

Practices, merchants and mercantilisms. Jews and the cereal trade in Trieste between Eastern Europe, the Po and the Mediterranean (18th century)

Daniele Andreozzi

Department of Political and Social Sciences, University of Trieste, Trieste, Italy

ABSTRACT

The article aims to highlight the role of the Jewish merchants of Trieste in the cereal trade in the eighteenth century. In particular, it focuses on analysing how, in the discontinuity in the development mechanisms of the free port of Trieste that occurred in the mid-eighteenth century, they managed to be protagonists in the construction of wider, from a quantitative and qualitative point of view, trade routes and a new geography of the grain trade. Moreover, the cereal trade, and in particular that of Continental and Eastern Europe, was a fundamental element of the further development that at the end of the century made Trieste one of the main Mediterranean trading centres.

KEYWORDS

Jews; Trieste; cereal trade; mercantile practices; free port; Habsburg Empire

Introduction

From at least the seventeenth century, the cities of the Po Valley were already turning to Trieste, the Habsburg port on the Adriatic Sea, in search of cereals when production in the Italian peninsula was low. What made this trade possible was Trieste's intermediary position which made it a communication hub between the different climate zones and geographical areas and between the sea and the land (the continent and the Mediterranean), despite not itself having cereals. This position enabled Trieste to exploit these climate differences, the different harvest times and quality and the price discrepancies generated by these factors. In fact, the cereals arriving at the port of Trieste came from other climate zones and geographical areas, especially Continental and Eastern Europe: Styria, Carniola, Carinthia and the Balkans. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the weakening of Venetian supremacy, the growing importance of ships based in medium and small Adriatic ports and the arrival of the Habsburgs on the scene led to profound changes in trade routes. An intense food product and agricultural raw material trade was crucial for Trieste's trading mechanisms. In particular, the oil and cereal trade was fundamentally important to the city's growth within circuits in which the Po estuaries - and in particular Goro, a natural port - and the Adriatic ports of the Papal States and Kingdom of Naples were central hubs. This took place within a very complex framework in which the self-organised and trans-state networks (Antunes

& Polonia, 2016), expressions of the key sea route players and the mercantile trading routes they used, were the driving force behind the development of Trieste and its trade. Over the course of the century, the city's Jewish merchants, key players in the oil trade and closely connected to these self-organised networks, were ready to seize the opportunities offered by these changes as the cereal trade gained in importance.¹

In this context, the aim of this work is to highlight the role of Trieste's Jewish merchants in this trade. In particular, it focuses on analysing the way they managed to play a key role in the construction of quantitatively and qualitatively wider trade routes and a new geography of the grain trade in the second half of the 18th century.² In fact, the middle of the century marked a turning point in Trieste's development. The Vienna court dominated a city lacking a 'historical elite, culturally and politically integrated into the Habsburg monarchy' due to the marginalisation of its original patriciate (Gatti, 2001, 376). Consequently, 'the political status quo risked breaking down due to the overwhelming presence of a medley of actors from all over the world, increasingly rich but lacking in consolidated bonds with each other as well as with the city and the central power' (Gatti, 2001, 376). The decision to base Trieste's government on its mercantile class and religious communities had profound consequences on its cosmopolitan makeup and the roles of its various components. This was also due to the city's limited demographic growth – in 1750s, its population was around 12,000 – and the narrowness and limited wealth of its merchant class (Gatti, 2005, 56–62).

In 1755, a Mercantile Exchange was set up in Trieste and a Deputation from it established, which gathered together the city's most important merchants to represent their interests and was also the place where the merchants examined proposals to extend trade in new directions.³ In 1761 the Deputation had just 25 members: 64% of these were considered by contemporaries as belonging to the Catholic world, 20% to the Jewish world – a total of five – and 16% to the Protestant world.⁴ Undoubtedly, the small size of the mercantile class and its composition played a key role in shaping relations between its members and determining potential access to trade. Thus, the city's main Jewish merchants were active in the grain trade and this was determinant in their settling in the port and in their social and economic growth.⁵ Moreover, the cereal trade, and cereals from continental and Eastern Europe in particular, were a fundamental element in the further development that had made Trieste one of the main Mediterranean centres by the end of the century.⁶ Precisely because of the specific nature of this trade and the rules governing the free port, this participation does not emerge clearly from the sources, and has thus not been the subject of specific attention in the analysis of the mercantile practices of the Trieste-based Jewish merchants. However, it is central to clarifying both the strategies employed by the Jewish merchants, and the way these strategies fitted into trading and real market circuits.

1. In the first half of the 18th century, it was the self-organised networks which were the driving forces behind the city's growth. Their action was based on coastal shipping routes connecting the small and medium sized Adriatic and Mediterranean ports and, where Trieste in particular was concerned, on trade in oil and other agricultural and food products based on both community and religious bonds and friendship and entrepreneurship networks. Puglia merchants, Orthodox Christian, Ottoman and Venetian subjects and Jews were initially the key players in these trades. By the middle of the century these dynamics meant that a varied merchant class in geographical (Italian peninsula, the Balkans, the Levant and continental Europe) and religious (Catholics, Jews, Protestants, Orthodox) terms had settled in

Trieste and this merchant class had developed an early common consciousness and myths (Andreozi, 2017).

Carlo Gatti has noted that the marriage market in which Trieste Jews took part in this period highlights its traditional ties with Gorizia and Veneto, but also reveals 'the growing bond that was taking shape and was to strengthen further with the territories of Emilia and Romagna' (Gatti, 2008, 44). In addition to this, a 'variegated network of financiers and correspondents' emerges from the sources and seems to outline three areas with which the Jewish merchants of Trieste had close relations: Romagna, where the agricultural products and cereals originated, southern Italy and especially Puglia, where the oil came from, and the Empire's internal areas, the end market where the oil was sold (Gatti, 2008, 49–50). In fact, in the 1730s and 40s, Jewish merchants dominated the oil trade.⁷ The Morpurgo-Levi company, for example, was already a key player in 1732, the year in which Jewish merchants traded more than 50% of the oil passing through the port of Trieste (Gatti, 2008, 50). Furthermore, for some of these, the sources attest to a particular interest in the cereals trade. This is the case, for example, of Giuseppe and Emanuele Pincherle, who arrived from Gorizia in 1745 and 1747 and acted primarily as grain merchants, and Levi Caliman, who arrived from Modena in 1748 and was also a cereal trader. Moreover, there were other Jewish merchants whose specific interest in the grain trade was not noted because of the wide spectrum of their interests, such as Ventura Morpurgo and Grassin Vita Levi. In addition, some of Trieste's Jews acted as licenced brokers, such as Isach Treves, from Gorizia, Isach Levi, who came from Modena but had lived in Trieste for many years, and Abram Porto from Ferrara.⁸

