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FOREIGNERS' TRADE IN THE MEDIEVAL TOWNS OF NORTHWEST ISTRIA AS REGULATED BY CITY STATUTES**

Abstract: The paper presents the trade of foreigners in the Istrian cities of Trieste, Muggia, Koper, Izola, and Piran in the Middle Ages, as regulated by their codes (statutes). The cities protected their economic interests. They accepted foreigners when they conveniently fit into their economic policy and rejected them when they presented unwelcome competition. Trade was the dominant economic branch in the cities involving foreigners, and it garnered considerable attention in their statutes. The cities protected their own production of wine, oil, and salt, which were intended for export, and prevented their import; however, they accepted the import of food and other goods that were in short supply. In this sense, they limited or supported the activity of foreigners at their convenience.

Keywords: Middle Ages, Istria, trade, foreigners, city statutes, Trieste, Muggia, Koper, Izola, Piran

Introductory premises

Medieval Mediterranean cities regulated their life with codes (statutes) which developed from the end of the twelfth century onwards and replaced the earlier customary and Roman law during the development of city self-government. Statutes prescribed the conduct and behaviour of the residents of urban settlements and

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stipulated forms of punishment for non-compliance with their provisions. They governed the area of city administration, economy, public life and order, criminal law, family law, etc.

The Istrian cities of Trieste, Muggia, Koper, Izola, and Piran also had their own statutes. Foreigners were mentioned in all of them, and primarily all non-natives belonged to this group. Not only newcomers from more distant destinations, but also residents of nearby towns had the status of foreigners. Members of the clergy were not treated as citizens and were only exceptionally subject to city laws. Jews were an important ethnic-religious category with their own rights in the cities. The statutes also specifically addressed marginal groups, such as the disabled, the sick, vagrants, etc.

The published city statutes were examined and researched: for Piran between the thirteenth and the seventeenth century,¹ for Izola between the fourteenth and the eighteenth century,² for Muggia from the fourteenth century³ and from 1420,⁴ for Trieste from 1319⁵ and from 1350⁶ before its transition to the Habsburg rule (1382), for "Habsburg" Trieste from 1421 with later additions,⁷ and for Venetian Koper from 1423.⁸

Foreigners were mentioned in the statutes as antipodes to the natives (*ter(r)igena, intrinsecus*). The term "natives" encompassed citizens (*civis, concivis, citadinus*), new settlers with settlement rights (*vicinus, convicinus, vicina*), and residents (*habitor*) of the settlement and its area. In the latter, the surrounding people (*districtuales*),

¹ Miroslav Pahor & Janez Šumrada, *Statut piranskega komuna od 13. do 17. stoletja*, Ljubljana 1987 [=STPI]. An earlier publication of the statutes, which does not include the last integral redaction of the statutes from 1384, is Camillo De Franceschi, *Gli statuti del comune di Pirano del 1307 confrontati con quelli del 1332 e del 1358 (Monumenti storici, Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie n. s. XIV)*, Padua 1960.

² Dušan Kos, *Statut izolskega komuna od 14. do 18. stoletja*, Koper 2006 [=STIZ]; an earlier publication is Luigi Morteani, "Isola ed i suoi statuti", *Atti e Memorie della Società istriana di archeologia e storia patria* 3/3–4 (1887) 353–388, *ibidem* 4/1–2 (1888) 155–213.

³ Maria Laura Iona, *Le istituzioni di un comune medievale. Statuti di Muggia del sec. XIV*, Trieste 1972 [=STMU 1].

⁴ Franco Colombo, *Gli Statuti di Muggia del 1420*, Trieste 1971 [=STMU 2].

⁵ Pietro Kandler, *Statuti municipali del comune di Trieste, che portano in fronte l'anno 1150*, Trieste 1894 [=STTS 1]. Even though they bear the year 1150 in the title, the Count of Gorizia-Tyrol is mentioned in them as the head (*podestà*) of Trieste. Count Meinhard II of Gorizia did not inherit South Tyrolean territories until 1253, the statutes are obviously of a later origin, the first dated edition is believed to be from 1319, cf. Marino de Szombathely, "Prefazione", in: *idem, Statuti di Trieste del 1421 (Archeografo Triestino 48 (1935)) V, LVII*.

⁶ Szombathely, Marino de Szombathely, *Statuti di Trieste del 1350*, Trieste 1930 [=STTS 2].

⁷ Marino de Szombathely, *Statuti di Trieste del 1421 (Archeografo Triestino 48 (1935))* [=STTS 3].

⁸ Lujo Margetić, *Statut koprškega komuna iz leta 1423 z dodatki do leta 1668 = Statuto del comune di Capodistria del 1423 con le aggiunte fino al 1668*, Koper–Rovinj 1993 [=STKP].

⁹ *Loci incola, civis*, or resident/inhabitant of the place, citizen: *Lexicon latininitatis medii aevi Iugoslaviae* (ed. Marko Kostrenčić), Zagrabiae 1978, 1255/1256; *habitant de la ville, du pays, ...* or resident of a city, country, ...: Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs du Moyen Âge*, Turnhout 1975, 956.

rural people (*paysani*), both urban and private (*comunis vel divisi*) farmers (*rustici*), villagers (*vilani*), farm tenants (*massarii*), and residents of agricultural estates (*cortesani*) were mentioned.

