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978-1-107-06052-4 - Political Economies of Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean:  
The Decline of Venice and the Rise of England, 1450–1700

Maria Fusaro

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## Political Economies of Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean

Against the backdrop of England's emergence as a major economic power, the development of early modern capitalism in general and the transformation of the Mediterranean, Maria Fusaro presents a new perspective on the onset of Venetian decline. Examining the significant commercial relationship between these two European empires during the period 1450–1700, Fusaro demonstrates how Venice's social, political and economic circumstances shaped the English mercantile community in unique ways. By focusing on the commercial interaction between Venice and England, she also re-establishes the analysis of the maritime political economy as an essential constituent of the Venetian state political economy. This challenging interpretation of some classic issues of early modern history will be of profound interest to economic, social and legal historians and provides a stimulating addition to current debates in imperial history, especially on the economic relationship between different empires, and the socio-economic interaction between 'rulers and ruled'.

Maria Fusaro is Associate Professor (Reader) in Early Modern European History and directs the Centre for Maritime Historical Studies at the University of Exeter. She has published extensively in English and Italian, and is co-editor of *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy* and *Maritime History as Global History*.

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# Political Economies of Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean

*The Decline of Venice and the Rise of England,  
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Maria Fusaro

*University of Exeter*



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## Preface

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It is a well-known fact that Venice has always held a special place in the English imagination: in the early modern period it was the favourite foreign setting of Shakespearian plays, later it became the preferred Italian destination of the Grand Tour and today it is a firm favourite for short-break holidays.

But Venice played a far bigger role in English history, especially in the evolution of its economy and politics. The extremely active Venetian propaganda machine found in early modern England the most receptive audience for its self-fashioned narrative of the Republic as the living embodiment of the Aristotelian/Polybian ideal form of state: the perfect mix of popular, aristocratic and monarchic elements. This long-standing interest and attraction towards the Venetian experience started during the Tudor period, was strengthened in the Stuart era and remained powerful throughout the civil wars up until the end of the seventeenth century. After the Restoration the so-called ‘myth of Venice’ started to be supplanted by the ‘anti-myth’, which saw in Venice the embodiment of a decadent state, oozing moral corruption and sexual scandal, an image of decay reinforced in the public imagination by its long decline throughout the course of the eighteenth century. After the fall of the Republic in 1797, this negative image was reinforced by nineteenth-century writers, from Byron onwards. Still, this critical attitude towards the Republic and its history did not seem to touch the reputation of Venice’s past maritime and commercial glories, which continued to be admired in Britain and quoted as an example of what could be achieved through the proper administration and defence of a strong maritime empire. In the middle of the nineteenth century, John Ruskin opened his *Stones of Venice* with remarks that openly acknowledge the debt which the British empire owed the Venetian, and the lessons it should learn from its example:

Since first the dominion of men was asserted over the ocean, three thrones, of mark beyond all others, have been set upon its sands: the thrones of Tyre, Venice, and England. Of the First of these great powers only the memory remains; of the

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Second the ruin; the Third which inherits their greatness, if it forget their example, may be led through prouder eminence to less pitied destruction.<sup>1</sup>

In commenting on Ruskin's passage and its influence on British Victorian culture, Andrew Lambert underlined how, after many centuries in close contact, 'not infrequently squabbling over trade, the British were already heirs to much of the Venetian naval legacy, of its ideas and ambitions, with England/Britain finding much to admire in the older sea power'.<sup>2</sup>

In an age marked by concerns about the effects of maturing globalisation on European politics and economy, it is thus topical to analyse the interaction of the Republic of Venice and the kingdom of England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the period of their closest direct interplay. The crisis of Venice and the rise of England can be seen as two early examples of the opposite consequences that the beginning of European expansion and the onset of proto-globalisation had on the old continent.