Until the 1750s, however, the cereal trade was important but not decisive to the life of the port. The observers who monitored Trieste's growth on behalf of Venice described it as discontinuous and relevant but in any case not decisive.⁹ However, from the middle of the century onwards a further development had a profound effect on the cereals trade. To strengthen the border with the Ottoman Empire, the Viennese court decided to populate the Banat of Temeswar with the aim of creating a peasant militia with which to defend the border (Klinger, 2014, 63–85; Alcoberro, 2002, 93–112; Thomas, 1983–84, 3–22). It was decided to support trade in cereals and other agricultural products through Trieste for the purposes of funding this militia. The Court of Vienna undertook to improve the roads connecting the Banat to Trieste, funding work on both the land routes and the Sava and Culpa rivers and it also promised subsidies for each *stajo* of Banat cereal traded through the port of Trieste. The cereal trade increased in importance and the concessions granted also shored up the grain trade from Styria, Carinthia and Carniola. This was made possible because, whilst Habsburg cereal trade policy was gradually liberalised, the Banat's privileges also covered the trade coming from these areas, which was able to circumvent state regulations.¹⁰ Furthermore, the liberal policies initiated by Maria Theresa of the Habsburgs with regard to the grain trade increased the visibility of this in the sources. It is precisely the documentation concerning trade involving cereals from Banat and Hungary and the conflicts arising around it which enables us to clarify the role of the Jewish merchants, providing evidence of their involvement and the quantities of grain traded.

During the 1750s, with the support of the Viennese court, emissaries from the Temeswar Company turned to the merchants of Trieste on more than one occasion in their attempts to develop trade between Hungary and the Adriatic, to supplement the goods usually traded (potash ash, cattle and tobacco) with liqueurs and, especially cereals. In 1758, Theodore Schley, captain of the Banat territorial militia, presented a *stajo* of wheat to the Mercantile

Exchange Deputation as a sample of a lot of one thousand *staia* that he had brought to Carlstadt. Assembled in extraordinary session, the merchants replied that they did not intend to 'apply themselves' nor had 'thought'. What discouraged them was the poor quality of the cereal, with the wheat being mixed with rye. Only Grassin Vita Levi made an exception, showing a willingness to consider the proposals made.¹¹

As regards Vita Levi, Venetian observers wrote that he bargained over the oil and all the other goods arriving in the port, especially those from Puglia, adding that he had a reasonable amount of capital but also many debts. He was the head of a very large family consisting of three children and a married nephew, five grandsons, two servants and two assistants. Grassin was elderly. Born in Trieste and with relatives settled in the city, he was one of the Jewish community's prominent members and frequently its head, owned a house in the ghetto and three others outside it (Gatti, 2008, 44 and 47).¹² He also owned a ship, a *pielego*, with which he traded. His company, which he managed together with his forty-year-old son Marco Vita Levi, was one of five companies owned by Jewish merchants represented at the Deputation.¹³

Beyond his openness to the Temeswar Company, Grassin's interest in the grain trade also took practical shape in his participation in the company that obtained the Trieste bread-making monopoly, both for the inhabitants and for the crews of the ships passing through the port. This company, called 'Privativa del pane', was set up at the behest of Pasquale Ricci, a member of the Commercial Intendancy, the imperial institution responsible for economic growth in Trieste, and President of the Police and Public Security Commission with authority over the city's food supplies. The agreement underlying the granting of the monopoly was a complex one. The members of the company had a monopoly over bread baking and sale, but they also had to import the cereal needed by the Public *Fondaco*, which was under the supervision of the Intendancy itself after the city community's management of it was accused of corruption. The *Fondaco*, in fact, was in charge of flour production and supplying it to the city's bakers. This complex triangulation was the subject of bitter conflict that divided the city into opposing factions and in which Ricci's personal interests played a significant role. We will not examine this further here except to highlight that this monopoly provided those involved in it with an opportunity to export and smuggle cereals to the routes linking Trieste to Albania, Croatia, Carniola and the Po estuary and along the routes of the Adriatic Sea.¹⁴

Founded in 1757, the *Privativa* was divided up into eleven shares owned by different entrepreneurs, merchants and companies. Three of these partners were members of the Jewish community: Ventura Morpurgo, the Luzzati brothers' company and Grassin Vita Levi himself.¹⁵ The following year, the owners of the *Privativa* signed an agreement with Mattio Pirona, a Venetian quarryman, who arrived in Trieste in 1754, and built an incredible career for himself as one of the city's main entrepreneurs with a strong allegiance to the court of Vienna. Pirona invested the capital the company needed for the building of the ovens and the expansion of its commercial circuits and he assumed the title of 'plenipotentiary' of the bread monopoly with managerial rights.¹⁶ In 1759, Mattio stipulated a contract on the *Privativa*'s behalf with the privileged company of Temeswar for the supply of 30,000 *staia* of wheat from Hungary over a period of five years at a price of 25 lire per *staio*. The Company undertook to deliver 6,000 *staia* of wheat per year, to be brought to Rijeka between May and November. The cost and organisation of transport from Rijeka were to be the responsibility of the *Privativa*.¹⁷

In 1760 the wheat had begun to arrive in Trieste and some of it was traded in the Adriatic on the strength of the privileges enjoyed by the Privativa. However, because of the conflict in the city between Pirona, on one side, and Ricci and Giacomo Balletti, one of the most prestigious merchants in the city, on the other, the Company had become a battlefield that ultimately resulted in Mattio's expulsion from the Privativa¹⁸. During these clashes, Giacomo Balletti, Menasse Morpurgo and Grassin Vita Levi formed a company (called the 'Company of Trieste') which proposed a contract to the Temeswar Company in April 1761 for the supply of 10,000 *staia* of wheat from Hungary at the price of 14 *lire* and 10 *soldi* per *staio*. The delivery deadline was November of that year and the cereal had to be brought to Trieste at the Temeswar Company's expense with a fine of one florin incurred for each missing or poor quality *staio*. In fact, the wheat had to be the same quality as that of the samples presented to the deputation in 1758. On these conditions, the three merchants declared themselves willing to extend the contract¹⁹. Only the shareholders of the Trieste Company signed the deal and the sources tell us nothing of the outcome of this proposal. It is, therefore, likely that it was not followed up, perhaps for price reasons. Undoubtedly, the end of the conflict between Balletti, Ricci and Pirona, who died in mysterious circumstances in January 1762, limited the Privativa's involvement in the cereal trade. However, grain imports from Hungary did not stop and the sources testify to the progressive strengthening of trade between Trieste and the Banat and Grassin's growing involvement in it, with the latter also interested in Hungarian tobacco imports.²⁰

In 1763–64, after shortages following a bad harvest, this merchant's activity intensified and the paperwork required for the incentives promised by Empress Maria Teresa meant that this is well documented.²¹ In fact, between 1 February and 18 December 1764, Grassin exported 24,343 *staia* of wheat from Hungary and stowed it in some warehouses especially rented in Trieste for the occasion.