People of foreign origin appeared in the statutes in phrases illustrating that the decree applied to everyone: to persons of both sexes, to both natives and foreigners, but also in the exclusivist sense, i.e. that the decree only applied to natives (and not also to foreigners). In several provisions, foreigners were treated separately and explicitly as non-natives. A foreigner sometimes hid behind the ambiguous adjective *alienus*, *alter(ius)*, which could signify non-local or belonging to another. The statutes addressed foreigners with the general terms *forensis*, *forestiero*, *extraneus*, *extrinsecus forensis*, *persona extranea*, *extrinseca*, *forensis*, *extra terram*, *alibi habitans*, *civis alterius terre vel loci*, *advena*, or they were characterised by their specific origin: from one of the neighbouring cities, from Istria, Venice,¹⁰ Aquileia, the immediate or distant hinterlands: in Trieste from the Karst (*de Carsis*), as German or Slavic merchants (*mercatores theotonici*, *sclabi*), in Trieste and Koper as truckers or peddlers (*musseleti*), etc. The country people of Trieste lived in the area from Piran (*a terra Pirani*), Aquileia (*a civitate Aquileie*), and *a Vualdis* towards Trieste. In addition to Istria (*de terris Ystrie*) and Venice (*Venecie*), Friuli (*Forumiulium*) and *Carentanum* were mentioned as foreign lands in the statutes, mainly in connection with trade flows. Often, however, the foreign environment was not specifically defined, but rather, only a general description of a location “outside the city” and “outside the city district” was given in relation to a commercial activity, property, location of an event, etc.

Foreigners appeared in the statutes as suspicious intruders, as those who caused damage, as potential delinquents and criminals, but also as their victims; as harmful competitors on the one hand and as useful partners in trade and other economic operations on the other, and as unwanted claimants to city real estate. Under special conditions, cities accepted foreigners as their compatriots or fellow citizens. The article will focus on statutory decrees that determined the commercial operations of foreigners in the cities in question.

General principles regarding foreigners' trade

Cities protected their economic interests; they accepted foreigners when they conveniently fit into their economic policy and rejected them when they presented unwelcome competition. Trade was the dominant economic branch in the cities involving foreigners, and it garnered considerable attention in their statutes. The cities protected their own production of elite cultures of wine, oil, and salt, which they intended for export and prevented their import. On the other hand, they readily

¹⁰ After coming under Venetian rule, the cities (except for Trieste, which fell under the Habsburgs' rule) treated the Venetians as an elite group of foreigners who enjoyed preferential rights.

accepted the import of food and other goods that were in short supply. In this sense, the statutes either limited or supported the activity of foreigners.

Whoever bought something from a foreigner in Trieste or its district had to pay him on the same (STTS 2, II/116¹¹) or the following day. If he bought on credit, he had to pay within the agreed time. A debtor who did not pay a foreigner had to stand in the Commune Palace until he settled the debt. If he failed to do so, he was thrown in prison until he paid or settled with the creditor. The debtor was called twice, and then, at the foreign creditor's request, his possessions were seized and sold at an auction. The authorities did not try a foreigner for the value of the sale above 50 pounds (STTS 3, II/64); according to a subsequent statutory amendment, townspeople, residents of Trieste, and foreigners were allowed to sell and lend any goods up to the sum specified in the decree (STTS 3, II/64, additio 1432). The punishment for a foreigner who unknowingly bought stolen goods was at the discretion of the dominion (*dominium*) (STTS 1, III/21; STTS 2, III/20). In Piran, both citizens and foreigners had to be paid when trading and borrowing (STPI, 426). For the debt of foreigners, a citizen of Piran was not allowed to be banished (*in banno*); however, he had to vow to pay the creditor one-third of the profit (STPI, 412/413). Neither a citizen nor a foreigner was allowed to lend at interest in Piran (STPI, 609–611).

Business transactions were recorded in the *vicedominus'* books in Trieste. If the debtor was a foreigner, the debt was made public. The foreigner, his heirs, or representatives had eight days to object. If they did not respond, the promissory note was recorded in the *vicedominus'* book (STTS 3, II/27). The time limit for appealing to the records on debts and loans was ten years, fifteen years for foreigners (STTS 2, III/54). After a subsequent redaction of the statutes, the claims of domestic and foreign creditors against the people of Trieste became time-barred after fifteen years if the creditor did not initiate a dispute during that time (STTS 3, II/20). In Koper, business matters between Koper residents and foreigners were first recorded in authentic form by a notary. The note was then read in the presence of the parties in the *vicedominaria* and then entered in a book where the two *vicedomini* recorded the price of the property purchased from foreigners (STKP, III/17). The debentures of foreigners were renewed within the period of twenty years (STKP, II/67).

In order to keep foreign merchants in Trieste under control, a brick house covered with tiles was built behind the Commune Palace next to the arches of the city walls, where Slavic or German merchants (*mercatores sclabi sive thetonici*) could accommodate themselves together with their horses and other animals as well as other foreigners who brought food to Trieste (STTS 2, IV/37). Near the *staraticum*, where the taxman used a *sextarius* to weigh and measure flour, wheat or other grain, vegetables, walnuts, chestnuts, etc., the locals were not allowed to keep their vessels, but the taxman did: *chabacula, urnae*, and *alia vasa* for foreigners to use them (STTS 2, IV/8).

¹¹ The Roman numeral indicates the book number in the statutes, and the Arabic numeral indicates the article number therein. In the case of citations from the statutes of Piran (STPI), the Arabic numeral indicates the page number in the publication.

