerogatives this status entailed was therefore not always necessary. Thus, as Herzog claims, the historian approaches citizenship through sources that give life to the exception rather than the rule of citizens’ lives. As we shall see throughout the dissertation, citizens of Barcelona also downplayed the meaning of the charter, requesting it only in cases of need. Candidates may therefore form an exception to the rule. However, I do believe that, by combining the citizenship material with notarial sources, the Informaciones have revealed themselves to be an open window to the daily and constant creation of citizens and therefore to the norms and practices determining Barcelonese citizenship.


‘Never trust to general impressions, my boy, but concentrate yourself upon the details.’ Sherlock Holmes’ intuitive and infallible methods were the starting point for Edward Muir’s reflection on the claims, assumptions, and limits of micro-analysis as a method by which historical knowledge can be produced. Embracing the American debate on the reception of microhistory, Muir highlighted the strongly empirical nature of microhistorians’ work, that is to say, their use of sources as texts in which clues and signs of a most diverse nature can be detected and used to reframe old historiographical problems. In contrast, French scholars’ have interpreted microhistory as a reaction with which to rethink the building of social bodies. While I will not

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53 Herzog, Defining Nations, 5.
engage in this debate here, since to do so would lead us to reflect on the anthropological and textual dimensions of microhistory that my work does not explore, I will devote some time to relate this thesis to some of the main concerns of micro-analysis: its interest in human behaviour and experience, and its conviction in the significance of individualities and particularities in the building of social bodies.\textsuperscript{56}

In practical terms, the thesis deals with these concerns by applying a prosopographical \textit{technique} which, as has been shown, helps collect material on a considerable number of specific individuals. I insist on calling it a technique, since this study could never pretend to build a collective biography of such a large and heterogeneous group as the whole Barcelonese citizenry, which would be required in order to fit Lawrence Stone’s classic definition of prosopography.\textsuperscript{57} The object of study simply does not correspond with the aims of prosopography as a method, although it does rely on its technical bases. The intention has been to bring out the diversity of citizen profiles that contributed to the social dynamics of early fifteenth-century Barcelona’s citizenry.\textsuperscript{58} The amount of material available has determined whether these profiles were presented as detailed case studies or rather as a plurality of supporting examples.

The specific conditions of every mentioned individual have been carefully noted, just as Barcelonese themselves did at the time. When presenting case studies, that is, when designing potential model behaviours from the examples for which more data was available, I intended to provide concrete ‘intelligibility’ on the phenomena that generated citizen reputation.\textsuperscript{59} At this point, we reach one of the most polemical points regarding the epistemological debates on micro-analysis: the extent to which general knowledge can be reached through exceptional events and individual


\textsuperscript{58}Microhistorians have often relied on the prosopographical technique. Revel gives the example of Giovanni Levi, \textit{L’Eredità immateriale. Carriera di un esorcista nel Piemonte del Seicento} in Revel, “Micro-analyse,”\textsuperscript{31-32}. Moreover, Edward Muir affirms that “the ideal result would be a prosopography from below in which the relationships, decisions, restraints and freedoms faced by real people, in actual situations, would emerge’ in Muir, “Introduction,” x.

\textsuperscript{59} The concern of microhistorians for the ‘creation of intelligibility’ is mentioned by Revel who picked it up from Giovanni Levi. Revel, “Micro-analyse,” 34.
experiences. While I did not attempt to recreate Edoardo Grendi’s ‘normal exceptions,’ I do think that the large range of case studies and the micro-analytical approach suggested by the sources themselves has helped me reach what Jacques Revel called ‘the conditions of social experience’ which I would identify in my research as the social awareness, the execution, and the recognition of citizenship practices.

This attention to the individual and his intentions, interests, strategies, and connections is aimed at directly engaging with the ‘exasperation of differences’ and the ‘contingent judgments that are impossible to codify’ which Pietro Costa and Laura de Angelis noted in their respective works on medieval citizenship. In so doing, social interrelationships have been put at the core of the study, highlighting the constant role of negotiations in the creation of identity: in this case, the citizen identity. Although only partially, these results mirror microhistorians’ concerns, since they have defended the necessity of reinterpreting the formation of social bodies by reproducing networks and relationships. Doing so allows us to question older social categories and to insist on the role of negotiations, conflicts, and transactions in the conquest of social status. In this regard, it is again illustrative to refer to Jacques Revel, who identified micro-analytical practices with a ‘denaturalisation of the mechanisms of aggregation and association, insisting on the relational modalities that make them possible.’ Similarly, Giovanni Levi presented microhistory as an interpretative analysis of the relationships between men and their normative framework, presenting social action as the result of individuals’ constant negotiations.

All in all, the large range of case studies developed through the dissertation is framed within the aims and concerns of micro-analysis. This will make it possible to understand the construction of the citizen of Barcelona within the many contexts and processes of formation that defined him in all his diversity and complexity. It is mostly in this view that I hope to present him as a mirror for the study of citizenship in Late Medieval Europe.

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62 Costa, Civitos, vol 1, 15; De Angelis, “La cittadinanza a Firenze,” 146.
Yet, the micro-analytical approach suggests somehow further complexities in the process of historical writing that I have also tried to include in this study. Most importantly, one cannot avoid defining micro-analysis as a deliberate reduction of the analytical scale. In choosing a smaller scale of observation, microhistorians claim, the features of the historical object under consideration are modified. The awareness of scales boosted by micro-analytical studies has put a finger on the enrichment that historical knowledge wins when articulating and combining different scales of observation (jeux d’échelles). In this attempt to grasp the complexity of the Barcelonese citizen, the thesis will have to analyse the different scales and scenarios where his status within the citizen body was negotiated. This methodological concern affirms the necessity of bringing together the different historiographical perspectives and traditions that have dealt with medieval citizenship. Besides exploring the extent to which citizenship was first woven at an informal level into the fabrics of daily life, institutional, legal, and even intellectual stages will have to be considered, investigating the inner complexities of each.

**STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS**

In order to address the historiographical and methodological preoccupations discussed above in the framework of Late Medieval Barcelona, the thesis has been divided into two parts and seven chapters. To a certain extent, each part discusses citizenship as a pact of belonging between the individual and the citizenry from different analytical perspectives. While part I delves into the formalities of such a pact, exploring its institutional and legal intricacies, part II has been devoted to putting it into more informal terms by investigating the significance and mechanisms of social integration in creating ‘true and reputed citizens’ (haut e reputat ver ciutadà de Barchinona).

Chapter I is particularly linked to traditional concerns surrounding contextualisation that have been repeatedly highlighted in regard to medieval citizenship by scholars from Dina Bizzarri to Diego Quaglioni and Pietro Costa. Thus,

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66 In the words of Diego Quaglioni: ‘It is well-known that in the late Middle Ages the legal definition of citizenship differed from city to city,’ “The Legal Definition,” 155.
this first chapter aims to provide a firm background of the political, economic, and social situation of the city of Barcelona at the twilight of the Middle Ages. In so doing, the authoritative will of political and social structures in ruling the urban community has been measured, as this is necessary in order to identify the main actors in the definition of citizenship and the making of the citizen. It was then possible to understand how the legal definition of the citizen was shaped progressively within overlapping institutional backgrounds, that is, between the crown and the Council of the Hundred throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (chapter II). Chapter III pushes forward this progressive definition, uncovering, through a detailed description of the Informaciones de la Ciutadania, how citizenship emerged powerfully in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries as a contract between both the city and its citizens. Such a contract was characterised by a set of rights and duties that were acknowledged, observed, and recognised by the authorities of the city and by the whole citizenry of Barcelona.

Literature on medieval citizenship has consistently described how similar citizenship criteria (residence, property, and fiscal and political agency being the most relevant) were applied differently in every city, since they were defined by local laws and applied in concert with contingent needs. Analysing how citizenship was negotiated between the city and its citizens, chapter III considers in detail how these rights and duties were shaped and codified in the case of Barcelona. Directly extracted from the sources, these criteria have been listed in the second section of the chapter as ‘rights’ and ‘duties,’ thus mirroring the terminology used in other studies. Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning Pietro Costa’s observation that to think of the features of the citizen in such terms can lead to anachronistic views on medieval citizenship. So, while the chapter does list and classify the features of the citizen as ‘rights’ and ‘duties’ for the sake of clarity, it also applies a micro-analytical perspective which highlights the contingent nature of these features and presents them principally as practices that created the right to citizenship rather than as fixed and clearly delineated criteria.

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68 As suggested in Cerutti, Étrangers, 121.
From the detailed analysis of the legal practices of citizenship, chapter IV adapts a somewhat distinct angle of analysis, concentrating on determining whether a Catalan legal theory of citizenship was framed by contemporary jurists. This concern mirrors the important literature developed for the Italian city-states regarding the influence of jurists’ legal counselling in the perception of citizenship. In no way does this chapter try to delve exhaustively into the intricacies of Catalan legal thought: rather, I conceive it to be a very focused and modest attempt to examine whether a Catalan doctrine on citizenship developed at this time and how it contrasts with the legal practices unravelled through the Informacions.

This stronger focus on the practices that made the citizen has turned this thesis into a history of performance. By placing the citizen within the daily fabrics of the city, part II shapes Barcelona and its citizenry as a theatre from which to investigate the diverse mechanisms that determined the continuous creation of citizens and the reproduction of the citizenry itself. In sum, it has been devoted to retracing in detail the forms and dynamics of the primary pact of citizenship that other scholars have explored in the Early Modern period.

To this end, chapter V looks at the extant literature fusing immigration dynamics and citizenship together. Indeed, the focus is placed on the integration experiences of foreign citizens, showing how different foreign profiles (defined in concert with their origin and occupation) became reputed citizens of Barcelona. Foreigners will therefore be considered as actors on a stage and the analysis will be focused on their strategies and capacities to access citizen resources in their urge to be accepted as citizens. Taking the image of citizenship as a dialogue between the city and its citizens further, chapter VI will then change the scale of observation by moving from the (foreign) citizen to the whole citizenry, investigating the role of the main social networks of the city (family, profession, and neighbourhood) in determining the creation of the citizen. To continue with the theatrical metaphor, the social networks forming the citizenry will be approached as both stages and audience. They were nevertheless active ones and I will retrace their agency through their observations,

69 On the performative dimension of citizenship and the importance of reputation in the definition of the citizen in early modern Spain and Spanish America, see Tamar Herzog, Defining Nations, 1-42. ‘This combination of factors created in Castile citizens by performance, that is, people whose citizenship, depended on their behaviour and not on formal declarations,’ 42.
judgements, and mechanisms of acceptance. Largely based on case studies, the aim of these two chapters will therefore be to retrace in detail the experience of citizenship.

Although from a much more theoretical perspective, Giacomo Todeschini has also conceived medieval citizenship in terms of *fama*, analysing from a diversity of theological and juridical texts those social categories that were considered irregular and were therefore excluded from the *civitas Christiana* on grounds of infamy. As with Simona Cerutti in her study of eighteenth-century Turin, Todeschini believes that the significance of reputation in the definition of citizenship turned the citizen into a highly uncertain status, one that was easy to gain by performing the right practices, but equally easy to lose. From the sources available for my research on Barcelona, the brighter side of citizenship by reputation emerges: its permeability and flexibility will be presented on manifold occasions. In contrast, I have encountered very few traces of processes of exclusion or rejection. Nonetheless, chapter VII will consider some of those groups whose belonging to the civic community has been traditionally questioned (i.e. women, convert Jews, the poor) in order to explore the most ambiguous expressions of the citizen.

In short, the thesis’ first chapters engage with the articulation of a citizenship law in Barcelona and the picturing of the citizen through his most characteristic practices. In its attempt to retrace the formalities of citizenship, part I not only explores the legal and institutional practices of citizenship but also tries to contrast them with more intellectual approaches, namely with the opinions developed by some major jurists. Part two encompasses three other chapters focussed on reproducing the broad experience of citizenship, relating it strongly to the social mechanics that ensured the creation of citizen reputation. In terms of scales, the belonging that the citizen wove with his city will be mainly explored through the prism of his public behaviour and the acceptance he created among his fellow citizens. However, the relationships he established with public institutions and the interests of the latter in determining the shape of the citizen will not be ignored. From one dialogue to the next and from one scene to the next, the analysis will use different magnifying lenses in order to show throughout this process how the Barcelonese and their authorities

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played with reputation and uncertainty while making citizens and defining the citizenry they all shared.
PART I

LATE MEDIEVAL BARCELONA
AND THE DEFINITION OF THE CITIZEN:
AN INSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL BACKGROUND
I

Features of Urban Society in the Crown of Aragon (The Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries).
The Model of Barcelona.

They have discovered the paradox that prosperity may coexist with crisis in the complexity of historical experience.

Thomas Bisson

By framing the historiographical and methodological background of this study, the introduction suggested the need for, and the benefits of, research on citizenship in Late Medieval Barcelona. Indeed, such a study will engage with the forms and expressions of citizenship beyond the over-studied framework of the Italian city-state, using the jeux d’échelles to unravel all its complexity. In 1967, William Bowsky presented citizenship as a tool that articulates the different relationships established between the individual and the state. Yet, as this scholar himself claimed, citizenship needs to be analysed within a specific historical situation, beginning with the various conditions, interests, and forms of this ‘state.’ While Bowsky focussed on the city-state of Siena in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, different questions need to be addressed when we turn our attention to cities embedded in different political systems. Which state should we consider? What were the prerogatives of citizenship in those cities in which the rule of a lord or a king was supposed to be applied alongside a well-developed system of self-government? Who was the citizen supposed to serve? How could the existence of other political scales of power affect the legal definition of citizenship and who was actually regulating and controlling the access to citizenship? To what extent did different economic and political atmospheres entail different

72 Bowsky, “Medieval citizenship,” 238.
cultural perceptions in regard to individual reputations as well as acceptance and rejection processes?

New research laboratories are needed to solve these questions. Late Medieval Barcelona’s complexity makes it a perfect space for study. As the leading city of the crown of Aragon, Barcelona was part of a confederation of diverse kingdoms which included Aragon, Valencia, Mallorca, and the principality of Catalonia. The Mediterranean expansion of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries added the strategic islands of Sicily and Sardinia. Next came the duchy of Athens and Neopatria and finally the kingdom of Naples during the reign of King Alfons the Magnanimous (1416-1458).

This chapter will consider in detail and from a variety of perspectives the potential of early fifteenth-century Barcelona as a laboratory from which to reinterpret medieval citizenship. It will do so by presenting a contextual background that defines Barcelona as a political, social, and economic framework from which we can consider the relationships that Barcelonese established with their city.

**BUILDING POLITICAL INTERACTION:**

**THE URBAN POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE CROWN OF ARAGON (TWELFTH - FIFTEENTH CENTURIES).**

Cities emerged early in the history of the crown of Aragon as major actors constantly conditioning the politics and evolution of the monarchy. They became an important support for the king, who was in constant need of economic resources because of a perpetual state of war and expansion.

A clearer example of this early and strong interdependence can be seen in the major loan that 11 distinguished citizens of Barcelona gave to Count Ramon Berenguer IV in 1148 with the purpose of helping him conquer the city of Tortosa. In return, the lenders would integrate themselves into Barcelona’s incipient local administration and recover their money by controlling and managing the tax system and the public services of the city. The importance of this agreement needs to be underlined: besides representing the first collective action undertaken by a group of so-called

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Citizens of Barcelona,\textsuperscript{74} it clearly suggests the early induction of the elite, here in the form of the 11 distinguished citizens, into the ruling system of the city. This is one of the first references to the figure of the citizen of Barcelona, which, at this early date, seemed to be closely identified with the notable and powerful inhabitants of the city.

In short, the events of 1148 are a good example of the fact that the city did not hesitate to get economically involved in the expansion of the crown: in turn, the monarchy tended to disregard its own prerogatives regarding the control of urban centres. Such agreements should be considered as the initial steps of a process leading to the construction of strong municipalities, although always with the approval of the monarchs themselves. The progressive emergence of other strong urban powers within the principality of Catalonia needs to be noted together with Barcelona, particularly those of Perpignan, Lleida, and Girona.

Within this process, the first important institutionalisation of the city’s power was in the form of the consulate, which emerged around the second half of the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{75} Drawing on governmental forms developed in the Italian city–states,\textsuperscript{76} the consulate was an attempt to overcome the traditional assemblies of neighbours that had formed rudimentary forms of urban organisation,\textsuperscript{77} thereby settling on a more effective and organic administration of the city. The establishment of consulates in Cervera in 1182, in Vic between 1175 and 1185, and in Lleida and Perpignan in 1197 illustrates the generalisation of this institution throughout the whole principality of Catalonia.\textsuperscript{78} Consuls were first mentioned in Barcelona in 1183.\textsuperscript{79} However, Catalan consulates turned out to be much less stable than in the south of France or in the Italian cities. They appeared much later than in these other Mediterranean areas and

\textsuperscript{74} Montagut, “La societat de Barcelona,” 184.
\textsuperscript{75} Joan F. Cabestany i Fort, “La institucionalització del govern municipal al segle XIII,” in \textit{El govern de les ciutats catalanes}, eds. I. Rodà et al., (Barcelona: Edicions de la Magrana, 1985), 53.
\textsuperscript{76} Font i Rius insisted on downplaying the importance of Italian and French influences in the emergence of Catalan consulates. In his view, this influence is to be valued in terms of ‘form’ rather than in its substance, since Catalan towns and cities had developed inner and autonomous forms of organisation. Josep Maria Font i Rius, “Orígenes del régimen municipal de Cataluña,” in \textit{Estudis sobre els drets i les institucions locals en la Catalunya Medieval. Col·lectània de treballs del Professor Dr. Josep Maria Font i Rius amb motiu de la seva jubil·lació acadèmica}, (Barcelona: Publicacions i Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 1985), 304-305 and Josep Maria Font i Rius, “Génesis y manifestaciones iniciales del régimen municipal en Cataluña,” in \textit{Estudis sobre els drets i les institucions locals}, 588-589.
\textsuperscript{77}Font i Rius, “Génesis y manifestaciones,” 584-587.
disappeared in a rather mysterious and sudden way within the first decades of the thirteenth century. They were, in the poetic words of Philip Daileader, ‘vanishing consulates’: Barcelona’s consuls were last mentioned in 1219.80

The existence and experience of the Catalan consulate is confusing, mainly because of a lack of sources. Josep Font Rius understood the mysterious fate of consulates as a very natural process. From his perspective, the consulate was a royal attempt to reorganise urban administration. However, it was a gesture for which townspeople were still not prepared. More recently, Daileader has provided a different interpretation of the phenomenon. Relying strongly on his detailed research on the case of Perpignan, the only city to see the revival of its own consulate in the thirteenth century, Daileader allotted stronger agency to the inhabitants of royal cities. In his view, consulates were precisely a result of townspeople’s initiative, as they wanted to ensure their rights against the aggressive feudal nobility. After the royal Peace (1173),81 a royal institution created with exactly the same aim, the existing consulates became a symbol of the autonomy that cities had managed to attain and thus a severe limit on the king’s prerogatives over these urban centres, some of which were flourishing commercial crossroads. Therefore, it was the king’s will which dictated the disappearance of consulates.82

Nonetheless, the commercial potential of these cities and the economic help they continuously provided in ongoing processes of conquest determined the emergence of new institutions later on. Always in concert with the monarchy, these new structures were to become the strong municipalities that ruled the main cities of the crown of Aragon in the Late Middle Ages. The Council of the Hundred in Barcelona (1249), the Paeria of Lleida, (1264), and the Council of the Eighty in Girona (1345) were born in similar circumstances and achieved the same goal: they gave urban communities a more powerful legal status. However, these cities experienced this general process in their own particular and specific ways. In Lleida, the transition from

81The royal Peace has been defined as an institution aimed at perpetuating and generalising throughout the principality of Catalonia agreements such as the Truce of God and the Peace of God through which feudal violence was restricted and the protection of particularly vulnerable groups (widows, peasants etc.) was ensured in specific places and for defined periods of time. On the royal Peace, see for instance, Daileader, True Citizens, 76.
the consulate to the *paeria* was a fluid one, making it difficult to distinguish between these two institutions. As a result, the *universitas* of Lleida acquired a very clear legal status. In contrast, the Council in Girona emerged surprisingly late.\(^{83}\)

Be that as it may, it must be noted that these new organs always remained under the supervision of the monarchy: in many cases, royal representatives (i.e. the so-called *batlle* and *veguer*) were closely linked to these Councils. They also had a much larger geographical scope than consulates since they were spread throughout the whole principality. As the consulate morphed into the Council, more complex relationships between the crown and its cities developed during the second half of the thirteenth century. Representative institutions were formed by a restricted group of councillors using executive power while a larger group of members possessed a more advisory function.\(^{84}\)

These processes constitute the background within which the progressive rise of the Barcelonese Council of the Hundred as one of the main institutions of the principality of Catalonia can be understood. It was a process completed by the end of the fourteenth century.\(^{85}\)

**ON THE FEATURES OF URBAN INSTITUTIONAL ORGANISATION:**

**AN APPROACH TO THE ROLE AND DYNAMICS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE HUNDRED**

*(1249 TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY).*

King James I (1213-1276) oversaw the emergence and spread of urban Councils throughout the second half of the thirteenth century. This was particularly true for the case of Barcelona, where the municipal institutions were shaped by the Conqueror for more than 25 years.\(^{86}\) Two royal privileges were granted to the city in 1249. Through


\(^{86}\)Bensch, *Barcelona*, 288: ‘El rei Jaume I va forjar les institucions municipals de Barcelona amb cura i deliberació durant més d’un quart de segle.;’ Tomàs de Montagut i Estragués, “Els origens de la
them, the monarchy defined the composition and prerogatives of the institution that would rule the city for more than four centuries. The king decided to make a select group of four ‘men of peace’ (paciarii in Latin, from which the Catalan word paer is derived) the foundations of power in the city. Positioned as the major urban magistrates of the city, the paciarii were in charge of selecting a larger assembly which would help them in their task, most specifically by electing their successors at least once a year. In the words of Stephen Bensh, these first privileges established the pillars of Barcelona’s municipal constitution.

By the end of the century, the number of magistrates had risen to five. Their name too changed, from paers to consellers (councillors). Furthermore, it was clearly established that they would be elected by a commission of 12 members (la dotzena electora) to be drawn from the larger advising assembly, the composition of which was fixed at 100 members.87 These 100 individuals were supposed to represent Barcelona’s socio-professional groups (citizens (ciutadans), merchants (mercaders), and artisans (menestrals)), thereby giving a voice to the diverse concerns and requirements of the city. These final features were established by the privilege granted to the city in 1274. The Council of the Hundred was then born. The final fundamental piece in the legal construction of the municipality came with the granting of the privilege Recognoverunt Proceres, which guaranteed the perpetual validity of the rights and customs of Barcelona (1284). As we shall see, this privilege has traditionally been considered as a cornerstone in the city’s history, fixing the legal, political, social, and economic features from which the influence and autonomy of the municipality later developed.88

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88 Guillem Maria de Brocà, Historia del derecho de Cataluña, especialmente del civil y exposición de las instituciones del derecho civil del mismo territorio en relación con el código civil de España y la
The Council of the Hundred received diverse prerogatives from the monarchy. In the first stages, the Council, especially the councillors themselves, did not really take advantage of the whole range of rights and prerogatives with which they had been entrusted. The municipal institution of Barcelona was acting first and foremost as a financial organ devoted to satisfying the necessities of the crown. The Council could rapidly rely on significant communal funds, which continued to be a major resource for the monarchy in covering the cost of its military endeavours. These mechanisms were particularly clear in the case of Barcelona since it, in Bensh’s words, would soon become one of the most precious treasures of the monarchy.

In return for these constant loans, the city and its authorities progressively became more and more autonomous in regard to the management of their resources. As a result, a tax system controlled by the Council, and by the councillors in particular, emerged. The evolution of these new fiscal policies was a fundamental turning point in the history of both the city and the crown, as it determined the appearance of a completely new model of ‘state taxation,’ based on a powerful municipality which subsidised the monarchy rather than being blindly subjected to its economic demands. The balance of power between the city and the crown changed, thereby conditioning relationships between the individual and the political community and in the process contributing to the construction of new urban identities, the citizen foremost among them. In broader terms, the economic and political autonomy of municipalities needs to be understood within the emergence of a new model of general taxation in Catalonia. Following a process started in the late thirteenth century, fiscal pressure on the whole territory was strictly negotiated between the king and the three estates composing the Parliament (Corts) and could only be justified on grounds of the common good and protection of the whole principality. While the military threats of the late thirteenth century met these conditions and resulted in generous donations to

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the king, the conflicts in which the monarch engaged in the first decades of the fourteenth century (Sardinia) were considered dynastic enterprises and were therefore not officially financed by the Corts. It was in this context that the monarch had to intensively address those towns and cities under his royal jurisdiction.92

The progressive emergence of a system of self-finance in the towns and cities of the crown of Aragon is a well-known phenomenon that has been deeply studied by scholars such as Manuel Sánchez and Pere Ortí.93 Direct taxes were already being imposed at the end of the thirteenth century in order to satisfy the demands of the crown (quëstia) or to push the inhabitants of the city to participate in covering the city’s expenses (servitium vecinale).94 From the second third of the fourteenth century, indirect taxes levied on food, wine, and many other market commodities appeared (imposicions). They were to be paid by all those inhabiting and frequenting the city. With the abolition of the direct royal tax in Barcelona in 1299,95 these indirect impositions became fundamental in subsidising the crown. Consequently, they steadily increased and became more and more complex.96 Later, the fiscal autonomy of the municipality was clearly consolidated by the constant emission of public debt (censals and violaris). This final resource was massively exploited, leading to the collapse of urban finances at the end of the fourteenth century. Despite slight recoveries, the economic stability of the municipal structures was deeply challenged from that moment on and remained embattled throughout the whole fifteenth century.

The progressive emergence of such a complex system of self-finance in Barcelona strengthened the political influence of the municipality, paving the way forwards to consolidated municipal autonomy.97 By the end of the fourteenth century, the Council of the Hundred controlled the diverse sources of urban power. However, the most impressive mark of the municipality’s influence by far was the creation of a

93Manuel Sánchez Martínez, El naixement de la fiscalitat d’Estat a Catalunya. (ss XII-XIV), (Vic: Eumo, 1995); Ortí, Renda i fiscalitat.
95Ortí Renda i fiscalitat, 591.
96Broussolle, “Les impositions municipales de Barcelone de 1328 à 1462.”
public bank in January 1401, branded the first of its kind in the Western Mediterranean.\textsuperscript{98} The \textit{Taula de Canvi} emerged as an original solution to face the acute problems raised by increasing public debt.\textsuperscript{99} It shows the flexibility and the ability of the Council to adapt to new circumstances and the evident economic and institutional independence that it had attained.\textsuperscript{100}

It is mainly through the study of fiscal policies that scholarship has dealt with the unquestionable transmission of urban power from the monarchy to the Council of the Hundred that took place in the fourteenth century. This process was so acute that it is more appropriate and rigorous to consider Barcelona a ‘collegiate lordship’ rather than a simple ‘royal lordship.’\textsuperscript{101} However, it is important to remember that Barcelona always remained a royal city which, interestingly, was completely submerged in a fascinating duality regarding its structures of power.

The birth of a ‘collegiate lordship’ corresponded to the consolidation of a few powerful families, whose members would always manage to have a high level of representation in the Council, thereby governing the city \textit{collegially} with the monarchy. The emergence of Councils entailed the creation of very close ties between the most powerful and wealthiest citizens of Barcelona and the crown. From this privileged position, a few families managed to impose a monopoly, establishing an oligarchic form of government.

These families (the Grony, Gualbes, Marquet, and Llul, among others)\textsuperscript{102} rapidly monopolised both the positions of councillors and those of royal representative

\textsuperscript{98}Ortí, “El Consell de Cent,” 46 ‘I, en l’àmbit institucional i econòmic, el canvi més espectacular fou la creació l’any 1401 de la Taula de Canvi – remarquem-ho –, el primer banc públic europeu, màxima expressió de l’autonomia fiscal i financera del municipi barceloní.’


\textsuperscript{100} Ortí, “El Consell de Cent,” 46.

\textsuperscript{101} Ortí, “El Consell de Cent,” 24.

officials. In so doing, the system proposed and approved by the monarchy back in the thirteenth century was progressively perverted. Although the five councillors forming the Conselleria were supposed to execute the decisions taken by the members of the Council of the Hundred (which was, in fact, a larger assembly composed of the probi homines of the diverse socio-professional sectors of the city), these councillors exerted an almost complete control on government, supervising its important prerogatives: police and public order, communal services, justice, morality, streets, hospitals, public works, and water supplies, among many others. The creation of a smaller Council in 1325, the Council of the Twenty-Five, confirmed this tendency. Certainly, this new Council was supposed to make negotiations easier by reducing the number of members of the advisory assembly on some occasions, but it was actually restricting the voice of the other social sectors present in the Council of the Hundred. The number of members in this reduced Council was raised to 30 in 1387. Ultimately, the supposed representativeness of the municipal institution was strongly challenged and the influence of the king deeply questioned.

Very early on, this situation encouraged social riots and revolts: although they were easily quelled to begin with, such outbreaks of violence were an early sign of the conflicts hiding in Barcelona’s society. It is worth mentioning the revolt led by Berenguer Oller in 1285. A man of low social status, Oller was able to rally a large proportion of the humble craftsmen of the city to fight against both the royal and the municipal authorities and take control of the city. King Peter the Great (1276-1285) managed to easily suppress the revolt, which needs to be understood within a context of famine and war. However, it was also profoundly influenced by the political influence that a few families were only just beginning to exert. Similar uprisings took place throughout the whole fourteenth century, more specifically within contexts of famine, epidemics, and shortage of cereals, like in 1334 for instance. Carme Batlle generally defined these riots as revolts against the rich, who were accused of controlling and monopolising the supply of cereals. Although the terms used by Batlle

103Batlle in Batlle, Ferrer, Mañé, Mutgé, Riera, Rovira, El ‘Llibre del Consell’, 30.
104Sadurní and Salrach in Risques, Història de l’Ajuntament, 89.
105Sadurní and Salrach in Risques, Història de l’Ajuntament, 56-57; Batlle, La crisis social y económica, 36-44.
106Batlle, La crisis social y económica, 49.
may seem excessively categorical, they make evident the sort of double dynamic that was taking place in Barcelona at that time. As we have seen, while the municipality was progressively consolidating a powerful degree of political and fiscal autonomy, social tensions gradually increased, becoming more and more acute and profoundly polarising society.

A double front, social and royal, was developed against the oligarchic monopoly. Although based on fiscal interaction, the political autonomy achieved by the municipality, fully consolidated by the last third of the fourteenth century, certainly did not always please a monarchy jealous of its prerogatives. This became particularly clear under the rule of King Peter the Ceremonious (1336-1387) who, empathising with the concerns of the large majority of Barcelona’s inhabitants, tried to impose a reform to defend the supposedly representative character of the Council of the Hundred. To this end, he aborted the elections of new councillors and members of the Council that were supposed to take place, as usual, at the end of November. Instead, on 8 December 1386, he appointed five new councillors as well as a new advisory assembly of 12 members. In so doing, Peter the Cerimonious challenged the hegemony of the oligarchy, since he specified that no hierarchy should be established between the five councillors who were, moreover, no longer chosen among the wealthiest and most distinguished families of the city. Likewise, the composition of the new advisory assembly has been considered ‘revolutionary’ by some scholars, since it not only included two members of the oligarchy, but also two merchants, four artists (high qualified craftsmen and representatives of the more ‘liberal’ professions such as doctors, notaries, and jurists), and four artisans. The intention was clear. Power in the city should no longer be exclusively controlled by the oligarchical families.

Nonetheless, King Peter died a few weeks later, on 5 January 1387. The oligarchy of Barcelona easily gained the support of his successor, John the Hunter (1387-1397), who had been strongly opposed to his father for a long time due to internal dynastic matters. The new king rapidly cancelled his father’s reform and dictated new regulations on the process of elections, trying to pacify the city by slightly

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107 On the different forms of opposition to the rise of the oligarchy in Barcelona, see Amelang, Honored Citizens, 28.
108 Sadurní and Salrach in Risques, Història de l'Ajuntament, 92.
109 Sadurní and Salrach in Risques, Història de l'Ajuntament, 92.
controlling the excesses of the oligarchy whilst also ensuring their traditional privileges.\textsuperscript{110} The support shown by the monarchy to the ruling oligarchy of the city was not unique to Barcelona. On the contrary, it was a general movement that affected other cities of Catalonia like Girona, where the hopes of popular elements that had also managed to achieve some political representation were abruptly dashed.\textsuperscript{111}

Under these circumstances, Barcelona fell into an atmosphere of frustration and uncertainty, within which the last dramatic popular uprising of the fourteenth century needs to be contextualised. In August 1391, the Jewish quarter of the city was brutally attacked.\textsuperscript{112} As a result of penury, epidemics, stricter taxation, and a drop in wages, Barcelona’s society was polarised, exhausted, and dissatisfied. In such a situation, it turned against Jews as a scapegoat on whom it could unleash its fury. Thus, the revolt had a social and popular content that needs to be underlined. Moreover, it also had an important cultural impact. As a permeable and fluid society, such a dramatic episode left a deep scar on the Barcelonese, who became, according to some scholars, more socially closed off, a fact demonstrated by the subsequent adoption of many anti-Semitic policies.\textsuperscript{113}

Despite these events, neither the social riots nor the few intended reforms questioned the power and influence of the oligarchy,\textsuperscript{114} under the control of which the Council of the Hundred as a municipal institution achieved a much more complex form of organisation. New municipal posts and offices were created so that no aspect in the economic and social life of the city could escape the control of the authorities. The appearance of these new positions was progressive and implied sharp reductions in the authority of the crown’s representatives. In brief, it was another clear mark of the influence and executive power that the monarchy was losing to the advantage of the Council. To a certain extent, these new officials were charged with ensuring that the law dictated by the Council was generally respected. Although the very first privileges

\textsuperscript{110}Batlle in Batlle, Ferrer, Mañé, Mutgé, Riera, Rovira, \textit{El 'Llibre del Consell'}, 23.
\textsuperscript{111}Batlle, \textit{La crisis social y económicà}, 99-100.
\textsuperscript{112}Sadurní and Salrach in Risques, \textit{Història de l'Ajuntament}, 92-93; Batlle, \textit{La crisis social y económicà}, 104-131.
\textsuperscript{113}Sadurní and Salrach in Risques, \textit{Història de l'Ajuntament}, 93.
\textsuperscript{114}Sadurní and Salrach in Risques, \textit{Història de l'Ajuntament}, 97.
already gave legislative capacity to the Council, sources suggest that it was only well into the fourteenth century that this important prerogative really began to be used.

One of the first municipal offices to appear was the notary of the Council (1286), a post held for life. In 1301, it was decided to create an official in charge of controlling the urban space of the city (obrer). Among the most important functionaries of the city were those that guaranteed the proper collection of taxes (racionals, oidors de comptes). The oidors were usually merchants and their number was raised to three in the 1430s. The mostassaf appeared at the same time. An Islamic import originating from the conquered kingdom of Valencia, this official was in charge of ensuring that the rules of the market were respected. The need for a treasurer (clavari) who could manage the communal funds of the Council was also rapidly filled in 1341. Of high importance were the advocates of the city, who acted as technical advisors to the councillors. Their knowledge was considered to be precious, as a result of which they acted as representatives of the city in some Parliaments and were rewarded with salaries as high as those of the councillors.115

Many of these functionaries had their own notaries, thus creating actual offices through which the Council, and the councillors in particular, ensured their social and economic control over the city. Important offices such as the clavari were subjected to strong practices of enforcement. Indeed, as a treasurer, the clavari held one of the most important municipal offices. He was therefore compelled to begin his term by providing a deposit which guaranteed good practices in the management of the Council’s finances. After reporting on his activities every four months, he was subjected to a final examination at the end of his term.116 Once a year, the Council also assessed the election of the two consuls of the sea (cònsols de mar), who were the leaders of the ‘guild’ containing merchants and other maritime professionals (consolat de mar). Created in the last third of the thirteenth century but restructured in the mid-fourteenth century, this institution held maritime jurisdiction and became a crucial

115On the new charges that were progressively created by the Council, see Batlle in Batlle, Ferrer, Mañé, Mutgè, Riera and Rovira, El ‘Llibre del Consell’, 25-31.
organ in the daily economic life of a city rightly known as a dynamic commercial centre.\textsuperscript{117}

Municipal acts and many other sources have been lost for the first 20 years of the fifteenth century. To a certain extent, it can be assumed that the features described above were still defining the organisation and development of the Council of the Hundred during the first decades of the 1400s. Certainly, it is clear that the triumph of the oligarchy and its alliance with the crown was not seriously questioned until the second and third decades of the century, when the pressure of powerful merchant groups and new riots pushed the city’s municipal structure into introducing internal reforms.\textsuperscript{118} This process needs to be understood as part of the progressive consolidation of a popular party that included some merchants, artists, and artisans (\textit{La Busca}), which took control of the government in 1453. Although the opposition between this party and the oligarchy (\textit{La Biga}) constantly developed throughout the first half of the fifteenth century, it was only in the 1450s that a confrontation dramatically erupted. Such events turned Barcelona into one of the principal stages of the Catalan Civil War (1462-1472), a broader conflict that questioned the sovereignty of the Castilian Trastámara dynasty, elected in 1412 after the death of the childless Martin the Humane (1397-1410). The estates of the Parliament, urban oligarchies among them, led a war against the king, claiming that the recently enthroned monarchy betrayed the laws and traditions of Catalonia, which were closely identified with their own interests.\textsuperscript{119} Previous balances and alliances were drastically broken.

To push the analysis of Barcelona’s citizenship into the period of the war could result into a fascinating study. On the one hand, it would help us to understand how belonging was actually felt in a completely divided city. On the other, it could also aid the analysis of the extent to which the duties of the citizen were transformed, and even manipulated, within a context where the loyalty supposedly due to the king by his city was deeply questioned and discussed. However, these issues will not be

\textsuperscript{117}On the consolat de mar: Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, “El consolat de mar i els consolats d’Ultramar, instrument i manifestació de l’expansió del comerç català,” in L’expansió catalana a la Mediterrània a la Baixa Edat Mitjana, eds. M.T Ferrer i Mallol and D. Coulon, (Barcelona: CSIC, 1999), 53-79.

\textsuperscript{118}Batlle, \textit{La crisis social y econòmica}, 144.

covered in this dissertation, in part due to problems of source sufficiency. While the Informaciones de la Ciudadania have been conserved for the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, nothing similar has been preserved for later periods. Furthermore, I insist here in presenting the earlier stage as fundamental in understanding citizenship in Late Medieval Barcelona. The more regular nature of this period makes it a useful basis from which to explore the evolution and various uses of citizenship. It will also be easier to undertake comparative analysis with other cities of the crown and even with cities of Mediterranean Europe.

**Living in the Cities under the Rule of the King of Aragon:**

**Considering Barcelona’s Main Social and Economic Features (Fourteenth-Fifteenth Centuries)**

Francesc Eiximenis (ca. 1330-1409), a key figure in medieval Catalan literature, understood the urban society of his times as divided into three distinct groups: the mà major, which referred to the patriciate of the city, the mà mitjana, composed of merchants, and, finally, the mà menor, which contained all sort of occupations and represented more than 80 per cent of the population. This social scheme is easily applicable to the majority of the cities of the crown of Aragon. It was, at least, clearly valid for Barcelona and Valencia, which were the cities Eiximenis knew and admired the most.120

The origins of the patriciate, generally called honoured citizens, are to be found in those burghers who became rich mainly through profitable commercial practices. Little by little, they evolved into a rentier class with considerable fortunes at their disposal (honor means rent in medieval Catalan).121 As has already been seen, they achieved almost complete control over the Council of the Hundred in Barcelona, although they scarcely represented 10 per cent of the population. Unquestionably

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120Eiximeni’s quote is commonly commented upon by those scholars examining urban social features in the crown of Aragon. For instance, Batlle in Batlle, Ferrer, Mañé, Mutgé, Riera and Rovira, El ‘Llibre del Consell,’ 33; Carme Batlle i Gallart and Joan Jordi Busqueta i Riu, “Distribució social i formes de vida,” in Història de Barcelona, ed. J. Sobrequés i Callicó, (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1992), 94. For Valencia: Narbona, “Orígenes,” 21.

121Batlle in Batlle, Ferrer, Mañé, Mutgé, Riera and Rovira, El ‘Llibre del Consell,’ 33; Batlle and Busqueta in Sobrequès, Història de Barcelona, 96-97; Vinyoles, La vida, 97.
powerful from an economic and political point of view, they were not clearly defined from a juridical perspective and ‘occupied an ambiguous position within local society prior to the sixteenth century.’ Consequently, neither the sources nor the historiography makes regular use of the term ‘honoured’ when referring to the oligarchy of the city, which is simply identified as the group of ‘citizens’ sitting in the Council. Certainly, the political and social figure of the honored citizen would not be officially recognised until the sixteenth century with the elaboration of a clear list of the members of the oligarchy (*Matrícula de Ciutadans Honrats, 1510*). In the Late Middle Ages, the term ‘honoured’ existed but was not systematically used to identify the oligarchy: it could also have a moral meaning, designating those who were accomplished and honourable members of the community.

A rather striking ambiguity in the use of the term ‘citizen’ is therefore revealed in the sources. The same word ‘citizen’ could be used to refer to the political state that shaped the oligarchy of the city (municipal acts), although it clearly had a much larger scope in other type of sources (notarial, for instance) wherein merchants, craftsmen, and peasants were identified as citizens. More importantly, the historiography has reproduced this confusing usage from the sources without considering the very diverse identities being designated. This problem remains at the core of the dissertation, suggesting the polysemous approach Barcelonese society developed towards citizenship.

The mà mitjana collected together those praised by Eiximenis as the main economic actors of the city, that is to say, the merchants. Due to its strategic position on Mediterranean trade routes, Barcelona attracted a great number of merchants. Among them were Catalan dealers and dynamic foreign traders. The activities of Barcelonese merchants were predominantly concentrated on trading

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123 An exception, Carme Batlle recognised lately the ambiguities of these terms. Batlle in Batlle, Ferrer, Mañé, Mutgé, Riera and Rovira, *El ‘Llibre del Consell,’* 33.
124 Vinyoles, *La vida*, 98.
cereals, spices, cloth, and slaves.\textsuperscript{126} It was, however, a highly heterogeneous group. Some merchants were members of the wealthiest families of the city and were interested in becoming part of the oligarchy in order to reach influential political positions.\textsuperscript{127} On the other hand, a significant number of craftsman, sailors, and other members of the so-called \textit{mà menor} tried to widen the scope of their professional activities so as to become merchants themselves. It can be assumed that citizenship played a major role in both processes. The fiscal exemptions that the citizenship charter entailed pushed many of these merchants to acquire it, while the social reputation of the citizen was surely necessary to successfully complete any social and professional ascension. From this perspective, citizenship reveals itself as a cornerstone of urban development which needs to be studied globally in order to undertake a deeper analysis of the fluidity of this society, the study of which has traditionally been restricted to the three groups I have presented here.

The \textit{mà menor}, the last group mentioned by Eiximenis, referred to a wide range of professions, from the numerous notaries of the city to the large number of individuals practising dangerous and arbitrary professions dependent on the sea (i.e. fishermen, boatmen, sailors, skippers etc.). Within the Council, the group was split into two at the end of the fourteenth century: \textit{artists} (notaries, lawyers, doctors, painters) and \textit{artisans} (craftsmen practising a large diversity of activities).\textsuperscript{128}

Analysing the \textit{mà menor} is particularly interesting in the sense that it permits us to approach the miscellany of craftsmen coexisting in the streets of Barcelona, thereby taking into account the diversity of Barcelonese industry at the end of the Middle Ages. Despite their variety, Barcelonese professions were generally concentrated on the manufacture of textiles, leatherwork, and ironwork. As in many other European cities, professions in Barcelona were usually integrated into a system of confraternities in charge of granting their members social and economic protection in exchange for their collaboration. For instance, artisans working with leather, principally shoemakers, were associated with the brotherhood of St Mark, one of the oldest in the city. The

\textsuperscript{126}Vinyoles, \textit{La vida}, 98.
\textsuperscript{127}Batlle and Busqueta in Sobrequés, \textit{Història de Barcelona}, 100.
\textsuperscript{128}Batlle in Batlle, Ferrer, Mañé, Mutgé, Riera and Rovira, \textit{El ‘Llibre del Consell’}, 44.
brotherhood of St Eloi gathered a diversity of professionals working with iron.\textsuperscript{129} Since they clearly dealt with belonging and integration processes, the issue of confraternities and professional associations may become an important aspect to develop within this dissertation as it makes an attempt to define the exact impact of these important institutions in the definition of the condition of the citizen. Certainly, it has been demonstrated that these associations could have a highly significant influence when it came to accessing citizenship, as was the case in London, where candidates to citizenship had to have been previously integrated into one of the city’s ‘guilds.’\textsuperscript{130} However, a significant lack of analytical studies on these institutions both for Barcelona and Catalonia makes it difficult to analyse the role of corporations and confraternities in the practice and definition of citizenship.\textsuperscript{131} Besides craftsmen, the \textit{mà menor} also included a considerable number of individuals linked to more humble professions such as masonry and coastal activities. The city also hosted a significant number of peasants, concentrated in the peripheral neighbourhood of the \textit{Raval}.

As in many other parts of Europe,\textsuperscript{132} the flow of immigrants coming from the surrounding countryside played a crucial role in restoring the economic rhythm of the city after the devastating demographic effects of the Black Death.\textsuperscript{133} By the 1370s, a solid recovery seemed to have been attained.\textsuperscript{134} Yet, some of these immigrants developed violent behaviours that occasionally challenged public order, raising concerns among the city’s authorities.\textsuperscript{135}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{130}Riesenberg, \textit{Citizenship}, 110.
\item \textsuperscript{131}Although he looks at an earlier period, an important exception to this scholarly disinterest can be found in Antoni Riera i Melis, “La aparición de las corporaciones de oficio en Cataluña (1200-1350),” in \textit{Cofradías, gremios y solidaridades en la Europa medieval. Actas de la XIX Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella}, (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 1993), 285-319. In this article, Riera also refers to the poor state of research conducted in this field. Similar reflections on the topic can be found in Raufast, “E vingueren los officis.”
\item \textsuperscript{132}Paola Lanaro, “Corporations et confréries: les étrangers et le marché du travail à Venise (XVème-XVIIIème siècles),” \textit{Histoire urbaine} 21, 2008.
\item \textsuperscript{133}This is an aspect repeatedly mentioned in those works concerning medieval Barcelona. See, for instance, Vinyoles, \textit{La vida}, 78-79 and Albert García i Espuche and Manuel Guàrdia i Básols, \textit{Espai i societat a la Barcelona pre-industrial}. (Barcelona: La Magrana, 1986), 20-21. The effect of the plague in Barcelona has traditionally been shown by referring to the death of almost all the councillors that were in charge when it struck: only one of them survived. Batlle, \textit{La crisis social y económica}, 77.
\item \textsuperscript{135}Batlle, \textit{La crisis social y económica}, 82.
\end{itemize}
Within this context, establishing the limits of the civic community was not an easy task, as becomes particularly clear when examining the presence and integration of the peasantry in Barcelona. Aside from the presence of free peasants, prosperous and owners of their own land, Barcelona hosted serfs (*homs de remensa*) who deserted a ruined countryside in significant numbers, fleeing from the harsh abuse (*mal usos*) to which their lords subjected them. Such abuse became even more severe after the plague due to the obsession of the impoverished local nobility with guaranteeing the continuity of their farms (*masos*).  

Many serfs came to Barcelona in the knowledge that they could win their freedom there, provided they managed to stay in the city for a year and a day before being caught by their lords. They would then be entitled to become citizens of Barcelona. Their misfortunes placed the *remensas* at the core of the political practice of citizenship in Barcelona. On the one hand, the acceptance of *remensas* as citizens mirrors the city’s traditional hatred of the Catalan nobility, whose members were categorically excluded from the Barcelonese citizenry. However, as the thesis will explore, there is evidence that the city tried to stand aside from the conflicts between the *remensas* and their lords, undermining, if necessary, the former’s right to citizenship. Some elements that will be considered in this context are the alliances established between the city’s patriciate, the nobility, and the Parliament of 1432, which accepted that lords could proclaim the flight of their serfs in public fairs and markets.

As a criterion for the integration of serfs and the rejection of nobles, Barcelonese citizenship acquired new values intrinsically linked not only to the vicissitudes of the city but also with those of the surrounding principality, since these tensions between serfs and feudal lords later turned into an active conflict within the Catalan Civil War. The *Guerras de Remensa* (1462/1484) were another sign of traditional structures rising against the monarchy, which adopted a protective attitude.

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136 On the condition of serfs and the evolution of tensions into conflicts throughout the fifteenth century, see Jaume Vicens Vives, *Historia de los Remensas (en el siglo XV)*, (Barcelona: Ediciones Vicens Vives, 1978), 31 and following.

137 As was clearly stated in the privilege *Recogoverunt Proceres* granted to the city of Barcelona in 1283. For a detailed analysis of this privilege, see chapter II.

138 For instance, early regulations established that no member of the nobility should ever hold a municipal office. Batlle, in Batlle, Ferrer, Mañé, Mutgé, Riera and Rovira, *El 'llibre del Consell,'* 30.

towards servile peasantry in 1455. The war covered the Catalan countryside with blood. While the dissertation is not concerned with this later period, this historical perspective should nonetheless help us to perceive once again the importance of the first decades of the fifteenth century in regard to the analysis of citizenship, as it will be possible for this chronology to place citizenship within debates and negotiations that soon became vital for the social and political balance of the city and the principality of Catalonia as a whole.

Honoured citizens, merchants, craftsmen, maritime professionals, and peasants; rulers, inhabitants, citizens, and foreigners; they all coexisted within a complex and paradoxical economic framework that combined the pressure of public debt and the instability of prices and wages with an enduringly dynamic commercial pulse. As I stated in the introduction, Mario del Treppo strongly defended the continuous position of Barcelona and the Barcelonese merchants at the heart of Mediterranean trade during the first half of the fifteenth century. Among many other sources, his research was based on the registers of the Royal Patrimony, with which it was possible to reproduce in detail the major features of Barcelonese maritime traffic for the period 1418-1446. Del Treppo presented fifteenth-century Barcelona as a dynamic port in constant contact with areas as varied as Flanders, North Africa, and the East Mediterranean, where Catalan ‘nationes’ remained active. Furthermore, the presence of Italian merchants in the city, some of whom acted as representatives of the most active contemporary Tuscan companies, confirms that Barcelona stayed at the centre of commercial exchanges.

A brief reference to the merchandise that monopolised the activities of the merchants based in Barcelona gives a broader picture of the city’s scope as a dynamic

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140 Alphonse V the Magnanimous decreed the abolition of servitude in 1455. He was pushed into this action by Queen Mary, his wife and lieutenant in Catalonia, and Galceran de Requesens, her closest collaborator. This declaration provoked a violent reaction from the feudal nobility. See in Vicens, Historia, 56-59. On this issue, see also chapter III.
141 I referred to the historiographical debate on the Catalan crisis of the Late Middle Ages in the Introduction.
142 Del Treppo, Els mercaders, 31.
143 Del Treppo, Els mercaders, 15-116.
144 Carrère, Barcelona, 114-141.
145 Soldani, Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani, 20. However, as the author herself mentioned, the growing importance of Valencia as a major trade centre cannot be denied.
commercial centre.\textsuperscript{146} Imports seem to have been mainly focussed on spices (pepper, ginger, and cinnamon), which were preferably bought in the markets of Alexandria and Damascus. Other products like silk, silver, cotton cloth, and slaves were also purchased in the eastern markets. The island of Rhodes, for instance, seems to have hosted a particularly large number of Catalan merchants. In Chios, they managed to get involved in the copper trade. As Del Treppo affirmed, the eastern interests of merchants based in Barcelona were rather diverse and were not limited to spices.

Barcelona became a sort of redistribution centre, from where products originating in the whole principality and beyond were dispatched on an international scale, mainly to the eastern ports.\textsuperscript{147} Products from local Catalan agriculture (i.e. oil, honey, nuts, and saffron) found new commercial markets from Barcelona in ports like Alexandria, Chios, or Constantinople. In addition, Rhodes and Alexandria were often interested in the metals extracted from Catalan mines and in the silver industry of Barcelona, which was unquestionably one of the most active in the city.

The strong position reached by Catalan and, more specifically, Barcelonese trade needs to be more accurately contextualised from a political perspective. Access to Levantine markets was guaranteed to Catalan merchants by the political control that the crown of Aragon exerted over the so-called ‘insular diagonal,’ which consisted of the markets of the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, and Sicily. Del Treppo explained such a phenomenon by describing the so-called ‘spice road’ as a trade route made up of islands.\textsuperscript{148} Nonetheless, Del Treppo also insisted that this was a commercial strategy designed by Barcelonese traders as early as the first years of the thirteenth century. The successful expansion of the crown of Aragon in the Western Mediterranean, which reached its peak with the conquest of the kingdom of Naples by King Alphonse V the Magnanimous in 1442, consolidated, rather than created, a space brimming with commercial potential.

Paradoxically, the commercial dynamism of Barcelona coexisted with other, less opportune, economic conditions, including cereal shortages, problematic fiscal

\textsuperscript{146}Del Treppo, \textit{Els mercaders}, 68 and following.
\textsuperscript{148}Del Treppo, \textit{Els mercaders}, 15.
policies, public debt, monetary devaluations, and protectionism. For the period under consideration, the most serious of these internal economic difficulties was the increasing public debt contracted by the municipality, which had become one of the main financial resources of the Council of the Hundred. The emission of life rents (violaris) and perpetual bonds (censals) was common to other cities and towns of the principality but it became particularly massive in Barcelona. As early as 1361, the value of the pensions to be paid (20,000 lliures) corresponded to 50 per cent of the fiscal income of the Barcelonese municipality. In this context, the Council of the Hundred faced the urgent necessity of redefining its fiscal model at the end of the fourteenth century. The councillors convoked a commission in 1397, supposedly to examine and discuss the problem of indebtedness and the serious banking sector crisis: several of the city’s private banks had gone bankrupt in the last years of the fourteenth century. As previously mentioned, these proceedings resulted in the establishment of a public bank, the Taula de Canvi, which was inaugurated a few years later in 1401. The Taula was supposed to deal exclusively with the necessities of the municipality.

At the same time, the high competence displayed by Italian merchants pushed many Catalan merchants to develop a rather protectionist character. Mercantile pressure led the Council of the Hundred to repeatedly ask the monarchy to control the presence of foreign economic agents with severe regulations and expulsion decrees. The general expulsion of Italians from across the crown of Aragon, decreed by King Martin I in 1401, should be highlighted. The king thus submitted to intense pressure from Valencia and Barcelona, although he excluded from the decree the Genoese, Pisans, Italians who had established their household in Catalano-aragonese territory, and some Florentine merchants who possessed the king’s special protection (i.e. the representatives of Francesco di Marco Datini). However, the monarchy repealed the

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149 Jordi Morelló i Baget, Fiscalitat i deute public en dues viles del Camp de Tarragona: Reus i Valls, segles XIV-XV. (Barcelona: CSIC, 2001); Pere Verdés i Pijuan, ‘Per ço que la vila no vage a perdició’ La gestió del deute públic en un municipi català (Cervera, 1387-1516). (Barcelona: CSIC, 2004). For the case of Valencia, where the use of public debt seemed to be less abusive, see Juan Vicente García Marsilla, Vivir a Crédito en la Valencia medieval. De los orígenes del sistema fiscal al endeudamiento del municipio, (Valencia: Ediciones de la Universitat de València, 2002).
150 Ortí, Renda i fiscalitat, 638.
decree in the following year, instead forcing Italian merchants to pay a special tax for their commercial activities in the ports of the crown of Aragon \textit{(dret dels italians)}. Regardless, other expulsion decrees that date both from before and after 1401 imply that the crown of Aragon developed a sort of schizophrenic protectionist policy due to pressure from Barcelona and other main cities, one which condemned some foreigners to an ambiguous position.

Another constant worry of the municipal authorities of Barcelona was to guarantee wheat supplies, which were fundamental for controlling social discontent.\textsuperscript{152} To this end, the councillors developed all sorts of strategies aimed at ensuring supplies for the inhabitants of the city. Due to the impoverished state of the Catalan countryside, cereals were purchased in markets as far away as Aragon, Provence, Sardinia, Naples, and Tuscany. Ultimately, the authorities did not hesitate in developing a notable interventionism in wheat commerce. Controlling the import and distribution of wheat, they ultimately facilitated the oligarchy’s monopoly over these important supplies.

Public debt, protectionism, and cereal supply policies give a more detailed insight into some of the economic uncertainties threatening Barcelona in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Starting from this context, the dissertation will have to recreate the dialogue of citizenship, which was made up of the practice and exchange of rights, duties, exemptions, and obligations. While maintaining the \textit{Informacions de la Ciutadania} at the centre of the discourse, the following chapters will explore, from various perspectives and through numerous lenses, how citizenship was defined, experienced, and perceived in the fascinating, but contradictory and troubled, city of Barcelona, which in subsequent centuries was doomed to become ‘the Sleeping Beauty of the Mediterranean.’\textsuperscript{153}

\textsuperscript{152}Sadurní and Salrach in Risques, \textit{Història de l’Ajuntament}, 103.

\textsuperscript{153}Amelang, \textit{Honored citizens}, 23.
II

The Progressive Articulation of a Citizenship Law between the Monarchy and the Council of the Hundred 
(1249-1385) 154

INTRODUCTION.

Various pieces of evidence show that the term ‘citizen of Barcelona’ (civis Barchinone) predated the emergence of a proper urban government in 1249. I have already referred to the alliances established in 1148 between the Count Ramon Berenguer and 11 distinguished citizens of Barcelona within the context of the conquest of Tortosa. 155 In 1232, James I granted a privilege stating the fiscal exemptions that were due to the citizens and inhabitants of Barcelona. 156 However, it was generally during the municipal experience that medieval citizenship developed both as a juridical and cultural phenomenon that had the difficult task of controlling social coexistence, thereby safeguarding the common good. In approaching this process, it is first necessary to analyse the legal dimension of citizenship, recreating the progressive articulation of a citizenship law in Late Medieval Barcelona. 157 In this chapter, I will retrace the first steps in that direction by the monarchy and the Council of the Hundred throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In Barcelona and beyond, the legal definition of citizenship in the Middle Ages first needs to be understood within the new legal order emerging in Europe with the awakening of Roman law. With the consequent emergence of the lus Commune as an amalgamation of Roman civil law, canon law, and feudal law, endless discussions

155Miret, Los ciutadans.
157I borrow the idea and concept of ‘articulation of a citizenship law’ from Riesenberg, Citizenship, 120.
emerged on how to combine it with the particular sources of law developed in each area. In Catalonia, this ‘particular law’ (*dret propi*) included the privileges granted by the king as well as the the so-called *Usatges de Barcelona*, a body of feudal customs. Originating in Barcelona, they became applicable throughout Catalan territory. Other sources of ‘particular law’ were the laws (*Constitucions*) agreed to in the Parliament (*Corts*) between the three estates (men of the clergy, the barons, and towns’ representatives) and the king, and the ‘special’ law of each locality, whether municipal or baronial. The insistence of some monarchs on the predominance of local and intrinsic laws (*llei de la terra*) over the *Ius Commune* suggests that it was the latter that reigned supreme in reality: nonetheless, some local codes (in Lleida, for instance), stated the absolute pre-eminence of local custom, which was to be followed by Catalan laws (*the Usatges*). Roman law was put in last place.

From this complex myriad of legal sources, I will attempt to understand how precisely the specific law of Catalonia and Barcelona (i.e. royal privileges, the *Usatges de Barcelona*, and municipal law) progressively defined Barcelonese citizenship. In so doing, chapters II and III will analyse the role and interests of the main actors engaged in the definition of Barcelonese citizenship: the crown, the Council of the Hundred, and its councillors. Ultimately, the analysis will lead me to argue that it was in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries that citizenship in Barcelona clearly emerged, both from a social and an institutional perspective. Meanwhile, citizenship underwent a ‘formative period,’ throughout which the interests of the monarchy and the Council interplayed: at the same time, the Council was progressively establishing

158In the parliament of 1409, King Martin agreed to establish which legal codes would be applicable in Catalonia. Although he did not strictly insist on the order that should be followed, he actually mentioned Roman law as the last one. (CYADC, I, 1, 38,2). In 1422, Queen Mary openly declared that it was ridiculous not to take into consideration laws defined within Catalan territory and she commanded jurists to appeal to these particular laws before any other sort of legal code. (3ª CYADC, I, 2,4,1). To a certain extent, it might be thought that the queen’s insistence reflects the actual predominance that Roman law continued to enjoy. For both references: Aquilino Iglesia, *La creación del derecho. Manual. Una historia de la formación de un derecho estatal español* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 1996), 123-124. This tension on the application of either Roman or local law also took place in Castile: Félix Martínez Llorente, “El régimen jurídico de la vecindad medieval y las novedades del *Ius Commune*,” in *Las sociedades urbanas en la España Medieval. Actas de la XXIX Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella*, (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2003), 70. On the introduction and predominant practice of Roman law: Tomàs de Montagut i Estragués, “La recepción del Derecho Feudal Común en Cataluña. Notas para su estudio,” in *Estudios sobre Renta, Fiscalidad y Finanzas en la Cataluña Bajomedieval*, ed. M. Sánchez Martínez, (Barcelona: CSIC, 1993), 154.

159Antoni Cobos Fajardo, *Costums de Girona de Tomàs Mieres* (Girona: Associació d’Història Rural de les comarques Gironines, 2001), 21.
itself as one of the main legal and political institutions of the principality of Catalonia. It is this earlier ‘formative period’ that comes under study in this chapter.

**CITIZENSHIP UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE CROWN: EMERGENCE**

When dealing chronologically with the legal definition of Barcelonese citizenship, one should first refer to the *Usatges de Barcelona*. A set of regalian principles, the written compilation of the *Usatges* supposedly occurred before the mid-twelfth century. From the very beginning, this code underwent an interesting evolution that would eventually lead to its consolidation as the general law of Catalonia. With the emergence of the crown of Aragon and the expansion of the royal household of Barcelona, this code was expanded and the monarchy tried to apply it all over Catalonia as early as 1251. Although labelled as the ‘fundamental law of Catalonia’ by Donald Fagay, the expansion of the *Usatges* was not easily accepted.

One of the regulations included in this code, known as *Cives autem*, could be considered the earliest Catalan legal reference to the figure of the ‘citizen.’ This *usatge*, which is tenth in the collection, promulgated that the rights of those living in cities and their surroundings should be equal to those granted to knights, at least in terms of legal compensation: ‘Let citizens and burghers who litigate among themselves be judged and compensated as knights are. Moreover, let them be compensated by the ruler as *varvassors* are.’ Such a regulation should be closely connected to a

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161 Brocà, *Historia del derecho*, 173; Daileader, *True Citizens*, 53: ‘in 1251 James I ordered that the *Usatges* be observed throughout Catalonia.’

162 Daileader, *True Citizens*, 53. Daileader shows, for instance, that the application of the *Usatges* of Barcelona in Perpignan turned out to be problematic.

163 The ‘varvassor’ was the owner of a fief with jurisdictional prerogatives. His properties were, however, embedded within a larger fief and was thus always the vassal of a more influential and powerful lord. Thus, the figure of the ‘varvassor’ had a relatively low position within the feudal hierarchy of Early Medieval Catalonia. *Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana* (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2007).
feudal context. More specifically, it corresponds to a period during which the city was just beginning to emerge as a powerful economic centre. The terms ‘citizen’ and ‘burgher’ simply refer to those residing within the walls of the city, as well as those established in its surroundings. They were free men creating a new social reality which needed to be regulated and adapted to the feudal hierarchies. Thus, the word ‘townsmen’ used by Kagay in his translation seems to be much more appropriate than the literal translation I used a few lines above. In the Usatges, the citizen as such did not really acquire legal personality. Notwithstanding, the Usatge Cives autem is to be taken as the basis on which the most renowned jurists of medieval Catalonia built the first Catalan theory of indigeneity and citizenship.

As a royal source, this code makes evident the early interest that the monarchy developed in controlling the inhabitants of the cities under its jurisdiction. This interest, however, would not turn into a defining element of citizenship before the emergence of a new urban culture and the economic and politic structures it involved. It was only at this moment that medieval citizenship became an important phenomenon.

Such reflections push this chronological reconstruction well into the thirteenth century, when some initial attempts were made to define the figure of the citizen of Barcelona, always within a constant dialogue entertained between the new municipality and the king himself. In 1284, Peter the Great turned to Barcelona when in need of funding to face an international offensive aimed at dispossessing him of his domains. In exchange, the city requested and obtained the privilege Recognoverunt Proceres, through which the monarchy confirmed a long set of privileges previously granted to the city and, most importantly, gave them perpetual validity. Furthermore, the Recognoverunt also confirmed a series of new privileges required by the leading personalities of the city. In this, the monarch constantly referred to those citizens and inhabitants of Barcelona who he expected to be most interested in the

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165 Translation based on Kagay, The Usatges of Barcelona, 67. For the original text in Latin, see, for instance, Brocà, Historia del derecho, 144: ‘Cives autem et burgenses sint inter se iudicati atque emendati sicut milites: Ad potestatem vero sint emendati sicut vasvessores’.
166 Brocà, Historia del derecho, 211- 212.
new promoted regulations. Thus, in the very same privilege, he provided the first proper definition of the citizen of Barcelona, although the results of this act remained rather ambiguous.\textsuperscript{168}

More precisely, the \textit{Recognoverunt} established a stay of a year and a day in the city as the main prerequisite for becoming a citizen of Barcelona: ‘Anyone staying in the city for one year and one day is to be considered a citizen and the lord from the lordship where he came from will not be able to require for him anymore’\textsuperscript{169} (chapter 53). In so doing, the king decided to apply a common Germanic tradition rather than the Roman one, which established that citizen status should only be granted after 10 years of regular residence.\textsuperscript{170} The Roman tradition, repeatedly documented in Italian cities, was also applied in other cities of the crown of Aragon, su

The \textit{Recognoverunt} attracted many serfs seeking their freedom to the walls of the city. Increasing the number of free men was an obvious strategy of the monarchy to ensure its position in the traditional struggle it entertained with the principality’s feudal nobility. The monarchy seems to have perceived granting Barcelonese citizenship as a useful tool for subtly affirming its power. Bearing this context in mind, the royal privilege emerges as a possessory rule against traditional feudal law, an attempt to state the limits of possession, rather than a regulation on the acquisition of Barcelonese citizenship.\textsuperscript{171} Despite this, the \textit{Recognoverunt} constitutes a crucial backdrop against which this thesis seeks to clarify the origins of Barcelonese citizenship, starting with the analysis of the rights and duties of the citizen of Barcelona, the first definition of which was also included in this privilege.

To begin with, it was agreed that citizens were to be protected by royal officials from any injury or insult whatsoever.\textsuperscript{172} Secondly, the privilege established the

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{168}}\textit{Brocà, Historia del derecho}, 300 and following.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{169}}\textit{Udina, Privilegios} (CODOIN, vol XLIII), 11-12: ‘quicumque qui steterit in Barchinona per unum annum at unam diem quod habeatur pro cive et non potest peti a domino de cuius dominius fuit oriundus.’

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{170}}\textit{Roca, “Unde Cathalanus,”} 18-21. The stay of one year and one day as the main criterion to obtain citizenship was commonly respected in the cities of the German empire, where this regulation enabled many serfs to win their freedom within the walls of the city. See Thomas Szabó, “Gli stranieri nelle città tedesche del Medioevo,” \textit{Dentro la città. Stranieri e realtà urbana nell’Europa dei secoli XII-XVI}, ed. G. Rossetti, (Naples: Liguori, 1989), 69-93.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{171}}\textit{Roca, “Unde Cathalanus,”} 19.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{172}}\textit{Udina, Privilegios} (CODOIN, vol XLIII), 11: ‘Item quod aliquis qui fecerit injuriam corporalem alicui civi Barchinone non potest guidari quod veniat vel stet in Barchinona per vicarium vel per alium officialem domini regis, nisi paratus esset firmare jus vel alius consentiret cui injuria esset illata’ and Udina, \textit{Privilegios} (CODOIN, XLIII), 14: ‘Item, concedimus capitulum quod quolibet civis Barchinone possit
jurisdiction of the city as well as some fiscal prerogatives. In terms of jurisdiction, criminal matters were transferred to the city, which was not, however, directly identified with the Council, but rather with its patricians and citizens (*proceres et cives*). Although the privilege does not distinguish in any coherent way between patricians and citizens, it is worth noting that a distinction was made at all. The relationship between citizenry and oligarchies in the Middle Ages is a problematic one. In Valencia and Zaragoza, for example, citizenry was exclusively linked with the city’s oligarchs, which means that the term ‘citizen’ was commonly used when referring to a member of the oligarchy. When considering fifteenth-century Barcelona, the picture is somewhat different, in that it provides us with a much broader definition of citizenship, involving a larger part of those inhabiting the city. The *Recognoverunt* helps us to retrace these particularities back to the late thirteenth century.

In terms of taxation, the *Recognoverunt* gives precise data about the fiscal privileges of the citizens of Barcelona, indicating that they were free from paying some taxes affecting the daily market of the city. For instance, they were generally exempted from paying taxes on products such as leather. Peasants certainly found the exemption from tithe payments granted to citizens of Barcelona attractive. Many of these exemptions were approved in addition to those that had already been granted.

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173 Encarna Roca reminds us that chapter 107 of the *Recognoverunt* established that citizens of Barcelona could not be required by anyone, not even by the king, to litigate outside the walls of Barcelona. Roca, “Unde Cathalanus,” 35.

174 For Zaragoza: Enrique Mainé Burguete, *Ciudadanos honrados de Zaragoza. La oligarquía zaragozana en la Baja Edad Media (1370-1410)* (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2006), 14: ‘De hecho, la ciudadanía es la más inconfundible marca de identidad del patriciado zaragozano en el periodo de nuestro interés’ For Valencia: Narbona, *Orígenes*. The author insists here on the political role that the citizen was supposed to fulfil within the city council. To refer to those included in the civic community, enjoying some exemptions but also having some duties, the term ‘neighbour’ was used in these two cities, as well as in many cities of the neighbouring kingdom of Castile. Leopoldo Piles Ros, *La población de Valencia a través de los ‘Libres de avehinament’ 1400-1449*, (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1978); María de los Desamparados Cabanes Percourt, *Avehinaments (Valencia, segle XIV)*, (Valencia: Acció Bibliogràfica Valenciana, 2000). For Castile: Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 15-20.

175 Udina, *Privilegios* (CODOIN, XLIII), 13-14: ‘Item concedimus capitulum quod cives seu habitatores Barchinone non teneantur dare lezdam de choriis que in macellis Barchinone emerint, nisi sicut antiquitus est fieri consuetum.’

176 Udina, *Privilegios* (CODOIN, XLIII), 10: ‘Item quod cives Barchinone non dant decimas nec primicias de olivis nec fructibus aliquarum arborum nec primiciam etiam de fructibus vinearum a colle de Cudines usque ad riaram de Orta et a podio de Aquilari et a colle de Cerola usque ad mare’ See also Duran, *Apuntes*, 13.
by James I in 1232, which freed Barcelonese from paying commercial duties within the territory under royal jurisdiction.\footnote{Roser Salicrú i Lluch, \textit{El tràfic de mercaderies a Barcelona segons els comptes de la lleuda de Mediona (febrer 1434)} (Barcelona: CSIC, 1995), 12.}

Obviously, the citizen also had duties. The \textit{Recogoverunt} gives some first insights on a highly problematic distinction: the ambiguous one existing between the ‘citizen’ and the ‘inhabitant.’ The privilege stated that, while the ‘citizen’ was supposed to contribute services due to the city and the neighbourhood (\textit{serviciis vicinalibus}), the ‘inhabitant’ of Barcelona had to participate in royal services (\textit{serviciis regalibus}).\footnote{Udina, \textit{Privilegios} (CODOIN, XLIII), 14: ‘Item concedimus capitulum quod quilibet civis Barchinone solvat et contribuat partem sibi contingentem in serviciis vicinalibus, et inde non excusetur ratione alcius privilegii. Item concedimus capitulum quod quilibet habitator Barchinone, sive sit officialis sive francherius, contribuat in serviciis regalibus, partem sibi contingentem in eis, vel nos recipiamus ipsam partem in compoto nostro.’} This difference makes clear the level of involvement the citizen was expected to show towards the civic community of Barcelona. Although the privilege did not specify which responsibilities the so-called \textit{serviciis vicinalibus} entailed, analogies with other case studies suggest that these were labours mainly linked with the wellbeing of the city such as the protection and defence of its walls.\footnote{María Teresa Iranzo Muñío, “La formación del derecho local de Huesca y los Fueros de Aragón,” \textit{Aragón en la Edad Media} 8, (1989): 349.} These services also included the payment of taxes,\footnote{Ortí, \textit{Renda i fiscalitat}, 587.} to be regulated and controlled by the municipality. In contrast, the \textit{serviciis regalibus} were mostly direct taxes due to the crown (\textit{quèstia} or \textit{talla}). These royal taxes were still in force in the late thirteenth century but were soon abolished in Barcelona in 1299.\footnote{Ortí, \textit{Renda i fiscalitat}, 597: ‘Aquest privilegi tallava de soca-rel l’obligació ex debito de la ciutat a contribuir a les demandes de la monarquia.’}

Linked to more general duties, the ‘inhabitant’ could be considered as a separate legal status, as was the case in some Italian cities.\footnote{Bizarri, \textit{Ricerche}, 48-51.} It was a status with its own prerogatives but with substantially less prestige than that of the citizen. However, the text of the privilege itself suggests that distinctions were not so strong in the Barcelonese case, since the citizen was, first and foremost, an inhabitant of the city. As a result, he might have been subjected to a double fiscal regime, paying both the \textit{serviciis vicinalibus} and the \textit{serviciis regalibus}. Such an interpretation can be drawn from the following clause: ‘any inhabitant of Barcelona, whether an official or exempted,
should contribute in the royal services.’ The reference to exempted inhabitants might very well refer to those considered to be citizens. Even as early as the late thirteenth century, the figure of the citizen was already complex and problematic, defined as an inhabitant but also against the inhabitant. It is in terms of this backdrop that we have to understand the common clause ‘citizen and inhabitant of Barcelona.’

Despite being a rather ambiguous document, the importance of the Recognoverunt in the definition of citizenship cannot be questioned. Within the first years of municipal existence, the actions of the monarch pushed the definition of the citizen of Barcelona in new directions. The Recognoverunt presented a citizen who, besides being a fiscal figure, was also a social agent, closely linked to the common good through the services he was expected to render to the city and its government. Nevertheless, the legal definition remained surprisingly wide and flexible, often making it difficult to establish clear distinctions between citizens and inhabitants. Through the promulgation of such a privilege, however, Peter the Great and the probi homines of Barcelona to a certain extent demonstrated the emergence of a new concern for controlling the diverse identities of the city and, more specifically, for their coexistence and relationship with a power that was both municipal and royal. In so doing, the major questions and problems about citizenship were already raised: hierarchies, taxation, coexistence, rights, duties, and belonging. As it went far beyond the well-known residency prerequisite of a year and a day, Peter the Great’s privilege needs to be understood as the first serious attempt to begin articulating a citizenship law for Barcelona. Moreover, it makes evident to what extent the monarchy exerted an important degree of control over citizenship at this time. This can be easily confirmed by recalling that the citizenship charter was then granted by the king, as is shown by the oldest conserved citizenship charter of Barcelona (1283), given by Peter the Great to Dino Silvestre, a native of Lucca.  

183Francesc Carreras i Candí, La ciutat de Barcelona. Geografia General de Catalunya (vol III) (Barcelona: editorial Albert Martín, 1916, 525; Duran, Apuntes, 55. Interestingly, Dino Silvestre needed to have his rights and privileges as citizen of Barcelona confirmed by the Council of the Hundred in 1301, when he wanted to trade in Provence. To this end, letters were sent by the Council to both an Occitan seneschal and to the consul of the Catalans in Montpellier so as to ensure that Silvestre’s rights were respected. These letters were actually very similar to the citizenship charters the Council would usually register in its acts from the beginning of the fourteenth century onwards. In my view, the production of these other documents did not suppose that the citizenship charters granted by the king were invalid. Rather, it would suggest that an additional document was needed for those citizens who desired to benefit from
Towards a Municipal Citizenship

This tendency was quickly cut short when the Council of the Hundred began controlling acquisition of the citizenship charter, thereby dictating the access to citizenship. This is a process that needs to be put in parallel with the progressive transmission of power from the crown to the municipal structure throughout the whole fourteenth century. As early as 1302, the granting of citizenship charters began to be registered in the municipal acts of the Council (Llibre del Consell). These acts are seriously damaged: 50 years of documents have been lost for the period 1301 to 1433. Nonetheless, it still conserves 29 volumes, among which Coral Cuadrada has located several citizenship charters granted by the Council, mostly during the 1320s.

These charters were documents in which the Council of the Hundred (consiliarii et probi homines civitatis Barchinone) affirmed that a specific individual deserved to be officially recognised as citizen and inhabitant of Barcelona, enjoying, therefore, the set of fiscal exemptions granted by James I in his famous privilege of 1232. To such an end, the charters were generally addressed to a long list of royal officials and customs officers across all the kingdoms of the crown, so as to let them all know that the owner and bearer of the charter was a citizen of Barcelona. The original privilege of 1232 their rights and privileges in Provence, since this territory was definitely detached from the Crown of Aragon in 1259 (the treaty of Corbeil) but still included when James I granted fiscal trade exemptions to the citizens of Barcelona (1232). It was, therefore, an ambiguous question that needed, perhaps, to be individually regulated. For the letters confirming Dino Silvestre’s rights: Capmany, Memorias históricas, vol II.1, 97-98.

The municipal records of Barcelona are conserved in the Historical Archives of the City of Barcelona (AHCB) and are subdivided in three different documentary batches: 1) the Llibre del Consell, which is the book recording the different types of decisions taken by the Council of the Hundred and the Council of the Thirty during their meetings. It has 29 volumes and covers the period 1301-1433. 2) The Registre de Deliberacions are considered the actual municipal records for the period 1433-1714. It has 223 volumes. 3)The Registre d’Ordinacions could be defined as a specific type of municipal record wherein one can find the decisions of the Council in regards of the daily ruling of the city. It has 44 volumes and covers the period 1359- 1714. Riera, “Les fonts municipals,” 241-242.

Batlle in Batlle, Ferrer, Mañé, Mutgé, Riera and Rovira, El ‘Llibre del Consell,’ 14.

More specifically, this scholar found citizenship charters granted by the Council and registered in the Llibre del Consell for the following years: 1302, 1314, 1322-1327, 1333-1334, 1339, 1343, 1346, 1357 and 1358. See in: Coral Cuadrada Majó, “Barcelona (ss XIV-XV): Migracions, demografia i economia,” in El món urbà a la Corona d’Aragó de 1137 als decrets de Nova Planta. Actes del XVII Congrés d’Història de la Corona d’Aragó (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2003), 327.

As an example, I copy here the introduction of the charter granted to Bartomeu Mas in 1302:

"Venerabilibus et dilectis providis et discretis vicaris, baiulis, curiis, justiciis, judicibus, paciariis, juraciis, lezdaris, pedagiariis, alcaydis, salmenidis, consullibus, comunitatibus et probis hominibus Regni
was copied, as well as the confirmations of successive monarchs, in order to remind officials which rights and exemptions this condition entailed.

Although it remained closely linked to a royal privilege, citizenship had become a prerogative of the city. It should be admitted, however, that these sources do not really provide further information about how the actual process of requesting and receiving the citizenship charter worked at the beginning of the fourteenth century. On a hypothetical level, it could be supposed that there was some sort of system that permitted the candidates’ applications to reach the Council of the Hundred, where their acceptance as actual citizens was discussed, accepted, and inscribed in the municipal records book.

Two sorts of charters’ inscriptions can be found throughout the municipal acts of the Council. A minority were copies of the original document granted to the new citizen. These copies were usually followed by some brief notes which referred to the names, professions, and, occasionally, the origin of other individuals who had received a similar charter in the following days. For instance, the original copy of the charter granted in 1311 to Jaume Bonet, native of the town of Molins de Rei (about 20 kilometres away from Barcelona), was followed by brief references to charters also granted to Bernat Riquer, Guillem Puig, Guillem Puignercós (who was, interestingly, already identified as a citizen of Barcelona), Arnau d’Avinyó, and Guillem de Canyelles between June and October 1311. There is thus an imbalance, since almost no information was provided on those individuals whose charters were only briefly mentioned, while some basic data can be drawn from those whose charters were copied in their entirety. Nonetheless, this type of presentation confirms that the members of the Council had a systematic way of dealing with this process: this in turn implies that it was not rare or unusual, but rather fairly common.

Notwithstanding this general lack of information, Cuadrada used the charters included in the municipal acts deftly and managed to draw out the basic characteristics of those asking and receiving the citizenship charter of Barcelona in the first half of the

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188 AHCB, 1B I-2 (Llibre del Consell), ff 15r-16v.
189 Cuadrada, Barcelona, 327.
fourteenth century. According to her research, new citizens in that period were mainly native to the surroundings of Barcelona, which remained a common tendency well into the fifteenth century. She held that the professions of new citizens was the most striking fact, since they were chiefly artisans specialised in the leather and fur industries and butchers. Given the fiscal exemptions on trade that the citizenship charter provided, one would expect merchants to be the group most interested in acquiring it. However, many of these artisans and butchers were obviously also interested in gaining fiscal reductions that could lower the taxes on the products they wanted to introduce into the city’s markets. Moreover, the significant loss of volumes of municipal acts should be taken into account when trying to systematise these data.

Citizenship charters became rare in the municipal acts from the second half of the fourteenth century onwards.\textsuperscript{190} This phenomenon should not be linked to a dramatic drop in demand for the charter and acquiring the privileges of Barcelona. On the contrary, specific registers for the control of these concessions appeared from 1375 onwards. Rather, the disappearance of citizenship charters in these acts corresponds with the emergence of another sort of source that Cuadrada also used intensively in her analysis on migration and demography in fourteenth-century Barcelona: the privilege of \textit{habitatio}.\textsuperscript{191} These were short and concise documents in which the authorities of the city stated that a new inhabitant was legally accepted as a resident of the city. Take the following instance:

\begin{quote}
Saturday, 19th of December of the year of the Nativity 1360, Francesc de Montpedrós was accepted as inhabitant of the city of Barcelona. He promised and swore, as it is common to do. The witnesses were Francesc Morator, Bernat Colom, Gerard Prats, and Francesc Ferrer, notaries of Barcelona.\textsuperscript{192}
\end{quote}

As the example shows, privileges of \textit{habitatio} provide little information either about the characters involved or the nature of the process in itself. No reference to the origin and profession of the new resident is given. Most importantly, it is still difficult to understand from these sources what the inhabitant was actually supposed to be. The

\textsuperscript{190}Cuadrada, \textit{Barcelona}, 327.
\textsuperscript{191}Cuadrada, \textit{Barcelona}, 327-328.
\textsuperscript{192}\textit{Die Sabbati, nonadecima anno a Nativitate Domini MCCC sexagesimo, fuit receptus in habitatio civitatis Barchinone Franciscus de Montpedrós. Et promisit et juravit sub forma solita. Testes Franciscus Morator, Bernardus Colom, Gerardus Pratis et Franciscus Ferrari, scriptores Barchinone. AHCB, 1-B I, 21, (Llibre del Consell), f. 41r.}
documents are usually abridged, so it is difficult to establish what aspects new inhabitants were expected to promise and swear about. From later similar sources, I would argue that this promise was mostly linked to the payment of taxes and impositions.¹⁹³

The municipal acts bring up, as the Recognoverunt Proceres did, the potential difference between those accepted as citizens (who received citizenship charters) and those considered mere inhabitants (who had some specific duties to accomplish). Before being tempted to define again the ‘inhabitant’ as a juridical statute with fewer privileges and less prestige than the citizen, it is necessary to contextualise properly the emergence of these habitatio privileges. The 103 examples Cuadrada documented are clearly concentrated in the period 1349-1374, being particularly numerous in the 1360s.¹⁹⁴ This was a period in which migration to Barcelona from the surrounding countryside became massive, principally due to the effects of the Black Death. Subsequently, I would argue these privileges of habitatio reflect the necessity of controlling the arrival of migrants rather than awareness of an alleged juridical personality for the inhabitant. This interpretation makes even more sense when recalling the social problems that some of the more violent migrants created, as Carme Batlle has highlighted.¹⁹⁵

Cuadrada described in parallel the two types of sources I am trying to analyse here, namely the citizenship charters and the privileges of habitatio. Although perfectly logical in terms of her personal research intentions, this paralleling becomes rather disturbing when dealing with the social role and juridical construction of urban identities. These documents were of a rather diverse nature, as they were supposed to correspond to the different needs of the city and its authorities. On the one hand, an active commercial city develops a system to grant exemptions and privileges to some of its inhabitants. On the other, a city pressured by immigration tries to control who should actually be accepted within its walls. Nonetheless, it is still useful to consider these two documents together, since they both converged in the more complex

¹⁹³As it is said in the privilege of habitatio of Diego Velázquez, who was a native of Ciudad Real, in the kingdom of Castile: ‘Et promisit solvere et contribuere in tallis impositionibus et aliis exactionibus dicte civitatis’. See AHCB, 1C-V,3, Registre, f. 5r (1375, December, 12th).
¹⁹⁴Cuadrada, Barcelona, 327.
¹⁹⁵Batlle, La crisis social y económica, 82.
system of citizenship acquisition that the municipality developed from the end of the fourteenth century onwards.

NEW ROYAL INTERVENTIONS. 196

The sources that can be drawn from the municipal acts (Llibre del Consell) make evident that demographical control of the city and access to citizenship through the granting of a charter were prerogatives completely controlled by the municipality throughout the whole fourteenth century. As early as 1337, the councillors themselves demonstrated that they were completely aware of their prerogatives in such a matter. Indeed, when the king tried to defend a man called Ramon Vinader, who had just been expelled from the city by the municipal authorities, the councillors did not hesitate in replying that ‘just as the Council and the councillors could and were used to admit as citizens those they wanted, they also could and were used to banishing them.’ 197

Having gained control of the city’s finances, the municipality then took over the management of Barcelona’s citizenship, principally approaching it as a fiscal privilege. Little legal information is actually provided in the municipal acts, so it can be assumed that the official criteria defining the citizen, and therefore the granting of a charter, were basically those previously established by the privilege Recognoverunt Proceres.

Nevertheless, this image is not completely true. Although the Council imposed itself as the executive organ, organising and managing the granting of the charter, the monarchy continued to define the citizen by creating legislation linked to the issue of citizenship in Barcelona. This is an interesting dimension that shows that the powerful autonomy progressively reached by the Council of the Hundred did not completely remove the constant interaction with the monarchy in such an important issue as the definition of the citizen of Barcelona, a person freed from trading taxes in those places under royal jurisdiction throughout the crown of Aragon.

196 For full transcriptions of the main documents related to this section, see the documentary appendix, section 2.
197 Esteve Gilabert de Bruniquer, Rúbriques de... Cerimonial dels Magnífics Consellers i regiment de la ciutat de Barcelona, ed. F. Carreras i Candi (Barcelona, 1912-1913), I/3, 80. Original quote in Catalan: ‘li responen que així com los Consellers y Consell podian, y costumaban admetre en Ciutadans qui volien; així podian y habian costumat expellirlos.’
Thus, a set of later royal interventions needs to be considered when analysing regulation on citizenship in Late Medieval Barcelona. Let us start with the wholly ambiguous letter that Peter the Cerimonious sent to his royal representatives in Barcelona (the *batlle* and the *veguer*) in February 1370. In his intention to confirm some of the fiscal privileges traditionally granted to the citizens and inhabitants of Barcelona, he established what he considered the criteria defining the citizen:

> Therefore, I say and command to both and to each of you that are to be considered citizens those that have been living in the aforementioned city for one year and one day, or those that, by will and *de facto*, have established their habitation in it, and also those that, according to the ancient customs, have been and will be accepted amid the citizens of this same city by our officials or councillors or have been and will be aggregated to the citizens of this same city. Do not force them to pay either the *lezda* or the aforementioned taxes and do not allow them to be forced to pay.199

It is difficult to discern from this piece what Peter the Cerimonious actually understood as a citizen of Barcelona. Reinterpreting the *Recognoverunt Proceres*,200 the letter mentions again the importance of a minimal stay of a year and a day in the city in order to achieve citizen status and suggests, therefore, that stable residence was still considered the main criterion in defining the citizen of Barcelona. In addition, the role of the city councillors as the foremost actors in the acceptance of citizens was mentioned, reflecting the consolidated autonomy the Council of the Hundred had reached by this point.

The problem comes when referring to the role of a third actor in the granting of citizenship, namely the rest of the citizenry. Literally, new citizens had to be accepted amid other citizens by the authorities but they could also be recognised as such by being aggregated within the rest of the citizenry. The second part of this clause is extremely ambiguous, since it is not at all clear what the difference between acceptance and aggregation was or how the role of the authorities in both processes.

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199 For the original quote in Latin: ‘Idcirco vobis utrique vestrum dicimus et mandamus quoscunque qui per annum et diem in civitate steterunt antedica vel qui animo et re suum domicilium constituerint in eadem seu qui secundum usum antiquatum recepti fuerunt aut fuerint per officiales nostros vel consiliarios in cives ipsius civitatis aut numero civium eiusdem civitatis eiusdem congregati, eos ad exsolvendum lezdam seu vectigalia supradicta nullatenus compellatis vel modo aliquo permissatis compelli.’ AHCB, *Llibre Verd* vol II, f. 414. A later copy can be found in AHCB, 1 B XV-1 (*Diversorum*), f. 230.
varied. The idea of aggregation might refer to the degree of integration reached by any new inhabitant within the whole citizens’ community of Barcelona. Nonetheless, the idea of citizens being aggregated could also be related to the existence of citizens who received the citizen condition as a privilege directly granted to them by the king, maybe as a reward for specific services. If true, this could be an interesting distinction, to some extent parallel to the one existing in Venice between those citizens of *intus* or *intus et extra*, who had received a citizenship charter based on their years of residence spent in the city, and the so-called citizens de *gratia*, who were directly appointed. Such an interpretation is also strongly suggested by a rather similar case related by Giovanna Albini. In Viscontean Milan, it was the prince who granted citizenship, although only after information on the candidates had been gathered by the city’s authorities. In this regard, Albini recalls a document which features a very similar expression to the one used by King Peter: ‘facere et creare aliorumque civium nostrorum Mediolani numero aggregare.’ This suggests that this sort of language might very well refer to those citizens who acquired such a status through ducal appointment.

