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**'SEGMENTED TRADE'. MERCHANTS, MERCANTILE PRACTICES AND MERCANTILISM BETWEEN TRIESTE, THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA AND THE ATLANTIC OCEAN IN THE XVIII CENTURY\***

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*ABSTRACT: The emergence of the current globalisation phase and, at the beginning of the 21st century, the outbreak of systemic crisis, have compellingly propelled spatial themes to the forefront of historical debate once again. In this framework, the paper focuses on the trade and economic relationships between Trieste, Mediterranean and Ocean. The essay particularly analyses the Trieste merchants' strategies and the role of Trieste in the global trade networks hierarchizing and linking the various economic areas. The paper's goal is highlight the relationships, interconnections and proximity in global network connections and in the relationships between centres and peripheries. It was within the context of these relationships and complex hierarchies that the port of Trieste and the merchants based there became centre stage players in the 18th century trade circuits.*

**KEYWORDS:** Trieste, Mediterranean, Ocean, Trade, Globalizations, Mercantile Practices, XVIII Centuries, Merchants, Space.

**'COMMERCIO SEGMENTATO'. MERCANTI, PRATICHE MERCANTILI E MERCANTILISMI TRA TRIESTE, IL MEDITERRANEO E L'OCEANO NEL XVIII SECOLO**

*SOMMARIO: L'avviarsi della attuale fase di globalizzazione e, all'inizio del XXI secolo, l'esplosione della crisi sistemica hanno nuovamente imposto i temi spaziali al centro del dibattito tra gli storici. In questo quadro, l'articolo si incentra sul commercio e le relazioni economiche esistenti tra Trieste, il Mediterraneo e l'Oceano. In particolare lo studio analizza le strategie dei mercanti di Trieste e il ruolo assunto dalla città nei circuiti globali del commercio che gerarchizzavano e legavano le diverse aree economiche. L'articolo, inoltre, mira ad evidenziare il ruolo rivestito dalle relazioni, interconnessioni e prossimità all'interno delle connessioni globali e delle relazioni che connettevano i centri e le periferie. All'interno dell'ordito di tali complesse gerarchie e densi legami, il porto di Trieste e i mercanti attivi in città diventarono attori importanti nei circuiti mercantili del XVIII secolo.*

**PAROLE CHIAVE:** Trieste, Mediterraneo, Oceano, Commercio, Globalizzazione, Pratiche mercantili, XVIII secolo, Mercanti, Spazi.

\* State Archives of Venice = Sav; Cinque Savi alla mercanzia = Savi; Inquisitori di Stato = Inquisitori; State Archive of Trieste = Sat; Intendenza commerciale = Intendenza; Dispacci degli ambasciatori al Senato = Dispacci.

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## 1. Peripheries, practices, networks

The emergence of the current globalisation phase and, at the beginning of the 21st century, the outbreak of systemic crisis have propelled spatial themes to the forefront of historical debate once again. At the same time, the crisis of Fordism and of 19th-20th century capitalism itself has questioned the certain and fixed fordist borders between states, society and production and the fordist spatial homogeneities and hierarchies. These new scenarios has opened up the potential for new hypotheses and points of view, casting doubt on winning models, hierarchies and theological readings.

In this context, 'periphery' and 'global' are apparently contradictory spatial concepts. They allow analyses based on a dense reading of the relationships existing between them to be constructed. The two concepts also require us to face up the questions posed by their possible meanings and uses. In fact, the word 'periphery' frequently conjures up predominantly vertical hierarchical relationships; for example sometimes it is hypothesized the existence of a North Atlantic, modernising and civilising centre organising and regulating the peripheries, including the Mediterranean and southern and eastern Europe, depicted as backward and marginal. In this way, objective, modern, winning institutions and practices are juxtaposed with backward practices and institutions hinging on personal relations and destined to failure. Moreover, this dissemination and disciplining process has frequently been made to coincide with the dissemination of the capitalist economy characterised by the affirmation of natural and objective laws<sup>1</sup>.

In the face of this top-down reading, the historical world has juxtaposed the spatial readings of Fernand Braudel and Immanuel Wallerstein based on economic world concepts. According to this point of view, centre and periphery are linked by complex functional systemic relationships; it is still a hierarchical system, but one determined by interconnections and reciprocal influences. Furthermore, a systemic

<sup>1</sup> M. Fusaro, *Maritime History as global History? The methodological challenges and a future research agenda* and R. Grafe, *Turning maritime history into global history. Some conclusions from the impact of globalisation in early modern Spain*, in M. Fusaro, A. Polonia (eds.), *Maritime History as Global History*, IMEHA, St. John, Newfoundland, Canada, 2010, pp. 267-282 and pp. 249-266; D. Acemoglu, S. Johnson, J.A. Robinson, *The rise of Europe. Atlantic trade, institutional change, and economic growth*, «American Economic Review», 95 (2005), pp. 546-79.

vision can foster more dynamic approaches to spatial hierarchies and this can be especially useful in taking on globalisation processes<sup>2</sup>.

In fact the word 'globalisation' does not necessarily indicate solely an expansion of a center or of a functioning model on the world's surface and/or the unification of the various parts making up the world. It can, above all, be read as an indication of a phase in which interconnections and relationships take primacy over borders and territories. Furthermore, the quality of these inter-connections should not be evaluated on the basis of distance but rather on the basis of proximity which, in globalisation phases, varies in accordance with technological developments, too. From this perspective the 18th century and the period from 1973 onwards would seem to be comparable both in terms of the primacy of globalization processes and in terms of the overlapping of diverse globalization hypotheses and the way these clash with other spatial hypotheses based on borders and territories<sup>3</sup>. Attention to spatial expansion processes generates a tendency to favour visions based on the dissemination of a centre and a modernising and/or hierarchizing model. For example, in our own day, many readings identify commercial expansion as a tool in this dissemination. At the same time 18th century trading companies are seen as the forerunners of today's multinational and transnational firms and thus agents in modernity. Thus the centre's objective and functional practices are seen as determinant elements in its success as compared to the marginal, personalised and backward practices of the peripheries<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> F. Braudel, *La dinamica del capitalismo*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1981; I. Wallerstein, *Il concetto di spazio economico, Appendice*, in Id., *Il Capitalismo storico*, Einaudi, Torino, 1985, pp. 91-107.

