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# ACTA HISTRIAE

## 33, 2025, 2

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

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FACING FOREIGNERS IN URBAN EARLY MODERN EUROPE:  
LEGISLATION, DELIBERATION, PRACTICE –  
INTRODUCTION TO THE SPECIAL DOUBLE ISSUE

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**ABSTRACT**

*This Introduction frames a special double issue of Acta Histriae comprising thirteen articles on foreigners in European towns (c. 1400–1800). Building on our project proposal’s analytic triad—law, deliberation, practice—it traces changing definitions of foreignness and the calibrated inclusion/exclusion of newcomers (status ladders, citizenship, guilds, markets, health regimes, gendered boundaries, marginality). To ensure comparability across diverse archives and regions, each contribution was synthesised through a transparent, prompt-guided LLM workflow, with human verification, yielding concise vignettes that foreground temporal change from medieval municipal grammars to early modern co-jurisdiction.*

*Keywords: Foreigners and foreignness, early modern Europe, urban citizenship and status, law–deliberation–practice, inclusion and exclusion, municipal statutes and councils, health regimes and quarantine*

AFFRONTARE GLI STRANIERI NELL’EUROPA URBANA DELLA PRIMA  
ETÀ MODERNA: LEGISLAZIONE, DELIBERAZIONE, PRATICA –  
INTRODUZIONE AL NUMERO SPECIALE DOPPIO

**SINTESI**

*Questa Introduzione inquadra un numero speciale doppio di Acta Histriae composto da tredici saggi sugli stranieri nelle città europee (ca. 1400–1800). Muovendo dalla triade analitica delineata nel progetto—legge, deliberazione, pratica—ricostruisce l’evoluzione delle definizioni di straniero e le forme calibrate di inclusione/esclusione dei nuovi arrivati (scale di status, cittadinanza, corporazioni, mercati, regimi sanitari, confini di genere, marginalità). Per garantire la comparabilità tra archivi e aree diverse, ogni contributo è stato sintetizzato mediante un flusso trasparente, guidato da prompt, con l’ausilio di*

*un LLM e verifica umana, producendo brevi vignette che mettono in primo piano il mutamento temporale dal lessico municipale medievale alla co-giurisdizione della prima età moderna.*

*Parole chiave: stranieri e stranierità, Europa della prima età moderna, cittadinanza urbana e status, legge–deliberazione–pratica, inclusione ed esclusione, statuti municipali e consigli, regimi sanitari e quarantena*

### **PROEMIUM: Aims and Method, with a prompt-guided LLM workflow and human verification**

Facing foreigners is always a distinctive challenge. The complexity of foreignness in European lands during the transition from the Middle Ages to the early modern period calls for an interdisciplinary and comparative approach. Many of these dimensions are explored in this special double issue of *Acta Histriae*.<sup>1</sup> Methodologically, the Introduction engages both current research questions and the scholarly use of a large language model (LLM) as a means of obtaining a coherent interpretation. On the basis of thirteen articles produced within two projects under my direction (*ChangeCode*; *Facing Foreigners*)—accepted after peer review—I sought to test the analytical, synthetic, and abstracting capacity of GPT-5 Thinking in this thematic field.

Part I (“Problematisation and Research Aims”) was written without AI, in order to set out the research premises in the conventional manner and to familiarise the model through staged summaries (in three-page increments). After several rounds of exchanges and **human verification**, each article was analysed to produce a coherent synthesis aligned with Part I and the **law–deliberation–practice** triad. I then designed the premises and objectives for the PROMPT, which is reproduced as an

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1 Studies were carried out within the framework of COST Action CA22149 *CHANGECODE – Research Network for Interdisciplinary Studies of Transhistorical Deliberative Democracy*, and the research project J6-4603 *Facing Foreigners Between the Medieval and Early Modern Period in the North Adriatic Towns*, funded by the Slovene Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS) and they were presented at the international conference *Facing Foreigners in Urban Early Modern Europe: Legislation, Deliberation, Practice*, which took place at the University of Maribor from 27–29 November 2024 and was attended by 31 speakers with 28 papers from practically all European regions. The discussions that reached the editorial board of *Acta Histriae* after the conference and underwent the double-blind peer review process are published in this and in the next issue. This paper is the result also of research carried out in the research programme P6-0435 *Practices of conflict resolution between customary and statutory law in the area of today’s Slovenia and its neighbouring lands*, and of research projects GC-0002 *LLM4DH – Large language models for digital humanities* and J7-60128 *AID HCH – Break through in humanities and cultural heritage with artificial intelligence*, funded by ARIS.

appendix to Part II, Vignettes by Thematic Clusters, of this Introduction. Part II was written with the assistance of ChatGPT-5 Thinking, by instructing the model—to via the finalised prompt—to analyse each individual article.

Both parts were sent to the respective authors for verification (at that time excluding this proem, the Methodological Note, and the final paragraph of the Conclusions).<sup>2</sup> All authors responded. Initially, they were not informed about the AI-assisted workflow in order to minimise bias; they were subsequently notified that (1) analyses were conducted in a licensed, closed ChatGPT environment; (2) summaries were AI-assisted and then revised in light of their comments; and (3) written consent for publication was obtained via email. All applicable European ethical standards were observed.<sup>3</sup>

The objective is twofold: to present the research corpus and, at the same time, to assess the accuracy and reliability of GPT-5 Thinking for reading and summarising scholarly articles, identifying methodological procedures that yield the most robust results.

## I. PROBLEMATISATION AND RESEARCH AIMS

Most of the early modern period can be regarded as an age of foreigners: an extraordinary geographic and social mobility began due to population and economic growth, wars, epidemics and religious upheaval. Since their establishment, foreigners have been essential to cities and towns and the research on urban society, economy, law and politics is inseparable from the investigation of migration, aliens and strangers.

If ever, then the current period of mass migration, a global pandemic and wars are an opportunity to broaden the public debate by contributing an historical insight into the problem. It is for this reason that papers on this issue attempt to unveil the complex relationship between the identity, belonging, perception and representation of foreigners between the medieval and early modern period. The following pages problematise the central matter, the questions that animate this issue, and the historiographical pay-off of reading foreignness through law, deliberation and practice.

From the political perspective, the early modern period was an era of geographic discovery and the related colonial competition, shifts in power and influence among European powers, of confessional division, great peasant revolts, accelerated the dissemination of new discoveries and ideas with advancements in the printing press, centralisation efforts by sovereigns and resulting in resistance on the part of the elite. This threat was joined by plague epidemics, wars, and

---

2 At the time of author verification, the outcome of this methodological test was not yet known; had the results proved unsatisfactory, the AI-assisted material would not have been included in the published version.

3 Cf. [https://research-and-innovation.ec.europa.eu/document/edc8027b-2811-4347-82f4-fa8b29ece534\\_en](https://research-and-innovation.ec.europa.eu/document/edc8027b-2811-4347-82f4-fa8b29ece534_en); <https://european-research-area.ec.europa.eu/news/living-guidelines-responsible-use-generative-ai-research-published>.

feuds between local magnates which exhausted the local inhabitants, additionally decimating the already impoverished population: large swaths of deserted land appeared in many European regions of the time. To illustrate this point: in Istria, the process was exacerbated by the plague and malaria, hunger, wars and other natural or man-made disasters. The desolation called for an influx of new inhabitants and resulted in extensive planned and unplanned migration not seen in the area before or since. In the first half of the sixteenth century, in a period of only 20 years, so many migrants came to Istria from the Balkans that they constituted over twenty percent of the Istrian population, both in the Venetian and Habsburg parts of the peninsula. These shifts continued for another century, until the mid-seventeenth century. Hence, according to some calculations, only due to these migrations have migrants constituted more than half the population (Bertoša, 1986; Ivetic, 1997; Darovec, 2004). In the rest of the territory of present-day Slovenia, migrations to towns and the countryside were not that vast, yet exceeded the present European situation by the relative numbers of migrants (Grafenauer, 1991).

While a great deal of European research addresses foreigners in the Middle Ages or in early modernity, the main objective of these papers is focussed on changes in the attitudes towards foreigners during the transition from the medieval to modern period, especially how and in what ways the relationship changed with the growing centralisation of the administrative and judicial state (the sovereign's) authority.

The aim of the special double issue of *Acta Histriae* is to track the transition itself: to show how the municipal language of belonging met and were reshaped by centralising princely and higher-council jurisdictions (Great/Minor Councils, senates, *consejos*, magistracies). The papers ask how 'foreignness' was re-defined in law and re-argued in deliberation; how inclusion and exclusion were operationalised in practice – from guild constitutions, marriage strategies and market-court adjudication to quarantine regimes and banishment. They probe motives and mobilities (economic corridors, confessional wars, epidemics), the social uses of useful outsiders (bankers, craftsmen, licensed traders), and the changing infrastructures of support (confraternities, hospitals, nations). They examine the gendered aspects of foreignness, the differentiated legal status accorded to Jews, and imagological 'soft law' that trained reception. Methodologically, we privilege closely documented case studies in a comparative frame (Adriatic to Catalonia to Sicily; inland vs littoral), so that micro-procedures (oaths, domiciles, sureties, licenses, seals) can be read as indicators of a macro-shift from communal discretion to shared city-sovereign governance.

### **From Municipal Custom to Centralised Jurisdiction (1400–1800)**

In the long transition from commune to state, urban statutes and deliberative bodies were not replaced; they were overlaid by municipal council and princely jurisdictions that co-produced inclusion and exclusion.

The literature on foreigners in medieval and early modern European cities and towns is legion. Apart from legal and political studies, recent historical research has also benefited from the application of anthropological and sociological approaches (e.g. Pitt-Rivers, 1971; Geertz, 1973; Cohen, 1985). Particularly for the Mediterranean urban centres there are abundant medieval studies due to extensive and well preserved records, generally lacking elsewhere in Europe before the Late Middle Ages.

Recent research on various legal, social, cultural, economic and political aspects of foreigners in medieval and early modern cities and towns, which more or less comparatively addresses Europe as a whole, provides useful comparison, methodological approaches and theoretical perspectives for this project. There are several important studies for medieval (e.g. Kim, 2000; d'Alteroche, 2002; Remie Constable, 2003; Fernández-Armesto & Muldoon, 2008; Borgolte, 2009; 2014; Carocci, 2011; Haseldine, 2013; Prajda, 2018; 2023; Chiodi, 2020; Rubin, 2020; chapters in Balard & Ducellier, 2002; Skoda et al., 2012; Quertier et al., 2013; Coşkun & Raphael, 2014; O'Doherty & Felicitas Schmieder, 2015; Czaja, 2016; 2018; Davis-Secord, 2021) and early modern Europe (e.g. Braudel, 1966; de Vries, 1984, 179-200; François, 1985; Canny, 1994; Fontaine, 1996; Cowan, 2000; Kizik, 2004; Calabi, 2006; Groebner, 2007; De Munck & Winter, 2012; Ojala-Fulwood, 2018; Prak, 2018; chapters in Menjot & Pinol, 1996; Calabi & Christensen, 2007; Pauly & Lee, 2015).