Foreigners' trade in food and other goods

Anyone who brought grain to **Trieste** had to have it measured by the taxman, the tenant of *staraticum*. Everyone was allowed to buy grain in Trieste, but only bakers and innkeepers were allowed to take it out of the city. Whereas no bishop's farmer (*rusticus*) or farmer of Trieste citizens or residents was allowed to take grain from the Trieste district to sell it to any foreigner, farmers were allowed to trade in grain among themselves (STTS 2, IV/8). Outside Trieste, it was forbidden to buy grain loaded on horses except for innkeepers, who then sold it exclusively to their guests. Foreigners travelling through the area were also allowed to buy it to feed their horses (STTS 3, II/35).

In Trieste, foreigners were allowed to offer their bread for sale under the old city lodge, where the statutes expressly forbade female peddlers to sell fruit and the like (STTS 2, I/67). Only official bakeries were allowed to bake bread in the city and mark it. The podestà's armed escort (*familiaries*) checked at the city gates together with criers if the bread brought by foreigners was stamped. If it was not, they asked the foreigner to reveal who had sold him the bread, also with the help of a pillory. The seller was fined, unless it was a baker with a license to sell bakery products. Foreigners were allowed to deliver and sell their bread in Trieste (STTS 2, I/77).

Anyone who wholesaled or retailed dry or salted meat, cheese, oil, wax, or honey in Trieste's shops, or in the city square, or harbour had to pay a tax of 1 penny per pound¹² of what was sold. Foreigners had to pay for the amount of up to 25 pounds. If Germans, Slavs, and foreigners (*teothonici*, *sclabi*, and *forenses*) delivered cheese (*caseum teotonicum* or *scicum*), dried or salted meat to Trieste by land, these products were tax-free (STTS 2, IV/7). Due to strained relations between the cities, only those from Muggia who had property in the Trieste district were allowed to bring their products to Trieste (STTS 2, II/68).

Every year on St Bartholomew's Day (24 August), a tax on fish was levied in Trieste, and the lease lasted from 7 September. A citizen or a resident of Trieste or a foreigner who sold or had fish sold in the Trieste fish market or elsewhere in the Trieste district had to pay one-twelfth for the tax: 1 penny per *soldus* of the proceeds, the same for salted or dried fish. Citizens of Trieste who sold fish outside the city district were also obliged to pay tax (STTS 2, IV/6). It was forbidden to buy fish for a foreigner (STTS 2, II/92).

On holidays, everyone was allowed to measure, load, and unload wine, oil, salt, grain, flour, and other goods for foreign merchants (STTS 3, III/82). It was forbidden to sell or have for sale in Trieste or at the city gates any goods such as: bales of linen, sandals, linen cloth, furs, pottery (*panni tellae*, *sotulares*, *linum*, *peliciae*, *vasa terrea*), and the like before the bells of St Justus Church announced the elevation of the Corpus Christi (STTS 3, III/82, additio). The buyer of hemp cloth was not allowed to (re)sell it to a foreigner for fifteen days (STTS 3, II/64, additio 1432). When cloth was sold, it was measured in the prescribed manner with a marked and stamped wattle (*brazolarium*),

¹² 1 pound (*libra*) was worth 20 *solidi* or 240 pennies (*denarii*), and 1 *soldus* 12 pennies.

and foreign merchants were allowed to measure the cloth they sold on the table (*tabula*) and elsewhere, as long as the cloth was measured fairly (STTS 3, III/55).

In Trieste, the purchase of processed wood was taxable, and buyers were not allowed to resell wood to foreigners (STTS 3, II/64). Citizens of Trieste who bought processed wood for export were not obliged to pay the tax; however, foreigners who bought wood directly or through others on their behalf had to fulfil this obligation (STTS 3, II/64, *additio* 1492). It was also forbidden to sell stones from the communal land to foreigners (STTS 2, IV/69).

Trieste artisans – blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, and weavers – were obliged to practice their craft conscientiously and those who worked for foreigners were not allowed to neglect their tasks for local townspeople (STTS 1, I/88, 91, 94; STTS 2, I/53, 54, 55, 73). For the exchange of money to foreigners or foreign merchants, the Trieste statutes prescribed an exchange rate restriction or prohibition when necessary (STTS 1, II/80; STTS 2, II/48; STTS 3, III/95).

In **Muggia**, every foreigner was allowed to sell his goods free of tax (STMU 1, II/184; STMU 2, II/67). Slavs (*sclabi*) were allowed to sell grain, flour, vegetables, and lard that they brought to Muggia (STMU 2, IV/42 (39)). When a foreigner brought his goods to Muggia to sell, neither a citizen nor a foreigner was allowed to buy any of them within the territory of *Taglada* except in the communal square (STMU 1, II/120; STMU 2, II/27). If a citizen, a resident, or a foreigner brought goods to Muggia for resale, he had to first offer them for sale for one day at the price he paid, unless he obtained the goods by bartering (STMU 2, VI/26). The fruit of foreigners that was sold or purchased in Muggia was to be measured with a special official *brenta* (STMU 2, VII/89).

If a foreigner in Milje delivered wheat, other grain, or flour on credit to the commune, it collected payment from everyone who was due to pay. If, however, a foreigner delivered wheat, grain, or flour on credit to private citizens of Muggia, the dominion settled with the foreigner and forced the debtors to pay (STMU 1, II/189). On the other hand, no one from Muggia was allowed to sell wheat, flour, other grain, foodstuffs, and skins of animals slaughtered in Muggia's slaughterhouse to a foreigner without permission (STMU 1, II/76). If a citizen or resident of Muggia bought a small animal, he was not allowed to resell it wholesale or send it from the Muggia district to a foreigner, unless he received a significantly better offer from him than from the butchers in Muggia: 2 *soldi* more per animal (STMU 2, V/96). A citizen or a resident of Muggia or a foreigner was not allowed to buy in the district of Muggia goats, lambs, hens, or other goods brought on pack animals or to receive suppliers at home or in a shop unless they first unloaded the cargo in the square for the buyers to see. This did not apply to wood delivered on pack animals and wagons (STMU 2, VI/23).