<sup>3</sup> The debate on the times, ways and phases of globalization is very wide and still ongoing (A.G. Hopkins, *Globalization in World History*, Pimlico, London, 2002; J. O. Jürgen Osterhammel, Niels P. Petersson, *Storia della globalizzazione*, Il Mulino, Bologna 2005). In the context of this debate, nineteenth-century globalization is sometimes referred to as the first globalization. In any case, it develops in parallel with the affirmation of imperialist policies and modern nations. For this reason it appears to be very different and not easily comparable with that of the eighteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> N. Robins, *The Corporation that Changed the World: How the East India Company Shaped the Modern Multinational*, Pluto Press, London, 2006; D.C. North, *Institutions, Transaction Costs, and the Rise of Merchant Empires*, in J.D. Tracy (ed.), *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 22-40; E.L.J. Coornaert, *European Economic Institutions and the New World: the Chartered Company*, in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, IV, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1967, pp. 200-274; E. Erikson (ed.), *Chartering Capitalism: Organizing Markets, States, and Publics*, Emerald Group Publishing, Bingley, 2015; R. Suddaby, W.M. Foster, A.J. Mills, *Historical Institutionalism*, in M. Bucheli, D. Wadhvani (eds.), *Organizations in time: History, Theory, Methods*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014, pp. 100-123.

A focus on relationships, interconnections and proximity, seen in a systemic way, by contrast, brings out alternative hypotheses. It is not a question of denying differences in power, wealth and social and economic development. However, in a context characterised by these differences in availability of material and immaterial resources, relationships and interconnections do not take the form of encapsulation or rigidly hierarchical geographies but rather of dense, complex and multi-directional relationship flows. Extreme global network connections require rigid compliance between all points on the network. Free or non-compliant spaces are impossible because these would modify the functioning mechanisms of the system as a whole requiring a rapid search for equilibrium. The role of the peripheries is this. They are never passive objects but play a central role in global equilibria and they are places of government of societies and economies. Such interactions are, as we have seen, determined by real proximity rather than geographical distance. This is one of the elements which made the seas and waters an especially significant element in the 18th century as places where states' theoretical and weak mercantilism clashed with the mechanisms and practices of the goods, money, people and know-how networks. It was via this proximity that the peripheries were globalised, becoming part of circuits which connected up sea and land.

Furthermore, as regards proximity, it should also be underlined that, in the 18th century, government was still a matter of face-to-face contact chains. As a consequence of this, and of the technological tools and available commercial techniques, the practices which characterized global trading networks were closely interconnected to each other. New hypotheses can thus be put forward on the practices of those who played a centre stage role in these networks. In fact, if we avoid falling into the teleological narrative trap, from a Mediterranean point of view the differences tend to disappear. Trading techniques, flag fraud, contraband, the functioning of the trading companies, merchant practices, exclusion and breaking the law: all these would seem to have been widespread and common to the various points on the trading networks, unifying Mediterranean and Oceanic waters. It is for this reason that comparisons and 'global' readings must begin with the concrete material and social contexts in which norms and practices which evaded and broke the law were located, avoiding resorting to teleological and model based narratives<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> A. Crespo Solana, *Legal Strategies and Smuggling Mechanisms in the Trade with the Hispanic Caribbean by Foreign Merchants in Cadiz: the Dutch and Flemish Case, 1680-1750*, «Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas / Anuario de Historia de América Latina», 47 (2010), pp. 181-314; R. Escobedo, *Sospechosos Habituales: contrabando de*

It was within this context that the port of Trieste and the merchants based there became centre stage players in the 18th century trading circuits which linked continental and eastern Europe, the Levant and the Mediterranean with the Atlantic ocean and the lands around it.

## 2. The birth of the free trade ports

Trieste was a Hapsburg port in the Adriatic located at the point at which the Adriatic makes contact with the European continent, not far from Venice. As early as the 17th century it began connecting the Mediterranean with continental and eastern Europe, thus linking up two different areas in climatic and geographical terms: West and East. These areas also possessed different goods in type and quality terms and it was this which was the basis for Trieste's 18th century growth<sup>6</sup>.

A long historiographical tradition linked Trieste's development to the mercantilist policies of the Hapsburgs, according to which the city and its port were an 'artificial' product of the action of the Vienna court and its development dates to 1717 and 1719, when two edicts by Charles VI of the Hapsburgs made it a free trade port. However, the documentary sources are open to a range of interpretations and some of these indicate a diverse trajectory for Trieste's development, without denying the role and importance played by Hapsburg policies<sup>7</sup>.

*tabaco y comerciantes extranjeros en los puertos españoles*, in M.B. Villa Garcia, P. Pezzi Cristobal (eds.), *Los Extranjeros en la España moderna*, Junta de Andalucía, Malaga, 2013, pp. 313-323; W. Farrell, *Smuggling Silk into Eighteenth Century Britain: Geography, Perpetrators, and Consumers*, «Journal of British Studies», 55 (2016), pp. 268-294; *Moralités marchandes dans l'Europe Méditerranéenne au XVIIIe siècle: institutions, appartenances, pratiques*, «Rives Méditerranéennes», 49 (2014); B. Salvemini, *Negli spazi mediterranei della "decadenza". Note su istituzioni, etiche e pratiche mercantili della tarda età moderna*, «Storica», 51 (2011), pp. 7-51; B. Salvemini, R. Zaugg (eds.), *Frodi marittime tra norme e istituzioni (secc. XVII-XIX)*, «Quaderni Storici», 143/2 (2013); D. Andreozzi, *Croissance et économie licite, illicite et informelle à Trieste au XVIIIe siècle*, in M. Figeac-Monthus, C. Lastécouères (eds.), *Territoires de l'illicite: ports et îles. De la fraude au contrôle (XVIe - XXe s.)*, Armand Colin, Paris, 2012, pp. 173-87; D. Andreozzi (ed.), *Mediterranean doubts. Trading Companies, Conflicts and Strategies in the Global Spaces. XIV-XIX Centuries*, New Digital Press, Palermo, 2017.

<sup>6</sup> R. Finzi, G. Panjek (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste*, I, *La città dei gruppi, 1719-1918*, Lint, Trieste, 2001; R. Finzi, L. Panariti, G. Panjek (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste*, II, *La città dei traffici*, Lint, Trieste, 2003; D. Andreozzi, *Il peso delle parole. Linguaggi di esclusione e linguaggi di inclusione nella storia di Trieste*, in R. Scarciglia (ed.), *Trieste multiculturale. Comunità e linguaggi di integrazione*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2011, pp. 13-38.

<sup>7</sup> D. Andreozzi, *«La gloria di un dilatato commercio». L'intrico delle politiche e lo sviluppo di Trieste nell'Adriatico centro settentrionale (1700-1730)*, «Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines», 127-1 (2015).