Bills of lading allow us to reconstruct Grassin's business. At the beginning of the year he sent two boats, under the French flag, to ports in Liguria, with a cargo of 2,280 *staia* which were traded on his behalf (9.36% of the total wheat exported). As the shortages worsened, however, his strategy changed. In March and April he exported 8,100 *staia* on behalf of other Jewish merchants and sent 5,000 *staia* of wheat on behalf of Dattilo Levi on an English ship bound for Livorno and 3,000 on behalf of Daniel Bonfili on a Danish ship, from Venice, although Bonfili had not yet decided whether this cereal was destined for Venice, Naples or Livorno at the time of departure. Evidently, on the basis of demand and end market considerations he decided to bring the cereals from Banat and then sell them to other merchants who took over ownership and responsibility for them from the point at which they were loaded on the ships.²² Then in May, in the light of the continuing wheat crisis, the reference circuits changed from the Tyrrhenian sea to the Adriatic, remaining internal to relations within the Jewish communities. That month Grassin loaded cereal into the holds of thirteen ships bound for Ancona and, in only one case, to Civitavecchia. However, even this trip remained within the framework of Adriatic networks. In fact, this shipment and another nine to Ancona, a total of 7,050 *staia* (28.96% of the total marketed), were carried out on behalf of Felice Coen, a Jewish merchant from Ferrara, who acted on behalf of the Rome Annona, using ships flying the Papal flag (in nine cases) and Venetian (in one case).²³ The remaining three shipments went to the free port of Ancona on behalf of the heirs of Sanson Morpurgo in ships flying the Papal flag. Grassin sent 700 *staia* to them and 1,200 to the Ancona community.²⁴ After shortages ended, Grassin's practices changed once again. The grain was sent

to Tyrrhenian ports (Genoa and Livorno) in ships flying the flag of the Atlantic powers. However, Grassin did not resume trading on his own but continued to ship on behalf of other merchants as if he had finally decided to take on the costs and the risks involved in sourcing the wheat but to leave the non-Trieste merchants with responsibility for getting it to the end markets and selling it there. In the four trips made between June and December, he exported 4,763 *staia* (19.56% of the total) to correspondents still part of the Jewish commercial world, although not all of them can be identified, and to circuits hinging on Ferrara.

Hungarian wheat traded by Grassin Vita Levi in 1764*

Date	Destination	On behalf of	Quantity (<i>staia</i>)	Ship Flag
01/02/1764	Sanremo	Grassin Vita Levi	1,480	French
28/02/1764	Diano	Grassin Vita Levi	800	French
15/03/1764	Livorno	Leon Levi	5,000	English
18/04/ 1764	Naples, Livorno, Venice	Daniel Bonfilii from Venice	3,100	Danish
01/05/1764	Civitavecchia	Felice Coen from Ferrara on behalf of the Rome Annona	2,300	English
01/05/1764	Ancona	Heirs of Sanson Morpurgo, on behalf of the Ancona community	800	Papal
01/05/1764	Ancona	Heirs of Sanson Morpurgo	700	Papal
04/05/1764	Ancona	Heirs of Sanson Morpurgo, on behalf of the Ancona community	650	Papal
07/05/1764	Ancona	Felice Coen from Ferrara on behalf of the Rome Annona	425	Papal
07/05/1764	Ancona	Felice Coen di Ferrara on behalf of the Rome Annona	500	Papal
08/05/1764	Ancona	Felice Coen from Ferrara on behalf of the Rome Annona	550	Venetian
11/05/ 1764	Ancona	Felice Coen from Ferrara on behalf of the Rome Annona	700	Papal
11/05/ 1764	Ancona	Felice Coen from Ferrara on behalf of the Rome Annona	200	Papal
14/05/1764	Ancona	Felice Coen from Ferrara on behalf of the Rome Annona	800	Papal
14/05/1764	Ancona	Felice Coen from Ferrara on behalf of the Rome Annona	700	Papal
15/05/1764	Ancona	Felice Coen from Ferrara, on behalf of the Rome Annona	650	Papal
16/05/1764	Ancona	Felice Coen from Ferrara, on behalf of the Rome Annona	225	Venetian
08/06/1764	Genoa	Giuseppe de Martini	1,760	French
29/10/1764	Livorno	Girolamo Gerbolino from San Remo	800	French
12/11/1764	Livorno, Genoa	Giovanni Semiglia,	203	French
18/12/1764	Livorno, Genoa	Samuel Vita Finzi from Ferrara	2,000	French
			Total =24,343	

OeStA, K, 866, 1762, *Polizze di carico*.

2. As we have seen, Grassin was not the only representative of the Jewish world of Trieste with an interest in the grain trade. In addition to Ventura Morpurgo and the Luzzatti brothers, partners of the Privativa, there were other merchants working in this trade. For example, in 1760–1761, Mattio Pirona sold 600 *staia* of wheat from Croatia to Iacob Cusin and Isach Vita Levi and 600 *staia* of wheat from Hungary to Isach Iacob Alpron, who gave him some bales of white canvas of mercantile quality in exchange.²⁵ These merchants were the linchpin between the land-based and sea-based cereal trading routes and between the key players within them, buying the wheat that arrived in the city or its inner collection areas and selling it on to merchants who sent it to its end markets. It was once again a dispute,

this time over supplying Naples, which gives us the opportunity for a clearer insight into the role played by the Jewish merchants in the overall geography of the grain trade. In Trieste the key players in this dispute, which involved the international cereal circuits and the European capitals, were Bernardo Zois, on one hand, and Ricci, once again, in agreement with Giuseppe Henzel de Gramont, consul of the Kingdom of Naples in the city, on the other.²⁶

