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PAUL CERNOVODEANU

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*England's
trade policy
in the Levant
1660-1714*

PUBLISHING HOUSE OF THE ACADEMY
OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA

**ENGLAND'S TRADE POLICY
IN THE LEVANT AND HER EXCHANGE
OF GOODS WITH THE ROMANIAN
COUNTRIES UNDER THE
LATTER STUARTS (1660—1714)**

Translated by
MARY LĂZĂRESCU

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PUBLISHING HOUSE OF THE ACADEMY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
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The rapid expansion of England's trade in the Eastern Mediterranean after the Restoration of the Stuarts and the prominent position this country acquired among the Western nations trading with the Turks account for the increasing attention the insular Kingdom was paying, over the 1660—1714 period, to this region of the European continent. A smooth-going exploitation of semi-colonial type, very low customs duties and new privileges additional to the former ones obtained by means of frequent renewals of capitulations are indicative of the inequality of the English-Turkish relations — produced by the disproportion between either country's development of productive forces, labour division and internal relations. The brisk activity carried on by the Levant Company in the latter half of the 17th Century facilitated — in a more systematic way — the expansion of its sphere of trade interests in South-Eastern Europe, inclusive of the Romanian Principalities which English traders had been visiting now and then since the last years of the previous Century.

In order that the import of the contacts established between states so different as to their social and economic system should be understood it is primarily necessary that the significance of the period 1660—1714 — of a decisive importance for the rise of England to the position of a preponderant big power on the European continent — be shown and that the circumstances prevailing in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania, still under foreign sway, be pointed out.

As it is known, the Restoration of the Stuarts was the outcome of a political compromise between the big bourgeoisie and the old aristocracy, meant to slow down the social and economic changes having occurred in state-life during the Revolution.

The clearly marked trend — that reached a climax by the end of the 17th Century — towards despoiling the peasantry of their lands and towards incorporating the yeomen's small holdings into the big landlords' estates, supplied the manufacturers with more numerous man power. This state of things led to an increased number of manufactures and to a more diverse production. It was particularly the textile industry that witnessed a great upsurge in such centres as Worcester, Gloucester, Exeter, Colchester, and Aberdeen. English cloth used to be exported, in ever bigger quantities, to all the countries of Europe, while the Kingdom's importations consisted of raw materials — iron ores, wood, textile plants, mineral residua, etc. — needed by England's continuous development of her manufactures.

Concomitantly, the government of King Charles II (1660 — 1685), which promoted the growth of the English commercial bourgeoisie through protectionist laws, resumed and amplified the provisions of the celebrated "Navigation Act" promulgated under Cromwell in 1651. In this way England monopolized the entire trade of her colonies, after having forbidden them any direct contact with Europe, and turned into a huge warehouse of sugar, spices, cotton, tobacco and other colonial goods, bought cheaply and sold at high prices on the continent.

Acting according to the Mercantilist theory — that upheld the necessity of an active balance of trade ensured through import restrictions and export incentives — the Restoration strengthened and expanded the old privileges of the big regulated and joint-stock companies, which, embarked on colonial exploitations, were seeking new sources of raw materials and markets for the English manufactured goods in Europe as well, particularly in the Northern, Eastern and South-Eastern areas of the continent.

The "Glorious Revolution" (as later English historians hailed the accession of the new monarchy), a product of the alliance of the bourgeoisie and the big landowners whose interests were in full agreement with the development of capitalism, overthrew James II (1685 — 1688), promoter of a conservative policy, and brought into power the protestant stadtholder of the Netherlands, William of Orange (1688 — 1702), during whose reign the constitutional monarchic institutions gained in strength.

In the years of the rule of William and that of his sister-in-law Anne Stuart (1702 — 1714), England's colonial-naval power advanced by leaps and bounds, thanks to the protectionist custom duties. In a short lapse of time the Bank of England, founded in 1694,

became the receptacle of the metal hoard of the country and the centre of gravity of all commercial credit.

The bulk of the foreign trade increased by 50% over the 1700 — 1717 period, while in 1715 its gross value reached the amount of 14,000,000 pounds. The rivalries which set the European countries against each other enabled England — at that time in the stage of completing the primitive accumulation of capital — to bring under her control in less than 30 years the main sea routes and to gain the dominant position in the most important world markets.

Thus, through the treaty concluded in 1703, Portugal conceded to England the monopoly of the Portuguese and Brazilian markets. After the Utrecht Treaty (1713), by which the Spanish Empire was freed from under the menace of France, England obtained from Spain the trade privilege of most favoured nation and the diminution of custom duties for her exports of woollen fabrics. The United Kingdom obtained from the French the Hudson gulf, Acadia and Terra Nova in Canada — territories that were thriving on the fur and fish trade — whilst the seizure of a number of West Indian islands secured her the monopoly of the sugar production.

In Europe, by being a party to the markedly commercial wars waged by various coalitions against Louis XIV — which succeeded in neutralizing the power of France and that of the Habsburg Empire — Great Britain inaugurated that policy of “balance of powers” which was to be her main foreign policy approach for nearly two centuries. The Baltic Sea became much more accessible to Great Britain after the defeat inflicted on Sweden by the Russian, Danish and Prussian opponents; by the capture of the straits of Gibraltar and of the Minorca island, Great Britain brought under her control the Mediterranean Sea, a most secure route for trade with the Levant and Near East; after the Karlowitz peace treaty England's political influence on the Ottoman Empire increased, while Russia, because of her unsuccessful attempt in 1711, was forced to withdraw temporarily.

It is in this way that under the pretence of defending the nations against the aggressive policy of France under King Louis XIV, the British government — for a long time dominated by the whigs, spokesmen of the aristocratic circles associated with the top financiers — practically supported the colonial expansion of the big bourgeoisie, raising England in the teens of the 18th Century to the position of the world's first naval power.

By eradicating the Stuarts' absolutist rule and by releasing the bourgeois relations of production — already prevailing at that time — Great Britain became in the 18th Century “the classical

country of capitalism", in which the industrial revolution paved the way for the big mechanized capitalist production.

What were the conditions in the Romanian Lands in the 1660 — 1714 period? In Moldavia and Wallachia, with their weakly developed economic and social structure, the feudal relations of production centred over the two branches typical of traditional agrarian-seigniorial societies — farming and animal husbandry. The bulk of the peasantry were the landlords' serfs; under the conditions of a twofold exploitation — by the ruling classes and by the tax collectors, serfs obligations — work, produce and money — increased. The main revenues of the estates and freeholdings came from the trade in live-stock and in animal products, as specific economic and demographic determinants hindered the development of a big marketable grain production up to the 19th Century. The poorly developed handicrafts existing at the time met the limited needs of the rather poor peasantry and townsfolk in the villages and market-towns, while the import of foreign goods supplied to certain extent the markets of the big towns in Wallachia and Moldavia and answered the demands and orders for luxuries of the court and ruling classes. However, the towns — though most of them small and closely linked to agriculture — were centres of handicraft and commercial activities and witnessed as such a certain development; in towns, besides the weekly markets, fairs used to be organized more or less regularly, attended also by buyers and sellers from elsewhere. It is at that time that inns started being built for the accomodation of traders, organized in guilds headed by guild chiefs.

In Transylvania too, the feudal production relations were prevailing in the latter half of the 17th Century. The Hungarian noblemen's attempts to expand the area of their estates and to raise their profitableness seriously worsened the financial situation of the Romanian and Hungarian serfs and of the free tenants, afflicted with marked pauperisation as a result of their lands being broken up, the increased rent and labour services. The handicrafts in the towns of the Principality were more specialized and their products more diverse, although severe guild regulations put a brake on the progress of technics and barred any competition. A new element, however, was the setting up of trade companies, the first being established at Sibiu (1636) by Greek merchants, with whom merchants of Romanian origin and from Balkan countries associated; thus, the exchange of goods with Moldavia and Wallachia became brisker.

The main partner in the foreign trade of the three Romanian Lands was the Ottoman Empire which enforced — with only rela-

tive rigour, however — its monopoly rights on the neighbour countries as well; the foreign trade was concentrated in the hands of — besides the natives — Greek, Jewish, Armenian, Turkish and Hungarian merchants, who were also, to a large extent, lessees of the custom-houses revenues. Obviously, the British business circles did not fail to notice the information, carried in various publications printed in England (particularly diaries and travelogues on the Romanian lands) on the fertility of the soil, the great variety of natural riches, their live-stock and agriculture, their trade.