Expansion set into motion a series of events that very quickly undercut Venice's hegemony as the middleman between Europe and Asia. This is something of which contemporaries were fully aware, as the Portuguese Tomè Pires wrote in 1515 with a most evocative image: 'whoever is lord of Malacca has his hand on the throat of Venice'.<sup>3</sup> After the loss of Negroponte in 1470, the sixteenth century had started with more territorial losses at the hands of the Ottomans, swiftly followed by the news of the successful Portuguese voyages to India, which triggered panic amongst commercial operators as it seemed to herald the beginning of the end of Venice's role as the arch intermediary between Europe, the Levant and Asia. In 1509 a large alliance of Italian and European powers swept through the Italian mainland and seemed to threaten the Republic's very existence. Throughout the rest of the century, whilst these crises receded – the Italian mainland recovered by 1516,<sup>4</sup> and the Levant trade was recovering by then also – Venice underwent a profound restructuring of its economy, which was accompanied by dramatic changes of attitude in both its economic and foreign policy.

If Venice's overseas empire was shrinking and its economy suffering, the situation for England was rather different. In 1485 the end of the War of the Roses had provided a new political settlement under the Tudor dynasty. Even taking into account revisionist interpretations, during the

<sup>1</sup> J. Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice: The Foundations*, London, 1851, 1.

<sup>2</sup> A. Lambert, 'Now is come a darker day': Britain, Venice and the Meaning of Sea Power', in M. Taylor ed., *The Victorian Empire and Britain's Maritime World, 1837–1901: The Sea and Global History*, London, 2013, 19–42, 34.

<sup>3</sup> A. Cortesão ed., *The Suma Oriental of Tomè Pires*, 2 vols, London, 1944, ii: 287.

<sup>4</sup> Its recovery was sanctioned by the Treaty of Bologna in 1529–30.



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sixteenth century England's internal stability improved and its population and economy started a period of long-term growth, fostering new ambitions to play a bigger role on the global scale.<sup>5</sup> England's merchants and entrepreneurs widened their range of actions, first in continental Europe, beyond their traditional links with the Baltic and North Sea, and then, helped by a series of maritime exploits, reaching out to the rest of the globe. Although its first attempts at establishing colonial outposts encountered mixed success, England was well set on its path towards global assertion. It certainly behaved as a rising power, whilst Venice was starting to suffer from fears about its own role and future.

The rise of England and the crisis of Venice are always mentioned in the same breath by historians;<sup>6</sup> as Richard Rapp put it, 'it was the invasion of the Mediterranean, not the exploitation of the Atlantic, that produced the Golden Ages of Amsterdam and London'.<sup>7</sup> Before that, Venice dominated the Mediterranean and was rightly considered an international trading power to be reckoned with. Afterwards the situation in the Mediterranean changed drastically, and Venice's influence had to be profoundly re-evaluated. The study of how this occurred touches upon some of the most debated questions regarding the commercial expansion of England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it forces us to reconsider the ways in which Venice dealt with this altered situation and the fundamental reasons which led to its ultimate defeat.

The following pages focus on the socio-economic relations between Venice and England during this time of transition, positing that the long history of Venetian engagement with the Levant had a direct influence on the development of English commercial and imperial development. The book's main ambition is to introduce Venice into current historiographical

<sup>5</sup> For a recent reappraisal of these issues see S. Gunn, 'Politic History, New Monarchy and State Formation: Henry VII in European Perspective', *Historical Research*, 82 (2009): 380–392, and the bibliography there cited.

<sup>6</sup> Just to mention a few: L. Beutin, 'La décadence économique de Venise considérée du point de vue nord-européen', in *Aspetti e cause della decadenza economica*, 87–108; R. Davis, 'Influences de l'Angleterre sur le déclin de Venise au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Aspetti e cause della decadenza economica*, 185–235; D. Sella, *Commerci e industrie a Venezia nel secolo XVII*, Venice and Rome, 1961; D. Sella, 'Crisis and Transformation in Venetian Trade', in B. Pullan ed., *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, London, 1968, 88–105; R. H. Tawney, *Business and Politics under James I: Lionel Cranfield as Merchant and Minister*, Cambridge, 1958, 14–30; P. Jeannin, 'The Sea-Borne and the Overland Trade Routes of Northern Europe in the XVI<sup>th</sup> and XVII<sup>th</sup> centuries', *Journal of European Economic History*, 11 (1982): 5–61; R. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550–1653*, Cambridge, 1993, 1–91.

<sup>7</sup> R. T. Rapp, 'The Unmaking of the Mediterranean Trade Hegemony: International Trade Rivalry and the Commercial Revolution', *Journal of Economic History*, 35 (1975): 499–525, 501.