Zois was the main Trieste-based merchant and, as a bad harvest was expected, he had offered to provide for the food needs of Naples with cereals imported from Hungary at the end of 1763. In the Neapolitan capital, his contacts were Carmine Ventapane, who took care of the supply of food for the army in the Kingdom of Naples and merchant Cesare Ruggeri who worked with Ventapane. In Trieste, on the other hand, Zois could count on Catholic merchants Belusco and Rossetti and Jewish merchants Grassin Vita Levi and Isach Vita Levi. Furthermore, the trade organised by this group mainly sailed under the Kingdom's flag with captains from Puglia. Zois guaranteed the orders and kept up relations with the Kingdom's authorities, acting as a sort of 'general contractor' and intermediary with other merchants acting as independent merchants. In fact, these also maintained market relations with other operators located both in Naples and elsewhere, other institutional figures and the production areas themselves.²⁷ As for the grain trade, the practices of the Trieste merchants do not seem to have been significantly affected by their religious affiliations. They obtained wheat from their contacts in the production areas or at grain collection centres along the trading routes and then made it available to their contacts both in Trieste and in the end markets. The group led, to some extent secretly, by Ricci and Henzel had fewer roots in the world of commerce and, in its attempts to monopolise the cereal trade, counted mainly on links with Marquis Bernardo Tanucci, prime minister and president of Council of Regency of underage Ferdinand, King of Naples and Sicily, and with the Empire institutions and on control of the administrative centres, trying to take on a similar structure to the rival group. The inability of the Consul and Ricci to fulfil their promises contributed to exacerbating the famine in Naples and caused serious tensions that, as we have seen, revealed the role of Trieste's Jewish merchants in the cereal trade.²⁸

When the first doubts arose in the Kingdom, Henzel tried to clear himself by accusing the Jewish merchants linked to Zois of being responsible for the difficulties he encountered, arguing that Isach Vita Levi had sent samples of grain traded by the Consul to Naples to prove its bad quality and that Marco, Grassin's son, had contacted Ventapane to explore the possibility of supplying the city directly. Furthermore, he accused Isach and Grassin of obstructing his attempts to buy cereals and of causing an excessive rise in wheat prices by buying grain in Styria, Carinthia and Hungary at overly high prices and regardless of expense. To back up his assertions, Henzel sent reports on the trade managed by Grassin Vita Levi, arguing that the latter had agreed to supply Florence, where he was about to send 6,000 *staia* of wheat, and that Grassin had received an order from the Papal states for 12,000 *staia* of cereals some of which was to come from Carinthia. Furthermore, Henzel claimed that, fearing famine, the commander of the 'Military Croatia' had turned to Trieste for 100,000 *staia* of wheat and that, together with other Jewish merchants, Marco Levi had taken on the task of finding them and was trying to 'throw all the grain into the ghetto'. According to the Consul, the Jewish merchants were also particularly powerful because they had access to the Vienna court and the backing of the President of the Commercial Intendancy who opposed Ricci.²⁹ Henzel's version was probably biased and not entirely reliable but it must

have borne some relation to the actual state of affairs and been credible to his contacts. Furthermore, his nervousness and attacks are evidence of who his main rivals in the wheat trade in Trieste were and thus confirm the central role played by the Jewish merchants in it.

Finally, while some Puglia ship captains in the service of merchant Ruggero presented themselves at the port of Trieste to load up wheat supplied by Belusco and Rossetti and Grassin, Henzel called for immediate action by Tanucci who responded promptly, blocking the activities of Ventapane and Ruggero.³⁰ The intervention of the Marquis led to Ruggero then writing to Isach Vita Levi instructing him to deliver all the wheat bought on his behalf to Henzel and assuring him that he would pay the commission rights due to Trieste merchants, in any case.³¹

In fact, relations between the consul and the merchants close to Zois changed suddenly. Henzel warned the Marquis that the Jewish merchants would make the wheat stored in Trieste available. For example, the consul warned Tanucci that Isach Vita Levi had given him the 2,000 *staia* he had in the city and had promised to make another 5,000 *staia* he was expecting from Carinthia and 5,000 from Polesine available. In actual fact, the cereals that Grassin had already crammed into the warehouses to satisfy the needs of Rome and Florence left the port for those cities with Henzel's authorisation. However, the latter had promised the Consul that, in the future, the grain arriving on his behalf from Styria and Carinthia would be divided up into two parts: one to be sent to the Papal States, the other to be used for Henzel's plans. In fact, in this period, he signed a contract with Grassin who undertook to supply the consul with 6,000 *staia* of good quality Hungarian wheat (1,000 immediately, 1,000 in April, 2,000 in May and 2,000 in June) at a price of 45 *lire* per *staio*. The contract was guaranteed with bills of exchange worth 33,000 *lire* issued by the Brentano Cimaroli Company in Venice. In addition, on the 28th of that month and with Ricci's 'official' mediation, Henzel signed a further contract with Isach Iacob Alpron for 12,000 *staia* to be delivered by the end of June. The advance paid was 24,000 florins.³²

The failure of Henzel's project created a chaotic situation. The quantity of cereals sent from Trieste, and that bargained for, was never clarified. Many merchants found themselves on the verge of bankruptcy and were only saved from this by special loans from the Empress. Furthermore, this failure gave rise to a long legal dispute which dragged on for years, before a range of law courts, including international ones, in both Kingdom and Empire authorities and the city of Naples. The trials provide further evidences of the importance of Trieste's Jewish merchants in the grain trade. For example, according to court documents, it was thanks to the action of these merchants, that Henzel was able to send at least 8,598 *staia* of wheat worth about 340,000 *lire* to Naples: 1,020 *staia* with Isach Vita Levi, 1,128 with Marco Levi and 6,400 with the Pincherle brothers who had probably been working with Henzel since the start of his project. Grassin Vita Levi turned to the courts for compensation worth 26,313 *lire* in damages, blaming Henzel as representative of the Kingdom of Naples. The Kingdom's authorities, on the other hand, demanded copies of the contracts linking Alpron to Brentano Cimaroli, holding this firm ultimately responsible for the merchant's actions and calculating the wheat collected by the latter as 26,000 *staia* of competence of Brentano Cimaroli. Of the contracts signed by Alpron only one was considered his full responsibility: the one he had signed with Felice Coen of Ferrara for 4,500 *staia* of wheat. As the transaction had not been fulfilled, Alpron's Carinthian suppliers filed legal action against him before the Graz law courts to obtain compensation for the damage suffered.³³

