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## NOTES

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### *The Millers of Pistoia, 1200-1430\**

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In the early fourteenth century there were as many as 258 grain mills functioning throughout the territory of medieval Pistoia, located some 35 kilometers to the northwest of Florence.<sup>1</sup> Equipped with horizontal water-wheels,<sup>2</sup> these primitive machines were worked by individuals who were basically peasant farmers and herdsmen accustomed, since the early Middle Ages, to maintaining lands and animals along with the mills they rented or owned.<sup>3</sup> Those who acquired sufficient technical knowledge concerning the operation and construction of mills were called *molendinarii* or *mugnai*.<sup>4</sup> If their knowledge were particularly advanced, they were referred to as *magistri molendinorum*.<sup>5</sup> Others, with sufficient commercial initiative, were

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<sup>1</sup> For the distribution of Pistoia's grain mills throughout the medieval period, see my *The Grain Mills of Pistoia in 1350*, « Bollettino Storico Pistoiese » (henceforth, BSP), 3rd series, VII (1972), 39-64.

<sup>2</sup> For the technology of Pistoiese mills, see my *The Horizontal Mills of Medieval Pistoia*, « Technology and Culture » (henceforth, TC), 15 (1974), 194-225.

<sup>3</sup> Leases for the mills of Pistoia prior to the thirteenth century are found in *Libro croce*, ed. Q. Santoli in « Regesta chartarum Italiae », 26 (Rome, 1939), 50-51, 356-357 and 388-389.

<sup>4</sup> See, among many, Archivio di Stato di Firenze (henceforth, ASF), Notarile antecosimiano, A634, July 24, 1355, 275r and Archivio di Stato di Pistoia (henceforth, ASP), Archivio dell'Opera di San Iacopo (henceforth, AOSI), toms 5 (1362), 7v.

<sup>5</sup> ASF, Not., S723, October 7, 1340. Many of the files or *filze* of the Pistoiese notaries do not contain pagination. Entries without page numbers must, therefore, be located by following the sequential dates of the documents.

known as *publici mercatores* ("public merchants") of grain and flour.<sup>6</sup> In general, however, the millers of Pistoia from 1200 to 1430 remained a specialized class of agricultural laborers frequently referred to in the documents as *publici laboratores terrarum* ("public laborers of lands").<sup>7</sup>

By means of a short-term lease (*affitto a tempo*) the miller or public laborer would work a proprietor's mill for periods normally lasting from one to six years.<sup>8</sup> He was provided with habitation and equipment<sup>9</sup> as well as adequate supplies of water so that the mill could perform without interruption. If inundation, dessication, or war prohibited the passage of water through the conduit of the mill known as a *gora*, he was not required to pay the rent for however long the mill remained inactive.<sup>10</sup> For his part, the miller was obliged to maintain the property of the owner to the best of his ability. Dams, *gore*, and the functional parts of the mill, such as chutes, hoppers, millstones and horizontal waterwheels, had to be repaired and protected against unnecessary damage.<sup>11</sup> If a juridical dispute arose between himself and another party, the miller was obliged to use the arbitration of a "good man".<sup>12</sup> More often than not, he was bound to pay all, or at least half, of the tax on mills known either as the *gabella molendinorum* or *gabella palmentorum*.<sup>13</sup> At the end of his term he was, as at the beginning, to have all parts of the mill appraised by at least two other

<sup>6</sup> ASP, AOSI, 1, Protocolli di ser Spada Picchosi, June 19, 1298, 265r.

<sup>7</sup> See, among many, ASF, C371, January 11, 1392.

<sup>8</sup> Among the notarial entries utilized in this essay there are ninety-five contracts which hire millers to work fifty-two individual mills. Eighty-seven of these contracts are for terms of one to six years. Of these, sixty-three are for terms of one to three years. There are two contracts for eight-year terms, three for nine-year terms, one for a ten-year term and another for a fifteen-year term. Due to a notarial omission one contract does not contain a specific term. It would appear that in the period prior to the year 1250, when the manorial organization of Carolingian times had not yet entirely disintegrated in Pistoia, millers held their mills for considerably longer terms. In 1241 Beneventus quondam Janni, a miller in the employ of the Conti Alberti, had held the mill of the pieve of Sanctus Laurentius in the Val di Bisenzio for more than twenty years. See *Liber censuum comunis Pistorii*, ed. Q. Santoli (Pistoia, 1915) pp. 219-220.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, ASF, Not., M47, September 9, 1369, 154r.

<sup>10</sup> ASF, Diplomatico, Rocchettini, February 20, 1284; ASF, Not., G602, April 10, 1389; *ibid.*, N128, March 22, 1391 and *ibid.*, P448, January 25, 1400.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, G602, April 10, 1389, «... quapropter dicti conductores ... promiserunt et convenerunt ... dictis rebus et massariis locatis uti arbitrio boni viri et boni molendinarii et manutene et conservare et gubernare et actare macinas, reticina (horizontal waterwheels), canales et alias res et massarias dicti molendini expensis et supplicationibus ipsorum locatorum ... et cavare et fodere seu foderi facere et seu ampliare goram aque dicti molendini...».

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* The overwhelming majority of contracts, however, require the arbitration of only a "good man".

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, C371, August 27, 1390 and *ibid.*, F306, December 27, 1370.

millers or knowledgeable men so that an equitable settlement could be obtained for both parties.<sup>14</sup>

Between 1200 and 1430, as in the period prior to this time, mills were often leased along with lands, vineyards, meadows, and woods. Thus many short-term contracts stipulated that the miller was required to cultivate, seed, and harvest the pieces of land allotted. If vineyards were attached to the mill, the responsibility of pruning and picking was usually mandatory. The duty of digging ditches for proper irrigation and drainage was also required.<sup>15</sup> In meadows and woods the miller was often compelled to gather nuts,<sup>16</sup> or graze pigs and other animals which the owner granted him *in socio*.<sup>17</sup> In the vicinity of the mill the obligation of keeping bees,<sup>18</sup> pigeons,<sup>19</sup> or chickens<sup>20</sup> was common practice. Since the landed property associated with the mill was sometimes quite large and involved a variety of tasks, the owner was often forced to hire two or even three millers or public laborers.<sup>21</sup> When the land was classified as a large farm or *podere*, it could be rented by means of a share-cropping lease known as a *mezzadria*. The mill, however, was usually subject to separate stipulations and a fixed rather than a flexible rent.<sup>22</sup>

The paying of the rent was, of course, the most important requirement of the miller. At certain times during each year of his term, he would load his mule or pack-horse and transport a variety of commodities to the home of the owner. Wheat, feed grains, millet, and chestnuts, either ground or unground, were the common fruits used for payment.<sup>23</sup> Frequently included, however, were pork,<sup>24</sup> pigeons,<sup>25</sup> chickens and eggs.<sup>26</sup> Occasionally a rent would also involve salted eels which the miller had caught in the mill-pond and then prepared in his home.<sup>27</sup> Money payments were infrequent.

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<sup>14</sup> See my article in TC, 15 (1974), 215-217.

<sup>15</sup> ASF, Not., C371, April 30, 1391 and *ibid.*, V360, August 10, 1391, 117r.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, C371, January 11, 1392.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, N128, August 2, 1364, 209v and *ibid.*, C371, January 11, 1392.

<sup>18</sup> ASF, Catasto 262, 530r.

