

Darko Darovec

**A Brief History of
Istra**

Translated by

Ilario Ermacora

Archivio del Litorale Adriatico I

Darko Darovec

A Brief History of Istra

© Darko Darovec 1998

Archivio del Litorale Adriatico I, 1998

ISBN 0 9585774 0 4

ALA Publications
28 Compass Circle
Yanchep 6035
Western Australia

**This work is published with the assistance of the Slovenian
Ministry of Culture**

CONTENTS

PREFACE	vii
PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION	ix
A REVIEW OF HISTORICAL STUDIES OF ISTRÁ	1
PREHISTORY	
Geographical Note	5
The Origins of the Name Istra	5
The First Inhabitants of Istra	6
ANCIENT TIMES	
The Roman Conquest of Istra	13
Istra under Roman rule	14
Administrative Arrangements	15
The Economy, Commerce and Industrial production	16
The Diffusion of Christianity in Istra	18
Ecclesiastical Organisation	21
THE MIDDLE AGES	
The Migration of Populations and the Fall of the Western Empire	23
Byzantine Rule	24
The Istran Schism	26
The Lombard Conquest	28
Administrative Arrangements under the Germanic Princes	28
Social Relationships in the State of Charlemagne	29
Regional Political Events	30
Contracts between Istran Cities and Venice in the Xth Century	31
The Economic Growth of the Cities and the Venetian Sphere of Influence	32
The Municipal Institutions of the Cities	33
Istra under the Patriarchs of Aquileia	37
Koper's Expansion in the XIIIth Century	37
The Venetian Conquest of the Cities of Northern Istra	38
The Istran War	39

A Brief History of Istra

Venetian Rule	39
The Duties of the Cities towards La Serenissima	40
The Administration of the Cities	41
The End of the Power of the Patriarchs over Istra and their Administrative Heritage	44
The County of Pazin and the Fief on the Kvarner	45
The Autonomous Commune of Trieste	47
THE MODERN ERA	
The Last Territorial Modifications under Venice	51
War and Peace	52
The Economic Situation in Venetian Istra	52
Commerce and the Spheres of Influence of the Great Powers	54
The Ethnographic Aspect of Istra in the XVIIth Century	56
Fragments of Istran Ethnology	57
The Historical Background to the Ethnographic Perspective	60
The Linguistic Aspect of Istra in the XVIIIth Century	65
Administrative-Ecclesiastical Reforms at the Fall of the Republic of Venice	67
THE ERA OF BOURGEOIS REVOLUTIONS	
Istra at the Time of the Napoleonic Conquests	69
The First Austrian period in Istra (1797-1805)	69
Istra as a part of the Kingdom of Italy	69
The Province of Istria in the Illyrian Provinces (1809-1813)	71
Internal Conditions at the Time of the French Reforms	71
Istra under Austrian Rule (1813-1918)	72
Administrative Organisation from the Revolution of 1848 to the Second World War	73
THE PERIOD OF THE RISE OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND OF NATIONALISTIC TENDENCIES	
Economic Leaders in the XIXth Century	77
International Relations in the First Half of the XIXth Century	78
The Rise of Nationalism in Trieste and Istra	79
The Development of Irredentism	81
The Slav Popular Movement	83
The Political Establishment of the Slovenians and Croats in Istra	86
The Formation of the Ethnic Slovenian and Croatian Borders	88

Contents

The First World War	91
THE PERIOD OF TOTALITARIAN RÉGIMES	
Istra Under Italy	93
The Neglected Province	95
Istra in the Second World War	96
Demarcation problems of the Border with Croatia	97
The Diplomatic Fight for Istra after World War II	99
The Free Territory of Trieste	100
The Great Slovenian Sacrifice for Yugoslavia	101
The Reasons for the Exodus	102
Conclusion	104
BIBLIOGRAPHY	105

NOTE ON THE SPELLING OF PLACE NAMES

Just as the name of the area which is described in this book has changed during the many centuries of its recorded history (Histria, Iстриa, Istra), the names of the localities within it have also taken different forms at different times.

Some attempt has been made to give the alternative forms at least once, particularly when they differ greatly. Usually the most modern form has been preferred.

Preface

The birth of this book is the result of a set of circumstances and facts which have made a publication of this kind indispensable.

In the first place, a process of liberalisation has taken place in the last decade, which in the Istran peninsula as well as elsewhere has caused substantial reassessments of the past and the present. The feeling of belonging to a region is now an element of a potential world order, of the future, which would be based not on simple questions of nationality but on basic human rights and economic efficiency. The ideological repression which existed within the former Yugoslavia always presented an obvious and serious obstacle to reaching such goals, and the two Slav States of Istra fought against this regardless of sacrifices, to win their political independence. However, the consequence was a deep wound amongst the people, caused by something the inhabitants of Istra had not given much thought to: the necessity of having another border.

The creation and alteration of borders is a common theme of history, but only in the worst of cases does it affect individual people more than once in their lifetime. Therefore such changes are for the individual person justifiably painful, scarring and at times tragic.

The emotional conflict thus generated is present along the whole of the Slovenian-Croatian border, but Istra is where it is most acutely felt because of the many centuries of allegiance of its people to the region. To overcome their disorientation some people have turned to historical science for help. Historical knowledge based on wide theoretical foundations should give answers with which to legitimise the commitment of both the supporters and the opponents of the border and the debates about it.

Even though it was conscious of the transient nature of single systems, concepts and frameworks of knowledge, the Historical Society of the Littoral (Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko) answered the challenge by organising in December 1991 a seminar on the topic 'Istra: United and/or Divided?', with Italian, Croatian and Slovenian participants. The aim of the historians of the three neighbouring countries was not mutual accusations or the defence of their own sides, but rather to review events and historical changes in the Istran peninsula. This approach was the basis of

Preface

my contribution to the supplement of the newspaper Primorske novice in the first half of 1992. This was a revised and enlarged version of my presentation at the seminar (the proceedings of the seminar were later published by the Historical Society of the Littoral, and issued just at the time of publication of the papers presented at historical seminars on Istra, organised annually by the Historical Society with the participation of Italian and Croatian colleagues). Since the supplement mentioned above, entitled Compendium of the History of Istra, was very well received by readers, the daily paper Primorske novice and the Historical Society of the Littoral decided to publish the text in book form. This text, enlarged and with some new illustrations and a bibliography of works consulted, is now before you.

Besides the two institutions mentioned above, I must thank for the birth of this work my mentor Dr Darja Mihelič, always ready to help me with useful advice. Special thanks are due to Vida, who with infinite dedication and good sense has supported me in my work. Finally I must not forget Adriatic Insurance, who in the last few years have become the peerless sponsors of cultural and broad social initiatives. My earnest hope is that this modest publication of a popular nature will become part of a long series of publications continuing the long task of affirmation of Istran historical writings, and that it may form the basis for further specialised studies based on in-depth research.

PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

At the time of the Slovenian edition of this book, the publisher thought of having it translated into Italian and into Croatian. I was not then attracted to the idea. In the first place I believed that other historical writings in the two languages had already satisfied, with works of greater weight, the demands of readers who were interested in Istran historical topics. But the many positive responses and the acknowledgment of objectivity in the approach adopted - not so always found in scholars who had dealt with this subject in the past - persuaded me that I should accept with pleasure the challenge of translating the book first into Italian and then into Croatian.

Both of these translations have given me great enjoyment, but I am particularly honoured that this present English edition has been accepted into the series Archive of the Littoral of the Adriatic (Archivio del Littorale Adriatico, or ALA). This third edition, which has undergone some revisions, will make it possible for the global public to become more easily acquainted with the interesting history, tradition and culture of the multi-layered Istran peninsula.

I am conscious of the fact that a work of this nature cannot satisfy all demands, and may meet with unfavourable comments, since one has to omit some important topics or reduce them to pure and simple facts, thus leaving oneself open to criticism. Since the choice of subjects and the use of data in such works are left to the discretion of the author, I must take responsibility for this.

On such an occasion I must be mindful of all those people who have given me various suggestions and advice on how to improve this brief history of Istra. I have almost always heeded them, but I was unable to satisfy some suggestions that this or that topic or period should be given more space. Had I done so, the book would have lost its principal aim of making the history of the region available in the shortest and clearest way to readers with differing priorities. I wish to thank Dr. Petar Strčić, Dario Marušič, Stojan Jejčič, Leander Cunja, Dr. Andrej Vovk, Prof. Furio Bianco, Lauro Decarli, Radovan Cunja, Matej Zupančič, Dr. Vasko Simoniti, Dr. Janez Peršič, and others who have expressed their judgement on this work, by publishing their critiques or making public presentations of the Slovenian edition. Special mention must be made of the translator, Ilario Ermacora, who by his careful approach to such a condensed text has been able to preserve its informative value, and Goran Filipi, who translated the additional and revised passages which appear in this latest edition. Lastly, I wish to thank most sincerely Prof John R. Melville-Jones of the Department of Classics and Ancient History of the University of Western Australia, who carefully edited the English text and produced the final version for printing.

Koper, 1 July 1998

Darko Darovec

A REVIEW OF HISTORICAL STUDIES OF ISTRIA

It would be wrong to claim that we know little of the history of Istra because little of it has been written. In fact, as early as the 15th and 16th centuries one can find several detailed descriptions of the characteristics of Istra and its history. Each of these works is in itself a valuable contribution to knowledge, but here we will mention only the work of the bishop of Novigrad G. F. Tommasini (1650).

Other diligent historians, headed by the encyclopaedic G. R. Carli from Koper, had begun the collection of these local histories by the end of the 18th century. This was even more the case during the 19th century, when they also began to publish the first volumes of the review, still in existence today, *L'Archeografo Triestino*. This was promoted by the patriot from Trieste D. Rossetti, while his pupil and friend P. Kandler (1804-1872) was an even more assiduous collector of the historical patrimony of Istra, the true founder of Istran historical studies. Besides the numerous essays which he published in the *Osservatore Triestino*, in the periodical *L'Istria* (1846-1852), in the above-mentioned *L'Archeografo*, in *La Provincia* and elsewhere, the work of the latter was brought together in the *Codice diplomatico istriano*, a collection of fundamental documents for the history of Istra from AD 50 to the middle of the 16th century.

An extraordinarily important rôle in the study of Istran history has also been played by another periodical which survives to this day, *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria* (Poreč/Parenzo 1883-), and has published, side by side with many documents from the State Archive of Venice, studies which are fundamental to a knowledge of Istran history and traditions.

The major credit for the publication of this periodical goes without any doubt to T. Luciani, whose prolific work forms the basis of all Italian historical studies of Istra. C. Combi, from Koper/Capodistria, has also gained a distinguished place in this regard, above all thanks to the publication of *Bibliografia Istriana* (1864), the periodical *La Porta Orientale* and other historical studies, in spite of the fact that these were permeated by a strong spirit of irredentism. Such influences played a much lesser role in the first monograph *L'Istria—Note Storiche* (Parenzo, 1879) written by C. De Franceschi, a scholar and political figure who came from Gologorica/Moncalvo

A Brief History of Istra

near Pazin/Pisino. The historical objectivity of Kandler was continued by G. De Vergottini and B. Benussi, the latter standing out especially in this respect since, besides the works already mentioned, his *L'Istria nei suoi due millenni di storia* (1924) forms the model in content and format for the present work.

Since the Second World War further significant contributions to developments in this field have been made by Croatian historians, who after the rather uncritical monographs reviewing Istran history which had been written by D. Gruber and V. Spinčić (1924) and by L. Kirac (1946), have dedicated themselves mostly to in-depth studies of specific historical periods. A fundamental impetus towards this trend came with the foundation of the former Adriatic Institute (*Jadranski Institut*) in 1948, which is now the Institute of Historical and Social Sciences of the Croatian Academy of Sciences, Letters and Arts, located in Rijeka. In addition, a lively research activity has developed in the Archaeological Museum of Pula, in the Historical Archives of Pazin and of Rijeka, and in more recent times in the Čakavski sabor, with some ten posts created in the Istro-Kvarnerine territory. The institutions just mentioned have developed a consistent publishing activity which comprises reviews, proceedings of conferences and special publications, such as *Jadranski zbornik*, *Vjesnik*, *Buzetski zbornik*, *Pazinski memorijal*, *Liburnijske teme*, *Kastavski zbornik*, *Porečki zbornik*, *Histria* etc. Amongst these the publications of the Čakavski sabor stand out, with 60 titles issued so far. In terms of their fields, it is worth mentioning B. Bačić, B. Marusić and S. Mlakar for the archaeological period, D. Klen and L. Margetić for medieval history, M. Bertosa, D. Šepić and P. Stričić for modern history; and there are many others. Italian-Istran researchers are clustered around the Centre for Historical Research of Rovinj/Rovigno, which has established itself mainly with the publication of the specialist reviews *Atti* and *Quaderni*, as well as other special editions, and has succeeded in attracting the collaboration not only of Italian but also of Croatian and Slovenian historians.

Beside Italian and Slav scholars, Istra has also interested other European historians, amongst whom one should mention W. Lenl and E. Mayer.

Slovenian historians have produced a smaller but nevertheless very important elaboration of the themes of Istran history, beginning with France and Milko Kos, S. Rutar, M. Pahor and others, while lately F. Gestrin and D. Mihelič have been hard at work on the history of the Slovenian coastal towns; both of the latter have paid great attention to the economic structures of these small towns, and the last also to their daily life. The last few years have witnessed a notable progress in the study of Istran

A Review of Historical Studies of Istra

history also amongst local historians, especially the younger ones, who show great promise and have an opportunity of creating a certain potential for future research with the journal *Annales* which took the place of the journal *Slovensko morje in zaledje* after the latter ceased publication some years ago, the miscellany *Acta Histriae* and the monograph series *Annales (Knjižnica Annales)*, all of which were published by the Historical Society of Primorsko-Koper and by the recently established Science and Research Centre of the Republic of Slovenia in Koper (Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Republike Slovenije Koper), an institution where Slovenian historians now have considerable opportunities for historical research.



Map of the Istran peninsula drawn by Petro Coppo in 1525 (*Le Tabule* 147)

PREHISTORY

A Geographical Note

Looking at the geographical characteristics of Istra, one cannot escape the feeling that they are the cause of the cultural, ethnic and social differences which, in this peninsula which almost belongs to another world, have arisen and are still arising, amongst a mixture of elements of varied provenance, in an area stretching from the Alpine world to the Mediterranean sea.

On the basis of its natural characteristics the peninsula is traditionally divided into *white, grey and red* Istra. The north and the north-east of Istra is a mountainous zone, with the Karst at the foot of the mountains Čičarija/Ciceria and Učka/Monte Maggiore (1401m). It is referred to as White Istra because of the colour of the calcareous stone which covers most of the barren ground. Spreading to the south-east is the hilly zone, in the geological composition of which sandstone predominates. In many places erosion has uncovered the rocks, which are of a typical grey colour, and it is from these that the name Grey Istra derives. The lowest-lying zone of Istra is the west and south coast of the peninsula, which from the typical red colour of the soil is referred to as Red Istra.

The Origin of the Name Istra

The name of the peninsula is linked to the Greek legend of the Argonauts, perhaps not so much because of the authenticity of the ancient story but rather because of its symbolic content.

Few people still remember that until the Roman conquest of Dacia, the modern region Dobruza of Romania was called Istra, from the name given by the Greeks to the lower Danube which traverses it (i.e. Hister), and this is reflected in the current name of one of the tributaries of the Danube in Bulgaria, Isk'r.

According to the legend, the Argonauts stole the Golden Fleece, a symbol of rich commerce, from the Colchians, a people of Persian origin, who were merchants on the east coast of the Black Sea. Carrying the Golden Fleece with them, the Argonauts managed to escape from their pursuers across the Black Sea. Sailing along the Danube and the Sava they reached the Adriatic, and from there returned to their own country, Thessaly. The pursuing Colchians in turn gave Istra its name because its

A Brief History of Istra

numerous river mouths reminded them of their own region Istra on the Black Sea, where the town of the same name is located. In those times it was believed that great rivers crossed lands in order to connect the seas. Hence the Colchians believed that the Danube and the Sava (Hister) connected the Black Sea with the Adriatic, as proved by the resemblance of the mouths of the two rivers. Only later did the Greeks become persuaded that the Sava and the Danube were not connected with the Adriatic; they then added to the legend the story of how the Argonauts carried on their shoulders the ship Argo from Nauportus (now Vrhnika) to the first river that emptied into the gulf of Kvarner. According to other versions of the myth, some of the Colchians remained in Istra and founded Pula.

The truth in fact is not far from the legend; in fact, the latter supports it. The path of the Argonauts traces the main directions of Greek commercial colonisation after they had overcome the Persians. In their expansion Adriatic Istra soon became the point of convergence of three principal commercial routes: (1) the route which from the Orient, through the Danube and across the Alps, led to the Occident; (2) the route which crossed Northern Italy; (3) the sea routes in the Adriatic.

Ancient Greek historians—it was the historian and geographer Hecataeus of Miletus (560–490) who was the first to report the name of Istra—recorded the lively trade between the Adriatic and the Black Sea, by means of which the wines of Lesbos, Chios and Thasos, the amphoras of Corsica and the rich merchandise of Scythia travelled from one place to another, while off Istra there were two important islands rich in tin. Bronze vases from Venetia and Greece passed through Istra, as did yellow amber from the Balkans, tin from Gaul, and other goods, and of course trade in salt and slaves was not lacking.

The first inhabitants of Istra

From what has been said one may ask who were really the inhabitants of the Istran peninsula. As it is to a great extent surrounded by the sea, and closed off from its hinterland by the high Čičarija Plateau, it appears to be isolated. On the other hand, it is in fact just half way between the Appenine Peninsula and the Balkans, and occupies a middle position between the Mediterranean and Central Europe. It could be said that its geographical position and landscape both made settlement possible in all periods of human history, which is why the ethnic origin of the oldest groups of Istran inhabitants is so difficult to define.

The theories which treat of this subject sometimes adopt extreme points of view. There is the theory of continuity, which claims an autochthonous origin for each

group of inhabitants, and there is the opposing theory of migrations of peoples into the peninsula. The ancient Greek ideal of the 'golden mean', however, will serve us better in this case, because there is no doubt that there was a continual flow and mixing of old and new settlers in definite areas in definite periods, in accordance with the laws of history as they may be observed elsewhere.

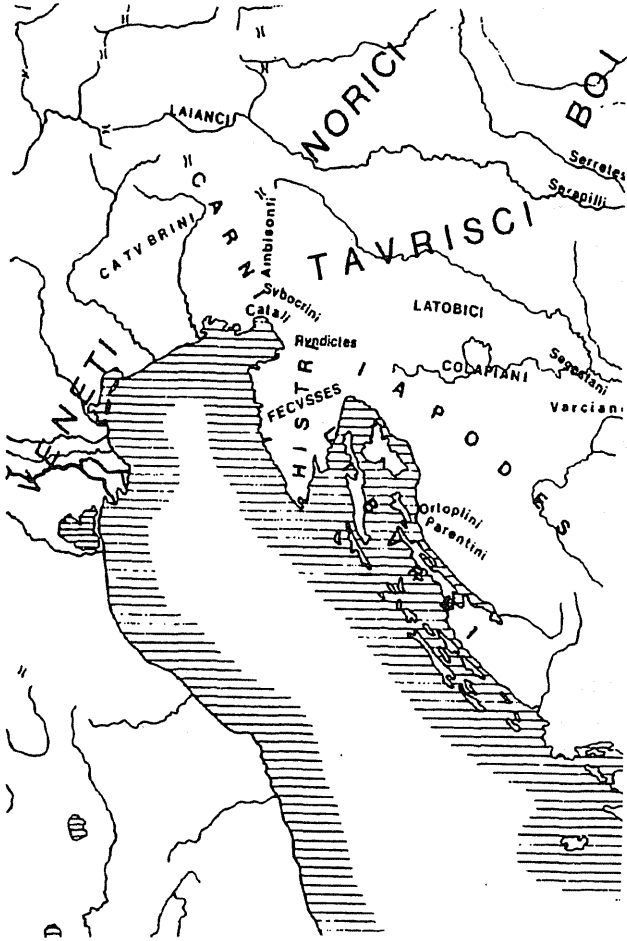
Undoubtedly the Histrians were the prevailing ethnic group in Istra before the Roman period, but the nature of their ethnic unity has not yet been fully explained. We may deduce some traces of the formation of a unified cultural tradition extending over almost the entire Istran peninsula from the manner in which the dead were buried. During the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age inhumation was replaced by cremation, which was then preserved in Istra until the establishment of Christianity. We can find evidence of this in the *necropoleis* from the Iron Age which began to be explored in the last century when large burial areas at Beram, Picugi, Visače (the former Nesactium near Pula) and Pula were discovered. Therefore the Iron Age can be regarded as the period in which the Histrian ethnic group was formed.

According to tradition, influences from the Italian and the Balkan peninsulas intersected in the area, and from Pannonia and the central European countries, but above all Venetic and Illyrian ethnic influences were mingled here. Through the medium of the Italic and still more the Etruscan cultures, Greek influence also made itself strongly felt in Istra, particularly after the 6th century BC when the Graeco-Etruscan trade town of Spina was established, which the Histrians could reach after only a short journey. From the 4th century onwards also Celtic influences can be perceived, since the Celts mixed ethnically with some Illyrian peoples: the Greek geographer and polymath Strabo explicitly mentions the Iapodes, who lived north-east of the Histrians and until the 4th century also in eastern Istra up to the Raša, as an Illyrian people mixed with the Celts. In the 4th century the Liburnians were able to occupy the whole littoral area including the islands of Istra and of the Gulf of Kvarner precisely because of the troubles that the Iapodes had with the Celts. According to the references in the antique sources in the north the Histrians also bordered on the tribes of the Karni, the Taurisci and the Rundicti (Rodik).

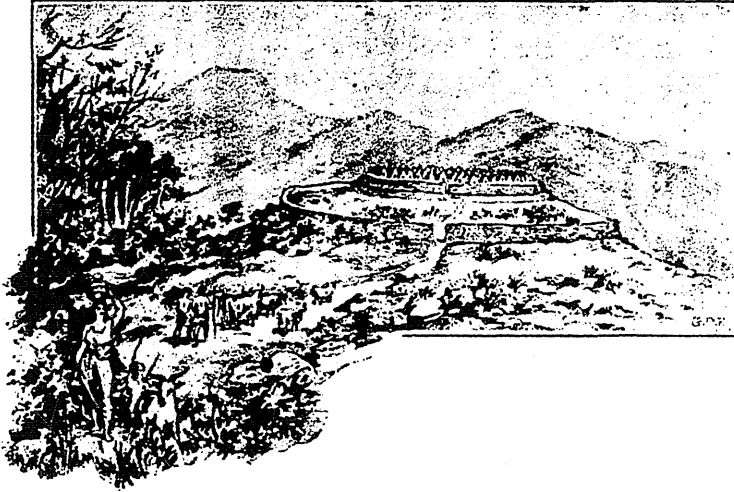
On the other hand, Stipčević, on the basis of their material culture, places the Histrians much closer to the Illyrians and adds that it is possible to discuss them as predominantly Illyrian. He finds grounds for his theory in the development of the autochthonous Illyrian culture in Istra and in the connections of that culture with Greek and other cultural centres: pendants in the shape of various animals, buckles decorated with geometrical motives or with schematized pictures of marsh birds,

A Brief History of Istra

ceramic vases or metal dishes (*situlae*) decorated with the same motives or with a spiral, a meander, a swastika etc., and earthenware and monumental sculptural art in stone which was the only work of this kind in the Illyrian area. All these were domestic products manufactured by Istran masters who firmly followed traditional motives and aesthetic principles.



Tribal groupings in Istra at the beginning of recorded history



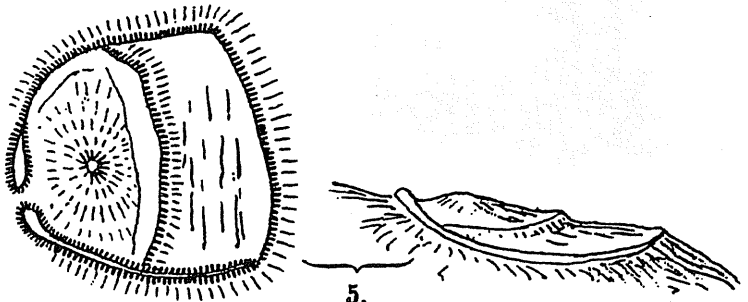
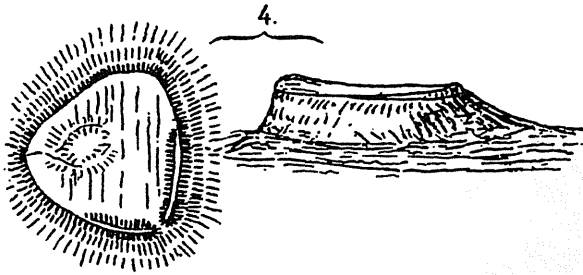
Reconstruction of an Istran fort by B. Benussi (*L'Istria ...*)

With some locally manufactured objects a foreign influence can be perceived, while others were probably imported. Undoubtedly to be classed among the latter are two fragmentary bronze situlas with decorations which show that they belong to a group of similar situlas from other areas in Slovenia which were settled by the Veneti and the Illyrians. They were found in a cemetery at Nesactium, but as few situlas with figural decoration have been discovered in Istran territory, it is hard to believe that they were manufactured there.

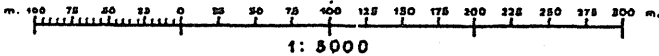
Under strong Graeco-Etruscan influence and the influence of the neighbouring Veneti in the west and other Illyrian peoples in the north and east, a characteristic artistic activity developed in Istra, which at Nesactium created the most magnificent monuments of the prehistoric era in Illyrian territory – a series of almost life-size stone statues representing domestic deities, which presumably belonged to a prehistoric temple. It should also be noted that in Istra names of local deities, which are found nowhere else, appear among the Illyrian ones on Roman monuments, such as the goddess Eia, also the names of Melesocus, Boria, Iria and others.

Like many other ancient peoples in that part of the world, the Histrians dwelt in ancient forts (*gradišče, castelliere*), but these were more numerous in Istra than in other regions. Ancient forts were built on natural elevations difficult of access, or on

A Brief History of Istra



Lit. E.º. Gottmann Trieste



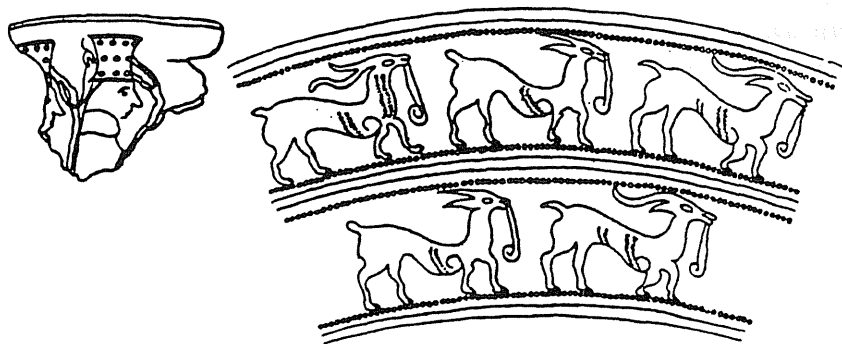
Plans of two Istran forts (Marchesetti tav. VIII)

river banks, i.e. in locations suitable for defence against enemies. Another factor which was equally important in influencing the choice of a place in which to build a fortified settlement was the economic one. The walls of these ancient forts were built to conform to the surrounding terrain, and the majority of them have been preserved until the present day. According to the findings revealed by investigation of the highest level of occupation in a large number of cases, and the smaller number of full excavations carried out so far, which mostly revealed only one cultural stratum, it seems that the majority of forts were formed as early as the Bronze Age. It is evident that some of them completely ceased to be occupied during the transition to the Iron Age and that entirely new settlements were built to replace them, while in many others life continued with the new culture. Within these forts, stone houses were

built. For instance one such, measuring four metres by six metres, was found in the large fort (*kaštelir*) of Monkas near Rovinj, but at this time they were also acquainted with circular stone houses, the precursors of today's *kažuni*.