We quote only one example. In an anonymous descriptive-historical booklet issued in London in 1664, Moldavia was regarded as “fruitful in Corn, Wine, Grass and Woods; It’s most used for Pasturage, wanting People to till it; It breeds store of Beef and Mutton, whereof it sends much abroad into other Countries”, while Wallachia “for the most part it’s plain, and fertile, abounding with Cattle, and an excellent breed of Horses; hath some Mines of Gold, Silver and Iron, Saltpits and all things necessary for the life of man”; finally, Transylvania was described as rich in “Wines, Corn and Fruit... Mines of Gold and Silver ... and many more of Iron, Brass and Copper, and not a few Veins of Salt and Sulphur. Of Cattle they have such abundance, that many times large Oxen are sold for a Floren ... They have also a notable breed of Horses, which are exceeding swift, whose Manes hang down to the Ground...” (*A Prospect of Hungary and Transylvania ... and some other adjacent Countries ...*, London, 1664, p. 34 and 44–45).

As to the political situation of the Romanian Lands, the degree of autonomy they had enjoyed within the Ottoman Empire markedly decreased after 1660, as a result of the efforts made by the Köprülü visirs to put an end to the progressive erosion of the state. The uninterrupted wars that Turkey waged against Austria, Venice, Poland, Russia and later, after 1683, against all the adversaries leagued together, impaired the sovereignty of the Wallachian, Moldavian and Transylvanian Countries not only by increased labour services and impositions for the supplying of the Ottoman armies but also by the obligation of the armies of the three Romanian Lands to participate in the Turkish campaigns. The contradictions within the ruling classes in Moldavia and Wallachia increased in gravity, the boyars split into rival factions, each one fighting to enthrone the agent that would most faithfully defend the relevant class interests. Concurrently, as far as foreign policy was concerned, a number of representatives of the nobility — without renouncing their class stand — went over to the Austrians and later to the Russians, with a view to delivering the Romanian Lands from the

Ottoman suzerainty. However, the policy aimed at separating the Romanian Principalities from the Porte — carried on in a subtle way and in various forms by such rulers as Șerban Cantacuzino, Constantin Brancoveanu and Dimitrie Cantemir — was unsuccessful, which afforded the Turks the opportunity to establish in 1711 in Moldavia and in 1716 in Wallachia the Phanariot régime, intended to enhance the Romanian Lands' dependence upon the Ottoman Empire.

The Habsburg domination over Transylvania, sanctioned by the Karlowitz treaty, intensified the existing internal contradictions, because of oppressive taxes, forced requisitions, compulsory enlistments, and attempts at national and religious persecution, which called forth the discontent of all social classes; the climax of the opposition to the organized exploitation perpetrated by the Habsburg administration was the rebellion of the Kuruts; this rebellion which found a wide response and had unexpected international implications broke out first in Hungary and was suppressed by the Vienna authorities in 1711 after 8 years of fierce struggles.

What could be the import of the exchange relations between England — an European great power whose economy was in full upsurge in the latter half of the 17th Century — and the Romanian Countries poorly developed and subjected to the Ottoman and subsequently to the Habsburg domination too?

England's position in relation with Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania varied with the peculiarities of the Country's situation. Up to the fifties of the 17th Century Moldavia was considered to be placed in an outlying area where the two big English trade companies — the Levant and Eastland — crossed each other. At the end of the 16th Century Moldavia had established direct trade relations with the Levant Company and granted it some privileges; although it was provided that the goods had to be exchanged through the Balkan peninsula, on the Danube or by the Black Sea, the Moldavian market was supplied indirectly with English cloth purchased in the Polish towns (particularly Lwów and Jarosław), where it was marketed by the Eastland Company, the activity of which included the Baltic region.

The agents of the two big rival companies acquired Moldavian exported goods — mainly potash, potash ashes, wood, cattle and hides — indirectly, either in Baltic Sea ports (particularly, in Gdansk) or in Constantinople and Smyrna. Towards the end of the 17th Century members of the Scotch trade guilds, who carried their import-export activities in Poland through Gdansk, settled in Moldavia in order to exploit the potash and potash ashes.

It was by the same route — through Poland, situated in the expansion area of the Eastland Company — that the towns in Transylvania were supplied with English goods (particularly cloth).

The changes that took place in the latter half of the 17th Century, produced by the unsafe roads — an outcome of the uninterrupted wars between Poland and her neighbour states and of the losses of territories in favour of the Turks — made the Eastland Company gradually grow less interested in trade through the Baltic Polish ports and try to acquire new markets in Russia and Sweden. This fact caused not only a substantial diminution in the supply of Moldavian and Transylvanian towns with English cloth, but also a radical change in the routes of the indirect trade between England and the Romanian Lands, that fell within the sphere of activity of the Levant Company. At the end of the 17th Century, the Levant Company grew less interested in Moldavia because of the difficulties of conveying goods across Poland to Central and Northern Europe and began taking notice of Wallachia and Transylvania as transit routes to Vienna and Central Europe. The Company, therefore, urged the Turks to grant its commercial fleet the right of free access to the Black Sea, a safe and rapid route for the Company's trade with areas rich in raw materials; but, as we shall see later, these attempts failed.

On the other hand, the founding and the intense activity of the Greek commercial companies in Transylvania, which in a short time succeeded in monopolizing the Levant exports to the Romanian Lands and Central Europe, compelled the Levant Company to conduct its trade only by the agency of the said Balkan merchants. The failures of the Levant Company and the shifting of the concerns of the English commercial bourgeoisie, after the victorious outcome of the war for the Spanish succession, to the more profitable exploitation of other parts of the world, particularly of the new colonial possessions in the Atlantic and Indian oceans, produced the decay of this big company and accounts for the temporary decline in the 18th Century of the British traffic in South-Eastern Europe which was to be thenceforth supplied with English goods via Vienna and Leipzig.

Consequently, the comprehension of the complex economic relations, sometimes established in an indirect way, between England and the Romanian Countries over the period 1660 — 1714, which — in the light of what has been said above, are only a facet of the trade carried on by the Levant Company in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe — requires the previous study of the general circumstances, under which evolved English trade in the Eastern

Mediterranean, information on the size of this trade and of its effects on the economy of the Ottoman Empire, at that time suzerain of the Romanian Countries, and, finally, an analysis of the Black Sea free navigation problem that accounts for the failure of the English traders' attempt to establish connections with the Carpathian-Danubian area.

These fluctuations of the economic interests in the Levant account to the same extent for the English policy with relation to the Ottoman Empire in the period under consideration.

After 1660, one of the main concerns of the Restoration's foreign policy centred around the re-establishment of the good relations with the Porte — impaired during the bourgeois revolution and Cromwell's protectorate — with a view to freeing the Levant trade from any impediments. The renewal of the Levant Company's old capitulations in 1661 and 1675 and the addition of new ones were indicative of the Ottoman authorities' good will to England who — though requested under certain circumstances by the Christian powers to take their side — unlike France, took a neutral stand in the wars which opposed the Turks to the Venetians for Crete (1645—1669), to the Habsburgs for the border districts in Hungary (1663—1664), to the Poles for Kamensk and Podolsk (1672—1676) and to the Russians for the Western Ukraine (1677—1681).

In this period the relations the English ambassadors in Constantinople had established particularly with the Moldavian rulers referred to the protection requested by the English and Scotch merchants trading in potash; besides, Great Britain's envoys were trying to obtain the support of Ottoman high officials for some claimants to the throne of Moldavia (such as Gheorghe Ștefan and Iliș Alexandru), with the hope that the latter, once enthroned, would be favourable to the economic interests of the Levant Company in their countries.

With prince Apaffy, the state officials and the authorities of the Principality of Transylvania, who required the protection of the Saint James' court and of the English ambassadors in the Ottoman Empire against the Turkish oppression, the relations were, obviously, more complex. As to Wallachia — which at that time had not yet been included in the Levant Company's sphere of interests — the relations were quite casual, occasioned particularly by personal relations between some of the English ambassadors and the Wallachian Princes Gheorghe Ghica and his son Grigore I.