<sup>19</sup> ASF, Not., C371, September 29, 1396 and *ibid.*, I 30, December 9, 1285, 88r.

<sup>20</sup> ASF, Diplomatico, Angioli di Pistoia, July 19, 1349; ASF, Not., M47, December 13, 1368; *ibid.*, G387, July 11, 1393, 84r-85v and *ibid.*, P448, January 25, 1400.

<sup>21</sup> See, among numerous examples, *ibid.*, G387, September 18, 1396, 38v-39r.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, C371, October 25, 1395 and *ibid.*, N128, March 22, 1391.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, S723, November 21, 1339; *ibid.*, I20, May 6, 1347; *ibid.*, G602, April 10, 1389. For chestnuts, see ASF, Catasto 265, 2v, 296v, 445r, 518r, 669v, 677r and 688v.

<sup>24</sup> ASF, Not., I20, August 4, 1347 and *ibid.*, M47, December 13, 1368.

<sup>25</sup> *Supra*, footnote 19.

<sup>26</sup> *Supra*, footnote 20.

<sup>27</sup> ASF, Not., I30, September 21, 1277.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. R. PIATTOLI, *Lo statuto dell'arte dei padroni dei mulini sulla destra del fiume Bisenzio* (Prato, 1936), p. 80, note 3.

When they do appear, it is perhaps no more than a reflection of monetary standards determined by communal officials, either of the city or the countryside.<sup>28</sup>

Some millers possessed their own mills, and thereby avoided the obligations engendered by a contract.<sup>29</sup> There were those who ran mills of which they owned a share as was the case in 1334 when Nolfo di Piero di Aldobrandino worked the consortial mill at Valenzatico,<sup>30</sup> or again in 1427 when Lenzo di Pasquino operated the "molino Folcharetto" at Quarata.<sup>31</sup> Nor is it unusual to discover proprietors who customarily leased their mills, performing the task themselves. Due to the recurrence of plague and the subsequent demographic displacements which affected Pistoia throughout the fourteenth and into the fifteenth centuries,<sup>32</sup> they were often unable to find millers to work them. In the Catasto of 1427-30, for example, the tax officials reported that Nanni di Baronto Talini of Larciano, through his own labour, produced six *omine*<sup>33</sup> of grain at his *mulino maltempano*, or "bad-weather" mill. Nanni related, however, that his mill was capable of returning at least eleven *omine* of grain if he could find someone to rent it.<sup>34</sup> A categorical distinction between the proprietor of a Pistoiese mill and the hired man who worked it must, therefore, be treated with some suspicion. So too must the occupational exclusiveness of the trade be suspect. Individuals advocating different crafts were not adverse to employing themselves as professional millers. In 1418 Giovanni di Piero di Vanni, a basket-maker, was hired to run the "molino grande" of the Opera of San Iacopo for an annual rent of 156 *omine* of flour.<sup>35</sup> In 1428 masons named Piero and Nencio di Pagoletto rented the mill of the Opera of San Bartolomeo while owning and operating a saw mill located beside the walls of the city of Pistoia.<sup>36</sup> Be that as it may, the millers of medieval Pistoia can still be described as a particular group functioning within the social and economic order of Tuscany.

The wealth of any individual miller of medieval Pistoia varied considerably. The Catasto of 1427-30, the only document which permits a comparative study of their fortunes, indicates that some Pistoiese millers, particularly if they owned their own mills, could amass considerable property beyond their annual monetary incomes (see Table 1). In 1427 Antonio di

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<sup>29</sup> The Catasto of 1427-30 includes accounts for twelve millers who own and work their own mills. See Table 1, nos. 1, 2, 3, 8, 11, 15, 16, 17, 19, 22, 27, and 38.

<sup>30</sup> ASF, Not., C364, November 4, 1334, 187v-188r.

<sup>31</sup> ASF, Catasto, 189, 95v; ASF, Catasto 263, 293v; ASF, Catasto 264, 124r.

<sup>32</sup> DAVID HERLIHY, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia* (New Haven and London, 1967), pp. 104-120.

<sup>33</sup> An *omina*, *emina* or *stajo* is equivalent to 0.73 bushels.

<sup>34</sup> ASF, Catasto 263, 51r.

<sup>35</sup> ASF, AOSI, tomus 6, 2v.

<sup>36</sup> ASF, Catasto 189, 606v; ASF, Catasto 260, 57r and 66v.

TABLE I

THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AMONG THE MILLERS OF PISTOIA REGISTERED WITH ACCOUNTS IN THE CATASTO OF 1427-30

Name	Catasto reference	Place of work or habitation	Assessment
1. Antonio di Niccolò	262, 9r	Gora	456
2. Iacopo di Guido Cecchi	263, 418r	Lamporecchio	404
3. Menichino di Nuto	265, 2v	Cutigliana	257
4. Mazzeo di Giovanni	264, 361v	Tizzana	215
5. Nencio di Pagoletto muratore	260, 56v	City	197
6. Martino di Michele Martini	264, 531r	Montale	184
7. Piero di Francesco	262, 531v	Vincio	164
8. Meo di Giovanni Corsellini mugnaio	262, 16v	Gora	156
9. Piero di Pagoletto muratore	260, 66r	City	146
10. Talino Baronti dal Larciano	263, 60v	Larciano	130
11. Nanni di Matteo di Bruno	262, 229v	Valdibure	125
12. Iacopo di Tommaso detto Pulito	262, 15r	Gora	121
13. Antonio di Piero (Corsi) detto el Pulito	263, 126v	Casale	115
14. Tollino di Vanni	262, 530r	Celle (Vincio)	104
15. Giovanni di Pippo di Mone dal Montale	264, 518v	Montale	104
16. Domenico di Piero detto Bufalaio	262, 12t	Gora	97
17. Piero di Cenni da Montemagno	264, 11t	Montemagno	80
18. Nanni di Piero da Brandeglio	260, 616v	City	80
19. Piero di Pagolo da Valdibure	262, 235r	Candeglia (Valdibure)	77
20. Corso di Piero Corsi	263, 3t	City	76
21. Lenzo di Pasquino	264, 123v	Quarrata	61
22. Nanni di Piero dal Montale	264, 499r	Montale	59
23. Lazzero di Nardo mugnaio	262, 7v	Gora	58
24. Bartolomeo di Giovanni Cambini	262, 498v	San Pantaleo (Vincio)	46
25. Iacopo d'Antonio di Niccolò mugnaio	262, 7r	Gora	43
26. Piero di Vita da Quarrata	264, 98r	Buriano (Quarrata)	40
27. Gausparre di Bertino dal Montale	264, 522r	Montale	35
28. Guido di Francesco mugnaio	262, 499r	Vincio	29
29. Martino di Nanni Cavalla	262, 223v	Candeglia (Valdibure)	29
30. Antonio di Salvi	265, 79v	Cutigliano	28
31. Michele di Cecco dal Montale	264, 495v	Montale	27
32. Piero di Gianini da Popiglio	265, 444v	Popiglio	26
33. Luca di Domenico	264, 485v	Montale	20
34. Iacopo di Tome	262, 21r	San Felice	17
35. Iacopo d'Antonio di Giovanni	262, 247r	Sarloco (Valdibure)	14
36. Cecco di Vesino da Lizzano	265, 277r	Lizzano	13
37. Michele di Bartolo da Casale	263, 136r	Casale	12
38. Cecco di Vannino chiamato Carbone di Candeglia	262, 198v	Candeglia (Valdibure)	11
39. Biagio di Niccolò mugnaio	262, 527r	Vincio	10
40. Pippo di Nanni	262, 482v	Vincio	10
41. Perino di Lotto	262, 526v	Vincio	8

Name	Catasto reference	Place of work or habitation	Assessment
42. Riccolo di Neruccio	262, 245r	Valdibure	8
43. Stefano di Fecino	264, 480v	Montale	2
44. Maso di Salvestro	262, 2r	Vincio	0
45. Cambino di Lippo	262, 409r	Masiano	0
46. Tante di Giovanni	263, 467r	Serravalle	0
47. Domenico di Bartolomeo di Giovanni	264, 287v	Tizzana	0
48. Iacopo di Giovanni Cambini	262, 529r	Vincio	0
49. Niccolò d'Antonio mugnaio	262, 184r	Gello	0
50. Baronto di Matteo mugnaio	262, 261b	S. Cristina (Valdibure)	0
51. Pistolese di Giovanni	262, 234v	Candeglia (Valdibure)	0

Sums are given to the nearest florin.

