The Great Plague Scare of 1720

From 1720 to 1722, the French region of Provence and surrounding areas experienced one of the last major epidemics of plague to strike Western Europe. The Plague of Provence was a major disaster that left in its wake as many as 126,000 deaths, as well as new understandings about the nature of contagion and the best ways to manage its threat. In this transnational study, Cindy Ermus focuses on the social, commercial, and diplomatic impact of the epidemic beyond French borders, examining reactions to this public health crisis from Italy to Great Britain to Spain and the overseas colonies. She reveals how a crisis in one part of the globe can transcend geographic boundaries and influence society, politics, and public health policy in regions far from the epicenter of disaster.

CINDY ERMUS is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Texas at San Antonio.

GLOBAL HEALTH HISTORIES

Series Editor:

Sanjoy Bhattacharya, University of York

Global Health Histories aims to publish outstanding and innovative scholarship on the history of public health, medicine and science worldwide. By studying the many ways in which the impact of ideas of health and well-being on society were measured and described in different global, international, regional, national and local contexts, books in the series reconceptualise the nature of empire, the nation state, extra-state actors and different forms of globalisation. The series showcases new approaches to writing about the connected histories of health and medicine, humanitarianism, and global economic and social development.

The Great Plague Scare of 1720

Disaster and Diplomacy in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World

CINDY ERMUS University of Texas at San Antonio





Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia 314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India 103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108747349

DOI: 10.1017/9781108784733

© Cindy Ermus 2023

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2023 First paperback edition 2025

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data

Names: Ermus, Cindy, 1979– author. Title: The Great Plague scare of 1720 : disaster and diplomacy in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world / Cindy Ermus, University of Lethbridge, Alberta. Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2023. | Includes bibliographical references and index. Identifiers: LCCN 2022026117 | ISBN 9781108489546 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108784733 (ebook) Subjects: LCSH: Plague – Europe – History – 18th century. | Plague of Provence, France, 1720–1722. | Epidemics – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – 18th century. | Disasters – Social aspects – Europe – History – Social aspects – Europe – History – Social aspects – Eur

ISBN 978-1-108-48954-6 Hardback ISBN 978-1-108-74734-9 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

For Arlo, who showed me the meaning of life

Contents

Acknowledgments		
List of Abbreviations		
	Introduction	1
1	Plague in Provence A Port of Entry for Contagion?: Plague Appears	13
	in Southern France "Les funestes ravages de la contagion":	16
	Plague Spreads in Provence Crisis Management and "Disaster Centralism" during	28
	the Plague of Provence	53
2	"L'état le plus exposé": The Plague of Provence in Genoa and Italy	65
	Public Health Organization and the <i>Magistrato di sanità</i> in Genoa Conflicting Narratives and the Invisible Commonwealth:	70
	How News of Plague Was Received in Genoa and Europe Reactions to the Plague of Provence in Genoa and Italy	79 86
2		00
3	"A Scheme so Barbarous and so Destructive":Responses to the Plague of Provence in LondonThe Great European Plague Scare of 1720 in England"On the Repeated Outcries of the People": PopularReactions to the Threat of Plague and Resistance	103 105
	to Sanitary Measures in London South Sea Scheme Men, Franco-Spanish Tyranny,	116
	and Tit-for-Tat Diplomacy	133

vii

viii C		ontents
4	The Spanish Plague That Never Was: The Plague of Provence in Cádiz and Spain War and the Gallicization of the <i>Carrera de Indias</i>	141
	in the Early Eighteenth Century	144
	Reactions to the Plague of Provence in Spain	156
	Health Inspections and the <i>Fondeo</i> Search in the Port of Cádiz Disaster Centralism in Spain during the Plague	164
	of Provence	171
5	Entangled Empires: The Great Plague Scare in the Colonies Responses to the Plague of Provence in the French	177
	Colonies Economic Interests and Plague-Time Violence	181
	in the Caribbean Anti-French Policy and the Plague of Provence	192
	in the Spanish Colonies	202
Epilogue		214
Bibliography		220
Index		247

Acknowledgments

A lot has happened in the ten years since I began research for this project. I earned my PhD; I moved to beautiful Canada for my first job as an assistant professor; I later accepted a new position back in the US; I married the love of my life; I had my sweet son. In that time, and in those travels, so many people have been part of the journey. Some have only been there a short time, while others have been there all along. All have helped, in their own ways, to make this book – this part of me – possible.