By relying on the in-depth study of Marchesetti (1903), Benussi (1924) reached the conclusion that in Istra before the Roman conquest there were about 520 of these forts, in which some 120,000 persons lived. They are described as being very tall and strong. Anthropological research has shown that in fact at this time males reached an average height of 1,65m and women 1,53m. By the standards of the present time, these measurements are not impressive, but in former times, when people were considerably shorter than they are today, they must have appeared tall compared with people of the average height of those days.

They made their living by fishing and hunting, agriculture and cattle breeding, especially pasturing. On the basis of data from archaeological sites in Nesactium, it has been calculated that more than 50% of the animal bones discovered there belonged to sheep and goats, while pigs provided as little as 12% of the whole. The people of the area were also engaged in trade, and one of their most attractive extra activities was also piracy, with the result that a special type of ship (the *liburna*), which gained its name from the area, came to be associated with this occupation.



Prehistoric finds from Nesactium
(A. Puschi, *Le necropoli ...*)

ANCIENT TIMES

The Roman Conquest of Istra

The writers of ancient times make it clear that the Histrians (*Istri*) were well known for piratical activities. This was one of the main excuses for the Romans to conduct their first campaign against them as early as 221 BC, after they had conquered the north of Italy and the territory of the Veneti. To strengthen their defences the Romans created the military settlement of Aquileia. The Histrians rightly regarded this as a threat to their independence, and in 181 tried to prevent the building of the settlement. They were defeated, but the peace did not last for long. 'King' Aepulo (whose name to the Romans resembled a Latin word which means a party-goer or even a drunkard), an uncompromising ruler, eager to fight, took the leadership of the Histrians and immediately began preparing to resist. The Romans sent an army against him in 178 BC, with expectations that were at first not fulfilled. On the contrary, one foggy morning the Histrians shrewdly surprised and routed it, so much so that the Romans had to abandon on the field of battle all their supplies of food and wine. This, however, was in turn fatal for the Histrians, who despite their physical superiority and warlike ardour were, according to contemporary descriptions, much given to dissolute habits. As a result, by late afternoon they were in a complete drunken stupor and were easily defeated, many being killed and the survivors taken captive.

Nonetheless this was not the definitive defeat of the Histrians. After the initial setback, the Romans subdued them only after receiving very substantial reinforcements from Rome. The decisive battle took place in 178–177 BC near the legendary Nesactium. For a long time the Histrians put up a resistance from their tribal, political and religious centre. But when the Romans diverted the river that for protection circled the fortifications, the Histrians became convinced that it was a miracle—'miraculo terruit abscissae aquae', as it was described by the Roman historian Livy—and seized by panic, in order that they should not be taken alive, they started killing their women and children and throwing them over the walls in front of their horrified enemies. King Aepulo also, like so many of his fearless warriors, died by his own hand, run through by his own sword.

The few who survived were taken prisoner by the Romans and became slaves. Even though the Histrians still put up a resistance in the fortresses of Mutila and Favertia, which the Romans completely destroyed after the battle just described, the defeat near Nesactium decisively ended the independence of Istra. The two days of popular festivities which were organised in Rome provided a tangible proof of the importance that the Romans gave to this victory over the Histrians.

Istra under Roman Rule

The Romans at first entrusted Istra to the authority of the governor of Gallia, who was charged with administering civil and military affairs. A third of the land became property of the State (*ager publicus*), and hence it could be claimed that the Romans carried out the first agrarian reform in Istra. The Istrans were particularly damaged by the prohibition of trade, which provoked repeated revolts against the authorities.

This is an indication that the Istrans were still not completely subdued, since the Romans at first had occupied only the towns of the coastal strip inherited from the Greeks and from the Histrians. In the interior of the peninsula the Illiro-Celtic Histrians continued for a long time to put up resistance from their forts until the Romans, during their centuries of domination, gradually succeeded in Romanising them—thanks principally to the spread of the large estates (*latifundia*) where the land was cultivated by serfs and by foreign colonists.



Labin, Roman tombstone (P Petronio, *Memorie* ...)

The presence of the Histrians can still today be proven from many place names, which are often better preserved in the interior than on the coast. The oldest and most important coastal Istran towns, Trieste/Trst (*Tergestum*), Pula/Pola (*Pietas Iulia*) and Poreč/Parenzo (*Parentium*), which became Roman colonies between 50 and 40 BC, preserve in their names their Histrian origins, as does Buzet/Pinguente (*Piquentium*) in the interior. Certain towns also acquired the status of a fortified town (*oppidum*): Roč/Rozzo (*Rocium*), Pičan/Pedina (*Petina*), Koper/Capodistria (*Aegida*), Piran/Pirano (*Pyrrhanum*), Umag/Umago (*Sepomagum*), Novigrad/Cittanova (in late Latin *Neapolis* and in mediaeval sources *Aemon(i)a* and *Civitas Nova*), Visače/Monticchio (*Nesactium*), Labin/Albona (*Albona*) and Plomin/Fianona (*Flanona*).

Administrative Arrangements

The three main coastal cities, which had self government, with a Curia (the local Senate) and elected administrators headed by two *duumviri*, also governed the vast Istran hinterland: Trieste/Trst administered the territory stretching between the rivers Timavo/Timav and Mirna/Quieto, Poreč/Parenzo the territory between the Mirna and the Limski Kanal/Leme Channel, and from here southwards there spread the territory



Cover illustration of the work by G.R. Carli, *Delle antichità italiane II*, taken from a Roman tombstone, which is now lost

of the jurisdiction of Pula/Pola. Later other towns emerged in these territories, as for example Koper/Capodistria (*Aegida-Capris, Justinopolis*) with its territory between the Rižana/Risano (*Formio*) and the Dragonja/Dravograd (*Argaon*) and Novigrad, with its territory between the Dragon and the Mirna.

By the time of Gaius Julius Caesar the border of Italy had been shifted to the Timavo (*Timavus*) river. Shortly after his assassination the border was shifted to the river Rižana, then between 27 and 12 BC the emperor Augustus (formerly known as Octavian) moved the frontier of Italy to the river Raša (Arsa) and founded the so-called Tenth region of Italy - Venetia and Istria (*Decima regio Italiae Venetia et Histria*).

In this way almost the whole of the Istran peninsula was absorbed into the Italy of that time as a region on its own, where Istra was not subordinate to Venetia but only coupled with it. The eastern border of the province followed a line which went approximately from the Triglav mountain to Nanos and Snežnik, then alongside the river Raša to the Gulf of Kvarner/Quarnero. As Roman citizens, the Istrans were on a par legally, economically and culturally with the inhabitants of Rome and therefore they were exempted from specified taxes and services—that is to say they were privileged by comparison with other inhabitants of the Roman Empire.

The Romans conquered the territory to the east of the Raša, the so-called Liburnia, after 50 BC, but the territory between the Raša and Trsat/Tersatto was annexed to Italy only about 167 AD following the incursions of the Quadi and the Marcomanni and the wars with them that followed. However, no later than the end of the 5th century, when Roman power was declining, the border returned to the Raša. Evidence of the continuity of the border on the Raša river between Istra and Liburnia and between Istra and Dalmatia may also be found in the work of the emperor and Byzantine historian Constantine Porphyrogenitus, according to whom in 950 Istra to the east of the Raša and the Clana was part of Croatia.

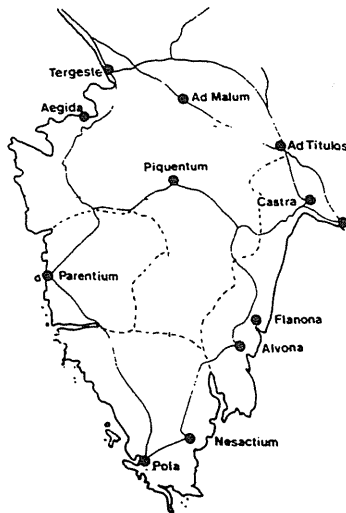
From the second half of the 2nd century to the fall of the Western Empire (476), all the territory stretching as far as Ljubljana (*Emona*) and the Triglav area was also administratively part of Italy.

The Economy, Commerce and Industrial Production

The Romans brought prosperity to the region. There are many architectural remains which bear witness to this, especially at Trieste, Poreč and Pula, where even today one can admire the amphitheatre, the Arch of the Sergii and the temple of Augustus, besides various inscriptions and mosaics which are clear evidence of the vibrant cultural life of the region. Pula had become a prominent centre and many patrician

Romans had properties and summer residences around the city, as elsewhere in Istra. The province was popular with veteran soldiers who received land there, and also with Roman investors; as is well known, the Romans did not like having underdeveloped provinces, for the simple reason that one could not trade with the poor.

By the side of the already prosperous agriculture of the area (whose principal products were wine, oil, oysters and wool sent from large Istran properties to regions to the north and to Mediterranean ports), handicrafts also developed. Cochineal colours were produced on the islands near Rovinj/Rovigno, a big woollen mill was located near Pula/Pola, on the Brioni islands textile manufacturing took place, whilst near Fazan/Fasana a full scale brick factory has been discovered —probably a branch of the Lombard brick factory at Vercelli. All over the province kilns were flourishing for the production of coarse and fine pottery, given that Istra abounded in the respective primary materials. At Črvar/Cervera near Poreč amphoras were produced specially for the emperors. Southern Istra was also rich in flinty sand, a fundamental primary material for the production of glass, the extraction of which has been established in a number of locations. An activity of outstanding importance was the quarrying of the Istran stone used for the most noble monuments.



Roman roads in Istra (drawn by
M. Baldini, in A. Šonje, *Putevi ...*)

Commerce too contributed to the rapid Romanization of the population, since with the development of commercial traffic, the inhabitants of the various parts of the immense empire came to the province. The furthering of this activity necessitated a good network of roads and in Istra commercial traffic established two principal arteries which of course also satisfied military requirements.

The first, the so-called *Via Gemina*, went from Aquileia and Trieste through the Karst to Materija, Obrov, Lipa and Klana, from where, near Rijeka, it descended towards Trsat to continue along the Dalmatian coast. The second, the so-called *Via Flavia*, went from Trieste, crossing the Rižana, the Dragonja and, at Ponte Porton, the biggest Istran river the Mirna, it reached the Linski Canal, Dvigrad, Bale, Vodnjan and Pula. Here the road turned towards Visače, reaching the Raša, and crossing the river, continued as a local road through Labin and Plomin as far as Kastav, where it joined at an angle with the already mentioned *Via Gemina*. The network of roads was in general completed by linking roads which joined the Istran towns with the *Via Flavia*.

Two more main roads left the commercial and military centre of Aquileia, and traversed what was then and in the middle ages Istran territory, the more important being that which passed through Vipaccio and Ajdovščina and then led in the direction of Lubiana, or towards Prem. However, by the end of Roman rule Aquileia became a centre of a very different type, a centre for the diffusion of Christianity.

The Diffusion of Christianity in Istra

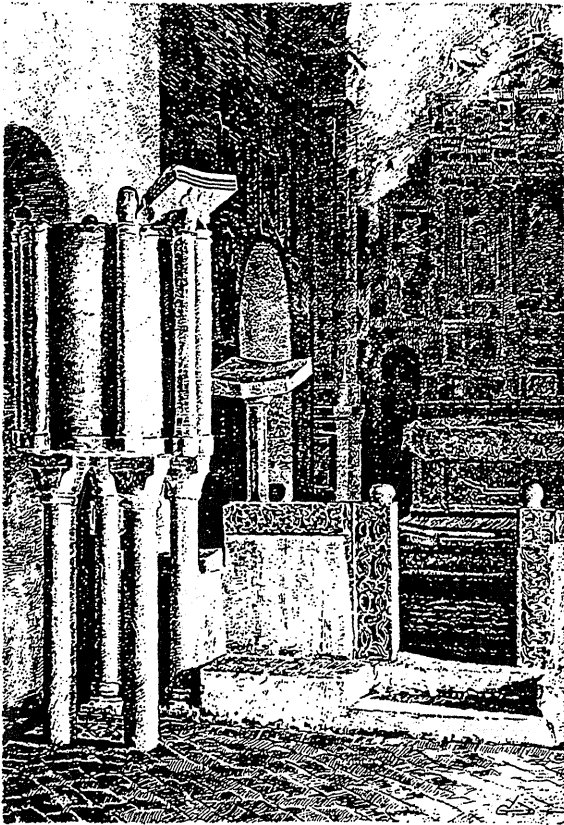
There is no doubt that, after Rome, the most important centre for the dissemination of Christianity in Western Europe was Aquileia. As an approximation it is possible to date the appearance of Christian communities in Istran cities in the middle or in the second half of the 3rd century. There is historical evidence of the persecution of Christians in Aquileia and in Istra as early as the time of the Emperor Diocletian, when at least fourteen Christians died as martyrs. A genuine Istran saint from the 3rd century, who died a martyr's death, was Saint Servul from Socerb/San Servolo, while a number of more or less apocryphal saints are also known in Istra, particularly Saint Sergej (Sergius) from Črni Kal. The veneration of these two saints spread widely in surrounding areas as well, the former being much venerated in the Veneto, whilst even today Trieste bears as its city crest the halberd of St Sergius.

Because it was the point of contact between Italy and Illyria and the point of convergence of the sea and land routes leading there from the various parts of the empire, the spiritual aspect of Christianity took many forms in Istra. The Christian

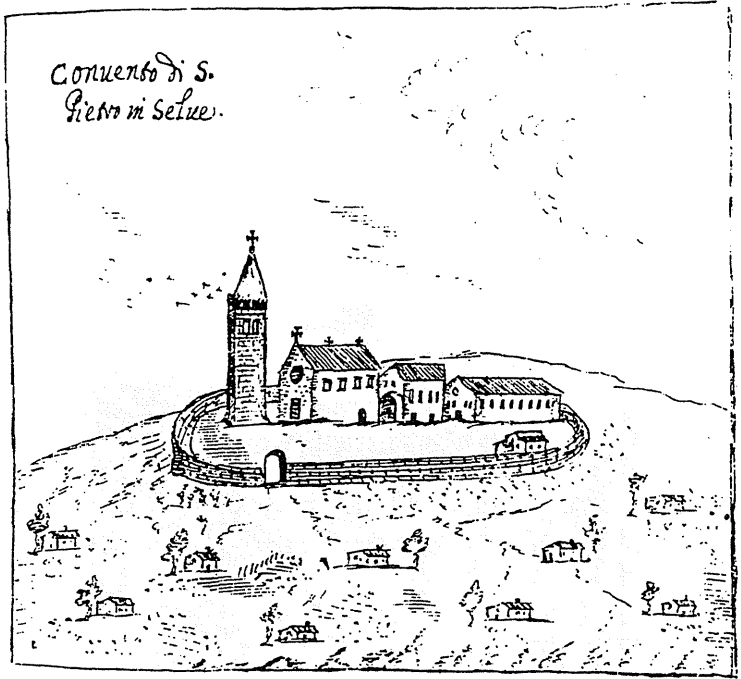
Ancient Times

communities of the area originally had ethnic, cultural and spiritual traits which were more eastern in nature, but in that period began to acquire values which were more Western and Latin.

In Istra Christianity was at first limited to the cities, perhaps involving also people in nearby areas, while the population of the countryside was almost completely pagan. With the conversion to Christianity of the long-established Latin component of the population, particularly those belonging to the higher classes, the



The altar of the Italic-byzantine basilica at Old Muggia/Milje



The Convent of St Peter at Šumi (P. Petronio, *Memorie* 241)

social aspect of Christianity began to change and spread. It was no longer a socially and ethnically exclusive religion as it had been at the beginning, when it was limited to Greek speakers originating from the east, and to Jews who had become converts.

As soon as Christianity obtained freedom of worship (by the Edict of Milan of 313), it was faced with the great danger of an internal split because of the vehement impact of the Arian heresy. Even though Venetia and Istra were a centre of Catholicism, Arianism gained the upper hand for a brief period in Aquileia at the time of the bishopric of Fortunatianus (355–368), as a result of his political indecision. When neighbouring western Pannonia was struck by a wave of Arianism coming from eastern Pannonia and from Moesia a battle for the 'true' faith took place at Aquileia, and it was in fact the Synod of Aquileia of 381 which brought about the decisive defeat of Arianism in Illyria.

Ecclesiastical Organisation

Only after this victory, in the last decades of the 4th century, was the ecclesiastical organisation completed with the integration of the fundamental network of bishoprics (in theory every Roman city had a bishop's seat) and the configuration of the metropolitan system. Almost all the territory where at a later stage the Alpine Slavs would settle, as well as Istra and Venice, were part of the metropolitan church of Aquileia as early as the 4th century, even though the bishop of Aquileia gained the title of '*metropolitanus episcopus Venetiae*' only in 442.

The irresistible rise of Christianity during this time is also documented by the material sources. The second half of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century was in fact a period of intense construction of churches in the territory of Aquileia and Istra (Aquileia, Grado, Trieste, Poreč, Vrsar/Orsera, Pula). Evidently all the Christian communities in the cities, and also in major towns in the countryside, had their own seats of worship, in major cities even many seats.

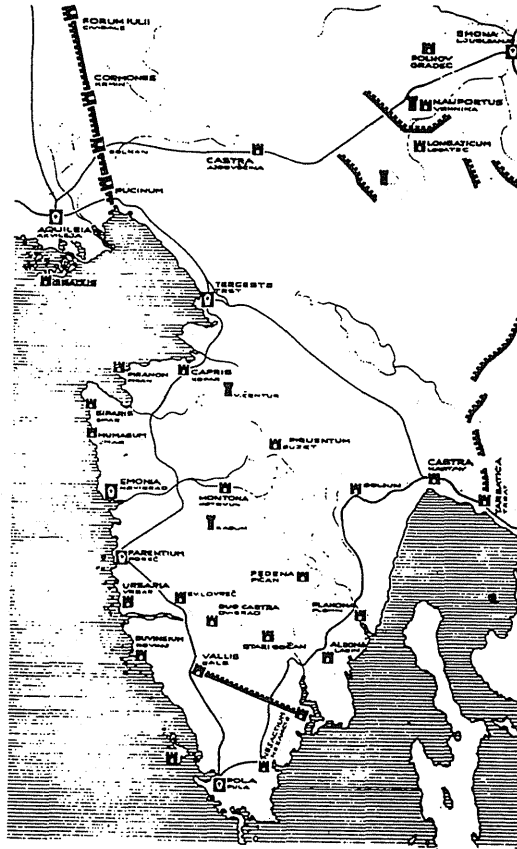
In this period the church of Aquileia reached its maximum splendour, which manifested itself also in the flourishing of Christian literature, which grew in the circle of ascetics in Aquileia after 370. The highest expression of such literature was the great Jerome, born in the locality of Stridone, at the meeting of Istra, Pannonia and Dalmatia. Stridone is also the medieval name of the village of Zdrenj/Sdregna near Buzet, where the majority of Italian historians in the past placed the birthplace of the saint. However, the place of birth of this famous Christian writer has been much debated by ecclesiastical writers and recently R Bratož, in an extract from his book *Zgodovina Cerkve na Slovenskem* (History of the Church in Slovenia), published in 1991, has accepted the latest theory, in his opinion well-founded, according to which the place was located in the area of Čičarija, between Starad, Šapjane and Žejane.

Up to the end of the 6th century the following bishoprics were established in Istra: Trieste, Koper/Capodistria, Novigrad/Cittanova, Poreč, Cissa (?) and Pula, and up to the 10th century Pedena (Pičen) also, in central Istra. The areas of jurisdiction of the medieval dioceses became the basis for the administrative arrangements and delineation of borders in the centuries to come.

THE MIDDLE AGES

The Völkerwanderung and the Fall of the Western Roman Empire

The beginning of weakness was already heralded by the eruption of the Goths and the Alans, who in 378 destroyed Poetovio and Stridone. Various barbarian populations now started to exert pressure on the frontiers of the Roman empire, more so after the abandonment of the defensive line on the Danube in 395. In the same year the empire was definitively split between that of the West and that of the East; the latter, with fluctuating fortunes, managed to survive for another thousand years.



Fortified Roman sites in Istra according to B. Marušić (A. Sonje, *Putevi ...*)

A Brief History of Istra

Despite the constant incursions and pillages that these wandering populations imposed on Italy during this age of migrations, Istra did not experience such horrors in the 5th and the first half of the 6th century, thanks above all to the fortified line of the defensive wall that went from Trsat to Planina.

The fall of the Western Roman empire (476) and the reign of the Germans, in particular the Goths, in Istra and in Italy did not result in significant social changes. The situation in Istra in this transitional period is very clearly described in the letters of the chief administrator of the Gothic princes, the praetorian prefect and Senator Cassiodorus. In a letter to a certain Paulus, written between 533 and 537 he orders '...that the soldiers should not run out of wine, and Paulus should buy it in Istra where the vine has given a rich harvest.' From subsequent letters we come to realise that Istra was 'very rich in 537.' Therefore the senator, who had heard of the abundant harvest from many travellers, ordered that for the season 537-538 there should be exacted instead of taxes 'products equivalent to the money they would have had to pay in cash' and that there should be sent 'from the Royal treasury enough cash to buy as much of the said grain as is possible to buy without causing (the Istrans) damage.'

Byzantine Rule

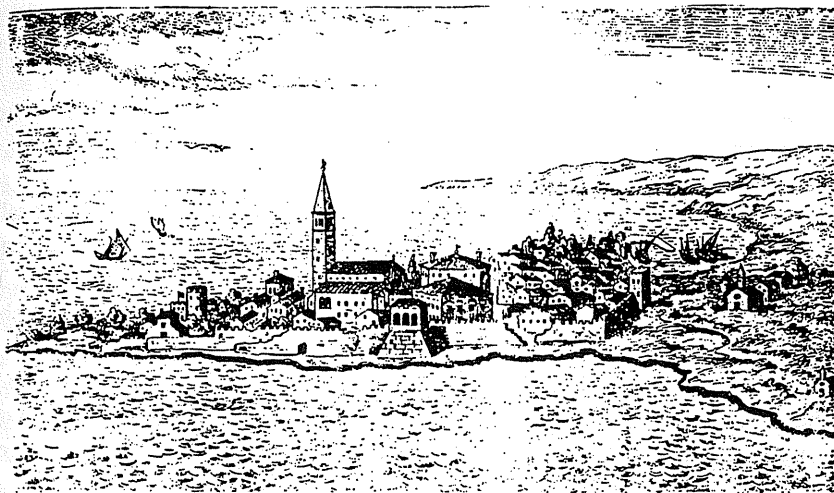
When in 538-539 Istra passed to the Byzantine rule of the Eastern Empire it was, from an administrative point of view, under the exarchate of Ravenna together with Venetia. The civil and military governments in Venetia and in Istra were at first separate, while the cities maintained their municipal arrangements. However, when enemy incursions into Istra began in the second half of the 6th century, in particular by the Lombards after 568 and successively by the Avars and Slavs, considerable changes in administrative arrangements took place. Civil and military government was united and the military commander, the *magister militum*, was named head of the province. He also became also the civil administrator of the province (*iudex provinciae*). At the head of cities *tribuni*, *vicarii* and *lociservatores* were appointed.

The Byzantines clashed with the Franks on the Istran borders as early as the middle of the 6th century, that is, before the advance of the Lombards into Italy, which was contained till 568 by the Roman defensive strip from Trsat to Ajdovščina. This strip comprised two lines of defence along the north-west frontier of Istra, and hence it is easy to suppose that in the Byzantine period also, the administrative border of Istra also ran along the line of defence of the so-called *numerus Tergestinus*.

The situation changed after the irruption of the Lombards, of the Avars and especially of the Slavs who, at the beginning of the 7th century reached the southern

The Middle Ages

part of the peninsula. From here Byzantine power stretched to the east only as far as Raša and Učka, to the north as far as the southern hills of Čičarija and Buzet and, of course, along the coast as far as the Trieste valley. Thus Istra was separated, not only in a political sense but also in a cultural sense, into completely different areas.



Novigrad/Cittanova

The Lombards, moving from the Pannonian plain to that of Friuli, invaded Northern Istra also, in particular the hinterland of Trieste, where they raided and settled some of their people. It was under their rule in 599 that the Istrans began for the first time to be terrorised by the joint invaders, the Avars and Slavs, who made their first appearance in this province in 599, as it is recorded in the letters of Pope Gregory I. In the following years the Slavs, together with the Lombards (602) or on their own (611), plundered Istra, clashing with the Byzantine army and especially with the militias of the cities. Archaeological finds and contemporary historical sources show no further traces of settlement on a larger scale, since the few Slavs who settled down became Romanised within a short time, particularly under the influence of religion. A small amount of archaeological evidence proves that Slavs were employed as mercenaries in the town militias and along the defensive belt of the bishopric of Koper/Capodistria and Novigrad/Cittanova on the Mirna, which to the north-west continued on the Istrian karst towards Trieste.

The influx of Slavs into Istra came from two directions: from due north there came the ancestors of the Slovenians, and from the east and by sea the ancestors of the Croatians. They must have been successfully held back in their advance by the defensive organisation of the so-called *Numerus Tergestinus* that went from the river Timav through the Istran Karst to Kastav.

In the areas behind this defensive complex, the cities formed further units of defence. Up to the Frankish conquest of Istra in 788, the Slavs had managed to settle only in the northern part of the peninsula, in the area between the sources of the Rižana, Dragonja and Mirna in the environs of Buzet and in the zone north-east of Raša, where to this day, Mt Perun above Mošćenice/Moschiena reminds one of the pagan Slav period. Relevant to this is the report that Pope John IV (640–642) sent the abbot Martin to Istra and Dalmatia in order to rescue the slaves who had fallen into the hands of the pagans. It is generally known that the Slavs, after their arrival in the areas at the foot of the Alps, did not convert to Christianity for a long time. The reasons for this are to be found in the lack of action on the part of the church of Aquileia. Although it was charged with spreading the Gospel in these territories, the church was instead caught up, from the second half of the 6th to the end of the 7th century, in more serious problems with the so-called ‘Schism of the Three Chapters’ or simply ‘Istran schism’, from the name of the region in which it lasted the longest.

The Istran Schism

In the middle and in the second half of the 6th century, above all because of the caesaro-papism of Justinian and of the efforts for unity within the Church, the church of Aquileia (and initially also that of Milan and of most of the churches in the West) split away from Rome and from Constantinople. It was a movement not founded on differences of dogma, that is on “heresy”, but rather a manifestation of the desire to protect internal autonomy.

Various internal and external political factors contributed to the spread and duration of the schism in Istra. International factors manifested themselves principally in the continuous quarrelling and tests of strength between the Byzantine and Lombard States in the upper Adriatic, after the former was left only with the territory of Istra and the narrow coastal strip between Aquileia and the rapidly expanding town in the Venetian lagoon. Contemporary chroniclers defined the Byzantine territories in the upper Adriatic, from the administrative point of view, simply as Istra. Meanwhile the Franks, a danger to both States, were coming threateningly close to these territories.

Internal political events were reflected mainly in the continuous rivalry and clashes between the patriarchate of Aquileia and that of Grado for metropolitan power over Istra, until at the council of Mantua of 827 it was assigned to the patriarchate of Aquileia. The establishment and at the same time the separation of the patriarchate of Grado from that of Aquileia took place in 568 when the first head of the schismatics, Paulinus, bishop of Aquileia, fleeing from the advancing Lombards took refuge in Grado bringing with him the treasures of the church. The patriarchs of Grado for some time regarded themselves as the legitimate heirs of the patriarchs of Aquileia, seeing that the latter resided at Cormons and later at Cividale and Udine, that is to say always in Lombard territory. They used them to provoke dissension in the Byzantine State and in Istra, which was entrusted to the patriarchate of Grado.

There was also significant pressure from the Pope, who in the last decades of the 6th century succeeded, with the help of Byzantium, in breaching the formerly tight ranks of the schismatic bishops. However, in 590 at the 'Synod of the Ten Bishops', held at Marano in Byzantine territory, the schismatic bishops readmitted to their ranks the patriarch of Aquileia, Severus. He, together with the three Istran bishops of Trieste, Poreč and Cissa, had revoked his adhesion to the schism because of pressures and violence from the Byzantine authorities in Ravenna, but now he again joined it.

