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Tržnica (El Bornet) v središču Barcelone; v ozadju obrambni del mesta, anonimna slika iz 18. stoletja. / Mercato (El Bornet) nel centro di Barcellona, con la cittadella militare sullo sfondo, dipinto anonimo del XVIII secolo. / The market (El Bornet) in central Barcelona, with the military citadel in the background, anonymous 18th century painting (Barcelona City History Museum, MHCB 10946; Wikimedia Commons).

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DELIBERATING ON FOREIGNNESS: MIGRANT INTEGRATION AND DELIBERATIVE PRACTICES IN A CATALAN CRAFT GUILD (ca. 1580–ca. 1600)

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ABSTRACT

Recent scholarship has portrayed European craft guilds as more inclusive towards new members than previously assumed. Their role in the integration of newcomers into urban communities has been highlighted as a gateway to a practical notion of citizenship. However, the role of guild deliberation practices in the integration of migrant individuals has not been examined. The present work aims to address this issue through a case study of late sixteenth-century Catalonia. Between 1580 and 1600, the wool weavers' guild of the town of Terrassa integrated large numbers of French migrants into its membership. Through a series of institutional and electoral reforms, the deliberative practices of the guild gradually evolved to further include the foreigners, initially underrepresented.

Keywords: craft guilds, early modern Catalonia, French migration, integration, deliberation, electoral reforms

DISCUTERE LA CONDIZIONE DI STRANIERO. INTEGRAZIONE DEI MIGRANTI E PRATICHE DELIBERATIVE IN UNA GILDA ARTIGIANA CATALANA (CA. 1580 – CA. 1600)

SINTESI

La recente storiografia ha descritto le gilde artigiane europee come più inclusive nei confronti dei nuovi membri di quanto si ritenesse in passato. Il loro ruolo nell'integrazione dei nuovi arrivati nelle comunità urbane è stato evidenziato come una via d'accesso a una nozione pratica di cittadinanza. Tuttavia, il ruolo delle pratiche deliberative delle gilde nell'integrazione degli individui migranti non è stato ancora esaminato. Il presente studio intende affrontare tale questione attraverso un caso di studio della Catalogna della fine del sedicesimo secolo. Tra il 1580 e il 1600, la gilda dei tessitori di lana della città di Terrassa integrò un gran numero di migranti francesi tra i propri

membri. Attraverso una serie di riforme istituzionali ed elettorali, le pratiche deliberative della gilda si evolvettero gradualmente fino a includere in misura maggiore gli stranieri, inizialmente sotto-rappresentati.

Parole chiave: gilde artigiane, Catalogna della Prima età moderna, migrazione francese, integrazione, deliberazione, riforme elettorali

INTRODUCTION¹

Craft guilds were traditionally portrayed as closed institutions. Membership control was considered a key-element to successfully restrict access to manufacturing in urban areas. The privilege to manufacture and sometimes commercialize the specific products associated with a trade, the so-called guild monopoly, was considered to be essentially linked to membership control. However, though some authors still maintain this approach,² most of the recent contributions state otherwise. Since the renewal of guild studies in recent years, this old stereotype has been addressed to offer a complex interpretation of inclusiveness in early modern craft guilds.³ These efforts have resulted in a significant conclusion: even though some guilds controlled membership according to the traditional stereotype, many others did not. Openness to new members from outside the trade, the town or from different migrant backgrounds was more common than previously thought. Two factors were key to shape openness to new members: Guilds in big towns and cities, and those in prosperous trades, were far more open to new members (Prak et al., 2020, 439–440).

Moreover, craft guilds' openness to new members has also been revised qualitatively. Maarten Prak's approach to citizenship in early modern Europe, understood in a pragmatic sense, has addressed guilds as key institutions in urban communities to integrate outsiders: 'economic citizenship through the guilds' was possible for newcomers in places where guild membership automatically implied formal citizenship. When it was not the case, guild membership could also imply citizenship in a less formalized way: where citizen rights could be exercised by newcomers in the same way as formal citizens, a practical form of citizenship existed. And guild membership could indeed offer a way to exercise the same rights as locals, in practice (Prak, 2018, 7, 85, 113–114).

¹ This article is based upon work from the COST Action CA22149 *Research Network for Interdisciplinary Studies of Transhistorical Deliberative Democracy (CHANGECODE)*, supported by COST (*European Cooperation in Science and Technology*).

² Most notably Ogilvie (1997; 2004; 2008; 2014; 2018; 2021).

³ About this change of approach towards craft guilds, cf. Lucassen, De Moor & Van Zanden (2008) and Epstein & Prak (2008).

But perhaps a more complex reality existed inside each guild and its approach to new members of foreign origin, and this scenario could be internally addressed through deliberative practices. Craft guilds have barely been cited or studied as spaces for deliberation (Putnam, 1993, 121–162; Crowston, 2001, 256–296; Klüge, 2007; Blunden, 2016, 43–59; Molas Ribalta, 2019; De Munck, 2022, 95–96; Figueras i Gibert, 2025). Furthermore, the role that guild deliberation practices had in the integration of members of foreign origin has not been directly studied. This paper aims to address this issue. In the sixteenth-century Catalan town of Terrassa, one of the main local guilds, the wool weavers', had to deal with a significant number of migrant members of French origin. To do so, its deliberative structures were progressively modified to represent the foreigners, initially underrepresented and left out of many of the guild's offices.

The present work explores this process of integration during the late sixteenth century drawing primarily on sources from the local *Arxiu Històric de Terrassa* (AHT). Only one council book of the wool weavers' guild has been preserved, covering the period between 1580 and 1600. Fortunately, its pages provide detailed insight into how the guild's deliberative practices concerning foreign members evolved over time. This study will trace this historical process with the goal of addressing a past experience in which large numbers of migrants were integrated into the deliberative practices of a craft guild.

MIGRATION AND ECONOMIC CHANGE IN A NUTSHELL: THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LANDSCAPE OF LATE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY CATALONIA

What drives a community to change its usual practices in order to evolve? Considering craft guilds to be 'a world within a world' (Rappaport, 1989, 23–60; De Moor, 2008, 197), historical processes of internal change may be closely linked to the complexities of the surrounding urban context. Late sixteenth-century Terrassa and its guilds were no exception to this. A small-sized town by European standards, Terrassa had developed as one of the major towns under royal jurisdiction in the County of Barcelona since the High Middle Ages. The town's strategic location on the road between Barcelona and Manresa led to its growth as a fortified settlement with market and municipal privileges (Borfo & Roca, 1987, 172–177).