Be that as it may, it seems that the king tried through this declaration to recognise and give legal validity to two different sorts of citizens: those accepted by the authorities, presumably through the acquisition of a citizenship charter, and a much more nebulous figure, identified either with those acting as citizens and thus

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201 The historian Francesc Carreras Candí (1862-1937), whose works remain a classic reference for the history of Barcelona, commented on this document very briefly, interpreting that the king actually meant new citizens could be approved and recognised as such by a group of other citizens. Thus he translated the clause ‘aut numero civium eiusdem civitatis eiusdem congregati’ as ‘ab cert conceill de ciutadans congregat’ which is the Catalan for ‘with a council of citizens congregated.’ Although his does not seem to be a grammatically correct translation, I would argue Carreras’ proven knowledge of Latin and, more importantly, of the uses and clauses of medieval Catalan documentation needs to be taken into account.

202 Mueller, *Immigrazione*, 20; Trebbi, “I diritti di cittadinanza nelle repubbliche italiane,” 160. For the actual case of Barcelona, Encarna Roca gives a similar interpretation when referring to this document. See in Roca, “Unde Cathalanus,” 19. It should be noted, however, that she works on a transcription of the source which is not complete when compared with the original text of the letter.

integrated with the rest of the citizenry, or with individuals who may have reached the condition of citizen by virtue of pacts and shared interests with the authorities, the crown amongst them. Royal interventions seemed to favour, therefore, an ambiguous and flexible legal definition of the Barcelonese citizen.

Nonetheless, this declaration was derogated by the king himself in 1385. Fiscal fraud became normal practice, as many individuals who obtained the citizenship charter or equivalent identifications did so without fulfilling the citizenship criteria. This situation was deeply criticised by the main tax collectors of the city, who did not hesitate to ask the monarch to give a clearer definition of those which should enjoy fiscal prerogatives:

Certainly, those collectors of the _lezda_ of Barcelona, that is to say, those participating both in our royal _lezdas_ and in our so-called _lezda_ of Mediona, exposed before us that the previously inserted letter was highly prejudicial to them and obtained against the requirements of justice, since the individual properly considered citizen of this locality should, first and foremost, have his habitation in this place, paying the taxes of this place and living there with his family and his household. However, and according to the previously inserted letter, those not following these criteria are also considered citizens of Barcelona.

More precisely, tax collectors did not ask the king to impose a clearer definition of the citizen but rather to derogate his letter and confirm the older regulations in which his predecessors had described in greater detail which individuals were to be considered citizens and therefore exempt from the payment of certain taxes. These older regulations are to be found in royal declarations originally promulgated by James II the Just (1312) and later confirmed by Alphons the Benign (1334). Interestingly, this once again demonstrates that the monarchy regulated citizenship throughout the whole fourteenth century, providing the bases on which the municipality decided the legal grant of this statute. Furthermore, some quotes extracted from these first royal privileges suggest that the charter was still granted by royal representatives.

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204 AHCB, 1B-XV (Diversorum), f. 230v. Original quote in Latin: ‘Verum cum, ut proparte lezdariorum Barcinonae, seu parconeriourum partes habentium tam in lezdis nostris regalibus quam in lezdis nostris vocatis de Mediona fuit expositum coram nobis quod littera praeinserta fuerit a nostra curia in magnum praeauditum ipsorum et contra debitum iustitie obtenta, cum ille proprie dicatur civis illius loci, in quo suum potissime facit incolatum solvendo munera ipsius loci et tenendo ibidem familiam suam et fovendo lares suos, quae tamen non faciunt illi, qui in dicta littera cives esse assentur Barcinone.’

205 AHCB, 1B-XV (Diversorum), f. 232v: ‘Et ob hoc nobis humiliter supplicaverunt ut praeinsertam litteram nostram revocare et dictum privilegium eis observari facere de nostra benignitate regia dignaremur.’
throughout the fourteenth century. However, the granting of many of these charters was also organised by the municipality at this stage. Ultimately, the process became ever more complex, subjected as it was to a kind of double administration, both royal and municipal, until the last third of the fourteenth century.

According to the original regulations that Peter the Ceremonious was expected to restore, the citizen of Barcelona should fulfil the following criteria:

Although having received the citizenship charter, none would be exempted of the payment of the lezda unless he had also established here his habitation and household or he had a spouse with whom he has been living here, making a stable residence, as inhabitants and citizens of Barcelona are expected to do.

The exact same formula became a standard reference in other fiscal records of the fourteenth century, such as the Llibre de la Clau, conserved in the Archives of the Cathedral of Barcelona and used to register and control those products that entered the markets of Barcelona upon which the Lleuda de Mediona (a custom the benefits of which were traditionally shared by the monarch and the heirs of Guillem de Mediona) was supposed to be paid.

From all of the above, it is clear that when derogating his own letter and confirming previous royal regulations, King Peter was definitely putting forward residence and household as the main and basic criteria that defined the citizen of Barcelona. He did so in order to control the fiscal concerns this ambiguous figure was generating, even if he claimed that his intention was to follow the precepts of the Ius Commune.

Since this chapter is an exploration of the effect that the negotiations between the crown and the Council had on shaping the citizen of Barcelona as a status, it cannot

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206 AHCB, 1B-XV (Diversorum), f. 231v: ‘quanvis aberet ab eo vicario seu baiulo Barcinona instrumentum habitationis’ The king seems here to equate citizenship charters and privileges of habitatio.

207 AHCB, 1B-XV (Diversorum), f. 231v: ‘nullus quanvis aberet ab eo vicario seu baiulo Barcinona instrumentum habitationis esset franchus de lezda, nisi tamen habuerit ibi domicilium et fecerit focum vel si habuerit uxorem simul cum eadem habitaverit ibidem et totam sive integram fecerit ibi residentiam sicut habitatores et cives Barcinone facere tenentur.’

208 Salicrú, El tràfic, 12.

209 AHCB, 1B-XV (Diversorum), vol I, f. 232v ‘quam praecipua privilegia debent perpetuo esse mansura, et illa potissime quae iuris comis dispositioni videntur esse conformia.’ Certainly, some of the aspects present in this set of royal regulations (i.e. importance of the habitation and household) are mentioned in the Corpus Juris Civilis as criteria in the definition of civic statutes. See in Max Turull i Rubí, La configuració jurídica del municipi baixmedieval. Règim municipal i fiscalitat a Cervera entre 1182-1430 (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1990), 350.
confine its analysis to the legal space of the city. Indeed, the specific needs of the crown and its relationships with its loyal city of Barcelona conditioned the projection of Barcelonese citizenship throughout Catalan territory from the late fourteenth century onwards. To describe the context of this endeavour, as well as to analyse its effects on the nature of Barcelonese citizenship, will be the final task of this chapter.

**The Crown and the City in the Projection of Citizenship:**

Re...The crown and the city in the projection of citizenship:

Retracing the reception of Barcelonese citizenship in the ‘viles de carreratge.’

This section focuses on an aspect that I believe to be rather particular to the principality of Catalonia: the association of municipalities. This phenomenon, which can be traced back to the early fourteenth century, derived from two institutions that responded to different contexts and necessities: the veïnatge and the carreratge. The veïnatge (which could be translated as *neighbourhoodship*) needs to be contextualised within times of harsh feudal violence and abuse, during which it was common for small towns to seek protection. As a result, they associated themselves with nearby bigger towns which would grant to them legal, political, and military protection in exchange for the payment of an annual quota and the participation of their inhabitants in the militia whenever it was necessary. At the end of the fourteenth century, a similar legal phenomenon in the form of the carreratge emerged, although as a reflection of a very specific and different political necessity.

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210 For full transcriptions of some of the main documents related with this section see the documentary appendix, section 3.

211 Some scholars have even proposed the origins of this phenomenon can already be found in the thirteenth century, having documented some cases of primitive municipal association around the city of Perpignan. Flocel Sabaté i Curull, *El territori de la Catalunya medieval. Percepció de l’espai i divisió territorial al llarg de l’Edat Mitjana* (Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1997), 203; Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, *L’associació de municipis a l’Edat Mitjana. El carreratge de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1999), 5.

The origins of the *carreratge* are to be found in the crown’s constant need for financial resources and its long-established habit of getting them by alienating parts of its own patrimony, selling towns and their respective territories to members of the feudal nobility. Until the mid-fourteenth century, the crown regularly tried to rebuy lost patrimony but the situation had become extreme by the end of the century, with some towns having been alienated up to three times.\(^{214}\) Reintegration within the royal patrimony became the major aim of the alienated towns, chiefly because royal fiscal policies were generally fairer and less arbitrary.\(^{215}\) For the sake of their own stability, those towns in process of being reintegrated to the royal patrimony began introducing in their pacts of redemption a condition that they would become members of a bigger royal city if the crown tried to alienate them again.\(^{216}\) Thus, the phenomenon of municipal association became almost an ‘automatic procedure.’\(^{217}\) Nonetheless, other scholars have provided examples illustrating that the inclusion of such clauses in the redemption pacts did not always end with the incorporation of the interested towns into associations with more powerful cities.\(^{218}\)

In those cases where association was achieved, the strength of this new membership was juridically expressed through the idea of becoming a street (*carrer*) of these more powerful cities. Barcelona, dynamic, influential, politically autonomous, and closely related to the crown, became the umbrella under which many Catalan towns tried to find secure and irreversible permanence within royal jurisdiction.\(^{219}\) Adapting itself to difficult times, the institution of the *carreratge* of Barcelona evolved

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\(^{218}\) Sabaté, *El territori de la Catalunya medieval*, 204.

\(^{219}\) Both the *veïnatge* and the *carreratge* were also developed around other cities of the principality, like Cervera and Lleida. See Ferrer, *L’associació de municipis*, 4-5; Sabaté, *El territori de la Catalunya medieval*, 208. On the specific case of the town of Cervera, see Verdés, “El veïnatge pactat de Cervera,” 355-366.
throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and involved up to 73 localities at the end of the 1400s.

The juridical situation of those towns that became ‘streets’ of Barcelona needs to be clearly distinguished from that of those territories that were under the feudal dominion of the cap i casal of Catalonia. Indeed, the city of Barcelona became a feudal lordship at the end of the fourteenth century, despite her traditional opposition to the feudal nobility. Although the city had had a clear juridical influence over the parishes in its hinterlands from the late thirteenth century, it was only in 1391 when it bought a diverse set of towns and territories from Prince Martin, who was in need of economic resources for the expedition he was preparing to Sicily. The areas that became part of the dominion of Barcelona were the towns of Terrassa and Sabadell and the castle of Arraona (located 30 kilometres from Barcelona), the towns of Tàrrega and Vilagrassa (closer to Lleida than to Barcelona), and the county of Empúries on the northern coast of Catalonia. Most interestingly, this sale also included the town of Elche and the castle of Crevillent in the kingdom of Valencia.

As much as the carreratge, the feudal dominion of Barcelona was the result of the alienations conducted by the crown to satisfy its economic necessities. These were, however, two distinct juridical manoeuvres that illustrate how the city of Barcelona enacted very different roles in its constant financial and economic support to the crown. On the one hand, it became a feudal lord that could charge rents in the abovementioned territories and monopolise wheat harvests in some of the areas

220 The institution was in a particularly difficult situation during and after the Catalan Civil War of 1462-1472, since many of the towns that had become streets of Barcelona found themselves on the side of the monarchy and fighting against Barcelona. This difficult situation hindered the associated towns from following one of their main requirements as citizens of Barcelona: to participate in the city’s host. Moreover, the situation was not better after the war when the monarchy had to alienate many of the previously redeemed towns to pay for the expenses of the war. Ferrer, L’associació de municipis, 32 and Salicrú, Mataró, 27.

221 Salicrú, Mataró, 11.

222 Cap i casal is the name traditionally given to the cities of Barcelona and Valencia. The expansion of the carreratge institution had an important impact on the juridical and economic predominance of Barcelona within the principality of Catalonia.


under its dominion. On the other, Barcelona emerged through the *carreratge* as the *refuge par excellence* for those towns that did not want to fall into another feudal dominion, thus becoming a crucial juridical figure that was actually promoted by the crown itself in a surprising attempt to protect its own patrimony from a deeply rooted tendency of alienation.

These contrasting positions adopted by Barcelona corresponded to the diverse juridical nature of the territories under its influence. While those areas that were sold in 1391 were forcibly bound to the main city of the principality, the towns considered as streets of Barcelona voluntarily decided to become members of the political and economic centre of Catalonia. In doing so, these towns turned into spaces in which the crown and the city negotiated the projection of Barcelonese citizenship.

To retrace how the institution of the *carreratge* impacted on the nature of Barcelonese citizenship, it is necessary to deal in more detail with the pacts and mechanics that determined the emergence of such a complex institution. I do so in an attempt to understand which juridical, social, fiscal and political issues were at stake in the evolution of what turned out to be a new level of belonging to the city of Barcelona.

Unfortunately, the lack of municipal sources specifically referring to the institution of the *carreratge* makes this analysis difficult. It is therefore necessary to turn to the very few cases for which copies of the pacts established between Barcelona and the towns have been conserved. More specifically, I will refer here to the cases of Mataró and Moià, which have been intensively analysed by Roser Salicrú and Maria Teresa Ferrer respectively.

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229 Ferrer, *L’associació de municipis*, 22; Salicrú, *Mataró*, 15. More precisely, the catalogue of the Archives of the city of Barcelona indicates the existence of collections whose contents focus on the issue of *carreratge*. They mainly refer, however, to later eras.
230 For Moià: Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, “Moià, carrer de Barcelona,” *Modilianum. Revista d’estudis del Moianès* VI/34, (2006): 21-64. The analysis presented by Salicrú is particularly interesting in that she insists on the transmission of Barcelonese citizenship to the inhabitants of Mataró, the expressions of which can be then retraced through the documentary appendix she provides. The case of Igualada, the first town to be accepted into the *carreratge* of Barcelona (1385), is also generally mentioned in the literature on the topic, mainly due to the suspicions of Barcelona about the whole procedure, which
The sources recovered by Ferrer regarding the example of Moià, a little town in the heart of Catalonia, permit us to retrace what procedure ruled the conversion of these redeemed towns into the *carreratge* of Barcelona. The petition was first contracted with the crown in the actual agreements of redemption. Subsequently, a list of proposed admission conditions was sent to the Council of the Hundred, which would have to discuss and approve them. Once these first bureaucratic procedures were overcome, a whole ceremony of acceptance took place. More specifically, a councillor of the city or another one of its official representatives travelled to the recently admitted town in order to receive the fidelity oath to the city of Barcelona from the town’s royal representative and a large gathering of assembled inhabitants. They all kissed the hands and the mouth of the delegate sent by the city from which they were trying to obtain a more stable juridical position. Subsequently, the symbol of Barcelona was engraved on all the doors of the town, as well as on the weights and measures of its market.

The details of this very feudal ceremony are interesting in that they make evident how the belonging of these towns to Barcelona was symbolically sealed. For Barcelona, embracing towns under the regime of the *carreratge* meant the promise to protect these localities, ensuring their permanence within royal jurisdiction. More crucially, the crown guaranteed that that those towns becoming streets of bigger cities would automatically enjoy from the rights and privileges of their protector. Finally, a very important clause repeatedly found in the documents is that all the inhabitants of the ‘viles de carreratge’ were supposed to be integrated into the militia of Barcelona, joining the rest of the citizens in their duty to protect the city to which they were devoted. Barcelona and its streets were therefore bound together by the duty of protection, the right to privileges, and joint participation in the military. As Roser

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231Salicrú, Mataró, 9; Ferrer, L’associació de municipis, 10; Ferrer, “Viles i llocs,” 294.

232Ferrer, L’associació de municipis, 3; Salicrú, Mataró, 16. Both authors noted that the inhabitants of the ‘viles de carreratge’ were supposed to be integrated within both the urban militia and the so-called *sagramental*, a militia of peasants from the hinterland of Barcelona, which was protected by the councillors and was in charge of defending and protecting the inhabitants of the parishes under the influence of Barcelona. As it was supposed to control the acute banditry within the area, the *sagramental* became a clear expression of the opposition to the feudal nobility led by the city of Barcelona. On the *sagramental*, see Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, “El sagramental: una milícia camperola dirigida per Barcelona,” Barcelona Quaderns d’Història 1, (1995): 61-70.
Salicrú noted, paraphrasing the privilege granted by King Alphons the Magnanimous to the town of Mataró in 1424, the admission into the institution of the carreratge of Barcelona de facto turned the inhabitants of the associated towns into ‘vero cives Barchinone.’

With the sources and scholarship presently at our disposal, it is very difficult to go beyond an institutional analysis of the carreratge, one that considers the extent to which citizenship became the cornerstone of the relationship between Barcelona and these new ‘streets,’ a bond that, in some cases, lasted for centuries. Preliminary indications can be given here.

Initially, Barcelona was suspicious of carreratge, fearing it would be onerous rather than beneficial to the city. This position explains the long time the city took to accept the town of Igualada as the first of its ‘viles de carreratge.’ The city did not use the carreratge to impose its prominence over the principality. It simply did not need to do so, as it already wielded hefty influence over its hinterland parishes and possessed a special militia of peasants to defend it, the sagramental. Instead, its eventual involvement in the process related to its desire to act as a royal city by protecting the patrimony of the crown and, most importantly, by undermining the power of the nobility. However, the city’s fears were actually well grounded. Although the carreratge indubitably enhanced the prestige of the capital of Catalonia whilst also providing it with a stronger citizen militia and an increased role in the Parliament, Barcelona does not seem to have received an annual quota from the ‘viles de carreratge’ that it had to protect by, for instance, paying for their juridical expenses (i.e. trials against neighbouring lords or the king himself). Furthermore, the

233 Salicrú, Mataró, 25. Her transcription of the privilege granted by King Alfons to Mataró in pp. 47-52. The privilege runs as follows: ‘dominus rex de presenti unit et incorporat civitati Barchinone dictum castrum et villam factique homines in illis populates nunc et in futurum vero cives Barchinone, ita quod dictum castrum et villa, cum suis terminis, sint verus vicus dicte civitatis parsque vera et membrum civitate ipsius.’

234 Ferrer, L’associació de municipis, 11; Salicrú, Mataró, 11.

235 On the case of Igualada: Sabaté, El territori de la Catalunya medieval, 206. The case is also mentioned in Ferrer, L’associació de municipis, 12-13; Salicrú, Mataró, 11.

236 Ferrer, L’associació de municipis, 5; Salicrú, Mataró, 10.

237 Ferrer, L’associació de municipis, 11.


239 Barcelona certainly got more benefits from the towns and territories under its feudal dominion, which paid annual rents, than from the ‘viles de carreratge.’ In this view, Maria Teresa Ferrer inspected the fiscal accounts of the municipality of Barcelona without finding any reference indicating the receipt of
position of the crown as the third actor in the whole procedure should also be remembered: the monarchy propelled the development of the *carreratge* of Barcelona forwards as a strategy to protect its patrimony from itself. Nonetheless, the expansion of Barcelona’s numerous fiscal privileges was damaging for the royal finances.

The anxiety of both the city and the crown pushed them to modify some of the defining clauses of the *carreratge* pacts. Thus, the privileges of Barcelona were not always automatically extended. Instead, the concerned localities would have to indicate which exemptions they would prefer to benefit from. The councillors of Barcelona showed a more incisive stance when the time came to definitely accept the town of Mataró as a street of Barcelona in 1481. After 100 years of experiencing the benefits and disadvantages of the *carreratge*, the councillors accepted the inhabitants of Mataró as citizens of Barcelona, promising to defend them as they would defend any other citizen of Barcelona. Nonetheless, Mataró would have to cover the expenses of such a privileged position.

These worries and modifications were very much based on economic reasoning and did not affect the concession and projection of citizenship that was also at stake. When, after many complex vicissitudes, it became possible in 1481 to reintegrate the town of Mataró and several other parishes into the *carreratge*, the councillors did not hesitate in affirming that they were ‘accepting as citizens the inhabitants and the mentioned castles, towns and parishes, as established by the privilege the king granted to them.’ In doing so, the right of Mataró inhabitants to request a citizenship charter of Barcelona was also recognised in order to ensure the privileges the general concessions did not always provide, as was mentioned above.

\[\text{Ferrer, } L’associació de municipis, 24; Ferrer, “Moïa, carrer de Barcelona,” 38 and Salicrú, Mataró, 16.}\]
\[\text{Salicrú, Mataró, 31; Ferrer, “Moïa, carrer de Barcelona,” 39.}\]
\[\text{Salicrú, Mataró, 58. Her transcription of the pacts established in 1481 between Barcelona and the town of Mataró. Original quote in Catalan ‘accepten per ciutadans los habitants e los dits castells, vila e parròquias per lo privilegi a ells per lo senyor rey atorgat.’}\]
\[\text{Salicrú, Mataró, 31 Transcription of the document in pp. 56-59. The interesting part of the document is the following: ‘atorgant als singulars de las ditas parròquias e de quiscuna de aquellas, si·u volran, cartas de ciudadanatges de las quals puixan usar defesant-se de pagar leudas e altras cosas, segons de tals cartes usan e usar acostumen los ciutadans continuament habitants dins la dita ciutat.’}\]
The importance of the right of inhabitants of the ‘viles de carreratge’ to request a citizenship charter needs to be highlighted. Such a gesture put on the same juridical level the inhabitants of these towns and those citizens considered worthy of a charter, namely those continuously living within the walls of Barcelona (*ciutadans continuament habitants dins la dita ciutat*).\(^\text{244}\) Interestingly, this open position was not new to the late fifteenth century, a period when the *carreratge* had already been evolving for a century and in which the progressive strengthening of royal authority might have somehow debilitated the juridical, fiscal, and political meanings of Barcelonese citizenship. On the contrary, the case of the merchant Berenguer Ribes suggests that these mechanisms were already implemented in an earlier era. Being a native inhabitant of Moià (*a naturitate habitator ville Modiliani*), Ribes was granted a citizenship charter of Barcelona in 1419, as is shown by his citizenship record, included in the same register in which the rest of new citizens were recorded.\(^\text{245}\) The existence of this document, hidden among the mass of citizenship records, needs to be emphasised given the scarcity of sources dealing with the *carreratge*. According to it, Berenguer was free to use the charter and enjoy the privileges it implied so long as he maintained his residence in Moià: this means that the town was clearly perceived as member and part of Barcelona. The special character of this record was formally marked out by inserting it just after a copy of the actual charter granted to Ribes. Besides including the original privilege granted by James I to citizens of Barcelona, Ribes’ charter included a mention to the privilege by which John I recognised Moià as street and member of Barcelona (*vicum et membrum dicte civitatis Barchinone*), thereby legitimating the fact that Ribes could enjoy the privileges granted to all citizens of Barcelona.

**Conclusions**

While unique in a volume of more than 300 pages, the example of Berenguer Ribes suggests that Barcelonese citizenship could very well be used by the inhabitants of the towns associated to the city. The scarcity of the sources makes it difficult to explore how members of these associated towns experienced belonging to Barcelona and the

\(^\text{244}\) Salicrú, *Mataró*, 59.

\(^\text{245}\) AHCB, 1C-V,4 *Registre*, f.112r-113v (1419, January, 7th).
limits, if any, of their citizenship. My point here was to illustrate that the transmission of citizenship entailed that any admission into the *carreratge* of Barcelona had to be openly accepted by the main actors in the procedure (i.e. Barcelona, the crown, and the concerned towns). While not always being positively predisposed to the phenomenon of the *carreratge*, the issue of citizenship did not seem to have been a real worry for the authorities of Barcelona. Beyond these observations, it remains difficult to propose any solid conclusion on the impact that the association of municipalities may have had on the nature of Barcelonese citizenship. Nonetheless, this phenomenon illustrates to what extent citizenship, strictly controlled elsewhere, was approached in a rather lax and flexible manner in the Catalan case, where other political and economic interests were at stake (i.e. the preservation of the royal patrimony or the alliance of Barcelona and the crown against the expansion of noble dominions). More importantly, the *carreratge* makes evident that citizenship charters were generally granted to those who had already acquired some kind of previous recognition.

Given its rarity, the *carreratge* might be approached as a useful methodological tool to reflect upon the various processes that determined the specificities of Barcelonese citizenship. Beyond evidence of flexibility and the importance of reputation (to be found recurrently found throughout this dissertation), this is an institution that interestingly highlights the different scales of analysis through which the whole phenomenon of citizenship can be studied. Indeed, the individual process of requesting a citizenship charter has some analogies with the procedure by which a town tried to become a street of Barcelona. Furthermore, the geographical plasticity of citizenship observed through the *carreratge* chronologically coincided with another projection of citizenship within the walls of Barcelona. At a time when the city had

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246 Venice, for instance, only granted the citizenship of *intus* to the inhabitants of the Terraferma, while Florence would always strictly negotiate the issue of citizenship when establishing pacts with newly conquered lands. Trebbi, “I diritti di cittadinanza nelle repubbliche italiane,” 151, 164.

247 Similar concerns motivated the creation of some of the municipal associations existing in medieval Castile, known as *hermandades*. Here, however, the royal sanction and the transmission of citizenships (*vecindad*) took place within a context of horizontal relationships among the concerned towns which contrasts with the protective nature of the ties instaured between Barcelona and her *viles de carreratge*. On the *hermandades* in Castile and its very diverse expressions, María Asenjo González, “Ciudades y hermandades en la Corona de Castilla. Aproximación sociopolítica,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 27, (1997): 121.

financially collapsed whilst also maintaining growing political influence and emerging as a central hub in the Mediterranean, the desire of some Catalan towns to join the jurisdiction of Barcelona was parallel to the important and varied migration to the city. It was also precisely in this context when the powerful and autonomous authorities of Barcelona started generating the Informacions de la Ciutadania, initiating new mechanisms to regulate the concession of the charter.

Therefore, by remaining within the city rather than by referring to the ‘viles de carreratge,’ one can attempt to investigate in depth how the nature of the citizen changed at the turn of the fourteenth century. Focussing on the Informacions de la Ciutadania will take the analysis to the most refined form of citizenship negotiation, the result of more than a century of interaction between the monarchy and the Council (from the Recognoverunt Proceres to the letters of Peter the Cerimonious) that had determined the articulation of a citizenship law in Late Medieval Barcelona.

As shown in the first three sections of this chapter, the citizen of Barcelona (civis) evolved throughout this ‘formative’ period in close relationship with the inhabitant (habitator). Delving into the features of the citizen, the detailed study of the Informacions will help to approach these ambiguities in more adequate terms, valuing the role of uncertainty in the construction of urban identities. To be sure, the citizen was first and foremost understood as an inhabitant, a permanent resident of the city. As I will argue in the following chapters, its ambiguous and variable forms rested on this broader definition and the sources do not allow for any specific association between the citizen (civis, ciutadà) and members of the ruling patriciate of the city. The specificities of the citizen were measured differently in fifteenth-century Barcelona. All in all, the rest of the thesis shall nuance the claims of Victor Ferro, who depicted the citizen in the following terms: ‘In a broad sense, all those inhabitants fulfilling the necessary requirements could be named citizens, but this designation, as well as that of ‘burgher’ in smaller towns, was usually reserved par excellence to those who constituted the patriciate of the city.’

The following chapter aims to analyse in

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249Víctor Ferro Poma, El Dret Públic Català. Les Institucions a Catalunya fins el decret de Nova Planta. (Vic: Eumo, 1987), 153: ‘En sentit ampli, tots els habitants de la ciutat que satisfeien els requisits necessaris podien ésser anomenats ciutadans, però aquesta denominació i la de burgesos a les viles, era reservada per excel·lència als qui constitueien l’element aristocràtic o patriciat urbà’. Ferro based this
detail the ‘broad sense’ referred to by Victor Ferro. In so doing, it takes the Informaciones de la Ciutadania as the best possible starting point, a source from which to grasp the interests and expectations of both the municipal authorities and the Barcelonese themselves in the continuous creation of citizens.

statement on the reading of the well-known seventeenth-century jurist Joan Pere Fontanella (1575-1649).
From Citizenship to Citizenry.
Citizenship as a Prerogative of the City and its Citizens
(1375-1457)$^{250}$

INTRODUCTION: ON THE FIRST EVIDENCES OF A NEW DOCUMENTAL TRADITION.
The Informacions de la Ciutadania emerged as the last step in the legal articulation of Barcelonese citizenship. The first evidence of a more systematised management in the grant of citizenship charters can be found as early as 1375, when the granting of both citizenship charters and privileges of habitatio began to be registered in a single independent book, kept and organised by the notary of the Council. The development of this new bureaucratic system corresponded with the consolidation of a refined, complex, and autonomous municipal structure. Thus, the granting and management of citizenship rapidly fell under the exclusive control of the five councillors and ceased being a prerogative of the whole Council of the Hundred, as earlier registers in the municipal acts suggest.

Such an assertion should not lead us to conclude that citizenship fell under the absolute control of five men: the councillors accepted and defined new citizens by establishing a close and direct dialogue with the citizenry of Barcelona while the role of the monarchy diminished. At the dawn of the fifteenth century, the actors in the dialogue on which the definition of citizenship was based seemed to have changed, as is evidenced by the Informacions de la Ciutadania. This chapter aims to delve into the intricacies of this dialogue between the city and its inhabitants, exploring its effects on the making of the citizen. This will be done through a thorough description, both quantitative and qualitative, of the Informacions in an attempt to recreate how the rights and duties of the citizen were identified and understood in Late Medieval Barcelona.

$^{250}$I have published some parts of this chapter in “Council, City and Citizens”
As I described in the introduction to this dissertation, the archival series of the Informaciones cover the period from 1375 to 1457 and include two registers where the granting of new citizenship charters was recorded and a set of around 400 public interrogations conducted by the authorities who questioned neighbours, friends, and acquaintances on the habits of those requesting a citizenship charter. The first of these registers regards the period 1375-1381 and represents a mediatory stage between the earlier methods of granting citizenship and demographic control explored in the previous chapter and the development of more complex procedures. Indeed, this register recorded together the grants of citizenship charters and privileges of habitatio. In so doing, the potential distinctions between those documents were erased. Furthermore, although the first pages of the register seem to reproduce plain privileges d’habitatio (use of the formula ‘fuit receptus in habitatio’), the register is opened with a model of the Barcelonese citizenship charter, showing that these privileges were now clearly linked with the acquisition of a charter. To put it briefly, both documents were now identified with a single process, thereby overcoming the ambiguities of the previous period. More than ever, the citizen was now an inhabitant of the city.

While the ‘first citizenship register’ is a short volume of less than 36 pages, the documents inserted into it are not at all systematic: their nature changes across time. The progressive development within the register suggests that we are dealing with the gestation of a renewed bureaucratic process, this register being most probably the first one of its kind. The first documents recorded simple and plain privileges of habitatio, similar to those included in the fourteenth-century municipal acts. Little is known about the first new citizens appearing in this register. Generally, their name and origin was the only information provided. It is only in a few cases that we can actually find any indication of their professions. From the very beginning, however, financial solvency and acceptance in the city seem to have been expected from the new inhabitant: while the petitioner was asked to pawn all his possessions, he was expected to present a guarantor. Any successful candidate needed therefore to have established some initial links with the city.
Friday, June 4 1376

Pere Matha, native from the town of Sant Feliu del Llobregat, was accepted as an inhabitant of the city of Barcelona by the honourable councillors of this city. And he promised to pay and contribute in those tallis, taxes, and other collections that are to be paid by all the citizens of Barcelona. And he swore etc. And he pawned all his possessions. And he named as his guarantor Pere Sala, notary of Barcelona, who swore etc.

The witnesses were Pere Dalmau, Francesc Morator, and Francesc Lluch, notaries of Barcelona.  

Documents included in this register became progressively more complex, developing in detail the diverse formula of the document so that the obligations of the accepted inhabitant became even clearer: to transfer his household to the city, with the intention of staying stably within its walls (animo remanendi) and, interestingly, to participate in the city’s host. Although this participation is generally seen as one of the basic duties of the citizen, it is to be noted that it is only clearly mentioned in these early records for the case of Barcelona. This inclusion of citizens in the host had its effective expression in the military censuses (fogatges) that were produced in extraordinary moments of threat (1390, 1399). These listed citizens of every estate, detailed the weapons at their disposal, and placed them into specific units which, as was the case at that time in Valencia, surely mirrored the organisation of the permanent nightwatch. Among many others, the record of Bernat Aragonès, native of Vallbona, can help illustrate the more detailed features that these documents were progressively including:

[...] since he asked and wanted to get established in the city of Barcelona in order to have and to continuously maintain his habitation in this city and to stay and live in it, and he did not ask for it in order to commit fraud, he was then accepted as inhabitant and citizen of the above mentioned city of Barcelona by the Councillors of the city [...] and he promised and swore that he will pay all the common taxes (tallis, questiis) of the above mentioned city.


252 For a publication of the census of 1390 see Marsà, Onomástica Barcelonesa.

city and he will join the army and stay under the command of the councillors and he will do everything the citizens of Barcelona are expected to do.

By about 1379, the records became significantly longer, suddenly including a significant amount of new data about the life and habits of the new citizen. The personal promise from foreigners to maintain their household in the city was included, as well as their places of residence in the city and the number of years they had been continuously living in Barcelona. On some occasions, notes declaring they were free or redeemed men were also included. Interestingly, it was also suggested that the officials in charge had been gathering this information by consulting other inhabitants of the city on the habits of the candidate (recepta informatione). The name of these witnesses, however, was not always mentioned.

As the records became more complex, more direct references to the granting of the charter were included, stating that it would have to be returned if a person fell into fraudulent practices or abandoned the city. For instance, the register of Marc and Berenguer Cortós insisted on these points:

if they [the recently accepted citizens] happened to leave their habitation in the above mentioned city, they will have to return to the councillors of the city the citizenship charter that the former granted to them.

Although it did not appear regularly before 1379, this formulation demonstrates that the whole volume was not really concerned with what has been called for previous

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254’quod ipse petebat et volebat se fixere civem Barchinone tenendi et fovendi continue domiciliuum suum in eadem civitas ac populandi se et remanendi ac habitandi in ea et quod hoc non petebat in fraudem, fuit receptus per venerabiles Raymundum Sarovira, Berengarium de Sant Climent, Hug Cardona and Pere Sestrada, consiliarios hoc anno una cum venerabilibus Jacobo de Vallsueca, ab his absente dicte civitates, in habitatorem et civem dicte civitatis Barchinone, promittens ac jurans quod mitet et contribuet in tallis, questiis, muneribus contributionibus et omnibus comunibus dicte civitatis et ibit in exercitus stabitque ordinationibus Consiliariorum et alia faciet ad quo et prout alii cives dicte civitatis tenentur. AHCB, 1C-V, 3 Registre, f.7v (1377, June, 20th).

255 Although records are systematically longer from this point onwards, we also find detailed examples with even earlier dates. See, for instance, the record of the merchant Francesc Puig in 1375, which even mentions the search for information on the habits of the candidate. See in AHCB, 1C-V,3. Registre, f. 5v (1376, May, 13th).

256 Witnesses were mentioned, for instance, for the case of sailor Guillem Bonet: ‘Guillelmus Bonet, marinarius oriundus ville de Blanes, qui per multum tempus stetit et habitavit in civitatis Barchinone prout Petrus Catani et Berengarius Saurini, marinarius, ac Petrus Puteo, cives Barchinone, juratus interrogati dixerunt et deposuerunt [...]’ See in AHCB, 1C-V,3. Registre, f. 10r ( 1378, November, 22nd).

257’quandocunque contingant ipsos extrahere domiciliuum suum a civitate predicta restituet consiliaris ipsius civitatis cartam ciutadanagii nunc per eos concessam’ See in AHCB 1C-V,3. Registre, f. 15r ( 1379, June, 1st).

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periods ‘privileges of habitatio’ but with registering and controlling the new owners of citizenship charters. Nonetheless, it is interesting to consider the whole evolution of the documents included here, since it suggests that it was actually from the form of these privileges of habitatio that the citizenship register as an official document developed, in contrast with earlier habitudes, according to which the charter was just copied or briefly referenced in the municipal acts, as we have already seen.

The final interesting point of this volume is to be found in its closing pages, where there is a long list referring to the citizenship charters granted. These references were simple and concise sentences, similar to those following citizenship charters in the fourteenth-century municipal acts.\textsuperscript{258} Fascinatingly, many of the individuals whose charter was mentioned here had a corresponding record in one of the previous pages, where they had formally engaged in committing themselves to the city and fulfilling the duties of the good citizen. Nonetheless, this was not the case for all the individuals, suggesting that some of them did not need to fulfil this previous stage in order to access the precious charter and have it registered in this list. Little more can be said due to the lacklustre information on the new citizens provided by these concise sentences. Yet, this duality points towards the potential existence of at least two different mechanisms controlling the access to citizenship as early as the close of the fourteenth century.

This idealised scheme, based on initial primitive records that evolved into more complete references appealing to public consultation and complemented by strict control of the granted charters, was somehow corrupted in the very last pages of the volume, where the concise references to the granted charters were mixed with the data collected on some of the new candidates. Nevertheless, this slight disorder confirms once more that this volume corresponded to the first steps of a new bureaucratic process whose forms were still not completely fixed in the late 1370s - early 1380s.

Nonetheless, it is clear that the authorities already had fixed ideas and intentions upon launching such a process, for it is evident from this register that they

\textsuperscript{258} For instance: ‘Item fuit facta similis carta ciutadanagii sive franquitatis Guillelmo Pujades. Sub data Barchinone vicesima octava die Marci, anno a Nativitate Domini Millessimo Trecentessimo septuagesimo septimo’ See in AHCB, 1C-V,3, Registre, f. 19r (1377, March, 28th).
wanted to ensure that the charter was only granted to those who could show that they had been living in Barcelona with their family and, more importantly, to those that had the intention to continue residing in the city until the end of their lives. From royal documentation to municipal bureaucracy, these aspects have repeatedly emerged as the chiefest and most important duties of the citizen of Barcelona. In order to confirm that these obligations were properly fulfilled by the candidates, the authorities themselves did not hesitate investigating them, appealing to the public reputation of the prospective citizen among the rest of the citizenry. Little trace of this phenomenon is to be found directly in this volume. However, these signs are significant, as they reveal the transitional nature of this first register as it developed into the massive body of sources that has been conserved for the subsequent period.

‘Admetre en Ciutadanatge’259 : The Informacions de la Ciutadania (1375-1457)

From this description of the first ‘citizenship register,’ I should now move onto the analysis of the rest of the sources included in the whole collection of the Informacions de la Ciutadania, which includes a large number of public interrogations (ca.400) and an expansive second volume including almost 600 records (1413-1425). This impressive set of public interrogations corresponded to a much more systematised and developed version of the synthetic referencing in the first register regarding the compilation of information on candidates. Likewise, the second register corresponds to increased control over the granted charters. While this control seemed to have been established through a simple list of names and dates in the first register, it occupies more than 300 pages in the second one, which only covered a short period of 12 years. These important differences in dimensions and proportions show that by the very end of the fourteenth century the bureaucratic procedure of citizenship acquisition was soundly consolidated.

A thorough analysis of these sources led Eulàlia Duran to structure the procedure into four different steps.260 (1) To begin with, those interested in acquiring

259Rather common expression in medieval Catalan to be found in some of the sources of the period and meaning: ‘to accept as a citizen/ within the citizenry’.

260Duran, Apuntes, 53; see also in Soldani, Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani, 133.
a citizenship charter were supposed to send a formal petition to the authorities of the city, most probably to the councillors. Unfortunately, only one of these petitions has been conserved for the case of Barcelona. Hierònim Alemany, native of Zaragoza and resident in Barcelona for more than forty years, asked to be recognised as a citizen of Barcelona. Alemany’s petition was not dated but a paleographical analysis led Eulàlia Duran to believe that it was surely produced in a later period, namely the end of the fifteenth century. Despite the uniqueness and later date of this document, I would still argue that it is feasible to imagine some sort of personal petition as the first step to acquiring a citizenship charter.261(2) Seriously concerned with confirming that the candidate really deserved the privileges that the citizenship charter entailed, the authorities then organised public interrogations.262 For the period 1395-1457, this practice led to the conservation of circa 400 loose sheets from which the voice, comments and reflections of Barcelonese in the early fifteenth century can be recovered. (3) Once the interrogations were completed, one of the notaries of the Council was in charge of transmitting the information to the leading authorities, who then had to decide whether the candidate deserved to be granted the citizenship charter or not. In some cases, marginal notes in the reports marked this sort of intermediary step, which demonstrates the constant presence of the councillors throughout the process.

Later, on Thursday 16 February 1414, the honourable Lluís de Gualbes, Joan Ses Avasses, Pere de Sant Climent, and Galceran Dusay, councillors of the city this year along with the honourable Francesc Burguès, currently absent from the city, having received from me, Bartomeu Vidal, the account on this interrogation, decided to grant the citizenship charter to the above mentioned Joan Belmenya, as I was told by the discrete Bernat d’Esplugues, notary of the Council of the aforementioned city.263

261 See in Duran, Apuntes, 53-54; Soldani, Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani, 133.
262 References to similar procedures have been indirectly documented in fourteenth-century Venice, where the requirements to fulfil in order to receive a citizenship charter were much stricter than in Barcelona. Mueller, Immigrazione, 19: ‘spesso la residenza veniva rilevata attraverso deposizioni giurate di testimoni.’
263 Postea die Jovi menses februarii anno predicto CCC XIIII, honorabiles Ludovicus de Gualbes, Johannes Ses Avaces, Petrus de Sancto Clemente et Galcerandus Dusay, consiliarii anno presenti civitatis Barchinone, una cum honorabili Francisco Burguesii, a dicta civitate nunc absente, habita primus relatione per me Bartholomeus Vitales de predicta informatione conessorunt cartam ciutadenagii predicto Johan de Belmenya prout dixetur mihi discreto Bernardus de Espelucis, notare et scribà concilii dicte civitatis’. See in AHCB, 1C-V, 3, (1414, February, 7th). It should be noted that the presence of this type of notes in the reports is rather arbitrary.
This is a particularly intriguing note, as it gives some life to the procedure by stating that one of the notaries in charge of these interrogations (in this case, Bartomeu Vidal) communicated the results to the councillors who would then decide on the outcome of the process and send a final answer to Bernat d’Esplugues, official notary of the Council of the Hundred. Consequently, it was d’Esplugues who was responsible for the completion of proper citizenship registers, as is properly noted on the front page of the second citizenship register.

(4) Once the request was accepted, the granting of the charter was always strictly registered: this always made note of the last step of the procedure. Registration was not only perceived as a system to control the granted charters but also as an actual oath with a significant religious dimension, as can be seen in some of the registers in which the formula ‘et juravit etc.’ was completely developed:

And yet he swore, with his hands on the Gospels, to respect, accomplish, and fulfil each and all of the above-mentioned clauses and not to contradict them under any circumstances.264

In order to be completed, the record of the charter needed the presence and signature of a guarantor as well as those of two or three testimonies, as was already the case in the first register. On many occasions, these testimonies came from notaries linked to the notary of the Council, who might have even been in charge of the interrogations. The duration of the process was not strictly determined. Although it was usually a rapid procedure completed in around four or five days, it took more than one or even two months in other cases.

Petition, interrogations, the approval of the authorities, and a final oath to properly register the charter were the four steps making up the process by which a candidate could expect to receive a citizenship charter and the rights it entailed. A more systematic analysis of the documentation conserved for the period 1413-1425, for which both reports (Informes) and registers have been conserved, suggests that this ostensibly clear mechanism should be observed in closer detail, since one may note some provocative nuances.

264 ‘Et nichilominus juravit ad Sancta Dei Quattuor Evangelia manibus suis corporaliter tacta predicta omnia et singular attendere et completere tenere et observare et in aliquot non contrafacere.’ See in the citizenship record of the merchant Guillem de Montcofa in AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 31r (1414, May, 8th).
With up to 714 documents including reports (179) and records (535), this short timeframe of 12 years (1413-1425) reveals itself as the richest period approached throughout this research. The original motivation for an intensive analysis of the documents produced within this period was the possibility of cross referencing reports and records in order to reproduce processes of citizenship acquisition on a more individual scale. This is a potential way of approaching exclusion phenomena, which are always very difficult to perceive, since it identifies which individuals were not granted the charter and reflects on the causes of these refusals. Nonetheless, other engaging possibilities arise.

This second volume of citizenship registers presents two different sorts of records that will be closely examined. As early as 1413, it is possible to distinguish those registers that clearly referred to the production of a previous interrogation (*tamen primus informatione a fidedignis recepta*) from those that did not include any sort of similar reference. More specifically, in regard to the 593 individuals recorded between 1413 and 1425 (some records included more than one individual), a reference to the production of previous interrogations was made for 177 of them (29.8 per cent), while 416 (70 per cent) were recorded with no specific mention to the earlier production of a report. These proportions already suggest that the well-defined procedure described above might not always have been applied. Most fundamentally, considering citizenship reports and records together show that interrogations have been conserved for 70 per cent (124) of the candidates whose records included mention of previous enquiries. Taking into account the nature of the *Informes*, which are loose sheets of paper, the unavoidable loss of documentation could easily explain the absence of citizenship reports for these other cases (29 per cent - 53 candidates) in which an interrogation was still mentioned in the corresponding report. Furthermore, there is no report for 93.7 per cent (390) of the records that did not mention the production of previous public interrogations. Only in 26 cases (6.26 per cent), have reports on individuals whose records made no specific mention to the gathering of information been conserved.265 Ultimately, this more

265 Within the progress of this research, I already presented these data in my article “Council, City and Citizens,” 388. I later realised that this article included some miscalculations regarding the number of documents included in the register. I present here the final calculations resulting from the analyses of the data within my databases: in previous stages, I had to test my hypothesis with preliminary Excel lists.
complete and systematic set of sources seems to confirm what the first citizenship register already suggested: public information about the candidates was not always collected. Therefore, two different ways of accessing citizenship existed.

The evident disproportion between reports and records can be considered the clearest sign of the hypothesis I am presenting here. While 535 records were inscribed throughout a short period of 12 years, 400 citizenship reports have been preserved for the substantially longer period of 1395-1457. Considering the loss of documentation that might have been affected entire citizenship registers as much as the Informes, I would argue it is possible to highlight an evident duality in the documentation, which suggests that a large proportion of the candidates obtained the citizenship charter through some sort of direct approval from the councillors without having to endure the process of public interrogations. The quantitative value of the Informes therefore needs to be questioned or at least nuanced. The unquestionable abundance and exceptionality of the source base should not lead us to a misleading interpretation in regard to its significance within the pragmatic and legal use of citizenship, since it now emerges as a complementary, rather than essential, step within the mechanisms of citizenship acquisition. Nonetheless, the qualitative value of such a source remains intact, as well as its usefulness in investigating the cultural values of citizenship.

At this stage, one major question arises. What were the differences between those individuals who could directly access the citizenship charter and those who first needed a public interrogation? It should first be highlighted that an overwhelming majority of candidates, both among those who apparently needed a public interrogation and those who only needed the direct approval of the councillors, were merchants. This is very logical considering that merchants had an interest in enjoying the fiscal exemptions that the charter entailed. Generally, it seems that interrogations were produced when dealing with sailors, skippers, peasants, and foreigners requesting a charter. Predominantly for professional reasons, these sorts of candidates tended to have a ‘nomadic’ lifestyle which could cast doubts on their intention to live stably in the city, thus hindering their access to citizenship. This was particularly true

Nonetheless, the proportions remain almost identical and the conclusions presented here do not contradict those presented within the journal RiMe.
for wealthy peasants who, although renting or owning houses in Barcelona, continued to live and work in their rural properties.

Foreigners’ application for citizenship typically also included public interrogations. This was the case for humble merchants native to other Catalan towns as well as for foreigners with more renowned origins such as Filippo Strozzi, who applied for Barcelonese citizenship in November 1441. In contrast, merchants from the wealthiest families (i.e. Llobera, Salavert, Junyent), notaries like Bernat d’Esplugues himself, or members of the royal household such as Bartomeu Gras, treasurer of the queen, and Berenguer Espigoler, notary of the king, could appeal for a direct registration when applying for the citizenship charter of Barcelona.

These observations again seem relatively self-evident: individuals whose conditions made it more difficult to ensure a permanent stay in the city were closely investigated while the social and political position of more reputed individuals was considered a perfect substitute for investigations. However, we shall not fall into a reductionist interpretation of the whole phenomenon by assuming that direct registration was reserved for the city’s elites. While such individuals may have been guaranteed direct registration, it should also be recalled that this sort of registration applied to the large majority of cases. Furthermore, it is clear that the group of candidates ‘directly’ registered also included individuals from a diverse range of socioeconomic positions. As suggested, the presence of merchants was particularly important. Merchants need to be approached as a heterogeneous group, one that included opulent magnates as well as more modest traders. Besides merchants and renowned characters, a diversity of craftsmen can also be found among those individuals who ‘directly’ registered. For instance, tailors, candle makers, silk makers, tanners, silversmiths, drapers, and wool carders are particularly evident.

Direct acquisition and registration of the citizenship charter was a rather open process to which a diversity of inhabitants seemed to have access. While the presence of reputed characters in Barcelonese society among those individuals ‘directly’

266AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1441, November, 15th).
267AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 35r (1415, July, 8th).
268AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 81v-82r (1417, May, 25th).
269AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 84v (1417, July, 14th).
270Vinyoles, La vida, 98.
registered should not lead us to determine strictly what conditioned access to citizenship, it does highlight the strong role of fame and reputation in the definition and recognition of the citizen.

Thus, the duality of documents and the double access to citizenship shows that the citizenship charter was supposedly granted to those that were already considered and publicly recognised as citizens. It was only in more ambiguous cases that interrogations were conducted. As a mere fiscal privilege, the charter was granted to citizens and was not supposed to turn individuals into citizens. As a result, it is important to highlight that to be a citizen and to own a citizenship charter were not exactly the same thing. Similarly, public interrogations were not intended to prove that the candidate deserved to become a citizen but rather that he already was a full-fledged citizen of Barcelona and therefore deserved to enjoy the privileges of his city.

All in all, this first attempt at a quantitative approach to the Informaciones de la Ciutadania already shows that the definition of the citizen primarily relied on public fame and recognition rather than on legal statutes. Through interrogations and the registration of charters, municipal authorities gave legal validity to this image of the citizen as a publicly defined and recognised entity. It is time now to turn to a more qualitative analysis of the Informacions in an attempt to reflect on the criteria that determined, publicly as well as officially, the reputation of the citizen.

**The Citizen in Fifteenth-century Barcelona: Rights, Duties, and Ambiguities.**

The Informaciones de la Ciutadania are a unique window on Barcelonese daily life, where habits, relationships, acquaintances, alliances, favours, and rumours constantly built the reputation and fame of the good citizen. The direct voices of witnesses provide anecdotes whilst also transmitting the importance of mutual observation and gossip in the streets of Barcelona, thus enabling the historian to grasp the crucial elements and criteria that defined the image of the citizen within the public sphere.

This image is projected through the answers given to the questions from the authorities’ representatives, as well as through the comments and reflections added by each of the witnesses. Their voices will now help us to take up some of the defining criteria of the medieval citizen traditionally analysed by the historiography. This will be
conducted with a strong emphasis on cultural matters, paying particular attention to how the legal characteristics of the citizen were reinterpreted and understood by the citizens, rulers, and foreigners of Barcelona. To this end, four aspects in the perception of the citizen are of especial importance: 1) the issue of a stable residence, 2) fiscal obligations, 3) the problem of independence, and, finally, 4) attending festivities.

**On Stable Residence: Flexibility, Intention, and Property.**

The *Informacions* were mainly structured around one clear question, repeatedly asked to every witness: ‘Interrogated if he knows or he has heard whether the above mentioned (name of the candidate) is a citizen of Barcelona, namely if he has his own habitation in which he stays continuously with his household, as a true citizen is supposed to do.’

Such a question clearly shows once again how fundamental residence was as a defining criterion of the citizen.

Just as the authorities and legal regulations did, the Barcelonese also considered stable residence in the city as the main requirement that a good citizen had to fulfill and therefore tended to answer this question in detail. Their approach, however, was rather flexible and went far beyond the famous regulation of a year and a day. Furthermore, witnesses accepted settling in both owned and rented properties as proof of stable residence. Other forms of living (*cohabitation*) were also considered and generally approved.

The Barcelonese indeed showed a relative indifference towards the number of years candidates had spent living in the city. Witnesses did not seem to be aware of the customary regulation establishing a minimum stay of a year and a day. Instead, they gave an approximate and blurry idea when asked about it, referring in many cases to very diverse lengths of times as well as to anecdotes and their own memories, sometimes concluding that the candidate had been in the city ‘for a very long time.’

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271 See, for instance, the original version in Catalan taken from the report on Joan Belmenya, merchant and native of Montpellier [AHCb, Consellers 1C-V, 3 (1414, February 7th)]: ‘Interrogat si sab de ha hoyt dir que lo dit Johan Belmenya sia ciutadà de Barchinona ço és queych tinga sa pròpia habitació en la qual estiga e habit continuament ab tot son domicili segons de ver ciutadà se pertany estar e habitar.’ On this issue, see Vinyoles, *La vida*, 57-58.

272 This regulation is mentioned in a few citizenship records. See, for instance, the register of the skipper Antoni Joga, a redeemed man and native of Lloret, located on the coast approximately 60km north of Barcelona. His register clearly stated ‘Anthonius Joga, patronus barche oriundus Castri seu loci de Loreto, diocesis Gerundensis, fovet suum domicilium seu stetit in dicta civitate per annum et diem et amplius cum uxore sua in vico vocato de Santa Marta’ AHCb, 1C-V, 4 (1415, May, 11th).
While legal protocol tended to identify a citizen by defining his past, the Barcelonese were more focussed on valuing and analysing his future, placing more importance on his intention to remain in the city rather than to the time he had already spent there. Intention, as an enduring and essential defining criterion of the good citizen, had also been framed legally. Nonetheless, this intention was usually fixed to a number of years. Appealing to the testimony of other citizens and inhabitants, the authorities of Barcelona now had access to different expressions of this intention to remain. Beyond temporal references, the Barcelonese valued the candidates’ purposes by directly talking and listening to them, carefully noting who was manifestly building a stable life within the city. It is certainly common to find witnesses declaring that they have heard the applicant himself affirm that he intended to stay in the city forever. The physician Llucià Saconomina and his son Pere, a law student, stated that Joan Campells, a merchant from Perpignan, came to Barcelona with the sole intention of becoming a citizen. He had been repeating to them that he intended to live in Barcelona for the rest of his days. Likewise, witnesses confirmed that the merchants Pere Mora and Simó d’Almanara had been claiming that they came to Barcelona ‘with the courage and intention of staying here for all their lives.’

The creation of a family and attracting other family members to Barcelona were also interpreted as proofs of the candidate’s intention to remain permanently in the city. This is very clear in Joan Belmenya’s informe, where his witness Llorenç Luquès, a merchant just like Belmenya himself, declared ‘he [Belmenya] is here with the courage and intention of remaining here, otherwise I would not endeavour in finding a wife for him and he would not accept her.’ It was with the aim of showing the candidate’s intention to remain in the city that witnesses usually highlighted marriage projects they might have been aware of. Let us also recall the words of the notary Simó Carner who affirmed, when asked about the merchant Berenguer Badia,

\[273\] For instance: Riesenberg, *Citizenship*, 131

\[274\]AHCB, 1C-V,4 (1427, January, 24th).

\[275\]It is common to find this sort of declaration, which runs in Catalan as follows: ‘és vengut ab coratge e intenció d’estar hic tottemps de sa vida’. For Pere Mora’s interrogation see AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1423, February, 3rd) For his citizenship record: AHCB, 1C-V,4 Registre f. 169r (1423, February, 25th). For Simó d’Almanara’s interrogation see in AHCB, 1C-V,4 (1420, February, 8th) For his citizenship record: AHCB, 1C-V,4 Registre f. 136r (1420, January, 26th).

\[276\]‘ell hic és per coratge e intenció de aturar hic car si jo sabia lo contrari, no treballaria jo en dar-li muller e ell, que és tal, no la prendria’. AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1414, February, 7th).
that ‘he [Badia] is about to get a wife, since he himself [Carner] and others are involved in this marriage which is soon to be concluded.’

Similarly, witnesses tended to present the attention that candidates might have shown towards mothers, sisters, and brothers as another sign of the applicants’ intention to remain in the city: if it were otherwise, they would certainly not have taken their parents to the city. Joan Volart, a merchant from the town of Besalú, close to Girona, came to live in Barcelona with his mother and his sister, both widows. In the eyes of his neighbours and acquaintances, these two women were guarantors of Volart’s stable residency in the city. Thus, the merchant Francesc Bosch declared that he was sure that Joan intended to remain in the city since ‘this is why he asked his mother and his sister to join him.’ The application was easily approved and Joan Volart obtained the desired charter the day after his report was produced.

In a few cases, the very move of candidates became an almost theatrical experience, once again interpreted by public opinion as proof of their intention to fix themselves in the city. Witnesses usually highlighted such behaviour when the candidate had just recently arrived to Barcelona. The merchant Guillem Miró counted on witnesses who did not hesitate to consider him a citizen, although he had been living in the city for scarcely a month. By publically loading and unloading a large amount of goods in the street, he managed to make his neighbours believe that he intended to create a new household in this city with his family and all his possessions: ‘Guillem Miró has come here with the intention of staying until the end of his life, and this seems quite convincing since the above-mentioned Guillem keeps bringing beds, boxes and other things he might need every day,’ said Joan Vergés, silversmith and citizen of Barcelona.

In an even more extreme case, the shoemaker Bernat

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277 ‘e encara que tots jorns deu prendre muller car ell testimoni hi treballa ensems ab altres e deuen firmar en breu lo dit matrimonio’ For Berenguer Badia’s interrogation see AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1422, May, 27th). For his citizenship record: AHCB, 1C-V,4 Registre f. 169r (1422, May, 23rd). Likewise, the friends of Pere de Corbins, a merchant from Rodez, insisted in his interrogation that they were helping him to find a wife in Barcelona. For Corbins’ interrogation: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1409, February, 25th).

278 ‘e dix que hoc car per aquexa raho hic ha mendades sa mara e sa germana de Besalú on estaven’ AHCB, 1C-V4 (1424, April, 12th). For Joan Volart’s citizenship record, AHCB, 1C-V,4 Registre f. 181r. (1424, April, 11th).

279 ‘lo dit Guillem que s’en és vengut ací ab coratge d’habitar hic tottemps de sa vida e appar ver semblant car tot dia se pobla lo dit Guillem de lits e de caxes e de so que ha necessari.’ Guillem Miró came from Ribes, around 50 kilometres south of Barcelona. For his Informe: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1415, March, 22nd). Guillem was granted the citizenship charter a few days later: AHCB, 1C-V,4 Registre f. 28r (1415, April, 4th).
Masdevall tried to apply for a citizenship charter a mere five days after his arrival. Although a careful reading demonstrates that the witnesses did not know the candidate in any depth, he managed to convince them about his intentions, principally by giving a public dimension to his move, showing how he was bringing all his goods to his new house: clothes, beds, cookware, and boxes of wheat among other things. Just as with Miró, he was granted the citizenship charter a few days later.²⁸⁰

All in all, direct communication, family responsibilities, and certain behaviours built a public perception of applicants’ intention to remain in the city: this was the main aspect the actual citizenry took into account when accepting a new citizen within the urban community. From this perspective, it becomes easier to understand why Barcelonese tended to act openly, showing that recently arrived immigrants, as well as individuals who stayed in the city for more than 20 years or even natives of Barcelona, might equally deserve to be ‘considered and reputed true citizens of Barcelona.’²⁸¹ Ultimately, the importance given to public intention led the Barcelonese to be more than flexible regarding the importance of a long and permanent residence in the definition of a citizen’s reputation. Communicating actively with his new neighbours and carrying all his possessions with him, the merchant Pere Cerdunya managed to be considered a citizen within less than eight days of his arrival.²⁸²

This flexibility needs to be linked to a feeling of empathy. Many witnesses had surely been foreigners; they might also have applied for a citizenship charter themselves before. There is evidence for this: for instance, the wool dealer Feliu Barra requested a citizenship charter in 1407. Seven years later, he was himself giving a testimony on the habits of the merchant Joan Beguda, a native from the town of Figueres.²⁸³ Likewise, a citizenship report was produced in 1409 upon request of the merchant Esteve Bonet, whom we find again giving a positive testimony on the shoemaker Bernat Tomàs a few years later.²⁸⁴ Therefore, Barcelonese were perfectly

²⁸⁰Bernat Masdevall came from the town of Olot, around 120km northwest of Barcelona. For his Informe: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1413, December, 12th). For his citizenship record: AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre f. 9v (1413, December, 14th).
²⁸¹Very common formula used throughout the Informes, normally at the end of each of the testimonies.
²⁸²AHCB, 1 C-V, 3 (1411, March, 17th). Pere Cerdunya was a native of the mountain town of Berga, around 100 km northwest of Barcelona.
²⁸³AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1407, December, 28th) and (1414, February, 7th).
²⁸⁴AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1409, August, 26th) and (1411, January, 29th).
aware about how strongly personal vicissitudes could determine intention and its expression. The *Informacions* clearly suggest it was generally accepted that personal conditions constantly redefined how intention and stable residence were to be understood. For instance, those merchants, peasants, or sailors usually absent from the city due to professional reasons could count on neighbours, friends, and acquaintances who would highlight other aspects that showed their commitment to the city whilst compensating for their more ‘nomadic’ lifestyle. For instance, witnesses on both the French merchant Joan Anziau and the fisherman Antoni Monistrol admitted that these candidates were compelled to travel constantly. To compensate for such unstable lifestyles, mention was made to the house that Anziau had acquired in the city and to Monistrol’s efforts to provide for his mother and sister, who lived stably in the city, thereby guaranteeing his return. 285

This empathic and lax approach to residence was generally accepted by the authorities, who did not hesitate to ratify these alternative criteria so long as the integration of the candidate and his public reputation as a citizen was proved. Yet the nature of citizens’ stable residence needs to be related to the issue of property. As a tool with which to test residence and intention, property within the walls of the city was approached in fourteenth-century Perpignan as the ‘basis of citizenship’ as residency requirements became less and less important in this important city of the crown of Aragon.286

However, the same did not apply to Barcelona, where property did not create citizenship. Indeed, the *Informacions* show that the large majority of Barcelonese citizens lived in rented habitations: this did not have any further effect on their public recognition as citizens. More specifically, 58 per cent out of 131 successful candidates who indicated their habitation rented their living space, while only 28 per cent are presented as the actual owners. The rest were usually hosted by relatives or colleagues.

These observations are in concert with the structure of habitation in fifteenth-century Barcelona, which was based on emphyteusis. As a result, real estate was

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285 For Joan Anziau: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1409, November, 15th). For Antoni Monistrol: AHCB 1C-V,3 (1409, March, 16th).
under a complex web of dominions, and at the core of a market which benefited oligarchical families as well as the Church. Freeholders enjoyed an absolute dominion (*domini directe*) that they could alienate to leaseholders by selling annuities on the value of their properties. Through these annuities, freeholders obtained important rents, which included a substantial part (*laudemium*) of the deals leaseholders contracted when subrenting the property or transferring the annuity. In exchange, leaseholders ensured a secure and stable residence, as not even freeholders could expel them.\(^{287}\) In this context, it is rather difficult to grasp what sort of dominion the candidates branded as owners really had. It rarely seems to have been direct due to the monopoly that the oligarchy and the Church exerted, but the issue can only be solved by analysing a substantial amount of purchasing contracts which specify the sort of dominion acquired.\(^{288}\) For instance, it is clearly stated in his *Informe* that Joan Samaler, a merchant from Perpignan, had just acquired a house in Barcelona, buying it from the wife of the tailor Pere Artaguil. Nonetheless, the document of purchase shows that the Artaguils themselves certainly did not possess this house as an allodium, since they had it under the condition of paying a census to the heirs of the venerable Pere Satorra.\(^{289}\)

Nonetheless, it is obvious that any sort of ownership over a house could only help to obtain a charter. The owning of one or more houses, as well as the possession of landed property, were certainly aspects that witnesses tended to highlight whenever it was possible to do so.\(^{290}\) Indeed, the authorities were obviously interested in the matter, due to the taxes that real estate and landed property brought to the municipality (*imposició dels honors i possessions*).\(^{291}\) Their insistence on the matter became more and more evident from the 1420s onwards. From that

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\(^{289}\) AHPB, Bartomeu Masons, 150/1, ff. 147v-149v (1427, January, 2nd).

\(^{290}\) The successful candidate Pere Jofre owned a field and a vineyard within the walls of Barcelona. AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1414, January, 3\(^{rd}\)). One might also recall the case of the merchant Bernat Baruç who let his witnesses know about the landed properties he possessed nearby to the city. AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1419, November, 24\(^{th}\)).

\(^{291}\) Orti, Pere; *Renda i fiscositat*, 547.
moment on, the issue of property started being raised as a question in itself in some of the interrogations: the witnesses were asked about the potential properties of the candidates within the walls of the city, even when their habitation in rented dwellings had already been confirmed.

More importantly, the issue of property emerges as one of the very few areas in which the interests of the authorities did not necessarily coincide with the criteria determining the public image of the citizen. As was mentioned, taxable benefits pushed the councillors to develop a growing concern for the potential possessions of citizenship candidates within the city, on occasion granting the charter to individuals who did not completely fulfil the other criteria. Giovanni Franceschi, a merchant from Florence, received the charter despite not having the favour of his witnesses. In contrast with so many other interrogations, this merchant’s neighbours shared with the authorities their impression about the candidate’s lack of interest in integrating within the neighbourhood. In so doing, they noticed Franceschi only turned to them when he needed testimony regarding the house he had just acquired the day before the citizenship report was to be produced.\(^\text{292}\) Without taking into account the coolness and indifference of witnesses’ comments, the authorities granted the citizenship charter to Franceschi within five days of the public interrogation. Their insistence on the purchase of the house suggests that they considered such an acquisition to be enough for this Florentine merchant to be granted a citizen’s privileges.

For both the citizenry and the authorities, the establishment of a household, permanent residence, and property were not strict prerequisites but rather tools with which to measure the internal decisions of the candidate and their potential devotion to the community.\(^\text{293}\) They were therefore approached flexibly and considered in light of the petitioner’s conditions and the city’s interests.

\(^{292}\text{For Franceschi’s report: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1413, August, 18-19th) For Franceschi’s record: AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 2v (1413, August, 23rd).}\)

\(^{293}\text{Herzog, Defining Nations, 39.}\)
Standing at the heart of the ‘bundle of rights and duties’ that guaranteed an effective relationship between the city and its inhabitants, taxation has traditionally been included among the instruments used to detect citizens in medieval urban communities. However, besides this clear and classical distinction between rights and duties, exemptions and obligations, other contextual levels of analysis are at stake when dealing with the fiscal agency of the citizen. This was determined by the nature of taxes themselves, direct or indirect, and by the diverse institutions that could pressure the citizen. In this respect, citizens of Barcelona were fiscally linked to the monarchy as subjects and to the municipality as proper citizens, but also to the Diputació del General as inhabitants of the principality of Catalonia. The Diputació was a permanent commission of the Catalan Parliament (Corts) in charge of organising the collection of lump sums granted to the monarch by the three estates (els tres braços: ecclesiastic, military, and royal) forming the Parliament. Such donations were devoted to helping the monarch protect the whole principality of Catalonia from foreign threats, and became particularly relevant within the context of the war with Castile (1356-1369). In performing its task, the Diputació used censuses to establish the sums to be paid directly by each locality (fogatges), defined new indirect taxes (generalitat), and engaged in public debt. This determined its permanent character.

Starting from a close reading of the citizenship charter of Barcelona, I will now consider the diverse fiscal rights and duties of the citizen of Barcelona. This will allow me to unravel the double fiscal nature of citizenship: while the fiscal rights of the citizen depict the outdoor uses of citizenship, his duties framed the indoor functions of this fiscal privilege. To grasp these two dimensions of fiscal citizenship, I shall take into consideration the mosaic of existing fiscalities in Late Medieval Catalonia (urban,

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294 I am grateful to Albert Reixach Sala and Esther Tello Hernández for their reading and useful comments on this section on fiscality.


royal, and Catalan through the Diputació). Despite the limits posed by sources of a non-fiscal nature, I aim to approach the actual effects of economic exemptions and obligations in citizens’ lives.

On Fiscal Rights.

Based on previous royal privileges, the citizenship charter of Barcelona enumerated the set of trading customs from which holders of this document were supposed to be exempt:

[citizens] should benefit from the exemption, immunity and freedom of leudam, pedagium, pedaticum, portaticum, mensuraticum, pensum, usaticum, moxeriffatum, duanam, anchoragium, travetagium, passagium, gabellam or any other sort of tax and custom – being these taxes new or old, already established or to be established in the future. These [exemptions] will be applied in the kingdoms and regions of the King and, especially, in the city and locality of Tortosa and in its fortresses, as well as in the towns and localities of Alacant, Oriola, Elx, and Guardamar and in the adjacent localities which are in the Kingdom of Valencia, beyond the town of Xixona and also in whatever other city, town and locality of the King, wherever it would be located, provided it is under the dominium of the King or his predecessors, gained either through conquest, exchange, purchase, or with any other title, being possessions already acquired or to be acquired in the future.

The exemption from royal customs on trade to the Barcelonese was an old tradition that Pere Ortí traces back to the ninth century: after the Frank conquest of the city, its inhabitants received a few immunities from their new rulers. These favours became systematic and progressively more and more detailed from the thirteenth century onwards, culminating with the almost complete exemption reproduced in the citizenship charter. As has already been mentioned, the charter was...

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297 Original quote in Latin, extracted from one of the copies of the citizenship charter: ‘habeant franquitatem immunitatem et libertatem de non dando vel solvendo aliquam leudam, pedagium, pedaticum, portaticum, mensuraticum, pensum, usaticum, moxeriffatum, duanam, anchoragium, travetagium, passagium, gabellam vel aliam quamcumque impositionem seu consuetudinem, novas vel veteras, statutas vel statuendas, in regnis et terris eiusdem domini regis et specialiter in civitatibus et locis Dertuse et in castris, villas et in locis suis de Alacant, de Oriola, de Elx, de Guardamar et eisdem adiacentibus qui sunt in parte regni Valencie ultra Sexonam et in alis etiam quibuscumque civitatis, villas et locis iamdici domini regis, ubicumque situatis, per ipsum dominum regem vel eius predecessores, per modum conqueste, concambii vel emptionis vel quovis alio titulo hactenus adquisitis vel in posterum adquirendis [...] AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre fol 2v. For a complete transcription of the citizenship charter, see documentary appendix, section 1.

298 Ortí, Renda i fiscalitat, 429.
based on the privilege granted to the city by King James I in 1232 and was updated several times by his descendants throughout the fourteenth century.299

These exemptions usually corresponded to customs on the sale of products (the *lezda*, *pensum*, and *mensuraticum*, for instance) and their circulation (like the *portaticum* and the *passagium*). The multiplicity of terms used in the charter corresponds to the diverse designations that similar sort of customs could be known as throughout the different territories under the jurisdiction of the king of the crown of Aragon. Some of these terms, however, referred to more specific levies, such as the *anchoragium* (*anchoratge*), a fine to be paid by any vessel dropping anchor in a port.300

According to Pere Ortí, these exemptions of the citizen were not always respected, at least in the fourteenth century. At this time, the Barcelonese and all those enjoying a citizen’s privileges had to pay the *mensuraticum*, although in a much lower proportion than foreigners.301 Among the latter, we should take into account those peasants from parishes surrounding the walls of Barcelona, who were usually interested in selling their products in the city’s markets. Chiefly subjected to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the imposition of indirect taxes on peasants from the Barcelonese hinterlands has been interpreted as a strategy on the part of the monarchy to tax this important social group, which otherwise escaped its fiscal jurisdiction.302 In the process of defining trading customs and its corresponding immunities, the monarchy and the city determined different fiscal statutes for Barcelonese and foreigners. This process turned the official recognition of citizenship (the charter) into a precious tool that attracted more and more individuals, as its bureaucratic systematisation by the municipal authorities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries proves.

Besides the levies mentioned in the charter, other customs on trade were imposed throughout Catalan territory: the *generalitats*. These were indirect taxes

299 According to the citizenship charter itself, the privilege was updated by King Alphonse the Benign (1328) and by King Peter the Cerimomious (1336). AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre f. 2r-2v.
301 Ortí, Renda i fiscalitat, 443.
302 Ortí, Renda i fiscalitat, 443.
through which the Diputació del General financed itself, covering the ‘donations’ that had been agreed between the monarch and the Corts and servicing the public debt which it had accumulated since the mid fourteenth century. There were four different sorts of generalitats: the ‘dret d’entrades e eixides’ levied on every product entering and exiting the principality of Catalonia with a duty corresponding to 0.8 per cent of the actual value of the merchandise; the ‘dret de bola de plom’, a custom on the production of textiles; and the ‘dret de segell de cera,’ which taxed the commercialisation and consumption of such products. In Barcelona, the Diputació taxed and collected separately the entry and consumption of luxury products with the ‘dret de les joies de Barcelona.’

Despite having a similar nature to the duties included in the Barcelonese privileges, citizens of Barcelona were not exempted from paying these customs. The generalitats were prerogatives of the Diputació and the raison d’être of this institution: they applied to the inhabitants of the whole principality without exception or exemption. In contrast, it was repeatedly specified in the citizenship charter of Barcelona that the fiscal exemptions granted by this document were to be exclusively applied throughout those territories under the dominion of the king (terris et regnis domini regis), Barcelona itself being a royal city. Levels of jurisdiction therefore determined the fiscal prerogatives of the citizen of Barcelona, which, instead of spreading naturally throughout the Catalan territory into which Barcelona was integrated, were recognised in a patchwork of spaces under the jurisdiction of the king throughout the crown of Aragon, most notably in the kingdom of Valencia.

Of course, such an arrangement was not bereft of benefit, especially where the merchants were concerned, since they were not expected to pay significant duties in important Mediterranean ports upon receiving the charter, such as the lleuda de

303Isabel Sánchez de Movellán Torent, La Diputació del General de Catalunya (1413-1479), (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 2004), 327-335. The generalitats were first sanctioned in the Corts of Montsó of 1362-1363. Until 1380, their specific amount was rather arbitrary. Even after being established at 0.8 per cent, the value of the dret d’entrades e eixides remained dependent on the nature of the product concerned. See in Sánchez, “La consolidació,” 112; Orti, “Les finances de la Diputació del General,” 121.
305Sánchez de Movellán, La Diputació, 27.
Mediona in Barcelona itself.\textsuperscript{306} The regular payments of this custom provide some information, for instance, on the activities of the Florentine merchant Giovanni d’Andrea until September 1423, his disappearance from this sort of record conveniently coinciding with his receipt of a citizenship charter one month later in October 1423.\textsuperscript{307} Nonetheless, despite the attraction of such exemptions, I argue that these important benefits should not push us into overvaluing the economic privileges the charter entailed, since as a fiscal actor the citizen was, first and foremost, a contributor who paid a large amount of taxes. In the case of Barcelona, the generalitats of the Diputació increased the strong pressure already exerted by the municipality.

Furthermore, not all the citizens of Barcelona had a charter, as this was requested only in case of need. Most importantly, this document was not infallible when it came to guaranteeing trading exemptions, which were challenged by the authorities’ fear of fiscal fraud and the establishment of protectionist measures. Already in 1409, King Martin the Humane (1397-1410) established that all Pisans wanting to enjoy the privileges of Barcelona would have to marry a Catalan woman, even those who had already acquired a citizenship charter.\textsuperscript{308} Similarly, the access of foreigners to the fiscal exemptions was made more complex in the 1430s. As well as the possession of a citizenship charter, the promise never to abandon Catalonia and the repeated obligation to marry a Catalan woman were presented as essential criteria for attaining the exemption.\textsuperscript{309} While Giovanni d’Andrea illustrated the effective uses of the charter, the case of the Savoyard Gabriel Carmau gives hints on the limits of this document. Although he received a charter in 1423, Carmau was still compelled to pay the lleuda de Mediona in 1434.\textsuperscript{310}

\textsuperscript{306}The lleuda de Mediona embraced the diversity of duties that were paid on the products being sold in and entering the markets of Barcelona. This name refers to the pact established between King James I and Guillem de Mediona in 1222, according to which the benefits of these customs were to be shared between them. Salicrú, El tràfic, 5; Ortí, Renda i fiscalitat, 407-408.

\textsuperscript{307}Soldani, Uomini d'affari e mercanti toscani, 377. For Giovanni d’Andrea’s citizenship record: AHCB, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 176v (1423, October, 5\textsuperscript{th}).

\textsuperscript{308}Soldani, “Mercanti ‘facitori di faciende grosse’,” 144.

\textsuperscript{309}Carrière, Barcelona, 253.

\textsuperscript{310}For Carmau’s citizenship report: AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1423, February, 25\textsuperscript{th}); his citizenship record in 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 170r (1423, March, 6\textsuperscript{th}). Roser Salicrú documented him paying the lleuda in 1434: Salicrú, El tràfic, 13.
A husband and a father, Carmau died a few years later in Barcelona,\textsuperscript{311} making his rootedness and stability in Barcelona difficult to contest. The fact that he was denied customs exemptions might have to be related to his foreign origin or, more probably, to the fact that his reputation as a citizen was less consolidated than the sources indicate. The complex nature of the \textit{lleuda} in itself, which had two different parts and was generally alienated to external leasees, also needs to be considered as potential sources of trouble and tension,\textsuperscript{312} as some collectors perhaps exceeded their functions and manoeuvred to limit the extent of the privileges to which the Barcelonese had been entitled since 1232.

Indeed, the complex nature of excise management also needs to be considered when analysing the fiscal agency of the citizen. On the one hand, it can be suggested that the zeal of some of these intermediaries challenged citizens’ trading privileges: on the other, citizens themselves were surely integrated within the market of customs’ leasing. I have not come across documents regarding the lease of municipal \textit{imposicions},\textsuperscript{313} yet citizens of Barcelona engaged actively in the market created around the \textit{generalitats}. Identified as citizens of Barcelona, the merchants Bartomeu Vives, Antoni Salelles, and the Carreres’ brothers associated in 1416 with other merchants of the cities of Lleida, Perpignan, and Puigcerdà to rent together the \textit{dret d’entrades e eixides} for three years. As a new lessee, Vives was in charge of naming proper collectors of the custom who would work for him and his associates in Barcelona’s harbour.\textsuperscript{314} In the same period, Bartomeu Cardona, a merchant and citizen of Barcelona, was assigned the management of the \textit{dret de segell de cera} and the \textit{dret de bolla de plom} for the town and territory of Montblanc. Similarly, Bartomeu Gras, notary of the King, treasurer of the queen, and citizen of Barcelona, rented the \textit{dret de

\textsuperscript{311}References to his death and his widow’s activities in Soldani, \textit{Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani}, 177,199, 202, 502.

\textsuperscript{312}Pere Ortí affirms, however, that the division of the Barcelonese \textit{lleudes} between the king and the heirs of Guillem de Mediona had no impact on recognised citizens of Barcelona, who were exempted from all of them. Ortí, \textit{Renda i fiscalitat}, 431. By the end of the fourteenth century, part of the lleuda de Mediona was controlled by important families such as the Desplà, the Despuig, the Desvalls, and the Fivellers. On the alienation of Barcelonese \textit{lleudes}, see Ortí, \textit{Renda i fiscalitat}, 444-492.

\textsuperscript{313}However, it is clear that the leasing of \textit{imposicions} was also the mechanism chosen by the municipal authorities to collect customs. For the fourteenth century, evidence of these leasees is to be found in the \textit{Llibres d’imposicions} and the registers of the \textit{clavari}, the municipal official in charge of the accounts of the municipality. Ortí, \textit{Renda i fiscalitat}, 531-532.

\textsuperscript{314}AHPB, Bernat Pi, 113/10, f. 83v-85r (1416, July, 7\textsuperscript{th}).
segell de cera and the dret de bolla de plom in the area of Barcelona together with the merchant Bernat Perpinyà. This important participation obviously did not restrict the lucrative market of generalitat leasing to the citizens of Barcelona and there is also evidence of the active involvement of citizens of Girona, Lleida, and the burghers of Perpignan. More importantly, some of the Barcelonese leasees referred to here obtained a citizenship charter after being involved in these financial activities. The citizenship register confirms that the charter was only granted in 1418 to Bartomeu Vives, in 1421 to the Carreres’ brothers and to Antoni Salelles, and in 1417 to Bartomeu Gras. It was their wealth and economic interests, rather than their citizenship, that placed some citizens of Barcelona within the lucrative market of leasing generalitat.

The benefits and uses of the citizenship charter, as well as its relevance in identifying the citizen in fiscal terms, remain uncertain and very much dependent on personal and contextual circumstances. The role of collectors is particularly obscure: it seems that they could reject citizenship charters in an attempt to control the scope of exemptions or to favour them in light of their own position as citizens and their will to increase the number of taxpayers to the municipality. A more precise idea of the potential fiscal attributes of the citizen can only be reached by examining practical cases where the charter was actively employed by its holders. The charter permitted the development of a very pragmatic and individualistic dimension of citizenship. Thus, merchants could come and ask for the charter on more than one occasion. In some cases, it is clear that petitions can be linked with specific businesses and commercial negotiations. For instance, the merchant Guillem de Montcofa, together with his associates the merchants Nicolau Sala and Joan de Reus and the sailor Nicolau

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315 For these two last examples, and many more, I am grateful again to Albert Reixach Sala for sharing with me the data that he himself found on the intervention of Barcelonese citizens in the market of generalitat alienation.
316 For Bartomeu Vives: AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre f. 106r (1418, July, 14th). He was registered again, together with some other merchants and the widow of one of the Carreres’ brothers, in 1424. AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 186v (1424, September, 19th). Antoni Salelles was registered in 1421, together with other merchants, among whom was his brother-in-law, Berenguer Carreres. See in AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 151r-151v (1421, March, 12th). For Bartomeu Gras, who was recorded together with his wife Rafaela: AHCB, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 81v-82r (1417, May, 25th).
Aulomar, asked for a new charter in 1419.\textsuperscript{317} Most probably, this mutual petition was intended to benefit the society they had previously created, which can be traced back to 1414.\textsuperscript{318}

Another curious use for the charter is to be found in powers of attorney. These documents could include formula through which principals delegated to their legal representatives the power of using the charter on their behalf so that the exemptions could still be respected. The reputed merchant Antoni Salavert associated with the candle maker Francesc Vilardell and other Barcelonese. Together, they named Joan Perelló, a sailor and citizen of Barcelona, as their representative in their affairs. In so doing, they stated that Perelló was supposed to ‘use for us and on our behalf the exemptions and immunities that were granted to each of us as citizens of the mentioned city.’\textsuperscript{319}

These scarce notices and observations on the fiscal use of citizenship (which can be barely traced in the sources at the base of this dissertation) help us to nuance the significance of the citizen’s fiscal benefits. Indeed, while they are rare, suggestive cases such as Gabriel Carmau’s raise doubts about the unquestionable and consolidated nature of the privileges to which holders of citizenship charters were entitled. Certainly, fiscal citizenship defined a potential space for lucrative action beyond the walls of Barcelona. In so doing, it engaged private and public interests, causing troubles and contradictions in some instances that ultimately helped to blur the nature of the citizen. This situation never seems to have been resolved. In 1451, the town of Igualada wrote to the councillors of Barcelona, objecting strongly to the protection that the royal authorities of Barcelona had decided to grant to the wool dealer Berenguer Cornet, a native of Igualada who had recently been accepted as a

\textsuperscript{317}AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre f. 116v (1419, March, 18th). A record of Montcofa for a previous citizenship charter can be found in AHCB, 1 C-V,4 Registre f. 30v-31r (1415, May, 8th) and Registre f. 102v.(1418, May, 14th).

\textsuperscript{318}AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/7 ff. 39r-39v (1414, May, 1st). This seems to be a renewal of a previous contract, since it is mentioned that Guillem Montcofa was involved in the company in 1413. Another renewal of the company in AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/10, ff. 81v-82r (1416, July, 2nd).

\textsuperscript{319}consti et ordi vos dictum Johannem Perelló procuratorem nostrum et cuiislibet nostrum etc. ad utendum pro nobis et nomine nostro et cuiislibet nostrum franquitatibus et immunitatibus nobis et cuique nostrorum ut civibus dicte civitatis concessis’ in AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/55 f. 91r ( 1417, February, 23rd). The practice of transferring Barcelonese privileges through powers of attorney is also noticed in Soldani, Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani, 135.
citizen of Barcelona.\textsuperscript{320} As such, Cornet had decided not to pay the taxes he owed to his native town of Igualada as a landlord and an inhabitant, where he still resided despite his intention to move to Barcelona with his family.

In previous complaints about this case, the royal authorities of Barcelona (\textit{regent de la vegueria}) had shown an irrevocable will to protect the privileges of this new citizen, affirming, as reported in the letter written by the authorities of Igualada, that:

\begin{quote}
It is a very old and always respected privilege of Barcelona that any citizen of Barcelona who contributes and has to contribute to the impositions and other taxes of this city is not supposed and cannot be forced to contribute in levies and duties of other towns and places for the properties and possessions he might own in them.\textsuperscript{321}
\end{quote}

Nonetheless, the authorities of Igualada were convinced of their moral right to tax Berenguer Cornet and decided to appeal to the councillors of Barcelona, sending them this letter in which they stated that such a decision violated the Constitutions of Catalonia and the privileges of the town of Igualada.\textsuperscript{322} As he was still an inhabitant of Igualada (\textit{vehí e habitador}), they argued that Cornet remained financially linked with his native town: he had debts to pay as well as a large number of taxable properties, for which his relatives had rigorously contributed up to that date. Furthermore, some of the local taxes had been calculated and assigned before Cornet was accepted as a citizen of Barcelona.\textsuperscript{323} More importantly, Igualada could not afford such an exemption, as the \textit{estimi} of the town had already fixed the required contributions from all its inhabitants for the next five years. Finally, the authorities of Igualada stated that Cornet would still have to pay for his landed properties in his native town, as this was as old a custom as the privileges claimed by the royal authorities of Barcelona, and one which had revealing precedents:

\begin{quote}
What follows is based on the letter sent by the town of Igualada to the councillors of Barcelona. AHCB, 1B-X, 21 (letter 172) (1451, August, 25\textsuperscript{th}). I am grateful to Maria Elisa Soldani for this reference.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
'que com sia privilegi de Barchinona molt antic e entró açí observat que algun ciutadà de Barchinona qui contribueix e contribuir deu en imposicions e altres càrrechs de la ciutat no es tengut e menys pot ésser destret a contribuir en talles e càrrechs d’altres viles o lochs per les propietats e possessions les quals en aquelles tenen e posseheixen' AHCB, 1B-X, 21 (letter 172).
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
'èsser molt perjudicial a aquesta universitat e impeditiva e perturbativa e enervativa dels privilegis, immunitats, llibertats e/consuets de la dita vila e contre dret e iustitia e contre Constitucions de Cathalunya e observança d’aquelles' AHCB, 1B-X, 21 (letter 172).
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
'Specific reference is made to the tax on flour.
\end{quote}
and many and diverse citizens of Barcelona who were in the past natives, neighbours, and inhabitants of this town [Igualada] contribute and have always contributed for the real estate, lands, and possessions they possess in this town.324

Given the previous negative reactions of the royal authorities of Barcelona, the townsmen of Igualada addressed these complaints to the municipality of Barcelona, alleging that they held Barcelona to be their mother and that they needed the support of a father, something that only the councillors could provide.325 It is important to recall here that Igualada was a carrer (street) of Barcelona: indeed, it had been the first town to embrace the protection of the main city of the principality in order to avoid royal alienation in 1381.326

The figure of Berenguer Cornet, his strategies, and the reactions he provoked are very illustrative of how differently fiscal prerogatives were approached as elementsidentifying the citizen of Barcelona. Despite any ambiguity, this meant that fiscal issues remained at the core of the legal definition of the citizen. Indeed, on any scale (i.e. royal, municipal and private), fiscal interests determined the recognition of the citizen of Barcelona. While Berenguer Cornet himself tried to use his Barcelona citizenship to reduce his fiscal obligations,327 it is surprising to observe how the royal authorities, which were generally reluctant to expand the privileges of Barcelona, defended Cornet’s position, probably because they remained indifferent to the claims of a town no longer under their direct control. In contrast, the authorities of Igualada logically defended their prerogative to tax the inhabitants and neighbours of their town, regardless of acquisition of Barcelona citizenship. Unfortunately, no answer from the councillors to the desperate claims of the authorities of Igualada has been

324 ‘e molts e diverses ciutadans de Barchinona qui en temps passat eren naturals e vehins e habitants de la dita vila totemps an contribuit e contribueixen per los alberchs, terres e possessions que han e posseheixen en la dita vila’ AHCB, 1B-X, 21 (letter 172).
325 ‘aquexa ciutat la qual havem per mare nostra. Attenem ne a vosaltres com a pares nostres, pregant-vos tan afectuosament com podem que en aquestes coses vos plaçia entreposar e fer e obrar en aquelles en tal manera que usos, consuetuts, libertats e privilegis nostres sien conservats e no sien en res periudicats’ AHCB, 1B-X 21 (letter 172).
326 The process of Igualada’s incorporation as a carrer of Barcelona was long and was not concluded until 1385. On the rhetorical uses of the bond between Igualada and Barcelona in documentation: Sabaté, “Igualada, carrer de Barcelona,” 20. On the carreratge, see chapter II.
327 From a legal point of view, Cornet’s argument would have hardly been considered valid, as double citizenship clearly implied in Italy the payment of taxes in both cities from which a privilege of citizenship was held. To this theoretical norm, many exemptions existed and Baldus degli Ubaldi was asked to solve some of the cases resulting from these tensions. Kirchner, “Between nature and culture,” 182.
preserved. This would have completed the map of positions and interests regarding the transmission of Barcelonese fiscal privileges to the individual or, to put it otherwise, the official creation of citizens of Barcelona both within and beyond the walls of the city. It remains clear, however, that beyond the basic exemptions, the fiscal rights of the citizen remain undefined, a matter of negotiation between competing interests that determined the ambiguous official nature of the citizen.

**On Fiscal Duties**

The fiscal agency of the citizen does not become more definite when we turn to the obligations he was supposed to fulfil. These were supposedly expressed in the text of the citizenship charter, where it was stated that the new citizen was to be recognised as such because of his regular contribution to the taxes and tributes of the city:

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we recognise that [free space to write the name of the new citizen] is a citizen and inhabitant of the mentioned city of Barcelona, and that he paid and contributed in tributes and all other demands and common collections that are paid and approved by all other citizens and inhabitants of this city.
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In contrast to the detailed enumeration of the citizen’s exemptions, the expression of his duties is rather general and makes it difficult to determine how the citizen was actually supposed to contribute to the city’s fiscal welfare. While the records of the first citizenship register (1375-1381) systematically recorded the payment of taxes as a defining criteria of the citizen, albeit in general terms, those included in the second citizenship register (1413-1425) did not even mention this aspect. Thus, in the latter case, the issue can only be retraced through the text of the actual citizenship charter. Furthermore, the question of fiscal contributions was never directly raised by the authorities throughout the *Informacions* but was rather added by witnesses willing to highlight how some candidates committed themselves to the needs of the city through the payment of taxes. This was particularly common when referring to foreign candidates or individuals in more difficult positions. Witnesses could come to affirm

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328) I have looked for it through the registers of letters sent by the councillors for the period August-December 1451.
329) AHCB, 1C-V,4 Registre f.2r. Original quote in Latin: ‘deducimus per presentes quod [free space to write the name of the new citizen] est civis et habitator dicte civitatis Barchinone et quod solvit et contribuit in tallis et aliis exaccionibus et colletis comunibus in quibus aliis cives et habitatores eiusdem civitatis nutunt et solvunt.’
that the candidate ‘had contributed to the impositions and other charges of the city, as any other citizen.’ From this perspective, fiscal duties become a sort of public act, but their nature remains as general and undefined as in the official text of the charter.