Lastly one must not forget that danger from the Avars and Slavs, which forced the Christian communities of today's Slovenian zones to emigrate to the more secure provinces under Byzantine rule, was also an important factor. Almost certainly the politico-religious crisis in the cities of northern Istra (most of the bishops of Pula did not adhere to the schism) was linked to the arrival of (?catholic) refugees from the continental hinterland. This vigorous and unpleasant test of strength, which did not abate till after the decline of the Lombard State at the end of the 7th century, is demonstrated by what happened to the catholic bishop Johannes who came from Pannonia and in 599 (or a little earlier), was named bishop of Novigrad/Cittanova ('New Castle'; in late Latin sources also *Neapolis* or 'New City', in medieval sources *Emon(i)a* and *Civitas Nova*), only to be thrown out later by the schismatic bishop Severus. There were similar controversies in Koper. In this city (which for ecclesiastical purposes was united with Novigrad) the patriarch Severus expelled Johannes the bishop of Novigrad, and appointed as bishop a schismatic whose name is not known. But the new bishop, together with the citizenry, soon turned to Catholicism and broke off relationships with the schismatics. More evidence of this struggle is to be found in Trieste where Bishop Firminus turned catholic in 602, although the schismatic patriarch inspired much resistance in the population.

The Lombard Conquest

The Lombards now had one final spurt in the development of their State. In 751 they defeated the Byzantines and conquered Ravenna, the centre of Byzantine power in the upper Adriatic. During those years Lombard rule was established for a brief period in Istra too. The Istrans regarded it as a regime of terror and brazen exploitation and therefore they looked forward to a return of Byzantine government, which happened after the Lombard defeat by the Franks in 776. The unexpected conquest of Ravenna was of more advantage to Venice, since from then on the Venetians were no longer required to seek confirmation of the appointment of their Doges from Byzantium, but could elect them independently. It cannot, however, be said precisely when and how Venice became completely free of Byzantine domination.

Administrative Arrangements under the Germanic Princes

The Franks, after their victory over the Byzantines in Italy in 788–789, obtained Istra 'on the negotiating table' rather than by military occupation. With their arrival, the need for land defence ceased until the Hungarian incursions at the end of the 9th and the first half of the 10th century. To the north, a legacy of the defeated (776) Lombard State was a solid border between Friuli and Istra on the Timavo river.

This does not mean, however, that Friuli and Istra were not united in other ways into a single state. At the State Council of Aquisgrana in 828 the new Bavarian sovereign Louis or Ludwig the German removed the marquis of Friuli, Balderic, because of his failures to defend it, and '*divided the marquisate, over which he had reigned alone, amongst four counts.*' As established by B. Grafenauer, these counties were the Friulan Marquisate (which did not encompass the whole of Friuli), Istra including the Triestine Karst to the Valley of Vipava and Snežnik, the county which stretched along the Sava (this is the time when the future Kranj/Carniola area took shape), and lower Pannonia to the north of the Drava.

More specifically, after the treaty of Verdun in 843 when the nephews of Charlemagne divided the empire amongst themselves, the eastern frontier of the Realm of Italy was fixed at the eastern boundary of Istra as far as the Triglav/Tricorno. Lothar gained Italy, which included Friuli and Istra while the German Ludvic gained the kingdom of the eastern Franks, as a result of which until 952 the eastern border of Friuli and of Istra also represented the political frontier between the two states, that is between the two different juridical and formal systems.

For the further development of events the year 952 is important. This is when King Otto I, in the context of organising a defence against the Magyars, excised Istra

and Friuli (the Margraviate of Verona) from the Kingdom of Italy and included it in the Duchy of Bavaria. Thus Germanic influence became reinforced in Istra. It increased further when the emperor Otto II formed in 976 the autonomous Duchy of Carinthia which did not include Bavaria, although Istra and the Margraviate of Verona were part of it.

Within the Duchy Istra had an independent provincial role, as is evidenced by the fact that its dukes were often referred to as Dukes of Carinthia and Istra, such as for example Adalberon in 1000 (*dux Carentani et Hystriae*'), or his successor Conrad (who held the '*ducatum in Carentano et in Histria*'), while in the separate provinces counts or marquises ruled. Istra was definitively designated as a separate marquise when the Germanic emperor Henry III, wanting to weaken the influence of the dukes of Carinthia, gave it in fief to Ulderic of Weimar (1040–1070). On that occasion Istra was augmented by the addition of the territory to the east of the Raša up to Rijeka and so what is still today the eastern border of the region became fixed in a geographic and administrative sense. However, for over a century already it had not included Trieste and its hinterland within a radius of three Frankish leagues (21 kilometres) which was an enclave separated from the provincial administration and entrusted to the bishops of Trieste.

After Ulderic of Weimar, the position of feudal lord of Istra was held by the following: Marquard of Eppenstein (deceased 1076), the patriarch of Aquileia Sigard (1077), Henry of Eppenstein (1078), Popon and Ulderic Weimar–Orlamünde (1090–1102) the Spanheims (1112–1173) and the Andechs–Meranskis (1173–1208). As a rule all of them were simultaneously marquises of Carniola and Istra.

Social Relationships in the State of Charlemagne

Frankish rule radically changed social relationships in Istra. It broke up the Roman–Byzantine arrangements and introduced feudalism, although the process took some time. The cities lost their jurisdiction over the surrounding territories, in accordance with the Frankish policy which considered all publicly owned land to be the property of the crown. At the same time the citizens were exposed to the absolute power of their bishops. The Franks divided the province into *centene* headed by a Frankish administrator residing in Novigrad. When the Frankish duke Johannes started to seize properties, to impose various taxes on the citizens and to settle Slavs within the territories of cities, the citizens of Istra appealed to the central authorities. Their complaints were examined at a meeting in Rižana near Koper in about 804—in the presence of envoys representing Charlemagne.

A Brief History of Istra

In the agreement which was reached between the feudal Frankish power and that of the municipality, the autonomy of the cities was recognised, but their lands in the countryside were not returned. As for the Slavs, Duke Johannes committed himself to expelling them if they should cause any damage or make a nuisance of themselves. In any case, the Rižana agreement marked a success for the Istran cities only for a brief period since feudal social relationships continued to develop and to strengthen. Above all the power of the Church was growing, together with that of the bishops (especially in Trieste, Poreč and Pula) and that of the abbots—to whom the Frankish lords granted various properties and privileges, in expectation of their support.

Regional Political Events

The feudal lords in Istra found themselves far from the centre of the State, and since they wanted to be involved in what was happening in Germany they were often absent, leaving the administration of Istra to their lieutenants.

The result was a weakening of central authority in Istra, a fragmentation of the administrative units and the formation of feudal fiefdoms. As the bishops and the abbots were also in no position to exercise direct power in their possessions, they entrusted the management to their lay representatives (*advocati*), while leaving defence to the individual feudal lords. In time this 'defence' resulted in the loss of the properties. Thus in the second half of the 12th century count Maynard of Schwarzenberg became lord of central Istra, laying the foundation of what would later become the County of Pazin/Pisino. On the basis of succession rights at the end of the 12th century this jurisdiction passed to the counts of Gorizia.

In a similar way there came about the jurisdiction of Duino/Devin in the north-west of the Istran peninsula. As the representatives of the patriarchs of Aquileia the Duinans obtained many fiefdoms on the Istran-Slovenian karst. In the first half of the 12th century they extended their power over the fiefdoms of Rijeka, Kastav, Veprinac and Mošćenice, which belonged to the bishops of Pula. This coastal fiefdom was also referred to as Merania.

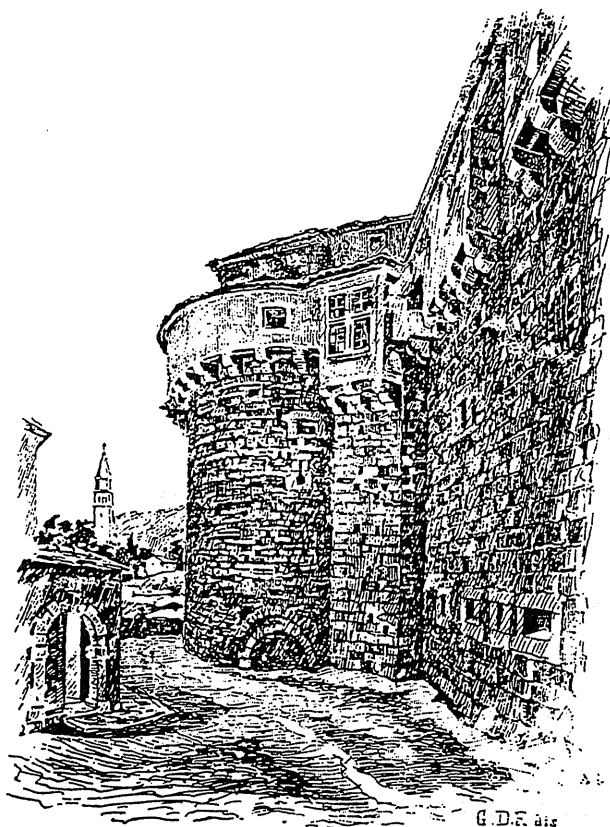
The cities on the west coast of Istra contributed to the weakening of the single feudal power in the region. With the aim of gradually regaining their hinterlands and thus developing undisturbed their sea trade, the cities tried to free themselves as much as possible from direct subjection to the feudal power. Venice, which from the 9th century succeeded Byzantium in the Adriatic, intervened in the relationships between Istran towns and imposed her will on them.

The Middle Ages

Contacts between the Istran cities and Venice in the Xth Century.

In the 9th and 10th centuries the Istran towns and Venice had enemies in common, i.e. the Croats (who in 876 attacked Sipar, Umag, Novigrad and Rovinj) and the Saracens. The leading role in the fight against them fell to Venice, a situation that she knew how to exploit. So in 932 Koper, already the most important Istran partner of Venice, undertook to the Venetian doge to supply him each year to the end of his days with 100 amphoras of wine, to offer protection to Venetian citizens in Koper and to resolve the problem of the debts claimed by Venetian citizens.

Pazin, the castle



Since these were accords between two cities belonging to different States and without the consent of the imperial authorities, the treaty of Koper/Capodistria was not accepted by the self-proclaimed 'Marquis of Istria', Wintker, who banned the payment of debts claimed by the Venetian citizens and started to usurp their properties and to sack Venetian ships. After economic sanctions from Venice, the peace of Rialto, achieved in 933 between the representatives of the Istran cities and the Marquis, was a victory for Venice and the confirmation of the privileges she had already acquired on the Istran coast. In addition, the Istrans undertook to give timely warning to Venetian citizens in Istra in case they should be threatened by bellicose acts on the part of the king of Italy.

The renegotiation of the treaty between Venice and Koper in 977, only a year after the foundation of the Duchy of Carinthia (976), proved how independent the conclusion of accords between Istran cities and Venice could be. Beside reconfirming the privileges acquired by Venice in 932, Koper promised its neutrality in the event of a war between Venice and the Istran cities.

The Economic Growth of the Cities and the Venetian Sphere of Influence

The Venetian domination of the Adriatic manifested itself again when during a punitive naval expedition against pirates from Croatia and the Naretva (to whom Venice for almost a century had to pay custom duties in order to sail the Adriatic freely) the Doge Pietro Orseolo visited Pula and Porec in the year 1000.

After this expedition, the Venetian doge assumed the title of Lord (*Dux*) of Dalmatia, and under this name in Venice every year, on the night of the Assumption, he conducted the ceremony called 'Wedding of the Sea'.

In the succeeding period, free of the clashes between the pirates and Venice, the Istran cities experienced a gradual economic boom (also related to the Crusades), with growth in agricultural production, above all oil and wine, with further development of fishing, salt production and the realising of rich profits from sea trade.

However, this growth brought them again into conflict with Venice, first in 1145, when it was Pula, Koper and Izola (which belonged to Koper) which opposed Venice. Once they were defeated, the Istran cities were obliged to swear "the oath of loyalty" (*facere fidelitatem*) to the Doge and they had to undertake to supply military aid to the Venetian navy. A second attempt at opposition by Pula took place (1149) and a second oath of loyalty followed (1150) which was also taken by other towns that had taken part in the revolt: Rovinj, Poreč, Novigrad and Umag. The Istran

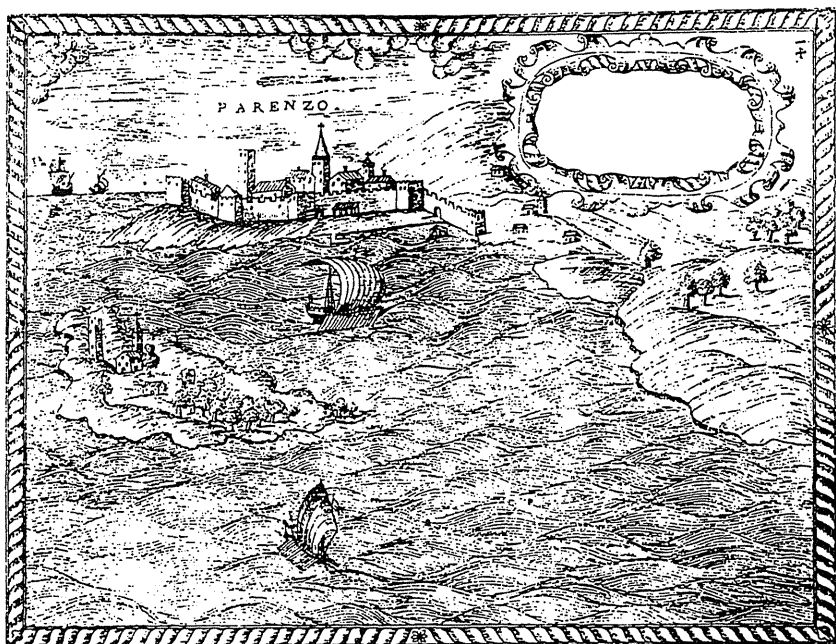
towns were forced to promise ships as military aid and payments of tribute (generally olive oil). The importance that Venice attached to the subjugation of the towns between Savudrija and Premantur is proved by the grand welcome given in the lagoon city to the victorious troops and to the war leaders Morosini and Gradenigo. The Venetian Doge assumed on this occasion the title of *Istriae dominator*.

After an untold number of clashes with Venice (1195) the citizens of Pula were obliged to tear down their city walls. Meanwhile, Koper exploited the resistance of the Istran cities, remained loyal to Venice and in exchange in 1182 obtained a monopoly of salt on the Istran coasts for a period of 29 years – becoming in this fashion the only port between Gradeza and Pula where salt carried by ships could be unloaded. In this way Koper received that fundamental privilege which in decades to come this city, aided by Venice, was to use, thus establishing its economic pre-eminence among the Istran towns.

The Municipal Institutions of the Cities

Even though the political situation was precarious, as a result of the economic independence and absence of the feudal lords, the cities were approaching administrative autonomy. In contrast to the cities of the interior which had been founded by feudal lords and from whom alone they could obtain communal rights (in Slovenia from the 13th century onwards), the coastal cities preserved the basis of administrative autonomy from as far back as late antiquity. During the Byzantine era the administrative autonomy of the cities was on its way to extinction, but it never totally disappeared. Proof of this are the elected judges (*iudices*) who under the Franks were called *scabini*. At the head of the cities were the so-called *locopositi*, nominated by the central power, who, becoming gradually integrated into the fabric of city society, accepted also from it the relationships which united the communities.

In the 12th century began a process of liberation from the power of the bishops and of the local feudal lords, something in which the cities of northern Italy had taken the lead. Soon these influences spread to the Istran towns. The Commune was constituted at Koper in 1186, at Piran in 1192, at Porec in 1194, at Pula in 1199, at Trieste and Muggia in 1202. The citizens autonomously elected their Consuls, their Rectors, and later their *Podestà* (mayors)—the first being that of Koper in 1186. Even some of the major villages which did not have the status of city, succeeded in freeing themselves from the feudal power of bishops and to establish local autonomy. In Istra the status of city (= *civitas*) was held only by localities that had already obtained the municipal privilege in antiquity or during the Byzantine period and which, at the



Poreč in the XIIIth century

same time, were the seats of bishops, that is Trieste, Koper, Novigrad, Poreč, Pula and Pičen; however, in some of these cities the authority of the bishop was suspended and reinstated, as for example in Koper, while it is not clear what happened to the rather ancient episcopate of Cissa.

Thus in the cities power passed from the bishops, who had governed all the inhabitants, to the elected lay rectors who at first, like the bishops, had to submit to the will of the body that had the ultimate power – the *Arengo* (assembly of all free citizens). The evolution of these organs of government resulted in the exploitation of their mandate by the most distinguished and wealthy citizens who in time ‘raised themselves’ above the rest of the citizens, partly to manage the community of citizens in a simpler way. This is how the Councils of Citizens came about. On the Venetian model, at the end of the 13th century the members effected the so-called ‘*serrata*’ (closing) of the councils which entailed the refusal to admit representatives of

The Middle Ages

new families in the city. These were admitted only at times of grave declines in population caused by epidemics which decimated the nobility as well.

Almost the opposite was the fate of the bishopric of Koper, which according to chroniclers already existed in 524, when it was held by the first bishop and protector of the city, the legendary St Nazarius.

The existence of the episcopate is attested by sources in 599 (Bishop Johannes) and later in the middle of the 8th century with two bishops, Johannes and Senator. In the intermediate period, up to the re-foundation of the episcopate of Koper in 1186 (which subsequently lasted continuously to 1830, that is till the union with the diocese of Trieste), the bishopric was entrusted to nearby Novigrad, Gradeza and Trieste. However, the city did not lose its bishop's seat and many historians explain the absence of the bishop by the lack of means for his upkeep. The renewed

Piçan, gateway



occupation of the bishop's seat became possible only in 1186, thanks to the Commune of Koper which assigned to the episcopate some physical assets (the localities of Lopar, Padna, Bric and Sermin and 1000 terraces of vines). This was at a time when the Commune, which was beginning to establish itself as an autonomous administrative unit, needed the episcopate mainly for confirmation of its own power.

Istra under the Patriarchs of Aquileia

At the time of the last feudal lay lords of Istra, the Spanheims and the Andechs-Meranskis, the cities elected their rectors freely. Moreover, the cities stipulated commercial agreements 'at great distances', of the kind that Piran for example made with Dubrovnik in 1188 and with Split in 1192, and Porec with Dubrovnik in 1194, or they independently resolved conflicts, as happened in the case of the peace treaties between Labin and Rab and between Piran (threatened by troops from Koper) and Rovinj in 1210.

Such freedom in decision-making of the cities was significantly curtailed by the patriarchs of Aquileia to whom Istra was given in feud by the German emperor in 1208. Patriarch Volfer began to appoint his representatives in the cities and in the main boroughs. In Koper there resided for a certain time the *potestas marchionis* who had his seat in the Palace of the Praetors, in Pula we had the *comes regaliae*, while in later periods the administrators of the patriarchs of Aquileia were given such titles as *gastaldo* ('principal' – *generalis gastaldus*), judge (*richtarius*) and margrave (*marchio*).

Despite the fact that the Marquis exercised his power over the whole of Istra, the possessions of the counts of Gorizia in central Istra and those of the Duinos in the Kvarner remained outside the jurisdiction of the patriarchs of Aquileia. Nonetheless, the patriarch of Aquileia, Bertoldo Andechs, obtained from the emperor in 1220 the right to make arrangements regarding commerce, to exercise judicial power and to grant pardons and to mint coins, as well as the right to forbid the cities the election of a rector-podestà (especially if a citizen of Venice) without the previous assent of the patriarch.

Nevertheless, since the policies of the patriarchs were based on the constitution of a central power completely new in the marquisate of Istra, they inevitably led to rebellions of the cities on the west coast and conflicts with Venice. The latter, with help from Koper, succeeded in creating in 1230 a pan-Istran organisation, called *Universitas Istriae*, headed by a Venetian citizen. This league dissolved itself after only one year, because of Koper's attempt to impose itself upon other cities. The patriarch was not just a passive onlooker and in 1232 occupied the rebellious Pula,

while in 1238 he managed to get Koper on his side. In Pula the patriarch put his trust in the family of the Sergii to the point that one member, Nassinguerra, was appointed rector and administrator of the patriarch's possessions in the neighbourhood of the city – and thus was created the basis of the family's power. This policy led Pula to war with Venice in 1242. In the peace treaty the city undertook to accept a Venetian citizen as its rector and not to rebuild the city walls without Venetian permission.

Koper's Expansion in the XIIIth Century

The situation in Istra was particularly tense in the second half of the 13th century when Gregorio Montelongo (1251–1269) became patriarch of Aquileia. The authority



Map of the
bishopric of
Koper (P. Naldini,
Corografia ...)

of the patriarch was becoming weaker in the province, but it still had enough influence to determine political events in the cities.

At first the patriarch favoured the role of Koper on the one hand against Trieste and on the other against the coastal towns further south and the villages of the interior of the peninsula. Therefore he conceded to Koper in 1254 jurisdiction over Buje, Oportlje, Buzet and Dvigrado. In that same year Koper, at war with Trieste, conquered the territories of the episcopate of Trieste between Ospa and Rakitovca, inhabited mainly by Slovenians. Meanwhile Koper's influence on Piran and Muggia was growing. The situation became particularly tense in 1267 when Koper laid siege to Porec. The fact that the patriarch attempted to stop Koper's expansion by seeking the help of Alberto count of Gorizia indicates that the situation had got out of his control. However, his action turned out to be the wrong move since he lined up two powers against each other—both of which were inimical to himself. The Count of Gorizia and the Commune of Koper formed an alliance against the patriarch and in June 1267 the count had Gregorio Montelongo shut away in the convent of Rosazo in Friuli. Faced with this new alliance, Porec tried to protect herself by submitting to Venice on 27 June. As the alliance between Koper and the count of Gorizia was feared by other Istran towns, the example of Porec was followed by Umag (1269), Novigrad (1270), San Lorenzo (1271) and later also Motovun (1275). Venice did not alter anything as far as municipal authority was concerned, except that the podestà of the cities were selected from amongst Venetian nobles.

The *Serenissima* did not decide to take immediate action to confront the alliance between Koper and the Count of Gorizia, but preferred to gradually tighten a vice around them. Meanwhile the seat of the Patriarch of Aquileia was vacant from 1267 to 1274 and it was not until 1275 that the new patriarch Raimondo Torre signed a treaty with the allies, Koper and the Count of Gorizia, at Cividale. Those concerned promised to exchange prisoners and to settle the damages caused between 1267 and 1275, during the years of war, pillage and disorder.

The Venetian Conquest of the Cities of Northern Istra

Peace did not bring to an end the presence of the alliance of Koper and Gorizia in Istra. At Pazin in 1278 Count Alberto and representatives from Koper, in the absence of the patriarch but in his name, made an alliance against Venice and her Istran allies. They agreed the allocation of their sphere of influence, by which, in the event of victory, Koper would be given the control of the coastal towns, whilst the count would obtain the possessions in the interior of Istra. The allies took advantage of the

fact that Venice was engaged in the war against Ancona and after the siege of Motovun, which was valiantly defended, the count occupied San Lorenzo.

Then Venice struck with all her might. After the siege of Izola, crowned with success, they forced Koper to unconditional surrender. The city walls and towers were partly demolished. In spite of the fact that it had conquered Koper militarily, Venice treated it in the same way as other Istran towns which had 'submitted' to her.

In January 1283 the 'surrender' of Piran too was received by the Venetian *Maggior Consiglio*. This represented not only the definite end of the alliance between Koper and the count of Gorizia, but also the final erosion of the political autonomy of Istran towns—with only Pula, Trieste and Muggia preserving it—even though many attempts to regain autonomy occurred in later periods.

The Istran War

Peace had not yet come to Istra. At Muggia in March 1283 the count of Gorizia and the patriarch of Aquileia made an alliance joined also by Padua, Treviso and Trieste. On this occasion all the Istran towns that had submitted to Venice sided with her, including Koper where the party of the patriarch was still active. In this war, which Venice conducted mostly against the sea power of Trieste, Koper played an important role since the town was the seat of the *Capitaneus Istriae*, representing the embryo of the future military government which was centralised in Istra.

The war lasted, with an interruption between 1285 and 1287, until the end of 1291 when a truce was agreed. In the war, beside the coastal towns from Muggia to the Limski Channel, Venice conquered Antignana, a property of the patriarch in the interior of the peninsula, the area surrounding San Pietro in Selve, the castle of Groznan, property of the feudatory Pietrapelosa, whilst voluntary surrenders were received from Dvigrad, Buje and Muggia (definitively only in 1420). As reparation for war damage, the patriarch renounced his rights in the lost towns *de facto* only in 1307 and *de jure* even later, in 1420. The war left behind it great devastation and misery.

Venetian Rule

Although Venice let the individual cities it conquered have internal autonomy with a citizens' council headed by a Venetian podestà, from a military point of view it established as early as 1301 the provincial captaincy (*Capitano del Pasenatico*), located first in Porec and then, from 1304, at San Lorenzo in Pasenatico. Some historians, misled by the term, have assumed that the captain was responsible only for territories outside cities. Even though the cities had instituted the administrative

and judiciary structures within the ambit of their independent government, from a military point of view the *podestà* of the Istran cities were subordinates of the provincial captain, who also watched over the defensive system of the province. His duties included the training of military units (with the exception of Koper's) and regular tours of inspection of the province, during which he authorised inquiries, held trials and issued sentences. Often he also decided appeal applications in the second degree. Until 1584 it was possible to make further appeals against these decisions only in Venice. In that year an Appeal Tribunal (*Magistrato*) was instituted in Koper for Venetian Istra and for the islands of Cres and Losinj which had been under Venetian rule (except between 1358 and 1409 when they were under the Hungarian Crown) from 1145. The appeal tribunal of Koper was of fundamental importance in the transformation of Koper into the real chief town of the province - although Venice had previously on many occasions affirmed that it was its 'principal limb' there, '*Civitas Iustinopolis est principale membrum quod habemus in Istria*'.

The Duties of the Cities Towards La Serenissima

The centralised military government did not apply to the territory of Koper as far as the Dragon, therefore neither to Izola or to Piran—a territory which from a military and judiciary point of view was within the jurisdiction of the Podestà and Captain of Koper, where this title was preserved for the Rector up to the fall of the Republic of Venice. Koper was also the seat of the Consigliere or Cameriere for Istra, who mainly looked after military finances.

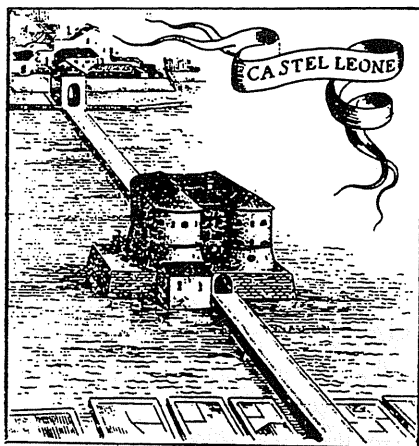
With the exception of Koper, which maintained a military garrison on its own, all other cities of Venetian Istra had to contribute to the provincial army 88 armed and mounted soldiers. As there was not a sufficient number of trained men in the province and since the law had up to then limited the enlistment of armed men, this contribution was changed into one of money instead, ie 40 *grossi* for each armed and mounted man.

Venetian rule over Istra showed itself also in the so-called *carratada*, that is to say a tribute in goods and services by owners of oxen, who every year had to produce for the Venetian Arsenal, free of charge, two and a half *tratte* of timber for each head of cattle they had. 7171 oxen were counted in Istra in 1542, but since the compulsory contribution represented a heavy burden, the owners began to sell the animals—which proved disastrous for the agriculture of the province. Therefore Venice changed the tribute to a poll tax levied equally on all the inhabitants of the villages. Istrans were in addition burdened with the duty, which went back to the 12th century, of providing

The Middle Ages

for the maintenance of ships used at first against enemies within the Adriatic and later mostly to stop contraband by sea.

Even though Venice appeared to dominate the Istran cities which had submitted to her, they gave Venice two far from insignificant doges (Pietro Tradonico in 836 and Pietro Polani in 1130) and ninety-one noble families.