Although the town's development suffered a major crisis during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the 1500s followed a different trend. After having its jurisdiction sold to the city of Barcelona in 1391, Terrassa was again incorporated into the royal domain in 1473. New reforms and privileges modified the town's government and allowed it to expand beyond the medieval walls (Solé i Sanabra, 1987, 200–209). Unprecedented demographic growth shaped the early modern town: from 1497 to 1570, Terrassa grew from just over 260 to

nearly 1,200 inhabitants; by 1640, this number had risen to over 1,900.⁴ This growth can be linked, among other factors, to two main causes: a period of intense economic development, as the town specialized in producing mid- to high-quality woollen textiles, and the arrival of large numbers of migrants, most of them from the French Midi.

Indeed, from the sixteenth century onwards, Terrassa developed into one of the main wool manufacturing towns in Catalonia. Its importance in the trade grew during the following centuries, such that by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the town had become one of the leading industrial centres in the region (Benaül Berenguer, 1992, 58–59; Moreno Zacarés, 2019, 153–154). This industrial flourishing was rooted in the changes that shaped sixteenth and seventeenth-century Terrassa, which its town council described as ‘one of the most populated in the Principality of Catalonia, and growing each day as a result of the great wool cloth production that is practiced in the town’ (AHT, Uni, LCUV, 4/1, 45r).

However, Terrassa was not the only Catalan town to follow this trajectory. The town’s new economic specialization was linked to a broader process that shaped early modern Catalonia. Between 1550 and 1640 the Catalan economy underwent significant structural changes that affected the manufacturing sector of the Principality (García Espuche, 1998, 22–24). Wool manufacturing had traditionally been concentrated in the main Catalan cities, especially in Barcelona, and had prospered during the Middle Ages: high-quality cloth was among the principal exports of the Catalan capital (Riera Melis, 2005, 71–72). After the Catalan Civil War (1462–72), however, the trade in Barcelona suffered a crisis that shaped its early modern decline (Bonnassie, 1975, 179–182).

The demise of the textile trade in the capital was followed by its flourishing in other towns with commercial ties to Barcelona. As a result, a new productive hierarchy emerged, characterized by local specializations in various qualities of cloth. Among these, a high tier of production specializing in mid- to high-quality included towns located in the Vallès, Anoia and Llobregat Montserratí regions, which remained significant until the end of the *Ancien Régime* and eventually surpassed Barcelona in importance (Benaül Berenguer, 1991, 114–116, 124–126). Towns such as Esparreguera, Olesa de Montserrat, Igualada, Sabadell, and Terrassa gradually emerged as key centres within these regions (García Espuche, 1998, 114–168).

Due to the smaller size of these towns, the corporative structure that developed therein was simpler than that of Barcelona. Most towns that specialized in mid- to high-quality cloth had a two-guild system. The majority of trades involved in wool manufacturing – mainly carders, shearmen, throwsters and dyers – were organized

4 The preserved local censuses, called *fogatges*, compile the amount of families present in the town. The most common practice to translate the sources into the total number of inhabitants is to multiply by four, as stated by Nadal (1978, 52). The three mentioned censuses account for a total of 66 (1497), 292 (1570) and 485 (1640) families (Berenguer & Coma, 1987, 36–40). Multiplying by four, this accounts for 264 inhabitants in 1497, 1,168 in 1570 and 1,940 in 1640.

in a single guild: the wool manufacturers' (*paraires*). The guild was named after the artisans who purchased raw wool and oversaw the entire process of turning it into cloth by subcontracting the work of other artisans. In contrast, weavers (*teixidors*) belonged to a separate guild that safeguarded its independence from the wool manufacturers through its own set of regulations. Nonetheless, conflicts between the two guilds were common (Benaul Berenguer, 1991, 125–127). Terrassa had this type of guild system in place at least since the early sixteenth century (Figueras i Gibert, 2024, 56), and both corporations were further consolidated from the 1560s onward, during an era of economic expansion (Coma i Ainsa, 1987, 244–248).

Parallel to these changes, large numbers of French migrants – most of them men – were arriving in late sixteenth century Terrassa and Catalonia. French migration has been identified as one of the most important demographic processes that shaped early modern Catalonia, primarily between the late fifteenth century and the 1660s. It went through different phases, reaching its peak between 1540 and 1620, before gradually declining afterwards (Nadal & Giralt, 2000, 129–132). Although its impact varied across different Catalan regions (Dantí Riu, 1982, 135; Gual i Vilà, 1991, 71–73), the newcomers, most of whom came from the Midi, represented a significant proportion of the population in various areas. Although we lack precise figures, García Espuche and Guàrdia i Bassols's analysis of the 1640 census of Barcelona suggests that French foreigners made up about a sixteen percent of the population in the Catalan capital (García Espuche & Guàrdia i Bassols, 1986, 31).

The explanations behind this migration are diverse and remain a topic of discussion. Internal and external causes have been highlighted to explain the phenomenon (Vila i Palacín, 2024, 19–24). On the one hand, after the Catalan Civil War, the Principality suffered a demographic deficit that, along with a restructuring of the countryside following the Arbitral Sentence of Guadalupe (1486), led to higher wages and increased demand for labour in the fields (Nadal & Giralt, 2000, 172–176, 180–182). On the other hand, overpopulation in some southern French regions and the resulting poverty, combined with the impact of the Wars of Religion in the late 1500s, have been identified as external causes of the migration wave (Capdevila, 2014, 206; 2018, 89). Moreover, historical, dynastic, religious and cultural ties between the Midi and Catalonia have also been identified as contributing factors (Nadal & Giralt, 2000, 166).

Yet migrants did not only come to work in the Catalan fields. Many French craftsmen helped shape the urban landscape of Catalonia upon their arrival. Their widespread presence has been documented in cities such as Barcelona (Nadal & Giralt, 2000, 191), Lleida (Vilalta, 2003), Manresa (Rafat i Selga, 1993, 42) and Girona (Domènech i Casadevall, 1999). Many medium-sized towns such as Esparraguera, Argentona, Olesa de Montserrat, Ripoll and Sabadell received large numbers of migrant tradesmen as well (García Espuche, 1998, 64). These foreigners often organized in their own confraternities (Moreu-Rey, 1959, 15–16; Massanell i Esclassans, 1980, 71; García Espuche, 1998, 64; Nadal & Giralt, 2000, 102–106), but also joined local guilds in many of the economically flourishing towns (García Espuche, 1998, 65–68).