Niccolò owned and worked, along with his sons, a mill situated in Gora which produced an annual profit of 100 *staia*<sup>37</sup> of flour. In addition, he possessed a large farm, or *podere*, of forty-eight *staiora*<sup>38</sup> as well as two pieces of cultivated land and five *staiora* of vineyard. He also owned a pair of oxen, a cow, and seven horses. His total taxable wealth amounted to 456 florins, a sum which made him the wealthiest miller in Pistoia.<sup>39</sup>

Long-established millers of certain rural communes of the mountains and middle hills could also accumulate significant wealth. Menichino di Nuto of Cutigliana, considered in 1402 to be one of the richest men of the mountains,<sup>40</sup> owned and worked, along with his two married sons, not only a grain mill which produced an annual return of forty-two *staia* of chestnuts and grain, but also a saw mill, a fulling mill, and a hemp mill which produced an annual profit of ten florins. Beyond these industrial establishments he owned three large houses, a hut, a field, four pieces of forest, four meadows, a mule, an ass, and four goats.<sup>41</sup> Iacopo di Guido Cecchi of Lamporecchio owned and ran a mill located in the popolo of San Baronto. Besides his mill, commonly referred to by the inhabitants as the "molino Chalvani,"<sup>42</sup> Iacopo owned and worked twelve pieces of land which produced forty-five *staia* of grain, forty barrels of wine, sixty-eight gallons of oil, and twelve *staia* of millet and oats. Ten other pieces of land located in the popolo were leased to other individuals. Iacopo was, thus, the second richest miller in Pistoia with a total taxable wealth of 404 florins.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>37</sup> *Supra*, footnote 33.

<sup>38</sup> A *staioro* is equivalent to 0.313 acres. Four *staiora* constitute a *coltra*.

<sup>39</sup> See Table 1, no. 1.

<sup>40</sup> *Cronache di ser Luca Dominici*, ed. G. Gigliotti, II (Pistoia, 1939), 92.

<sup>41</sup> Table 1, no. 3.

<sup>42</sup> ASF, Catasto 263, 238r, 259r, 278r, 302v, 304r, 323v, 337v, 409r and 413r

<sup>43</sup> Table 1, no. 2.

If a miller rented mills exclusively from other individuals or institutions, he too could gain moderate riches. Martino di Michele Martini, who, in 1427, rented, along with his cousin Bartolomeo di Bruno, a mill in Tizzana as well as one located in Montemurlo, owned a house at Camaldoli in the contado of Florence, four pieces of land in the commune of Artimino, and a piece of land in Montale. A significant part of his wealth was found in cattle. He himself owned a pair of oxen, a cow, three calves, two asses, and a mare with a "mulettino." He granted *in soccio* an ox, two pigs, and three cows each with a calf. Altogether these animals were worth eighty-seven florins.<sup>44</sup> Piero di Francesco, aside from renting one of the mills of ser Taiuolo di Piero Taiuoli located in the territory of Vincio, owned and worked "a sua mano" more than thirteen *staiora* of lands, vineyards, and olive groves which annually produced forty-five *stai*a of grain, sixteen barrels of wine, and twelve gallons of oil to support his family of five. This was enough to make him the seventh wealthiest miller in Pistoia, just behind Martino di Michele Martini.<sup>45</sup> In general, however, any miller who rented mills, or even owned his own, was a man of extremely modest means. More than half of the fifty-one millers registered with accounts in the Catasto of 1427-30 did not have a total taxable wealth above 40 florins.<sup>46</sup> Some of these possessed nothing and depended solely upon the mills, lands, and animals which they rented in order to support themselves and their families.<sup>47</sup> Others accumulated enough capital to own a pack-horse and perhaps an additional mule, cow, or pig.<sup>48</sup> Still others had enough wealth to purchase some land, or even a house, in addition to their animals,<sup>49</sup> but annual yields from such property were meagre. In order to gain further sustenance, land had to be obtained through their leases.

Whatever property or capital a hired miller might possess, it was always in jeopardy, principally because of the unpredictability of the harvest. When grain was scarce he still had to pay the rent which was established in the lease. Perhaps he could increase his toll for grinding so that the payment could be met, but the amount of compensation a miller received for his work was usually fixed by the communal authorities. If he was found using a false measure to determine his toll, or withholding amounts rightfully due a patron, the miller could be heavily fined or subjected to severe censure.<sup>50</sup> During lean periods, therefore, the miller was forced to

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 6.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 7.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 26-51.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 44, 45, 46, and 48. A miller without an assessment does not necessarily lack property. He simply has more liabilities than assets.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 33, 39, 40, 42, 43, 49, 50, and 51.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 41, and 47.

<sup>50</sup> *Infra*, pp. 14-20.

borrow significant sums of grain and money to make good his back payments.<sup>51</sup> If the sum owed was unusually large, he might pledge a portion of his wealth to the owner of the mill until the debt was paid. On May 28, 1398 Stefano di Simone Stefani, who rented the "molino grande" of the Opera of San Iacopo, was thus compelled to relinquish his *podere* of 24 *staiora* to the *operarii* until he was able to pay the 120 *omine* of grain he owed as rent for the mill.<sup>52</sup>

Such transactions often led the miller into poverty or flight. On October 11, 1416 the Opera of San Iacopo declared that Giovanni d'Andrea, who rented the "molino del battiferro" between 1401 and 1409, was unable to pay his debt of sixteen pounds because of his destitution.<sup>53</sup> In 1427 ser Niccolao di ser Guglielmo reported to the officials of the Catasto that a certain miller named Cestone owed him more than sixty *staia* of grain for the rent of his mill located at Valenzatico. He declared the debt "cattivo" and claimed he would never get any of it back.<sup>54</sup> Some millers who were more industrious than others could survive such burdens, as undoubtedly the wealthier ones did. However, their fortunes remained precarious. In 1427 Piero di Cenni rented perpetually eight *staiora* of land in Montemagno upon which he built a *mulino maltempano* that produced a profit of fifty *staia* of grain. Nonetheless, Piero owed the proprietors of the consortial mill at the Ponte Assio in Casale a total of 100 *staia* of grain in back rent.<sup>55</sup> In 1428 the heirs of Baronto Talini, who owned mills in Larciano, declared in an addition to their account that Piero had owed them twelve *omine* of grain for the past fourteen years. They claimed that they could not collect the debt because he was a fugitive.<sup>56</sup>

In notarial entries between the years 1330 and 1426, millers are frequently registered according to their place of origin and present residence. These designations indicate that the millers of Pistoia during the late medieval period were extremely mobile. They are found not only moving freely from one locale to another within the same territory, but also travelling in and out of it. During the last decade of the fourteenth century the notarial cartularies bear witness to at least sixty-six individual millers living in the territory of Pistoia. Thirty-nine, or approximately 59 per cent, had migrated from other areas of Tuscany. Thirty-five had origins in the

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<sup>51</sup> ASF, Not., C371, January 11, 1392 and September 15, 1392.