Many researchers have also engaged with medieval itinerant social groups such as monks (e.g. Snijders, 2017), students (e.g. Verger, 1995) and members of military orders (e.g. Burgtorf & Nicholson, 2006). Likewise, the history of the Jews is bound to the investigation on foreigners in premodern Europe – of which there are abundant studies. Since the end of the fifteenth c., due to overseas expansion and colonisation, new foreigners, or at least in greater numbers than before, came or were brought to Europe from Sub-Saharan Africa (e.g. Earle & Lowe, 2005), South and East Asia and the Americas. Recently, the expanding research on women, especially single women, in cities and towns has also noted their relative 'foreignness', particularly in contrast with fully-fledged citizens, who were always male (some important studies are Mosher Stuard, 1987; Kirshner, 2001; Lansing, 2003; Beattie, 2007; Mummey & Kathryn Reyerson, 2011; Bennet, 2018; chapters in Bennet & Froide, 1998; Studer, 2002; Rubin, 2020 etc.).

Italian scholarship is particularly rich with urban studies on migration, integration, control and exclusion of various social, ethnic and religious groups in the Middle Ages and the early modern period (e.g. Balestracci, 1988; Molà, 1994; Cecchi, 1996; Petti Balbi, 2001; Davide, 2008; Trivellato, 2009; Mueller, 2010; Cerutti, 2012; Burke, 2016; Fattori, 2019; chapters in Cavaciocchi, 1994; Calabi & Lanaro, 1998; Bottin & Calabi, 1999; the special issue of *Quaderni Storici* 36, 2001).

Outside the Mediterranean, because of a greater lack of earlier sources, research is largely focused on the Late Middle Ages and the early modern period. There are several important studies on France (e.g. Reyerson, 1995; Rollo-Koster, 1998; Farmer, 2016), Britain (e.g. Stevens, 2010; Pajic, 2020; chapters in Ormrod et al.,

2017; 2019), etc. Recently, there have also been advances (an important older study is e.g. Zientara, 1974) in the investigation of the segregation, integration and assimilation of foreigners in the multiethnic and multi-confessional regions of Eastern and East-Central Europe, including the Kingdom of Hungary (e.g. Szende, 2019; important compilations are Janaczek & Wünsch, 2004; Ivetic & Roksandić, 2007; Keene et al., 2009; Jaritz & Szende, 2016, etc.; a seminal overview is also Miller, 2008, 33-120). For the Holy Roman Empire, there are several studies on urban migration and newcomers (e.g. Mathis, 1977; Hochstadt, 1983; Friedrichs, 1985; Jaritz & Müller, 1988; Roeck, 1993; Meier, 2007; a seminal collection is Schwinges, 2002) as well as foreignness itself (on medieval concepts e.g. Scior, 2002; Aurast, 2019). Furthermore, there are several essential studies on social control and disciplining efforts in the Empire from the late fifteenth century that affected various ‘classes’ of foreigners (the poor, the heterodox, women, Jews etc.) and concepts of foreignness, especially in the early modern period, when the process was exacerbated by Reformation morality, the urbanisation of nobility, and post-Westphalian concepts of state (Price, 2009, 39), tightening control and amplifying the importance of propriety and economic benefits as the main factors of urban inclusion (e.g. Blicke, 1985; Po-chia Hsia, 1989; Roper, 1989; Dinges, 1991; Coy, 2008). Yet, the confessional divide did not necessarily turn neighbours into foreigners, as it was often bridged by various pre-existing social bonds (an important study is e.g. Kaplan, 2007).

In contrast with much of the European research, Slovenian historiography has hitherto neglected the question of foreigners in premodern towns and has rather focused on medieval rural colonisation (e.g. Vilfan, 1974). Due to the dominant national(ist) focus of research, there has been a paradox in the investigation: the citizens of the littoral and larger inland medieval and early modern towns are regarded as Italians and Germans and thus as foreigners (e.g. Kos, 1956-57; Vilfan, 1975; Grafenauer, 1991), whereas most of the actual urban foreigners arriving from the predominantly Slovenian-speaking countryside are regarded as natives (cf. Golec, 2002). Only for the period since the nineteenth century, with the growth of state and local bureaucracy and the introduction of Slovenian as an official language of law and administration, has there been more interest in urban foreigners (e.g. chapters in Štih & Balkovec, 2010). While there is some research on medieval (Kosi, 1998; Štih, 2010) and early modern migration (Voje, 1992; Simoniti, 2000; Fajčič & Darovec, 2010), particularly Italian merchants (e.g. Gestrin, 1981; Valentinič, 1998), the largely rural immigration (e.g. Darovec, 1995; 2002; 2021; Golec, 2012), assimilation of Orthodox Christians and Muslims (Golec, 2019) and ample literature on the Jews (a seminal study is Jelinčič Boeta, 2009), premodern foreigners remain a neglected field of research and the few existing studies focus rather on identifying newcomers (e.g. Golec, 2009; Mihelič, 2017; Mlinar, 2020) than analysing the phenomenon in a broader social, legal and political perspective.

What changed, in practice, were the tools and forums that made foreignness legible and governable. Late-medieval communal language of belonging (*habitor* → *vicinus* → *civis*) were not abandoned but overlaid by sovereign paperwork

and magistracies: municipal council *cittadinanza* seals, princely concessions and *condotte*, standardised registers and notarial oaths, guild ‘bags’+, health boards with passes and quarantines, even bando lists that turned natives into ‘internal foreigners’. Deliberation thus migrated from single communal councils to nested arenas (Great Councils alongside senates, princely chambers, health magistracies), where inclusion and exclusion became calibrated procedures rather than binary labels – reversible, conditional, and documented.

### **Defining the Foreigner: Status, Perception, and Deliberative Practice**

Membership in the civic body—and in its corporate organs—remained a graded, negotiated condition: legal status set thresholds, perception primed reception, and councils’ deliberation translated both into admissions, licences, expulsions or remissions.

Therefore, we first have to ask ourselves: what defined someone as a foreigner in a community? And, particularly, if and how did the legal, political, economic, social and cultural attitudes towards foreigners change in the transition from the Middle Ages to early modernity. For this, we need to focus on the strengthening of the state, which dictated the attitudes towards foreigners.

In medieval and early modern cities and towns, anyone who was not a member of the local urban community, i.e. a full citizen (*cives*, *Bürger*), was regarded as a foreigner. In great cities, the decision on who was a foreigner was left entirely to the magistrates until the interventions of the early modern state, overriding local statutes and interfering in their jurisdictions. The question of inclusion or exclusion is constitutional rather than political or anthropological and can be directly identified at the normative level, especially in local town statutes, valid for towns and their territories. However, rural communities also had their own customs. Thus, at the centre was the concept of homeland (*patria*), the place where someone was born and grew up, while one was already regarded a foreigner in a town only a few kilometres away. The concept of belonging to a community or town is directly visible in the punishment of being banished that expelled the individual from the territory of his or her’s community (Povolo & Darovec, 2018). Other punishments used in the Middle Ages and well into the early modern period also show that they were predicated on the concept of belonging to a community. For example, thieves had their ears or noses cut, which allowed for the identification of culprits. Public shaming by putting offenders in the pillory had the same purpose. Local customs also prevailed in laws of inheritance, dowries and community assets as well as in petitions of foreigners or inhabitants without citizenship to be granted admission among the enfranchised members of the community. In cities and towns as well as in rural communities, a foreigner did not become a member just by settling in. Various factors were essential for ‘foreigners’ to become full members of a community, from the time spent living in the community to the foreigner’s economic and matrimonial status, their reputation and the current economic, social and political situation.

The subject of the foreigner includes his or her identity: how did individuals identify themselves in the past? Since a community exists first in the minds of its members (Cohen, 1985), this was certainly based not only on appearance, language or place of origin. Nevertheless, we could sum up the concept of community at the anthropological level as ‘everyone knows everyone’. One’s profession and land of origin were the standards that made the identification of a ‘foreigner’ possible. Clothes defined one’s social standing and profession: the attire of an Istrian or Styrian peasant woman was easy to identify. However, so were certain traditions and customs from foreign lands. Language and dialects were the next signs in defining someone as a ‘foreigner’, as well as their gestures and conduct. The individual’s social status was another factor of exclusion or inclusion.

As argued by Julian A. Pitt-Rivers (1977) and Anthony P. Cohen (1985), wealthy people who owned real-estate in rural communities were not necessarily regarded as their actual members, even though they were obviously well recognisable. The terminology is likewise generally connected to the complex relationship between the community and foreigners: next to designating a belonging to a state or linguistic group, the term nation (*natio*) in the medieval and early modern period also had specific economic value (e.g. the German nation in Venice) and was also a term of friendship and protection. There were entire communities, such as the Jews, that were regarded as foreigners (Rubin, 2020) or as Others due to their religion, even if they were an important segment of the urban population, or mobile groups such as the Romani, who were hard to assimilate within a territory, as they generally lived in the countryside. Then, there is the question of gender. What identity did women have outside their family and kin? Were they some kind of foreigners elsewhere? Since matrimony established alliances and peace, it is clear that the ‘transfer’ of women maintained the characteristics of foreignness in relation to the groups that received and accepted them. But marriage was also a means of the transfer of wealth, of social ascent and of key importance in the integration of foreigners into a community. Also, following this integration, outside bonds of consanguinity could become secondary as kin turned into foreigners, as studies from Friuli show (e.g. Bianco, 1990; Lorenzini, 2006; Povolò, 2013).

The sixteenth century can certainly be regarded as a century of foreigners: an extraordinary geographic and social mobility begins due to economic growth. The perception of foreigners changed as well. We could say that the concept of the foreigner, at first connected to his or her identification with or belonging to another territory, became in the modern period a synonym for a potentially dangerous or maladjusted person. Epidemics worsened the widespread fear of those unknown in a community. Essentially, economically beneficial foreigners coming from other geographic areas were more acceptable than those arriving from the surrounding countryside. Vagabonds and beggars also became foreigners, especially since the late fifteenth century when their numbers grew exponentially. Thus, they became an ever-greater problem for cities and towns, which magistrates from the sixteenth century also addressed via Protestant morality, exacerbating their exclusion (see e.g. Coy, 2008).

Foreigners were not a homogenous group – they differed according to their way of life and social status, profession, age, gender, origins, numbers, wealth, religion, ethnicity; factors by which the community, in accordance with the ideals of the ‘common good’ (*bonum commune*) (Rubin, 2020), restricted, allowed or encouraged their settlement, cultural exchange, integration and assimilation into the local population, albeit alongside ever-present segregation. Some foreigners came as individuals, others with their families or within a certain social group or as part of mass colonisation, from faraway places or a town’s immediate vicinity. They fled war, famine or epidemics or migrated for economic or religious reasons. The manner of their arrival could also differ: forced, voluntary or following a call or invitation by individual cities or rulers. Immigrants influenced demographic, legal, social, institutional, familial, economic, cultural, topographic and other aspects of urban life, thus affecting changes in the identity of towns and their inhabitants to a larger or lesser degree. Together with the local population, foreigners cooperated in the economic and social restructuring of the urban landscape. The character, level and intensity of these changes depended particularly on the category of immigrants and in the ways in which cities or certain social groups responded to them. In most cases immigrants were beneficial to towns, bringing various novelties, cultural diversity and hybridity along with their professional capabilities. Occasionally they could also disrupt certain urban processes and cause serious social problems like poverty, housing issues, even greater social differentiation, all of which could cause social upheaval and revolts and a need for the establishment of public order, especially in times of crisis (Benyovski Latin, 2020, 11–13).