Koper, castle (1278)

The Administration of the Cities

The Venetian *podestà* in the cities and in the *terre* (minor administrative units which did not have episcopal seats, but which had the right to independent government and hence to a *podestà*) governed on the basis of commissions of the Venetian senate and of the individual city statute which Venice, after the submission of the cities, generally made to conform to its own legislation. According to sources known up to now, the first statute of which there is knowledge is that of Koper from 1239, whilst amongst those that have been preserved the oldest statute is that of Piran from 1274, held at *l'Archivio regionale di Capodistria*. This is certainly the most ancient in Slovenia, and on the east coast of the Adriatic it is second only to that of Dubrovnik. The length of the term of office of a *podestà* varied between 16 months (in Koper) to 32 months (in Motovun).

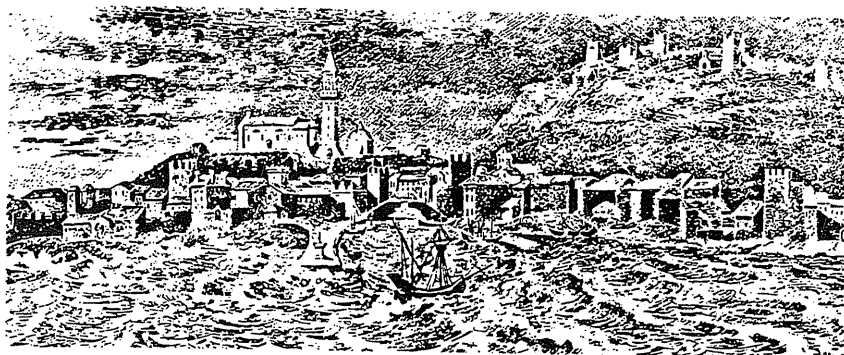
A Brief History of Istra

On the Venetian model, the aristocratic regime of the cities concentrated power in the hands of a few influential and wealthy families, eliminating the possibility of any influence from the populace. The result was an oligarchic power represented by the families of the nobility.

This oligarchy was to some extent restricted by Venice, because on the one hand it allowed the cities to have an independent government with a citizens' Council headed by an elected rector, and on the other it had established a centralised military government. In this way Venice exploited to the full the traditional conflicts amongst the cities and kept a brake on the province on the occasions of the revolts which occurred above all because of the restrictions she imposed on sea trade.

Nevertheless in 1348 Venice did not succeed in preventing the uprising of Koper, which was amply helped by the German feudal lords of the hinterland, headed by the Hapsburgs, by the counts of Gorizia and their Richemberg vassals. Having quelled the revolt, Koper suffered the consequences, which were very serious: Venice took away from the city its autonomy, suspending till 1394 the communal statute and only in 1403, with the restructuring of the Major Council, were communal rights returned to Koper. In 1423 the city was given a new statute, conforming completely to the needs of Venice, which did not contain regulations on the subject of penal justice. For those crimes, Venetian penal law applied directly.

In the south of the peninsula the Sergi family were able still to steer between the spheres of interest of Venice, of the counts of Gorizia and of the patriarchs of



Piran (G. Caprin, *L'Istria nobilissima ...*)

The Middle Ages

Aquileia who had ceded to the family the city castle, the *Castrum Pulae*, hence the familiar family name of 'Castropola'. Pula was turned into a fief of the family, however, when later the Castropolas let themselves be caught up in the conflicts with Venice (1318–19) and in the war with the counts of Gorizia (1331), their enemies rebelled and delivered Pula to the *Serenissima* who installed her rector therewith the title of Count. At the same time Venice conquered also Rovinj and Bale, so that it had in its power the whole south-west part of the peninsula. From then on Venetian conquest was to be directed towards the interior of the peninsula.

In 1358 the provincial captaincy was divided into two military garrisons, the first with headquarters at San Lorenzo, for the territory south of the Mirna, and the second



Koper: the arrival
of the Venetian
podestà Contarini
(XVIth century)

with headquarters at Grozňjan, for the territory between the Mirna and the Dragon—while the *podestà* of Koper kept all his previous responsibilities. When Venice conquered Rašpor above Buzet, both the captaincies were united in this locality. Even though the castle of Rašpor was destroyed during the Austro-Venetian war and the headquarters of the captaincy were transferred to Buzet, the officer in charge kept the title of Captain of Raspor.

The End of the Power of the Patriarchs over Istra, and their Administrative Heritage

The last of the Venetian conquests in Istra was that which followed the war with the Hungarian King Sigmund of Luxembourg. Venice had already engaged in a strenuous struggle with his predecessor over possessions in Dalmatia and Istra, to which Genoa was also a party as an ally of the Hungarian king. The Genoese, who had been fighting Venice since 1259 for supremacy in sea trade, attacked and devastated Koper not once but twice in 1380. They plundered, amongst other things, the sacred relics, the worst punishment that could be inflicted on a medieval city (they returned them in 1423), and in addition a fire in the archives destroyed the documentation of the office of the *Visdomini*, extremely important for the history of the whole of Istra. As on that occasion the patriarch of Aquileia had also sided with the enemy in 1420 Venice stripped him of all his possessions in Istra, namely Muggia, Labin, Plomin, Oprtalj, Buzet, Roč, Hum/Colmo and, lastly, the castle of Pietrapelosa near Buzet, which had for long been the Istran residence of the patriarchs of Aquileia, fell after sustained attack.

After this the Venetian Senate appointed the *podestà* in cities with episcopal seats (Koper, Novigrad, Poreč and Pula) as well as in the following towns and *terre*: Bale, Buje, Buzet, Grozňjan, Izola, Labin-Plomin, Milje, Motovun, Oprtalj, Piran, Rovinj, Sv. Lovrenc, Umag and Vodnjan. Fiefs were formed as specific administrative units which had their own administration of justice: Dvigrad (fief of Koper), Završje (Contarini), Vižinada (Grimani), Pietrapelosa (Gravisi), Momjan (Rotta), Račice (Boltristan or Walterstein), Svetvinčenat (Grimani) and Rakalj with Barbano (Loredan). In the 17th century the additional fief of Fontana was formed near Vrsar, a possession of the counts Borisi from Koper.

The lower range of administrative units, the castles (more numerous in the territory of Buzet, as many as 11: Roč, Hum, Draguč, Vrh) and the villages, had their specific administrative structures, inherited from as far back as the times of the patriarchs of Aquileia. At the head of the castles was the Zupan elected by the

Commune, assisted by 12 councillors, while in the villages he was assisted by two judges. Both in the feudal and communal possessions one of the minor posts was that of the *sbirro* (chief of police). In the middle of the 14th century Koper had 17 *sbirri* for the collection of taxes in the district. Many of them, as shown by the archives in Piran, originated from Kranj (Carniola). Both administratively and economically the villages were subordinated to the cities, in the same way as the Istran cities in turn were subordinated to Venice.

The County of Pazin and the Fief on the Kvarner

By 1374 the County of Pazin, formed in 1342, had been received in feud by the Habsburgs with a contract of succession. The same also happened in 1466 with the possessions in the north east of the peninsula, formerly held by the Duino family but at the time owned by the Walsees who had received in feud the lands between Brsca and Rijeka after the extinction of the house of the Duinati in 1399.

While in the western part of Istra city communes were developing and colonial relations were becoming more important, in the County of Pazin nobles and clergy did not have enough political power to establish independent administrative units. In Austrian Istra the feudal relationships were in large measure preserved. An urban population was practically non-existent, and as a consequence the towns (for example Pazin and Picen)—whose administrative structure differed considerably from that of the coastal towns and was more like that of towns in inland Slovenia—did not have administrative autonomy.

Already in the mid-14th century the County of Pazin was part of Kranj; however it enjoyed administrative and judicial autonomy till the reign of the emperor Leopold II (1790–1792). All the power was in the hands of the feudal lord, or more exactly of the captain who as the representative of the feudal authority resided in Pazin. This holder of the feud was flanked by a judge, whose jurisdiction also included the territories around Rasa, although they constituted feuds on their own inside the County (possessions of Lupoglav, Kosljak, Paz, Belaj, Čepić and Kršan). In 1578 the new assessment called the *urbario* was introduced, with increased taxes, and its introduction caused a general uprising, which ended badly for the peasants.

For centuries the Paleoslav liturgy was preserved here. It was written down in glagolitic characters, just as it was in the Kvarner territory and in various parts of Venetian Istra. Most of the priests too belonged to the glagolitic culture, and in the second half of the 16th century they accepted the new ideas for the reform of the Church and began to spread Protestantism in Slovenia and Croatia.

A Brief History of Istra

A specific captaincy existed for the territory of Završje/Piemonte, until the city came under Venetian control (1509). In the fief of the Kvarner too the captain was the representative of the feudal lord. His seat was at Kastav. Together with his council of judges, he gave judgement in the most serious cases and formed the court to which appeals following other trials by judges were made.



Pazin

The feud of Kastav was placed under the lord of Rijeka in 1474, but in 1583 it regained its independence. Then all the captaincy became part of Kranj, even though Kastav was already a part of it earlier. The situation in the captaincy deteriorated when the Jesuit college of Rijeka took possession of it (1630) and wanted to impose its authority by force. The old statute of Kastav was abolished with the imperial decree of 1635. Some unrest took place (1638), but on the basis of the decree a new statute was adopted (1640), in accordance with which the rector of the college of Rijeka became the overlord of the captaincy, with the right to appoint not only the captain but also both of the judges of Kastav. In 1661, however, the inhabitants of Kastav succeeded in obtaining from the government of Austria Interna a decree which, while in general confirming the preceding position, gave the Commune the right to elect one of the judges, while the other continued to be appointed by the rector of the college.

The Autonomous Commune of Trieste

As a result of repeated sieges by the Venetians, in 1382 Trieste definitively delivered herself to the House of Austria—to acquire, slowly but tenaciously, ever increasing importance in the subsequent centuries of Habsburg rule. Unlike the cities of Venetian Istra, Trieste had two types of magnates, the *patricians* and the *nobles*, while the third rank as in other cities was made up of the ordinary people (the *plebs*).

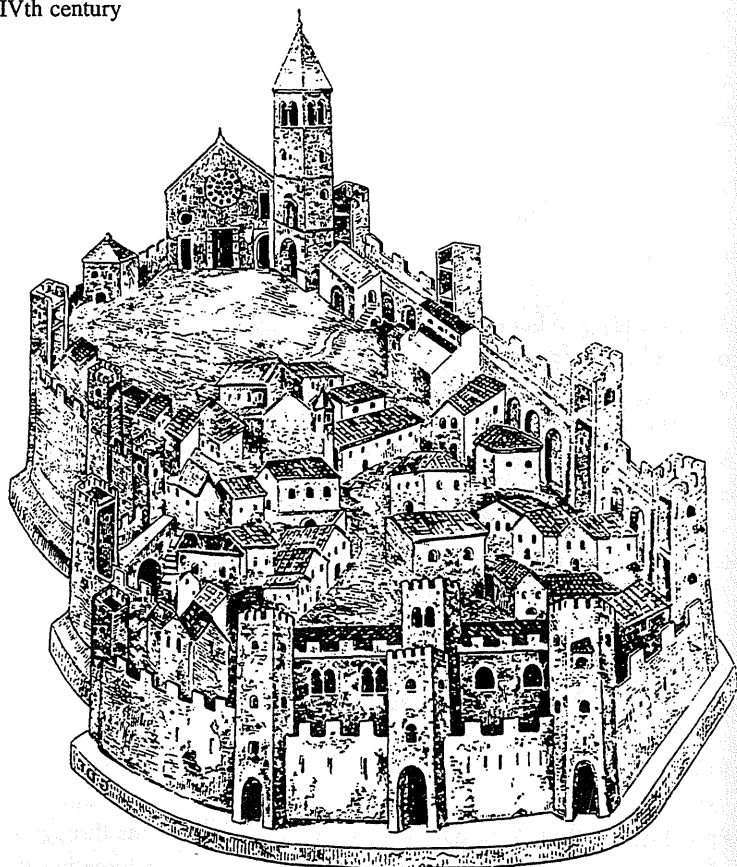
The patricians were the ancient Triestine nobility, made up of thirteen families to whom members of no other families could be added. The nobles were the new nobility. Both together formed the *Maggior Consiglio* (Great Council) of 180 members. From amongst these were elected the 40 representatives of the Lesser Council, the *Minor Consiglio* (in Venetian Istra minor localities did not have a *Minor Consiglio* but only a council of citizens, whilst in the larger cities the number of members of the *Minor Consiglio* was smaller). The latter had executive functions, while the *Maggior Consiglio* was the legislative body.

The Triestini elected their *podestà* in the *Maggior Consiglio* and entrusted him with the administration of civil and penal law. As in other coastal cities, in Trieste also various officials took part in the government: judges, syndics, executioners, valuers, supervisors of roads, chiefs of localities, attorneys, chiefs of police (*sbirri*), together with the functionaries of various public institutions (*Fontico, Monte di Pietà*), doctors, surgeons (*barbieri*), teachers and others.

The people participated in government with the Chancellor of the communal Palazzo and with the six heads of city wards. In 1350 the statutes of the city statute were drawn up on the basis of some earlier laws.

The Triestini did not at first enjoy particular privileges under the Habsburgs, even though the sea offered excellent possibilities for commerce. Therefore Trieste began its own aggressive commercial policy with its hinterland, compelling the merchants - often in bullying ways - to bring their goods through the city, resulting in many quarrels, conflicts and wars with the cities of Venetian Istra. The situation got worse in 1427 when Trieste bought from the count of Gorizia, for 2000 ducats, Novigrad on the Karst from where it could garrison without difficulty the roads that led to the coastal towns. For this reason in 1463 a war started between Trieste and Koper, or Venice, in which, in the absence of the German duke Frederick V (later to become the Emperor Frederic III), the Pope himself, Pius II, formerly the bishop of Trieste Enea Silvio Piccolomini, intervened on behalf of Trieste when the city was already on her knees.

Trieste in the XIVth century



The Habsburgs did not alter the city's constitution, except for appointing a captain to the highest office in the city in place of the *podestà*, and for giving him, besides the administrative and judicial functions of a *podestà*, military responsibilities in addition. Trieste enjoyed greater independence than the cities of Venetian Istra, since the city's *Maggior Consiglio* appointed two judges and the Rector, as well as other city public officials who in the Venetian cities were appointed by the Venetian *podestà*. The city officials in Trieste were engaged not only in general administration

The Middle Ages

but also in economic management. Civil and penal justice was entrusted to the *vicario*, the penal judge. This magistrature of the first and to some extent the second degrees (civic court of appeal), and also all the administrative tribunals, were under the central power of Austria Interna.

Autonomy began to decline only with the institution of a royal *Tribunal of Exchange and Commerce* (1722), soon followed by the *Commercial Management for the Austrian Coast* (1731, renewed in 1748) and with extensive reforms in the city statutes. The first wave of the Empress Maria Teresa's reforms did not bring about in Trieste anything like the profound changes that it did in other Austrian provinces. However Trieste too was gradually included in the provincial administrative system, as a result of which the civic administration developed into the city magistrature typical of other Austrian cities.



THE MODERN ERA

The Last Territorial Modifications Under Venice

The war with the league of Cambrai (the Pope, Spain, France and others) and with Austria from 1508 to 1516 resulted in the last territorial modifications, of a minor nature, before the fall of the Republic of Venice (1797). Venice obtained the German enclaves present in her territory, Hrastovlje/Cristoglie, Završje, Draguč and Barban, while she had to cede Črni Kal and, in addition Socerb, Mokovo, and Podgrad, conquered in 1463 as result of the war with Trieste.

(Cristoglie)
 Die xxv. septembris in loco andite
 xl. reg. a. Symonius de civitate cupis non in
 diei subterfugii munitur regalis non suo & p.
 diei mitali non pui de non, et ad. a. l. non
 a. d. nonis munitur. regis non illi non v. non
 a. l. g. Concordia d. nonis ad liquidationem l. p. non
 diei non de quib. i. non y. C. p. de liquidatione
 (Cristoglie) qui sunt de nonis septuaginta ductis. non
 diei referentibus ad summum. 2. v. qui fuerunt
 nonis de concordia in solidum. et p. nonis y.
 singula non. qui h. nonis capis in l. nonis
 summum nonis septuaginta equatur & solidum
 in. nonis. /

(Socerb)
 Die xvi. de i. nonis v. l. p.
 h. nonis y. a. Symonius & nonis filij de v. nonis
 in p. nonis nonis. diei nonis de nonis nonis
 nonis nonis. de l. nonis a. d. nonis munitur.
 nonis nonis illi nonis nonis de nonis. (concordia
 d. nonis ad liquidationem) nonis nonis p. nonis
 nonis nonis i. nonis de loco nonis. qui nonis nonis
 y. nonis referentibus ad summum l. nonis nonis nonis
 solidum nonis. p. p.
 y. nonis nonis Compensatio de loco nonis nonis nonis

Extract from the records relating to the settling of boundaries after the Austro-Venetian war of the XVth century (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Prov. alla camera dei confini, b. 232 f. 102v)

A Brief History of Istra

With the peace of Trento in 1535 a border was drawn, along which in subsequent centuries, because of continuous political attritions between two great European powers, Venice and Austria, confrontations occurred over bits of land no bigger than a handkerchief, or trees that had been felled or the village bog, and over every border stone, stolen sheep or torched field. Istrans on either side of the border, who spoke the same language, and traded and intermarried, became the object of subterfuge and political intrigue provoked by government ideologies which were to them completely incomprehensible.

War and Peace

However, there were also times of concord, especially in the matter of defence against the mutual enemy - the Turks. Their incursions began to strike the peninsula more heavily in the last decades of the 15th century. Those times represented a hard test not only for the inhabitants, but also for the states which shared the Istran peninsula. They became aware of this early and they often they organised a common defence of the region, in particular by exchanging information and by reinforcing the garrisons along the main roads. Though this route would have taken the Turks mainly through the Istran Karst and straight towards the rich Friuli, they became attracted also by the minor communities of the Istran countryside. They did not succeed in getting to the coastal cities, thanks to the good organisation of defences in the countryside, which however had to submit to all the horrors of their devastations. There is still today much evidence of the Turkish period, like the city walls around Piran, while the suffering they caused was depicted in 1490 in the frescoes of the church of Hrastovlje.

The unity of the inhabitants of the border areas was also evident in the case of military recruiting which was carried out by the authorities on both sides of the frontier. Young men who did not want to serve in military units (*cernide*) locally or elsewhere often avoided this unpleasant duty by taking refuge in the territory of the neighbouring State, where they found hospitality till the 'danger' had passed. Inhabitants along the border were obliged more than once to offer hospitality also to various refugees and criminals who were trying to escape the arm of the law. Co-operation amongst the border people extended also to times of pestilence, which often devastated the countryside.

The Economic Situation in Venetian Istra

The Istrans without doubt drew the greatest advantages from their collaboration with others in commerce. Capital derived from trade by sea and overland made its first

appearance in the cities as early as the start of the 13th century. Various lenders, Jewish and Florentine, appeared with available funds which they invested mainly in maritime commerce. Several maritime trading corporations were established and those which invested in the trade divided both the gains and the losses.

Already prior to the Venetian conquest sea trade was heavily monopolised. After the conquest it was regulated on two levels: that of imports and that of exports. For exports two rules applied: sea trade was arranged through the so-called *commissioni* of the Venetian Senate, whilst overland commerce was regulated through the statutes of the individual cities.

The extraordinary inconsistency of Venetian regulations showed itself for example even in the case of the most important item of Istran export: wine. This was produced in the whole of the province; however, its exportation to Venice was forbidden—unless accompanied by a special permit from the *podestà* which always entailed very heavy customs duties. Again, Istrans were at liberty to sell fresh fish anywhere, but their whole production of salted fish had to be sent to Venice. Thus Venice ensured it had plenty of victuals at a low price.

In agriculture, cultivation with biennial rotation of crops predominated. The agrarian economy was, apart from viticulture, tied to the growing of olives. Grain was insufficient and had to be imported for the best part of the year. The most fertile lands were chiefly worked by *coloni*, but their dependence on the land owners varied. In the lands surrounding the cities 'crop sharing' (*mezzadria*,) predominated; alongside this it was also common for land to be rented at an agreed price, as well as through the so-called '*livello*' that is the rental of land where the payment in cash or kind was established on the basis of the annual production, or sometimes on the basis of a fixed amount.

The living conditions of the *coloni* started to deteriorate in the period of economic stagnation and of the abandonment and depopulation of the countryside, that is, from the middle of the 16th century onwards. Although they were free men from a legal and formal point of view, the *coloni* could rarely choose a new landlord or leave the land that they had received. Even the new inhabitants, brought to Istra from Dalmatia by the Venetian authorities in the 16th and 17th centuries, in the majority of cases ended up as *coloni* and only a small number settled as free peasants.

For various reasons to be discussed later, amongst other things because of infectious diseases, from the mid-16th century onwards the exodus from the Istran countryside kept growing, but a population decline was evident also in the cities. The number of workers on the land was dropping sharply and the Venetian authorities, in

an attempt to remedy the situation, intervened declaring all abandoned lands to be state property (1556) and began to settle on them emigrants and refugees from Dalmatia and other Balkan provinces. A specific office of *Provveditore* was then established, the *Provveditore sopra beni inculti*, who every two years distributed abandoned land to immigrants. This situation continued until the middle of the 17th century. The measures taken resulted in a slow recovery of agriculture, but in some areas the raising of animals assumed too much importance compared with the cultivation of the fields.

Animal raising was traditionally dominated by small animals. Contracts of partnership (*socida*) based on a determined period (2–5 years) were frequent between the owners and the tenants, generally for raising small animals, cattle, pigs and bees. Most of the time the owner and the tenant shared equally the initial stock as well as the newly-bred animals, but this was not a fixed rule.

The Venetian coastal towns (principally Koper, followed by Piran, Muggia and others) had available many products from overseas brought there by Venetian merchants and others, but local products such as olive oil, wine and salt were also much appreciated. All this merchandise attracted the neighbouring merchants from the areas of Istra and Kranj. From the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 17th century, these peasant-carriers, using animals (*mussolati*) or carrying the goods themselves (*spalanti*), brought to city markets their products: grain, dried meat, skins, wood, metals - briefly all that was in demand in the Istran towns, and not only there, as these products often continued their journey towards the other side of the Adriatic.

After reaching a peak at the end of the 15th century, such commercial traffic suffered a large decrease during and after the so-called 'War with the Usocchi' or 'War for Gradisko', when the Republic of Venice and Austria clashed in order to achieve freedom of transit through mainland commercial routes in the case of Venice, and freedom of transit through commercial sea routes in the case of Austria. The reduction in traffic was due in part to the savage devastation between 1615 and 1617, when the adversaries did not spare each other, in part due to an Austrian attempt, at times using force, to favour the commercial routes that passed through Trieste, as well as to the decline of Venetian power.

Commerce and the Spheres of Influence of the Great Powers

Venice and the Habsburgs clashed soon after becoming neighbours in the 14th century. The background of these quarrels was formed mainly by commercial interests, in particular that of free circulation on the mainland, which was of interest



Mussolati in a storm (J.V. Valvasor)

to Venice, and the free navigation of the Adriatic, which was the aim of the Habsburgs. Almost all the wars and major clashes between the two rival powers in the upper Adriatic had this backdrop, including their last conflict on Istran soil at the beginning of the 17th century, as mentioned above.

Dating from at least the victory over the pirates from Croatia and the Narenta region at the start of the second millennium, Venice had considered the Adriatic as its property—so much so that it was simply referred to as the Gulf of Venice. She exercised a rigid monopoly on the commercial maritime policy of the Istran towns, laying down that their merchandise should almost exclusively be carried on Venetian ships and to her market. In this way she was able to apply an unusual customs duty. All the goods which left Adriatic ports had to make Venice the first port of call and only if they could not find buyers amongst the Venetian merchants were the owners

given a special permit to take their goods for sale elsewhere. Similarly, all goods that originated from outside the Adriatic had to be taken to Venice first for the same routine. Foreign merchants were obliged to spend the profits which they had realised in Venice on the Venetian market, not in the places they came from. Ships could not set sail from Trieste, for example, without first having paid taxes to the *podestà* and captain of Koper.

On the other hand the Austrians, by customs duties along the borders and later by having recourse to force with the groups of so-called *liberaiteri* (from *Ueberreiter*, superior knight), made all continental trade flow into the city of Trieste which had available products which were in demand, wine, oil, and salt, although at prices slightly higher than in the Venetian cities. Because of this, smuggling was rife, both on the sea and on the mainland, as has been excellently described in a Slovenian account of the character of Martin Krpan.

From an economic and political point of view, the most important development took place in 1719, when Trieste became a duty-free port, tipping the scales entirely in favour of Austria and having a decisive influence on the development of the Istran cities under Venice. From then on Trieste rapidly transformed itself into one of the more important central European ports and, with an incredibly fast demographic growth, it also occupied a prominent place amongst the European metropolises of the time.

The Ethnographic Aspect of Istra in the XVIIIth Century

Prospero Petronio, a Piranese according to some and a citizen of Koper/Capodistria according to others, wrote in 1681 an interesting description of the peoples who lived in the province. In this he followed in the footsteps of Tomasini, bishop of Novigrad—that great student of things Istran who preceded him by 50 years. The first, and the most numerous people were the Slovani, '*schiaivi whom others call Slavs*', who had come to Dalmatia or Schiavonia from what had formerly been Illyria: 'strong people fit for hard work'. They lived in all parts of the peninsula, so that the Slav language had become known to all and in many villages people did not know Italian at all. Peasants and farmers for the most part, they lived in the villages and in the countryside.

The second most numerous people were the Karni: artisans who spun wool and wove clothes for common people, but were also tailors, blacksmiths, shoemakers, stonemasons—in general employed in manual work. They were full of good sense and thrifty, so that in a short time many of them succeeded in bettering their material

The Modern Era

condition or even became rich. They were of pleasant appearance and their positive traits made them very useful to the province. They lived in the larger villages, in the castles and in the *terre*, but they had not arrived in the province before the Slavs. Similar to the Karni, whom many referred to as *Cargnelli* or *Karnjelli*, were the Friulans whose native land was not far away. Many Friulans settled for brief periods on the farms, on the *terre* or on single properties, where they worked for the season and afterwards returned home with their earnings.

The third group (*generatione*) was from Gradeza. They were born fishermen, very knowledgeable about the sea and navigation. They lived on the coast, at Umag, Novigrad, Poreč, Vrsar and wherever one could trade in fish and other products with nearby Venice. Simple people, of few words, they spoke a language similar to the ancient Venetian dialect. They were not inclined to be talkative and did not boast about their achievements on the sea. Many of them had become wealthy through commerce, they had bought properties in the country, they had mixed with the indigenous population and become citizens of the larger cities. For example out of 25 families in Novigrad, as many as 12 had come from Gradeza.

The fourth group were the new inhabitants, who had come from Albania and from other regions occupied by the Turks. Venice brought them willingly to the province. For over a century they had been subjects of the Captain of Rašpor, except for those in the territory of Pula who like the old residents were under the jurisdiction of the Provost and therefore were not dependent on the dispositions of the rectors of single town or castle.

Finally there was the indigenous population whose origins, because of numerous epidemics and wars, did not normally go back beyond 200 years. Therefore one could also treat as indigenous the Florentine, Bergamesque, Venetian and other immigrants who had quickly become acclimatised here.

During the last war with the Turks (known as the War of Crete 1645–1668) many Morlacchi (the name given to the nomads indigenous to the Balkan peninsula, of Latin origin but later Slavs by adoption) came to Istra. The Venetians had brought them to Istra from Dalmatia and from Albania (the Montenegrine coast was then part of Albania) They were prone to thieving and burglaries and caused disturbances, but with the passing of time they calmed down (or so Prospero Petronio tells us).

Fragments of Istran Ethnology

The rapid cultural growth in the cities did not for a long time, however, find a similar counterpart in the countryside where, in spite of the numerous migratory flows, the

A Brief History of Istra

Istrans preserved unchanged through the centuries above all their ethnological characteristics. In part this depended on the psychological characteristics of the old inhabitants who called the new arrivals *foresti* ('outsiders') and in this way kept them away from important events, forcing them to accept even more promptly the traditional usages and customs. To this unitary ethnological outlook the civic statutes which legalised some of the accepted usages contributed in large measure, as for instance that concerning 'marriage Istran style' that is as 'brother and sister' (*ut frater et soror*), in the sense that each married partner owned an equal share of their common property. This custom is supported in almost all civic statutes, whilst the agrarian law, cited only in the Capodistriian statutes, was, according to general opinion, valid at least in the countryside of Venetian Istra.