<sup>52</sup> ASP, AOSI, tomus 5, 104r.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 196v. The leases granted to Giovanni between 1401 and 1409 are found in *ibid.*, 118r, 125v, 135v, 138r, and 153r.

<sup>54</sup> ASF, Catasto 260, 179r.

<sup>55</sup> Table 1, no. 17. Cf. ASF, Catasto 260, 64r.

<sup>56</sup> ASF, Catasto 263, 50r.

*contado* of Florence. Three hailed from the territory of Prato, while one came from the territory of Lucca.<sup>57</sup>

The reasons for this extraordinary mobility are many. Some undoubtedly were fleeing their creditors. Others, particularly those from the territory of Florence, were responding to Pistoia's dependence upon Florentine power. Throughout the fourteenth century Pistoia was forced to yield to Florence in order to preserve the integrity of its territory. In 1351 Florence's control became permanent,<sup>58</sup> thereby permitting freer concourse between the two territories. Perhaps the most significant reason for such movement lies in the troubled and uncertain economy of the late medieval period, which forced, or permitted, many to migrate in order to find more profitable situations.

These transient millers frequently settled in Pistoia. Mone di Bartolo came from the territory of Prato and eventually settled in the Valdibure sometime prior to 1354. In January of that year Mone, living outside of Pistoia's Porta San Marco, sold a piece of cultivated land located in the territory of Prato at Maiano to a Florentine for five gold florins.<sup>59</sup> On February 23, 1356 he is found borrowing twelve florins along with a Pistoiese miller named Salimbene di Dante.<sup>60</sup> On June 13, 1361 and again on July 20, 1370 he rented the highly productive mill of Balduccio di messer Arrigho, located in Masiano, while maintaining his home outside of the Porta San Marco.<sup>61</sup> As an older man he is frequently found appraising the mills of the Opera of San Iacopo. In 1396 and 1397 he estimated the value of the "molino del battiferro."<sup>62</sup> On Aprile 15, 1397 and again on September 5, 1401 he did the same for the "molino grande."<sup>63</sup> Sometime after 1401 he must have died since there are no further references to his name.<sup>64</sup> Silvester di Stefano, a *publicus laborator terrae* from Scarperia in the Mugello, is first found in 1388 renting, along with Andrea di Giovanni of the popolo of San Niccolò in Florence, a mill at Ripalta belonging to a shoemaker and a miller from Baccareto.<sup>65</sup> On August 30, 1397 he stood surety, along with three other individuals, for a debt of two and a

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<sup>57</sup> ASF, Not., G387, N128, F307, G602, V360, P448, C371, P383 and ASP AOSI, tomus 5.

<sup>58</sup> HERLIHY, *Pistoia*, pp. 225-231.

<sup>59</sup> ASF, Not., G387, January 25, 1354, 1r. On September 5, 1352 Mone witnessed a contract drawn-up in the city of Pistoia. See *ibid.*, S126.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, G387.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, N128, 4r and *ibid.*, A65, 56r.

<sup>62</sup> ASF, AOSI, tomus 5, 92v and 102r.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 99r and 120r.

<sup>64</sup> See, however, ASP, Provvisioni e Statuti, 699 (The Estimario of 1415), San Mazzeo, no. 6 where a "Mone magnaio" possesses property on the fifth side of a *podere* located at Bonelle.

<sup>65</sup> ASF, Not., P448, April 29, 1388, 36r.

half *stata* of grain which Domenico di Guardi owed the Opera of San Iacopo for the remainder of the rent for the "molino del battiferro".<sup>66</sup> On March 5, 1402 he rented a house with a small garden located near the Porta al Borgo for a period of one year.<sup>67</sup> By July 29, 1404 he owned a mill situated on the Ombroncello which he leased for an annual return of thirty *omine* of grain.<sup>68</sup> How long he maintained possession of the mill is unknown, but for the next fifteen years it would appear that he remained in Pistoia. In 1408 he was chosen as an arbitrator in a dispute between Domenico and Antonio Sandri.<sup>69</sup> In 1412 he appraised the "molino grande" along with Antonio di Niccolò.<sup>70</sup> In 1416 he rented from the Opera of San Iacopo a piece of land located in Gora.<sup>71</sup> In 1419 he was estimating the value of the "molino del battiferro".<sup>72</sup> After this year nothing else is known of his life.

It is not unusual to find that when a migrant miller settled in Pistoia his progeny carried on his trade during and after his life. This can be demonstrated by examining the archival material relating to the Cambini family. On January 5, 1389 Giovanni Cambini, a miller from Prato, is first found subletting a mill located at Vico Petroso and owned by the church of Santa Maria in Torre.<sup>73</sup> Thereafter, he and his sons either decided to stay, or remained, in the territory of Vincio. On February 22, 1393 Meo di Giovanni Cambini, living at San Pantaleo, became involved in an unidentified dispute with a miller from Legri in the contado of Florence.<sup>74</sup> On the evening of August 16, 1402 one of the sons of Giovanni (perhaps Meo) was wounded in Vincio when he was mistaken for the thief of a neighbor's cattle during the height of the rebellion of Ricciardo Cancellieri.<sup>75</sup> On January 28, 1412 Meo acted as an arbitrator in a litigation concerning the estimation of the value of a *podere* located in Vincio.<sup>76</sup> Later in the same year, Antonio di Giovanni Cambini purchased five *staiora* of land at Groppole from a wool washer of the city of Pistoia for a price of twenty-five florins.<sup>77</sup>

Although there is a lack of extant documentation, it would appear that all the sons of Giovanni Cambini worked mills between 1392 and 1427.

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<sup>66</sup> ASP, AOSI, tomus 5, 100r.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 122v.

<sup>68</sup> ASF, Not., A808.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, V360, 193v.

<sup>70</sup> ASP, AOSI, tomus 5, 174r.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 195v.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, tomus 6, 6v.

<sup>73</sup> ASF, Not., P448, 74v-75r.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, G602.

<sup>75</sup> *Cronache di ser Luca Dominici*, II, 200.

<sup>76</sup> ASF, Not., A809.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, April 16, 1412.