On one hand, the Venetian Serenissima Republic considered the presence of military ships belonging to other powers in a part of the Adriatic it considered under its control to be illegitimate and, on the other, it subjected the Adriatic trading routes to mercantile policies, considering trade which did not directly link production sites with Venice as contraband and seeking to regulate access to the Po River, as gateway to the Po valley markets, and the Adige River, as a cross-Alpine route. In this way it aimed to safeguard Venice's role as North Adriatic monopolistic hub. From at least the mid-17th century, however, this situation was in profound transformation. Venice's ability to control the sea was significantly weakened and an important role in Adriatic trade was being played by the small and medium sized Adriatic and Mediterranean ports<sup>8</sup>.

Within the framework of changes in route and goods hierarchies, the marine communities of these ports breathed life into a dense trading network characterised by cabotage and triangular trade. To the north, the Po and Adige estuaries were the linchpins in this network. Heavy and basic goods - above all food and agricultural products such as cereals and oil - guided the logic of this trade. In this context, traders fostered Trieste's growth, bringing it into their circuits also in an attempt to protect themselves from the Serenissima Republic's legal claims. They also espoused the trading cause and worked for the declaration of a free trade port at the Viennese Hapsburg court and bureaucracy. One of the most important results of the edicts issued in 1717 and 1719 by Charles VI was precisely to give these sea traders the chance to defend themselves against the trading constraints imposed by Venice. Trieste became the port of choice on these circuits. The centre stage players on these sea trading routes and the men and women who came to Trieste to assess the opportunities offered by the free port promoted the growth of the port and city. Their role was especially important both in the initial, still fluid and unstable phases and in the 1730s and 40s when the Vienna court lost interest in the city, focusing its attention on the European wars it was embroiled in.

This meant that the roots of Trieste's growth in this period were especially in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean space. However, contacts

<sup>8</sup> M. Costantini, "Sottovento". *I traffici veneziani con la sponda occidentale del basso e medio Adriatico*, «Proposte e ricerche», 49 (2002), pp. 7-22; S. Ciriaco, *Olio ed ebrei nella Repubblica veneta del '700*, Deputazione di storia patria, Venezia, 1975; D. Andreozzi, «Qual generazione di Fiera si pensi di introdurre». *Spazi dei commerci e pratiche dei mercanti a Trieste e nel Litorale austriaco nei primi decenni del Settecento*, in D. Andreozzi, L. Panariti, C. Zaccaria (eds.), *Acque, terre e spazi di mercanti: Istituzioni, gerarchie e pratiche dello scambio dall'età antica alla modernità*, Trieste, 2009, pp. 113-139.

with the Atlantic were taking place. Ships carrying northern European flags began, however infrequently, to dock at Trieste's port from the Atlantic, though generally not directly but only after having stopped at other Mediterranean ports too<sup>9</sup>. Merchants based in Trieste began bringing in goods from the Atlantic, sometimes to send them on to central Europe, connecting up Levant goods with those from the continent. Later, Hapsburg trading policies centred on creating chartered companies, building further, still fluid and unstable contacts. In the twenties the Ostend Company and the Oriental Company were set up. The former's objective was to manage trade between the section of the Low Countries ruled over by Charles VI and India and China and the latter with the Ottoman Empire, with headquarters in Trieste and Vienna<sup>10</sup>. The Ostend Company got off to an outstanding start but was disbanded in 1732 in response to demands by and protests from other European powers. The Vienna court thus attempted to transfer its capital and skills to Trieste. The Oriental Company story, on the other hand, was a much more chequered one and its activities largely ceased in around the 1730s. Attempts to transfer the Ostend Company's capital were equally unsuccessful and its activities did not go beyond the Mediterranean. However its existence put Trieste in contact with the Imperial and European financial worlds and with Antwerp in particular and the Proli financial group which was based there. This latter built a network of bonds and interests which turned out to be important to the building of relationships with the Atlantic in the second half of the century<sup>11</sup>.

### 3. The free port takes shape

At the end of the 1740s Empress Maria Theresa of the Hapsburgs' power stabilised and the international situation settled down. This enabled the Viennese court to turn its attention to Trieste once again

<sup>9</sup> Sav, Savi, s. II, 6, p. I, 16 December 1723 and 8 and 22 February 1724.

<sup>10</sup> Sav, Inquisitori, 254, 30 June 1728.

<sup>11</sup> G. H. Dumont, *L'épopée de la Compagnie d'Ostende: 1723 – 27*, Cri, Bruxelles, 2000; M. Huisman, *La Belgique commerciale sous l'Empereur Charles VI. La Compagnie d'Ostende. Etude historique de politique commerciale et coloniale*, Henri Lamertin-Picard, Bruxelles-Paris, 1902; M. Wanner, *The Ostend Company as phenomenon of international politics in 1722-1731*, «Prague Papers on the History of International Relations» (2006), pp. 29-63; M. Wanner, *The establishment of the General Company in Ostend in the context of the Habsburg maritime plans 1714-1723*, «Prague Papers on the History of International Relations» (2007), pp. 33-62; G. Bussolin, *Della imperiale privilegiata compagnia orientale nel secolo scorso e del Lloyd austro-ungarico nel secolo presente. Studio storico*, L. Herrmanstorfer, Trieste, 1882; D. Andreozzi, *Mediterranean doubts* cit., pp. 65-87.

and relaunch its development objectives there. In so doing it took account of the role played by the mercantile class which had consolidated its presence on the Trieste market. The provenance of these merchants was diverse (the Italian peninsula, continental and northern Europe, the Levant and the Balkans) as was their religion (Orthodox Christian, Jewish, Catholic, Protestant). In these years this class built an initial shared community of opinion based on capitalisation needs which required all contributions to be taken on board and, at the same time, the first rudimentary forms of market closure to outside forces to be enacted. The mercantile class, the Viennese court, international financial circuits, the aristocracy and the great imperial bureaucracy, sea traders and the peripheral bureaucracy located in the city: these were the main players in emporial Trieste's development and its bonds with the Atlantic<sup>12</sup>.

While Trieste free port began to develop its identity in the 1750s, the elements which began to link it more closely to the Atlantic was the increasingly dense nature of the 'segmented trade network', i.e. trade relating to only one sector of an overall trade route, the increase in numbers of ships arriving from north-west European states and two products in particular, Maria Theresa's thalers and cereals<sup>13</sup>.