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debates about the nature of empires and the role of emulation in these developments,<sup>8</sup> and in this way also foster new reflections on the long-standing debate on the nature and causes of ‘decline’, although I have some sympathy for David Landes’ argument that ‘decline’ is perhaps not the most useful term to describe what ultimately is just a recurrent historical phenomenon: loss of leadership.<sup>9</sup>

In order to gain a fuller picture of the reversal of balance between Venice and England, it is necessary to investigate in detail their mutual economic relationship and to put it into the context of the wider Mediterranean stage. English and Venetian merchants fought in its waters a long and weary commercial war for control of the same markets. They shared interests in the same commodities, both for their own internal consumption and for distribution to the rest of continental Europe. Through the analysis of this interaction, I shall demonstrate how Venice’s social, political and economic circumstances managed to shape the English mercantile community based there into a unique structure, different from all other English mercantile communities, and into an entity that was also different from other foreign communities active in Venice in the same period. I shall focus on the activities of the English merchants active in Venice and its Levant dominions and on the way direct trade between the two countries was organised – both in theory and in practice. In short, this volume focuses on the ways in which high politics was reflected in everyday economic activities. The goal is to show how formal policies and informal strategies shaped the economic relationship of the two countries, and how these long-term interactions played a role in shaping English Mediterranean policy in the following centuries.

The concluding part of this study will discuss the complexity of the Venetian empire and how its ‘commercial’ nature shaped both Venetian and English experience in the region. To properly understand these issues it is essential to connect them with the history of Anglo-Venetian trade in the *longue durée*, and with the everyday activities of the English mercantile communities active in Venice and its dominions. The existing bibliography on English commercial expansion in the early modern period has bypassed its Venetian side. Whilst there are several works on English trade and relations with the Ottoman empire,<sup>10</sup> and

<sup>8</sup> S. A. Reinert, *Translating Empire: Emulation and the Origins of Political Economy*, Cambridge (Mass.), 2011.

<sup>9</sup> D. Landes, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: why some are so rich and some are so poor*, London, 1998, especially the chapter on ‘Loss of Leadership’, 442–464, on the Venetian case 445–446.

<sup>10</sup> Amongst many: R. Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square: English Traders in the Levant in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1967; D. Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire*

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the English presence in the rest of the Italian peninsula has been touched upon,<sup>11</sup> scholarship has so far underplayed how commercial relations between Venice and England were structurally different from those of England with the rest of Italy, as the Republic of Venice was the only part of Italy covered by a trade monopoly under the Levant Company. My analysis will also elaborate on the differences between English merchants active in the Ottoman territories and those in the Venetian territories, regarding both their business strategies and their economic and social status, even though these merchants all worked under the monopoly of one company.<sup>12</sup> Through the detailed analysis of day-to-day workings of Levant Company agents, rather than the better-known activities of merchant members in London, the book will show how the company based its success on allowing diverse strategies to coexist within its area of monopoly.<sup>13</sup> From the English perspective, the methodological novelty of this approach is to propose a revision of some of the classic issues of English economic and imperial history through the utilisation of non-English documentary evidence. From the Venetian perspective it is instead to show how its own self-perception and its role within European politics clashed with its economic goals, and how political and economic strategies failed to find an appropriate reconciliation between the two. This kind of approach will allow me to go beyond traditional economic history, moving towards a ‘social history of commerce’, overcoming the shortcomings of a purely quantitative approach that cannot give fully satisfactory results in the Venetian context.

The introduction discusses the underlying theme of ‘political economies of empires’ and provides the general interpretative frame of the volume. The book is then divided in four sections: the first introduces the background of the English arrival in the Mediterranean through four chapters which will analyse Anglo-Italian commercial and trade links during the Middle Ages; their developments under the Tudors, here introducing the currant trade – the long-term staple between the two countries, which will then be a ‘red thread’ running through the entirety of the volume; the beginning of English trade in the Ottoman Levant; and

(1642–1660), Washington, 1998; A. Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560–1660*, Oxford, 2008.

<sup>11</sup> G. Pagano De Divitiis, *English Merchants in Seventeenth Century Italy*, Cambridge, 1997.

<sup>12</sup> M. Fusaro, ‘Les Anglais et les Grecs: un réseau de coopération commerciale en Méditerranée vénitienne’, *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 58 (2003): 605–625.