In all of the above transactions each son is described as a *molendinarius*. It is known, moreover, that Meo rented the mill of the monastery of San Piero Maggiore in San Tegno outside the Porta San Marco for one year beginning on September 1, 1392 for an annual rent of thirty *omine* of flour.<sup>78</sup> In 1427 Meo's younger brother Marco joined him in renting a mill, located in Vincio outside the Porta Lucchese, for an annual return of eighty-five *omine* of grain.<sup>79</sup> In the same year Iacopo di Giovanni Cambini rented the mill of the hospital of Santa Maria Maddalena at Spazzavento for an annual return of twenty-two *omine* of grain.<sup>80</sup>

The Catasto accounts for the Cambini brothers demonstrate that they were not particularly wealthy. Meo and his brother Marco owned a horse worth four florins, and were expecting a sum of twenty-nine pounds from a certain Paperino di Lotto. An addition of 1428 indicates that they received thirty-five florins because of a judgment given by the "ufficio de cinque". This amounted to a total taxable wealth of approximately forty-six florins, which would appear to be hardly enough to support the brothers' eight young children.<sup>81</sup> Other accounts, however, demonstrate that Meo rented vineyards in Vincio<sup>82</sup> as well as a piece of cultivated land in Cirigiole.<sup>83</sup> Iacopo possessed nothing but his own outstanding debts amounting to nine florins. He had a thirteen-year-old daughter who was a nun in the monastery of the Virgins and another ten-year-old daughter who was declared "useless".<sup>84</sup>

The millers and their families who came to Pistoia did not always remain. They were perpetually moving from one place to another whenever an opportunity presented itself. On May 7, 1351, through the auspices of Pacino di Cardo of Publica, Francesco di Braccino successfully completed the payment of his rent for a consortial mill located at the Stella in Casale.<sup>85</sup> On May 2, 1369 he and ser Currado di ser Peringiano rented perpetually a broken-down mill located in Montale. The contract describes Francesco as a miller « from Calenzano of the *contado* of Florence who is accustomed to stay in the place called Filettole of the *contado* of Prato, and who now stays in the commune of Montale of the *contado* of Pistoia in the place called Ghiandaia ». <sup>86</sup> Such transiency is also indicated by the affairs of

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, V360, August 6, 1392, 151r.

<sup>79</sup> ASF, Catasto 262, 498v. Cf. Table 1, no. 24.

<sup>80</sup> ASF, Catasto 262, 529r. Cf. Table 1, no. 48.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 24.

<sup>82</sup> ASF, Catasto 261, 470r and 779r.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 823v.

<sup>84</sup> Table 1, no. 48.

<sup>85</sup> ASF, Not., A634.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, M47, 120v; « ... de Calenzano comitatus Florentiae qui morari consuevit in loco dicto Filettole comitatus Prati et nunc moratur in comuni Montalis comitatus Pistorii in loco dicto Ghiandaya ... ».

Martino di Michele Martini who, in 1427, was the sixth wealthiest miller of Pistoia. He, along with his cousin Bartolomeo di Bruno, worked mills in Tizzana and Montemurlo. He owned a house as far away as Camaldoli in the Casentino. In Artimino he owned four pieces of land which he used to graze his animals.<sup>87</sup>

There can be no doubt that the millers of medieval Pistoia, whether they were indigenous to the territory or originated in another part of Tuscany, willingly associated with one another, not only because of the common knowledge of their particular craft, but also for their own security and welfare. In the year 1331 a new road was constructed through the Valdibure up into the high mountains. Because of the perennial winter rains, neither beast nor man could travel on the road safely unless two bridges were built across the torrents Glescine and Gambaraiò. Thus the millers of the Valdibure, along with other inhabitants of the area, joined together to petition the General Council of the People to have the task completed at their expense as well as that of the mountain communes of Torri, Montecello, Treppio, and Fossato.<sup>88</sup> On other occasions groups of millers would gather together to name one or more procurators to defend them in cases of a civil or criminal nature. On January 26, 1347 six millers of the Valdibure actually chose another of their craft to request the communal authorities to appraise their mills according to the procedure found in the statutes of Pistoia.<sup>89</sup> On January 6, 1392 four millers of the city of Pistoia chose four notaries to represent them in a suit which, unfortunately, remains unknown.<sup>90</sup> It was not beyond some millers to band together as robbers. In 1415 Baronto di messer Bonifazio de' Ricciardi bitterly complained that his vineyard, located in Groppole, was destroyed due to the thefts of the millers who congregated in the mill of ser Niccolaiò di Pandragone.<sup>91</sup>

However much, or for whatever purposes, the millers of Pistoia may have associated with one another, it would be an exaggeration to categorize them as an *arte* or guild. The millers, unlike other artisans, had a direct and obvious connection with the public. They ground the grain which the populus grew and consumed in order that it might survive from day to day. The commune, therefore, reserved to itself all regulations concerning these artisans.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Table 1, no. 6.

<sup>88</sup> ASP, Provv., 5, January 26, 1332, 23v-24r.

<sup>89</sup> ASF, Not., F571.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, C371.

<sup>91</sup> ASP, Provv., 699, San Vitali, no. 12.

<sup>92</sup> On December 16, 1330 there did come into existence a guild representing the millers located on the waters of the torrent Vincio. The *breve* of this association concerned itself with a number of regulations in regard to the cessation of work on festival days, the payment of communal tariffs, the exportation of grain, the equitable

About the year 1200 all millers and their "familiares" beyond fourteen years of age were required to swear before representatives of the *podestà* of Pistoia that they would not fraudulently withhold any grain which they received for grinding. If any of them were found guilty of the misdemeanor the *podestà* could punish them just as he would a thief.<sup>93</sup> During the same period the consuls, or the *podestà*, required that each *cappella* of the city establish a specific dry measure (*rubus*) so that all grain processed at mills could be properly assessed.<sup>94</sup> By 1296 the statutes regarding millers became far more strict. Each miller, whether male or female,<sup>95</sup> was required to accept one-sixteenth of every *omina* of grain brought to the mill to be ground as compensation for his labor.<sup>96</sup> If any miller possessed a false measure (*bozzorus*) to determine such a quantity, he was liable to be fined 100 *soldi* by the judge "super dannis datis" however many times he or she was found guilty.<sup>97</sup> The millers were also compelled to restore each sack of flour to the persons who brought grain to their mills. Any person, either of the city or the *districtus*, who wished to complain about a miller's nefarious activities was given fifteen days from the time of delivery to present his case before the judge.<sup>98</sup> Millers living outside of the city were required, moreover, to establish a definite place of habitation (*focus*) so that they could be located by the officials.<sup>99</sup> By April of 1347 the General Council of the People required all the millers of Pistoia to give sureties in the presence of the judge "super dannis datis" to guarantee all their transactions regarding grain and flour.<sup>100</sup> The commune also controlled his activity in

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distribution of water, the maintenance of dams and *gore*, and the obligation of the millers to be matriculated. Its purpose was not to incorporate the associative tendencies of this particular group of millers, but to create a more rigid observance of the rules contained in the statutes of the commune. I have found nothing to indicate its continued existence. See Q. SANTORI, *Il breve dell'arte dei mugnai del Vincio dell'anno 1330*, BSP, III (1901), 146-155, but particularly PIATTOLI, *Lo statuto*, pp. 82-85.

<sup>93</sup> *Statuti di Pistoia del secolo XII*, ed. F. Berlan (Bologna, 1882), pp. 101-102.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>95</sup> Although it is unusual to find female millers in the notarial entries, the wives of millers undoubtedly performed the task of grinding if their husbands were occupied with some other duty. On September 21, 1277 a consortial mill located in Carmignano was conceded « Arrigho condam Salvi et donne Lalice eius uxore hinc ad tres annos proxime venturos » (ASF, Not., I 30). In 1427 Biagio di Domenico owned a house in the *cappella* of San Vitali. « Stavi dentro a pigione monna Caterina detta Mugnaia » (ASF, Catasto 263, 472v).