Of course many usages and customs were preserved only in specific areas, as happened for example with popular costumes and with the dialects, differing from one community to another, but other customs and superstitions of pagan origin were deeply rooted in the Istran people. As established by M. Tomšič in his literary works, Istrans share many magical stories, first amongst which are stories about sorcerers, witches and werewolves. The criminal trial against sorcerers and witches held in the environs of Kastav as late as 1716 says much about their resilience and at the same time about the persistence of the prosecutors. A colourful description of such beliefs was given by J. V. Valvasor in his book *Slava vojvodine Kranjske* (1689):

The people of the Istran countryside are firmly convinced that sorcerers suck the blood of children. This sucker of blood they call 'strigon' or 'vedavec'. They believe that after his death a 'strigon' wanders about the village around midnight, knocking at, or striking, doors and that someone will die within days in the house whose doors he has struck. And if someone dies during this period, the peasants insist that the 'strigon' has eaten him. Even worse is the belief of these gullible peasants that the wandering 'strigoni' furtively creep into their beds and sleep with their wives without ever letting out a single word. I am particularly concerned about the belief that flesh-and-blood ghosts somehow sneak into the houses and sleep with widows, particularly if they are still young and beautiful. They are so convinced of the truth of all this, that fear will not leave them till they can impale the 'strigon' with a pole from an ash-tree. With this in mind the bravest, determined to do it, wait until after midnight because before then the 'strigon' is not in the grave but wanders about. Then they go to the

The Modern Era

cemetery, open the grave and drive the pole, thick as a fist or a hand, through his belly, disfiguring him horribly. The blood now starts to flow and the body thrashes about as though it were alive and felt the pain. Then they close the coffin, bury it once again and go home.

This practice, of opening a coffin and piercing the corpse with a pole, is not unusual amongst the Istrans of the countryside, that is to say amongst the peasants. Although the authorities impose very severe penalties if they discover it, since it is against religious beliefs, nevertheless it takes place very frequently



Itran Costumes (J.V. Valvasor)

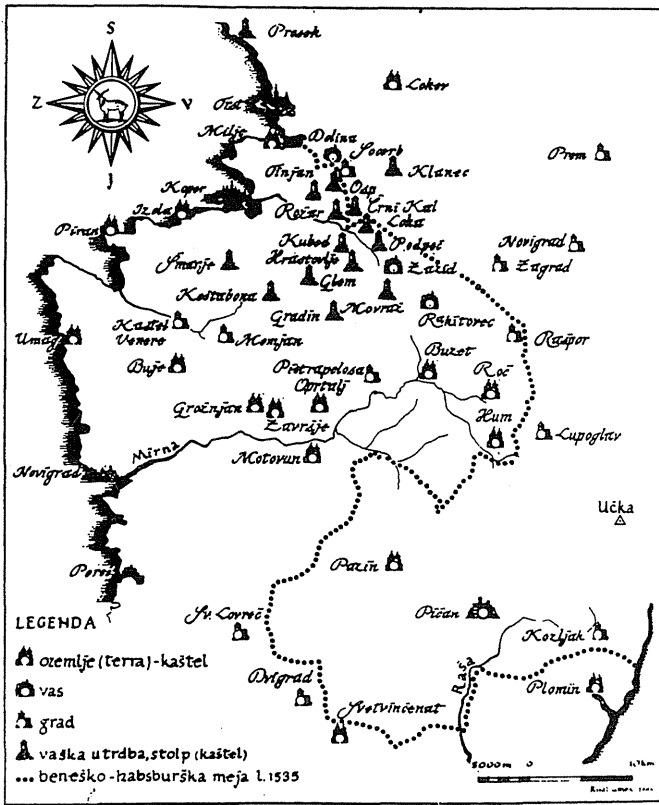
The Historical Background to the Ethnographic Perspective

Famines and wars were constants in the demographic changes in Istra. During the migration of peoples late in the ancient period, many populations in the course of their movements towards Italy had devastated above all the areas of the Karst. After the situation calmed down the Slovenians gradually settled in those areas (the Slav tombs discovered near Buzet and at Predlok are from the 9th–10th centuries), whilst the ancestors of the Croatians, who came from east of the Balkans, settled in the environs of Zminj. The Slav presence in the Karstic interior of Istra in the 11th century is attested by the toponyms *Cernogradus* and *Bellogradus* (1102) and, in the Pazin area, by the toponym Gologorica, while in 1030 the road which went from Pazin to Poreč was called 'Via Sclava' (and 'Via Sclavorum' in 1158).

This did not mean that Slavs lived along the road, but that they used it to come to the town for trade. So in Pula in 1145 there were persons named *Petrus Sclavus* and *Petrus Sclavus cum Arpo filio suo* (1149), at Muggia in 1202 *A. de Stoica, Radius, J. Sclavo* and others, at Piran in 1222 *Menesclavus*, and so on. In 1234 the village of Lonjer near Trieste is mentioned as 'Villa Sclavorum'.

The earliest compact territory populated by Slavs was undoubtedly the territory within the bishopric of Trieste from Ospa to Rakitov—which in the middle of the 13th century was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Community of Capodistria. Significant from our point of view is the part of the statutes of Capodistria which were drawn up in the second half of the 13th century, where many toponyms appear which are derived from names of plants or from the morphology of the soil, characteristic of the more ancient colonisation, e.g. Gabrovica, Crni Kal, Bezovica, Podpec, Zanigrad and Rakitovec. At the beginning of the 14th century, the Community of Capodistria issued a so-called agrarian law referring to peasants and/or Slavs (*Sclauus vel Rusticus, Sclauus aut Rusticus*), whilst in 1349 the Venetian Senate appointed the rector of the contado of Capodistria as 'Captain of the Slavs' (*capitaneus Sclavorum*). This position continued to exist right up to the fall of the Republic of Venice.

In the first half of the 14th century a remarkable and monumental document came into existence in the land of Istra. Referred to as the *Istarski razvod* or *Reambulazione istriana*, it had great political and linguistic significance. It saw the light chiefly as an act of demarcation of the borders in the interior of Istra between the masters of Istra at the time: the patriarch of Aquileia and the counts of Gorizia and Venice. It was drawn up in Latin, German and Croatian (glagolitic). The authenticity of the Croatian text is in doubt, many historians affirming that it was not written until the 16th century,



Defences of Koper and neighbourhood after 1535 (D. Darovec, drawn by A. Umek)

a conclusion confirmed by the study of M. Kos (1931), although this also proved that the text included older documents defining boundaries between various territories from the 13th century onwards. The numerous toponyms of the first half of the 14th century attest to the Slav and Romance presence with equal frequency in central Istra, although the remains of Histrian and German influences should also be noted.

Therefore the Slav inhabitants from the 12th to the 15th centuries were gradually approaching the Istran coastal towns, which on the other hand were not entirely of a Romance character. In Labin, for instance, from the 13th to the 15th centuries the Croatian language predominated and only under Venetian rule did the Romance language again overtake it.

A Brief History of Istra

The first immigrants from the Balkan peninsula, fleeing the advancing Turks, arrived in Istra as early as the first half of the 15th century. They were predominantly Romeni, nomads of Romance origin, indigenous to today's Serbia, Herzegovina and Bosnia, and the so-called Morlacchi, Vlachs who had for the most part adopted Slav culture. Amongst them there were many Croatians, Dalmatians and Montenegrins, besides Albanians who, originating from a territory under Venetian rule, in earlier times had already held public offices in Istra, especially military ones.

Amongst the inhabitants of Romance origin one should enumerate also the Cici who, at the beginning of the 16th century, settled in what today is Čicarija. Venetian sources describe them as extremely uncultivated people and they blame them for the destruction of forests, since their nomadic ways of raising animals (goats, sheep) destroyed the young plants and they used the wood they needed without any control and in excessive quantities. Besides they were so undisciplined that many times through pure carelessness they caused major fires in the forests.

These unplanned migrations had a positive influence on the population density in the province (we should remember that in 1375 Istra was said to be 'almost entirely depopulated'). The numerous epidemics of plague which from the middle of the 14th to the beginning of the 17th centuries struck Istra on the average every ten years with disastrous consequences, as well as wars and malaria continually reduced the Istran population. Even so, the indigenous population did not readily accept the newcomers.

In the 16th century the city with the largest population in the territory between the Timav and the Kvarner was Koper. More precisely, towards the middle of the century it had between nine and ten thousand inhabitants, who however were reduced to only three thousand by the plague of 1553–1554. An even worse fate befell Pula, where the plague decimated the population, reducing it from 4000 to 600 inhabitants, whilst of the numerous villages of the district, 72 in all, only 12, with 2600 inhabitants, remained inhabited in the course of this century. Trieste, Novigrad and Poreč also suffered in the same way.

The Venetian authorities attempted, by bringing in colonists, to put an end to the demographic crisis in Istra, which because of desertion and depopulation was threatening the remaining inhabitants with other diseases, with malaria topping the list. Malaria was also spreading in Istra because of climatic conditions which had altered due to an increase in the land surface covered by swamps and a higher level of waters in rivers. Indeed it was malaria which struck a major blow to the first colonists who came from the environs of Padua and Treviso and from Friuli. Only after the Magistrature of Abandoned Properties (*Magistrato dei beni incolti*) was

The Modern Era

Anno	Istria	Istria veneta	Contea di Pisino	Trieste	Capod.	Pola
prerom.	120.000					
V sec.	*500.000					
XIII sec	130.000					5.000
1436				cca 9.000		
1442						4.500
1519				6-7.000		
1533					7-8.000	
1548					10.000	
1553/4		52.765			2.300	594
1575			9.500			
1583		cca 70.000		8.000	4.800	822
1601		46.500				
1615			3.193	3.000		580
1623			2.380		4.065	
1625		36.500				
1631/2					2.000	347
1649		49.332		6-7.000		
1652				4.250	5.000	550
1655		64.000				
1669		50.000				
1681		64.000				
1717				5.600	4.650	
1741		70.315				661
1758				6.400		
1770		85.768				
1773					5.225	
1785				17.600		
1799				27.300	5.075	753
1806		89.251	23.000			695
1816	**172.779			32.000		926
1846	228.035			80.300	5.500	1.126

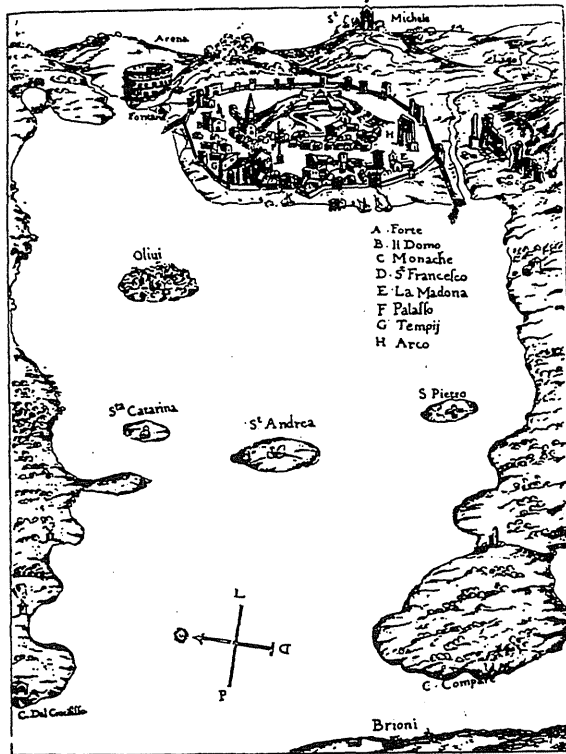
Population of Istra and selected cities (* according to C. Combi ** including the islands of the Kvarner)

established in Venice in 1566, and an attempt to settle colonists from Naples and Greece in the middle of the 16th century had failed, was a decision taken to have a planned colonisation by the so-called Morlacchi. In the Venetian sources the Morlacchi are described as a strong and tough folk, suited to military service, to service in the jails and other strenuous employment. By virtue of these qualities they

A Brief History of Istra

succeeded in acclimatising themselves in a short time in the region, where they had initially been given a number of concessions, both on the Austrian and the Venetian sides, such as exemptions from taxes for a period of 20 years.

The new inhabitants were at first under the jurisdiction of the *Provveditore nell'Istria*, whom in 1578 the Senate named Rector of the Magistrature of Abandoned Properties in Istra, stationed in Pula. After the office was abolished in 1592, the supervision of the settlement of new inhabitants in Venetian Istra was given to the Captain of Rašpor, although it seems that for the territory of Koper decisions on these matters were still the responsibility of the *podestà* and captain of Koper.



Pula in 1633

The Modern Era

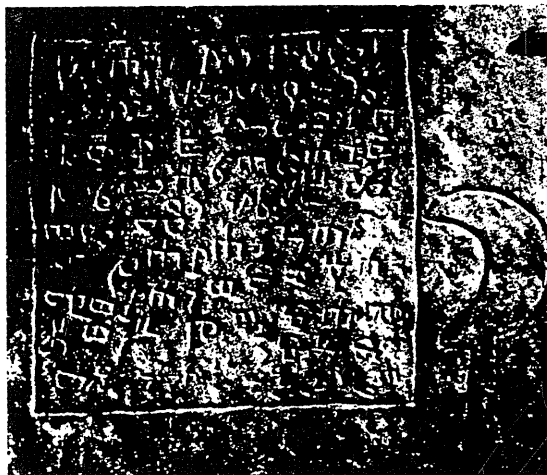
Side by side with these planned colonisations, from time to time various merchants also came to settle in Istra and, on a larger scale, soldiers from other European countries migrated here - Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians, Hollanders, North Africans and others who served in Istra from the 15th century onwards. Even today, amongst the current inhabitants of various localities, there is still preserved the consciousness of their alien origins; for instance the surname Lazar di Popecchio highlights the Bohemian gipsy origin of this family.

The Istran peninsula entered the 18th century with instability in the relationships of its ethnic groups, to which must be added those on Prospero Petronio's list. The new century was less turbulent as far as wars and human tragedy were concerned, but was exceptionally active in the cultural field. We could characterise it as a century of consolidation and identification. Istran men of culture had already, during the Renaissance and later the Reformation and the Enlightenment, contributed to the general growth of the cultural and intellectual levels of a population which now, with the last changes at the end of the 18th century so important to the ancient regimes, was about to enter the still more eventful 19th century.

The Linguistic Aspect of Istra in the XVIIIth Century

The complicated story of the colonisation of Istra resulted in a heterogeneous total of cultural influences and of ethnic mutations. These led to the emergence of a difference between the ethnic and the linguistic consciousness of the Istran population. The immigrations of the new inhabitants were not the only movements which took place, since in the interior of the peninsula also people moved to new locations drawn by economic advantages.

Through the centuries of Istran history the rule had worked that citizens could reach a higher social status, be more respected and better off, if they held some public office. By long occupation of the lower city positions, particularly military ones, or by going into commerce or handicrafts, those who came from the country to the cities became assimilated with the Romance city population, since in these jobs the Istro-romance language still predominated though waves of colonisation gradually replaced it with Venetian. The Istro-romance language, belonging to the Dalmatico-retoromance tongues, had practically disappeared by the end of the 19th century. Today *Istriotsko* is spoken (and written) by only a few people in Bale, Fažana, Galežan, Rovinj, Šišan and Vodnjan, whilst Slovenian and Croatian have become the carriers, in a genetic sense, of the two most ancient but still living and predominating Istran



Glagolitic funerary inscription of 1582 (*Istra in Slovensko primorje*, 200)

languages. In the countryside, where until the 18th century many migrants arrived also from the Italian regions, these two languages have completely taken over.

The ethno-historical results which are significant for modern times in Istra were being consolidated from the end of the 17th century onwards. In the 18th century, in the period of stabilisation at the regional level, they took the form of three linguistic communities: *Croatian, Italian and Slovenian*. Being part of one or other of these linguistic groups at that time did not yet imply any nationalistic consciousness, but rather social status.

The gap between a linguistic consciousness and a nationalistic one was gradually narrowing in people's minds, in line with the consolidation and reinforcement of the modern national consciousness starting from the end of the 18th century and subsequently. In the Istran area only the 19th century (more exactly its last decades) represents the period of consolidation of the idea of an ethnic border founded on national awareness. Acknowledgement of this three-fold unity was strengthened by the recognition of the ethnic borders between Slovenians and Croats, while the Italian population was scattered in cities of a traditional Romance character and in some separated country areas with Italian majorities.

Administrative–Ecclesiastical Reforms at the Fall of the Republic of Venice

While numerous administrative reforms were taking place in the Austrian provinces from the middle of the 18th century, Venetian Istra before the Napoleonic campaigns was affected only by the administrative–ecclesiastical reforms of the Emperor Joseph II. The emperor tried to make the ecclesiastical division conform to the administrative one, namely to the State frontiers.

After the abolition of the bishopric of Pićan in 1788, its territory, with the outlying vicarage of Pazin (part of the diocese of Poreč), and the outlying vicarages of Kršan and Kastav (part of the diocese of Pula), were added to the diocese of Poreč. Muggia was transferred to the diocese of Koper and Umag to the diocese of Novigrad. The aim of these rearrangements was to extend the diocese of Trieste beyond Trieste itself to the whole of Austrian Istra.

The establishment of new borders for the diocese of Trieste continued in 1828, when the abolished diocese of Novigrad was assigned to the diocese of Trieste, and the diocese of Koper was added to it (hence from 1830 referred to as the Trieste-Koper diocese). The bishop's seat of Koper had been vacant from 1810. In 1830 Buzet was once again assigned to the diocese of Trieste.

THE ERA OF BOURGEOIS REVOLUTIONS

Istra at the Time of the Napoleonic Conquests

The bourgeois French revolution and Napoleon, the product of it, led to radical changes in social life in many areas. After a few victories, some real and others imaginary, Napoleon consolidated his grip on power in France and began his military campaigns in Europe. His first targets of some substance were the small Italian States, weak militarily but prosperous economically. With skilful diplomacy he succeeded in obtaining the consent of the Austrians with whom he had reached a secret accord at Leoben on 18 April 1797, allowing Austria to take Venetian Istra in the subsequent partitioning. With the peace treaty of Campoformio, which also marked the downfall of the Republic of Venice, Austrian jurisdiction over these lands was acknowledged.

The First Austrian Period in Istra (1797–1805)

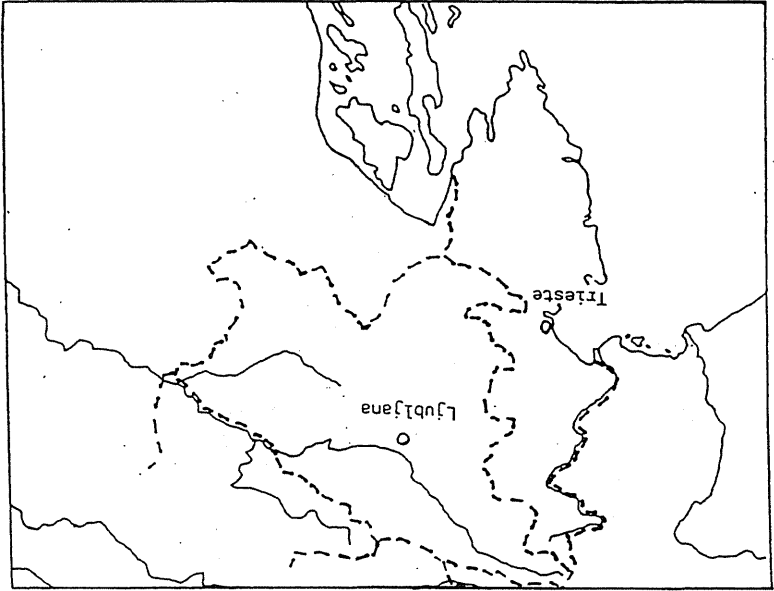
The new rulers did not alter the existing administration, but limited themselves to transferring the power of the Venetian city rectors of the preceding period (*podestà*) to specific civic bodies which were first nominated and then elected. At Koper in 1797 a provisional government (*magistrato*) was created for the former Venetian Istra. At the head of the magistrature there was a president who was, as in the Venetian epoch, also the president of the appeal tribunal. A great change was the fact that the new rulers had put on an equal footing the rights of the people and those of the nobles. Another important change was that carried out in the field of administrative divisions of the territory: many Venetian city communes, without alteration in their coverage, were aggregated into larger administrative units—the *distretti*. Until 1805 Istra had the following *distretti*: Koper, Piran, Poreč, Rovinj, Pula, Labin and Buzet (where the first-degree tribunals were located).

In 1803 the system of *Governi* was introduced for the third time in the provinces of Austria Interna, whilst in Trieste the joint Triestine-Istran government was established for the first time. Koper became the seat of the Istran district, while the seat of the court of appeal was transferred to Klagenfurt. Austrian Istra, also known as the county of Pazin, was included as a district commissariat in the district of Postojna and in the government of Ljubljana, which comprised the provinces of Kranj and Gorizia.

Istra as a part of the Kingdom of Italy

The Austro-French wars which followed had substantial consequences for the provinces, as Austria was compelled to make some territorial concessions. On the

A Brief History of Istra



Istra in the Illyrian Provinces in 1813 (J, Žontar, *Manuali e carte* 1989)

basis of the peace treaty of Breslau (December 1805), the province of Trieste lost the territory of former Venetian Istra which was included in the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy. In the framework of the provisional organisation of the territories of the former Venetian Istra a province by the same name was established headed by the civil magistrature of Koper/Capodistria. Angelo Calafati became the president of the magistrature, that is of a kind of Istran government. He was a central figure in Istran political life in the period of great changes between the end of the 18th and the start of the 19th centuries.

On the first of May the laws of the Kingdom of Italy came into effect in Istra and the Napoleonic Code (*Code civile* or *Code Napoleon*) was introduced, which brought about radical changes. The new authorities proclaimed that the administration and magistrature of the newly acquired territories of Venetian Istra would have to conform with those of the rest of the kingdom. This also invalidated the statutes of the Istran cities. The province of Istra became transformed into a department headed by a prefect

The Era of Bourgeois Revolutions

(Angelo Calafati), while the lower administrative units were the districts (of Koper and Rovinj with the border on the Limski Channel) headed by vice-prefects. The districts were broken down into smaller units called 'circondari' or cantons: Koper, Piran, Buzet, Poreč, Vodnjan, Rovinj and Labin. The cantons in turn were subdivided into communes. The head of each commune was the *podestà*, who was assisted by a special administrative council, while the head of the rural cantons was the *meriga*. The district tribunals of the first degree were abolished and the civil and military tribunal of the first degree in Koper was given the responsibility of administering justice in the whole of Istra. In 1808 Napoleon raised Istra to the status of a duchy and Marshal Bessier was appointed as its Duke.

The Province of Istra in the Illyrian Provinces (1809–1813)

After the French victory at Wagram and the peace treaty of Schönbrunn, Austria lost the territories which Napoleon on the 14 October formed into the Illyrian Provinces centred on Ljubljana. In 1810 the Kingdom of Italy ceded the Department of Istra to the Illyrian Provinces and the Province of Istra was established with Trieste as its main centre. This comprised the territory of the city of Trieste, part of the territory of Gorizia, the former Venetian Istra and, from 18 September 1811, the territory of Austrian Istra as well.

The province was equated to departments in France and the superintendent (Angelo Calafati, at the start and end of the Illyrian Provinces) had the same responsibilities as a French prefect. He was in charge of all fields of administration. Each province had an engineer for bridges and roads, an inspector of the register for taxes and of public properties, an inspector of mortgages, a director of the treasury, an inspector of forests, customs and lotteries.

The lower administrative units were the districts headed by a vice-delegate. There were four districts in Istra: Gorizia, Trieste, Koper and Rovinj.

In August 1813 Austria declared war on France, with the result that the Illyrian Provinces were conquered by them in the very first year, and after the Paris peace of 1814 Austrian power was reestablished, even though the organisational structure was not entirely identical to that which had existed before 1805 or 1809.

Internal Conditions at the Time of the French Reforms

The French to begin with gave all citizens equal rights; they set limits on the power of the church and dissolved numerous monasteries and confraternities, and soon after, together with their administrative reforms, they also brought into the province their

A Brief History of Istra

fiscal system. Notwithstanding the introduction of many freedoms, for instance tolerance of concubinage (de-facto marriages), and the discharge of some peasants' obligations, they did not completely abolish the feudal system.

The largest Istran city at the time was Rovinj with about 9000 inhabitants; it was, however, also the main centre of opposition to French rule. The Anglo-French clash spread to the Istran coast as well, causing serious damage to fishing, the shipping fleet and the economy in general. The English navy persistently attacked and disturbed with its guns the towns on the Istran west coast (Rovigno, Vrsar, Porec) and it supported piracy against the French. Brigandage too was a relevant factor in the life of interior Istra. The governor-general of the Illyrian Provinces, Marshall Marmont, wrote in his memoirs: '*Lawlessness was so great and so widespread that the people of southern Istra and Rovinj did not dare leave the towns without first paying the brigands a toll consistent with their wealth.*'

The continued military campaigns required much money, livestock and soldiers and since all of it had to be paid for by the population, discontent was growing amongst the people. When France was at war with the coalition of European States in 1813, the peasants of central Istra joined the Austrian detachments engaged in fighting the French.

Istra under Austrian rule (1813–1918)

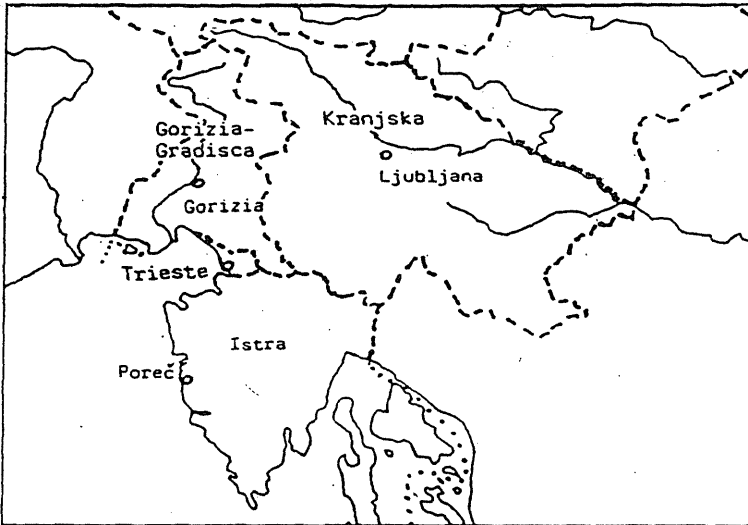
When the Illyrian Provinces were returned to Austria the name of Illyria was retained and, after a period of provisional government, separate governments were recreated as organs of power in the provinces. The government located in Trieste covered the city and its surrounding area, Gorizia and Gradisca, the whole of Istra (the former Venetian and Austrian Istras), the islands of the Kvarner and—until 1822—Rijeka and civilian Croatia which in that year were included in the Austro-Hungarian Empire as part of the Habsburg monarchy.

The provinces grouped administratively under the government of Trieste were referred to by the term 'Littoral'; therefore the Triestine government was also called the Government of the Littoral, or the Austro-Illyrian Littoral.

The Government of the Littoral consisted of four lower levels of administrative units: that of Istra, with its seat in Trieste (the natural continuation of the gulf of Trieste up to Aquileia was also part of it), that of Rijeka (with the county of Pazin, the future district of Podgrad and the islands of the Gulf of Kvarner) and that of Gorizia. In 1816 Karlstadt was added to the Littoral as a further unit. After the transfer of Rijeka and civilian Croatia to Hungary in 1822, the unit of Pazin was formed from

The Era of Bourgeois Revolutions

what remained of the Rijeka administration. However, by 1825 the government of the Littoral was reorganised into only two units: that of Istra with its seat in Pazin (which comprised former Venetian and Austrian Istra, the nearby Slovenian districts with Podgrad and the islands of the Gulf of Kvarner) and that of Gorizia. Trieste and its environs as an administrative unit came under the direct control of the Royal Authority; hence it was outside the local administrative structure.