The key element of community life was (and remains) the common network established by social and familial mutual relations that ensures that the individual and collective dimensions merge into the *unicum*, representing the unified foundation of a community. These communities gave priority to those strategies that were defined as *cooperation*. Strategies that emphasised the exchange of women on a limited scale as much as possible to defend themselves from dangerous outside incursions and maintain those traditions that were the easiest to explain in the spirit of a community’s customs. The themes of *kinship* and its roots in the *territory* were most likely the decisive factor in defining some of the most typical features of a small community: its *conservatism*, obligation to tradition and a fundamental distrust, if not outright *hostility*, to everything that came from outside. It can be assumed that these elements represent the source of the distinction between *natives* and *foreigners*, further stimulated by the need for a *just* distribution of local sources. Yet in order for this distinction to be protected, it had to lean on a strong internal ideological connotation: the awareness of a community’s own traditions and customs. It was this very awareness that the central creators of early modern states – headed by rulers and their judicial-administrative apparatuses – most strived to change among all social strata. The territorial fundament of community gradually moved from local to state borders and, likewise, the jurisdiction over migration transferred from local to central authorities, the customary system of conflict resolution, feuds, vendet-

tas, banishment and peacemaking rituals was replaced by state-prescribed trial procedures led by educated jurists, punitive measures and tax policies, including the control over subjects, came entirely under the jurisdiction of central authorities (cf. Bianco, 1995; Agamben, 1998; Povolo 2015; Carroll, 2017; Carroll & Cecchinato, 2019; Casals, 2017; Ergaver, 2017; Faggion, 2017; Martin, 2017; Muir, 2017; Oman, 2017; 2018; 2019;). Educated jurists codified customs, contributing to the unification of written legislation. However, these processes, including the attitudes towards the status and definition of foreigners, were gradual.

The banished became foreigners in the strict legal sense—without the option to return—whereas previously they were merely excluded as disruptive members, with their cases handled through deliberation between the conflicting parties, i.e. negotiations involving the entire community on adequate compensation for damages. With the establishment of the centralised judicial system in early modernity, culprits were banished from state territory, not just their own community as before, and had no right to asylum abroad, which i.a. completely changed the rules of hospitality and the concepts of the common good. Banditry contributed to a clearer demarcation of state territory, as the borders took on more concrete forms of delimitation through the relentless fight against exiles and bandits (Neocleous, 2003, 103; cf. Casals, 2019; Povolo 2017). Another, even more general political problem emerged in the modern age: the changed definition of the state. From the Peace of Westphalia (1648) states became ‘extended communities’, replacing the ‘small’ *patriae* and started to identify their subjects by new standards of belonging that were previously unknown (Tilly, 1985). However, this was also the time of the vigorous rise of the modern civil society, based on a contract for mutual preservation (Antony et al., 2020, 4).

### **Examining Shifts in Attitudes toward Foreigners (1400–1800)**

Changes in the attitudes towards foreigners in European urban centres during its transition from the Middle Ages to the early modern period are clearly articulated across the papers: 1) changes in the definition of foreignness and the pertinent customs, laws and deliberative practices of the inclusion and exclusion of foreigners from the medieval to the early modern period; 2) the economic, cultural, demographic and political importance and role of foreigners, why they immigrated and the types of their mobility; 3) aspects of immigration policies and attitudes towards foreigners, integration and assimilation policies towards newcomers; 4) changing identities and cultural transfers; 5) categories of foreigners, their social status and relations with natives depending on the socio-political situation; 6) attitudes towards the policies of inclusion and exclusion between newcomers and natives: relations between the new and the old populace; 7) integration policies: from foreigners to neighbours and citizens, neighbourhoods; 8) values of hospitality; 9) foreigners’ support networks, such as religious orders, confraternities, hospitals or guilds; 10) health aspects: quarantines and barbwire

border-fences during epidemics; 11) gender aspects; 12) the marginalised as foreigners – crime and custom: exiles, bandits, vagrants, smugglers.

Geographically, the papers focus on Mediterranean and Central Europe – from Croatia (1) through Slovenia (4), Italy (3) and Spain (3), with one study on early modern representations or stereotypes of Russians and Turks – while methodologically it relies predominantly on the case-study approach within a comparative frame, enabling both the detection of change across the period from 1400–1800 and through cross-urban comparison. This allows one to, on the one hand, shed light on the discourse of authorities that prevails in archival sources, and on the other, to examine iconographic, folkloric and other sources of different provenience (such as statutes, guild books, lazaretto files, notarial acts, iconography) reflecting the experience and the mental world of ordinary townsfolk and foreigners and their perception of the world.

Taken together, the case studies show how urban belonging shifted from largely municipal regimes of statute and custom – where councils negotiated thresholds of admission, protection, and discipline – to mixed jurisdictions in which centralising princely and state-council authorities increasingly codified, supervised, or overruled local deliberations. Law defined status (from *habitor* and *vicinus* to *civis*), deliberation in councils and guilds calibrated inclusion or expulsion case by case, and practice on the ground – oaths, sureties, market licences, health passes, quarantines, and bans – performed graded hospitality. Against this evolving matrix, the papers track why and how foreigners moved, how cities valued their labour, credit, and skills, and how suspicion hardened in moments of risk (e.g. war or epidemic). By reading foreignness through the triad law-deliberation-practice, this double issue foregrounds change as a process that was negotiated – in statutes and minutes, at gates and markets – rather than decreed once and for all.

To ensure that these heterogeneous cases could be read in a comparable way—across different archives, legal idioms and urban regimes—we standardised the analytic lens and drafting procedure. The methodological note (**cf. Appendix**) sets out the prompt-guided workflow, human verification and transparency safeguards used to generate the vignettes.

## II. VIGNETTES BY THEMATIC CLUSTERS

Applying this template to each contribution, we present concise vignettes that make period, place and core problem explicit, trace law–deliberation–practice in operation, and foreground change over time within a shared comparative register.

The following vignettes address changes in attitudes toward foreigners and are organised into seven thematic clusters, so that the argument proceeds cumulatively—from status and law to corporate life and functional citizenship, markets, images, sanitary regimes, gendered boundaries, and, finally, marginality as a juridical condition—using the methodological template outlined above.

*Cluster 1: Status, Law, and Ranks of Belonging***Darja Mihelič, ‘Foreigners in the Statutes of Trieste, Muggia, Koper, Izola and Piran: From the High Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period’**

Mihelič reconstructs the north-eastern Adriatic as a legal laboratory where foreignness was not a fixed essence but a status produced at the intersection of statute, council, and everyday enforcement. The municipal statutes are strikingly consistent: belonging is articulated along the ranks habitator → vicinus → civis and tethered to oath, domicile, surety, and spatial anchoring (house-building obligations in designated quarters). Jews and clergy traverse distinct juridical tracks (special oaths, immunities or restrictions), while marginal subjects (paupers, lepers, vagrants) are policed through tailored clauses; yet foreigners are mentioned everywhere – sometimes as risk, sometimes as resource.

On the distrust side, statutes bar weapon-bearing, surety restrictions and assignments of debt on behalf of outsiders, a prohibition to sell strategic goods or arms to them, and regulate their movements, lodging, and nighttime conduct. Criminal procedure treats disputes between citizens and foreigners as a distinct category, often reserving aggravated punishment for attacks within civic jurisdictions, while still offering foreigners access to counsel and to predictable forums (set court days, notarial proof rules). Property is the hard edge: widespread bans on denying the purchase of urban real estate to non-citizens, rigorous retraction rights, and the invalidation of bequests unless neighbourhood duties (*vicinitas*) are assumed within fixed deadlines.

Yet the same texts design selective hospitality. Foreign merchants are channelled into regulated spaces (market houses, fish stalls, butchers’ tables ‘for foreigners’), granted expedited adjudication, and taxed or exempted with fiscal precision. Bread, wine, oil, salt, metals, timber, and textiles move under tightly defined licenses; fairs and leases (including salt pans) make outsiders fiscal insiders so long as they service provisioning. Cities also provide avenues for membership: oaths of *vicinantia*, grace periods from levies, and house-building incentives convert useful strangers into neighbours and, sometimes, citizens. Health crises move the dial: emergency closures (e.g. those which occurred in Piran during plague outbreaks) suspend ordinary hospitality and re-draw borders through lazaretto-style quarantines, demonstrating how inclusion turns probationary under epidemiological uncertainty.

It is therefore not surprising that cities viewed foreigners with a certain degree of distrust, both in terms of the potential physical threat they could pose and in terms of economic protectionism. ‘However,’ says Mihelič in her abstract, ‘the towns did not entirely reject foreigners outright; rather, in line with their own interests, they admitted foreign settlers into their communities, granting them the status of (new) residents or citizens’.

Change appears as overlay rather than rupture. Statutes are periodically amended; under Habsburg and Venetian rule the settlers’ oath recedes from later redactions in favour of record-based criteria (years of tax/service) that sharpen who still counts

as a ‘foreigner’. Medieval communal customs and statutes endure, but sovereign and documentary layers standardise how cities include and exclude – by oaths, lists, licenses, and fines that translate suspicion into calibrated access.

In sum, Mihelič offers a faithful, source-tight portrait of how late medieval northern Adriatic towns choreographed proximity – writing foreigners into everyday clauses on streets, shores, vineyards, markets – and how early modern overlays recalibrated those scripts rather than abolishing them. The article is a suitable point of departure for the case studies that follow, as they shift the analysis from normative texts to deliberative forums and their implementation in practice – showing, across Palermo, Barcelona, Terrassa, and beyond, how deliberative practices in early modern Mediterranean and continental cities operationalised the changing thresholds of inclusion and exclusion.

As the next contribution turns to staged recognition in a composite monarchy – Lozano Jiménez on *cittadinanza* in Palermo – it will be possible to read these gendered internal frontiers against patrician procedures of admission, asking how civic seals and composite-council deliberation re-inscribe (or relax) the kinds of thresholds that statutes imposed inside the household and the market.