Rudolf Chotek was a «high born knight», Maria Theresa's influential court chancellor, finance minister and head of Vienna's city bank. He was also president of the commerce directorate, the body entrusted with Trieste development policies. In January 1752, while he was working for Trieste's economic relaunch, Chotek expressed himself in favour of the coining of a new currency, against the wishes of other members of the Imperial Court and bureaucracy. As the empire's imports from the Ottoman empire were much greater than its exports, the only way this trade could be made possible was by allowing currency to leave the empire given that 'Turks' and 'Greeks' were willing to accept thalers on payment of a premium (paying a higher

<sup>12</sup> C. Gatti, *Uomini e politiche nella Trieste del Settecento*, in R. Finzi, G. Panjek (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste*, I, *La città dei gruppi, 1719-1918*, LINT, Trieste, 2001, pp. 359-380. D. Andreozzi, «Comincia a prendere il nome». *Growth and Urban Development in Trieste at the time of Maria Theresa*, in D. Andreozzi, L. Mocarelli (eds.), *The Empress Cities: Urban Centres, Societies and Economies in the Age of Maria Theresia von Habsburg*, EUT, Trieste, 2017, pp. 101-123.

<sup>13</sup> In this essay 'segmented trade' means a trade that could be divided into spatial and operational segments. Global merchants controlled the entire goods circuit. Instead, other merchants limited themselves to controlling only one segment of the overall routes and they only acted in this segment. 'Segmental routes' mean merchant routes that could be segmented into operational and spatial segments. On this G. Corazzol, *Cineografo di banditi sullo sfondo dei monti. Feltre 1634-1642*, Edizioni Unicopli, Milano, 1997. Corazzol refers to the timber trade in the Republic of Venezia.

price than its original value). This indicated the usefulness of coining a currency whose use outside the empire's borders would be free and specific to this purpose, making it simply goods, an 'objectum commercii'. This is how Maria Theresa of the Hapsburg's thaler was born, one of the most important trading currencies, a silver 'trade dollar'. From the mid to the late 18th century, it made its way around the world from the starting point of the Hapsburg Empire and Trieste to the Ottoman empire, the North African coast, the Persian Gulf via Suez, India, Asia, the Red Sea and East Africa. It was used in trade and monetary circulation<sup>14</sup>.

Count Johann Fries was Chotek's ally in this project. From a patrician family from Mühlhouse, in Swiss Alsace, Fries built his career on financial services to the Hapsburg court, becoming a first rank exponent of Vienna's financial markets. Chotek and Fries had strong bonds with the Proli group. Fries was assigned responsibility for the thaler's trading monopoly with the Ottoman Empire<sup>15</sup>. The preferred trade route was the sea route via Trieste while use of the land routes was banned although probably with limited success. In these years the imperial thaler was minted at the Viennese mint, at Günzberg in Bavaria and Hall in the Tyrol and from 1751 to 1760 around 9 million coins were minted and a further 17 million from 1761 to 1766. The thaler did not link Trieste to the Atlantic only for certain of the routes on which it was transported. In fact, the bulk of these thalers were not coined with silver from the imperial mines but rather from silver arriving from international financial and monetary circuits and via the reminting of coins melted down for this purpose. Many of these came from the Americas. In this way Trieste became a central linchpin in global trade, contributing to balancing payments between the various parts of the world and bringing Ottoman Empire, Asian and Chinese products westwards<sup>16</sup>. From 1766 to 1769 thaler trading was partly liberalised. In Trieste and Vienna there were thaler deposit warehouses. Coins had to be accompanied by a 'passport', registered and sealed and then a certificate that export had taken place obtained<sup>17</sup>. Fries maintained trading control but export rights were assigned to a pool of banks located in Venice, Genoa, Livorno and

<sup>14</sup> Sav, Inquisitori, 1265, 14 March 1750. M.M. Fischel, *Le Thaler de Marie-Thérèse. Etude de Sociologie et d'Histoire économique*, Marchal, Dijon, 1912; A.E. Tschogl, *Maria Theresa's Thaler: a case of international money*, «Eastern Economic Journal», 27/4 (2001), pp. 443-461; P.G.M. Dickson, 1740-1780, vol. I, *Society and Government*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987.

<sup>15</sup> P.G.M. Dickson, *Finance and Government under Maria Theresia* cit., pp. 172-178.

<sup>16</sup> M.M. Fischel, *Le Thaler de Marie-Thérèse* cit., pp. 5-6, 69-70 and 200.

<sup>17</sup> Sat, Intendenza, 585, 31 March e 19 April 1769.

Marseilles. Trieste's strong relationship with these markets were guaranteed by contacts, some of which were personal, via the important trading and financial company Brentano Cimaroli and Venino, one of whose head offices was in Trieste, and Pasquale Ricci. Ricci was a Livorno native who had come to the city in 1750-1. One of the most important members of the Hapsburg bureaucracy resident in Trieste, he was interested in the most profitable of the city's business activities, despite the fact that this was theoretically banned<sup>18</sup>.

Cereals were a further strategic product of importance to Trieste's trade, including its oceanic trade. Sailing with full cargoes was fundamentally important to keeping transport costs down and guaranteeing safety at sea. Costs and profits were calculated according to the overall make up of loads which frequently travelled with small quantities of valuable goods such as coins, jewels and luxury goods in such a way as to conceal these and enable them to be used as contraband<sup>19</sup>. Cereals from Styria, Carinthia, Hungary and the Banat of Temeswar were thus key to Trieste port's functioning. From the mid-1750s onwards, the city's customary trade was supplemented by that resulting from new imperial policies<sup>20</sup>. To strengthen the border with the Ottoman Empire, the Viennese court decided to populate the Banat of Temeswar with colonisers who were to be entrusted with forming a peasant militia responsible for defence. It was an area in which the important house of Perlas was influential with the latter having attempted to use its significant real estate possessions to launch development projects from the early 18th century onwards. To fund this militia it was decided to support trade in cereals and other agricultural products through Trieste<sup>21</sup>. In the second half of the eighteenth century, exploiting the cereal circuits of

<sup>18</sup> G. Felloni, *Gli investimenti finanziari genovesi in Europa tra il Seicento e la restaurazione*, Giuffrè, Milano, 1971. D. Andreozzi, *Respectabilité et confiance au travers de la norme et de la fraude. Le cas de Trieste au XVIII siècle*, in *Moralités marchandes dans L'Europe méditerranéenne au XVIII siècle: institutions, appartenances, pratiques*, «Rives Méditerranéennes», 49 (2014), pp. 81-98.