Terrassa was one such town. According to Núria Sales (1989, 103), in 1583 a majority of the town's craftsmen were of French origin, which aligns with the economic changes shaping early modern Terrassa. In 1639, the municipal council stated that over a hundred houses in Terrassa were inhabited by French families, and many French journeymen lived in the town as well (Almazán Fernández, 1989, 51). Their presence was so significant that a street in the town was named *dels gavatxons* – ‘of the French’ – (Almazán Fernández, 1992, 31). As a result, during a period of economic expansion, its textile guilds – especially the wool weavers’ – eventually integrated many members of foreign origin (Coma i Ainsa, 1987, 242–243).

DEBATING FOREIGNNESS. MIGRANT INTEGRATION AND DELIBERATIVE PRACTICES IN THE WOOL WEAVERS’ GUILD OF TERRASSA

The wool weavers’ guild of Terrassa exemplifies the aforementioned historical processes. Although the weavers were able to form their own guild, they were dependent on the wealthier wool manufacturers to work. The regulations set out in their statutes sought to limit the power of the wool manufacturers: only master weavers were allowed to own a loom and to maintain an independent workshop, thus ensuring a degree of productive autonomy (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCOP, 10/1, 1.2, fol. 6r). Still, since most weavers did not own the wool they wove, they relied on subcontract by wool manufacturers, which limited their opportunities to prosper. As a result, the guild was one of the most modest in the town (Figueras i Gibert, 2024, 62–65).

Prior to 1587, the guild relied on a rudimentary deliberative structure that would evolve in the following years. It held a single general council, accessible to all weavers, both masters and journeymen (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, fol. 1r–2v). Councils were also not held very frequently during the early 1580s: as shown in Table 1, between 1580 and 1585, the weavers’ general council met only one to three times each year. Although the council was accessible to all members, this infrequent meeting schedule limited most guildsmen’s opportunities for participation, as the day-to-day practice of the trade was controlled by the guild’s officials and deans.

Not surprisingly, most of the councils held during these years focused on electing the guild’s officials. The guild was presided over by two deans, called consuls (*cònsols*), along with four administrators that organized the corporation’s religious life. In addition, three accountants (*oïdors de comptes*) supervised the guild’s finances. The consulate was the most important office, since the two consuls were in charge of regulating the trade. The guild’s laws from 1579 made them responsible for prosecuting any fraud against the weavers’ regulations, alongside the town’s bailiff. Furthermore, the consuls benefited from one third to the half of the fines collected through the prosecution of unlawful practices (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCOP, 10/1, 1.2, fol. 5r–6v).

Although elections were held annually, the mechanisms used were not particularly representative, and differed between offices. On the one hand, administrators and accountants were elected through a composite system that allocated the offices between masters and journeymen. On election day, both groups elected a set of electors – usually

Table 1: Guild councils held between 1580 and 1585.

Year	Date of each council	Number of councils held
1580	date unknown	2
	23 July election (all offices)	
1581	6 April	3
	14 July election (consuls)	
	22 July election (administrators and accountants)	
1582	21 July election (administrators and accountants)	2
	26 July election (consuls)	
1583	19 July election (administrators and accountants)	3
	25 July election (consuls)	
	7 September	
1584	23 July election (administrators and accountants)	2
	26 July (consuls)	
1585	23 July election (administrators and accountants)	1

four, two masters and two journeymen – who then had to choose four administrators and three accountants: the first four were equally distributed between masters and journeymen, while the latter had a majority of masters: only one journeymen accountant was elected (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, fol. 2r–7v).

On the other hand, the consuls were elected by sortition: each year, the names of all candidates were written in wax balls and placed in a bag, from which a seven-year-old child would draw the names of the elected officials. This system was already in use by the wool manufacturers’ guild of Terrassa (Coma i Ainsa, 1987, 236–237), as well as by many other Catalan corporations. Since the late fifteenth century, the method had been adopted by many Barcelonese guilds in order to prevent electoral fraud and conflicts commonly associated with other practices, such as co-optation and direct election by open councils. In 1499, a privilege by King Ferdinand II of Aragon made sortition mandatory in all the guilds of Barcelona (Bonnassie, 1975, 45–46). During the sixteenth-century, many guilds throughout Catalonia also adopted sortition, although its broader diffusion has yet to be thoroughly studied (Figueras i Gibert, 2025, 329).

Sortition could also be manipulated to influence election outcomes. The weavers implemented formalised mechanisms to restrict access to the consulate, as only masters were eligible. However, less formalised strategies of exclusion also existed within the guild: although it was not legally codified in its statutes (AHT, Uni, Gr,

Table 2: Percentage of Catalans and foreigners elected (1580–87).

Year	Electors		Administrators		Accountants	
	% of elected Catalans	% of elected foreigners	% of elected Catalans	% of elected foreigners	% of elected Catalans	% of elected foreigners
July 1580–July 1581	87.5	12.5	100	0	66.6	33.3
July 1581–July 1582	100	0	75	25	100	0
July 1582–July 1583	75	25	75	25	100	0
July 1583–July 1584	75	25	75	25	100	0
July 1584–July 1585	75	25	75	25	66.6	33.3
July 1585–July 1586	75	25	50	50	100	0
July 1586–July 1587	75	25	75	25	100	0

LCOP, 10/1, 1.2, fol. 5r–6v), later guild council records state that only Catalan masters were eligible for the consulate (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, fol. 41r). Considering that most councils held prior to 1586 dealt exclusively with elections, and that the consuls carried out the majority of trade regulations, the guild’s deliberative structures were far from representative.

This is particularly significant, as the weavers’ guild, as previously noted, included many members of French origin: a council record from 1587 stated that a majority of members were of foreigners (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, f. 14v). And the French were not only discriminated in their non-access the consulate, but also in other offices. Later reforms to the electoral system specify the origin of each member upon election,⁵ which makes it possible to analyse whether or not foreigners were discriminated against prior to 1587, as shown in Table 2.

The percentages shown in the table include both masters and journeymen; I have chosen to combine these two categories according to their origin in order to simplify the analysis, since, in theory, these offices were shared by both. As the data indicate, the majority of the guild’s electors, administrators and accountants between 1580 and 1587 were Catalans. Only in 1585 were half of the elected administrators of migrant origin. In the rest of the offices, foreigners constituted a minority. Notably, between 1581 and 1584, and again between 1585 and 1587, no foreigners were elected as accountants.