### **José María Lozano Jiménez, ‘Palermo Facing a Hispanic Population: What kind of Foreigners Were They?’**

Set in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Palermo, this study reconstructs how a composite monarchy could render Spaniards “recognisable foreigners” at the city level: despite being subjects of the same sovereign, they required Senate-ratified *cittadinanza* and integration through local institutions (national churches, confraternities, guilds, offices) before accessing civic privileges; in other words, belonging was locally adjudicated within the wider frame of the monarchy. Belonging was negotiated between municipal language and viceregal overlays. In law, *cittadinanza* remained the civic seal, classically tied to residence, property and family connection; medieval provisions had already opened accelerated paths – royal confirmations (1335) and *decreta civilitatis* (1346) – allowing admission through marriage to a Palermitan woman or through demonstrable intent and domicile (*animo habitandi et morandi*) after a year-and-a-day residence. Yet in early modern practice, recognition functioned as an exception rather than a right: the Senate’s ceremonial grants emphasised merits, reputation and the candidate’s capacity to ‘represent’ the city, making *cittadinanza* an indicator of integration attained *de facto* before its juridical approval.

Deliberation thus sat at the heart of civic inclusion. The Senate – praetor, jurors and a captain of justice – heard petitions and staged membership as a public judgment, while the viceroy’s power to nominate magistrates created a standing tension between local privilege and royal service. That tension surfaces in 1633, when a viceregal edict reserving retail in wine and fruit to citizens prompted the Senate to advocate higher taxes for *cives per privilegio*, arguing that too many had naturalised merely to exploit controlled prices; the dispute travelled to the Council of Italy,

where the need to distinguish ‘true’ from newly made citizens was rehearsed in metropolitan terms. In ordinary times, however, Spaniards crossed thresholds with comparative ease when their utility and honour were acceptable to the oligarchy.

Practice anchored these negotiations in corporate and devotional infrastructures. The ‘nations’ (notably the Catalans) sustained a lonja, the Church of Santa Eulalia and confraternal assets; Castilian foundations (Hospital of San Giacomo; the chapel of the Virgen de la Soledad) clustered near the viceregal palace, linking charity, discipline and patronage. Individuals condensed these institutional bridges: Pedro Hernández de la Rosaleda (Sergeant of Castello a Mare and Rector of Guadalupe) received *cittadinanza* in 1588; the Catalan merchant Gabriel Mas, treasurer of his nation, acted as *rettore mercadante* during the plague crisis of 1623–1624 – an office entrusted to the most reliable citizens. Even the classic quarantine vignette (twenty-eight days at Messina) underscores how health regimes re-inscribed foreigners through paperwork, stamps and time, without erasing dynastic solidarities.

Change over time appears not as rupture but as recalibration. Medieval openness to useful outsiders persisted, yet the early modern city nested its decisions within sovereign architectures: municipal council seals, viceregal nominations, metropolitan review, and health/bureaucratic standardisation. In this spectrum, Spaniards could be civilly outside and functionally inside – officers, soldiers, merchants – until scarcity, fiscal controversy or epidemic fear tightened the rules. The upshot is a co-produced status: law sets the thresholds; deliberation selects the entrants; practice (registers, chapels, offices, quarantines) renders those choices operative in daily life.

As such, Palermo offers a model of staged recognition in a composite monarchy – useful for reading the top-down integrations that follow. The next case, the admission and ennoblement of the de Surdis in Zadar, will shift the lens from civic seals to royal service, demonstrating how councils converted loyal outsiders into insiders when communal and regnal interests aligned.

### **Branka Grbavac, ‘The Integration of the Members of the De Surdis Family from Piacenza in the Fourteenth-Century Zadar Commune’**

Set in late fourteenth-century Dalmatia, Grbavac reconstructs the ascent of the Piacentine de Surdis family as a case of civic belonging forged at the hinge between communal councils and regnal power. The family arrived as royal office-holders in the Angevin Hungarian-Croatian orbit, as judicial and administrative specialists whose functions braided Zadar’s communal governance to strategies of the crown. Giovanni, Raphael and Galeazzo de Surdis served in high jurisdictions (*comes* of Zadar, judge of appeals for Dalmatia, *comes* of Šibenik), a portfolio that made them simultaneously ‘foreign’ by origin and indispensable by office.

The statutory language of belonging in Zadar – *nobilis civis* calibrated against domicile, oath and inscription – did not by itself convert such outsiders into insiders. Admission turned on deliberation. In 1372, the *Consilium rogatorum* and then the *Consilium generale* voted to receive the three de Surdis into the nobility, recording a civic judgment that service to the king and the commune’s advantage

– most notably the restoration of Pag to Zadar’s jurisdiction – warranted elevation. The act has the form of a municipal grace but the logic of a negotiated settlement: royal utility translated into urban trust through a public, minute-able decision of the Great Council.

Law here defines the thresholds; deliberation selects the climbers; practice cements the rung. The legal scaffolding comprises royal privileges and confirmations, oaths and entries into civic books, fiscal obligations and office-holding compatibilities. The councils’ vote – deliberated in the language of merit, usefulness and loyalty – authorised insertion into the city’s aristocratic body; the practical sequel was immediate: office-holding now read as representation from within, not administration from without. The path, however, remained contingent. Dynastic shocks, war, and episcopal politics could unsettle the newly acquired standing; precisely because membership was conferred *ad honorem et utilitatem*, it could be reconsidered when those terms shifted.

Grbavac clarifies how functions re-price alterity. The *de Surdis* did not seek status through the ordinary ranks (from *habitor* to *civis* to *nobilis civis*) but through royal service – jurisdiction, fiscal oversight, territorial management – where the city’s interest overlapped with the Crown’s. In this sense, theirs was a dual citizenship: at the kingdom level the family acted as instruments of integration across Dalmatia; at the communal level their nobility hinged on a council vote and ceremonial inscription. The two levels are not antagonistic but interlocking: sovereign credentials opened the door; communal deliberation decided whether and how far to let guests in.

In this late medieval setting, change appears to be a recalibration of longstanding rules rather than rupture. The communal language of membership persists, yet they are increasingly read within a wider political economy in which royal service generates claims convertible into civic honour. What shifts is not the form (oath, register, vote) but the weight accorded to service as a criterion of inclusion: foreigners of rank become ‘ours’ when they can be seen to advance the city’s jurisdictional and fiscal interests.

As a result, Grbavac’s case stands as a top-down template of integration by office and honour. It prepares the ground for the next study – Figueras i Gibert’s on the Terrassa wool-weavers’ guild – where belonging was not conferred by princely service but argued from below, inside a corporation that tinkers with electoral machinery (sortition, split ‘bags’) to manage the presence of foreign craftsmen within its own ranks.

### *Cluster 2: Corporations, Neighbourhoods, and Functional Citizenship*

#### **Jan Figueras i Gibert, ‘Deliberating on Foreignness: Migrant Integration and Deliberative Practices in a Catalan Craft Guild (ca. 1580–ca. 1600)’**

Set in the Catalan industrial small town of Terrassa at the turn of the sixteenth century, the author reads a guild minute book as a micro-polity where foreignness is argued, counted, and procedurally channelled. By the 1580s, French craftsmen were

numerous – whole streets bore their nicknames, municipal registers listed dozens of French households – and the weavers' corporation could neither ignore nor dissolve their presence. Instead, it made belonging a problem of institutional design.

The statutory language of membership distinguished masters from journeymen and, within both, Catalans from foreigners. For the period before 1587, sparse deliberation and clustered elections indicate a narrow oligarchy: consuls – the executive regulators – circulated within a compact network, while journeymen (many of them foreigners) remained structurally sidelined. The law did not yet inscribe exclusion; the practice delivered it. Reform came in 1586–87, when the guild introduced sortition and split electoral bags, apportioning offices between locals and foreigners, masters and journeymen. The innovation translates demographic pressure into rule: if 'they are many', representation is engineered. Yet the ceiling held: the consulate stayed in Catalan hands, foreign candidates lagged in elected posts, and attendance data at the new executive councils show persistent under-participation by foreign journeymen. Inclusion was designed, but it was also managed.

Crisis revealed the fragility of these gains. In 1596, during litigation against the wool manufacturers, the corporation abandoned its representative executive in favour of general councils presided by the consuls; journeymen effectively slipped out of the room. Three years later, adopting the Barcelonese weavers' statutes (1599) formally excluded journeymen from governance and re-centred power to the masters, while preserving separate Catalan and foreign bags and continuing to bar foreigners from the consulate. The last entry (1600) even debates whether a master labelled gavaix might claim 'Catalanness' to access privileges – an explicit acknowledgement that origin shadows office, and that status claims are adjudicated procedurally.

Reading through the triad of law, deliberation, and practice, Figueras demonstrates how threshold-setting (statutes and reforms) was inseparable from the theatre where numbers became rules (council debates, electoral machinery), and from the residue of everyday governance (attendance, fines, office ceilings) where the designed system actually 'bites'. Change over time is clear and non-linear: from pre-reform oligarchy to engineered sharing, then to codified rollback under metropolitan influence, the corporation calibrates a spectrum of conditional membership – keeping foreigners inside the guild's economic body while holding them short of prestige and executive power. The case also clarifies a broader urban logic: corporations could bestow a form of 'working citizenship' (shop access, reputational credit, collective defence), yet their constitutions set hard limits on political voice, especially for migrants.

As a result, Terrassa offers a precise hinge to the next contribution on foreigners in Barcelona. Where Figueras traces how a corporation tinkers with electoral form to discipline a foreign workforce, Ona Vila i Palacín follows migrants outside the guild, into the domain of family strategy – showing how marriages among foundlings mediated by the Hospital de la Santa Creu provided an alternative, legally viable path from outsider to neighbour in the same Catalan world.

### **Ona Vila i Palacín, ‘To Arrange a Marriage with a Foundling: French Immigrants Between Integration and Exclusion in Early Modern Barcelona (1532–1601)’**

In sixteenth-century Barcelona, where cross-border mobility bound the city to the French Midi, Vila i Palacín follows a striking pathway of incorporation: marriages between French immigrants and foundling girls raised by the Hospital de la Santa Creu. The notarial record – serial, formulaic, yet eloquent – reveals these unions as a routinised device that translated outsider presence into household formation and neighbourhood standing. Rather than an episodic charity, this is policy by practice: a patterned exchange in which modest dowries and limited kin capital are offset by a rapid, legally feasible entry into the city’s social fabric.

The legal background matters. Catalonia’s doctrine of *nativitat* or *natureza* and the broader Iberian semantics of *vecindad* made full civic belonging contingent, yet recognisably gradated through domicile, reputation and marriage. Mixed marriages did not *ipso facto* make Frenchmen Catalans; they did, however, render them ‘less foreign’ – softening suspicion linked to itinerancy and cross-confessional politics (especially in the tense decades of the French Wars of Religion). The hospital’s role was pivotal: as guardian and broker it could attach a dowry and supply witnesses, thereby converting a vulnerable ward into a socially eligible bride and the immigrant groom into a householding neighbour whose obligations (rent, parish dues, guild entry where applicable) could be enforced.

Occupationally, the profile of the grooms leans toward skilled and semi-skilled work in the secondary sector, often with demonstrable craft credentials. Vila suggests that this aspect may give the strategy its edge. Men with employable skills accepted a measure of downward social mobility – foregoing endogamous networks and substantial dowries – to accelerate incorporation. The relatively late average age at marriage among immigrants, coupled with the premium on ‘settling young’, explains why an open, supervised ‘foundling market’ shortened the time to a Catalan match and, with it, the path to recognised neighbourly standing.