<sup>96</sup> *Statutum potestatis comunis Pistorii anni MCCLXXXVI*, ed. L. Zdekauer (Milan, 1886), p. 182, "De molenda accipienda".

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, « De pena molendinarii tenentis falsum bozzorum » and « De auferendo eodem bozzoro foretanis ».

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, « De restituenda farina et sacco ».

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215, « Quod mugnarii casorani et suburbani habeant focus ».

<sup>100</sup> ASP, Provv., I, no. 5, « Molendinarii tenentur satis dare ».

regard to the supply and disposal of Pistoia's waters. According to the statutes of 1296 all millers who worked mills located along the Ombroncello were required to distribute their water equally under a penalty of 40 Pisan *soldi*.<sup>101</sup> Between the first of July and the first of October, millers were allowed to use the water of irrigation ditches as long as ditches next to public roads were afterwards blocked to prevent unnecessary waste.<sup>102</sup>

Communal authority over the millers of Pistoia was particularly severe during periods of famine and whenever their fraudulence became widespread. In 1339-40 the territory suffered a year of plague and famine which caused the death of nearly one quarter of the population.<sup>103</sup> In order to control the situation the commune established an interdict or *devetum* upon the exportation of wheat, feed grains, legumes, and chestnuts.<sup>104</sup> The activity of the millers was especially curtailed. They were able to carry foods to be ground out of the city without penalty as long as they were first weighed, sealed, and accounted for in books by deputized officials located at the four principal gates of the city. After the foods had been ground and returned to the city, they were again weighed and sealed, with the amounts being checked against the original entry. If the quantity of ground food was less than the original, the miller was fined twenty sold for each fifty pounds of missing flour and was required to restore the amount to its rightful owner. Each miller, moreover, was compelled to give the officials a security of twenty-five pounds to last for one year.<sup>105</sup> If any miller was found leaving or entering the city by any other than the four principal gates, he would be fined 100 *soldi* for each offence.<sup>106</sup> If he accepted as compensation for his work more than three pounds for each *omina* of grain, he was fined two *soldi* for each extra pound.<sup>107</sup>

The rules controlling the millers of the contado were just as stringent. Anyone could transport grain to a mill of his own commune with impunity as long as the mill was at least one mile away from the confines of the

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<sup>101</sup> *Statutum potestatis*, pp. 182-183, « Quod aqua reddatur inferiori molendino a superiori ».

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115, « Quod liceat molendinariis aquam fovearum mittere ad garrarium ».

<sup>103</sup> HERLIHY, *Pistoia*, p. 105.

<sup>104</sup> On July 7, 1340 the General Council of the People approved a set of ordinances « super abundantia habenda in dicta civitate et super deveto et occasione deveti frumenti et bladi et liguminis non extrahendi nec exportandi extra civitatem et districtum Pistorii ». See ASP, Provv., 7, document no. 3 (no pagination).

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, rubric V, « De frumento et blado et farina ponderandis, scribendis et sigillandis ». Cf. *ibid.*, rubric IV, « Quod de civitate Pistorii non extrahatur frumentum vel bladum ».

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, rubric VI, « Quod per certas portas portetur ad macinandum ».

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, rubric VII, « De molenda accipienda per molendinarios ».

*districtus*.<sup>108</sup> All millers of the *contado* who remained at their mills had to possess a written bond (*apodixa*) drawn up by a notary or priest, which contained the name of each individual whose grain, chestnuts, or legumes they were grinding. Each miller was compelled to give back the flour within eight days after each bond was completed. If the notary or priest falsified any information in the certificate, either was subject to a fine of twenty-five pounds.<sup>109</sup> If, on the other hand, an individual was carrying grain to a mill of a commune other than his own, he had to travel only on public roads and with a licence from the deputized officials of the *devetum* stating the name of the person whose grain he was transporting, the date of the transference, and the location of the mill where the grain was to be ground. Each transporter was given four days to carry, grind, and return the processed food. At the end of this period the licence was returned to the representatives of the officials for examination and safe-keeping. It would appear, nonetheless, that the transportation of grain between the communes of the *districtus* was highly discouraged. No one was permitted to carry more than four *omine* of grain to a mill upon any one animal. If someone travelled to a mill in another commune without a licence, he was liable to a fine of 100 *soldi* for each *omina* of food carried on his pack-horse. If he was carrying the grain, chestnuts, or legumes upon himself, the fine was increased to ten pounds for each *omina*.<sup>110</sup>

During the latter part of the fourteenth and into the fifteenth century, famines and plagues, which caused such controls to become necessary, were frequent.<sup>111</sup> Some periods were perhaps not as severe as others, but no matter how scarce the grain supply might have been, the miller always bore the brunt of the economic disruption. As it was shown above, any period of dearth and high prices was extremely detrimental to his welfare. In order to meet rent payments his only recourse, aside from borrowing money and grain, was to increase his toll or to cheat — measures which usually provoked a great deal of popular hostility. Thus, in the 1360's it was frequently reported in the General Council of the People that the millers of Pistoia were guilty of innumerable offences which caused considerable loss to all the people.<sup>112</sup> In order to combat their underhanded activities the council, therefore, accepted and approved on July 8, 1360,

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, rubric VIII, « De non portando vel mutando de una comitate seu villa ad aliam absque licentia frumentum vel bladum ».

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, rubric X, « De molendinariis comitatus ».

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, rubric VIII.

<sup>111</sup> HERLIHY, *Pistoia*, p. 105.

<sup>112</sup> ASP, Provv., 28, book 1, June 17, 1360, 54r. The council is requested to make reforms since « fuerit relatum dominis Anzianis et Vexillifero quod per molendinarios fraudes innumerabiles committantur in grave dannum omnium personarum et utile sit ipsorum fraudibus malitiis et deceptionibus obviare ». Cf. *ibid.*, 29, September 20, 1368, 60r.

and again on September 20, 1368, ordinances and provisions "contra molendinarios" (see the Appendix).

These statutes resemble those promulgated against millers during periods of *devetum*. Two officials, one for weighing and the other for tabulating all quantities of food leaving and entering the city, were elected by the commune to station themselves continuously during the day under the portico of the cathedral church of Pistoia so that all millers could conveniently arrive to have the grain or flour which they carried weighed, sealed, and recorded.<sup>113</sup> Every six months each miller was required to give a security of fifty pounds to insure the restitution of all grain.<sup>114</sup> If he returned from the mills of the city and its vicinity with flour weighing less than the original quantity, he was compelled to pay one *soldus* for each pound of grain worth thirty *soldi* or less. For each pound worth forty *soldi* or more he had to pay two *soldi*.<sup>115</sup> After receiving grain from his patron, each miller was required to return the flour within three days during the months of January, February, March, April, May, October, November, and December and within four days during the summer months of June, July, August, and September. If he did not return it in the prescribed time the miller suffered a fine of twenty *soldi*.<sup>116</sup> The size of his toll was also regulated. For each fifteen pounds of grain, legumes or chestnuts, the miller received one pound and nothing more.<sup>117</sup>

The activity of any miller was closely scrutinized. In accordance with the contents of the ordinances, anyone could denounce a miller, or any member of his family, and receive one quarter of the levied fine.<sup>118</sup> A miller found destroying a sack of grain or flour was fined twenty-five pounds for each offence and was unable to practise his trade for one year under a penalty of 100 pounds.<sup>119</sup> He was required to carry with him a scale so that the man whose grain he possessed could request an immediate weighing.<sup>120</sup> But most importantly, millers were not allowed to assemble in any one place or establish ordinances in their own behalf. Those who disobeyed such a dictate were each fined 200 pounds.<sup>121</sup>

The millers of medieval Pistoia, particularly those of the late Middle Ages, thus constituted a highly mobile group of agricultural laborers whose wealth was generally modest and whose standard of conduct was shaped by the will of the people.