In 1586, an electoral reform was approved to partially introduce sortition to elect the electors ‘in order to avoid any fraud’ (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, f. 11r). Perhaps

5 All the following tables make clear distinctions between members of Catalan and foreign origin, the latter being the word used in guild sources to refer to French guildsmen. The origin of each member has been established according to the information provided in the executive council elections that started being held after 1587.

this happened in response to pressures for better representation, but the documents do not tell us. Candidates' names were to be placed into two different hats – one for the masters and one for the journeymen – and sortition was to be carried out as in the election of the consuls. Although, in theory, direct elections of the electors, as practiced before 1586, could have led to greater representation of the foreigners if they had organized themselves as a distinct group, the reality was different. Sortition may have been perceived as a mechanism to avoid factionalism during elections and, therefore, to improve the representation of foreigners. However, as shown in Table 2, the outcomes of the elections of 1586 were not significantly different from those of previous years: only twenty-five per cent of the electors and administrators were foreigners, and none were elected as accountants.

Further reforms were discussed the following year. On 21 July 1587, a council approved a new reform proposed by the consuls: sortition was to be introduced to elect two masters as administrators that, together with the consuls, would be responsible for selecting the journeymen for the remaining offices. In addition, they were to appoint four *insaculadors* for a new and closed council – that is, individuals tasked with determining which members would be eligible, by sortition, to serve on the council. This reform was not explicitly aimed at discriminating against foreigners, but rather against journeymen. Indeed, representative discrimination against foreigners and journeymen could be considered two different issues. Yet in the early years of the following century, the town council noted that most journeymen of the trades practiced in Terrassa were of French origin (Almazán Fernández, 1989, 51). Furthermore, the council records state that four journeymen – all of them foreigners – opposed the reform (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, f. 13v).

Journeymen and foreign underrepresentation seemed to be closely linked, as demonstrated in the following councils. On the 22 July 1587, a council of masters met to further reform the deliberative structure of the guild. Twenty-eight journeymen tried to attend, and their names were initially listed after the masters', but they appear to have been subsequently crossed out. Were they excluded from the meeting? It cannot be stated with certainty, but among these journeymen, a clear majority – eighteen or around two thirds – were foreigners. In contrast, the majority of the thirty-one masters present – seventeen, or around half – were Catalans (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, fol. 13v–14r). A majority of Catalan masters had tried to push through a reform that clearly faced the opposition from many guildsmen who, though they were either journeymen, foreigners, or both, were still guild members.

This lack of unanimity was probably noticed by the masters. As a result, the reform approved on the 22 July was quite different. Sortition was to be implemented to choose the accountants, the administrators, and an executive council, but the elected candidates would be drawn from two separate bags: one for Catalan masters and the other for foreign masters. This allowed for an equal distribution of all offices between locals and foreigners, as long as they were masters. It was probably a concession to the foreign masters, underrepresented in the previous system. With this reform, foreign masters secured their representation, since all offices and the composition of the executive council would now have to be equally shared; even the *insaculadors*

appointed by the previous reform would have to be shared between Catalans and foreigners (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, f. 14).

But the journeymen, the majority of whom were foreigners, remained under-represented despite their willingness to participate. Two days later, 31 journeymen gathered in front of the town's bailiff. Of them, twenty – approximately two thirds – were of French origin.⁶ Their goal was to respond to the reform imposed by the masters, and they did so by creating a parallel elective system to choose the offices traditionally reserved for journeymen. They appointed four *insaculadors*, equally divided between Catalans and foreigners, and established that their duty would be to select the candidates for two separate journeymen bags – one for Catalans and one for foreigners. These bags would be used to elect two administrators, two accountants and their representatives to the new executive council, all of them equally shared between the two groups. Most significantly, the council granted the four journeymen *insaculadors* the same authority as the masters: 'and just as the masters have power, so too shall the four chosen have it, and also that regarding these matters they may legislate and do as they see fit, and impose fines as well'.⁷

Although the masters had introduced a form of sortition that allowed the representation of foreign masters in most offices, the journeymen unilaterally proposed a new reform to ensure their equal representation. Moreover, their proposal was legalized by the bailiff, further complicating the situation for the masters. At this point, the guild may have been on the verge of splitting, and the emergence of a separate journeymen weavers' guild seemed possible. Such specialized journeymen guilds existed in early modern Catalonia, as seen in the examples of the tailors and shoemakers of Barcelona (Molas Ribalta, 2017, 132); in Terrassa itself the journeymen of all other trades, except the weavers, were part of a common confraternity (Figueras i Gibert, 2024, 57).

In response, the masters acted swiftly and convened a meeting with the journeymen on the same day. This time, a unified council was held, presided over not by the traditional administrators and consuls, but by all the *insaculadors* previously appointed by each group. The outcome was the approval of a set of guild laws focused primarily on the electoral system. Sortition would now be the main method for electing four administrators, four accountants and sixteen executive council members. Four bags would be used in the elections: one for Catalan masters, one for foreign masters, one for Catalan journeymen, and one for foreign journeymen. Each office was to be equally shared between the four bags, and the candidates for each bag would also be equally distributed among the four groups, and all candidates would be selected by the *insaculadors*, who themselves were to be chosen according to the same representative principles. Finally, all elected officials – regardless of whether they were locals or foreigners, masters

6 The meeting was assisted by eight Catalan journeymen (25.81 per cent) and three members of non-specified origin (9.68 per cent) (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, fol. 14v–15r).

7 [Y] axí conforme los amos tenen poder y que-l tinguen també los quatre elegits, y també que sobre de assñ puguén ordonar y fer lo que-ls appar y posar penes també (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, f. 15r).

or journeymen – would hold equal authority (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, fol. 15v–18v). In theory, the journeymen had achieved their goal, and a more representative elective system had been established.

The new reform may have satisfied the journeymen, particularly those of foreign origin, but local masters retained the control over the consulate, which remained exclusively accessible to Catalan masters. Less than a month afterwards, on 14 August, the consuls summoned a council of masters. Of the thirty-one attendees, seventeen were Catalans.⁸ During the meeting, the consuls proposed a law that directly undermined the interests of the journeymen, especially foreigners: from that point forward, any master who rented a loom to a journeyman would risk forfeiting their mastership and would be fined by the consuls. Additionally, a new tax of three Catalan *lliures* was imposed on every journeymen seeking to become a master and wasn't the son of a Catalan (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, fol. 19v–20r).