<sup>13</sup> For a ‘London-based’ analysis of the Company’s activities see M. Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company*, London, 1908; A. C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, Oxford, 1935; Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*; R. Grassby, *The Business Community of Seventeenth Century England*, Cambridge, 1995.

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the different roles played by Venice, Genoa and Livorno in these developments.

The second section concentrates on the political economy of Anglo-Venetian trade between the 1580s and the 1670s through three chapters which focus on the diplomatic relations between the two countries; the interplay of diplomatic, commercial and religious factors in their evolution; and on how political considerations on both sides shaped the foreign mercantile presence in Venice and its empire.

The third section reconstructs the English community in Venice and its relationships with other foreign mercantile communities, and analyses the major goods of the Anglo-Venetian trade beyond currants.

The fourth and final section concentrates on the ‘colonial’ Anglo-Venetian interaction and how the imperial nature of Venice, and its self-perception in this regard, was an essential element in facilitating English commercial penetration and later colonial presence in the Mediterranean.

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## Acknowledgements

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My mother's good humour has always been a powerful help, especially since Hector and Agnes have done their very best to drag me away from my desk. This work is published at last mostly thanks to Rex Maudsley's unique mix of generous rock-solid support, patience tempered by caustic humour, and gentle persisting bullying – which he calls 'encouragement' ... This work is dedicated to him.

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## Note on documentary sources

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To support the multifaceted nature of this analysis, it has been necessary to utilise lesser-known archival evidence. Venice is, unfortunately, unique in its scarcity of quantitative primary evidence available for the period before the mid-eighteenth century. Whatever figures were available for long-distance trade have been put to excellent use by previous generations, and are easily accessible through the works of Gino Luzzatto, Frederic Lane, Alberto Tenenti, Ugo Tucci and Domenico Sella. In general, given the nature of the archival evidence, it is not really possible to provide any solid and consistent figures on the real contribution of foreign capital to any of the pre-modern Italian economies. This situation is particularly evident in the Venetian state, where so many quantitative sources for the period have been lost or eliminated. I have already published specific quantitative data about the currant trade;<sup>1</sup> my hope to find additional quantitative material was not fulfilled, which I regret, as I fully subscribe to the analysis of Anglo-Italian commercial relations by Ralph Davis more than fifty years ago: ‘Though of less importance to English economic development in the seventeenth century than the Turkish trade or the expansion of shipping operations in the Mediterranean, Anglo-Italian trade showed changes which were even more striking, involving in important respects a complete reversal of the economic role of England and Italy.’<sup>2</sup>

Histories of English commercial expansion are usually written starting from companies’ records, or, in any case, with a clear London/England-based perspective. As Ralph Davis again perceptively observed, ‘Company records only provide a very general view of the nature and methods of trade (however detailed a picture of Company organization may emerge from them), and pamphlets are polemical and often

<sup>1</sup> M. Fusaro, *Uva passa: una guerra commerciale tra Venezia e l’Inghilterra (1540–1640)*, Venice, 1997, 104, 121, 132–135, 145, 154, 156, 159, 161.

<sup>2</sup> R. Davis, ‘England and the Mediterranean, 1570–1670’, in F. J. Fisher ed., *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England*, Cambridge, 1961, 117–137. 133.



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ill-informed.<sup>3</sup> The solution to these problems has been to investigate the private records of individuals engaged in this trade; Davis used this approach in his influential *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*.<sup>4</sup> But no such body of evidence seems to have survived for merchants engaged in Anglo-Venetian trade in the years I am analysing, and therefore alternative archival strategies had to be found. No business correspondence for Englishmen in Venice appears to have survived, and indeed these are extremely rare also for the Ottoman side before the eighteenth century. This forced me to use a wider variety of primary evidence, and the notarial archives have been particularly generous.

The vastness of notarial archives for medieval and early modern Italy is evidence of the authorities' long-standing concern with legalising transactions and guaranteeing property rights in a way that was easy and relatively cheap for all parties.<sup>5</sup> The fact that notarised documents had the value of 'fede pubblica' and acquired strength of evidence usable in court made them crucial elements in the development of Italian commercial culture.<sup>6</sup> Even so, and probably because of their richness, those archives have been said to provide a fragmented image of trade. In Italy this had led to a debate on the nature of notarial evidence and methodology of usage, especially in the study of economic history, with Federigo Melis, Edoardo Grendi and Steven Epstein amongst its major contributors.<sup>7</sup> Within this debate, one of the critiques has been that using notarial evidence would lead to an overestimation of foreign as opposed to local trade. Even assuming this to be the case, given the focus of this volume on international trade, here it cannot be considered a problem. I would additionally contend that notarial documents remain the most useful corrective to the use of normative and judicial evidence.