Deliberation, here, is diffused rather than theatrical. No grand council scene dramatises admission; instead, institutions and communities decide incrementally. Municipal authorities tolerate and, in effect, endorse the pattern; the hospital’s governors standardise brokerage; parishes and notaries provide the registrational backbone; guilds – where relevant – recognise the new household as a unit of fiscal and reputational accountability. In this continuum, law sets the intelligibility conditions (who may marry whom, acceptable forms of consent and dowry, the evidentiary role of witnesses), while practice enacts them through predictable contractual formulae and enforceable obligations.

Change over time takes the form of consolidation. Across the long sixteenth century, Barcelona becomes better at turning migratory flux into potential residency without surrendering disciplinary tools: the hospital’s serial paperwork, parish surveillance, and the city’s steady demand for craft labour together make selective hospitality administrable. The result is neither assimilation by decree nor *laissez-faire* openness, but a managed corridor from ‘foreigner’ to ‘neighbour’, in which kinship is the hinge and institutional guardianship the guarantor.

Reading within the special double issue's arc, the article complements the corporate tinkering in Terrassa by showing a parallel, extra-corporate route to inclusion: where the guild calibrated representation by electoral machinery, the city and its hospital calibrated belonging by marriage and household formation. This shift from workshop to household prepares the ground for the next cases on markets and money – most immediately Katalin Prajda's Florentine banking corridor – where fiscal utility, privileges and leases will show how outsiders could become insiders through the movement of bullion, credit and essential goods.

**David Hazemali, Aleš Maver & Mateja Matjašič Friš, 'Newcomers in Maribor in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century in the Marriage Records of the Parish of St John the Baptist'**

This joint paper reconstructs how early-eighteenth-century Maribor, still recovering from the devastating plague epidemics of 1680–1682, converted outsiders into insiders through marriage, burgher rights, and guild incorporation, using 401 unions recorded in the town Parish of St John the Baptist. The evidence shows a town whose demographic and artisanal renewal depended to an important degree on migrants arriving largely from Inner Austrian duchies (Styria, especially from Graz, Bad Radkersburg, Leibnitz; Carinthia; Carniola), with additional streams from the Military Frontier, Vienna, Bavaria, Swabia and the Bohemian lands.

In legal-institutional terms, the pathway from *advena* to burgher often ran through marital alliance with established households, especially widows and daughters of guild masters. Marriage operated as a recognised gateway to *Bürgerrecht* and guild standing; registers frequently mark origins, occupations, and subsequent civic status, and the occupational profile of newcomers skews toward skilled trades (tailors, tanners and leatherworkers, bakers, bricklayers, carpenters), with merchants and a minority of military and administrative personnel also present. The practice dimension is granular: household formation via wedlock, succession to workshops following a master's death, and rapid insertion into corporate economies – patterns exemplified by the sculptor Joseph Straub's trajectory from Württemberg to Graz to Ljubljana and finally Maribor (1746), where marriage anchored his workshop and commissions.

Selective hospitality was calibrated by ecclesiastical and civic authorities rather than by a formal naturalisation statute alone. A rare mixed-confession marriage (1723) between a Lutheran groom from Stuttgart and a Catholic widow from Cologne was permitted under stringent conditions (children to be raised Catholic; no proselytising), illustrating how inclusion could be granted under rule-bound constraints and how the strict Habsburg confessional policy could be circumvented. In moments of demographic and economic pressure – the aftermath of the plague, labour shortages – barriers softened, (widows remarry, the purchase or easing of *Bürgerrecht*). Over the long eighteenth-century arc, the paper situates Maribor at the cusp of broader administrative consolidation:

municipal pathways of membership persist, yet mid-century reforms (e.g., Maria Theresa's 1752 *Kreis* or district seat) foreshadow layered, co-administered regimes in which town, parish, and sovereign offices co-produce belonging.

As a synthesis, Hazemali, Maver & Matjašič Friš demonstrate that early modern Maribor governed mobility less by fixed identities than by routinised access mechanisms – marriage, guild succession, and the acquisition of burgher rights (often by purchase)—documented in parish and civic books, enacted through workshop succession and market participation, and periodically tightened by confessional policy. The case complements the papers on the Mediterranean by offering an Inner Austrian variant of ‘useful outsiders’ who were officially on the outside yet economically on the inside until regularised. It therefore sets up a clear bridge from household- and guild-centred incorporation to the larger market and fiscal circuits traced in Prajda's paper.

*Cluster 3: Markets, Money, and Useful Foreigners*

**Katalin Prajda, ‘Banking Between Florence, Venice, Buda and Dalmatia in the Fourteenth Century’**

Against the backdrop of the War of Chioggia (1378–81) and its monetary aftershocks, Prajda traces a Florentine corridor – Florence-Buda-Dalmatia-Venice – in which foreigners became indispensable because they moved what polities most lacked: liquidity and metals. Businessmen clustered around Vieri di Cambio de' Medici operated on both sides of the Adriatic; drawing on contacts in Buda and in Dalmatian ports (notably Zadar and Senj), they channelled bullion and credit into Venice, sustaining the Rialto money market and the mint. What the article makes evident is that inclusion was not always linked to classic naturalisation; it also ran through function. As long as Florentines kept copper and silver flowing to the mint and extended credit to governments, they were fiscal insiders even if social outsiders.

The legal architecture channels this utility. Peace arrangements after 1381 delineated obligations and rights between Venice and the Hungarian Crown (rents, commercial conduits); royal monopolies and the tricesima on metal exports framed what could lawfully move; emergency bans on outflows alternated with contractual exceptions when recovery demanded them. Within those channels, *condotte*, concessions and public leases formalised the Florentines' role: a recognisable status that licensed buying ingots, financing salt or precious metal mining operations, and clearing papal decima through the same pipelines. None of this erased the mark of foreignness; it domesticated it into enforceable contracts.

Deliberation converted opportunity into access. Venetian senatorial committees decided who could lease fiscal rights and under what securities; on the Hungarian side, royal councils likely tied credit to chamber privileges; in Florence, the consultatory councils (*Consulte e Pratiche*) aiding the government,

weighed risk and reputation in backing fellow-merchants houses that would lend abroad but settle accounts at home. The decision logic is pragmatic and legible: solvency, reach, and timely delivery of bullion trumped nativeness. When risk rose – war scares, mint famine, diplomatic tension – permissions tightened; when provisioning became acute the same forums reopened the valve under stricter bonds and audits.

Practice shows how these decisions had real consequences in daily commerce. Business networks knit together royal chambers, Dalmatian entrepôts and the Venetian mint; Jewish money-changers appear as complementary liquidity providers where statutory ceilings or ecclesiastical constraints would otherwise choke circulation; brokers and factors – Tosinghi, Carnesecchi, Portinari, Talenti – stitched republic and crown into a single operating circuit. In this mesh, Florentines inhabit a double status: maybe outsiders at first in civic terms, insiders on the balance sheet, their belonging measured by deliveries, discounts and deadlines rather than domicile or oath. Naturalisation likely occurred only later, as a consequence, or perhaps a reward, for their services, as happened with many Florentines and other Italians who obtained citizenship in Venice or were granted noble titles by the king. This passage is well-illustrated by Grbavac's case study.

Change, in Prajda's reading, is a recalibration rather than a rupture. Late-medieval municipal language remains in place, but sovereign overlays standardise fiscal paperwork and render foreign service eligible across jurisdictions. The spectrum shifts from binary labels to conditional membership: the banker is 'ours' while he solves a pressing matter of the crown – and only so long as he does. When bullion thins or politics pivot, the door narrows, and privileges lapse without the need for ideological exclusion.

Placed within the trajectory of the special double issue, the paper clarifies why markets and money could pull newcomers inward even where social belonging remains ambiguous. It also prepares the passage to the next case – Burra's Koper fair – where the same logic of selective hospitality is enacted not in trans-regional finance but on the ground: through licenses, tariffs, fast-track adjudication and precedent, turning mobile 'outsiders' into temporary insiders under the city's law in accelerated time.

### **Aleksandro Burra, 'The Rise and Fall of Koper's Fairs: From the Late Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period'**

Focused on the annual fair on the Feast of Saint Ursula in early modern Koper, Burra reconstructs an urban experiment in disciplined hospitality: for a few days each year the commune opened its market to mobile traders – foreigners in the strict juridical sense – under a compact of licenses, tariffs, and accelerated adjudication. The fair's normative scaffolding combined ducal confirmations with municipal by-laws that scripted routes of access, places of unloading, stall allocation, and the keeping of weights and measures; the *Libro della Fiera Franca* preserves decisions

that read less like episodic judgments than like precedents intended to regulate conduct. Hospitality here was not an ethos but a procedure.

Legally, inclusion rested on clear thresholds. Foreigners could sell in designated spaces, at specified hours, under standardised measures set out by the city; sensitive sectors – strategic victuals, price-controlled items, guild-protected crafts – were hedged by prohibitions or by conditions (fixed fees, bonds, sworn brokers). Violations (dishonest scales, clandestine retail, trespass into restricted zones) triggered seizures, monetary fines, and reputational penalties that followed traders across seasons. The fair thus translated municipal priorities – provisioning, price stability, spatial order – into a short, intense regime that temporarily suspended ordinary corporate barriers while keeping civic control intact.

Deliberation unfolded in real time and in public. Fair officials, wardens of measures, and appointed judges conducted cases on the spot, their rulings announced and recorded to ‘teach’ acceptable behaviour to a mixed population of locals and outsiders. The logic of decisions is consistent: utility is welcome, but only through visibly compliant channels; disputes are disposed of swiftly to prevent contagion – economic or social – before it spreads. In effect, the fair’s courtroom became a pedagogical theatre where the rules of being a ‘good foreigner’ were staged and reiterated.

Practice made these principles palpable. Guarded corridors directed flows to and from the gates and the harbour; inspections were brisk and routinised; temporary immunities shielded legitimate transactions from harassment while parallel prohibitions cordoned off areas where unvetted mobility posed heightened risk. Notaries and clerks provided the documentary skeleton – licenses, bonds, copies of verdicts – so that the same trader who transgressed city norms in one year might meet a raised bar the next. The result is a legible ecology of exchange in accelerated time: outsiders inside, but on a leash.

Change over time takes the form of consolidation and standardisation rather than dramatic rupture. The medieval language of market order – keeping scales honest, policing space – persists, yet early modern overlays sharpen classification and paperwork, making fair privileges, sanctions, and precedents increasingly portable across jurisdictions. In this calibrated spectrum, foreigners become insiders for the duration of an event, measured by compliance and contribution to provisioning, not by domicile or oath. When scarcity, unrest, or suspicion looms, the same instruments that enabled inclusion tightened swiftly, and the city reasserted its hard edges.

Placed within the special issue’s arc on ‘markets and money’, Burra’s Koper offers the ground-level counterpart to Prajda’s trans-regional finance: where bankers were fiscal insiders by function, traders at fairs were temporary insiders by licence. The next contribution shifts the register from marketplace to image – by Izidor Janžekovič on Ottoman and Muscovite dress – showing how visual codes, learned in classrooms and printshops, pre-structure urban receptions of foreigners before any clerk stamps a pass.