Taking it back to the beginning of my career as a historian, I would like to thank the faculty and staff in the Department of History at Florida International University, especially Joseph Patrouch, Darden Pyron, Felice Lifshitz, Howard Rock, and so many others, who were among the first to encourage me to further my studies, and who helped to stir in me a fervent, life-long passion for history. I would also like to thank my mentors and teachers at the Department of History and the Institute on Napoleon and the French Revolution at Florida State University. Above all, I would like to thank my advisor and friend Darrin McMahon, whose expertise, patience, humor, dedication, and invaluable mentorship helped shape me as a scholar. He gets credit for encouraging me to pursue my interests in the history of disasters, and, years later, for agreeing to be the reader at my wedding! I could not have asked for a more inspiring and dedicated mentor, and for that, I am truly grateful. I would also like to give special thanks to Rafe Blaufarb. To say that I might not have completed this study without him is not an overstatement, since he helped direct me toward a topic on the 1720 plague. For his continuing support through the years, I owe him a debt of gratitude.

I am grateful to all the programs and institutions that helped fund the research for this project, beginning with National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Institute on Napoleon and the French Revolution at Florida State University. Financial support also came

CAMBRIDGE

х

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-108-74734-9 — The Great Plague Scare of 1720 Cindy Ermus Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Acknowledgments

from the Florida extension of the McKnight Foundation (FEF), which funded my graduate education through a generous doctoral fellowship and helped fund my research abroad. The people at FEF, including Dr. Lawrence Morehouse, Mr. Charles Jackson, and the rest of the McKnight family, are doing amazing things to help increase the number of underrepresented minorities in academia, and I am proud to be part of the family. I am also indebted to the University of Lethbridge for generously funding multiple summers' worth of research for the completion of this project.

As isolating as it may seem at times, the life of the mind depends on the work of many. I would like to thank all archivists and librarians around the globe for helping to make the pursuit and creation of knowledge possible. In particular, I must thank the staff of the institutions that I visited throughout the course of my research for their hard work and assistance. Many of the archives in which I had the privilege of conducting research are severely underfunded, yet their knowledgeable and dedicated personnel help to make archival research a pleasure and a privilege. My thanks go to the staff at the Archives nationales de France in Paris, the Archives nationales d'outre-mer in Aix-en-Provence, the archives at the Ministère de la Défense at Vincennes, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône in both Aix-en-Provence and Marseille, the Archives municipales de Marseille, the Archives historiques de la Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie Marseille-Provence, the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, the Archivo Municipal de Cádiz, the Archivo Provincial de Cádiz, the Archivo General de Indias in beautiful Seville, the Biblioteca Nacional de España, the Archivio di Stato di Genova, the Archivio di Stato di Roma, the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, the Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa, the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, the British Library, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, the UK Parliamentary Archives, and the US Library of Congress. I met some incredible people in each of these places (and even scored a couple of informative tours of the grounds!), each of whom helped to make my time abroad as memorable as it was fruitful. A sincere thanks, merci, gracias, grazie, obrigada.

I would also like to thank the many individuals who, in a variety of different ways, helped me along throughout the process of writing this book. A sincere thanks to Junko Takeda for her insight and for