Fishermen – citizens and foreigners who fished in the waters of the Muggia district – had to bring their catch to sell it exclusively in Muggia (STMU 1, II/137). A citizen or a resident of Muggia or a foreigner who sold fish, especially *menole*, had to sell 12 fish for 1 *soldus* (1 penny per fish) during the forty-day fast, without counting small fish. However, if a local or a foreigner brought bigger fish to Muggia to sell, he sold a fish weighing one pound for 2 *soldi* (STMU 2, V/27). Foreign and local fishermen who sold

fish weighing half a pound or over a pound had to sell the fish at a price of 2 *soldi* per pound (STMU 2, VI/32).

No one was allowed to deliver foreign tallow or tallow for resale to Muggia (STMU 2, V/120). Neither a citizen nor a foreigner was allowed to sell or give away *arsenicum* or any other type of poison in Muggia without the express permission of the podestà (STMU 2, V/124). Citizens and residents of Muggia who had pharmacies where they sold oil, cheese, meat, salt, and medicines (*speciaria*), pearls (? *margaria*), cloth, and the like were not allowed to buy or have any goods bought from foreigners for resale (STMU 2, VI/21). Owners of stores in Muggia followed the example of the neighbouring cities of Koper and Trieste. Cheese, oil, salted meat, pepper, wax, and other goods were offered at the same price as in the shops in Koper and Trieste rather than charging more. The dominion ordered an inquiry into the prices used in the above-mentioned cities (STMU 1, II/122).

Locals (*vicinus*) were allowed to break stones in the *Ceredum* forest in Muggia for their own needs. However, they were not allowed to give, sell, or otherwise make stones available to a foreigner unless this was permitted by the (podestà and) great council (STMU 1, II/181; STMU 2, II/65). Regardless of the permission granted, whoever sold or otherwise gave the stones to a foreigner had to pay the Muggia commune the value of one-tenth of what was sold (STMU 1, II/182; STMU 2, II/66).

Before the city was subjugated to Venice (i.e. before 1420), shoemakers in Muggia were not allowed to make, sell, or have in their workshop sandals made of Venetian hides from the flanks of animals (*de flanchis*), processed in Venice, Friuli, or in *Carentano*. They were not allowed to use the said skins to make soles. On the other hand, they were free to use these hides, processed in Muggia, Koper or Trieste, to make the upper part of shoes (STMU 1, II/142).

In (Venetian) **Koper**, locals and foreigners were forbidden to transport grain and foodstuffs from the city by land or sea, except to Venice, without the permission of the podestà. The offender also lost the pack animal and the vessel, respectively. A farmer was not allowed to carry wood, hay, or foodstuffs from the Koper district without permission from the authorities (STKP, I/33). Neither a native, nor a foreigner, nor anyone on his behalf was allowed to buy wheat, flour, and other foodstuffs, iron, wood, salted cheese, salted pork in Koper, or any other goods for resale, except in communal squares four hours after the goods were delivered. This applied to goods brought into the city from outside, but not to truckers or peddlers (*muscelati*) and other merchants who sold goods with the use of scales or communal weight (*ad pondus statere sive ad pesam comunis*). They did not have to wait for four hours to pass before selling (STKP, I/34). Grain or pulses (*legumen*) were sold wholesale according to the communal rates, except for truckers or peddlers or other foreigners who brought grain or flour to Koper (STKP, III/34).

Local and foreign fishermen who came to Koper to sell fish had to deliver all the fish exclusively to the fishmonger as soon as they reached the shore. If he could not sell the fish on the same day, he had to cut off the tail of the unsold ones as a sign that they were not fresh (STKP, III/46).

In Koper, millers were allowed to grind grain for fellow citizens (*concives*) and residents (*habitatores*),¹³ and only one sack or one load (*soma*)¹⁴ was allowed to be ground for a foreigner (STKP, I/5). Millers and the innkeeper near Rižana were not allowed to sell grain and flour to foreigners (STKP, I/6). On the Assumption Day (August 15), a weekly fair was held at the mouth of Rižana. Order was maintained by twenty-five horsemen of the podestà's *comestabilis* and around forty armed footmen *inter ciues et forenses* (STKP, III/51).

In Izola, only tax lessees were allowed to retail bread. If a foreigner brought bread to Izola to sell, he was allowed to sell it in the square and pay the tax of 2 *soldi* for one-quarter (*quarta*) of the bread sold (STIZ, IV/68). Neither locals nor foreigners were allowed to buy small or large, dead or alive animals in Izola for retail sale to townspeople and residents, except for butchers and lessees of the butcher tax (STIZ, IV/91).

In Piran,¹⁵ it was forbidden to sell grain (*bladum*) from one's own crops or from a livestock partnership to a foreigner without the podestà's permission (STPI, 697). If a Piran resident sold prohibited goods to a foreigner in order to take them out of Piran, he had to pay a fine, and the sale was rendered invalid (STPI, 536/537). The officials *iusticiarii* who weighed the flour of foreigners in Piran had to record the weight in their notebooks and make a statement to the foreigners (STPI, 122–129). In Piran, fruit was sold by weight (*pondus*) and retailed without. Foreigners who brought fruit were allowed to sell it as they wished (STPI, 595).