This law, which was passed by a majority of votes, sought to curtail journeymen aspirations for participation and social mobility. It reinforced masters' control over the means of production by penalizing those who allowed journeymen any degree of productive independence. At the same time, it significantly reduced journeymen's opportunities to prosper, especially for those without local familial ties. While foreign journeymen may have secured representation in some guild offices, they lacked both the economic possibilities of masters and the advantages of locals to access mastership. As long as the consulate remained under the control of Catalan masters, their ambitions would remain limited, despite the establishment of an elective reform designed to represent them.

In the years following the 1587 reform, the guild's deliberative structure remained formally unchanged. The reformed offices were promptly elected through the new electoral process, but the executive council was not held regularly until 1589 (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, fol. 20v–22v). This regularity was even more limited than expected. As shown in Table 3, the frequency of executive council meetings between 1589 and 1599 was lower than that of the earlier general councils. Meetings ranged from zero to three per year, with a noticeable decline over time: while three councils were held in 1589, none took place in 1591, and from 1595 to 1599, only electoral councils were summoned. Moreover, most of these meetings were not genuine deliberative assemblies, but elections, which indicates that the representative mechanisms established in the 1587 reform were not firmly implemented in practice (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, fol. 22r–50v).

Attendance rates to the new councils were irregular as well. The 1587 reform had established 'that those who are elected as part of the council of said guild must always attend the council' or they would face a fine.⁹ In practice, though, not a single

8 Eleven masters were identified as foreigners (35.48 per cent) and three of non-specified origin (9.68 per cent) (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, f. 19v).

9 [Q]ue los que seran extrets per lo consell de dit offici hagen de venir a consell tothora (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, f. 16r).

executive council between 1589 and 1599 saw full attendance. While sixteen members were elected each year, actual participation ranged from only six to thirteen members per council. Significant irregularities emerged in attendance rates among the various groups represented. As shown in Tables 4 and 5, foreign journeymen consistently registered the lowest attendance, while participation of foreign masters also decreased over time.

A closer examination of attendance percentages reveals how real representation in the executive council diverged significantly from the intended 25 per cent per group, established by the 1587 reform. For instance, Catalan masters represented between 12.5 per cent (1590) and 36.36 per cent (1589 and 1599) of council attendees, and their median attendance slowly increased over time. Catalan journeymen maintained a more balanced attendance rate, ranging from 20 per cent (1594 and 1596) to 37.5 per cent, although their presence did not show a strong upward trend. Foreign masters' attendance was even more stable: except in 1594 and 1596, they always were more than the 25 per cent of all council members: except in 1594 and 1596, they consistently exceeded 25 per cent, reaching a peak of 37.5 per

Table 3: Percentage of Catalans and foreigners elected (1589–99).

Year	Date of each council held	Number of councils held
1589	6 February	3
	26 May	
	20 July (elections)	
1590	22 June	2
	24 July (elections)	
1591	(-)	0
1592	15 July (elections)	2
	1 September	
1593	17 July (elections)	1
1594	14 April	2
	19 July (elections)	
1595	17 July (elections)	1
1596	22 July (elections)	1
1597	22 July (elections)	1
1598	21 July (elections)	1
1599	23 July (elections)	1

Table 4: Attendance rates to executive councils (1589–99).

	Council members	% of elected members	Catalan masters	%	Foreign masters	%	Catalan journeymen	%	Foreign journeymen	%
6 February 1589	11	68.75	4	36.36	4	36.36	2	18.18	1	9.09
26 May 1589	12	75.	3	25	4	33.33	2	16.66	3	25
20 July 1589	11	68.75	2	18.18	3	27.27	3	27.27	3	27.3
22 June 1590	10	76.92 (only 13 elected members)	3	30	3	30	2	20	2	20
24 July 1590	8	61.53 (only 13 elected members)	1	12.5	3	37.5	3	37.5	1	12,5
15 July 1592	10	62	3	30	3	30	3	30	1	10
1 September 1592	10	62	3	30	3	30	1	10	3	30
17 July 1593	11	68.75	2	18.18	4	36.36	4	36.36	1	9.09
14 April 1594	10	76.92 (only 13 elected members)	3	30	2	20	4	40	1	10
19 July 1594	12	92.30 (only 13 elected members)	4	33.33	3	25	4	33.33	1	8.33
17 July 1595	13	81.25	2	15.38	4	30.76	4	30.76	3	23.1
22 July 1596	10	62.5	2	20	2	20	2	20	4	40
22 July 1597	6	37.5	2	33.33	2	33.33	1	16.66	1	16.7
21 July 1598	12	75	3	25	3	25	3	25	3	25
23 July 1599	11	68.75	4	36.36	3	27.27	2	18.18	2	18.2

cent in 1590, though their participation diminished along the years. In contrast, the representation of foreign journeymen was far more unstable. Their share of council members ranged from a 9.09 per cent (1589 and 1593) to a 40 per cent. They only surpassed the 25 per cent threshold in four years (1589, 1592, 1596 and 1598); despite their attendance rate gradually increased, they were significantly underrepresented in many councils.

These attendance rates were not incidental, but the result from procedural irregularities that affected foreign journeymen. In the 1589 election, only two foreign journeymen were elected to the council instead of four. Three initially drawn candidates were discarded because they had already become masters, and a fourth, Joan Casanyet, was disqualified for having already been elected as an administrator. Rather than replacing them introducing new candidates to the foreign journeymen bag, just two council members were elected (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, f. 23v). For similar reasons, just two foreign journeymen were elected in July 1590 (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, f. 27r), yet not later elections, when the irregularities became more obvious. The most striking case occurred in 1593: although the foreign journeymen bag had new candidates, the election did not go as expected: during the election of the foreign journeymen administrator, six consecutively drawn candidates for council membership were declared *inàbils* (unfit) and *desinsaculats* (removed from the bags) by the consuls. As a result, only a single foreign journeyman was appointed to the council that year (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, fol. 30v–31r).

The integration of the foreign weavers into the guild's deliberative and electoral practices had been formally established; however, in practice, locals – especially Catalan masters – were in a dominant position that, through the consulate, limited foreign representation. This situation intensified from in the mid-1590s onwards, particularly in 1596, when the guild experienced serious financial difficulties. That year, the weavers' guild had to face a trial before the High Catalan Tribunals, the *Reial Audiència*, against the town's wool manufacturers guild. Conflict had arisen from the weavers' work for wool manufacturers from outside of the town, but once the matter escalated to the high tribunals, it placed a considerable financial burden on the weavers.