Acknowledgments

sharing her dissertation with me all those years ago; to Claire Edington, Libby Neidenbach, and Sarah Ghabrial for the adventures in the south of France; to Ann Carmichael, David K. Smith, and Arad Gigi for willingly and happily sharing their expertise; special thanks to biologist Boris Schmid of the University of Oslo for generously sharing his insight; to Suman Seth for recommending this particular press and series in the first place; to Javier Bobillo Blanco, who went out of his way to make sure I received my digital files after I left Madrid; and to Pedro Pinto, who was, and continues to be, an incredible resource for research in Portugal. Muito obrigada por toda sua ajuda. Special thanks to my colleagues, both past and present, for their friendship and support. For example, my big move to Canada might have proved more challenging without the help of Sheila McManus, who hosted me on Thanksgiving Days and gave me all too many rides to or from the airport. Thank you. Also Kristine Alexander, Christopher Burton, Catherine Clinton, Wing Chung Ng, Catherine Komisaruk, Anne Hardgrove, and others for their mentorship and support. A sincere thanks, too, to my students through the years for always inspiring me, teaching me, and keeping me young; to Lucy Rhymer and the team at Cambridge University Press, who have been an absolute pleasure to work with; to the anonymous readers whose feedback helped shape this manuscript; and to Fritz Davis, Malick Ghachem, Jacob Steere-Williams, Lori Jones, Mary Ashburn Miller, Meghan Roberts, Michael Bustamante, Scott Gabriel Knowles, Jane Maienschein, and so many others who have shown genuine interest in my work and/or invited me to discuss my research at their institutions. In this context, I must give very special thanks to Monica Green for her support, and for her invaluable insight, which has been instrumental in helping me understand the ongoing genetic plague research.

I must also express my sincere gratitude to my amazing friends and family for always being there for me, for letting me vent, and for being such wonderful company through it all. Among them (in no particular order), Gabriel Ortega; Lauren White; Maria Yaima Carmona; Camilo "Woody" Suarez-Bitar; Mathew Masters; Christopher Wilhelm; Justin Black; Madisen Rard; Elliott Florence; Bryan Banks (my *Age of Revolutions compadre*); Sergio Suarez; Johanna Herrera; Jessica Jassal; my nephew George; Maria Pelaez; the late, great Rangy Pelaez; the entire Gibson clan (with special thanks to Martha Sue and Benny Gibson for their love and support); Jessica Eise, Rebecca Bria,

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment

xi

CAMBRIDGE

xii

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-108-74734-9 — The Great Plague Scare of 1720 Cindy Ermus Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Acknowledgments

Valeria Meiller, and Sarah Lasley for their company during the final stretch of writing this book; *a todos mis familiares en Cuba*; and to all of those I may be leaving out, but who have nevertheless brought me joy and comfort when I needed it – thank you.

I owe the greatest debt of gratitude to those who have been closest to me in the process of writing this book - those who have brought me the greatest happiness and with whom I have created the most precious memories. Inevitably, this is the part where I cry, so here goes. Thank you, Ashley Ermus, George Ermus, Christopher Aaden Valcarcel, and Ellison Marie Livesey, for your love and support, for making me smile, and for keeping me sane. Thanks, too, to my parents, Elsa and Jorge Ermus - and here I will switch to Spanish: Gracias, mamá y papa, por tu cariño, tus consejos, por apoyarme, por siempre inspirarme, y por los muchos sacrificios que han hecho para que sus hijos puedan vivir en un país donde pueden decir, pensar, escribir, y vivir como deseen. I am also more grateful than I could put into words for my husband, Abraham Gibson, who has supported me throughout the entire process of writing this book with his love, his patience, his humor, and his kindness, which knows no bounds. Thank you, Abe, for being my rock. Finally, I thank my son, Arlo, to whom I dedicate this book. Nothing I can say could possibly describe the joy that you have brought to my life. Thank you, my son, for your unconditional love, for your smile, for your laughter, and for just being you.