Bread for sale was baked by communal bakeries appointed by the podestà and judges. Anyone who brought bread to Piran from elsewhere was allowed to sell it with the permission of the podestà (STPI, 593/594). Innkeepers also baked bread (STPI, 641–643). In the Piran butcher's shop, there were two tables intended exclusively for foreigners to prepare meat (STPI, 639). Setting deadlines for foreigners regarding bread, meat, and other foodstuffs was at the discretion of the podestà (STPI, 402).

The lessees of the fishing waters (*paludes*) had to bring the fish to be sold exclusively in Piran. Foreigners were allowed to fish on the condition that they offered the catch for sale in the town (STPI, 720/721). Citizens and foreigners who sold fish in Piran, except for fishermen – lessees of the fishing waters – had to pay 1 penny per 1 *soldus* of the proceeds. If a citizen or a resident was in partnership with a foreigner and caught fish for sale, he paid the tax regardless of where he sold the fish. Anyone who bought foreign fish in the port or the Piran district to resell them paid the tax. No citizen or resident of Piran was allowed to buy foreign fish for resale between the cape Savudrija and Loreto, if he did not pay the tax (STPI, 735/736).

¹³ They included urban and private farmers (*rustici*) and farm workers on manors (*cortesani*).

¹⁴ 154 kg, cf. Zlatko Herkov, *Mjere Hrvatskog primorja s osobitim osvrtom na solne mjere i solnu trgovinu*, Rijeka 1971, 91.

¹⁵ For the concrete presence of foreigners in the economy of Piran before the middle of the fourteenth century, cf. Darja Mihelič, "Economic newcomers in Medieval Piran and their inclusion in the urban setting (before the mid-14th century)", in: eds. Irena Benyovsky & Zrinka Pešorda, *Towns and cities of the Croatian Middle Ages. The city and the newcomers*, Zagreb 2020, 77–97.

Communal revenues from inns, butchers' shops, salt pans, fishing waters, guesthouses, as well as hollow measures *urnae* and *stari* were awarded annually at an auction to fellow citizens (*concives*) or residents (*habitatores*) of Piran who had lived in the city for more than a year, but not to foreigners. They, however, were allowed to lease the fishing waters, but only after providing a guarantee that they would bring the fish to Piran and pay the rent (STPI, 645–647).

Foreigners' trade in wine and oil

The cities' prime export product was wine. They controlled its production and protected their own interests in doing business with it. Wine from Istrian towns under Venetian rule could be exported via Friuli on payment of a tax to Venice (STIZ, IV/196). The same was true for Istrian oil, which could be transported via Friuli. In 1473, the doge of Venice ordered that oil should not be exported or transported anywhere other than Venice; in 1474, he restored the old practice of transport via Friuli on payment of a tax (STIZ, IV/196).

It was forbidden to carry or drive foreign wine or oil to **Trieste**. A resident of Trieste who did not carry out neighbourhood duties (*facere vicinitatem*¹⁶) but lived in the city was not allowed to bring or have wine brought to Trieste. On the other hand, he was also under no obligation to perform mandatory work and watch in the city. However, the podestà was allowed to bring wine and other foodstuffs for himself and his family, except for *raibiola* wine (STTS 1, IV/4, 5). Venetians, monks, clerics, and monasteries that had vineyards in the Trieste district were allowed to bring wine to Trieste (STTS 1, IV/5). Despite the strained relations between Trieste and Muggia, the people of Muggia who had property in the Trieste district were allowed to bring their produce to the city (STTS 2, II/67, 68).

Wine that was produced *ad medietatem* outside the Trieste district was not to be delivered to Trieste. Foreigners were not allowed to bring in wine produced elsewhere without the dominion's approval. The permission to put wine in a cellar could only be given to them by the majority of the members of the dominion (STTS 1, IV/1). Foreign merchants were allowed to deliver to the city and district of Trieste and unload anywhere (but not to store in a cellar) all foreign wine and oil with the intention of taking it out of Trieste. Everyone was allowed to bring up to one-quarter (*quarta*)¹⁷ of *malvasia*, *romania*, or *tirum* to Trieste for their own consumption. It was also allowed for a sailor or helmsman (*nauta* or *auriga*), cartman or anyone else, foreigner or not, who came from elsewhere to bring excess foreign wine or oil to Trieste (STTS 3, III/64). A resident of Trieste, a foreigner, or a merchant was not allowed to carry wine between the *Magagnade* and *Salburii* bridges. If a resident of

¹⁶ *Vicinitas: droit de cité* or city law, city rights (A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français*, 956).

¹⁷ One-quarter of *urna* of 64.7 litres would measure just over 16 litres (Darja Mihelič, "K osvetlitvi nekaterih votlih mer srednjeveškega Pirana", *Kronika* 37/1 (1989) 25.

Trieste had wine carried there for a foreigner, both were punished: the one who had the wine carried and the one who carried it (STTS 3, III/64, additio 1495).

