

Renato Ghezzi

*North Italian Ports and the Levant in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries*

1. INTRODUCTION

Following the gradual establishment of the Atlantic routes and the definitive assertions of Holland and England, the Mediterranean lost its central position and the international trade system changed profoundly.<sup>1</sup> In their analyses of these changes, which first became evident towards the end of the 1500s and were consolidated in the following century, the attention of historians has concentrated at length on the inversion of the spice routes and the massive introduction of English and Dutch manufactured goods in the Ottoman countries, held to be clear proof of Venice's progressive decline. In reality, as important as they may be, these are only a few aspects of the evolution of the traffic between the Levant and the Italian peninsula. Anatolia, Syria and Egypt were not only important intermediaries in the commerce with Persia, the Indies, Sudan and Ethiopia, but they also produced many manufactured goods and raw materials essential for Western industries, enough to spark a heated rivalry among the Italian merchants to have an privileged position in the Ottoman *scale*.<sup>2</sup>

Due to the lack of congruent and consistent serial data, import businesses from the Eastern Mediterranean are still, however, little known today. Just as, in the absence of comparative analyses of the business activities of the main Italian ports, it is not possible to fully evaluate the effects of the Italian maritime crisis and the progressive advance of the Nordic ships over the Mediterranean routes. In the attempt to help partially bridge these gaps, the chapter aims to offer a diachronic assessment of the role of trade with the Levant in the activities in the ports of Genoa, Livorno, and Venice in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

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<sup>1</sup> U. TUCCI, *Traffici e navi nel Mediterraneo in età moderna*, in *La penisola italiana e il mare. Costruzioni navali, trasporti e commerci tra XV e XX secolo*, ed. T. FANFANI, Naples 1993, pp. 57-70.

<sup>2</sup> The *Scale* were business centers for the Ottoman Empire frequented by Western buyers. They all met at the unloading points, in most cases the ports used by the caravan and maritime trades. For example, Tripoli in the 16<sup>th</sup> and Smyrna in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the maritime trade for Constantinople between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. At times they were established in two centers, such as Cairo and Alexandria, both stable over the centuries. In alternative there was Aleppo with its external Syrian ports. They were all, finally, places of exchange for complementary goods and the demands of various economies, otherwise they would have held no purpose. M. FONTENAY, *Le commerce des Occidentaux dans les échelles du Levant au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Relazioni economiche tra Europa e mondo islamico secc. XIII-XVIII*, ed. S. CAVACIOCCHI, I-II, Florence 2007, II, p. 502.

## 2. THE SOURCES

The development of long-haul trading in Genoa's port in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century was recognized by Edoardo Grendi, through analysis of the proceeds derived from the *jactus navium*, a tax weighted on the owners of ships with a carrying capacity of over 1,500 *cantari* (71 tons), which amounted proportionately to the dimensions of the hulls.<sup>3</sup> Registrations of payments were collected in the *cartulari* and *manuali* of the *Padri del Comune*, the magistrates charged with collecting the taxes, in which there are records of the ships that reached Genoa, their tonnages,<sup>4</sup> the ship-owner's name, the nationality and the taxes they were subject to.<sup>5</sup> From 1528 to 1591 the ship's port of origin was always indicated, in the following years this information was no longer reported: it appeared again only after 1658.

The useful sources for a quantitative reconstruction of the port's activity in Venice are more fragmented. The notarial acts<sup>6</sup> and the documents of an administrative nature are very important. In particular, the business summary reports of the mercantile sector and the commodities entering and leaving the port, which cover, however, only short periods of time. There are also the chronicles and correspondence of the merchants, in some cases very precise, which can provide important indications of the main maritime trade networks and their evolution.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The *jactus navium* was a tax on waste dumped into the sea by the ships, whose proceeds were used to free the port of waste materials accumulated on the sea floor, hindering its practicability. The smaller ships, with a carrying load of less than 71 tons, were exempt from paying this tax. Instead they had to pay an anchoring tax, the so called *schifato*. E. GRENDI, *Traffico portuale, naviglio mercantile e consolati genovesi nel Cinquecento*, in "Rivista Storica Italiana", LXXX, 1968, n. III, pp. 593-638, 596-607. On the evolution of the trade of Genoa's port in the 11<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century see R. S. LOPEZ, *Market expansion: the case of Genoa*, in R. S. LOPEZ, *Su e giù per la storia di Genova*, Genoa 1975, pp. 43-62; G. PISTARINO, *Genova medievale tra Oriente e Occidente*, in "Rivista Storica Italiana", LXXXI, 1969, pp. 45-73; G. PISTARINO, *La storiografia marittima su Genova medievale*, in *Tendenze e orientamenti nella storiografia marittima contemporanea: gli Stati italiani e la Repubblica di Ragusa (secoli XIV-XIX)*, ed. A. DI VITTORIO, Naples 1986, pp. 3-28.

<sup>4</sup> Intersecting the data originating from the *Padri del Comune* registries with other sources (particularly the *Registri della Sanità* and notarial acts), Edoardo Grendi found a consistent underestimation of the ship loads in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, with which a systematic reduction of taxes was allowed. To calculate the merchant ships tonnage arriving in Genoa he increased this by 20%. In this way, the average load of the ships engaged in business along the long-haul routes reaching Genoa proved equal to 153 tons, a lower value than that I noted for the ships arriving in Livorno in the 1600s (185 tons). E. GRENDI, *I nordici e il traffico del porto di Genova: 1590-1666*, in "Rivista Storica Italiana", LXXXIII, 1971, n. I, pp. 23-71, 38-57; R. GHEZZI, *Livorno e il mondo islamico nel XVII secolo. Naviglio e commercio di importazione*, Bari 2007, pp. 19-41.

<sup>5</sup> The *Padri del Comune* were the main magistrates of Genoa. In 1588 they were divided into independent bodies: the *Conservatori del Patrimonio*, which superintended the arts, managed road networks, aqueducts, and urban cleanliness; the *Conservatori del Porto e del Molo*, which took care of the port's infrastructure and issued anchorage permits. G. FELLONI, *Organizzazione portuale, navigazione e traffici a Genova: un sondaggio tra le fonti per l'età moderna*, in *Studi in memoria di Giorgio Costamagna*, ed. D. PUNCUH, Genoa 2003, pp. 337-364.

<sup>6</sup> R. GHEZZI, *Le fonti notarili e il commercio marittimo tra Tirreno e Adriatico nel XVII secolo*, in "Studi Urbanati", 33-34, 2004, pp. 465-478.

<sup>7</sup> U. TUCCI, *Lettres d'un marchand vénitien, Andrea Berengo (1553-1556)*, Paris 1957.

Finally, some very useful information comes from the reports by foreign residents about the state of business activities in the main markets of the Ottoman empire.<sup>8</sup>

The series related to the import businesses of Livorno were reconstructed thanks primarily to the examination of the *Registri della sanità*.<sup>9</sup> According to predominant medical theories of the time, the plague was caused by invisible contaminating atoms that could be transmitted not only by living beings but also by many objects, merchandise, or other materials.<sup>10</sup> The captains who reached Livorno from the Levant, from Northern Africa, or from other suspect countries, therefore had to provide detailed notes on the port of departure, the crew's state of health and that of eventual passengers, on the route followed and the merchandise transported, after first having declared basic generalities and the name and tonnage of their ships. By consulting these documents, it was possible to individuate the different types of ship which passed through the port of Livorno in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and to classify them based on tonnage, nationality, and by their port of origin. Examining their loads therefore made it possible to make some quantitative estimates on the volume of imports from the ports of the Levant.