Notarial documents are a privileged source for the study of the foreign presence in Italy, and this is even more valid for mercantile

<sup>3</sup> R. Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, London, 1972 (2nd edn), vii.

<sup>4</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*. An excellent recent example of this approach, which shows the full potential of using this kind of material, is F. Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period*, New Haven and London, 2009.

<sup>5</sup> R. Ago, *Economia barocca: mercato e istituzioni nella Roma del Seicento*, Rome, 1998, 122.

<sup>6</sup> M. Amelotti and G. Costamagna, *Alle origini del notariato italiano*, Rome, 1975, 209.

<sup>7</sup> Debate is summarised in Fusaro, 'Gli uomini d'affari stranieri in Italia', in *Il Rinascimento Italiano e l'Europa*, 12 vols, vol. iv: *L'Italia e l'economia europea nel Rinascimento*, F. Franceschi, R. A. Goldthwaite and R. C. Mueller eds., Treviso, 2007, 369–395, 379–380, and bibliography therein.

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communities.<sup>8</sup> Merchants left a remarkable trail of contracts and deeds behind them in the expanses of notarial archives. The transformation of the office of the notary in the twelfth century was a crucial factor in the revival of Italian commerce in the same period. In earlier times, notarial acts had derived their validity from the testimony of witnesses, but during the twelfth century the notary emerged as a fully public official whose acts, authenticated by his *signum* and signature alone, were recognised as binding and valid in any court at any time.<sup>9</sup> Documents produced by a notary became ‘written testimony of a fact or an action of juridical nature, which had such characteristic as to acquire public value and strength of proof’.<sup>10</sup> This gave trade a powerful tool of expansion, and makes notarial documentation the most important instrument for the study of everyday affairs.

In the Venetian state archives I explored both the *Notarile Atti* and the *Notarile Testamenti*. It would be impossible here to give a full list of the material consulted in building my database of more than 1,200 deeds. Some notaries were seen completely, covering the whole chronological period of the investigation, whereas other material has been more randomly accessed, having been brought to my attention by scholars during the past few years. In the footnotes, the name of the notary who registered the act follows in brackets the number of the *busta*.

In Venice there were plenty of notaries: the reform of 1514 decreed that there had to be sixty-six in total, one for each parish. Notaries did not need a degree, but they had to belong to the *cittadini* rank. Various factors came into play when choosing a notary: merchants tended to have a trusted notary with whom they worked most of the time. But in the case of wills – especially those written on the deathbed – geographical proximity was the most important factor; and in other circumstances, such as the power of attorney, it was common to employ the notaries, or their young trainees, who hung around the various magistrates’ offices or circulated in the market area. In the case of foreigners, specialisation was even more marked. Knowledge of a foreign language was certainly an advantage in gaining a clientele, even if deeds had to be drawn up in Italian or Latin.<sup>11</sup>

The second pillar of my research in Venice has been the *Giudici del Forestier*, a magistracy which had been completely ignored by historians.

<sup>8</sup> G. Petti Balbi, ‘Presenze straniere a Genova nei secoli XII–XIV: letteratura, fonti, temi di ricerca’, in G. Rossetti ed., *Dentro la città: stranieri e realtà urbane nell’Europa dei secoli XII–XVI*, Naples, 1989, 121–135, 122.

<sup>9</sup> J. K. Hyde, *Padua in the Age of Dante*, Manchester and New York, 1966, 154.

<sup>10</sup> Amelotti and Costamagna, *Alle origini del notariato*, 209.

<sup>11</sup> M. P. Pedani Fabris, ‘*Veneta auctoritate notarius*’: *storia del notariato veneziano (1514–1797)*, Milan, 1996, 11, 3, 127, 141–142.