<sup>19</sup> F. Galiani, *Dialoghi sul commercio dei grani*, Editori Riuniti, Roma, 1978.

<sup>20</sup> Sat, *Intendenza*, 357, 20 and 31 March and 19 July 1762.

<sup>21</sup> B. Landais, *Habsburg state and the local Orthodox elite. The case of the Banat of Temesvár (1750-1780)*, in H. Heppner, E. Posh (eds.), *Encounters in Europe south east. The Habsbourg Empire and the Orthodox world in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries*, Verlag, Bochum, 2012, pp. 109-120; H. Petric, *The navigation and trade agreement of 1718 and Ottoman Orthodox merchants in Croatia and the military border* in C. Ingroo, N.N. Samardžić, J. Pešaly (eds.), *The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718*, Purdue University Press, Indiana, 2011, pp. 179-189 (180-181); W. Klinger, *La Guerra di Successione spagnola e le origini dell'emporio di Fiume (1701-1719)*, «Atti, Centro di Ricerche storiche di Rovigno», XLIV (2014), pp. 63-85.

the Mediterranean and continental Europe, the merchants from Trieste traded wheat and flour to the Ocean and the Americas. Cereals became an important element of the ties that united Trieste to the Atlantic. The Proli group was protagonist of this trafficking and many of those involved in trade in thalers were key players in the cereals trade, too, such as count Cothek, Ricci and the Brentano, Cimaroli and Venino company<sup>22</sup>.

#### **4. Mediterranean segments and practices**

It was around these elements that the trading network centring on Trieste grew, assuming marketplace dimensions.

Merchants from Greek and Ottoman Levant, Malta, Dubrovnik, Dalmatia, France, Portugal, England, Holland, Flanders, Switzerland, Denmark, the Kingdom of Naples and the Papal States, the Veneto, Chioggia and Pellestrina, Sicily and Livorno reached Trieste in the 1750s. The ports and areas with the densest trade were in the Levant, in Italy, on the eastern Adriatic coast but there were also ports situated along the European Atlantic coasts and along the North Sea: Lisbon, Cadiz, London, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Marseilles, Morea, Missalunga, Izmir, Candia, Ulcinj, Shkodër, Durrës, Bar, Rijeka, Bakar, Barletta, Trapani, Ancona, Goro (a natural port created from by sea rip currents at the Po estuary, key to Italian and Swiss markets access), Naples, Messina, Livorno, Genoa and Senigallia. And this within a dense flow of intersecting trade made up of trade now evading Venetian vetoes with terminals in the empire's inner areas, in continental Europe: Vienna, Hungary, Carinthia, Styria and Bohemia. The goods traded were silk, wools, cottons, linens, hats, oil, wine, citrus, rice, cereals, vegetables, garlic, legumes, cheese, German barley, raisins, almonds, figs, drugs, sugar, cocoa, pepper, cinnamon, vanilla, coffee from Alexandria, salt from Barletta and Trapani, salted and dried fish (such as herrings, stockfish and salmon), liqueurs, rosolio, soap, pasta, wax, colourful Brazilian woods, potash, sulphur, tin, cream of tartar, rock alum, arsenic, mercury, Bohemian glass, iron and copper (raw and worked such as Carinthian nails, scythes, shovels, iron wire, pans, knives, brooches), arms, deer horn and tortoise shell<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Sav, Savi, 756, 25 April 1778, 757, 1 January and 22 September 1781 and 759, 20 October 1785 and 6 April 1786.

<sup>23</sup> Sav, Inquisitori, 903; 1265, 10 November 1753; 618, 1 June 1754; Savi, s. I, 843, s. I, 17 October and 16 December 1752.

As these trade flows gradually gathered pace and expanded, the bonds between Trieste and the Atlantic Ocean became denser.

In 1765, for example, two Trieste merchants brought bulls in from Hungary, butchered them, salted the meat and sent them on to Marseilles. In 1768 they began sending them to the Americas too. In the 1750s trade in potash, used in the textile industry, had developed and potash produced in the empire's inland areas and in Venetian Istria was imported into Trieste<sup>24</sup>. There was even a sort of war for control of this trade between merchants located in Trieste and the imperial land owning aristocracy and it was principally sent to England from where it went on to the Americas too. It soon became one of the most sought after goods by Northern European ships in Trieste and was fundamental in filling up these ships. In the early 1760s, following on from increases in this trade, the Viennese court attempted to make money by raising the customs duties on potash but this had the opposite effect. The English merchants began making it in Northern Europe and also in the Americas but the quality of these was much lower and merchants thus returned to Trieste where it was now in short supply. In 1778, two merchants, one in Genoa and the other in Verona, asked permission to launch potash production in Trieste in order to introduce it into this trade<sup>25</sup>.

The Trieste merchant class was primarily successful in 'segmented trade', attempting to take control of intermediate sections on trading circuits and Mediterranean ones in particular in order to strengthen the port's intermediary role between East and West, Mediterranean and continental Europe and the oceans. In this way the port became a linchpin in global trading networks. Trieste's merchants thus attempted to replace ocean going ships guaranteeing trade from the west of colonial products with their own ships, sailing to load up these goods in other Mediterranean and European ports where they arrived in larger quantities and more easily. To shore up this strategy Trieste suggested customs policies to Vienna in 1770 – modelled on the English Navigation Act of 1651 – designed to guarantee superiority for goods loaded onto Trieste ships over both those travelling by land and those transported on 'foreign' ships. To beat the competition for Western goods, merchants requested customs reductions of over 50% for goods loaded onto ships sailing under the imperial flag where these were sailed directly «by the original states» meaning «those European

<sup>24</sup> Sat, Intendenza, 363, 134 and 137.

<sup>25</sup> Sav, Savi, 754, 11 August 1773 and 756, 25 May 1778; Inquisitori, 619, 12 February 1757.

states which, while they do not produce these goods, receive them from their plants in Asia, Africa and America»<sup>26</sup>.