Grassin Vita Levi was also involved in another quarrel. Of the 24,343 *staia* cited in the bills of lading, he had applied for state incentives for only 22,837 *staia* - perhaps because part of the wheat declared was not Hungarian – 2,664 florins and 19 carantans worth. However, the central government refused to recognise the promised incentives and questioned whether the cereals were actually from Banat at all, believing that the quantities cited were not real. Grassin sent in a plea both to obtain what he thought was his due, and to ‘remove any shadow of suspicion from [...] [his] mercantile reputation’. The Deputation and the Commercial Intendancy showed full support to the Jewish merchant and, in a number of sworn statements, vouched for the professionalism of the Grassin trading house – which they considered one of Trieste’s ‘primary and most important’ – his commitment to increasing trade for the benefit of Trieste and the Empress and the honour, honesty and moderation shown by Grassin and his son Marco. Furthermore, they declared that his agent, Jewish Simone Fers, was also a ‘sober, honest and good-natured young man.’³⁴

In any case, the failure of the Henzell and Ricci’s plan did not interrupt the grain trade centred on Trieste. As the Venetian ambassador wrote, attempts were made in Vienna to increase both land and sea trade with ‘the main aim, then, not only on the part of the court but also of some wealthy lords of this empire [...] to make ships and to become in time, a maritime power’. Trade, especially in cereals, between Trieste and Hungary continued to be a strategic element in imperial policies and the merchants of Trieste, both Jewish and otherwise, had no intention of abandoning this ‘new way to get rich.’³⁵

In 1766, in the face of expectations of a poor harvest, the Habsburg authorities blocked exports, prompting protests from companies and merchants active in the grain trade. Vita Levi sent a plea to the Empress challenging a ban that was issued when the traders had already planned their business, signed contracts and invested money, arguing that this decree threatened to push them to abandon this branch of business. In his petition he referred to himself as a ‘stock market trader in Trieste’ committed ‘to promoting all those means with which the trade’ of the Austrian Littoral could prosper ‘with particular zeal’ and asking for permission to export the wheat already purchased to Styria, Carniola and Hungary.³⁶ The export ban led to 186,693 *staia* of wheat from Hungary which had already been purchased by merchants acting on the Austrian Littoral, being halted that year. Of this 15,300 (approximately 8% of the total) belonged to Grassin Vita Levi and 6,250 (3.34%) to Isach Iacob Alpron. In absolute terms, of the 17 traders involved in the various ports of the Littoral, Grassin ranked fourth in terms of the volume of blocked cereals, surpassed only by bigger companies: the Temeswar Company, the Janoshàza Company and the Brentano Cimaroli.³⁷ Other traders sought to satisfy imperial needs, however. In December 1765 the Mörpurghi brothers obtained a licence to export 12,000 *staia* of corn from the Venetian domains to the internal provinces of the Empire.³⁸ This group of merchants included some Jewish brokers. In 1766, for example, between 28 March and 3 November, Michel Parente acted as middleman in the drawing up of 17 cereal sales contracts worth a total of 12,023 *staia* and Isach Treves 14, from 23 January to 28 October.³⁹

Conclusion

In the 1760s and 70s, an expansion in the areas involved in the grain trade was accompanied by an enlargement of the ‘spatial dimensions of the marriage market’ in which Trieste’s Jewish community worked. It was made up of the ‘territories between the Adriatic coast from

Ancona and Trieste and an internal line that touches Ferrara, Mantua, Padua, Udine, Gorizia and Trieste' and a second area 'consisting of German, Austrian, Bohemian and Hungarian towns subject to the House of Austria in various ways'. All these lands were crucial to the grain trade. Moreover, these grain trade merchants also intermarried. For example, Isach Iacob Alpron married Susanna Levi, daughter of Grassin Vita Levi (Gatti, 2008, 85 and 90). In fact, family ties were one possible commercial strategy option, but not the only one. And they were also used to strengthen community ties, cementing relationships between successful merchant families (Dubin, 1999, Catalan, 2001, Gatti, 2008).

In this way, they were a driving force in the qualitative and quantitative development of the Jewish community residing in the city, which grew in size, wealth and prestige. It was a growth that added, with the definitive opening of the ghetto, 'the possibility of mingling with the Christian world' in other aspects of social life, from the choice of housing, to the professions, to take full part in their own right, and with no restrictions, in the world of commerce and 'sexual relations' (Gatti, 2008, 90).

Parallel to this growth, cereals gave rise to increasingly complex and broad trade geographies of growing importance for the mechanisms of the port of Trieste, playing a key role as reloading goods, attracting ships to the quays and making up loads. To offset travel expenses, ensure safe navigation and increase revenues by exploiting the price differential, loads were made up by mixing heavy with light and luxury goods. Cereals moved in a fluid and discontinuous way along trade routes, in directions chosen according to crop and price trends. The broader circuits and more complex trading deals were controlled by large-scale investors capable of maintaining very close bonds with state powers and considerable financial commitments. The greater the size of the circuits involved, the greater was the financial commitment needed and, to reduce uncertainty, the more strategic the relationship with the state and the more important the action of the major investors. Such investors also operated by connecting up the intermediate level at which the Jewish merchants worked. In fact, at the intermediate level were merchants controlling segments of the shorter routes and, through their own agents, they bought cereals in production areas directly from owners and from other players in the commercial world. Maintaining their autonomy and changing strategy according to economic conjuncture, these merchants were linked both to the higher and final level merchants, as well as to other intermediate merchants and state institutions⁴⁰.

With these operating mechanisms, in the 1780s Trieste port became an emporium and the hub of a complex network of cereal exchanges. Imperial and foreign cereals were stored in Trieste, having arrived from the various production areas on sea- and land-based routes, and were then sorted for the various markets on the basis of price and transport cost considerations. Above all, the main elements in these mechanisms became imports from and exports to other states: the Kingdom and city of Naples, the Levant and the Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, Ancona and the Papal States, the Po estuaries and Pontelagoscuro, Venice, Sicily, Genoa, San Remo, Nice, Morocco, Barcelona, Cartagena, Cadiz, Porto, Lisbon, Marseille, Hungary, Carinthia, Carniola and Styria were all the hubs of this network of exchanges which had a Mediterranean extension and relations with the Atlantic⁴¹. Yet the fluctuating economic policies of the Habsburgs, oscillating between export bans and freedom of trade, and even blocking grain arriving from abroad in the port and preventing its re-export, once again reveal the leading role played⁴² by the Jewish merchants in this phase, too. In 1789, at a time when imperial prohibitions threatened to completely jam the cereal circuit