The outbreak of the war between the Sublime Porte and the Saint League (consisting of Austria, Poland, Venice, the Papal State, to which Russia was to adhere later) and the unsuccessful

siege of Vienna did not change at all the policy of neutrality adopted by the Stuarts in relation with the hostilities between the Turks and their neighbours. After the "Glorious Revolution", however, by joining in 1689 Austria, Holland and other countries which, allied in the Augsburg League strove to check the expansion of France under Louis XIV to the western parts of the continent, the new rule of William III was placed in a rather delicate position in its relations with Turkey, at war with the Austrians and their allies. The British monarchy found itself under the necessity to intervene in a twofold way in the South-Eastern conflict, thenceforth known in the European diplomatic circles as "the Eastern Question". It was necessary for England to induce Austria to displace her military forces from this area of Europe and to send them against France and equally necessary to regain the trust and friendship of the Porte and to persuade it to put an end to war, which seriously impaired the trade carried on by the Levant Company in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The compromise reached at Ryswick (1697) by France and the countries of the Augsburg League produced some changes in the situation in South-Eastern Europe, as the Turks, being isolated, deserted by their ally and several times seriously defeated in the Balkan area, were compelled to accept the mediation offered by England and Holland at a time when the Vienna government, anxious over the succession to the Spanish throne and over a possible march of the armies of Peter the Great up to the Buceag and the Danube, was eager to consent to the conclusion of the hostilities.

The Karlowitz peace treaty (1699) — in which the English mediators failed to enforce an equitable solution of the problem of Transylvania — sanctioned the Habsburg hegemony in South-East Europe and showed up the beginning of the decline of the Ottoman power.

The mediation between the Austrians and the Turks afforded the English diplomacy the first opportunity to establish more close relations with the Romanian Countries, particularly with Wallachia and Transylvania — which, by their non-alignment in the ranks of the belligerents enjoyed a special political and diplomatic situation.

The precarious balance of power the Ryswick peace had set up in Europe was impaired by the issue of the succession to the throne of Spain, which engendered a new war between the Bourbon and the Habsburg absolutist monarchies, each of them eager to acquire hegemony over the Continent. The thriving English bourgeoisie, anxious about the possible French seizure of the Spanish

colonial empire — an event which could endanger the supremacy over the sea routes which England had succeeded in seizing from her opponents — induced in 1701 the London government to join, for the second time, Austria and Holland, in their war against Louis XIV. Simultaneously, in this same period, English diplomacy had to grapple with the consequences of the Northern war waged by Charles XII and Peter the Great for the domination of the Baltic Sea and also with the political implications of the Kuruts' rebellion, headed by Francis II Rákóczi, prince of Transylvania, against the Habsburg sway in Hungary and Transylvania. The stubborn opposition to the French influence in Constantinople in order to prevent Turkey from being drawn in a war against Austria, the attempts to smooth out the Russian-Turkish disputes over the interpretation of the Prut peace treaty, concluded in 1711 after the unfortunate campaign of Peter the Great in Moldavia — were facets of the English diplomatic activity previous to the victorious conclusion of the war with France.

By putting an end to the war for the succession to the throne of Spain, the Treaties of Utrecht (1713) and of Rastadt (1714) ushered in a new period of balance of power in Western Europe, while the Eastern crisis after Turkey's ineffectual attempts — thwarted by the Austrians in the years 1716—1718 — to obtain the revision of the frontiers established by the Karlowitz Treaty, as it had managed to do in the case of Russia and Venice — lost much of its sharpness. Great Britain, where the new Hanover House had acceded to the throne — unanimously recognized as a big naval and colonial power, officially governed by the bourgeoisie which had a decisive say in all state affairs — was preparing for new and vast ventures in other parts of the world. Therefore England's trade in Levant gradually declined and her political influence in South-Eastern Europe accordingly; it was a situation that was to last up to the end of the 18th Century, when the reiterated defeats Russia inflicted on Turkey, and Napoleon's expedition to Egypt, seriously threatening the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire and jeopardizing England's communication lines to India, inaugurate a new phase — a more serious one — of the Eastern question.

The diversity of the economic and political relations and also of the cultural relations (on which we do not dwell here) between the Romanian Lands (still at the stage of feudal relations of production and under the suzerainty of a foreign power) and England (which in the 1660—1714 period had turned into a big colonial power), although not very extensive and sometimes mate-

rialized through the agency of another country, testify, however; that Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania had not developed in sterile isolation in spite of the foreign domination but as integrated in the community of the European nations; by taking part in international trade, by the policy pursued in view of asserting their existence as states and by their participation in the circulation of the world spiritual values, the Romanian Countries succeeded in attracting the attention of the English trade companies and of the state highest officials in England.

We think, therefore, that the complex and many-sided relations established between the Romanian Lands and England sufficiently plead for the importance of the subject we are dealing with, especially as it shows one facet of the integration of these lands, in the past, in the world history. We hope that what has been said above points out the significance of the time-limits, the period 1660—1714, we have established for our study. For England it meant, on the one hand, the Restoration with all its consequences and a further economic advance in the Levant associated with an increase of the influence she exerted on the Bosphorus shores and, on the other, the rise of England, after the defeat of France in the continental commercial wars, to the status of a world naval power, a fact that made her change from the Eastern Mediterranean to other, more remote, areas of the world. For the Romanian Principalities this period meant an aggravation of the subjection to the Ottoman Porte which in a final effort was trying in the late fifties to re-establish in Central Europe the former supremacy which after 1683 had been curbed by the Habsburg Empire. The continuous wars unleashed by the Ottoman offensive transformed the countries of Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania into objects of contention between the two main opponents. The Austrian-Turkish wars, joined by Poland and later by Russia, led to the conquest of Transylvania by the Habsburg and, in Moldavia and Wallachia, to the setting up of the Phanariot régime as a preventive measure taken by the Porte resolved to check the Romanian Principalities' incipient gravitation towards the Christian powers and their attempts to shake off Turkey's suzerainty.

Which were the aims in this book and how did we reach them? In the field of the economic relations between Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania and England we endeavoured to define their character and forms — the direct and particularly the indirect ones — to specify the goods that were exchanged, to estimate the weight of the traffic and, finally, their importance for each of the partners.

The information on the subject we are dealing with comes primarily from the archives of the Greek trade companies in Sibiu¹ and Braşov², from the accounts of the court of the Transylvanian princess Anna Bornemisza³, the *Records of the Treasury*⁴, the book of ordinances issued by the Treasury of Constantin Brâncoveanu⁵, the custom duties tariffs at Ciineni⁶, Turnu Roşu⁷, Braşov⁸, Sibiu⁹ and Cluj¹⁰, the document dating back to the end of the 17th or the beginning of the 18th Century in Moldavia¹¹, the archives of chancellor Bethlen relating to the project of setting up a trade company in 1702¹² and also from the published documents regarding the potash trade carried on by Scotch merchants in Moldavia¹³. As complementary sources we utilized the contemporary international trade dictionaries¹⁴ and the data we collected from a few

¹ *Arhiva Companiei negustorilor greci din Sibiu* (The archives of the Greek merchants in Sibiu), Records no. 83—86, 89—91.

² *Acte diverse* (Various Acts), parcel 8—9 and N. Iorga, *Acte româneşti şi cteve greceşti din arhivele de comerţ oriental din Braşov* (Romanian and some Greek documents in the archives of the Company for Eastern Trade in Braşov), Vălenii de Munte, 1932.

³ Béla Szádeczky, *I Apafi Mihály fejedelem udvartársága* (The administration of the Court of Prince Michael I Apaffy), vol. I, *Bornemisza Anna gazdasági naplói (1667—1690)* (The Accounts of Anna Bornemisza), Budapest, 1911.

⁴ The record of incomes and expenditures of the Treasury from the year 7202 to 7212 (1694—1704), edited by C. Aricescu in "Revista istorică a Arhivelor României", Bucharest, 1873.

⁵ *Analefterul. Condica de porunci a Vistieriei lui Constantin Brâncoveanu*. (The book of ordinances issued by the Treasury of Constantin Brâncoveanu) (ed. D. C. Giurescu) in "Studii şi materiale de istorie medie", V (1962).

⁶ N. Iorga, *Studii şi documente cu privire la istoria românilor* (Studies and documents relating to the history of the Romanians), vol. V, Bucharest, 1903, pp. 364—367.

⁷ State Archives in Sibiu, *Zwanzig und Dreissig Rechnungen*, box XXVII, 17.

⁸ N. Edroiu and P. Gyulai, *Tricesima la Braşov in a doua jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea* (The "tricesima" custom duty in Braşov in the latter half of the 17th Century), in "Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai", XII (1967), Series *Historia*, fasciculum I.

⁹ *Vectigal Transylvanicum Hungarico-Germanicum...*, Cibinii, 1714.

¹⁰ *Vectigal Transylvanicum*, Claudiopoli, 1700.

¹¹ Published in "Arhiva Românească", edited by M. Kogălniceanu (2-nd edition), vol. II, Jassy, 1860.

¹² Arh. St. Sibiu, *Fond Brukenthal* (State Archives of Sibiu, Brukenthal fund), A 1—15, no. 139.