*Cluster 4: Images, Identities, Cultural Transfer***Izidor Janžekovič, ‘Early Modern Ottoman and Russian Clothing through Ethnic Stereotypes in Western and Central Europe’**

Janžekovič reads early modern Europe as a visual regime of recognition in which dress codified foreignness before encounter. Turban, kaftan and şalvar for the ‘Turk’, fur and beard for the ‘Muscovite’ formed a portable taxonomy that sorted bodies at a glance, naturalising distance and rehearsing inclusion or exclusion in advance. Even where norms shifted, imagery stuck: Peter I’s 1701 decree to ‘Europeanise’ Russian attire scarcely dented the Western cliché of a Russia swaddled in pelts – evidence that visual habits outlast reform. The corpus – costume books, Völkertafeln, school card games, atlases and encyclopaedias – functioned as a public pedagogy in which repetition hardened the line between ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’.

Law appears as a set of sumptuary and reform edicts that sought to steer clothing but could not erase stereotypes; these were reproduced in classrooms, printshops and map cabinets, where ‘deliberation’ occurred through looking and repetition rather than voting. In this sense, images acted as a form of soft law: a pre-structure of recognition that shaped expectations among officials and neighbours before any clerk opened a register. The gendered inflection is integral. Western European readings of Ottoman male trousers as ‘effeminate’ performed double work – exoticising a rival empire and feminising its men to stabilise its own hierarchies of virtue and power. In practice, such cues bled into diplomatic etiquette (selective adoption of local dress to reduce distance) and urban security protocols (police descriptions keyed to clothing), a kind of profiling *avant la lettre*.

The article also dissects semantic shortcuts: cartographic conventions that drag Muscovy visually toward ‘Asia’, or captions that fuse ‘Turk or Greek’ into a single Ottomanised type. These reductions were administratively useful insofar as they turned diversity into governable categories. Yet precisely there, spaces for translation emerged: where institutional interests overlapped (commerce, diplomacy), rigid stereotypes softened through pragmatic borrowings – adoptions of sartorial elements that increased mutual legibility and eased passage between cultural codes.

Across the sixteenth to early eighteenth centuries, imagery did not vanish; it standardised. Typological tables, atlases and handbooks consolidated a transregional repertoire that municipal authorities could then use in everyday judgments – from identifying foreigners to prescribing ‘appropriate’ comportment in trade or on the street. The law-deliberation-practice triad thus surfaces in a subtle register: law attempts (unevenly) to guide appearance; public deliberation through spectatorship builds consensus; practice operationalises those visual judgments in diplomatic gestures, market etiquette and policing.

Within the special issue’s arc, this contribution is the hinge between cultural representations and material regimes of inclusion. If images teach whom to regard at a distance, health regimes measure and stamp that distance: the paper by Víctor J. Jurado

Riba on plague in Barcelona demonstrates how the imagined ‘danger from outside’ translated into health passes, lazarettos and quarantines – that is, how visually learned foreignness became a bureaucratically managed border under epidemic conditions.

*Cluster 5: Health, Borders, Biopolitics*

**Víctor J. Jurado Riba, ‘Foreigners and the Prevention of the Plague in Early Modern Barcelona (1629–51)’**

Jurado Riba reconstructs Barcelona’s response to recurrent plague scares as a regime in which health became the language of belonging and foreignness a function of route, health pass, and quarantine duration. Between 1629 and 1651, whenever a plague threatened Barcelona, the city re-mapped itself into concentric perimeters – road and coastal checkpoints, fortified gates, a policed harbour – each with graded rules for people, goods and information. Mobility was never an essence; it was authorised, timed and recorded. Foreigners were neither embraced nor proscribed wholesale; they were filtered through health passes and quarantines of ten, twenty or forty days that turned inclusion into probation while keeping supply lines open.

The law set strict thresholds. Ordinances ranked passes as clean, suspect, or infected, attached corporal and penal sanctions to breaches, and empowered officers to seize contaminated goods, close lodgings, and divert vessels to lazarettos. When suspicion spiked, norms hardened into outright exclusion. In June 1630, the city suspended all commerce with France, barring French ships and crews even with ‘clean’ papers; later that year a panic order expelled all foreigners who had arrived in the previous two months within twenty-four hours on pain of death, and threatened innkeepers and household heads with exemplary punishment for hosting unregistered outsiders. The same legal vocabulary that kept the city provisioned could, at a turn, convert proximity into peril.

Deliberation translated uncertainty into policy. The Consell de Cent and the special Dotzena de morbo continually weighed provisioning against safety, determining when to open or close corridors, how long to quarantine specific groups, and what evidence to accept. Their calculus was practical rather than abstract: grain ships, timber carriers and essential craftsmen might receive controlled access; carnival traffic, itinerant sellers or uncredentialed servants did not. Debate did not abolish discretion; it regularised it.

Practice enforced the system. Watch posts at Montgat and Cap del Moll intercepted vessels; guards stamped passes, recorded names, ‘nations’ and even clothing, and fumigated letters with vinegar. Lazarettos and improvised quarantine houses formed a chain of buffers where crews and cargo could be held, cleansed or rerouted; registers and seals turned strangers into eligible subjects whom the city could admit, delay or eject with bureaucratic confidence. In effect, early modern ‘state borders’ crystallised as health borders: the foreigner was what a ledger said he had touched and how long he had waited.

The city learns to keep foreigners inside its economic body while holding them at controllable distances under epidemic duress.

Reading within the arc of the special issue, Barcelona's health regime is the administrative counterpart to the imagological 'soft law' of dress: where images taught whom to watch at a distance, the plague ordinances measured and stamped that distance in days and documents. This case also prepares the turn to gendered boundaries in Veronika Kos's contribution: just as health policy graded foreigners' admissibility by route and documentary proof, urban statutes graded women's legal agency through guardianship requirements and narrowly licensed spheres of action—two internal frontiers that show how early modern cities governed marked subjects within a single repertoire of rules, deliberation, and everyday enforcement.

*Cluster 6: Gendered Foreignness*

**Veronika Kos, 'Women, Foreigners in Their Own Urban Communities?: The Status of Women in Light of City Statutes'**

Reading across the statutes of the Venetian Koper, Izola, Piran and the inland Habsburg Ptuj, Kos reconstructs the gendered dimension of belonging, investigating how women often occupied a status adjacent to foreignness. The legal architecture is explicit: religious, domestic and juridical tutelage casts the husband as the wife's 'guardian and lord', narrowing her procedural and economic agency and creating an internal border that mirrors the constraints placed on outsiders who require intermediaries, licenses or sureties. Within this framework, belonging is graded and contingent; women are recognised as members of the civic body yet governed as if at its periphery.

The law defines the thresholds with precision. Statutory clauses tie women's contractual and litigation capacity to guardianship; property transactions and workshop management are permitted, but heavily conditioned by consent, the need for witnesses, and notarised form. The promise of parity in criminal law (the familiar *utriusque sexus*) is narrowed by practice: in matters of public order, 'improvised weapons', and bodily comportment, women are more tightly policed, a reflex of regulating the marked subject – here by gender rather than place of origin. Crucially, the statutes also open licensed niches. Ptuj's records are arresting: two dozen female salt vendors in 1376, fourteen in 1513, alongside wax vendors. These windows are real and recurrent, but they are exceptionalised and surveilled – enforced by guild by-laws, fines, and spatial rules that channel trade into approved stalls and hours.

Deliberation turns the script into governance. Guild chapters decide who may cross the line between household help and recognised participation in production; 'improper' crossings draw sanctions. Confraternities, which explicitly name 'brothers and sisters', supply a semi-inclusive infrastructure where women can accrue reputation, credit and mutual aid. Municipal councils

arbitrate conflicts over market access and workshop succession, weighing utility, conformity and honour. The decision logic mirrors that used for foreigners: case-by-case passage under watch, with corporate constitutions setting ceilings to voice and prestige.

Practice makes these gradations palpable in everyday life. Licenses, fees, recorded bonds, and the choreography of stalls and measures translate conditional inclusion into routines. Parish oversight and notarial form render women legible and accountable – household units in the fiscal map, yet still mediated through guardianship. The result is a ‘working citizenship’ that acknowledges function (provisioning, small retail, workshop continuity) while holding political voice at arm’s length.

Late medieval municipal language of gendered tutelage persist, but early modern overlays – more standardised paperwork, corporate statutes, and intensified market regulation – make women’s participation more visible and rule-bound. The comparison between Adriatic communes and Inner Austrian Ptuj is instructive: while coastal cities articulate niches within a dense market ecology (salt, fish, wax), Ptuj’s inland regime similarly licenses participation yet stresses tutelage and form, revealing convergent techniques for governing ‘internal outsiders’. In both settings, identity and cultural transfer operate at low altitude – through confraternal sociability, ritual presence, and reputational economies – without dissolving the juridical edge.

Situated within the volume’s arc of addressed changes (1400–1800), Kos demonstrates how attitudes shifted from blanket suspicion to calibrated inclusion, how integration policies worked through neighbourhoods and corporations, and how values of hospitality were translated into enforceable rules.

*Cluster 7: Margins as Foreigners – Exile, Bandits, Vagrants, Smugglers*

**Claudio Povoło, ‘The Outlaw and the Comet of 1618’**

Povoło’s paper on Giuseppe (Iseppo) Rossetti reconstructs how early modern law could manufacture an ‘internal foreigner’ out of a native subject. The bando of 1613 – banishment ‘from the whole state on pain of death’ – did more than expel a man from streets and parish; it stripped him of juridical protection and rendered him free to be killed with impunity if found in the territory from which he had been expelled. Family documents register how private law bowed to public exclusion: Rossetti’s grandfather altered his will to liquidate assets in support of a grandson cast beyond the civic and legal pales. In the statutory language of belonging, bando operated as anti-civitas: the negation of oath, domicile and protection tied to membership.

Deliberation sits in the interstices of this severe regime. Rectors, the Council of Ten and special boards evaluated petitions, calibrated penalties and, crucially, created paths of conditional return. The wartime measure *Deputati alla liberazione dei banditi* (1615–17) turned the outlaw into an instrument of state:

‘serve and be released’. Rossetti applied in July 1616; his ban was suspended and lifted by March 1619 – an exemplary case of reversible exclusion where *raison d’État* temporarily trumped the legal diagnosis inscribed by judicial sentence. The same authorities that authored civic death staged civic rebirth.

Practice shows the street-level choreography of inclusion and exclusion. After re-entry, Rossetti moved in a world of revenge cycles (1619–22) that contemporary reports read either as factional hireling work or as self-authored provocations born of feuds over honour. The Molinello ambush (February 7 or 8, 1623) is the key tableau: Marquis Giulio Rangoni lured Rossetti with a forged friendly letter; a squad fired from a fortified house; one companion died, others were captured, Rossetti escaped wounded. The sources note that Rangoni acted with a ‘large company of bandits’, under institutional legitimation. State power thus borrowed outlaw muscle to neutralise an outlaw, blurring the line between public coercion and private violence. Rossetti answered in print, circulating a manifesto that staged his honour against constabulary treachery – an appeal to the same urban public that adjudicated reputation in peacetime markets and councils.