mechanisms, Pincherle was one of two merchants who still had stocks of cereals stored in their Trieste warehouses. Moreover, during the 1770s and 80s, Giuseppe and Filippo Coen had joined them and traded cereals. Filippo had arrived in Trieste in 1775 from Prague, having married a Viennese Jew, and soon became one of the wealthiest merchants in the Jewish community, with interests in the tobacco business, too (Gatti, 2008, 90–90, 97, 112). In the second half of the 18th century, therefore, Jewish merchants were constantly key players in the grain trade. They were not the only players in this trade and they showed a fluid ability both to compete with and join forces with other Jewish traders and merchants from other religious groups, exploiting every tool useful in their successful business strategies. Thus, at times prioritising family and community ties, at times favouring business ties per se, they were able to build solid fortunes on which their political and social growth was based. The case studies shown here are not only examples of what were widespread practices, but, given the small number of Jewish merchants active in Trieste, they provide an insight into the strategies and entrepreneurial initiatives characterising those trading in cereals and the key players within it in particular. It was also on the strength of the cereal trade that Jewish merchants were able to play a founding and constituent role in the city's trading world and, partly as a consequence of the small size of the local merchant class, their commercial strategies were an important factor in the context of the overall strategies of that class.

Notes

1. On Trieste's history see Finzi and Panjek (2001) and Finzi, Panariti and Panjek (2003). On the Adriatic trade in oil and agricultural goods, see Ciriaco (1975), Costantini (2005), Caracciolo (1965), Moroni (2009), Montaudou (2005), and Salvemini (2007).
2. On the ongoing debate over Jewish merchants' role and practices, see Dubin (1999) and (2017), Sorkin (1999), Israel (2002), Cesarani (2002), Cesarani and Romain (2006), Abrevaya (2007), Karp (2008), Monaco (2009), Trivellato (2009), Curtin (1984), Greif (2000), Ogilvie (2007), Calafat (2011), Antunes (2012).
3. SAT, IC, 233, 28 August and 7 December 1755 and 8 January 1756.
4. OeStA, K 698, *Specifica dei negozianti e mercanti di Trieste*, 23 April 1761.
5. On the Trieste Jewish community, see Dubin (1999), (2016) and (2017), Braude (1991), Gatti (2008), and Catalan (2001).
6. Karl Marx (1857) was the first to highlight the role of the grain trade in the success of the Trieste emporium but he dated the emergence of this trade to the nineteenth century.
7. SAT, IC, 582, 18 June 1743.
8. SAV, SM, 186, 19 August 1752 and 843, 17 March 1754; SAT, IC, 583, 1757. Gatti (2008), p. 71.
9. SAV, SM, 843, 16 September 1753.
10. SAV, SD, 260, 17 March and 1 June 1753 and 267, 20 December 1760 and 25 February 1761; SM, 843, undated: IS, 616, 17 October 1756.
11. SAT, IC 363, 15 December 1757, 1 and 26 January, 7 and 22 April and 10 May 1758 and 355, 11 and 28 November and 2 December 1758.
12. OeStA, K 697, *Nota delle famiglie presentemente accasate a Trieste*, 1760.
13. SAV, IS, 619, Paolo Moro, 8 agosto 1755; LHT, AD, 21 C 57, 17 February 1761; SAT, IC, 233, 14 December 1760; OeStA, K 698, *Specifica dei negozianti e mercanti di Trieste*, 23 April 1761. The Jewish firms were those of Grassin Vita Levi, Luzzati brothers, Ventura Morpurgo, Giuseppe and the Morpurgo brothers, and Menasse Morpurgo.
14. On events at the company, its key players and the disputes which took place within it, see Andreozzi (2020b). On the subject of the Commercial Intendancy, see Faber (2003), pp. 25–26.

15. LHT, AD, 11 B 1, 4 October 1757. The company had shareholders of different faiths, origins and backgrounds; in addition to those already mentioned, these included Catholics Geremia Francol, Francesco Bonomo di Stettner and Giuseppe Belusco and Protestant Marco Blanchenai.
16. SAT, IC, 347, 12 February 1758.
17. SAT, IC, 357, 20 August 1759. In Trieste, the measures and currencies usually used in the cereal trade were those in force in Venice. One *staiò* was 83.317 liters. One lira was divided up into 20 *soldi* and 12 *denari*. An imperial florin, in turn, was split into 60 *carantani*, worth 5 *lire*. On Pirona, see Andreozzi (2020b).
18. BHT, AD, 13 C 15, 28 June 1760 and OeStA, K, 705, 11 September 1760.
19. OeStA, K, 1104, 6 April 1761.
20. OeStA, K, 1105, 30 December 1762.
21. OeStA, K, 866, 1762.
22. On Leon, son of Dattilo Levi, a Livorno-based merchant, see Sanacore (2009), p. 146; on Daniel Bonfilii, a prominent merchant in eighteenth-century Venice, see Levi (1997), pp. 223–243.
23. *Racconto storico della penuria de' grani accaduta in Italia ed in più province del Dominio negli anni MDCCLXIII e MDCCLXIV*, Rome, Stamperia Salomoni, MDLXXXIII, part one, 35. On Felice Coen, see Angelini (1973).
24. Sanson Marpurgo was “one of the greatest Jewish merchants” in Ancona (Andreoni 2019, 23).
25. BHT, AD, 21 C 55, 6 and 29 August and 6 September 1760. Isach Iacob Alpron, son of Isach, was born in Padua and had lived in Trieste since 1755. He was married and the father of a child and listed himself as a grain merchant. Isach Vita Levi was the son of the by then deceased David. Born in Modena, he was a married 44-year-old and a merchant (BCH, AD, 21 C 57, 17 February 1761). The contracts entered into with Pirona in BHC, AD, 21 C 55, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13 and 29 August 1760.
26. On the Naples famine, the attempts to supply the city and the conflicts these caused, see Carrino (2020), Clemente (2020) and Andreozzi (2020a).
27. For the “geography” of the Ventapane group, see Clemente (2016), pp. 533–537, on that of the Zois group, see Andreozzi (2020a), pp. 295–297.
28. BCT, AD, D 5 23, anonymous memoires on the grain trade; SAT, IC, 235, 13 and 20 December 1763, 29 February, 7, 13 and 17 March 1764; SAN, S, 1262, January–March 1764, Tanucci-Henzell missives.
29. SAN, M, 488b 2, 3, 4 and 15 February 1764 and S, 1262, 8, 16, 17, 19 and 29 February and 6 March 1764.
30. SAT, IC, 235, 21 February 1764 and SAN, S, 1262, 27 February 1764.
31. SAT, IC, 235, 28 February 1764.
32. SAN, S, 1262, 7, 12, 14, 27 and 28 March and 1 April 1764. The Brentano Cimaroli was an international commercial finance company with offices in Genoa, where it was the main management, Vienna and Trieste and branches in Milan, Livorno and other European markets, which, engaged in lending to the States and cereal trade, had been one of the main financiers of the wars by Maria Teresa (Felloni, 1971, 380–426).
33. SAN, S, 1262, 49–65 and M, 15 and 24 January 1766.
34. OeStA, K, 866, February – 15 December 1764 and 1 and 5 June 1765.
35. SAV, SD, 271, 14 December 1765 and SM, 753, 22 December 1767.
36. OeStA, K, 867, *Umilissima supplica* di Grassin Vita Levi. On the Austrian Adriatic Littoral, see Faber (2003), pp. 23–25.
37. OeStA, K, 866, ‘Der handelsleute in Litorali’.
38. SAV, SD, 13 and 14 December 1765.
39. OeStA, K, 866, 14 November 1766.
40. SAN, S, 1262, 49–65. For a first overview of the cereal trade mechanisms, see Galiani (1770), Gráda (2009), Alfani and Grada (2017), Palermo (1997), Corritore (1993) and (2012), Mocarelli (2013), Ferrari and Vaquero Piñeiro (2015), Fogel (2004), Strangio (1998), Clemente and Russo (2019).
41. OeStA, K, 868, 3 August 1782 and 11 and April and 9 May 1789 and 869, 8 March and 29 April 1793; SAT, CRG, 759, 31 October 1787 and 17 January 1788. On the cereal trade in Trieste, see