¹³ In the annex of E. D. Tappe's study, *Patrick Simson: A Scottish Merchant in the Moldavian Potash Trade*, in "The Slavonic and East European Review", XXX (1952), no. 75.

¹⁴ W. Beck, *The Draper's Dictionary. A Manual of Textile Fabrics...*, London, undated; J. Savary, *Le Parfait Négociant...*, (9th edition), vol. I—II, Genève, 1752; J. et Ph. L. Savary, *Dictionnaire universel de commerce*, vol. I—II, Amsterdam, 1726.

statistical accounts of the Levant Company, analysed in the elaborate monograph by Alfred C. Wood ¹⁵.

The numerous studies of a general character, monographs and special works we made use of, were found particularly in the bibliographies of speciality by Godfrey Davis ¹⁶, G. L. Grose ¹⁷, W. T. Morgan and Chloe S. Morgan ¹⁸, Vojlav Yovanovitch ¹⁹, Fritz Valjavec and his continuers ²⁰, James Douglas Pearson ²¹, Octav Păduraru ²², A. László and József Szentkirályi ²³, H. Madurowicz-Urbańska and collaborators ²⁴, A. K. Sverceskaia and T. P. Cerman ²⁵, Berna Moran ²⁶, Lilija Kirkova ²⁷, John Roach ²⁸, etc.

We hope that on the basis of such sources of information — we have endeavoured to make as comprehensive as possible — we have succeeded in grasping, at least in its essential lines, the character of the relations and exchanges between Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania on the one hand, and England on the other, in the latter half of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th Centuries, as

¹⁵ *A History of the Levant Company*, New York, 1964. As we could not study systematically and directly the British archives and obtained only some microfilms, we were prevented from studying some aspects of the extent — shown by statistics as well — of the English trade in the Levant and of its development — obviously of a more moderate size — in the Romanian Principalities; the reports of some of the English ambassadors in Constantinople and, particularly, their correspondence kept in private archives was out of our reach, which hindered us from presenting an all-round analysis of the economic relations, sometimes insufficiently studied in this book. However, to what extent we have succeeded in bringing into relief the main traits of the English trade policy in the Levant and in South-Eastern Europe is a question which will be answered by future investigations, as in the present work a number of problems has not been definitely solved.

¹⁶ *Bibliography of British History: Stuart Period 1603–1714*, London, 1928.

¹⁷ *Select Bibliography of British History 1660–1760*, London, 1939.

¹⁸ *Bibliography of British History 1700–1715*, 5 vol., London, 1934–1942.

¹⁹ *Енглеска библиографија о источном питању у Европи, 1481–1906—An English Bibliography on the Near Eastern Question 1481–1906*, Belgrade, 1909.

²⁰ *Südosteuropa-Bibliographie*, vol. I–IV, München, 1956–1968.

²¹ *Index Islamicus 1906–1955*, Cambridge, 1958, pp. 568–599; *Index Islamicus Supplement — 1956–1960*, Cambridge, 1962, pp. 178–190.

²² *Anglo-Roumanian and Roumanian-English bibliography*, Bucharest, 1946.

²³ *Hungaro-Britannica Bibliographia (1867–1935)* in “*Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok — Studies in English Philology*”, vol. I–II, Budapest, 1936–1937.

²⁴ *Bibliografia historii Polski*, tom. I, cz. 2; 1454–1795, Warsaw, 1965.

²⁵ *Библиография Типува (1713–1917) and (1917–1958)*, Moscow, 1959–1961.

²⁶ *Türklerle ilgili ingilizce yayınlar bibliyografyası — Onbeşinci yüzyıldan onsekizinci yüzyıla kadar* (The bibliographic list of English publications relating to the Turks from the 15th to the 18th Century), Istanbul, 1964.

²⁷ *La science historique bulgare. 1960–1964 and 1965–1969. Bibliographie*, Sofia, 1965 and 1970.

²⁸ *A Bibliography of Modern History*, Cambridge, 1968, pp. 76–89, 147–155, 182–184, 185–192, 205–214.

a distinct chapter within the history of comparative economics. We do not want to conclude this introduction without expressing our heartfelt thanks to all those who helped us in our endeavours — directors of Records Offices and of cultural institutions, professors and scientific research workers in Bucharest, Braşov, Cluj, Alba Iulia — and particularly to Dr. Ludovic Demény, corresponding member of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences of the Socialist Republic of Romania; we equally express our gratitude to Eric D. Tappe, Professor at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London University.

ENGLISH COMMERCIAL PURSUITS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

1. General circumstances of English Trade in the Levant ¹

It is known that after the Stuarts' restoration, which had put an end for a time to the social and political disturbances England had experienced towards the middle of the 17th Century, the problem of regaining the favourable economic positions the Kingdom had held in the Eastern Mediterranean was very acutely raised ². Indeed, at the time of Cromwell, when the Republic had to cope with other, more urgent needs and the Lord Protector was engaged in strengthening the power of his country against the Dutch, the Portuguese and the Spanish opponents, England, neglecting to a certain extent the Eastern Mediterranean areas, was temporarily relegated to an inferior position on the Levant market. The traditionalistic empire of the Sultans had never recognized Cromwell's protectorate and, besides, for 12 years the English ambassador in Constantinople had been the royalist Bendysh, a representative of Charles I, who — by his attitude favourable to the Stuarts — fanned the Porte's hostility to the English Republic. The trade statistics show that the activity of the Levant Company on the Ottoman market — so

¹ This paragraph was published in a summarized version under the heading *The general condition of English trade in the Levant in the second half of the 17th Century and at the beginning of the 18th Century*, in "Revue des études sud-est européennes". V (1969), no. 3—4, pp. 447—460.

² For the English policy in the Mediterranean in the 17th Century see — though somewhat obsolete — the monograph by J. S. Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean, A study of the rise and influence of British Power within the Straits (1603—1713)*, London, 2 vol., 1904, but for a better-informed presentation of the problem it is advisable to consult the study by Ralph Davis, *England and the Mediterranean, 1570—1670*, in the volume *Essays on the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England* (ed. by F. S. Fisher), Cambridge University Press, 1961.

brisk in the earlier decades of the 17th Century ³ — was disorganized at the time of the Republic, the reasons thereof being the discussions that opposed the republicans to the royalists in the Levant, the slackening of the relations with the metropolis and, particularly, the obstacles raised by the Ottoman authorities who, refusing to recognize Cromwell's régime, resorted to most arbitrary measures. However, as it is known, the Restoration, stimulated by the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy interested in trade, took over as its own some of the main points which the republican régime had espoused in matters of political economy and supported the maritime-colonial expansion of the country, controlled by the big trade companies ⁴.

Since around the middle of the 17th Century, the exploitation of the American continent was still in the hands of the Spaniards and the Portuguese and the Far Eastern markets were remote and unsecure, the situation of the Ottoman Empire as an intermediary

³ Details in M. Epstein, *The English Levant Company, Its foundation and its history to 1640*, London, 1908, X + 270 pp. G. T. Beat's information is also useful: *The English in the Levant*, in "The English Historical Review", II (1890), no. 20, pp. 654—664 and Sir William Foster's, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, London, 1933, pp. 68—78.

⁴ For the maritime-colonial expansion of England and the activity of the big companies in the latter half of the 17th Century and the beginning of the 18th Century, use can be made of J. Evelyn's booklets, *Navigation and Commerce, their Origins and Progress* . . ., London, 1674 and A. Andersen's *An historical and chronological deduction of the origin of the commerce from the earliest accounts to the present time, containing a history of the commercial interests of the British Empire* . . ., London, 1764, 2 volumes; obsolete as far as interpretation is concerned, but rich in factual information, the massive monograph by W. S. Lindsay, *A History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce*, London, 1871—1876, 4 volumes; finally, as items in the current bibliography, we mention the works: S. Cowston and A. H. Keane, *The early chartered Companies*, 1896; W. R. Scott, *The constitution and finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stocks Companies to 1720*, Cambridge, 1910—1912, 3 volumes; G. L. Beer, *The Old Colonial System 1660—1754*, New York, 1912, 2 volumes; J. E. Gillespie, *The influence of Oversea Expansion in England to 1700*, New York—London, 1920; D. Hannay, *The Great Chartered Companies* . . ., London, 1926; A. D. Innes, *Maritime and colonial expansion of England under the Stuarts*, London, 1932; Ralph Davis, *English Foreign Trade 1660—1700*, in "The Economic History Review", 2nd Series, VII (1954), no. 1, p. 150 and foll. and *English Foreign Trade 1700—1774* in *ibidem*, XV (1962), no. 2, pp. 285—303; G. D. Ramsay, *English Foreign Trade during the Centuries of Emergence*, London, 1957, 279 p.; George Unwin, *The Guilds and Companies of London*, London, 1963, XLVI + 401 p., etc. A general survey is presented in *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* (general editors: J. Holland Rose, A. P. Newton, E. A. Benians), volume I: *The Old Empire from the beginnings to 1783*, Cambridge, 1929, XXI + 931 p.; a more recent bibliography may be found in Ernst Schulz's *Englands Aussenhandel in 17. 18. Jahrhundert. Ein Literaturbericht* in "Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte", 48 (1961), no. 4, pp. 503—537.

between the East and the West granted it a privileged place in international trade⁶.