### 3. GENOA'S PORT ACTIVITY

The sequences of *iactus navium* span, without any significant interruptions,<sup>11</sup> the period comprised between 1537 and 1666. They show a growth trend in Genoa's businesses, culminating in the years 1551-1555. There was then a diminution, which lasted until 1586, followed by a sharp rise which peaked in 1592, when the levels reached the highest of the century. Up until the 30s the Genoese fleet assured close to three quarters of the port trade.<sup>12</sup> Participation by the other nations grew progressively, and in the 60s it became predominant.<sup>13</sup> Ragusa's merchant ship fleets were the business leaders of Genoa's port industry until the 90s, when they were joined by the Nordic, English and, above all, Dutch ships, which had an important role in the growth of the 90s, constituting approximately 25% of the port's incoming trade.<sup>14</sup>

Between the geographical areas which fed the most consistent flow of trade, the Italian ports stood out, especially those in Sicily. The merchant ships arriving from the island's ports made up 42% of the total tonnage of the sailing ships

<sup>8</sup> F. C. LANE, *La marine marchande et le trafic maritime de Venise a travers les siècles*, in *Les sources de l'histoire maritime en Europe du Moyen Age au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. M. MOLLAT, Paris 1962, pp. 7-32.

<sup>9</sup> ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI FIRENZE (ASF), *Ufficiali di Sanità*, 136-225.

<sup>10</sup> C. M. CIPOLLA, *Il burocrate e il marinaio*, Bologna 1992, p. 45.

<sup>11</sup> The only data missing, for the entire period, refer to 1540, 1542, 1547, 1549, 1555, 1561, 1595, and 1598. E. GRENDI, *Traffico portuale*, cit., tavola I, p. 637 e E. GRENDI, *I nordici*, cit., pp. 65-66.

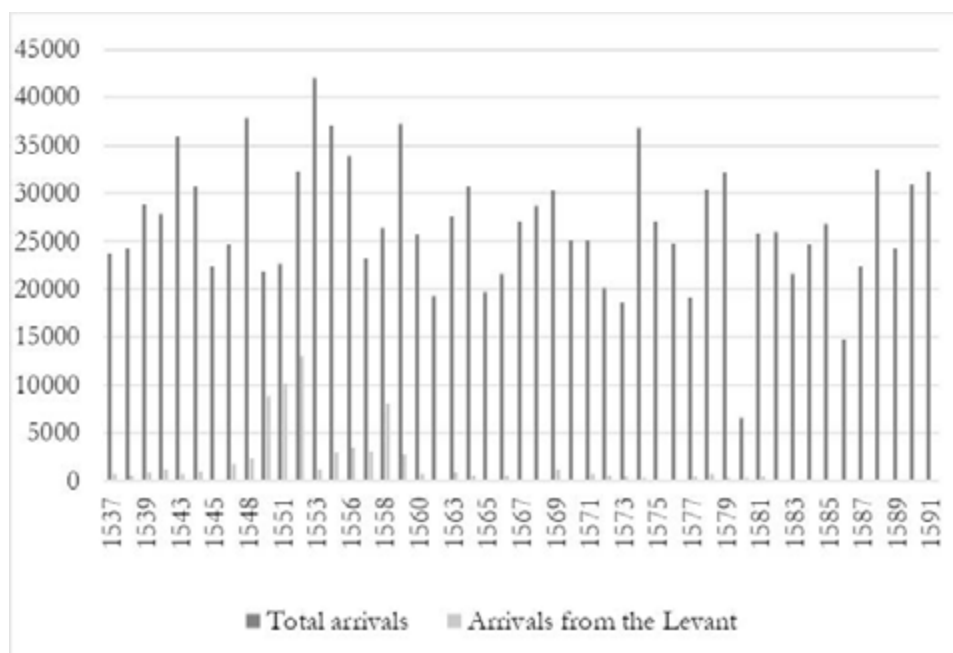
<sup>12</sup> Excluding smaller boats, that were used for cabotage, in the early decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the total tonnage of Genoa's merchant fleets was roughly 15,000 tons, similar to that of the Venetian fleet. L. PICCINNO, *Genoa: a city with a port or a port city?*, in *The Routledge Handbook of Maritime Trade around Europe 1300-1600*, W. BLOCKMANS, M. KROM, J. WUBS-MROZEWICZ eds., London 2017, pp. 159-176, 165.

<sup>13</sup> C. COSTANTINI, *La Repubblica di Genova*, Turin 1986, pp. 167-169.

<sup>14</sup> E. GRENDI, *I nordici*, cit., pp. 23-65.

registered as arriving in Genoa from 1537 to 1591.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, there were important arrivals from Castile ports (38% of the total tonnage for incoming ships from 1537 to 1591). In contrast, the connections with the Levant were weak. From 1537 to 1588, 240 merchant ships arrived from the Eastern Mediterranean, and their tonnage contributed to only 5% of the total port activity.<sup>16</sup>

Graph 1. Tonnage of merchant ships arriving in Genoa, 1537-1591



Source: E. GRENDI, *Traffico portuale*, cit., pp. 593-638.

The high levels of trade in the years 1550, 1551, 1552, and 1558 are essentially explained by the poor grain harvests in Sicily. The business of cereals was the activity which mainly characterized the port of Genoa. Sicily was the main supply source,<sup>17</sup> and when its contributions diminished, the Republic organized a complex provision plan with the Ottoman storage sites and in 1558, a special pass was given to Mahomet Cilibi of Mytilene so that he could transport grain to Liguria.<sup>18</sup> When the crisis ended, relations with the Levant went back to their normal, modest levels.

<sup>15</sup> The tonnage being referred to here is equivalent to 2,000 pounds in weight or 28 cubic feet (913 liters) in capacity (*tonneau de Bordeaux*). M. MORINEAU, *Jauges et méthodes de jauge anciennes et modernes*, Paris 1966.

<sup>16</sup> E. GRENDI, *Traffico portuale*, cit., p. 637, tavola I.

<sup>17</sup> On average, Genoa imported 6,500 *mine* of grain from Sicily every year, which in volume constituted for roughly 20% of the port's total trade. E. GRENDI, *Traffico, naviglio*, cit., pp. 591-638.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 604 e 624.

The early decades of the 1600s marked the beginning of a new ascending phase, culminating in 1620. The following years saw a decrease in the incoming port business, remaining at a low until 1628, when a new growth trend started, which had a secular peak in the biennium 1630-1632. In contrast, the 40s saw a drop which became a huge collapse during the plague of 1656-1657.<sup>19</sup> Beyond the circumstantial aspects, the mid-century saw an inversion of this trend, but the revival of businesses was indeed slow and uncertain. In 1660 the total of the ship loads arriving in the port was still inferior by a third compared to that which was recorded in the period between 1651-1655. In the period between 1661-1665 it did not pass more than 80% of the level prior to the plague.<sup>20</sup>

In comparison to the preceding century, the leading trade managers of Genoa did not record significant changes. The import of grain reached a peak in 1629 and in 1631, when they represented 40% of the incoming loads to the port, which then settled at 20-25% in the following twenty years.<sup>21</sup> The routes for Sicily and the Iberian Peninsula continued to be those most used and supplied the grain, wool, and silk trades. Trade with the Italian peninsula increased the role of ports in Puglia, where primarily grain and oil were loaded, and, above all, the arrival of ships from the port of Livorno increased, and which became, for Genoa, the main market for the supply of merchandise from the Levant.<sup>22</sup>

#### 4. LIVORNO: BETWEEN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE ATLANTIC

As Fernand Braudel and Ruggero Romano showed, the roots of Livorno's achievement of the 17<sup>th</sup> century have distant origins.<sup>23</sup> In fact, they go back to the reign of Cosimo, the first grand duke of Tuscany (1537- 1574), who introduced the political system to create a new economic center between Pisa and Livorno for the state. To initiate this project, two proclamations were released in 1547 and 1548, which favored the area's general population and especially the inclusion of new artisans from Pisa and Livorno, entrepreneurs, and vendors. Contemporarily, an impressive construction plan was sent out, necessary to improve the defense structure of Livorno, to render it more accommodating, to create new business infrastructure, and new connections inland.

To eliminate "...the disorder which results from the diversity of laws and orders..."<sup>24</sup> on March 16, 1566 a tax act was finally issued for a complete restructuring of customs regulations. In it, again there can already be seen a few elements characteristic of the free port regime which would be established by the end of the 1600s.