Two hypotheses could explain this lack of interest towards one of the elements that traditionally defined the commitment of the citizen towards his city. To begin with, it could be argued that the payment of taxes was such an obvious duty that it was only highlighted in more specific and difficult cases. The irregular nature of taxation in urban medieval Europe and its expression in Barcelona also needs to be recalled. This will help us to understand why citizens were not assigned specific and exclusive fiscal duties. Instead, the citizen was recognised as such by his general engagement with the fiscal needs of the city.

In 1299, Barcelona and its citizens had been exempted from royal direct taxation (*quèstia*). Fiscal contribution to the crown was then based on subsidies that were approved in Parliament and that the city itself had the right to organise. This triggered the development of proper municipal finances that were to combine (1) local annual and direct taxation (*la talla*) with (2) indirect taxation (*impositions*) and (3) public debt. Such systems were also highly developed in other European cities in Italy, the Low Countries, Germany, and Switzerland.331

(1) The municipality levied direct taxes (*la talla*) when it needed to distribute the extraordinary subsidies due to the king among the population. These levies were also used to organise the collection of funds urgently needed by the city (*servitium vecinale*). While the mere inhabitant acted as a subject of his king and contributed in the payment of the subsidies to the crown, the citizen of Barcelona was supposed to act as a subject and a citizen, participating when necessary in both parts of the tribute. In this view, Pere Ortí affirmed (in reference to the fourteenth century) that all citizens of Barcelona, as well as those possessing any sort of property in the territory of the

330The original clause in medieval Catalan was: ‘e ha contribuit en imposicions e altres càrrechs de la ciutat, axí com altre ciutadà.’

city, were supposed to contribute to the talla.\textsuperscript{332} It was property, rather than citizenship, which seemed to determine fiscal agency.

(2) The rather extraordinary character of direct taxes turned indirect taxation into the major source of income for the city.\textsuperscript{333} The imposicions, as indirect taxes were known, were applied to all sorts of products sold in the market (wine, meat, flour, oil, cloth, and wood among many others).\textsuperscript{334} By their nature, these taxes were paid by everybody: citizens, inhabitants, and even foreigners and visitors. To begin with, however, imposicions on the transport of goods were higher than those taxing consumption. In this context, the situation was particularly disadvantageous for foreign merchants, who might have felt a particular need to request a citizenship charter. Rather than an obligation on the citizen, the imposicions might have become a sign of his privileged position vis-a-vis the newly arrived. However, this cannot be documented from my early fifteenth-century sources: the rates of all the imposiciones increased dramatically in the last third of the fourteenth century as they were deployed to cover the needs of the city and meet the strong pressure arising from public debt.\textsuperscript{335}

(3) It is widely known that public debt emerged as a common source of income for municipalities in Western Europe at the end of the Middle Ages. Its development, however, was far from uniform. In Venice, Genoa, Florence, and other Italian cities, forced loans (prestanze) turned public debt into a form of direct taxation which naturally engaged citizens: in Florence, those who were not able to pay all the expected amount lost their political rights.\textsuperscript{336} In contrast, French and German cities placed public debt in a free market, selling bonds and perpetual rents to both local and foreign creditors.\textsuperscript{337} Research on Catalan fiscality has proven that Barcelona and many

\textsuperscript{332}Ortí, \textit{Renda i fiscalitat}, 595. On the development of a municipal fiscal system in Barcelona, see also: Pere Ortí i Gost, “Les finances municipals de la Barcelona del segle XIV i XV: Del censal a la Taula de Canvi,” in \textit{El món del crèdit a la Barcelona medieval}. Barcelona. Quaderns d’Història 13, (2007), 257-282. These aspects are also briefly developed in chapter I of this dissertation.

\textsuperscript{333}Already in the second half of the fourteenth century, the city of Barcelona tried to avoid direct taxation as much as possible. Ortí, “Les finances municipals,” 271-272.


\textsuperscript{335}On the evolution of the imposicions, Sánchez, “Algunas consideraciones,” 26.


\textsuperscript{337}Sánchez, “Algunas consideraciones,” 20.
other Catalan towns, as well as institutions such as the Diputació del General, fell into this second model, selling bonds for life (violaris) and, most particularly, perpetual rents (censals morts) to a large variety of individuals, mainly from the second half of the fourteenth century onwards. The systematic use of these forms of long-term credit was due to the increasing fiscal necessities of the municipality, which had previously been funding itself through short-term loans with high interest rates and even forced loans, as has been documented in the first half of the fourteenth century.

In this new context, local creditors were preferred, as it was easier to negotiate terms of payment and rates of interest with them: nonetheless, foreign creditors (mostly from other Catalan localities) were not uncommon. Furthermore, although the patriciate and the Church were actively involved in the credit market, merchants and artisans are also to be found buying bonds and perpetual rents, showing how broad the social scope of the credit market was in Late Medieval Catalonia. All in all, this brief examination of the nature of urban public debt shows that, as much as in France, Germany or the Low Countries, citizens were not specifically engaged in the credit market of fifteenth-century Barcelona. In so far as they could deal in the public debt of their city, they participated, and very actively, in the debt emitted by the Diputació del General, from which they expected quicker and higher benefits. While I cannot discuss here the extent to which some took their involvement in urban public debt as a sign of their identity as citizens, it is certain that Barcelonese citizens had no specific

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338 Increasingly, the perpetual rent was clearly preferred over the bond, since the lower rates allowed for a more flexible process of reimbursement. Sánchez, “Algunas consideraciones,” 23. On the credit market in Barcelona, Daniel Rubio Mánuel, “El circuit privat del censal a Barcelona,” in El món del crèdit a la Barcelona medieval, Barcelona. Quaderns d’Història, 13 (2007), 239-255.


341 Sánchez, “La consolidació,” 109; Ortí, “Les finances de la Diputació,” 131; Rubio, “El ciricuit privat del censal,” 251. As an example, let us recall the case of the Salavert brothers, merchants and citizens of Barcelona ensuring a rent they had recently bought to the Diputació del General for a total amount of 1000 sous. AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/6 f.52r (1413 November, 7th). The Salavert brothers asked jointly for a citizenship charter only in 1417. AHCB, 1C-V,4, Registre ff.89v-90r (1417, September, 24th).

obligation to quell the financial needs of their city through sharing the burden of the urban public debt.\textsuperscript{343}

In sum, a more detailed consideration of the fiscal system of Barcelona in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries suggests that the diverse mechanisms of fiscal participation were not specifically addressed to the citizen. Rather, citizens, residents, and even some foreigners could contribute. This lack of specificity cannot be analysed further with the Informacions. On the contrary, both the charter and the witnesses testifying in citizenship reports were ambiguous in this respect. From this material, fiscal contribution emerges more as a sign of the intention to commit to and serve the city than as a determining feature of the citizen. No specific taxes determined the citizen condition: participation and involvement in all of them was the best proof of an individual’s citizenship. These observations highlight once more the role of traditional citizenship criteria as measures of intention rather than as prerequisites to becoming a citizen.\textsuperscript{344} The extraordinary and infrequent appeal to direct taxation (la talla) makes this informal approach to fiscality particularly true for Late Medieval Barcelona. More interestingly, the coincidence we document in Barcelona between the fiscal ambiguities of the citizen and the striking predominance of indirect taxes indicate that taxes might have mattered less for citizenship in places with more indirect taxes.

However, alternative sources should be considered in order to avoid excessively downplaying the role of taxation in the recognition of the citizen in fifteenth-century Barcelona. In fact, scattered documents in the Llibre del Consell give hints on the extent to which the Barcelonese and their authorities controlled the fiscal engagement of those who were considered citizens. Ramon de Casaldàguila, a merchant and citizen of Barcelona and Zaragoza, was denounced to the Council when he tried to avoid paying some imposicions, believing that his recently received citizenship of Zaragoza exempted him from this payment. Little information on the issue is given in the Llibre del Consell. It is clear, however, that Ramon had to defend himself. This he did, claiming that the exemption had been applied to some merchants and citizens of Zaragoza with whom he was associated. Indeed, although he was a

\textsuperscript{343}Let us remember that the municipality created a municipal bank, the Taula de Canvi, in 1401 (the first one of its kind in Western Europe) in order to relax the pressure of public debt. Ortí, “Les finances municipals de Barcelona,” 272-282.

\textsuperscript{344}Herzog, Defining Nations, 39. See also Introduction of the dissertation.
citizen of Zaragoza, he had never failed to pay the contributions he owed as a citizen of Barcelona:

The Council has heard some of the reasons here presented by the above mentioned Ramon de Casaldâguila, namely that his citizenship of Zaragoza had not been harmful for the imposicions, as he had continued paying the imposicions he was supposed to pay after receiving Zaragoza’s citizenship but he was associated with some citizens of Zaragoza who were exempted of this payment and he was therefore not supposed to pay for them. The Council agreed on doing justice on the matter.345

The case of Casaldâguila shows that, despite normative ambiguities, citizens of Barcelona and their authorities seemed to have rather clear ideas about the fiscal duties of the citizen. Most probably, Casaldâguila owned a Barcelonese citizenship charter, although I have not been able to document it. Be that as it may, his reputation as a citizen and the subsequent charter was surely gained through daily involvement with the fiscal needs of the city. This public fiscal behaviour had contributed to identify him as a citizen. To fail to fulfil these informal obligations was a serious matter that had to be discussed in order to resolve whether citizenship privileges of the citizen should be revoked.

In total, fiscal perspectives allow us to highlight the performative, rather than the static, dimension of the citizen. With this in mind, another fiscal reading of the Informacions, and not only the charter, can be performed, one that presents a broader and ‘humanised’ dimension of fiscality.346 Indeed, on the rare occasions when

345AHCB, 1B.I-28, Llibre del Consell, vol. 28, f. 67v (1402, November, 23rd). Original version in Catalan of the whole entry on the matter in the municipal acts: ‘Item, com en Ramon de Casaldâguila, mercader de Barcelona se sia fet ciutadà de Saragossa e a causa sua per lo dit ciutadanatge de Saragossa se affermen esser fetes diverses fraus e prejudicis a algunes imposicions de la ciutat e specialment de la pellicham que l consell provehis sobre açò : Lo dit consell, oides algunes rahons aquí dites per part del dit Ramon de Casaldâguila, com mercès que ell per rahó del dit ciutadanatge de Saragossa no fahia prejudici algun a les dites imposicions car així pagava les dites imposicions com abans que fos ciutadà de Saragossa per tot ço que és seu però que ell havia companyia ab alguns ciutadans de Saragossa que eren franchs de les dites imposicions e que per la part d’aquells ell no devia res pagar. Acordà lo dit consell que sobre açò fos feta justícia.

No further reference to this matter has been found in the municipal acts. I have looked throughout the acts of the following year (1403). Ramon de Casaldâguila, who had already occupied influential positions in Barcelona, indeed became a renowned merchant and citizen of Zaragoza. A member of the financial elite of the city, he approached political power by assuming major responsibilities in the fiscal reorganisation and rationalisation of important Aragonese institutions. On this figure, see Sandra de la Torre Gonzalo, “Mercaderes y Políticos: Ramon de Casaldâguila ciudadano de Zaragoza y el Compromiso de Caspe,” in El compromiso de Caspe (1412), cambios dinásticos y constitucionalismo en la Corona de Aragón, ed. I. Falcón, (Zaragoza, Obra Social de Ibercaja, 2013), 863-871.

346I would like to thank Prof. Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla for broadening my perception of fiscality.
testimonies asserted that the candidates were participating in the contributions and ‘charges’ (càrrecs) of the city, these declarations were followed by illustrative examples that clearly referred to the completion of some communal services that the good citizen was supposed to carry out. One of these actions could be buying the wheat the municipality distributed among the inhabitants of Barcelona in times of scarcity. As a sign of concern and solidarity with the city, such an action was publicly observed and, therefore, positively valued. Thus, one witness testifying about the peasant Bernat Muntmany remembered clearly that ‘she has seen he was given the wheat the city used to distribute among the houses and he took it.’

More generally, the actions showing the commitment of citizens were linked to their close collaboration with public works in the city. The artisans Pere Munt and Jaume Soler were praised for their direct involvement in building the walls of the city and draining its moats. It was known that the wealthy merchant Ramon de Boldú made important economic contributions to these very same works. In the words of one of Ramon’s witnesses: ‘the mentioned Ramon has told him many times that he is ready to pay for the works of the walls and the moats of the city, whenever it comes to be his turn and he is asked to do it.’ Interestingly, the duties to be expected from the citizen seemed to adapt to the socio-economic level of the candidates. Furthermore, the economic contribution of Boldú justifies the connection between communal services and fiscality and, therefore, the image of a ‘humanised’ fiscality. A similar contrast can be perceived when considering another common service to the city: the citizen’s commitment to defend and protect his city. The peasant Guillem Costhoer demonstrated his involvement in Barcelona by highlighting his participation in the

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347 ‘ha vist que li han donat del forment que la ciutat solia donar per les cases e que ell ho reebia.’ See in AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1395, January, 21st). This was also clearly expressed in the case of the peasant Bernat Ponç, see in AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Register ff. 160v-161r (1422, March, 6th) The Informe of Bernat Ponç conserved among those of 1419, is not dated. About the public distribution of wheat by the municipality see Vinyoles, La vida, p. 86.

348 For Pere Munt’s citizenship report: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1413, July, 17th) For Jaume Soler’s citizenship report: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1414, July, 2nd).

349 These were the words of the reputed merchant Bernat de Casasàgia, who was actually the landlord of the candidate: ‘diu ell testes que lo dit Ramon li ha dit moltes vegades que era prest e apperella de pagar a la obra del mur e de les valls tota vegada que li vinga sa tanda ni li sia demanat.’ AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1417, January, 9th).
guard, while the same Boldú manifestly maintained a good mount with which he was always ready to serve and protect the city.

From exemptions to services, it cannot be denied that the fiscal dimension had a powerful role in the identification of the citizen in fifteenth-century Barcelona. When fiscalised, however, citizenship engaged with competing interests: the fiscal agency of the citizen determined the ambiguities that lay at the very heart of the citizen’s nature. Two brief examples (Berenguer Cornet and Ramon de Casàldaguila) have shown that it was beyond the walls of Barcelona, in conflicts over dual citizenship, where tensions between the internal and the external, the private and the public, fiscal use of citizenship clearly emerged. In this context, delineating the fiscal agency of the citizen could not be accomplished by listing and accurately analysing the fiscal rights and duties of the citizen, as they can barely be identified. Instead, I have tried to place the citizen of Barcelona within his fiscal context, whilst also acknowledging the broader dimensions of fiscality itself.

**Independence:**

*Serfdom, Economic Reliability, Parental Authority, and Citizenship.*

Linked to contributing to the city’s welfare was the question of a candidate’s civic and economic independence, as the citizen was supposed to be able to serve exclusively the city in which he lived, involving himself actively in meeting its requirements. As a result, there was theoretically no place for serfs and slaves within the civic community. The issue of serfs, the so-called *homs de remença* in Catalonia, and their potential access to citizenship nonetheless deserves special attention, as it allows us to reflect on the control of antagonistic social statuses and enables us to relate them to different interests and broader political contexts.

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350 AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1414, February, 13th).
351 In the words of Bernat de Casasàgia: ‘and he has in his house his own good mount and he is wealthy enough.’ Original quote in Catalan: ‘E té lo dit Ramon en casa sua sa bona cavalcadura pròpia e està bé de si mateix’ AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1417, January, 9th).
352 The denial of their access to citizenship was already directly and legally exposed by the jurist Azo in the thirteenth century. The main prerequisite of citizenship was liberty. Riesenberg, “Citizenship and Equality,” 437. In Barcelona, liberated slaves identified as citizens can be found in notarial documentation of the late fifteenth century. Some examples in Armenteros, “La esclavitud en Barcelona,” 731, 743, 759, 763, 877, 910, 922, 1115.
Literature on Catalan serfdom agrees that the remença emerged as a legal figure in the thirteenth century\textsuperscript{353} when the monarchy gave legal validity to a long set of abuses of landed lords over their tenants as requested by the Parliament (Corts). In this context, the \textit{ius malectractand\ae} (1202),\textsuperscript{354} the right of lords to mistreat their peasants, was confirmed, along with the so-called \textit{mals usos} (baronial abuses), which allowed lords to pressure their tenants in order to ensure productivity and continuity on their farms.\textsuperscript{355} In 1283, in the Corts of Barcelona, King Peter the Great approved the constitution ‘\textit{en terres e llocs},’ which confirmed the obligatory nature of the redemption (remença) that peasants wanting to leave their tenures would have to pay, at least in those lands where this had always been the custom. Furthermore, this constitution limited alternatives to the remences, as it also stated that royal towns and cities were not allowed to shelter those serfs who ran away from their tenures without paying the redemption.\textsuperscript{356} Scholars such as Paul Freedman and Josep


\textsuperscript{355}The \textit{mals usos} were: the \textit{eixorquia} (it gave the lord the right to receive part of the inheritance of those tenants who died childless, normally a third of it), the \textit{cugucia} (the right to regulate adultery, according to which the lord had the right to take possession of any properties of a woman who committed adultery; these properties were fully acquired by the lord if the adultery was known to the woman’s husband and shared between the latter and the lord when the husband was ignorant), the \textit{intestia} (which gave to the lord the right to receive part of the inheritance of those tenants dying without having dictated a will, again normally a third), the \textit{arsia} (monetary compensation the tenant had to pay to his lord if a fire damaged the farm he was taking care of), and the \textit{ferma d’espoli}, (a fine the tenant had to pay to the lord when marrying in exchange for his permission to guarantee at least half of his wife’s dowry with the value of the tenure: this practice soon became an obligation). Finally, the \textit{remença} fixed the redemption any serf would have to pay to his lord in order to move from his tenure. Paul Freedman, “Peasant Servitude, 33. Gaspar Feliu i Montfort, “El pes economic de la remença i dels mals usos,” \textit{Anuario de Estudios Medievales} 22, (1992): 151 onwards. On the mals usos, see also Rosa Lluch i Bramon, “Les viles medievals: franqueses i mals usos,” \textit{Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d’Estudis Històrics} XIX, (2008): 17-18. This last author argues that, although theoretically mandatory, practical collections related to the \textit{arsia} and the \textit{cugucia} have only very rarely been documented. Her intensive research for the area of Girona highlights that redemption (remença) was the baronial abuse most commonly collected.

Fernández Trabal argued that the ability of lords to legalise their private violence through this sort of regulation from the Parliament was exceptional to Catalonia.\(^{357}\)

As a result, the countryside of Northern Catalonia was populated with remences, turning some peasants into serfs forever tied to the lands they laboured.\(^{358}\) Tied to the soil, limited in his movements, and subjected to the mals usos, the remença emerged as a figure completely antagonistic to the citizen. Indeed, comparison between these two legal entities seemed inconceivable to the Franciscan thinker Francesc Eiximenis (ca. 1330-1409), who rhetorically placed the origins of this incompatibility in Roman times and affirmed that the citizen could never be subjected to the mals usos:

> Citizens cannot be forced to pay tolls or any sort of rustic expenses, nor should they pay cugucies, exorquies, other rare compensations, or redemptions; this was a privilege granted by Diocletian, emperor of Rome […] nobody can force a citizen to do servile work. \(^{359}\)

Despite this incompatibility, the Informacions de la Ciutadania show that at the dawn of the fifteenth century some serfs paid redemption or defied regulations and abandoned their rural origins, forging new lives among Barcelonese citizens. To understand the presence of serfs in the city, as well as their access to the citizenry, it is necessary to contextualise further their poor condition by considering the relationships between serfs, lords, the monarchy, and the Council in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. This approach will help us understand better the conditions pushing some remences to emigrate to Barcelona and the specific limitations they found therein when trying to become citizens. This shall aid us in calibrating more rigorously the role of freedom and independence in the making of the citizen and placing Barcelonese citizenship within the political intricacies of a broader Catalan context.

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\(^{357}\) Freedman, “Peasant Servitude,” 33; Trabal, “El conflicto remença,” 589-590.

\(^{358}\) Serfdom was much less developed in Southern Catalonia (Catalunya Nova), that is, those areas that were conquered from Muslims from the eleventh century onwards. The establishment of the remença in the north (Catalunya Vella) was partly due to the lords’ urge to control their peasants’ migration to the south, where they could settle in the free tenures of the Catalunya Nova. Vicens, Historia, 19-20; Freedman, “Peasant Servitude,” 37; Fernández, “El conflicte remença,” 590-591.

\(^{359}\) Francesc Eiximenis, Dotzè del Crestià, ed. Lambert-Palmart (Valencia, 1483), f. 52v: ‘los ciutadans no poden ésser forçats de pagar ponts, ne peatges, ne messions de coses rusticanes, ne cugucies, ne exorquies, ne penes peregrines, ne reempçons de persones, lo qual privilegi los donà Dioclecià, emperador de Roma […] ciutadà no por ésser forçat de fer per negun obra servil.’
At the threshold of the fifteenth century, Barcelona had to combine its traditional distaste towards the nobility with a certain sympathy regarding their territorial interests, since the crown, out of necessity, had turned it into a feudal lord itself. In 1391, Prince Martin sold to the city the lordships of Elx, Crivillent, Terrassa, and Sabadell. While Elx and Crivillent were in the kingdom of Valencia, Terrassa and Sabadell, lands of *remences*, were close to Barcelona.\(^{360}\) In such a position, it was certainly difficult for the authorities of Barcelona to openly accept as free citizens those *remences*, be they fugitive or redeemed, who arrived from elsewhere in Catalonia to start a new life.

Indeed, it was particularly difficult in those troubling times when *remences* started articulating a stronger claim for emancipation and their earlier disordered revolts turned into violent demands for the complete abolition of the *mals usos*.\(^{361}\) The late fourteenth century witnessed the emergence of the first revolutionary generation of *remences*.\(^{362}\) These protests were partly provoked by increasing pressure from the landed lords, who wanted to recover the prerogatives they had been forced to grant their tenants in the aftermath of the Black Death.\(^{363}\)

The gravity of the *remença* issue began to reach sizeable proportions at the precise moment when the insurgents developed stronger organisational capacities as a result of their experiences within the peasant assemblies authorised by the monarchy to provide the money the crown required to recover its patrimony. Many also acquired military skills by participating in the *sagramental*, a peasant militia that had been created in the thirteenth century to protect the hinterlands of Barcelona from the ambitions and attacks of feudal lords.\(^{364}\) The *sagramental* had always been protected by the Council of the Hundred. Therefore, it is within this institution that


\(^{361}\) This aim was first reached in 1455, when Alphons the Magnanimous abolished the *mals usos* in order to force feudal lords to reach agreements with their *remences*. Needing the support of the nobility to receive an economic donation from the Parliament, Ferdinand the Catholic re-established baronial abuses in 1481. Resulting tensions led to a second peasant revolt that was only controlled with the definitive abolition included in the Sentencia Arbitral de Guadalupe, issued by the same monarch in 1486. On this chronology of the abolition of serfdom, see, for instance, Fernández, “El conflicte remença,” 619-622.


\(^{363}\) Vicens, *Historia*, 44.

the ambiguous and contradictory position of Barcelona and its oligarchy is revealed: arming remences and other discontented peasants, Barcelona controlled lordships and was certainly pressured by serf disturbances. This sort of schizophrenia certainly had an effect on the formation of the body of citizens, as the city decided to scrupulously respect the norms that protected lords’ rights by accepting remences with suspicion, a marked contrast with the traditional fluidity and openness of the Barcelonese citizenry.

This does not mean that there were no ways open to remences to integrate themselves into the Barcelonese citizenry. On the contrary, some clung to obtaining of Barcelonese citizenship as the ultimate means to gaining their freedom, knowing that the Recogoverunt Proceres had established that any individual could become a citizen after living within the walls of the city for a year and a day so long as they were not formally requested by their lords. The carpenter Joan Gibert, for instance, received the charter after having lived in the city for more than a year and a day without being formally requested, as was very clearly stated in his citizenship record:

Jaume Gibert, a carpenter native from the Castle of Santmenat has been in this city of Barcelona for more than one year and one day and during this time he has not been requested by anyone, where he was a man propius et affocatus et de redimentia and for whom [the councillors] agreed issuing a citizenship charter as it is done for other citizens of this city.365

A few months earlier, in May 1415, the councillors had also agreed upon accepting the skipper Antoni Joga, a native from Lloret, as a new citizen: as was acknowledged in his record, he had been living in the city with his family for more than one year and one day without having been requested by his former lord.366 More intriguingly, Joga presented a neighbour of the street Gacelm named Francesc Ferran as his guarantor, a man who can also be identified as a witness for the candidate Joan Saytò, a remença applying for Barcelonese citizenship a few years earlier.367 At this point, Ferran stated that he had known Saytò since they were children: they had been baptised together

365AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 39v (1415, November, 14th): ‘Jacobus Giberti, fusterius oriundus termini Castri de Santo Miniato steterit in dicta civitate Barchinone per annum et diem et amplius et quod infra dictum tempus per aliquem non fuit requisitus ubi esset homo propius et affocatus ac de redimentia alicuius conesserunt sibi fieri et expediri cartam ciutadenagii in forma solita prout allis civibus dicte civitatis.’

366AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 31v (1415, May, 11th).

367AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1407, April, 30th). The case of Joan Saytò is mentioned in Vinyoles, La vida, 90.
and were both natives from the same locality. It is tempting to speculate that, as with Saytó and Joga, Ferran had been a *remença*, meaning that his decision to act as Joga’s guarantor could be interpreted as an instance of solidarity among serfs.

Nonetheless, *remences* in the city did not only count on the solidarity of those who had gone through similar experiences. Their efforts to reorientate their lives by seeking new occupations and engaging with Barcelonese families were positively perceived by their new neighbours, who protected them on many occasions and defended their claims to citizenship. The young Joan Sunyer, for instance, was placed as an apprentice with a shoemaker through the good offices of the tanner Joan Figuera, his neighbour in the city. While everybody seemed to know that Sunyer had been a *remença*, the witness Guillem Coll declared very convincingly that the candidate had never been requested by his lord. More interestingly, the peasant Ramon Carbonell, who had apparently known the candidate his entire life, could not state whether Sunyer had been requested or not. Coming from such a close friend, Carbonell’s silence can be interpreted as a sign of solidarity and complicity.\(^{368}\) A similar use of silence can be perceived in the case of the tailor Antoni Amill, who had been living in Barcelona for around two years when he requested a charter. Antoni had established sound relationships with his new neighbours: he had invited them repeatedly to his place and had even come to confess his previous life as a serf to some of them. None of the interrogated witnesses, however, was willing to say a word about whether Antoni had been requested or not by his former lord.

For citizens of Barcelona, the servile condition did not seem to be an impediment to performing acts of citizenship and therefore being thought of as a citizen. As was previously observed, citizens judged the present condition of those wishing to become part of the citizenry rather than their pasts. The case of the builder Salvador Ros is particularly illuminating in this regard.\(^{369}\) Having fled the tenure where he was ascribed as a *remença*, Salvador found a new life in Barcelona. Trained as a builder, he was about to marry his master’s daughter and had recently acquired a house when he decided to request a citizenship charter. His witnesses and neighbours

\(^{368}\)Suggested also in Vinyoles, *La vida*, 90.

\(^{369}\)AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1409, July, 4th).
were positive about his actions and regarded him as a complete citizen, despite knowing about his previous life.

In this case, however, silence was absent: one of the witnesses explained that Salvador had been recently pursued up to the walls of Barcelona by his former lord when visiting his native locality, three years after his voluntary exile. Although the Recognoverunt Proceres should have covered Salvador’s pretensions to the charter, Rosa Lluch has affirmed that such an episode might very well have dissuaded the councillors from officially accepting Salvador as a citizen due to their first priority of maintaining the power balances that would ensure their own territorial interests. Unfortunately, no citizenship registers have been conserved for the period regarding Salvador Ros’ application and the outcome of his request remains unknown.

Certainly, remences such as Salvador Ros, Antoni Amill, or Antoni Joga were not among those who challenged their lords’ privileges in the countryside. Those leading revolts and emancipation protests adopted a more revolutionary profile, fighting as they were for the abolition of the mals usos and the maintainance of the farms where they laboured. They were peasants and wanted to remain so. They understood their liberation within a rural framework rather than an urban one. Although remences in the city chose more personal strategies to sever their servile ties, their presence was still a sign of the serious troubles in the Catalan countryside. In their obsession to avoid involving themselves in such problems and entering into conflict with other feudal lords, the authorities of Barcelona paid particular attention when they came to consider (former) remences’ requests for citizenship charters.

Although respecting the Recognoverunt Proceres, the councillors were very well aware of other customs or royal constitutions that emphasised the indissolubility of the feudal oath and excluded fugitive serfs having sworn fidelity to their lords from the one year and one day rule. There was a desire to avoid conflicts and establish the ties of dependence that determined the life of every individual. Some other regulations clearly forbade remences to settle in privileged towns (‘specialiter civitates Barchinone’) and in 1432 the Corts enacted a constitution which allowed lords to

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371Vicens, Historia, 21; Feliu, “Rellegint la història dels remences,” 44.
372The Constitution ‘en terres y llochs’ (1283) has been interpreted in this way rather than as the introduction of the remença. To, “Drets de Justícia i masos,” 147.
advertise the disappearance of their fugitive serfs in fairs and markets within a year and a day of their desertion.\textsuperscript{373}

Therefore, a whole legal corpus pushed the authorities of Barcelona to control the presence and acceptance of serfs within the city. Thus, candidates identified as natives of feudal lordships were generally investigated in greater detail. Besides directly raising the issue during interrogations, new reports were produced for the most dubious cases, showing how much importance the authorities placed on clarifying the condition of candidates. For instance, a new interrogation was conducted in the case of the skipper Pere Feliu, one that was specifically and uniquely focussed on the possibility that he was an unredeemed serf.\textsuperscript{374} Once again, the lack of citizenship registers for the earlier years of the century means that we cannot confirm the outcome of this double procedure. Nonetheless, it seems clear that Feliu managed to be accepted as a citizen among the Barcelonese, since he is identified as a citizen in notarial documentation from 1412, just one year after his citizenship report was written.\textsuperscript{375} The success and durability of his integration among other maritime professionals was also proven through the marriage of his daughter Margarida with the sailor Francesc Gibert.\textsuperscript{376} Although this does not prove that the charter was ultimately granted, the declarations of one of Feliu’s witnesses might have guaranteed a happy ending for Feliu: while the merchant Joan Navarro identified the candidate as a remença, he also declared that Feliu came from the lordship of Bernat de Cabrera who did not usually pursue his fugitive serfs since he was generally absent from his Catalan domains.\textsuperscript{377} With the danger of a conflict dispelled, the councillors might have been more inclined to confirm Feliu’s integration within the citizenry.

The authorities’ suspicion towards the remences is also evidenced by their zeal in confirming that candidates’ redemption had been properly carried out. This is clear from the report on the sailor Gabriel Covaner, which included a marginal note stating

\textsuperscript{373}Vicens, \textit{Historia}, 31. On the limitations of the one year and one day regulation, that is, the significance of a previous fidelity oath both in Girona and Barcelona, see Lluch, “Les viles medievals: franqueses i mals usos,” 14.

\textsuperscript{374}AHCB, 1C-V,3 ( 1411, January, 23\textsuperscript{rd}).

\textsuperscript{375}When the lawyer Jaume Riera, citizen of Barcelona, publicly recognised Pere had paid the debt of 55 solidos he owed him for the renting of a house in the street Pont d’en Oliver. AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/50 f. 33v (1412, December, 17\textsuperscript{th}).

\textsuperscript{376}AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/17, ff. 35v-36v (1420, February, 18\textsuperscript{th}).

\textsuperscript{377}AHCB, 1C-V,3 ( 1411, January, 23\textsuperscript{rd}).
that the lord of Lloret, Gabriel’s native locality, had certified that the candidate had redeemed himself with the payment of 44 sous. In this specific context, such information might have been more highly valued than the words of Gabriel’s witnesses, who did not hesitate in depicting the candidate as an active and well-behaved citizen.

The confirmation of redemption became part of the citizenship procedure in cases involving serfs. Municipal authorities did not hesitate to directly address landed lords when dealing with the pretensions of remences, betraying in so doing the location of those who sought shelter within the walls of the city. Besides the fortunate case of Gabriel Covaneur, other less successful cases show how the authorities’ obsession with avoiding conflicts with other feudal lords influenced administrative practices. In 1404, Ramon de Peguera and his wife Isabel, the lords of the castle of Mataró, sent a letter to the councillors of Barcelona regarding one of their remences, Joan Torner. The lords of Mataró were clearly answering a previous letter from the councillors (Molt honorables senyors, vostra letra havem reebuda e aquella ben entesa) asking about the status of Torner, the latter presumably having tried to become a citizen of Barcelona. Their response could not be clearer:

the mentioned Joan Torner, to whom you referred to in your letter, is not a citizen of Barcelona and he cannot be, according to the constitutions of Catalonia and he is not respecting them as he is a serf (hom propi, soliu e affogat e de reemença) of the lord of the castle of Mataró, and he therefore cannot enjoy the privileges and liberties granted to the citizens of Barcelona, as he had not paid his redemption and he has not done what it is established in the constitutions, and he cannot be taken as a citizen, first and foremost, because he has not been in the city for one year and one day.

378 The Castle of Mataró was first acquired from the crown by Pere de Múrgens and was received as a dowry by his granddaughter Isabel, who was married to the noble Ramon de Peguera. Roser Salicrú i Lluch, “El Plet entre els hereus de Pere de Màrgens i els primers passos per a la lluïció. Notes documentals del castell de Mataró durant el regnat de Ferran d’Antequera,” Sessió d’Estudis Mataronins 9 (1992): 93-94.

379 I could not find the original letter from the councillors. The answer from the lords of the Castle of Mataró in: AHCB, 1B-X,2 (1404, February, 18th) (letter 90): ‘el dit Joan Torner del quaal en la tenor de vostra letra és feta menció, no és ciutadà de Barchinona neu pot ésser atteses les constitucions de Catalunya si donchs no fa çò que les constitucions disponen, car és hom propi, soliu e affogat e de reemença del senyor del Castell de Mataró per que ell nos pot nes déu alegar de privilegis ne libertats atorgades a ciutadans de Barchinona, car no ses remut ne ha fet çò que les constitucions volen e ordenen, per que no déu esser deffers per ciutadà maiorment com no ha stat per un any e un die dins la ciutat’
Remences reached the city of Barcelona in the early fifteenth century, carrying with them all the miseries, troubles, tensions, and interests that would so strongly determine the political rhythm of the whole principality during the second half of the century. Their lack of mobility, their subjection to the mals usos, and their dependence on a lord made them completely antagonistic entities to the citizen. The few who dared to venture out and find a new life in the city help us to reflect further on the definition and the making of the citizen. By focussing on the experiences of serfs in the city, the existence of two different dimensions defining the citizen becomes particularly evident: a popular one based on practices and reputation, and an official one depending on other interests. While these two dimensions generally coincided with and respected each other, they often remained at odds when the citizenship of a (former) serf was at stake. While the servile condition was not a major hindrance to attaining reputation among the Barcelonese, the authorities further investigated these candidates and were willing to accept them only if their redemption could be fully confirmed. A broader context helps to clarify this issue, showing that the suspicious attitude of the councillors was not based on some sort of moral conviction regarding the freedom of the citizen. Rather, these reactions were strongly linked to the interests and political negotiations of the city and its rulers outside its walls. This should not push us into underestimating the importance of independence in the definition of the citizen. On the contrary, the ability to serve the city exclusively was a very important feature of the citizen. However, this was measured in urban terms.

In terms of citizenship, independence was understood in a more economic sense. The citizen had to be able to live by his own means (menjar e beure del seu propi), as economic reliability guaranteed his involvement in the necessities of the city. This issue was raised by the authorities particularly in those cases where the candidates’ lifestyles could bring their actual means and resources into doubt. Thus, testimonies tended to insist on the fact that candidates lived by their own means when referring to young merchants, who were usually renting single rooms in other merchant’s houses. 380

Self-maintenance and its public manifestation emerge from the Informacions as important elements in the creation of citizen reputation: as such, both Barcelonese

380 Carrère, “La vie privée.”
and their authorities explored them in detail. In this regard, the former serf Gabriel Covane provides, once again, a very good example. Gabriel’s witnesses did not waver in affirming that the candidate was living from his own means since they had seen him paying for half of the supplies his host’s wife usually bought. From a richer position, the merchant Bernat Forner provides an interesting example of the attention given to economic independence. Known as the son of a citizen of Barcelona and the owner of a house within the walls of the city, his condition of a citizen should have been obvious. Nonetheless, his continuous trips and the fact that he was living in his cousin’s house put it into doubt. In order to evaluate to what extent he depended on his cousin, the authorities organised an interrogation where witnesses were directly asked about the means Forner used to sustain himself. Many of them answered they did not know whether the candidate was really living from the benefits of his labour or not. In any case, they had seen him bringing precious jewels back from his trips, which he will always gave to his host’s daughter. In the eyes of those surrounding Forner, these gifts generously covered his living expenses and guaranteed, therefore, his reliability as a citizen.\footnote{AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1422, May, 22$^{nd}$) Forner was granted the citizenship charter one day later. AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre  f. 162v. (1422, May, 23$^{rd}$).}

In summary, a solid personal economic situation was the main factor that determined the independence a citizen was supposed to enjoy. In contrast, I would argue that emancipation from a father’s authority was neither a legal nor a public requirement for the citizen. As long as candidates were able to live on their own funds, there was no age limit fixed for those willing to become citizens of Barcelona. Although registered with his mother, Esteve des Mas, son of the late merchant Berenguer des Mas, gained a citizenship charter when he was only slightly older than 17.\footnote{AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, ff. 124r-124v (1419, May, 30$^{th}$).} Even more surprisingly, it seems that the merchant Antoni Berenguer was barely 15 years old when he managed to obtain a charter; as the blacksmith Joan Mastort, one of his witnesses, affirmed, ‘I have known him for more than 14 years and I have seen him being breastfed.’\footnote{\`{e} dix que més ha de XIII anys que l’coneix e l’ha vist mamar’. AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1419, September, 11$^{th}$). Citizenship record of Antoni Berenguer in AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre f. 134r (1419, November, 23$^{rd}$). The witness’ memory was probably somewhat defective since no reference to such a young age was mentioned in Berenguer’s citizenship record.}
As established in Roman law,\textsuperscript{384} an individual’s emancipation was not strictly determined by age in Late Medieval Catalonia. Since the ‘patria potestas’ was an imprescriptible concept, one remained under the control of a progenitor until his father’s death or his own marriage.\textsuperscript{385} Despite his young age, Esteve des Mas was identified as an ‘adultus’ in his citizenship record due to the death of his father. The merchant Pau de Massanet was younger than 25 when he requested a citizenship charter in 1423, for which his father Berenguer acted as guarantor. Despite his father’s support, it is important to note that Pau was acting independently, as he had been emancipated three years before when he married the daughter of the deceased merchant Antoni Deudé.\textsuperscript{386}

However, single Barcelonese who remained under the ‘patria potestas’ of their fathers could also be solvent merchants who behaved like good citizens and were in need of a charter.\textsuperscript{387} Their father’s authority did not question either their own capacity to contribute in the city’s welfare or their integration within the community. As a result, individuals under their father’s supervision could easily attain citizen reputation and thereby obtain a citizenship charter. However, to give full legality to this action, the consent of their father was generally mentioned in their corresponding citizenship record. Throughout the conserved records, I have found six cases in which the action of the ‘patria potestas’ is clearly mentioned. While it is stated that Francesc Riba swore his oath ‘with the consent and will of his father Bernat Ribes and under his father’s authority,’\textsuperscript{388} some merchants actually registered with their parent in what


\textsuperscript{385}Originally, Roman law put children under the strong authority of their fathers until the latter died. There was no age for majority and marriage did not change the absolute dependence on the father. Richard Saller, “Patria potestas and the stereotype of the Roman Family,” Continuity and Change 1, (1986): 8. Despite presenting these legal precepts, the author challenged the actual impact of \textit{patria potestas} in Roman society. Be that as it may, the reception of \textit{patria potestas} in the Middle Ages was differed by degree and was modified by local traditions and regulations. In Catalonia, King Peter the Cerimoniouls sanctioned the emancipating nature of marriage. (Corts of Perpignan, 1351) Brocà, Historia del derecho, 360.

\textsuperscript{386}For Pau Massanet’s citizenship record see in AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre f. 167r (1423, January, 4th). For his marriage with Joaneta, daughter of the late Antoni Deudé, merchant and citizen of Barcelona, see AHPB, Bernat Nadal 58/59 ff. 17r-20r (1420, May, 12th).

\textsuperscript{387}This is in contrast to the opinions of fourteenth-century Italian jurists, who argued that the settlement of private business was also a criteria for emancipation. Anna T. Sheedy, Bartolus. On Social Conditions in the Fourteenth Century, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 68.

\textsuperscript{388}de consensu et voluntate dicti Bernardi Ribes patris suis, et in sua patria potestate’ AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre f. 145v (1420, August, 16th).
seemed like joint petitions. In one more extreme case, the furrier Joan Desbroll entrusted his father with the process of acquiring a citizenship charter on his behalf. Once again, Desbroll’s record specified that the candidate was still under his father’s authority.

Young age and parental authority did not therefore seriously damage people’s belief in a citizen’s independence. On the contrary, the efforts of young individuals to act as true citizens were generally praised and respected by neighbours and other acquaintances. However, one unique condition determined the official acceptance of these young citizens as well as the receipt of their charter: they had to renounce to the legal benefits linked to their young age. Thus, their citizenship records included the clause ‘renuntio beneficio minoris etatis.’ As determined by Roman law, minors, individuals having overcome puberty but still younger than 25, needed legal protection, deeply unexperienced as they were in legal and economic matters. They were therefore subjected to the restituo in integrum propter aetatem, which permitted the cancellation of any contract having resulted in a deterioration of their condition.

Renunciations of these Roman benefits were very common and became part of the formulae that structured notarial documents. In terms of citizenship, to force minor citizens to renounce their legal privileges was a way to ensure they would not be able to escape their duties as citizens, even if these could put them in a difficult position. Renunciation therefore constrained them not only to fix a stable residence in the city, but also to pay the established fine whenever they were willing to return the charter or abandon the city.

389 See, for instance, the case of the merchant Tomàs Sariera, under the supervision of his father Martí Sariera, with whom he applied for a citizenship charter. AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre f. 101r (1418, April, 29th). In the subsequent days, Jaume Xarch, a merchant just like as Tomàs, was also registered with his father Antoni, who acted, again, by virtue of his ‘patria potestas.’ AHCB, 1C-V,4 Registre f. 102v ( 1418, May, 12th).

390 Johannes Desbroll, mercator civis Barchinone, nomine suo proprio et ut pater et legitimus administrator Johannes Desbroll, pellipari eius filii in sua patria potestate constitut...’AHCB, 1C-V,4 Registre f. 157r (1421, November, 14th).

391 For definitions on ‘beneficium’, ‘minores’ and the ‘restituo in integrum’ in Roman Law, see Adolf Berger, Encyclopedic dictionary of Roman Law, (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1953), 583, 682.

Attendance at Festivities

This subsection needs to address the relationship between civic ritual and citizenship, as our exploration of the practices that determined the making of the citizen draws to a close. Edward Muir has put civic rituals at the core of processes of civic identification in Early Modern cities. Rituals turned the geographical, social, and legal space of the city into a unified stage: in so doing, they became creative tools that merged tensions and solidarities in order to define the city as a symbolic and politicised space with which to relate and commit oneself. Thus, rituals like processional festivities nurtured citizenship, as they stirred feelings of belonging and staged power relationships.  

While devoting his analysis to the case of the Italian city-states, Muir also considered the trickier subject of what these rituals meant in other parts of Europe such as France, Germany, Aragon, and Castile, where cities had to use their rituals to show both the strength of their autonomy and loyalty to their king. These rich ambiguities were at stake, particularly during those festivities organised to celebrate the entries of monarchs and princes. Such ceremonies, and the role they played in staging the social order of the city, have been recently studied in the case of Barcelona.  

However, these events do not easily allow us to reflect in detail on the role of rituals in the definition of the citizen because of their extraordinary character. The Informacions give some clues on the matter, although at a rather marginal level. Indeed, it was only on very few occasions (18) that witnesses identified the candidate’s status as citizens through their constant presence in the regular festivities of the city (festes anyals). The festes anyals (annual festivals) included Easter, Pentecost, Christmas, and one local festival: their ritualisation throughout all the territories of the crown of Aragon was established by King Peter the Catholic in 1200.  

Little is known about how these festivities altered the daily rhythm of the city. There is some information on the public messages the king delivered to Barcelonese

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citizens on Christmas from the balcony of his palace\textsuperscript{396} and \textit{Corpus Christi} processions, as popular in Barcelona as in the rest of Europe, were included in the celebrations of the Easter cycle.\textsuperscript{397} As with the more exceptional rituals, the \textit{festes anyals} mentioned in the \textit{Informacions} turned the city into a theatre where citizens observed each other and showed their allegiance to the civic and religious authorities of the city, whose venues marked the itineraries of the processions.

Thus, the scarcity of references on festivals in the citizenship sources should not be taken as a sign that civic rituals had only marginal relevance in the recognition of the citizen. On the contrary, I argue that attendance at these events was such an obvious duty that its performance was only noted for more unstable candidates, individuals for whom it was not always easy to prove fixed residence within the walls of the city. More precisely, the 18 cases for which the issue was mentioned chiefly refer to peasants who maintained properties beyond the walls of Barcelona and could only come to the city intermittently. The effort they put into being present for Barcelona’s festivities was rewarded with citizen reputation. Under similar conditions of instability, some glaziers also benefited from their constant attendance to these public festivals. Dependent on their furnaces in Bigues, the glassworkers Francesc Satorra and Pere Pujalt were continuously coming back and forth from Barcelona. Indeed, since 1324, glass furnaces were prohibited by municipal prescription in order to reduce the risk of fires in the city. As a result, glass workers needed to maintain a furnace outside the walls of the city.\textsuperscript{398} Nonetheless, as Satorra and Pujalt were always in the city during the celebrations, their witnesses did not vacillate when it came to openly recognising that they acted as ‘true citizens should do.’

In the context of the late 1300s and the early 1400s, the municipal authorities, now securely autonomous, approached citizenship in much the same way as the monarchy had done previously. Therefore, stable residence, the maintainance of a family, fiscal obligations (often ambiguously defined), independence, and commitment

\textsuperscript{396}Vinyoles, “Festes i alegries,” 44.

\textsuperscript{397}Raufast, “Itineraris processionals,” 137-139. Raufast elaborates here on the major influence of this festival, the itinerary of which was actually reproduced in royal entries.

\textsuperscript{398}Carrère, \textit{Barcelona}, 412 (footnote 52). Curiously, the same furnace (in the locality of Bigues) seems to have been used by Francesc Satorra first (1407) and later by Pere Pujalt (1423). For the citizenship report of Francesc Satorra see in AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1407, January, 3\textsuperscript{rd}). For Pere Pujalt’s citizenship report: AHCB, 1C-V,4 (1423, February, 11\textsuperscript{th}) and for his citizenship record: AHCB, 1C-V,3 \textit{Registre} f. 168v (1423, February, 13\textsuperscript{th}). These examples are also mentioned in Vinyoles, “Festes i alegries medievals,” 43.
to the services and festivities of the city stood as the pillars on which the official definition of the citizen of Barcelona rested.

At the crossroad of institutional and cultural history, the *Informacions* have shown that the municipal authorities of Barcelona granted the charter while depending on witnesses’ observations, memories, and opinions, giving legal validity to the definitions and acceptance of the Barcelonese. The reputation of the citizen was fully accepted as the basis of citizenship. The citizen was identified as such by his performance of citizenship, which itself was a concept and practice under constant construction.

However, the authorities had also a more negative approach to matters related with citizenship. Besides accepting and recognising new citizens as the *Informacions* have shown (*Admetre en Ciutadanatge*), the councillors were also in charge of expelling citizens, which implied a withdrawal of the citizenship charter (*Expel·lír/Gitar de ciutadanatge*). Ultimately, they would also have to deal with those who wanted to abandon the city along with their privileges and obligations as citizens (*Sortir de ciutadanatge*). Reproducing the solidarity, fluidness, and openness of Barcelonese society, the *Informacions* have little to say on such exclusionary practices. Nonetheless, these aspects still need to be considered, at least briefly, in order to reach a more complete image of the institutional mechanisms that determined the experience and vicissitudes of the citizen.

**Expe·lír/Gitar de Ciutadanatge: Citizenship and Institutional Exclusion.**

Notwithstanding the role of public reputation, this section is concerned with the extent to which councillors could use their capacity to grant charters to turn citizenship into a tool of political exclusion on the one hand and a mechanism of social supervision on the other.

The significance of citizenship in processes of political exclusion has already been addressed when referring to serfs’ applications. This was a political decision by the authorities, which were willing to complicate these processes in order not to question the interests and the position of the city itself as a feudal lord. Specific contexts and objectives therefore determined the *exclusionary* uses of citizenship.
Thus, a regulation of 1397 established that citizenship rights and prerogatives would be withdrawn from any citizen who refused to occupy municipal offices in Barcelona to which he had been elected.\textsuperscript{399} This had become a recurrent problem, since appointees preferred to occupy more lucrative positions within the royal household.\textsuperscript{400}

In broader terms, citizenship was withdrawn from individuals accused of treason, violence, banditry, and indiscipline, who were considered dangerous and disturbing to the urban community. To them, the withdrawal of citizenship implied physical expulsion from the city. In 1397, Guerau de Calders begged the Council to let him return to the city, from which he had been expelled for slandering the councillors.\textsuperscript{401} The reasons which led to the expulsion of Simó Riusec from Barcelona in 1326 remain unknown, but it is clear that he had incurred the councillors’ anger. They sent a letter to the battle of Terrassa, where Riusec was living, in which they affirmed that they did ‘not consider [Simó] as a citizen and we do not intend to defend him as a citizen.’ Their concern pushed them to ‘notify the mentioned things, so that neither you nor anybody under your jurisdiction should consider him to be a citizen of Barcelona.’\textsuperscript{402} Similarly, Ramon Vinader had been banished from the city by the municipal authorities in 1337.\textsuperscript{403} Not even the defence of the king himself convinced the councillors, who believed there was just cause (\textit{justas causas}) for expelling Vinader from the city and withdrawing his citizenship privilege.

It is difficult to provide a deep and analytical understanding from these scarce notes and references on the mechanisms that turned citizenship into a practice of political exclusion. Banishment and exile were not as common as they were in the

\textsuperscript{399}Bruniquer, \textit{Rúbriques}. I/3, 88. In Bruniquer’s words: ‘los Consellers, Missatgers o a altros Officis elets hagen d’acceptar, sots pena de ser \textit{gitats de tot Ciutadonatge}, y privats de tots privilegis, y libertats de Ciutadá.’

\textsuperscript{400}Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, “Una època tranquil·la en el govern de Barcelona: el regnat de Martí l’Humà (1396-1410),” \textit{Barcelona. Quaderns d’Història} 4, (2001): 169.

\textsuperscript{401}Bruniquer, Esteve, \textit{Rúbriques} I/3, 87.

\textsuperscript{402}AHCB, 1 B.1 (\textit{Llibre del Consell}, vol 9) f. 47r (1326, September, 1\textsuperscript{st}). Original quotation in Catalan: ‘no-l tenim e no-l havem per Ciutadà ne-l entenem a defensar com a ciutadá’ ‘e que d’aquí avant vos ne negú de vostra jurisdicció ne-l hajuts ne tengats per Ciutadá de Barchinona’. Referred in Bruniquer, \textit{Rúbriques} I/3, 80. Although these sources do not state the reasons for this expulsion, it is to be noted that a certain Simó Riusec emerges as a violent character in other sources, as he had apparently killed a man of his parish 10 years later in 1336. See in Josep Bautells i Reig, \textit{Vivir en la Edad Media.Barcelona y su entorno en los siglos XIII-XIV} (1200-1344). (Barcelona: CSIC, 2006), 1999.

\textsuperscript{403}Bruniquer, \textit{Rúbriques} I/3, 80.
factious Italian city-states, where exile became one of the defining characteristics of political life. 404 Instead, other measures were implemented to punish political disobedience. After participating in a merchant’s revolt in 1433, Joan de Llobera, a merchant and citizen of Barcelona, was condemned not to occupy any sort of municipal post for 10 years. 405 Allowed to remain within the walls of the city, his nature as a citizen was substantially modified, as he was suddenly compelled to act and behave as a passive, rather than an active, citizen.

Leaving these scattered examples aside, the central objective of political exclusion in medieval Barcelona was to restrain the influence of members of the nobility within the walls of the city. Nobles were certainly not welcome in Barcelona or in other Catalan cities. 406 The case of Girona was particularly extreme, where nobles had no right to citizenship until the seventeenth century. 407 For Late Medieval Barcelona, it is clear that nobles were placed far beyond the citizenry, since the Council of the Hundred was closed to them. 408 Citizenship was permanently denied to members of the nobility. Extreme cases show the tense relationships that the city maintained with some of the most important noble families of the principality. Guillem Ramon de Montcada, for instance, could not enter the city in 1390, even though he was under the protection of the Duke of Montblanc, the future King Martin the Humane (1397-1410). The councillors cited ‘the numerous damages he [Guillem Ramon] had caused to the city and its citizens.’ 409

The radical exclusion of the nobility from the political sphere created a strong contradiction, however, within the political ranks of the Barcelonese citizenry, first and foremost among the oligarchy of the city, the honoured citizenry. While such a

406 Josep Fernández Trabal, “De ‘prohoms’ a ciudadanos honrados. Aproximación al estudio de las elites urbanas de la sociedad catalana bajomedieval (s. XIV-XV),” Revista d’Història Medieval 10, (1999): 335. The author presents this as a rather common phenomenon found beyond the principality of Catalonia in cities such as Zaragoza and Burgos. In contrast, an urban oligarchy composed of military nobles was common in border cities. Furthermore, knights were actually included in the urban councils of Valencia and Mallorca.
408 Batlle in Batlle, Ferrer, Mañé, Mutgé, Riera and Rovira, El ‘Llibre del Consell,’ 30.
409 ‘per los molts danys que havia causat a la ciutat y a sos ciutadans, que perçó li fos respost desistís de aquesta demanda,’ Bruniquer, Rúbriques, 1/3, 85-86.
restriction was designed to guarantee the monopolisation of their power within the city, it also forced honoured citizens to refrain from any expectation of social ascension, for if they become nobles they would lose the power they held in the city. This was a rather paradoxical situation, as members of the Barcelonese patriciate had been acquiring lordships in the city’s hinterland since the thirteenth century, gradually embracing a rentier existence and an aristocratic lifestyle. This inner contradiction was only solved later when King Ferdinand the Catholic (1479-1516) approved the admission of knights in the Council of the Hundred (1498) and gave noble rank to the honoured citizenry (1510). With these manoeuvres, the king turned citizens of Barcelona and nobles into compatible ranks. Such a move can only be understood within the context of this later period as a ‘considerable compromise that made the survival of two threatened minorities possible and gave birth to a new urban nobility, more cohesive and powerful.’

Back in the earlier fifteenth century, citizenship therefore emerged as a useful political tool in the hands of the Barcelonese municipal authorities. Whilst ensuring the control of disruptive elements such as serfs, which might question the political relationships of the city and its oligarchs, citizenship remained primarily a means by which to exclude the nobility from the political arena. Yet, another institutional use of citizenship emerges more powerfully from the sources underpinning this dissertation. From the citizenship reports they supervised, the councillors obtained detailed information on the daily lives and relationships of candidates. Although the acquisition of a charter depended on the personal will and intentions of the candidates, this bureaucratic procedure provided to the authorities an observatory from which to control the peaceful coexistence of the Barcelonese citizenry. The very few cases for which no citizenship charter was finally recorded can now help us to reflect on the extent to which the municipal authorities used citizenship to define the limits of the urban community.

The period for which both citizenship reports and records have been conserved (July 1413 to February 1425) allowed me to isolate those cases for which a final charter was not recorded, since citizenship was presumably denied. The lack of final registration was, however, rather uncommon: I have only been able to document it in 21 cases out of the 165 reports produced during these 12 years. It should also be clarified that the denial of the charter did not imply expulsion from the city but rather official exclusion from the citizenry, that is, from the group of inhabitants who were supposed to commit themselves to the city in return for protection and fiscal exemptions. Such a denial therefore meant that the citizen reputation of the candidate was still questionable.

It is generally difficult to determine why the granting of the charter was actually refused on these occasions. Many of these candidates seemed to follow the citizen requirements even more carefully than in other, successful, applications. For instance, no charter was recorded for the tanner Joan Soler, although he was already identified as a citizen in the opening of his informe. Soler was certainly taken as a member of the citizenry by his fellow citizens, who affirmed that the candidate had been contributing fiscally and had participated in the building of the city walls. The outcome of Miquel Vall’s request is also rather surprising. This butcher did not manage to have a citizenship charter recorded, despite the fact that he had maintained a stable residence in the city for more than two years in a house he had bought ‘with his own money,’ as one of his witnesses explained.

To shed some light on these more contradictory cases, I argue that not all the non-registered cases mean that individuals were officially rejected as citizens. Some cases seem to be related to individuals who might have decided, for one reason or another, to abandon their petition or to block it. This was probably the case for the master artisan Joan Sanç, who had been living in Barcelona with his family for more than 20 years when his citizenship report was produced. The charter does not seem to have been recorded, but one should also consider that the report was extremely short: it relied only on two witnesses, suggesting that the whole procedure might have

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414 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1414, July, 2nd).
415 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1417, March, 24th). ‘de sos propis diners.’
remained incomplete. The case of the Castilian crossbowman Joan Lesques also suggests that these unsuccessful applications could correspond to incomplete procedures rather than direct denials. Lesques did not manage to obtain the charter in 1427. A second successful application in 1429 revealed that he had been travelling intensively, mostly to Sardinia. The candidate’s departure certainly paralysed his first application, while his return, full of projects of stable residence, guaranteed the success of his second solicitation.

The absence of registration could also be the result of some mistake within the bureaucratic procedure. Both the skipper Nicolau Benajam from Mataró and the peasant Joan Flaquers were granted the charter, as indicated in a marginal note of their reports. Their charters, however, were never recorded in the corresponding register.

Thus, incomplete applications should be carefully considered, as there are no grounds to believe that they all corresponded to official denials. Nonetheless, some of these presumably failed applications can still help to pinpoint the features that could question one’s identification as a citizen, at least in the eyes of the municipal authorities.

Martí Sapera, a wool comber who travelled intensively, was not granted the charter he requested. Besides the instability of his residence, his witnesses were unable to give a definite answer as to whether this candidate had formerly been a serf who had been living in the city for one year and 11 days. The merchant Arnau Porta, ‘raised out from poverty’ as one of his witnesses detailed, did not seem to have been recorded as a citizen. As I will argue in chapter VII, poverty was not a factor that automatically damaged reputation in the Late Middle Ages. However, in some cases, it

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416AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1418, August, 25th).
417AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1427, June, 7th) and AHCB 1C-V, 4 (1429, June, 16th). Although no citizenship registers are conserved for this period, the granting of the charter in 1429 was specified in a marginal note on the report.
418For Nicolau Benajam’s report: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1419, June, 3rd). The following note was included in the report: ‘postea eadem die honorabiles consiliarii habita relacione de presenti informacione, concesserunt cartam ciutadenagii dicto Nicolau Benajm prout est moris concedi sed voluerunt supersedi e eius expeditione usque ad diem mercuri proxima’. For Joan Folguer’s report: AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1424, September, 10th). Similarly, the following note was included in the informe: ‘Postea die Sabbatti XVI mensis septembris anno predicto per honorables consiliarios civitatis Barchinone, audita prius informacione predicta mandarunt fieri cartam ciutadenagii dicto Johanni Folguers.’
419AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1418, January, 11th).
420AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1421, July, 11th).
could still question the capacity of the candidate to deal with the fiscal charges of the citizen, thus becoming a potential reason for official exclusion from the citizenry. Communal obligations to the city also help to frame the example of the merchant Bernat Soler. Rather appropriately, the absence of a final registration in this case coincides with the candidate’s failure to participate in building the city walls.\textsuperscript{421} Finally, the lack of rootedness in the city might well have determined the unsuccessful outcomes of the requests from the merchant Joan de Montconill and the wheat trader Pere Moret. Originating in the hinterland of Tarragona, Moret seemed only interested in the markets of Barcelona and he requested the charter without even residing in the city. One of his witnesses did not hesitate to affirm that ‘he does not know or heard anything about Pere Moret being a citizen of Barcelona, he does not know either whether he has his own habitation in the city or not, he only knows that Pere Moret sells wheat in the Plaça del Forment in Barcelona and he does not know anything else.’\textsuperscript{422} The position of Joan Montconill, a merchant leading a company in Barcelona who had lived in the city for more than six years, was also dubious. Indeed, his witnesses knew him professionally, but none seemed able to affirm where his home in the city was. Not even the widow Francesca, who rented to the candidate the store where he worked, was able to give some further information in this regard: ‘the mentioned Joan goes somewhere else to sleep, since she is a widow and she could not suffer a man sleeping in her house, where there is no lord.’\textsuperscript{423}

On the whole, these scattered cases of unaccepted citizens reinforce previous claims that stable residence, independence, and commitment to the needs of the city were the fundamental indicators through which citizens were recognised and accepted as such at both an institutional and communal level. Nonetheless, it is important to highlight that the reasons for the denials are generally difficult to retrace, since candidates often performed as good citizens and were seen as such by

\textsuperscript{421}As his witness and landlord, the merchant Guillem de Cabanyelles affirmed: ‘e contribueix en imposicions e altres càrrechs de la dita ciutat, exceptat en la obra del mur.’ Bernat Soler had, however, been trained in the city. He had paid his taxes regularly and had been living in the city for more than 20 years. AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1418, October, 10\textsuperscript{th}).

\textsuperscript{422}‘no sab ne ha hoyt dir que lo dit Pere Moret sia ciutadà de Barchinona ne hic tinga habitació pròpia ne ha altra notícia d’ell sino que veu que lo dit Pere Moret ven blats en la plaça del Forment de Barchinona e als noy sab’ AHCB, 1C-V,4 (1422, May, 19\textsuperscript{th}).

\textsuperscript{423}‘està en veritat que lo dit Johan va jaure en altra part com ella testimoni sia vidua e no soferia que null hom jagués en casa sua, pus que senyor no-y ha.’ AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1422, February, 27\textsuperscript{th}).
their witnesses. Beyond performance and the existence of legal indicators, the practice of citizenship was contingent in each case, for the Barcelonese as much as for their authorities, who used their capacity to grant the privilege of citizenship to ensure a solid and peaceful civic community as well as to guarantee the interests of the municipality. The fundamental role of particularities and contingencies in the making of the citizen justifies the tricky and evasive nature of the citizen, dependent as it was on a constant dialogue between the city and its inhabitants. Thus, the making of the citizen could be progressive, as those who had once undertaken unsuccessful requests to the charter could be more successful in later occasions, such as in the cases of Joan de Lesques and the foreign merchants Mateu Novella and Nicolau Cantó. Furthermore, the making of the citizen was not a unilateral process: while some who performed as citizens and were recognised as such were not granted a charter, the power of the authorities to withdraw or deny the privilege of citizenship by virtue of political and social necessities contrasted with the decisions of some citizens to renounce to their privileges.

‘SORTIR DE CIUTADANATGE’: REJECTING CITIZENSHIP

Far from being a personal decision, the rejection of a citizenship privilege had relevant economic nuances that awoke the anxieties of the Council of the Hundred and its councillors. Since the citizen was a relevant fiscal actor, to lose a citizen ultimately meant to lose an important contributor. The authorities established such a close relationship between citizens and fiscal resources that the expression ‘exiting citizenship’ was related to the idea of ‘exiting contribution’ in some municipal sources. Thus, an enactment of 1397 imposed that anyone (every person, male as well as female) ‘exiting from citizenship, contribution, and ordination of the mentioned city’ would have to pay a penalty of 5 sous per possessed lliura, as well as a quarter of the

\[424\] For Nicolau Cantó, merchant from Girona: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1419, October, 12\textsuperscript{th}); 1C-V, 4 (1422, November 26\textsuperscript{th}); 1C-V, 4, \textit{Registre}, f.166v-167r (1422, December, 16\textsuperscript{th}). For Mateu Novella, from the town of Cervera: AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1413, September 6\textsuperscript{th} –December 14\textsuperscript{th}) ; 1C-V,4 (1421, September, 10\textsuperscript{th}); 1C-V,4 \textit{Registre} , f. 155r-155v (1421, September, 12\textsuperscript{th}).

141
possessions he/she might have within the walls of the city.\textsuperscript{425} Citizenship was enacted through an oath: to break such a feudal commitment required the payment of a redemption.

On a less rhetorical note, as the recurrent use of public debt led to the fiscal collapse of the municipality (see chapter I), the authorities needed to prevent fiscal evasion among citizens and, chiefly, to compensate for frequent instances of fraud (‘to repair the great abuses that have been done for some time’).\textsuperscript{426} For this specific aim, the same regulation established that a fine was to be applied on illegal practices committed in the market around citizens’ properties, which seemed to be rather common. To sell citizens’ properties to non-citizens implied moving properties to a less beneficial fiscal regime, reducing the amount of contributions to be paid by citizens involved in such transactions. The authorities equated the damage of these deals to the actual loss of citizens and therefore fixed similar economic conditions. Thus, the regulation also established that in those cases in which goods and properties under citizenship fiscal regime (\textit{en ciutadenatge}) were detached from a citizen, the city would have to be compensated to the tune of 5 \textit{sous} per \textit{lliura} or one quarter of the value of the sold goods. In an urgent moment of necessity, the issue of citizenship gave birth to a new sort of contribution that Esteve de Bruniquer would later call the ‘quarters of citizenship’ (\textit{quarts de la contribució de ciutadanatge}).\textsuperscript{427} The councillors named the honourable Joan Sabastida, citizen of Barcelona, as official collector of these quarters.\textsuperscript{428}

Thus, the ‘\textit{sortida de ciutadanatge}’ (the ‘exiting of citizenship’) was strongly associated with fiscal issues, especially fraud. As a practice, it did not always correspond with the physical abandonment of the city. It highlights the fiscal

\textsuperscript{425}‘que de vuy a avant tota persona axí mascle com fembra, ciutadà o ciutadana de la dita ciutat qui per qualsevol causa o rahó exirà de a contribució, ciutadanatge e ordinació de la dita ciutat, pach e haja a pagar de continent a la dita ciutat, o a son clavari en nom d’aquella, cinch sol. per lib.’ AHCB, 1B.1 (\textit{Llibre del Consell}), vol. 27, f. 91r-92v (1397, June, 5\textsuperscript{th}). The terms of this regulation were commented upon in Bruniquer, \textit{Rúbriques}, I/3, 87-88 and Carreras, \textit{La ciutat}, 525. I would like to thank Prof. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, not only for giving me the reference of this important document, but also for providing me with her own transcription.

\textsuperscript{426}‘per subvenir al gran abús que d’algun temps a ençà en les coses dejús escrites se serva en la dita ciutat’ AHCB, 1B.1 (\textit{Llibre del Consell}), vol. 27, f. 91r-92v (1397, June, 5\textsuperscript{th}).

\textsuperscript{427}Bruniquer, \textit{Rúbriques} I/3, 88.

\textsuperscript{428}AHCB, I.B.1 (\textit{Llibre del Consell}) vol. 27, ff 99v-100r (1397, July, 24\textsuperscript{th}). Also mentioned in Bruniquer, \textit{Rúbriques} I/3, 88.
relevance of the issue and helps us to understand the other measures with which the authorities tried to control the departure of citizens and the subsequent loss of contributors. Emerging already in the earlier records, these measures were automatically mentioned in the records produced between 1413 and 1425, ensuring the continuity of the measures that had been enacted in the more critical context of the late fourteenth century.

The records included in the citizenship register of 1413-1425 show that when swearing citizenship, citizens had to promise that they would return the charter to the authorities, renouncing the privileges it implied or pay a fine of 100 *lliures* if they ever came to abandon their stable residence in the city of Barcelona. More specifically, the formula ran as follows:

in the case he himself [refers to the new citizen] would abandon his habitation in the city he would return the mentioned citizenship charter or pay as a fine one hundred *lliures* of Barcelona, of which the venerable royal magistrate of Barcelona (vicario) would receive half and the City the other half.\(^{429}\)

The return of the citizenship charter as a voluntary act was very rarely documented and it always corresponded to the need to physically abandon the city. Acting as a guarantor, the weaver of veils Joan Castell returned his son’s charter, specifying that the latter had decided to transfer his home to the city of Vic, where he intended to live with his wife. Similarly, Macià Català returned the charter of the merchant Huguet Blanchart, who decided to leave Barcelona and went back to his probable native town of Arlès in the south of France.\(^{430}\)

In these cases, those deciding to leave the city chose to return the charter, losing the privileges that citizen status implied. However, as the text of the oath itself suggests, the authorities gave space for another possibility, permitting those leaving

\(^{429}\)To be found in all the records included in the citizenship register AHCB, 1C-V, 4. Original quote in Latin: ‘quo casu quo ipse deserat habitacionem dicte civitatis restituet dictam cartam ciutadenagii vel exsolvet pro pene et nomine pene centum libras barchinonenses, adquirenda scilicet medietas venerabili vicario Barchinone et altera medietas dicte civitati.’

\(^{430}\)Jaume Castell’s citizenship charter was registered in 1419. AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre ff.120r-120v (1419, April, 11th). A marginal note indicates his charter was returned on 18 July 1421. Huguet Blanchart’s charter was registered in 1417. AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre f. 71r (1417, February, 19th). A marginal note indicates that his charter was returned on 19 August 1419. No motive was specified when the carpenter Jaume Arnau returned his charter on 27 March 1426. AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre ff. 180r-180v (1424, March, 24th).
the city to conserve their charter provided they pay a fine that, as the records
specified, would be partly devoted to public works in the city. This double possibility
sheds light on some contradictions, namely the presence of individuals who identified
themselves as citizens of Barcelona despite being officially domiciled in other towns
and localities, thereby breaking the chief requirement of citizenship. In 1424, the
merchant Francesc Sarrovira sold a slave to Antoni Rifós, who was identified as a
citizen of Barcelona and inhabitant of the parish of Sarrià. Roser Salicrú documented
how Bernat Ferrer, inhabitant of the town of Mataró, refused to contribute in the
payment of his town’s redemption, affirming that he was a citizen of Barcelona.

Despite the vocabulary used, the regulation of 1397 cannot be taken as a proof
of a higher tendency among Barcelonese citizens to abandon their acquired privileges
and positions, as this is seldom documented through citizenship sources. Rather, the
aim was to address cases of fiscal fraud which happened to be related to misuse of
citizenship. This was not unusual: in 1281 in Marseille, a regulation strictly forbade
transactions of properties between citizens and strangers. In contrast with the good
and even the practical citizen depicted in the Informacions, regulations of this sort give
some hints about the bad citizen in the cities of the Late Medieval Mediterranean.

In this context, procedures of citizenship acquisition in fifteenth-century
Barcelona aimed to ensure their citizens’ loyalty. To confront those who wanted to
abandon the city with the choice of returning the charter or paying a fine would force
them to choose between a definitive renunciation of their privileges or the
compensation for an attitude unworthy of a good citizen with an amount to be
devoted to maintenance of the city. To be sure, the principal interest of the city was to
keep and guarantee its fiscal resources, but these attempts to define and control the
mechanisms of citizenship rejection also forced bad citizens to improve their
behaviour.

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431 AHPB, Bernat Nadal 58/63, f.17r (1424, January, 15th).
432 Salicrú, Mataró, 18.
CONCLUSIONS

In continuity with chapter II, the intention of this chapter was to reflect on the institutional articulation of citizenship, detailing how the involvement of the Council of the Hundred developed from the late fourteenth century onwards. Indeed, these two chapters together have insisted on highlighting the chronologic progression of citizenship. First defined within a constant dialogue between the monarchy and the city throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, citizenship soon became a prerogative of the Council of the Hundred essentially under the control of the councillors from the late fourteenth century onwards. Such a dynamic corresponds in time with the progressive autonomy of the municipality of Barcelona and the emergence of a powerful oligarchy which came to monopolise urban power.

The chapter has intensively dealt with the last stage of this process, exploring in depth the *Informacions de la Ciutadania* both from a quantitative and a qualitative perspective. Commissioned and supervised by the councillors, the *Informacions* have emerged as an open window onto the daily lives and relationships of a large variety of Barcelonese citizens, placing the issue of reputation at the core of the making the citizen. In so doing, the Barcelonese themselves, not just their councillors, emerged as direct actors, the agency of whom became fundamental in the articulation and understanding of citizenship in fifteenth-century Barcelona.

Reputation was therefore an officially recognised pattern in the definition of citizenship and the creation of citizens. The nature of the sources studied here has allowed me to highlight the extent to which the criteria determining this citizen reputation (stable residence, maintenance of a family, fiscal agency and communal services, and civic and economic independence) were analysed by both Barcelonese and their authorities in light of personal conditions and circumstances. The laboratory of fifteenth-century Barcelona helps us to insist, therefore, on the flexibility of medieval citizenship, manifesting how strongly the making of the citizen depended on contingencies and suggesting that there were as many citizenships as citizens in Late Medieval Barcelona.

Yet, the initial intention of approaching citizenship through the eyes of the municipality implied the need to combine the *Informacions de la Ciutadania* with
other municipal sources. A complete overview of the municipal control of citizenship cannot only consider the granting of citizenship, that is, official admissions to the citizenry (admetre en ciutadanatge), but also needs to reflect on processes of exclusion from the citizenry (gitar de ciutadanatge), as well as on the meaning of citizenship rejection (sortir de ciutadanatge) and the measures applied by the municipality to control it. In contrast with the value of the Informacions for retracing procedures of citizenship admission, little can be recovered from the Barcelonese archives on the two latter institutional actions. From what municipal acts, a few regulations, and the Informacions themselves have revealed, I have still been able to provide some hints on the mechanisms through which the municipality and the oligarchy used citizenship in their own interests, turning it into a tool through which to impose a precise political, social, and fiscal control over the citizenry.

All things considered, the chapter has strongly insisted on the place of Barcelonese themselves in the official process of citizen recognition. This has demonstrated that legal definition and social perception were complexly intertwined in the making of the citizen, which actually depended on a large diversity of elements like the interest in a fiscal privilege, pragmatism, social supervision, acceptance, and communal coexistence. The structure of the thesis follows this double-sided nature of the citizen, confronting for methodological purposes the difficult task of separating these two faces of the citizen. Thus, the first part recreated the legal and institutional background of the citizen while the second aims to analyse the social mechanisms through which the reputation of the citizen was built on a daily basis and the performance of the good citizen understood and codified.

Before turning to the social processes that determined the emergence of the citizen, the following chapter needs to contrast the legal practice of citizenship retraced in the two last chapters with legal thought on the matter in fifteenth-century Catalonia. This will be done in relation to the literature that has analysed medieval citizenship from the works and comments of renowned Italian jurists such as Bartolo de Sassoferrato and Baldus degli Ubaldi. Thus, this first part of the thesis, which I devoted to understanding in depth the background of the Barcelonese citizen, will include a final discussion on whether a legal doctrine on citizenship existed or not in Late Medieval Catalonia.
IV
From Legal Practice to Theory.
Thinking the Citizen in Late Medieval Catalonia.

Firstly, one wonders about what should be included within the city or the citizenry, in terms of land and persons.

Jacopo de Belvisio [?]\textsuperscript{434} (Jurist. Bologna, 1270 - ivi, 1335).

Catalan law prevails over Roman law
Jaume Callís\textsuperscript{435} (Jurist. Vic, ca. 1370- Barcelona, 1434).

\textbf{INTRODUCTION}

The analysis of the progressive articulation of a citizenship law in Late Medieval Barcelona has shown to what extent the different actors involved in the process (i.e. the monarchy, the Council of the Hundred and, chiefly, the Barcelonese themselves) were concerned with the individuality of the citizen. I explored in the previous chapter how they all identified the rights and duties of the citizen in detail whilst respecting his subjectivity and acknowledging his personal conditions.

This chapter will introduce and analyse the role of jurists as complementary actors in the definition of the citizen while also considering the essential tension between individuality and common good, rights and duties, privileges and services, in the nature of medieval citizenship. The relevance of these figures in medieval urban culture has been deeply explored within the Italian context. Certainly, the city republics of Northern Italy owed the legal legitimisation they needed to defend their

\textsuperscript{434}Queritur [primo] civitatum vel civium appellatione [que] terre et persone [contineantur]' Magnus Ryan, "Bartolus of Sassoferrato and Free Cities (The Alexander Prize Lecture.),” Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 10, (2000): 81. Ryan considers the author of this quotation anonymous, while mentioning that it has previously been attributed to Jacopo de Belvisio.

\textsuperscript{435}'Ius Cathaloniae derogat Ius Romano.' Quotation attributed to Jaume Callís, one of the ‘classic’ Catalan jurists. Mariàngela Vilallonga Vives, La literatura llatina a Catalunya al segle XV. Repertori biblio-bibliogràfic, (Barcelona: Curial, 1993), 57.
claim for liberty against the jurisdiction of the Holy Roman Emperor to Bartolus of Sassoferrato’s comments on the Justinian codes. Approaching law as a system which adapts itself to facts, Bartolus defended that the cities of the Regnum Italicum had a right to act as their own rulers, since they had been doing so for a long time. They were, ultimately, their own princes (civitas sibi princeps est) and no other external actor should interfere in their affairs or disturb their systems of self-government.436

In defining the city-state and its prerogatives, the issue of citizenship and the rights and duties of the citizen emerged as an overwhelming concern in Bartolus and his followers’ work. Their reflections on the topic are to be mostly found in the consilia, which were their written and articulated responses to specific and varied trials and situations. A very common practice among jurists, the generalisation of legal counselling in the Middle Ages led to the emergence of a massive body of legal literature that mirrored the new contexts, problems, and necessities of the time.437 Citizenship, the rights of a citizen, and the actual nature of an individual as a citizen became rather recurrent topics within this new genre.438 In 1440, for instance, the jurist Piero di Jacopo Ambrosini of Iesi was asked to resolve whether a widower from Pescia, a town under the influence of Florence, was actually entitled to claim for the entire dowry of his late wife, Albissina, a native of Florence. While the more practical issue at stake was whether to apply the statutes of Florence or those of Pescia to resolve the case, the jurist came to reflect on a rather thorny question, namely the

437 Diego Quaglioni, “Letteratura e dottrine giuridico-politiche,” in Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l’État Moderne. Actes de la table ronde organisée par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l’École française de Rome (Rome : École Française de Rome, 1985), 419-432. Some collective works on the consilia make evident the popularity of this source among scholars, especially in the 1990’s: Consilia im späten Mittelalter. Zum historischen Aussagewert einer Quellengattung, ed. I. Baumgartner, (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke Verlag, 1995); Legal Consulting in the Civil Law Tradition, ed. M. Ascheri (et.al), (Berkeley: The Robbins Collection, 1999). Interesting and suggestive approaches have been done through the commenting on specific consilia. In this regard, the contributions of Julius Kirshner were already mentioned in the introduction of the dissertation: Julius Kirshner, “Civitas sibi faciat civem”; “Between culture and nature” and “Ars imitatur naturam. A consilium of Baldus on naturalization in Florence,” Viator (5) 1, (1974): 289-332.
438 Cases involving citizenship status were sent from many cities to the great jurisconsults teaching at Bologna, Perugia and other universities, and were collected and published Riesenberg, “Citizenship and Equality,” 429.
geographical limits on the definition of the citizen. Ambrosini turned to the precepts of the Roman jurist Ulpian to argue that the pleading husband was to be considered a citizen of Florence, since Pescia was at that time under Florentine jurisdiction. Therefore, the statutes of Florence, which were apparently unique in stating that a late wife’s dowry should entirely go to her widower, were to be applied to the great benefit of the petitioner.

Ambrosini’s *consilium* is but one example that shows us how jurists were asked to discuss the very essence of the citizen by combining their accurate knowledge on city-statutes, Roman and canon law, and the work of previous jurisconsults with the issues raised by individual and very specific cases. Mirroring the work of well-known Italian jurisconsults, experts on the commentary in legal texts also emerged in Late Medieval Catalonia. Having studied in Montpellier, Toulouse, and Bologna, figures such as Jaume de Montjuïc (early fourteenth century), Guillem de Vallseca (ca. 1350-1420), Jaume de Marquilles (ca. 1368 - ca. 1455), Jaume Callís (1370-1435), or Tomàs Mieres (1400-1474) turned into deeply Romanised intellectuals and showed, through intensive quotations in their writings, their deep knowledge on Roman and canonical law as well as the influence of Italian jurists (principally Bartolus of Sassoferrato, Baldus de Ubaldis , Jacobo of Belvisio and Giovanni d’Andrea). At the crossroad of two legal cultures, Catalan jurists were however embedded in a very different political context that conditioned the nature of their writings. Far from questioning any sovereignty, their knowledge and reputation put them at the service of the king of the crown of Aragon, for whom they could act as chancellors, judges, lawyers, and

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439 This was a question repetitively raised by jurists when reflecting on citizenship in their *consilia*, concerned as they were with the actual meaning of the term ‘districtus’. Riesenberg, *Citizenship*, 181. On the difficulties raised by the definition of the Florentine *contado*: Julius Kirshner, “Paolo di Castro,” 240.

440 Julius Kirshner, “Dowry, Domicile and Citizenship in Late Medieval Florence,” in *Florence and Beyond. Culture, Society and Politics in Renaissance Italy*, Essays in honour of John. M. Najemy, eds. D. S. Peterson and D. E. Borstein, (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 257-270. *Consilia* could be requested by the judge in charge of a trial or by one of the parts. In the case reported here, nothing states explicitly who ordered the *consilium*, so Kirshner considers it probable that it was the husband himself.

441 I take the idea of the creation of a citizen ‘essence’ from Diego Quaglioni who affirmed that, due to the scarce material on citizenship that medieval jurists could draw from the Justinian code and adapt to their reality, they were somehow ‘in quest for substance’ when producing their *consilia*. Quaglioni, “The Legal Definition,” 159: ‘it is this quest for substance that leads to the accumulation, in the legal world, of definitions and procedures that have as their objective a quest for the essential’. On the methodology of jurists and their combination of a diversity of legal sources: Riesenberg, *Citizenship*, 126.
representatives in Parliament (Corts). Although they themselves lived in Barcelona and were part of its citizenry,\(^{442}\) their ties and affiliation were just as royal as urban, as is suggested in their work, focussed as it is on the nature of political power in medieval Catalonia.

Synthesising Catalan feudal law and Roman law, these jurists defended the limits of monarchical power, as the king was compelled to legislate with his subjects within the Parliaments. Thus, their political thought needs to be understood within the constitutionalist doctrine of pactism (*pactisme*).\(^{443}\) Yet, their writings also elevated the figure of the king who, as count of Barcelona, was to be taken as the leading lord and ruler of the Catalan territory, an emperor within his kingdom.\(^{444}\) While defending and presenting the legal and social order of their country, these jurists became fundamental advisors to their king, with mutual dependence and trust determining the relationships between them. Besides the high offices they generally obtained, one might recall that Jaume de Montjuïc was exempted from his military obligations by King James II in 1302, as the monarch surely felt it necessary to keep his counsellor at his side.\(^{445}\) Even more significantly, Jaume Callís, who was born the son of a shoemaker, was knighted by Ferdinand I in 1414.\(^{446}\)

\(^{442}\)Guillem de Vallseca and Jaume de Marquilles were natives from Barcelona, born within families of the economic and social elite of the city. Due to their royal appointments, Jaume Callís (1406) and Tomàs Mieres (1448) were pushed to move permanently to Barcelona at some point of their careers. For a biographical approach to Guillem de Vallseca: Antonio García y García, “El jurista catalán Guillem de Vallseca. Datos biográficos y tradición manuscrita de sus obras,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 7, (1970): 677-708.


\(^{444}\)Their defence of a limited monarchy which, at the same time, would be the major and unquestionable (fiscal) authority within the territory has been presented as the main sign of their attempt to mix Roman and Catalan feudal law in their work. Francisco Elías de Tejada, *Las doctrinas políticas en la Cataluña Medieval*, (Barcelona: Ayma Editor, 1950), 182-183/ 193-199; Francisco Elías de Tejada, *Historia del Pensamiento Político Catalán. La Cataluña Clásica (987-1479)* (Seville: Ediciones Montejurra, 1963), 297, 301-308, 311-313, 320-324, 328-332. The claim ‘Rex in regno suo est imperator’ was part of Bartolus’ thought on sovereignty and had even been defended by earlier canon lawyers in their attempt to undermine the position of the Emperor as they rallied to the cause of the Papacy. Skinner, *The Foundations*, 11.


\(^{446}\) Jesús Lalinde Abadía, *La persona y obra del jurisconsulto vicense Jaume Callís*, (Vic: l’Illustre Col·legi d’Advocats, 1980), 29. Part of Jaume Callís, Jaume de Marquilles, and Tomàs Mieres’ production coincides chronologically with the enthronement of the Castilian dynasty of the Trastámara in the throne of the Crown of Aragon (1412). Certainly, the new monarchs might have been in need of experts who could interpret the liberties and privileges of the territories they were going to rule, while jurists surely valued the opportunity to explain how their country was ordered, insisting on the legal limitations.
From Ferran Valls i Taberner to Tomàs de Montagut, Max Turull, and Josep Maria Font Rius, it is clear that the historiography has shown a traditional interest in medieval Catalan law, which has mainly resulted in critical editions of its sources, analysis on its nature, and studies on the reception and influence of the *Ius Commune*. Nonetheless, I would argue that the Catalan jurisprudence of the Middle Ages remains a rather unexplored topic. Beyond stating the strong interdependence between these so-called ‘classical Catalan jurists’ and the monarchy, it is rather difficult to give a complete contextualisation of these jurists work that could interrogate social and political interests and the specificities of their legal production.\footnote{It is difficult, for instance, to determine whether their comments on the sources of Catalan law were the result of a direct commission from the king, the Parliament, or an engaged decision from the jurists to present the orders that ruled their country. To the best of my knowledge, it can only be affirmed here that a translation into Catalan of the *Usatges de Barcelona* was entrusted to Bonanat de Pere and Jaume Callís in 1413 by the Catalan Parliament. Lalinde, *La persona y obra*, 28.}

Fortunately, deeper insights can be given on the form of the literature they produced. As Bartolus did with the *De Regimine Civitatis* or the *De Tyranno*,\footnote{For comments and a critical edition of these texts: Diego Quaglioni, *Politica e Diritto nel Trecento Italiano. Il ‘De Tyranno’ di Bartolo de Sassoferrato* (1314–1357). Con l’edizione critica dei trattati ‘De Guelphis et Gebellinis’, ‘De Regimine civitatis’ e ‘De Tyranno’ (Florence, Leo.S Olschki, 1983). Although less well-known due to their incorporation within his comments on the *Corpus Juris*, Baldus did also write monographic tracts on aspects of civil law like the *Tractatus de Sindicato Officialum*: see in Kenneth Pennington, “Baldus de Ubaldis,” *Revista Internazionale di Diritto Comune* 8, (1997): 46.} Catalan jurists wrote political treatises where they expressed their thoughts on the practice of political power. The works of Jaume Callís on the privileges of the nobility and the royal control of fiscality stand as examples.\footnote{The *De Privilegiu miltitum* and the *De Margarida Fisci* in particular. See Vilallonga, *La literatura*, 55-57; and Lalinde, *La persona y obra*, 96-109.} These jurists also commented on legal sources. However, while Bartolus, Baldus, and many others concentrated on commentaries of the Code and the Digest, Catalan jurisconsults dealt exclusively with the social order of their country, focussing their reflections primarily on the foremost sources of Catalan law. Thus, Jaume de Montjuïc, Guillem de Vallseca, Jaume de Marquilles, and Jaume Callís commented intensively on the *Usatges de Barcelona*, while Tomàs Mieres is chiefly known for his deep comments on the *Constitucions de Catalunya*, the contents of which corresponded to the decisions reached in the *Corts*. A sharper contrast is to be found regarding legal consulting, as the Catalan legal tradition
does not seem to include any works similar to the *consilia*. The very few mentions of Catalan *consilia* I have found refer to reflections on specific political issues written for holders of jurisdiction (mainly the king) in whose service these jurists worked. These were not objective and authoritative opinions on specific causes and trials, as was common in the cities of Northern Italy.\(^{450}\) As jurists were not asked to give their opinions on specific causes, their views on citizenship and the figure of the citizen are to be found in their more reputed production, namely their glosses to the main sources of medieval Catalan law.

Their concern with citizenship and the figure of the citizen was directly developed when dealing with the *Usatge Cives Autem*. This comment pushed them to adapt an *usatge* from the twelfth century to their own reality of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and so discussed the legal rights of the citizen while trying to position him within the feudal hierarchy. In so doing, some authors have considered that they built what could be called the first Catalan theory on citizenship.\(^{451}\) Certainly, in their concern for the ambiguous use of the terms ‘citizen’, ‘burgher,’ and ‘knight’ in the legal feudal sources, these jurists reflected deeply on the gradation and variability of citizenship.

Catalan jurists certainly participated in the building of a proper discourse on citizenship by thinking about the diversity of citizenships rather than on the unified citizenry presented by Bartolus de Sassoferrato,\(^{452}\) and by reflecting on differences rather than on equality.\(^{453}\) This chapter will deal with the reflections of these jurists on the *Usatge Cives Autem* with the intention to enrich this socio-cultural analysis of citizenship by examining sources of a more juridical and intellectual nature.


\(^{452}\)From a legal point of view, Bartolo believed in a unified citizenry where naturalised and native citizens would have the same rights, responsibilities, and possibilities. Kirshner, “Civitas sibi faciat civem” Quaglioni, “The Legal Definition of the citizen,” 164.