Abbreviations

ACCIMArchives historiques de la Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie Marseille-Provence, MarseilleADBRMArchives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, MarseilleAEAffaires étrangères (AN)AGIArchivo General de Indias, SevilleAHNArchivo Histórico Nacional de EspañaAMCArchivo Municipal de CádizAMMArchives municipales de MarseilleAMUArchivo Municipal de MurciaANArchivo Municipal de MurciaANArchives nationales de France, ParisANOMArchives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-ProvenceARVArchivo General del Reino de ValenciaASGArchivio di Stato di GenovaASRArchivio di Stato di VeneziaBLBritish Library, LondonBNFBibliothèque nationale de France, ParisBNPBibliotèque nationale de PortugalJHLJournal of the House of LordsMARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do TomboTNAThe National Archives of the United Kingdom, London	AC	Actas Capitulares (AMC & AMU)
ADBRMArchives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, MarseilleAEAffaires étrangères (AN)AGIArchivo General de Indias, SevilleAHNArchivo Histórico Nacional de EspañaAMCArchivo Municipal de CádizAMMArchives municipales de MarseilleAMUArchivo Municipal de MurciaANArchives nationales de France, ParisANOMArchives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-ProvenceARVArchivo General del Reino de ValenciaASGArchivio di Stato di GenovaASRArchivio di Stato di VeneziaBLBritish Library, LondonBNFBibliothèque nationale de France, ParisBNPBibliothèque national de PortugalJHLJournal of the House of LordsMARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	ACCIM	Archives historiques de la Chambre de Commerce et
MarseilleAEAffaires étrangères (AN)AGIArchivo General de Indias, SevilleAHNArchivo Histórico Nacional de EspañaAMCArchivo Municipal de CádizAMMArchives municipales de MarseilleAMUArchivo Municipal de MurciaANArchives nationales de France, ParisANOMArchivos General del Reino de ValenciaASGArchivio di Stato di GenovaASRArchivio di Stato di RomaASVArchivio di Stato di VeneziaBLBibliothèque nationale de France, ParisBNFBibliothèque nationale de France, ParisBNPBiblioteca Nacional de PortugalJHLJournal of the House of LordsMARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo		d'Industrie Marseille-Provence, Marseille
AEAffaires étrangères (AN)AGIArchivo General de Indias, SevilleAHNArchivo Histórico Nacional de EspañaAMCArchivo Municipal de CádizAMMArchives municipales de MarseilleAMUArchivo Municipal de MurciaANArchives nationales de France, ParisANOMArchivos General del Reino de ValenciaASGArchivio di Stato di GenovaASRArchivio di Stato di RomaASVArchivio di Stato di VeneziaBLBibliothèque nationale de France, ParisBNFBibliothèque nationale de France, ParisBNPBiblioteca Nacional de PortugalJHLJournal of the House of LordsMARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	ADBRM	Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône,
AGIArchivo General de Indias, SevilleAHNArchivo Histórico Nacional de EspañaAMCArchivo Municipal de CádizAMMArchives municipales de MarseilleAMUArchivo Municipal de MurciaANArchives nationales de France, ParisANOMArchives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-ProvenceARVArchivo General del Reino de ValenciaASGArchivio di Stato di GenovaASRArchivio di Stato di VeneziaBLBritish Library, LondonBNFBibliothèque nationale de France, ParisBNPBiblioteca Nacional de PortugalJHLJournal of the House of LordsMARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo		Marseille
AHNArchivo Histórico Nacional de EspañaAMCArchivo Municipal de CádizAMMArchives municipales de MarseilleAMUArchives municipales de MarseilleAMUArchivo Municipal de MurciaANArchives nationales de France, ParisANOMArchives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-ProvenceARVArchivo General del Reino de ValenciaASGArchivio General del Reino de ValenciaASRArchivio di Stato di GenovaASRArchivio di Stato di VeneziaBLBritish Library, LondonBNFBibliothèque nationale de France, ParisBNPBiblioteca Nacional de PortugalJHLJournal of the House of LordsMARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	AE	Affaires étrangères (AN)
AMCArchivo Municipal de CádizAMMArchives municipales de MarseilleAMUArchivo Municipal de MurciaANArchives nationales de France, ParisANOMArchives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-ProvenceARVArchivo General del Reino de ValenciaASGArchivio di Stato di GenovaASRArchivio di Stato di VeneziaBLBritish Library, LondonBNFBibliothèque nationale de France, ParisBNPBiblioteca Nacional de PortugalJHLJournal of the House of LordsMARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville
AMMArchives municipales de MarseilleAMUArchivo Municipal de MurciaANArchives nationales de France, ParisANOMArchives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-ProvenceARVArchivo General del Reino de ValenciaASGArchivio di Stato di GenovaASRArchivio di Stato di VeneziaBLBritish Library, LondonBNFBibliothèque nationale de France, ParisBNPBiblioteca Nacional de PortugalJHLJournal of the House of LordsMARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional de España