<sup>19</sup> E. GRENDI, *I nordici*, cit., pp. 48-57.

<sup>20</sup> C. COSTANTINI, *La Repubblica di Genova*, Turin 1986, p. 309.

<sup>21</sup> L. PICCINNO, *Economia marittima e operatività portuale. Genova sec. XVII-XIX*, Atti della Società di storia patria, Nuova Serie, vol. XL, fascicolo 1, Genoa 2000, p. 59.

<sup>22</sup> E. GRENDI, *La repubblica aristocratica dei Genovesi*, Bologna 1987, pp. 324-327.

<sup>23</sup> F. BRAUDEL, R. ROMANO, *Navires et marchandises à l'entrée du port de Livourne (1547-1611)*, Paris 1951, pp. 44-53.

<sup>24</sup> ASFI, *Auditore delle Riformazioni*, 118, cc. 70-99.

The city's modernization works continued under the guidance of Francesco I, Cosimo's successor until, following the changes in international equilibrium after Lepanto, and with the temporary interruption of the Atlantic route of pepper arriving in Antwerp from Lisbon, the prospect of the opportunity to make the new Tuscan port a central point for stocking and distributing the spices arriving from the East and West arose, to the detriment of Venice. In 1575, negotiations commenced with the sultan, to obtain confirmation of the business privileges which had been given to Florentine traders the century before. A year later, a diplomatic mission was sent to King Sebastian of Portugal to obtain the monopoly of the pepper trade.

This plan did not end well. Negotiations with Mohammed II were halted, relations with Spain worsened, the difficulties of Venetian businesses in the Levant were rapidly overcome, so much so that by the end of the century the Republic of San Marco returned to having control of the spice market and a predominance in the Mediterranean.

However, by the time of the death of Francesco I, the port had been expanded by the construction of a pier, large new warehouses for stocking goods, and new grain wells had been built. The city's walls had been completed and the ground-work for a city center began to take effect. Consequently, Livorno found itself in the best condition to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the international situation in the early 90s of the 16<sup>th</sup> century's. At the time, the Italian peninsula and many other Mediterranean countries suffered the consequences of the series of poor harvests which caused severe famines in 1590-1591, 1596, and again in 1600-1601. With great timing, on September 3<sup>rd</sup> 1590, Ferdinand I gave orders to stock up on grain in Poland, in Gdansk, in Hamburg, Holland, France, and England.

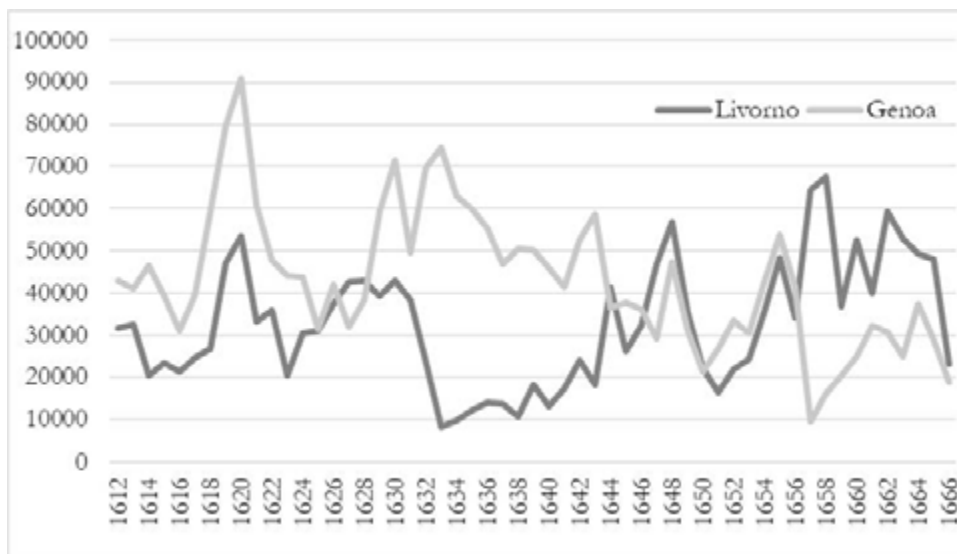
At the end of the 1500s, Livorno maintained interests not only with North West Europe. It had fairly close ties to the Ottoman Levant, especially Alexandria in Egypt, though as Braudel and Romano wrote, "...en définitive, Livourne elle-même est mal rattachée à la Mer Orientale. Pendant duze ans, en effect, de toute le Méditerranée à l'est de la Sicilie, elle n'aura reçu que quarante navires. Est-ce crainte de représailles à la suite de excès de la course toscane dans le Levant? Ou conséquence de la faillite des negotiations turco-toscane de 1577? En tout cas, la géographie et la conjoncture aidant, c'est vers l'Océan et ses valeurs montantes que Livourne se tourne."<sup>25</sup>

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the arrivals of sailing ships engaged in long haul trade started from relatively low levels, very similar to those found by Braudel and Romano at the end of the 1500s. They then began to become more frequent: from 1612 to 1666 they increased at an annual average rate of 8%.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> F. BRAUDEL, R. ROMANO, *Navires et marchandises*, cit., p. 44.

<sup>26</sup> R. GHEZZI, *Livorno e il mondo islamico*, cit., pp. 115-196.

Graph 2. Tonnage of merchant ships arriving at Genoa and Livorno, 1612-1666



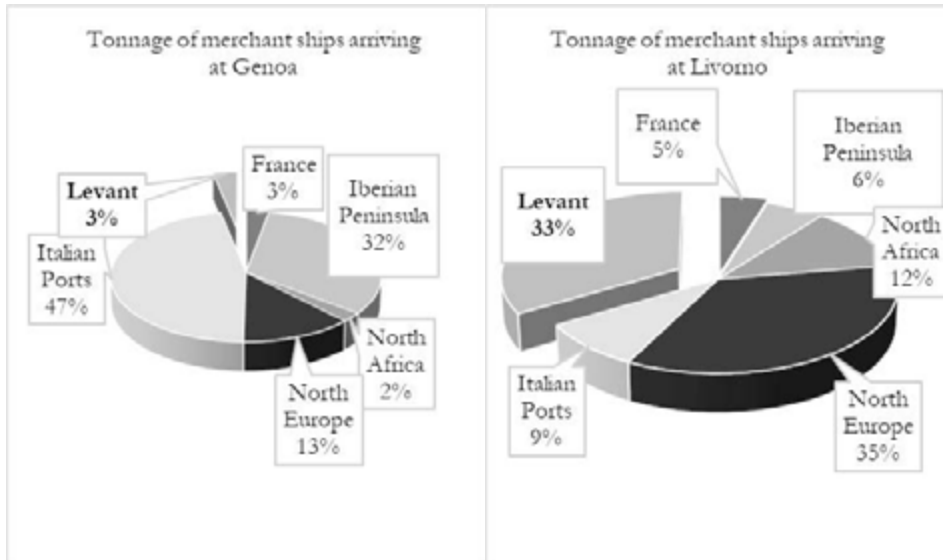
Sources: ASF1, *Ufficiali di Sanità*, 136-225; R. GHEZZI, *Livorno e il mondo islamico*, cit., pp. 19-111; E. GRENDI, *I Nordici*, cit., pp. 65-66.

Until 1650, the frequency of arrivals at Livorno was still noticeably inferior to that of the port of Genoa. From 1658 onwards, the comparison was reversed, and Livorno claimed primacy between the two ports. From 1658 to 1666 the documents related to the incoming merchant ships to Livorno were 2,359, with a total loading capacity equal to 429,962 tons. Those associated to the ships reaching Genoa were 1,833, with a total carrying capacity of 233,859 tons.