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Apart from two short articles concerned with its origin,<sup>12</sup> and based on normative material, its corpus of documents has laid untouched for centuries: of the ninety-nine files which survive up to the end of the seventeenth century, only one had been opened and examined – the others all still bore the official seals of the Republic. Moreover, to judge from the physical state of the *registri*, it seems very likely that these had not even been consulted for an equivalent length of time.<sup>13</sup> When I started working on this material in 1998, Dr Claudia Salmini, then of the *Archivio di Stato* of Venice, asked me to cooperate with the *Anagrafe* project, which now has been completed and provides up-to-date mapping of the series of documents in the repositories. For this reason I was allowed to freely consult documentary pieces from the *Forestier* archive. In a time when access to other material was made almost impossible by serious institutional problems, this allowed me to continue my research and immensely helped my work, something for which I wish to thank her here again.

Some series have been consulted in their entirety for the period up to 1700:

*Esposizioni Principi*

*Senato, dispacci, Rettori, Cefalonia* (ASV, SDR, Cefalonia)

*Senato, dispacci, Rettori, Zante* (ASV, SDR, Zante)

*Collegio, Risposte di dentro* (ASV, Collegio, Rdd)

*Collegio, Risposte di fuori* (ASV, Collegio, Rdf)

*Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia, Risposte.*

Other series were consulted as needed; prominent amongst these are *Senato Mar, registri*, which contain the deliberations of the Senate concerning the ‘maritime’ state, and the corresponding *filze* (which contain the extremely rich material used by the Senate as a preparation for the legislative process itself).

The following series in Venice have also been examined:

*Avogaria di Comun, Miscellanea, Civile* – (ASV, AdC, Civile) buste 27, 29, 48, 152, 198, 245, 273, 276.

*Avogaria di Comun, Miscellanea, Penale* – (ASV, AdC, Penale) buste 140, 146, 217, 285, 353, 378, 427.

<sup>12</sup> R. Cessi, ‘Un patto fra Venezia e Padova e la Curia “Forinsecorum” al principio del secolo XIII’, *Atti e memorie della Regia Accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti di Padova*, 30 (1914): 263–275; and ‘La “Curia Forinsecorum” e la sua prima costituzione’, *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, 28 (1914): 202–207.

<sup>13</sup> An analytical description of the jurisdiction of the *Forestier* is in M. Fusaro, ‘Politics of Justice, Politics of Trade: Foreign Merchants and the Administration of Justice from the Records of Venice’s *Giudici del Forestier*’, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome*, 126/1 (2014).

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*Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, new series, *buste* 3, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 34, 44, 45, 49, 51, 54, 60, 75, 81, 92, 93, 103, 105, 116, 134, 135, 164, 182, 188, 191, 197.

*Collegio, relazioni*, *buste* 61, 62, 63, 83, 87.

*Compilazione delle leggi*, *buste* 12, 19, 61, 76, 134, 138, 139, 140, 141, 150, 155, 157, 175, 210, 231, 238, 240, 244, 277, 278, 297, 299, 378.

*Provveditori da Terra e da Mar* – (ASV, PTM) *buste* 876, 862, 863, 863bis, 930, 1079, 1082, 1151, 1191.

*Quarantia criminale*, *buste* 103, 114.

*Senato, deliberazioni, Rettori, filze* 50, 59, 64, 67, 72, 76, 81, 213.

*Senato, Secreta, Ordini di Cefalonia* (this file is not in any index; I wish to thank Alessandra Sambo for bringing it to my attention).

*Sindici Inquisitori in Terraferma e Levante*, *buste* 67 and 68.

The following sources were consulted in England:

**The National Archives, London (TNA):**

*State Papers* – (TNA, SP) 99 (Venice), from 1 to 57.

*State Papers* 105 – (TNA, SP) (Levant Company), 109, 110, 111, 112, 143, 147, 148, 149.

**British Library (BL):**

*Additional Mss*, 18639, 22546.

*Egerton Mss*, 760, 2542.

*Harleian Mss*, 943, 6210.

*Landsdowne Mss*, 34, 38, 90, 93.

*Sloane Mss*, 682, 867, 2752, 1709, 2902, 3494.

*Stowe Mss*, 135, 219.

**London Metropolitan Archives – LMA (material formerly in the Guildhall Library):**

Court Minutes of Trinity House: CLC/526/MS30004/003.

The Trinity House Cash Book (1661–85): CLC/526/MS30032/002.