In order to regain political influence and especially to resume — rapidly and on a still larger scale — business relations with the Ottoman Empire, the Stuarts were not late in paying particular attention to their embassy in Constantinople and in reorganizing the Levant Company. The activity of the Company was placed on new foundations through the Charter granted on April 2, 1661, by King Charles II, which, generally speaking, renewed the rights guaranteed in 1605 by James I and added a few new clauses⁶. The Company obtained in this way the trade monopoly in all the Mediterranean ports, with the exception of the French, Spanish and Italian ones⁷. It is also worthwhile mentioning that in this period certain changes in the structure of the Levant Company occurred, which reflected the compromise reached at by the big bourgeoisie and the nobility interested in commerce and finance.

Thus, whereas in the first years of its existence, the Levant Company was controlled by notable and wealthy tradesmen in London, after the Restoration a change in the choice of the leaders

⁶ See particularly N. Iorga, *Points de vue sur l'histoire du commerce de l'Orient à l'époque moderne*, Paris, 1925, pp. 15–16; Fernand Braudel, *L'économie de la Méditerranée au XVII^e siècle*, in "Cahiers de Tunisie", tome IV (1956), no. 14, 2^e trimestre, pp. 175–197, etc. For the Eastern trade routes the following works are important: A. H. Lybyer, *The Ottoman Turks and the routes of Oriental trade* in "The English Historical Review", XXX (1915), pp. 577–588; Barkan Ömer Lütü, *Notes sur les routes de commerce orientales* in "Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economiques de l'Université d'Istanbul", I (1940), no. 4 (Juillet), pp. 322–328, while for the economic penetration of Western Powers in the Eastern Mediterranean at the beginning of the 17th Century it is advisable to consult Gyula Káldy Nagy, *Adatok a kevéntei kereskedelem XVII század elejei történetéhez* (Factual information on the history of the Levant trade at the beginning of the 17th Century) in "Századok", 101 (1967), no. 1–2, pp. 138–147.

⁷ Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, New York, 1964 (a reprint of the 1935 edition published by Oxford University Press), p. 94. See also C. T. Carr, *Select Charters of Trading Companies 1530–1707*, London, 1913, p. 258. It is known that the Levant Company was an association of merchants of a "regulated company" type; its members traded on their own account, observing only the regulations initiated by their administration council and contributing to the common expenditures. The number of merchants was not fixed; to be accepted as members, the candidates had to be wealthy, to produce the evidence of a commercial practice of 7 years at least and to pay entrance fees the amount of which depended on the age of the candidate (£ 50 — those under 25 years of age, £ 25 — the older ones), generally, the membership never exceeded 300. See Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, vol. II, London, Oxford University Press, 1936, p. 365 (The World's Classics); Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 40; N. Iorga, *Points de vue sur l'histoire du commerce* ..., p. 71.

⁸ Paul Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1897, p. 120.

way be noted ; the big merchants were gradually replaced by persons who, though having connections with trade, were, however, noblemen and exercised a certain influence on the country's political life⁸.

It is since the former half of the 17th Century that English trade in Eastern Mediterranean began to grow in size; earlier, the merchants of the Levant Company had managed to reduce the custom duties to 3% of the value of the goods sold in the Empire⁹, while the French had paid 5% previous to the conclusion of the 1673 capitulations¹⁰. The English traders had succeeded in gaining the favour of the Turkish consumers thanks to their commercial honesty, first-class goods and scrupulous observance of the contracts they concluded¹¹. The Levant Company tradesmen learnt much from the discredit cast on their French competitors towards the middle of the 17th Century, particularly in the trade with Turkey, because of the latter's onerous speculations with depreciated currency circulated on the Ottoman market¹², of the low quality fabrics produced particularly at Rouen of the low quality dyes they employed and of the deceitful tricks when measuring the quantity

⁸ In 1673, Lord George Berkeley, a prominent member of the Levant Company and of the Royal African Company, son-in-law of an important high official of the famous Company of East India was elected governor. Other such members of the Levant Company were Sir William Trumbul, Sir Richard Onslow, Lord Chandos, etc. See Wood, *Levant Company*, p. 206.

⁹ After lord Winchelsea was appointed as the first ambassador of the Restoration to Constantinople, sultan Mehmed IV, in token of high esteem for the Stuarts, who had mounted the throne, and of high appreciation for the resumption of the friendship ties with England's monarchy, renewed the old capitulations that had been conceded to this country and even added some improvements. See *The Capitulations and Articles of Peace betweene the Maiestie of the King of England ... and the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, as they have beene augmented ... in the City of Adrianople in the month of January 1661 ...* published by Paul Ryeaut Esquire Secretary to his Excellencie the lord Embassadour ... Printed at Constantinople ..., 1663, 15 p. apud Berna Moran, *Türklerle ilgili ingilizce yayınlar bibliyografyası — Onbeşinci yüzyıldan onsekizinci yüzyıla kadar* (The bibliography of English publications relating to the Turks from the 15th to the 18th Centuries), Istanbul, 1964, pp. 88–89, no. 136. See also *Some accounts of the Levant Company of Turkey Merchants*, in J. T. Bent, *Early voyages and travels in the Levant*, London, 1893, pp. XXIV–XXV and İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* (An Ottoman History), vol. III, 2nd part, Ankara, 1954, p. 232.

¹⁰ Frédéric Abelous, *L'évolution de la Turquie dans ses rapports avec les étrangers*, Paris, 1928, p. 46.

¹¹ N. Iorga, *Points de vue sur l'histoire du commerce ...*, pp. 71–73.

¹² For the financial speculations of the French merchants in the Ottoman Empire, details may be found in Robert Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle. Essai d'histoire institutionnelle, économique et sociale*, Paris, 1962, pp. 261–268 and in Wood, *Levant Company*, pp. 100–101. As to the Anglo-French competition in Levant, see, especially, Walter Frewen Lord, *England and France in the Mediterranean 1660–1830*, London, 1901, 350 p.

of the goods they sold ¹³. The English traders, and the Dutch ones as well, availed themselves of the opportunity in order to gain credit for their cloth, the high quality of which had never lowered on the Levant market ¹⁴. As a matter of fact, as long as the Levant Company had not overtly competed with the East India Company, it had over the French the advantage of trading in the spices shipped from India and in metals mined from its own mines; lead, tin and iron — most often transited through the Baltic shores — were the products which, together with fabrics, were mostly in demand in the Levant, while the English traders imported from the Ottoman Empire particularly fine silks, cotton thread and Angora wool, oak apples, drugs, etc. ¹⁵.

Generally, the English establishments in the Ottoman Empire were less numerous than those of the French ¹⁶, but — undoubtedly — sounder, as they traded more efficiently and securely. The Levant Company was able to place on a firm basis its sales and purchases paid in cash at fixed prices, to proportionate the number of the traders sent to the Eastern markets to the number of consumers and through well-established financial regulations to prevent its employees from resorting to ruinous expedients. Several varieties

¹³ Jacques Savary des Brulons et Philémon Louis Savary, *Dictionnaire universel de Commerce*, vol. I, Amsterdam, 1726, p. 1001.

¹⁴ Commenting upon some aspects of the English trade in Levant, the Venetian bailo Giacomo Quirini reported to the Senate in 1676 that between England and the Ottoman Empire "non vi essendo politici riguardi, subentrano gl'interessi del commercio, e sono eguali le direzioni o forme del negozio, perchè le compagnie di Levante mandano ogni due anni a Smirna 20 o 25 m <illa> pezze di Londra trapanni fini, Londra mezzane ed inferiori, con prezzo dalli ottanta leoni sino a 150; oltre a barrili di stagno, piombo e azzali caricati a Livorno e al Zante, speciarie d'ogni sorte, che in tutta somma rilevano 460 mila reali, ed estraendo seta, galle, droghe, cotonei filadi e sodi, e stami d'Angari", cf. Nicolo Barozzi e Guglielmo Berchet, *Le relazioni degli stati europei lette al Senato dagli Ambasciatori veneziani nel secolo decimosettimo*, 5th series, *Turchia*, vol. 1—2, Venezia, 1872, pp. 173—174.