In the 1770s and 80s intersecting 'segmental routes' linked up Trieste port, and through this to continental and eastern European markets, with the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, the northern European seas and global goods circuits. Key players were the English ports London and Portsmouth, and Hamburg, Amsterdam, French oceanic ports such as Le Havre, Nantes and Bordeaux, Lisbon, Cadiz and Mediterranean ports such as Marseilles, Livorno, Messina, Dubrovnik, Ancona and Goro. These routes were dominated by Hapsburg, English, Dutch, Swedish, French, Venetian, Papal State, Neapolitan, Genoese and Dubrovnik ships. These ships sometimes sailed directly to Trieste from their port of origin but frequently the journey involved multiple stages. Trading logics took account of price differentials and ease of trade which were fundamentally important in reducing costs due to difficulties in grouping goods together with consequent lengthy waiting times in the port in relation to overall travel costs. Thus load make up - which varied at each stage - responded to the complexity of overall trading mechanisms rather than the profitability of each single type of goods. Loads were sometimes owned by Trieste based merchants, sometimes merchants living elsewhere which, in some cases, used local contacts to sell or send their goods on<sup>27</sup>.

Official data is mainly unreliable as a result of the frequency of contraband and tax avoidance and in any event trading logics get lost in analyses of aggregate data<sup>28</sup>. However, the identity and provenance of the ships arriving at Trieste port from 1785 to 1786 and the composition of the cargoes in its hold give us an overview of this

<sup>26</sup> Sat, Intendenza, 281-288, 30 April 1770.

<sup>27</sup> Sav, Savi, I. s, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760.

<sup>28</sup> In 1782 the Hapsburg authorities estimated the value of the imports from the French ports in 480,000 florins and value of the exports in 177,000 florins. Almonds, coffee, sugar and indigo came from these ports and the Trieste merchants traded verdigris, tobacco, skins, canvases, potash and wheat towards them. Goods that were imported from Hamburg amounted to 62,000 florins (sugar, tin, fish oil, lead, pepper and cod) and the export amounted to 264,000 florins (tobacco, grapes, rice, oil, tobacco, potash, licorice and fruits). The value of exports to Spain was 61.300 florins, to Holland 87,300, to England and Flanders 2,739,000. The cargo of the ships coming from Trieste encompassed Levant drugs, oil, potash, rice, silk, tea, and raisins (SAV, Inquisitori, 181, *Stato del commercio di Trieste del 1782*). On the inaccuracies of the state estimates on the Trieste trade see D. Andreozzi, "La segretezza degli affari suoi". *Commerci, regole e reati a Trieste nella seconda metà del '700*, in «Quaderni Storici», 143 (2013), pp. 467-496. The mercantile class and the peripheral bureaucracy sent to Vienna false news on the trades of Trieste and on the economic situation to maximize their profits and avoid the control of the center.

network and the mechanisms which structured trade. At the same time they also tell us about the goods which shored up the identity and role of the Trieste marketplace. On 2nd June 1785 a ship from the Papal States moored at the port having set sail from Ancona with sugar and pepper as did an English ship with a cargo of ginger and orpiment, sugar and wood from Brazil and a French ship from Marseilles carrying coffee, cocoa and sugar. On the 18th and 24th of the same month two ships docked, both sailing under the imperial flag: one from Le Havre carrying sugar and the other from Lisbon carrying salt and sugar. On the 26th a French ship from Marseilles arrived carrying coffee, cocoa, sugar and pepper. On 7th July a ship sailing under the Dubrovnik flag arrived having left from Cadiz and stopped at Genoa, Palermo, Messina and Dubrovnik. Its cargo encompassed wood from the Americas, sugar, jalap, cocoa, vanilla, pepper, lemons, lamb and fox skins and linen oil. That same day a Genoese ship which had left from Genoa and stopped at Livorno and Messina came to Trieste with a cargo of lamb skins, almonds, oil, cloth, drugs, cocoa, sugar, wool, sweets, coffee, cotton, jalap, pepper, porcelain, lemons and wood from Brazil. That same month, on the 28th, a Dutch ship which had left from Amsterdam arrived at the port having stopped in Ancona carrying sulphur, sugar, timber, dyes and pepper. If we change year and month, the situation is the same. In March 1786 a ship sailing under the Danish flag, from Bordeaux and having stopped at Cadiz reached Trieste with a cargo of coffee, American cotton, wine, cocoa, indigo and jalap. On 23rd August a Danish brigantine sailed from Hamburg with a cargo of fish oil, sugar, canvas, coffee, arsenic, porcelain, paper, clay pipes, wood from Brazil and pens for writing with<sup>29</sup>.

Further examples would be pointless. Trade focusing on Trieste was the outcome of the interweaving of all these 'segmental routes' which are apparently chaotic but actually followed a certain logic in the overall make-up of trade. It is a logic which was further complicated by the fact that the goods arriving in Trieste were not simply of diverse eastern and western provenance but also by the fact that the same goods came from these areas at different qualities and prices, depending on year, production trends and geo-political situation. This was the case, for example, with potash, cereals, coffee, cotton, sugar and tobacco. In 1778, when the American War of Independence broke out, an Antwerp company linked to Trieste merchants purchased coffee, sugar, drugs and American wood to trade with Hungarian

<sup>29</sup> Sav, Savi, I s., 759, 1785-1786.

tobacco to send westwards to replace the Virginia tobacco which was, at that moment, in short supply<sup>30</sup>.

It was precisely the war which revealed the close interlocking relationships which existed between the 'segmental routes' which Trieste fitted in to and Atlantic trading. The combatants sought to safeguard their military interests and, at the same time, facilitate trade as of key importance to their economies. Immediately the neutral flags of the Hapsburg Empire, Venice, the Kingdom of Naples and Genoa replaced those of combatant nations «in the trade of the whole Mediterranean» and, in particular, the wealthy and strategic trade of the «Turkey Company», the chartered English company which managed trade with the Ottoman Empire and, in 1781, that managed by the Dutch in Turkey and Egypt<sup>31</sup>. Moreover, the role of the neutral flags was not limited to the Mediterranean routes but also linked these seas with the Atlantic circuits, first and foremost those which led to Europe's Atlantic ports and the northern seas as well as the Americas. Thus not only did the Hapsburg flag reach Lisbon and Cadiz - the gateways to the American continent - but it could also sail directly to the Spanish, English and Dutch colonies, on the strength of its allegiance to the League of Armed Neutrality<sup>32</sup>. Alongside the ships, moreover, the rivalry triggered by the search for crew between commercial, military and pirate ships led to Mediterranean seamen looking for employment on the more lucrative Atlantic routes<sup>33</sup>. Thus the presence of Mediterranean ship-owners, captains and seafarers on these routes prompted practice standardisation.

Furthermore, during the American War of Independence more ambitious attempts were made, on the strength of the neutral flag, to connect the port of Trieste to the Atlantic world. From 1775 to 1785 Anglo-Dutchman William Bolts founded and directed a chartered company set up to trade with the East Indies and China. Many factors bound this company to the Atlantic: the provenance of its founder who

<sup>30</sup> Sav, Savi I s., 758, 25 April 1778. In the Eighties the French, Swedish, Spanish, Danish, Dutch, English and Russian consuls resided in Trieste (Sav, Savi, 755, 19 February 1780 and 758, 21 April 1787).