The Transactions of Trinity House (1609–25) CLC/526/MS30045/001/002/003/004.

Also on Trinity House, the ‘Chaplin Papers’ CLC/526/MS30323/001/002/003/004.

The ‘Pepys Papers’ that relate to Trinity House, especially CLC/526/MS30337.

The ‘Corsini Papers’: CLC/B/062/MS21317, CLC/B/062/MS21318, CLC/B/062/MS21319, CLC/B/062/MS21320, CLC/B/062/MS21322, CLC/B/062/MS21323, CLC/B/062/MS21324, CLC/B/062/MS21325, CLC/B/062/MS21326,

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CLC/B/062/MS22274, CLC/B/062/MS22275, CLC/B/062/MS22276, CLC/B/062/MS22277, CLC/B/062/MS22280, CLC/B/062/MS22281, CLC/B/062/MS22282, CLC/B/062/MS22283.

Papers of the Worshipful Company of Glass Sellers: CLC/270/MS00366, CLC/239/MS03384, CLC/L/GC/D/001/MS05536, CLC/L/GC/B/001/MS05538, CLC/GC/C/006/MS05542, CLC/L/GC/E/001MS05556.

In Cephalonia (Greece) the following documents have been examined in the General Public Records of the State – Archives of the District of Cephalonia (ΓΑΚ-ΑΝΚ): in total more than 130 *buste* of the notarial archive, the only source that survives for the period under investigation, were consulted. They were chosen if notaries worked in areas where foreign merchants were likely to be found – that is to say in areas of currant production, or in towns with a harbour, or in the administrative centre of Castle St George (Kastro). The fire of 1597 destroyed all papers prior to that date, and various subsequent earthquakes and fires have taken their toll on the documentation. The Archive of Zante was completely destroyed in a fire following the earthquake of 1953.

In Athens (Greece) I have examined the Miscellaneous Mss regarding the Ionian islands after the fall of Venice, which are preserved in the Gennadius Library at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

All translations into English of documentary material written in languages other than English are by the author unless otherwise specified, and I thank Catherine Keen whose advice on these has been invaluable.

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## Note on dates and spelling

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The goal which has oriented all my choices in these fields has been to facilitate access to the documentary material, which is large and varied. All dates have been kept as in the original documents, and where they have been modernised this is clearly stated in the text. This was the only available option, considering all the different systems used in the areas under investigation. Additionally it was the only way to easily find documents that frequently do not have a *carta/folio* number and are ordered only by their dates. It is important to remember that during this period there was considerable variance in dating systems across European states. The Gregorian calendar promulgated by pope Gregory XIII in 1582 had been quickly adopted by Venice, where the year started on 1 March. For Venetian dates between 1 January and the end of February, the formula *mv* (*more Veneto*), has been added to show that it is a date following the Venetian-style calendar, and therefore it is necessary to add a unit to the figure of the year. If this abbreviation is absent, the date quoted in the text is to be considered critical.

Style in England was the Julian calendar – old style – according to which the days of the month were ten days behind those of the Gregorian calendar, and the legal year started on 25 March.

Spelling was not uniform in England during this period. Adding to this the creative translations of contemporary Venetian and Greek hands, the results can be quite far-fetched, and identification frequently is a guessing game. Where it has been possible to establish an acknowledged spelling of a particular name, this appears throughout the text; otherwise the names of English merchants are quoted in the text with the most frequent variant of the way in which they were written in the documents. The same applies to Greek names.

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# Abbreviations

<i>AdC</i>	<i>Avogaria di Comun</i>
ASG	Archivio di Stato di Genova
ASV	Archivio di Stato di Venezia
BL	British Library
<i>CSPVe</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Venetian</i>
<i>DBI</i>	<i>Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani</i> , available on line at: www.treccani.it/biografie
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , available on line at: www.oxforddnb.com
<i>GdF</i>	<i>Giudici del Forestier</i>
LMA	London Metropolitan Archive
NT	<i>Notarile, Testamenti</i>
<i>PTM</i>	<i>Provveditori da Terra e da Mar</i>
<i>Rdd</i>	<i>Risposte di dentro</i>
<i>Rdf</i>	<i>Risposte di fuori</i>
<i>SDR</i> , Cefalonia	<i>Senato, dispacci, Rettori, Cefalonia</i>
<i>SDR</i> , Zante	<i>Senato, dispacci, Rettori, Zante</i>
<i>SP</i>	<i>State Papers</i>
TNA	The National Archives
ΓAK-ANK	General Public Records of the State, Archives of the District of Cephalonia
b.	<i>busta</i>
bb.	<i>buste</i>
c.	<i>carta</i>
cc.	<i>carte</i>
cc.n.n.	<i>carte not numbered</i>
f.	<i>filza</i>
reg.	<i>registro</i>
fasc.	<i>fascicolo</i>
n.s.	<i>new series.</i>