¹⁵ Masson, *Commerce du Levant au XVII^e siècle* p. 119; N. Iorga, *Points de vue sur l'histoire du commerce*, p. 71; G. Herlt, *Englische Monopole in der Türkei*, in "Archiv für Wirtschaftsforschung im näheren Orient", I (1916), pp. 304—308, etc. The second part contains details on England's trade with the Romanian Lands.

¹⁶ The English had set up in the Ottoman Empire seven commercial factories [besides the old centres in Constantinople, Smyrna, Aleppo, Iskenderun, Zante and Patras which operated under the protection of the ambassador, the consuls and vice-consul in the Greek archipelago and in continental Greece (Athens—1670, Chios—1667, Cyprus—1689, Khandia in Crete—1709, Thessaloniki—1715), in Syria (Tripoli in 1663) and Egypt (Cairo in 1697)], while the French had 24 factories spread along the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean (besides the towns where the English had such establishment, the French had also at Cavallo, Durres, Arta, Modone, Milos, Naxos, Paros, Stankio, Cos, Rhodes, Salda, Jaffa and Alexandria). See Masson, *op. cit.*, p. XXXVIII and Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 121—128.

of cloth were manufactured in England to meet the demands in the Levant, among which: broadcloth, "mahout", "fyne lundish cloth", lundish cloth, longcloth and shortcloth¹⁷. All were made of English wool with the exception of the finest which were woven from Spanish Segvoian wool. The main manufacturing centres were in Wilshire, Devon, West Sommerset and Salisbury for fine cloth, that is in areas richer in flocks of sheep; Worcester, Devonshire and Gloucester were specialized in the manufacturing of low-quality cloth ("dozen", "perpetuana"), in demand among the broad masses of people in the Ottoman Empire¹⁸. There were no specific regulations governing the production of cloth, but every workshop tried hard to manufacture good quality cloth, as the Company refused to export poor ones.

The merchants of the Levant Company were represented on the Levant markets by trade agents ("factors") who, unlike the French ones, were held in high repute¹⁹.

¹⁷ W. Beck, *The Draper's Dictionary, A Manual of Textile Fabrics* ..., without date, pp. 179–180; J. et Ph. Savary, *Dictionnaire universel de Commerce*, vol. II, Amsterdam. 1726, p. 608; Paul Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1911, p. 365. For other assortments of English cloth ("shay", "kersey", etc.), which were exported to the Romanian Lands as well see the 2nd part of the present work.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*. For the cloth manufactures and the trade in wool in England in this period see H. Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woolen and Worsted Industries*, Oxford, 1920; A. H. Johnson, *The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London*, London, 1922; E. Lipson, *The History of the English Woolen and Worsted Industries*, London, 1931; H. Haigh – E. A. Newton, *The Wools of Britain*, London, 1952; E. Casus Wilson, *The Woolen Industry in The Economic History of Europe*, vol. II, Cambridge, 1952; T. C. Mendenhall, *The Shrewsbury Drapers and the Welsh Wool Trade in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, 1953; P. J. Browden, *Wool Supply and the Woolen Industry* in "The Economic History Review", second series, IX (1956), pp. 44–58; K. G. Ponting, *A History of the West of England Cloth Industry*, London, 1957; P. J. Browden, *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England*, London, 1962, XVIII × 242 p.; G. D. Ramsay, *The Wiltshire Woolen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (2nd ed.), London, 1965, XIII + 165 p. etc. In Scotland, there were wool manufacturies at Glasgow (1683), Edinburgh (1683–1708), Musselburgh (1695), Aberdeen (1696), North-Mills (1703) and Gairdin (1704); among others, the company "The Woolen Manufacture at New Mills in the shire of Haddington", founded in Scotland in 1682 was commissioned to sell the product. See W. R. Scott, *The constitution and finance of English ... Joint-Stock Companies*, vol. III, pp. 138–161 and p. 472. The merchant Aubry de la Mottraye, *Travels through Europe, Asia and into parts of Africa*, vol. I (in French version, La Haye, 1727), p. 254, wrote: "Le Sultan, les officiers du Sérail et les grands de l'empire portent plus de draps que personne et toujours de l'Angleterre".

¹⁹ "The Company of English Factors – Wheler, a traveller, specified in 1672 –, is made up of 80 or 100 persons, of which the greatest part are well-connected young men who pay 3 to 400 pounds to a rich merchant of the Levant Company and become articulated for seven years, of which three they spend in London getting acquainted with the business of their chiefs; afterwards the heads of the firm are bound to send them

At the same time the English and the Dutch took the very wise step to organize the vessels bound for Levant into convoys. Thus the Levant Company would send twice a year 5—6 merchant men, regularly escorted by two men-of-war ²⁰.

Thanks to the way the navigation was put into working order, the English suffered far less on account of piracy. The English vessels which by their high tonnage and war equipment were able to oppose resistance ²¹, were also built better than those of the French. In the 17th Century, the total number of sailors hired by the Company amounted to 4—5,000 every year; in addition, in the London docks, 3,000 stevedores, boatmen, caulkers, vessel builders, etc. worked for the same company ²². The most propitious period for the departure of the vessels from Gravesend (at the mouth of the Thames) was considered to be around the 1st of March for the vessels bound for Iskenderun where they arrived before June 1st and late in July or August for those bound for Smyrna or Constantinople. The vessels called in Portugal and Spain, where a part of the goods was unloaded; these goods were paid in Spanish thalers, a currency in great demand on the Turkish market, as it was used in currency exchanges and in usury. The Italian port Leghorn (Li-

to trade in this country entrusting them with their business and allowing them a certain per cent out of which they live in grand style and grow rich in short time, also trading on their own, achieving great profits and incurring but slight losses" (George Wheeler esq., *A Journey into Greece* ... in six books, London, 1682, p. 46; B. Moran, *op. cit.*, p. 105, no. 170).

²⁰ Jacques Savary, *Le Parfait Négociant ou instruction générale pour ce qui regarde le commerce des marchandises de France et des pays étrangers avec un traité du commerce qui se fait par la Mer Méditerranée* (ed. 9), vol. I, Genève, p. 385. Particularly, during the military operations in the wars with the French and Dutch, the merchantmen were escorted in the Mediterranean Sea by war vessels.

²¹ The freight-carrying capacity of these ships varied from 250 to 600 tons and their crews consisted of 35 to 100 men. The vessels "The Eagle" (500 tons and 100 men) bound for Iskenderun in 1604 or "The Hunter" (230 tons and 100 men) bound for Smyrna in 1662 were representative types of such vessels. They were armed; "The Eagle", for instance, was provided with 33 cannons and "The Hunter" with 20, c.f. Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 210. For navigation in the Mediterranean at that time see especially Avelina Teixeira de Mota, *L'Art de naviguer en Méditerranée du XIII^e au XVII^e siècle et la création de la navigation astronomique dans les Océans* in "Le Navire et l'Économie maritime du Moyen Age au XVIII^e siècle, principalement en Méditerranée", Bibliothèque Générale de l'École pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e section, Paris, 1958, pp. 127—154.

²² *The Present State of England*, London, 1683, apud Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

vorno)²³ was the next landing port and farther, Crete or Tenedos, which offered shelter in stormy weather²⁴.

At the beginning of the 17th Century Smyrna too was one of the most important markets for the English and Dutch merchants in their trade with the Near East; they succeeded in increasing the importance of this town at the expense of Aleppo, where the French trade was prevalent. Later, the English extended their commercial activities to Aleppo and Iskenderun and finally to Constantinople²⁵. This town, where the entire economic and political life of the country was concentrated, grew into a very important centre in the Levant Company's trade. When landing, each captain of an English vessel was obliged to produce to the ambassador or consul the list of the goods shipped together with that of the names

²³ Leghorn, this free port, where all the nations, irrespective of their religious faith, enjoyed full liberty and where the custom duties were very low, had turned into a general warehouse of the goods the English and Dutch traders transported from their countries or from the Levant before dispatching them to their final place of destination. See Masson, *Commerce du Levant au XVII^e siècle*, p. 124; Dr. K. Heeringa, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel*, Tweede Deel: 1661—1726, 'S-Gravenhage, 1917, pp. 121—126 and Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 132. 140. More details in E. di Pietro, *La funzione economica del Porto di Livorno alla fine del 600*, Leghorn, 1931; G. Battelli, *Il porto di Livorno alla fine del secolo XVII* and P. Scrosoppi, *Il porto di Livorno e gli inizi dell'attività inglese nel Mediterraneo* in "Bolletino storico livornese", etc. For the general condition of the Leghorn trade see *Storia d'Italia* (coordinata da Nino Valeri), vol. II: *Dalla crisi della libertà agli albori dell'Illuminismo*, Torino, 1959, p. 589 and foll.