If we observe the ships' points of origin, the differences between the business activities of the two ports are quite evident.<sup>27</sup>

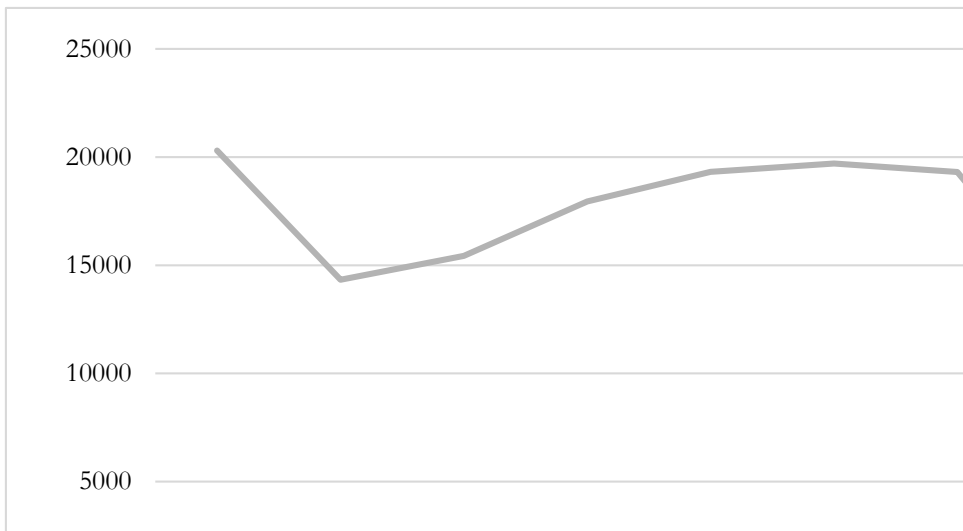
<sup>27</sup> Graph 3.

Graph 3. Tonnage of merchant ships arriving at Genoa and Livorno, 1658-1666



Sources: ASF, *Ufficiali di Sanità*, 209-225; R. GHEZZI, *Livorno e il mondo islamico*, cit., pp. 115-196; E. GRENDI, *I Nordici*, cit., p. 70.

Graph 4. Tonnage of merchant ships arriving from the Levant, 1658-1666

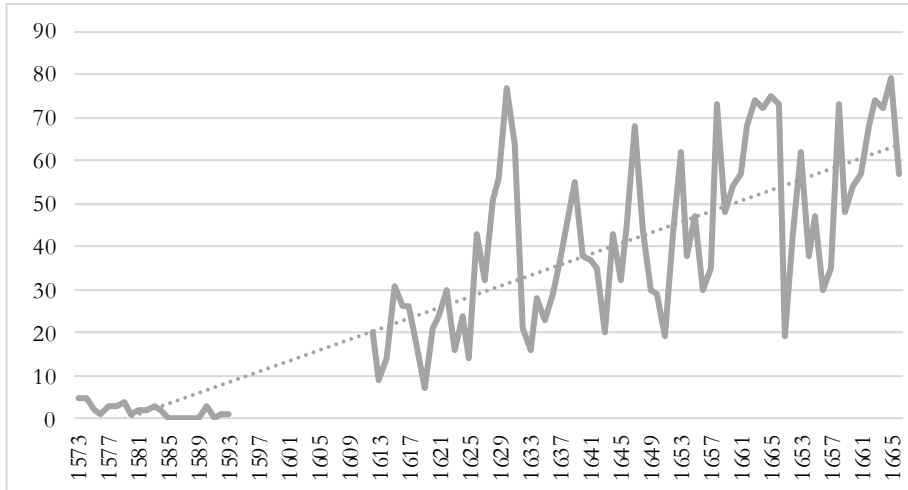


Sources: ASF, *Ufficiali di Sanità*, 209-225; R. GHEZZI, *Livorno e il mondo islamico*, cit., pp. 115-196; E. GRENDI, *I Nordici*, cit., p. 70.



As has been seen, while Genoa's businesses of the 1600s were definitely oriented towards the other Italian ports and the Iberian Peninsula, the *scale* of the Levant had an important role in the port business of Livorno. Thus, business between Livorno and the Eastern Mediterranean increased as the 17<sup>th</sup> century advanced.<sup>28</sup>

Graph 5. Merchant ships arriving at Livorno from the Levant, 1573-1666



Sources: F. BRAUDEL, R. ROMANO, *Navires et marchandises*, cit., pp. 43-44; R. GHEZZI, *Livorno e il mondo islamico*, cit., pp. 115-196; ASFI, *Ufficiali di Sanità*, 209-225.

It is significant that of the total of 7,729 ships registered by the officials of Livorno in the period 1612-1666, 4,531, or rather 59% of them, originated from the Ottoman Empire or from its vassal states. More precisely, 3,476 (the net majority) left from the ports of the Levant, while the role of North Africa in the trade system appears decidedly inferior.

The transport of merchandise from the Levant to Livorno was carried out by Atlantic type (ships or vessels) or Mediterranean boats. In both cases, the Tuscan merchant ships were in a net minority.<sup>29</sup>

Among the Mediterranean ships reported by the sources, French predominance was clear (80% of the cases). The Atlantic ships, which played a leading role in these deals<sup>30</sup> were, in the majority, English and Dutch.

<sup>28</sup> Graph 5.

<sup>29</sup> The Livorno shopkeepers were not, however, completely passive, rather they were direct participants in the expenditures for the construction of numerous ships. It can therefore be affirmed that Tuscany had its very own merchant fleet with a foreign flag.

<sup>30</sup> Overall, the Atlantic ships constituted 69% of those which arrived from the Levant in the period 1612-1666.

To deal with the competition and to control freight costs, the English gradually abandoned the armed merchant ships and entrusted their business in the Mediterranean area to smaller units with reduced crews, escorted, however, by war ships.<sup>31</sup> The first protected convoy arrived in Livorno on the 15<sup>th</sup> April 1651, after that date, arrivals followed regularly until 1666.

The convoys generally came from London or from the Southern English ports. At times, the English ships crossed the English Channel and the Atlantic Ocean by themselves or in small groups. Immediately after having passed Gibraltar, they made a stopover in a Spanish port to meet with other merchant and military ships which escorted them as far as Livorno.

On the extreme opposite side of the Mediterranean, the ports of departure for the English ships were Constantinople and, above all, Smyrna; only in a few cases, and in extreme circumstances, did the escorted convoys sail from Alexandretta and Saint John of Acre.<sup>32</sup>

The first Dutch war ships following the cargo ships arrived in Livorno as early as 1629. Also in this case, however, the practice of making a convoy of the merchant ships headed towards Livorno only became general practice after the first half of the century.<sup>33</sup> From 1612 to 1650 the *ufficiali di Sanità* registered the arrival of only one protected convoy; in the following period (1651-1666) 36 such arrivals were registered. Almost all, save rare exceptions, originated from two cities only: Amsterdam (20 arrivals) to the West, and Smyrna (14 arrivals) to the East.<sup>34</sup>

The insertion of Livorno on these routes<sup>35</sup>, and the reinforcement of ties with Anatolia constitute two of the most important new elements in the trade network that formed around the port of Livorno in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Thanks to this new geography of commerce, the scale of imports from the Levant began to grow again, reaching its peak around the 50s, then stabilizing with decidedly higher averages compared to those of the first half of the century.

## 5. THE LEADERSHIP OF VENICE

At the end of the 1400s, the prosperity of the port of Venice was founded on its supremacy in maritime trade with the Levant, and especially in that of the spice trade, originating from the Indian Ocean, through Syria and Egypt: the Venetian merchants controlled over 70% of European imports.<sup>36</sup> In the next century, the wars against the Ottoman Empire (1499-1503 and 1536-1540), had serious effects

<sup>31</sup> G. PAGANO DE DIVITIIS, *Mercanti inglesi nell'Italia del Seicento*, Venice 1990, pp. 59-72 e EADEM, *Il porto di Livorno tra Inghilterra e Oriente*, in "Nuovi Studi Livornesi", I, 1993, pp. 43-87.

<sup>32</sup> R. GHEZZI, *Livorno e il mondo islamico*, cit., pp. 41-65.

<sup>33</sup> From 1612 to 1650 only 3 Dutch war ships to arrived in Livorno accompanying merchant ships. In the second half of the century 119 arrived.