Unless specified otherwise, all ‘ducats’ mentioned are those of ‘account’, each of these was made up of ‘lire 6, soldi 4’.

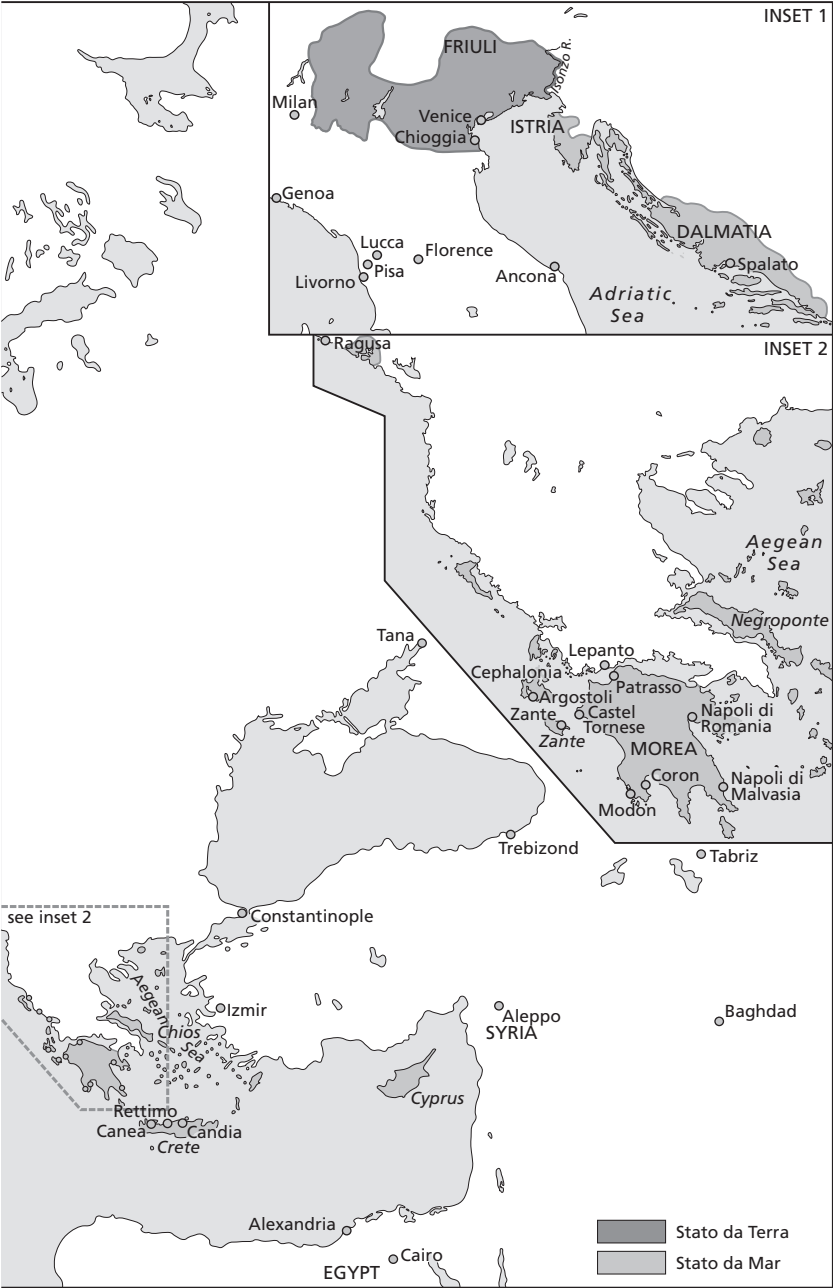
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Map 1. Western Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Venetian empire



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Map 1. (cont.)