²⁴ Wood, *Levant Company*, p. 211, 213.

²⁵ As an example we show the amounts of the foreign trade in Constantinople in the years 1687 and 1710, for which data are available:

<i>In 1687</i>	<i>Export</i>	<i>Import</i>
France	506,520 piastres	170,000 piastres
Venice	366,900 „	283,200 „
England	302,743 „	10,000 „
Holland	197,170 „	53,000 „
Genoa	115,250 „	107,000 „

(see Hurmuzaki, *Doc. privind ist. Rom.* (Documents...), V₁, p. 153, no. CXLII).

<i>In 1710</i>	<i>Export</i>	
England	4,184,000	sterling pounds
Holland	3,697,000	„ „
France	1,513,000	„ „
Leghorn	898,000	„ „
Venice	246,000	„ „

(See F. Pouqueville, *Mémoire historique et diplomatique sur le commerce et les établissements français au Levant ... jusqu'à la fin du XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1833, p. 62).

of the entire crew ²⁶. After payment of the 3% custom duty to the Turkish authorities, various other taxes had to be disbursed, such as *masdariye* (on the goods imported by the Turks), *müruriye* or *bac-i ubur* (transit permit) and *selamet* or *izn-i* (permit for the passage of vessel) ²⁷; finally, the merchants were given the *taskara* (the licence), following which the goods were permitted to be transported to any part of the empire, without being subject to any other tax, except the *misteria* ²⁸, the amount of which varied with the weight of the entire cargo ²⁹.

Because of the general attitude of the Ottoman authorities to foreigners, the goods shipped by the Company's vessels were distributed in an indirect way — and this was a characteristic trait of the trade carried on by the English and the other Westerns in the Levant — through Armenians, Jews and — particularly — through Greek agents, and through them, the Western companies purchased the commodities they needed. It is in this way that, while the Armenians were trying to bring more and more under their control the routes of the caravans from Persia to Constantinople, the Greeks turned into indisputable and practically unrivalled masters of the Eastern Mediterranean Sea trade with the Western countries. Engaged in big commercial operations, they controlled to a great extent the foreign trade of the Balkan countries, the Romanian Principalities, the Archipelago, the Aegean zone of Anatolia, Crete, Peloponnesus, continental Greece and Alexandria, having at their disposal a considerable number of shipowners, sailors, merchants, brokers, usurers, etc. — all well conversant with big-scale trade. Besides Thessaloniki, it was Galata, the well-known district of Constantinople, where poured in the goods imported from the Balkan countries, from the Romanian Principalities and the

²⁶ If these rules were not observed, the English consular authorities exacted a fine, that could rise to as much as 20% of the value of the goods; the same regulations were valid also at the departure of the vessels. See Wood, *Levant Company*, p. 213.

²⁷ R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle*, p. 609.

²⁸ It may be that, at its inception, it was a tax levied from the French merchants by sultan Ahmed I (1603–1617) for the upkeep of a hospital in Constantinople, cf. Lewis Roberts, *The Merchants Mappe of Commerce*, London, 1638, p. 196, apud Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 213. Details on the amount of the *misteria* tax levied for each item exported from or imported in Constantinople by foreigners (cloth, stuffs, leatherware, glassware, metals, paper, food stuffs, etc.) are in the copy of custom house tariff dated May 1, 1714, that the ambassador of Holland to the Porte, Jakob Colyer, forwarded to the General States (see *Traduction du tarif qui règle le droit de la meseterie* in Wieringa, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 359–361).

²⁹ For each item, 1.5% was paid calculated by Weight. See Wood, *ibidem*.

shores of the Black Sea, while the isles of the Archipelago were the usual place for the traffic of smuggled goods ³⁰.

On the other hand, it was in Constantinople and Thessaloniki particularly that the Jews who, though living in communities in Adrianople, Gallipoli and Smyrna, held an outstanding place. They mainly acted as agents between the Ottoman administration and the merchants of the Levant Company; they levied the taxes on all the vessels that entered the Turkish ports, leased custom houses, served as overseers, watchmen, accountants and money-changers, appraisers ³¹.

The strengthened economic position of England in the Ottoman Empire materialized also in the conclusion of the new capitulations on September 8, 1675 ³², at the time of Sir John Finch's embassy; they stipulated particularly favourable clauses for the trade of the Levant Company ³³. The high esteem the remote insular monarchy

³⁰ Mantran, *op. cit.*, pp. 55–56. For the Greek trade in the Balkans and in the Archipelago, see Trajan Stoianovich, *L'économie balkanique aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris, 1952 (Thesis for a doctor's degree) and *The conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant* in "Journal of Economic History", XX (1960), pp. 234–315; M. G. Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1956, pp. 193–204; L. S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453*, New York, 1958, pp. 142–143; S. Kerofilas, *Οι κορσάρροι στην Ελλάδα* (Corsairs in Greece), Athens, 1959, 154 p.; K. Alexandris, *Η αναβίωσις τῆς θαλασσίας μας δυνάμεως κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν* (The renewal of our maritime power under Turkish domination), Athens, 1960, 416 p.; Tasos Vurnas, *Ἀρματολοί καὶ κλέφτες* (Armatolii and Kleftii), 3rd ed., Athens, 1963; Apostolos Vacalopoulos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ* (The history of Neo-Hellenism), vol. I, *Τουρκοκρατία 1453–1699* (Turkish domination 1453–1699), Thessaloniki, 1964, pp. 189–196, etc.

³¹ Mantran, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–62. For the general trade activity of the Jews in Turkey, see also: M. Franco, *Essai sur l'histoire des Israélites de l'Empire Ottoman depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, 1897; Abraham Galanté, *Documents officiels turcs concernant les Juifs de Turquie*, Istanbul, 1931, IV + 255 p.; *Appendice à l'ouvrage: Documents officiels turcs concernant les Juifs de Turquie*, Istanbul, 1941, 46 p.; *Recueil de nouveaux documents concernant les Juifs de Turquie*, Istanbul, 1949; Uriel Heyd, *The Jewish communities of Istanbul in the XVIIIth Century*, in "Oriens", VI (1953), pp. 299–314; Sn. Panova, *Търговска и финансова дейност на евреите на Балканите през XVI—XVII в.в.* (The Commercial and Financial activity of the Jews in the Balkans in the 16th–17th Centuries) in "Исторически Преглед", XXIII (1967), no. 3, pp. 30–60, etc.

³² *The Capitulations and Articles of peace between the Majesty of the King of Great Britain ... and the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire as they have been augmented and ... renewed in the month of September 1675*, London, 1679, 23 p., apud B. Moran, *op. cit.*, p. 103, no. 166 and *Treaties and other documents relating to the Black Sea, the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, 1535–1877*, London, 1878, pp. 3–4.

³³ J. B. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III₂, p. 233. The new items which Finch requested Sultan Mehmet's sanction for aimed at making good the shortcomings the trade practice had rendered conspicuous in the previous concession. The new items envisaged the protection of English trade agents against the possible Ottoman authorities' arbitrariness, uniform regulations for the vessels anchoring in the Levant ports, the lawfulness of Christian witnesses against apostates from Christianity to Moham-medanism. See Wood, *Levant Company*, p. 98. Details on the conclusion of the capitulations.

was held in at the Porte was emphasized also by the well-known historian of the Ottoman Empire, Paul Rycaut, who had been secretary of the English Embassy in Constantinople and later consul in Smyrna: "Of all the Princes so far remote as England none amongst this people stands in better account than His Majesty of Great Britain, not only for the convenience of the Trade, which provides this Empire with many necessary commodities; but for the fame of his Shipping, and power at Sea, which makes him, though divided from all parts of the world, yet a borderer on every Country, where the Ocean extends. And this esteem and honour the Sultan bears towards His Majesty hath been evidenced in several particulars ³⁴, and by none more than by the security and freedom his Merchants live in, in these Dominions, and a readiness always in every reasonable request, to gratifie His Majesties Embassadors" ³⁵. However, the privileged situation of England in the Ottoman Empire was due not only to the absence of any armed conflict between the two countries, but also to the elimination, to a great extent, of the dangerous commercial competition of the other Western states.