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<sup>113</sup> Appendix, nos. 1-3, 10.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 4.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 9. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 12 and 13.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 14.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 16.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 20.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 6 and 8.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 11.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 18. Cf. *ibid.*, no. 17.

APPENDIX

STATUTA CONTRA MOLENDINARIOS

From ASP, Provisionsi e Statuti, tomus 1, no. 12.

In nomine Eterni Dei Amen. Infrascripta sunt quedam statuta fatta et ordinata super molendinariis et portantibus ad macinandum per quosdam sapientes viros ad hec electos et deputatos et approbata in generali concilii popoli civitatis Pistorii sub anno a nativitate Christi MCCCLX indictione XIII die ottava mensis Iulii ut constat ex publice reformatione dicti consilii scripta manu mei Iohannis notarii et cancellarii infrascripti.

(1) In primis quod eligantur duo officiales per comune Pistorii unus ad ponderandum et alius ad scribendum videlicet sit ad scribendum unus ex notarius syndici comunis Pistorii (et) ponderator vero eligatur eo modo quo indebitur dicto consilio popoli providere quorum officium tale sit videlicet quod dictus notarius in libro scribat omnes molendinarios et portantes ad macinandum quoslibet per se et cum suo titulo per nomina et prenomina tam ipsos quam etiam nomina et cappellam illorum de quibus est granum vel bladum quod portant ad macinandum et diem delationis et pondus frumenti vel bladi et similiter quando reportabunt farinam scribat iustam rationem et nomen illius cuius fuit tale granum vel bladum reportationem farine et qua die et quantitate ponderis farine et si reportaverint minus quam debeant secundum formam presentium statutorum scribat illud minus quod talis molendinarius restituere tenetur.

(2) Item quod ponderator habeat et habere debeat pro comuni unam stateram et bomanam rettam et legalem et magnam ad sufficientiam cum qua debeat ponderare bene et legaliter et singulis quindecim diebus ipsam facere revideri a magistro statere et ipsam reartari facere si haberet aliquem defectum et ponderata farina sigillare debeat saccum sigillo adhuc ordinando per comune videlicet in ligatura sacci sufficientia ita quod saccus aperiri non possit sine vastatione sigilli sub pena XX soldorum eidem ponderatori si predicta non observaverit pro vice qualibet auferenda.

(3) Item quod dicti officiales teneantur et debeant diebus quibus portaturi reportatur granum et farinam per molendinarios stare continuo sub porticu cattedralis ecclesie iuxta campanile in loco eis deputando per dominos Antianos et Vexilliferum iustitie civitatis Pistorii pro tempore existentes sub pena centum soldorum cuilibet ipsorum ibi non reperto quando molendinarius veniret pro ponderando granum bladum vel farinam.

(4) Item quod omnes et singuli molendinarii qui sunt et erunt in posterum debeant dare fideiussiones de libris quinquaginta denariorum pro quolibet ipsorum approbatione per approbatorem comunis tam pro se quam eius famulo et tota eius familia de restituendo omne granum et bladum eis traditum pro macinando modo et termino infrascriptis et sub infrascriptis penis qua fideiussione duret toto tempore syndici qui tunc erit pro tempore et ipsas fideiussiones receperit quas fideiussiones communiter dicto sindico dare teneatur et semper talis fideiussio firma perduret dicto tempore (et) etiam non obstante quod talis molendinarius condemnatus fuerit et solverit condemnationem de eo factam (et) quas fideiussiones dicti molendinarii dare teneantur infra otto dies a die approbationis presentium statutorum et postea successive de sex mensibus in sex mensibus infra otto dies introitus cuiuslibet syndici qui pro tempore fuerit sub pena centum librarum cuilibet molendinario et portanto ad macinandum predictam fideiussionem non danti ut supra dicitur et nullus possit aliter portare ad macinandum nec tradita et prestita dicta fideiussione sub pena centum librarum.

(5) Item quod quicumque molendinarius refutaverit dictam artem facere in perpetuum non possit ipsam artem facere secundum privatus existat de dicta arte sub

pena C librarum pro qualibet vice qua dictam artem exerceat cuius pene quarta pars sit accusatoris alia quarta rectoris condepnantis alie due sint comunis Pistorii.

(6) Item quod quilibet molendinarii qui portat ad macinandum granum vel bladum civium vel habitantium in civitate Pistorii venire debeat ad locum deputatum ubi stabunt dicti officiales ad offitium exercendum recto tramite postquam (he has loaded) bestiam qua gerit granum vel bladum ad molendinum et in alio loco in civitate non possit scharicare vel dissolvere aliquem sacchum sub pena XXV librarum denariorum pro qualibet vice et privationis artis sue inde ad annum unum sub pena centum librarum si dicto anno privationis artem molendis exerceat.

(7) Item teneantur et debeant dicti molendinarii quando reducunt farina macinanta venire ad dictum locum stare deputatum sine trahendo moram vel morari vel sponare et scaricare in alio loco aliquem saccum talis saline sub pena quinque librarum denariorum pro quolibet sacco deposito et scaricato in alio loco nisi ubi est statera deputata.

(8) Item teneantur et debeant repartata dicta farina in dicto loco ponderari facere eidem ponderatori comunis quemlibet saccum per se et sigillari facere dictos saccos sigillo adhuc deputato et sic ponderatos et sigillatos portare ad domos illorum quorum erit talis farina et in alio loco non scaricare vel dissolvere aliquem dictorum saccorum sub pena XXV librarum pro quolibet sacco scaricato in alio loco et pena XX soldorum pro quolibet sigillo reperto vasto ad dictos saccos.

(9) Item quod quando contigerit farinam reperiri minus quam debeat per dictum ponderatorem syndicus comunis Pistorii vel officialis eius teneatur constringere personaliter talem molendinarium reportantem minus ea die ad solvendum unum soldum pro qualibet libra ad pondus farine reperte minus existente tunc omnia frumenti valoris XXX soldorum vel abinde infra et existente valoris a XXXX soldis super tunc solvat duos soldos pro qualibet libra farine reperte minus et si farina essere (*sic*) alterius bladi solvat pro rata ad dictam rationem et hos denarios deponi et solvi faciat eidem ponderatori comunis et dictus ponderator tales denarios dare debeat sequenti die domino talis farine reperte minus et talem solutionem scribi faciat per notarium dicti syndici sub pena centum soldorum eidem ponderatori pro qualibet vice et tali solutione facta tunc dictus notarius cancelleret rationem talis farine in libro ubi scripta est.

(10) Item teneatur et debeat quilibet molendinarius quando facit ponderari granum vel bladum causa portandi ad macinandum scribi facere per dictum notarium dicti syndici nomen et prenomem et cappellam domini talis grani vel bladi sub pena quinque librarum pro qualibet vice qua fuisset repertus non fecisse scribi dolose veritatem.

(11) Item quod quilibet molendinarius teneatur et debeat secum deferre stateram et ponderare granum vel bladum quod portat et farinam quam reducit ad petitionem domini eius cuius est granum vel bladum et farina sub pena centum soldorum pro qualibet vice.