Andreozzi (2019). Karl Marx (1857) also highlighted the role of the grain trade in the success of the Trieste emporium in the 19th century.

42. OeStA, K, 869, 9 January, 19 February and 8 March 1793; SAT, CRG, 19 July 1789.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

References

- Abrevaya, S. S. (2007). Mediterranean Jewries and global commerce in the modern period: On the trail of the Jewish feather trade. *Jewish Social Studies. History, Culture, Society*, *XIII*(2), 1–39.
- Alcoberro, A. (2002). L'Exili austriacista i la Nova Barcellona del Banat de Temesvar: teoria i practica. *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, *48*, 93–112.
- Alfani, G. & Grada, Ó. (Eds.). (2017). *Famine in European History*. Cambridge University Press.
- Andreoni, L. (2019). «Una nazione in commercio. Ebrei di Ancona, traffici adriatici e pratiche mercantile in età moderna. Franco Angeli.
- Andreozzi, D. (2017). "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* (pp. 101–123). EUT.
- Andreozzi, D. (2019). "L'aggravio dei dazi". Norme, mercato e concorrenze nei circuiti del grano sulla Trieste settecentesca. In A. Clemente & S. Russo (Eds.), *Mercanti, regole e crisi di sussistenza nelle economie di antico regime* (pp. 53–71). Rubettino.
- Andreozzi, D. (2020a). «L'indicibile confusione». Carestia, pratiche e mercantilismi visti da Trieste (1764 e dintorni). *Società E Storia* *168*, 289–317. <https://doi.org/10.3280/SS2020-168004>
- Andreozzi, D. (2020b). *Intrecci di vite. Pratiche, mercantilismi e razionalità economiche nella Trieste del Settecento*. New Digital Press.
- Angelini, W. (1973). *Gli ebrei di Ferrara nel Settecento: I Coen e altri mercanti nel rapporto con le pubbliche autorità*. Argalia.
- Antunes, C. (2012). Free Agents and Formal Institutions in the Portuguese Empire: Towards a Framework of Analysis. *Portuguese Studies*, *28*, 173–185.
- Antunes, C. & Polonia, A. (Eds.). (2016) *Beyond Empires. Global, Self-organizing, Cross-Imperial Networks 1300-1800*. Brill.
- Braude, B. (1991). The Jews of Trieste and the Levant trade in the XVIII Century. In G. Todeschini & P. C. Ioly Zorattini (Eds.), *Il mondo ebraico: Gli ebrei tra Italia nord-orientale e Impero asburgico dal Medioevo all'Età contemporanea* (pp. 327–351). Edizione Studio Tesi.
- Calafat, G. (2011). Diasporas marchandes et commerce interculturel. Familles, réseaux et confiance dans l'économie de l'époque moderne. *Annales Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, *66*(2), 513–531. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0395264900006028>
- Caracciolo, A. (1965). Le port franc d'Ancône. Croissance et impasse d'un milieu marchand au XVIIIe siècle.
- Carrino, A. (2020). L'affaire des bleds. La carestia di Napoli nel lago borbonico. *Società E Storia*, *168*(168), 233–256. <https://doi.org/10.3280/SS2020-168002>
- Catalan, T. (2001). Presenza sociale ed economia degli ebrei nella Trieste asburgica tra Settecento e primo Novecento. In R. Finzi and G. Panjek (Eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste, I, La città dei gruppi, 1719-1918* (pp. 483–518). Lint.
- Cesarani, D. (Ed.) (2002). *Port Jews Communities in Cosmopolitan Maritime Trading Centres, 1590-1950*. Routledge.
- Cesarani, D. & Romain, G. (Eds.). (2006). *Jews and Port Cities, 1590–1990: Commerce, Community and Cosmopolitanism*. Vallentine Mitchell.
- Ciriaco, S. (1975). *Olio ed ebrei nella Repubblica veneta del Settecento*. Deputazione di Storia Patria.