\(^{453}\)Riesenberg, *Citizenship*, 145.
To this end, the chapter will first retrace the main concerns on citizenship that major Italian jurisconsults expressed through their *consilia*. Given how strongly Catalan jurists were influenced by these Italian models, this first part is necessary background from which to present the discussions of the so-called ‘classic’ Catalan jurists in the second section of the chapter. Towards the end of the chapter, jurists’ contributions will be collated with some of the thoughts that the Franciscan Francesc Eiximenis (1330-1409) developed on the ideal order of urban society. A close observer of his society and a major reference in medieval Catalan literature, Eiximenis and his *Lo Crestià*, an encyclopaedic work on the appropriate Christian life, will be an ideal tool with which to introduce the contrasts and coincidences between jurist legal thought and the actual function and experience of citizenship within the streets of Barcelona. In so doing, it will be possible to reflect on the success and echo of these Catalan and Barcelonese jurists in Barcelona, its citizens, and its institutions.

**Medieval Citizenship within the Tradition of Legal Thought.**

**The Mirror of the Italian Jurists: Bartolus de Sassoferrato (1313-1357) and Baldus de Ubaldis (1327-1400).**

‘The role of Italian jurists in the definition of citizenship cannot be underestimated.’

Indeed, many legal historians have used jurists and their *consilia* as useful analytical tools to contribute to the study of medieval citizenship. Very suggestively, Julius Kirshner has presented the work of these professionals as a crucial cornerstone, since geographical mobility and urban dynamics were then developing so rapidly that ‘it became increasingly difficult in the Late Middle Ages to tell who was or who was not a citizen.’ Jurists were called to cover this gap with their knowledge in order to ensure the economic and social order of these growing urban centres. The daily and specific cases which they had to deal with when writing their *consilia* pushed them to unravel the major contradictions of citizenship. This section will illustrate the major aspects they discussed in their attempt to clarify the legal nature of the citizen.

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454 Gilli, “Comment cesser,” 60: ‘Le rôle des juristes italiens dans la définition de la citoyenneté ne peut être minoré.’

455 Kirshner, “Between nature and culture,” 203.
Concentrating predominantly on the secondary literature produced on the major figures of Bartolus of Sassoferrato and his disciple Baldus de Ubaldis, I have identified three main themes through which to synthesise the view of these emblematic jurisconsults on the matter: (1) their approach to the extant terminology on civic identities, (2) their legal interpretation of the social mechanics that conditioned the building of the whole citizenry and, finally, (3) their definition of the citizen as a civic *persona*, principally through their comments on the established rights and duties of the citizen.

**A Legal Reading on Terminology: Cives, Incolae, and Habitatores**

Jurists such as Bartolus and Baldus discussed the meanings of the term ‘cives’ by collating it with other existing concepts, namely *municeps, habitator*, and *incola*. In so doing, they confronted the diversity of civic identities and determined what Peter Riesenberg called the language of citizenship. While the Digest suggests that *municeps* and *civis* were considered equal terms in late antiquity, Bartolus established a subtle distinction between the two, considering the *municeps* as a ‘purer state of citizenship.’ Such an opinion relied on the etymological relation that he established between the *municeps* and *munera*, the *municeps* emerging in this process as a highly engaged individual, a person who committed himself to the city by bearing certain responsibilities. This sort of understanding was not unique or even original to Bartolus. Indeed, the French jurist Pierre Jacobi (Montpellier, ca. 1250-1350) pointed towards similar distinctions in his early-fourteenth century attempt to define municipal citizenship. Seeing in the *municeps* a more complete form of citizenship, he presented this civic figure as the individual actively involved in the government of the *universitas*, while the *civis* retained a more general sense, reserved for those individuals who were merely members.

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456I take the term from the article by Kirshner, “Between nature and culture,” 193.
457Riesenberg, *Citizenship*, 140-186.
459Riesenberg, *Citizenship*, 144.
The *incola* emerged as the complete opposite to the *municeps* and was presented as a sort of minor civic identity. Although the nature of this figure appears to have been deeply discussed by jurists, they generally agreed to apply it to individuals who had recently moved to a town, in many cases bringing with them a substantial proportion of their property. Nevertheless, the *incola* was identified as an individual with little commitment to his new city, one who did not bother to show his future intentions of residency and could actually leave as fast and suddenly as he had arrived. Despite this superficiality, jurists were still concerned with the *incolae* and tried to define their responsibilities, mainly in terms of property. Together with the *incolae*, the peasants who lived in the city, the so-called *cives comitatenses*, were not highly considered by jurists. While recognising the presence and activities of peasants in the city, Bartolus insisted on their legal inferiority, since they inherited from their parents a servile condition that placed them far from the civility of the *civis civitatis*.

A very ambiguous and complex figure, the *habitator* was positioned by jurists between the *civis* and the *incola* in the hierarchy of civic identities. A figure of transition between the foreigner and the citizen, the *habitator* was traditionally characterised by his permanent residence in the city. Accomplishing the duties of the citizen, the *habitator* behaved as a citizen and was consequently seen as a prospective citizen, one who simply lacked the official recognition to become a full-fledged *cives*. As more empirical analysis on the statutes of Northern Italian cities has come to show, the *habitator* actually emerged as an individual with legal personality, one with civic duties to accomplish and benefits to enjoy but nonetheless always remaining in the shadow of the citizen.

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461 On the identification and approach of jurists to the *incola*: Riesenberg, *Citizenship*, 144.
463 On the view of the *habitator* by jurists: Riesenberg, *Citizenship*, 145. The term ‘prospective citizen’ was in Kirshner, “Between Nature and Culture.”
464 Despite having identified the legal specificity of the *habitator*, Dina Bizzarri recognised how difficult it was to grasp the juridical differences between the *cives* and the *habitator*, as the use of the latter term varied extremely in the diverse municipal sources that she used. Furthermore, Bizzarri also mentioned the difference between the *habitator* and the *habitante*, identifying the latter with the recently arrived inhabitant, namely the *incola* of the jurists: Bizzarri, “Ricerche,” 47-52. Through the analysis of a variety of municipal sources, Giacomo Casarino presented the *habitator* clearly as a figure of transition between the *extraneus* and the *cives* in fifteenth-century Genoa: Giacomo Casarino, “Tra Estraneità e Cittadinanza: Mercato del lavoro e migrazioni a Genova (secc. XV-XVI),” *Revista d’Història Medieval* 10, (1999): 98-102. Christian Maurel also defined the *habitator* as a figure between the foreigner and the
This language of citizenship should not only be observed from a conceptual perspective, as jurists themselves took into consideration the evolution of political reality when reflecting on these issues. This is particularly clear with the use of the term subditus, which would progressively substitute the term cives with the emergence of princely regimes. Challenging the sovereignty of the city, the generalisation of these regimes provoked a radical simplification of civic identities, blurring the differences that existed between them. From that moment on, citizens, inhabitants, residents, and even some foreigners would be considered subjects of the very same prince. Although this process became much more noticeable and uniform from the sixteenth century onwards, late medieval jurists seem to have already been reflecting on the issue. Well before the term cives became obsolete, Baldus de Ubaldis was already comparing it to the subditus, seeing in both the most complete expression of ‘loyal performance.’

Peter Riesenberg has claimed that the origins of this merger in terminology are to be understood within a legal and jurisprudential analysis of citizenship which corresponded to fourteenth-century jurists’ pleading for an equal and unified citizenry. More specifically, he argued that while legal texts maintained this complex set of distinctions, jurists and lawyers created a ‘rough approximation’ between these terms. In so doing, they reflected the interests of urban governments in creating a certain legal equality. Pressured by economic and material necessities, the city had an interest in expanding the legal and economic benefits and obligations traditionally reserved to those considered as citizens as much as possible. In this view, citizenship would turn into an inclusive institution that would admit as citizens all those who behaved as such, thereby establishing a contract based on reciprocal benefits between the city and all its inhabitants. As a result, Cives, municeps, incola, and habitatores would correspond to different levels of one unique phenomenon, all of them being citizen, though he believed that the habitator did not pay taxes, which is not the case in many Italian cities. Maurel, “Du citadinage à la naturalité,” 338.

On the emergence and political meanings of the term subditus, Riesenberg, Citizenship, 144-145; Gilli, “Comment Cesser,” 76-77; Quaglioni, “The Legal Definition,” 167.


Riesenberg, Citizenship, 155.
citizens, that is to say, actors and members of a distinctively medieval egalitarian society.\textsuperscript{468}

\textit{Consilia} and other legal sources were the main material with which Riesenberg built such a utilitarian approach to citizenship. Beyond the reservations we might have,\textsuperscript{469} his reflections make clear that jurists approached the nature of the citizen by trying to understand it within the whole citizenry. In so doing, they reflected on the actual making of the citizen, affirming the supreme sovereignty of the city in creating a unified citizenry. The equality lying beneath this legally unified citizenry did not refer, therefore, so much to the limits and exclusivity of the citizen condition as to the differences between native and adopted citizens.

\textit{The Citizen and the Building of the Citizenry: Natural vs. Acquired Citizenship}

This line of thinking was particularly developed by Bartolus of Sassoferrato. Having defended that the city was its own prince (\textit{civitas sibi princeps est}), the most famous of the Italian jurists broke into the delicate debate on citizenship acquisition by defending the legal capability of the city in naming and accepting new citizens (\textit{civitas sibi faciat civem}).\textsuperscript{470} This assertion was a natural result of his conception of the \textit{civitas} as an independent body in the hands of popular will. As such, the city was entitled to make and practice law freely within its territory.\textsuperscript{471} This determinate defence of the city’s prerogatives has been seen by some scholars as a sort of incentive from Late Medieval jurists to the subsequent development of princely regimes and their control over civic identities and, therefore, to the transformation of citizenship into subjecthood.\textsuperscript{472}

First and foremost, Bartolus argued in favour of the equality of rights between native citizens and those who acquired a citizenship charter. In a time when acquired citizenship was not so secure a right, threatened as it was by nativism and constant social tensions, this was rather challenging. In its defence, Bartolus presented the citizen as a legal rather than a natural figure. The citizen was not born as such but

\begin{footnotes}
\item[469] Quaglioni, “The Legal Definition,” 162.
\item[470] This and what follows in Kirshner, “Civitas faciat sibi civem.”
\end{footnotes}
made and created by ‘birth, rank, or adoption.’ This creation was the result of a contract between citizens and the corporation to which they belonged. As a result, no legal differences should be made between native and adopted citizens, as all of them ‘sunt civiliter.’ Consequently, they should all enjoy the same benefits and participate equally in the taxes and burdens of the city.

With such assumptions, Bartolus broke with previous traditions which had defended the importance of birth in the legal definition of the citizen. While Alberico da Rosciate (1290-1360) had defended that origins determined citizenship, meaning that the citizen had an immutable condition, Paolo di Castro (died in 1441) recognised the existence of naturalised citizens, although he believed they could never reach the same positions and enjoy the benefits reserved to native citizens. A cives ex privilegio of Perugia himself, Bartolus’ contrarian legalist view on citizenship needs to be understood by recalling his role as champion of the city’s sovereignty. Indeed, to take birth as the main defining criteria of the citizen would question the city’s control over the whole citizenry. As a sovereign power, the city could determine membership of its citizenry.

Baldus de Ubaldis developed his professor’s thought, defending the idea of a unified citizenry between native and created citizens. Nonetheless, his contribution was genuinely original since his legal theory of citizenship included a more philosophical dimension. Indeed, in his attempt to discuss in depth the essence and social meaning of the citizen, Baldus recovered Aristotelian traditions that were well known to medieval thinkers but had never been used before to build a theory of citizenship. More specifically, he saw in the citizen the best expression of a natural man who becomes political when living in a community. The citizen is to be perceived,

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474 Wells, Law and Citizenship, 3.
475 Kirshner, “Civitas sibi faciat civem,” 702; Gilli, “Comment Cesser,” 70.
477 Gilli, “Comment Cesser,” 69.
therefore, as a civil and political entity. From this very Aristotelian perspective, the citizen emerges as an active political agent whose rights were acquired throughout the process of incorporation within a civic community.\footnote{Janet Coleman, “The individual and the Medieval State,” in \textit{The Individual in Political Theory and Practice}, ed. J. Coleman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 32-33.} All in all, studies on Baldus’ thought have come to suggest that Ubaldi presented the citizen as a double-sided figure. On the one hand, from a philosophical angle, he emerged in his writings as the supreme expression of natural man in society: on the other, he remained a member of a specific and given urban community. It is in regard to this second dimension that Baldus came to discuss, as Bartolus had done before, the tensions between native and created citizenship.

When analysing how native and created citizenship related to each other, Bartolus’ disciple presented them as two levels, two categories within one single phenomenon. As Ubaldi had no doubt about the essence of citizenship as a construct of civil law, he agreed with his former professor in defining both native and created citizenship as true forms of \textit{civilitas}, although assuming that created citizenship was also fictively true as one could never change his place of origin. As Canning puts it, Baldus came to the conclusion that created citizenship was ‘truly \textit{civilitas civilis} but only fictively \textit{civilitas naturalis et originalis}.’\footnote{Canning, “A 14th century contribution,” 210. Charlotte Wells however seems to attribute this double conception of citizenship to Bartolus. Wells, \textit{Law and Citizenship}, 3.}

Despite this fictive element, Baldus approached created citizenship as a strong defining element of the citizen’s civic identity. Indeed, while still praising the immutable obligations of the native citizen, he turned once more to Aristotle to argue that the practice of living as a citizen in a foreign city created a \textit{habitus} which progressively becomes a second nature.\footnote{These ideas were developed in the \textit{consilium} written by Baldus that Julius Kirshner discussed in Kirshner, “Between Nature and Culture.” Mentioned also by Wells, \textit{Law and Citizenship}, 5-6.} The Perugian jurist developed these issues when reflecting in one of his \textit{consilia} on the problems raised by double citizenship. In so doing, he also gave further support to the legitimacy of created citizenship.

Baldus de Ubaldis’ analysed the citizen by abstracting it, combining a diversity of perspectives and creating ‘scales’ in the nature of the citizen: the natural and the political, the true and the fictive, the native and the habitual. At the core lay the \textit{mera}
or *pura civilitas*, the element common to native and created citizenship that demonstrated and ensured the precious equality between them.

It might not do justice to Baldus’ abstraction to equate this common element at the core of citizenship, this *mera or pura civilitas*, to the existence of rights and duties that determined the experience of every citizen. Nonetheless, as the *consilia* show, jurists were deeply concerned with providing legal interpretations to the problems and conflicts of everyday life. Regarding the issue of citizenship, this involvement led them to discuss precisely these rights and duties of the citizen, seeing them as expressions of the contract that every citizen established with the city when becoming a member of its citizenry. According to Baldus, this was an arrangement that could take place in any sort of political regime (republic as well as principality) and that was based on the grant of benefits in exchange for service and commitment to the city. Jurists presented the enjoyment of these rights and the fulfilment of these duties as the factors determining the citizen as a civic *persona*. In fact, Baldus himself strongly asserted that those failing to complete their burdens as citizens should lose their citizenship.

The Citizen as a Civic Persona: Rights and Duties

In Baldus’ view, the (native) citizen had an active role in the collective will leading to the writing of municipal *statuti*. As a legislator, the citizen was consequently forced to fulfil regulations, supporting the legal framework he had helped to build. Hence, municipal statutes were to be taken as the basis of the contract which determined the legal practice of citizenship. In this context, and given the complex geopolitics of the times, to define which citizenship was held by those involved in a cause was fundamental to establishing which municipal immunities and regulations should be applied and which court had the actual right to hold the trial. As the example of Ambrosini’s *consilium* provided in the introduction of this chapter has shown, the issue of jurisdiction could be essential in many legal consultations. It was so, for instance, in the *consilium* which discussed the crime committed by Tommaso di Gottifredo Marini,

a citizen of Genoa and Florence who had killed his brother Giorgio in 1394. Five years later, the authorities of Florence alleged that they had the capacity to try Tommaso, as Giorgio was also a citizen of Genoa and Florence: equally, the assassination of a citizen of Florence by another citizen remained under Florentine jurisdiction. Although affirming that Roman law would punish such a fratricidal crime, the consultants to which the case was forwarded considered that Florence had lost the capacity to judge the case, as Florentine statutes established that homicides perpetrated by its citizens expired within one year. To the authorities’ regret, the citizenship privilege Tommaso’s father had received for himself and his male descendants turned into an unbreakable seal of protection, fixing civic rights and immunities with no exception. 485

Through the elaboration of *consilia* and relying largely on the *statuti*, jurists discussed the rights and immunities of the citizen as much as his civic duties. They came to defend the privileges of the citizen in the ownership of landed property and to detail his fiscal obligations and prerogatives. Riesenberg provided a good example of a case sent by the judges of Venice to the jurist Paulo di Castro. The problem lay on solving whether Ser Sallatini had the right to acquire a property that was coveted by two ecclesiastical institutions in the community of Belluno. The jurist first confirmed in the statutes of this community that only citizens of Belluno were supposed to purchase landed property in the area. Having checked that Sellini had been contributing in the fiscal needs of the city as a good citizen in the tax rolls of the city, he resolved the conflict positively, affirming that, as a citizen of Belluno, Ser Sellini had the right to acquire the property he had chosen. 486 The discussion of the citizen’s rights and duties introduced jurists in the practice and experience of citizenship, pushing them to defend, once again and in more realistic terms, the equality between native and acquired citizenship. Facing the case of Ser Orlando, a poor notary who was granted Florentine citizenship but then was threatened with losing it on the grounds of not having fulfilled some legal procedure, Baldus defended very strongly the right of this foreigner, resident of Florence for 12 years, to maintain his recently won citizenship. Indeed, it was sufficient to Baldus to confirm that Ser Orlando had committed himself

486 Riesenberg, “Civism and Roman Law”, 244.
to the city, paying his taxes as a good citizen ought to do. Indeed, Baldus gave primary importance to the fiscal obligations of the *civis*, as he considered that any citizen failing to fulfil them was actually committing a mortal sin.\footnote{Kirshner, “Between nature and culture,” 195.} His opinions were shared by the jurist Bartolomeo Sozzini, who asserted that it was in the very nature of the citizen to be able to contribute in the taxes of the city and to occupy public offices.\footnote{Julius Kirshner, “Mulier alibi nupta,” in *Consilia im Späten Mittelalter: Zum historischen Aussagewert einer Quellengattung*, ed. I. Baumgärtner, (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1995), 154.} In concert with these convictions, Baldus would even strongly defend the right of Ser Orlando to hold public positions. As a naturalised citizen, Ser Orlando was to be treated with legal equality in respect to native citizens: he was therefore legally able to hold public offices.\footnote{Kirshner, “Ars imitatur naturam,” 320-321.} As seen, the citizen was for Baldus the expression of a natural man who reached a political dimension through his insertion within the community. The involvement of the citizen in his city’s development through active participation could and should be in his nature and emerged, therefore, as an inherent right which must not be restricted to the members of the oligarchy.

Citizens also showed their involvement with the city by protecting it and serving it militarily. Unfortunately, not that many *consilia* on this issue have been subject to scholarly discussions. Nonetheless, it can be affirmed that jurists conceived these obligations as part of the original contract between city and citizens lying at the basis of citizenship. Thus, in the confrontation that the city of Gubbio had with a group of individuals refusing to provide military service arranged previously, Baldus considered that only those who were citizens could be forced to fulfil the agreement and serve the city.\footnote{Riesenberg, “Citizenship at Law,” 337-338.}

Through their *consilia*, jurists also discussed the rights and duties of women as citizens.\footnote{What follows comes from Kirshner, “Mulier alibi nupta.”} Although the granting of citizenship privileges to women is scarcely documented, the *ius solis* guaranteed them the right to be recognised as citizens of their city of origin. However, if they married a foreigner, their position became legally fragile. Whether they were considered citizens or mere residents in their husbands’ city, many *statuti* established that they would lose their native citizenship, as they were neither living in their home city nor contributing to it anymore. Such strong
regulations were principally enacted to prevent foreign husbands from acquiring landed property within the city’s jurisdiction: while property was, in many cases, not even a right but almost a duty for citizens, foreigners had no access to it. Municipal authorities had strong reasons to implement this sort of regulation, as they wanted to avoid citizens from rival cities settling anywhere within their jurisdiction. Jurists like Bartolus were certainly aware of this context but in their fight against nativism defended strongly women’s right to maintain their native citizenship, even when married to foreigners.

More specifically, Bartolus defended the unity and legitimacy of mixed families through the use of rather biblical images: in his view, husband and wife were but one single body, one unique flesh. From this point of view, a wife would always have to follow her husband, even when this implied the abandonment of her native city and civic responsibilities. The jurist affirmed that in no case could such a situation turn the woman into a foreigner in her own city. Relying on Roman law, Bartolus defended the irrevocability of native citizenship, arguing that the case of *mulieres alibi nuptae* was no exception. As a result, she maintained her citizen rights in terms of the possession of the landed property that might come to her as part of an inheritance, a donation, or as her dowry. As Kirshner suggested when analysing some *consilia* dealing with these issues, many jurists relied on these Bartolian theories to reflect on the right of women married to foreigners to maintain their citizenship privileges.

The practice of legal counselling brought Italian jurists closer to the factors and conditions determining the civic *persona* of the citizen. In dealing with the daily practice of citizenship, they encountered the tensions and contradictions it implied from a legal point of view, as Roman law and municipal law were not always concordant. Accepting the difficulty and ambiguity of the issue,^{492} they conjugated the broad variety of situations they faced where citizenship came into question with their core conviction: thus, it was always within the framework of an equated citizenship between native and naturalised citizens that they interpreted the rights of duties of the citizen. In so doing, they produced a juridical reading of citizenship which remained deeply enrooted in daily life, understanding it as one single phenomenon which

included a variety of civic identities determined by contingencies and personal conditions.\textsuperscript{493}

**OTHER CONTEXTS, OTHER CONCERNS:**

**GRADATING CITIZENSHIP IN LATE MEDIEVAL CATALONIA.**

In this respect for diversity and contingency, the work of Italian jurists partly mirrored what the analysis of the *Informacions de la Ciutadania* has portrayed as the legal practice of citizenship in medieval Barcelona. Conditioned by their work material and their professional contexts, Catalan jurists took a different direction in their analysis of citizenship, their main concern being to understand the citizen within the feudal hierarchies of Late Medieval Catalonia.

Catalan jurists were close to a diversity of institutions (royal, urban, and Catalan) and devoted their energies to comment and analyse the sources of Catalan Law (i.e. the *Usatges de Barcelona* and the *Constitucions*). Ultimately, these glosses became their lives’ works. Jaume Callís (1370-1434) started glossing the *Usatges* in 1398, even before moving to Barcelona in 1406. He felt an obsessive necessity to finish this important work throughout his whole life, fearing that it might be left incomplete.\textsuperscript{494} Tomàs Mieres devoted more than 20 years to the completion of his commentary on the *Constitucions* (1442-1465). In these processes of reflection, the issue of citizenship and the nature of the citizen undoubtedly emerged. It did so as a problem. As residents or even citizens of Barcelona themselves,\textsuperscript{495} jurists might have been aware of the broader dimension this phenomenon had taken within the walls of the city. Citizenship was a social institution legally controlled through a constant negotiation between the city and its inhabitants, a tool which ensured urban integration and, as a result, preserved social order and the common good. It was not easy to make this correspond with the image of the citizen emerging from feudal texts written in a completely different context. From this material, jurists had to face a

\textsuperscript{493}Kirshner, “Mulier alibi nupta” 171.
\textsuperscript{494}Lalinde, *La persona y obra*, 20, 22-23.
\textsuperscript{495}Guillem de Vallseca belonged to a family of the honoured citizenry. While I cannot affirm whether Tomàs Mieres was ever granted Barcelona citizenship, it was most probably not obtained by Jaume Callís and Jaume Marquilles, the first being a knight and the second a member of the clergy. They were still inhabitants of Barcelona.
citizen who was constantly confused with burghers and townsmen, juridically equated to knights in most of cases but considered similar to the peasantry in others. Before being able to nuance and enrich the figure of the citizen, as Italian jurists could do through the consilia, Catalan jurists needed to fix and limit the nature of such a complex figure. In what follows, I will try to reproduce part of their propositions and intentions in this regard.

To do so, I will predominantly concentrate on their comments on the Usatge Cives Autem: ‘let townsmen (cives) and burghers litigate among themselves, be judged, and compensated as knights are. Moreover, let them be compensated by the ruler as vasvassores are’ (see chapter II). Glosses to this Usatge are mostly to be found in the volume Antiquiores Barchinonensium leges, quas vulgus Usaticos appellat, cum commentariis Iacobi a Monte Iudaico, Iacobi et Guiliermi a Vallesicca et Iacobi Calicii, cum indice copiosissimo non antea excussae (ABL), which includes the commentaries of Jaume de Montjuïc, Guillem de Vallseca, and Jaume Callís to the whole collection of the Usatges de Barcelona and which was printed in Barcelona in 1544 by Carles Amorós. The analysis of Jaume Marquilles were collected in the Commentaria super usaticis Barchinonensis, which included a dedication from the author to the councillors of Barcelona dating from 1448 but which is primarily accessible through the printed edition of 1505. Finally, I will also occasionally contrast these comments on the Cives Autem with some reflections that Tomàs Mieres introduced into his major commentary on the regulations approved in the Catalan Corts, the Apparatus super constitutionibus et capitulis Curiarum Generalium Cathaloniae, edited and printed in Barcelona in 1621. From this material, I will discuss the vision of Catalan jurisprudence on the nature of the citizen by reconsidering again the main criteria through which I

496Josep Maria Font Rius, Estudis sobre els drets i institucions locals en la Catalunya medieval, (Barcelona: Publicacions i Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 1985), 356.
497Translation from: Kagay, The Usatges of Barcelona, 67. Original text in Latin from the edition of the Usatges completed by Ferran Valls i Taberner: ‘Cives autem et burgenses sint inter se iudicati et placitati atque emendati sicut milites. Ad potestatem vero sint emendati sicut vasvassores’ in Valls, Los Usatges de Barcelona, 76. The compilation including the jurists’ comments proposed a slight different version of the Usatge: ‘Cives autem et burgenses sint inter se placitati et iudicati sicut milites. Ad potestatem vero sin emmendati sicut vasvassores.’ In their discussions, however, jurists seem to have relied on an earlier version, closer to the one proposed by Valls, as they did not limit the issue of compensation (emmendatio) to the comparison with vasvassore, but also discussed whether citizens should be compensated as knights.
498Elías de Tejada, Las Doctrinas políticas, 204.
approached the work of Italian jurisconsults: (1) terminology, (2) the legal and social mechanisms conditioning the building of the whole citizenry, (3) the rights and duties of the citizen.

**On terminology:**

*Jaume de Montjuïc (early fourteenth century) and Guillem de Vallseca (ca. 1350-1420)*

As they reflected on the sources of Catalan Law (the *Usatges of Barcelona* being applicable throughout the whole principality), it is obvious that these jurists aimed to propose a definition of the citizen which would be generally applicable in Catalonia. There is no doubt, however, on their understanding of citizenship as a deep municipal phenomenon: the importance they gave to the walls of the city as a geographical limit of the citizen, as well as recurrent references to the actual case of Barcelona, attest to this. The Barcelonese example is particularly frequent in Guillem de Vallseca’s gloss, as he even managed to intercalate a definition on the limits of his native city: ‘the name of the city of Barcelona includes what has been done beyond the ancient walls and also what has been done beyond the walls of the Bocaria or the door of the Bocaria.’

In sum, citizens, burghers, and citizenship altogether were aspects that these jurists linked strongly to urban life and urban structures. As some studies have recently pointed towards a more ‘national’ understanding of citizenship in medieval Europe, retracing the thought of Catalan jurists helps to affirm once more that its nature remained exclusively municipal in Catalonia and the Crown of Aragon at the end of the Middle Ages, both in practice and in thought.

In their attempt to define the citizen, jurists needed to reflect on the diversity of figures that coexisted within this urban space. This was a primary concern before actually discussing the content of the *Cives Autem* which focussed on the juridical relationships between citizens and knights in terms of compensation. To begin with, the very composition of the *Cives autem* imposed a reflection on the differences between ‘citizens’ and ‘burghers’ and therefore was the first terminological issue.

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499 Sed an appellacione civitatis Barchinone contineatur illud quod est factum post muros antiquos et etiam illud, quod factum est post muros de la Bocaria seu portalis de la Bocaria’ ABL, f. 17v.

500 Adapting Charlotte Wells’ reflections on citizenship in sixteenth-century France to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Guy Lurie tries to retrace how citizenship was built in the late Middle Ages as a feeling of belonging and loyalty towards the kingdom of France. See Guy Lurie, “Citizenship in Later Medieval France” (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 2012) (above all the introduction).
considered by jurists. Jaume de Montjuïc approached this specific aspect through a set of distinctions, a rhetorical tool common in his writings resulting from the influence of the school of Orléans upon his work.\textsuperscript{501} Thus, he considered the \textit{usatge} in an almost philological way, distinguishing those versions where there was a conjunction ‘\textit{et}’ between the terms ‘cives’ and ‘burgenses’ (\textit{cives autem et burgenses}) from those where these two main terms were not so closely linked (\textit{cives autem burgenses}).\textsuperscript{502} In his view, such a small difference inferred subtle variances in the meaning of the terms.

More specifically, he considered that versions without a conjunction would systematically suggest that both terms were to be taken as synonyms. As such, they were equated to major citizens and the word ‘burgher’ was only used to strengthen the honourable dimension of the citizen.\textsuperscript{503} In contrast, those versions of the \textit{usatge} including a conjunction would imply that an actual difference existed between the terms ‘cives’ and ‘burgenses,’ one that was defined in basic geographical terms. The citizen was the individual living within the walls of the city (\textit{morantes intra civitatem, id est menia civitatis}) while the term burgher was reserved for those living in its surroundings (\textit{morantes ex menia}). Even from this perspective, Montjuïc gave a limited meaning to these terms, considering that both still referred to privileged groups. Such an identification was still presented, however, in rather ambiguous terms: he took \textit{cives} as an appellation reserved to those considered citizens \textit{de iure} within the walls of

\textsuperscript{501} Montagut, “La recepción del derecho feudal común en Cataluña,” 67.
\textsuperscript{502} ‘Quidam habent et quidam non, si non habes, et videtur intellectus talis, quod cives et burgenses, id est cives maiores, es mendentur ut hic, et non alii cives, scilicet medii, vel infimi. Si vero habes, et est sensus quod cives id est, morantes intra civitatem, id est menia civitatis, et burgenses in morantes ex menia, in burgis civitatis emendetur etc.’ ABL, f. 17r. The actual mention of the presence or lack of a conjunction is not clear in Montjuïc’s text, where this aspect seems to be implicit. It is only through the later work of Jaume de Marquilles and Jaume Callís, who recovered this idea, that I have managed to understand better the original idea of Jaume de Montjuïc. For Jaume de Marquilles: ‘Quero an copula et quod inter verbum cives et verbum burgenses posita est debebat esse de necessitate. Ad quod respondet Iacobus de Monte Judaico dicens quod quidam habent et quidam non’ Commentaria Iacobi de Marquilles super usaticis Barchinone, f. 35r. For Jaume Callís: ‘sequendo Iacobum de Monte Judaico hic dicit quod in textum huius usatico quidam habent textum sine copula, et puncta, cives autem burgenses etc, quidam autem habent istum textum cum copula et puncta cives, aut et burgenses etc.’ ABL, f. 18v.
\textsuperscript{503} ‘Sed dices, quod verbum et burgenses erit superfluum et nihil addet, quia iam comprehendebatur sub verbo cives, respondeo fuit positum ad maiorem expressionem quam dicto cives et maxime burgenses etc quia quae notabilia sunt, nisi specialiter et expressim notentur vident neglecta’ ABL, f. 17r. For a more synthetic approach to the terminological reflections of Montjuïc, see Roca, “Unde Cathalanus,” 10.
the city while he presented the burgher as an adjective to be associated with individuals of a major and honourable position.504

Montjuïc’s writings also included a reflection on the issue on terms of nativeness. Assuming that citizenship could be a blood condition, he then proposed to take the citizen as the individual inhabiting the city and having been born in it as a son of native citizens. The term ‘burgher’ would then refer to the honourable inhabitants of the city, namely members of the oligarchy, independently of their place of birth. He finally introduced in his discussion the term *incola*, which he thought referred to all those ‘medium’ and ‘inferior’ inhabitants of the city who were not born in it.505

From his early fourteenth-century reality, Montjuïc engages with the language of citizenship in terms of status and indigeneity, as well as from a geographical perspective. His was a rather rhetorical exercise, in which he showed no attempt to give a unique definition for the citizen: rather, he wanted to discuss openly the terminology involved in the *Usatge* from several perspectives. Nonetheless, he repeatedly underlined one main idea, insisting on the existence of a group of ‘major citizens’ who were the only ones with the right to be legally compensated as knights. In contrast, a larger part of the citizenry, namely medium and inferior citizens, (*alii cives, scilicet medii vel infimi*) were excluded from such a privilege.

Integrating these triple perspectives (status, indigeneity, and geographical dimension), Jaume de Montjuïc settled the ambiguous terminological discourse on citizenship of Catalan jurists. Guillem de Vallseca later developed on some ideas on the matter, but in a looser and less specific way. Also insisting on indigeneity and geographical residence as the elements conditioning civic identities, Vallseca distinguished between those who lived in the city (*cives, advenae, and incolae*) and those who lived in its surroundings (*burgenses*). From an obsessive approach to definitions, one main idea is to be highlighted in Vallseca’s text, one that brings him closer to Jaume de Montjuïc’s opinions: he insisted very much in presenting also the ‘burgher’ as an honourable individual who deserved to be juridically treated as a

504’*Vel dicet melius cives, id est hi qui dicuntur de iure cives, iuxta ea que leguntur in Codex, De Incolis, Lex Cives, liber X et burgenses in maiores et honorabiliiores esmendentur*. ABL, f. 17r.
505’*Vel dic cives, id est habitantes in civitate originem propriam vel paternam et burgenses, id est honorabiliiores sive ibi nati sunt, sive non, sed per honorabiliiores excludentur medi et inferiores, id est non nati unde plus placet quod prius dixi et ut etiam incolae comprehendantur* ABL, ff. 17r-17v. See also, Roca, “Unde Cathalanus,”10.
citizen of Barcelona, enjoying therefore the privileges included in the *Recogoverunt Proceres*. With this affirmation, Vallseca was recognising that, beyond geographical subtleties, citizens and burghers could be taken as a single honourable social and juridical category. Only time would determine the use of one term or the other throughout the Catalan territory (honoured burghers constituted the urban oligarchy of Perpignan, for instance.)

Thinking the Citizenry:

*Jaume Callís (1374-1434), Guillem de Vallseca, and Jaume de Marquilles (ca. 1368-ca. 1455)*

Jaume Callís opened his gloss by also reflecting on the terminological differences between the terms *cives* and *burgenses*, focussing on the geographical subtleties they implied. Thus, he presented the *cives* as those born in the city or those who lived in it, having been freed, adopted, or elected as such within its walls. Next to them, *burgenses* were to be taken as those living in the hinterlands of cities. Taking them as two sides of the same coin, Callís did not reflect further on these issues, as the language of citizenship was not his main concern. Rather, his commentary was primarily devoted to refuting systematically the Usatge *Cives autem*, showing that it would be legally wrong and incorrect (*remanet iste usaticus incorrectus*) to take citizens and knights as equals before the law (again, mainly in terms of feudal compensations) under any circumstance. With such a clear aim, Callís did not focus so much on the actual meaning of terms but rather on how they were differentially used in a set of regulations extracted from Catalan Law. He gave more authority to his arguments by combining the use of Catalan regulations with his knowledge of Roman

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506: Sed queritur, qui dicantur cives, et qui dicantur burgenses, dic quod cives propie dicuntur qui sunt seu habitant continue in civitate Barchinonae. Sed burgenses sunt qui habitant in burgo civitatis vel vicis eiusdem civitati subjectis, tenendo et gerendo vitam militarem, et honorabilem, et debent gaudere burgenses eodem privilegio, quo cives gaudent.’ ABL, f. 17v. For the identification of ‘eodem privilegio, quo cives gaudent’ with the *Recogoverunt Proceres*, see Roca, “Unde Cathalanus,” 11. On the definition of the citizen of Barcelona in the *Recogoverunt Proceres*, see chapter II.


509: ABL, f. 19r.
law, as he himself stated: ‘it should be noted that solutions come either from Roman law or from the law of the *Usatges*. ’

Callís’ systematic refutation was progressively built from the three main verbs composing the *Usatge*, his aim being to show that the processes of litigation (*placitentur*) and compensation (*emendatur*) underwent by citizens could not be compared with those of knights, who had specific privileges to be respected. Nor could citizens be judged under the same terms as knights (*iudicentur*). With this scheme in mind, he opened his argumentation with the constitution *Item que si per ventura clam de cavaller*, approved in 1291 by King James II in the first *Corts* that he celebrated in Barcelona. In it, the terms under which knights should be summoned to a trial were specified, suggesting that these were only to be applied to knights and that other conditions thus existed for other social categories (*diversi modi placitentur*). In his view, therefore, it was a fact that knights and citizens did not litigate under the same terms.

After insisting on this claim and providing other examples, Callís continued with his refutation, moving from the process of litigation to the actual conditions of citizens and knights when facing a trial and being judged (*iudicentur*). To this purpose, he referred to the usatge *Mariti et Uxores*, where it was specified that women accused of adultery were to prove their innocence through different procedures according to the social position of their husbands:

Husbands can accuse their wives of adultery or even of suspicion of it and then they must clear themselves by their affirmation on oath and by judicial battle if there are clear indications and evident signs in these. Moreover, wives of knights should do so by oath and likewise by judicial battle between knights. Wives of townsmen and burghers and noble bailiffs, by judicial battle between foot champions. Wives of peasants, by their own hands through the ordeal of boiling water. If the wife is victorious, let her husband honourably keep her and make compensation to her for all

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510 ‘cum ibi notat solutio aliud est de iure Romano, aliud de iure usaticiis’ ABL, f. 18r.
511 ‘Iacme Segon en la primera Cort de Barcelona, any MCCLXXXI, Cap. XV. Si per Ventura eran fets clams de Cavaller, quel Veguer o Official nostre amonest aquell ab Letras, per tres citations, la primera ço és a saber de deu diez, e las altras de vuyt en vuyt, o per una Letra que abast a las tres citations: e pasadas las ditas tres citations, o la una que abast a tres citations demunt ditas, lo dit Veguer, o Official puxa anantar, e destrenyer, e penyorar, axi com acostumat a fer: e quel Scriva no haja de las Letras a fer sino dos diners per cascus’ CYADC, vol 1, p. 209.
512 ‘Oppositio et videtur quod cives et burgenses non placitentur, ut milites, ut in Constitutione *Item que si per ventura clam de cavaller*, et in prima curia Barchinonae Domini Regis Iacobi Secundi, ubi diversi mode placitantur, ut ubi, potest videri’ ABL, f. 18r.
expenses which her retainers have incurred in this suit and judicial battle. But if she was defeated, let her come into the custody of her husband with everything she has.  

Jaume Callís used this usatge as a strong legal refutation of the equality between citizens and knights promoted by the Cives Autem, alleging that the diverse juridical procedures for citizens’ and knights’ wives mirrored the juridical differences that distanced their husbands. Having therefore shown how legally incorrect it would be to judge citizens and knights in equal terms, Callís turns to consider the last verb composing the Cives Autem, namely the issue of compensation by the authority (emendatur). Here, his disputation is relatively brief as he just referred to Roman law to sustain that the minor dignity of citizens determines a lesser compensation than the one deserved by knights or vasvasores.

The systematic refutation of the Cives Autem composed by Callís included different levels of analysis. So, after this methodical invalidation of the legal equality between knights and citizens in terms of litigation, judicial sentence and compensation, Callís recovered the authoritative work of Jaume de Montjuïc, which he almost reproduced ad verbatim in his own commentary. He thereby introduced more terminological issues. As previously suggested, however, his intention was not to reflect on the language of citizenship. Rather, he contrasted the different definitions provided by Jaume de Montjuïc with Catalan regulations in an attempt to decide which one of Montjuïc’s opinions could be considered the most correct one from an objective legal perspective. While he showed some preferences, he highlighted they would all encounter some problems, as some could lead, for instance, to forced and

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513Kagay, The Usatges of Barcelona, 95-96 (number 89). Latin original version: ‘Mariti uxor suæ reptare possint de adulterio, eciam per suspiciacionem, et ille debeat se expiare inde per illarum avagent [sic], per sacramentum et per battaliam, si ibi erunt manifesta indica vel signa competencia; uxor militum per sacramentum et insuper per militem; uxor uxor et burgencium et nobelium bajulorum per pedonem; et uxor uxor rusticorum manibus propriis per calderiam. Si vicerit uxor, retineat eam vir suæ honorifice et emendet ei omnes missione quas facerint omnes amici ejus in ipso placito et in ipsa battalia, et malum de ipso bataller. Si autem victa fuerit, veniat in manu mariti sui cum cunctis que habiturit.’ Valls, Los Usatges de Barcelona, 104-105. (number 112).

514Opposito secundo ad istum textum et videtur quod cives et burgenses non iudicentur, ut milites, videtur supra eodem in usatico Mariti et uxorres, in quibus usatico si prospecias invenies, quod cives, et burgenses et eorum uxorres non iudicantur ut milites et dicitur in contrariis iigitur et male solutio’ ABL, f. 18r.

515Opposito et VI et videtur quod cives et burgenses non emendatur, ut milites immo tamque minorem dignitatem habentes sint minus emendandi quod milites, videtur in Pena et Atrox, Institutæ De Injuriae et in lex Praetor, Atrocem, Digestum eodem titulo et in lex Atrocem, Codex, eodem titulo’ ABL, f. 18v.

516Quae igitur istarum quatuor opinionem est verior’ ABL, f. 18v.
manipulated interpretations of the laws (*interpretationem limitativam et strictivam*).

With such an analysis, Callís did not intend to critically evaluate the work of his predecessor but to demonstrate that nothing reliable could be extracted from the *Cives Autem*. It is not my aim here to analyse in more depth Callís’ rhetorical strategies or his methodology and handling of the legal sources of Catalan law: I would certainly fear providing too simplified a view on the work of this jurist. Nonetheless, it is worth focussing on how he expressed his agreement with the first opinion of Montjuïc (*cum isto intellectu mio spiritus requiesceret*), since this pushed him to provide some fundamental contributions to Catalan juridical thought on citizenship.

More specifically, Callís developed further the figure of the citizen burgher, already presented by Montjuïc as the most honourable figure within the whole citizenry. In detailing such a category, Callís asserted:

> It seems here that the text of the *usatge* refers to citizen burghers, understanding them as majors and honoured individuals and this is an approach which is fully fair and moral, since it is not fair that a butcher, a labourer, a blacksmith, a *bastaix*, as well as any other citizen of similar condition would be pledged, judged, and compensated as knights are and this approach follows closely the mentioned law *Omnia*, Codex, *De Officio Pretorio Urbis*; therefore, and from a more vulgar perspective, it is to be said in Catalonia that those major citizens not having any sort of craft are (properly) called citizens while those other (citizens) practising the art of commerce are called merchants and, finally, those other (citizens) having mechanical (arts/crafts) are called artisans.\(^{517}\)

It is exclusively within a gradated citizenship that Callís could come to accept the *Cives Autem*, to the extent that only members from the urban oligarchy could expect to be treated with knights’ privileges before the law. Callís’ approach to medieval citizenship as a ranked phenomenon is far from unique. As previously analysed, Italian jurists knew about and reflected on the existence of a diversity of citizens, conceiving

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\(^{517}\) *quod hic tamen loquitur textum usatici de civibus burgensibus in de maioribus et honoratis et iste inteletcis est satis equeus, et moralis, quam non est equeus quod unus carnicerius vel faxerius, vel ferrerius, et bastaxius, et sic de aliiis civilibus similibus placiarentur, iudicarentur, et emendarentur, ut milites, et cum isto intellectu est conformis dicta lex *Omnia*, Codex *De Officio Pretorio Urbis* et vulgaris modus, loquendi Cathaline nam maiores cives non habentes artem dicuntur cives ceteri habentes artem mercandi dicuntur mercatores, ceteri autem habentes mecanicam dicuntur menestrali’ ABL, f. 18v.
citizenship as an institution at the basis of urban hierarchies. In Callís’ view, however, this gradated citizenship was determined by profession rather than by residential status (cives, habitatores, incolae etc). When presenting professional activities as the main element conditioning the inner complexity of citizenship, Jaume Callís decided to use citizenship as a tool to translate into legal terms the social reality of urban Catalonia. His main concern was to solve the ambiguities and contradictions posed by the Cives Autem, protecting the privileges feudal social balances reserved to knights. In this attempt to meld feudal hierarchies and urban reality, Callís gave legal personality to the confusing figure of the honoured citizen (civibus burgensibus honoratis).

At the time when Callís wrote, the term ‘honoured citizen of Barcelona’ was far from new: it began to be officially used at the beginning of the fourteenth century. While the term has generally been understood as one identifying the members of the oligarchy of the city, it does not clarify the nature and defining features of this group, which remained full of ambiguities throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As the oligarchy of the city, the ‘honoured citizenry’ has been identified with a growing but still limited group of wealthy families that monopolised the urban council. While their wealth was generally a result of former connections with the commercial activities of the city, they legitimised their position by presenting themselves as heirs of those probi homines who used to act as reliable counsellors of the king’s representatives in the first years of the municipality. As much as citizenship itself, the honoured citizenry of Barcelona was a de facto category very much based on reputation throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the words of the seventeenth-century writer Andreu Bosch, this group was determined in ‘old times’ by the fact of ‘being considered an honoured citizen in terms of treatment, respect,

518The recognition and respect of these hierarchies was closely linked to the achievement of common good. For the concept of ‘ranked citizenship,’ see Janet Coleman, A History of Political Thought. From the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 217.
519The influence that the actual existence of this category of citizens could have on Callís’ interpretation was already noted in Roca, “Unde Cathalanus,” 12.
520Amelang, Honored Citizens, 25; Joan Lluís Palos, Catalunya a l’Imperi dels Àustries, La pràctica de govern, segles XVI i XVII (Lleida: Pagès Editors, 1994), 204.
esteem, and distinction, or by living nobly, or through the greater honour certain persons receive in cities and towns according to public opinion.522

By collating the list of families of the ruling oligarchy that Joan Lluís Palos elaborated for the period 1249-1499 with the Informacions de la Ciutadania,523 we can confirm that the term ‘honoured’ (onrat) was used when referring to members of those families that had traditionally controlled the municipality (62 families according to Palos).524 Thus, references are to be found in the Informacions to the ‘honoured’ Malla, the de Busquets, the Bussot, the Santscliment, and the Sabastida.525 They appear in these sources as witnesses to the candidates or guarantors of their citizenship records and, following Callís’ theories, they did not show any profession. Nonetheless, other ‘honoured’ actors with no profession appeared in the Informacions, although they seem to have escaped from Palos’ list. This would be the case, for instance, of the Salvador, the Mirambell, the Merlès, the de Capellades, the Todonyà, the de Basiola, the Sacarrera, and the Vilatorta. Most importantly, the large majority of ‘honoured’ individuals present throughout the citizenship registers and reports had a profession and were identified as merchants. These were members of some of the wealthiest families in Barcelona, both native and of foreign origin: the Sesavasses, the Junyent from Solsona, the de la Via, the Llémena from Girona, the Oliver, the Cardona, the Saragossa, and others. A proper prosopographical analysis of these families should be completed in order to shed more light on the nuances of social honourability in

523The attempt to draw up a list of honoured citizens in Late Medieval Barcelona has never been undertaken by medievalists, as it does have its risks. Firstly, it leaves aside the necessity of conducting larger prosopographical studies through which to confirm the actual composition of these families. Furthermore, the sources through which such a list is to be drawn are problematic since the municipal acts where the results of the annual elections were recorded have been lost for a considerable number of years, especially for the first decades of the fifteenth century. Thus, Palos (a specialist on seventeenth-century Catalonia) built his list relying on the chronicle of Esteve Bruniquer, secretary of the Council of the Hundred in the seventeenth century. From this indirect material, Palos defines the honoured citizenry of Late Medieval Barcelona in exclusively political terms. As I take it, his ‘tangible’ results can help to insist on the actual ambiguity of this group. For a list of honoured citizens in Early Modern Barcelona: Joan Ferran Cabestany i Fort, “Aportación a la Nòmina de los Ciudadanos Honrados de Barcelona,” Documentos y Estudios del Instituto Municipal de Historia 10, (1962), 9-61.
524Palos, Catalunya i l’Imperi dels Àustria, 179-181.
525Gibert de Malla supported Filippo Strozzi’s application: AHCB, 1C-V, 5 (1441, November, 15th). Miquel de Busquets testified for the peasant Guillem Costhoer: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1414, February, 13th). Antoni Bussot acted as guarantor in the citizenship record of the merchant Pere Claramunt: AHCB, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 70r (1417, January, 26th). Pere de Santcliment was the guarantor of the doctor in law Joan Desplà in his citizenship record: AHCB, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 148v (1421, February, 11th) Bernat Sabastida was a witness in the citizenship report of the sailor Pere Masó: AHCB, 1C-V,4 (1422, April, 21st).

174
fifteenth-century Barcelona. As the Informacions show, it is clear that it was still determined by a strong interest on mercantile activities: in 1417, the ‘onrat’ Galceran Dusay, member of one of the most powerful families of the city and a councillor himself in 1413-1414, was granted a citizenship charter and was entitled from that moment to the trading privileges that he certainly coveted. Yet, citizens and merchants composed two different categories within the Council of the Hundred, even if their limits were sometimes blurred. All in all, the social composition and functions of the honoured citizenry at the end of the Middle Ages were ambiguous and social honorability resulted from a combination of politic and economic power. This ambiguity did not prevent the emergence of a ruling class which was aware of its own identity and perpetuated the vagueness of their status in order to control every source of influence.

Jaume Callís overcame these ambiguities in his comment on the Cives Autem, thereby becoming one of the first theorists of the honoured citizenry. His solution relied on understanding the honoured citizen in legal terms, rather than economic or political ones. The exclusive characteristic of honoured citizens was, in his view, their legal capability to be judged and treated before the law with the very same privileges enjoyed by knights. In contrast, Callís took merchants and artisans as inferior legal categories that had to be approached in light of the usatge Rusticus Interfectus: ‘Let the murder of a peasant or any other man who holds no rank besides being a Christian be compensated by six ounces; his wounding, by two ounces. Let his incapacitation and beating be compensated according to the law in copper sous’. Indeed, when it

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526 The emergence of the Barcelonese patriciate has been studied by Stephen Bensch, Barcelona and its evolution and distinction in the early modern period by James Amelang in Honored Citizens. The growing ambiguity of this social category throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries might explain the lack of thorough studies about the issue for the Late Middle Ages, before the establishment of citizens’ and merchants’ lists (1479) and the ennoblement of the honoured citizenry in 1510.
527 AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 86v (1417, August, 6th).
528 Palos, Catalunya a l’Imperi dels Àustries, 190-198.
530 Palos, Catalunya i l’Imperi dels Àustria, 201.
531 My emphasis. For this translation, see Kagay, The Usatges of Barcelona, 67 Original text in Latin: ‘Rusticus interfectus seu alius homo qui nullam habet dignitatem, preterquam christianus est, emendetur per VI uncias auri; plaga queque uncias duas. Debilitatio et cedis emendetur per legem secundum solidos denariorum’. Valls, Los Usatges de Barcelona, 77. Callís refers to the application of the Rusticus Interfectus in ABL, f. 18v ‘quod aliis cives puta mercatores, et menestrali placarentur,

175
came to compensate a knight the quantities were doubled: ‘twelve ounces of seared gold’ in cases of death and six ounces if he was wounded.\textsuperscript{532}

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to examine whether the royal administration of justice in Barcelona (the courts of the battle and the veguer) actually applied these legal distinctions. I would rather highlight that in conferring legal distinction to the honoured citizenry, Callís articulated a gradated citizenry which allowed him to nuance and settle the distinctions between knights and citizens. In so doing, he approved the uniqueness and superiority of a group of honoured citizens which he considered citizens \textit{par excellence} and were therefore simply identified as ‘cives’ (\textit{maiores cives non habentes artem dicuntur cives}). Yet, this does not mean that Callís excluded categorically merchants and artisans from the citizenry. In contrast with Roca’s drastic affirmation, who read Callís in more exclusive terms,\textsuperscript{533} I would note that Callís’ contrasts between \textit{maiores cives non habentes artem} and \textit{ceteri habentes artem mercanti} and \textit{ceteri habentes artem mecanicam} suggests that he took major citizens as figures to be completed with other (\textit{ceteri}) citizens who could be merchants or artisans. I argue, therefore, that the term ‘cives’ was implicitly repeated in the rest of the sentence. Callís had an inclusive vision of citizenship, one that was influenced by the significance he and other Catalan and Italian preeminent jurists had conceded to residence within the city and birth as the main aspects conditioning the language of citizenship.

There were no contradictions in Callís’ thought between exclusivity and inclusion. The terms used in the \textit{Rusticus Interfectus} help us to understand better his reasoning. Citizenship was a rank only for some, while it remained a broader and accessible civic condition for many others, a condition determined by geographical

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\textsuperscript{532}From the Usatge \textit{De Vasvessore}: ‘Indeed let whoever kills a knight give 12 ounces of seared gold in compensation. Indeed, let whoever wounds one make a compensation to him of six ounces for one blow or many’ in Kagay, \textit{The Usatges de Barcelona}, 65. Original quote in Latin: ‘Qui militem vero interfecerit, donet in composicionem XII uncias auri. Qui vero vulneraverit, tam pro una plaga quam pro multis, emendet ei VI uncias’ Valls, \textit{Los Usatges de Barcelona}, 75. The following Usatge (\textit{Si quis miles}) states even more clearly the juridical protection of knights, whose aggressors could be punished with death in some circumstances.

\textsuperscript{533}Callís considera contrario a la razón natural incluir aquí a los artesanos y mercaderes que por habitar dentro de la ciudad, serian ciudadanos, pero que por sus actividades no pueden ser nunca considerados como caballeros. Por esta razón, Callís considera más razonable excluir a estos últimos de la categoría de \textit{cives}, evitando así que puedan ser juzgados como caballeros’ Roca, “Unde Cathalanus,”12.
residence and Christian membership. Gradation emerges from Callís’ writings as the fundamental key to comprehending the complexity of medieval citizenship and the inner logic of its variety of meanings and scales. These are important considerations as Catalan historiography has generally drawn from sources the ambivalent use of the term ‘citizen’ without ever trying to nuance it, accepting existing distinctions between the political restrictive meaning and the broad social experience one single term could come to imply in different contexts without discussing them.

In his gloss, Callís did not develop the idea of this gradated citizenship beyond its judicial expression. The citizen, whether ‘honoured’, a merchant, or an artisan, remained unexplored beyond the limits and prerogatives they each ought to have when being judged and legally compensated. The jurist restricted himself very closely to the terms of the Cives Autem as he was not interested in illuminating the defining features of this broader citizen status but rather in establishing the limits of the figure. His ruling obsession was to show how unbridgeable the juridical distance between knights and the majority of citizens was and had to be.

In total, Catalan jurists dealt with the nature of the citizen through some terminological considerations but were principally interested in justifying the Cives Autem by presenting a gradated citizenship within which a major citizen burgher could emerge and be treated as a knight. Although this gradated citizenship was more accurately presented by Jaume Callís, it also lay on the basis of Jaume de Montjuic’s and Guillem de Vallseca’s thought, as they clearly distinguished between major, medium, and minor citizens. Later, Mieres and Marquilles would also recover this line of thought. Marquilles, for instance, copied literally Callís’ quotation to subsequently add ‘me adhereo Jacobo Callis.’

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534 A note on the importance of Christian membership in the building and understanding of medieval communities in Coleman, A History of Political Thought, 216.

535 An exception is Carme Batlle who affirms that the term ‘honoured’ is to be used to avoid confusions between the members of the estate of ‘citizens’ in the Council of the Hundred and the ‘rest of the Barcelonese who were actual citizens from the very moment they had received a citizenship charter.’ Batlle in Batlle, Ferrer, Mañé, Mutgé, Riera and Rovira, El ‘Llibre del Consell’, 33. Although the author makes an effort to highlight these terminological problems, her approach remains problematic to the extent that she identifies the ‘honrats’ exclusively with members of the political estate of ‘citizens’ in the Council. Also, Fernández Trabal notes the confusing use of the term citizen, taking it as a sign of the awareness the ruling class had with their own identity, which pushed them to monopolise the use of the term ‘citizen.’ Fernández, ‘De prohoms a ciudadanos’, 336.

536 Jaume Marquilles, Commentaria super usatici, f. 35v.
It is actually in the commentaries of these other jurists rather than in Callís’ that further thoughts on the building and composition of the citizenry can be found. In what follows, I will concentrate on their opinions regarding (a) the transmission of citizen status and (b) the validity of citizenship acquisition; these topics brought them closer to the main concerns of Italian jurists.

Catalan jurists did not hesitate to present birth as a significant factor in the making of the citizen (‘those who are called citizens are those who were born in the city, not being able to deny or to excuse it’). When writing such words, Guillem de Vallseca certainly gave a strong statement in favour of the *ius solis* but some other reflections show how positively he valued the *ius sanguinis* as a major condition of the citizen status. Most intriguingly, Vallseca created legal fictions when trying to discuss these issues. This rhetorical strategy substituted the real cases Italian jurists were facing in their *consilia*. Thus, he suggested that the son of a citizen of Barcelona born beyond the walls of the city (but within the territory under its control) should still be considered as a citizen. Likewise, he relied on Roman law to drastically oppose the possibility of recognising as *civis* the son of a serf woman, even when born and baptised within the walls of the city. In total, the jurist highlighted the role that the parents’ condition played in the recognition of the citizen. This conviction is expressed in much more detail through another assumption in which Vallseca posed the question of whether the son of a noble woman and a citizen of Barcelona was to be considered a citizen of Barcelona, regardless of the child’s place of birth. Referring to Roman law, he answered very positively, as ‘children follow their mother’s condition in regard to serfdom and freedom, while they follow their father’s condition in regard to honours, position, and citizenship.’ Interestingly, Bartolus also affirmed that it was the father’s condition as a citizen that determined the status of a son born from a mixed marriage. These similar conclusions were drawn from almost diametrically opposed

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537 ‘Cives aut dicuntur qui nati sunt in civitate, quam negare ac excusare non possunt’ ABL, f. 17v.
cases, as Bartolus was considering what the status should be of those children born from a *cives comitatentes* and a *cives civitatis*. 541

Catalan jurists accepted the *ius solis* but praised particularly the *ius sanguinis* as a defining factor of the citizen. This did not prevent them from discussing, albeit occasionally, the legality of an acquired citizenship dependent on the city’s acceptance and defined by permanent residence (*I say that are called citizens those who live continuously in the city of Barcelona*). 542 Guillem de Vallseca did not address this issue directly. Rather, he suggested it through a sort of metaphor which also considered the legal rights to citizenship of the clergy:

> Furthermore, in case a foreigner would become a monk of Sant Pau of Barcelona or a friar of San Francesc in the very same city, would he become a citizen of Barcelona? To this question, I answer in concert with Extravagant *De tempo ordinario cum nullus* (6), and laws *Et si is* and *De Jure*, Digest, *Ad Municipalitatem* [D.50.16 and 27], according to which the adoption makes the citizen and then it should be considered that, when entering a monastery located in the city of Barcelona, the newcomer is adopted as a son, see law *Et si is*. 543

As Bartolus had done, 544 Vallseca affirmed in this passage that the inheritance and transmission of citizenship was not restricted to biology. In a second level of analysis, the reference to adoption through the image of foreign monks entering a Barcelonese monastery can also be taken as an image for acquired citizenship, mainly based on permanent residence and the will of a community (in this case the monastery) to accept newcomers as part of its society. In contrast with Vallseca, Jaume Marquilles addressed the question of acquired citizenship in a more direct manner. In so doing, he brought back the principal concern of Italian jurists, wondering whether an accepted

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541 Kirshner, *Mulier alibi nupta*, 166.
542 Cives propie dicuntur, qui sunt seu habitant continue in civitate Barchinone’ ABL, f. 17v. (Guillem de Vallseca). On the *ius soli*, the *ius sanguinius*, and continuous residence as the three options considered by Catalan jurists when dealing with citizenship acquisition, see in Max Turull Rubinat, “”*De Voluntate Universitatis*. La formación y la expresión de la voluntad del municipio (Tárrega, 1214-1520),” in *El Gobierno de la Ciudad Medieval. Administración y finanzas en las ciudades medievales catalanas*, ed. M.Turull (Barcelona: CSIC, 2009), 133. At the level of Catalan naturalisation, the jurist Tomàs Mieres insisted particularly on the importance of continuous residence. Roca, “Unde Cathalanus,”29-31.
543 My emphasis in the quotation. “Sed quid si aliquis forensis efficiatur monachus Sancti Pauli Barchinonae, vel frater Sancti Francisci ipsius civitatis an sit civis Barchinona effecturus? Dice quod sic, videtur Extravagante *De tempo ordinario cum nullus* (6) et lex *Et si is*, Digestum, *Ad Municipalitatem* et lex *De Jure*, fine eodem titulo quia, sicut per adoptionem efficitur civis, sic per ingressum monasterii situati in civitati Barchinonae, quod monasterium ingredientem in filium adoptavit’ ABL, f. 17v. For the identification of the references to Roman law and the importance given to adoption through the example of foreign monks, see Roca, “Unde Cathalanus,”37.
citizen and a native one should enjoy the same civic rights. To this fundamental question he gave a very succinct answer, suggesting that such a problem should be solved by strict application of the local law. Referring to Baldus, Tomàs Mieres also gave a positive opinion on acquired citizenship, affirming that ‘if the city treats somebody as a citizen, then he becomes a citizen.’ Interestingly, he became more eloquent on the issue later in his work: ‘the citizen made by constitution is a true citizen; as far as this issue is approved by the statutes and the candidates have been verified, then such citizens should enjoy from the same privileges as native citizens.

Besides these occasional comments, the process of citizenship acquisition, an aspect at the core of Italian jurists’ view on the nature and practice of citizenship, was not particularly analysed by Catalan jurists, as they were more concerned with reflecting on the issue of citizenship gradation. Yet, other secondary aspects on which they theorised need still to be considered.

For instance, it is to be noted that in jurists’ inclusive, though gradated, image of the citizenry, there was place for members of the clergy. As seen, Guillem de Vallseca considered that admission within urban monasteries granted citizenship. Jaume de Marquilles, an ecclesiastic himself, used broader terms to defend the inclusion of clerics within the citizenry. Referring to Roman law, he approved that ‘presbyters and clerics can be reputed as members of the universitas of citizens,’ as churches were taken as part of the universitas. In contrast with these strong claims, Barcelonese sources suggest that clerics were not easily accepted within the urban

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545 Quero XVIII an civis factus ex constitutione verus sit civis adeo quod statuta loquentia de civibus in illis verificentur. Respondeo sic taliter quod hii tales cives originarii, ut [references to Roman law] dicit tamen Baldus in lex In Urbe, Digestum, quod si consuetudo habet ut cives originarii demum privilegia habeant quod tales adoptive non habeant quod tene menti. Commentaria Jacobi de Marquilles super usaticis Barchinone, f.37r.

546 Sed si civitas permittit aliquem tractare ut civem, efficitur civis’ Tomàs Mieres, Apparatus, pars II, collatio sexta, f. 86 (De professoribus, iurispetis et medicis, Capitolo XVII).

547 Quod civis factus ex constitutione, verus est civis; adeo quod statuta loquentia de civibus, in istis verificatur, et habent tales cives illa privilegia quae habent cives originarii’ Tomàs Mieres, Apparatus, pars II, collatio septima (De Unione Civitatis Dertusae, Capitolo V).


549 Quero XXXIX an presbiter vel clericus possit vel debeat reputari de universitate civium, respondeo sic [references to Roman Law], sicut ecclesie sunt de corpore universitatis’ Commentaria Jacobi de Marquilles, f. 38r. The positive view of Marquilles on the citizen status of the clergy is also considered in Roca, “Unde Cathalanus,” 37-38.
community, as both municipal (the Informacions de la Ciutadania) and notarial sources do not identify members of the clergy as citizens of Barcelona. Only a few presbyters can be identified throughout the Informacions; all of them acted as candidates’ witnesses but none were ever presented as citizens. The exclusion of clerics was not unique to Barcelona nor an indisputable and clearly fixed matter. The reluctance to admit them, which has also been documented in cities of Northern Europe, was based on juridical grounds. Dependent on ecclesiastical jurisdiction, clerics could escape from municipal and royal law when committing a crime. Furthermore, they could not participate in the urban guard of the city, as they were not supposed to bear any sort of weapon. Most importantly, their inclusion within the ecclesiastical estate exempted them from fiscal contributions to the community. To a certain extent, therefore, the cleric seemed to be incompatible with the civic status. This, however, should not make us forget that clerics from the minor orders (having only been tonsured) were often active members of the community: they married, fathered children, and engaged in trade and artisanal professions. The position of these tonsured clerics was ambiguous: while their privileges generated conflicts and led some municipalities to deny to them the right to citizenship, others were valued for their literacy and could come to access public office (both royal and municipal). As such, they were openly approached as citizens. In return, they promised to renounce their jurisdictional privileges and had to hide their condition by covering their tonsure and dressing and behaving as lay men. Once again, performance was actively taken as the main motor

550 Martha C. Howell, “Citizen Clerics in Late Medieval Douai,” in Statuts individuels, statuts corporatifs et statuts judiciaires dans les villes européennes (moyen âge et temps modernes), eds. M. Boone and M. Prak, (Leuve-Apeldoorn: Garant, 1996), 11-22. Despite focussing on the exception confirming the rule, that is, on the tendency of the city of Douai to accept clerics as citizens, the author starts this piece recalling the reasons that pushed a large number of municipalities not to accept clerics within the citizenry.


553 As happened in Lleida in 1340. These tensions were mainly caused by the fiscal privileges these tonsured men could enjoy as members of the clergy. Sabaté, “L’Església secular,” 763.

554 Only single tonsured clerics who would hide their tonsure and behave as laymen were, by virtue of royal regulations, allowed to occupy royal and municipal offices. Some exceptions could be made but only if approved by the monarch. See in Mutgé, “Entorn de l’ocupació,” 826-833. Given the hidden condition of some of these tonsured clerics, some could have been acting as citizens throughout the
making citizens, one capable of disguising the tensions and contradictions that emerged from the acceptance of some of them within the citizenry. Thus, clerics from the major orders, publicly devoted as they were to their service to the Church, were more systematically excluded from the urban community.

As these ambiguities were predominantly on juridical grounds, the determinate position of Catalan jurists in defending the civic status not only of secular but also of regular clerics is highly surprising. Guillem de Vallseca was particularly insistent in this regard, taking clergy membership as a sort of protective shield with which to conserve citizenship even beyond the walls of the city:

> And considering whether any citizen entering the monastery of Sant Cugat [beyond the walls of the city] would lose his citizen condition I say no, as the entrance in a monastery does not imply the loss of civic rights.555

A gradated yet inclusive citizenship, the *ius solis* and the *ius sanguinis*, and, more occasionally, the validity of acquired citizenship were the main topics determining the opinions of Catalan jurists on the formation and composition of the citizenry. Their chief example was Barcelona and the basis of their reflection a regulation (the *Cives Autem*), which confined them to thinking in feudal terms. As a result, their thought was primarily focussed on juridical and terminological contradictions and could only occasionally try to approach more practical issues through the creation of legal fictions. Thus, Catalan jurists rarely discussed the practice of citizenship within the walls of the city, particularly the rights and duties of the citizen. Nonetheless, I shall finish this approach with a few notes on the aspects they still highlighted as legal defining criteria of the citizen, always with the sources of Catalan law in their minds.

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555 *Civis alicuius civis intrat monasterium Sancti Cucuphatis valens an desinat esse civis, dic quod non, quare per monachationem, quis non perdit iura civilia*’ ABL, f. 18v. Roca identifies the references to Roman law that Vallseca makes at this point with: C, 1, 3, 54 and D, 50, 1, 22.
Rights and Duties in the Eyes of Catalan Jurists:
Jaume de Marquilles and Tomàs Mieres (1400-1474)

In his *Apparatus super Constitutionibus Curiarum Generalium Cathaloniae*, Tomàs Mieres commented on the fiscal exemptions legally afforded to citizens. His reflections mirrored the legal framework of his native town of Girona and of Barcelona, ‘the most antique and noble city of Catalonia.’

He generally accepted that those citizens who acquired a citizenship charter should be exempted from the payment of customs (*lezdae*). Such a statement is to be found, for instance, in his commentary on the *capitol de cort* ‘De immunitate Clericorum et Militum, ac de iure lezdarum,’ approved by King James II. His concern is focussed on the temporal scope of citizen immunities. This is particularly clear in his commentaries on the *De Immunitate Civium*, regulations approved by King Peter the Great in the *Corts* held in Barcelona in 1283. Mieres presented these immunities as perpetual to the extent that they were granted to the city. Regarding their transmission to individual citizens, however, he insisted that immunities could easily be lost if not used or if employed fraudulently. In this case, the privilege could be retired for 30 or even 40 years. According to Mieres, disregarding the fiscal privileges of citizenship should be severely punished. Furthermore, the jurist mentioned that some of these immunities, and particularly the *pedagium* (a tax to be paid when travelling by land through different jurisdictions), could expire depending on what was established in the local regulations.

In any case, those enjoying these exemptions were recognised as citizens only if residing continuously in the city. Thus, jurists were faithful to classic regulations such

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556*Barcino antiquior est et nobilior inter civitates Cathaloniae* Tomàs Mieres, *Apparatus*, pars II, f.146r.
557*Civis habentes privilegium non solvant lezdam de propriis* Tomàs Mieres, *Apparatus*, pars I, f. 121r (Collatio Quarta, Iacobus II in Curia Barcino, *De Immunitate Clericorum et Militum, ac de iure lezdarum*, Cap. XXXVI).
558*Item quod cives et ali [...] quod privilegium perditur per non usum, vel per contrarium usum [ a set of legal references, Bartolus among them] ubi dicit, quod privilegia sunt perpetua, quia sunt privilegiatae leges [ legal references] id est, in perpetuum duratura, si ad excipiendum concedantur: quia si numquam agitur, numquam excipiatur ex privilegiis, et sic perpetuo durant propeterea dictum est, temporalia sunt ad agendum, perpetua sunt ad excipiendum [ legal references]. Si vero aliquando agatur et non excipiatur ex privilegio sit praeiuditium, quod ad illum, in quo omittitur exceptio [ legal references]. Sed si tanto tempore contra privilegium petatur nec privilegiatus utaturn exceptione, ut verisimile sit privilegio renuntiatum; tunc in totum tollitur privilegium, ut spatio 30 vel 40 annorum’ Tomàs Mieres, *Apparatus*, pars 1, f. 40 (Collatio Secunda, Petrus II in Curia Barcino, *De immunitate civium*, Cap. XXIX).
as the *Recogoverunt Proceres*: ‘in the cities of Girona and Barcelona, there is a privilege according to which whoever fixes his residence in the city for one year and one day becomes a citizen.’

Anti-noble and a critic of serfdom, Mieres highlighted the importance of permanent residence by referring to such regulations but was mostly aiming at expounding on the right of peasants, even serfs, to freely move and transfer their residence.

To think about citizenship in fiscal terms pushed jurists to reflect on the more pragmatic side of the phenomenon, even if they did so in a brief and succinct way. From this perspective, Marquilles mentioned and approved holding a double citizenship. Indeed, he considered citizenship to be an accumulative right that did not exclude the possibility of conserving rights from foreign places. A problem might arise, however, if both cities came to request their citizens’ services at the same time. In this case, Marquilles considers that one should attend to the first claim received.

Although Marquilles refers to Roman law and to the thirteenth-century jurist Andrea Bonello to defend his opinion, it has to be noted that figures like Baldus saw service to the native town as an absolute priority.

In terms of the duties of the good citizen, references scarce throughout these juridical texts. Marquilles pointed out that ‘also called citizens are those compelled to contribute in the charges of the city, even if they do not have their residence in it.’ In Marquilles’ mind, civic duties superseded continuous habitation as the main defining criterion of the citizen. Encarna Roca very properly highlighted how exceptional such an approach was among Catalan jurists, who were generally much more focussed on jurisdictional issues. In her view, the charges (*munera*) the jurist is referring to can be

\[\text{ubi dicti rustici se transferunt ; ut est in civitate Gerundae et Barcino ubi habetur privilegium, quod quidcunque domicilium ibi per annum, et diem facientes sint cives’} \text{Tomàs Mieres, Apparatus, pars 1, f. 29 (De rusticis, et hominibus solidis domicilia transferentibus. Capitulon XXV).}\]

\[\text{Let us recall that Mieres wrote in the first half of the fifteenth century, witnessing therefore the crescendo of tensions between serfs and lords and the first Remença war.}\]

\[\text{Quero XX, nunquid assumptione civilitatis ex privilegio tolluntur iura forensia. Respondeo non quare talis assumptio se habet accumulative non extingue vel permutative [references to the Digest] Commentaria Jacobi Marquilles, f. 37r-37v. See also Roca, “Unde Cathalanus,” 38.}\]

\[\text{Quero XXI, quid si aliquis est civis vel incola duarum civitatum. Quod esse poterit [references to the Digest et ab utraque civitate eodem tempore vocatur ad munera et sub ire cogatur. Respondeo quod prior vocat prefertur, ut [references to the Digest and the Codex] Commentaria Jacobi Marquilles, f. 37v.}\]

\[\text{Kirshner, “Ars imitatur naturam,” 295, where the author mentions the importance jurists gave to the affirmation ‘origo non potest mutari’.}\]

\[\text{Vel dic quod cives dicuntur illi qui sunt cives alicuius civilitatis et coguntur subire munera eius etiam si non habeant ibi domicilium’ Commentaria Jacobi Marquilles, f. 36r.}\]
automatically identified with political offices.\textsuperscript{566} However, the term \textit{munus} in Latin means ‘functions’ as well as ‘tasks’: therefore, one wonders whether Marquilles was also considering the other services the good citizen was supposed to fulfil, namely, to pay taxes and to participate in the protection of the city. Unfortunately, no more specific details are given and the jurist remains at a rather theoretical level. Thus, he insisted on refuting the idea whereby the \textit{municeps} was a sort of privileged citizen, exempted from participating in these services to the community. He denied such an affirmation: the term \textit{municeps} was confusing and wrongly used but it could certainly not refer to any sort of exemption in regard to the citizen’s commitment. It was actually the complete opposite. As with Bartolus, Marquilles approached the \textit{municeps} as a perfect form of citizenship precisely because of the direct involvement of this figure with the offices and necessities of the city.\textsuperscript{567}

This chapter has been an attempt to enrich the legal definition of the citizen by considering how citizenship was analysed and understood by major Catalan jurists at the end of the Middle Ages. While Barcelonese citizenship emerged in chapters II and III as a legal practice and a social institution, the aim of this fourth chapter was to reinterpret these dimensions from a different perspective, introducing jurists as new actors in the definition of citizenship and adding a new scale (i.e. a juridical one) to the analysis of citizenship perception in Late Medieval Catalonia.

The juridical description of citizenship in medieval Catalonia was deeply conditioned by a large gap between the legal thought produced by jurists and the actual experience of citizenship. Through their \textit{consilia}, Italian jurists came to discuss many real cases that were somehow linked to the problems and contradictions posed by the actual practice of citizenship. As a result, they provided an impressively nuanced and tangible legal definition of citizenship. In contrast, Catalan jurists limited their contributions to commenting on regulations, the nature of which made it difficult to

\textsuperscript{566} Roca, “Unde Cathalanus,”\textsuperscript{12}: ‘En este párrafo de la glosa de Marquilles puede observarse una cierta evolución con respecto a la doctrina anterior. En efecto, Marquilles se fija en la posibilidad de los cives de ejercer cargos públicos, olvidando todo el problema jurisdiccional, que había sido el principal objeto de los comentaristas que le precedieron.’

\textsuperscript{567} Quero XXVI quid si illi qui sunt in civitate cives ab origine si aliquo privilegio non subeant munera an dicantur municeps. Dicas quod hodie utimur isto vocabulo large et improprie ut quilibet civis civitatis. Et improprie dicatur municeps ethiam si munera non subeat aliquo privilegio, Bartolus in lex I, Digestum, \textit{Ad Municipalitatem}. Quero XXVII unde dicantur municeps, dicas quod serem ethiam vocali municipes dicuntur quasi muneris participes et sic vides quod propria significatio assumit ethiam vocabili Bartolus’ \textit{Commentaria Jacobi Marquilles}, f. 37v.
reflect broadly on the issue of citizenship. Furthermore, while citizenship became a recurrent issue throughout the *consilia*, it was only one of many other aspects that jurists came to discuss when commenting on Catalan legal codes. A limited interest in the issue and a deep distance between the professional practice of Catalan jurists and the daily experiences of the citizen emerges when analysing the approach of these jurists to citizenship. To conclude, I will examine more closely this gap between the theory of the jurists and the actual legal practice of citizenship.

**Some Final Thoughts:**

**Jurists’ Reflections In Between Political Thought and Social Practices.**

The Franciscan treatise writer Francesc Eiximenis (1327-1409) has been described several times as a direct observer of his contemporary society. Therefore, some credit should be given to his description on jurists, whom he did not hesitate in presenting as a nuisance to the common good, largely because of their tendency to manipulate causes to their favour and earning too much money in return. He eloquently depicted the suspicious general approach to jurists through the image of a peasant who, having confused a law school and its students with a populated church, started praying in the middle of a lecture. When one of the attendants informed him about the real nature of the meeting, the peasant showed his concern, foreseeing the damage that so many future jurists could cause to the common good: ‘Alas! The earth is now lost! As only one jurist can do so much harm, it is to be deduced that all of you, being so numerous, will destroy the world!’

Despite this scepticism, Eiximenis’ opinions on citizenship did not completely differ from some of the reflections developed by jurists. Indeed, he also conceived citizenry as a gradated phenomenon determined by profession and which was mirrored in the organisation of urban councils. The Franciscan clearly depicted his views on the hierarchies of urban society in his famous political treatise on good government: *Lo Dotzè del Crestià*.

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568 ‘O llas mesquí! Tota la terra és perduda. Car un sol juriste qui està entre nos, ha tots ha desfets; segueix-se que vosaltres, qui tants sou, tot lo món destroireu’ Francesc Eiximenis, *Regiment de la Cosa Pública*, (Barcelona: Els Nostres Clàssics, 1927), 156.
All the inhabitants of the city are divided in three groups. The principal one is called the group of ‘generosos’, and those are named honoured citizens [...] and they are equal to knights[...] The second group of the inhabitants of the city is called ‘mà mitjana’ and those are not named honoured citizens but just citizens, with no other honourable distinction. [...] This group includes jurists, notaries, powerful merchants, and drapers, as well as all those who have great wealth in the city, despite not being of honourable condition. And these cannot be included in the previous state. The third group is the one of artisans such as silversmiths, blacksmiths, shoemakers, cuirass makers, and others. And those are not called ‘citizens’, as those of the ‘mà mitjana’ are. Rather, they are named inhabitants and neighbours of the city.569

The Eiximenian reflection on the figure of the cives and the composition of the citizenry finds its clearest expression in this quotation. Despite its similarity with some of the jurists’ claims, this conclusion relied on a much deeper and longer reflection on the nature of the citizen. Within the Dotzè del Crestià, a political treatise devoted to the constitutive features of civic communities, more than two hundred chapters deal with the nature and functions of the civitas and its inhabitants.570 Eiximenis’ work needs to be understood within the medieval tradition of republican thought, which aimed to rethink forms of power and was not confined to the Italian city-states. Resuming the works of Cicero and Aristotle, concepts such as res publica, bonum commune, civitas, iustitia were recovered in order to defend non-personal models of power and dominium. For Eiximenis, this responsibility had to be shouldered by


The Eiximenian citizen was more than a man, a person who had reached civic dignity because he had the means and the capacity to devote his resources and his fortune to the good of the res publica. The dignitas of the citizen was reached through committed action and public behaviour. It could be said that highlighting this active and public dimension of the citizen, Eiximenis’ thought mirrored the social practices of citizenship documented for fifteenth-century Barcelona. Yet his model of citizenship remained essentially exclusive, for the action of the citizen was basically understood in terms of political involvement and economic capacities. Those who were not capable of this devotion were reduced to bestiality in Eiximenis’ thought and were surely not worthy of civic dignity. It is in this context that we need to understand the incompatibility between serfs, who were actually compared to dogs and cats by the Minorite, and citizens. Likewise, artisans seem to lack, in his view, the economic means of honoured citizens and merchants and were excluded from the citizenry: they were labelled instead as neighbours of the city. Despite the theoretical dimension of this approach, Eiximenis’ economic reading of the morality of the citizen was actually reflecting the uses of citizenship in the city where he lived and worked for most of his life: Valencia. There, the language of citizenship was indeed determined by the duality between citizens and neighbours, which strongly gradated a citizen body ruled by an elite which included members of the nobility.

Eiximenis, however, was also very much aware of the Barcelonese situation, which he praised mainly in regard to the power it conferred to the merchant group, as the blurry category of the honoured citizens still included at that time oligarchs with strong commercial interests and excluded the nobility. Merchants, so numerous throughout the Informacions, were, for Eiximenis, the most perfect form of the citizen, since their activities ensured the economic dynamism and health of the civic community. The need for merchants is in contrast with the inadequacy of the ‘generosos,’ who, while framing the first ‘mà’ of the city, were now too close to a rentier and noble experience, and thus struggled to understand non-personal exercises.
of power, based on universal submission to one law and the support of the economic logic sustaining the *bono commune*.\(^{573}\)

The citizenship map offered by Eiximenis allows some reflections on the coincidences and differences that framed the citizen in between political thought and social practices. The gap with practices becomes even more noticeable when we address the intricacies of the legal thought on citizenship developed by the Catalan jurists, even if their language of citizenship was closer to Barcelonese practices. In relying on Roman law, they had a broader understanding of the term ‘cives,’ one which brought them closer to the uses of the *Informaciones*. Yet, in contrast with their Italian models, who dealt daily with the tensions and contradictions of citizenship, Catalan jurists came to think about citizenship by focussing on one specific regulation of a feudal code. While civic rule was at the core of Eiximenis’ concerns, their legal thought on citizenship needs to be primarily understood within an attempt to defend the privileges of knighthood.

The proximity of Catalan jurists with Barcelonese citizenship practices was therefore essentially terminological. As suggested above, the strong distinction that Callis established between such confusing categories as honoured citizens and merchants was rather unreal. First and foremost, the juridical infiltration of knights within the city through a comparison with honoured citizens did not correspond with the social and political dynamics of the city. The noble was a foreign figure within Barcelonese citizenry, an enemy banned from the Council and who was generally badly received within the walls of the city. In this context, it is clear that, although willing to imitate the life style of the nobility by the acquisition of rents from public debt and landed property, the elites of the city did not aspire to be compared to a category with no political influence.

Nevertheless, it is important to relate the work of jurists with later political decisions such as the composition of separate lists for members of the citizen and the merchant estate (1479), the inclusion of knights in the Council (1498), and the ennoblement of honoured citizens (1510). Indeed, it becomes clear that the political strategies through which King Ferdinand the Catholic (1479-1516) tried to ensure the recovery of Barcelona and the favour of former enemies relied on solid juridical

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\(^{573}\)Evangelisti, “Ad invicem participancium.”
precedents. At that moment, the juridical parity between knights and honoured citizens that jurists like Jaume Callís had imagined in the early fifteenth century turned into an effective social and political merger.

When discussing these issues at the dawn of the fifteenth century, however, jurists were chiefly interested in the preservation of feudal social balances, which were challenged by the ambiguity of the *Cives Autem*. The material on which they were commenting conditioned the angle of analysis of these jurists more than the presumed scepticism so deeply felt by Eiximenis’ peasant. Their intentions restrained them from exploring in more depth the legal effect this gradated and varied citizenship might have had within the walls of the city. As a result, their opinions emerged distorted when comparing them with the practice of citizenship in Barcelona revealed through the *Informaciones de la Ciutadania*.

More specifically, jurists overstated the importance of indigeneity when defining the citizen while giving too little thought to the process of citizenship acquisition. Barcelonese sources have shown how crucial this step was. The charter and the reports produced before granting citizenship were the result of a negotiation between the city, its citizens, and the candidate. It was a negotiation carried out at a personal level which unravelled the importance of behaviour, commitment, and intention in the making of the good citizen. As Italian jurists considered in their *consilia*, these criteria determined another sort of diversity among civic identities, which had to be valued and absorbed in all their contingency.574

Certainly, these three benchmarks (behaviour, commitment, and intention) emerged in chapter III as the cornerstone of the practice of citizenship, both from a daily and legal perspective. Nonetheless, Catalan jurists did not really pay any attention to them. From their ambiguous discussions, the definition of the citizen was mostly conditioned by continuous residence, inheritance, and indigeneity. The *Informaciones*, however, challenge the actual significance of these aspects. As seen, residence was not valued according to fixed criteria. The Barcelonese took into account the intention and personal conditions of their neighbours when evaluating whether they were integrated into the community or not. Thus, individuals who spent a few months in the city could be considered citizens as much as those who asked for a

574Kirshner, “Mulier alibi nupta,” 171.
citizenship charter after 20 years of residence. Being born within the walls of the city or as the son of a citizen were obviously strong factors when trying to be recognised as a citizen of Barcelona. By themselves, however, they were not enough to turn an individual into a citizen. Indeed, some of the candidates undergoing interrogations in order to prove their reputation as good citizens were known by their witnesses as natives or sons of citizens. From the citizenship register of the period 1413-1425 (containing ca. 600 records), 47 new owners of the charter are identified as *cives a naturitate* and 10 appeared as *cives ab antico*. While the meaning of the *civis a naturitate* is obviously referring to an individual born in Barcelona, I take the *cives ab antico* as a formulation identifying sons, and maybe grandsons, of citizens. These proportions are certainly modest but would still suggest that citizenship as a privilege was neither inheritable nor automatically granted to natives, who also had to request the charter when needed. The reputation as good citizens of these natives or ‘old’ citizens was even tested through interrogations on some documented occasions. A complete interrogation was carried out on Bernat Baruç, whose testimonies identified him as a wealthy merchant who inherited several properties from his father, already known as an ‘old’ citizen.\(^{575}\) In more modest environments, interrogations to confirm their citizen status were conducted on the natives Antoni Massot, a skipper, and the furrier Joan Serra.\(^{576}\)

Despite living in Barcelona and participating actively in its civic life, the jurists commenting on the *Cives Autem* did not really grasp the real practice of citizenship in the capital city of Catalonia. This was certainly not what they attempted or their principal concern. In their obsession to nuance the equalisation between knights and citizens proposed in the *Usatges*, they presented citizenship as a gradated phenomenon determined by the real political organisation of the Council of the Hundred.

Yet, as jurists did, I argue that citizenship was indeed a complexly gradated phenomenon. However, I shall propose in this thesis an alternative gradation to understand medieval citizenship, one which should not fail to place performance and

\(^{575}\)AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1419, November, 15\(^{th}\)) and AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 134r-v (1419, November, 24\(^{th}\)).

\(^{576}\)For Antoni Massot: AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1418, July, 7\(^{th}\)) and AHCB, 1C-V,4 Registre, f.106r (1418, July, 7\(^{th}\)). For Joan Serra: AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1420, October, 20\(^{th}\)) and AHCB, 1C-V,4 Registre, f. 146v (1420, October, 9\(^{th}\)).
contingency at the very core of the making of the citizen. From the case of Late Medieval Barcelona, it is clear that three expressions of citizenship, three kinds of citizens, coexisted within the walls of the city: (1) citizenship as a rank, namely the honoured citizen recovered by Callís, (2) citizenship as a constant negotiation and a proof of urban integration, and (3) citizenship as an official sanction of this integration process. At this latter state, citizenship took the form of a charter ensuring fiscal privileges. The second part of this dissertation will now explore the mechanics of this alternative gradation, placing a magnifying lens on the second and third level in an attempt to reproduce the actors, strategies, and mechanics involved in the building of the citizen reputation.
PART II

BECOMING A CITIZEN:

INTEGRATION EXPERIENCES IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BARCELONA
V
Foreign Citizens in Late Medieval Barcelona

‘La ville inspire bien des espoirs mais remodèle aussi le cours des existences.’

Jerôme Hayez

‘a lovely city, large and well-populated. While there do not seem to be any particularly notable or excellent private buildings, houses throughout the entire city are generally quite beautiful. For, as its inhabitants say, it is a city for everyone. This, in my judgment, is its most striking feature, one in which it overshadows even Florence.’

Francesco Guicciardini on Barcelona (1512).

INTRODUCTION.
FOREIGNERS, STRANGERS, AND FOREIGN CITIZENS. SOME METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

The ‘stranger’ emerges as a perfect laboratory from which to grasp the tensions, conflicts, and solidarities governing a given community. As Georg Simmel put it, the stranger needs to be understood in interaction with others, since he is approached through feelings such as repulsion, comprehension, indifference, solidarity, and segregation by members of the community into which he is trying to integrate. As a result, the stranger becomes an ‘organic’ member of the social group in which he/she is absorbed, even if inorganically included.

Close and distant at the same time, the stranger stands as the Other par excellence. Within medieval historiography, however, the expression of this otherness

579Quoted in Amelang, Honored Citizens, 3.
has brought up some deep methodological discussions. To begin with, there is a conceptual concern: the task of analysing the figure of the stranger, the foreigner, or the alien in urban settings has pushed historians to investigate whether these different words have been hiding diverse and distinctive processes and strategies of integration. In more general terms, scholars have also debated the cultural nature of the ‘stranger,’ leaving aside terminological preoccupations and interrogating empirically the factors that conditioned the emergence of the ‘stranger’ as an uncertain construct, very much dependent on the favours and complications of a specific context.581

Conceptual discussions remain far from settled. Some historians have highlighted the necessity of overcoming such debates,582 as terminology was mainly fixed by legal codes and became a matter of convention.583 Relying on sources of a juridical nature, legal historians prefer the term ‘stranger,’584 while the use of ‘foreigner’ has been widely documented in cases such as Piacenza and Venice (forastier).585 These terminological complexities cannot be reduced, however, to geographical differences, as both terms could coexist within the same space, turning social status into a mirror of the existing territorial scales. In Early Modern English, for instance, terms such as ‘stranger’ or ‘alien’ referred to complete outsiders from the


583Law codes referred to aliens, strangers and denizens’, Amelang, “Cities and foreigners,” 42.


realm while the ‘foreigner’ indicated migrants from within the country itself. Similar distinctions could be made for the crown of Aragon and Catalonia. This is suggested from the royal constitutions of Catalonia, which indirectly included a definition of the ‘stranger.’ Indeed, when establishing that no ‘strangers’ could access ecclesiastical positions within the principality, these ‘strangers’ were presented as those who ‘were not from our Kingdoms.’ For the king, therefore, the ‘stranger’ referred to anybody from beyond the borders of the crown of Aragon. It is not clear whether this opinion was sanctioned by other institutions throughout the Catalan territory. Certainly, fiscal sources such as military census produced by the city of Barcelona listed individuals coming from beyond the crown of Aragon as ‘strangers’ (estrangers). A similar variation of the term ‘stranger’ (persona estranya/hom estrany) was used throughout the municipal acts of Barcelona in broad and general terms. While I have not found any clear definition for the term ‘foreigner,’ individuals coming from within the very same principality of Catalonia could also be treated as ‘strangers.’ Thus, the notary Pere Ponç, a citizen of Barcelona, was identified as stranger e non habitador by the authorities of the nearby locality of Igualada.