Austrian provinces in Istra 1849-1918 (J. Žontar, 1988)

Administrative Organisation from the Revolution of 1848 to the Second World War

On the basis of the constitution imposed on 4 March 1849, the emperor appointed governors of the individual possessions of the Crown. As organs of the executive power, the governors had to control the application of State and provincial laws and in addition to manage the internal affairs of the territory entrusted to them. The territory of the Littoral was defined as a unitary administrative territory with the seat of the governor in Trieste.

A Brief History of Istra

With the newly imposed constitution, and bearing in mind the constitution of 1848, the previous administrative levels were restructured into provinces with provincial legislatures and the foundations were thus laid of the autonomous provincial administration. Although in 1848 the margraviate of Istra was formally constituted with the usual territorial coverage, it was envisaged that it would have a provincial assembly in common with Gorizia and Gradisca, centred in Gorizia. Of all the anticipated provincial arrangements, only the one for Trieste was implemented.

Only in 1861 did Istra obtain her administrative autonomy, with the provincial assembly located in Poreč. Naturally she was part of the group of provinces constituting the Austrian Littoral, with the imperial administration in Trieste. This administrative organisation was maintained till 1918–20, when the territory of Venezia Giulia, excluding a minimal part of north-east Istra and the island of Krk/Veglia, went to Italy on the basis of the Rapallo treaty (or until 1924 when Italy also annexed the city of Rijeka). Istra was then divided into three provinces of the Kingdom of Italy: The major part of the peninsula remained in the province of Pula, the north-east part was incorporated into the province of Fiume/Rijeka, while Muggia and San Dorligo/Dolina became part of the province of Trieste. This arrangement was maintained until after the Second World War and the decline of Italian power in these territories at that time.

The Era of Bourgeois Revolutions



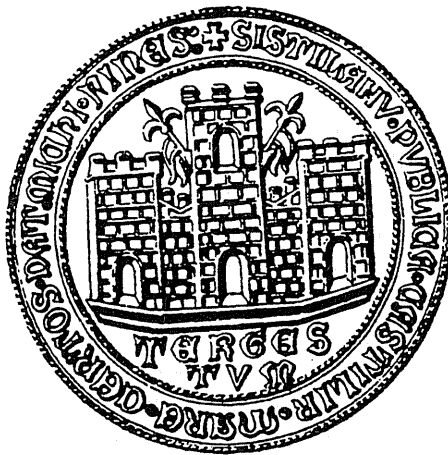
CONFINE DI STATO
 CONFINE DI PROVINCIA - - - - -

Venezia Giulia - the boundaries in 1940 (*L'Istria fra le due guerre*)

THE PERIOD OF THE RISE OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND OF NATIONALISTIC TENDENCIES

Economic Leaders in the XIXth Century

In the 19th century two principal economic and military centres took shape, setting the tone of Istran life - Trieste and Pula, and by their side also Rijeka. By the beginning of the 18th century the first of these was undergoing rapid development and widening its influence and economic demands on the vast Istran hinterland. The whole of northern Istra was economically dependent on Trieste. Many Istran workers found positions and long-term, temporary or day jobs in a city that was becoming one of the most important centres of Central Europe. The agrarian and rural hinterland produced goods and merchandise almost exclusively for this city, which was undergoing great demographic and economic expansion. In exchange, Istra received industrial products from Trieste.



The arms of Trieste

Pula became an important military city after 1853, when it was selected as the future naval harbour of the Monarchy, and after 1856, when the Arsenal was built, but especially after 1864, when the admiralty was transferred from Trieste to Pula. Its jurisdiction extended from Salvore to Spiz and from 1869 to the Istro-Hungarian

border. The railway, built in 1876, connected Pula and the Istran peninsula to the European railway network. Under Austro-Hungary the city had more than 50,000 inhabitants. From 1868 onwards Rijeka became the main economic centre and port of the oriental, Hungarian part of the Monarchy. This had a profound influence on the development of the eastern part, both Slovenian and Croatian, of the Istran peninsula.

International Relations in the First Half of the XIXth Century

Notwithstanding the economic boom, cultural life had not yet blossomed in the first half of the 19th century. Despite the absolutism of Metternich, who tried to suppress any nationalistic tendencies, various political trends were taking shape in Trieste and found followers in Istra too.

A most outstanding figure in the political life of Trieste at that time was the German Bruck, who had settled in Trieste by chance on his return from a journey to Greece, where he had participated in the fight for Greek national freedom. In Trieste he founded the Lloyd company and was a strong supporter of the idea that Trieste should be annexed to Germany. His movement, made up chiefly of members of the clubs near the stock exchange, was cosmopolitan, Austrophile and Germanophile.

The other movement of relevance was the Italian one formed around Domenico Rossetti (1774–1842) and his pupil of clearly liberal beliefs, that great scholar of Istran history, Pietro Kandler (1804–1872). They fought attempts at Germanisation and supported the Italian identity of Trieste and its independence. However, they also realised that Trieste would have stagnated from an economic point of view if deprived of its vast hinterland and therefore they were opposed to annexation by Italy.

The idea of a united Italy made its appearance only in 1797 as one of the programmes on the political agenda, but in the first half of the 19th century it did not find support in Istra and in Trieste. Italophile intellectuals did indeed fight to maintain the Italian identity of Trieste, but always in the context of autonomy within Austrian borders. Even the staunchest adversaries of the absolutism of Metternich, the intellectuals clustered around the periodical *La Favilla (The Spark)*, 1836–1846, among whom were numbered Francesco Dall'Ongaro, Pacifico Valussi and, by no means last, the Dalmatian Niccolò Tommaseo, were in 1848, that year of decisions, united against the annexation of Trieste and Istra by Italy. Moreover, in spite of the fact that they fought for the Italian identity of Trieste inside Austria, they maintained a respectful attitude towards the Slavs, particularly the Slovenians. They imagined a union of free people against extreme ideas and they were aware that the transfer of the Austrian Littoral to Italy would represent an act of violence towards the Slavs.

The Rise of the Bourgeoisie and of Nationalistic Tendencies

They thought of Trieste as an Italian city, but at the same time independent, a kind of second Switzerland. They sponsored an alliance between the Italians and the Slavs. In Turin they founded a society for Italo-Slav union against Austria; in Trieste Tommaseo began to publish the review *La Fratellanza dei Popoli* (The Brotherhood of Peoples). As early 1831 Giuseppe Mazzini was demanding Trieste for Italy and in 1860 not only Trieste but also Istra, the Karst and Postumia. It is probably not by chance that a year before the revolution of 1848 in his book *I Doveri dell'Uomo* (The Duties of Man) Mazzini fixed the eastern border of Italy on the river Isonzo. In addition, the father of united Italy, Cavour, defended the rights of Slavs on the east coast of the Adriatic. In 1861 he wrote to the Royal commissioner of Ancona that he was familiar with the aspirations of the Italian population of Trieste, Istra and Dalmatia, but at the same time he stated that the entire population of the hinterland was Slav. Then he concluded that it was not intelligent to turn Croats, Serbs, Hungarians and Germans into enemies, because the English would also become enemies if they thought Italy started to hanker after the whole of the Adriatic sea. Italy was pursuing a cautious policy in Europe, and therefore on advice from the Western powers she chose to attempt colonial conquest instead. Only in 1896, when a defeat in Abyssinia forced Italy to revise her colonial ambitions, did Italian aspirations turn to the Balkans.

The Rise of Nationalism in Trieste and Istra

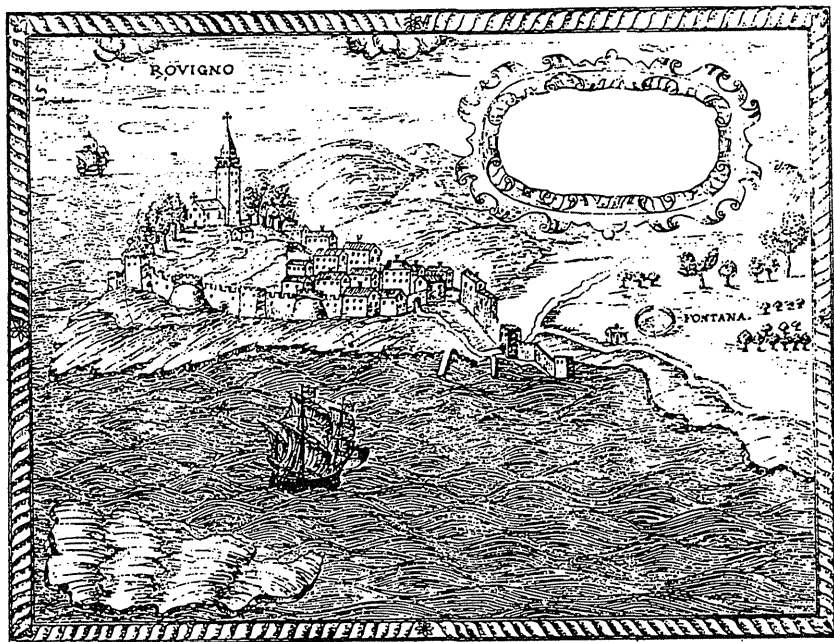
In Trieste before revolutionary 1848 there was no bad feeling against the Slavs. In Istra on the other hand the situation was somewhat different. Venetian traditions were still present and the people of the towns were not so ethnically mixed, nor did they depend on trade with the north as did Trieste. Slovenians and Croats represented the lower class and they were at first devoid of any feeling of nationalism. This consciousness of nationalism is of more recent date, while at that time the sense of belonging to a region was all that mattered - they were all Istrans. Pacifico Valussi, who was then still on the side of the Slavs but who would later radically change his position, was one of many who thought that the region would quickly become Italian if it managed to free itself from Austrian tutelage.

The revolution of 1848 abolished feudalism and the citizens had an opportunity to express their political aspirations in the elections of the Austrian parliament. The representatives of the Italian bourgeoisie in Istra had already worked out in detail their national programs, while the Slovenians and Croats lacked such aspirations. The results of the elections for the parliament in Vienna in June 1848 confirmed the

A Brief History of Istra

relative standings amongst the political forces: four Italian deputies were elected (Antonio Madonizza, Michele Facchinetti, Carlo De Franceschi and Francesco Vidulich) and a Croatian (Josip Vlah) was elected in eastern Istra. This political success encouraged the Italian deputies to the parliament in Vienna to draw up a request that Italian should become the official language in Istra, an exception to be made for the district of Castelnuovo sul Karst.

The Austrian government rejected the request on the ground that the majority of the population in Istra was made up of Slavs (according to the census of 1846–Croatians 134,455, Italians 60,040 and Slovenians 31,995). Even so the failed request provoked irate protests in the communes of Kastav and Laurana, from which there emanated a request that the Croatian language should be put on an equal footing with Italian and that eastern Istra should be united with Rijeka, hence with Croatia. In the Italian press an avalanche of accusations ensued against the Slavs, as 'foreigners'



Rovinj in the XIIIth century

The Rise of the Bourgeoisie and of Nationalistic Tendencies

who should become Italianised. In 1850 Michele Facchinetti in his newspaper *Il Popolano* maintained that Istra would become a region in which peace would be the rule if and when a single culture gained the upper hand in it - the Italian culture.

Inevitably the seed of discord had been sown, and as a result the Slav periodicals issued in Trieste (*Slavjanski rodoljub* from 1849 and *Jadranski Slavjan* from 1850, with articles in Slovenian and Croatian) began to support their nationalistic demands. These quarrels were all to the advantage of Austrian national policy, which on the one hand supported Germanisation and on the other tried to instil fear of both irredentism and panslavism and by making concessions now to one then to the other, perfectly in line with the maxim 'divide and rule', succeeded in controlling the situation in Istra without too much difficulty right up to the end of Austrian domination.

The Development of Irredentism

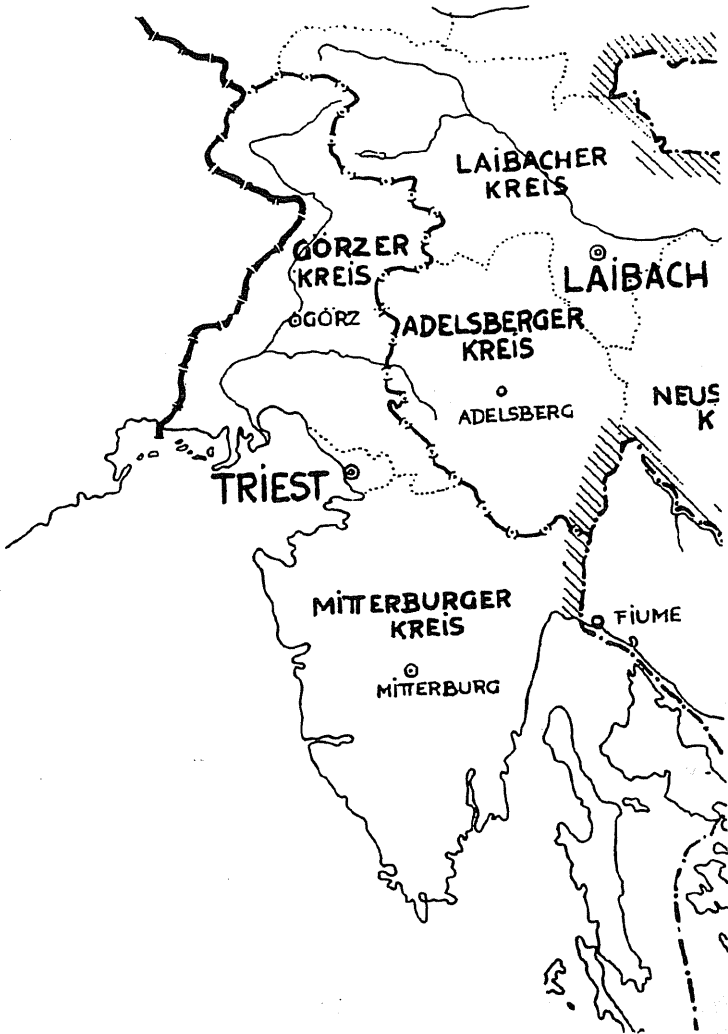
The development of irredentism and panslavism in Istra should be considered in the perspective of the European movements of the time, when national aspirations were still ever growing impetuously under the influence of the French revolution and within the framework of the consolidation of the capitalist system in the political life of the time.

There is no doubt that the irredentist ideas of the Italian *popolari* became stronger after the unification of Italy (1861). The main representatives of these ideas in historical writings are Pacifico Valussi (although in his book *Trieste and Istra: their Rights in the Italian Question*, published in 1861, he radically changed his views), and the Istrans Carlo Combi, Tommaso Luciani and Sigismondo Bonfiglio. Opinion about the Slavs had entirely changed: they were seen as peasant folk unable to build a nation of their own and therefore condemned to be assimilated within an Italian identity. And they already envisaged the frontiers of Italy extending to the Oriental Alps and to Arsa, some even to Rijeka.

The first public demonstration of Triestine irredentism took place in 1865, when the communal council rejected a motion condemning the protest which a secret 'Trieste-Istra committee' had addressed against a declaration by the Italian prime minister Lamarmora in which he solemnly renounced all claims on Trieste. The communal council was dissolved and the elections were won by the government party, whilst in Trieste 13,000 people signed a declaration of loyalty.

Subsequently the liberals also repeatedly condemned irredentism, but with the passing of time irredentist aspirations prevailed in this party too. From 1882 onwards the party was continuously in power in Trieste since on many occasions it managed

A Brief History of Istra



Austrian administrative districts between 1814 and 1822 (M. Wuttea 1944)

The Rise of the Bourgeoisie and of Nationalistic Tendencies

to skilfully mask its nationalistic passions, thus gaining the sympathy of Triestine electors belonging to other ethnic groups, especially Greeks and Germans. In the monograph *Oko Trsta* ('Around Trieste') of 1945, the work of several authors, one can see that irredentism was prevalent above all amongst intellectuals, less so amongst white collar workers in government offices or in insurance companies, while it was quite rare amongst blue collar workers, who were more inclined to socialism. The irredentists represented no more than two per cent of the Trieste population—5,000 out of about 250,000 inhabitants. Amongst them there would have been no more than five hundred militants and fifty who would have favoured daily acts of irredentism. The centre of irredentist education was without doubt the commercial high school Rivoltela. Their main opponents were the social democrats, from a class point of view, and the Slovenian national party, from a nationalistic point of view.

In Istra the large rural properties and the cities were still in Italian hands, and therefore the liberal-national movement was exceptionally strong and already by 1861 Istrans were no longer willing to send their deputies to their parliament in Vienna. From 1884 Italian political activity in Istra was led by the *Società politica Istrana* (Istran Political Society). Several reviews, periodicals and books were published and clubs were formed especially to denationalise young Slovenians and Croatians: first the club *Pro Patria* and later the *Lega Nazionale*.

Besides the national-liberal party, the Istran political scene included the clerical party, initially Austrophile, with many supporters in the peasant population of Istra, and the socialist party. However, generally speaking, power was in the hands of the liberal party.

In Trieste the socialist party was also strong. Among its supporters a special mention must be made of Angelo Vivante, the political editor of the newspaper *Il Piccolo* and director of the news-sheet *Lavoratore*. In 1912 he wrote a documentary work *L'Irredentismo Adriatico*, in which he condemned the proposition that the high level of Italian culture and civilisation gave Italians the right to assimilate people from other ethnic groups.

The Slav Popular Movement

In the first stages of parliamentary life only the Croatians of eastern Istra expressed their political orientation in a nationalistic sense. From their centres at Kastav and at Vrbnik on the island of Krk/Veglia they began to circulate, targeting the Slovenians and Croatians of Istra, a request for the protection of national rights in accordance with the provisions of fundamental law (1867). They founded a series of reading

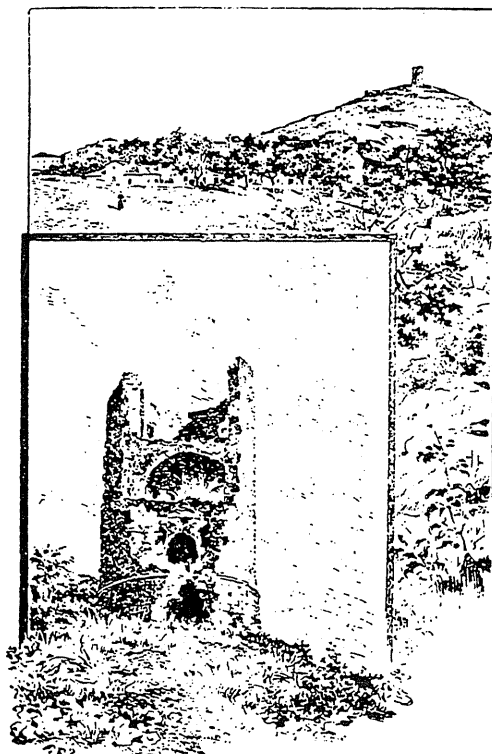
A Brief History of Istra

rooms (the first at Kastav in 1866, then at Pula in 1869 and in other localities). In Trieste they started the publication of the political organ *Naša Sloga* (1870–1915). In addition, *Edinost*, the political association of Triestine Slovenians, widened its activities amongst the Croats and Slovenians of Istra until 1902 when the Political Association of Croats and Slovenians was founded in Istra, centred in Pazin. After the first Croatian general meeting at Kastav (1871) they continued to organise *tabor* in other parts of Istra too, for example at Kubed in Slovenian Istra.

The foundation of the Savings Bank at Koper (1884) gave birth to a co-operative movement between Croats and Slovenians in Istra. A large number of cooperatives of various kinds joined the league of cooperatives located in Pula (1903). When the Italian bourgeoisie and their banks attempted to invest funds in rural land of growing



Svetvinčenat



Novigrad: remains of the fortifications

value, Slovenian credit co-operatives came to the rescue of the peasants in their struggle for possession of land. Credit institutions from Trieste also aided the Slovenians (cf. M Pahor: *Slovensko denarnistvo v Trstu ...* 1989). This resulted in a raising of the Slovenian national consciousness, particularly in the rural areas of Koper and Piran (cf. J Kramar: *Narodna prebuja istrskih Slovencev*, 1991). A similar process was taking place amongst the Croats too, in the rest of Istra.

Political and economic organisation was preceded by a regeneration in the field of education and schooling, with the foundation of the association *Bratovščina hrvatskih ljudi u Istri* (Brotherhood of Croatian people in Istra) at Kastav in 1874, and of the

association *Družba sv. Cirila i Metoda* (Society of Sts Cirillus and Methodius), a Slovenian one in 1885 and then its Croatian 'foster sister' at Volosko in 1893. Thus began the organised schooling of the younger generation of Croats and the opening of Croatian and Slovenian elementary schools in locations where previously there had been none.

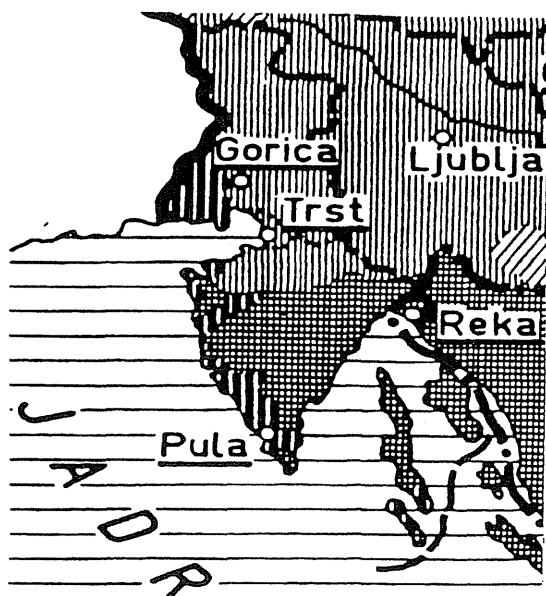
The Political Establishment of the Slovenians and Croats in Istra




The political strengthening of the Slovenians and Croats began within the communes. At the beginning of the constitutional period (1861) the provincial law on communes made possible the creation of 50 political communes out of 360 communes in the land registry. At the start all the communes were in Italian hands, almost entirely because the Slovenians and Croats did not have at their disposal sufficient political and economic resources; consequently they also did not have sufficient numbers of men with the skills and education to occupy administrative posts. Kastav was the only commune with a Croatian administration. However, in time, Slovenians and Croats filled administrative positions in the communes of northern Istra inhabited exclusively by Slovenians (Materija, Podgrad, Jelšane, San Dorligo, Dekani, Klanec, Marezige and Pomjan), in some communes of the island of Krk/Veglia, similarly in the commune of Veli Lošinj/Lussin Grande, in Liburnia (Volosko-Opatija/Volosca-Abbazia, Veprinac, Lovran/Laurana and Mošćenice/Moscienia) and in the communes of central Istra, in Pazin (1886) and in Buzet (1887).

Twenty-eight Italians, one Croatian and a Slovenian (who declined his mandate) were elected in 1861 to the Assembly (*Dieta*) for the province of Istra. The result was affected by a system of voting which penalised Slovenians and Croats (*censo*) and by their still weak national consciousness. The Assembly was made up of divisions (*curie*) representing large rural properties, the chambers of commerce and trades, the cities and the rural areas. In addition members of the Assembly included the bishop of Trieste-Koper Bartol Legat, a Slovenian, the bishop of Pula-Poreč Juraj Dobrila, a Croatian, and the bishop of Krk/Veglia Ivan Josip Vitezić, a Croatian, in their capacity of *virilisti*. From the 1870s onwards the above numerical relationships continued to change in favour of Croats and Slovenians. Leaders in the Croatian popular movement were bishop Juraj Dobrila, a deputy in the imperial Council and founder of the first Croatian newspapers (*Istran*, *Nasa Sloga*), the jurist Dinko Vitezić and the priest Mate Bastian, a man of letters and editor of the newspaper *Nača Sloga*. They were supporters of the ideas of the bishop J. J. Strossmayer for a nation for southern Slavs, and thus they advocated the unification of Istra with the motherland.

The Rise of the Bourgeoisie and of Nationalistic Tendencies

Meanwhile relations between Italians on the one side and Croats and Slovenians on the other continued to deteriorate further, partly because of new demands made by the Istran politicians Vjekoslav Spinčić, Matko Laginja and Matko Mandić who, propounding the radical pro-Croatian line of Ante Starčević, advocated the unification of Istra with Croatia. Relations within the provincial assembly worsened, especially after Matko Laginja's attempt in the assembly of Poreč to deliver his maiden speech entirely in Croatian (1883). His action was based on the fact that in the same year the Imperial Council had recognised the parity of Croatian, Slovenian and Italian in Istran courts of law. In fact, the fundamental assumptions of



-  HRVATI
-  SLOVENCİ
-  TALIJANI

Croatians, Slovenians and Italians in XIXth century Istra (F. Zwitter, *Nacionalni ...*)

A Brief History of Istra

all Slovenian and Croatian political programmes were political equality, the abolition of the electoral *censo* and the parity of languages in public offices and in schools. Therefore another government decision of fundamental importance was the opening in 1889 of the first Croatian high school in Istra, the classical lyceum at Pazin.

The elections for the parliament of Vienna in 1907, this time by universal suffrage, demonstrated that Slovenians and Croatians represented not only the majority of the population but also the majority in the electorate. Consequently the Istran provincial assembly was reformed in 1908, and after this 18 deputies of the Slovenian-Croatian popular party were elected, together with 24 Italian national-liberals and 2 socialists.

It did not take much to show that the new assembly was inoperative, with the two opposing sides unable to agree on the parity of the languages, on the new borders of the communes based on national principles, etc. Because of these deadlocks the provincial assembly was dissolved in 1910 and never met again.

The Formation of the Ethnic Slovenian-Croatian Borders

Although during the Austrian period Slovenians and Croatians put up a united front on the political scene, nevertheless both groups had formed their own separate national identity as a consequence of historical events and linguistic differences.

The Venetian policy of colonisation already mentioned (and in lesser measure the Austrian one) had contributed to this process of differentiation, together with the organisation of the line of defence against the Turks in northern Istra, which followed the land border of the Commune of Koper (cf D. Darovec: 'Obrambna...').

	Croati	%	Sloveni	%	Italiani	%	Totale
1846	134.445	59	31.995	14	60.000	26	228.035
1857	123.091	56	28.177	12	72.303	31	234.872
1880	121.732	43	43.004	15	114.281	40	284.154
1890	140.713	45	44.418	14	118.027	38	310.003
1900	143.057	43	47.717	14	136.191	40	335.965
1910	168.184	43	55.134	14	147.417	38	386.463

Principal languages of Istra according to the Austrian censuses 1846-1910

The Rise of the Bourgeoisie and of Nationalistic Tendencies

The ethnic Slovenian-Croatian frontier divided Istra into two parts, the minor one Slovenian in the north (districts of Koper and Podgrad) and the major one Croatian in the south (with colonist inhabitants of diverse Slav origins in some localities). Only in three places was the Italian presence in rural areas of significance: in northern Istra in a strip a few kilometres wide from Muggia to Piran and Portorož; in eastern Istra in the area between the Dragonja to the north and the Mirna to the south (on the coast from Savudrija to Novigrad, in the hinterland from Završje/Piemonte to Oprtale); and lastly in southern Istra in the coastal strip between Pula and Rovinj. From the ethnic point of view, Slovenian scholars have always considered the cadastral communes of Savudrija and Kaštel/Castelvenere, which were part of the commune of Piran (by the ancient partitioning of the territory of Piran), to be part of the Italian bloc: in 1910 at Savudrija the Italian speakers reached 78.77% and at Kaštel 65.22% of inhabitants. The northern boundary of the cadastral commune of Kaštel did not follow the main course of the Dragonja, but rather the old channel of St Odoric, (*libador S. Odorico*) to the south of the salt pans of Sečovlje/Sicciole, into which in 1946 the main course of the Dragonja was deviated. This deviation of the river after the Second World War did not change anything as far as the border was concerned.