<sup>34</sup> R. GHEZZI, *Livorno e l'Atlantico. I commerci olandesi nel Mediterraneo del Seicento*, Bari 2011, pp. 99-105.

<sup>35</sup> P. MALANIMA, *I commerci del mondo nel 1674 visti da Amsterdam e da Livorno*, in *Ricerche di Storia Moderna IV in onore di Mario Mirri*, ed. G. BIAGIOLI, Pisa 1995, pp. 153-150, 165-166.

<sup>36</sup> F. C. LANE, *La marine marchande*, cit., pp. 7-32; M. O'CONNEL, *Venice: City of merchants or city for merchandise?*, in *The Routledge Handbook of Maritime Trade*, cit., pp. 103-120; D. ABULAFIA, *Il grande mare. Storia del Mediterraneo*, Milan 2013, pp. 436-441.

on the state finances, as well as causing the loss of strategic bases in Modone and Corone in Morea and the advancement of the Ottomans in Syria and Egypt, which marked a standstill in the economic growth for the Serenissima. Venice was able to overcome this situation however, by showing a great capacity to adapt in the face of an international trade system that was rapidly changing. Between 1540 and 1570 the Venetian merchant fleet doubled and in the last three decades of the century the port's business, also thanks to the contribution of foreign ships, reached its highest levels for the entire century.<sup>37</sup> The scarce quantitative data about the commercial activities of the port demonstrate this expansive tendency. Between 1582 and 1602 the customs revenues from business grew constantly, in particular the duty of 6%, which was applied to goods imported from the Levant, increased about three-fold. In the period 1586-1595, merchandise arrived at an average of 1,110 tons from the Dalmatian ports every year. From 1592 to 1595 imports from those areas at a yearly average of 1,700 tons.<sup>38</sup> The annual imports of oil from Candia and Puglia passed from 3,400 tons in the period from 1580 to 1585 to reach 5,000 tons in the years 1593-1598. Arrivals of cotton from Cyprus and Syria were, on average, around 1,700 tons annually, returning to the levels recorded at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>39</sup> Imports of raw silk from Syria were around 100 tons yearly between 1590 and 1595, and then around 150 tons in the following five years.<sup>40</sup> There is no existing continuous line to describe the development of the spice trade. There are no complete series of records that allow us to describe the evolution of the spice trade; various testimonials show, concordantly, that these trades returned to flourish. In this period, the Atlantic route became more difficult to sail for the Portuguese ships which became, after the union between Portugal and Spain, the targets for privateer attacks by the English and Dutch fleets. As a result the ancient caravan routes, which from Mesopotamia led all the way to the market-place of Aleppo, where the Venetian merchants held a preeminent role, enjoyed a revival in a historical period when their major rivals, the French, were penalized by religious wars and by the Franco-Spanish conflict.<sup>41</sup>

Contingent events played a role in determining the prosperity of Venetian trade at the end of the 1500s, but at the root of Venice's supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean was its close ties with the German market. The great textile industries of Ulm and Augsburg were big buyers of Ottoman cotton. Persian silk was greatly sought after by the manufacturers of Cologne, Frankfurt, and Nuremberg. An ulterior element of strength was constituted by the ability of Venetian merchants to export numerous products that were much in demand in the Ottoman markets. Some products were re-exports, such as German knives and

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<sup>37</sup> F.C. LANE, *Venetian Shipping During the Commercial Revolution*, in "The American Historical Review", 38, 1933, n. 2, pp. 219-239.

<sup>38</sup> D. SELLA, *Commerci e industrie a Venice nel secolo XVII*, Venice 1961, p. 2.

<sup>39</sup> IDEM, *Dal Rinascimento al Barocco. Economia e finanza*, in *Storia di Venice*, Treccani e-book on demand.

<sup>40</sup> Only a small part of the raw silk imported from the Levant was destined for Venetian manufacturers, the greater part was re-exported. IDEM, *Commerci e industrie*, cit., p. 2 e p. 112.

<sup>41</sup> F.C. LANE, *The Mediterranean Spice Trade: Further Evidence of its Revival in the Sixteenth Century*, in "The American Historical Review", 45, 1940, n. 3, pp. 581-590.

linens or English Kersey wool yarns, but the highest percentage of products which arrived in the Levant were made in Venice. Among these were finest wool cloths, silk fabrics, mirrors, glass, sugar and soap.<sup>42</sup>

The favorable situation was soon interrupted at the beginning of the following century. In the decade following 1602, according to data processed and deriving from anchorage tax revenues, the volume of traffic recorded in the port of Venice diminished by 40%. The drop accentuated around 1620, simultaneously with the economic crisis that affected all of Europe and, above all, the German market, which was damaged by the Thirty Years War (1618-1648).<sup>43</sup> In this period, Venice certainly suffered the effects of losing its primacy in the spice trade. This was a direct consequence of the definitive stabilization of the trade routes that circumnavigated Africa and The Cape of Good Hope by the English and the Dutch. The greater competition from the French, English and Dutch merchants brought about, furthermore, a reduction of trading spaces within the Mediterranean and especially in the Levant.<sup>44</sup>

The decline in arrivals of silk from Aleppo was drastic: in 1597 imports had reached 174 tons, in 1605 they fell to 52 tons, in 1613 to 37 tons, to then remain stagnant at these levels until the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

These trades, however, cannot be considered fully representative of the evolution of the businesses of the *Serenissima* in the Levant. If we move from the Adriatic to Livorno, we again find an analogous decline.<sup>45</sup>

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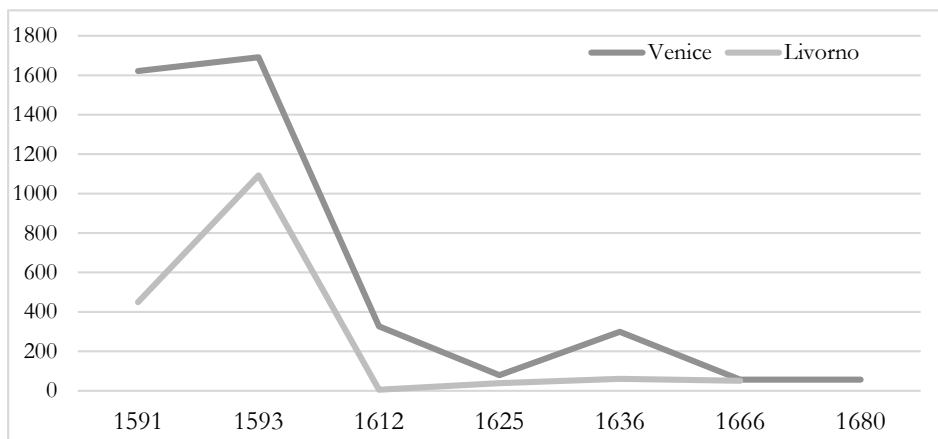
<sup>42</sup> The market of Aleppo alone took in over 6,000 pieces of fine wool cloths and 70,000 pieces of Venetian silk. D. SELLA, *Commerci e industrie*, cit., p. 13.

<sup>43</sup> F. C. LANE, *Storia di Venice*, Turin 1978, pp. 465-487.

<sup>44</sup> O. L. BARKAN, *Le déclin de Venise dans ses rapports avec la décadence économique de l'Empire Ottoman*, in *Aspetti e cause della decadenza economica Venicena nel secolo XVII*, Conference proceedings June 27 – July 2 1957, Venice 1961, pp. 275-279.

<sup>45</sup> Graphic 6.

Graph 6. Silk imports from Syria, 1591-1680



Sources: F. BRAUDEL, R. ROMANO, *Navires et marchandises*, cit., p. 43-44; D. SELLA, *Commerci e industrie*, cit., pp. 110-113; R. GHEZZI, *Livorno e il mondo islamico*, cit., pp. 231-281.