587 CYADC, Lib I. Tit V. f 16-17. Parliament (Corts) of Sant Cugat, 1418. While the text drawn directly from the Constitucions runs as it follows ‘e aquells que vuy posseexen las ditas estranyas personas, sien donats a nostres subdits, nadius dels dits nostres regnes, o terras, e no a altres,’ Lalinde Abadia refers to the same Parliament, considering it was directed to protect the right of ‘catalans e no altras personas de altres regnes’ without giving, however, the reference. Lalinde, “L’inserimento,” 60.

588 Research on foreigners in the city and kingdom of Valencia allows us to deepen the meaning and evolution of the ‘stranger’ in the context of the Crown of Aragon. While the term was first reserved for those coming from beyond the kingdom of Valencia itself it progressively acquired another meaning, also being used by the monarch to define all those coming from beyond the borders of the Crown of Aragon. David Igual, “¿Los mercaderes son egualadors del món? Autóctonos y extranjeros en el comercio bajomedieval de Valencia,” Anales de la Universidad de Alicante 18, (2012): 128-129. This article is still not published. I am grateful to the author for providing me with a copy.

589 As can be seen in the rather protectionist regulations of the silversmiths’ guild (1402) where a set of activities were forbidden to foreigners. We find here the reference to hom estrany. For a transcription of these regulations: Núria de Dalmases, Orfebreria Catalana Medieval: Barcelona 1300-1500, (Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 1992), vol II, 185-188.

590 The term was however used, as documented by Lalinde, “L’inserimento,” 48. The author highlights that the use of this term was particularly important in Majorcan sources.

591 AHCB, 1B-X.2 (letter n. 173).
Sources of a different nature, such as the Informacions and the notarial deeds, do not help to clarify the meaning of these terms. Indeed, immigrants were naturally identified in these sources with simple mentions to their local origins. Pere Lasguaitas appeared as a neighbour of Zaragoza when acting as representative of Domingo Lasguaitas and Martín d’Açarà, merchants and citizens of Zaragoza, in a transaction conducted in Barcelona. In referring to a ‘neighbour’ (veí) as a juridical status, the Barcelonese notary interestingly applied the terminology of Zaragoza rather than that of Barcelona. Greeks, (who were very few at that time in Barcelona), so distinctively marked by their distant geographical origin, their language, and their religion, provide telling examples regarding immigrants’ identification. Reference to their native origin ‘natione Grecorum’ could merge perfectly with their status as citizens of Barcelona. This was even true for the interpreter Jaume Blas, a Greek and citizen of Barcelona (civis Barchinone de natione Grecorum), who accepted the appointment proposed by two friars of Saint Catherine in Sinai, promising to abandon the city and to follow them wherever in the world they went (per illas mundi partes in quibus ire volueritis) in order to serve them as a translator.

In his study of fifteenth-century Treviso, Matthieu Scherman also noticed the lack of general terms in the sources to identify and mark migrants as such. As I read it, he understood this as a proof of the stronger relevance of residence rather than origin in the definition of civic identities. Be that as it may, it is certainly a sign of the little need in daily life to create broader categories. The confusion of territorial scales and legal codes had conferred on the ‘stranger’ a polysemic and non-consensual nature which mirrored the extreme complexity of integration processes, all of them depending very much on the situations, contexts, and resources of every migrant. As Mario Ascheri suggested, a deep understanding of foreigners’ and strangers’ realities

593 AHPB, Bernat Nadal 58/51, f. 11r (1413, February, 7th).
594 AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/19 f. 10v-11r (1419, May, 16th). The Greek vanover, Joan de Grècia, was also uniquely identified as a citizen of Barcelona when recognised as having received the dowry of his future wife. AHPB, Bernat Pí, Manual 1418-1419 113/15, f. 61r-61v (1419, February, 6th).
596 Igual, “¿Los mercaderes son egaladors del món?,” 129-130; Amelang, “Cities and foreigners,” 42.
should be based on the design of particularised profiles from which to grasp the
diverse experiences and practices that animated and conditioned urban integration.597

From an analytical point of view, however, scholars have struggled with the
urge to define the category of the geographical outsider. In terms of Catalonia and
Barcelona, Carme Batlle was willing to establish differences between ‘foreigners’ and
‘strangers,’ although she did not elaborate on the distinctive meanings of each of these
categories.598 In contrast, Eloy Benito defined drastic distinctions between these
terms, seeing in the ‘foreigner’ an immigrant coming from any kingdom from the
Iberian Peninsula while presenting the ‘stranger’ as the migrant from any other part of
Christian Europe.599 This approach, however, creates a disturbing connection between
the peninsular kingdoms that did not exist at that time, since a Castilian and a
Florentine, for instance, would have had very similar legal and social conditions in
fifteenth-century Barcelona. Pointing towards the necessity of overcoming these
discussions, some scholars have taken these debates as a result of historians’ need to
settle the complexity of the time with a modern and more understandable
vocabulary.600

For the sake of clarity, I will rely on the choice and definitions of Pierre
Bonnassie, who used the term ‘foreigner’ as a general one with which to designate all
those who were born beyond the walls of Barcelona. Among them, however, Bonnassie
stated an insightful distinction between the major amount of Catalans and the ‘true
strangers’ coming from beyond the principality of Catalonia.601

I argue, therefore, that the ‘foreigner’ can encapsulate the diversity of the
migrant presence in Late Medieval Barcelona, embracing all those who lived in the city
despite having been born somewhere beyond its walls. One unique term also mirrors

597‘In ogni caso, gli esempi che prima si facevano dovrebbero dare concretizzazione alla frantumazione cui si
accennava, e all’emersione in primo piano di figure particolari, diversamente connotate perché
diversamente motivate nella loro condizione di forenses’ Ascheri, “Lo straniero nella legislazione
statutaria,” 13.
598She did refer to the conflictive actions of immigrants that she defined as ‘foreigners and even
strangers.’ (‘Podría relacionarse con la afluencia de forasteros, e incluso de extranjeros, y los problemas
provocados por su asimilación’). Batlle, La crisis social y económica, 82.
599This observation does not come from a direct reading. I rely on Yolanda Enjuanes Alzuria,
“Aproximación a l’estudi dels forasters a la Lleida de la primera meitat del segle XV,” in El món urbà a la
Corona d’Aragó des de 1137 als decrets de Nova Planta. Actes del XVII Congrés d’Història de la Corona
d’Aragó, ed. S.Clarumunt, (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2003), 133.
600Igual, “¿Los mercaderes son egualadors del Món?,” 130.
601Bonnassie, La organización del trabajo, 79.
the one and only administrative procedure, namely the request for a citizenship charter, through which every foreigner, as well as every native, could certify his belonging to the community. Together with the non-identification of foreigners, the existence of one single procedure of citizenship acquisition for every sort of candidate highlights again the predominance given to factors other than provenance in the definition of the citizen and the building of the citizenry. These observations are certainly in concert with studies that define the foreigner in the Early Modern period as a social construct much more determined by his lack of citizen resources than by his geographical origins, since these could come to be easily negotiated in virtue of pragmatic interests and specific necessities. As Simona Cerutti retraced and understood the experience of foreigners in eighteenth century Turin by questioning the extent to which they were able to act as citizens, I will use here the figure of the foreign citizen, that is, of the successful and accepted foreigner, to analyse how distinctively they accessed citizen resources and contributed in the creation of citizen reputation. While Cerutti used the citizen to define the foreigner, I will take the (former) foreigner as a lens through which to examine closer the citizen experience.

The chapter will be structured in three sections. I will first consider how Barcelona emerged as a land for foreigners, recalling briefly the origins, circumstances, and acceptance of foreigners throughout the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. I will then focus on the diversity of foreigners to be found in the Informacions in an attempt to present and describe the major foreign profiles that related with the city and its citizens (becoming foreign citizens) throughout the first decades of the fifteenth century.

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602 David Igual provides a few illustrating examples of Italian merchants in Valencia at this regard. Igual, “¿Los mercaderes són egualadors del Món?,“137-138.

603 Certainly, the range of foreigners that can be analysed through citizenship sources is limited to those foreigners interested in requesting a citizenship charter and to those successfully accepted within the citizenry. For the case of Barcelona, important foreign collectives such as women, slaves, and apprentices are obviously almost impossible to grasp from a source like the Informacions. One cannot claim, therefore, to endeavour a general study on foreignness when dealing almost exclusively with citizenship sources. This being said, material of this kind has been repeatedly and successfully employed in studies dealing with the interests, composition, and legal reception of foreigners in medieval cities. Mueller, Immigrazione e cittadinanza; Luca Molà and Reinhold C. Mueller, “Essere straniero a Venezia nel tardo medioevo: accoglienza e rifiuto nei privilegi di cittadinanza,” in Le migrazioni in Europa s. XIII-XVIII, ed. S. Cavaciocchi, (Florence: Le Monnier, 1994), 839-851. For the case of Valencia: Germán Navarro Espinach, “Política municipal y aparejamiento: Análisis de la emigración aragonesa a Valencia (1308-1526),” in Demografía y sociedad en la España bajomedieval, (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2001), 97-128.

604 Cerutti, Étrangers, 68: ‘La non appartenance qui définit les étrangers se mesure donc moins qu’à un territoire qu’à un groupe; moins à l’identité politique qu’à l’incapacité à accéder à certaines ressources.’
century. I will subsequently analyse the extent to which these profiles acted and were
accepted as citizens, accessing to profession, daily relationships, permanent residence,
property and mechanisms of inheritance.

**BARCELONA AND ITS FOREIGNERS:
PRECEDENTS (TWELFTH TO FOURTEENTH CENTURIES)**

‘Italians’ and French/Occitan as the main foreign actors of medieval Barcelona have
been traced as far as back as the twelfth century. Precious allies of the Counts of
Barcelona in their first projects of conquest against the Muslims, Pisans and Genoese
received gratifying compensation for this collaboration, which ranged from trade
exemptions to the promise of receiving parts of the lands to be conquered. Furthermore, many Occitans participated in these conquest expeditions, becoming
active figures in the colonisation of the newly acquired lands. Initially, they transferred
themselves to newly conquered centres such as Lleida, Tarragona, and Tortosa.
Together with Genoese and Pisans, many of them would soon settle in the city of
Barcelona, which was progressively developing its economic potential, the conquering
process having turned it into a centre for the sale and purchase of Muslim slaves.

These first conquests therefore introduced Italians and Occitans into the
Catalan territory. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, both collectives
consolidated their presence within the principality and the city, playing an important
role in the inclusion of Barcelona within the main commercial Mediterranean trade
routes.

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605 Count Ramon Berenguer III (1082-1131) allied with the Pisan fleet when preparing his conquest


However, the specificities of these groups’ presence and evolution should be highlighted. Occitan migration arrived from cities like Toulouse, Montpellier, Figeac, or Béziers and, significantly, was absorbed by Barcelonese craftwork.  

609 Within the context of the Albigensian crusade, the protection granted by King Peter the Catholic (1178-1213) to his Cathar subjects pushed a significant amount of merchants sharing these religious beliefs to migrate to Aragon and Catalonia, where they could feel safe and protected. So, even a wave of Cathar migration reached Barcelona.  

610 Ready to share their artisanal techniques, these Occitan migrants became major actors in the emergence of a proper Barcelonese textile industry.  

The origins of merchants coming from the Italian peninsula was much more diverse, Florentines and Lombards soon joining Pisans and Genoese in the struggle to exploit the commercial potential of Barcelona. They stood out for their participation in the export of wool and the import of luxury products. From the fourteenth century, Tuscans in Barcelona emerged strongly as financial operators, acting as bankers, lenders, and insurers. The dynamism of Italian merchants and the superiority of their techniques and their capital raised strong suspicions among autochthonous merchants and authorities in Barcelona as well as in other cities of the crown of Aragon.  

612 As a result, their integration within the citizenry was repeatedly questioned and strong protectionist measures were intermittently implemented. As an early manifestation of such processes, one might recall the privilege King James I granted to the city of Barcelona in 1265. Reacting to his subjects’ claims, the king forbade with this privilege

\[609\] The following lines on the professional and social activities of Occitans throughout the twelfth to fourteenth centuries are based on Batlle, “Els francesos,” 364. The inclusion of parts of Occitania in the Crown of Aragon played a fundamental role in the migration preferences of these groups.

\[610\] The work of Carme Batlle suggests that the Cathars settling in Barcelona were of a higher social standard than those who decided to stay in other Catalan towns such as Lleida, Siurana, or Berga. Batlle, “Els francesos,” 364. A similar phenomenon has been documented for the case of Genoa, whose reputation for tolerance and freedom also attracted many Cathars that participated actively in the development of the textile industry of the city. Giovanna Petti-Balbi, “Presenze straniere a Genova nei secoli XII-XIV,” in Dentro la città. Stranieri e realtà urbana nell’ Europa dei secoli XIII-XVI, ed. G. Rossetti, (Naples: Liguori, 1989), 135.

\[611\] Batlle, “La presenza,” 110.

\[612\] On the xenophobic reactions and suspicions raised by the technical superiority of Italian merchants in Valencia and, generally, throughout the Crown of Aragon in later periods, see: Igual, “¿Los mercaderes son egualadors del món?” 146-147.
the entrance to the city to any Lombard, Florentine, Sienese, or Luquese, and expelled all those already inhabiting the city.\textsuperscript{613}

Despite such drastic measures, these first expulsions were rarely effective.\textsuperscript{614} Italian and Occitan foreigners were absorbed by Barcelonese society. While historians like Philip Banks and Stephen Bensh documented some Occitan merchants marrying the daughters of local Barcelonese and acquiring houses in twelfth-century Barcelona,\textsuperscript{615} Carme Batlle focussed particularly on the exceptional career of Duran del Parer.\textsuperscript{616} An active merchant and a cloth-maker, Duran achieved successful economic and politic integration. Associated with the tenant of the foreigners’ warehouse (alfòndec), he gained an important role in the control of the city’s commerce. His contacts with the monarchy ensured him a set of fiscal exemptions. He even reached political power, becoming first councillor of the city in 1274. To a certain extent, this degree of political integration recalls the polemic case of Luchino Scarampi. A native of Asti but citizen of Genoa, Scarampi went far beyond integrating with the dynamic commercial life of Barcelona. He became a close counsellor of King John the Hunter (1386-1396), participating in his embassies and controlling a large amount of royal rents.\textsuperscript{617} While Duran de Parer obtained a citizenship charter soon after his arrival in Barcelona in 1250,\textsuperscript{618} Luchino Scarampi was identified as a citizen from 1394 onwards.\textsuperscript{619} Within very diverse contexts and from different conditions, the lives of these two characters in Barcelona suggest that Barcelonese citizenship already stands

\textsuperscript{613}Ferrer, “Els italians,” 394; Soldani, 	extit{Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani}, 292.

\textsuperscript{614}Soldani, 	extit{Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani}, 292.

\textsuperscript{615}Philip Banks mentioned, indeed, the diverse properties of Ponç of Toulouse. Philip Banks, “Alguns immigrants del Llenguadoc a la Barcelona del segle XII,” in Miscel·lània d’homenatge a Enric Moreu-Rey. (Barcelona: Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat, 1988), 160-162. On the figure of Eimeric de Perusa, a foreigner who owned properties in Barcelona and married with the daughter of a citizen of Barcelona, Bensh, 	extit{Barcelona}, 207.

\textsuperscript{616}What follows on Duran del Parer is taken from Batlle, “La presenza,” 99-101; also Carme Batlle i Gallart, “La alhòndiga, centro comercial de Barcelona durante el siglo XIII,” in Oriente e Occidente tra medioevo ed età moderna: Studi in onore di Geo Pistorino, (Genoa: Glauco Brigati, 1997), 70-71.


\textsuperscript{618}Batlle, “La presenza,” 94.

out as a symbolic cornerstone of successful integration throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, well before the Council developed direct control over it.

For this earlier epoch, it is already noticeable to what extent Catalan historiography has prioritised the analysis of those Italian and French/Occitan foreigners over those rather numerous individuals arriving to Barcelona from other points of Catalonia or other kingdoms under the rule of the of the king of Aragon. Also, little has been done on the presence and activities of immigrants from other Iberian kingdoms, who appear occasionally in sources. The existence of a Castilian consulate in the city has been documented from at least the late fourteenth century. Although hardly studied, the presence of Castilians in the city and in the principality was therefore significant enough to be institutionalised, at least from the last third of the fourteenth century when the war between Castile and the crown of Aragon was over (1356-1369). The consul of Castilians in Barcelona was directly appointed by the king of Castile and had a jurisdiction covering the whole principality. From notarial sources, it is noted that Castilian merchants and seafarers, identified either as citizens or inhabitants of Barcelona, practised their profession and settled in the city while remaining in close contact amongst themselves. Some of their business contracts were completed under the control and supervision of the consul García Alfonso. Some of them were in difficult situations and sought an alternative by enrolling in the galleys that set sail from Barcelona to accompany Prince Martin to Sicily in 1391. Before their

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621 Thus, it was the consul of Castilians, García Alfonso, who acted as witness of a contract between other Castilian merchants signed in Barcelona in 1408 (document almost unreadable) AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/1, f. 6v-7r (1408, April, 16th). The will of the fisherman Alfonso de Sevilla, citizen of Barcelona, illustrates the closeness established between some of these Castilian who settled in the city. AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/98, f. 7r (1410, Marc, 2nd). For references on Castilian merchants involved with other merchant citizens of Barcelona: AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/6 f. 7v (1413, August, 7th) and f. 4r-4v (1413, July, 27th). On the contacts established by Castilian innkeepers with their fellow countrymen in Barcelona and on the use of Barcelona by Castilian pilgrims as a port from which to start pilgrimages to the Holy Land: María Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, “Notas sobre patrones y mercaderes cántabros en el Mediterráneo Medieval,” in *Mundos Medievales II. Espacios, sociedades y poder*, (Santander: Ediciones de la Universidad de Cantabria, 2014), 1313.
departure, they were easily led to participate violently in the riots against the Jewish quarter.\textsuperscript{622}

The unbalanced interest of historians regarding Barcelonese immigrants is most startling regarding the features of a very significant Catalan ‘interior migration’ that certainly conditioned the vital flows of the Barcelonese society.\textsuperscript{623} A few scattered bibliographical notes can still help us to grasp the basic features of this ‘interior migration’ throughout the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. A flourishing local market in the twelfth century, the dynamism of Barcelona depended on the produce of those peasants from the city’s hinterland, whose presence in Barcelona therefore acquired a preponderant economic role.\textsuperscript{624} This is consistent with the research of Philip Banks, who managed to retrace 127 owners of real estate in twelfth-century Barcelona, among whom many were identified as natives of the localities in the immediate surroundings of Barcelona (ca. 40km). He also located a few owners coming from more remote cities such as Manresa, Vic, and Cervera, still within the confines of Catalonia.\textsuperscript{625} As with many other European cities, Barcelona received a constant flow of internal immigration determined first by the arrival of rural second sons who had been put out of place by the institution of primogeniture and needed to find alternative options, and secondly by the impact of the Black Death (1347-1351). Ruining the countryside and emptying the city, the Plague drove many peasants to abandon their homes and seek new opportunities in a city in need of manpower.\textsuperscript{626} However, for the case of Valencia, Enrique Cruselles has proposed to relativise the role of epidemics in the constant restructuring of the urban population. Instead, he suggests we place a stronger focus on the hierarchies constituting networks of minor urban centres and on the interests, policies, and procedures of urban authorities in

\textsuperscript{623}Joan J. Busquetà Riu was already lamenting this lack of research in 1989. Joan J. Busquetà, “Per un estat de la qüestió del tema ciutat- camp a la Catalunya de la Baixa Edat Mitjana,” in \textit{Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia} 10, (1989), 481-487. I take the expression ‘vital flows’ (\textit{fluxes vitals}) from Cuadrada, “Migracions,”323.
\textsuperscript{624}Bensh, \textit{Barcelona}, 200.
\textsuperscript{625}Banks, “Algusns,” 156-158.
\textsuperscript{626}Lanaro, “Corporations et confréries,”4. German cities did simplify their migration policies in order to attract manpower after the effects of the plague: Szabó, “Gli Stranieri,” 80.
attracting and controlling the arrival of specific group of migrants.\textsuperscript{627} Be that as it may, and despite the limits of the extant historiography, it is clear that the city of Barcelona was a centripetal pole of attraction throughout the fourteenth century,\textsuperscript{628} exercising a strong influence across the Catalan territory.

Three main foreign profiles thus emerged and settled in Barcelona throughout the High Middle Ages: Italian merchants, Occitan artisans or merchants principally specialised in the textile industry, and, finally, a significant group of ‘interior migrants,’ the importance of whom seems clear, although the issue remains in needs of proper research.

**FOREIGNERS IN THE *INFORMACIONS DE LA CIUTADANIA*: **

**DESCRIPTION OF THE MAIN PROFILES.**

The research conducted on the citizenship reports and records produced between 1375 and 1425 allowed me to identify 189 foreign candidates for the charter, namely, individuals who were clearly presented as being from anywhere beyond the walls of the city. From a total of 756 candidates for this period,\textsuperscript{629} only 25 per cent were therefore identified as foreign to the city of Barcelona. This is not an astonishing proportion considering the nature of the source. It remains, however, significant as it helps to pose fundamental questions related to the understanding of foreigners’ roles and positions within the urban community. On the one hand, the relative importance of foreigners in the citizenship sources suggests that the possession of a charter was not always seen by foreigners as an indispensable asset in the negotiation of their social integration and their economic interests within their host society.\textsuperscript{630} On the other hand, these proportions again point towards the limits of the *Informacions*, which only focussed on ‘desirable’ foreigners,\textsuperscript{631} suggesting how difficult it might have been for other foreigners to reach the social and economic capacities needed to request a citizenship charter.


\textsuperscript{628}Batlle, “La presenza,”112.

\textsuperscript{629}I do not include here the sample of 11 candidates that I considered for the period 1426-1430.

\textsuperscript{630}Similar reflections regarding the relative interest of Italian merchants in Valencia to become neighbours (*vehins*) of the city in Igual, ¿Los mercaderes són egualadors del Món?,” 136-139.

\textsuperscript{631}On the distinction between ‘desirable’ and ‘undesirable’ foreigners, Amelang, “Cities and foreigners,”44.
Nonetheless, this quantitative approach needs also to be taken as approximate, since the origin of candidates was not specified in a large majority of cases (526). By collating the Informacions with notarial sources, I have revealed that some of these candidates from an unknown provenance actually had foreign origins. There is, therefore, a distinct margin of uncertainty regarding the exact proportion of foreigners among candidates to citizenship. This highlights once again the very meagre importance given to geographical origin in the definition of civic identities. Citizens were primarily identified through their performance and reputation. As citizens, foreigners and natives of Barcelona enter into a dialogue across these sources, demonstrating that the acquisition of a citizenship charter was not a naturalisation process: instead, it remained proof of access and belonging to the urban community.

However, the chapter will now focus on the possibility of retracing profiles of foreign citizens from the Informacions in an attempt to understand their distinctive contributions in the making of the citizen. The exemptions on trading customs certainly turned this procedure into a beneficial endeavour for merchants of diverse provenances, who indeed made up the largest group of foreigners confirmed as citizens of Barcelona. From the 189 foreign candidates, 101 (more than 50 per cent) were strongly linked to trading activities. Tuscan merchants, whose presence in the Catalan city has been recently studied by Maria Elisa Soldani, are certainly to be noted. 13 ‘Italian’ merchants requested a citizenship charter in the period 1395-1425: the Florentines Domenico Mannelli, Stefano di Lotto, Giovanni Franceschi (1413), Giovanni d’Andrea (1423), and Bartomeo Simó (1418); the Pisans Urbano (1412), Benedetto (1414), Matteo de Sardis (1418), Piero Giovanni del Pattiere (1423); and the Lucchese Gerardo Cattani (1410) and Nicolao Martí (1416). While from rather different geographical spaces, I also include in this group the Piemontese Tomaso Bitó (1409) and the Savoyard Gabriele Carmau (1424). From a quantitative perspective, this

632 Together with foreigners and these non-identified candidates, natives from Barcelona (52) also requested the charter when necessary. For the case of Valencia, Enrique Cruselles also detected the high number of candidates to the charter whose origin remained unspecified, mainly for the late fourteenth century. Cruselles, “Dinâmica demográfica,” 46-47.
633 I include in this group 88 foreign candidates properly identified as merchants, as well as traders specialised in the commerce of wheat (2) (formenters), ship captains (1), dealers (1), haberdashers (2), drapers (3), and shopkeepers (2).
collective represents 13 per cent of all foreign merchants requesting the charter (almost 7 per cent of foreign candidates as a whole).

We can also document French and Occitan traders interested in earning a citizenship charter. This was the case of 11 candidates such as Joan Cabrer from Agde (1421), Michel Brocart from Bourges (1414), Joan Belmenya from Montpellier (1414), Ramon Alter from Provence (1406), Pere de Corbins (1409) and Joan Martí (1418) from Rodez, and Joan Anziau (1409) and Giraut Baldoni (1410) from Toulouse. Giraut de Popas (1417) was identified in his report as a native of the kingdom of France and Beralt Manxut (1401) was identified as French (*francigeni*) by Claude Carrère. I will also include in this group the haberdasher Gerard Calvell, a native of Burgundy (1422).634

All in all, French traders represent almost 11 per cent of the foreign merchants interested in a citizenship charter during the period under consideration (nearly 6 per cent of the entire group of foreigners). Besides French and Italians, the presence of merchants arriving to Barcelona from beyond the borders of the crown of Aragon is reduced to three Castilians: the ship captain Luís de Sevilla (1420), the haberdasher Juan de Burgos (1411), and the merchant Octoyano de Orozco (1417), supposedly a native from the Basque country.635 These three examples do not reflect properly the importance of Castilian presence in the city, which, as mentioned above was even institutionalised through a consulate. While it has been argued that material on the issue is extant but difficult to systematise, it seems clear that Castilian and, more specifically, Basque merchants acted as agents between the Atlantic and Mediterranean trade, finding in Barcelona an active arena where to conduct business with Barcelonese merchants.636 As they did not hesitate to ask for (and receive) safe conduct from the king of the crown of Aragon, their meagre presence among

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635 I assume the name refers to the locality of Orozco, close to the current city of Bilbao. In any case, he was clearly identified as native from the kingdom of Castile. See in AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre f. 82v (1417, June, 8th). For Luis de Sevilla, AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre f. 139v (1420, March, 29th). For Juan de Burgos, AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1411, April, 21st).


citizenship candidates could be taken as an indicator of their more intermittent and temporary mode of residence.

As in the review of the previous period, ‘interior migration’ emerges as a fundamental category. Two scales are to be considered: foreign citizens whose origins were in other kingdoms of the crown of Aragon and Catalans naturally attracted by the cap i casal of Catalonia (head and hearth). Regarding merchants, seven candidates fell into the first group; these were mainly natives from Aragon (4), though I have also documented scattered cases from Cagliari, Perpignan, and Valencia. Methodologically, I will mainly deal with this group through one specific case: Joan de Torralba. A native from Aragon, Torralba requested a citizenship charter in 1412 and emerged as a significant individual, representing very illustratively the active trading relationships existing between Aragon and Catalonia.638 This, however, did not prevent him from participating actively in the Mediterranean trade, having founded a mercantile company with factors in ports such as Pisa and Venice.639 The steps in Barcelona of this rather exceptional figure provide enlightening insights on the social and economic strategies that could help a foreigner create and consolidate citizen reputation.

In contrast, a large sample can be provided of merchants settling in Barcelona from other regions of the Catalan territory. From the 64 Catalan merchants documented, 52 arrived from localities that were beyond the so-called ‘vegueria’ of Barcelona, an area of royal jurisdiction marking the extent of the city’s social and economic influence in the territory. This included the lands within a radius of 25 kilometres south of Barcelona, 40 kilometres to the north and around 60 kilometres into the Catalan interior.640 Only nine traders requesting citizenship came from within

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640 The ‘vegueria’ included the current Pla de Barcelona, Baix Llobregat, Vallès, and Baix Maresme. On the institution of the ‘veguer’ and its territorial impact, see Flocel Sabaté, “El veguer a Catalunya. Anàlisi del funcionament de la jurisdicció reial al segle XIV,” Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d’Estudis Històrics
this space, while even fewer (2) decided to move to the city from its immediate surroundings. The interplay between these three territorial scales (surroundings, vegueria, and beyond) renders obvious the role played by distance in the nature of foreign groups in Barcelona. While the surroundings and the vegueria were more likely to provide the city with other sorts of professionals, merchants from these areas with interests in the city did not deem it necessary to move their hearths when working from Barcelona and only asked occasionally for a charter. In contrast, merchants from lands further afield did not hesitate in moving and settling completely in the principal city of Catalonia. Significant examples from localities such as Solsona and Cervera (6), in central Catalonia, or Girona (8) will be mentioned later on. For merchants coming from these more distant localities, it seems clear that the economic potential of Barcelona was more attractive than those of their own towns or of other closer urban markets such as Lleida. Nevertheless, contact with these other places was generally maintained. Thus, it was known that the merchant Mateu Novella, from Cervera, regularly travelled to his native region, where he still maintained a shop and a factor. Nicolau Cantó, from Girona, attained Barcelonese citizenship through his family contacts in the city, but this did not prevent him from maintaining his Gironese citizenship, at least for a time.

The massive number of merchants among candidates to citizenship should not undermine the presence of other professionals in these sources, equally interested in officially attesting their belonging to the urban community and gaining the fiscal exemptions it entailed. Artisans certainly need to be taken into account, being as they were the most prominent examples of migratory actors across pre-industrial Europe. Wars, epidemics, persecutions, and personal ambitions pushed craftsmen to abandon the localities where they had born and raised so as to seek their fortune elsewhere.

(1995): 154 ‘De fet, la vegueria s’ha bastit sobre la regió d’influència de la seu vicarial, atorgant una traducció administrativa a una capacitat socio-econòmica existent sobre un radi d’expansió directament proporcional a la pujança del nucli urbà.’

Mateu Novella requested the citizenship charter twice. His nomadic lifestyle might have caused an initial rejection. Nonetheless, he was still maintaining his shop, a factor, and even his second wife in Cervera when he successfully requested the charter a few years later. See in AHCBC, 1C-V, 3 (1413, September 6th-December, 14th) and 1C-V, 4 (1421, September, 10th). His final registration in AHCBC, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 155r-155v (1421, September, 12th).

Nicolau Cantó also requested the citizenship charter of Barcelona in two occasions: AHCBC, 1C-V, 3 (1419, October, 12th); 1C-V, 4 (1422, November, 26th). Final registration in AHCBC, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 166v-167r (1422, December, 16th).
Through their constant movement, artisans ensured the transmission and the development of technology.643

The relatively low number of artisans throughout the Informaciones (161, of whom only 28 were clearly identified as foreigners) should not be misinterpreted and taken as a presumed sign of the weakness of Barcelonese industry. On the contrary, it is widely known that an important textile industry flourished in Barcelona from the early fourteenth century. The tense relationship between France and the crown of Aragon hindered the previously intense cloth trade, meaning that Catalonia had to shape its own industry. Foreign artisans played a crucial role in this endeavour. As early as 1304, Ramon Marimon, the battle of the king in Barcelona, could write to James II to inform him about the existence of several companies in the city producing their own cloth, which was partly due to the arrival of ‘many masters, of both sexes, who arrived from other lands.’644

Indeed, Barcelona was a place full of opportunities for artisans, many of them having reached the city in their youth when placed by their parents in the workshops of Barcelonese craftsmen linked to textile production but also including tailors, shoemakers, tanners, carpenters, and silversmiths.645 Their meagre presence in citizenship sources should not be correlated with a weak role in the city. Rather, I argue that only those artisans interested in trading exemptions requested the charter, as an official recognition of their citizenship was not required for involvement with the professional corporations (arts or oficis) of the city, as was the case in other European cities, such as in Leiden and Bruges.646 If this had been the case, many more artisans would have been candidates for the charter.

645 On apprentices in Late Medieval Barcelona, their origins, and the diversity of artisanal professions: Vinyoles, La vida, 87-88, 98-99.
646 Citizenship in these cities was, however, extremely easy to access: it was chiefly based on marriage and a short residence in the city. Fees and registration of new citizens as measures of control were only introduced rather late. Martha C. Howell, “Citizenship and Gender: Women’s Political Status in Northern Medieval Cities,” in Women and Power in the Middle Ages, eds. M.Erler and M. Kowaleski, (Georgia MA: Georgia University Press, 1988), 44-45. Further discussion on the link between citizenship and professional corporations in Barcelona is provided in chapter VI.
Be that as it may, the net of the Informacions does catch some foreign artisans settled in Barcelona who were willing to confirm their belonging to the urban community. This sample refers to a total 28 individuals (almost 15 per cent of the complete amount of foreign citizens). Among them were some exceptional cases, such as the Albanese wool beater (batador de llana) Pere Albanès (1417) and the paraire Juan de Luna (1421) from Zaragoza.647 Besides these rather extraordinary instances, I also documented four artisans of French origin: the silversmiths Vidal Manxut (1401) and Bertrand Bongiraud (1414), the wool-carder Joan Materó from Avignon, and the belt-maker Guillem Naval from Toulouse (1414). However, the largest majority (19) were natives from Catalonia, practising rather varied activities: paraires (3), wool-combers (1), weavers (3), tailors (1), shoemakers (2), carpenters (2), tanners (1), and wine-skin makers (1). I have also included in this category two builders and the butchers Bernat Carner (1423), Bartomeu Alberó (1424), and Miquel Valls (1424). Just as Catalan merchants did, Catalan artisans reached the main city of the principality from beyond the administrative limits of the vegueria, with only one of the butchers (Carner) coming from the parish of Sarrià and seven others moving to the city from localities like Granollers within the vegueria.

Seafarers also transferred to Barcelona. Devoted to the sea, Barcelona was indeed a very dynamic port which could only help foreign seamen to find the better lives they were seeking. For this period, 21 foreigners professionally linked to the sea requested the citizenship charter of Barcelona: five sailors, one fisherman, one shipwright, and 14 skippers of small boats. In terms of origins, I distinguish the cases of the skipper Fernando de Santa Cristina (1414) from the kingdom of Castile and the shipwright Jaume Baldó (1419), originally from Valencia. All the rest (19) came, once again, from other places in the Catalan territory, mainly from coastal villages located beyond the limits of Barcelona’s vegueria (16). The description of this category of

647The paraire can be described as a wool entrepreneur, as he was in charge of the whole production of the woolen cloth. As the owner of the cloth (el senyor del drap), he was supposed to provide the wool to the different craftsmen involved in the production of the cloth (i.e. washers, beaters, carders, and combers) who worked under his strict supervision. An artisan himself, he was also involved in these processes, principally in the final beating of the cloth which strengthened and degreased the cloth after the weaving. A crucial figure for the development of the Catalan textile industry until the late eighteenth century, the paraire’s function was described in 1493 as the ‘first and principal profession of the city of Barcelona.’ Bonnassie, La organización del trabajo, 16 and 147-157.
foreigners, who were generally deficient in resources,\textsuperscript{648} needs to consider the primary motivations that drove them to abandon their homes. While some of them were clearly engaged in mercantile activities and therefore pursued the exemptions the charter entailed, others were pressured to reach Barcelona in order to ensure their safety, which had been threatened by the piracy that devastated the localities of the coast. Thus, the fisherman Pere Ferrer affirmed that he had himself pressured his friend Francesc Cerç, from Lloret, to come to Barcelona as ‘there are only a few unprotected houses there [in Lloret] that will surely be attacked one day by the Moors or other bad people.’\textsuperscript{649} Maritime professions were also important platforms for the integration of serfs who, redeemed or not, tried to reshape their lives in Barcelona and consolidate their freedom with Barcelonese citizenship. Although it may be hazardous to establish quantitative conclusions from such a reduced sample, it is still significant that the five (former) serfs documented in this group correspond to 25 per cent of the total number of foreign seamen willing to obtain a citizenship charter.

The last foreign profile we can retrace from the Informacions is constituted by peasants, whose urban lives have been observed and analysed in other cities such as Marseille.\textsuperscript{650} As we shall explore later, Barcelonese sources show that this group developed a rather specific model of integration, determined by their unstable settlement in the city and a strong desire to maintain their original occupations. From a quantitative perspective, 23 peasants have been documented among the foreign candidates for the citizenship charter. As was the case for seafarers, these migrants were Catalans, arriving mostly from the immediate surroundings of the city (12) where they maintained their lands and properties. The rest reached the city from within the jurisdictional space of the vegueria of Barcelona. Distance, therefore, emerges again as a determining factor in migrant flows to the city, since these peasants were naturally attracted by the close and dynamic market of Barcelona: they were even ready to

\textsuperscript{648}On the modest life conditions of seafarers, see: Carme Batlle Gallart and Teresa Vinyoles Vida, \textit{Mirada a la Barcelona medieval des de les finestres gòtiques}, (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 2002), 70.
\textsuperscript{649}e ha desamparat per obra e instigació mia lo dit loch de Loret per ço com no·y ha sino masos mal guardats e mal tractats de que és dupte que l·lorn moros e altres gents no-u barregen tot e per ço lo dit Ffranchesc se’n és entrat en Barchinona’ AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1408, July, 9th). Also quoted in Cuadrada, “Migracions,” 323.
move despite its proximity in order to purchase its rights of citizenship and the substantial trading exemptions implied.

Identified and officially recorded as citizens of Barcelona, these different profiles of foreigners managed, in one way or another, to have their origins forgotten. It was by practising citizenship that they experienced the extent to which the citizen was not only determined by his origin, demonstrating that provenance could be easily overcome in processes of urban integration: for the otherness of the foreigner was not determined by his place of birth. Just as a foreigner could turn into a citizen, a native could become a stranger. I shall now delve into some of these processes, examining the agency of successful foreigners in the shaping of the citizenry in order to explore further the practices and experiences that made the citizen in fifteenth-century Barcelona.
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Table 1: Foreign citizens profiles (origins and professions) from the Informacions (1395-1425).

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Table 2: Catalan migration to Barcelona through the Informacions (1395-1425).
Figure 1. Map. Catalan migration to Barcelona from the Informacions de la Ciutadania: main localities of provenance mentioned.


- 1-5 individuals reaching Barcelona
- 5-10 individuals reaching Barcelona
- +10 individuals reaching Barcelona

Surroundings of Barcelona, see figure 2.
Figure 2. Map. Catalan migration to Barcelona from the Informacions de la Ciutadania: surrounding localities.

- 1-5 individuals reaching Barcelona
- +10 individuals reaching Barcelona
FOREIGN CITIZENS PRACTICING CITIZENSHIP

Professional occupations

The practice of a profession provided foreigners with an economic role in the city and thereby became a fundamental asset for their image as solvent and committed citizens. The urban world had modified the nature of ‘work,’ redefining it as a criterion of social recognition.651 Well aware of the practices that made the citizen, witnesses therefore highlighted the occupation and professional efforts of candidates in the Informaciones. It was common in the cases of merchants to note that the candidate did ‘his good business’ (fa ses bones feynes) in order to enhance the positive profile of the petitioner. Once in Barcelona, however, merchants, artisans, seafarers, and peasants, whether they were Italians, French, or Catalans, developed their own preferred strategies of integration within the Barcelonese labour markets.

Barcelona was particularly devoted to the wool trade from the interior as well as cloth and wheat, which were then redistributed across the Mediterranean, from Sicily to the Eastern ports. It was also an active market in the slave trade.652 To participate in these commercial activities, merchants involved themselves in mercantile companies or established business contracts (comandes mercantils) for specific deals with ship captains or other travelling merchants.

Tuscan and other Italian merchants did not hesitate to embrace the first option, for which they had been trained in their native lands. They acted in Barcelona, or other cities of the crown of Aragon, as representatives of important companies established in their madrepatria. It is known that relevant societies such as the Datini company and the Medici, Bardi, and Strozzi families had factors operating for them in Barcelona.653

Acting as representatives or factors of foreign companies did not automatically prevent these merchants from acquiring a stable residence in the city. Domenico Mannelli, member of a reputed Florentine family, worked in Barcelona at least from the late fourteenth century as the factor of the mercantile company he shared with his

652Soldani, “Mercanti ‘facitori di facciende grosse’,” 118-121; Treppo, Els mercaders, 130-328; Carrère, Barcelona, vol I, 318-556.
653Soldani, “Mercanti ‘facitori di facciende grosse’,” 118-121.
brothers Leonardo, Giovanni, and Galeazzo. For a long time, his steps and manoeuvres were protected by the safe-conduct he and his brothers had obtained from King Martin the Humane in 1397. In 1413, after more than 10 years living in the city, he requested a citizenship charter, certain that his reputation entitled him to the trading exemptions granted to the Barcelonese and hoping to liberate himself from other economic burdens such as the pieces of expensive cloth Italian merchants had to provide to the crown once a year in order to have their protection renewed.

Gerardo Cattani, a native from Lucca, also acted in Barcelona through a company that he had founded with his countryman Guglielmo del Portico. This did not prevent him, of course, from working more directly with autochthonous merchants: he sold slaves to Francesc Negrell and to the Barcelonese Pere Salavert, and entrusted his merchandise (i.e. cloth, silk, paper, and taffeta) to ship captains such as Antoni Mataró and Jaume Sàfabrega. Through the cloth trade, he dealt with the merchant Miquel Franc, who would testify for him in August 1410 when Cattani requested a citizenship charter. Collaboration with locals was crucial, since it was in the interest of Cattani’s autochthonous partners to have him enjoy the exemptions to which a citizen of Barcelona was entitled. Miquel Franc depicted the frenetic activity of Cattani in the city by affirming that ‘he, the witness, has contributed many times together with the above Gerardo for mercantile affairs and he has taken much cloth

654 Soldani, *Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani*, 390. On the relevance of the Mannelli, see also Igual, "¿Els mercaders són egaladors de món?“, 138.
655 Mention to the 1397 safe-conduct in ACA, C, reg. 2133, f. 45v-47r. This document was a letter from the king addressed to some of his officials to correct some aspects on which some merchants had been complaining about. On other safe-conducts to Domenico Mannelli and his renewals: ACA, C, reg. 2192, f. 169r-169v (1399, July, 21st); C, reg. 2172, f. 159r-160r (1401, February, 28th); C, reg. 2197, f. 216v-219r (1402, November, 24th); C, reg 2207, f. 121v- 122r (1408, December, 19th). I have not consulted directly these references, which I have received from Prof. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol. I am grateful to her for this.
656 AHCB, 1 C-V, 3 (1413, April, 10th).
657 On the tribute of expensive cloth from Italian merchants to the Crown: Soldani, *Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani*, 265; Ferrer, *Els Italians*, 403. On the payment of this piece of cloth by Domenico Mannelli: ACA, C, reg 2133, f. 45v- 47r (1401, September, 20th). Once again, I am grateful to Prof. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol for having provided me with this reference.
658 Soldani, *Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani*, 565; AHPB, Bernat Pi, 113/8, f. 22r-22v (1414, October, 14th).
659 AHPB, Bernat Pi 113/4, f. 47r (1413, September, 24th); AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/50, f. 8r (1412, October, 29th).
660 Soldani, *Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani*, 564.
Notwithstanding this strong involvement in the mercantile networks of the city, Cattani, who was already identified as a citizen in the opening of his citizenship report, seems to have lost this identification in later notarial documentation. As a hypothesis, I argue that this corresponded to a loss of reputation within the city, which most probably did not imply the withdrawal of his charter. However, this cannot be confirmed since registers of citizenship records have not been conserved for these years. In any case, Cattani did indeed undergo a period of economic difficulty later, during which he was repeatedly reprimanded for not paying some bills of exchange: this may have caused a decline in reputation rather than his foreign origins. The formation of the citizen was certainly a progressive process but any sudden lack of resources and the concomitant loss of trust could turn it into a regressive one.

In terms of professional practices, the Aragonese Joan de Torralba followed a somewhat Italian model: the foundation of a company for the trade of Aragonese wool and wheat across the Mediterranean was also at the very core of his life and experiences as a citizen of Barcelona. Founded in 1425, this society was based on mixed capital from associates in both Barcelona and Zaragoza. From the very beginning, it was stated that Torralba would direct affairs from Barcelona, even those he travelled constantly to Zaragoza, as is revealed by the letters contained in his account books. The Torralba company became very prosperous: while its resources were comparable to those of the minor Catalan branches of the Datini company, scholars who have examined Torralba’s accounts in more detail argue that the wool he exported to Northern Italy occupied the free economic space left in this area after the disappearance of the famous merchant of Prato.

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661 'E que ell testimon ha haut a contribuir diverses vegades ab lo dit Gerardo per fet de mercaderies e ha tretes moltes robes de casa,’ AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1410, August, 13th). The emphasis is mine.
662 Bernat de Casasàgia claimed for the payment of a bill of exchange to Gerardo Cattani: AHPB, 113/4, f. 45r (1413, September, 22nd); a member of the royal house of Queen Violant claimed also for the payment of a bill of exchange to Gerardo Cattani and Guglielmo del Portico: AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/8, f. 68r (1415, January, 15th). Cattani is identified in these documents as an ‘inhabitant of Barcelona.’ For other references to unpaid bills of exchange of Cattani’s company, see Soldani, Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani, 565. The author identified these problems in payments as a sign of bankruptcy or, at least, difficulties.
665 Del Treppo, Els mercaders, 491.
The foundation and development of this company certainly consolidated Torralba’s position as a citizen of Barcelona. However, as Sesma put it, such an endeavour ensured Torralba’s image as an important and prosperous merchant, consolidating a position that he had already won before. The wanderings of Torralba in Barcelona predated the foundation of his company. While Del Treppo documented him as a merchant with good contacts as early as 1424, his presence in the city can be retraced to the earlier years of the century, as he requested a citizenship charter in 1412.

At that time, a report was written on his behaviour. From the words of the witnesses, it becomes clear that Torralba was then a young merchant already actively involved in mercantile affairs. Already maintaining and living with a few young servants (macips), he soon started dealing with more reputed merchants, thereby involving himself in the trade of slaves and wheat. Torralba’s activities in these first years of his career as a Barcelonese had already contributed in his shaping as a citizen: the later foundation of a company only increased his economic interests, his pragmatic approach to citizenship, and his social advancement.

Professional practices deeply determined the integration of Catalan merchants within the Barcelonese citizenry. Through companies or comandes, they engaged with each other, marketing with cloth, slaves, spices, and all the other major merchandises that animated Barcelonese traffic.

The notarial deeds consulted for this research have confirmed that families such as the Llobera and the Junyent, from the locality of Solsona, became major actors in the economic development of the city. Their frenetic activity most certainly relied

667 Aunque tenemos muy pocas noticias en que basarnos, podemos intuir que en estas fechas Juan de Torralba empezaba a ser un importante hombre de negocios, que necesitaba un pequeño empujón para convertirse en un gran comerciante” Sesma, “La participación aragonesa,” 338.
668 Del Treppo, Els mercaders, 487.
669 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1412, January, 5th).
670 Already identified as a citizen of Barcelona and as a formenterio, a merchant specialised in the wheat trade, Joan de Torralba sold a slave to Antoni Salavert, a merchant and citizen of Barcelona. The sale of this slave resulted in arbitration, as Salavert accused Torralba of selling him a sick slave. AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/57, f. 4r-4v (1418, March 22nd) and f. 54r (1418, September, 18th).
671 It seems, however, that the use of comandes was more common among Catalan merchants: Treppo, Els mercaders, 487. For a local and documented analysis on these methods: Arcadi García Sanz and Josep Madurell Marimon, Societats mercantils medievals a Barcelona, (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1986); Arcadi García Sanz and Josep Madurell i Marimon, Comandas comerciales barcelonenses de la Edad Media, (Barcelona: CSIC, 1973).
on the success of the drapery company some of its members had founded with other Catalan merchants in 1401. This company became one of the wealthiest of the city, with a capital of around 25,000 Barcelonese lliures in 1413. Even if it was founded by merchants from beyond the walls of the city, the reputation and dynamism of this company turned any degree of involvement with it into an asset for citizenship. While Joan de Junyent himself was directly registered as a citizen in 1413, an interrogation of the draper Pere Cirera, another associate, was conducted in 1409. No registers of citizenship records are conserved for this year but it is tempting to speculate that the outcome of Cirera’s procedure was positive, since the Junyent and the Llobera were directly involved in the process, highlighting the professional responsibilities of the candidate and concluding that no one else deserved to be considered as a committed citizen of Barcelona more than him.

From the little information I have extracted on French merchants, it seems that they had no difficulties in following the steps of the Italians, Aragonese, or Catalans. In contact with other professional countrymen in the city, they established sound relationships with local traders and entered the mercantile networks of the city, either through companies or more direct contracts. Giraut Baldoni from Toulouse was known among other local merchants as Ramon Desquer for having sold large amounts of cloth to them. Catalan colleagues were quick to praise the professional activities of the Provençal Ramon Alter, who had been living in the city for seven years when he decided to request a citizenship charter. Francesc Cuyà admitted that he was associated with Alter and Gabriel Belloch claimed that the candidate was a good and efficient merchant, as he himself had decided to buy a considerable amount of merchandises from him every year: ‘I see he is doing his own efficient work and I hope God will help him since I intend to invest in eight hundred of his wineskins, as well as

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673 AHCB, 1C-V, 4. *Registre*, f. 8r-8v (1413, October, 30th).

674 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1409, October, 21st).

675 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1410, March, 28th). ‘ell testimoni ha comprades moltes robes del dit Giraut.’
lots of oil, firewood, and many other things.\textsuperscript{676} The efficiency and professional success of Ramon pushed Gabriel to affirm that the candidate was ‘truly a citizen,’ while the merchant Esteve Salvador convincingly stated that ‘I see Ramon doing his good and intense business and may God make all citizens of Barcelona like him.’\textsuperscript{677} From the words of his witnesses, Ramon Alter emerges as the clearest example of the extent to which a successful professional activity influenced the public perception of the citizen. Work made the citizen, independent of provenance.

The silence of the \textit{Informacions} in regard to the role of professional corporations in the identification of the citizen might rightly downplay the importance of institutional frameworks in the making of the citizen. It should not, however, drive us into underestimating the importance of these bodies as platforms of urban integration for locals and foreigners alike. This becomes particularly evident from the perspective of the apprentice, a position that ensured future access to work, a fundamental resource of the citizen. While apprentices themselves could not access citizenship due to their dependent nature, the position later provided petitioners with a long track record of professional activity within the city, which they could contrast against their foreign origins. Apprenticeships were indeed regarded by Barcelonese witnesses as proof of early preparation to be solvent, committed, and useful citizens.

The \textit{Informacions} provide two telling examples of individuals who, while born beyond the borders of the crown of Aragon, were trained within the walls of the Catalan city. Brought by his uncle to Barcelona at the age of five, the Savoyard Gabriele Carmau requested a citizenship charter in 1423. By that time, he had certainly become a well reputed citizen of Barcelona. With similar words as those employed by Bofill when praising Ramon Alter, the embroiderer Joan Torrent praised Gabriele as a ‘good man and of good condition,’ claiming that he ‘would pray God to have many other men like him in Barcelona.’\textsuperscript{678} Such a positive perspective was assuredly linked to the deep roots Gabriele had planted in the city through his proximity to other reputed

\textsuperscript{676} ‘e veig que fa ses bone fynes e grosses e Déu li·n doni bé car intenció és mia que cascun any hic met de DCCC en DCCC botes de vi e gran colp d’oli e de lenya e moltes altres coses’ AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1406, March, 16\textsuperscript{th}).
\textsuperscript{677} ‘e veig que fa ses bones e grosses fynes e plagués a Déu que tots quants ciutadans hic ha en Barchinona fossen aytals’ AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1406, March, 16\textsuperscript{th}).
\textsuperscript{678} ‘és hom de bé e de bona condició e plagués a Déu que molts nich hagués d’aytals en Barchinona’ AHCB, 1C-V,4 (1423, February, 25\textsuperscript{th}).
professionals: he had presumably been the apprentice of Jacobo Accetanti, a merchant of Lucchese origin who led his family through an admirable process of integration within the Barcelonese citizenry. Married to a Catalan and engaged in public debt and the major trades of the city (principally drapery and the resale of jewels), Accetanti became a citizen of Barcelona, participated in the Council of the Hundred, and received rents, thereby preparing the ground for his children to become *honoured* citizens.\(^{679}\) Hosting and training the young Carmau, this renowned merchant had, despite his own foreign origins, deeply conditioned the experiences of the Savoyard as a citizen by placing him within the Barcelonese professional market. In this regard, let us recall the words of the witness Rafael Serradell, who affirmed in Carmau’s report that ‘I have seen him [Gabriele Carmau] been very young at the house of Jaume Xetanti.’\(^{680}\)

A mirror to Gabriele Carmau, Piero Giovanni del Pattiere, a native from Pisa, also requested the charter as a young and efficient merchant. He was independent but remained closely linked to the reputation of his former master, the merchant Jacopo Aitanti. Jacopo was also from Pisa and had settled in Barcelona at the end of the fourteenth century, opening his doors to other young Pisans disembarking in Barcelona.\(^{681}\) It was through Jacopo that Piero Giovanni would soon become a merchant of ‘great wealth.’\(^{682}\) In the absence of heirs, Jacopo left his name and his fortune to his former apprentice,\(^{683}\) who thereby inherited an already matured citizen reputation.

Training with reputed and wealthy professionals as a strategy through which to access citizen resources had no ‘national’ character and was not only practised by

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679 The success of the Accetanti’s integration is notably expressed through the catalanisation of their name, for Jacobo’s children were known as Setanti. For the Accetanti in Barcelona, see Soldani, *Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani*, 545-559; Maria Elisa Soldani, “Da Accetanti a Setanti. Il processo di integrazione di una famiglia lucchese nella società Barcellonese del Quattrocento,”in *Per Marco Thangeroni: studi su Pisa e sul Mediterraneo medievale offerti dai suoi ultimi allievi*, ed. C. Iannella, (Pisa: ETS, 2005), 209-230.

680 ‘e l’ha vist estar for fadrí en casa de Jacobo Xatanti, mercader’ AHCB, 1C-V,4 (1423, February, 25th).


682 Soldani, *Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani*, 490.

683 Soldani, *Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani*, 489. Piero Giovanni’s change of name can also be evidenced from the *Informaciones*, as he registered again as a citizen under the name of Piero Aitanti. The record clearly noted: ‘Petrus Aytanti, mercator olim cognominatus Petrus Johannes del Pattiere’. AHCB, 1C-V, 4, *Registre*, f. 188v (1424, October, 30th).
migrants sharing foreign origins. When approving the recognition of the Catalan merchant Ramon Amat, a native of Cervera, as a citizen of Barcelona, his witnesses recalled that the candidate had been living and working for a long time with the ‘honourable’ Pere de Montrós as an apprentice.\footnote{AHCB, 1 C-V, 3 (1413, March, 4th).} Sanctioning Amat’s inclusion within the citizenry, Montrós himself acted as a witness in the marriage of his former apprentice with Eufrasina, the daughter of Joan Ginebreda, another active and ‘honourable’ merchant of Barcelona.\footnote{ACB, Notaris, vol 399, (1415, February, 18\textsuperscript{th}).} By providing Amat first with professional experience, Montrós had then helped his former apprentice to consolidate his roots in the Barcelonese citizenry.

Thus, the successful acceptance of foreign citizens was sometimes based on a previous apprenticeship within the city, which was valued as a demonstration of their professional involvement in the city. Cases such as Gabriele Carmau and Piero Giovanni del Pattiere show that geographical provenance did not limit the Barcelonese from creating the necessary resources to turn other foreigners into citizens.

Having emphasised the importance of apprenticeship in the creation of citizen reputation for foreign merchants, it is now time to move to the experience of artisans, predominantly those from France and Catalonia. The cases of two serfs are illustrative. Apprenticeship rooted Carmau and Pattiere in the city and thus allowed them to dissimulate their origins: much the same is true of candidates who used to be serfs, as their witnesses highlighted the same experience in an attempt to compensate for their dubious condition. The case of the fugitive serf Salvador Ros has already been mentioned. Salvador was known among his neighbours and recognised as a citizen because of his training as a builder, which he had undergone with the master Antoni Feener: this counted for more than his origins. Trusting him deeply, Feener had not only accepted him in his workshop but was even about to bring him definitely into his family, as it is to be assumed that he consented to the marriage between his daughter and Salvador, a union which seemed to be on the lips of every neighbour.\footnote{AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1409, July, 4\textsuperscript{th}).} Similarly, witnesses did not know, or at least pretended not to know, the exact condition of Joan Sunyer: despite identifying him as a serf of Bernat de Cruïlles, they were unable to
affirm whether he had been requested by his master. Instead, they were keen to
describe his present situation, recalling, for instance, that he had completed an
apprenticeship as a shoemaker under the supervision of a certain French master called
Guillaume, with whom he had been placed by the tanner Joan Figuera. 687

Through an apprenticeship, serfs, whose lack of independence and mobility was
the most complete expression of foreignness within the urban sphere, could access a
fundamental resource of the citizen like work, thereby overcoming their original
condition. It was not definitive, however, since, as I argued in chapter III, the
authorities retained deep concerns regarding the acceptance of serfs as citizens. While
sources do not allow us to see the outcome of Salvador Ros’ procedure, it is clear that
Joan Sunyer’s request was successful, since he was recorded as a citizen of Barcelona
two weeks after the production of his report. 688

The mention of master Guillaume, the French trainer of Joan Sunyer, points to
the presence and integration of French craftsmen in Barcelona, as Carme Batlle
highlighted for the subsequent period. 689 However, these French artisans are, difficult
to grasp from the Informacions in all their diversity, since I have only located four for
the period under consideration. Nonetheless, the requests of Vidal Manxut and the
record of Bertrand Bongiraud hint at the important presence of French silversmiths in
the Catalan city, as was already noted by Claude Carrère. 690 Vidal Manxut seems to
have been at the centre of this group of French silversmiths, attracting and absorbing
other young professionals. In 1400, the Manxut brothers contracted the services of
Pere de la Font, a native of Saint Flori in the kingdom of France even before requesting
the citizenship charter. A few years later, in 1406, Vidal appointed the young Pere
Gabet, also of French origin, as an apprentice. 691 Once again, this shows how
foreigners themselves could become sources of citizenship by offering other
newcomers a place to live and to work, fundamental tools for access to the citizenry.
Besides these notes, however, little can be retraced from the Informacions on the

687Figueria acting later on as one of Sunyer’s witnesses in his citizenship report: ‘el mes ab I francès
apellat Guillelmi’ AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1417, December, 7th).
688AHCB, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 94r (1417, December, 20th).
690Carrère, Barcelona, vol I, 420-421. Manxut’s report: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1401, March, 21st). Manxut was
recorded with his brother Beralt Manxut, a merchant. Bertrand Bongiraud was directly recorded: AHCB,
1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 11v (1414, January, 23rd).
691Dalmases, Orfebreria Catalana medieval II, 266-269.
actual professional practices of French artisans: the situation is similar for Catalan craftsmen. As we shall explore later, other citizen resources were favourably highlighted when demonstrating the ability of these foreign artisans to create citizen reputation and access the citizenry.

In contrast, professional practices were the fundamental asset that determined Gabriel Covaner’s road to citizenship. A sailor and a redeemed serf from the locality of Lloret, Gabriel was known among his neighbours on the Barcelonese seafront for renting a special room where he kept his merchandise and was even trying to build his own boat: ‘he has recently asked for some wood in order to make a boat in the beach of Barcelona and to sail with it,’ affirmed Constança, Covaner’s landlady. Determined to improve his fortune, Gabriel was devoting all his time and energy to becoming a merchant: as his efforts were observed and approved, he soon received a citizenship charter. A certain Gabriel Covaner was later identified as a ship captain and a citizen of Barcelona in the port of Valencia. It is tempting to speculate that these two men were one and the same, the clever intertwining between profession and citizenship having determined a stunning ascent that consigned to oblivion the previous condition and origin of this foreigner, both within and without the walls of Barcelona.

Conversely, profession had an almost negative effect on the integration and acceptance of peasants as citizens. Reaching the city with no intention to redefine their lives in urban terms, peasants remained peasants. They continued to conserve and cultivate the lands they had in the city’s hinterland. Thus, their presence in the city was irregular and their responsibilities deeply hindered their potential identification as citizens. Those also doomed to instability, such as seafarers like Bernat Ballús, seemed to understand the situations of these candidates. When testifying in the citizenship report of the peasant Guillem Ferrer, Ballús did indeed state that ‘he [Guillem Ferrer],

692 AHCB, 1C V-3, (1414, February, 12th). Other reflections on this character in chapter III.
693’sab ella testimoni que-1 dit Gabriel ha fetsa bosc fusta per fer un ley en la plage de Barchinona per navegar ab aquell’ AHCB, 1C V-3 (1414, February, 12th).
694 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 12r (1414, February, 15th).
comes and goes to his lands and possessions to cultivate them, as everybody does." Yet, despite these episodic outbursts of empathy, the continuous mobility of peasants complicated their acceptance as citizens, pushing them to develop juxtaposed integration processes that led them to enter the citizenry through other channels and with other means.

**Foreign citizens and their relationships in the city.**

The practice of a profession could make the citizen but it also had a crucial role in providing the foreigner with other citizen resources, such as relationships within the city. While chapter VI will retrace in detail how strongly solidarity networks functioned in the making of the citizen, this section will stay at the level of the petitioner’s agency through the foreigner, identifying whom these foreigners addressed in order to ensure their acceptance in the city and their career towards citizenship.  

For methodological purposes, my attempt to distinguish the citizen resources available to foreigners entails separating aspects that are actually difficult to completely detach from one another. The analysis of the practice of professions has already suggested how much the success of integration processes depended on the creation of ties with locals as well as with other fellow countrymen present in the city, who were usually family members. Multiple identifications were therefore accepted within the fluid citizenry of early fifteenth-century Barcelona, as the example of del Pattiere remarkably shows. After his master’s death, and following his last wishes, he took the name of Piero Aitanti, publicly sanctioning his new identity by being recorded anew in the citizenship register.

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696 ‘e ell va e vé a ses terres e possessions conrear, axí com fa cascú’ AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1417, April, 16th). The emphasis is mine.  
697 The position of the foreigner in the city strongly depended on the relationships and ties he was able to weave within its walls. ‘la sua effettiva posizione dipendeva del tipo, qualità e volumen di relazioni che egli riusciva ad instaurare con la comunità cittadina’ Orlando, *Migrazioni mediterranee*, 57.  
698 Soldani, “Mercanti ‘facitori di facciende grosse,’” 124. The ability of Tuscan merchants to establish fruitful relationships with the autochthonous commercial sector of the city while maintaining intense contacts with their countrymen has been retraced in detail by Elisa Soldani. *Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani.* In Venice, Lucchese shaped their presence in the city by combining their desire for integration within the city with the establishment of sound contacts among themselves. Molà, *La comunità dei Lucchesi*, 109-138.  
Let us return to the case of Gerardo Cattani, who entertained several businesses with Catalan merchants while relying on the support of his brother Urbano, habitator of Barcelona, who acted as his representative in 1414.\textsuperscript{700} Domenico Mannelli’s citizenship report makes it even clearer to what extent Italian merchants shaped their presence by combining local acquaintances and bonds with fellow countrymen. At the moment in which his belonging to the citizen body was confirmed, Domenico was indeed supported by both the Tuscan merchant Roberto Aldobrandi and members of the local economic and political elite of Barcelona, namely the merchant Pere de Montrós and the treasurer Berenguer Descortey.\textsuperscript{701} It is important to recall that the deep connections that foreign merchants with a common origin established among themselves had no institutional background. Merchants from any of the Italian city-states did not constitute nationes in Barcelona, which expressed the city’s strong desire to deprive these foreign communities from any institutional protection that was stronger than their own influence and power.\textsuperscript{702}

Once again, Joan de Torralba’s relationships in Barcelona seem similar to those of Tuscan merchants, although on a different scale. While the foundation of his mercantile company entailed the establishment of strong ties with other Aragonese merchants such as Fortuny and then Joan de Manariel-lo,\textsuperscript{703} Torralba’s recognition in the city as a merchant of prestige is also connected with the deals he maintained with local members of the elite, such as the Llobera and, once again, Pere de Montrós, both of whom being listed among Torralba’s clients in his account books.\textsuperscript{704}

From the examples I have collected, I argue that French merchants also shaped their citizen experiences by establishing sound ties with the locals whilst continuing to develop natural mechanisms of solidarity amongst themselves. Before renting his own

\textsuperscript{700}AHPB, Bernat Pl, 113/8, f. 22r-22v (1414, October, 14\textsuperscript{th}). Urbano Cattani recognised here, by virtue of the power of attorney his brother Gerardo had given him, that Antoni Olsina, an artisan and citizen of Barcelona, had paid part owed to his brother.

\textsuperscript{701}AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1413, April, 14\textsuperscript{th}).


\textsuperscript{703}Although the Manariel-lo were supposed to take care of the affairs of the company from Zaragoza, it is to be noted that a Fortuny de Manariel-lo was already recorded as citizen of Barcelona in 1377, AHCB, 1C-V, 3, Registre, f. 8r (1377, November, 23\textsuperscript{rd}).

\textsuperscript{704}ANC, 1-960, 694/S84 (1437-1448), f. 65, 120.
residence, Joan Belmenya, a native from Montpellier, was hosted by Giraut Baldoni (or Bouloni), ‘a merchant native from Toulouse and now citizen of Barcelona.’ Baldoni had requested a citizenship charter a few years earlier, in 1410, and became a sort of reference point for other French merchants in the city: besides hosting Belmenya, he also earned the confidence of Antoni Calpinyà, a merchant from Narbonne who gave him a power of attorney in 1413.

As seen with the case of Ramon Alter, these solidarities did not hinder the economic contacts that French merchants established with local traders. Yet French merchants did not have the resources of their Tuscan counterparts: their integration was unquestionable but it did not reach the spheres of the mercantile elite, at least in the cases I have been able to document. Thus, the nature of the close links that French merchants established with the Barcelonese went far beyond professional issues and was deeply rooted within their daily coexistence. Giraut de Popas, who was defined by his landlady as a ‘good and rather plain’ man, used to eat and drink at his neighbour’s place, the painter Jaume Cabrera. A deep and trusting relationship emerged between Guillem Boxonada, a merchant and citizen of Barcelona, and Pere de Corbins, a shopkeeper from Rodez. The Barcelonese even seem to have entrusted the future of his own son to Corbins, as it was the Frenchman who appointed the orphaned ten-year old Robin Boxonada as apprentice of the tailor Pere Cornet.

French artisans mirrored their merchant compatriots, as they remained very close to each other while also creating strong ties with their Barcelonese acquaintances. Their ability to combine both clearly determined the degree and success of each individual’s integration. Let us consider two telling and distinct examples. Vidal Manxut was certainly known among his Barcelonese neighbours, as is shown in his citizenship report. Nonetheless, his presence in the city was chiefly

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705 ‘en casa de Giraut Bouloni, mercader nadiu de Tholosa, ara ciutadà d’aquesta ciutat’, affirmed the dealer Jaume Pere. AHC, 1C-V, 3 (1414, February, 7th).
706 AHC, 1C-V, 3 (1410, March, 28th).
707 Together with the Catalan merchant Guillem Ramon Samuyga. AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/5, f. 11v-12r (1413, February, 16th).
708 ‘és fort bon hom e pla’, affirmed Joana, widow of Guillem Sensit and owner of the habitation rented by the candidate. Jaume Cabrera stated that ‘the so mentioned Giraut eats and drinks in my house, though at his own expense’ (‘lo dit Giraut menja e beu en casa d’ell testimoni d’acó del seu propi’) AHC, 1C-V, 3 (1413, February, 16th).
709 AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/6, f. 75v (1414, January, 3rd).
710 AHC, 1C-V, 3 (1401, March, 21st).
determined by the strong links he maintained with his co-nationals, not only with his brother Beralt, with whom he lived, but also with other French migrants, some of whom he later appointed as apprentices. As with Giraut Baldoni among merchants, Manxut seemed to have become a sort of reference point for those French silversmiths settled in the city. Acting as a witness in the loan that his fellow countryman Bertran Bongiraud requested from the French apothecary Antoine Sabater, Manxut also named Bongiraud as one of his executors in his testament. The streets of Barcelona brought French silversmiths closer together, as Bongiraud himself experienced when giving a power of attorney to a fellow countryman on his arrival to the city. Bongiraud, however, managed to develop his relationships with the Barcelonese further than Manxut: associating professionally with local silversmiths and merchants, he had the Catalan Francesc Costa act as his guarantor in the citizenship oath he gave in 1409. The charter was granted to him after a stay in the city of at least eight years, with no apparent need for a report on his habits as a citizen. Bongiraud and Manxut’s experiences are juxtaposed: Bongiraud’s direct registration as a citizen suggests that he had successfully created a citizen reputation in Barcelona while Manxut was still identified as an inhabitant of Barcelona rather than a citizen in some notarial documents, despite requesting a charter in 1401. Although he does not seem to have raised a family in Barcelona, Manxut resided stably within the walls of the city for more than 20 years, dying in Barcelona sometime before 1424. The use of these terms in notarial sources remained arbitrary as Manxut was identified as a citizen in other deeds: they most probably depended on the nature of the relationships between the actors involved in each contract. Nonetheless, it seems legitimate to affirm that Bongiraud successfully combined contacts with his countrymen and with other local acquaintances in the progressive shaping of his

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711 AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/53, f. 97r (1406, February, 21st).
712 This was referred to in the documents regarding the sale of Vidal Manxut’s house after his death. Dalmases, Orfebreria Catalana, vol II, 266-269.
713 Dalmases, Orfebreria Catalana, vol II, 39.
714 AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/5, f. 3r-3v (1413, January, 18th).
715 AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/53, f. 97r (1406, February, 21st).
716 Dalmases, Orfebreria Catalana, vol II, 94.
717 While he was identified as a citizen of Barcelona in all the documents transcribed by Núria Dalmases (1400-1424) or produced by the notaries Tomàs de Bellmunt and Pere Granyana, I find him described as an inhabitant of Barcelona in those of Bernat Nadal and Bernat Pí.
citizen identification while the strong and almost exclusive bonds that Manxut opted to establish with his fellow countryman might have limited and slowed his full recognition as a citizen.

The relationships that conditioned the citizen experiences of Catalan merchants had other specific nuances. Traders reaching the city from other parts of Catalonia were absorbed by dynamic patronage networks that also had a foreign origin. Further intensive research in the notarial archives should be pursued in order to confirm this hypothesis, but the Informaciones and the deeds of relevant notaries such as Bernat Pí and Bernat Nadal show the active role played by families such as the Junyent-Llobera, originally from Solsona, the Carreres, or the de la Via, from Girona, in guiding the paths of other Catalan merchants coming to Barcelona to enhance their fortunes. For instance, the presence and activities in the city of the merchant Andreu Figuerosa from Cervera cannot be understood without considering the close ties he established with the Llobera. It was after 12 years living in the city that Andreu decided to request a citizenship charter. His report revealed then that he had been staying for more than seven years with Joan Llobera, working on his own but also collaborating with his host in order to pay the expenses of his stay. In 1417, Andreu Figuerosa sanctioned his citizenship by renewing the citizenship oath he had given a few years before, presenting Llobera himself as his new guarantor. The contact through which Figuerosa had reached citizenship, both publicly and officially, was at the basis of a long-life relationship. Figuerosa was repeatedly appointed as Llobera’s representative with powers of attorney, while Figuerosa did not hesitate to name his host as one of the executors of his will. It was Joan de Llobera himself who asked the notary Bernat Pí to make public Figuerosa’s last will after news of his death in Sicily reached the city.

719 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1415, December, 18th).
720 AHCB, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 79v (1417, April, 30th).
721 Joan de Llobera appointed Andreu Figuerosa and other merchants as his attorneys: AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/9, f. 13v (1415, September, 27th). Andreu Figuerosa acted as attorney of Joan de Junyent, Miquel Manresa and Joan de Llobera: AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/6, f. 38v-19r (1413, October, 19th).
722 AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/98, f. 142r-144v (1417, October, 19th). ‘ex die mercuri XXIII die mensis ianuarii anno a Nativitate Domini millesimo CCCC XXV qua die fuit denunciatum et notificatum per litteras quas Ludovici Servent, mercatoris civi Barchinone, aportavit de partibus Sicilie quod Andreas Figuerosa, mercator Barchinone, finivit dies suos in partibus Sicilie ubi suum faciebat domicilium. Fuit publicatum presens testamentum dicti Andree Figuerosa per me, Bernardum Pi, notarium publicum Barchinone in hoperatorio scribanie mei notarie, quod hoperatorium est in dicta civitate Barchinone in platea cambiorum dicte civitatis, ad instanciam et requisicionem venerabilis Johannis de Lupparia, mercatoris civis Barchinone, maiores dierum, manumissoris dicti Andree Figuerosa. Ibidem presentis presentibus
Well-established Gironese families such as the de la Via or the Carreres sheltered and helped other Catalan merchants reaching the city, especially when these were fellow countrymen from Girona. Nicolau Cantó lived in Barcelona with Francesc and Eimeric de la Via; he was particularly close to Francesc, who knew the candidate ‘since he was born.’ In the words of Pere Oller, one of Cantó’s witnesses, Nicolau and Francesc used to eat and drink together. In regard to the Carreres, it is illustrative to recall that the merchant Berenguer Carreres acted as guarantor of the citizenship charter of Joan Volart, a merchant native from Besalú in the Gironese area. However, their connection had a deeper background as Volart had been working as Carrere’s factor for a long time: ‘he [Joan Volart] has been in the house of the honourable Berenguer Carreres, and he was his factor for a long time, until now that he is on his own,’ stated the witness Pere Rufà.

On a different scale, Catalan seafarers and peasants also created and used human bonds in order to make their citizen reputations. These ties, however, were less linked to common origins and economic interests than the area for which they were destined in the city: the Ribera, along the seafront, for professionals of the sea, and the Raval, recently integrated within the walls of the city, for peasants. (on Barcelona’s geography, see chapter VI).

Despite the more dubious testimony of the ‘honoured’ merchant Esteve Salvador, who highlighted the unstable nature of his residence, the former serf and skipper Pere Feliu was firmly defended as a citizen by his other witnesses: another merchant, a ship captain and, more significantly, a skipper, two sailors and a shipwright. Evidently trusting him, the skipper Bernat Artigues asked him to act as an arbitrator in a dispute with the merchant Nicolau Reverdit. Years later, his

testibus Petro Robins et Simone Niro, scriptoribus habitatoribus Barchione.’ (for a whole transcription of the document, see documentary appendix, section 4).

As established in the two citizenship reports on Nicolau Cantó’s habits in the city: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1419, October, 12th) and 1C-V, 4 (1422, November, 26th). There are grounds to believe that the Cantó and the de la Via were related. Josep Clara i Resplandís, “Entorn de la personalitat del poeta Francesc de la Vía,” Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics 3, (1984): 197. I am grateful to Albert Reixach Sala for sharing with me some of his research on the family connections in Girona between the de la Via and the Cantó.

‘coneix lo dit Nicholau despuys que és nat’. AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1419, October, 12th).

‘e menja e beu en una taula ab lo dit Francesch de la Vía’ AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1419, October, 12th).

‘e dix que en casa del honrat en Berenguer Carreres, mercader, estava e ha estat molt de temps e era son factor fins ara que està per si mateix,’ AHCB, 1C-V,4 ( 1424, April, 11th).

AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1411, January, 23rd).

AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/55, f. 64v (1416, October, 27th).
acceptance was sealed with the marriage of his daughter with the sailor Francesc Gibert. In the Ribera, foreign seamen were constrained to more humble resources, shaping their reputation as committed and stable citizens by relating primarily with their closest neighbours. The former serf Joan Saytó confirmed his citizenship by relying on the positive testimonies of other seafarers living around him: the shipwright Berenguer Garrofer, the skipper Bernat Dilmer, and the sailors Francesc Ferran and Francesc Castellar. The connections through which Saytó had entered the Barcelonese citizenry became long-life relationships which ensured his continuous belonging to the community: dying as a citizen a few years later, he appointed Pere Ferrer, a shipwright to whom he already rented a residence when he had requested the charter, as one of his executors. He also had Garrofer, who had already testified on his behalf in 1407, as a witness to his actions when dictating his testament.

Relationships were one of the resources that peasants could exploit in order to compensate for their lack of professional practice within the walls of the city. As they were free peasants with their own lands, these migrants were generally much wealthier than the seafarers settling in the Ribera. Their transfers to the city were not desperate flights but a temporary and complementary option through which to improve the benefit of their harvests. Their lack of stability, however, limited their relational capacities in the city, especially since, just like the seafarers, they were confined to the space they generally occupied in the city: the Raval. On several occasions, it was only from their neighbours in this area that recently arrived peasants could gain the necessary support to confirm their right to citizenship. As individuals with resources, however, some of them managed to combine these immediate contacts with more elaborate relationships.

The ability of peasant citizens to create contacts of interest within their reach emerges from the cases of Francesc Bofill and Pere Guells. Settling in a different area of the city, the Plaça de Santa Anna, Bofill reached different social circles, becoming acquainted with the notary Bartomeu Ripoll, the royal notary Joan Vilagut, and the ‘honoured’ Galceran de Mataró, all of whom were ready to participate in his

729 AHPB, Bernat Pi, 113/7, f. 35v-36r (1420, February, 18th).
730 AHCBB, 1C-V, 3 (1407, April, 30th).
731 Joan Saytó’s will in AHPB, Llorenç Aragall, 108/1, f. 91r-93r (1413, January, 12th).
citizenship report.\textsuperscript{732} Similarly, Pere Guells, who lived also in the surroundings of Santa Anna, swore citizenship under the protection of the ‘venerable’ merchant Rafael Ferrer, who had no qualms about acting as Guell’s guarantor.\textsuperscript{733} These cases are somewhat exceptional; in the Raval, contacts with this economic elite were generally far beyond the reach of peasants. Instead, they were linked to the public notaries of Barcelona, with whom they probably had professional contact, and to minor officials of the municipality or the royal house. Notaries such as Pere Casesnoves and Joan de Vilagaya, for instance, guaranteed the reputation of the peasant Joan Desplà as a citizen by acting positively in his process of citizenship acquisition; while both were witnesses in his citizenship report, Casesnoves even stood as guarantor of the candidate’s final oath.\textsuperscript{734} As a witness as well as a guarantor, Antoni Estaper, royal porter, confirmed the right of Jaume Guorchs, a peasant from Santa Maria de Barberà, to be a citizen of Barcelona.\textsuperscript{735} Many years earlier, Guillem Martí from Sarrià was supported as a citizen by a representative of the royal veguer (saig del batlle i del veguer).\textsuperscript{736} Moreover, the tax collector Joan Calvet strongly contributed to having Marc Sarrià’s citizenship officially recognised, as he was the only witness to recall that the candidate’s father had already been a citizen of Barcelona, one who scrupulously fulfilled rights and duties despite maintaining his landed properties in Sant Just Desvern.\textsuperscript{737}

\textit{Space and Residence}

Location within the urban space was certainly a tool of identification within the citizenry, not only because it determined the building of human capital, as has already been shown for seafarers and peasants, but primarily because it related to the paramount criterion of the good citizen: permanent residence within the walls of the city. Abode thus emerged as a principal citizen resource. Understanding it as such,
witnesses gave numerous details on the candidates’ areas of residence and modes of habitation.

Integrated within the *universitas mercatorum* of Barcelona, French and Italian merchants did not segregate themselves within specific spaces of the city, as was the case for Lombards in London and Paris, for instance. Rather, foreign merchants in Barcelona settled in streets close to the beach where merchandise were constantly loaded and unloaded and near the *llotja*, the city’s merchant guild.

This area had at its core the impressive church parish of Santa Maria del Mar, which had recently been founded and built by Barcelonese merchants and seafarers. This was, therefore, a cathedral of citizens that ensured the religious comfort of Italians, French, Catalans, and native Barcelonese alike, all of them giving life to the commercial centre of the city. Despite having moved repeatedly, Gerardo Cattani stayed always within this area of the city, showing his strong identification with the surroundings of Santa Maria del Mar. This is, at least, how his acquaintances must have interpreted his constant relocations, for they presented him as a citizen while recording how he had lived first in the street *Ample*, close to the seafront, then in the street *Bassea*, almost in front of Santa Maria, and finally in the street *Corretger*, a street behind the basilica which ended in the Born, a noble area of the city often devoted to tournaments.

The Sardi brothers, from Pisa, were also located in the street *Bassea*, although their mode of residence seemed to have been less erratic than Cattani’s: while Urbano and Matteo had been renting a house in this street for a long time when they requested the charter, their brother Benedetto even acquired a dwelling in the very same street. As Benedetto de Sardis, Giovanni Franceschi and Tomaso Bitó acquired a house in the city.

As previously seen, Franceschi clearly used property as a citizen resource with which to compensate for his lack of human capital, since even his witnesses admitted that they barely knew this newcomer. In contrast, the rest of the

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739 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1410, August, 13th). Case referred to in Soldani, *Uomini d'affari e mercanti toscani*, 563.

740 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1412, July, 14th); (1414, February, 16th); (1418, September, 22nd). Cases referred to in Soldani, *Uomini d'affari e mercanti toscani*, 533-534.

741 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1413, August, 18th-19th); (1409, February, 23rd).

236
small sample collected through the *Informaciones* suggests that many Italian merchants followed the general trend of the city, renting the domiciles where they lived. Cohabitation with other merchants, be they Catalans or, more commonly, fellow countrymen, was also a rather common strategy through which to build spatial identification. This was particularly true for young traders recently arrived to the city.  

Such a reality is mirrored through the experiences of the dealer Stefano di Lotto, who was renting a room in Pere Llobet’s place when he requested the citizenship charter in 1413. Cohabitation seemed to have been particularly significant among Catalan merchants, since it took place within the scope of the strong patronage networks which, as seen, shaped their image as citizens of Barcelona. Still, many did also rent their own habitations (17 cases, 30 per cent of the whole group) while property remained a marginal option with only four noted cases.

The normative analysis of the *Informaciones* has already highlighted that property was not a determinant criterion for citizenship in Late Medieval Barcelona. Nevertheless, it was still a citizen resource that foreigners used differently in concert with their own possibilities, contacts and interests, within and without the city. In a situation similar to the Florentine merchant Giovanni Francheschi, peasants in the city compensated for their instability, disengagement, and maintenance of properties beyond the walls of the city by acquiring real estate in the *Raval*. In contrast with the rest of foreign groups, therefore, peasants in the city were often owners of their own habitations (11/23), which became the most characteristic feature of their presence in the city. With this in mind, the case of Pere Pallejà from the surrounding parish of Horta, emerges as an exception: settled in another neighbourhood, Pere did not renounce his landed properties but preferred to rent them to a third person who laboured on them in his behalf. He was then able to stay firmly in the place he rented in Barcelona, making public among his acquaintances his will to live and die within the walls of the city. Pere might have possessed few resources than other individuals, such as the peasants Bernat Montmany and Marc Sarrià who not only acquired their accommodation and moved constantly to their landed properties but even purchased

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743 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1413, July, 3rd).
744 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1419, November, 24th).
second habitation within the city, renting them to other citizens and thereby integrating into the Barcelonese real estate market. As a landlord in the city, Bernat ensured for his citizenship report the positive testimony of Madona Santa Eulàlia, to whom he rented a residence.\textsuperscript{745} Talking about Marc Sarrià, the priest Bartomeu Sacosta affirmed: ‘and he [Sarrià] has two houses in the street Cuch, he rents one while he reserves one room in the other one for his own sojourn.’\textsuperscript{746}

From the experiences of foreigners, it is clear that property could make the citizen, even when it did not have a legally recognised value in Barcelona. Yet, it is important to highlight that property shaped the citizen in different ways: it functioned not only through acquisition, but also through accumulation (as was the case for Montmany and Sarrià), inheritance, and by simple lack of it. The Gironese Narcís de Bordils followed the steps that generally shaped Catalan merchants’ images as citizens in Barcelona. Working actively, he lived among, and had contacts with, other more reputed merchants of the city. His particular predisposition to become a citizen of Barcelona was also understood in terms of property by his Barcelonese acquaintances, who were convinced of Narcís’ intentions to remain in the city since ‘in Girona, from where he is native, he does not have properties.’\textsuperscript{747}

To nuance the role of property in the making of the citizen means to approach it as one citizen resource among many: it was neither ultimate nor definitive. While sons of citizens of Barcelona with properties but unstable lives, such as the merchants Bernat Baruç or Bernat Forner, still needed to have an interrogation before attaining the charter,\textsuperscript{748} the French merchant Joan Anziau had problems imposing his citizen reputation. Despite acquiring a house in the street Montcada, the noblest area of the neighbourhood of Santa Maria, he was still identified as a merchant from Toulouse in his mother-in-law’s will many years later.\textsuperscript{749} As previously seen, Vidal Manxut’s strong bonds with his fellow countrymen cast doubts on his citizenship, which was not always recognised in documents; even though he had acquired a house with his brother

\textsuperscript{745}AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1395, January, 21st).
\textsuperscript{746}‘Lo dit March ha dos alberchs en lo carrer d’en Cuch e lo un loga e en l’altra se reté una cambra per son estar’ AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1415, October, 10th).
\textsuperscript{747}AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1423, January, 11th).
\textsuperscript{748}For Bernat Baruç: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1419, November, 15th); for Bernat Forner: AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1422, May, 22nd).
\textsuperscript{749}AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1409, November, 15th). Joan Anziau’s mother in law was Valençó, married to the matress-maker Nicolau Perallada. Her will in: AHPB, Simó Carner, 112/23, f. 80v-81r (1426, October, 4th).
immediately after their arrival and would later inherit another house in the street *del Mar* from the Catalan Berenguer Tió.\(^{750}\)

The ability to inherit has been presented in other contexts as a main indicator of citizenship, since foreigners were not able to hold properties or inherit in these frameworks (le droit d’aubaine).\(^{751}\) I argue that the role of these resources in the definition of the Barcelonese citizen was minor and depended strongly on the strategies, circumstances, and limitations of each citizen, both at an official and a social level. Indeed, processes of inheritance are scarce in these sources. While the previous examples show how property was strategically and flexibly used by candidates, it did not determine the imposition of one’s citizen reputation. The major practice of citizenship remained permanent residence, which was publicly acknowledged through observation and spatial identification rather than through property.

It is worth, therefore, continuing to retrace the strategies and choices of geographical emplacement developed by foreigners, the renting or purchase of a habitation being only a different means in this endeavour. As the case of Joan Anziau in the street of *Montcada* has suggested, French merchants, like Italians and Catalans, preferred to establish themselves in the mercantile district of the city near Santa Maria del Mar. Thus, Joan Cabrer, a native of Agde, lived in the street *Roudor*, right on the seafront.\(^{752}\) When he requested the charter, Joan Belmenya of Montpellier was renting an accommodation in the street *Jaupí*, again close to the basilica and very proximate to the street and the square *Canvis*, which, as their name evoked, were devoted to trade. Some French merchants, however, settled in the northern part of the neighbourhood, in the so-called *Bòria*, closer to the main market of the city and on the road leading to France. Thus, the citizenship witnesses of Pere de Corbins, the shopkeeper from Rodez, affirmed that the candidate lived in the *Bòria*.\(^{753}\) His countryman Joan Martí said that he rented a habitation ‘in the street that leads from the Bòria to the Portal Nou, next to the cemetery of Sant Cugat.’\(^{754}\)

\(^{750}\) AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1401, March, 21\(^{st}\)); Dalmases, Orfebreria Catalana, vol II, 266-269.

\(^{751}\) Cerutti, Étrangers, 31-69.

\(^{752}\) AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1421, January, 18\(^{th}\)).

\(^{753}\) AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1409, February, 25\(^{th}\)).

\(^{754}\) AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1418, October, 8\(^{th}\)).
Catalan artisans, with their various occupations, were not concentrated in specific areas of the city: while some of them still preferred the seafront, many settled in other areas, more specifically in the neighbourhood of Sant Pere in the north-eastern part of the city. These more varied locations corresponded to the desire of craftsmen to stay close to their clients, as well as to some of the conditions of their professions: tanners, for instance, were generally settled along the Rec in the street *Molins de la Mar*, distant from the core of the city and close to water conducts where the disagreeable odours their activities produced could not disturb other neighbourhoods. Foreign professionals adapted to these traditional settings. Antoni Isern, for instance, a tanner from the area of Girona, lived in the streets *Molins de la Mar* when he moved to Barcelona. To a certain extent, it seems that artisans, natives as well as foreigners, were in charge of generalising the figure of the citizen through the entire urban space. This strong symbolic role, their own necessities, and the interests of the host community, which needed to ensure the artisanal products of the city, might help us understand how particularly flexible their access to citizenship was. This was particularly true for Catalan artisans, who had been living in the city for a short time when requesting the charter, four years being the maximum and five days the minimum among the examples I have collected. Having publicly expressed their intentions to remain in the city until the end of their lives, they generally convinced the Barcelonese and their authorities about their performance as good citizens of Barcelona. The flexible recognition of citizenship can be illustrated with the example of Pere Crexell, a carpenter who, although he abandoned the city once, requested a citizenship charter upon his return and was easily granted it after positive testimonies from his Barcelonese acquaintances. More surprisingly, the *paraire* Bernat Galí, from Banyoles in northern Catalonia, was granted a charter in 1417 on the promise of coming to Barcelona with his family in less than three months. Technically, therefore, he was officially accepted as a citizen before he had become an inhabitant.

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756 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1409, May, 20th).
757 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1416, October, 7th).
758 AHCB, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 85r (1417, July, 19th).
From the Ribera, where they mostly lived in humble huts, seafarers, foreign and native, tried to shape their commitment and reputation as citizens of Barcelona. Their occupations forced them to frequently abandon the city for uncertain trips. Given, the instability of their residence, it was the continuous presence of parents, wives, children, uncles, and brothers to guarantee their success as citizens. The maintaining of a family was indeed interpreted in citizenship terms: it was used to excuse any other lack regarding access to citizen resources (such as continuous residence). Thus, when testifying about the fisherman Antoni Monistrol, the sailor Joan Martí affirmed that: ‘Antoni kept going and coming since his art of fishing made it impossible for him to stay continuously, for he needed to fish in order to provide for his mother and his sister.’ As a good son and a good brother, Antoni was equated to a good citizen. From their very humble background, the seafarers of the Ribera became citizens through the continuous location of their family in a particular space: the households they created and maintained on the Barcelonese soil were their principal key to the citizen body.

Family
A paramount sign of stable settlement, inclusion in a family circle was another fundamental resource of the citizen, one that was intrinsically linked with the others here considered: a source of human capital, a channel of inheritance, and a pathway to certain professional practices. To be identified with a specific family background was therefore important for those foreigners willing to integrate themselves into the citizen body. They brought their wives and children to the city, created new households, or contacted other members of their kinship in the city, depending on their own personal circumstances.