More significantly, with such serious matters requiring frequent deliberation, the existing representative system of executive councils was no longer deemed sufficient. From that point on, general councils presided over solely by the consuls became the norm, while most executive councils held were just elections. These general councils were clearly not as inclusive – particularly for journeymen – as they had been before 1587. Between 1596 and 1597, only masters attended all general councils, and during the few councils convened in 1598 and 1599, only three foreign and one Catalan journeyman were present, as shown in Table 5. Now, however, a significant proportion of the attending masters were of foreign origin: they constituted the majority in the three councils held in 1596 and in one of the meetings of 1597; they accounted for over 40 per cent in the two remaining meetings that year. Many foreign journeymen may have obtained master status in the preceding years, as evidenced in some executive council elections held after 1589 (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, fol. 27r–31r, 37r–53r).

The expenses incurred during the trial against the Wool manufacturers forced subsequent reforms of the guild's laws to sustain its finances and coordinate the weavers' opposition. On 15 June 1596, a general council decided to appoint six representatives of the guild to meet to reform its statutes: two of them were the consuls, while the remaining four were all masters – two of whom were of foreign origin. On 8 July, the six masters presented the new laws before another general council. However, none

Table 5: General council attendance (1596–99).

	Attending members	Catalan masters	%	Foreign Masters	%	Unidentified origin	%	Catalan journeymen	%	Foreign journeymen	%
9 April 1596	31	12	38.71	16	51.6	3	9.7				
15 June 1596	30	12	40	16	53.3	2	6.7				
8 July 1596	32	13	40.63	17	53.1	2	6.2				
22 February 1597	27	13	48.15	12	44.4	2	7.4				
20 March 1597	29	13	44.83	13	44.8	3	10.4				
30 April 1597	32	15	46.88	14	43.8	3	9.3				
22 June 1598	35	18	51.43	12	34.3	4	11.4			1	2.9
11 April 1599	37	17	45.95	9	24.3	8	21.6	1	2.7	2	5.4

of these statutes were recorded in the council acts, exception for one unrelated to the trial. Surprisingly, the six representatives had drafted a law with a rather controversial aim: to merge the elective bags of foreign and Catalan masters into a single one, thereby allowing the former to run for the consulate.¹⁰ A majority of foreign members between the masters, as seen in many general councils during these years, may have been the reason to include such a law: the aspirations for representation of many foreigners that were journeymen during the 1587 reform may have continued after they became masters.

Despite a majority of the members present in the council having ‘praised said law’, it was ultimately not passed. Three Catalan masters openly opposed its approval, while seven members abstained from voting; three of them were foreigners, two were Catalans and two were of unidentified origin. These foreigners represented a minority within their own group: sixteen foreign masters had attended this council – around 53.3 per cent. Of the remaining thirteen foreigner masters – around 43.3 per cent of the council – all supported the reform, along with nine of the twelve Catalan masters present. Thus, it could be stated that twenty-two of the thirty master attendees – approximately three quarters – endorsed the law. Nevertheless, it seems that a lack of unanimity, although not of majority support, prevented its approval: the section of the council act in which the law was debated was entirely crossed out (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, f. 40v). Furthermore, all elections recorded in the remainder of the council book continued to use separate bags for Catalans and foreigners, and all the consuls elected up to 1600 were Catalan (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, f. 40v–54v).

10 ‘[A]nd that said last law containing that the foreigners shall be united with the Catalans, and thus be able to become consuls’ (*dita ordinació última contenint en efecte que los estrangers sien units ab los cathalans, y puguén concórrer a cònsols*) (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, f. 40v).

Foreign access to the consulate or to other matters of representation were not further discussed in the rest of the council book. Still, all the temporary offices elected by general councils to manage the trial were equally divided between Catalans and foreigners, although all were masters. This was the case for a smaller council of eight *adjunts* elected on 15 June 1596, the four representatives elected in 1597 to reach an agreement with the wool manufacturers, and the four accountants appointed later that year to oversee an extraordinary tax collection (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, ff. 40v, 41r, 43v). Despite this, the authority of the Catalan consuls remained dominant, as they coordinated each meeting and handled the main issues related to the trial with the wool manufacturers.

Other reforms later proposed by the consuls in response to the consequences of the trial ultimately modified the guild's electoral system. Following the aforementioned judicial proceedings, the guild's finances were severely affected, and many guildsmen were no longer complying with certain regulations or paying their taxes (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, f. 51r). As a result, on 22 June 1598, the guild's consuls proposed a final reform of the statutes, which was to be closely supervised by the Terrassa town council. Four masters – half of them foreigners – were elected to lead the reform. A year later, they presented the new laws to the general council. This time, instead of drafting a new set of regulations, the four representatives had chosen to adopt 'the practices, orders and customs of the Wool Weavers of the city of Barcelona'.¹¹ The council approved the reform unanimously, and in July 1599, it was ratified by the town council (AHT, Uni, LCUV, 3.3, f. 65).

This decision was pivotal in shaping the deliberative structures of the guild. The wool weavers of Barcelona employed sortition as their main electoral system, and maintained a similar set of offices to that of their counterparts in Terrassa: they also had administrators and consuls elected annually, and followed similar regulations in their dealings with the wool manufacturers' guild of Barcelona. Most notably, however, their guild recognized only masters as members, and did not maintain an electoral system aimed at sharing offices between Catalans and foreigners.¹² Adopting their laws had significant consequences for the wool weavers of Terrassa. Although journeymen had already been excluded in practice from participation since 1596, they were, in theory, still eligible to the executive council and the shared offices under the 1587 reform. With the adoption of the Barcelona statutes, journeymen could now be formally excluded from the guild – as indeed, they were.

On 23 July 1599, a council convened to elect the guild's administrators, accountants and executive council members, following the provisions of the 1587 statutes. The administrators and accountants were still elected according to the old laws, with

11 [Q]ue sian preses las pràcticas, orde y costum tenen los texidors de lana de la ciutat de Barcelona (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, f. 49v).

12 Few late sixteenth-century documentation produced by the wool weavers of Barcelona has been preserved, but one can get a clear idea about its deliberative structure through some preserved guild council acts and some of their statutes, approved and copied by the municipal council of Barcelona (AHCB, GM, 2A.2/C24, TL, Doc. 5; AHCB, RO, 03/1B.IV, Vol. 16, fol. 195v–196v; Vol. 17, fol. 10, 114, 172–179v).

offices equally distributed between Catalans and foreigners, and between masters and journeymen. However, only four Catalan masters were elected for the executive council, and the election was not continued. Four days later, on 27 July, new elections were held for the election of administrators and accountants. This time, only two electoral bags were used: one for Catalan masters and another for foreign masters. The executive council was no longer elected, having been fully replaced by the general council, as had been the practice since 1596. The guild had now become entirely dominated by masters: journeymen no longer attended council meetings, all offices were elected exclusively from the masters' electoral bags, and, in the beginning of 1600, the guild explicitly defined its membership as consisting solely of masters (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, fol. 50r–54v).