The ethnic Slovenian-Croatian border (probably based on the linguistic census organised in the Austrian provinces by K. Czoernig in 1846) was drawn by P. Kozler (1853) on his map of the Slovenian provinces (*Zemljovid slovenske dežele in pokrajin*), which represented one of the first Slovenian interpretations of this border. Kozler also described the border in his manual of Slovenian geography (*Kratki slovenski zemljopis*) in 1854. The description of that part of the ethnic border which goes from the sea to Kranj states: 'Next to Piran starts the border between spoken Slovenian and Croatian, and it runs along the valley of the Dragonja or Rukava towards the mountains and the villages of Topolovec and Sočerga, then passes between Rachitovec and Zazid, Jelovice and Podgorje, Golac and Obrov, Pulane and Podgrad, through Pasjak and Jelšane, until it reaches the frontier of the Kranj'.

Inclusion in different administrative and church units, the linguistic relevance of the network of schools and other factors, contributed to the fact that at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century the ethnic border became consolidated. This is demonstrated by the modern censuses from 1880 onwards. In the localities of Starad, Račice, Veliko Brdo, Brdce, Pasjak to the south of Ilirska Bistrica the Croatian language predominated in 1880 over the Slovenian language, but in all the successive censuses the opposite applies. Similarly, the Slovenian language takes the lead after 1900 in Rupe, Šapjane and Golec, whereas in the years 1880 and 1890

Croatian predominated. Another bloc of this kind is made up by a few cadastral communes north of Oprtalj and Buzet: Topolovec (in 1880 Croatian; between 1890 and 1910 Slovenian, with an Italian presence; in 1945 half Croatian and half Slovenian), Gradina (in 1880 and 1890 Croatian, then Slovenian-Italian and in 1945 Slovenian with a Croatian minority) and Rachitovec (in 1880 Slovenian, in 1890 Croatian, between 1900 and 1945 Slovenian). In some localities the data vary from decade to decade (Lipa, Lisac), or at least on some occasions (Žejane, Černica), while on other occasions at the 1945 census the declaration of belonging to the Croatian-speaking group predominates (for example in Savudria and in Kaštel).

These differences are partly due to the way in which the questions were asked and to the criteria used in the census of the population of the Habsburg monarchy. With the exception of the very first census which took 'language' into consideration (Czoernig 1846), when a distinction was still being made between the Serbian and Croatian population, in all the censuses from 1880 to 1910 the term employed for the distinction was 'language normally used' (*Umgangssprache*) and the single name of Croatian was used for the language, without distinguishing between Croats, Montenegrins and others. Slovenian was the only Slav language distinguished from Croatian. In relation to this it should be said that a series of disputes arose in Istra in regard to political manipulations on the part of the Italians. In the Austrian context the 'language normally used' was identified as the language used in public (therefore distinct from the language of the family or mother tongue). This left the way open to abuses, in order to hide the true ethnic proportions of the heterogeneous population, by people who were politically dominant and 'older' from the point of view of their cultural assertiveness in daily life. In Istra it was clearly the Italians who were in this position. Research indicates that, as shown by B. Grafenauer (cf. 'Miti o 'Istri' ...), the commissions in charge of the collection of data tried in various ways to increase the numbers declaring that they were Italian speakers - which provoked protests and challenges directed to the commissioners, as for example in 1910 at Škofije, Pobegh and Bertoki near Koper.

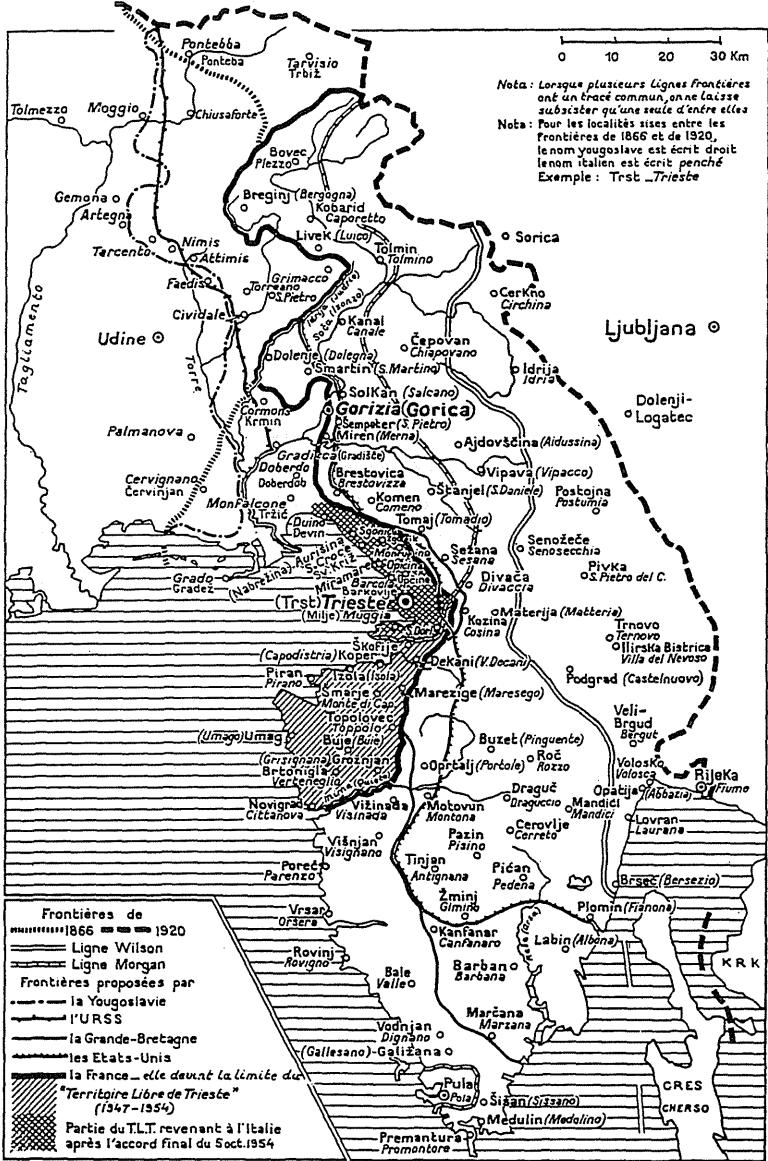
In any case, it is now considered that the real situation was reflected more closely by the census of 1910, which became the chief basis for the determination of the ethnic situation in Istra by the English, French, American and Russian military representatives who were engaged in inspecting the territory in order to determine new borders after the Second World War. They rejected data from the Italian census of 1921 and from the Yugoslav one of 1945, organised under the guidance of Roglić, because they were defective.

The First World War

Once the First World War broke out (1914), nationalistic quarrels in Istra came to a stop. Italy's breaking off of the pact of alliance with Germany and Austro-Hungary and her decision to side with the powers of the Entente (1915) were clear signals of her territorial claims on the eastern Adriatic - even though nothing was yet known of the Treaty of London, signed secretly in 1915, by which the allies, among other things, had also offered Italy, if she entered the war, the Austrian territories of the Adriatic, consisting of the whole of Istra and most of Dalmatia.

Because of the war many inhabitants of southern Istra, declared a military zone, were evacuated to Lower Austria and to Moravia. Only at the end of the war, after a long absence, did they return to their homes. In lieu of the Assembly (Dieta) and the provincial council (Giunta), a Commissariat was established. Towards the end of the war also too things were turned upside down in Istra. On 28 October 1918 in Pula a popular Council was constituted on the model of the popular Council in Zagreb—which had become the supreme organ in the State of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenians which had been founded in the territories of the collapsing Austro-Hungarian empire. It was composed of representatives of Istran Croats, but it also included representatives of the Italian liberals and socialists. On 30 October they took over the command of the navy, where they had many supporters amongst the Slav sailors and the Arsenal workers. The powers of the Popular Council of Pula ceased with the entry into the city of the Italian army on 5 November 1918.

A Brief History of Istra



J.-B. Duroselle, *Le conflit de Trieste 1943-1954*, Brussels 1966

THE PERIOD OF TOTALITARIAN RÉGIMES

Istra under Italy

With the treaty of Rapallo, concluded between the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croatsians and Slovenians (born of the voluntary fusion of the State of the Slovenians, Croatsians and Serbs, the Kingdom of Montenegro and the Kingdom of Serbia) and the Kingdom of Italy (12 November 1920), Italy obtained almost the whole of Istra with Trieste, the exception being the island of Veglia and part of the commune of Kastav, which went to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croatsians and Slovenians. With the treaty of Rome (27 January 1924) Italy obtained Rijeka as well, which was earlier planned to become an independent State.

Even during the brief preliminary period of occupation (1918–1920) Italy had begun to implement a policy of assimilation of Croatsians and Slovenians. This resulted in the closure of the classical lyceum in Pazin, of the high school in Volosca (1918), the closure of the Slovenian and Croatian primary schools and the exile of some distinguished Slovenians and Croatsians to Sardinia and to other places in Italy. To this must be added fascist terrorism not hampered by the authorities, like the torching of the Narodni dom (the National House) in Pula and Trieste (the Balkan) carried out at night (13 July 1920). The situation deteriorated further after the annexation of Venezia Giulia, in particular after fascism came to power (1922). The official policy of getting rid of other nationalities was not under any outside restraint at all, since Italy had not had to give any undertaking to respect the rights of minorities in either the peace treaties or the treaty of Rapallo.

In Istra the use of Slovenian and Croatian in the administration and in the courts had already been restricted during the occupation (1918–1920). In March 1923 the prefect of Venezia Giulia prohibited the use of Slovenian and Croatian in the administration, whilst their use in courts of law was forbidden by royal decree on 15 October 1925. The death-blow to the Slovenian and Croatian school system in Istra was delivered on 1 October 1923 with the scholastic reform of the minister Gentile. The activities of Slovenian and Croatian societies and associations (Sokol, reading rooms, etc) had already been forbidden during the occupation, but specifically so later with the Law on Associations (1925), the Law on Public Demonstrations (1926) and the Law on Public Order (1926). All Slovenian and Croatian societies and sporting and cultural associations had to cease every activity following the decision of the provincial fascist secretaries dated 12 June 1927. On a specific order from the prefect of Trieste on 19 November 1928 the political society Edinost was also dissolved. Slovenian and Croatian co-operatives in Istra, which at first were absorbed by the Savings Banks of Pula or of Trieste, were gradually liquidated.

A Brief History of Istra

After Tyrol, in 1927 it was the turn of Venezia Giulia to have imposed on it changes in family names (place names had already been Italianised in 1923). Surnames were 'restored' to their original spelling in cases where they had been translated to another language or where they had been deformed in the writing or in the endings. In this way nearly all Slovenian and Croatian names were Italianised.

As early as 1921 this policy provoked resistance on the part of the Slovenians and Croatians, at first of a social character and of internationalist inspiration (southern Istra – Prostimo/Roveria, the miners of Labin), but at Marezige with nationalistic content as well. Resistance to authority took hold particularly after the suppression of the societies and associations in 1927, when in the Trieste area young Slovenian Triestini founded the secret organisation 'Fight' (*Tajna organizacija Borba*). In the Gorizia area meanwhile a similar organisation was born, which contained the first roots of another, much better known, which went by the acronym TIGR (Trieste, Istra, Gorizia and Reka). The first victim of this organised resistance of the Slav population in Venezia Giulia was the Istran Vladimir Gortan. A member of the Borba organisation, he was condemned to death for taking part in an attempt to prevent a group of electors from going to vote in the fascist elections in Pazin. In the course of this attempt, a comrade of Gortan had accidentally killed someone.



Hum

The Period of Totalitarian Régimes

Also members of the Borba organisation (and not as erroneously thought of TIGR) were the four heroes of Basovizza, condemned to capital punishment in 1930 for dynamite attacks against various institutions which had been implementing denationalisation. The penalty, which was intended to be a warning to others, was decided on the basis of the bomb placed in the editorial office of the newspaper *Il Popolo di Trieste*, which killed the editor of this Fascist daily.

During the 1930s the TIGR organisation operated in unison with its directorate located in Yugoslavia, where many Slovenians and Croatians had taken refuge immediately after the Italian occupation, whilst a second wave of refugees from Venezia Giulia poured over there at the end of the Twenties and at the start of the Thirties. In Yugoslavia Istrans formed several associations and societies, amongst which doubtlessly the main one was the society 'Istra,' which also published a periodical by the same name. Slovenians and Croatians of Venezia Giulia met in societies, organised in their turn into the *League of Yugoslav Societies for Migrants* (from 1932 *League of the Emigrants from Venezia Giulia*) with its headquarters in Belgrade. The League was headed by Ivan Maria Čok. In their organ the review *Istra* published in Zagreb, they usually supported the official line from Belgrade. This soon gave rise to opposition, organised around the review *Istarski glas* (1939–1940).

The Neglected Province

Italy did not encourage the economic development of Istra. Many colonists from Italian countries were more concerned with establishing the Italian character of Istra than with helping its economic development. There were admittedly some major works of infrastructure which can be admired even today, such as the improvement of the flow of the rivers Raša and Mirna, the salt works in Koper, waterworks in other parts of Istra and the asphaltation of all the important roads. But to a great extent these works were carried out chiefly because of imperialistic considerations, that is expansion towards the Balkans. Of the same character was the construction of a system of defence along the eastern border of the country.

The forecasts of Kandler and other proponents of autonomy of the preceding century, in regard to the role of Trieste within Italy, became reality, with the volume of traffic in the port of Trieste registering a big fall, due to the competition from the numerous Italian ports. The only Istran narrow-gauge railway line, of which the locals were proud, was closed down. Some say that, with the conquest of Abyssinia in 1936, the railway was transferred to that African country, others that it ended up as scrap metal somewhere in Sicily.

A Brief History of Istra

In search of better living conditions, many Slovenians and Croatians, anti-fascists or not, emigrated overseas or to Yugoslavia, to other regions in Italy, or else other European countries. Most of the Italian fighters in the international brigades of Republican Spain were Giuliani. Likewise most of those sentenced for political crimes by the special tribunal for the defence of the State were from Venezia Giulia.

Perhaps it is unnecessary to emphasise what a serious break in relationships amongst the various peoples of Istra was produced by fascism with its totalitarian mono-national politics. Thus we can perhaps more easily understand, but never justify, the actions of the regime (also totalitarian) that succeeded fascism, which kept the citizens oppressed with help from the equally 'sacred' communist ideal.

Istra in the Second World War

Istra went into the second world war with the rest of Italy. In September 1940 between Trbiž/Tarvisio and Rijeka the Italian command, as General M. Roatta states in his writings, called up two armies with a reserve, which together included 37 divisions and 38 companies of heavy artillery. This call to arms, in Roatta's judgement, represented the most impressive and solid work of preparation achieved by the Italian army in the course of the war. The top brass were fully aware of how serious the problem of 'quasi-aliens' was; it did not take long for these recruits to show their disloyalty; already before, and especially after the armistice they enrolled en masse in the overseas brigades. Together with the Yugoslav partisan troops, these brigades then fought Nazi fascism.

The situation was turbulent in the peninsula as well. Although in the opinion of the Communist International Istra should have been within the sphere of influence of the Italian Communist Party (CP), the Slovenian CP (chiefly on the basis of an accord of 1934 between the Italian CP and that of Austria), and the Croatian CP took the initiative in the organisation of anti-fascist resistance in Istra, which for two and a half years had been far from the principal hot spots of the anti-fascist struggle in Croatia and in Slovenia. The first cells of this movement, organised by militant communists who came from Slovenia (Oskar Kovačič) and from Croatia, fell under the fire of fascist police. Particularly hard were the setbacks suffered in the spring of 1943 at Labina, Pazin and Buzet. In June of 1942 a group of fighters had detached themselves from the Slovenian partisan formation which operated in the zone between Brkini and Mašun; they relocated themselves to Croatian Istra on Učka, but already towards the end of the year the group had been neutralised by detachments of the Italian army.

The Period of Totalitarian Régimes

In Slovenian Istra from December 1942 there was a permanent organiser of the Liberation Front (LF), Vidko Hlaj. Between April and May 1943 he formed the Provincial Committee of the Slovenian Communist Party and the Provincial Council of the LF for Slovenian Istra. Similarly in March of the same year at Karojba the first permanent organ of Croatian Istra was established, the directorate of the Croatian Communist Party for Istra. The Italian Communist Party encouraged anti-fascist resistance by the Italian population in the coastal towns.

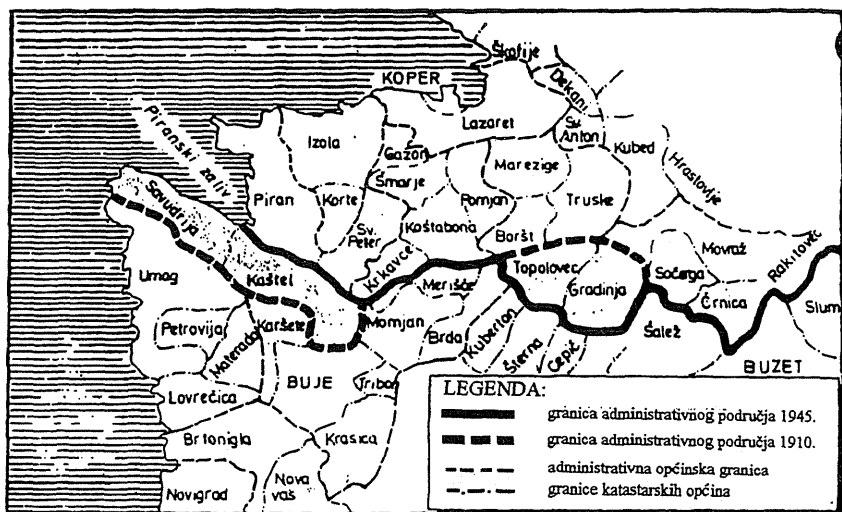
Resistance to the occupation was given great impulse by the fall of fascism, especially after the armistice (8 September 1943), when a general insurrection of the population took place. The whole of Istra was liberated, the administration taking shelter in Pula and in Trieste where the German army arrived soon after. The population of all three nationalities responded massively to the recruitment of partisan units. It is interesting that the chief of the so-called Independent Croatian State (Nezavisna Država Hrvatska) announced the sovereignty of his puppet State over Rijeka, Zara, and Croatian Istra, whilst Mussolini's Republic of Salò asked the Germans to cede Istra to it. Instead, with a proclamation by the high commissar, the Gauleiter of Carinthia Rainer, on 1 October 1943 the 'Adriatisches Küstenland' operational zone was formed with headquarters in Trieste, comprising the provinces of Friuli and Gorizia, Trieste, Istra, Rijeka and Lubljana. The legal status of this zone was not well defined in the proclamation, but from the government regulations issued subsequently the annexationist intentions are quite clear. In two measures taken at the end of 1943 the Germans far exceeded the limits set by international law on the jurisdiction of occupying forces. The first introduced compulsory military service within the territories of the Adriatic Littoral, whilst the second instituted a territorial militia under the command of SS high officers and of the police.

From August 1944 conditions in the Istran partisan war were getting worse. Reinforcements for the occupying forces arrived in the region and the construction of coastal fortifications and other defensive lines intensified in anticipation of a landing by Allied troops. Violent acts by the occupying forces became more and more frequent, often with participation by units of the fascist militia. It is estimated that 30,000 Istrans took part in the resistance, while many had joined the overseas brigades and others were in work corps of the Anglo-American army.

Demarcation Problems of the Border with Croatia

Already during the war arguments had started between Croatians and Slovenians in

A Brief History of Istra



Administrative divisions in Istra, 1910 and 1945

regard to the border in Istra. The Provincial Committee of Popular Liberation of Croatian Istra proclaimed on 13 September 1943 the unification of Croatian Istra with the motherland, i.e. with Croatia, and after a few days, on 20 September, such a decision was confirmed by the highest Croatian legislative body (ZAVNOH). In the meantime, a plenary session of the Liberation Front (FL) proclaimed the unification of the 'Slovenian Littoral' with Slovenia. Given the lack of clarity of the terms used to describe territories which in reality were not entirely defined territorially at this time, such proclamations and decisions were creating problems of demarcation.

Aware of this problem, the Istrans themselves (representatives of the Liberation Front in Slovenian Istra and representatives of the popular Liberation Front in Croatian Istra) had already defined the Croatian-Slovenian border in Istra during the war (in February 1944). It was fixed along the Dragon, through Topolovaz, Pregara and Cernizza until it reached the line Obrov-Rupa in north-east Istra. According to the sources located by F. Ostanek (cf. *Annales* 1/91, p 218), the Croatian representatives would have preferred dialectal borders to be followed in order to include into the Croatian side the localities of the mixed-language zone as well, but they were reminded of the general Slovenian nature of the zone.

The Period of Totalitarian Régimes

The result of this demarcation was substantially what is still today the border line between the two States. The Slovenian-Croatian border on the Dragonja was also discussed at a higher level, namely at a meeting organised by the Partisan Scientific Institute at Semič in March 1944 (in the paper given by F. Zwitter).

B. Grafenauer, referring to the Slovenian tradition in geography, history and linguistic studies concerning the Slovenian-Croatian border, states that generally speaking there was no controversy on this and that therefore there was no need later for political agreements. These became perhaps necessary only for later minor alterations, desired by the people mainly for economic reasons (such as the cadastral communes of Pregara and Černica near Buzet, or of Pasjak, Sapjane and Rupa to the north of Rijeka). People decided whether they would belong to one or the other republic by having recourse to a referendum (Pregara, Černica). Nevertheless, even after 1954, agitators from either side of the border would show up regularly in areas that had been subject of controversies, to convince the inhabitants of the justice of their views.

The Diplomatic Fight for Istra after World War II.

After the liberation (some circles in Italy prefer to refer to it as the occupation) of Istra and Trieste in April-May of 1945 the diplomatic tug of war started, at the end of which all of Istra (except the communes of Muggia and San Dorligo) became part of Yugoslavia. For a brief period to 12 June Trieste was under the Yugoslav military government. After that the territory of Venezia Giulia was divided by the so-called Morgan line or 'blue line' into Zone A, under the jurisdiction of the Allied military government (AMG), and into Zone B, under the Yugoslav military government (VUJA). Pula and its surrounds belonged to Zone A of Venezia Giulia. Abbazia was the headquarters of Zone B under the occupation and also under the Yugoslav military government for Venezia Giulia, Rijeka, Istra and the Slovenian Littoral. The civilian government of Zone B was entrusted to the Council of the Provincial Committee of Popular Liberation of the Slovenian Littoral, with seat in Ajdovščina, and to the Provincial Committee of Popular Liberation of Istra in Labin.

At the meeting of foreign ministers of the four great powers in May 1946 the French proposal for the Free Territory of Trieste (FTT) was accepted. In Paris on 10 February 1947 the representatives of twenty-one countries signed the peace treaty with Italy, which took effect on 15 September 1947. On the same day the FTT was established, and it too was divided into Zone A and Zone B. The border followed the Morgan line, that is the partly modified border of 1910 of the Muggia commune.

A Brief History of Istra

According to the treaty, the territory of Zone B was under the jurisdiction of the Yugoslav military government (VUJA FTT), while Zone A was under the jurisdiction of the Allied military government. The rest of Istran territory was assigned to Yugoslavia.

The Free Territory of Trieste

The territory of Zone B of the FTT was under the jurisdiction of the Istran Provincial Popular Committee located in Koper. It was divided into the districts of Koper and Buje.

From a territorial point of view, Zone B of the FTT was made up of the administrative-territorial units of the Austrian administrative constitution of 1910 in communes and cadastral communes. As established by L. Marin (in *Annales 2/92*), the following units formed Zone B of the FTT: the communes of Koper, Marezige, Pomjan, Izola, Piran, Buje, Novigrad, Umago and Brtonigla/Verteneglio, the cadastral commune Škofije of the commune of Muggia, the cadastral communes of Osp and Socerb of the commune of San Dorligo, the cadastral communes of Dekani, Tinjan and Rožar, and parts of the cadastral communes of Sant' Antonio and Santa Domenica of the commune of Dekani, the cadastral commune of Topolovec of the commune of Oportalj, the commune of Grožnjan, excluding the cadastral communes of Sterna and of Završje.

The Istran Provincial Popular Council adopted in December 1948 a decision on the registry of births, deaths, marriages, etc. The text of this document includes a list of all the popular councils of the district of Capodistria, the citizens' councils of Izola, Koper and Piran and the local councils of Korte, Strunjan/Strugnano, Kampel, Smedela, S. Toma, Vanganel, Šmarje, Kostabona, Dekani, Lucija, Osp, Škofije, Mareszige, Cesari, Sečovlje, Portorož, S. Peter and Boršt.

On the model of the administrative reforms carried out in Slovenia, the Istran Provincial Popular Council divided the province into districts and communes. The province of Istra was composed by the districts of Koper and of Buje, in their turn divided into communes. The district of Koper was made up of the following communes: Dekani, Izola (urban commune), Izola Territory, Koper (urban commune), Koper Territory, Marezige, Šmarje, Piran (urban commune), Sečovlje and Portorož. The district of Buje contained the following communes: Buje, Umago, Brtonigla, Grožnjan, Momjan and Novigrad.

This process was carried too far when even cadastral communes were subdivided, a unique case of fragmentation of territorial units in the post-war period. In other

parts of Slovenia the tendency was to keep cadastral communes intact, so as maintain order in the cadastral office and cadastral registers.

According to data from the statistics bureau in the districts of Koper and of Buje, at the end of 1953 the administrative-territorial partition of Zone B of the FTT included the district of Koper with nine surrounding areas, (Ankaran, Izola, Koper, Piran, Portorož., Sečovelje, Smedela, Strunjan, Lucija) and the district of Buje with six (Bašanija – earlier in the cadastral commune of Kaštel and of Salvudrija, Brtonigla, Buje, Grožnjan, Novigrad and Umago).

This arrangement lasted till the FTT came to an end in 1954 with the signing of the Memorandum of London. Then the former Zone B of the FTT became part of Yugoslavia, or to be more precise of Slovenia and Croatia, while Zone A became part of Italy.

The Great Slovenian Sacrifice for Yugoslavia

In Paris in 1946 international high diplomacy chose as the base for normalisation of relationships between Yugoslavia and Italy the so-called 'ethnic equilibrium', in accordance with which approximately as many persons of Yugoslav descent had to stay on in Italian territory (excluding the FTT) as there were Italians (by the 1910 census) in Yugoslav territory. If one takes into account the general Yugoslav situation, this requirement was almost met. However, if only Slovenians and Italians are counted, the results are surprising and prove above all a big Slovenian sacrifice on behalf of Yugoslavia. After the partitioning of the FTT in 1954, the final relationship was 1 to 4 to the disadvantage of the Slovenians.

It is true that Slovenia acquired a strip of land with an Italian majority—the area variously referred to as the coast, Littoral, or Riviera of Koper, or Slovenian Istra, of which much earlier S. Rutar (1899) had said that there 'one speaks Italian'. But it must not be forgotten that this represented compensation for the loss of the true Slovenian Littoral, the coastal strip between Barcola/Barkovlje, Villa Opicina/Opčine and S. Giovanni/Štivan where Slovenians had settled in remote times and where they made up 90% of the population. This area, however, was part of Zone A.

The consequence of the political division was an enormous change in ethnic relationships after 1947, when the number of Italians in Slovenia continued to drop, principally because of the exodus, till it dwindled to 3,000 in 1981 (barely 10% of Italians in the 1910 census). For the coastal strip of Slovenian Istra it represents a significant alteration in the ethnic composition of the population, to the detriment of the indigenous constituent.

Italian historiography often advances the phenomenon of the so-called *fojbas* or *foibe* (clefts in the Karst into which people were thrown after being killed or while still alive) as the main reason for the emigration of persons of Italian culture from Istra after World War II. Some Italian historians, however, have denied that there was such a mass activity except in the few months immediately following the end of the war, while a greater number of people could have met this sad fate in the period following the capitulation of Italy in 1943. In this latter period no mass emigrations from Istra have been noted, and therefore it is difficult to accept the thesis that this vindictive behaviour (inhuman indeed, but of a kind not uncommon in times of war and its immediate aftermath) was a direct cause of the emigration of the Italian population of Istra to Italy and other countries. Undoubtedly the very fact that this happened arouses extremely unpleasant feelings, and this is the reason why the phenomenon of the *fojbas* has often been used as a psychological factor in bilateral or multilateral propaganda activities.