(12) Item quod licitum sit ac possit quilibet persona que deditur granum vel bladum ad macinandum et non reinvenitur sibi fuisse bene macinatum vel farinam non responderit debite mensure reclamare coram maiori sindico comunis Pistorii et credatur eius iuramento usque in unam ominam grani vel bladi seu farine qui molendinarius cogatur per dictum sindicum personaliter et in rebus ad satisfaciendum tali reclamanti ea die vel sequenti in pecunia numerata secundum venditam et extimationem datum et declaratum per operarios Sancti Iacopi quam dicti operarii facere teneantur saltem una vice quolibet mense de quolibet grano blado legumine et castaneis eorum iuramento vel ad venditam que dabitur per dictos operarios Sancti Iacopo facientibus panem ad vendendum sub pena XXV librarum eidem sindico si sic solvere non fecerit infra dictum terminum ut supra dicitur pro quolibet et qualibet vice et de predictis omnibus et

singulis possit teneatur et debeat dictus syndicus cognoscere et repertos culpabiles punire et condemnare secundum formam presentium statutorum de commissis tempore sui officii et ante initium sui officii per unum mensem.

(13) Item si acciderit quod aliquis molendinarius cui datum fuerit granum vel bladum pro macinando non reportaret farinam tali qui supra dederit quod syndicus comunis Pistorii et quilibet dicti comunis officialis forensis possit teneatur et debeat cogere de facto talem molendinarium ad solvendum et restituendum pertinentie talis grani vel bladi secundum extimationes ut supra in precedenti capitulo continetur et credatur domino grani vel bladi usque in tre ominas grani vel bladi et non currat terminus tali domino inde ad duos menses a die traditi grani vel bladi proxime sequentes.

(14) Item quod quilibet molendinarius qui portabit granum vel bladum ad macinandum teneatur et debeat reportasse farinam infra tres dies a die portationis de mensibus Ianuarii Februarii et Martii Aprilis Maii Octobris Novembris et Decembris et infra quatuor dies de mensibus Iunii Iulii Augusti et Septembris sub pena XX soldorum pro quolibet et qualibet vice.

(15) Item quod maior syndicus comunis Pistorii teneatur et debeat sub pena centum librarum pro vice qualibet saltem quolibet mense sui officii facere solepnm inquisitionem de facientibus contra presentia statuta et repertos culpabiles punire et condepnare in personis in presentibus statutis contentis et tales condepnati vel absoluti ferme in scriptis in cartis pecudinis et ipsas acquatnari facere cum aliis suis condepnatis.

(16) Item quod quelibet persona molendinaria et gerones ad macinandum possit et sibi liceat auferre pro molenda pro suo salario et mercede et pro portando et reduciendo de grano blado ligumine seu castaneis quas portaverit de singulis et pro singulis quindecim libris ad pondus unam libram ad pondus et nil aliud accipere possit vel ultra pena in presenti statuto contento.

(17) Item quod quicumque molendinarius vel alia persona portans et solita portare ad macinandum recusaverit et noluerit facere dictam artem teneatur et debeat comparere coram dominis Antianis et Vexillifero iustitie infra decem dies post approbationem presentium statutorum et banimentum de ipsis statutis et tenuptiare et scribi facere notario dictorum dominorum vel cancellario eius refutationem sub pena dugentarum librarum et predicti tales refutantes artem predictam in perpetuum non possint ipsi vel eorum descendentes nec ipsorum uxores nec aliquis de eorum familia operari vel facere dictam artem sub dicta pena et de predictis et quolibet predictorum quilibet possit accusare et denuptiare coram officialibus ad hec deputatis et dimidietas condepnationis inde fiende sit comunis et quarta pars accusatoris et reliqua quarta officialis adhuc deputati qui condepnationem fecerit.

(18) Item quod dicti molendinarii vel aliquis ipsorum non audeant se in vicem congregare et adimare in aliquo loco nec aliquid providere vel ordinare cum scriptura vel sine sub pena CC librarum cuilibet molendinario contrafacienti et pro qualibet vice auferenda per syndicum dicti comunis ad opus comunis Pistorii et si quo casu contigeret dictum syndicum nacere in civitate Pistorii predicta fiant et fieri debeant per dominum potestatem et defensorem civitatis Pistorii vel alterum eorum et officiales ipsorum qui de huiusmodi requisiti fuerunt et de hoc possit quilibet accusare et denuptiare dictos molendinarios et quemlibet eorum et habeat quartam partem condepnationis et aliam quartam habeat officialis condepnationis et reliqua dimidia sit comunis Pistorii salvo quod se congregare possint impune occasione branici (?) et processionis in festo Beati Iacopi a popoli quod est de mense Iulii.

(19) Item quod quilibet molendinarius et quelibet alia persona solita portare et portans ad macinandum teneatur et debeat portare ad macinandum illud granum vel

bladum quod sibi daretur vel dare sibi vellet aliqua persona civitatis vel comitatus Pistorii vel habitator in dicta civitate vel comitatu sub pena XX soldorum pro qualibet omina grani vel bladi quam portare denegaverit et portare nolverit et de predictis credatur iuramento accusatoris cum uno teste de visu dum modo talis satsederit prius prout supra continetur.

(20) Item quod quelibet persona de contentis in suprascriptis capitulis statutorum possit et sibi liceat accusare et denuptiare quemlibet molendinarium et quamlibet aliam personam de sua familia molendinarii que faceret contra predicta vel aliquod predictorum coram sindaco supradicto qui syndicus teneatur et debeat repertos culpabiles punire et condepnare penis predictis quarum condepnatum dimidietas sit comunis Pistorii quarta pars dicti syndici et reliqua quarta accusatoris.

(21) Item quod quodcumque nacaret syndicum esse in civitate Pistorii vel non esset syndicus in dicta civitate tunc et eo casu de omnibus et singulis contentis in suprascriptis capitulis statutorum possit cognoscere et punire dominus potestas et defensor populi civitatis Pistorii et ipsorum officiales et quemlibet eorum qui prius extimator requisitus fuisset in omnibus et per omnia prout posset syndicus si esset in dicta civitate Pistorii servata tamen forma presentium statutorum.

(22) Item quod predicta statuta et quodlibet ipsorum sint et intelligantur statuta populi civitatis Pistorii et pro statutis populi debeant effectualiter observari et prevaleant aliis omnibus et singulis statutis ordinamentis vel reformationibus que in contrum loquerentur vel in aliquo statuto presenti repugnarent que statuta ordinamento vel reformationes sic repugnata ex nunc esse intelligantur et sint cassa et vana et nullius efficacie vel valoris et quod nulla persona cuiuscunque conditionis existeret audeat vel presumat aliquo modo contra predicta statuta vel aliquod predictorum aliquid dicere obicere opponere vel allegare sub pena XXV librarum cuilibet persone contra facienti et pro qualibet vice arbitrio officialis coram quo de predictis cognosceretur et nichilominus talis oppositio allegatio vel obiectio sit ipso iure nulla.

Ego Iohannes filius olim ser Torris ser Montis de Aratio notarius et tunc publicus cancellarius populi et comunis civitatis Pistorii approbationi et confirmationi dictorum statutorum presens interfui et ea omnia prout supra legitur et approbata fuerunt per consilium populi civitatis Pistorii scripsi et ex debito mei officii publici rogatus est.