However, the weavers did not follow the Barcelonese laws to the letter, but rather adapted them to the specific circumstances of their own guild. Although journeymen had been excluded, administrators and accountants continued to be elected from two separate bags, one of which was reserved exclusively for foreign masters. This modified system may have stemmed from a tacit agreement between local and foreign masters to exclude the journeymen, yet foreigners themselves continued to be treated as a distinct electoral group, and were still barred from running for the consulate. The union of electoral bags, as proposed in 1596, was still in the interest of the foreigners, but the guild remained closed to such aspirations.

The final preserved deliberation in the council book offers further insight into this issue. On 12 August 1600, the guild council met to deliberate on the 'foreignness' – or more precisely, the alleged 'Catalanness' of Pau Balle. This master weaver had lodged a complaint before the guild, stating that some members regarded him as a *gavaix*, a derogatory term used for people of French origin. In his defense, Balle provided evidence that he had been born in the Catalan town of Palau de Cerdanya. Whether he was the son of French parents remains uncertain, but his desire to be recognised as a local was likely tied to the privileges locals enjoyed within the guild, particularly in relation to eligibility for the consulate. The council's ruling on his case was unambiguous: 'that from now on he shall be considered a true Catalan and son of said town of Palau [...], and that from now on no master shall consider him a foreigner'.¹³

GUILDS, DELIBERATION, AND MIGRANT INTEGRATION MECHANISMS IN LATE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY CATALONIA

The preserved sources do not allow us to trace the evolution of the guild's deliberative practices after 1600, as no further direct documentation survives after that year. However, it can be asserted with certainty that the exclusion of journeymen persisted, and that non-master weavers eventually joined the town's brotherhood

13 [Q]ue de aquí al davant sia tingut per verdader català y fill de dita vila de Palau [...] y que de aquí al davant ningun confrare lo tingue per estranger (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, f. 54v).

of journeymen, which had been reformed by the town council in 1599 (Figueras i Gibert, 2024, 100; AHT, LCUV, 3.3, fol. 61–62v). Alongside this development, the internal divisions among masters within the weavers' guild appear to have gradually disappeared: by the late seventeenth century, the guild no longer differentiated between Catalan and foreign members (Figueras i Gibert, 2024, 125–127), indicating that a union of electoral bags ultimately took place. As the influx of French migrants into Catalonia declined considerably after 1620 (Nadal & Giralt, 2000, 129–132), it is likely that the descendants of earlier migrants came to be considered locals.

But we have still to ask what were the reasons and principles behind the integration of migrants into the guild's deliberative practices, as illustrated by the case study presented. As previously stated, recent scholarship suggest that European craft guilds were more open to external membership, including that of migrants, than traditionally assumed – particularly in larger urban centres and during periods of economic growth (Prak et al., 2020, 439–440). Moreover, Prak's notion of 'practical citizenship' in early modern European societies is highly relevant here, especially given the role given to guilds by the author: 'membership of guilds implied, often formally but otherwise informally, membership of the wider urban community' (Prak, 2018, 113). In some contexts, local – formal – citizenship was a prerequisite for guild membership, but in many others, it was the other way round, and guild membership implied automatic citizenship (Prak, 2018, 85).

Prak's theories on economic citizenship through the guilds have not yet been applied to the Catalan context. In Catalonia, naturalization was not always regulated in local legislation, but rather on a 'national' level. Catalan law defined 'Catalanness' through a mix of *ius solis* and *ius sanguinis* based on male lineage (Rocas, 1978, 29–33; Ginebra Molins, 2003, 17; Ferro Pomà, 2013, 48–49). According to the Constitutions of Catalonia, to be considered Catalan, an individual had to be born in Catalonia or have either a father or a grandfather born and residing in the Principality (CADC, 1588, LVIII, 1422/30, 163; 1481/19, 166). The influx of French migrants from the sixteenth century onward prompted a modification of Constitution 58 in 1547: French people were prohibited from holding public offices unless they had resided in Catalonia for at least ten years. Their descendants, however, were excluded from this restriction (CADC, 1588, LVIII, 1547/45, 167). In practice, that meant that, after ten years of residence, French migrants could be regarded as Catalans on a functional level – and so could their sons. This interpretation aligns well with Prak's notion of 'practical' citizenship, a model in which 'inhabitants become de facto citizens through practices technically reserved to citizens only' (Prak, 2018, 7).

However, Catalan Constitutions do not specifically address naturalization in relation to the access to craft guilds. In the presented case, it is clear that being a Catalan was not a requirement to join the wool weavers' or to become a master: a majority of members were of foreign origin and, although they were excluded from the consulate, they were still recognized as guildsmen. Other contemporary Catalan guilds reveal similar patterns. The shoemakers of Barcelona accepted French individuals as masters, provided they passed the required examination and paid a higher admission

fee (AHCB, CSMS, 5D126-2B.1/92, fol. 5v, 20r, 30r, 79v). From the Middle Ages, one of Barcelona's ship cargo guilds, the *Macips de ribera*, admitted members from various backgrounds, as long as they belonged to a set of 'accepted nations' (AHCB, GM, 2A.2/C3, MaRib, Doc. 1434). The linen weavers of Barcelona also accepted foreigners, including the French, but adopted a more restrictive approach to their involvement in deliberative practices: their late-sixteenth-century laws prohibited French members from attending the guild council, arguing that they were responsible for many conflicts and their presence was illegal according to the Constitutions of Catalonia (AHCB, GM, 2A.2/C24, TeixLli, Doc 15).

The linen weavers' reference to the Catalan Constitutions was likely a biased interpretation of the aforementioned Constitution 58. As demonstrated by the case study and the examples provided, many Catalan guilds were open to individuals of foreign origin, and Catalan laws did not explicitly prohibit foreigners from joining a guild. Craft guilds in Catalonia may have allowed foreign membership, albeit often under different conditions than those required of locals – such as the payment of a higher fee to attain mastership or the exclusion from holding certain offices, as observed in the wool weavers' case. This very likely aligns with Prak's proposal of citizenship: even though further research is needed to confirm this hypothesis, guilds may have worked as a mechanism to de facto become a citizen – granting foreigners practical inclusion, albeit not always nor immediately with the same rights as locals.