No resident of Trieste was allowed to buy wine for a foreigner outside Trieste or connect with a foreigner to buy wine elsewhere in order to bring it to Trieste. He was not allowed to buy wine or have a wine partnership from or in the villages of Košana (?), Bistrica, Prosecco/Prosek, Santa Croce/Križ, San Primo/Sveti Primož, Mocco Valley. He was not allowed to buy wine from foreigners that was not in wine cellars with the intention of delivering it to Trieste (STTS 1, IV/5; STTS 2, II/62). No one who was not from the Mocco Valley was allowed to bring foreign wine produced outside the diocese (*dyocesis*) and the Trieste district into the valley and put it in a cellar, and no one was allowed to accept this wine into his house (STTS 1, IV/5). A foreigner who did not live in Trieste or the above-mentioned villages was not allowed to store wine in the wine cellars of these villages, and the locals of these villages were not allowed to accept foreign wine for storage, barring a few exceptions: for example, the sons of Mr Durnich from the Mocco Valley and other farmers of Trieste citizens and foreigners who had had their own wine cellars in the above-mentioned villages for ten years (STTS 2, II/63). A foreigner who did not live permanently in Trieste was not allowed to buy wine in Trieste during the harvest in order to store it in a wine cellar and sell it in Trieste (STTS 2, II/64). Anyone who came to live in Trieste and performed duties and activities like other citizens of Trieste was considered a foreigner until he built a house in the *Prelaser* district. However, he was allowed to deliver to Trieste wine from his vineyards in the Trieste district (STTS 2, I/52).

A tax was paid from the wholesale of wine, which was auctioned off every year in December, and the lease lasted for one year, starting from 10 January. The buyer of wine had to pay the taxman 1 goat per *urna* or 2 goats if he bought the wine for sale in a tavern. Foreigners who bought wine to take it out of Trieste were exempted from paying the tax. However, if a foreigner resold the wine in Trieste, he was obliged to pay the fee. A foreigner from Trieste was not allowed to buy one or more barrels of wine for a citizen or resident of Trieste, or to have a share in the purchase of wine (STTS 2, IV/5).

Retail wine sales took place in taverns. Trieste innkeepers had to adhere to officially defined measures. First, they sold foreign wine for fifteen days, and in the following eight days they settled with the owner of the wine and the tax collector (STTS 2, I/40). The *dacium tabernarie* for the retail sale of wine was announced in Trieste in April, and the lease lasted for one year, starting from 1 May. Citizens of Trieste, residents or foreigners who retailed or had unsold wine from their own vineyards or other wine sold in a tavern had to pay the taxman 1 goat per *urna* of wine sold and 2 goats per *urna* of wine resold. If the foreigner refused to pay this tax, those who sold him the wine had to settle the tax for him (STTS 2, IV/4). The tax for the inn (*officium tabernarie*) was only allowed to be rented by a citizen of Trieste (STTS 1, IV/15). Neither a resident of Trieste nor a foreigner was allowed to pour wine from a barrel into another wine container for anyone (STTS 2, II/113).

Also, no one was allowed to deliver or have foreign wine delivered to **Muggia** in order to sell it there or store it in a wine cellar. However, if a merchant who had

bought wine elsewhere wanted to come to Muggia with a ship or barge loaded with wine in order to load additional wine at the port, he was allowed to do so without disembarking the wine brought for sale. Foreigners who had vineyards in the Muggia district could bring grapes and wine to Muggia and load them on a barge or elsewhere. Wine was transported on roads, but it was forbidden to store it in wine cellars or to sell it in Muggia. The people of Muggia were not allowed to bring the wine of any foreigner, or to have it brought or stored in a wine cellar in Muggia. According to statutes from 1420, foreigners were allowed to store wine in wine cellars, but not to sell it either wholesale or retail in Muggia. Locals and foreigners were allowed to bring one *urna* of foreign wine for their own needs to Muggia, or to have it brought to Muggia, and the podestà was allowed to bring up to three *amphore*¹⁸ of wine for himself during his term of office (STMU 1, II/101; STMU 2, II/16, 20). When a citizen or resident of Muggia brought a merchant to his winery to buy wine, no citizen or resident of Muggia or a foreigner was allowed to go there unless the owner of the wine or merchant had invited him (STMU 1, II/170). No one was allowed to bring *iuncta* or any kind of foreign liquor to Muggia, or to have it brought to Muggia, without permission (STMU 2, V/72).

In Muggia, anyone who was not a local (*vicinus*) was forbidden to sell or have his wine sold in an inn, unless he lived in Muggia and performed duties like other local people. No citizen or inhabitant of Muggia was allowed to sell wine belonging to a foreigner or to buy wine from a foreigner or from someone on his behalf in an inn (STMU 2, I/20). The innkeeper was not allowed to sell wine before Mass was celebrated in Muggia on Sundays and holidays, except to a foreigner or a citizen setting out on a journey from Muggia. Before the divine service was performed on Good Friday, the inns had to remain closed (STMU 1, II/79).

Locals and foreigners were forbidden to deliver foreign wine or grapes for wine production to **Koper**, except from their own vineyards. Crops from one's own vineyard abroad had to be announced and certified (STKP, I/33).

When the evening bell fell silent in Koper, no one was allowed to enter or stay in the inn or keep the inn open and serve drinks to citizens of Koper, except for foreigners who stayed there (STKP, III/29). Whoever was caught gambling at home or in a tavern was fined, whether he was a citizen, a foreigner, or a mercenary horseman or footman. The hosts and observers of the game were also fined (STKP, I/41).

A citizen or an inhabitant (*citadin, ò, habitante*) of **Izola** or a foreigner (*forestiero*) who wanted to take away grapes or wine from his vineyards in Izola and its district had to pay a tax of 6 pennies for every *urna* of wine or for the corresponding amount of grapes. Anyone who brought wine or grapes to Izola and sold them there had to pay the same amount (STIZ III/109). Locals and foreigners, Christians and Jews were allowed to buy oil in Izola; the minimum price per *urna* was 14 pounds (STIZ, IV/21).

A resident of Izola was not allowed to buy wine wholesale from anyone from Izola with the intention of reselling it to foreign merchants, except in an inn (STIZ, IV/122).