Change over time is not a passage from cruelty to clemency, but a recalibration of tools. The medieval repertoire – outlawry, confiscation, and impunity for killing (lawful killing of an outlaw without penalty) – survives into the seventeenth century; what changes is the modularity with which sovereign and municipal forums suspend or re-activate these tools according to military need, fiscal calculus or political risk. In peacetime, bando performs social closure and deterrence; under pressure, it becomes negotiable currency, redeemable by service. The result is a spectrum of conditional membership administered by interoperable techniques: edicts and warrants, cordons and raids, petitions and printed manifestos. The law sets the thresholds; deliberation resets them; practice – patrols, arrests, escorts, postings of ordinances – ensures their enforcement.

Placed within the architecture of the special issue, Povoło’s study completes the arc from external to internal foreignness. Where earlier contributions traced graded inclusion of newcomers (statutes, *cittadinanza*, guild reforms, marriage brokerage, market licenses, health passes) and the imagological ‘soft law’ of perception, this case shows the inverse operation: the city’s power to expatriate one of its own and then selectively readmit him for reasons of state. As we move to the editorial synthesis, Rossetti’s file sharpens the concluding claim: early modern governance did not replace municipal discretion so much as standardise a repertoire – oaths and bando, licenses and *condotte*, registers and seals – through which cities and states together governed foreignness, at the borders and at home. Indeed, as sometimes happened with so-called ‘social bandits’, those who survived permanent expulsion could fashion a new identity (and patria) in the service of another sovereign: after the Molinello ambush, Giuseppe Rossetti fled to Mantua, entered Gonzaga’s service, and received command of one hundred cavalry.

### Žiga Oman, 'From Neighbour to Outsider: Banishment in Early Modern Ljubljana'

Placed after Povoło's Terraferma vignette, Oman's paper shifts the lens to Habsburg Ljubljana (1521–1677), showing how banishment functioned not only as an extraordinary weapon of *raison d'état* but as a routine municipal institution for turning neighbours into outsiders. Where Vicenza dramatised reversible civic death, Ljubljana's town council normalised calibrated removal, staging exclusion as a public lesson in order.

The juridical language is clear even without a statute known to coastal cities: the town's own criminal order, *Deren von Laibach Malefitzfreyhaittn*, supplied templates alongside the Imperial *Carolina*. Sentences layered cumulative penalties—fines; the stocks; birching processions from the town house to town gates; occasional mutilation—and then removal from the town peace and or 'from all Archducal lands'. The effect is a civic unmaking: the banished lose protection, trades, and parish anchoring, and are rendered juridically outsiders even when geographically near.

Deliberation is heavily documented. The town council hears denunciations, weighs the testimony of neighbours, princely and clerical intercession, and times the expulsion – often a three-day deadline on pain of escorted removal. Petitions could commute or suspend punishment. In this theatre of discipline, the city instructs: from stocks to gate, punishment writes borders into bodies and streets.

The offence profile is recognisably Central European – theft and handling stolen goods predominant; sexual morality (adultery, fornication, pimping, bigamy) next; then defiance of officers or guild discipline, with episodic violence. What shifts across the long sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is the tightening of moral policing under Reformation and Counter-Reformation auspices: women form an increasing share among the banished for sexual offences, marking gender as an internal frontier of belonging. Peaks in 1600–15 and 1634–36 correlate with health and subsistence anxieties that also hardened thresholds for itinerants – badges for beggars, collective removals from sensitive spaces. The vocabulary and ritual of expulsion were standardised: fixed-mile radii; multi-year bans.

Reading through the law-deliberation-practice triad, Ljubljana exemplifies co-produced status. Law supplied scalable repertoires – Imperial and local criminal orders. Deliberation in the council translated uncertainty into calibrated sentences, including clemency and return routes via petition and oath. Practice rendered decisions operative—through registers, a standardised administrative vocabulary, penal choreography, and judicial traces that rendered the excluded legible to officers and neighbours. Exclusion was neither destiny nor mere spectacle; it was a governable condition that could be suspended, extended, or redeemed.

Change over time is thus not rupture but consolidation and standardisation. Penal tools—outlawry, confiscation, impunity for killing outlaws—loom in the background, yet early modern municipal governance long continues the milder medieval, proce-

duralised banishment that can be widened (radius), deepened (duration), or softened (commutation) according to provisioning, moral order, and epidemiological risk. In Povoło's Vicenza, bando could be reversed for war service; in Oman's Ljubljana, the same logic appears administratively: calibrated terms, staged rituals, and monitored returns. The result is a spectrum of conditional membership in which urban discretion persists but is read within wider Habsburg legal architectures.

Situated in Cluster 7, Oman's case completes the turn from external to internal foreignness. It shows how a Central European town produced outsiders from its own body politic – by decree and public ritual – thereby complementing Mediterranean precedents and underscoring the special issue's larger claim: early modern Europe governed mobility and belonging less by fixed identities than by adjustable thresholds, negotiated in the councils and enacted in the street.

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## APPENDIX

### Methodological Note: LLM-assisted, prompt-guided analysis<sup>4</sup>

The following dossier combines a close reading of primary/secondary sources with a prompt-guided analytic workflow supported by a large language model (OpenAI ChatGPT, model **GPT-5 Thinking**). The objective was not to outsource interpretation, but to standardise how each article is read through the shared triad of law, deliberation and practice, and to make temporal change explicit in a comparable, source-aware prose. Placed within the comparative frame of the introduction, this method operationalises the move from predominantly municipal grammars to co-administered regimes of inclusion and exclusion across cases, while remaining anchored in concrete institutional procedures (oaths, registers, licenses, quarantines, *bando*).

#### *Transparency and reproducibility*

- **Model and access:** OpenAI ChatGPT, **GPT-5 Thinking**; ChatGPT application interface; access dates correspond to the drafting windows indicated in the editorial log (Aug–Oct 2025).
- **Key settings:** deterministic drafting was prioritised; low-variance decoding (temperature  $\approx 0.2$ , top\_p = 1.0) was used to limit paraphrastic drift; max\_tokens = 2048.
- **Prompt architecture:** a single synthesis prompt (below) enforced: (a) statement of period, geography, core problem; (b) analysis through the law–deliberation–practice triad (without headings); (c) explicit treatment of **change**;

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<sup>4</sup> *Acknowledgments:* The author acknowledges the assistance of OpenAI's ChatGPT (model **GPT-5 Thinking**) for language refinement and prompt-guided drafting. All interpretations, selections, and conclusions are solely the author's responsibility.

(d) concrete claims only where evidenced; (e) an obligatory bridge to the next article to preserve argumentative flow.

- **Workflow:** (1) human outline and key terms per article; (2) LLM draft to ≤500 words with enforced constraints; (3) human adjudication against sources; (4) limited redrafting where claims lacked textual warrant; (5) editorial harmonisation of terminology and bridges.
- **Prompt log:** a timestamped, machine-readable **prompt log** (model, parameters, prompt versions, draft timestamps, editor notes) is provided in the Supplement (CSV/JSON). Inputs are referenced by anonymised IDs/hashe; no personal data are included.

### *Human oversight and editorial control*

All LLM outputs were strictly advisory. The author defined the analytical framework, selected sources, and verified every factual and interpretive claim. Draft vignettes served as constrained prose scaffolds; **no LLM text was accepted without human verification** against statutes, council minutes, guild records, lazaretto files, notarial acts, and relevant secondary literature. **As an additional safeguard, each contributing author reviewed the Introduction and the vignette presenting their article** and was invited to confirm accuracy or suggest amendments; their corrections (terminology alignment, factual refinements, minor stylistic changes) were incorporated prior to finalisation. Final wording, argumentative sequencing, and inter-article bridges are the result of human editing. Interpretations and conclusions remain solely the authors' responsibility.

### *Compliance and limitations*

Use of generative AI complies with the journal's guidance: no personal or sensitive data were processed; sources are cited; copyrighted material is quoted only within fair-use limits. Because large models can be stylistically fluent yet factually brittle, we mitigated risks via: (i) low-variance decoding; (ii) prompts that forbid conjecture and require concrete fora, dates, and procedures; (iii) human adjudication of every draft against primary/secondary sources; and (iv) version pinning in the timestamped prompt log (Supplement). Results may vary with future model updates; the published text reflects human-verified outputs only.

### *Data protection and ethics*

Primary excerpts were paraphrased rather than bulk-reproduced; input passages are anonymised by ID/hash. The method is descriptive–analytical; interpretive responsibility lies with the editors–authors.

*The synthesis prompt (final version used)*<sup>5</sup>

Essay-Only Analysis Prompt (≤500 words, academic register)

Input you provide (for header only):

- Authors & title; period; place(s).

**Task for the model (single continuous essay, no bullets):** Write a tightly argued vignette (≤500 words) that (a) **states period, geography, and core problem** in the opening sentence, (b) analyses the article through the **Law–Deliberation–Practice** triad *without labels*, and (c) makes **changes over time** explicit, all in a sober academic style, with **concrete claims grounded in the text** (no conjecture).

**Mandatory content to integrate—within flowing prose, not as a list:**

1. **Legal status & communal attitude:** *Define the status architecture relevant to the case (e.g., civis, vicinus, habitator; cittadinanza; vecindad/natureza), the entry conditions (oath, domicile, surety, registration, house-building), and the rights/limits (property, retail, office; special Jewish tracks—oaths, finance—if applicable).*
2. **Inclusion vs. exclusion (legislation):** *Show how statutes/ordinances/privileges calibrated selective hospitality (licenses, exemptions, bans, quotas, tariffs; fair rules; lazaretti, quarantines; bando), and when/why they tightened or relaxed.*
3. **Origins & motives (if evidenced):** *Where newcomers came from and why (skills/capital, trade networks, confession, war, provisioning), including support infrastructures (nations, confraternities, hospitals, guilds).*
4. **Predominant roles:** *Specify the functional positions of foreigners (crafts, finance, provisioning, offices, military)—i.e., cases where they were “civilly outside, fiscally inside.”*
5. **Deliberative practices:** *Identify the fora (Great Councils, Consell de Cent, guild chapters, senates, special boards) and decision logics (utility, reputation, compliance), noting procedural innovations (sortition, split “bags,” fair fast-tracks) and at least one concrete deliberative moment (vote, ruling, admission).*
6. **Addressed changes in attitudes (1400–1800):** *Make temporal change explicit by situating the article in the broader shift from medieval municipal grammars to co-jurisdiction with centralising authorities. Where relevant, articulate:*

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5 **Prompt log and reproducibility.** This supplement contains the prompt log (CSV/JSON) with model (GPT-5 Thinking), access dates, decoding parameters, exact synthesis prompt (final), prompt iterations, draft timestamps, and editor adjudication notes. A worked example (input excerpt → prompt → raw output → human adjudication → final vignette) is included to enable end-to-end replication.