At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Aleppo was the largest trade market of the Levant.<sup>46</sup> Its fortunes were tied to its trade with Persia, from where the silk headed to Venice and Livorno came.<sup>47</sup>

The connections with the Orient were assured by the caravans that passed through the plains as far as Mosul, then followed the route of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers to Baghdad.<sup>48</sup>

During the lengthy conflicts between the Turks and the Persians (1589-1628) these trails became ever less secure: the recurrent passage of the troops heading to Persia from Aleppo caused increasing alarm to the merchants, while Baghdad, a hub of fundamental importance in trade with Central Asia and the Far East, was unsettled by the frequent armed encounters, passing into the hands of one army or the other, alternately.<sup>49</sup> The continuation of the conflict and the consequent climate of tension had strong repercussions on the Syrian ports, and the trade in Persian silk was further damaged by the increase of import taxes imposed by the Ottoman Empire. When the conflict finally ended, and Baghdad was definitively conquered by the Turks, trade with Persia took place with greater tranquillity once again.

In the meantime, however, the caravan routes had moved further North, over the roads leading to Smyrna. Furthermore, as a result of the agreements signed by Persia with Holland and England, silk also began to be sent towards the Indian

<sup>46</sup> F. BRAUDEL, *Civiltà e imperi del Mediterraneo nell'età di Filippo II*, I-II, Turin 1986, I, pp. 608-609 e P. MASSON, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1896, p. 371.

<sup>47</sup> P. MASSON, *Histoire du commerce français*, cit., p. 378.

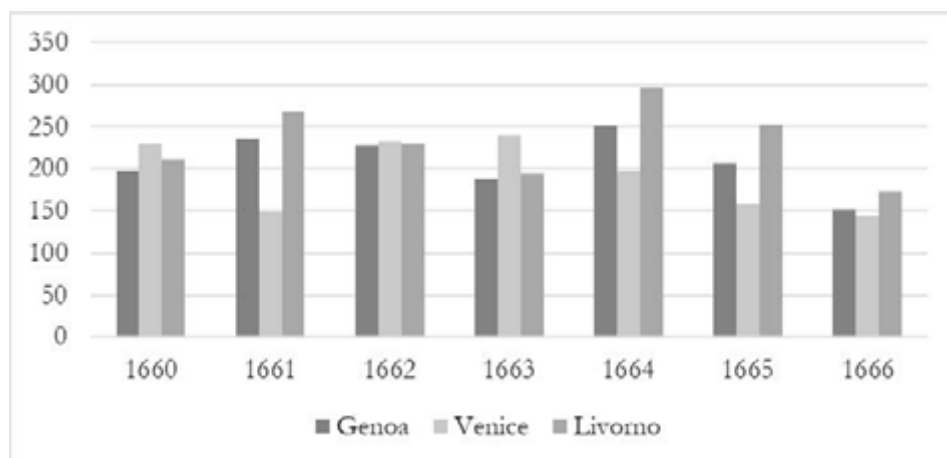
<sup>48</sup> Another route existed, which crossed the desert and led directly to Baghdad. This trail could only be taken once a year, after the rainy season, when the wells were full. R. PARIS, *Histoire du commerce de Marseille*, V, *De 1660 à 1789. Le Levant*, Paris 1957, p. 419.

<sup>49</sup> P. MASSON, *Histoire du commerce français*, cit., pp. 372-273.

Ocean, in exchange for drugs and spices.<sup>50</sup> Consequently, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, trade between Aleppo and the West slowed down.

Most representative of Venice's port activity in the 17<sup>th</sup> century is a document from the *libri di costituiti*, kept by the *Ufficio dei provveditori alla sanità*. It indicates the number and the origin of the ships arriving in the port of Venice between 1<sup>st</sup> March 1660 and February 28th, 1667.<sup>51</sup> The levels of incoming traffic to the Adriatic port are similar to those recorded, during the same period, for Genoa and Livorno: from the Eastern Mediterranean 291 merchant ships, principally originating from Constantinople and Smyrna (31% of the total) arrived in Venice. Traffic from the Levant accounted for 18% of the incoming port trade, a lower volume compared to that recorded in Livorno, where in the same time-span 461 merchant ships originating from the Levant (28% of the total) were recorded.

Graph 7. Merchant ships arriving in Genoa, Venice and Livorno, 1660-1666

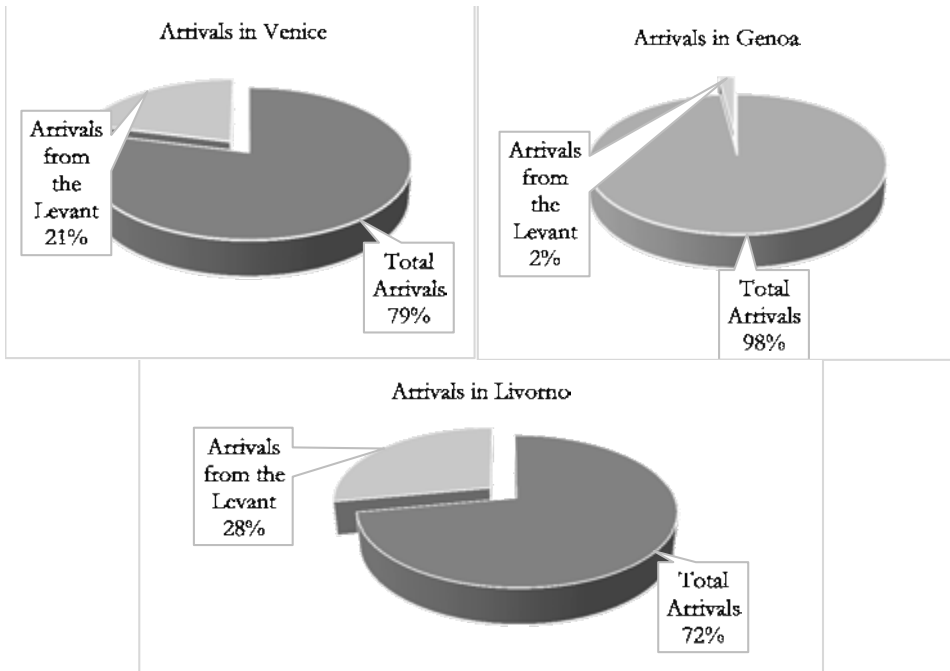


Sources: E. GRENDI, *Traffico portuale*, cit., pp. 593-638; ASFi, *Ufficiali di Sanità*, 210-220; ASVE, *Senato mar*, 575, Scrittura dei 5 savi alla mercanzia, 11 giugno 1670.

<sup>50</sup> P. MASSON, *Histoire du commerce français*, cit., p. 373.

<sup>51</sup> ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI VENEZIA (ASVE), *Senato mar*, 575.

Graph 8. Merchant ships arriving in Venice, Genova and Livorno, 1660-1666



Sources: E. GRENDI, *Traffico portuale*, cit., pp. 593-638; ASFI, *Ufficiali di Sanità*, 210-220; ASVE, *Senato mar*, 575, Scrittura dei 5 savi alla mercanzia, giugno 1670.

Limited to the period between 1658 and 1661, sources also provide some quantitative data concerning the merchandise which was effectively unloaded in Venice.<sup>52</sup> In the mid-1600s, Venice imported close to 22,500 tons of merchandise from the Levant (Dalmatia, Balkan regions, Greek islands, Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt), Livorno only 4,800 tons.

This data is only apparently surprising. In reality, it reflects the different roles played by the two ports in Mediterranean trading. Livorno essentially proved to be an international port for storage and exchange. The Northern merchant ships, which guaranteed most of its connections with Anatolia, Syria and Egypt, used Livorno as a midway stopover on longer voyages headed towards the Atlantic, where they carried the larger part of their cargoes.