- Clemente, A. (2016). Aporie della mentalità mercantile e governo politico del mercato: un negoziante 'virtuoso' nella carestia del 1764. *Storia Economica*, 2, 531–559.
- Clemente, A. (2020). La carestia come risorsa. Mercanti e istituzioni a Napoli nel 1763-64. *Società E Storia*, 168(168), 257–288. <https://doi.org/10.3280/SS2020-168003>
- Clemente, A. & Russo, S. (Eds.). (2019). *Mercanti, regole e crisi di sussistenza nelle economie di antico regime* (pp. 53–71). Rubettino.
- Corritore, R. P. (1993). Il processo di «ruralizzazione» in Italia nei secoli XVII-XVIII. Verso una regionalizzazione. *Rivista di Storia Economica*, 10, 253–386.
- Corritore, R. P. (2012). Horrea. Una istituzione che «va e viene» nella politica annonaria delle città di Antico regime. *Storia Urbana*, 134, 11–29.
- Costantini, M. (2005). *Una Repubblica nata sul mare. Navigazione e commercio a Venezia*. Marsilio.
- Curtin, P. D. (1984). *Cross-cultural trade in world history*. Cambridge University Press.
- Dubin, L. (1999). *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste: Absolutist politics and enlightenment culture*. Stanford University Press.
- Dubin, L. (2016). Diversity on the frontiers in the 18th Century: Why Trieste? Then and now. In M. Davide & P. Ioly Zorattini (Eds.), *Gli Ebrei nella storia del Friuli Venezia Giulia. Una vicenda di lunga durata* (pp. 193–204). La Giuntina.
- Dubin, L. (2017). Port Jews revisited: Commerce and culture in the age of European expansion. In J. Karp & A. Sutcliffe (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism* (pp. 550–575). Cambridge University Press.
- Faber, E. (2003). Territorio e amministrazione. In R. Finzi, L. Panariti and G. Panjek (Eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste, II, La città dai traffici, 1719-1918* (pp. 21–53). Lint.
- Felloni, G. (1971). *Gli investimenti finanziari genovesi in Europa tra il Seicento e la restaurazione*. Giuffré.
- Ferrari, M. L. & Vaquero Piñeiro M. (Eds.). (2015). «Moia la carestia». *La scarsità alimentare in età preindustriale*. Il Mulino.
- Finzi R. & Panjek G. (Eds.). (2001). *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste, I, La città dei gruppi, 1719-1918*. Lint.
- Finzi, R., Panariti L. & Panjek, G. (Eds.). (2003). *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste, II, La città dei traffici*. Trieste.
- Fogel, R. W. (2004). *The Escape from Hunger and Premature Death, 1700-2100*. Cambridge University Press.
- Galiani, F. (1770). *Dialogues sur le commerce des bleds*. (Italian translation: Dialoghi sul commercio dei grani. Editori Riuniti. 1978).
- Gatti, C. (2001). 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*. (pp. 359–380). LINT.
- Gatti, C. (2005). Numeri, forse uomini. Riflessioni quantitative sulla Trieste di metà Settecento. In D. Andreozzi & C. Gatti (Eds.), *Trieste e l'Adriatico. Uomini, merci, conflitti* (pp. 35–72). EUT.
- Gatti, C. (2008). *Tra demografia e storia sociale. Gli ebrei di Trieste nel Settecento*. EUT.
- Gráda, Ó. (2009). *Famine: A short history*. Princeton University Press.
- Greif, A. (2000). The fundamental problem of exchange: A research agenda in Historical Institutional Analysis. *European Review of Economic History*, IV(3), 251–284.
- Israel, J. I. (2002). *Diasporas within Diasporas: Jews, Crypto-Jews, and the World of Maritime Empires (1540-1740)*. Brill.
- Karp, J. (2008). *The politics of Jewish commerce: Economic thought and emancipation in Europe 1538-1848*. Cambridge University Press.
- Klinger, W. (2014). La Guerra di Successione spagnola e le origini dell'emporio di Fiume (1701-1779). *Atti, Centro di Ricerche Storiche di Rovigo*, XLIV, 63–85.
- Levi, G. (1997). I commerci della Casa Daniele Bonfil e figlio con Marsiglia e Costantinopoli, 1773-1794. In S. Gasparri, G. Levi & P. Moro (Eds.), *Venezia. Itinerari per la storia della città* (pp. 23–243). Il Mulino.
- Marx, K. (1857). The Maritime Commerce of Austria. *New-York Daily Tribune*. 4906/9 January.
- Mocarelli, L. (Ed.). (2013). Quando manca il pane. Origini e cause della scarsità delle risorse alimentari in età moderna e contemporaneas Il Mulino.

- Monaco, C. S. (2009). Port Jews or a people of the Diaspora? A critique of the Port Jew concept. *Jewish Social Studies*, 15(2), 137–166. <https://doi.org/10.2979/jss.2009.15.2.137>
- Montaudo, A. (2005). *L'olio nel Regno di Napoli nel XVIII secolo. Commercio, annona e arrendamenti*. Edizioni scientifiche italiane.
- Moroni, M. (2009). Reti commerciali e spazi costieri: il caso di Ancona tra XVII e XVIII secolo. In D. Andreozzi, L. Panariti & C. Zaccaria (Eds.), *Acque, terre e spazi dei mercanti. Istituzioni, gerarchie, conflitti e pratiche dello scambio dall'età antica alla modernità* (pp. 85–111). Editreg.
- Ogilvie, S. (2007). "Whatever Is, Is Right"? Economic Institutions in Pre-Industrial Europe. *The Economic History Review*, 60(4), 649–684. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0289.2007.00408.x>
- Palermo, L. (1997). *Sviluppo economico e società preindustriali. Cicli, strutture e congiunture in Europa dal medioevo all'età moderna*. Viella.
- Salvemini, B. (2007). Far negozio senza informazioni «marinai» pugliesi nell'Adriatico settecentesco. *Quaderni Storici*, 124, 155–202.
- Sanacore, M. (2009). Tra Livorno e l'Egitto: Vita e vicende commerciali di Antonio Kair. *Nuovi Studi Livornesi*, XVI, 121–150.
- Sorkin, D. (1999). The Port Jew: Notes toward a social type. *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 50(1), 87–97. <https://doi.org/10.18647/2168/JJS-1999>
- Strangio, D. (1998). Di fronte alla carestia in età preindustriale. *Rivista di Storia Economica*, 14(2), 161–192.
- Thomas, C. (1984). The anatomy of a Colonization frontier: The Banat of Temešwar. *Austrian History Yearbook*, 19(2), 2–22. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0067237800002484>
- Trivellato, F. (2009). *The familiarity of strangers. The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period*. Yale University Press.

Archive sources

Library Hortis, Trieste (LHT)

- Archivio Diplomatico (AD)

Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna (OeStA)

- Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv. Neue Hofkammer und Finanzministerium, Akten Kommerz (K)

State Archives, Naples (SAN)

- Ministero affari esteri (M),
- Segreteria di Stato di casa Reale, 1734 – 1806, Materie diverse, Anagrafe, Dispacci in copia inviati da Giuseppe Henzel per la commessa dell'acquisto del grano

State Archives, Trieste (SAT)

- Intendenza Commerciale (IC)
- Cesareo Regio Governo (CRG)

State Archives, Venice (SAV)

- Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia (SM)
- Inquisitori di Stato (IS)

Senato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori e residenti, Germania (SD)