As mentioned above, the maintenance of a family who could stay permanently in the city was a fundamental asset in seafarers’ practice of citizenship. This was certainly the citizen feature they could most easily ensure given their humble and unstable position. From Joan Saytó’s will, it is clear that this sailor had married the

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759 Vinyoles i Batlle, Mirada a la Barcelona medieval, 70.
760 ‘e lo dit Anthoni anava e venia car per l’art que ha de pescar no·y podía aturar continuament car necessari era que ab lo dit pescar proveias a sa mare e sa germana’ AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1409, March, 16th).
761 AHPB, Llorenç Aragall, 108/1, f.91r-92v (1413, January, 12th).
daughter of a fellow countryman from the locality of Pineda, most probably before coming to Barcelona. He travelled to Barcelona with her and their three children, settled in the Ribera, and became a citizen of Barcelona, as his witnesses admitted in his citizenship report.762 As single men willing to turn into merchants, even the sailors Fernando de Santa Cristina and Gabriel Covaner realised how important it was to tie their lives to Barcelonese women in order to convince others about their commitment to the urban community. Despite long stays in the city, it was only when their engagement with daughters from the Ribera became publicly known that they successfully requested the charter needed to assist their trade. Thus, Fernando received the charter after 10 years of residence in the city when it became known that he had betrothed the daughter of Font, a sailor from the street Avella in the core of the Ribera.763 Similarly, Gabriel Covaner had been living in the city for 15 years before requesting the official recognition of his right to citizenship. As one of his witnesses affirmed: ‘not that many days ago, he [Gabriel Covaner] confirmed his marriage with a maiden, the daughter of a man of the Ribera.’764

For all men of the sea, family was at the core of the citizen experience. For foreign merchants with greater resources, however, the role of family in building citizen reputation was understood in terms of strategy rather than in terms of necessity. While sailors, skippers, and fishermen needed a household to protect in order to strengthen their alliance with the whole urban community, merchants used marital alliances principally as a form to ensure or enhance their social advancement in a host society that had already accepted them.

Indeed, marriage did not seem to be an immediate option for merchants who chose Barcelona as their centre of action. This was particularly true for Catalan merchants, whose integration was predominantly attained through strong patronage networks. The merchant Guillem Guerau settled in Antoni Salavert’s household, the latter revealing himself to be the candidate’s cousin in his will, dictated many years

762 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1407, April, 30th).
763 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1414, July, 28th).
764 ‘no ha molts dies cuydà firmar de madrimoni ab una fadrina filla d’un hom de la Ribera’. AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1414, February, 12th).
later. At that point, Guerau was married but still living with the Salaverts. On a more humble level, the merchant Bernat Geroni had been living in the city for 12 years when he requested a charter in 1407. He did not seem to have a wife, although he was already identified as a citizen when his sister’s married in 1403. He was mostly identified through his brother-in-law, the belt-maker Pere Sabater, with whom he lived. All in all, marriage was but one more step in the citizen experiences of many Catalan merchants. This did not prevent their Barcelonese acquaintances from insisting on the marital positions of these candidates when possible, for Barcelonese public opinion generally interpreted the absence of marriage as a sign of a weaker citizenship. Thus, witnesses testimonies did not fail to remark that some of these merchant candidates were married when requesting the charter (23 of the Catalan merchants). It was even known that some of them had married their wives in their native localities before migrating to the city (10). Silence regarding the marital status of young single traders also suggests the desire of witnesses to conceal what they understood as a lack of citizenship. Thus, when possible, they did not fail to provide a complete image of the candidate as a citizen by insisting on future engagements and betrothals. Pere Saragossa, for instance, defended the citizen condition of his protégé, the merchant Andreu Gallart from Sant Feliu de Guíxols, claiming that he was organising the marriage of this candidate with one of his relatives.

In short, there was a certain imbalance between the relative importance that foreign merchants (mainly Catalans) gave to the function of marriage and households in their personal process of urban integration and the strong role that the Barcelonese citizenry attributed to these features. Marriage, above all among the richest traders, came as a second step, one that consolidated rather than created their acceptance within the wealthier and most influenced levels of the citizenry. Elisa Soldani has analysed the use of marriage among Tuscan merchants in these terms, showing that while many prepared their return to the madrepatria by negotiating marriages in the city of origin, those who asked for citizenship were seeking complete integration

765 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1409, October, 30th). For Antoni Salavert’s will: AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/99, f. 69v (1433, September, 4th).
766 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1407, March, 11th). For Alamanda Geroni’s marriage with Pere Sabater: AHPB, Gabriel Terrassa, 93/24, f. 2r-2v (1403, June, 19th).
767 AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1424, May, 10th).
within the economic and political elite, an integration that was generally sealed with an advantageous marriage in Barcelona. Marriage thus became a radical citizen resource with which to hide their foreign origins.\textsuperscript{768} As a tool, marital alliances were similarly used by the Aragonese Joan de Torralba, who, having consolidated his position as a well reputed and dynamic merchant, related himself to the nobility by marrying his daughter Antònia with the knight Joan Sabastida d’Hostalric. With this move, Torralba himself did not renounce to his political privileges as a citizen, having been part of the Council since 1433 and a member of the \textit{Busca} party.\textsuperscript{769} Interestingly, Torralba’s family also fulfilled the role of ensuring his commitment to the city, as his trips to Aragon for the sake of the company he directed were almost continuous. An awaiting and committed family emerges from the words of Ursula, Torralba’s wife, who wrote in one of her letters to her husband: ‘My honourable lord and dear husband, a day feels like one hundred years until your return, […] wishes from Sitges [Torralba’s son-in-law], Agnès, Antònia, and everybody else at home.’\textsuperscript{770}

In contrast, peasants again had a distinctive and rather detached approach to the role of family in urban integration. Peasants had families, formed on many occasions in their parishes of origin. However, they rarely used them as citizen resources. Wives and children did not generally remain in Barcelona to ensure the return of the paterfamilias; rather, they travelled with him constantly, helping and participating in his endeavours in the countryside. Witnesses knew, for instance, that Galceran Amat, settled in the city for at least 16 years, was always accompanied by his wife and children when he returned to his possessions in Santa Maria de Ullastrell.\textsuperscript{771} In his constant trips to Hospitalet de Provençana, where he owned a farm, the peasant Bernat Ponç always took his wife with him and returned to the city together for the main festivals.\textsuperscript{772} Yet, the conjunctural nature of the citizen pinpoints other cases in which peasants did try to build a complete citizen reputation by using their families to

\textsuperscript{769}Del Treppo, \textit{Els mercaders catalans}, 516.
\textsuperscript{770}``Mon honorable sènyer e mon car marit […] hun jorn me par çent anys siau tornat […]. Saluts d’en Sitges, Agnès, Antònia e de tots los de casa. Vostra humil muller Ursola de Torralba’ ANC, 1-960, 703/587 s.d. (a transcription of the whole letter in the documentary appendix).
\textsuperscript{771}AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1408, May, 8\textsuperscript{th}).
\textsuperscript{772}AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (SD).
build their own urban stability. In these cases, the return of the whole family to the countryside could turn to be a matter of necessity. Although visiting his possessions, Miquel Roig lived rather stably in Barcelona with his wife: however, when she became very ill, he decided to take her back to the countryside: ‘it is true that Miquel has a farm in Horta and he keeps coming and going from there when he needs it, and now he has taken his wife with him, who has been here very ill, to see whether she can be cured in their farm,’ affirmed the merchant Andreu Pallejà. Those free from such hard constraints tried, on some occasions, to keep their families firmly in Barcelona as a proof of their intention of settling in the city despite their relentless trips. Joan Bou, always left his children in Barcelona, while Francesc de Puig almost always left his wife in charge of the house she had inherited in the city. This, however, remained a secondary option, for peasants saw family members as manpower rather than as a citizen resource, needing their wives and children to participate in the work on their farms. Alternative solutions were therefore found to keep the Barcelonese house open, which was necessary when wishing to use it to access the citizenry. Other members of the family, for instance, remained in Barcelona: Guillelm de Munterols travelled continually with his mother but he entrusted the house he owned in Barcelona to his brother. Similarly, Bernat Vidal routinely came back and forth from Sarríà with his wife and his children, leaving a cousin in his house in Barcelona. Alternatively, those who could afford it hired domestic help in charge of maintaining the Barcelonese hearth. This was the case with the peasants Pere Guells and Pere Colomer: one of Guells’ witnesses affirmed that ‘he has here a woman who is continuously in his house, taking care of all his things.’

Generally, peasants in the city could not easily use their family in citizenship terms, as it was as mobile and unstable as they were themselves. Once again, despite the best of intentions, their citizenship was mostly based on the properties they acquired in the city, as they failed to complete the other main practices of citizenship:

773’esta en veritat que lo dit Miquel ha I mas ací a Orta, al qual va e vé lo dit Miquel quant hi ha necessitat e ara hi ha menada sa muller, que tenguda ací molt malalta, per veure si poria guarir en lo dit mas’ AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1419, February, 10th).
774AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1412, November, 21st).
775AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1417, March, 9th).
776AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1407, April, 2nd).
777’e té aquí continuament una dona qui està en lo dit alberch e li guarda çò del seu’ AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1420, November, 14th). For the similar case of Pere Colomer, AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1425, January, 10th).
profession, relationships, and family, which were all kept beyond the walls of the city. Witnesses tried, when possible, to contrast this lack of citizenship with other relevant criteria such as the payment of taxes, contribution to communal services and, first and foremost, attendance to the main festivities of the city. Nonetheless, it is among peasant candidates that the clearest examples of detachment from the citizen body can be found: witnesses confessed that they did not know whether some candidates were citizens, they admitted that their domiciles were abroad, and they did not hesitate to admit when the accomplishment of citizen duties had been almost forced.

Let us consider more closely the case of Joan Flaquers from Torres, near to Sarrià, who, even though granted a charter, was not even identified as a citizen in his own citizenship record. Flaquers, who had had to sell the properties inherited from his father in Barcelona, kept coming back and forth from his outside possessions and his family usually travelled with him. Witnesses knew him well, for his father had resided in the city. What they noticed, however, was not always positive and worthy of a citizen: while having contributed in the taxes of the city, Flaquers ‘had been compelled to contribute in the building of the city walls.’ Furthermore, Flaquers’ more constant presence in Barcelona in previous times did not seem to be based on a desire for integration or to meet a family helping him to shape the reputation of a good citizen, but rather because he wanted to entertain the lover he maintained in the city.  

CONCLUSIONS

Joan Flaquer’s decisions and behaviour in the city might be one of the best examples to radically depict the detachment that some of these peasant citizens felt towards the city of Barcelona. While it cannot be denied that some of them tried their best to fulfil the citizenship criteria, only two of them were clearly recognised as citizens by their witnesses. Paying taxes and participating in the main festivities of the city, the citizen image they built remained weak and superficial on a myriad of occasions. Their feelings

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778*contribueix en la obra de mur axí com altre ciutadà’ but ‘el forcen a pagar en la obra de murs e valls’. AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (SD). For Flaquer’s citizenship record: AHCB, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 115v-116r (1419, March, 16th).

246
of belonging were confined to their native parishes, where they died and wished to be buried.  

Notwithstanding, even peasants were successfully recorded as citizens. Their lack of citizenship in terms of profession, relationships, and family was contrasted with their properties in the city. Seafarers compensated for their instability with professional effort and, most importantly, the creation and maintenance of a nuclear family. Despite their weaknesses, the foreigners considered throughout this chapter were not only desirable but also successful: in one way or another, they managed to practice citizenship and convince others of their rights to it, their behaviour, and commitment as good citizens. Their position and experiences, which could initially seem limited and weak, are the best platform from which to analyse medieval citizenship as a game of balances, whereby the citizen is recognised as such for his ability to practice citizenship to the extent his own possibilities allowed. It was all about building his identification with the city by combining profession, relationships, family, and space. Origins had little to play in this process: despite jurists’ arguments, citizenship was not a right of blood in Late Medieval Barcelona. From foreigners’ experiences, performance and conjuncture appear again at the core of the making of the citizen, as the large number of cases unravelled from the Informacions show.

The physical walls of the city were therefore permeable borders to foreigners and their coincidence with the limits of the citizenry was symbolic rather than real: instead, the boundaries of the citizen body were tested through the practices of every individual trying to enter it. While the Informacions are most useful in depicting this permeability, it is important, however, to recall that this porousness was not complete since others remained foreign to the citizenry. While the problems posed by collectives such as women, converted Jews, and the poor will be further discussed in chapter VII, let us recall here that some ‘geographical’ foreigners could also come to experience

779 In his own will, Antoni Mas’ son recalled that his father had died as a parishioner of Sarrià where he was buried, even though he had received a citizenship charter of Barcelona in 1419. For Antoni Mas’ son will: AHPB, Antoni Joan, 187/74, f. 109r-110v (1466, May, 4th). For Antoni Mas’ citizenship record: AHCB, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 116v-117r (1419, March, 18th). Similarly, Joana, widow of Joan Santjust, remembered her husband as a parishioner of Sarrià when dictating her own will. AHPB, Joan Franc major, 107/112, f. 58v-59v (1443, October, 28th).

780 These ideas were presented and developed in the workshop “Borders. Past and Present. Materiality, Practices and Concepts,” which took place at the European University Institute in Florence on November 2014.
rejection rather than acceptance. This, however, was caused by factors unrelated to their origins. The development of a strong economic protectionism, largely against Italian merchants, can be seen along these lines. Indeed, the first measures implemented by King James I were constantly repeated throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with banishments and repression following each other in rapid succession.\textsuperscript{781} While the expulsion of 1447 was dictated by political reasons, namely the outbreak of war between Florence and the crown of Aragon, on a more general level these strong measures were responses to the pressure that the commercial sector of the city exerted over the monarchy, threatened as they were by the competition from Italian merchants’ business, their more refined techniques, and substantial capital.\textsuperscript{782} The effects of these measures were, however, limited. As the monarchy economically relied on many of these Italian merchants, some were individually excluded from the expulsions, while others were granted safe-conducts and titles of royal familiarities.\textsuperscript{783} Domenico Mannelli, for instance, was specifically excluded by the king from the expulsion decrees of 1401.\textsuperscript{784} Pisans and Genoese were also often excluded from these banishments.\textsuperscript{785} Nonetheless, the pressure and rejection displayed by local merchants, together with the effects of political fluctuations, points towards the arbitrariness and difficulties that Italian merchants could find among their many successes.

The expulsion of 1401, obtained as compensation for the economic donation that urban representatives agreed to grant for the expeditions to Sardinia, did not last

\textsuperscript{781}On the expulsions (1326, 1330, 1353, 1401, 1447) and rejection strategies developed towards Italian merchants: Ferrer, “Els Italians,” 394-404; Soldani, \textit{Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani}, 291-296 (for the earlier period), 302-326 (for political banishments, mainly in the second half of the fifteenth century); Igual, “¿Los mercaderes són egualadors del món?” 126.

\textsuperscript{782}The dates provided here correspond to expulsions dictated in Barcelona. Tensions, banishments, and repression against Italian merchants also developed in other cities of the Crown of Aragon such as Valencia, Mallorca, and Tortosa. The decree of 1401, granted within the framework of the Parliament of Tortosa, referred to the kingdoms of Valencia and Mallorca and the city of Barcelona. Soldani, \textit{Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani}, 292; Igual, “¿Los mercaderes són egualadors del món?” 126.


\textsuperscript{784}King Martin the Humane wanted to keep his promise of stability towards Mannelli and some other merchants. Soldani, \textit{Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani}, 293.

\textsuperscript{785}They were excluded, for instance, from the expulsion decree of 1401 in order to ensure the difficult peace treaties that the Crown of Aragon had established with Genoa and Pisa. Soldani, \textit{Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani}, 292.
long. Like those preceding it, it was also ineffective, since it only excluded those Italian members of major companies who were actually inflicting the most damage on the affairs of the locals. The decree was finally repealed in November 1402 but it was compensated by the introduction of a custom to be paid by Italians on all the products they introduced in and exported from the markets of Valencia, Barcelona, and Mallorca. The *dret dels Italians*, as it was called, was fixed at a value of 3 *diners* for *lliura*. Similar customs were imposed later on the traffic of other foreign merchants, such as German and Savoyards (*drets dels alemanys, 1420*). Those who were able to prove that they had been accepted as citizens by the citizenry, practising their profession in tune with local merchants and residing permanently in the city, were surely interested in officially confirming their right to Barcelonese citizenship, both to seal their belonging to the city and to escape such protectionist measures. However, double citizenships, while allowed, created contradictions and conflicts over fraud which had to be controlled: thus, it resulted in a more limited and supervised citizenship for some of these Italian merchants. A decree of 1409 compelled Pisans, even those already in possession of a citizenship charter, to marry a Catalan woman if they wanted to enjoy from all the exemptions reserved to citizens: furthermore, mechanisms were put into place to ensure that citizens with Italian origins were actually paying their taxes. More rigorously placed within their own context, the pragmatic and conflictive uses of citizenship by Italian merchants strongly emerge and are not to be ignored.

It is also difficult to perceive through the *Informacions* the conflictive features described by Carme Batlle in regard to French craftsmen, who were, at least in the subsequent period, very numerous, to the point where the Council imposed

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786 Soldani, *Uomini d'affari e mercanti toscani*, 295-296. The *dret dels italians* would come to substitute the payment of a cloth of silk and gold that Peter the Cerimonious had imposed to Italian merchants after previous expulsions.

787 Carrère, *Barcelona*, 25-26. The presence of Germans in Barcelona has not been documented through the *Informacions* and it seems to have been scarce in the notarial deeds. Nonetheless, the famous Ravensburg Company, most well-known for its activities in Valencia, also operated in Barcelona. The *dret dels alemanys* was imposed in 1420 and had to be applied throughout the whole Crown of Aragon.


788 Soldani, *Uomini d'affari e mercanti toscani*, 298. This was not even a chance in the case of the expulsion decree against Florentines in 1447, grounded on political reasons. Soldani, *Uomini d'affari e mercanti toscani*, 293. Soldani, “Mercanti ‘facitori di faccende grosse’, 144.
protectionist measures to ensure the prerogatives of the locals. Some of these French craftsmen seem also to have been rather violent, as some of them were constantly involved in street fights.\textsuperscript{789}

Thus, this chapter could not deal with the whole variety of geographical foreigners living in Barcelona at the dawn of the fifteenth century. To depict the major foreign profiles of the city from the \textit{Informacions} has still been useful, as it has made evident the extent to which Catalans from beyond the walls of Barcelona constituted the largest part of the city’s foreigners, thereby presenting them as a fundamental part of the Barcelonese citizenry. This phenomenon was fairly common in other European cities\textsuperscript{790} but to recall it in the case of Barcelona is still worthwhile, as it helps us to rethink the context and position of the city itself: despite its unquestionable relevance as a commercial pole at a Mediterranean scale, Barcelona’s population was far from comparable with other major ports of the Mediterranean, both in quantity and variety. Highly permeable, flexible, and dynamic, Barcelona’s citizenry, as it emerges from the \textit{Informacions}, was not intercultural and needs to be approached primarily in local and Catalan terms.\textsuperscript{791}

From a more methodological point of view, this chapter has relied deeply on the traditional assumption of viewing citizens and foreigners as two sides of the same coin. Indeed, with the \textit{Informacions}, the analytical lens is focussed on the successful and accepted foreigner. We have examined the foreign citizen who, just as with other candidates to the charter, had already been accepted as such because he partly or fully satisfied the criteria of having a profession, established relationships, a physical space of identification, and a household to protect within the walls of the city. Thus, the foreign citizen might not be a useful figure to clear up the ambiguities of foreigners’

\textsuperscript{789}Batlle, “Els francesos,”384-385.
\textsuperscript{790}The importance of an ‘interior’ migration in Valencia from its surroundings is evident from Cruselles’ studies: “Dinámica demográfica,”56. In their general study on the medieval city, Patrick Boucheron and Denis Menjot defined the rural areas surrounding cities as ‘areas of immigration’. Boucheron and Menjot, “La Ville Médiévale,”427-431.
\textsuperscript{791}On the need to relativize the quantity, but not the dynamism, of foreign traders, see for the Valentian case: Igual, “¿Los mercaderes són egualdors del món?,”136-137. For Barcelona, Maria Elisa Soldani was able to document the activities of 50 Tuscan families for the late fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth centuries. She recognised herself, however, that it is difficult to provide conclusions on the demographic representativity of these families, since the sources do not always allow us to understand whether these merchants stayed definitively in Barcelona or not. Soldani, “Mercanti facitori di ‘facciende grosse’,” 120.
integration, as I noted in the introduction of this chapter. Instead, the foreign citizen has revealed itself as a most useful key to portray the cultural agency of the citizen, unravelling the complexity of his practices and experiences.

As a platform of discussion between candidates, witnesses, and municipal authorities, the Informaciones have allowed me to bring to light the dialogical nature of medieval citizenship,\textsuperscript{792} based as it was on pacts and promises between citizens and the authorities and, most fascinatingly, between citizens themselves. While this chapter has focussed on the foreign citizen to discuss individual agency in the making of the citizen, the following will address the other part of the dialogue constituting citizenship by exploring the agency of the whole citizenry in engendering citizens. By placing the citizen within the fabrics of the citizen body, the next chapter will therefore have to analyse how the main solidarity networks of the city became not only the stage where the citizen was observed but also an active agent themselves. Through codifying the actions, behaviours, and experiences of the good citizen, they actively produced citizen reputation.

\textsuperscript{792}Costa, Civitas, vol I, ‘ed è comunque su base pattizia che i diritti e i doveri dei cittadini vengono determinati’, 14.
In order to fully examine the intricacies surrounding the social experience of citizenship, this study combines diverse scales of analysis. From the practices that the citizen had to publicly perform (chapter V) in order to meet the reputation that had been agreed and codified between the authorities and the whole citizenry (chapter III), it is now time to consider the extent to which the networks that constituted and animated the city’s social capital became active mechanisms for testing and continuously stating the identification of citizens with the citizen body.

Indeed, it is in terms of ‘networks’ that the role of the community of witnesses in creating citizens can be more efficiently analysed and understood. Networks, formal as well as informal, determined social capital to the extent that they constituted a space of trust and reciprocity, although they could also shelter tensions and conflicts.

This chapter focuses on the ‘solidarity networks’ that allow us to give meaning to the actions, strategies, efforts, confessions, and even indifference that witnesses deployed throughout the Informacions. These were permeable spaces of familial, professional, and neighbourhood interaction, a diversity of overlapping human associations whose strength as reference points for citizens in their daily lives was


considerably reinforced after the disasters of the Black Death both in Barcelona and in
many other European cities. I will be using the term ‘network’ in a rather
metaphorical sense, as an image that helps me to investigate the sociability of
Barcelonese citizens, rather than as an analytical tool with which to undertake a
relational analysis based on the technique of ‘social network analysis’ (SNA).

Born within sociological and anthropological studies, ‘social network analysis’
challenges this metaphorical conception of the network, emerging as an empirical
technique that contests preconceived social structures by focussing on the relational
reality of the actors that constitute them. Social network analysis is a methodology
that approaches social structures as networks that are characterised by the flow of
information which take place within them rather than by the actual nodes (agents)
composing them. Nonetheless, it has been progressively nuanced as practitioners
realised how important it is to contextualise the network within a specific cultural
environment on the one hand and to value human agency and social hierarchies on
the other. Through the graphical representation of these networks with
computerised techniques, the practitioners of the social network analysis have been
able to provide new interpretations on social mechanisms by focussing on centralities
and dispersions in the network, its composition and processes of accessibility as well as
the direction of the information transmitted within it.

The ‘social network analysis’ has proved useful in overcoming exclusively
attributive analysis of the social actor by rethinking processes of identification and self-

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795 David Herlighy, “Family Solidarity in Medieval Italian History,” Explorations in Economic History, 7, 1
796 On the legitimacy of this distinction of the network as either a metaphor or an actual analytical tool,
797 Imízcoz, “Actores y redes sociales,” 22-27.
798 María Ángeles Martín Romera, “Nuevas perspectivas para el estudio de las sociedades medievales: el
799 On the concern for introducing cultural contextualisation and reflections on human agency when
using social networks analysis, Mustafa Emirbayer and Jeff Goodwin, “Network Analysis, Culture and the
800 Imízcoz, “Actores y redes sociales,” 27.
understanding. For historians, it is therefore an enriching but complementary methodology: through an adequate use of the sources and combined with a deep knowledge of the context, it can help us to reach a more flexible understanding of social structures, interrogating the effect and influence of social connections in the evolution and change of a given community. The social link thereby becomes a key analytical tool with which to understand historical change.

Yet, historians have also noted the dangers and limits of this approach, highlighting that it should not be undertaken without the right material and pertinent research intentions. These reflections convinced me that it was inappropriate to apply social network analysis to the study of the relational strategies that determined the making of the citizen in late medieval Barcelona. To begin with, the material collected for the research would pose severe problems. I have only collected the data from the Informacions and two notaries’ deeds: these limited sources offer a very unbalanced picture, since some relationships are clearly revealed whilst others are either semi-concealed or completely hidden from view. On such material, the application of social network analysis would probably have provided biased and untrustworthy results. To face these problems, a deep prosopography on the community of citizenship candidates should have been undertaken but this would have been too ambitious a plan.

The danger of reaching biased conclusions when applying social network analysis to medieval sources has certainly been considered. Some authors have affirmed that these risks are worthwhile since social network analysis could provide more general views on social dynamics based on a large amount of data, thereby

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802 On relational capital and the employment of social networks as a useful but complementary methodology in historical studies: Lemercier, “Analyse de réseaux et histoire” and Martín, “Nuevas perspectivas”, 227.
803 Emirbayer and Goodwin, “Network Analysis, Culture and the Problem of Agency.”
804 On the approach to historical change through the observation of density and the development of weak ties within a specific network, see Imízcoz, “Actores y redes sociales,” 28-31.
806 Martín, “Redes medievales,” 58. Martín considered that social network analysis comes to complete more traditional methodologies such as prosopography, which in her opinion remains indispensable when dealing with relational analysis.
avoiding exceptional cases.\textsuperscript{808} However, my intention is precisely to concentrate on a variety of particular examples. Such a decision does not only lie on the difficulties of reaching any rigorous quantitative conclusion from the citizenship sources of Barcelona (as I will show throughout the chapter). It is also based on the conviction that it is through detailed micro-analysis that I will be able to retrace in detail the various social contexts determining the building of the citizen reputation, the experiences of the citizen, and his interests in, and uses of, citizenship. Rather than trying to locate the brokers and the information conditioning the limits and evolution of the citizenry of Barcelona, I aim to consider the diversity of members that composed it. Thus, I consciously distance myself from the vocabulary and practices of social network analysis. Instead, my analysis, while remaining relational, will continue to rely on a large range of cases. Indeed, I do not attempt to analyse the direction of social links but to represent the social experience of citizenship, highlighting the intensity of the networks where it took place. These intentions mirror Peregrine Horden’s words: ‘the vocabulary of network analysis has been examined and found abstract, an adequate way of representing the direction of contacts between members of a group but no indicator of their intensity and purpose.’\textsuperscript{809}

The structure of the chapter will respect the nature of the networks that most clearly emerge from the reading of the Informacions, namely those determined by familial, professional, and neighbouring relationships. Before considering how these connections became spaces of creation and support for citizens, I will analyse how other sorts of links could also participate in the making of the citizen. Previous contacts, acquaintances with a common geographical origin, and friendships were also useful resources to integrate together the Barcelonese citizenry. The extant literature on Barcelonese urban solidarities at the end of the Middle Ages is relatively weak, which means, in contrast with previous chapters of the dissertation, a more systematic comparison with other European cities has been necessary.

\textsuperscript{808}Colson, “Local Communities,” 59.
The distinction I establish here between family, professional, and neighbour connections is mainly methodological and made for the sake of clarity: these realities overlapped and were deeply interconnected in several cases, thus coinciding with relational analysis’ defence of the plurality of belongings of the individual actor.\(^{810}\)

**FOR THE SAKE OF FRIENDSHIP:
ON THE NATURE AND ROLE OF PROTECTORS IN THE DEFINITION OF CITIZENSHIP**

In the last third of the fourteenth century, the physician Naddino d’ Aldobrandino Bovattieri, a Pratese by origin, made his fortune in the city of Avignon. Perfectly integrated within the important colony of Tuscan merchants of the city, Naddino was soon acquainted with the Avignon elites. The Papal Court had played a fundamental role in his successful integration: soon assigned as personal doctor to some cardinals, Bovattieri was even appointed as one of the Pope’s physicians in 1392. After reuniting with his family in Avignon, Naddino never returned to Tuscany, passing away in the city of the Popes with a new French wife at his bedside.

Jerôme Hayez has recreated in detail the hesitations, troubles, and conflicts of this physician’s migrant experience through the letters conserved in the large correspondence of Francesco di Marco Datini, the famous merchant of Prato.\(^{811}\) He showed the extent to which the success of this circumspect and indecisive man would have never been possible without the help of previously established contacts in Avignon, such as Iacopo del Nero, a Datinian agent with whom Naddino corresponded through a relative and common acquaintance. Iacopo gave some valuable advice to Naddino and opened the doors of his house to the newcomer. Hayez also highlights the role of Francesco di Marco Datini in Naddino’s successes. Indeed, the letters showed that the merchant of Prato corresponded with Naddino Bovattieri, having openly protected the physician’s wishes for migration and prosperity. Francesco had helped Naddino’s family to join him in Avignon and had an account opened for him at

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\(^{810}\)Imízcoz, “Actores y redes sociales,” 33.

the Avignonese headquarters of his own company so that the physician could borrow all the money he needed to begin his new life. In return, Naddino became one of the main guarantors of Datini’s interests in Avignon due to his close connections with the elites of the city.

Without exploring this case any further, its main aspects suggest how friendship was understood, practised, and used in the Late Middle Ages. As Hayez himself pointed out, Francesco and Naddino lived in very distant realities and never came to establishing close bonds, not even before the physician moved to Avignon. Despite this, they treated each other as friends in the few letters they exchanged, confirming Richard Trexler’s opinions on medieval friendship: a deep spiritual bond between two men, friendship was conditioned by the social context and situations of the characters involved. Determined by interest, it was not far from patronage and was generally handled in a rather pragmatic way. A bond to be used, friendship in urban settings seemed to be principally based on the tacit services and favours that individuals expected from each other upon the negotiation of a contract aimed at consolidating their social position.\(^\text{812}\) As Francesco di Marco himself put it, ‘it is good to have friends of all kinds but not useless men.’\(^\text{813}\)

I will explore in this section the figure of the migrant’s protector and analyse to what extent these protective relationships corresponded to friendly bonds. Similarly, the expression of friendship in daily life and its effects on urban integration will be approached. I intend to place friendship at the core of the citizen experience, examining how it became a powerful asset not only to win but also to conserve a citizen reputation, for migrants as well as natives.

Expressions of protective relationships often take us back to the figure of the foreigner, as they tend to refer to the connections the migrant had established with a protector before reaching Barcelona, namely a previous contact who would act as a reference point and make less difficult something that is never easy: the abandonment

\(^{812}\)Richard Trexler’s reflections on medieval friendship were based on the relationship between Francesco di Marco Datini and the notary Lapo Mazzei. Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 131-158. For the Crown of Aragon, patronage has been clearly defined as an expression of asymmetric friendship in, for instance: Susana Lozano Gracia, “Las elites en la ciudad de Zaragoza a mediados del siglo XV: La aplicación del método prosopográfico en el estudio de la sociedad,” (PhD diss., University of Zaragoza, 2007), 587.

of one’s origins to commit to a foreign community. Relationships of this sort, mirroring to some extent the kind that Naddino Bovattieri established with the most helpful Iacopo del Nero, are not that clearly specified in the Barcelonese sources and have to be read from between the lines. With the exception of the fisherman Pere Ferrer, who declared that he had persuaded Francesc Cerç to abandon his native town of Lloret in order for him to escape from pirates and settle in Barcelona, these more protective relationships are only hinted at, chiefly through witnesses declaring that they had known the candidate to the charter for a much longer period than the time the latter had actually been living in the city. For instance, lifelong relationships conditioned Antoni Cortey’s receipt of citizenship. A merchant from the coastal town of Cubelles, 60 kilometres south of Barcelona, Antoni was not even definitely settled in Barcelona when he applied for the charter in 1418. In this ambiguous situation, Antoni decided to ensure his reliability as a good citizen by presenting to the authorities the old acquaintances he had in the city, despite the fact that he had already bought a house in Barcelona where his wife and children were settled. His report included the testimony of the venerable Bernat Saclos, a merchant and citizen of Barcelona, who affirmed that he had known Antoni for more than 23 years. Regardless of the reasons that united these two men for so many years, it is clear that Antoni engaged his previous acquaintances in his migration project, using them in a protective way.

Family connections have to be examined when considering the role of protectors and previous acquaintances within integration processes. In many cases, however, the very nature of the familial bond might have turned this protection into an obligation. These ties were not the result of voluntary association and so it becomes therefore problematic to take them into account when defining the role of friendship in the process of urban integration. It becomes more pertinent to focus on how connections first weaved at home could develop on the Barcelonese stage. Immigrants willing to integrate within a new society have always relied on those who came before them, individuals with whom they shared a common origin and who would certainly identify with those requiring their help. A native from the town of Besalú, close to

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814 For a portrait of foreigners’ disorientation and their need for friendly protectors in Late Medieval and Renaissance Venice, Orlando, Migrazioni Mediterranee, 151-153.
815 AHCB, 1C, V, 3 (1408, July 9th). The case was mentioned in chapter V.
816 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1418, July, 11th).
Girona, Antoni Casafranca asked for a citizenship charter in November 1407 after living in Barcelona for no more than nine months. All his witnesses testified positively, yet two of them made their testimonies particularly trustworthy, declaring that they were Casafranca’s fellow countrymen and had known him for all their lives: ‘since I have memory, I have had notice of the above mentioned Antoni since we were both born in the town of Beselú, in the bishopric of Girona,’ said Joan Vilar, merchant and citizen of Barcelona.\footnote{despuys que he memoria he noticia del dit Anthoni car en dos som nats en la vila de Beselú del bisbat de Girona’. AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1407, November, 19\textsuperscript{th}).}

The role of common origins in the development and admittance of new citizens could also emerge in much more intimate terms. In several cases, witnesses recreated long-life relationships by remembering that they had been baptised together with the candidate. Pere Lacis, a butcher citizen of Barcelona, affirmed that he had always known the jurist from Perpignan Joan Massot, with whom he was baptised.\footnote{AHCB, 1 C-V, 3 (1416, April, 24\textsuperscript{th}).}

In the report of Joan Sunyer, a shoemaker who used to be a serf, the peasant Ramon Carbonell declared ‘I have known the mentioned Joan for more than eighteen years and we were both baptised in the same baptismal font.’\footnote{més ha de XVIII anys que jo conech lo dit Johan e en dos nos som batejats en unas fonts’ AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1417, December, 7\textsuperscript{th}).}

The emotional charge of such declarations in an official citizenship report can certainly be taken as a proof of sympathy and interest. Independently of the actual reliability of the facts stated by witnesses, these confessions show the witnesses’ manifest will to support their protégés and personal engagement in their integration processes. In their public dimension, this sort of affirmations can be understood as personal favours to the candidate and as expressions of friendship.

Without questioning the deepness and sincerity of these relationships, it is also necessary to examine how a more pragmatic dimension of friendship was used in fifteenth-century Barcelona, one potentially closer to the practices of Francesco di Marco Datini. When considering the influence of Ancient Greek thought on ideals of medieval friendship, Klaus Oschema tellingly affirmed that ‘one means to achieve integration consisted in the creation of a bond of friendship with a group member,
resulting in the recognised relationship with the group itself.\textsuperscript{820} By considering friendly bonds as indicators of social reliability, a perspective is provided that helps to give a stronger meaning to other emotional ties expressed throughout the \textit{Informaciones}, even when not relating to the bonds existing between migrants and their protectors. It is by also considering these other relationships and friends that I will provide a broader picture on the role of friendship in the constant negotiation of citizenship.

The orphan sailor Gabriel Salvador inherited his father’s friendships and did not hesitate to use them when he needed to guarantee his rights as a citizen of Barcelona. Thus, he allegedly asked the sailor Llorenç Massot to act as one of his witnesses in his citizenship report. For old times’ sake, Llorenç provided a very positive and emotional testimony on Gabriel, highlighting that he had known him ‘since he was born,’ as he used to sail with his father.\textsuperscript{821} From this rather humble background to the house of an oligarchical family, similar ties can be retraced. The merchant Joan Ses Avasses defended Francesc Lunes’ pretensions to the citizenship charter,\textsuperscript{822} remembering that they had grown up together: Lunes was the favourite disciple of his father. There was also a clear appeal to friendship when witnesses declared they had been regularly meeting the candidates for the mere pleasure of eating and drinking together, sharing the table standing as a classic symbol of closeness and affection.\textsuperscript{823} This was the case of the tailor Feliu Socarrats, who testified in favour of Guillem Arnau’s application by declaring that ‘he has eaten and drunk many times at Guillem Arnau’s place.’\textsuperscript{824} Similarly, the apothecary Gabriel Just detailed that he had been eating several times in Jaume Guorch’s place, whom he had known for around three years.\textsuperscript{825} Once daily coexistence had generated deeper feelings, it could also turn into precious support during difficult moments, as Guillem de la Nau showed when helping his neighbour, the French merchant Michel Brocard, to bury his wife.\textsuperscript{826} There was also a general interest in recalling and highlighting the ability of the candidates to weave friendly


\textsuperscript{821}AHCB, 1 C-V, 3 (1407, June, 7th).

\textsuperscript{822}AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1406, November, 26th).

\textsuperscript{823}Oschema, “Sacred or Profane?” 50. The author provides more references on the issue in footnote 54, p. 61.

\textsuperscript{824}AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1418, January, 4th).

\textsuperscript{825}AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1424, April, 29th).

\textsuperscript{826}AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1414, February, 15th).
relationships within the city. Thus, Bernat Saplana, notary of the king acknowledged that the shopkeeper from Rodes Pere de Corbins had friends (amichs) in Barcelona who were diligently trying to find an appropriate wife for him.\textsuperscript{827} Having admitted he had known the skipper Francesc Ferran for more than 25 years, the shipwright Antoni Domènece declared that such a long relationship had evolved into pure friendship, as he openly confessed that he maintained a ‘close relationship’ (privadesa) with the candidate.\textsuperscript{828}

These examples have a different nature from those based on the emotional strength of the protective relationships sheltering migrants. Indeed, Gabriel Salvador, Francesc Lunes, Feliu Socarrats, Francesc Ferran, and even Michel Brocart and Pere de Corbins were not seeking protectors: theirs were ties established and developed while in the city, little by little as time went on, after having shared pleasures, entertainments, and grieves with other Barcelonese. By drawing expressions from these two states of friendship (one that was old and protective and a second one which was progressively created in the streets of the city) from the Informacions, I intend to highlight the awareness that citizens of Barcelona had of the continuous role that close and direct relationships played in the building of a proper citizen reputation. Taking friendship as the most honest and moral of human ties, to be able to rely on true friends constituted in itself a strategy with which to build social confidence. Not only did close relationships ensure the introduction of newcomers into the familial, professional, and neighbourhood networks that structured the city but it was also conceived as a fundamental tool to keep interacting with them. Thus, newcomers, more settled individuals, and natives were all interested in showing and using friendly ties when time came to claim for their citizen status. As Trexler put it when referring to the famous merchant of Prato, the friendship of citizens in the Middle Ages relied on services and obligations: it was a voluntary bond which could ensure the creation of a citizen image beyond the taxing demands and intrusions of the authorities.\textsuperscript{829} From the Informacions, similar mechanics pictured friendship in its purest state, as it expressed itself through remembrance, entertainment, and constant support. In the framework

\textsuperscript{827} AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1409, February, 25\textsuperscript{th}) ‘E presentment deu prendre muller car sos amichs hi treballen tant com poden.’

\textsuperscript{828} AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1408, January, 28\textsuperscript{th}) ‘ha privadesa ab ell.’

\textsuperscript{829} Trexler, Public Life in Renaissance Florence, 157.
of Late Medieval Barcelona, protectors and other friends emerge therefore as important keys to enter and remain in the citizen body, one which rested on familial, professional, and neighbouring circles.

**FAMILIES AND KINSMEN IN THE MAKING OF THE CITIZEN**

Fathers, mothers, brothers, uncles, aunts, and cousins, and a large variety of in-laws acted repeatedly throughout the *Informacions*, either as witnesses or, more importantly, as guarantors of citizenship charters. This clearly suggests that, whenever possible, kinship was seen and used as a valuable resource, one that helped to achieve citizen recognition. However, a deep understanding of the scope of families in the creation of citizen reputation still needs to explore in which contexts these varied forms of kinship were used and what were the actual mechanisms that relatives developed when contributing to these specific acts of familial solidarity.

From the lens of its civic strategies and interests, the family reveals itself as a broad system, one which was not confined to the household. It included close relatives, in-laws, or other kin in different homes and places. The relational and sociable dimension of the family is therefore stressed and leads us to explore unknown dimensions of familial solidarity in pre-modern societies (i.e. the role of kinship support in the shaping of civic status). In so doing, it interestingly illuminates some of the classical issues in the field of family history: family systems, household composition, and processes of family-decision making and of strategy building. More importantly, to include families within the discussion on citizenship will allow me to place them within the whole citizenry, exploring their daily connection with civil society.830

Relatives were involved in the building of the citizen body in various ways: while individuals did not hesitate to seek and provide support beyond the restricted circle of their closest relatives, the members of these extended networks were mixing

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their own interests with their emotions and moral obligations when participating in the bureaucratic procedures of citizenship acquisition.\footnote{The necessity to consider the flexible nature of the family and not overestimate the image of a patriarchal nuclear structure has been repeatedly stressed. Herlighy,“Family Solidarity,“173-184; Giovanni Levi, “Family and Kin – A few thoughts,”Journal of Family History 15/4,(1990): 567- 578; Christiane Klapish-Zuber,“Structures démographiques et structures familiales,”in Strutture familiari, Epidemie, Migrazioni, eds. R. Comba, G. Piccinni and G. Pinto, (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1994),11-18; and more recently, Sandra Cavallo, “Family Relationships,” in A Cultural History of Childhood and Family in the Early Modern Age, eds. S. Cavallo and S. Evangelisti, (Oxford-New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012). 15-32. The approach to familial solidarity as a mixture between interest and emotion was suggestively mentioned in Lynch, Individuals, Families and Communities, 10. Lynch referred to H. Medick and D.W. Sabean, “Interest and Emotion in Family and Kinship Studies: A Critique of Social History and Anthropology,” in Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship, eds. H. Medick and D.W. Sabean, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 9-23.} To shed some light on these complex mechanisms, I will first consider which family ties were used by candidates to acquire the citizenship charter, as well as how their familial conditions were observed and valued by other Barcelonese. Secondly, I will concentrate on specific case studies which I have elaborated by combining the citizenship sources with notarial documentation and bibliographical notes. The Sarrovira, a family of wealthy merchants, and the Clergue, who were both merchants and apothecaries, shall allow me to reflect on how citizenship was negotiated within the family, interfering in the strategies and decisions of family-making.

Relatives as a Resource for the Citizen

At the first level of analysis, the Informacions suggest that familial solidarities were the most commonly used resource when time came to give proofs of integration and absorption within the citizenry. For 767 candidates to citizenship recorded for the period 1375-1430, family relationships of any sort and intensity were mentioned or used in 351 cases.\footnote{For a quantitative comparison with the use of other sort of solidarities, I refer to the conclusions of the chapter and the general table in the appendix of the thesis.} Such calculations need, however, to be approached as a mere guide, taking into account that: (a) further research on some of the cases has shown that familial relationships were not always specified, suggesting that the presence of relatives within citizenship procedures might have been even stronger, (b) these proportions refer to both the direct and the indirect role of families in the making of the citizen, including both the direct intervention of relatives in the procedure as much
as the ability to publicly show the maintenance of a household, and (c) these rates include a wide variability of family connections.

(a) Despite the common use of family ties suggested by these proportions, the practice of approaching kin to confirm civic status was not always clearly stated. On some occasions, this collaboration was uncovered by the citizenship sources themselves. While testifying on their brothers’ reports, both the notary Pere Agramunt and the sailor Bartomeu Lloreda omitted to mention the close tie that bound them to the candidates: the merchant Miquel Agramunt and the sailor Bernat Lloreda respectively. It was only through the voices of other witnesses that these fraternal services were unveiled. Regarding the case of the sailor brothers, for instance, it was Antònia, a neighbour of the petitioner, who affirmed: ‘and now his aunt has died and she has named as her heirs in equal parts both the mentioned Bernat Lloret and Bartomeu Lloreda, his brother.’ Taking into account witnessing practices in other contexts, these omissions may have to be taken as deliberate choices by the witnesses, who wanted to avoid their testimonies being considered biased.

Yet, family ties could also be dissimulated as a result of indifference or personal detachment. Antoni Mas, a peasant from the surrounding locality of Sarrià, owned a house in Barcelona. This property was certainly the sole argument in favour of the grant of a charter, as his witnesses were quick to confess that Antoni was hardly present in the city, renting his house to a brother-in-law. In their eyes, the candidate was clearly not a reputed citizen. Notarial documentation has uncovered that one of these distant witnesses, Pere Oliver, was actually the very same brother-in-law to whom Antoni rented his house in the city. From this case, a different image of family assistance emerges. These cold and distant relationships between Antoni Mas and his

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833e de fet, ara com s’és morta ha fets hereus per guals parts lo dit Bernat Lloret e en Bartomeu Lloreda, frare seu’ Bernat Llorea’s report in AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1419, March, 30th). For Miquel Agramunt’s report: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1414, September, 10th).


835Antoni Mas’ citizenship report and record: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1419, March, 6th) and 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 116v-117r (1419, March, 18th). I have identified Pere Oliver as Antoni’s brother in law through the document in which Antoni ensures the debt he has towards the draper Berenguer Bartomeu with the property he owns in Barcelona and that he rents to ‘Petrus Oliveri, levir meus sive cynyat, salinarius civis Barchinone’ AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/10 f. 50r-50v (1416, May, 20th). Transcription of these documents is provided in the documentary appendix, section 7.
brother-in-law mirrored the daily physical distance between them, one living within
the walls of the city and the other remaining in the surrounding countryside. Although
it is impossible to assess to what degree relatives were indifferent or even voluntarily
absent from their relatives’ integration processes, the little interest shown by Pere
Oliver in Antoni Mas’ report must be highlighted: it is an example pointing towards the
need to relativise the overvalued role of the family in social organisation. Indeed,
the feeling of moral obligation due to members of the family was deeply conditioned
by personal contexts (such as physical distance): thus, close bonds could actually
develop into rather detached and unhelpful connections.

(b) When close, however, family turned into one of the most valuable assets in
the creation of a citizen reputation. Indeed, particularly in regard to seafarers, the
public maintenance of a family was seen and appreciated as a trustworthy sign of
embeddedness. Close and co-resident families played a very important, albeit indirect,
role in processes of citizenship acquisition. A numerical approach helps to better grasp
the paramount relevance of this indirect intervention. From the 351 cases in which the
influence of family was documented, little more than half of them (181) corresponded
to the actual observance of a household rather than to the direct assistance of a
relative as a witness or as a guarantor. In other words, when asked about the citizen
behaviour of the candidates, witnesses mentioned the creation, maintenance, and
sometimes composition of a household (*tot son domicili*) in almost 64 per cent of the
conserved reports for the period under consideration (284). Pere Canyes, a witness to
the peasant Berenguer de Mas, perfectly illustrates how strongly the citizenry of
Barcelona had internalised the presence of wives and children as proof of the
commitment and reliability of the good citizen. When asked about Berenguer’s
behaviour as a citizen, Pere affirmed: ‘My lord, I have a poor sight and I cannot really
see anybody, nonetheless, I have heard Berenguer chatting in this city, as well as his
wife and his daughter.’

Conceiving the family as the strongest sign of intention and

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837 On the role of physical distance in the building of moral obligations that bound kinsmen: Lynch, Individuals, Families and Communities, 10.
838 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1408, May, 31st) ‘e dix sènyer, jo son fort defallent de la vista per que jo no puix afigurar nagú mas sovinement hoyg lo dit Berenguer parlar e així mateix madona sua e sa filla en aquesta ciutat e en aquest veynat e als noy sè.’
stability, the witness’ physical limitations did not prevent him from taking the presence of husband, wife, and daughter as the strongest proof of the candidate’s citizenship.

These repetitive but varied references to the hearths candidates maintained as true and reputed citizens of Barcelona invites reflection on the nature of the Barcelonese household, an important debate within the field of family history. Historiography has long since disposed of old hypotheses such as the progressive and linear evolution of the European family towards a nuclear model (a system which hinders the development of active familial solidarity). The strong categorisation stating that nuclear families were more characteristic of Northern Europe while extended families were to be found more commonly in Southern Europe has also been surpassed. The case of Later Medieval Barcelona comes to confirm this complexity, as the citizen was placed in both nuclear and more extended households, the composition of which was extremely diverse. While, on many occasions, witnesses observed and mentioned nuclear households composed of a couple and their children, other candidates lived with aunts, uncles, cousins, parents, and in-laws who hosted the candidates or, conversely, were lodged by them.

Manifold examples confirm, for instance, how common small and reduced households were. The shoemaker Bernat Tomàs, the sailor Francesc Ferran, the peasants Bernat Montmany and Bernat Nadal, the tanner Antoni Maler, and the merchant Esteve Bonet, among many others, had been observed as living harmoniously with their wives and their children. For his part, the merchant Ramon Alter was known to be a widower who had to contract a wet nurse to help him look after his little baby daughter. Similarly, the carpenter Jaume Roure seemed to have known in detail the household conditions of the silk weaver Martí Bertran: also a widower, Martí was living with a new wife and the young Eulàlia, the daughter left

839 The term ‘household’ is used here in a very generic way, embracing, for the sake of clarity, the diverse options of hearth creation and composition. For more rigorous discussions on the diverse meanings and expressions of the household: Peter Laslett, “Family and household as work group and kin group: areas of traditional Europe compared,” in Family forms in historic Europe, eds. R. Wall, J. Robin and P. Laslett, (New York, London, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 517-525.

from his previous marriage. Small households could take much more unusual shapes: Joan Xarle’s witnesses noted that this merchant lived in concubinage with a slave who had given him some children.

Yet, as previously suggested, it was also common for the citizens of Barcelona to form more complex familial units. The fisherman Antoni Monistrol had been living with his mother Sança until she died. Although willing to form an independent household, the merchant Joan Bartalot and his wife were living with his father-in-law. This co-residence constituted a moral obligation, as Bartalot felt it was important to keep his wife’s father company, as much as to provide him with financial resources. The merchant Julià Vidal was born in his aunt’s place and he was still living there when he requested a citizenship charter. Similarly, Joan Draper was incorporated in his uncles’ household when he reached Barcelona. Following his brother’s call, the merchant Joan Minguet came to Barcelona with his wife and children and started a new life together with his sibling, who was a priest in the church of Santa Maria del Mar.

As claimed by family historians, households could turn into much larger units, including servants, apprentices, and other co-residents. This was also true in fifteenth-century Barcelona, especially for families of wealthy merchants who maintained a large domicili including kin and other acquaintances. The Cardona family had directly been lodging a whole family of foreign merchants in their home, the Claris. The Gironese de la Via formed large households in Barcelona, which sheltered long-time relationships and fellow countrymen, such as the merchants Pere Oller and Nicolau Cantó. Before achieving any success, Joan de Torralba lived with some young servants (macips) in his house of the Ribera.

841 For Bernat Tomàs: AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1411, January, 29th); for Francesc Ferran: AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1408, January, 28th); for Bernat Nadal: AHCB, 1C-V,4 (1429, March,31st); for Antoni Maler: AHCB: 1C-V,4 (1430, January, 12th); for Esteve Bonet: AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1409, August, 26th); for Ramon Alter: 1C-V,3 (1406, March, 16th); for Martí Bertran: AHCB, 1C-V,4 (1428, August, 14th).

842 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1401, March, 21th).

843 For Antoni Monistrol: AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1409, March, 16th); for Joan Bartalot: AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1416, February, 3rd); for Julià Vidal: AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1412, May, 14th); for Joan Draper: AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1413, August, 18-22nd); for Joan Minguet: AHCB, 1C-V,3 (sd).


845 For Francesc Lunes: AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1406, November, 26th); for Bartomeu Claris: AHCB, 1C-V,3 (sd); for Nicolau Cantó: AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1419, October, 12th) and AHCB, 1C-V,4 (1422, November, 26th); for Joan Torralba: AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1412, January, 5th).
There is no doubt about the importance of household structures in determining the nature of familial solidarities. Nonetheless, to consider these solidarities from citizenship sources imposes another analytical angle, one highlighting how family and kinship ties could turn into active mechanisms of civic solidarity. It thus becomes necessary to focus on the direct involvement of relatives in the procedure of citizenship acquisition, unfolding in so doing the nature and dynamics of a varied range of supportive familial connections. For instance, it was common for sons to rely on their fathers when time came to ratify their civic status, predominantly by having them as guarantors of their newly received citizenship charters. The merchants Francesc Bosc and Pere Antic could count on their fathers as guarantors, who were themselves traders and citizens of Barcelona. On several occasions, however, fathers’ presence in citizenship records was more of a legal requirement than a supportive familial action, as some of these candidates were still under their fathers’ patria potestas.

Yet, fathers and sons did also apply together for the citizenship charter. In most of these cases, the sons had followed in their fathers’ professional footsteps, a fact suggesting that these common applications aimed at favouring common professional and economic interests. From an exclusively pragmatic perspective, they might also have been interested in applying together to reduce the costs of the procedure. In any case, a twofold recognition of this kind would only consolidate the civic position of the family within the city. Thus, fathers and sons from different social backgrounds confirmed together their status as citizens of Barcelona. The venerable merchant Ramon Canyelles was registered as a citizen of Barcelona together with his son Ramon, a merchant himself, in 1415. Similarly, the convert Jew Gabriel de Puig, a merchant and citizen of Barcelona, received his charter together with his father, the trader Jaume de Puig. The patrons of small boats Antoni Perpunter and his son Jaume were recorded jointly as citizens of Barcelona in 1416. Nicolau Perallada’s record was triple, including himself, his son Joan, and a professional colleague, the mattress maker Mateu Mas. Later on, in 1424, the boter Salvador Fexes was registered as a citizen of Barcelona with his father Feliu Fexes, an artisan working with straw.

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846 For Francesc del Bosc: AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 23r (1414, November, 24th); for Pere Antic: AHCB, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 98r. (1418, April, 1st).
847 For the Canyelles: AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 32v (1415, May, 25th). For Jaume and Gabriel de Puig: AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 32r (1415, May, 16th). For Antoni and Jaume Perpunter: AHCB, 1C-V, 4
Beyond the support a father could provide, fraternal ties emerge as an obvious resource. Recent research has highlighted the importance of *adelphic* ties in the Middle Ages. Specialists like Didier Lett and Dominique Barthélémy have insisted on placing brothers and sisters at the basis of familial coexistence, as short life expectancy considerably limited the time children shared with their parents and made relatives from the same generation the main familial reference points. These authors perceived fraternal ties as the ‘sensitive axis of kinship’. In Late Medieval Barcelona, the depth of such feelings emerged clearly when the time came to confirm citizen status. Indeed, brothers did not hesitate to apply together for the citizenship charter. Generally, these brother citizens were merchants, as we can see in the examples of Arnau and Francesc Salavert, Tomàs and Joan Vila, Pere and Macià Català, and Joan and Jaume de Querio. Most probably, they worked together and needed to ensure the same fiscal privileges for each other. These dynamics are very clear in the case of the brothers De Querio, for whom a shared mercantile society is documented only a few days after the recording of their citizenship charter. Years later, they still acted jointly, buying coral together with the merchant Francesc de Casasàgia.

Brothers could also act as guarantors or representatives of their siblings’ citizenship charters. Thus, the merchant Francesc de Puig ensured his brother Nicolau’s charter while the venerable Nicolau Coscó acted on behalf of his brother Jaume, promising the councilors that Jaume, who was in Zaragoza at the time, would

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*Registre*, f. 45r (1416, March, 5th). For Nicolau and Joan Perallada: AHCB, 1C-V, 4 *Registre*, f. 152v (1416, April, 10th). For Salvador and Feliu Fexes: AHCB, 1C-V, 4 *Registre*, f. 180v (1424, April, 6th). The *boter* was an artisan specialised in the making of wineskins, that is, containers to keep and conserve wine.


849For the Salavert brothers: AHCB, 1C-V, 4 *Registre*, f. 89v-90r (1417, September, 24th). For Joan and Tomàs Vila’s citizenship report: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1406, April, 16th). For Pere and Macià Català: AHCB, 1C-V, 4 *Registre*, f. 87v (1417, September, 2nd). For Joan and Jaume de Querio, AHCB, 1C-V, 4 *Registre*, f. 83v-84r (1417, July, 3rd).

850Joan de Pallars, merchant citizen of Barcelona, recognised that Joan and Jaume Querio had paid him the benefits of the capital he had invested in their company. AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/13 f. 55r (1417, July, 5th).

851The *patrons de barca* Joan Rosell and Bernat Comes, from Roses, together with Jaume Aguiló, from Cadaqués, recognised they had been paid by Francesc Casasàgia and Joan and Jaume de Querio for the coral they had previously fished in Sardinia. AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/19 f. 79r (1421, December, 2nd) and f. 80r (1421, December, 4th).

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soon come back to Barcelona and take the citizenship oath. The example of the Serrió shows how animated fraternal ties could be when citizenship was at stake. Indeed, it was the priest Pere Serrió who, acting as his brothers’ attorney, was charged with taking a citizenship oath on behalf of the notary Francesc Serrió and the merchant Andreu Serrió, who had recently made a common application to the charter.

While I have retraced 67 cases where fraternal ties were directly used by candidates or observed and known by other witnesses, uncles (12) or cousins (10) were usually less involved in citizenship procedures. The merchant Bernat Pelliser had been living in Barcelona for more than 10 years when he requested a charter. Nonetheless, his continuous absences made it difficult for witnesses to affirm whether the candidate was able to sustain himself as any respectable citizen was supposed to do. His uncle, the honourable Berenguer Esteve, had to provide his support, confirming that although he had always hosted Bernat in his house, the candidate had constantly lived off his own income. Likewise, the repetitive travels of the merchant Bernat Forner questioned his citizen reputation and an interrogation was organised before granting him the charter. Despite owning a property in Barcelona that he rented to a third person and being the son of a reputed old citizen of Barcelona, witnesses were not able to confirm whether Bernat was able to maintain himself or not. Once again, a relative had to interfere. In this case, the candidate’s cousin and namesake Bernat Forner, a notary citizen of Barcelona, came to confirm that although he had always hosted his cousin, the candidate was a completely reliable citizen, one who had always overpaid his expenses by bringing exotic jewels for him and his daughter from his travels.

Households were observed within the neighbourhood while fathers, brothers, uncles, and cousins could come to support and participate in their relatives’ claims for citizenship, enhancing in doing so the civic reputation of the whole familial group. This constant interaction between kinsmen and candidates in citizenship acquisition procedures suggests that kinsmen were intensively used as close practical

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852 For Nicolau de Puig’s citizenship record: AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 22v (1414, October, 5th). Nicolau Coscó engagement in: AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 55v (1416, August, 4th). Jaume Coscó definite citizenship record in: AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 61v (1416, October, 8th).
853 However, the charter might have been denied to Pellisser, as it was never recorded. For the report: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1415, December, 19th).
854 AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1422, May, 22nd) and Registre, f. 162v (1422, May, 23rd).
relationships in individual integration processes, contributing actively in the constant building of the citizenry. In order to better grasp these strong connections between citizens, families, and citizenship, I will now delve into specific case studies: the Sarrovira and the Clergue families. These two wealthy families shall help me to illustrate the meanings and uses of citizenship within a wider familial circle and the effects of a familial network on the daily experience of the citizen. These rich examples will also illustrate better the constant interactions between interest and emotion, practicality and compassion, within family relationships, considering therefore the role of these tensions in the shaping of the urban community.

Citizens in the Family, Families in the City: the Sarrovira and the Clergue.

In October 1413, citizenship charters were granted to the merchants Guillem Pere Sarrovira, his son Francesc Sarrovira, and Ramon Roses, the three men having requested the recognition of their civic status together. The Sarrovira were active and wealthy merchants (see the family tree at the end of the section, figure 3). Maria Teresa Ferrer suggested that they could have been a minor branch of the ‘honoured’ Sarrovira family, which had been holding municipal offices since the early fourteenth century. Be that as it may, notarial sources show that this minor branch had commercial interests in Aragon, Valencia, and Sicily. Furthermore, Guillem Pere Sarrovira owned houses and shops in the area of Santa Maria del Mar. Years before,
in 1377, he had received a substantial dowry of 500 lliures from his second wife, another indication of the prosperity of this family.\textsuperscript{860}

As citizens of Barcelona, it seems to me that the interest of the Sarrovira in a citizenship charter was of a mainly economic nature, showing that they wanted to ensure or renew their trading privileges.\textsuperscript{861} In so doing, however, they rested on old and close alliances, as Ramon Roses’ late daughter or sister, Francesca, used to be Francesc Sarrovira’s wife.\textsuperscript{862} The alliances that had been forged a decade earlier were still effectively used 10 years after Francesca’s death.

That pragmatic, economic interests were the principal motivation behind this joint request for a citizenship charter is evident from some notarial documents, which show how constantly Guillem Pere was working with his children, mostly in his old age. Thus, while he himself manifested his weakness and infirmities in Pere Llobera’s report (1416), Guillem Pere acted as guarantor of his son Francesc and, conversely, gave power of attorney to his other son, Ramon Sarrovira.\textsuperscript{863} As commercial activities ensured this family’s inner cohesion, citizenship and the trading privileges it entailed became of fundamental importance for all its members. A focus on the figures of the in-laws helps to retrace more accurately the meaning of citizenship in this family’s strategies and processes of decision-making. They emerge as a network which strengthened its rooting in the city through the creation of citizens.

The citizenship charter of 1413 revealed solid connections between Francesc Sarrovira and his former father (or brother) -in-law Ramon Roses. The role in the family of Bartomeu Desmas, a merchant citizen of Barcelona, is also worth mentioning. Married to Guillem Pere’s daughter, Narcisa, Bartomeu was Guillem Pere’s son-in-law and Francesc’s brother-in-law. Claude Carrère documented the constant professional relationships binding these three men together. In 1399, Desmas collaborated with Guillem Pere Sarrovira in a joint venture involving transactions with coral. 10 years

\textsuperscript{860}Francesca, widow of Guillem Pere Sarrovira, recognizes that his stepson Francesc, in his capacity of universal heir of her late husband, has returned her dowry and ‘augmentum’ to her. AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/56, f. 68r-69r (1417, December, 1\textsuperscript{st}). For an interpretation on the value of dowries in Late Medieval Barcelona, Vinyoles, \textit{La vida}, 181. On dowries as a good indicator for wealth and social mobility: Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, ‘“Parenti, Amici, Vicini.’ Il territorio urbano d’una famiglia mercantile nel secolo XV,” \textit{Quaderni Storici} 33, (1976): 964-982.

\textsuperscript{861}The idea of a renewal is suggested by the previous registration of a citizenship charter entitled to a Guillem Pere Sarrovira, AHCB, 1C-V, 3 Registre, f.23r (1380, February, 11\textsuperscript{th}).

\textsuperscript{862}As it is shown in Francesca’s will, AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/173, f. 154v-155v (1403, January, 4\textsuperscript{th}).

\textsuperscript{863}AHBP, Bernat Nadal, 58/50 f. 31r- 31v (1412, December, 13\textsuperscript{th}).
later, he was associated with the brothers Ramon and Francesc Sarrovira, all of them owning a company through which they participated in the trade of Sicilian wheat. Given how closely their professional interests were intertwined, the untimely death of Bartomeu Desmas (sometime before 1416) forced the Sarrovira to ensure and protect the interests and activities their sister had inherited from her late husband. Citizenship was at the core of them all. Indeed, Francesc Sarrovira, who had moved into the position of head of the family after Guillem Pere’s death in 1417, showed his concerns over the civic and economic position of his sister by acting as guarantor of the citizenship charter she requested in 1419. In a time when women’s petitions were scarce, and generally limited to widows in need to ensure their late husbands’ business, it is tempting to speculate that Francesc’s pressure was behind this petition, since citizenship guaranteed his sister the trading exemptions her husband had enjoyed. More importantly, the citizenship charter petition of Narcisa also involved her son Esteve Desmas, who was then 17 years old and already identified as an adultus. Having Esteve recognised as a citizen meant transferring to him the legal and economic protection that Francesc had ensured to Narcisa as a daughter, sister, and widow of citizens until this time. Indeed, shortly afterwards, Narcisa gave power of attorney to her son. As a citizen, Esteve could also start to participate in his uncle’s deals, occupying the place his late father had had in the Sarrovira’s professional networks. Thus, Francesc gave also power of attorney to the young Desmas, entrusting him with his affairs in Sardinia and apparently sharing some other deals with him, as they both needed to appoint a representative who would defend their claims against the merchant Joan Perpinyà.

Besides the relationships woven and maintained with Narcisa, her husband, and her son, the experiences of other members of the family show the extent to which the Sarrovira strongly associated the success of their common enterprises with the full recognition and consolidation of their citizenship. Francesc Sarrovira was close to his

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864 Carrère, Barcelona 1380-1462, vol I, 432 and vol II, 120.
865 I refer to chapter VII of the dissertation for an analysis of the relationships between women and citizenship. For wider references on the role of women as citizens in other contexts, the classic reference is: Howell, “Citizenship and Gender.”
866 Power of attorney from Francesc to Esteve: AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/64, f. 57r-57v (1425, August, 6th). Power of attorney from Francesc Sarrovira and Esteve Desmas to Pere Palahi from Castelló d’Empúries. As such, Palahi had to deal with the conflicts that Sarrovira and Desmas had with the merchant Joan Perpinyà. AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/64, f. 92r (1426, April, 6th).
son-in-law Bernat Perpinyà. There is evidence of this closeness: Bernat was appointed as one of the arbitrators in the conflict between Francesc and his brother Ramon. More significantly, Francesc gave general power of attorney to his son-in-law in 1416, entrusting him with his own citizenship charter. It was perhaps after considering how intertwined their common business interests were that they decided to request a proper charter for Bernat, the guarantor of whom was Francesc himself. Later, Bernat acted as intermediary for his father-in-law in Valencia and, in return, had Francesc taking care of his affairs in Barcelona.

The Sarrovira used kinship relationships intensively, taking them as a space of commercial negotiation. Troubles could also emerge, as is suggested by several arbitrations and conflicts in which Francesc was repeatedly involved, some of them against his own brother Ramon. Nonetheless, it would always be a space of obligations and collaboration, as the case of Narcisa shows and as can also be retraced through the difficulties endured by Francesc Sarrovira himself. Very surprisingly, his second wife Violant claimed her dowry back in 1418, as she was afraid of losing it due to the hard pressure that creditors and the General Governor of Catalonia were placing on her husband. Although I do not have any more information on the source of such serious troubles, there is no reason to doubt the gravity of the situation. Indeed, a few days later, Francesc gave power of attorney to the lawyer Jaume de Sanjoan and, most importantly, his brother Ramon, his brother-in-law Rafael Moner and his son Joan, asking them to represent him in any civil or criminal lawsuit in which he might become involved. On the following day, Violant again insisted on having her dowry

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867 On the appointment of arbitrators: AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/55, f. 27v-28r (1416, June, 19th). Other references to the arbitration in AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/55, f. 37v-38r (1416, July, 22nd) and AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/56 f. 34r (1417, July, 29th). Unfortunately, these documents do not provide further information on the origins and nature of this conflict.
868 AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/55, f. 34r (1416, July, 9th).
869 AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 55r (1416, July, 30th).
870 Bernat Perpinyà acted as intermediary between Francesc Sarrovira and Joan Eiximenis, a merchant from Valencia who owed some money to the late Guillem Pere Sarrovira. AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/57, f. 9r (1418, April, 4th). Having received a power of attorney from Bernat Perpinyà, Francesc Sarrovira received some money back from the Genoese merchant Pere Palomar, who had sold a sick slave to Bernat. AHPB, Bernat Pi, 113/15, f. 11r-11v (1418, November, 7th).
872 AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/57, f. 19r (1418, May, 12th).
873 AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/57, f. 21v-22r (1418, May, 20th).
Taking into account that she also chose Rafael Moner and Ramon Sarrovira as her representatives in the matter, it can be suggested that Francesc himself had plotted the complaint with her, so that they could at least save her dowry from the strong pressures threatening him.

One of these documents suggests that the origin of Francesc’s problems was to be found in some unfortunate contracts that the merchant had signed without guarantors. Be that as it may, Francesc seemed to have been very close to bankruptcy. Although insolvency was severely punished in medieval Catalonia, with legal regulations imposing imprisonment and public declarations of infamy as punishment for the bankrupted, these turbulent affairs do not seem to have damaged Francesc’s reputation as a citizen of Barcelona. Certainly, further research needs to be conducted in order to affirm the nature of these tensions and their actual effect on Francesc Sarrovira’s public image. Nonetheless, it can be affirmed that Francesc was still acting some time afterwards as a reliable reference point, both for his family and the city of Barcelona. Thus, his sister Narcisa relied on him as the contracting party of her son’s marriage and he was even charged by the cònsols de mar, the magistrates regulating maritime law and jurisdiction, to return some money owed by a French merchant to his nephew-in-law Pere Llobera.

This continuous reliance on Francesc Sarrovira can be taken as proof of the solid reputation the Sarrovira had won as good citizens of the city, as well as of their effort to preserve it. In fact, although many of them decided to confirm their citizen status by requesting a citizenship charter, none needed to have a deeper investigation. Their reputation among the Barcelonese seems to have been unquestionable, not so much because of their wealth but for the dynamism of their activities and their urban integration. While the dowries given and received on the occasion of Narcisa’s

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874 AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/57, f. 22v-23r (1418, May, 21st).
875 ‘pretexu cuisdam manulente sine fideiussionis per dictum maritum meum facte’ AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/57, f. 22v (1418, May, 21st).
877 For Esteve Desmas marriage with Joaneta, daughter of the tanner Antoni Llorenç: AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/62, ff. 79r-83v (1423, August, 7th). For Francesc Sarrovira’s role in returning a debt to Pere Llobera: AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/58, f. 79r-79v (1420, January, 2nd).
children’s marriages (around 350 lliures) matched the average amount of a medium-high dowries, and were thus far from the fabulous dowry of 1,650 lliures received by some other dynamic merchant families such as the Massanet,\textsuperscript{878} the Sarrovira built their citizen image by placing themselves strategically within the urban fabric of the city. Guillem Pere owned and left to his heirs several shops in the street of the \textit{Sabateria} (shoemakers), close to the cemetery of Santa Maria del Mar.\textsuperscript{879} Natives from Barcelona, they lived in a neighbourhood mostly populated by merchants but did not neglect the opportunity to expand their relationships with the rest of the Barcelonese citizenry. Such intentions were manifested, for instance, through the strong links they established with shoemakers like Pere and Bartomeu Suau or Bernat Montserrat, probably neighbours themselves on the street \textit{Sabateria} and who were repeatedly involved in the notarial contracts signed by the Sarrovira. Through them, Guillem Pere and his descendants could give a wider dimension to their actions as good citizens. A good example of this was performed by Narcisa, who gave to the shoemaker Bernat Montserrat, most probably in his capacity of administrator of the charitable funds of Santa Maria del Mar, part of the amount his father had given her with specific beneficent purposes.\textsuperscript{880}

The Sarrovira’s push to consolidate their role among other professional sectors of the city is also evidenced by the marriage of Francesc’s nephew, Esteve Desmas, to the daughter of an affluent tanner, who was able to provide a decent dowry. To be sure, a larger and more diverse source base would be needed to ascertain the value of the Sarrovira’s civic strategies. While I read this broader engagement with those other members of the citizenry as a proof of their solid citizen reputation, the marriage of Esteve Desmas with the daughter of a tanner, albeit a prosperous one, entailed accepting a dowry equal to the one they had given a few years ago to Caterina when marrying her to the young merchant Pere Llobera. Further research needs to confirm what the reliance on the \textit{cònsols de mar} on Francesc Sarrovira seems to imply, that the

\textsuperscript{878}Pau Mollet, alias Massanet, son of Berenguer Massanet married Joaneta, daughter of the late Antoni Deuder, merchant citizen of Barcelona. AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/59, f. 17r-10r (1420, May, 12\textsuperscript{th}). Pau Mollet requested the citizenship charter later on, AHCB, 1C-V, 4 \textit{Registre}, f. 167r (1423, January, 4\textsuperscript{th}). Again, on the actual values of dowries in Late Medieval Barcelona, Vinyoles, \textit{La vida}, 181.

\textsuperscript{879}As indicated in Pere Llobera and Caterina Desmas’ marriage, in AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/11, f. 86v-89r (1416, November, 18\textsuperscript{th}).

\textsuperscript{880}AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/14 f. 56v (1418, January, 18\textsuperscript{th}).
deep economic troubles in which Francesc was once involved did not hinder the whole family’s position in the city. The material I have collected points in that direction: Narcisa and Esteve Desmas’ citizenship registration in 1419 was completed without a previous report and with Francesc acting as a guarantor. Esteve’s mother and grandmother could count on Miquel Quintà, a lawyer from the Royal Court, as their witness in Esteve and Joaneta Montmany’s marriage. Furthermore, the notarial records give a constant proof of the commercial activities that the Sarrovira continued to conduct, even after Francesc’s wife’s attempt to recover her dowry in 1418. Let us also recall that the interaction with shoemakers in the Sarrovira’s neighbourhood predated these difficult times, as Pere Suau acted as witness to Guillem Pere and Francesc Sarrovira’s citizen record in 1413.

Without a doubt, the intricacies of this family’s context and decisions deserve a more intensive and detailed prosopographical analysis, one which can better grasp their strategies in terms of citizenship and also enrich our rather scant knowledge on the role of relevant families in the political, social, and economic organisation of the city.881 Within the framework of this dissertation, my aim has been to demonstrate how this family cared about developing their citizen reputation, believing it to be, under any circumstances, a strong asset with which to consolidate and maintain their relevance within the urban environment they inhabited and animated.

In so doing, the whole family became a mechanism that created and reproduced citizens. The young merchant Pere Llobera, for whom more details are provided throughout the citizenship sources, was among them. In contrast to the other members of the family, an interrogation was conducted when the young Pere Llobera decided to request a citizenship charter in 1416. At that time, Pere had not yet entered

881This is definitely a gap to cover in Barcelonese historiography, with only some brief accounts on families of the oligarchy provided by Maria Teresa Ferrer and Carme Batlle in Batlle, Ferrer, Mañé, Mutgé, Riera and Rovira, El 'Llibre del Consell', 51-426. Some broader prosopographies on professional groups have dealt with family studies, such as Carles Vela’s analysis on Barcelonese apothecaries: Carles Vela, Especiers i Candelers a Barcelona a la Baixa Edat Mitjana. Testaments, família i sociabilitat, (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2007). Regarding merchants, the recent article by Pere Ortí on the family Pujada, from Sant Feliu de Guíxols, focusses more on the role of migration in social advancement than on the relationships between family building and urban integration. Pere Ortí i Gost, “Pagesos de Caldes de Malavella, mercaders de Sant Feliu de Guíxols i consellers reials: l’espectacular ascens de la família Pujada durant el segle XIV,” in La Corona catalanoaragonesa, l’Islam i el món mediterrani. Estudis d’Història Medieval en homenatge a Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, eds. J. Mutgé, R. Salicrú and C. Vela, (Barcelona: CSIC, 2013), 547-557.
the closest inner circle of the Sarrovira. He was portrayed by his witnesses, Guillem Pere Sarrovira among them, as a hard-working young merchant. Sarrovira affirmed that Pere was behaving as an exemplary citizen, working in some of the shops he had rented to him and helping him when illnesses prevented him from taking care of affairs. No mention was made by the pater familias of the Sarrovira of the marriage Pere was about to contract in the following month with Caterina Desmas, Narcisa Desmas’ daughter and Guillem Pere Sarrovira’s grandchild. With the sources at my disposal, I cannot determine how long this union had been planned. It is certain, however, that it was not a spontaneous decision, as Pere Llobera’s father specified in the marriage contract that Pere was following his will when marrying Caterina. Furthermore, Pere Llobera acted as witness in notarial documents involving the Sarrovira as early as 1414, suggesting that previous relationships between his father and Guillem Pere Sarrovira had guided his first steps in Barcelona. By failing to mention the whole project, Sarrovira seems to have been willing to present his protégé and prospective grandchild-in-law as a good citizen, primarily insisting on the actions he performed within the city.

Nonetheless, it is to be highlighted that Pere Llobera’s citizenship request took longer than normal. While in many cases the process was resolved in just a few days, it took two months for Pere to be granted the charter: his record and citizenship oath date from December 1416, precisely a few days after having contracted his marriage with Caterina Desmas. With this marriage, Guillem Pere Sarrovira donated to Pere the shops the young merchant had been previously renting for a period of four years. These properties enhanced the strong presence of Pere within the neighbourhood, consolidating his citizen reputation and preparing him to become the head of a Barcelonese household.

The experiences of Pere Llobera are highly illustrative of some of the diverse processes that determined the making of the citizen. Behaving as a proper citizen, Pere was honestly accepted by the influential merchant to whom he had been

882 Pere Llobera’s citizenship report: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1416, October, 18th). Pere Llobera’s citizenship record: AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 67v-68r. (1416, December, 18th).
883 AHPB, Bernat Pl, 113/11, f. 86v-89r (1416, November, 18th).
884 Like in the arbitration settled between the Sarrovira brothers and Pere Terrades, a merchant citizen of Girona. AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/52, f. 87r-87v (1414, June, 14th).
recommended by his father. While on the one hand his efforts to integrate the citizenry hastened his inclusion within a reputed family, it was the final contract of this alliance which seems to have determined his official recognition as a citizen. Pere Llobera exemplifies therefore how the creation of a citizen image could be closely linked to the protection and solidarity granted by reputed family groups. The member of a family and consequently a member of the citizen body, Pere Llobera’s emergence as a proper citizen of Barcelona was unconditionally linked to his insertion within an active and well-reputed family like the Sarrovira.

As a network, a family like the Sarrovira emerges as a mechanism for protecting citizens in trouble, such as the case of an indebted Francesc Sarrovira might suggest, and, most importantly, generating new citizens like Pere Llobera, Bartomeu Desmas, or Bernat Perpinyà. Nonetheless, the specificity of this case should be highlighted, as these conclusions cannot be generalised without a larger prosopography through which to recreate the approach to citizenship of a broader sample of families. In fact, a brief comparison of the Sarrovira’s strategies with the habits and connections of the Clergue, a family of merchants and apothecaries, confirms that the practice of kin solidarity in citizenship acquisition procedures was particularly effective in those extended families that were part of the (economic) elite of the city. The mirror of citizenship reflects therefore the general dynamics of family solidarity, as the cohesion of extended families has generally been identified as an elite phenomenon.885

Llop Clergue was a foreigner who arrived to Barcelona in the late fourteenth century and made a fortune in the city, evolving from an apprentice to a master apothecary.886 A man of success, he was a reputed citizen who came to represent his profession in the Council of the Hundred on at least two occasions (1390 and 1397).887 With such a consolidated position and career, Llop Clergue smoothed the way for his son Jaume Llop to acquire a citizenship charter, which he obtained without prior investigation.888 As a merchant, Jaume Llop probably shared some business interests

888AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 14v (1414, March, 21st).
with his brother-in-law Joan Bou, married to his sister Margarida, with whom he requested the charter.

The acquisition of property within the walls of the city helped the Clergue, as much as the Sarrovira, to shape their reputation as true and rooted citizens of Barcelona, ensuring their integration within the urban fabrics of the city. In the case of the Clergue, these acquisitions were mostly attributable to Llop’s opportunism, as he invested significantly in the deserted Jewish quarter of Barcelona, abandoned after the pogrom of 1391. It was there and not in the mercantile neighbourhood of Santa Maria del Mar where the Clergue concentrated their numerous properties. Nonetheless, and once again like the Sarrovira, Llop did not pause when seeking alliances and social contacts beyond his professional and physical space. Thus, after the rather modest marriage of Margarida with Joan Bou, Llop married his son Jaume and his daughter Joana to the children of the late Arnau Ferrer, a ship captain citizen of Barcelona. Through these contracts, the families exchanged exceptional dowries of around 1100 *lliures*, much higher than those that featured in the alliances of the Sarrovira. Through this marriage, Jaume was emancipated and received landed properties from his father. As Pere Llobera would experience a few years later, the grant of properties turned out to be one of the most significant acts of family solidarity, one whereby families could create rooted and reliable citizens. Jaume was granted the charter a few months after the contracting of the marriage.

In contrast, Jaume’s brother-in-law, Joan Bou, can be presented as a counterpoint to the image of Pere Llobera, allowing us to insist from a negative perspective on the connections between the insertion in a family and integration and recognition within the citizen body. Having married the daughter of the venerable Llop Clergue, no difficulties were placed before Joan Bou when he asked for a citizenship charter together with his brother-in-law Jaume Llop. As a citizen, Joan was treated as a member of the Clergue family and his belonging to this family could only enhance his

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public recognition as a citizen of Barcelona. However, the good relationships between Joan Bou and his in-laws broke down at some point. Margarida, Llop Clergue’s daughter and Bou’s wife, died alone, her husband having moved to Syracuse, in the kingdom of Sicily. The maintenance of a spouse in the city and the owning of a charter might have ensured his official recognition as a citizen. It is clear, however, that the physical distance between Barcelona and his new residence coincided with his exclusion from the circle of the Clergue’s solidarities. On her deathbed, Margarida did not consider him either as an executor or as the heir of any sort of legacy. Instead, she appointed her own mother as her universal heir. Many years earlier, her father Llop Clergue had already guaranteed his daughter’s future by assigning a pension to her, specifying that his son-in-law would receive no part of it. Among the Clergue, the decision of Joan Bou to leave the city and his wife seems to have turned collaboration and solidarity into oblivion.

To explore kin solidarities from a civic perspective allows us to highlight the central role that these families gave to citizenship in their determination to perpetuate their social position and economic interests in the city. Thus, they became mechanisms that engendered citizens, predominantly through the transmission of reputation and the transfer of properties.

In regard to property, it is pertinent to recall again the work of Simona Cerutti. Reconstructing the category of the stranger in eighteenth century Turin, Cerutti placed property at the centre of a circular relationship between kinship and citizenship, arguing that the channels of inheritance ensured property and, therefore, embeddedness and belonging within the urban community. As an early modernist reflecting from the trials on the droit d’aubaine, Cerutti intertwined family and property only to highlight the role of property in determining citizenship. From the Informacions, a different relationship between family, property, and citizenship.
emerges. As previously considered, property was not a determinant category of the citizen in Late Medieval Barcelona. Nonetheless, it was still a resource, a tool that relevant families had no qualms about using in their self-interest, becoming principal actors in the building and definition of the citizenry in the process. Yet, the analysis will now focus on other paramount mechanisms in the creation and dispersal of citizen reputation.
Figure 3: The Sarrovira Family
Next to family relationships, professional solidarities emerge as significant spaces of sociability where citizens interacted and identified themselves as such. For some, profession and common blood were intimately connected, as it is has been shown with the example of the Sarrovira. Nonetheless, occupational connections also developed apart from family circles. While the focus on foreigners has shown the extent to which professional practice created the citizen, I will now concentrate on the networks shaped within this practice, identifying them and analysing which interests triggered their use in the making of the citizen.

As a source of urban support, profession was shaped within formal frameworks such as guilds and confraternities or had a more personal and informal nature, one created through the daily practice of a common occupation. In times of difficulties, professional confraternities certainly emerged as an alternative to family ties that might have been lost or left behind. Occupational solidarities could then come to ensure the assistance that kinship could have provided. On an individual scale, Francesco di Marco Datini developed similar practices, since he addressed some of his partners and closest relationships as brothers. Furthermore, as the Sarrovira or the Clergue did in Barcelona in regard to their relatives, Datini could come to ensure his associates’ reputations as citizens: thus, in a letter to the tax collectors of Florence, Francesco praised the honesty and commitment of his partner in Avignon, Boninsegna di Matteo, recommending ‘such a citizen’ to them.

For fifteenth-century Barcelona, the Informaciones de la Ciutadania can help us to discuss the nature, uses, and dynamics of these professional solidarities and, more specifically, their contribution in the building of the citizen body. As with the appeal to familial solidarities, it remains difficult to approach the issue through a quantitative analysis based on proportions. From the 767 candidates to citizenship considered in

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895 As it is known, this was actually a common phenomenon, many Tuscan mercantile companies having originated within families. Origo, The Merchant of Prato, 109.
896 Lynch, Individuals, Families and Communities, 95. For the case of Late Medieval Valencia: Iradiel, “Corporaciones,” 270.
897 Origo, The Merchant of Prato, 123.
this research, only 101 (13 per cent) seemed to have chosen their witnesses or guarantors among individuals with whom they were in contact through professional practices. For 266 individuals (34.6 per cent), occupational connections were not specified but can still be suggested through the professional coincidence existing between the candidates and those helping them to obtain the citizenship charter.

These proportions suggest once more that the richness of these citizenship reports lies more in the qualitative meaning of the personal experiences to be drawn from them than in the quantitative conclusions they might provide. In regard to the nature and use of professional supports, this qualitative approach will be chiefly concerned with informal individual connections, thereby throwing into question the preeminent role that has been granted to professional associations, such as guilds and confraternities, as paramount networks of urban integration.

Formal versus Informal Solidarity

It is, however, difficult to disregard the role of such institutions in urban communities. Originating, most probably, from the confraternal organisations that had formed in the early Middle Ages with devotional and solidary objectives, guilds evolved into powerful economic actors with a strong role in the development of Early Modern European industries. Generally defined as economic associations, they were regulated through statutes whose aim was to impose a collective discipline on the practice of a specific profession. Through their statutes, these associations controlled practitioners of a craft, their techniques, their goods, and their position in the city. It is to be noted that the term ‘guild’ was not used, either in Barcelona or in many other cities of Western Europe. As these associations were not yet fully institutionalised, historians generally prefer to use the terms that were actually used in the sources of the time: métiers in France, mysteries in England, oficios in Castile, and oficis or arts in Catalonia.899

898Richard James Farr, Artisans in Europe 1300-1914, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 23. Although alternative origins linked, for instance, to the model proposed by merchant associations have been defended. Menjot and Boucheron, “La Ville Médiévale,” 445. In regards to Catalonia, a critic of the confraternal origins of professional corporations can be found in Riera, “La aparición de las corporaciones de oficio,” 294-295.
899Menjot and Boucheron, “La Ville Médiévale,” 443.
Besides emerging as main economic actors of the city, these professional organisations could provide spiritual support and financial relief through their confraternities. Their political role was also crucial as they could come to structure the access of artisans to urban councils. At the crossroad of economic control, social relief and political agency, guilds emerged as a barometer for citizenship, since their membership was limited to citizens in some cities. This seemed to have been particularly clear in Late Medieval Florence where, in the words of Richard Goldthwaite, ‘guilds defined citizenship.’ In contrast to the rest of Europe, the strength of Florentine guilds did not lie in their capacity of economic organisation and control but, rather, in their political influence, as only guild members could reach political office. Thus, membership in a Florentine arte was indispensible to be publicly recognised as a full-fledged and active citizen. In London, it was actually through guild membership that the citizenship privilege was acquired. In one way or another, guilds were a prime actor in conditioning integration and exclusion processes within urban communities. Although for a later period, Simona Cerutti has traced these issues very clearly, showing how masters from within professional corporations in eighteenth century Turin had the authority to restrict artisans’ access to the profession on the basis of their degree of belonging to the city. As Cerutti sees it, professional corporations were therefore at the heart of ‘an activity of citizenship’. As previously mentioned, registration as citizens was actually a requisite for guild membership in northern Cities such as Leiden and Brugges. In sum, these institutions strongly influenced the way in which the individual related to his community or, in other words, the position of the citizen within the rest of the citizenry.

902 Origo, The Merchant of Prato, 62.
904 Cerutti, Étrangers, 197-206.
However, when moving from this very short European overview to the more specific context of fifteenth-century Barcelona, a more blurred picture emerges. Certainly, not much work has been done on the organisation of urban professions in medieval Barcelona. Authors such as Pierre Bonnassie, Antoni Riera, and, more recently, Miquel Raufast, have tried to discuss this historiographical lack of interest.\footnote{Bonnassie, \textit{La organización del trabajo}, 31-64; Raufast, “E vingueren los officis,” 656-664; Riera, “La aparición de las corporaciones de oficio,” 286.} They have also contributed in reflecting further on the origins and nature of these associations, which led them to eventually discuss the complex relationships that \textit{arts} and confraternities entertained with each other.

Through their work, the Barcelonese \textit{arts} have been defined as corporate associations which were in charge of educating and gathering professionals while supervising their techniques. Recognised and approved by both royal and municipal authorities, each of these associations was led by two rotating masters (the \textit{cònsols} of the \textit{ofici}) who were in charge of controlling the good practices of professionals as well as their respect to the statutes of the \textit{art}. In contrast with northern cities, where professional organisations seem to have had a more independent shape, Barcelonese corporations followed a more southern model (like that of Languedoc) and were closely controlled by the municipal and royal authorities interested in the public control of urban production.\footnote{On the differences between southern and northern models: Nicholas, \textit{The Later Medieval City}, 208. On the role of the authorities, see also Menjot and Boucheron, “La Ville Médiévale,” 444.} This strict control imposed weak administrative mechanisms on the \textit{arts}, which had, in fact, no legal personality. The lack of a proper structure in these corporations turned confraternities into the clearest expression of professional association.\footnote{Raufast, “E vingueren los officis,” 662; Bonnassie, \textit{La organización del trabajo}, 34.} Nonetheless, it is important to highlight the differences that existed between these two distinctive bodies, as confraternities were focused on providing spiritual and financial relief, they were open to women and could embrace diverse professions.\footnote{Iradiel, \textit{Corporaciones}, 261. According to Iradiel, this theory did not always reflect reality, as the higher degree of professional specialisation progressively turned confraternities into elitist entities which limited membership.} While Early Modern Barcelona emerged as an ossified economy, a fact very much determined by the high number of guilds (the highest in
the Spains of the time), these structures were still ambiguously defined in the first half of the fifteenth century.