Venice was not only a great emporium, that is, a place of intermediation in exchanges. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century it was still an active industrial center, capable of providing for its own trade network. In this exchange system, the regions of the Levant certainly had an important role, mainly because they were able to furnish

<sup>52</sup> Table 7.

many of the raw materials necessary to the manufacturers in Venice and on the Venetian mainland.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

Throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century international trade underwent progressive changes following the expansion of the Atlantic trade network, and the definitive assertion of the fleets of the United Provinces and England. In particular, the intensification of the routes circumnavigating Africa, rounding the Cape of Good Hope, allowed the Dutch and English to establish and consolidate direct contacts with the merchants of the Far East. This marked the inevitable decline of the role of intermediaries, held for centuries by the merchants of Venice and Genoa. The arrival of spices of Atlantic origin did not mean, however, the decline of the trade in the Mediterranean. According to the estimates of Ludwig Beutin, in 1634 the total amount of tonnage of the ships of the United Provinces engaged in the Mediterranean represented approximately one twelfth of the total volume of their entire merchant fleet and it was double that of the fleets involved in business with the East Indies.<sup>53</sup> Between 1663-1669, 48% of London's exports and re-exports were headed towards the Mediterranean. The quota destined for North America, the West and East Indies, was just 9%.<sup>54</sup>

As has been seen, the Atlantic ships had an important role in the port business of Genoa, though it was Livorno that gained greater advantages from their growing presence along the routes leading to Constantinople and Smyrna. Thanks to its port structures and its customs regulations, but also thanks to its geographical position, Livorno was able to consolidate its position in the network of great trade traffic between the Atlantic, the Italian peninsula and the Levant.

Nevertheless, in the mid-1600s, it was again Venice that attracted greater imports from the Ottoman countries. In the period 1658-1661, despite the negative effects of the long war of Candia (1644-1669), imports from the Levant constituted 60% of incoming goods passing through the port's customs.

Domenico Sella has underlined the importance of Venetian imports of raw Egyptian sugar in the first half of the 1600s,<sup>55</sup> a *Nota dei colli e mercanzie capitate da Levante l'anno 1680* lists numerous other goods arriving from the *scale*.<sup>56</sup> Among these were, above all, leather;<sup>57</sup> *bufalini* from Egypt, *vaccini* from Constantinople, *cordovani* and *vacchette* from Smyrna; wax, cotton and *galla* from Syria; wool, linen,

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<sup>53</sup> L. BEUTIN, *La decadence économique de Venise considérée du point de vue Nord-Européen*, in *Aspetti e cause*, cit., pp. 87-108, 92.

<sup>54</sup> C. WILSON, *England's Apprenticeship, 1603-1763*, London 1965, p. 162.

<sup>55</sup> D. SELLA, *Commerci e industrie*, cit., pp. 53-56.

<sup>56</sup> ASVE, *Senato mar*, 575, Scrittura dei 5 savi alla mercanzia, 11 giugno, 1670.

<sup>57</sup> The importance of leather in the *ancien régime* society was widely documented. J.H. PARRY, *Le vie dei trasporti e dei commerci*, in *Storia Economica di Cambridge*, IV, Turin 1975, pp. 178-252; D. SELLA, *Industrial raw materials in the import trade of northern and central Italy during the XVII<sup>th</sup> century*, in "The Journal of European Economic History", 33, 2004, n.1, pp. 59-70.



*zafferanone*,<sup>58</sup> and ashes from Alexandria, used in the production of glass. Finally, it is important to indicate that the decline of business with the Indies did not signify a break in trades crossing the Red Sea at all. From the port of Moka in Yemen products from Arabia, such as medicinal drugs, perfumes, and most of all rubber, used in the preparation of fabric dyes, continued to reach Cairo and therefore the Mediterranean.

## APPENDICES

Tab. 1. Tonnage of merchant ships arriving in Genova, 1537-1591

| Years | Total arrivals | Arrivals from the Levant | Years | Total arrivals | Arrivals from the Levant |
|-------|----------------|--------------------------|-------|----------------|--------------------------|
| 1537  | 23,777         | 667                      | 1568  | 28,733         | 0                        |
| 1538  | 24,301         | 572                      | 1569  | 30,210         | 1,286                    |
| 1539  | 28,781         | 858                      | 1570  | 25,016         | 0                        |
| 1541  | 27,828         | 1,239                    | 1571  | 25,111         | 762                      |
| 1543  | 35,928         | 667                      | 1572  | 20,156         | 572                      |
| 1544  | 30,639         | 1,048                    | 1573  | 18,679         | 429                      |
| 1545  | 22,348         | 0                        | 1574  | 36,786         | 381                      |
| 1546  | 24,683         | 1,763                    | 1575  | 27,065         | 191                      |
| 1548  | 37,929         | 2,382                    | 1576  | 24,778         | 0                        |
| 1550  | 21,871         | 8,910                    | 1577  | 19,203         | 476                      |
| 1551  | 22,681         | 10,197                   | 1578  | 30,353         | 667                      |
| 1552  | 32,307         | 13,008                   | 1579  | 32,116         | 286                      |
| 1553  | 42,075         | 1,239                    | 1580  | 6,671          | 286                      |
| 1554  | 37,119         | 3,002                    | 1581  | 25,826         | 429                      |
| 1556  | 33,927         | 3,526                    | 1582  | 26,017         | 0                        |
| 1557  | 23,253         | 3,145                    | 1583  | 21,585         | 0                        |
| 1558  | 26,446         | 8,100                    | 1584  | 24,683         | 0                        |
| 1559  | 37,262         | 2,764                    | 1585  | 26,779         | 0                        |
| 1560  | 25,683         | 667                      | 1586  | 14,819         | 0                        |
| 1562  | 19,346         | 95                       | 1587  | 22,443         | 0                        |
| 1563  | 27,637         | 858                      | 1588  | 32,545         | 953                      |
| 1564  | 30,639         | 572                      | 1589  | 24,301         | 0                        |
| 1565  | 19,727         | 0                        | 1590  | 30,925         | 0                        |
| 1566  | 21,585         | 572                      | 1591  | 32,307         | 0                        |
| 1567  | 27,065         | 0                        |       |                |                          |

Source: E. GRENDI, *Traffico portuale*, cit., pp. 593-638.

<sup>58</sup> Extracted from a plant that only grew along the Nile shores, it was used in the textile industry to produce a range of colors such as bright red and pale pink.

Tab. 2. Tonnage of merchant ships arriving at Genoa and Livorno, 1612-1666

| Years | Genoa  | Livorno | Years | Genoa  | Livorno |
|-------|--------|---------|-------|--------|---------|
| 1612  | 42,894 | 31,570  | 1640  | 45,841 | 13,203  |
| 1613  | 41,166 | 32,418  | 1641  | 41,394 | 17,298  |
| 1614  | 46,499 | 20,448  | 1642  | 52,746 | 23,913  |
| 1615  | 39,118 | 23,283  | 1643  | 58,688 | 18,243  |
| 1616  | 30,920 | 21,393  | 1644  | 36,552 | 41,238  |
| 1617  | 39,564 | 24,543  | 1645  | 37,576 | 26,118  |
| 1618  | 59,421 | 26,748  | 1646  | 36,053 | 32,103  |
| 1619  | 79,682 | 47,223  | 1647  | 29,058 | 46,908  |
| 1620  | 90,896 | 53,523  | 1648  | 47,412 | 56,988  |
| 1621  | 60,782 | 33,048  | 1649  | 31,419 | 35,568  |
| 1622  | 47,728 | 35,883  | 1650  | 21,130 | 22,338  |
| 1623  | 44,100 | 20,448  | 1651  | 26,640 | 16,353  |
| 1624  | 43,797 | 30,528  | 1652  | 33,528 | 22,023  |
| 1625  | 31,298 | 31,158  | 1653  | 30,274 | 24,228  |
| 1626  | 41,857 | 37,458  | 1654  | 42,568 | 35,568  |
| 1627  | 31,785 | 42,498  | 1655  | 53,999 | 48,483  |
| 1628  | 38,199 | 42,813  | 1656  | 41,391 | 33,993  |
| 1629  | 59,327 | 39,348  | 1657  | 9,283  | 64,548  |
| 1630  | 71,412 | 42,813  | 1658  | 16,107 | 67,698  |
| 1631  | 49,526 | 38,403  | 1659  | 20,281 | 36,828  |
| 1632  | 69,770 | 23,598  | 1660  | 24,788 | 52,578  |
| 1633  | 74,571 | 8,163   | 1661  | 32,145 | 39,978  |
| 1634  | 62,933 | 9,738   | 1662  | 30,595 | 59,193  |
| 1635  | 60,077 | 12,258  | 1663  | 24,895 | 52,893  |
| 1636  | 55,497 | 13,833  | 1664  | 37,306 | 49,428  |
| 1637  | 46,943 | 13,518  | 1665  | 28,837 | 48,163  |
| 1638  | 50,486 | 10,683  | 1666  | 18,905 | 23,203  |
| 1639  | 50,103 | 18,243  |       |        |         |

Sources: ASF1, *Ufficiali di Sanità*, 136-225; R. GHEZZI, *Livorno e il mondo islamico*, cit., pp. 19-111; E. GRENDI, *I Nordici*, cit., pp. 65-66.