¹⁸ In a later redaction (STMU 2), the amount of wine for the podestà was not specified, but the castellan of Muggia could also bring wine for his own use.

It was forbidden to buy foreign wine for retail sale (*ad spinam*) (STIZ, IV/78). Neither a local nor a foreigner was allowed to sell wine at retail in Izola without using the official measure of the *iusticiarii* (STIZ, III/21). An Isola resident, native or foreigner, was not allowed to sell wine at retail at a tavern on credit, except against a pledge (STIZ, II/88). At night when the bell rang for the third time, no citizen or foreigner was allowed to stay at the inn or come there for a drink (STIZ, I/60).

In the **Piran** area, it was forbidden to unload more than one *urna* of foreign wine or oil without the permission of the podestà. If a foreigner brought wine or oil by land, no citizen or foreigner was allowed to buy it (STPI, 618). In 1395, it was generally forbidden to unload foreign oil in Piran (STPI, 618/619). Foreign wine had to be declared by the syndics (STPI, 217).

It was forbidden to deliver grapes or olives from foreign districts to Piran, except to townspeople and residents of Piran from their own properties abroad (STPI, 622). Those who had vineyards outside the Piran district were allowed to bring grapes to Piran during the harvest and present them to the podestà or one of the judges. Foreign wine from the surrounding areas and farmsteads that was intended to be taken elsewhere had to be sold and indicated where it came from (STPI, 622/623).

Foreign consumers of the Piran wine were welcome in the city. Some of its dwellers fraudulently sold low-quality wine from Gaz in Sečovlje as good wine, thus dissuading traders from buying wine in Piran. Therefore, in 1373, a ban was introduced on the sale of wine from a part of Sečovlje between harvest and St Andrew (30 November). No one was allowed to buy this wine or have it bought for export (STPI, 619–622).

No citizen of Piran was allowed to buy or accept foreign wine for retail sale (*uendere ad spinam*). A native was not allowed to buy foreign wine in order to sell it himself or have someone else to sell it on his behalf (STPI, 614). Not even a foreigner was allowed to retail the wine of foreigners (STPI, 614). However, during the *festum Saluoris*, foreigners were allowed to sell foreign wine upon payment of a tax, and domestic and foreign trade goods could then be sold and bought wholesale and retail (STPI, 571–573).

Innkeepers were allowed to sell wine and bake bread for sale from communal grain in Piran upon payment of tax. No one else was allowed to own an inn in Piran or offer lodging for money (STPI, 641–643). Until 1466, (foreign) merchants and other persons could not receive lodging anywhere else than above the inn. Afterwards, everyone was allowed to provide them with lodging but had to pay 3 ducats annually to the commune. Innkeepers were allowed to offer lodging in their inn to any foreigner (STPI, 643/644). The guest house (*hostaria*) in Sečovlje was rented out for two years. The manager provided food and drink to locals and foreigners and maintained two clean beds to accommodate travellers (STPI, 572/573).

Salt trade

Another raw material of utmost importance for all the cities under consideration was salt. The city statutes regulated both the maintenance of the salt pans and salt trade. Salt smuggling¹⁹ became rampant in many places. According to the doge's order (1473), those caught smuggling more than 1 *modius* (12 *stari*²⁰ or a little more than 750 litres²¹) of salt on ships and barges were to be hanged between two pillars. Whoever caught them received 100 ducats and a ship, and the salt was confiscated (STIZ, IV/168).

In **Trieste**, the tax of one-sixth (*sexterium*) from the salt pans of Aquilinia/Žavljje (*de Çaulis*) and *de Gariçulis* was leased every year on 4 April. A citizen or a resident of Trieste or a foreigner who owned salt pans in the Trieste district had to pay the lessee a tax of one *starus* for every six *stari* of salt produced. If he brought salt to Trieste, he was not allowed to unload it without the permission of the taxman or his emissary (STTS 2, IV/10). The people of Trieste with salt pans outside the Trieste district were allowed to bring salt to the city. Those who had salt pans in the Muggia district in the area of San Clemente had to bring salt to Trieste rather than to Muggia. If they were obliged to pay one-sixth in Muggia, they had to do so (STTS 2, IV/54).

A citizen or a resident of Trieste or a foreigner who delivered salt to Trieste by land or sea had to pay the lessee a tax on the sales of salt of 4 *soldi* per *modium* of salt. Those who bought this salt in Trieste owed the same amount, with the exception of foreigners who bought salt in Trieste to take it elsewhere on carts, horses, or other animals: they were exempt from the tax (STTS 2, IV/3).

In **Muggia**, the municipality allocated land for the construction of salt pans to interested parties for a period of up to four years. Once the saltworks began to produce salt, they became obligated to pay a *sexterium*, one-sixth of the salt production (STMU 1, II/175). One out of eight *modia* was paid as a tax from the salt yield of foreigners and townspeople. Three percent of *de calo* belonged to the official of the sixth (STMU 2, IV/68 (65)). The salt pans of locals and foreigners in Muggia that needed repair were reported to be restored by the owners (STMU 2, IV/70 (67)).

No *patronus* or worker in the salt pans of San Clemente in the Muggia district or the porters who helped the salt workers carry the salt were allowed to give, sell, alienate, or offer salt at San Clemente or in the salt pans in exchange for wine or anything else to a citizen, a resident, or a foreigner, if the latter had not previously offered an adequate guarantee to the dominion of Muggia that he would deliver all the salt to Muggia (STMU 1, II/158).