These basic insights into the features of the Barcelonese *arts* reveal that research on the topic has not explored, or at least not to the same extent as with other European cities the role of these professional associations in the negotiation of citizenship: was citizenship a privilege to be reached through guild membership as was the case in Medieval London or a prerequisite to access these professional corporations, like in Late Medieval Brugges and Leiden? Far from being superfluous, clarification of this problem would help to determine accurately the actual social, economic, and political influence and authority of guilds in the building of the citizen body and in the creation of belonging. To the best of my knowledge, it will be difficult to answer this question with the sources at our disposal. In his major work, *Memorias Históricas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la Antigua ciudad de Barcelona* (1779-1792), Antoni de Capmany combined municipal documentation and sources produced by the *arts* themselves to provide a detailed description of the evolution of the major guilds of the city, including those of the silversmiths, tanners, shoemakers, weavers, and chandlers, among many others. However, his account, as much as the municipal regulations recorded in the acts of the Council, focusses on the main tasks of these associations, that is, the regulation of technical and supply issues. He remains altogether silent on the role of these associations in shaping the urban status of their members. The remaining documentation produced by the *arts* themselves is scarce. Bonnassie affirmed that it has principally been conserved for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with only a few traces left of the second half of the fifteenth century and even fewer vestiges for previous periods. A quick glance at the catalogues of the archives allowed me to confirm that the conserved documentation rarely reaches back to the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

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911As is suggested in Boone, Cerutti, Descimon, Prak, “Citizenship between individual and community,” 6.
Although a more accurate approach to these rare sources remains a task in need of completion, I believe that the specific question on the relationships between professional corporations and citizenship negotiation can be analysed by focusing on the telling silence of the citizenship sources on the matter. Indeed, no membership to any corporation or confraternity is ever mentioned throughout the Informacions de la Ciutadania. We can therefore reasonably assume that integration within these sort of institutions was neither publicly nor officially identified as an indispensable practice of citizenship, as witnesses never mentioned it in the citizenship reports and, more significantly, authorities never addressed the question, showing that they did not view it as a relevant factor. Thus, it is clear that integration in these corporations did not condition the access to citizenship, as in the previously mentioned case of London. The inverse option (i.e. the Turin model, to a certain extent) should thus be considered: citizenship might have been seen as a requisite for membership in these corporations, which would only accept demonstrably integrated individuals into their ranks.

This hypothesis implies reshaping the civic meaning of professional associations: they can then be presented as one of the motivations (just as freedom was for serfs, for instance) that pushed citizens to terminate the inherent uncertainty of their citizen reputation with an official charter. This hypothesis should, however, be nuanced by considering more closely the interests pushing citizen craftsmen to enter the arts of the city. If the main reason lay in the impossibility of practising any profession outside these structures, the role of citizenship as a requisite should then be questioned, since many more artisans would have requested a citizenship charter.

Political issues also help us to reconsider the relationships between citizenship and professional organisation. Despite their dependence on both the monarchy and the municipal authorities, the arts conditioned the access of craftsmen to the Council of the Hundred. Indeed, when it was necessary to appoint the deputies of the Council, the councillors asked the consuls of the crafts to provide them with the names of those ‘bonarum personarum’ who would be the most suitable to participate in the Council.\footnote{As was indicated, for instance, in the opening of the deputies elections of 1396: ‘dicti honorabiles consiliarii vocarunt consules et probos homines officiorum inscriptorum requirentes et rogantes eos quod traderent et nominarent ipsis consilariis certum numerum bonarum personarum pro interessendo}
quality of ‘bona persona,’ citizenship by reputation was enough to reach the Council: political participation, therefore, was not one of the motivations driving citizens to request a charter. The citizenship sources and the lists of deputies conserved coincide only for a very short period (1395-1399) but they already show that some of the artisans requesting a charter between 1400 and 1425 had already been acting as deputies of the Council in the last years of the fourteenth century. A report was compiled in 1415 to confirm the good behaviour of the wax-chandler Miquel Mates. At that time, his witnesses affirmed that the candidate had been living in the city for more than 15 years. It is to be assumed that this character was the same Miquel Mates who, as a chandler, represented his craft in the Council in 1395 and 1397. Similarly, the blanket-maker Nicolau Perallada, whose citizenship charter was recorded in 1421, was a deputy in the Council in 1396. Pere Colomer, a cotton dealer who asked for the charter in 1415, had participated in the Council in 1396 and 1399. Likewise, the scabbard-maker Pere Martí acted as deputy in 1396 and decided to ask for a citizenship charter only 20 years later, in 1417. Finally, the cotton dealer Arnau Bascarons, registered as a citizen in 1415, but had already been acting as such well before, representing his craft in the Council in 1397.914

It is clear that arts welcomed in their midst citizens by reputation with no need for a citizenship charter. Professional corporations could promote craftsmen to political representation but citizenship was not a cornerstone in these processes. A broader perspective on the group of the craftsmen requesting the charter shows that many were certainly practising professions represented in the Council, such as wool-dealers (25), tanners (16) or carpenters (12) but others, like butchers (11), were still lacking political representation. Rather than political ambition, the custom exemptions granted by the charter might have been the principal reasons pushing these craftsmen to officialise their reputations as citizens of Barcelona.

Concilio Centum Juratorum’ AHCB, Llibre del Consell, v. 27, f. 56v-57r [quoted in Batlle, Ferrer, Mañé, Mutgé, Riera and Rovira, El Llibre del Consell, 728.
914For Miquel Mates: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1415, July, 6th) and AHCB, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 35r (1415, July, 10th). For Nicolau Perallada: AHCB, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 152v (1421, April, 10th). For Pere Colomer and Arnau Bascarons: AHCB, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 30v (1415, May, 2nd). For Pere Martí: AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 81v (1417, May, 21st). For lists of the Council deputies between 1395-1399: Batlle, Ferrer, Mañé, Mutgé, Riera, Rovira, El Llibre del Consell, 701-703, 728-730, 755-757, 770-771. Although other citizenship registers have most probably been lost, none of these candidates had previously recorded another charter in the register of 1375-1381.
To explore the reasons why potential members of the Barcelonese *arts* might have asked for a citizenship charter has helped to interrogate the relationship between citizenship and professional organisation in fifteenth-century Barcelona. In a city where the *arts* were strongly controlled by the municipal authorities, it seems that they did not interfere strongly in the making of the citizen either before or after the acquisition of a citizenship charter. For craftsmen, both citizenship and the *arts* emerged as tools with which to design their economic, social, and political strategies in the city. Without questioning the role of these professional associations in the daily life of the urban community, I argue that *arts* were not perceived as spaces to control and observe the performance of the citizen and to negotiate his status within the citizenry. Nonetheless, professional solidarity did play a role in the building of the citizen. The effects of professional services, connections, and common interests were crucial in the creation and recognition of citizens and unveiled an informal dimension of professional solidarity that I shall analyse in the following subsection.

*Living as a Citizen: On the Provision and Reception of Professional Services.*

In their daily professional practice, Barcelonese encountered each other and created more or less deep ties that constituted part of their behaviour as citizens. In this view, it is worth mentioning the case of the candidates Antic Elies Descabot and Oliver Burgués in relation to one of their witnesses: Francesca, wife of Ramon Comapregona, miller citizen of Barcelona. Antic and Oliver had been living together in the street Molí d’en Malla for six years when they requested a citizenship charter. As their witnesses affirmed, continuous residence and their commitment to paying the taxes of the city had turned these two natives of Caldes de Montbuy into respectable citizens of Barcelona. The support of Francesca Comapregona, whom they employed to perform some domestic labour in their residence, was particularly positive: ‘My lord, why would I not know them when I am with them, I cook for them, I make their bed and do all the other things they need in their house and it is then my will to consider them as true citizens of Barcelona.’

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915 *Sènys perquè no·els coneixeria si jo estich ab ells, els cuyna, els fas lo lit e totes altres coses que necessaries sian en casa lur’ [...] ‘e jo així com dit és lurs past e lurs cuyna e estich ab ells perque és intenció mia que ells poden ésser dits vertaders ciutadans de Barchinona’ AHCb, 1c-V, 3 (1405, October, 29th).
apprentices do not seem to have been generally invited to testify in citizenship reports. Married to a citizen of Barcelona, Francesca emerges as an exception, and a very useful one. Indeed, as she declared from within the household of the petitioners, her routine activities allowed her to complete their public image of citizens with notes on their private and daily habits.

A professional service lying at the very core of the making of the citizen was that provided by notaries to their clients. As bearers of public trust, the fame and renown of notaries was a matter of public interest. The councillors of the city did not hesitate to control closely the nomination of new notaries and organised for this purpose deep investigations on the habits of prospective notaries. The living embodiment of the perfect citizen, the notary was directly involved in the creation and dispersal of citizen reputation. Their registers recorded the repeated actions of good citizens: business contracts showing engagement in the urban economy, marriage alliances, acquisitions, rents attesting continuous residence, and arbitrations to ensure peaceful relationships. Seen as indicators of reliability, the presence of a notary in a citizenship report could only be taken as proof of strong and convincing support, thereby sealing the integration of the petitioner within Barcelonese society.

In short, the presence of notaries throughout the Informacions can be seen as the most significant example of how relationships generated within the daily practice of a profession were actively used in the shaping of citizen reputation. In these first decades of the fifteenth century, 34 notaries agreed to act as guarantors of citizenship candidates, showing in so doing their trust in the urban commitment of merchants, masons like Guillem Barceló, sailors such as Francesc Vilar, and even peasants from surrounding hinterland like Guillem Ferrer or Antoni Ponç. The meaningful role of notaries in the making of citizens can be better grasped through citizenship reports, where 43 different notaries assented to testify on the habits of candidates to the charter. On some occasions, these notaries even enriched their testimony by giving specific data on the commitment and daily activities of the petitioner. Thus, it was not uncommon for them to recall that they had produced documents through which the

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917 AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 24v (1414, January, 8th), f. 53r (1416, June, 13th), f. 80v (1417, May, 14th), f. 137v (1420, February, 28th).
candidate rented or acquired properties within the walls of the city. In so doing, notaries admitted that there were irrefutable proofs of the candidate’s commitment to the fundamental practice of citizenship: continuous and stable residence.

These valuable and direct testimonies seemed to have been a resource particularly used by foreigners who had recently settled in the city. While recognising that the merchant Joan Anziau, a native from Toulouse, was often forced to travel for professional purposes, the notary Pere Folgueres compensated for this lack of constancy by indicating that he had himself processed the contract by which Anziau bought a house in the street of Montcada, just behind Santa Maria del Mar.918 Similarly, he also remembered having been professionally involved in the transaction through which Pere Destamariu, from Ripoll in North Catalonia, had recently bought an habitation in the street Boquer, near the street Montcada.919 Through his professional memory, the notary Bartomeu Masons was able to give information about the residence of the merchant from Perpignan Joan Samaler: ‘indeed, he [the candidate Joan Samaler], has a house that he bought to Pere Artaguil’s wife, which is in the plaça de l’Oli and the price of which was CXXXX lliures of Barcelona and the contract is in his own possession.’920

From Connections to Networks: Citizens as Interacting Professionals.

The informality of professional solidarities was not only the fruit of specific professional services: they also developed within networks of professionals sharing the same occupations, whose particular role in confirming citizens I shall now retrace. In this view, it is again useful to refer to notaries. Very occasionally some notaries did request a citizenship charter, mobilising their closest connections to that end.

More specifically, notaries applying for a citizenship charter and relying on each other to do so were part of a rather distinct group: urban and royal officials, namely professionals who had put their skills at the service of the monarchy and the Council of the Hundred. While their positions ensured them direct registration as citizens, they

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918AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1409, November, 15th). Anziau, however, was still identified as a merchant from Toulouse in later documentation, as previously noted in chapter V.
919AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1412, March, 22nd).
920’e dix ell testes que hoc, una casa la qual ha comprada de la muller d’en Pere Artaguil, situada en la plaça de l’Oli per preu de CXXXX lliures de Barchinona en poder d’ell dit testes.’ AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1427, January, 20th).
still had to use their contacts in the city in order to find guarantors for their charter. In need of social support, their resources were deeply rooted within the professional network of officials, therefore distancing themselves from (former) clients or any other acquaintances within the broader citizenry.

As notary of the Council of the Hundred from 1410 and until his death in 1433, Bernat d’Esplugues was actually in charge of the registration of citizenship charters for the period considered in the dissertation. He was himself recorded as a citizen of Barcelona in 1415.\(^\text{921}\) By that time, this official, born in the locality of Vilafranca del Penedès, might already have acquired some of the properties he listed in his will in 1433. Be that as it may, the charter certified his position and his rights as a citizen of Barcelona, and may have been useful in the process of acquiring the books for his exceptional library, which were of Italian origin according to Josep Iglesias Fonseca.\(^\text{922}\) In July 1417, the minter Bartomeu Cervera promised to the councillors that Berenguer Espigoler, a native of Girona and notary of the king, would swear the citizenship charter he had been granted as soon as he returned to the city.\(^\text{923}\) Despite the absences that his position in the court might have implied, Espigoler had already taken his first steps in the building of his citizen reputation: a few months before engaging in the citizenship procedure, he had bought a house in the city through the mediation of Bernat d’Esplugues.\(^\text{924}\) At that time, Ramon Batlle, secretary of Prince Alfons, and later lieutenant of the royal prothonotary, had already married Francina, the daughter of the late notary of the Council Bonanat Gili. For such an occasion, he had chosen both Esplugues and Espigoler as his witnesses.\(^\text{925}\) Furthermore, when the time came for Batlle to request a citizenship charter of Barcelona in 1423, he relied on Espigoler as his guarantor.\(^\text{926}\) All in all, no doubts can be harboured on the close connections binding these three men: on his deathbed, Espigoler choose Ramon Batlle as one of

\(^{921}\)AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 35r (1415, July, 8\(^\text{th}\)).


\(^{923}\)AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 84v (1417, July, 14\(^\text{th}\)).

\(^{924}\)ACA, DIVERSOS, Monistrol, Pergaminos, núm. 0693 (1417, February, 26\(^\text{th}\)) Reference found through PARES (Portal de Archivos Españoles: http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/Control_servlet?action=3&txt_id_desc_ud=2951651&fromagenda=N

\(^{925}\)ACB, Notaris, Gabriel Canyelles, vol 339 (1414, March, 27\(^{\text{th}}\)).

\(^{926}\)AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 178r (1423, November, 20\(^{\text{th}}\)).
the executors of his testament and as a tutor for his children.927 Batlle had already acted as a witness in Bernat d’Esplugues’ will.928 A common institutional background led these three men to weave sound ties throughout their lives as citizens of Barcelona, which turned out to be the most trustworthy support they could refer to when needing to confirm their belonging to the citizen body.

Yet, recognition of membership to the citizenry through the deployment of professional networks was not reserved to relevant and influential groups such as royal and municipal notaries. A few cases related to butchers, carpenters, cotton dealers, sailors, and obviously merchants can help to retrace how citizenship was daily negotiated within broader professional circles.

The butcher Francesc Marimón relied on Antoni Lunes, another butcher citizen of Barcelona, when needing a guarantor for his citizenship charter. Daily activities connected these two men, since Francesc used to cut meat for Lunes, as the witness Miquel Vall, a butcher himself, observed: ‘and he [Francesc Marimón] had cut meats continuously in the butchery of the sea in Barcelona, also for Lunes and for Francesc Mallol, butchers of Barcelona.’929 Holding a citizenship charter, Francesc himself (together with two other butchers) testified a few years later in the citizenship report of Miquel Valls.930 Confidence created within the practice of a common profession and through daily observation was used as a tool with which to claim civic status. This might have been particularly true for butchers who, despite their economic significance, were poorly reputed, due to the bloody character of their activities.931

The effectiveness of these networks was, however, limited, at least in some contexts. Among butchers, their lack of reputation might have forced these professionals to develop further strategies of integration, complementing the support of their fellow professionals with those of other citizens, thus giving a deeper insight into their degree of public acceptance. Let us recall the case of Miquel Valls himself, a butcher from Solsona. When an interrogation was organised, Miquel only presented

927AHPB, Joan Franc major, 107/111, f. 59r-60v (1439, July, 9th).
929‘e ha tallades carns tota vegada continuament en la carniceria de la mar de Barchinona, tam bé per en Lunes com per en Francesch Maloll, carniers de Barchinona.’ AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Register, f. 77r (1417, March, 26th) Francesc Marimón’s report: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1417, March, 24th).
930AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1424, December, 17th).
931Menjot and Boucheron, “La Ville Médiévale,” 439.
other butchers of the city as witnesses. The lack of a final registration suggests that the charter might have denied to him. In contrast, Bernat Carner, from the closer locality of Sarrià, combined the presence in his report of the butchers Bernat Casadevall and Martín Sanmillán with other witnesses, mainly neighbours. Casadevall confirmed that he rented two tables to cut meat to the petitioner, while the Castilian Sanmillán affirmed that he worked regularly with Carner: ‘and he the witness serves continuously in his [Bernat Carner’s] table to cut meat. And the mentioned Bernat Carner gives him every year and as a salary for this service a hundred of Aragonese gold florins.’

While his professional colleagues illustrated in this way the activities of the candidate, his neighbours were able to attest the properties that Carner rented in the city. Altogether, this compensated for his irregular presence in the city, commuting constantly as he was between his possessions in Sarrià and Barcelona. His double strategy was successful, as Carner was shortly granted the charter.

A strong use of professional networks as a tool for urban rooting has also been documented among carpenters. Pere Boïgues, Joan Gener, and Guillem Bertran, all of them identified as woodworkers, testified on the good behaviour of their colleague, the carpenter Pere Mates. A few years later, Guillem Bertran himself could also rely on another citizen from the same craft, Pere Dianet, who acted as guarantor of his citizenship charter. Another telling example is Pere Munt’s, a carpenter who requested the charter in 1413: when an interrogation was conducted, an embroiderer and a merchant, together with four other carpenters, acted as witnesses. When his charter was recorded only one year later, it was the carpenters Antoni Altonell and Miquel Valls, in their capacity of Munt’s associates, who promised to the councillors of the city that their partner would swear citizenship as soon as he returned to the city. It was through his associates, carpenters like himself, that Pere Munt confirmed his citizen condition.

932 ‘E la qual taula ell testimoni li serveix continuament. E lo dit Bernat Carner dóna a ell testigomni cascun any per soldada de fer lo dit servey C florins d’or d’Aragó.’ AHCB, 1C-V, 4 (1423, August, 23rd).
933 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1412, December, 3rd).
934 AHCB, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 36r (1415, September, 3rd).
935 Pere Munt’s report: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1413, July, 7th). Pere Munt’s record: AHCB, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 21r-21v.
The *Informacions* show also how some cotton-dealers used similar mechanisms. Bernat Ponç, Francesc Barceló, Guillem Moliners, Antoni Mas, Jaume Moles, Pere Colomers, Arnau Bascarons, Jaume Oriol, and Joan Ponç formed a network determined by their common profession that they actively used when each of them needed public recognition of their citizen condition. Having received power of attorney from Francesc Barceló, Bernat Ponç swore citizenship on behalf of them both in May 1415.\(^937\) On the very same day, Bernat Ponç, together with another cotton dealer called Guillem Moliners, promised that their colleagues Jaume Moles and Antoni Mas, who had very recently been granted a citizenship charter, would take the corresponding oath as soon as possible.\(^938\) Directly afterwards, Ponç and Moliners acted as guarantors in the charter of three other cotton dealers: Pere Colomers, Arnau Bascarons, and Jaume Oriol.\(^939\)

Besides identifying these intense networks of professional cooperation, we will also try to discuss the motives pushing its members to use them when their right to citizenship was at stake. The case of the sailor Fernando de Santa Cristina is, in this view, particularly suggestive. A native Castilian, Fernando was identified as a citizen of Tarragona in notarial documentation of 1414.\(^940\) Only a few months later, he successfully requested the citizenship charter of Barcelona.\(^941\) On this occasion, the sailor Francesc Tallers, a citizen who had already previously acted as his representative, confirmed his sound ties with the candidate, affirming that he ‘had navigated with Fernando for a long time.’\(^942\) Experiencing no doubt, Santa Cristina appealed to his old professional acquaintances when deciding to move and settle in Barcelona. A recognised citizen, Fernando received power of attorney from the merchant Pere Solsona a few years later in 1423. In contrast with many other powers of attorney, which were generally very succinct, this document is particularly illuminating in terms of the professional uses and perceptions of citizenship. Indeed, it stated that Fernando would be able to use Pere’s citizenship charter to ensure that all

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\(^937\) AHCB, 1 C-V, 4 Registre, f. 29v-30r (1415, May, 2\(^{nd}\)).

\(^938\) AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 30r (1415, May, 2\(^{nd}\)).

\(^939\) AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 30v (1415, May, 2\(^{nd}\)).

\(^940\) AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/6 (1414, January, 5\(^{th}\)).

\(^941\) AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1414, July, 28\(^{th}\)) Record in AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 18r (1414, July, 31\(^{st}\)).

\(^942\) ‘ha navegat en lo lahut del dit Fernando de Santa Cristina molt de temps’ AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1414, July, 28\(^{th}\)).
his wares would benefit from the exemptions he deserved as a citizen. The will to guarantee these exemptions pushed Pere to give Fernando the capacity to swear on his behalf whenever necessary that the wares he was trading with were ‘his or of any other citizen of Barcelona.’

This contract, produced within the daily experience of Fernando de Santa Cristina as a citizen of Barcelona, powerfully highlights the paramount and pragmatic interest of professional solidarities in the making of the citizen: the candidate’s interest in being recognised as a citizen corresponded with the interests of his witnesses or guarantors. As trade exemptions were only respected on citizens’ goods and wares, it became for merchants as crucial to be recognised as a citizen as to ensure the same for those with whom they worked closely. These sorts of reasons most probably conditioned the citizenship petitions of the cotton dealers previously noted in almost the same time period. How these perceptions and strategies influenced the negotiation of citizenship can be better perceived and documented from the various applications of the merchant Guillem de Montcofa and the strong professional connections he maintained with those intervening with him or on his behalf in citizenship procedures. A native from Valencia, the notarial documentation portrays Guillem Montcofa as an active merchant involved in the trade of sugar, textiles, spices like ginger, and slaves. Identified both as a merchant and a ship captain, he did own a vessel with which he travelled to the Eastern Mediterranean, having family contacts like his nephew Joan d’Ôdena directly operating in Cyprus. His trips might have been regular as he was often absent from the city of Barcelona, entrusting the whole of his Barcelonese affairs to his representative, the merchant and apothecary Nicolau Sala. One of the earliest documents I have found with Sala acting on Montcofa’s behalf was actually a citizenship record: although absent from the city, Guillem was granted a citizenship charter of Barcelona. It was Nicolau’s responsibility

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943AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/62, f. 39r (1423, January, 18th). ‘et jurandum in animam meam quod omnes res et merces quas vos dicetis et afirmabitis fore meas sunt vel erunt me propie aut aliorum civium Barchinone.’

944On the dealings on textiles with merchants from Majorca: AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/53, f. 73r-73v. (1415, February, 21st). Sugar and ginger are mentioned in the arbitral sentence that the merchant Antoni Salavert dictated to solve tensions between Montcofa and Joan Moner, a merchant citizen of Barcelona. AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/63 s.f (1422, March, 30th).

945Mentioned in the sentence dictated by Antoni Salavert: AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/63 s.f (1422, March, 30th).
to promise to the councillors that his principal would take the correspondent oath as soon as he would return to the city.\textsuperscript{946} This only happened more than one year later, in May 1415. Not surprisingly, it was Sala acting as guarantor of Montcofa’s charter.\textsuperscript{947}

During this long absence, as well as afterwards, Nicolau acted on many occasions on behalf of Guillem Montcofa: engaging in affairs, giving second powers of attorney to deal with specific business in other markets, receiving merchandise, and selling slaves, for instance.\textsuperscript{948} The bond between these two men must have been a strong one. On the occasion of the death of his wife Blanca, daughter of the goldbeater Arnau Ferrer, Guillem relied once again on Sala, who was in charge of dealing with everything: he paid for the funeral, he bought cheap clothing for the corpse from the beggar Ramon Mir, he supervised the erection of a burial monument, and contracted a carpenter for the making of a coffin. Finally, he also organised the whole ceremony and the celebration of masses for the soul of the deceased.\textsuperscript{949} Guillem remarried only a few months later in September 1421. This time, he wed Antònia, the daughter of Francesc Mayol, a butcher citizen of Barcelona. As his loyal representative, Nicolau was obviously involved in the event and participated as one of Guillem’s guarantors.\textsuperscript{950}

Despite Nicolau Sala’s permanent availability, the presence of a wife in the city was certainly necessary to compensate for Guillem Montcofa’s regular travels and to maintain his citizen reputation.

The constant support of Nicolau Sala determined the position of Guillem as a citizen of Barcelona, despite his absences and his rather belligerent behaviour, which comes across in the arbitral sentences that were settled to solve his tensions with

\textsuperscript{946}AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 13v (1414, March, 8\textsuperscript{th}).
\textsuperscript{947}AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 30v-31r (1415, May, 8\textsuperscript{th}).
\textsuperscript{948}Together with the other members of the mercantile society of which they were members, Nicolau Sala gave a power of attorney in his name and on Montcofa’s behalf: AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/7, f. 12r (1414, March, 12\textsuperscript{th}). Nicolau Sala gave power of attorney in Majorca to deal with some affairs that Montcofa entertained there: AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/53, f. 73r-73v (1415, February, 21\textsuperscript{st}). Likewise, he gave another power of attorney to deal with Montcofa’s affairs in Valencia: AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/53, f. 84v (1415, March, 11\textsuperscript{th}). In 1417, Guillem Montcofa renewed previous contracts and gave general power of attorney to Nicolau Sala once again: AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/56, f. 42v-43r (1417, August, 21\textsuperscript{st}). The sentence dictated by Antoni Salavert mentions again the role of Sala as Montcofa’s representative: AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/63 s.f (1422, March, 30\textsuperscript{th}). Together with Guillem’s wife, Nicolau Sala bought a slave on Montcofa’s behalf: AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/63, f. 87v (1424, October, 10\textsuperscript{th}).
\textsuperscript{949}AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/60, f. 50r, f. 52r and f. 52v (1421, May, 31\textsuperscript{st}), f. 52v (1421, June, 2\textsuperscript{nd}), f. 56r-56v (1421, June, 13\textsuperscript{th}), f. 57v-58r (1421, June, 16\textsuperscript{th}).
\textsuperscript{950}AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/19, f. 34v-36v (1421, September, 17\textsuperscript{th}).
other merchants of the city.\textsuperscript{951} While this continuous interaction might very well have resulted in a friendly relationship, it is important to consider one crucial element when analysing the ties created between these two men: they were both members of a merchant society, one they shared with the merchant Joan de Reus and the sailor Nicolau Alomar, citizens of Barcelona themselves.

I have been able to retrace this company as far back as March 1414, when a few days after the grant of a charter to Guillem Montcofa, the associates Nicolau Sala, Joan de Reus and Nicolau Alomar, with Sala acting in his own name and as Montcofa’s representative, gave power of attorney to Pere de Reus, Joan’s father, presumably to manage their affairs in the kingdom of Valencia.\textsuperscript{952} It was therefore for his own interest and for the company’s sake that Nicolau Sala needed to guarantee the official position of Guillem Montcofa as a citizen, ensuring in so doing the complete respect of the trading exemptions on the wares with which they all dealt. A collaborative strategy was displayed a few years later when they all jointly renewed their privileges as citizens of Barcelona. Indeed, one of the citizenship records attests simultaneous granting of charters to Nicolau Sala, Guillem Montcofa, Joan de Reus, and Nicolau Alomar, together with the skipper Antoni Alra with whom their company might have had some other professional deals.\textsuperscript{953}

The turn to personal profiles and experiences has depicted the eclectic role of informal professional solidarities in the negotiation of citizenship. To support somebody’s claim to citizenship could be a way to return previous favours based, in one way or another, on the provision of a professional service. In other cases, they emerged as the main resource for individuals whose professional practices had distanced them from the broader citizenry. More importantly, professional informal solidarity was activated when the economic interests of all those sharing professional deals were at stake, as was the case throughout procedures of citizenship acquisition. Nonetheless, and as much as familial ties, the benefits of these solidarities were not

\textsuperscript{951}Besides the sentence established by Antoni Salavert between Montcofa and the merchant Joan Moner, one of the consulted deeds included some notes on another conflict in which Guillem Montcofa would have been involved. It concerns, more specifically, the building of a boat, on which someone called Bernat Fuster invested some money on Montcofa’s behalf without (apparently) the permission of the latter. See in AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/61 (not numbered, not dated – conserved in the register’s jackets).

\textsuperscript{952}AHPB, Bernat Pi, 113/7, f. 12r (1414, March, 12th).

\textsuperscript{953}AHCB, 1C-V,4, Registre, f. 116v (1419, March, 18th).
within reach of all the candidates. At its more general and accessible level, citizenship was not ratified by professional colleagues and familial contacts but rather by the deep and continuous observation of their neighbours.

**THE CITIZEN IN THE STREETS: NEIGHBOURLINESS, BELONGING, AND CITIZENSHIP**

In her study on the construction ‘of a community of natives of the kingdoms of Spain’ in the Early Modern period, Tamar Herzog insisted on the importance of scales when defining belonging: it was acceptance at a local level that determined the inclusion of individuals in the broader community of the realm.\(^954\) To a certain extent, similar claims can be made when it comes to the (medieval) city, as being rooted in the limited space of a neighbourhood conditioned the public and official integration of the city’s inhabitants. As historians have traditionally defended the fundamental role of the neighbourhood in Late Medieval and Renaissance urban life,\(^955\) the *Informaciones de la Ciutadania* underpin this claim for the case of fifteenth-century Barcelona. The candidates’ neighbours were regularly present in these citizenship reports, since, as Yvonne Le Maresquier put it: ‘the proximity of life created day after day within local spaces like the street, the square, and the crossroad turned the neighbour into the best placed person to provide information.’\(^956\) More specifically, from the 767 candidates to citizenship, 187 (24.3 per cent) seem to have asked at least one of their neighbours to testify on their performance as good citizens. Given the very concise nature of the citizenship records, in which the nature of the bonds between candidates and their guarantors was rarely specified, this proportion needs to be assessed in relation to those candidates for whom reports were actually organised (284). In so doing, the percentage of neighbourhood relationships used when attempting to reach

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\(^954\) Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 1, 3-4.

\(^956\) Le Maresquier, “Le voisinage,” 67. ‘à cause de la proximité de vie qui occasionne des rencontres pluri-quotidiennes au sein d’espaces circonscrits (rue, place ou carrefour), c’est le voisin qui est le mieux place pour fournir des renseignements.’
an official recognition of citizenship reaches a much higher estimation, coming close to 66 per cent of the candidates concerned.

As in the previous analysis of familial and professional solidarities, however, some other nuances need to be made in regard to these proportions. Neighbourhood bonds can be directly established (128 cases) when witnesses’ places of residence coincided with the candidate’s and, more interestingly, when witnesses themselves specified that they had seen the petitioner living and walking around their own district. On many other occasions, witnesses’ voices portrayed the texture of a dense city full of narrow streets where Barcelonese lived shoulder to shoulder. Thus, it is not uncommon to find witnesses stating that the candidate lived right next to them (a *paret mitgera de mi*). Given such a close and daily coexistence, disagreements on the common use of the public space were certainly common: the tensions and conflicts generated have been retraced for other cities. The prism of the *Informacions* presents a more positive side of neighbouring connections, showing that they could develop into solidary relationships, very much involved in the definition of civic status. It is to be noted, however, that the nature of these bonds was not always clearly expressed in the reports. In fact, I have frequently inferred neighbourhood bonds by reading in between the lines, taking them as the connections lying at the basis of very common and constant declarations of the witnesses such as ‘I see him staying’ (*el veig star*) or ‘I have heard’ (*he hoyt dir*) (59 cases where these expressions are not complemented with more obvious references of neighbouring connections). Both these expressions suggest that the candidate was part of local gossiping and had therefore been integrated within a form of local knowledge dispersal that gave cohesion to limited communities and spaces such as the neighbourhood. In the following, I will first explore what the neighbourhood really meant in fifteenth-century Barcelona in an attempt to better define the spatial rooting of the citizen. Secondly, I will investigate more closely the nature of the ties that were exclusively created

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958 Considering also that the physical structures (organisation and habitat) of the city obviously conditioned the nature of neighbourhood relationships. Le Maresquier, “Le voisinage,” 47.
within these spaces and their influence on the establishing of the candidates’ citizen reputation.

Marking out the Neighbourhood in Fifteenth-Century Barcelona

The analysis of trials has already enabled some historians to reflect on the relevance of the neighbourhood as a space of coexistence in Late Medieval Barcelona, one which was based on common observation and gossiping. While the nature of these spaces of observation remains blurred, the Informacions de la Ciutadania present neighbourhoods as urban spaces, the coherence of which relied on the strength and diversity of the bonds forged between their inhabitants rather than on a limited physical territory that is difficult to mark from the sources. As Élizabeth Crouzet-Pavan and other historians have highlighted, the neighbourhood cannot be taken as an immutable entity but rather as a flexible space of coexistence, the nature and limits of which evolved together with its residents. To mark out and identify the neighbourhoods of medieval Barcelona implies that we retrace the main dynamics of some of these spaces of coexistence, considering them principally as spaces of recognition between citizens. Following the suggestions of Shona Kelly in regard to fourteenth-century Bologna, I will place these spaces of recognition between the fundamental administrative divisions that coordinated the daily life of the inhabitants of Barcelona: the district (quarter) and the parish.

A stone slab on the ground of the Plaça del Blat, in the economic heart of the city, established the administrative division of the city in four districts or quarters. When going to the wheat market of the city settled in this square, every citizen and inhabitant of Barcelona would therefore remember how his city was administratively conceived. The names of each of these four areas were based on the principal parish churches they included. Thus, Santa Maria del Pí gave her name to the quarter del Pí,

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961Wray, Communities and Crisis, 197.
962Carme Batlle i Gallart and Teresa Vinyoles i Vidal, Mirada a la Barcelona medieval des de les finestres gòtiques, (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 2002), 37.
which occupied the northwest corner of the city. Likewise, the *quarter de Sant Pere*, in the northeast part of the city, owed its name to the nunnery of Sant Pere de les Puelles, one of the oldest monasteries of the city. The *quarter dels Frares Menors* embraced the southwestern area of the city and took its name from the Franciscan convent included within its limits. Finally, facing the sea, was the *quarter de Mar*, the most populous area of the city. This quarter covered the southeast part of the city and was named after the magnificent church of Santa Maria del Mar.

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305 Image extracted from: García Espuche and Guàrdia i Bàssols, *Espai i societat*, figure 10 of the appendix. This manuscript reproduction was extracted from a census produced in 1390.
These districts had administrative and military functions. Indeed, the conserved censuses (*fogatges*) from the time demonstrate that these divisions determined the organisation of tax collections and facilitated the control of the military capacities of the city. It was therefore through the spatial dimension of the *quarter* that the Barcelonese could fulfil two paramount duties of the citizen: the payment of taxes and the defence of the city. A cross-reading of the *Informacions* and the censuses gives some insights on the daily uses and dynamics of the *quarter*, allowing us to better grasp the nature of the Barcelonese neighbourhood. In 1363, a census of the city was drawn up, block per block, to fix the extent to which every citizen could contribute to the subsidy that the city granted to the king to pursue the war against Castile.  

A few years later, in 1390, a new census with different purposes was elaborated. Facing the threat of the count of Armanyac, who was apparently ready to invade the territories of the crown of Aragon, the municipality prepared the defence of the city by listing its inhabitants.

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*Map extracted from: Cristina Borau, Els promotors de capelles i retaules a la Barcelona del segle XIV, (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2003), 180.*

*Unfortunately, only the lists related to the *quarter de Mar* and parts of the *quarter del Pi* have been conserved. Manuel Riu i Riu, “El barri barceloní de Santa Maria del Mar l'any 1363”, *Acta Archaeologica Medievalia* 26, (2005): 563-585.*
inhabitants and their weapons. To this end, the Barcelonese were listed in groups of 50 (headed by a *cinquantener*) and smaller groups of 10 (headed by a *deener*). Although residences were not spatially located in this military census, it is tempting to speculate, as has been done for other contexts,\(^{966}\) that these cells of 50 and 10 men corresponded to the urban blocks that formed the basis of the taxation census, thereby promoting the creation of neighbouring ties devoted to the service and defence of the community.\(^{967}\)

Whatever the case may be, the *Informacions* show that contribution to the city within these cells of fifty and ten citizens generated strong social ties that determined the processes of urban integration. In their daily performance as citizens, the notary Bartomeu Ripoll and the peasant Francesc Bofill were frequently in touch. Indeed, Ripoll was one of the *cinquantaners* of the *quarter del Pí*, being in charge of collecting money for the building of the city walls from some of the houses neighbouring the *Plaça de Santa Anna*, where Bofill lived. As he attested in Bofill’s citizenship report, Ripoll was aware of the candidate’s good behaviour as a citizen of Barcelona since ‘Francesc pays and contributes to the construction of the walls and moats of the city, as well as in other duties, as he, the witness, is *cinquantaner* of the block where the mentioned Francesc lives, and he has paid on his behalf on manifold occasions.’\(^{968}\)

While some contributed economically to the main works of the city, others exerted themselves physically, digging and building together with other citizens the structures that were to ensure the protection of their city. Once again, such admirable actions were performed and observed within the small cells that helped structure the *quarters* of the city. The embroiderer Antoni Bertran had no doubts about the qualities of the carpenter Pere Munt as a good citizen of Barcelona. Being a *deener* of the *quarter de Framenors*, he had often relied on Pere when needing one of his men to remove soil from the moats of the city: indeed, ‘Pere would always go willingly and that is why he

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\(^{966}\) ’La participation à la défense urbaine, au guet, à la garde des portes, à la milice subdivisée en petites unités, appelées dizaines, cinquantaines, centaines repose sur un découpage par rue et quartier’ Leguay, *Vivre en ville*, 181.

\(^{967}\) Besides the presence of *cinquanteners* and *deeners* among neighbours which we can retrace through the *Informacions*, it is also useful to highlight that a later military census (1399-1400) was also structured through hearths. Gaspar Feliu i Montfort, “La demografia baixmedieval catalana. Estat de la qüestió i propostes de futur,” *Revista d’Història Medieval* 10, (1999): 25.

\(^{968}\) ’e paga e contribueix en obra de mur e de valls e en altres càrrechs de la ciutat car ell testimoni que és cinquantener de la illa en que lo dit Ffrancesch té la dita habitació hi ha pagat per ell moltes vegades’ AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1419, April, 20th).
takes him as a citizen of Barcelona.'\textsuperscript{969} From within the quarter, the duties entrusted to these cells of 10 or 50 citizens created neighbouring ties of solidarity.

These examples suggest that, despite its administrative nature, the \textit{quarter} still stirred up actions and feelings of belonging in its inhabitants. Nonetheless, the \textit{quarter} was certainly too large a space to determine the strength of neighbouring ties. Rather, as the previous examples suggest, these ties seem to have been forged within the blocks structuring the censuses. Defining the actual geographical scope of these blocks remains, however, a difficult task. Most probably, the most rigorous approach would be to take the \textit{quarter} as a space of overlapping neighbouring networks conditioned by common service to the community as well as by other various factors which could be included among the ‘neighbouring affinities’ (\textit{affinités de voisinage}) labelled by Jean-Pierre Leguay.\textsuperscript{970}

\textsuperscript{969}Lo dit Pere hi va volenterosament e fa son jornal per qu’es té per dit que és ciutadà de Barchinona’ AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1413, July, 17th).
\textsuperscript{970}Leguay, \textit{Vivre en ville}, 178.
Figure 6: The streets of Barcelona in the fourteenth century, according to censuses and notarial documentation.\textsuperscript{971}

\textsuperscript{971}Map extracted from Borau, \textit{Els promotors de capelles}, 178 (‘Els noms dels carrers de Barcelona en el segle XIV segons els fogatges i la documentació notarial’).
Professional concentration was the most obvious of these factors. Within the quarter de la mar, for instance, some professions were clearly spatially located. Facing the sea, sailors and fishermen shared the populous area of the Ribera, full of small and humble houses. The street of Gacelm was at the core of this area. It was here where the skipper Pere Salvador lived when he requested a citizenship charter in 1414. At that time, he addressed his neighbour Bernat Mateu, a boatman citizen of Barcelona, who testified on the candidate’s stable residence by affirming that, indeed, Pere rented a house just in front of his: ‘Pere Salvador rents a house in the street of Gasselm, just in front of mine.’ The sailor Francesc Empúries, a citizen of Barcelona, exemplifies the degree to which internal cohesion existed between the inhabitants of this area of the city. From the same street, where he also resided, Francesc helped several of his neighbours to obtain a citizenship charter throughout the first decades of the fifteenth century. Thus, he affirmed that he had known the skipper Jaume Rossell for a long time and that he deserved the charter, as he had been living stably for more than two years with his family in the street of Avella, perpendicular to his own. A few years later, in 1412, Francesc was ready again to testify on the stable residence of Nicolau Verdaguer, another skipper also settled in the same street of Gacelm. Also a skipper, Francesc Rispau felt the need to request a citizenship charter in 1418. Although he had only recently moved to the nearby close street of Dusay, he still had lived in the street Gacelm for several years. Thus, he could include in his report the positive testimonies of longstanding neighbours such as Francesc Empúries himself or

972 See, for instance, Batlle i Vinyoles, Mirada a la Barcelona medieval, 62-75; Albert García Espuche, “Espais urbans de la gent de mar: Barcelona segles XIV a XVIII,” Drassana: revista del Museu Marítim 15, (2007): 39. James Amelang uses the term Ribera to encapsulate the whole district of the Quarter de Mar, while using the term Marina when referring to the poorer area of sailors and fishermen. While I will maintain the use of the term ‘Ribera’ for this populous area, both options highlight the important variety included within the same district. ‘On the other side of the Born stood the marina, a ramshackle cluster of tenements inhabited by a floating and impoverished populace of sailors, fishermen, and dockworkers’ James Amelang, “People of the Ribera: Popular Politics and Neighborhood Identity in Early Modern Barcelona,” in Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800). Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis, eds. B.Diefendorf and C. Hesse, (Ann Arbor: the University of Michigan Press, 1993), 121.
973 ‘Pere Salvador loga I alberch en lo carrer de’n Gasselm cara a cara ab mi’ AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1414, September, 12th).
974 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1407, January, 15th).
975 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1412, February, 25th).
the sailor Antoni Plà, who was actually hosting some other seafarers and candidates to the citizenship charter.976

Professional coincidence significantly shaped the cohesion of these blurred spaces in the Ribera as much as in other parts of the city. Tanners and professionals of leather provide another example, as they were generally located around the streets Merdançar, Blanqueria, and Assahonadors, in the upper part of the quarter de Mar, close to the limits with the quarter de Sant Pere. The tanners Pere Corró, Pere Torrents, Ramon Colom, and Joan Martí made a common application for a citizenship charter in 1407. Although they might have been pushed by common professional interests, it seems rather clear that their bonds had been forged through neighbouring coexistence. Their witness Bernat Gall, a tanner who owned a house in the Plaça de la Blanqueria,977 knowingly affirmed that Martí had been living in this square for at least 12 years, while Pere Torrents and Ramon Colom both lived in the nearby street of Merdançar, the first one owning his habitation and the second one renting it for at least a year and a half.978

While a well-known phenomenon, professional concentration should not be overestimated, either in Barcelona or in other cities of medieval Europe.979 The citizenship sources of the Catalan city highlight the heterogeneity of its streets, as different professionals coexisted in many parts of the city. Several merchants requesting the citizenship charter lived in the quarter de Sant Pere, mostly around the street of Mercaders or the street of Jaume Gerart, instead of in the surroundings of Santa Maria. The reputed merchant Antoni Salavert died in his house in the street Suclers980 at the heart of the Ribera, having maybe been the neighbour of more humble citizens such as the sailors Joan Saytó, a former serf, and Francesc Castellar. Other citizenship reports evidence this high degree of diversity within the neighbourhoods of Barcelona. When requesting a citizenship charter in 1409, the merchant Esteve Bonet asked some of his neighbours of the street Pont d’en

976Such as the sailor Gabriel Covener: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1414, February, 12th).
977 A house that by 1414 he rented to the merchant Bartomeu Vilar: AHCB, 1C.V, 3 (1414, June, 23rd).
978 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1407, October, 5th).
979 A nuance that Manuel Riu pinpointed for the quarter de mar in his analysis of the 1363 census. Riu, “El barri de Santa Maria del Mar,” 547. For a more general claim on the professional heterogeneity of medieval streets, see Menjot and Boucheron, “La Ville médiévale,” 480; Leguay, Vivre en ville, 182.
980 AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/99 f. 69v (1433, September, 4th).
Campderà to testify on his habits as a citizen of Barcelona: among them were a boter (that is a producer of wine containers), a surgeon, and a glazier. There were also a variety of observers in the report of the merchant Guillem Roig, settled again in the quarter de Sant Pere, in the street of la Monederia. Indeed, a wool dealer, the widows of a saddle-maker, and a peasant all testified as the candidate’s neighbours.

Profession can therefore only be taken as one of the factors or affinities determining the cohesion of a neighbourhood. It was certainly the most obvious one and emerges as the easiest to retrace from the sources but it was not the only one. It was not uncommon, for instance, for present and rooted (native) citizens to become referent points in their neighbourhood, an influence easy to perceive in the sources through their spatial evidence. In the constant building of neighbouring ties, these individuals had ended up by being identified with specific points of the urban geography. The authorities were themselves imbued by these processes; thus, the arches (voltes) that are still today part of the cityscapes of Barcelona, were named after specific individuals in the medieval censuses of the city. Although these processes make it extremely difficult to give geographical limits to the spaces under consideration, they suggest to what extent alive fellow citizens could enhance the spatial and social cohesion of the streets where they lived and spent most of their time.

The merchant Bernat Luneda, for instance, lived in the street Sant Pere Jussà but he was also identified as living under the arch of Guillem Bartomeu. The wool dealer Bartomeu Tosquella had been living near the church of Sant Cugat del Rec for more than four years when he requested a citizenship charter. For more precision, it is stated that his habitation was under the arch of Nicolau Barber. Some of these arches took the name of owners who did not necessarily reside in the area. Francesc Carreras Candí suggested that this could have been the case of the volta d’en Guayta, where the candidates Julià Vidal and Mateu Prats were located and it was most probably also the case of the volta d’en Dusay, named after a reputed family of honoured citizens.

981 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1409, August, 26th).
982 For Bernat Luneda: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1411, May, 4th). For Bartomeu Tosquella: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1415, April, 10th). On the volta d’en Guayta: Francesc Carreras i Candí, Francesc, La Via Layetana: substituit als carrers de la Barcelona mitgeval, (Barcelona: A. Martín, 1913), 30. The skipper Bernat Muntal lived in the volta d’en Dusay when he requested the charter. AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1415, May, 6th).
In contrast, the volta d’en Marc Canyes referred to an active and highly recognised neighbour of the surroundings of Santa Maria del Mar. Included in a military census in 1399, Marc Canyes was a reputed silversmith, the career of whom can be retraced back to the late fourteenth century. Indeed, varied documentary evidence shows that his work was valued by the Cathedral as well as by the councillors of the city, who employed him on several occasions in the first half of the century. In his activity, Canyes had become a character deeply rooted in the area of the street de la Mar and, consequently, the arch in which he lived had turned into a spatial reference, as is shown in Guillem Miró’s report, a merchant recently arrived and whose move into the street Grony, ‘close to the arch of Marc Canyes’ had been observed by his new neighbours. With such a socially and spatially established reputation, Canyes did not need a report on his habits and was himself directly registered as a citizen in 1416.

The Informacions do not allow us to mark out precisely the geographical limits of the Barcelonese neighbourhoods (if any). They do, however, provide a deep insight into the neighbouring networks that determined coexistence among the city’s inhabitants. In so doing, the case of Barcelona only comes to confirm what has been stated for other cities, mainly of the Italian Renaissance, where the neighbourhood has been taken as a permeable social space rather than as a static reality. From this perspective, the role of space is reduced to its minimal expression, the street emerging as the strongest basis of the neighbourhood: streets and their arches were the main spatial reference points used in the Informacions. In the opening of wills, it was the street where the demise had taken place that was noted, while in the contracting of any sort of notarial document, individuals were identified as citizens of Barcelona, with no mention to the parish in which they lived. Actually, references to parishes seem to be limited to bequests in wills. From the evidence collected in this dissertation, I argue that the neighbouring agency of Barcelona was determined not by the parish but rather by the single street, which was the quintessential space of socialisation.

While the networks emerging from streets created spaces of integration, recognition, acceptance, or rejection, the parish stands as too large a unit in Barcelona

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984 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1415, March, 22nd).
985 AHCB, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 49v (1416, May, 6th).
986 Nicholas, The Later Medieval City, 333; Leguay, Vivre en Ville, 177.
to create and develop strong feelings of belonging. Only seven parishes (Sant Just, Sant Miquel, Sant Jaume, Santa Maria del Pí, Sant Pere, Sant Cugat del Rec and Santa Maria del Mar) covered the whole city and their weakness in enhancing cohesion among their parishioners emerges from the testaments dictated by Barcelonese themselves. The last wills of 54 citizens of Barcelona (for the period 1409-1450), who were candidates or witnesses in the reports, can certainly be taken as a modest sample. They are still suggestive in showing that only half of the testators chose to be buried in their own parish. Interestingly enough, similar conclusions were reached by Carles Vela in his prosopographical study on Barcelonese chandlers and apothecaries. Parishioners of Santa Maria del Mar might have been more soundly linked to their church, generally choosing its cemetery as the ideal place for their eternal rest. Even among them, however, some manifested their will to be buried in the Cathedral or in the cemetery of one of the important monasteries of the city. In very few cases, the chapel of a confraternity or the hometown parish was preferred over the parish where they had lived in Barcelona.

Given the lack of studies on the Barcelonese parishes, the disaffection shown in these sources by the citizens of Barcelona should be cautiously accepted. Further research should try to explore whether, as in the Early Modern period, the wealthiest artisans and merchants controlling the structures of the parish developed a stronger sense of parish sociability and solidarity. For the time being, I will take the most obvious attraction towards principal religious buildings such as the Cathedral, Santa Maria del Mar, the Franciscan convent (convent de Framenors), or the Dominican convent (convent de Predicadors) as a sign of the extent to which the religious feelings and commitments of the citizen had become part of their civic activity.

Amelang detects similar problems for later periods, even related to the parish of Santa Maria del Mar. Amelang, “People of the Ribera,” 124.

As Carles Vela affirmed in 2007, much needs still to be done on the Barcelonese parishes of the Late Middle Ages. Vela, Especiers i Candelers, 386. The work of Cristina Borau has certainly filled some of these gaps in her attempt to define the limits of the seven parishes. In so doing, she highlighted the unequal distribution of religious space in medialval Barcelona, since while the parishes of Sant Just, Santa Maria del Pí, Sant Pere, and Santa Maria del Mar were rather big, coinciding almost with the limits of the quarters, the parishes of Sant Miquel, Sant Jaume and Sant Cugat were rather small. Borau, Els promoters, 202-234.

The specific data are referred on table 2 of the appendix.

Vela, Especiers i Candelers, 387.

Vela, Especiers i Candelers, 386. Borau, Cristina, Els promoters, 207.

For some notes on parish sociability in early modern Barcelona: Amelang, “Gent de la Ribera,” 53-56.
identification. Whatever the case may be, I argue here that the parish had a little role to play in the development of territorially grounded feelings of belonging, as these were mainly formed within neighbouring networks that embraced the ambiguous space of a few streets. To finish, I will consider more closely how the diverse degrees of neighbourliness were used and expressed in citizen lives. In so doing, I aim to place the neighbourhood at the core of the dialogue between citizens and the city, uncovering its double nature: a stage where citizen reputation had to be performed on the one hand, the neighbourhood was also an active agent with which the citizen constantly interacted, on the other. In brief, neighbourliness and integration within neighbourhood networks was seen as a genuine act of citizenship, the intricacies of which I shall attempt to retrace.

Expressing Neighbourliness

Bernat Borrell, a native from the coastal town of Cubelles, had been renting a house in the street Ollers Blanchs, in the quarter de Framenors, for little more than a month when he requested a citizenship charter. He could nonetheless easily count on the support of his new neighbours, among whom were four merchants and a butcher. They all declared positively, showing that his acceptance in the neighbourhood was clearly linked to his personal efforts to relate to and familiarise himself with them. Thus, they all knew that the candidate’s wife was about to join him in Barcelona. If she had not done so already, said Antoni Verdera, it was only because a sickness had impeded her: ‘before the past festivities of Easter, the mentioned Bernat Borrell rented, he the witness being present, a house adjacent to his in the street of the Ollers Blanchs for 20 florins per year and he did so with the intention to stay and live here for the rest of his life and he would already have brought his wife here and all his things, but she has not been healthy, as he had heard saying Bernat Borrell himself.’

Candidates used neighbourliness as an easy resource through which to prove their citizenship. It therefore turned to be particularly useful for recently settled individuals such as Bernat Borrell, but we shall not forget that neighbourhood

993 Abans de la festa de Pascha propassada lo dit Bernat Borrell, present ell testimoni, logà i alberch en lo carrer dels Ollers Blanchs, paret mitgera d’ell testimoni per preu de XX florins l’any, per cor e intenció d’estar e habitar aquí tottemps de ça vida e ja hic haguera manada ça muller e tot ço del seu sino que no és estada sana segons ell testimoni ha hoyt dir al dit Bernat Borrell’. AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1412, May, 21st).
coexistence could also be at the very heart of long and strong relationships. Most interestingly, these sorts of bonds seem to have been chiefly used in citizenship interrogations by those individuals in more precarious situations, namely some foreigners and seafarers from the more humble area of the Ribera and its surroundings. A native of Barcelona, the merchant Salvador d’Oliva had been living independently for more than 15 years in a house of the street Dusay, right in front of the sea, when he requested a citizenship charter. He then counted on the deep support of neighbours, such as the skipper Antoni Martí who affirmed having known him for more than 20 years. Likewise, the witnesses of Miquel Paulega’s report, a skipper living in the street Serra, in the quarter de Framenors, admitted that they had seen him for more than 20 years in the environment they all shared. The role of Miquel in the cohesion of his neighbourhood should also be highlighted. Indeed, four years later, it was he who positively acted as the witness of his neighbour, the sailor Nicolau Canvis, who had been one of his witnesses in 1414.

The significance of neighbourhood relationships in the progressive formation of the citizen needs also to be approached in terms of time. In a period with no regular parish registers, neighbours were a source of collective memory, one which registered the life steps of many citizens. Indeed, neighbourhood ties had their own memory, confirming a Barcelonese’s degree of belonging to the city, however much they had moved from one place to another. Thus the figure of the old neighbour, namely an individual with whom streets, squares, gossips, and commitments had been shared some time ago, also emerges from the Informacions. The fisherman Pere Camps moved from the street Fonollar to the street Sant Pere (both in the quarter of Sant Pere) after two years of continuous residence. His former neighbour, the weaver Berenguer Vilar, remembered well that the candidate and his family ‘had been for a long time in the street Fonollar, in a house just next to mine.’ Before the sailor Pere Masons moved to the Plaça Santa Anna, his former neighbour, the notary Francesc Soler, used to see him in the surroundings of his neighbourhood, in the street de la

994 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1414, May, 14th).
995 For Miquel Paulega’s report: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1414, June, 16th). For Nicolau Canvis’ report: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1418, February, 12th).
996 On the neighbourhood as a source of collective memory: Leguay, Vivre en Ville, 181.
997 ‘estigueren per lonch temps en lo carrer del Fonollar en i alberch paret mitgera d’ell testes’ AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1412, August, 17th).

316
Palla. The best example on this issue would certainly be Pere Crexell’s. After leaving the city to inherit some lands, Pere decided to return and requested a citizenship charter. Among his witnesses were two old acquaintances, his neighbours during his first stay in Barcelona, who remembered him and did not hesitate to confirm that they had heard the candidate expressing his wishes to settle definitively in the city.\(^{998}\) The detachment from a neighbourhood did not have to imply a fracture with the neighbouring ties that had been created within it. On the contrary, these could actually be shown and used as a proof of deep roots and stability, turning the neighbourhood into a social heart which created belonging at a reduced scale but with a larger scope. Previous claims become even clearer: the neighbourhood in fifteenth-century Barcelona was a social space, determined by the ties that defined it rather than by the territory it occupied.

In an article on German neighbourhoods in the Early Modern period, Bernd Roeck noted how difficult it is to document actual *neighbourliness*, since trials only show the tensions that could emerge when living together.\(^{999}\) In contrast, the *Informacions* seem to come closer to the results of the research conducted by Yvonne Le Maresquier for Medieval Paris, since they are partly based on the solidary nature of the ties that were created through neighbouring coexistence.\(^{1000}\) Nonetheless, it would be naïve to perceive neighbouring ties from only a positive perspective. In their richness, the citizenship reports of Barcelona uncover the diverse shapes and degrees that neighbourhood bonds could take: from forgetfulness and indifference to cohabitation, from concern to actual hatred. In all these forms, the examples provided by the *Informacions* only certify that neighbours were at the very core of urban integration, as by determining acceptance and rejection they drew with freehand the permeable limits of the citizenry.

The diverse degrees and forms of neighbouring ties could all be experienced by one single individual. Let us turn again to the example of the fisherman Pere Camps, who, upon his move from the street *Fonollar* to the street *Sant Pere Jussà*, was

\(^{998}\) AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1416, October, 7th).
\(^{1000}\) Le Maresquier, “Le voisinage,” 48, 68.
remembered by one of his old neighbours, even recalling the name of the candidate’s wife. Some other of his previous acquaintances did not seem to have weaved such strong bounds with Camps. Indeed, the dyer Tomàs Ros was even ready to affirm that he was unsure whether Camps was still living in Barcelona or not: ‘he [Ros] said he is not aware of his [Pere Camps’] presence now, but he had formerly seen the mentioned Pere Camps living and staying in the street Fonollar.’\textsuperscript{1001} Unfortunately, citizenship records have not been conserved for 1412 and it is impossible to establish how these contradictory testimonies affected the official recognition of the candidate as a citizen.

Old and new neighbours were interrogated when the skipper Pere Feliu requested the charter in 1411, all illustrating how differently this seafarer had related to those living in his surroundings. A current neighbour of the candidate in the Pont d’en Oliver, Bernat Paratge defended Feliu’s pretensions to the charter: although he had known him for less than six months, he had heard that the candidate had been residing in Barcelona for a longer period and had seen him living stably in a house next to his, together with his wife and his children. The interrogations also included the testimonies of individuals who used to be Feliu’s neighbours in the street Caules, in the Ribera. Among them, the merchant Antoni Salvador showed a rather indifferent position. With no clear intention of helping the candidate, he affirmed that Pere Feliu used to travel a lot, leaving his house in the city unattended. In contrast, the seafarers Francesc Dalmau, Pere Padró, and Bartomeu Julià defended the candidate’s stability, Julià even contradicting Antoni Salvador’s testimony by affirming that a son of Pere from a previous marriage would always stay in Barcelona when the candidate had to leave the city for professional reasons. The merchant Joan Navarro added another well-meaning contradiction to Pere Feliu’s story. Remembering that the candidate would always give him the keys to his house when leaving the city, he thereby confirmed Feliu’s instability, although noting that the candidate had weaved citizen ties with another Barcelonese that were strong enough to entrust to him one of his most prized possessions.\textsuperscript{1002} I have previously discussed the case of Pere Feliu when analysing freedom as one of the defining criteria of the citizen. At that point, I

\textsuperscript{1001}’E dix que no sab que ara hic estiga mas entemps passat vui ell testimoni que lo dit Pere Camps estich e habità en lo carrer del Fonollà’ AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1412, August, 17th).

\textsuperscript{1002}AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1411, January, 23rd).
presented the existence of a double interrogation on Pere Feliu as a proof of the pressing necessity of the authorities to clear their doubts on the potential status of the candidate as a serf. This reticence to grant the charter and recognize Feliu as a citizen of Barcelona can now be reinterpreted not only as a sign of the importance of freedom in the official recognition of the citizen but also as a proof of the strong identification between the solidity of neighbouring ties and integration: the doubtful ability of Pere Feliu to connect with his neighbours in the streets of Barcelona also increased suspicions on his degree of integration within the citizenry.

It is through a strong example of hatred that we can find the clearest expression of how the neighbourhood, shaped in one single street, conditioned strongly urban integration and citizen acceptance. Although taking place after the period studied in this dissertation, the case of Miquela Reia needs certainly to be considered. The municipal authorities collected information on this woman, a neighbour of the street Ample (quarter de Framenors) and wife of the glazier Miquel Reia, on 8 April 1457. The witnesses of this report, men and women, were all neighbours of the same area. In contrast with the generally positive tone of the Informaciones, none of the participants in this interrogation hesitated to express how inconvenient it was to share their public space with a woman who had apparently lost her mind, shouting, insulting, and threatening those living in her surroundings. Her neighbours illustrated very colourfully how repeatedly she had broken the peace and coexistence of the neighbourhood. Caterina affirmed that Miquela had been dishonouring women of good reputation with her constant insults, while Isabel la Moristada (the Moorish) remembered particular and detailed anecdotes. Among these, a few instances stand out, like the day when Miquela entered her house to loudly accuse her of robbery or the occasion when she and her husband had shouted to Isabel’s son, who was singing in the streets, ‘I swear on God’s name I will tear out the walls and punish you and get your bowels out.’

As a woman of bad reputation (mala fama) and venomous tongue (mala lenga) who had been publicly insulting the honest women of the neighbourhood (pofembres), Miquela had dishonoured the whole neighbourhood (que era gran vergonya del dit

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1003 jurte per Déu que si jo vaig jo’n batre les pares e castigar-te et faré exir los budells’ AHCB, 1C-V,5 (1457, April, 8th).
veynat) and appeared as an antipodal figure to the citizen.\textsuperscript{1004} Under these circumstances, the authorities of the city did not hesitate to expel Miquela and her husband from the neighbourhood. On the very same day, the councillors established that the accused couple was ‘to leave the mentioned street before the Easter festivities.’\textsuperscript{1005} Furthermore, a note on the matter was sent to the royal representative in Barcelona.

Now, it is to be highlighted that Miquela’s report, which is the last one of the collection, was probably not conceived as a citizenship report. Although the form of the document is very similar, the questions were different, as interrogators seemed to be already aware of Miquela’s habits and were directly asking for details on her disorderly behaviour. Most probably, the investigation resulted from a petition from the neighbours to expel such a problematic person, since Miquela herself was far from needing or coveting a citizenship charter. The inclusion of this interrogation among the \textit{Informacions} could be taken as an archival mistake or as proof of the procedure’s exhaustion, since no more citizenship sources have been conserved for later periods. Let us remind ourselves that these were tumultuous political times, characterised by the risen to power of the \textit{Busca}, an anti-oligarchical and protectionist party which had achieved control of the Council in 1453. A new context of protectionist policies might have dictated a stricter concern regarding the granting of the citizenship charter and the exemptions it included. Different mechanisms for the control of the social order might have been undertaken. Whatever the case may be, the example of Miquela Reia remains strongly linked to conceptions of the citizen in Late Medieval Barcelona. In its uniqueness, this gendered view on neighbourhood coexistence presents the necessity of restoring peace in the neighbourhood as an act of citizenship, one which involved Barcelonese and their authorities (both royal and municipal), one which determined inclusion and exclusion. Thus, to expel someone from the street, from the neighbourhood, might not have been a formal declaration of exile (this was a political measure) but it was certainly a measure stating that the expelled were far from being taken as members of the citizen body. From a negative perspective, Miquela and her


\textsuperscript{1005}‘Isquesen de lo dit carrer d’aci a les presents festes de Pasqua’. AHCB, 1C-V, 5 (1457, April, 8\textsuperscript{th}).
madness confirmed that neighbours and the networks they created were at the core of urban belonging: powerful enough to establish the limits of absorption, inclusion within them emerged as the most secure path to integrate the citizen body.

**CONCLUSIONS**

The aim of this chapter was to reproduce the daily experience of the citizen, picturing how his constant dialogue with the citizenry’s structures ensured his acceptance and defined his belonging. In approaching the relationships between citizens and their community from this angle, citizenship becomes a key with which to analyse anew the social networks and institutions that structured and animated urban life.

As with the rest of the dissertation, I have embraced a micro approach based on a variety of cases with which I hope to have depicted how citizenship, namely belonging to the city, combined a plurality of belongings determined by familial, professional, and neighbouring bonds. The citizen has therefore emerged as a figure who depended on being identified and accepted as such by friends, relatives, professional acquaintances, and neighbours. Acting as a judge and a mirror of behaviour for the good citizen, witnesses formed a varied community which, as much as the municipal authorities, had the role of ensuring the cohesion and social order of the city, as the negative example of Miquela Reia, expelled from her neighbourhood, has clearly shown.

Yet, to focus on the dialogue between citizens and the broader citizenry has placed citizenship at the crossroads between common good and self-interest. While this community of witnesses accepted useful citizens whom they judged able to perpetuate and consolidate the peaceful coexistence of the whole citizenry, families such as the Sarrovira created citizens through alliances, property transmission, and business inclusion in order to consolidate their own influence and reputation in the city. In return, in-laws such as Bernat Perpinyà and Pere Llobera used the protection granted by this family to build their citizen reputation first and to obtain an official recognition of their civic status later. Royal and municipal officials relied on each other to enhance their civic position, as they might have been rather isolated from the broader citizenry. Merchants relied strongly in the integration processes and the
citizenship procedures of their partners to ensure, first and foremost, the success of common enterprises. A focus on the micro, on the individual strategies and interests of both witnesses and candidates has uncovered the very negotiable nature of citizenship, which was, therefore, in constant construction.

The work done case by case has shown that individual and particular contexts shaped these negotiations for citizenship. In general terms, however, it seems that the use of protective families as a civic resource was more common within the economic elite of the city, while professional artisans or merchants in need of customs exemptions were those who more commonly relied on their partners or professional acquaintances.

The nature of the Informaciones, which, as recalled on manifold occasions, gathers chiefly those able and interested in acquiring a charter needs to be taken into account when trying to understand the rather minor incidence of neighbourhood bonds, with only 15 candidates relying exclusively on neighbours when requesting the charter. For many, recourse to neighbours and their memory was a complementary tool with which to seal their belonging to the city.

This being said, these very same citizenship sources have still provided, as shown in the previous section, strong qualitative proof of the strength of neighbouring ties in the constant negotiation of citizenship and the subsequent shaping of the citizenry. Neighbourhoods were a complex set of ties rather than a determinate space: through these ties, the moves, strategies, intentions, and behaviours of a diversity of citizens were recorded, applauded, or rejected.

In brief, I argue that despite the large majority of dynamic merchants and active artisans among the candidates to the citizenship charter, the Barcelonese citizenship sources are to be used to unravel the intricacies of a citizenry which was complexly built from a diversity of overlapping scales, perhaps related with the gradation of citizenship discussed in other chapters. We are therefore facing a flexible citizenry, more strongly determined by informal than formal (i.e. guilds, confraternities, parishes) networks. While solidarities in Early Modern Barcelona rested on strong institutions that determined the corporate nature of the Barcelonese society, the sources at the basis of this research reveal how importantly daily micro relationships

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were in continuously forming the citizenry of Barcelona during the first half of the fifteenth century.

Yet, despite the permeability of the Barcelonese citizen body, the belonging of some groups was more questionable. The final chapter will reflect on these cases, discussing women, religious minorities, and the poor’s citizenship, thereby discussing where Barcelonese placed the limits of their citizenry at the dawn of the fifteenth century.
VII
At the Margins of the Citizenry?
Women, Converts, the Poor, and Citizenship

INTRODUCTION. ON MARGINAL LENSES.

It is commonly assumed that both inclusion and exclusion dynamics need to be considered in order to understand the building process of a given community. From a cultural perspective, the capacity to ‘condemn collectively’ emerges as much as ‘praising collectively’ as an opportunity through which to reaffirm citizenry defining features, confirming the processes that make the citizen by critically marking those that unmake him.

The case of Miquela Reia, mentioned in the previous chapter, has pointed towards the effective role these practices of isolation, collective attack, and, ultimately, expulsion, had in the constant definition of urban communities. This was a unique case since the Informaciones de la Ciutadania mostly portray the capacity of the Barcelonese to praise collectively, thus building a flexible and open citizenry. The biased character of these rich sources needs to be highlighted again: candidates, be they natives or foreigners, generally chose their witnesses before the interrogations and went through the citizenship procedure as citizens fully recognised by their fellow Barcelonese. As I have shown, the potential of these sources to retrace the legal, economic, social, and cultural intricacies that determined the making of the citizen is rather unique; nonetheless, they remain silent on the forms and targets of civic exclusion.

In other chapters, alternative sources have provided some hints on institutional exclusion. However, they do not satisfy completely the main interests of this study, which is focussed on the social and cultural processes of urban identification. I should certainly not attempt to analyse exclusion mechanisms by concentrating on those candidates who were not registered and were presumably not granted a charter. Many

reasons beyond an intentional exclusion could lead to an incomplete registration; decisions such as to leave the city or to register the charter later on time are just as likely reasons as rejection. Most importantly, the lack of an official registration did not signify that the candidate was excluded from the citizenry by his Barcelonese entourage. Let us recall the case of the merchant Esteve Coloma: he does not seem to have been granted a citizenship charter, even if his witnesses confirmed that he had been living in the city for a very long time. One of them, Berenguer Ranata, affirmed beyond a shadow of a doubt that ‘Esteve has been a citizen for more than thirty years.’

In brief, I shall assume that the material gathered for this dissertation does not allow me to reflect on the practices of urban exclusion nor on their effect on the definition and understanding of the citizen. Yet, I will still attempt to nuance my previous analysis and to reflect further on the nature of the Barcelonese citizenry by focussing on the relationships entertained by three groups whose citizenship had been traditionally questioned or presented as weaker within the citizen body of fifteenth-century Barcelona: women, convert Jews, and the poor. The sources do not allow us to discuss on the presence of Muslims and their potential strategies to shape a civic status. Muslims were very few in medieval Barcelona, limited as they were to those freed slaves who had not converted previously. Long ago, David Romano gave some hints on the issue by analysing sources regarding the payment of the ‘mostalafia,’ a residence tax that free Muslims were supposed to pay directly to the crown. There were 10 Muslim who paid this tax per year in Barcelona in the central years of the fourteenth century, thus making their presence purely symbolic.

Evidence on the civic behaviour of women, convert Jews, and the poor throughout the Informaciones and the notarial material is tiny; yet, it can still help us to retrace how specifically these groups shaped their belonging to the city. In so doing, this chapter will unravel alternative processes in the making of the citizen. Ultimately, this will push me to insist even further on the active role of solidarity networks in the

1008 el dit Esteve ha més de XXX anys que és ciutadà’ AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1413, August, 26th).
creation of citizens, portraying how it was within such networks that these groups found the tools to compensate for the weaknesses of their citizenship.

Even more importantly, previous studies, mostly focussed on the relationships between gender and citizenship, have already discussed the significance of these groups as analytical tools with which to grasp the nature of citizenship itself in a specific context. As Martha Howell put it in her classical article on gender and citizenship, the degree of citizenship granted to women (in her case, in northern cities), depended on the political meaning of citizenship itself. Thus, those cities that had evolved into oligarchic regimes deployed an individualistic approach to urban power mainly based on the privileges of male citizens, who were uniquely associated with civic virtues. These dynamics detached municipal polities from previous feudal practices, which reserved room for women within the public and political space by being more rooted in kinship structures.1010

Women, therefore, can be taken as a barometer of citizenship, one through which to examine the political balances of the city and the hierarchies and structures that determined belonging. This chapter will analyse the extent of female citizenship in fifteenth-century Barcelona and its expressions. I will thereby partly test my previous hypothesis on the citizenry’s fluidity and flexibility. However, such an exercise would be incomplete if we did not (re)examine belonging in fifteenth-century Barcelona through the lenses of Jews, convert Jews, and the poor. In this attempt to interrogate further the nature of the Barcelonese citizenry, the study of converted citizenship has been combined with an approach to Jewish citizenship, a subject in which the historiography has recently shown an interest.1011 Both will help to question the extent to which the limits of the citizen body were conceived in religious terms. As only very few Jews remained in Barcelona after the pogroms of 1391, the reference to Jewish citizenship forces me back chronologically to the fourteenth century. Together with


women and convert Jews, analysing experiences of poverty in citizenship terms also assists in challenging traditional images that picture medieval citizenship as a male and Christian phenomenon limited to the wealthy. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that the section devoted to the poor will be considerably shorter. Indeed, historiography on the issue has scarcely reflected on medieval poverty in citizenship terms, while the sources I have collected also refer little to the subject. Despite these difficulties, this chapter aims to retrace the daily experiences of these three groups of citizens on the margins, placing them at the core of the processes of urban community building. They will then emerge as valuable keys with which to explore even further the rich and alternative forms of the medieval citizen.

**Gender and Citizenship in Fifteenth-Century Barcelona**

‘You do know that if there were no women [...] there would be no cities, castles or houses, there would be no kings, knights or weapons; there would be no citizens, artisans, peasants or ships, there would be no merchants or merchandises [...]’. In his master piece, *Lo Somni (the Dream)*, the royal secretary Bernat Metge (ca. 1346-1413) decided to nuance the dominant misogyny of contemporary literature by recognising the fundamental role of women in the reproduction and evolution of human society. His own experience as a Barcelonese might have pushed him to do so by primarily situating women within the urban community. In this section, I shall examine the real scope of this recognition and the extent to which it shaped women’s belonging to the citizenry.

Research on female citizenship in the Middle Ages has been conducted for other cities in Western Europe. To combine the few explicit sources on the issue with the approaches developed in these studies becomes necessary to avoid

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1013 On the issue, the classic reference remains: Howell, “Citizenship and Gender” See also in Capp, *When Gossip Meet*, esp. chapter 7 (pp. 267-320). I take the term ‘female citizenship’ from him see, p. 289. In his general study of the medieval city, David Nicholas recalled that while women were registered as citizens in some German and northern cities, they remained very rare in England. See Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City*, 260-261.

328
victimising analysis that relies on the misogyny of the time and automatically excludes Barcelonese women from the citizen body.\textsuperscript{1014} A more nuanced picture can be achieved by exploring, as suggested in Bernard Capp’s study on Early Modern England, what could it mean for a woman of fifteenth-century Barcelona to be a citizen and, more importantly, to distinctively act as a citizen.

Together with literature on women in Late Medieval Barcelona and Early Modern Europe, the archival material collected throughout this research suggests that Barcelonese women to a certain extent embedded two sorts of citizenships, expressing their belonging to the city at two different levels. While they were citizens through the civic condition of their closest male relatives, they also managed to develop more proper forms of citizenship.

\textit{Women’s Experiences of Male Citizenship.}

Women certainly acted as citizens in fifteenth-century Barcelona: they were, in most cases, permanent residents of the city, they could come to inherit and administrate their own properties, exercised professional activities and performed some communal services. Notwithstanding, these expressions of citizenship were limited, as they were often defined and conditioned by the position of their male relatives.

As permanent residents of the city, women ensured the citizenship of their itinerant husbands, particularly in the case of seafarers and merchants. Their stability was questioned, however, if they were married to peasants, as they often accompanied them beyond the walls of the city to participate in the fields. Be that as it may, women’s residence in the city was mostly settled in fathers’, brothers’ or husbands’ houses. On some occasions, however, couples could fix their domicile in a house which was part of the wife’s dowry (in which case it was still administered by their husbands)\textsuperscript{1015} or that had been inherited as her own property (\textit{bens parafernals}). When he requested a citizenship charter, the peasant Francesc Depuig had been living in the \textit{Raval} with his wife and his brother-in-law for around three months. Their dwelling had been recently inherited by his wife: ‘the wife of the mentioned Francesc

\textsuperscript{1014}Teresa Vinyoles i Vidal, \textit{Història de les dones a la Catalunya medieval}, (Lleida and Vic: Pagès Editors and Eumo Editorial, 2005), 157.

\textsuperscript{1015}Vinyoles, \textit{Les Barcelonines}, 85.
Depuig has a house in the street d’en Canyot, which she inherited from her mother and Francesc’s mother-in-law,’ affirmed the witness Bernat Aranyó. The strict separation of property enshrined in Catalan law allowed women to independently administer their possessions and therefore to act within the real estate market of the city. This was not only the case for heiresses: those widows having been named usufructuaries by their late husbands could also enter these markets. Jaumeta, the widow of the boatman Pere Colomer, rented the house of her late husband to the reed weaver (esparter) Nicolau Sicart in the street Font de les Estaperes. Sicart was still living there with his family when he requested a citizenship charter one year later. In 1416, Sibil·la and her mother Sança, in their capacities as heir and usufructuary of the goods of the boter Ponç Savila, rented a house for one year to the merchant Joan Draper.

Despite these activities, however, we should not forget that women seldom emerged as fully independent actors in the city, since they were legally and economically bound to their male relatives. Many could only count on their dowry, a donation which was bequeathed by their fathers but administered by their husbands. Thus, women could fall into very fragile situations upon the death of their spouses: if not appointed as usufructuaries, they could be expelled from the deceased’s place with nothing else than their dowry. While some fortunate widows received legal permission to control their late husband’s businesses, others were forced to remarry in order to avoid the dangers of poverty. In brief, despite their legal rights to property, women’s residences and modes of habitation tended to be very much conditioned by the wills, interests, and necessities of the men surrounding them.

1016 ‘la muller del dit Ffrancesch Puig ha I alberch en lo dit carrer d’en Canyot, lo qual li ha jaquit sa mare de la dita muller e sogre del dit Ffrancesch’ AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1417, March, 10th).
1017 Vinyoles, La vida, 183.
1018 AHPB, Bernat Pi, 113/8, f. 27r (1414, October, 30th).
1019 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1415, March, 8th).
1020 AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/55, f. 19v-20r (1416, May, 29th).
1022 For early modern Venice, Monica Chojnacka also observed the influence of men in framing the diverse habitation modes of the women depending on them, although she also pointed to other sorts of relationships also influenced women’s residences. Monica Chojnacka, Working Women of Early Modern Venice, (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 1.
Women’s professional activities were also strongly shaped by the men at their side. As literature on the topic has broadly demonstrated, some women were actively involved in the economic daily activities of the city: they were chosen as representatives in powers of attorney, nominated their own agents (procurador), and borrowed and lent money. Their male relatives and protectors, however, were often involved in these transactions as supervisors or as the traders at the very origins of the deals. In charge of her son’s inheritance, Joana, widow of Francesc Bosquet, appointed her own brother, the honoured citizen Galceran Dusay as his legal representative.

In contrast, Isabel, married to the merchant Guillem de Cabanyelles, acted as her husband’s agent in the city, publicly recognising in a notarial document that one of Cabanyelles’ debtors had paid what was expected. While Vicençà was in charge of selling a slave on behalf of her husband, Francesca promised, together with her husband the furrier Mateu Vilana, that they would return the deposit they had recently received from the chandler Francesc Vilardell.

Men’s influence on women’s professional practices was somewhat more oppressive in the artisanal atmosphere, where women mostly worked in their fathers’ or husbands’ workshops. Others could occupy themselves as needlewomen and in the textile industry but their activities would still be closely controlled by their husbands, who would involve themselves in any apprenticeship contract their wives established to hire young servants or apprentices. In some cases, women practised their own professions: this, however, was generally the case of needy women, single or married, who had to turn to low skilled occupations such as retailing or domestic service. In contrast with the thrilling activities of merchants’ wives, these more humble realities

1024 Through a power of attorney: AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/53, f. 68v (1415, February, 1st).
1025 AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/55, f. 8r (1416, April, 10th).
1026 AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/55, f. 43r-43v (1416, July, 30th).
1027 AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/56, f. 79r-79v (1417, December, 29th).
make evident the role not only of gender but also of social status in women’s urban experiences, pinpointing therefore the complexity of women as a social category.\textsuperscript{1029}

The emergence of the \textit{arts} only further questioned the professional position of women, in Barcelona as well as in other European cities.\textsuperscript{1030} In Barcelona, women were generally not allowed to take the exams that could ensure acceptance and recognition among their male co-workers.\textsuperscript{1031} While some \textit{arts} accepted widows as responsible for their late husbands’ workshops,\textsuperscript{1032} there was an explicit desire to keep them at the margins of these organisations, thus sealing women’s incapacity to access any sort of municipal office or responsibility.\textsuperscript{1033}

Healing was perhaps one of the few occupations to which women could devote themselves in a more independent manner. Although there was certainly no place for women at university (\textit{Estudi General}), some women practised medicine in the shadows, their reputations relying exclusively on their previous successes in curing their neighbours and acquaintances. In some cases, the status of these women could even be officially recognised by the king, who would grant them specific licences with which they could openly and legally devote themselves to curing the sick. In 1394, for instance, Francesca, the widow of the sailor Berenguer Satorra, received one of these licences. A reputed midwife, the king gave her permission to treat a broader range of sufferers and granted her protection against any potential inquisition on her practices.\textsuperscript{1034} The status of more independent women like Francesca remained unclear, however: while popular imaginary could sometimes place them close to witchcraft, in some other contexts midwives attained high social relevance, as their closeness to delivering mothers gave them knowledge and control over the morality of the whole

\textsuperscript{1029}There are some considerations on the interrelationships between social categories from a gender perspective in Cordelia Beattie, \textit{Medieval Single Women. The Politics of Social Classification in Late Medieval England}, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 7-9.


\textsuperscript{1031}Vinyoles, \textit{Història de les dones}, 181-193.

\textsuperscript{1032}On the presence of women, mainly but not exclusively widows, in guilds throughout Europe (with the most relevant examples of Paris and Cologne,): Bellavitis, “Donne, cittadinanza e corporazioni,” 8-9; Kowaleski and Bennett, “Crafts, Gilds and Women,” 478.

\textsuperscript{1033}Kowaleski and Bennett, “Crafts, Gilds and Women,” 479.

\textsuperscript{1034}Vinyoles, \textit{Les Barcelonines}, 45-47, 174-175.
community. In their ambiguity, these women did not receive, public nor official recognition as citizens of Barcelona, despite their apparent independence and their continual services to the civic community. Let us recall that Francesca, for instance, was identified through her late husband’s name and profession in the licence to practice medicine that she received from the king.

Women also had more conventional and recognised ways of serving their civic community as citizens. By virtue of their properties and as consumers in the markets or as head of households (mainly when widowed), women acted as committed fiscal citizens. We find them recorded in the censuses through which the city regulated the fiscal and military duties of their citizens. For instance, the military census composed in 1390, when the city was under the armed threat of the Count of Armagnac, included a significant number of women. Certainly, many were widows and were taken into consideration as head of households: this was done for organisational rather than effective purposes, as very few seemed able to defend their city in these times of need. Exceptions, however, were found among a diversity of social backgrounds. Thus, the register stated that the wife of the honoured citizen Jaume de Gualbes could provide all sort of weapons (totes armes), while the widow of a certain Orts was ready to give a sword. Another woman identified as the Carbonella was able to contribute with a crossbow. It is not clear from the census whether these women were ready to intervene directly in the defence of the city or if they would rather appoint a man to use their weapons, as suggested by Martha Howell when analysing female citizenship in northern cities. This was most probably the case in late medieval Barcelona as well: when a new military census was elaborated in 1399, the record referring to Violant, married to Francesco Scarampi from Asti, detailed that although this woman was not able to provide any weapon, she would still contribute through a man (pot tenir hom) who would defend the city on her behalf. In other contexts, it is known

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1035 For Early Modern England: Capp, When Gossips Meet, 298-306. On the association of midwives with witchcraft in Late Medieval Catalonia: Vinyoles, Història de les dones, 231.
1037 The census only related the names of heads of households. The number of widows might have been even higher, as some women appearing with no relation to a man had actually a masculinised name which most probably referred to a late husband. Comes, “Les dones soles,” 200-201.
1038 Marsà, Onomàstica, 67, 84.
1040 Soldani, Uomini d’affari e mercanti toscani, 136.
that women were forced to participate actively in the defence of their city through the provision of supplies and in reconstructing damaged walls and protections.\textsuperscript{1041}

From a diversity of sources and cases, it becomes evident that, in one way or another, women acted as citizens and had citizenship experiences. The limits and nature of this citizenship is at stake here. As Roman law guaranteed \textit{original} citizenship to women (as well as men) born within a legitimate marriage,\textsuperscript{1042} the previous examples have shown that women could be holders of property, heads of households, and to a certain extent accessed profession and stable residence, the fundamental resources of the citizen. In brief, it is legitimate to affirm that there was a legal space for women to fully deploy their economic and fiscal agency as citizens.\textsuperscript{1043} Nonetheless, the very same examples hitherto demonstrated how often women reached these citizen experiences through the control of their male relatives. Bound to their fathers, brothers, and husbands, dependence was the most striking sign of their weaker citizenship. This dependence had a legal foundation in Catalan tradition, as shown in the \textit{Usatges de Barcelona}:

\begin{quote}
Let every woman be compensated according to the rank of her husband. If she never had or does not currently have a husband, let her be compensated according to the rank of her father or brother.\textsuperscript{1044}
\end{quote}

It was through the citizenship acquisition procedure itself that the influence of men in shaping women as citizens became more precise. Evidence on six women requesting the citizenship charter for the period 1395-1425 demonstrates that citizenship as an individual privilege was not exclusively conceived as a prerogative for men. As suggested in Anna Bellavitis’ references to the Venetian case, the scarce presence of women in these sort of procedures was more often linked to the uses and utilities of the charter itself than to any potential gendered view contemporaries might have had.


\textsuperscript{1042}\textit{Original} citizenship referred to the father’s native citizenship, his \textit{origo}. Children from illegitimate unions inherited, in contrast, their mother’s \textit{origo}. Kirshner, “Mulier,” 149. On the original citizenship of women, see also Kirshner, “Genere e cittadinanza,” 31.

\textsuperscript{1043}Similar observations for early modern Venice: Bellavitis, “Alla ricerca delle cittadine,” 8-9.

\textsuperscript{1044}Kagay, \textit{The Usatges de Barcelona}, 75; Quoted in Vinyoles, \textit{Les Barcelonines}, 74. Original version in Catalan (from Vinyoles, \textit{Les Barcelonines}): ‘Cascuna fembra sie esmenada segons valor de son marit; e si no ha marit segons valor del pare de del frare.’
As in Venice, Barcelona’s charter was pragmatically focussed on granting exemptions to customs and was of interest, first and foremost, to merchant wives or widows in charge of their husbands’ businesses and inheritance. If it were a document granting reductions on property taxes, as it was in Early Modern Bologna, many more Barcelonese women would have probably felt an interest for sanctioning their belonging to the civic community with this official document. Be that as it may, women reached this official recognition of their citizenship and the economic rights it entailed whilst being encouraged and protected by the men at their side. Indeed, women were rarely registered alone: even if they were, they were situated within a protective circle of male relatives and acquaintances. Rafaela, daughter of the merchant and ship captain Arnau Ferrer, received a charter together with her husband Bartomeu Gras, a treasurer to the Queen and the native widows Clara and Narcisa were registered with their sons Nicolau Miró and Esteve Desmas respectively. While Narcisa could count on her brother Francesc as a guarantor, Clara and Nicolau acted more independently, guaranteeing each other when swearing the oath.

When requesting a charter, women practised citizenship like men did, negotiating with it in similarly pragmatic terms. While the citizenship privilege ensured widows the control over their late husbands’ businesses and possessions, male acquaintances helped them in this endeavour for their own goals, as they guaranteed the continuity of previous agreements and investments through these widows’ citizenship privileges. It is in light of these considerations that we can understand the case of Francesca, widow of Bartomeu Carreres, a merchant and citizen of Barcelona. Francesca was recorded as a citizen in 1424, together with the merchants Bartomeu Vives, Joan Vila, and Antic Pujada. Considering that Vila, Pujada, Carreres, and Vives were names most probably related to Gironese families actively present in Barcelona, it is tempting to speculate that Francesca stood as a substitute

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1046 Vela, Especiers i candelers, 851.
1047 AHCB, 1C V, 4, Registre, f. 81r-82v (1417, May, 25th).
1048 AHCB, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 95r (1418, January, 13th); f. 124r-124v (1419, May, 30th). On Narcisa and Esteve, members of the Sarrovira family, see chapter VI.
1049 AHCB, 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 186v (1424, September, 19th).
for her late husband and the whole manoeuver ensured the commercial interests they all shared.

The mixture of self-interest and protection deployed by men in women’s processes of citizenship acquisition powerfully emerges from the successful charter request of Violant, widow of the merchant Arnau Gassot, in 1451. Violant’s witnesses, her late husband’s associates Joan Bertran and Guillem Alegre among them, confirmed that Violant had listened to Bertran and Alegre’s advice, moving to Barcelona almost one year before the request. Once in Barcelona, she had settled in a house rented on her behalf by Joan Bertran and started arranging marriages for her children. Most probably, Bertran and Alegre’s constant and devoted support to Violant was due to their need to perpetuate the businesses they shared with the late Arnau Gassot.

When suitable and necessary, women could culminate their citizen experiences by requesting and being granted a charter with which to sanction fully their role as active economic agents of the city. Nonetheless, their exclusion from the arts impeded them from attaining any role within the Council and most of them were fully dependent on the men at their side, who supervised and shared all their citizen experiences. This strong dependence determined the weakness of their citizenship but in no way did it question their belonging to the citizen body. Their insertion into the citizenry was seldom expressed through the actual use of the term ‘citizen’: they were rather identified as mothers, daughters, sisters, and wives of citizens. Yet, through these men, women accessed a male dimension of citizenship which they adorned with other proper and specific acts of citizenship that shaped their role and social power within the civic community.

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1050 AHCB, 1C-V, 5, (1451, April, 2nd). Although no registers were conserved for this period, the granting of the charter is marginally noted in the report: ‘Die martis VI aprilis 1451, fuit concessa carta ciutadanegi forma solita.’

1051 I take the term ‘social power’ from Chonajcka, xvi ‘By social power I mean the ability to make independent decisions as well as influence the actions of other people.’ To reflect on this social power in terms of belonging and citizenship from the Barcelonese sources leads us to discuss more on the influence of women on other people’s situations rather than on their own decisions.
Women’s Specific Performance of Citizenship

Women contributed passively and actively in the making of the citizen. As in many other contexts, the marriage to a native Barcelonese woman eased the way into the citizenry for foreigners. Women were therefore seen as passive resources of citizenship: they transmitted wealth, status, and citizen reputation through marital alliance. Yet, my interests here are focused on the active performance of women as citizens, which was not confined to the experiences of ‘male’ citizenship I have been analysing so far. Distanced from the political arena, women performed an important act of citizenship by being particularly sharp observers of their entourage. Looking through the windows, working in the arches of their houses, controlling how their children played in the streets, women watched and judged. Through their constant gossip, they ensured and controlled the moral reputation of the community. Certainly, both men and women indulged in gossiping. For the latter, however, it was a practice that they could experience freely and independently from their male acquaintances. In fact, Bernard Capp noted that gossip was sometimes seen by husbands as a threat to their authority over their spouses, since women decided what they wanted to share or conceal from what they overheard in the streets. By developing and encouraging gossiping, both positive and negative, women not only participated strongly in establishing the moral boundaries of the citizenry and the creation of citizens, they also imposed themselves as active members of the citizen body: to receive gossip was certainly taken as a sign of inclusion and acceptance. Women’s involvement and their recognition in these important acts of citizenship is strongly revealed through their presence as witnesses throughout the citizenship reports. Thus, I intend to reflect on women’s experiences as citizens by focussing on the community of female witnesses (51) rather than on the very few women who requested the citizenship charter.