<sup>31</sup> Sav, Dispacci, Inghilterra, 130, 22 May, 26 June and 25 December 1781. R. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution. Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1563*, Verso, London-New York, 2003; M. Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations, 1661-1807: Commerce and Diplomatic Practice in Eighteenth Century Istanbul*, The Boydell Press, Rochester, New York, 2017; D. Andreozzi, *Strategie neutrali. Stati, commerci e neutralità tra Mediterraneo e Oceani nella seconda metà del '700*, in D. Andreozzi (ed.), *Attraverso i conflitti. Neutralità e commercio fra età moderna ed età contemporanea*, Eut, Trieste, 2017, pp. 75-96.

<sup>32</sup> Sav, Savi, 695, Lisbona, 8 October 1782; Dispacci, Spagna, 181, 30 January 1781.

<sup>33</sup> Sav, Dispacci, Londra 131, 14 May 1782.

was a former employee of the English East Indies Company, the banking group Proli of Antwerp who was its primary sponsor, the fact that its foundation in Trieste also served to evade the ban imposed by the European powers on trade with Ostend. The company underwent complex corporate vicissitudes and disputes between Bolts and the Proli and went into bankruptcy in 1784<sup>34</sup>. Since the mid-1750s the Proli family had owned a sugar factory in Rijeka, the Adriatic's other Hapsburg free port, and a trading company - the Privileged Company of Trieste and Rijeka - interested in sugar trade in Guadeloupe and the Antilles<sup>35</sup>.

Flemish Giovanni Ignazio Verpoorten, one of the company's directors, founded a new company in Trieste with capital of four million florins acquired in the markets of Vienna, Antwerp, Amsterdam and London, too. His objective was to trade with North America and he planned to import sugar from Guadeloupe, Carolina and other American colonies. In 1784 he opened a branch in Marseilles and in 1785 in Baltimore<sup>36</sup>. To this was added a new trading company with North America. In August 1785 the Trieste Gazette announced that Ambrogio Strohlendorf and captain George Simpson, a Scotsman with experience in oceanic travel to the Americas, had joined forces with Domenico Balletti, financier of a company set up to trade with Egypt, and Carlo Maffei, to create a company trading in this area called the Austrian-American Company, after having completed two trial voyages to Philadelphia and demonstrated that direct trade with America could generate considerable profits and grow in volume. The capital involved

<sup>34</sup> W. Bolts, *Racueil de pieces autentiques, relative aux affaires de la ci-devant Société Impériale Asiatique de Trieste gerées à Anvers*, Anvers 1787; M. Wanner, *William Bolts and Società Imperiale Asiatique de Trieste 1781-1785*, «Prague papers on History of International Relations» (2004), pp. 57 -73; B.M. Gough, R.J. King, *William Bolts: An Eighteenth Century Merchant Adventurer*, «Archives: The Journal of British Records Association», 112 (2005), pp. 8-28; N.L. Hallward, *William Bolts, A Dutch Adventurer under John Company*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1920; D. Andreozzi, *Mediterranean Doubts* cit., pp. 69-77.

<sup>35</sup> Sav, Savi, 585, 22 November 1750. W. Bolts, *Racueil de pieces autentiques* cit., pp. 6-9; W. Markov, *La compagnia asiatica di Trieste (1775-1785)*, «Studi storici», 2 (1961), pp. 5- 6. In 1780 the Proli group planned to start up a new East Indian Company in Trieste with a capital of 7 million florins provided by English, France and Flemish investors (Sav, Savi, 757, 8 January 1780).

<sup>36</sup> Sav, Savi, 755, 22 January 1775; K.G. Zinzendorf, *Europäische aufklärung zwischen Wien und Trieste. Die Tagebücher des gouverneurs Karl Graf Zinzendorf 1776 – 1782*, Vol. 4, edited by G. Klingenstein, E. Faber, A. Trampus, Böhlau, Wien-Köln-Weimer, 2009, 103/2, 43, 43-44, 27 September 1777; W. Markow, *La compagnia asiatica di Trieste* cit., pp. 5-6 and 25; A. Tamaro, *Fine del Settecento a Trieste. Lettere del barone P. A. Pittoni (1782-1801)*, «Archeografo Triestino», LIV-LV (1942-43), 26 April and 12 May 1782.

amounted to 500,000 florins subdivided into one thousand 500 florin shares. The four men were to have been the firm's directors and hold at least 20 shares each. The shareholders' meeting was scheduled to take place in Trieste and 10 shares entitled shareholders to vote with a maximum of 20 votes per participant and the potential for shareholders to join forces to gain the right to take part in the meeting. Non Trieste resident shareholders could appoint a representative but the person chosen could not be directly or indirectly involved in trade with the Americas. The duration of the company was fixed at 15 years which could be renewed by the assembly and shares could be sold or exchanged directly during this time. To safeguard shareholders, the directors could not trade independently with the Americas and, if they resigned from the firm, they could not take part in such trade for three years. Directors were assigned 2% of the total value of all voyages undertaken, a sum which was to have been spilt up into equal parts. Every year, starting from the second as a result of the length of the journey, a balance sheet was to be completed and profits, minus expenses, were to be divided up equally between shareholders. Simpson was entrusted with material management of trade and, to this purpose, he to leave shortly for the American markets<sup>37</sup>.

In the wake of changes following on from renewed peace, all three companies failed from 1785 to 1787<sup>38</sup>. In these years, however, the involvement of the Trieste mercantile classes in the Atlantic did not diminish thanks to the new technical tools available and changes in the economy. In fact they were involved in financial markets and, via these, in international trade thanks to the role played by trading and seafaring companies' shareholders and financiers in global circuits and also thanks to their growing role in maritime insurance<sup>39</sup>. The gazettes which circulated in the city supplied information relating to money and share values, trends in the world's main stock exchanges, investment options, goods' prices, harvest and production trends, weather and geopolitical events, shipwrecks and the arrival of the most important ships at the various geographical areas. Information was not simply a

<sup>37</sup> Sav, Savi, I s., 759, 3 and 11 August 1785; Inquisitori, 181, 23 August 1785, Gazzetta di Trieste, «Prospetto di una nuova compagnia di commercio per l'America settentrionale». Sav, Savi, I, 759, 3 August 1785 e 26 February 1786. ASV, Inquisitori, 518, 7 May 1786.