Tab. 3. **Tonnage of merchant ships arriving at Genoa and Livorno from the Levant, 1658-1666**

| Years | Genoa |                     | Livorno |                     |
|-------|-------|---------------------|---------|---------------------|
|       | tons  | % of total arrivals | tons    | % of total arrivals |
| 1658  | 672   | 4.17                | 20,307  | 29.99               |
| 1659  | 1,270 | 6.26                | 14,332  | 38.91               |
| 1660  | 766   | 3.09                | 15,435  | 29.35               |
| 1661  | 1,239 | 3.85                | 17,955  | 44.91               |
| 1662  | 325   | 1.06                | 19,320  | 32.63               |
| 1663  | 630   | 2.53                | 19,708  | 37.26               |
| 1664  | 1,008 | 2.70                | 19,316  | 39.07               |
| 1665  | 1,533 | 5.31                | 12,415  | 25.77               |
| 1666  | 0     | 0                   | 6,296   | 27.13               |
| Total | 7,443 | 3.18                | 145,084 | 33.74               |

Sources: ASF, *Ufficiali di Sanità*, 209-225; R. GHEZZI, *Livorno e il mondo islamico*, cit., pp. 115-196; E. GRENDI, *I Nordici*, cit., p. 70.

Tab. 4. Merchant ships arriving at Livorno from the Levant, 1573-1666

| Years | Arrivals | Years | Arrivals | Years | Arrivals |
|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|
| 1573  | 5        | 1610  |          | 1647  | 68       |
| 1574  | 5        | 1611  |          | 1648  | 44       |
| 1575  | 2        | 1612  | 20       | 1649  | 30       |
| 1576  | 1        | 1613  | 9        | 1650  | 29       |
| 1577  | 3        | 1614  | 14       | 1651  | 19       |
| 1578  | 3        | 1615  | 31       | 1652  | 43       |
| 1579  | 4        | 1616  | 26       | 1653  | 62       |
| 1580  | 1        | 1617  | 26       | 1654  | 38       |
| 1581  | 2        | 1618  | 17       | 1655  | 47       |
| 1582  | 2        | 1619  | 7        | 1656  | 30       |
| 1583  | 3        | 1620  | 21       | 1657  | 35       |
| 1584  | 2        | 1621  | 24       | 1658  | 73       |
| 1585  | 0        | 1622  | 30       | 1659  | 48       |
| 1586  | 0        | 1623  | 16       | 1660  | 54       |
| 1587  | 0        | 1624  | 24       | 1661  | 57       |
| 1588  | 0        | 1625  | 14       | 1662  | 68       |
| 1589  | 0        | 1626  | 43       | 1663  | 74       |
| 1590  | 3        | 1627  | 32       | 1664  | 72       |
| 1591  | 0        | 1628  | 51       | 1665  | 75       |
| 1592  | 1        | 1629  | 56       | 1666  | 73       |
| 1593  | 1        | 1630  | 77       | 1651  | 19       |
| 1594  |          | 1631  | 64       | 1652  | 43       |
| 1595  |          | 1632  | 21       | 1653  | 62       |
| 1596  |          | 1633  | 16       | 1654  | 38       |
| 1597  |          | 1634  | 28       | 1655  | 47       |
| 1598  |          | 1635  | 23       | 1656  | 30       |
| 1599  |          | 1636  | 29       | 1657  | 35       |
| 1600  |          | 1637  | 38       | 1658  | 73       |
| 1601  |          | 1638  | 45       | 1659  | 48       |
| 1602  |          | 1639  | 55       | 1660  | 54       |
| 1603  |          | 1640  | 38       | 1661  | 57       |
| 1604  |          | 1641  | 37       | 1662  | 68       |
| 1605  |          | 1642  | 35       | 1663  | 74       |
| 1606  |          | 1643  | 20       | 1664  | 72       |
| 1607  |          | 1644  | 43       | 1665  | 79       |
| 1608  |          | 1645  | 32       | 1666  | 57       |
| 1609  |          | 1646  | 45       |       |          |

Source: F. BRAUDEL, R. ROMANO, *Navires et marchandises*, cit., pp. 43-44; R. GHEZZI, *Livorno e il mondo islamico*, cit., pp. 115-196; ASFI, *Ufficiali di Sanità*, 209-225.

Tab. 5. Silk imports from Syria, 1591-1680 (tons)

| Years | Venice   | Livorno  |
|-------|----------|----------|
| 1591  | 1,622.00 | 450.00   |
| 1593  | 1,692.00 | 1,093.00 |
| 1612  | 327.60   | 6.06     |
| 1625  | 80.00    | 39.27    |
| 1636  | 300.00   | 60.61    |
| 1666  | 57.00    | 51.10    |
| 1680  | 57.00    | 0.00     |

Sources: F. BRAUDEL, R. ROMANO, *Navires et marchandises*, cit., p. 43-44; D. SELLA, *Commerci e industrie*, cit., pp. 110-113; R. GHEZZI, *Livorno e il mondo islamico*, cit., pp. 231-281.

Tab. 6. Merchant ships arriving in Genoa, Venice and Livorno, 1660-1666

| Years | Genoa          |                          | Venice         |                          | Livorno        |                          |
|-------|----------------|--------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|
|       | Total arrivals | Arrivals from the Levant | Total arrivals | Arrivals from the Levant | Total arrivals | Arrivals from the Levant |
| 1660  | 197            | 4                        | 230            | 45                       | 211            | 54                       |
| 1661  | 236            | 5                        | 149            | 40                       | 267            | 57                       |
| 1662  | 228            | 3                        | 232            | 47                       | 229            | 68                       |
| 1663  | 188            | 3                        | 240            | 43                       | 195            | 74                       |
| 1664  | 251            | 4                        | 198            | 46                       | 296            | 72                       |
| 1665  | 207            | 7                        | 157            | 32                       | 252            | 79                       |
| 1666  | 151            | 0                        | 144            | 38                       | 173            | 57                       |
| Total | 1,458          | 26                       | 1,350          | 291                      | 1,623          | 461                      |

Sources: E. GRENDI, *Traffico portuale*, cit., pp. 593-638; ASF, *Ufficiali di Sanità*, 210-220; ASVE, *Senato mar*, 575, Scrittura dei 5 savì alla mercanzia, giugno 1670.

Tab. 7. Imports from the Levant, 1658-1661 (tons)

| Years | Goods shipped to Venice | Goods shipped to Livorno |
|-------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1658  | 5,564.51                | 1,799.82                 |
| 1659  | 6,061.65                | 1,405.83                 |
| 1660  | 5,341.84                | 603.41                   |
| 1661  | 5,557.67                | 1,011.35                 |
| Total | 22,525.67               | 4,820.41                 |

Sources: ASF, *Ufficiali di Sanità*, 210-220; R. GHEZZI, *Livorno e il mondo islamico*, cit., pp. 115-196; ASVE, *Senato mar*, 575, Scrittura dei 5 savì alla mercanzia, 11 giugno, 1670.