AMUArchivo Municipal de MurciaANArchives nationales de France, ParisANOMArchives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-ProvenceARVArchivo General del Reino de ValenciaASGArchivio di Stato di GenovaASRArchivio di Stato di GenovaASRArchivio di Stato di VeneziaBLBritish Library, LondonBNFBibliothèque nationale de France, ParisBNPBiblioteca Nacional de PortugalJHLJournal of the House of LordsMARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	AMC	Archivo Municipal de Cádiz
ANArchives nationales de France, ParisANOMArchives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-ProvenceARVArchivo General del Reino de ValenciaASGArchivio di Stato di GenovaASRArchivio di Stato di GenovaASRArchivio di Stato di VeneziaBLBritish Library, LondonBNFBibliothèque nationale de France, ParisBNPBiblioteca Nacional de PortugalJHLJournal of the House of LordsMARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	AMM	Archives municipales de Marseille
 ANOM Archives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence ARV Archivo General del Reino de Valencia ASG Archivio di Stato di Genova ASR Archivio di Stato di Roma ASV Archivio di Stato di Venezia BL British Library, London BNF Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris BNP Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal JHL Journal of the House of Lords MAR Fonds de la Marine (AN) MNE Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros PNAS Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences Sanità Antichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV) SP State Papers Foreign (TNA) TdT Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo 	AMU	Archivo Municipal de Murcia
ARVArchivo General del Reino de ValenciaASGArchivio di Stato di GenovaASRArchivio di Stato di RomaASVArchivio di Stato di VeneziaBLBritish Library, LondonBNFBibliothèque nationale de France, ParisBNPBiblioteca Nacional de PortugalJHLJournal of the House of LordsMARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	AN	Archives nationales de France, Paris
ASGArchivio di Stato di GenovaASRArchivio di Stato di RomaASVArchivio di Stato di VeneziaBLBritish Library, LondonBNFBibliothèque nationale de France, ParisBNPBiblioteca Nacional de PortugalJHLJournal of the House of LordsMARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	ANOM	Archives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence
ASRArchivio di Stato di RomaASVArchivio di Stato di VeneziaBLBritish Library, LondonBNFBibliothèque nationale de France, ParisBNPBiblioteca Nacional de PortugalJHLJournal of the House of LordsMARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	ARV	Archivo General del Reino de Valencia
ASVArchivio di Stato di VeneziaASVArchivio di Stato di VeneziaBLBritish Library, LondonBNFBibliothèque nationale de France, ParisBNPBiblioteca Nacional de PortugalJHLJournal of the House of LordsMARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	ASG	Archivio di Stato di Genova
BLBritish Library, LondonBNFBibliothèque nationale de France, ParisBNPBiblioteca Nacional de PortugalJHLJournal of the House of LordsMARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	ASR	Archivio di Stato di Roma
BNFBibliothèque nationale de France, ParisBNPBiblioteca Nacional de PortugalJHLJournal of the House of LordsMARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	ASV	Archivio di Stato di Venezia
BNPBiblioteca Nacional de PortugalJHLJournal of the House of LordsMARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	BL	British Library, London
JHLJournal of the House of LordsMARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
MARFonds de la Marine (AN)MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	BNP	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal
MNEMinistério dos Negócios EstrangeirosPNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	JHL	Journal of the House of Lords
PNASProceedings of the National Academy of SciencesSanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	MAR	Fonds de la Marine (AN)
SanitàAntichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla sanità (ASV)SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	MNE	Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros
sanità (ASV) SP State Papers Foreign (TNA) TdT Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	PNAS	Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences
SPState Papers Foreign (TNA)TdTArquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	Sanità	Antichi regimi, Provveditori e Sopraprovveditori alla
TdT Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo		sanità (ASV)
	SP	State Papers Foreign (TNA)
TNA The National Archives of the United Kingdom, London	TdT	Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo
	TNA	The National Archives of the United Kingdom, London

xiii