This might result in a rather modest sample: certainly the social role of gossip appears more powerfully in trials than in so specific and formalised a source as the Informaciones. Nonetheless, the citizenship reports show rather clearly how women

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1053 Capp, When Gossips Meet, 272-273.
1054 Capp, When Gossips Meet, 273.
took their neighbourhood as a local space of action, which they helped to define by judging the adequacy of their neighbours’ behaviours. In so doing, they stated the moral limits of their community. The widow Joana rented a place to the French merchant Giraut Popas in the street of Vigatans. When Popas requested a charter, Joana was interrogated. She very well knew that the candidate ‘eats here when he wants and if he prefers, he goes to the house of a painter who lives in the neighbourhood.’ As much as accurately observing her French lodger, Joana had been talking about Popas with other members of the neighbourhood like the painter himself, Jaume Cabrera. In the words of the latter: ‘he [Giraut de Popas] stays in a place that he rents to the lady Sensist, one which is located in front of the honoured Bernat Serra’s house, in the street Vigatans. And the mentioned Giraut has been living there for around three years, as he has heard from the women who rents the place.’ Joana, therefore, was somewhat responsible for creating specific knowledge on Popas on a neighbourhood scale, contributing to the complete acceptance of an individual that she herself took as ‘a good and plain man.’ Jaume’s intervention in this example shows, however, that men participated equally in gossip. Certainly, I do not intend to present gossip as an exclusive female activity but to elaborate on how women used their access to gossip to independently define and impose their social and civic influence.

For instance, Eulàlia, who was asked about the habits of the sailor Bernat Lloreda in 1419, had previously testified on the citizen reputation of the sailor Gabriel Covaner, who she had gotten to know by chatting with the candidate’s landlady: ‘he [Gabriel Covaner] rents a room in the house of the sailor Antoni Plà, as she has heard from Antoni’s wife that the mentioned Gabriel had paid her ten florins for this rent.’ Years later, Eulàlia, still an acute observer of her surroundings, testified on Bernat Lloreda, admitting that she had seen him coming and sleeping in the house next to

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1055 ‘e quant se vol menja e beu aquí e quant se vol a casa d’un pintor qui està en lo dit veynat.’ AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1417, June, 19th).
1056 ‘E està e habita en I botiga que loga de madona d’en Sensist, situada devant l’alberch de l’honrat en Bernat Serra, en lo carrer dels Vigatans, en la qual lo dit Giraut ha estat e habitat ben per espay de III anys o aquen engir, segons que ell testimoni ha hoyt dir a la dita dona que li loga la dita botiga’ AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1417, June, 19th).
1057 ‘bon hom e pla’ AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1417, June, 19th).
1058 ‘loga una cambra e una botiga en casa d’en Anthoni Plà, mariner, de que ella testimoni hoi dir a la muller del dit Anthoni que-l dit Gabriel Covaner li havia pagats X florins per lo loguer’ AHCB, 1C-V,3 (1419, March, 30th).
hers. She also knew that Lloreda’s aunt, who used to host him, had recently passed away. Walking and chatting in the streets, she had heard from the candidate himself that he had always paid his own expenses while living with his aunt and that he intended to marry soon in Barcelona. Strolling, walking, and working in the same streets, other women such as Agnès, wife of the sailor Joan Marmó, and Antònia, married to the shipwright Vicenç Caules, had also been observing Bernat Lloreda’s movements, carefully listening to his conversations with other neighbours. Antònia, for instance, knew all the details about the candidate aunt’s will and affirmed that Bernat had no proper house in Barcelona yet, since he had no rights over her late aunt’s house, where she had lived as usufructuary of her deceased husband. Antònia was very well aware of the candidate’s marriage prospects, since when asked in this regard, she strongly answered ‘yes he intends to do so, and he will do it as I have heard the mentioned Bernat saying it.’

The ability of these three women to communicate, to listen, and to observe are revealed through their testimonies, as well as their consequent role in diffusing information, creating reputation, and participating in the recognition and appreciation of local acceptance.

Women could also consciously identify those candidates who were more weakly integrated and accuse them of a lack of civic feeling. Guillem Roig had been living in the street de la Monederia for less than two months when he requested a citizenship charter. Although stably settled, his son was constantly travelling. On this occasion, Antònia and Eulàlia, two widows from the same neighbourhood, were interrogated. Without being negative, they did not dare to confirm the candidate’s commitment and intentions as ‘they do not know his heart.’ Interestingly, women as witnesses are concentrated in some reports, giving the impression of collective action and highlighting their role in observing and sanctioning citizens. Let us recall the aforementioned case of Violant Gassot. Besides the testimonies of Violant’s late husband’s associates, the report included three other women as witnesses, all neighbours of the candidate: Isabel, married to the merchant Galceran Corets, Susanna, wife of the notary Gaspar Figuera, and Antònia, a widow to the tailor Antoni

\[1059^*\] E dix ella testimoni que hoc e de fet ho farà car al dit Bernat ho ha hoit dir’ AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1419, March, 30th).
\[1060^*\] car non sapia son cor’. AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1414, March, 8th).
Blanc. Although affirming that they ‘had not entertained themselves with the affairs’ of this woman who had recently reached the city, they were all still able to confirm that Violant had married one of her children in Barcelona.\textsuperscript{1061} Despite their alleged detachment, it is clear that these women were acutely aware of their neighbours’ lives, listening attentively to news and rumours, regardless of whether they referred to acquaintances or strangers.

We should now question the extent to which men, women, and the city’s authorities were aware of the role of feminine agency in the formation of citizen reputation and the delineation of the urban community. Bernat Metge, with whom we opened this section, was very well aware of the female tendency to meet, observe, and gossip, but he had a rather innocent opinion of it: ‘Women’s talk generally regards small things, as well as the administration of the household. It is true, indeed, that they are naturally subtle and they know and understand many things deeply and quickly and they then sometimes exchange them to one another, but no damage comes of this.’\textsuperscript{1062} While having a rather positive opinion of women’s talk and being aware of its uses and practicalities, Metge does not relate female gossip with the creation of citizen reputation and the building of the citizen body. Most probably, the Barcelonese and their authorities had a similar perception. Otherwise, a larger number of women would have been proposed and accepted as witnesses in the citizenship reports. Nonetheless, the civic agency of women needs to be understood within their principal space of action: the neighbourhood. The role of women in the making of the citizen mirrors the agency of neighbourhood solidarity networks. It needs therefore to be evaluated in similar terms, qualitatively rather than quantitatively. As much as neighbours, women were rather chosen as witnesses to complement or cover the lack of preferable testimonies from reputed family members or active professional acquaintances. Thus, their presence throughout the \textit{Informacions} is particularly noticeable among the more humble, and less numerous, candidates. However, this should not lead us to ignore

\textsuperscript{1061}AHCB, 1C-V. 5 (1451, April, 2\textsuperscript{nd}). Only Isabel’s testimony is complete, Susana and Antònia are mentioned and it is noted that their testimonies were similar to Isabel’s.

\textsuperscript{1062}‘Lo parlar de les dones no és comunament sinó de les coses menudes o d’administració de casa. Bé es veritat que, per tal com naturalment són subtils e entenen e saben moltes coses primament e fort tost, puis dien-les a vegades familiarment les unes a les altres, e no s’en segueix damнатge a algú’ Metge, \textit{Lo Somni}, 169.
their daily contribution to the constant creation of citizen reputation and the building of the citizenry, since the conserved cases illustrate their effectiveness in this task.

Women had citizen rights and duties and must have had a certain awareness of their citizenship, not only because they had access, albeit limited, to some male citizen resources but also because their testimonies throughout the citizenship reports showed that they were very capable of identifying well reputed citizens as much as men. They valued citizen reputation because they actively helped to create it. In their case, this capacity strongly shaped their identification with the citizenry, as it came to compensate for the weaknesses and deficiencies of their legal and economic citizenship, which was mostly defined through the men in their lives. To women, more than anyone else, the making of citizens through observation and absorption within a defined space was a paramount right and duty, the one that most strongly determined their daily experiences as citizens and sealed their belonging to the civic community.

**Jews and Converts as Citizens**

On the evening of 23 December 1437, Antoni Genovès, a priest of the church of Sant Just of Barcelona, received a sudden and unexpected visit. Ramon Canal, a citizen of Barcelona, and the convert Francesc de Pedralbes, a reputed physician and citizen, knocked at his door, asking him to urgently visit the convert merchant Guillem Sanxo: a priest was needed to baptise a dying new-born baby and ensure the child’s eternal rest and his mother’s spiritual comfort. The very same morning, Genovès had already baptised the baby as a little girl. Later that day, however, the examination of Pedralbes, who was related to the Sanxo, revealed that the child was actually a male. The previous ceremony was invalid and needed to be repeated.

When discussing the matter with Genovès, Francesc de Pedralbes admitted that the child was ‘born circumcised.’ The priest had an immediate prejudiced answer, suggesting that ‘this must have been done manually’ (*seria stat fet manualment*). These words infuriated Pedralbes and his friend Ramon Canal had to calm him down, as Canal himself recalled in later interrogations:
from these words, master Francesch was deeply irritated and I had to interfere by answering to the vicar that he should not say this sort of things, since Guillem Sanxo and his family were true Christians, as much as anyone else in public ceremonies, while only God can judge internal affairs.  

Antoni Genovès eventually baptised the baby once more, now with a male name: Nicolau Sanxo. Dying only a few days later, the child had to be exhumed when a trial took place to elucidate whether he was born naturally circumcised or as a result of his family’s Jewish practices. The examination of two Christian doctors confirmed that the child had never been operated upon, absolving his father of any guilt and restoring the reputation of the Sanxo family as good and true Christians.

The dramatic story of the little Nicolau Sanxo brings up questions about the life and presence of converts in Late Medieval Barcelona. While the family ties between the Sanxo and Francesc de Pedralbes, as well as their decision to hire a convert midwife, suggest converts’ inclination to associate closely with each other, the very supportive involvement of the ‘old’ Christian Ramon Canal shows the extent to which converts, who were actually forbidden to have any sort of contact with Jews, came to interact with and trust their Christian fellow citizens. Nonetheless, the altercation between Antoni Genovès and Francesc de Pedralbes reveals that this forced coexistence was not free from suspicions and resentment: nor did the words of Ramon Canal free his convert friends from a certain ambiguity, as he advocated that only God could judge on personal and private practices.

The origins of an important convert community in Barcelona are found in the brutal attacks suffered by Jews in the late fourteenth century, which eventually ended with the destruction of the Jewish quarter (el Call) in the first days of August 1391. In

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the diary of the municipality, the entry corresponding to 5 August reads as follows: ‘A riot broke out against the Jews of Barcelona at dawn and the whole Call was pillaged and many Jews were killed while others were forced to convert and became Christians.’1065 The violent burst of hatred against Jews in Barcelona was far from an isolated event, as similar episodes had taken place in other cities across the Iberian Peninsula, such as Seville, Cordoba, Toledo, and Valencia in the previous months. These events have generally been related to the enraged sermons against Jews and Jewish practices of Ferran Martínez, archbishop of Seville. The protests, however, were the result of broader social unrest which found in Jewish communities the most convenient scapegoat. This was particularly evident in the case of Barcelona, where the protesting mob had originally been marching towards the town hall before being appropriately directed to the neighbouring Jewish quarter.1066

These events substantially altered the character of the Barcelonese population. At the end of the fourteenth century, the Jewish quarter of Barcelona was the largest one in the crown of Aragon. It was a remarkable community that was home to a variety of professionals (furriers, silk weavers, bookbinders, coral workers) and more reputed and wealthier persons such as moneylenders, close counsellors to the monarch and intellectuals since the early Middle Ages. The importance of the Jewish community had already been noted much earlier by the traveller Benjamin of Tudela, who remarked that Barcelona was ‘a holy college of wise and prudent men, who have among them most excellent presidents and rulers.’1067 Yet, the violent riots of 1391 turned this active and numerous community (containing anywhere between 1,500 and 4,000 souls),1068 into a desegregated group of around 200 convert families.1069

Surprisingly, the social and economic role of this newly formed community, the

1065Se moch avelot contra los juheus de Barchinona vers ora de despertada e fo tot lo Call robat e morts diverses juheus e d’altres fets cristians.’ Manual de Novells Ardits vulgarment apellat Dietari del Antich Consell Barceloni, eds. F. Schwartz y Luna and F. Carreras y Candi, (Barcelona: Imprempita de’n Henrich y Companyia, 1892), 17.
1067Vinyoles, La vida, 117; Benjamin Ben Jonah, of Tudela, Travels of Rabbi Benjamin, son of Jonah, of Tudela: through Europe, Asia and Africa; from the ancient Kingdom of Navarre, to the frontiers of China, edition and translation by Rev. B. Gerrans, (London, 1784), 37.
integration of its members, and the tensions they provoked are topics that have been barely considered within Barcelonese historiography. Examining the nature of converts’ status as citizens (many were identified as such in notarial and municipal sources) could be a strategy to fill this gap. Nonetheless, it is not my intention here to deal with the integration of converts within Barcelonese society in the early fifteenth century. Indeed, the material gives too little evidence on the issue and such an attempt would require dealing with the intrinsic complexity of the *converso* problem, a subject which has caused rivers of ink to flow and lies beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Rather, I will maintain the focus on citizenship, using the few examples of convert candidates found through the *Informacions* to question the extent to which religious elements interfered in the definition of the citizen, both in the building of his reputation and his official recognition. In so doing, I will have to consider whether converts, who were Christians and were supposed to act accordingly, developed any sort of specific form of citizenship and whether this *convert* citizenship was somehow influenced by the *Jewish* citizenship that converts’ predecessors might have received in earlier times. To this end, I shall first give some insights on the nature of Jewish citizenship in fourteenth-century Europe and then reflect on its expression in Barcelona from the little evidence that has been conserved.

*Retracing Jewish Citizenship.*

In theological terms, the medieval city emerged from the ruins of the Roman empire as a religious space, a reflection of the Augustinian *City of Man*, where humans were to live in love and peace as patient pilgrims awaiting to reach Paradise, the *City of God*. Christianity and, more specifically, the Fathers of the Church, developed an apparently universalising theory of citizenship, one that included all Christians and had no physical limits. Yet, membership of the Christian citizenry was reached through baptism and

1070 Xavier Pons i Casacuberta (University of Barcelona) is now working on the issue with a thesis entitled: *La societat conversa a partir dels fets de 1391 fins a la Guerra Civil catalana de 1462*.

communion, therefore excluding Jews and turning them into foreign bodies within the *civitas christiana*. This exclusive nature of Christian citizenship was emphasised by the progressive construction of a broad theological understanding of Judaism from the early Middle Ages, which started to be approached as a category embodying all forms of heresy and infidelity. These abstract theorisations had deep effects on the integration and position of Jews in Late Medieval Europe. With the *Decretals* of Gratian, canon law insisted on a prohibition against Jews ever giving testimony against a Christian (already established in the Justinian Code) and, more importantly, forbade them from ever attaining any sort of public office in Christian polities. Lay authorities generally applied these restrictions. In Marseille, even those Jews who had been recognised as citizens were forbidden to testify against Christians, while in fourteenth-century Castile, the impregnability of public offices was a source of pressure on Jews to convert. In Catalonia, Jews were legally treated as inferiors: the *Usatges de Barcelona* condemned them to arbitrariness, establishing that their compensation in case of injury or conflict was to be decided by their lords: ‘Let Jews who are beaten, wounded, captured, incapacitated, and even killed be compensated according to the ruler’s will.’ However, even within such a hostile atmosphere, Late Medieval cities offered space for a much more open and integrative coexistence between Christians and Jews. As is well known, Jews developed brilliant administrative and financial skills. Protected by monarchs in several places, the elite of Jewish communities became counsellors, treasurers, and moneylenders to kings and noble lords, thereby reaching powerful positions. Although Jews’ positions as tax farmers and creditors gained them the morally dubious reputation of usurers that fostered their image of infamy, Jews

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1072 Riesenborg, *Citizenship*, 87-94.
1073 Giacomo Todeschini, *Visibilmente crudeli*, 171-177; Orlando, *Migrazioni Mediterranee*, 58 ‘Infatti, nell’Occidente cristiano, la vera linea di demarcazione non era mai stata tra cittadini e stranieri, semmai tra battezzati e non battezzati. Solo ai non battezzati era preclusa ogni relazione di appartenenza con la città.’
1074 Todeschini, *Visibilmente crudeli*, 175.
1075 Denjean and Sibon, “Citoyenneté et fait minoritaire,” 75.
1076 Mackay, “Popular Movements,” 45.
engaged actively with the economic life of their cities. In Marseille, for instance, Jewish merchants acquired property and lived closely to their fellow Christian citizens, creating strong networks of economic trust. Social position rather than religion conditioned Jews’ integration: while wealthy Jews were easily accepted among the Christian elite of the city, they themselves reluctantly approached their less fortunate co-religionists, particularly those who had recently immigrated to the city. This constant interaction between Jews and Christians was justified by the respect both religions had towards civic virtues, which established a sort of *de facto* equivalence between the good Jew and the good citizen. 1078

As a citizen, the ‘good’ Jew was an active member of the urban community, even a necessary one. Thus, his life among Christians had to be finally recognised and legitimised by canon law. 1079 Christian legality determined, however, some restrictions that were intended to remind all of Jews’ exclusion from the *christianitas*. It is in this context that we have to understand the spread of regulations forcing Jews to wear distinctive coloured badges on their clothes as early as 1215. Fearing the effects that the inclusion of such foreign groups could have on its authority over the Christian citizenry, the Church (as much as lay authorities) imposed a visible mark which was to remind all citizens of the infamous and dangerous nature of their Jewish fellow citizens. 1080 In Barcelona, Jewish men were never supposed to remove their capes in public, while Jewish women were expected to wear an additional cap over their cloak. All of them had to sew a round piece of red and yellow cloth on their vestments. 1081

The imposition of such a visible mark of repulsive distinction on individuals who owned properties within the city and had become essential financial and economic agents in urban life shows how complex Jews’ belonging to the city was. In the words of Claude Denjean and Juliette Sibon, ‘Jews were certainly members of the civic community and could invoke their right to citizenship within the urban Christian community; this citizenship was theoretically limited by their condition of inferiority

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1078 In regard to the active role played by Jews in the daily economy of the medieval city, see the detailed analysis for the case of Marseille of Denjean and Sibon, “Citoyenneté et fait minoritaire,” 82-92.
1079 Canon law recognised that, as active members of the community, Jews had to be able to act in courts. Todeschini, *Visibilmente crudeli*, 180.
1080 Todeschini, *Visibilmente crudeli*, 194.
but it was far from lacking any content.’ The Jew remained an ambiguous citizen, one who could only reach an incomplete citizenship mostly based on his economic status. The structural nature of this ambiguous citizenship emerges very clearly when examining the use of language in the sources of the time, which helps to consider how Jews related with the different scales of civic belonging. In this regard, geographical differences need to be noted. In Marseille, those Jews who were recognised as citizens were consequently identified as ‘cives’ in the sources. Similarly, Jews in Mallorca were explicitly granted the same costumes and franchises as citizens. Interestingly, a complete equality between Christian and Jewish citizens was respected in Sicily. For the Italian city-states, however, Kirshner and Cavallar have noted that even after having received a citizenship charter, Jews were not identified as ‘cives’ in the sources, but rather as ‘habitatores.’ Little is known on the issue for the crown of Aragon, although I would argue the situation was similar to the one described by Kirshner and Cavallar. Indeed, while Claude Denjean and Juliette Sibon affirmed that Jewish citizens throughout the crown of Aragon were rarely identified as such in sources, charters were still granted to them, at least in Barcelona where the Jew from Fes Omar Maymó received a citizenship charter in 1302. As in any other charter, the successful candidate was identified in the document as ‘civis et habitator Barchinone.’ Certainly, I have only located very few examples of the sort but Omar was not the only Jew to receive a citizenship charter of Barcelona in the early fourteenth century. In 1302 alone,

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1082 ‘les juifs sont bel et bien membres de la communauté civique et peuvent se prévaloir, au sein de la société urbaine majoritairement chrétienne, d’une citoyenneté de droit, théoriquement limitée par leur condition d’infériorité, mais qui est loin d’être vide de tout contenu.’ Denjean and Sibon, “Citoyenneté et fait minoritaire,” 99.
1084 For all these examples, Denjean and Sibon, “Citoyenneté et fait minoritaire,” 74, 77- 79.
1086 ‘noverites quod Omar Maymoni, iudeus quod fuit de Ffèç est civis et habitator Barchinone,’ AHCB, 1-B.1, (Llibre del Consell), vol I, f. 53r-54r (1302, July, 6th).
Abraham David, again from Fes, and Beym Avenques were also granted this document and thus gained official recognition of their status as citizens.\textsuperscript{1088}

Little can be said from these three isolated cases. As I have not followed these characters in other sources, I cannot confirm whether their belonging to the civic community was expressed with the term ‘habitatores’ rather than ‘cives.’ It is to be noted that, although he was granted a charter conferring the privileges of the citizen, Abraham David was first identified as ‘habitator’ of the Jewish quarter of Barcelona (\textit{est habitator callis Judaici dicte civitatis Barchinone}), rather than ‘civis et habitator,’ as was the case for Omar and Beym. Considering the case of the Jew Isaaco da Pisa, native citizen of Pisa, citizen \textit{ex privilegio} of Florence, and inhabitant of Bologna, Kirshner and Cavallar downplayed the importance of these distinctions. This case took place much later, in 1509. Three eminent jurists were summoned to discuss Isaaco da Pisa’s rights to reclaim some expropriated properties. None of them seemed to take Isaaco’s religious background into account when discussing his civic status, which they had to elucidate in order to come to a conclusion on the case. As both terms expressed a rightful belonging to the urban community, the differences between ‘cives’ and ‘habitatores’ were academic for Jews, who were in any case excluded from public office. For people like Isaaco da Pisa, these diverse civic positions defined a space within which they could ensure the benefit of their business.\textsuperscript{1089} Most probably, the decisions of Omar Maymó need to be understood along the same lines. The commercial exemptions relating to the charter were certainly the main reason behind a Jew from Fes asking for an official recognition of his citizenship, independently of the other rights and duties this document entailed. As active economic agents, Jews obtained and used a citizenship charter chiefly for economic and personal reasons, just like many Christians.

Yet, the sole application of the term ‘habitator’ to Jews, even when they had received a citizenship charter, probably highlights the limits of these Jews’ belonging to

\textsuperscript{1088}For Beym Avenques, AHCB, 1B-1 (\textit{Llibre del Consell}), vol I, f. 63r-64r (1302, July, 6th) For Abraham David, AHCB, 1B-1 (\textit{Llibre del Consell}), vol I, f. 83v. Abraham David’s charter is not fully copied in the register, the exact date is therefore lacking. The immediately previous documents, however, date from 1302.

\textsuperscript{1089}Cavallar and Kirshner, “Jews as Citizens,” 295.
the broader civic community. Indeed, Jews’ enclosure within the space of their quarter (Call) was reinforced throughout the fourteenth century. Prisoners of a ‘double consciousness,’ Jewish citizens had to respect Christian festivities in Marseille (and theoretically also in Barcelona, where the attendance to these festivities emerged as a defining criteria of citizenship). Such restrictions were certainly cruel and enduring challenges for Jews. Citizenship, it seems, had the potential to act as an instrument of inclusion and exclusion at the same time.

From the blurred and complex position of the Jew as a citizen, his non-citizenship, to borrow a phrase from Christophe Cailleaux, we can highlight anew some intricacies of medieval citizenship itself. Although accepting dynamic economic agents such as Jews as members of the civic community, this admission was the result of a de facto reality. Distanced from municipal politics and strategies, Jews found political influence outside the urban sphere, becoming, the protégés of a king whom they financed frequently through both personal loans and heavy and constant fiscal pressure. In this view, the Jewish citizens registered in the Llibre del Consell of Barcelona in the early fourteenth century should be considered as citizens imposed by the king rather than freely accepted by the civic community.

1090 Some authors have identified the term ‘habilitator’ with the expression of a civic status similar to the ‘cives’ in regard to the rights and duties it implied but which indicated a weaker and more temporary attachment to the city. Denjean and Sibon, “Citoyenneté et fait minoritaire,” 78. See also some further reflections and references on the distinctions between ‘cives’ and ‘habitatores’ in chapter II.
1092 I take this term from Cavallar and Kirshner, “Jews as Citizens,” 295.
1093 Cailleaux defends strongly – too much so in view of the extant registered charters – the impossibility of Jews accessing citizenship in medieval Barcelona. Nonetheless, he seems to nuance this by stressing that the constant questioning of Jewish belonging did not correspond to their radical exclusion of the citizenry. Cailleaux, “Les juifs et les musulmans en Catalogne,”199.
1094 In the case of Barcelona, the Recogoverunt Proceres (1284) forbade Jews to have any position of authority over Christians. Eduard Feliu i Mabres, “Some clarifications on several aspects on the history of Jews in Medieval Catalonia,” Catalan Historical Review 2, (2009): 52.
At a time when the granting of the charter was just starting to be managed by a municipal power still in the process of consolidating itself, the interests of the crown might very well have had a strong influence in determining the acceptance of some Jews as citizens of Barcelona. While the fact that they did not contribute to the city could have been one of the major obstacles for Jews on the path to citizenship, the charters occasionally granted to Jewish citizens suggest that this inherent lack of citizenship was compensated by the regular taxes and extraordinary subsidies to the crown that Jews did pay from their aljamas (‘solvit et contribuit in tallis et aliis exactionibus et collectis in quibus alii iudei Barchinone nutunt et solvunt’).  

The position of Jews in fourteenth-century Barcelona functions as a prism through which to highlight the important role that the interests of the monarch could still play in the building of the civic community: in accordance with his interests (note that all three Jews obtained citizenship in 1302), he could turn his Jews (iudei nostri) into members of the citizenry. This is certainly not the place to consider the real extent to which Jews participated in the Barcelonese citizenry on the eve of the attacks of 1391 in more detail. Yet it was worthwhile to retrace the ambiguous, incomplete but nevertheless real nature of Jewish citizenship in Barcelona at that time, for it has shown that Jewish citizenship can be used to take the pulse of medieval citizenship in more general terms. Besides helping to (re)explore the institutional development of citizenship (monarchy versus city), these brief considerations on the opportunities and limitations of Jews in Medieval Barcelona brings together the distinct perspectives that have been considered throughout the dissertation. As a result, the complexity of the Barcelonese citizenry emerges: ruled by reputation, it would only absorb Jews reluctantly and never completely; governed by pragmatism, it could transfer citizen privileges to unexpected individuals, such as Jews. These tensions diversified the degrees of belonging, populating the citizenry with ‘cives’ and ‘habitatores.’ The almost complete dissolution of the Jewish population of Barcelona in the attacks of 1391 suggests in Todeschini, *Visibilmente crudeli*, 182.

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1098 Until the second half of the fourteenth century, Jews were generally excluded from municipal taxation. The concern of the municipal authorities in including Jewish communities within the municipal fiscal system allegedly confirmed their status as citizens in the late fourteenth century. Like the monarch before them, the more powerful municipal authorities sanctioned Jewish citizenship purely to ensure their financial interests. For the case of Tarragona: Morelló, “En torno a la presión fiscal,” 329-337.
1099 Suggested in Todeschini, *Visibilmente crudeli*, 182.
1391 poses a completely different context and new questions for the fifteenth century. The following shall therefore consider the terms on which convert Jews engaged with the broader Christian civic community they inhabited.

**Convert Citizens in Fifteenth-Century Barcelona.**

In both Castile and the crown of Aragon, the first half of the fifteenth century was a time of relative peace and calm coexistence between ‘old’ and ‘new’ (convert) Christians. The violent attacks of the previous years had certainly decimated Jewish communities all along the Iberian Peninsula. However, the resentment towards Jews was principally a religious issue, which meant that mass conversions ensured the relative acceptance of converts. With no more legal restrictions, converts reached a full citizenship that contrasted with the partial one held by their Jewish ancestors, a citizenship that was supposed to allow them to exercise public office. This new situation boosted access to both political and economic power to the convert elites. Later in the century, in contexts of famine and economic uncertainty, such monopolies awoke old resentments, turning the former hatred towards Jews into deep revulsion against convert fellow citizens. Religious dissent became racial conflict, preparing the ground for the instauration of the Inquisition.¹¹⁰⁰

From the above, and recalling that little has been done on the issue in regard to fifteenth-century Barcelona, we can assume that converts in the Catalan city lived within a tolerant atmosphere at the dawn of the fifteenth century. In fact, very few of them felt the necessity of requesting a citizenship charter: as seen in the trial with which I opened this section, as well as throughout notarial deeds, they were generally identified as ‘civis Barchinone.’ In a position of legal and social equality with the rest of the citizenry, they did not need to own a charter as a sign and proof of their acceptance. Most probably, those coveting it were chiefly motivated by economic and commercial interests, thus mirroring the strategies of their ‘old’ Christian fellow citizens.

More specifically, the *Informacions de la Ciutadania* allowed me to identify 10 declared converts requesting for a charter for the period under consideration. From a total of 767 candidates, this figure represents a rather insignificant proportion of 1.3 per cent. The relationships between citizenship and converts can also be examined through the declarations of 15 convert witnesses, almost all of whom were identified as citizens of Barcelona (except two where there is no indication of any further status). Interrogations have been conserved for only three of these 10 convert candidates, while the rest were directly registered as new citizens. This tendency to direct registration highlights even further that converts had relatively easy access to citizenship and suggests that converts possessed well-established reputations as citizens.

Given the limited scale of this information, it is clear that it cannot provide a detailed picture of converts’ experiences as citizens, which need to be retraced by considering the citizenship practices they implemented in their daily lives. As I have done when analysing women’s citizenship, I will now ‘test’ converts’ citizenship by considering the extent to which the candidates in these few cases fulfilled the paramount duties of the citizen: (a) stable residence, (b) professional occupation to ensure their economic independence, and (c) communal services.

(a) Archival research through trials and notarial deeds has shown that convert families were pressed to abandon the major Jewish quarter of the city (*Call Major*), between the *Rambla* and *Sant Jaume*, to settle in other areas of the city, such as the streets Regomir and Gemnàs and the surroundings of Santa Maria del Mar. Nonetheless, many decided to remain together and occupied the older and smaller Jewish quarter of the city (*Call Menor*), which was now christianised: they even turned their old synagogue into the venue for their own confraternity (*Santa Trinitat*).

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1101 Hernando, “L’espai dels conversos a la ciutat,” 297.
1102 On the displacement of converts from their former neighbourhood and the economic strategies that guided its complete occupation by ‘old’ Christians (*cristians de natura*), see: Xavier Pons Casacuberta, ‘La cristianització dels calls de Barcelona arran dels avalots de 1391 i la seva integració a la resta de la ciutat,’ paper presented at ‘Historiografia Barcelonina. Del mite a la comprensió,’ XII Congress of History of Barcelona held at the Historical Archives of the City of Barcelona, Barcelona, November-December 2011, 10-11. (http://w110.bcn.cat/ArxiuHistoric/Continguts/Documents/Fitxers/Comun01_Pons.pdf). The author also documented the contrasting occupation of the smaller former Jewish quarter by converts, which had also been noted by Vinyoles, *La vida*, 117. On the confraternity of the *Santa Trinitat*: Josep Maria
was here, in the *Plaça Trinitat*, where the merchant Antoni Martí had been living for between six and ten years before asking for a citizenship charter in 1419. Jaume Sabater, another merchant convert from Cervera, had recently arrived to the city when he tried to obtain a citizenship charter. The resulting report shows that he had also decided to settle in an area close to the *Trinitat*, in the street *Boqueria*. For the tanner Pere Roders, however, it was profession rather than his convert condition that determined his residence: indeed, his witnesses affirmed that he had been living for more than 10 years in the street *Assahonadors* (tanners street) when he decided to request a citizenship charter in 1418.

In the eyes of both the authorities and his new neighbours, Jaume Sabater compensated for his recent arrival to the city by bringing a rather numerous family with him from Cervera (wife, children, and even a daughter-in-law) that helped demonstrate his intention of remaining permanently in the city. Antoni Martí and Pere Roders had been living in the city for much longer periods when they decided to request the charter. Thus, their witnesses did not so strongly focus on their intention to remain as this had been long proved, although they did recall that both candidates were living in the city with their wives and children. Through their long and stable residence in the city, Martí and Roders had actually come to acquire their own property, which was not particularly common in Barcelona.

In one way or another, Jaume Sabater, Pere Roders, and Antoni Martí showed or had shown their commitment to reside stably in the city. In contrast, Jaume Castell, the only convert candidate to be explicitly identified as a native of Barcelona, was one of the very few who decided to leave his city and return the charter which had previously sealed his citizen condition. Despite this isolated case, which most probably resulted from personal motivations, convert citizens acted accordingly and respected the importance of settling a fix and stable residence, some of them having

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1103 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1419, September, 6th).

1104 For a better comprehension of these spatial references, I refer to the map of the city included in Chapter VI of the dissertation. For Jaume Sabater: AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1406, April, 15th).

1105 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1418, June, 8th).

1106 AHCB, 1C-V, 4 *Registre*, f. 120r-120v (1419, April, 11th). It is to be noted that Jaume Castell is not directly identified as a convert. His father, however, who acted as his guarantor of the charter, was.
even acquired a house. They became common figures of the city, melting into its daily life.

Converts were not treated differently when requesting citizenship charters: interrogations of their witnesses followed the same structure as for ‘old’ Christian candidates. More emphasis was not even placed on the issue of the attendance to Christian festivities. This criterion, which could have been taken as a public expression of the authenticity of conversions, was principally highlighted by witnesses when referring to another candidate profile, namely those with a more questionable stability, such as peasants who had to attend their landed properties in the surroundings of the city.

Nonetheless, the integration of converts mirrored the spatial segregation that had determined their Jewish ancestors’ lives. By cross referencing trials and notarial sources, some scholars have already shown the strong cohesion that came to determine converts’ lives. Often settling in the same area, working together, and engaging with each other, converts lived in Barcelona within strong and dense solidarity networks that they themselves had created. The use of these networks also emerges from the Informacions, for convert candidates relied on convert witnesses and guarantors. The father and son merchants Jaume and Gabriel de Puig named as their guarantor the convert silk weaver Romeu de Sitges. The convert tanner Pere Roders included the convert merchant Joan Pallars among his witnesses, who were mostly neighbours and professional acquaintances. The latter would also act as the guarantor of his citizenship charter. An initial reading of Jaume Sabater’s citizenship report would suggest that this recently arrived merchant could still not rely on the dense network of Barcelonese converts, as his witnesses were two neighbours and the animal dealer Andreu Ferran. None of them was identified as a convert. Ferran, however, defended the candidate’s claim for citizenship by affirming that he had known him for more than fifteen years and revealed in his own will strong links with the church of the Trinitat, to which he would eventually leave half of his possessions and the responsibility to look after his widow. Since the Trinitat was a

1108 AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 32r (1415, May, 16th).
1109 AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1418, June, 8th) and AHCB, 1C-V, 4 Registre, f. 106v (1418, July, 12th).
1110 AHPB, Joan Reniu, 123/41, f. 44v- 46v (1433, May, 26th).
confraternity of converts, it can be assumed that Ferran was, as much as Jaume Sabater, a convert Jew. All in all, it seems that Jaume Sabater was far from helpless and disadvantaged on his arrival in Barcelona: he had a long-time friend who helped him to acquire the citizenship privilege and who, above all, was in charge of integrating him within the citizenry through the converts’ social milieux. It is to be noted that the convert condition of Andreu Ferran was not specified in Jaume’s report, suggesting, as we shall explore later, that the dynamics of converts’ solidarity networks were more blurred and active than a prima facie approach to the sources might suggest.

(b) From within their solidarity networks, converts created the figure of the good convert citizen, which was sanctioned by the authorities. Nevertheless, these sources of inner support did not isolate convert families. Certainly, it was common for converts to continue practising the professions their Jewish parents had mastered within Barcelonese industry. So, as well as being intermediaries (corredors), convert Jews were renowned veil weavers, silk weavers, coral workers, tailors, practitioners of medicine, and moneylenders. The dramatic story of the baby Nicolau Sanxo has already brought up the example of Francesc de Pedralbes, a doctor in medicine who had also acted as a witness in the citizenship report of the peasant Guillem Costhoer many years before in 1414.1111 Let us also recall that Simó Vicenç and Joan Ses Escales, witnesses to the merchant Bernat Motlle, were coral workers, while Romeu de Sitges, guarantor of the family de Puig, was a silk weaver and Joan Castell, father and guarantor of Jaume Castell, was identified as a veil weaver.1112 Yet, while inheriting artisanal practices, converts also took the place of their Jewish predecessors in the commercial activities of the city, thereby establishing sound trading relationships with their ‘old’ Christian fellow citizens. The historian Gloria Polonio Luque has grasped the economic effect of these interactions through a thorough analysis of businesses contracts. Her analysis highlights the strong role of converts as investors who entrusted their money and goods (primarily coral and cloth) to ‘old’ Christian

1111AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1414, February, 13th).
1112AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1410, October, 10th); 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 32r (1415, May, 16th); 1C-V, 4, Registre, f. 120r-120v (1419, April, 11th).
merchants who would then sell them on international markets such as Sicily, Alexandria, Beirut, or Cyprus.\footnote{Gloria Polonio Luque, “Jueus i conversos en el comerç internacional barceloní de la baixa edat mitjana (1349-1450), Tamid. Revista Catalana Anual d'Estudis Hebraics, 9, (2013): 38. On the issue, see also, Hernando, “L’espai dels conversos a la ciutat,” 308-310.}

Having replaced Jews in the economic activities of the city did not only link converts with ‘old’ Christians but also ensured contact with the remaining Jews. Although contacts between Jews and converts were strictly forbidden, converts maintained their position within the Jewish networks where they were used to act, both in Barcelona and beyond the walls of the city. Furthermore, converts and Jews had to live together in those families where conversion had not been unanimously adopted.\footnote{Polonio, “Jueus i conversos,” 38; Hernando “L’espai dels conversos,” 303.} Interactions between Jews and converts must have remained modest within Barcelona, where only very few Jews did not convert after the massacres of 1391: nonetheless, converts still maintained contacts with Jewish communities throughout the Catalan territory. In 1413, the convert Joan Cardona, a merchant from Barcelona, established contracts with his brother, the Jew from Solsona Vidal Bases: he was then entrusted to embark with Bases’ wool cloths towards Syracuse in order to sell the merchandises as well as he could.\footnote{Polonio, “Jueus i conversos,” 40-42.} Two years later, Jaufred de Queralt, an intermediary and citizen of Barcelona appointed a Jewish representative in the town of Tàrrega. Jaufred was not directly identified as a convert in this document but there was no need to once he indicated his former name: Salomó Descortal.\footnote{AHPB, Jaume de Trilla, 53/5, f. 6r (1415, January, 30th).}

In sum, the condition of the convert was far from being a problem for former Jews when it came to involving themselves in the artisanal and commercial activities of their city. Converts were active citizens with professional expertise and well-established contacts. As such, they certainly became powerful economic agents of the city. Despite the cruel events of the fourteenth century, converts evolved into a mediatory group that built bridges between Jews and Christians, at least on an economic level. While mirroring Josep Hernando’s portrayal of Barcelonese converts as a ‘transitory society’ (societat transitòria), this hypothesis also intends to unravel the specific acts of citizenship of this new minority. From their closed social spaces, converts contributed to the integrative capacity of the city in religious terms. This
certainly needs to be taken as an act of citizenship, an important one which helped Barcelonese (Christian, Jews, and converts) to overcome earlier dramatic events and coexist in relative peace throughout the first half of the century.

(c) Artisanal and commercial activities ensured the economic independence of converts. From this position, they could act as good citizens, guaranteeing their economic contribution to the city. The Informacions, however, do not provide specific indications on the fiscal participation of converts to the civic community. As no special relevance was given to the issue, the converts seem to have been integrated within the municipal fiscal system (i.e. indirect imposicions, taxes on properties and occasional subsidies in the case of Barcelona) without further distinctions. While awaiting further research, the case of Tarragona seems to support this hypothesis, as Jordi Morelló has affirmed that mass conversions assured the absorption of Jewish communities by municipal fiscal systems in this city.1117

From the sources collected for this research, it is difficult to grasp the actual extent to which converts integrated themselves within other fundamental civic dynamics, such as the protection of the city and the practice of public office. The published military census I have been using alongside the Informacions and the notarial sources was produced prior to the 1391 attacks and therefore prior to the emergence of an important community of converts in the city. In regards to the practice of public office, it is tempting to assume that, as citizens, converts could be chosen as municipal officials and also access the Council of the Hundred. In Castile, it was the opportunity to attain public office that actually motivated many Jews to convert before the pogroms of the late fourteenth century.1118 Nonetheless, I would remain cautious when referring to converts’ political interaction with the community in Barcelona. In the nearby Tarragona, converts did achieve municipal office but these ascensions were occasional and severely criticised, with the result that they were eventually cancelled.1119

1117 Morelló, “En torno a la presión fiscal sobre las aljamas,” 334.
1118 Mackay, “Popular Movements,” 45.
The material I collected affords other interesting insights which are again related to the use of language in sources. The cross referencing of citizenship and notarial sources has indeed revealed that the term ‘convert’ (*conversus*) was not rigorously included when it came to identifying an individual, particularly in the citizenship reports and registers. While the fact that the merchants and brothers Bernat d’Orta and Ramon Desparets were converts appears in some of the documents collected by Gloria Polonio, this is not even hinted at in their citizenship record, where they counted on the reputed merchant Francesc de la Via as their guarantor.

The shop tenders Bernat Fabra and Lluís Queralt were registered together as citizens of Barcelona in 1416. While their citizenship record did not mention any potential convert condition, a certain Bernat Fabra, identified as a merchant and a convert, has been documented in 1414 as he engaged in the revocation of a former representative. Similarly, both Josep Hernando and Gloria Polonio repeatedly documented Bernat Fabra as a convert intermediary actively involved in international trade. Bernat Fabra’s codicil, dating from 1437, revealed that the man with whom he requested a charter, Lluís Queralt, was or was soon to be his son-in-law, as he himself identified him in his last will. The strong convert echoes of the name ‘Queralt’ suggest that the Bernat Fabra who registered as a new citizen with his son-in-law could be identified with the Bernat Fabra who emerges from a variety of notarial sources as a convert and citizen of Barcelona.

Other examples confirm that the condition of convert was not consistently indicated in documents. Joan Ros, a merchant who used to be a veil weaver, was registered as a citizen in 1423. Years earlier, he had been a convert veil weaver and had sold a slave to the peasant Joan Avella. In 1411, he testified in favour of Gabriel Almudàver’s citizenship. A merchant, Almudàver was also a convert, although he was not identified as such in his report but only in the notarial contracts he established in

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1120 Polonio, “Jueus i conversos,” 39.
1121 AHCB, 1C-V, 4, *Registre*, f. 129v (1419, October, 13th).
1122 AHCB, 1C-V, 4, *Registre*, f. 52r (1416, June, 6th).
1123 AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/7, f. 9v (1414, February, 21st).
1125 AHPB, Joan Ferrer 104/16, f. 32r-32v (1437, September, 6th).
1126 AHCB, 1C-V, 4, *Registre*, f. 168r (1423, February, 6th).
1127 AHPB, Bernat Pí, 113/7, f. 81r (1414, July, 25th).
the city.\textsuperscript{1128} The presence of other suspected converts in Gabriel Almudàver’s report confirms Almudàver and Ros’ condition: Alfons Porta practised one of the most common professions among converts, that of a veil-weaver. Moreover, it is tempting to relate him with the convert Bertran Porta, a merchant closely connected with the trader Pere Marquet (himself a declared convert), for whom he had acted as a citizenship guarantor.

In sum, Gabriel Almudàver built his citizen status by relying on his closest convert relationships in the city, even though none of them seemed to be willing to expose their religious condition and the authorities seemed to care little about exploring or expressing them. Besides proving even further the strong cohesive bonds that held the convert minority in Barcelona together, Gabriel’s case pushes us to study whether the unidentified (in terms of religion) candidates for whom whole networks of converts testified were not also ‘undercover converts,’ as Gabriel, Joan, and Alfons most probably were. This could very well have been the case of Bernat de Motlle, who counted among his witnesses with two clearly identified converts, the coral workers Simó Vicenç and Joan Sestales.\textsuperscript{1129} Practising the same profession, Arnau Pere does not appear as a convert in Motlle’s report but has been identified as such by Gloria Polonio from the notarial deeds.\textsuperscript{1130} Similarly, only identified converts such as Ramon de Rosanes, Joan Subirats, and Ferrer Bertran testified in the citizenship report of the merchants Joan Rossell and Joan Pujol, for whom no specific identification further than their occupation was given.\textsuperscript{1131}

A tendency to obviate the convert condition can therefore be observed in some cases, mainly among merchants and in documents related to citizenship procedures. It is not easy to define a logic in these attempts to disguise this condition, however. The merchant Pere Marquet, who appeared as a convert and was surrounded by converts in his citizenship application, was not identified as such in notarial documents produced only a few years before by the notary of Jaume de Trilla.\textsuperscript{1132} Both the

\textsuperscript{1128}The presence of the convert Gabriel Almugàver in notarial deeds has been retraced by Hernando, “L’espai dels conversos a la ciutat,” 310.
\textsuperscript{1129}AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1410, October, 10th).
\textsuperscript{1130}Polonio, “Jueus i conversos,” 39.
\textsuperscript{1131}AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1409, May, 23\textsuperscript{rd}).
\textsuperscript{1132}AHPB, Jaume de Trilla, 53/5, f. 44v. The notary Jaume de Trilla was particularly used to dealing with converts, see in Hernando, “L’espai dels conversos a la ciutat,” 293-297.
Informaciones and the notarial deeds prove that it was not a problem for converts to obtain a citizenship charter or to be generally identified as citizens. Although their direct access to public office remains unclear, some could certainly reach prestigious civic positions. In the second half of the century, Francesc de Pedralbes, the convert doctor who was actively involved in the trial with which we started this section, was appointed as the chief physician of the main Hospital of the city, that of the Santa Creu.¹¹³³

As conversion was certainly not an impediment to acting and being recognised as a citizen, the phenomenon of concealing the convert condition in some documents should not be overestimated or interpreted as a strategy for insecure candidates to acquire the charter they coveted. I would rather see it as the result of an arbitrary decision, one that depended on candidates’ contacts and even possibly on a potential lack of rigour from the scribe: indeed, there was perhaps no need to highlight something that the close cohesion of converts had rendered obvious. Former Jews had recreated close spaces of sociability and had managed to build their identification with the broader Barcelonese citizenry in these terms.

The arbitrary concealment of the convert condition can still help us to reflect on the distinctiveness of converted citizenship. While religious past does not seem to have played a strong role in the general building of the citizenry, it still conditioned the strategies through which converts built their belonging. Converts became citizens through a combination of economic integration and social enclosure. From within the civitas christiana, converts now had a full citizenship which contrasted with the incomplete one that their Jewish ancestors may have wished to hold. A mirror to these former inhabitants of the Call, converts’ citizenship was marked by a limited and questioned access to public office in the urban sphere and the strength of particular solidarity networks from where they themselves designed the figure of the good convert citizen.

¹¹³³ I am grateful to Clara Jaüregui (University of Barcelona) for this information.
THE POOR WITHIN THE CITIZENRY

The analysis of the potential options and strategies through which women, converts, and even some Jews shaped themselves as citizens has followed up on previous claims of the dissertation and give a more specific expression to them. More precisely, it has helped to reflect on the awareness that Barcelonese and their authorities had of what Giacomo Todeschini has called ‘a deeper sense of citizenship,’ one which enlarged the limits of the citizenry and included moral insights and cultural practices. To focus on the potential access of the poor to some forms of citizenship will help continue reflecting along these lines. Exploring the extent to which the poor reached a certain recognition within the citizenry nuances the exclusive fiscal understanding of the citizen body developed by some scholars, who have understood the exclusion from the citizenry of groups such as the nobility, the clergy, and the poor in terms of tax exemption. This being said, the poor have left even fewer traces than women and converts on the sources collected throughout this study, making this section more succinct than the previous two.

Studies on poverty in Medieval Europe have generally agreed on the increase of the destitute population in urban centres throughout the period 1350-1500. Despite the difficulties of giving accurate statistics, the rate of poor households in Barcelona has been fixed at around 12-13 per cent for the year 1378. Certainly, ‘poor,’ ‘mendicants,’ and ‘miserables’ were registered in the military census of 1390 as having no weapons to offer to their city in times of need.

The poor, however, were a heterogeneous group and scholarship has generally paid attention to the existing distinctions between such terms as ‘verecundus’ and ‘miserabilis personae.’ Distinctions such as the ‘loyal poor’ and the ‘fiscal poor’ have also been made. In general terms, a basic division existed between the ‘bad’ poor and the ‘good’ poor. The ‘bad’ poor was identified with the deformed, the vagabond,

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1134 Todeschini, Visibilmente crudeli, 272.
1135 For Tarragona: Juncosa, “Estructura y dinámicas de poder,” 388. Others have clearly affirmed that the poor could access the citizenry. Boucheron and Menjot, “La Ville Médiévale,” 518.
1138 Marsà, Onomástica.
and the criminal. In a context of war and scarcity, it was common for resource-less peasants and displaced soldiers to end up in cities where they swelled the increasing mass of the desperate and turned to robbery. They were feared and reprimanded for their ‘laziness,’ while the rest of the citizenry was disgusted by their sicknesses and deformities. These extreme figures remained beyond the margins of the citizenry: with no fixed abode and no economic independence, they could not to be admitted as citizens. Consequently, we do not find ‘bad poor’ in the documentation on Barcelonese citizenship. More than their economic misery, it was their incapacity to engage with any solidarity network that determined their lack of citizenship. In no case could they have bought a citizenship charter and found the necessary support for it. Their presence might have to be followed through trials.

However, there were also ‘good poor.’ These were identified with the original poverty of Christ and were resigned to their fate, in stark distinction with the ‘bad’ poor, who were seen as naturally envious. Institutional as well as private relief assured their subsistence. In Barcelona, the Cathedral provided them with means and nourishment through the institution of the Pia Almoina, while the hospital de la Santa Creu cured their sicknesses. Moreover, wealthier citizens of Barcelona left legates to the poor of their city, fulfilling what was considered to be a Christian obligation. Let us recall, for instance, that the notary Bernat Nadal reserved five sous in his will for the poor of his parish of Santa Maria del Mar and also five more for the poor of his native parish of Granollers. From his deathbed, the merchant Antoni Salavert established that 10 sous were to be distributed among those poor who were present in his house on the day of his death. The poor of Christ, known as mendicants or pobres de solemnitat, became therefore a way for wealthier citizens to enhance their civic behaviour by practising charity. Among the ‘good’ poor were also a larger group

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encapsulating individuals with professions and residences who had contingently fell into a position of poverty. Ashamed of their condition, they were called *pobres vergonyants* and secretly received alms organised and administered by the different parishes of the city.\textsuperscript{1144}

In showing or hiding their miserable conditions, *mendicants* and *vergonyants* interacted with the city and its citizens. Many of them would still not have been able to acquire a citizenship charter and they were certainly not interested in it, as the exemptions it entailed were remote from their daily activities. Nonetheless, from an ensured position of social acceptance, the *Informacions* provide some examples in which candidates and their witnesses looked back on more uncertain pasts of poverty. Interestingly, overcoming this former poverty was taken as a positive asset, a mark of the petitioner’s will to enhance his position and become an active and fully recognised citizen. It was with words of admiration that the sailor Llorenç Massot recalled how the young Gabriel Salvador had coped with his father’s death, working hard for the sustenance of his whole family and had finally managed to marry off two of his sisters.\textsuperscript{1145}

Other witnesses were not reluctant to admit that candidates had been living in poor conditions. The wool weaver Guillem Julià was married and a committed professional in contact with several wool dealers. Some of them acted as his witnesses, revealing that Julià had no property and had been moving from one place to another within the city after he finished his apprenticeship. He had been coping in this way with the scarcity in which he was born and brought up.\textsuperscript{1146} The merchant Arnau Porta was also recognised by all his witnesses as an active trader who was committed to the city, paying impositions and other charges. Yet, in a second interrogation, the silversmith Antòni Oldomar, his closest acquaintance, confessed that Arnau had been raised by his parents in poverty. Although no charter was recorded for Porta,\textsuperscript{1147} it is difficult to believe that his former poverty could have been the cause of a denial. His

\textsuperscript{1144}Among them, the most important funds were those of Santa Maria del Mar. Ana Magdalena Lorente, “El Plato de los pobres vergonzantes de la parroquia de Santa María del Mar, en Barcelona,” in *La Pobreza y la Asistencia a los pobres en la Cataluña medieval*, ed. M. Riu i Riu, (Barcelona, CSIC, 1981-1982), vol II, 153-171.
\textsuperscript{1145}AHCB, 1C-V, 3 (1407, June, 1\textsuperscript{st}).
\textsuperscript{1146}‘e que de pochesa ensà se-s criat en Barchinona’, AHCB, 1C-V,3 ( 1415, March, 8\textsuperscript{th}).
\textsuperscript{1147}For his report: AHCB, 1CV-4 (1421, July, 11\textsuperscript{th}).
citizenship report shows that he had gained a good citizen reputation among his acquaintances, who recognised his hard-work (fa ses bones mercaderies) and his permanent residence: thus, Arnau ultimately became a recognised full citizen. In 1455, the councillors of the city wrote to the master of the order of the Hospitallers in Rhodes, asking him to send back to Barcelona the goods and possessions of their ‘concives,’ a certain Arnau Porta who had recently died on the island.\footnote{Carrère, Barcelona, vol I, 118.}

In contrast with these examples, the merchant Arnau Sesilles was still in a difficult position when he requested the charter in 1425. Raised in poverty, Arnau had always lived with relatives, first with his grandmother and then with his brother-in-law. Less vergonyant than Porta had been, witnesses knew perfectly about Sesilles’ conditions. Affirming that he had nothing that could tempt him to leave the city, they were quite convinced about his intentions to remain in Barcelona while they also admitted that he was still able to live from the benefits of his own work.\footnote{AHCB, 1C-V,4 ( 1425, October, 29th). No further citizenship records are conserved after February 1425 and so it is not possible to confirm whether the charter was granted to Sesilles.} Certainly, other figures from among the candidates suggest tough origins and experiences that might also have been very close to destitution. It is worth nothing that those serfs (remences) who had escaped from their masters or managed to pay for their redemption had to start a new life from scratch in Barcelona as artisans, merchants, or sailors. We have already discussed some of these cases: the builder Salvador Ros and the sailors Joan Saytò, Gabriel Covner, and Pere Feliu.

In sum, some of the Informacions give evidence about processes of social mobility that even individuals raised in the most humble and difficult situations could come to experience. For them, citizenship became the tool with which to sanction this ascension, their belonging to the city being built in terms of the efforts pursued and on their role in enhancing the charitable behaviour of other citizens (at least for the mendicants).

It is difficult to determine whether individuals like Guillem Julià, Arnau Porta, or Arnau Ses Illes and their families had ever been officially recognised as poor persons (vergonyants in any case). Further notes on how recognised poor people related more actively with the citizenry can be found throughout notarial deeds. Indeed, it is
difficult, but not impossible, to find evidence of the contracts established between mendicants and some of the wealthier citizens of Barcelona. For instance, Ramon Mir, who was always identified as a poor mendicant (pauperus mendicans) and an inhabitant of Barcelona (habitator), occasionally acted as the connection between will executors and other poor people of Barcelona, as executors were generally summoned by testators to organise processions in the day of their burial, with poor people carrying their bodies to the grave. Thus, Ramon Mir recognised having received 24 sous from the apothecary Nicolau Sala, a citizen of Barcelona and representative to the merchant Guillem de Montcofa, for having provided him with 16 poor people who carried the body of Blanca, Montcofa’s wife, to her last final resting place. Previously, Ramon had already received 18 sous for giving advice to the executors of the late Antoni Beluga in their search of 18 poor people who carried Beluga’s body to the grave.

Documents involving other mendicants, such as Arnau Morell, seem to confirm that such a condition determined belonging, as both Mir and Morell were identified as inhabitants (habitator) rather than citizens (civis) of Barcelona. In the case of Mir, the term citizen (cives) was even initially written by mistake and then was clearly erased and substituted with habitator. This very same condition, however, did not prevent the mendicant Pere Pujol from being identified as a citizen when he recognised the receipt of his wife’s dowry, a dowry which was extremely low even in comparison than the one received by a liberated slave a few months later. Many years before, the mendicant Bartomeu Piquer also identified himself as a citizen when dictating his will. Both Pere Pujol and Bartomeu Piquer were foreign mendicants, so presenting themselves as citizens might have been a strategy to enhance their own complicated situation. Having said this, it is important to note that the notaries were willing to accept and register them as citizens.

1150AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/60, f. 52r (1421, May, 31st).
1151AHPB, Jaume de Trilla, 53/5, f. 47v (1415, August, 12th).
1152For Pere Pujol: AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/62, f. 41r-41v (1423, January, 30th). The dowry he received from his wife was 11 lliures. The dowry established in the marriage between Julià Sarrovira, former slave of Guillem Pere Sarrovira, and Constança, former slave of the German merchant Jou Ompis was 35 lliures. For this marriage: AHPB, Bernat Nadal, 58/63, f. 11v-12r (1423, November, 30th).
1153AHPB, Felip Gombau, 37/15, f. 18r-19r (1397, January, 24th).
Relying on the texts of the major jurists and theologians of the time, Giacomo Todeschini defined the poor in the Middle Ages as a large category which did not only refer to those with few economic resources but also to those with any sort of social deficiency. Lacking religious truth, the Jews were poor. Easily manipulated and ignorant, some women were poor. Social deficiencies of this sort contrasted strongly with social norms and, consequently, determined individual irregularities. It was just as irregular that individuals might fall into marginality, therefore becoming infamous. To a certain extent, these reflections mirror the features of citizenship that the Informaciones have enabled me to retrace for the case of Barcelona. As much as the citizen was built and defined by his reputation, it was infamy that determined the limits of the citizenry.

In fifteenth-century Barcelona, poverty was not a factor of infamy. Neither were gender or religious conversion, insofar that a large range of women, converts, and poor compensated for their lack of citizenship (dependence on male relatives, inability to contribute in the fiscal needs of the city) with other forms of civic performance that sanctioned their urban belonging, thereby enriching the forms of the citizen.

Women compensated from their general dependence on men as citizens by placing themselves at the core of a moral space from which they used gossip to actively determine mechanisms of acceptance. For their part, the poor (mainly the vergonyants) could become citizens through their public and consistent effort to overcome their difficulties. Even the mendicants could find civic roles to perform, as they both passively and actively involved themselves in the charitable actions through which other wealthier citizens enhanced their own citizenship. The ambiguity of the language used to identify them (‘habitatores’ and ‘cives’) mirrors the ambiguity of their citizenship. I argue, however, that so long as they remained remote from infamous behaviour, they were still considered members of the citizenry.

On the eve of the pogroms of 1391, Jews seemed to have been apprehended in similar terms. While some were granted a citizenship charter, this was most probably a
royal initiative. Indeed, the literature suggests that they were mainly identified as ‘habitatores.’ Infamy was not an abstract border: Jews, prostitutes, the ‘bad’ poor, and criminals were physically marked, either on their clothes or on their bodies.\footnote{For Paris: Geremek, “Criminalité, vagabondage et paupérisme,” 369-370.} However, the grant of citizenship privileges to some Jews cannot be underestimated, especially when the secondary literature demonstrates that the granting of citizenship privileges to Jews was not without precedent. Thus, such cases advocated the permeability of the limits of medieval citizenries, where even the nature of infamy could come to be negotiated in pragmatic terms. The concession of citizenship privileges to Jews emerged as proof of their powerful contacts and their active role as economic agents of urban communities. Their belonging, however, needs to be examined within specific contexts and remained extremely ambiguous in fourteenth-century Barcelona.

In contrast, convert Jews were able to access and fully practise their citizenship, at least in the first decades of the fifteenth century. Nonetheless, they are still interesting figures to analyse. Their past pushed them to develop alternative forms of citizenship, since they tended to reproduce special, although permeable, solidarity networks, which were accepted and integrated by the citizenry and its authorities, and within which they defined and sanctioned the figure of the good (convert) citizen.

The experiences and strategies of women, Jews, converts, and the poor have shaped a laboratory from which to contest the automatic relationships between the citizenry, where the citizen was constantly made through cultural practices, and the citizenship privileges that had to be officially granted by means of a charter.

In so doing, these three collectives have not only helped to give a more complex picture of an allegedly male, Christian, and wealthy citizenry but have also revealed themselves as useful analytical tools with which to insist even further on the strength of networks (the neighbourhood for women, distinct networks of converts) as citizen resources and mechanisms creating belonging. Through the eyes of these groups (mainly Jews and the poor), the intricacies of the language of citizenship, the nuances between the terms ‘habitator’ and ‘civis,’ have also reappeared. Valuing the use of these terms directly from specific experiences, rather than from a more legal perspective (chapter II), has provided some interesting insights. The term ‘habitator’
has been defined for other contexts as a particular expression of belonging. Weaker than the citizen, the ‘habitator’ was a figure of transition in Genoa with a set of rights and duties that nonetheless sealed his belonging to the civic community. In Barcelona, the ‘habitator’ was an adjective to the ‘cives’ since citizenship charters were granted to ‘cives et habitatores.’ In its most literal sense, it indicated residence and proved the fulfilment of the quintessential duty of the citizen. Thus, the ‘habitator’ belonged to the citizenry, albeit in its own way, as it was mostly used to refer to figures ambiguously related to the citizen body. From the margins of the citizenry, but still within it, the complex coexistence of the ‘habitatores’ with the ‘cives’ should not be taken as contradictory. Rather, women, Jews, converts, and the poor show the flexibility and permeability of a citizenry which recognised diverse grades of belonging, approved and sanctioned on the basis of cultural practices rather than exclusively fiscal ones.

1156 Casarino, “Tra estraneità,” 100. See also in Bizzarri, “Ricerche,”. On these issues, chapter II.
Conclusions

‘Barcelona, that storehouse of courtesy, haven of wayfarers, fatherland of the brave, avenger of the wronged, home of loyal friendships freely bestowed, and, moreover, in point of beauty and situation, a city without peer’

Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote de la Mancha*, Part II, Chapter 73.1157

In his description of Barcelona, Don Quixote put beauty, loyalty, and strong solidarities at the core of his memories. From the initial attempt to analyse the legal institutions and daily experiences of citizenship in a Mediterranean city, this thesis, albeit for a previous era, has found substantial evidence for this literary depiction. Placing citizenship at the heart of Barcelonese daily lives has not only brought out the diverse forms of the citizen in the Middle Ages, it has also pushed us to reflect further on the interests, relationships, and strategies that permanently ensured the constitution of a community of citizens, together making up the citizenry.

In my opinion, the citizenry of fifteenth-century Barcelona somewhat mirrors the ideal spherical representation of the city in the *Plaça del Blat*.1158 A circular image suggests flexibility and permeability whilst not excluding gradation. At the very centre of the sphere was a small oligarchical group of honoured citizens, who were the most active in political terms. They were surrounded by the ‘cives et habitatores,’ a larger number of citizens with similar economic and political rights and duties made up of merchants, seafarers, and artisans who could willingly sanction civic status with a citizenship charter, although only in case of need. Some were closer to the honoured citizenry than others. Still within the circle of citizenry were many women and the poor. They were ‘cives’ or ‘habitatores’, much like converts, they developed alternative paths of citizenship in order to compensate for their difficulties in accessing some of the principal citizen resources.

1158On the relation of this circular representation with traditional idealisations of the city: García Espuche and Guàrdia Bassols, *Espai i societat*, figure 10.
Part 1 of the thesis took the progressive articulation of the citizenship privilege in Late Medieval Barcelona as a tool with which to explore the legal scope and formation of this circular citizenry, while part 2 portrayed the mechanisms through which it became a cultural entity. In so doing, I placed a magnifying lens on individual actors and came to value the role of contingency and performance in the making of the citizen and the reproduction of the citizenry. The sources collected determined the scope of this magnifying glass, which embraced mostly those cives from the larger and more varied second group, although the thesis also briefly attempted to reflect on the definition and agency of both honoured citizens at the core of the civic body and citizens on the margins.

The admiring words of Don Quixote suggest that Barcelona was an ideal and ordered background for the medieval citizen. Besides summarising (1) how this research has analysed the negotiations of citizenship and unravelled in depth the definitions, perceptions and experiences of citizenship in fifteenth-century Barcelona, these conclusions will also (2) place Barcelonese citizenship within a larger Mediterranean context, evaluating its potential as a guideline with which to delve further into medieval citizenship. Finally, (3) I shall also propose some further paths of research which may help us to reach an even deeper and richer image of the processes that made and unmade the citizen in Late Medieval Barcelona.

DEFINING THE CITIZEN, BECOMING A CITIZEN:
BARCELONENSE CITIZENSHIP IN LIGHT OF INSTITUTIONAL, LEGAL, INTELLECTUAL, AND CULTURAL ANALYSIS

The thesis has first dealt with citizenship in institutional terms, understanding the evolution of the citizenship privilege as a mirror of the relationships between the crown of Aragon and its loyal city of Barcelona. From James I (1213-1276) to Peter the Ceremonious (1336-1387), the monarchy made Barcelonese citizenship concrete through a charter that granted custom exemptions throughout the territories under royal dominion. It was a royal privilege that the king controlled and supervised, deciding who was to be accepted within a community of privileged persons. Yet, the Barcelonese citizenry and its citizens developed further under the protection of a

1159 This being the main and general research question formulated in the introduction.
municipal government with increasing autonomy. From the early fourteenth century, despite occasional royal interventions, the Council of the Hundred and its councillors started controlling the wider coexistence of the urban community and the formation of the citizenry by granting citizenship charters and privileges of *habitatio*. By the end of the century, both documents became one and the city defined its policies of integration more precisely. This occurred after the Black Death, when Barcelona had become a centripetal pole of attraction for a variety of foreigners coming from other Catalan localities first and foremost. The *Informacions de la Ciutadania* then started to be produced: from that moment onwards, every new holder of a citizenship charter was to give an oath of citizenship, a promise of commitment and fidelity to the city, which primarily consisted on fixing a permanent residence within the walls of Barcelona. The charter was still based on the custom exemptions and reproduced the original royal privileges to the city but its uses and its meaning had been nuanced. The charter now confirmed one’s belonging and absorption among other citizens. It was by showing and swearing their readiness to commit to the needs of their city that citizens could be rewarded as loyal and good subjects of their monarch.

Bridging together various dimensions of citizenship (institutional, legal and cultural), Chapter III became the cornerstone of the dissertation. Presenting the production of the *Informacions* as the last step of a documentary tradition, it placed these sources in a very specific institutional context, one determined by the strong autonomy achieved by a city which still remained, however, closely tied to the crown, as shown by its vigilance in preventing royal patrimony alienation by extending Barcelonese citizenship through the ‘viles de carreratge.’ Chapter III also engaged with a detailed description of the *Informacions*, holding them as the main source from which to draw the major criteria that legally stated the features of the citizen. Indeed, through the interrogations, councillors examined whether the candidate had a permanent residence in the city, whether he paid taxes, and was able to live by his own means.

Cross referencing and contrasting a large amount of *Informacions*, I devoted this crucial chapter to establishing the strength and priorities existing between these parameters, all seen as measures to the citizen. In so doing, the intricacies of the legal practice of citizenship were uncovered and the legal status of the citizen delineated.
Instead of being listed in municipal acts or statutes, however, the practices of citizenship come out through the direct voices of Barcelonese themselves acting as witnesses throughout the citizenship reports. Through these voices, the parameters emerged in cultural terms, showing that not only were the Barcelonese perfectly aware of the performative practices that make the citizen, but that they also respected contingency whilst examining them, carefully noting the extent to which every candidate could meet the expected requirements. Most importantly, councillors listened to these voices and sanctioned them as official criteria in the making of the citizen.

The citizen of Barcelona therefore had a very strong external dimension that was very much dependent on his performances and on the observation and approval of his surroundings. The documentary tradition of citizenship itself places the creation and recognition of citizen reputation at the core of how citizenship was understood in Late Medieval Barcelona. Most importantly, this reputation became a concrete legal measure of the citizen to the councillors: the quantitative analysis that I conducted on the Informacions showed that interrogations were not always produced, as many candidates were directly recorded and were able to give their citizenship oath immediately. The data available strongly suggest that the councillors directly registered those citizens with clear reputations while opting to interrogate fellow citizens with more dubious backgrounds: foreigners, unstable merchants and peasants, sailors, artisans, and remences with few means at their disposal.

As a chronological continuation to chapter II, which explored the formative period of citizenship, chapter III was wholly taken up with the official dimension of the Informacions: it recreated the legal practices of citizenship in the fifteenth century by reinterpreting the rights and duties of the citizen, placing them within a constant dialogue between the citizenry and its authorities. Closing part I, chapter IV explored the subject from the angle of intellectual history with an analysis on Catalan jurists’ thoughts on citizenship. This tried to explore whether the legal practices of citizenship coincided with more theoretical concerns. Placing these jurists in light of the work of their major Italian counterparts helped to frame the very distinct contexts and

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1160These being one of the major sources of research on citizenship in the framework of the Italian city-states. Bizarri, “Ricerche”; Gilli, “Comment cesser,”
interests that determined Catalan jurists’ approach to citizenship. Closer to the king than to the city, Catalan jurists’ reflections started from a feudal code and subsequently attempted to understand the citizen in those terms. Detached from the practices of citizenship, they were unclear when dealing with the language of citizenship and seemed scarcely concerned with the rights and duties of the citizen. In their attempt to define the citizen, Catalan jurists did provide, however, a general and gradated image of the citizenry: mirroring Eiximenis’ work, they associated major, medium, and minor citizens with honoured citizens, merchants, and artisans. In so doing, they approached citizenship in concert with the traditional structure of political organs such as the Council of the Hundred itself.

Part II retraced in depth the negotiations of citizenship between citizens and the Barcelonese citizenry. The foreign citizen was used as tool which confirmed that it was access to profession, social capital, family, and urban space rather than origin that determined the citizen and, consequently, the foreigner. By identifying major solidarity networks through detailed case-studies, I represented the agency of the citizenry in the making of the citizen. Defined by family, professional, and neighbourhood ties, these networks engendered citizens and ensured the reproduction of the citizenry by mixing self-interests with an acute awareness of the actions that guaranteed the well-being of the citizen body.

All in all, the thesis has chiefly striven to understand the citizen of Barcelona in cultural terms, referring to his practices, resources, and experiences. This, however, has been done with a concern for the complex nature of citizenship, as the analysis aimed to shed new light on the ties and connections between the institutional, legal, and social forms of the citizen. However, this comprehensive and global view on citizenship has not dealt with the political dimension of citizenship that Catalan jurists indirectly recalled with their reflections on the gradation of the citizenry. Indeed, it is not an easy task to analyse political involvement in early fifteenth-century Barcelona in terms of citizenship.1161 The Council, while organised in four estates (honoured

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1161 It has been stated that one needed to be Barcelonese, non-noble, and not indebted with the municipality in order to hold an office. Batlle in Batlle, Ferrer, Mahé, Mutgé, Riera and Rovira, ‘El Llibre del Consell,’ 30. Yet, what it meant to be Barcelonese is far from clear. While foreign citizens occupying major offices have already been documented for the thirteenth century (chapter V), some artisans acted as deputies before even requesting a charter (chapter VI).
citizens, merchants, artists, and artisans), was largely influenced by the stronger group of honoured citizens, as was the case with the ciutadans de parròquies in the Valentinian Council and the honoured citizens of Zaragoza.¹¹⁶² The councillors were at the core of the elections structuring the municipality, including the appointment of the deputies of the Council, who were largely chosen on economic grounds.¹¹⁶³ Political participation as a practice of citizenship was therefore far from being easily accessible for the broad citizenry under the microscope in this dissertation. While this large gulf downplays the meaning of political agency in defining the citizen, it is clear that this imbalance in the access to political representation was far from unique to Barcelona. As Aristotle himself distinguished absolute citizens with full political rights from non-absolute citizens,¹¹⁶⁴ Florence only let native citizens take on major political responsibilities and early-modern Bologna established a distinction between a form of citizenship ‘quae det magistratus’ and a minor version which hindered access to public office.¹¹⁶⁵ Within the crown of Aragon, only native citizens were able to reach these positions in the kingdom and city of Mallorca.¹¹⁶⁶

Nonetheless, studies on cities such as Florence, London, and Naples show that while this access might have been limited, it was channeled through institutions like the guild or the neighbourhood.¹¹⁶⁷ From within the crown of Aragon, parishes played an important role in directing citizens to political power.¹¹⁶⁸ In Castile, the colación

¹¹⁶³ Batlle in Batlle, Ferrer, Mané, Mutgé, Riera and Rovira, ‘El Llibre del Consell,’ 32.
¹¹⁶⁶ Peñas, “La condición de natural del Reino de Mallorca,” 326, 331.
¹¹⁶⁷ The example of London, where citizenship was acquired through guild membership, has been mentioned on several occasions throughout the dissertation. See, for instance, in Farr, Artisans in Europe, 30. For Florence: Eckstein, “Neighbourhood as Microcosm,” 222. For Naples, John A. Marino, “Solidarity in Spanish Naples: Fede Pubblica and Fede Privata Revisited,” in Sociability and Its Discontents. Civil Society, Social Capital and their alternatives in late medieval and early modern Europe, eds. N. Tepstra and N. Eckstein, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 193-211. In general terms, the complexity of election procedures in urban councils and the role of guilds and neighbourhoods in channelling them was noted in Boucheron and Menjot, “La Ville Médiévale,” 508.
¹¹⁶⁸ In Valencia, the fiction of parishes nominating potential deputies was maintained, although these lists were closely controlled by the monarchy from 1426 onwards, as the arrival of the Trastámara considerably diminished municipal autonomy in Valencia. Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno and Enrique Cruselles Gómez, “Espacios económicos y sociedad política en la Valencia del siglo XV,” Revista d’Història Medieval 9, (1998): 195 (note 6); neighbours (vecinos) accessing to the Council were also listed by parishes in Zaragoza: Mainé, Ciudadanos Honrados, 19-21.
stood as an administrative expression of the neighbourhood through which representatives to the urban council were elected. At the core of powerful acts of citizenship, these institutions brought citizens closer to local politics and helped them shape their public identity as such. In Barcelona, however, the arts were only just starting to play a significant role in the structure of the Council, as the councillors asked for their advice when time came to appoint artisans deputies. They were still far from the dominant corporations of the Early Modern period. Later on, guild membership indeed became the strongest sign of public identity and therefore of citizenship in Barcelona. For the fifteenth century, the material collected in this dissertation has shown that it was in overlapping diverse solidarities, all of them mirroring to more institutionalised structures, that the citizen publicly identified with the civic community. He had to do so, for instance, when economic necessities or any other sort of contingent situation pushed him to prove his belonging in order to reach the citizenship privilege. The Informaciones de la Ciutadania themselves stand as a proof.

The scope of these conclusions needs to be nuanced. This thesis was never an attempt to study the political balance of Barcelona: certainly, much more research would need to be done to state the role of informal solidarities in shaping the activity of citizens in local politics (if any). The thesis aimed at retracing the social experience of citizenship in its broader sense and has come to portray the citizen and its citizenry in cultural terms, showing how they constantly negotiated within informal networks that structured the civic life of the city. To establish whether the capacity of these informal circles to produce and spread reputation turned them into resources of political agency, alternatives to the stronger institutions of other cities, would require a different research agenda. It might be worth recalling that the potential access of citizens ex privilegio to public office in Florence was limited to those who could prove by public testimony that they were trustworthy and well reputed citizens. Be that as it may, let us just present this as a hypothesis which might help us in the future to

1169 For the case of Toledo: Morollón Hernández, “La vecindad en la ciudad de Toledo,” 435.
1171 Amelang, “People of the Ribera,” 126.
1172 De Angelis, “La cittadinanza a Firenze,” 142, 146.
rethink the dynamics of the Council of the Hundred in adequate citizenship terms, an
inspiring path of research with which to insist on the strength of informal solidarities in
urban integration and organisation in Barcelona and, of course, far beyond.\textsuperscript{1173}

\textbf{AN EXERCISE OF ASYMMETRICAL COMPARISON}

This thesis should not be read as an attempt to insist on any particularism in the case
of Barcelona. On the contrary, by following in the steps of studies showing the
influence of practice and performance in public recognition for other periods and
contexts,\textsuperscript{1174} my intention has been to explore whether Barcelona could be shaped as a
platform, a methodological guideline, from which to reconsider medieval citizenship in
broader terms.

To grasp the \textit{universal} from the \textit{local} study of Barcelona,\textsuperscript{1175} an exercise of
asymmetrical comparison to place Barcelona in a dialogue of other citizenships is
necessary.\textsuperscript{1176} In the following, I will re-examine in comparative terms two
fundamental issues that have been raised or assumed through the case of Barcelona:
the need to question the actual role of citizenship privileges in creating citizens and
shaping the citizenry and, secondly, the extent to which citizenship emerges as a
measure of urban belonging.

Despite being attached to procedures of citizenship charter acquisition, the
sources conserved for Barcelona have interestingly downplayed the role of such a
document in the creation of citizens. Indeed, citizenship reports themselves presented
candidates who were already identified as citizens, both by the authorities and the
witnesses, while others would already have acted as citizens in earlier notarial

\textsuperscript{1173}To be sure, the role of informal and personal relationships in urban organisation is far from
unexplored. For an early account on research related to Renaissance studies: Ronald Weissman, “The
Importance of Being Ambiguous: Social Relations, Individualism, and Identity in Renaissance Florence,”
Presses, 1989),270.

\textsuperscript{1174}Herzog, \textit{Defining Nations}; Cerutti, \textit{Étrangers}.

\textsuperscript{1175}On the potential of locally ingrained studies to create broader historical knowledge: Bartolomé Yun
Casalilla, “Localism, global history and transnational history. A reflection from the historian of Early

\textsuperscript{1176}On the aims, methods, and disadvantages of asymmetrical comparisons: Jürgen Kocka,
“Asymmetrical historical comparison: the case of the German Sonderweg,” \textit{History and Theory} 38/1,
documents. While enriching the fiscal prerogatives of the citizen, the charter was only granted to citizens, confirming them rather than constituting them anew. Thus, it is to be assumed that the very general use of the identifier ‘cives’ in notarial sources did not always refer to citizens owning a charter. As a piece of identification that granted privileges and imposed duties, the charter was mostly valid beyond the walls of Barcelona, as within them reputation and recognition were at the basis of citizen identification.

To be sure, reputation played a paramount role in making citizens in other very different contexts. For Early Modern Castile, Tamar Herzog claimed that the requirements of citizenship were but general rules which left a large space to accept as vecinos all those acting as such: thus, local authorities played little role in the acceptance of new citizens. Like in fifteenth-century Barcelona, whenever an official recognition of citizenship was requested, ‘formal admission into the community was not at stake’ since ‘these individuals were considered citizens and therefore worthy of treatment as citizens.’ Confirmation of citizen status by publica vox et fama through testifying was also used in Late Medieval Venice, at least in regard to native citizens.

Yet, in some other cities, the citizenship privilege in itself had a much more definite role in determining the citizenry. In Tarragona, citizenship pacts created citizens, establishing in particular detail what their duties and prerogatives were. For the authorities of fifteenth-century Toledo, every vecino was supposed to have a charter if he expected to enjoy the rights and privileges of citizenship, both within and without the walls of the city. In Valencia, the citizenship registers conserved (Llibre d’Avehinaments) suggest that an intermediary situation developed. According to David Igual, the citizen (veí) was not retrospectively observed in Valencia. Like in Tarragona, it was through specific pacts that his future condition was officially settled. Nonetheless, research on (foreign) merchants has allowed this scholar to retrace how

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1177 Herzog, Defining Nations, 7, 29.
1178 Mueller, Immigrazione e cittadinanza, 43.
1179 Juncosa, “Estructuras de poder,” 383-386. Although here again, petitioners themselves could come to present themselves as long reputed citizens of Tarragona.
1180 Morollón, “La vecindad en la ciudad de Toledo,” 435.
individuals with no official recognition as citizens acted as such, having been absorbed within networks of urban solidarity.\textsuperscript{1181}

There was always room, therefore, for the ambiguity of the citizen to be deployed.\textsuperscript{1182} Nevertheless, the value of the citizenship charter as an identifier was not unequivocally framed and varied depending on space and time. In light of the case of Barcelona, I argue that it remains important to delineate this value when analysing medieval citizenship. Indeed, to establish whether the charter confirmed or created citizens is not an anodyne question: besides directing our attention towards the processes that made the citizen, it helps us to understand whether the citizenry in itself was built and perceived as a privileged body or as a more elastic and flexible one which could come to embrace larger parts of the urban community, as was the case in Barcelona.

Thus, I argue that establishing connections and distinctions between citizenship privilege, citizens, and the citizenry has to be a fundamental first methodological step when dealing with medieval citizenship. Through it, we can subsequently attempt to elaborate on the social meaning of citizenship and give some concrete thoughts on the connection between citizen making, citizen experience, and belonging, which Pietro Costa forwards as one of the defining pillars of citizenship.\textsuperscript{1183}

As noted in the introduction, Costa understood medieval citizenship as a relationship of belonging between the individual and the political community. As he and other historians have recalled, empirical research has evidenced how this pactist nature of citizenship came to life through a multiplicity of forms, thus preventing any attempt to create a general definition for both the citizen and citizenship in the Middle Ages.\textsuperscript{1184} From within concrete realities, fragmented sources motivated studies that unravelled the richness of these pacts in rather opportunistic terms, showing that the making of the citizen was often based on an exchange of mutual economic interests

\textsuperscript{1181}Igual, ¿Los mercaders són egualadors de món?,” 136, 139.
\textsuperscript{1182}This was true even in the case of Venice, where citizenship was strictly classified. In some cases, merchants acting abroad could come to act as Venitian citizens, ignoring the limits of their own privileges. Trebbi, “I diritti di cittadinanza nelle repubbliche italiane,”152.
\textsuperscript{1183}Costa, \textit{Civitas}, vol I, 15.
between the citizen and his authorities rather than on a strong feeling of commitment to the civic community. Giovanna Petti-Balbi insisted on these features for the case of Genoa. In this city, full citizenship was personally negotiated in strong fiscal terms, the citizen having to show, first and foremost, his capacity to contribute economically to the needs of the city. Most importantly, belonging was often shaped in terms of convenzioni, that is, a weaker form of citizenship, an agreement according to which the city granted the economic privileges of the citizen without requiring regular fiscal contribution or permanent residence in the city. In turn, the beneficiary had to provide a yearly fee and was excluded from public office.\textsuperscript{1185} The relative flexibility of the Genoese authorities in granting privileges related to citizenship contrasted with the strict classification established in Venice. The lagoon city shaped a citizenry with precise inner distinctions determined by indigeneity (cittadini originari) and the scope of the trading privileges received (cittadini de intus/intus et extra). Indeed, Venice used citizenship as a resource with which to control the beneficiaries of its commercial empire. Despite its differences and specificities, these two cases show that in their concern for regulating the granting of the privileges of citizenship, authorities remained at the core of the pacts of citizenship, determining the complex panorama of civic identities.

From the case of Barcelona, this thesis has put the pact of citizenship and the relationship it created in a different light. Recreating the primary steps of integration from within the solidarity networks where the citizen and his reputation were formed, pacts have turned into a constant dialogue and citizenship has been perceived, in its broadest expression, as the basis of urban acceptance. Yet, this emphasis on the cultural recognition of the citizen should not push us to underestimate the influence of the Council of the Hundred and its councillors in the control of citizenship and, therefore, the definition of the citizen in Late Medieval Barcelona. While the Informaciones de la Ciutadania have made clear that reputation was officially accepted as the basis of citizenship, the Council and its councillors still developed mechanisms through which to test this citizenship by reputation and through which to ensure that their own interests prevailed in the constant shaping of the citizenry. In fact, the mere decision of gathering information for some, but not all, of the candidates suggests that

\textsuperscript{1185}\textsuperscript{}Petti-Balbi, “Cittadinanza,” 105-115.
the authorities had a gradated approach to urban belonging, a gradation that they associated with the ordered nature of the citizenry they were interested in preserving.

Thus, Barcelona offers an integrative view on medieval citizenship, one combining two faces of the same coin: social belonging and official control, acceptance and the negotiation of interests. From the richness of its material, the Catalan city suggests that medieval citizenship needs to be approached by exploring how these two faces combined in the specificities of historical experience.

**MOVING FORWARD**

By highlighting the cultural making of the citizen, this thesis has presented citizenship not only as a fiscal privilege or a legal status but also as a multi-faceted prism from which to reach a more dynamic and integrated image of urban life. The Barcelonense have helped portray citizenship as a broad phenomenon, a complex social experience of varied forms, all of them processes of personal identification through which urban belonging was built. This intensive and concrete research on Barcelona, its citizens, and its citizenry highlights the relevance of broader understandings of citizenship and may motivate scholars to take them into consideration in other contexts even if sources as rich as the *Informaciones de la Ciudadania* are not conserved. In regard to Barcelonense historiography, the research has addressed an important gap, for the citizen of Barcelona had been predominantly approached in relation to his economic activities without considering his nature and role. In my view, this was due to the uncertain and ambiguous image that the generalised use of the term ‘citizen’ suggested. Without trying to solve the ambiguities of the citizen, which were certainly not such for contemporaries, the thesis has tried to portray how they were used and the backgrounds where they were formed. Yet, it is important to recall again that the *Informaciones de la Ciudadania* do not give a complete picture of the backgrounds that determined the creation of citizens. As a tool for the confirmation of citizen status, the *Informaciones* gathered only successful citizens, the experiences of whom present the Barcelonense citizenry as a cohesive and fluid reality based on strong solidarities and open to various processes of integration. This ideal image, however, needs to be contrasted with a deeper reflection on the role
of tensions and exclusion in the making of the citizen and the constitution of the citizenry.\textsuperscript{1186}

To this end, I would first propose we delve even further into the micro-analysis of the networks that framed the citizen. With a larger variety of sources, including more notarial documents, arbitrations, trials, and account books, the intricacies of the family, professional, and neighbourhood networks that constituted the citizenry deserve to be depicted further. In so doing, inner tensions and conflicts of interests could be highlighted, reflecting on how the overlapping relationships that determined the citizen’s experiences created competition and kept reframing the strategies with which belonging to the citizen body was woven. Research along these lines will certainly insist on the ambiguous and multifaceted nature of the citizen, viewing it, through more nuanced and contrasted lenses.\textsuperscript{1187} The very same case studies proposed in this thesis could result fruitful in these attempts. Despite emerging as a powerful platform in the creation and recognition of citizens, the merchant family of the Sarrovira also harboured inner conflicts, as suggested by the trace of arbitrations between the brothers Francesc and Ramon Sarrovira. Similarly, the transfer of Joan Bou to Sicily determined his exclusion from the circle of the Clergue, banned as he was from both his wife and his father-in-law’s testaments. It would therefore be necessary to interrogate how differently individuals in these difficult situations negotiated their position within the citizenry to maintain and consolidate their citizenship under any circumstances. The case of the belligerent Guillem de Montcofa, whose contacts and abilities ensured inclusion within a mercantile company, could also be interesting when analysing the extent to which conflicts, tensions, ambition, and greed could shape the citizen. Besides the loyalty shown by his representative, the apothecary Nicolau Sala, throughout the notarial deeds, several other documents suggest the more tense relationships Montcofa entertained with other merchants and citizens of Barcelona.

\textsuperscript{1186}An example would be family quarrels, which were rare, however, in early fifteenth-century Barcelona. For some examples: Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, “Lluita de bàndols a Barcelona en temps del rei Martí l’Humà,” in Estudis d’història medieval. Estudis dedicats a Ferran Soldevila, (Barcelona: Societat Catalana d’Estudis Històrics, 1969), 75-94.

\textsuperscript{1187}The influence of overlapping solidarities and the necessity of developing ambiguous behaviour when building one’s identity was already mentioned for Renaissance Florence: Weissman, “The Importance of Being Ambiguous,” 269-280.
Yet, the best theatre of conflict for analysing how tensions, factions, and disorder affected the nature of the Barcelonese citizen would undeniably be found by placing the research later in time. As recalled in chapter I, the Catalan Civil War (1462-1472) crystallised the division of the city into two opposing political factions, the *Busca* and the *Biga*, and broke the relationships between the crown and its once loyal city of Barcelona. An analysis of citizenship in these troubled times would explore in precise terms the extent to which citizenship was reshaped in critical circumstances. In this specific context, such a study will unravel how the mechanisms through which the citizen built his belonging changed in a divided city and which were the loyalties the good citizen was supposed to respect. Thus, the effect of these fratricidal conflicts in the daily lives of the Barcelonese would be reinterpreted anew. To be sure, this would be a very difficult project, as no specific citizenship sources for the period have been conserved, as the last trace of the *Informacions* dates from 1457, just before the war and the definite explosion of the tensions that had been growing for years. The extinction of the *Informacions* in itself would have to be taken as a starting point of research, one suggesting that citizenship had started to be negotiated in different terms by that date. This may be related to the nostalgic words of a Barcelonese who, precisely in 1457, reacted to the admiring words of the Castilian chronicler Alonso de Palencia: ‘the city looks like it is flourishing to the newcomers but we, who have seen it in bygone days, we believe the city is close to its ruin, [...] wealth and trade decreases, citizens do not feel any love for their Republic, and men use their own goods poorly.’

Focussing on the bygone days so nostalgically recalled by Palencia’s acquaintance, this thesis has presented Barcelona as a methodological platform from which to take the pulse to medieval citizenship, discussing the definitions of the citizen and unravelling the natures of his resources, practices, and experiences. Yet, as I have tried to highlight in these conclusions, the inexhaustible complexity of the citizen

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1188 Quoted in Carrère, *Barcelona*, vol II, 247-248 (note 25) (herself quoting from Pierre Vilar, “Le déclin catalan au bas Moyen Âge: hypothèses sur sa chronologie,” and from Ferran Soldevila, *Història de Catalunya*). My translation comes from the French one that she included in her text: ‘Un Barcelonais –un marchand- se charge de le détromper: Barcelone, lui dit-il, ‘semble aux nouveaux venus plus que jamais florissante; mais nous qui l’avons vue dans les temps passés, nous la croyons vouée au malheur et près de sa perte... Peu à peu s’est déformée l’allure de la cité; les richesses décroissent et le traffic diminue; les citoyens n’ont plus l’amour de la République et les homes usent mal de leurs biens.’
invites us to question further the strategies and contexts that determined his belonging to the citizenry. As inexhaustible as its citizens, Barcelona shall remain a city from which to continue exploring civic life in the Medieval Mediterranean.