However, in the absence of general legislation, it is possible that practical differences existed between guilds, even within the same town. These variations may have extended to how each guild handled the integration of foreigners, particularly with respect to deliberative practices. For instance, it is evident that the linen weavers of Barcelona adopted a markedly different approach from that of the wool weavers of Terrassa. Moreover, the wool manufacturers' guild of Terrassa never introduced electoral reforms to improve the representation of foreigners; its deliberative structures remained significantly more closed and oligarchic than those of the weavers' (Figueras i Gibert, 2024, 60–62). In the Catalan context, it is likely that each guild developed its own approach to foreign inclusion. While access to mastership was possible to non-locals, their de facto integration into deliberative spaces may have varied from one guild to another.

CONCLUSION

The wool weavers' guild of Terrassa provides a privileged case study through which the integration of migrants into deliberative structures can be traced over twenty years. During this period, foreigners progressively gained representation within the guild, primarily through the modification of electoral mechanisms and the types of councils convened. Prior to 1587, although foreigners – whether masters or journeymen – were considered members and could participate in general councils, they were consistently underrepresented in elected offices, and were forbidden from running for the consulate. Following a series of failed and contested reform efforts,

the 1587 electoral reform, likely supported by a majority of French journeymen, introduced a sortition-based system in which all offices – excluding the consulate – and the composition of a new executive council were to be equally divided between locals and foreigners, and between masters and journeymen.

While this system offered theoretical parity, in practice, significant imbalances persisted. The consulate remained firmly under Catalan control, and irregularities in the implementation of electoral procedures – especially those affecting foreigners and journeymen – were documented. Moreover, when the guild was confronted with serious challenges requiring regular deliberation, such as the 1596 trial, executive councils ceased to be held routinely. Instead, general councils composed solely of masters and presided over by the consuls became the primary deliberative forum. Nevertheless, foreign masters continued to advocate for increased representation whenever opportunities for reform arose. The failed 1596 reform included a proposal to unify the electoral bags and open consular candidacy to foreigners. Ultimately, the adoption of the Barcelonese wool weavers' statutes in 1599 failed to resolve these issues. Journeymen were formally excluded from the guild, and although a new sortition system was implemented, it continued to use separate bags for Catalan and foreign masters. By 1600, the consulate remained in the hands of locals, indicating that significant representative imbalances persisted.

Other guilds did not undergo comparable processes of reform and, in some cases – such as the linen weavers of Barcelona – foreigners were formally excluded from participating in councils. Why, then, did the wool weavers' guild of Terrassa follow a different path, one in which the integration of migrants into deliberative structures was actively addressed? The answer lies in a phrase recorded during one of the councils responsible for approving the 1587 reforms: *attès són més* – 'because they are more [numerous]' (AHT, Uni, Gr, LCCSMT, 10/23, 4.3, f. 14v). Foreigners of French origin had become a demographic majority within the guild, initially among journeymen and later among masters. Their demands for representation could not be ignored by locals. Although the consulate remained restricted, between 1580 and 1600 the guild implemented a series of reforms that aimed to address the underrepresentation of foreigners, driven primarily by their numerical strength. These reforms, while not always effective in the short term, ultimately formalized mechanisms of representation that incrementally granted foreign members similar rights to locals.

In this sense, the evolution of the guild's deliberative practices functioned not only as a mechanism for internal inclusion, but also as a broader instrument of integration into Catalan society. Drawing on Prak's notion of 'practical citizenship,' the progressive acquisition of rights through active participation in corporate duties can be interpreted as a path to practical citizenship – potentially followed, after a decade of residence, by formal recognition as Catalan. The case of the wool weavers of Terrassa thus offers an interesting example of the role that Catalan and European craft guilds could play in facilitating migrant integration, both within their institutional frameworks and in the wider urban community, through the evolution of deliberative practices.

DELIBERACIJA O TUJSTVU: INTEGRACIJA MIGRANTOV IN
DELIBERATIVNE PRAKSE V KATALONSKEM CEHU
(OK. 1580–OK. 1600)

Članek obravnava, kako so deliberativne prakse oblikovale vključevanje priseljencev v cehu zgodnjenovoveške Katalonije, s posebnim poudarkom na cehu tkalcev volne v Terrassi (1580–1600). Čeprav so bili cehi tradicionalno predstavljeni kot zaprte institucije, novejša raziskava poudarja njihovo odprtost do tujcev v večjih mestih in donosnih obrtéh, saj so v številnih primerih novim članom omogočali pridobitev oblike »praktičnega meščanstva«. Kljub temu pa vloga cehovske deliberacije pri vključevanju priseljencev ostaja razmeroma neraziskana. Na podlagi zapisnikov cehovskega sveta iz Zgodovinskega arhiva Terrasse raziskava pokaže, kako so se deliberativne strukture ceha prilagodile prisotnosti številnih francoskih priseljencev. Ti so bili sprva slabo zastopani in izključeni iz vrst konzulov – funkcije, pridržane katalonskim mojstrom –, vendar so tujci z reformo iz leta 1587 pridobili omejeno zastopanost. Reforma je uvedla žreb in enakomerno porazdelitev večine funkcij med domačine in tujce ter med mojstre in pomočnike. Kljub temu so trajne neenakosti, nepravilnosti pri volitvah in nadaljnja izključitev iz najvišjih funkcij omejevale njihov dejanski vpliv. Finančni pritiski v 90. letih 16. stoletja so dodatno okrepili prevlado katalonskih mojstrov, sprejetje barcelonskih statuten leta 1599 pa je formalno izključilo pomočnike, hkrati pa ohranilo tujce v ločenih volilnih kategorijah. V naslednjem stoletju so razlike med katalonskimi in tujimi mojstri postopoma izginile, kar odraža širše procese asimilacije. Primer Terrasse dokazuje, da sta bila reforma in razvoj cehovskih deliberativnih struktur ključnega pomena za vključevanje članov priseljenskega izvora – tako znotraj same korporacije kot tudi v širšem okviru katalonske družbe. Zahteve tujcev po zastopanosti – in končno po priznanju enakih pravic kot Kataloncem – so privedle do pomembnih institucionalnih sprememb, ki jih je spodbudila njihova številčna premoč znotraj ceha.

Ključne besede: obrtni cehi, zgodnjenovoveška Katalonija, francoske migracije, vključevanje, deliberacija, volilne reforme

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