It is, however, necessary to view the phenomenon of migrations, of 'esulism' (going into exile) and 'opting' as an extremely complex subject, which must be viewed from many different aspects. It should be pointed out that the observation of the Istran historian of the last century, C. de Franceschi, that the Slavs had never conquered Istra by force of arms (and that therefore the Italians were entitled to the territory), had now been invalidated. So some have advanced the opinion that the section of the population which had declared itself as Italian, after many centuries of ruleing and of being in control of all the important functions of the country, suddenly found itself in an inferior position, and still more, inferior to *barbarians* as the defenders of this earlier theory had called them. Therefore they may have preferred emigration to remaining in such a situation. Also, their new masters brought with them a system which officially acknowledged all religious beliefs, but was in fact clearly directed against the Church, so many religious Catholics doubted whether they would be allowed to practise their religion without being humiliated and neglected.

The Reasons for the Exodus

From any point of view, the Istran situation presented one of the most acute European problems in the first post-war decade. Together with the German question and that of Austria, the drama of Trieste which was played out in those years represented the legacy of a war-time alliance which had thrust together two social systems that could not be reconciled, capitalism and socialism. In spite of its formal recognition of human rights, and of the rights of minorities in the restructured nation

The Period of Totalitarian Régimes

the new power always exercised an ideological pressure on the population, however much it might be concealed behind the mask of communist internationalism.

It is clear, however, that at the peace conferences the new State borders were not being drawn using ideological criteria, but on the basis of national considerations. The ideological criteria were then used to convince the national minorities to line up with one or the other side. To this end socio-political organisations with high-sounding names were created, the most important of them being SIAU, the Slovenian-Italian Antifascist Union, which by the necessities of the political struggle mobilised the masses in the name of 'democracy'. Anyone who thought differently, or was nationally 'inconsistent', would be subjected to the so-called 'commissions of purification'. The first great success of such a policy in the national field was the massive exodus from Pula, following the coming into effect of the peace treaty with Italy (15 September 1947). Great ideological pressure was exerted also at the time of the clash with the Kominform which caused the emigration of numerous sympathisers of the CP, Italians and others, from Istra and from Zone B of the FTT.

It may be true that then things had not gone so far as direct physical violence (a matter which is yet to be researched), but nonetheless the very fact that everyone was being forced to choose a side and that the names of those suspected of being supporters of the Kominform were made public, is an indication of how much pressure was being put on individual people.

Even more massive was the exodus from Istra after 1953, when it became clear that Italy was going to lose the peninsula. A vast propaganda campaign was organised in favour of the exodus of the population, whereas up to then various ways had been tried to maintain the presence of the Italian population in Istra, in order to legitimise Italian territorial claims. Because of this ideological pressure, many people of Slav origin emigrated together with the Italian population. It follows that the theory according to which the main impetus of the exodus was not violent acts, but rather a feeling on the part of the Italians, who up to then had enjoyed a dominant position, that their subordination to the *S'ciavi* (Slavs) did not make due allowance for the value of the former and the inferiority of the latter, cannot be taken literally.

Any assumption which may be made about the number of exiles in advance of an in-depth study of the problem is pure speculation. It will be possible to unravel this problem only with the aid of the archives of the Yugoslav military government (which is in Belgrade) and of the State archives in England, USA and Italy, several of which are not yet accessible. The fundamental comparison in absolute or relative terms for any form of estimate remains assuredly the census of 1910.

Conclusion

As the northernmost peninsula in the Mediterranean, and therefore nearest to the Central European area by sea, Istra has always been in the centre of affairs, no matter how the world may have been defined in various historical eras and circumstances. Its people have followed and also often directly taken part in the major political, economic and ideological changes which have taken place, but they have always somehow been pushed into the background and marginalised and have found themselves on the outer limits of various civilisations, ethnic groups and national entities. They have been made the subject of the spheres of interest of 'major' politics and political history only when a 'history' has been created on their account in the name of the interests of the great powers. This is the picture which Istra shows even today, when Slavs and Romans, Croatians, Slovenians and Italians have lived in its territory for much more than a millenium, and throughout this shared history have more often been together than apart.

I conclude with one wish: that the multiethnic and multicultural society which has been created, whose coming into existence has been outlined on these pages, will lead to the development of the much to be desired example of respect, peaceful coexistence and economic development of the Istran peoples and their states on this peninsula. Life can only be enriched by cultural diversity, just as its quality is destroyed by ethnocentrism and intolerance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

[AMSI = *Atti e memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria*, Parenzo/Poreč 1885-; Atti CRSR = *Atti del Centro di Ricerche Storiche, Rovinj-Rovigno* 1970-; A.T. = *Archeografo Triestino*]

D. Alberi, *Istria, storia, arte, cultura*, Trieste 1997.

E. Apih, *Italia, fascismo e antifascismo nella Venezia Giulia 1918-1943*, Bari 1966.

F. Babudieri, *Le vicende economiche della Regione Giulia e del Friuli nei secoli XVIII, XIX e XX*, Trieste 1971.

J. Basioli, 'Trgovina i raspodjela morske ribe na obalama Istre u prošlosti' *Jadranski zbornik* 6, Rijeka 1966.

B. Benussi, 'Introduzione alle Commissioni dei Dogi ai Podestà veneti nell'Istria', *AMSI* 3, 1887.

B. Benussi, *Storia documentata di Rovigno*, Trieste 1888.

B. Benussi, 'Lo statuto del comune di Umago', *AMSI* 8, 1892.

B. Benussi, 'La liturgia slava nell'Istria', *AMSI* 9, 1893.

B. Benussi, 'Nel medio evo. Pagine di storia istriana', *AMSI* 9-13, 1893-1897.

B. Benussi, 'Frammento demografico (Capodistria)', *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Attilio Hortis* II, 1910.

B. Benussi, 'Statuto del comune di Pola', *AMSI* 27, 1911.

B. Benussi: *Polo nelle sue istituzioni municipali sino al 1797*, Venezia, 1923.

B. Benussi, *L'Istria nei suoi due millenni di storia*, Trieste 1924.

B. Benussi, *Manuale di geografia, storia e statistica della Regione Giulia*, Trieste 1924.

S. Bernik, *Koper, Izola, Piran. Organizem solvenskih obmorskih mest*, 1968.

M. Bertoša, 'La guerra degli Usocchi e la rovina dell'economia istriana', *Atti CRSR* V (1974).

M. Bertosa, *Mletačka Istra u 16. i 17. stoljeću*, I-II, Pula 1986.

J. Bianchi, *Odoricus de Susannis. Thesaurus Ecclesiae aquilejensis*, Udine 1847.

I. Beuc, *Istarske studije*, Zagreb 1975.

E. Boltin-Tome, 'Izsledki ob zaključku raziskovanj nekropole v Predloki', *Slovensko morje in zaledje* 4-5, Koper 1981.

R. Bratož, 'Krščanstvo v Ogleju in na vzhodnem vplivnem območju glejske cerkve od začetkov do nastopa verske svobode', *Acta ecclesiastica Sloveniae* 8, Ljubljana, 1986.

M. Budicin, 'Commissione o uero capitoli del Castellani di Momian', *Atti CRSR* 12, 1982.

Bibliography

- M. Budicin, 'Statuti et ordini da osservarsi nel castello di Orsera e suo contado', *Atti CRSR* 13, 1983.
- C. Buttazzoni, 'Dei governatori d'Istria a nome dei marchesi principi i patriarchi d'Aquileia', *Archeografo Triestino* (A.T.), n.s. 2, Trieste 1870.
- Cadastré national de l'Istrie*, Sušak 1946.
- G. Caprin, *L'Istria nobilissima*, 1905.
- G.R. Carli, *Antichità Italiane, Appendici di documenti spettanti alla parte quarta*, Milano 1791.
- L. Čermelj, *Slovenci in Harvatje pod Italijo med obema vojnama*, Ljubljana 1965.
- J. Chmel, *Urkunden zur Geschichte von Österreich, Steiermark, Kärnten, Krain, Görz, Triest, Istrien, Tirol - aus den Jahren 1246-1300* (in *Fontes rerum Austriacarum* II/1), Wien 1849.
- C. Combi, 'Rapporto sull'Istria al Vicerè d'Italia dal consigliere di stato Bargnani nel 1806', *Porta Orientale* 2, Trieste 1858.
- C. Combi, *Cenni etnografici sull'Istria*, Trieste 1859.
- C. Combi, *Istria. Studj storici e politici*, Milano 1886.
- G. Cuscito, *Cristianesimo antico ad Aquileia e in Istria* (in *Fonti e studi per la storia della Venezia Giulia* II/3), Trieste 1977.
- A. Da Mosto, *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Tomo I: Archivi dell'amministrazione centrale della Repubblica Veneta e archivi notarili*, Roma 1937.
- D. Darovec, 'Prez razvoja oblastnih struktur in vpliv Benetk na komuno Koper v razvitem srednjem veku', *Primorska srečanja* 84/85, Koper 1988.
- D. Darovec, 'O preteklosti gradu, rodbine, komuna in posesti Pietrapelose', *Buzetski zbornik* (B.Z.) 13, Buzet 1989.
- D. Darovec, 'Obrambna organizacija komuna Koper pod Benečani', *Kronika* 37, Ljubljana 1989.
- D. Darovec, 'Od prihoda Slovanov do konca Beneške republike', in *Kraški rob in Bržanija*, Koper 1990 and *Annales* 1/91/and 2/92, Koper 1991-1992
- D. Darovec, 'Le fonti conservate presso l'Archivio regionale di Capodistria ed i materiali già pubblicati relativi alla storia dell'Istria veneta', *Acta Histriae* I, Koper-Muggia 1993.
- D. Darovec, 'Prispevek k zgodovini upravne in obrambne organizacije koprškega podeželja v srednjem veku', in *Kultura na narodnostno mešanem ozemlju slovenske Istre*, Ljubljana 1993.
- M. Deanovic, 'Istro-romanske studije', *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti (JAZU)* 303, Zagreb 1955.

Bibliography

- D. De Castro, *La questione di Trieste. L'azione politica e diplomatica italiana dal 1943 al 1954*, Trieste 1981.
- C. De Franceschi, 'Sulle varie popolazioni dell'Istria', *L'Istria* VII, 1952, 233-8.
- C. De Franceschi, 'Studio critico sull'istrumento della pretesa reambulazione di confini del 5 maggio del 1325, A.T. 1885.
- C. De Franceschi, *L'Istria, Note storiche*, Parenzo 1879.
- C. De Franceschi, 'I Castelli della Val d'Arsa', *AMSI* 14, 1898.
- C. De Franceschi, 'Il comune polese e la Signoria dei Castropola', *AMSI* 18-20, 1903-1905.
- C. De Franceschi, 'La popolazione di Pola nel sec. XV e nei seguenti', *A.T.* 31, 1907.
- C. De Franceschi, 'Statuta communis Albonae 1341', *A.T.* 32, 1908.
- C. De Franceschi, 'Chartularium Piranense I', *AMSI* 36, 1924.
- C. De Franceschi, 'Storia documentata della Contea di Pisino', *AMSI* n.s. 10-12, 1963.
- C. De Franceschi 'Saggi e considerazioni sull'Istria nell'alto Medioevo' *AMSI* n.s. 16, 1968.
- B. M. De Rubeis, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Aquilejensis commentario historico-cronologico-critico illustrata*, Argentina 1740.
- G. De Vergottini, *Lineamenti storici della costituzione politica dell'Istria durante il Medio Evo*, I-II, Roma 1924-5.
- G. De Vergottini, 'La costituzione provinciale dell'Istria nel tardo medio evo', *AMSI* 38, 1926.
- J.B. Duroselle, 'Le conflit de Trieste 1943-1954', Brussels 1966.
- I. Erceg, 'Dva i pol stoljeća kretanja stanovništva Istre (1554-1807)', *Gunjacin zbornik*, Zagreb 1980.
- L. Foscarini & E. Vecchiet, *I castelli del Carso medioevale*, Trieste 1985.
- B. Fučić, *Glagoljski natpisi*, Zagreb 1982.
- F. Gestrin, 'Trgovina slovenskega zaledja s primorskimi mesti od 13. do konca 16. stoletja', *Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti (SAZU)*, Ljubljana 1965.
- F. Gestrin, 'Pomorstvo srednjeveškega Pirana', *SAZU*, Ljubljana 1978.
- F. Gestrin & D. Mihelič, 'Tržaški pomorski promet 1959/60', *SAZU*, Ljubljana 1990.
- B. Grafenauer, 'Ob tisočstiristoletnici slovanske naselitve na današnje slovensko narodnostno ozemlje', in Pavel Diacon: *Zgodovina Langobardov*, Marburg 1988.

Bibliography

- B. Grafenauer, 'Mito o "Istri" in resnica istrskega polotoka', *Acta Histriae* I, Koper-Muggia 1993.
- G. Gravisi, 'Nomi locali istriani derivati da nomi de piante', *Pagine Istriane (P.I.)*, Koper 1908.
- G. Gravisi, *Toponomastica del comune di Cittanova d'Istria*, Poreč 1934.
- M. Greco, 'L'attività politica di Capodistria durante il XIII secolo', *AMSI* 49, 1939.
- L'Istria fra le due guerre. Contributi per una storia sociale*. Istituto regionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Trieste-Roma 1985.
- Istria. Storia di una regione di frontiera* (a cura di F. Salimbeni), I.R.C.I., Trieste 1993.
- J. Jeri, *Tržaško vprašanje po drugi svetovni vojni*, Ljubljana 1961.
- A. Joppi, 'Diritti di Aquileia nel Marchesato d'Istria', *A.T.* 1882.
- A. Joppi 'Documenti inediti sulla storia di Muggia', *A.T.* 1883.
- A. Joppi, 'Documenti Goriziani', *A.T.* 1885.
- M. Kacin-Wohinz, *Primorski Slovenci pod italijansko zasedbo 1918-1921*, Koper 1972.
- M. Kacin-Wohinz, *Narodnoobrambno gibanje primorskih Slovencev v letih 1921-1928*, 1-2, Koper 1977.
- P. Kandler, *Codice Diplomatico Istriano*, Lloyd Adriatico, Trieste 1986.
- P. Kandler, 'Una sentenza criminale del secolo decorso. In Castova, il 3. aprile 1716', *L'Istria* I, 1846.
- P. Kandler, 'Dei Morlacchi che abitano la parte montana della Vena fra il Risano e Pinguento', *L'Istria* 6, 1851.
- P. Kandler, 'Il commune Slavo nell'Istria superiore', *L'Istria* 6, 1851.
- P. Kandler, *Indicazioni per riconoscere le cose storiche del Litorale*, Trieste 1855.
- P. Kandler, *Notizie storiche di Montona*, 1875.
- Kelti in njihovi sodobniki na ozemlju Jugoslavije*. Narodni muzej Ljubljana 1983.
- D. Klen, 'Valput u Istri', *Zbornik Historijskog instituta JAZU*, vol. 3, Zagreb 1961.
- K. Klen, 'Statut Grožnjana', *Vjesnik historijskog arhiva u Rijeci i Pazinu (VHARiP)* 9-10, Rijeka 1964-1965.
- D. Klen, 'Mletačka eksploatacija istarskih šuma i obvezan prevoz drveta do luke kao specifičan državni porez u Istri od 15. do kraja 18. stoljeća', *Problemi sjevernog Jadrana* 1, Rijeka 1963.
- D. Klen: 'Historijska grada za područje gornjeg Jadrana', in: *Ljetopis JAZU za 1964*, Zagreb 1967.

Bibliography

- D. Klen, *Statuti, ubari, notari Istre, Rijeke, Hrvatskog primorja i otoka, Katalog izložbe*, Rijeka 1968.
- D. Klen, *Šćavunska vesla. Galije i galijoti na istočnoj obali Jadrana*, Pula 1986.
- F. Kos, *Gradivo za zgodovino Slovencev v srednjem veku I-V*, Ljubljana 1902-1928.
- M. Kos, *Studija o istarskom razvodu*, Rad JAZU, 1931.
- M. Kos, *O starejši slovanski kolonizaciji v Istri*, Razprave SAZU, Ljubljana 1950.
- M. Kos, *Srednjeveški urbarja za Slovenijo, Urbarji Slovenskega primorja, tomo III*, Ljubljana 1954.
- J. Kramar, *Narodna prebija istrskih Slovencev*, Koper 1991.
- L. Lago & C. Rossit, *Descriptio Histriae*, Trieste 1981.
- Leggi statutarie per il buon governo della Provincia d'Istria. Delle Communita, Fontici, Monti di Pietà, Scuole, ed altri Luochi Pii, ed Offizj della medesima*, Venezia 1757
- W. Lenel, *Venezianisch-Istrische Studien*, Strasburg 1911.
- P.S. Leicht, 'La "forma sacramenti" dell'Istria e la sua data', *Archivio storico italiano* 2, 1915.
- P.S. Leicht, 'Note agli statuti Istriani con particolare riguardo al diritto di prelazione', *AMSI* 53, Venezia 1949.
- P.S. Leicht, *Storia del diritto Italiano*, I-V, Milano 1950.
- S. Ljubić, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae. Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 6, 1876.
- T. Luciani, 'La popolazione dell'Istria veneta nel 1741', *La Provincia dell'Istria*, Koper 1872.
- T. Luciani, *Fonti per la storia dell'Istria*, 1875.
- F. Majer, *Inventario dell'antico archivio municipale di Capodistria*, Koper 1904.
- F. Majer, 'Gli ebrei feneratori a Capodistria', *P.I.* 1912.
- M. Makarovič and M. Klaner, *Slovenska Istra*, Ljubljana 1987.
- C. Marchesetti, *I castellieri preistorici di Trieste e della Regione Giulia*, Trieste 1981 (1903).
- L. Margetič, *Histriaca et Adriatica. Raccolta di saggi storico-giuridici e storici*, Trieste 1983.
- L. Marin, 'Upravna in teritorialna razdelitev Slovenske Istre v zadnjih treh stoletjih', *Annales* 1/'91 e 2/'92, Koper 1991-92.
- A. Marsich, 'Effemeridi Istriane', *La Provincia dell'Istria* 13, Koper 1879.
- A. Marsich, 'Saggio di annali Istriani del secolo 13', *Il Patria* 2-3, Koper 1886.
- A. Marsich, 'Quando e come vennero gli Slavi in Istria', *A.T.* 13, 1887.

Bibliography

- B. Marušić, 'Iz povijesti kolonata u Istri i Slovenskom primorju', *Jadranski zbornik* 2, 1957.
- B. Marušić, 'Materijalna kultura Istre od 5. do 9. stoljeća', *Archeološka istraživanja u Istri i Hrvatskom primorju*, Pula 1982, 81-105.
- B. Marušić, 'Materijalna kultura Istre od 9. do 12. stoljeća', *Archeološka istraživanja u Istri i Hrvatskom primorju*, Pula 1982, 107-24.
- E. Mayer, 'La costituzione municipale dalmato-istriana nel medio evo e le sue basi romane', *AMSI* 22, 1907.
- V. Melik, 'Volitve na Slovenskem 1861-1918', *Slovenska matica*, Ljubljana, 1965.
- D. Mihelič, 'Socida v Piranu od 1280 do 1340', *Slovensko morje in zaledje* 2-3, Koper 1979.
- D. Mihelič, 'Najstarejsa piranska notarska knjiga', *SAZU*, Ljubljana 1984.
- D. Mihelič, *Hrvatski nardoni preporod u Istri, vol. 2*, Pazin 1991.
- A.S. Minotto, *Documenta ad Forumjulii, Patriarcham Aquileiensem, Tergestum, Istriam, Goritiam spectantia ecc.*, Venezia 1870.
- A.S. Minotto, 'Documenta ad Forumjulii, Istriam, Goritiam, Tergestum spectantia', *AMSI* 9, 1893.
- S. Mitis, 'Documenti per la storia di Pola', *AMSI* 27, 1911.
- S. Mitis, 'Cherso e Ossero sotto la Serenissima', *AMSI* 34, 1933.
- S. Morpurgo, 'Mercanti fiorentini a Capodistria', *Archivio Storico per Trieste, l'Istria e il Trentino*, 1884.
- L. Morteani, *Notizie storiche della città di Pirano*, Trieste 1886.
- L. Morteani, *Isola ed i suoi statuti*, Poreč 1888.
- L. Morteani, *Storia di Montona*, Trieste 1895.
- G. Muciaccia, 'Gli statuti di Valle d'Istria', *Atti CRSR* 7, 1977.
- P. Naldini, *Corografia ecclesiastica o sia descrizione della città e della diocesi di Giustinopoli detto volgarmente Capo d'Istria*, Venezia 1700
- Nazionalismo e neofascismo nella lotta politica al confine orientale 1945-1975*, Istituto regionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Trieste 1978.
- G. Netto, 'Il trattato di Treviso del 1291: Benedetto XI e Gherardo da Camino tra Venezia ed Aquileia', *AMSI* 68, 1968.
- M.A. Nicoletti, 'Patriarchato d'Aquileia sotto Volfero di Colonia' *A.T.* 1870/1.
- B.C. Novak, *Trieste 1941-1954. La lotta politica, etnica e ideologica*, Chicago-Milano 1973.
- 'Oko Trsta', *Zbornik radova*, Beograd 1945.

Bibliography

- F. Ostanek, 'Slovensko-hrvatska jezikovna meja v Istri. Gradivo za obdobje od leta 1860 do 1956', *Annales* 1/'91, 2/'92 and 3/'93, Koper 1991-1993.
- M. Pahor, 'Koprski upor leta 1348', *Istrski zgodovinski zbornik*, Koper 1953.
- M. Pahor & J. Šumrada, 'Statu piranskega komuna od 13. do 17. stoletja', *SAZU*, Ljubljana 1987.
- M. Pahor, *Slovensko denarnistvo v Trstu - denarne zadruge, hranilnice, posojilnice in banke v letih 1880-1918*, Trieste 1989.
- L. Parentin, *Incontri con l'Istria, la sua storia e la sua gente*, Trieste 1987.
- L. Parentin, *Cittanova d'Istria*, Trieste 1974.
- P. Paschini, 'L'Istria patriarcale durante il governo del patriarca Antonio Caetani (1395-1402)', *AMSI* 42, 1930.
- M. Peršič, 'Zidje v poznosrednjeveški beneški Istri', *Slovensko morje in zaledje* 6-7, Koper, 1984.
- P. Petronio, *Memorie sacre e profane dell'Istria*, 1681 (reprinted Trieste 1968).
- J. Pirjevec, *Tržaški voz. O zgodovinskih dogodkih in političnem razvoju v letih 1945-1980*, Trieste 1985.
- La Provincia dell'Istria*, Capodistria 1867-1889.
- A. Puschi, 'La necropoli preromana di Nesazio', *AMSI* 21, 1905.
- G. Radossi, 'Introduzione allo statuo di Dignano', *Atti CRSR* 1, 1970.
- G. Radossi, 'Lo statuto di Pinguento del 1575', *Atti CRSR* 9, 1979.
- J. Roglič, *Cadastre national de l'Istrie*, 1946.
- D. Rosetti, 'Corografia di Trieste, suo territorio e diocesi', *A.T.* 1875.
- M. Rupel, *Valvasorjevo berilo*, Ljubljana 1969.
- S. Rutar, *Samosvoje mesto Trst in mejna grofija Istra*, Ljubljana 1897.
- M. Sanuto, *Diarii 1496-1533*, Venezia 1879-1902.
- B. Schiavuzzi, 'Le epidemie di peste bubbonica in Istria', *AMSI* 4, 1888.
- B. Schiavuzzi, 'La malaria in Istria. Ricerche sulle cause che l'hanno prodotta e che la mantengono', *AMSI* 5, 1890.
- B. Schiavuzzi, 'Le istituzioni sanitarie istriane nei tempi passati', *AMSI* 8, 1893.
- B. Schiavuzzi, 'Cenni storici sull'etnografia dell'Istria' *AMSI* 17-20, 1901-1904.
- F. Schumi, *Urkunden und Regestenbuch des Herzogth. Krain*, vol. 2.
- P. Sema, *La lotta in Istria 1890-1945*, Trieste 1971.
- F. Semi, *Capris, Justinopolis, Capodistria*, Trieste 1975.
- F. Semi, *Istria e Dalmazia. Uomini e tempi. Istria e Fiume*, Del Bianco Editore, Bologna 1991.
- D. Šepić, *Italija, saveznici i jugoslavensko pitanje, 1914-1918*, Zagreb 1970.

Bibliography

- N. Šetić, *Napoleon u Istri*, Pula 1989.
- Slovensko primorje in Istra*, Koper 1953.
- A. Šonje, Putevi i komunikacije u prehistoriji i antici na području Poreštine, Poreč 1991.
- P. Stancovich, *Biografia degli uomini distinti dell'Istria*, 1828.
- Statut koprškega komuna iz leta 1423 z dodatki do leta 1668*, Redakcija L. Margetić, Pokrajinski arhiv Koper - Centro di Ricerche Storiche di Rovigno 1993.
- Vj. Štefanić, 'Glagoljaši u Kopru g. 1467-1806', *Starine JAZU* 46, 1956
- A. Stipčević, *Iliri. Povijest, život, kultura. Školska knjiga*, Zagreb, 1974.
- Storia di un esodo. Istria 1945-1956*, Istituto regionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Trieste 1980.
- P. Strčić, 'Prilog poznavanju iredentističke djelatnosti Carla Combija pedesetih i šezdesetih godina 19. stoljeća', *Annales* 1/91, Koper 1991.
- B. Stulli, *Istarsko okružje 1825-1860*, Pazin 1984.
- L. & M. M. Tacchella, *Il cardinale agostino Valier e la riforma tridentina nella diocesi di Trieste*, Udine 1974.
- P. Tekavčić, 'Problematika istroromanskih studija', *Demeti* 4, Rijeka 1971.
- J. Titl, Socialnogeografski problemi na koprskem podeželju, Koper 1965.
- G.F. Tommasini, 'De' Commentarj storici-geografici della provincia dell Istria Libri otto con appendice', *A.T.* 4, 1837.
- M. Tomšič, *Noč je moja, dan je tvoj (istrske štorije)*, Ljubljana 1989.
- G. De Totto, 'Feudi e feudatari nell'Istria veneta', *AMSI* 51-52, 1939/40.
- G. Vassilich, 'Statuto della città di Veglia' *AMSI* 1-2, 1885.
- D. Venturini, *Il casato dei marchesi Gravisi*, Poreč 1907.
- D. Venturini, 'Il vecchio "Maggior Consiglio" della città di Koper', *P.I.* 1903.
- G. Vesnaver, *Notizie storiche del Castello di Portole nell'Istria*, Trieste 1884.
- G. Vesnaver, 'Grisignana d'Istria', *AMSI* 3, 1887.
- G. Vesnaver, 'Stemmi e iscrizioni venete di Portole in Istria', *AMSI* 11, 1895.
- S. Vilfan, 'Kzgodovini kmečkega kupčevanja s soljo', *Kronika* 10-11, 1962/63.
- A. Vivante, *Irredentismo adriatico*, Firenze 1919.
- H. Weisflecker, *Die Regesten der Grafen von Görz und Tirol Pfalzgrafen in Kärnten I*, Innsbruck 1949.
- Zgodovina Slovencev*, Ljubljana 1979.
- M. Zjačić, 'Dvigradski statut', *VHARiP* 6-7, 1961-1962.
- M. Zjačić, 'Statut bužetske občine', *VHARiP* 8-9, 1963-1964.

Bibliography

- M. Zjačić, 'Notarska knjiga bužetskog notara Martina Sotolića 1492-1517, *Monumenta historico-juridica Slavorum meridionalium* vol. 13, Zagreb 1979.
- F. Zwitter *et al.*, Nacionalni problemi v Habsburški monarhiji, Ljubljana 1962.
- D. Žerjal, *Spomini in razlage. O protifašističnem boju primorske mladine med vojnama (poslušal in zapisal Aleksej Kalc)*, Trieste 1990.
- S. Žitko, 'Solno tihotapstvo na območju piranskih, koprskih in miljskih solin v času Beneške republike', *Slovensko morje in zaledje* 2-3, Koper 1979.
- S. Žitko, 'Listina rižanskega placita - dileme in nasprotja domačega in tujega zgodovinarja', *Annales* 1/91 and 2/92, Koper 1991.
- J. Zontar & al., *Priročniki in karte o organizacijski strukturi do 1918*, Ljubljana 1988.