A citizen or a resident of Muggia was not allowed to sell salt to a citizen or a resident of Trieste or send it there, otherwise the salt and the animal would be

¹⁹ Darko Darovec, "Solarstvo v severozahodni Istri od 12. do 18. stoletja", *Annales. Anali za istrske in mediteranske študije. Series historia et sociologia* 11/1=24 (2001) 71–92.

²⁰ A salt *starus* weighed ca. 62.5 litres, cf. D. Mihelič, "K osvetlitvi nekaterih votlih mer", 24–25.

²¹ D. Mihelič, "K osvetlitvi nekaterih votlih mer", 24–25.

confiscated, and he would have to pay a fine of 100 pounds (STMU 2, V/145). He was forbidden to have a share, receive as a gift or income, or conclude any agreement with a resident of Trieste or a foreigner regarding any business with salt – that is, selling, purchasing, purchasing on credit, bartering, etc. A foreigner was threatened with the confiscation of salt and three months in prison (STMU 2, IV/43 (39)). A foreigner, male or female, was not allowed to sell or buy salt, either retail or wholesale, in Muggia and its district. Foreigners were not allowed to store (*incanipare*) salt, except for subjects of Venice (STMU 2, II/19, STMU 2, IV/87 (84)). The salt of the Trieste owners was not allowed to be taken from Muggia without permission, except by land transport to Trieste for storage. Salt could only be sold when it was in the warehouses. The offender lost the salt and paid a fine (STMU 2, IV/42 (39)).

A citizen or a foreigner who exported salt by sea from Muggia had to pay the toll collector (*daciarius mute*) 2 *soldi* of customs duty for a *starus* of salt, except for the salt destined for citizens of Grado (STMU 2, VI/6). A citizen or a resident of Muggia who sold salt to Carniolians (*Crantii*) or other foreigners was not allowed to send them away without a drink, which he did not offer at his home (STMU 2, VI/124).²²

Piran struggled with salt smuggling. The penalty for the offense was 100 pounds; it was also possible to confiscate the salt pans and sell them at an auction. A citizen or a foreigner who was caught had to pay a fine and spend six months in prison (STPI, 700–702).

Closing remarks

Medieval statutes of Mediterranean cities provide a wealth of data for researching various aspects of the life of cities and their inhabitants in the past. Foreigners are often mentioned in them, and this group primarily included non-natives. Not only newcomers from distant destinations, but also residents of nearby towns were treated as foreigners.

The statutes mentioned foreigners in various contexts. In relation to them, the cities were cautious both in terms of security and protection of their own economic interests. They accepted foreigners when they properly fit into their economic policy and rejected them when they presented unwanted competition. They did not categorically reject foreigners but accepted foreign settlers in accordance with their own interests and granted them the status of a settler or citizen (*vicinus, civis*). We do not know to what extent they actually integrated into the urban population. Integration can be seen in mixed marriages, inheritance, access of a married foreigner to real estate, etc.

When studying the statutes, however, one should not forget that these were normative acts; for a concrete and comprehensive reconstruction of the life and

²² The purpose of the decree was to increase the revenue of the inns.

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AS REGULATED BY CITY STATUTES

business of foreigners in a particular city, it would be appropriate to also draw on richly preserved handwritten archival material created in everyday business and life in the cities under consideration. This type of detailed research would enrich, concretise, and refine the presented description, provide insight into individual trade branches and operations, as well as enable a comparative analysis of differences between various cities during the same period and within individual settlements over a longer period of time.

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Дарја МИХЕЛИЧ

**ТРГОВИНА СТРАНАЦА У СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНИМ ГРАДОВИМА
СЕВЕРЗАПАДНЕ ИСТРЕ ПРЕМА ГРАДСКИМ СТАТУТИМА**

Резиме

Од краја 12. века у медитеранским градовима формирају се статути као правни акти градске аутономије. Својим одредбама задржали су у област градске управе, привреде, јавног живота и поретка, кривичног права, породичног права итд. Статуте су имали и градови Трст, Муђа, Копар, Изола и Пиран. Многе одредбе њихових статута тичу се странаца. Ови се у статутима помињу у разним контекстима – ако се осврнемо на већину њих, можемо стећи детаљан увид у све аспекте живота у граду. У односу на странце – незналице, градови су били неповерљиви како у погледу могуће физичке опасности коју они представљају, тако и у погледу економске конкуренције. Међутим, градови странце не би унапред потпуно одбацили, већ би их, у складу са сопственим интересима, прихватили у своју средину, додељујући им статус (нових) досељеника или варошана.

У економском смислу, градови су штитили своје интересе; прихватили су странце када би се они прикладно уклопили у њихову економску политику, а одбацивали их онда када су представљали неповољну конкуренцију. Трговина је била доминантна привредна грана у градовима – у њу су били укључени странци, а статути су јој посвећивали велику пажњу. Градови су на протекционистички начин штитили и контролисали сопствену производњу елитних култура вина, уља и соли, које су намењивали извозу и спречавали њихов увоз, али су, с друге стране, раширених руку прихватили увоз хране и других добара, којих је у градовима недостајало. У том смислу, ограничавали су или подржавали делатност страних трговаца.

Приликом проучавања статута, међутим, мора се узети у обзир да се ради о нормативним актима. За конкретан приказ слике о пословању странаца у одређеном граду било би прикладно ослонити се на богато сачувану архивску грађу која је настала током свакодневног пословања и живота у градовима. Такав вид детаљног истраживања обогатио би, конкретизовао и прецизирао изнети опис, пружио увид у поједине трговачке гране и пословање, а омогућио би и упоредна проучавања разлика између различитих градова током истог периода и унутар појединих насеља у дужем временском периоду.