<sup>38</sup> Sav, Savi, I s., 759, I, 4 November 1786 and 28 July 1787.

<sup>39</sup> For example, Trieste shareholders invested in the Imperial East Indian Company shipping between China, India and North America (R.J. King, *Heinrich Zimmermann and the Proposed Voyage of the Imperial and Royall Ship Cobenzell to the north West Coast in 1782-83*, «The norther mariner/le marin du nord» XXI (2011), pp. 248-262).

precious good in terms of competition in the financial and trading markets but also a fundamentally important factor in insurance field success. Trieste's geographical location and ability to find a place for itself in the Mediterranean 'segmental trade routes' allowed it to gain an absolutely front rank role in information control<sup>40</sup>.

## 5. The emporium

The global trade was a fluid and strictly interconnected whole, despite the existence of principal ports and predominant powers made up also of an ultra-dense interweaving of 'segmental routes' covering a single sector of the long journeys undertaken by goods on their way to their final market destinations. These 'segmental routes' interacted with overall goods routes, integrating and intersecting these and, at the same time, they were in competition with these. Trieste was part of a dense network of 'segmental routes' and its mercantile class was made up primarily of sector based firms. Global trade was also the sum of trade segments and these were capable of determining the system's overall equilibria. Thus all the players involved in this 'segmented trade' and the way they interacted with the wider networks were key elements in global trade. The circulation of its key players, the way trade worked, the available technology and intersecting routes led to practice standardisation in both trade management and mercantile company management. Behaviours such as contraband, evasion and breaking the law, disputes between partners, financial and accounting irregularities, flag fraud, identity ambiguity and fluid crew make-up: these can thus not be attributed to backward and marginalised peripheries<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Sav, Savi, 760, I s., *L'Osservatore triestino*, 17 and 21 May 1788; for example, in the May 17 issue there were reports of arrivals in the ports of Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Hamburg and London. Then there was news about the performance of the shares at the London Stock Exchange, the wars, the actions of piracy, and the news, arrived from Copenhagen, of the shipwreck of a ship on the shores of Bengal. The control of the 'segmental routes' made the circulation of news faster because of the reduction in waiting times in the ports. 'Segmental routes' multiplied opportunities. In fact, at the intersection of the 'segmental routes', the news was not entrusted to the fate, times and objectives of a single ship. The news could choose the most convenient ship, the one that sailed faster, which had more direct routes or that met the best winds.

<sup>41</sup> From this point of view, these practices were not marginal and residual. They were an integral part of the global traffic mechanisms. Around this argument, obviously, the debate is very lively. As an initial moment, see D. Andreozzi, *Mediterranean Doubts*, cit., pp. IX-XVII; *Moralités marchandes dans l'Europe Méditerranéenne au XVIIIe*, cit.; B. Salvemini, R. Zaugg (eds.), *Frodi marittime tra norme e istituzioni (secc. XVII-XIX)*, cit.; D.

As a result of these mechanisms, by the 1790s the physiognomy of the Trieste emporium was a consolidated one as was its role in global trade. It was a physiognomy which was summed up for Trieste in the mid-1790s in *Il Mentore perfetto dei Negozianti* [*The perfect mentor for traders*], or «sure guide for the same and instructions to facilitate their speculation and make them less uncertain». Underlying this was the port's ability to act as linchpin in the circulation of goods which varied in quality, price and type between diverse geographical areas and, above all for the purposes of this essay, between the Atlantic Ocean and continental and eastern Europe. Thus the Trieste emporium was described by contemporaries as «the most essential communication marketplace between east, west, Italy, Germany and other kingdoms in northern Europe». From Trieste «part of the goods coming from the sea route pass along the Ljubljana road in the Caesarean Hereditary States, Germany and Hungary and part by the Gorizia and Villach roads through Innsbruck and Salzburg in the Empire, Switzerland and others that way. The goods reaching it by land are sent all around the Adriatic, the Mediterranean, the east and the rest to the west»<sup>42</sup>. The port continued to be popular not only with Mediterranean flags, but also by those sailing under Atlantic and northern European flags such as English, Dutch, French, Danish and Swedish ships. From the port goods from Portugal and Spain, Italy, the Mediterranean coast of Africa, the Levant, England, Holland, the East Indies and the Americas were sent to central Europe and the Empire<sup>43</sup>.

The *Mentore*, lastly, lists the prices and principal characteristics of the goods passing through the port most frequently. In some cases, when the differences were such as to require specific classifications, the part these played in Atlantic circuits was expressively referred to. A rapid and incomplete list examining these latter goods alone gives an idea of the complexity of Trieste's trade and the atmosphere at the port's quay and warehouses. Alum, white lead, dyes, camphor, paper, clay, wood, pepper, minium, ammonia, sugar, tin, tamarind, vitriol and cardamom came in from England. White lead, cheese, cinnamon, camphor, paper, fish gelatin, minium, pepper, tamarind, tea and sugar

Andreozzi, *Croissance et économie licite, illicite et informelle*, cit. pp. 173-87; S. Olgivie, "Whatever is, is Right"? *Economic Institutions in Pre-industrial Europe*, «Economic History Review» 60, 4 (2007), pp. 649-684; R. Suddaby, W.M. Foster, A.J. Mills, *Historical Institutionalism*, cit., pp. 100-123.

<sup>42</sup> *Il mentore perfetto de' negozianti ovvero guida sicura de medesimi*, Hoechenberger, Trieste, t. V., 1797, p. 336.

<sup>43</sup> Ivi, p. 337.

from Holland. Herrings, tar, fish gelatin and lead from Sweden. Cocoa from Maracaibo, Martinique, Suriname; sugar from Martinique, Santo Domingo, Havana and Lisbon. Then aloe from Barbados, balsam from Peru, cinnamon from Lisbon, beaver from Canada, wood and buffalo skins from Brazil, vanilla from Santo Domingo and Guatemala, indigo from Florida and Jamaica. Trade mechanisms were also made more complex by the fact that similar goods with different prices and characteristics also came in from the Mediterranean and the East. For example, coffee also came to Trieste from Alexandria and Moka, beaver from Russia, paper from Venice, cheese from Italy and Hungary, white lead from Genoa and Venice and alum from Istria<sup>44</sup>.

Then, in the course of the 19th century, the advent of steam navigation modified this picture and also profoundly changed the Trieste-Atlantic relationship.

<sup>44</sup> Ivi, pp. 349-356.