- changing **definitions of foreignness** and the customs/laws/deliberations that include/exclude;
- **economic, cultural, demographic, political** importance and types of mobility;
- **immigration policies** and attitudes to integration/assimilation;
- **identity change & cultural transfer**;
- **categories/status** of foreigners and relations with natives under shifting socio-political conditions;
- attitudes between **newcomers and old populace**;
- **integration policies** (from foreigner to neighbour/citizen; neighbourhoods);
- **values of hospitality**;
- **support networks** (religious orders, confraternities, hospitals, guilds);
- **health regimes** (quarantines; epidemic borders);
- **gendered dimensions**;
- **marginality as foreignness** (exiles, bandits, vagrants, smugglers).

Only discuss those elements that the article **actually evidences**.

7. **Practice (everyday enactment)**: Show how rules and decisions “**bite**” in **daily life** (registers, seals, licenses, *condotte*; inspections, policing, notarial routines; fair justice).

**Closing sentence (obligatory bridge)**:

Conclude with a **clear, non-speculative bridge** toward the next article in our sequence (insert its author/title), indicating in one sentence how this case **prepares** the ground for the next piece (e.g., from statutory grammars to guild deliberation; from municipal status to senatorial *cittadinanza*; from markets to health borders).

**Style constraints**:

- Academic, source-aware, **no italics**; use the article’s own legal terms where present.
- Prefer precise nouns and verbs over hedging; avoid speculative generalities.
- Dates, bodies, and procedures should be **concretised** when available.

**Important**: If a category above is **not evidenced** in the article, **omit it**—do not force it.

## CONCLUSIONS

Read together, the Introduction and the thirteen studies organised in seven clusters map out the long transformation of how European states, cities and towns defined and governed foreigners between ca. 1400 and ca. 1800. Late-medieval communes crafted a municipal language of belonging – *habitor* → *vicinus* → *civis* – anchored in oath, domicile, surety and spatial obligations. Early modern polities did not abolish this ladder; they overlaid it with higher-council seals, princely concessions, guild constitutions, health magistracies, and an expanding apparatus of documentary governance—standardised registers, licenses, passports and health passes, stamped permits and inventories—whose bureaucratisation and diffusion were a distinctive novelty of the early modern period. The result is not a linear march from hospitality to hostility, but a shift from binary labels to conditional, reversible memberships administered jointly by councils and central authorities.

Across our Mediterranean and near-Mediterranean cases (including visual regimes of Ottoman and ‘Muscovite’ Europe), the same repertoire recurs with local inflection. Markets and money pulled useful outsiders inward: bankers, traders, skilled artisans became insiders fiscally or functionally long before they were citizens. Corporate life engineered ‘working citizenship’ through electoral reforms and office quotas, but kept prestige ceilings in place. Marriage – most strikingly elaborated here with the Barcelona foundling corridor – converted alterity into kinship and neighbourhood standing, a quiet policy by practice. Jews moved along distinct juridical tracks (special oaths, contract-bound finance): recognised for utility, held at a formal distance. Gender sharpened an internal frontier: women were legally insiders yet often governed like useful outsiders (being outside the dominant gender) – licensed niches under guardianship and corporate surveillance. Epidemic regimes translated imagined dangers of ‘outside’ into graded borders (passes, lazarettos, timelines), while *bando* manufactured outsiders at home – statuses that local authorities and sovereigns could suspend or redeem for reasons of community or state.

The dossier’s final arc reframes exclusion as a governable condition. Vicenza’s file on Rossetti anatomises *bando* as civic unmaking and, in wartime, reversible currency (‘serve and be released’); Ljubljana’s exhibits the Central European routinisation of banishment by municipal due process – sentences layered with shaming rituals, fixed-mile radii, multi-year terms, and monitored returns. Placed side by side, the two cases show sovereign and urban forums using interoperable tools (oaths, edicts, warrants, petitions,) to manufacture, suspend, and re-activate distance inside the body politic.

What changed is visible on three planes. First, definition: ‘foreignness’ moved from an overwhelmingly territorial label to include a situational status produced by function (credit, craft, provisioning), documentation (oaths, seals, health passes) and reputation (utility, honour). Second, forum: decision-making

migrated from single communal arenas to nested architectures – Great Councils beside senates, viceregal chambers, health boards – where calibration replaced blanket rules. Third, instrumentation: interoperable tools (registers, standardised forms, guild ‘bags’, quarantine categories, *condotte* and contracts) rendered strangers known and governable across jurisdictions. These are the mechanisms through which centralising states did not replace urban discretion so much as standardise the repertoire by which cities and sovereigns co-produced inclusion and exclusion.

Methodologically, the case-study lens allows micro-procedures (how one swears an oath, marries, votes, measures, petitions) to register macro-level change: the shift from predominantly municipal regimes of belonging to early modern, co-administered regimes in which municipal forums and central authorities jointly determined inclusion and exclusion. In this respect, the findings corroborate Foucault’s thesis about the stratification (or sedimentation) of practices and discourses over time—famously articulated in *L’archéologie du savoir* (Foucault, 1969) and revisited in his 1971 dialogue with Chomsky – rather than any appeal to a fixed human nature.<sup>6</sup>

The originality of this special double issue also lies in its law-deliberation-practice optic: whereas most studies have privileged law as an interpretative key, our reconstruction restores deliberative arenas and practice to analytical visibility – countering the persistent modern myth that, prior to bourgeois dominance, urban life was an undifferentiated field of chaos and violence rather than a densely governed space of negotiated order.

Comparative placement (Adriatic communes vs Catalan towns; composite monarchies vs republics; littoral vs inland) shows convergence: where provisioning needs, fiscal constraints, or labour shortages were acute, access widened in regulated or graduated ways – via licences, leases, marriage, office – whereas in contexts of scarcity, epidemic risk, or factional conflict, access contracted, often rapidly. Mobility was thus governed less by fixed identities than by differentiated access regimes that treated foreigners – external and internal – as conditional members whose proximity could be formally authorised, documented, and enforced.

In addition, the collection combines a micro-historical perspective with a *longue durée* framework. Case studies facilitate the close analysis of institutional practice and deliberation, while the longer temporal arc permits the observation of quantitative economic and demographic indicators diachronically (across time) and synchronically (across regions at comparable moments). This dual approach

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6 In the well-known TV interview on Human Nature (Netherlands, 1971), Noam Chomsky emphasised human creativity, universal grammatical structures, and moral principles in explaining individual and social processes; Michel Foucault stressed historically contingent formations of knowledge and power and the ‘layering’ of practices and discourses that accumulate over time to produce distinct regimes of truth. The recording and transcripts are publicly accessible (Videoposnetki Bing; cf. Human Nature: Justice versus Power; Chomsky–Foucault debate - Wikipedia; last access: 25-05-2025).

clarifies both local mechanisms and broader trajectories: it shows how procedural tools (oaths, registers, guild constitutions, health passes, *bando*) accumulated and were standardised across jurisdictions, and how shifts in political economy or risk environments affected the scope of membership and the terms on which foreigners could be admitted, delayed, or expelled.

Across these cases, ‘change’ appears less as rupture than as consolidation and standardisation. Communal discretion persists, but it is increasingly nested in sovereign architectures that supply uniform categories, paperwork, and sanctions. Motives for mobility – provisioning, credit, skilled labour, marriage, devotion, war, plague – meet institutional repertoires that translate them into calibrated hospitality. Support networks (confraternities, hospitals, ‘nations’, guilds) mediate passage; emergencies (scarcity, epidemic, faction) harden edges. The comparative breadth – from Dalmatia to Sicily and Catalonia, from Adriatic communes to Inner Austrian Ljubljana, with an iconographic detour toward Ottoman and ‘Muscovite’ Europe – anchors the claim: early modern Europe did not simply turn more hostile or more welcoming; it learned to manage foreignness with interoperable procedures, shared across city and state, that made inclusion and exclusion reversible, documentable, and, above all, debatable. In that sense, law scripts the thresholds, deliberation selects the entrants (or the expelled), and practice – at the gate, market, workshop, parish, and court – translates those choices into everyday administrative routines.

As regards the use of ChatGPT, our prompt-guided LLM workflow with human verification yielded results that were surprisingly accurate and interpretively sound. The vast majority of authors detected no semantic errors and offered no corrections—in fact, most praised the interpretations. Only two raised concerns, chiefly about unusual terminology (e.g., “statutory grammar(s)” and “bite”); I replaced the former with “language” and the latter with semantically precise verbs such as “renders/ensures,” etc. A few additional minor comments were incorporated, and a light language review was performed, without major changes to sentence structure. In my assessment, ChatGPT-5 is markedly more capable than ChatGPT-3.5 or ChatGPT-4 (cf. Hazemali & al., 2024); it supports practically open-ended exchanges with minimal hallucination, is more steerable toward a well-defined domain, and—especially in a closed workspace such as the one used for this analysis and interpretation of the next thirteen articles in *Acta Histriae*—delivers stable, high-quality outputs.

SOOČANJE S TUJCI V MESTIH ZGODNJENOVOVEŠKE EVROPE:  
ZAKONODAJA, DELIBERACIJA, PRAKSA – UVODNIK ZA DVOJNI  
POSEBNI ŠTEVILKI

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**POVZETEK**

*Uvodnik predstavi dvojni posebni številki Acta Histriae s trinajstimi prispevki o tujcih v evropskih mestih med približno letoma 1400 in 1800. Izhodišče je projektni predlog z analitično triado: pravo – deliberacija – praksa, ki omogoča primerljivo obravnavo vključevanja in izključevanja prišlekov v različnih pravno-političnih okoljih. Posebno pozornost namenjamo spreminjanju definicij »tujca« in prehodu od pretežno komunskih ureditev k zgodnjenovoveškim so-jurisdikcijam, kjer so se odločitve o pripadnosti oblikovale med mestnimi sveti in višjimi državnimi telesi. Viri razkrivajo natančne mehanizme selektivnega gostoljubja: statusne lestvice (habitor–vicinus–civis), cehovska pravila, licenčne in davčne režime, zdravniško-policijske ukrepe (karantene, zdravstvene listine) ter skrajne sankcije (izgon). Primeri pokažejo tudi funkcionalne vloge tujcev v mestnih gospodarstvih, prenos identitet in kulturnih vzorcev ter zaostrovanje nadzora v kriznih razmerah (vojna, epidemija). Za primerljivost skozi raznolike arhive in regije smo vsako študijo povzeli v kratko vinjeto po vnaprej določeni shemi; pri tem smo uporabili transparenten, s prompti voden postopek z velikim jezikovnim modelom (LLM), ob dosledni človeški verifikaciji virov, terminologije in sklepanj. Vinjete vodijo bralca skozi tematske sklope ter pripravljajo okvir za poglobljeno branje posameznih prispevkov.*

*Ključne besede: tujci in tujstvo, zgodnjenovoveška Evropa, meščanstvo in status, pravo–deliberacija–praksa, vključevanje in izključevanje, mestni statuti in sveti, zdravstveni režimi in karantena*

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