Thus, the position of the Venetians in the Levant trade — who a century earlier had been the most dangerous rivals of the English ³⁶ — was weakened because of the high prices of the goods they exported, the excessive taxes levied on the export items, badly-planned voyages, the protracted war (1645–1669) they waged against the Turks for the protection of Crete and later their association with the Saint League ³⁷. At the end of the 17th Century, the Venetians were still holding a certain economic position in the

lations apud C. F. Abbot, *Under the Turk in Constantinople. A record of Sir John Finch's Embassy 1674–1681*, London, 1920, pp. 134–170.

³⁴ Thus, the export of figs, raisins and other colonial goods from Asia Minor, the English had been prohibited from, became free only in honour of King Charles II, for whom the Company had obtained the licence to load, every year, two vessels with such exotic fruit. Through a document dated September 1, 1676, the King renounced his rights in favour of the Company. See Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 98. This privilege is mentioned also in the report of the bailee Giacomo Quirini sent to the Venetian Senate in 1676; see Barozzi e Berchet, *Le relazioni ... dagli Ambasciatori Veneziani ... I*, p. 173.

³⁵ Sir Paul Rycaut, *The present State of the Ottoman Empire. Containing the Maxime of the Turkish Policy ... in three Books*, London, 1668, book I, chapter XXI, pp. 165–166.

³⁶ See also P. M. Sahmaliev, *Англо-венецианские торговые противоречия на Переднем Востоке второй половины XVI века* (Commercial Contradictions between England and Venice in the Near East in the latter half of the 16th Century) in *Ученые записки Азерб. Гос. Унив.*, 1957, no. 12, pp. 113–120.

³⁷ See also F. Braudel, P. Jeanin, J. Meuvret, R. Romano, *Le déclin de Venise au XVII^e siècle*, and R. Davis, *Influence de l'Angleterre sur le déclin de Venise au XVII^e siècle*, in the volume *Aspetti e cause della decadenza economica Veneziana nel secolo XVII*, Venezia, 1961, pp. 183–235 (Actes du Congrès du 27 Juin–2 Juillet 1957).

Balkan peninsula and the Adriatic area only ³⁸. After the Karlowitz peace treaty (1699) they held a minor economic position in the trade in luxuries, particularly in damasks, silks, fabrics made out of gold and silver thread, but they had been ejected from the markets in Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt ³⁹.

The Genoese were ousted from the competition at the end of the 17th Century; the share of their trade in the brisk traffic of goods carried on by the Western naval powers in the Levant dwindled to infinitesimal figures ⁴⁰.

The Dutch were far more powerful rivals, as at the time of Cromwell's protectorate they had nearly gained supremacy over the Levant markets and subsequently continued to hold strong positions particularly in Smyrna. However, in the last decades of the 17th Century, their trade declined rapidly as the impact of the 1651 and 1660 Navigation Acts promulgated by Cromwell and the Restoration as well as the wars caused by the French and by the English ruined the economy of the small Republic whose Atlantic and Mediterranean fleet was sensibly weakened. The accession of William III in 1686 fully subordinated Holland to England. The long series of wars (1664—1667, 1672—1678, 1688—1697, 1701—1713) which required huge expenditures, worked havoc

³⁸ See particularly V. Papahagi, *Les Roumains de l'Albanie et le commerce vénitien aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* in "Mélanges de l'École roumaine en France", 1931, pp. 27—124 and *Aromânii din Moscopole și comerțul venețian în sec. XVII și XVIII* (The Macedonian Romanians in Moscopole and the Venetian Trade in the 17th and 18th Centuries), Bucharest, 1935, VII ÷ 239 p.

³⁹ Mantran, *Istanbul* . . . , p. 537. The Venetian merchants who had let nearly entire trade in spices slip out of their hands, monopolized by the English and Dutch merchants, incurred big losses; on the other hand the sale of cloth was rendered difficult because of the high demand for English "fyne lundish cloth", substantially less expensive than the products of the Republic; and, as concerns other luxuries, the French products vigorously competed with the Venetian. For the Venetian trade in general see A. Bernardy, *Venezia e il Turco nella seconda metà del secolo XVII con documenti inediti*, Firenze, 1902, VI ÷ 142 p.; Dores Levi-Weiss, *Le relazioni fra Venezia e la Turchia dal 1670 al 1684 e la formazione della Sacra Lega* in "Archivio Veneto Tridentino" VII (1925), pp. 1—46; VIII (1925), pp. 40—100; IX (1926), pp. 97—155; N. Iorga, *Points de vue sur l'hist. du commerce* . . . , pp. 3—25; C. Campos, *Il commercio estero veneziano della seconda metà del Settecento secondo le statistiche ufficiali*, in "Archivio veneto", 1936; Bruno Dudan, *Il dominio veneziano di Levante*, Bologna, 1938, 298 p.; J. Tadić, *Le commerce en Dalmatie et à Raguse et la décadence économique de Venise au XVII^e siècle*, in "Civiltà veneziana", Studi, 9, Venezia—Roma, pp. 237—274; *Storia d'Italia*, II, pp. 601—616, etc.

⁴⁰ Mantran, *op. cit.*, p. 521. See also R. di Tucci, *Le relazioni commerciali tra Genova e il Levante della caduta di Chio al 1720* in "Genova", 1929—1930 and G. Giacchero, *Storia economica del Settecento genovese*, Genova, 1952, etc.

of the Mediterranean Dutch trade and in the early 18th Century most part of it fell into the hands of the English and French⁴¹.

The French trade in Levant in the 17th Century began to thrive only after the Mercantilist measures taken by Colbert⁴². The traveller Jean Chardin noticed in 1671 that besides Smyrna, where the French factory had a numerous personnel, the other French commercial stations carried "a so inconsiderable trade that one merchant in each place might dispatch all the business"⁴³. In 1682, in Constantinople there were only four French commercial firms and the number of vessels from France that entered the port every year never exceeded eight or nine⁴⁴. Lord Chandos, the British ambassador to the Porte, showed that the French merchants carried "a miserable trade with caps, paper and other such bagatelli" and led "a mean existence"⁴⁵.

⁴¹ C. Wilson, *The Economic Decline of the Netherlands* in "The Economic History Review", IX (1939), pp. 83–98. Dutch merchants retained important positions in the Far East only, where they continued to exploit the riches of the Indonesian Islands and the Malaysian Archipelago (see Kristof Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade 1620–1740*, The Hague, 1958, XII + 334 p.). For Holland's trade in the Levant see Hermann Wätjen, *Die Niederländer in Mittelmeergebiet zur Zeit ihrer höchsten Machtsstellung*, Berlin, 1909, XXV + 416 p.; N. Iorga, *Les rapports entre la Hollande et l'Empire Ottoman au XVII^e siècle et au commencement du XVIII^e siècle*, in "Revue historique du sud-est européen", XIV (1937), pp. 283–293; Ant. Ernstberger, *Europas Widerstand gegen Hollands erste Gesandtschaft bei der Pforte (1612)*, München, 1956, 53 p.; A. Kampman, *XVII^e ve XVIII^e yüzyıllarda Osmanlı imparatorluğunda Hollandalılar* (The Dutch in the Ottoman Empire in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries) in "Belleten", XXXII (1959), no. 91, pp. 513–523 and particularly Dr. K. Heeringa, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantischen Handel (1590–1826)*, volumes I–III, 'S-Gravenhage, 1910–1914; vol. IV, 1–2 (ed. J. C. Nanninga), 'S-Gravenhage, 1964–1966.

⁴² The French, however, were the first among the Western nations who in the 16th Century, after the Venetians and the Genoese, established economic relations with the Turks by concluding the capitulations and turned into redoubtable adversaries of the English trade in Eastern Mediterranean, cf. A. L. Horniker, *Anglo-French Rivalry in the Levant from 1583 to 1612* in "Journal of Modern History", XVIII (1946), pp. 289–305. As regards the conditions under which the French trade developed in the Levant in the 17th Century, we mention, besides the fundamental monographs by Paul Masson and F. Pouqueville, the works — of unequal value — by P. de Ségur Dupeyron, *Histoire des négociations commerciales et maritimes de la France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, 3 volumes, Paris, 1872–1873; G. B. Depping, *Histoire du commerce entre le Levant et l'Europe*, Paris, 1888; Alfred Martineau, *La France dans la Méditerranée. Le commerce français dans le Levant*, Lyon, 1902, 557 p.; L. Rambert, *Histoire du commerce de Marseille*, tome IV, 1559–1789, Paris, 1954, VIII + 682 p.; R. Paris, *Histoire du commerce de Marseille*, tome V (1660–1789); *Le Levant*, Paris, 1957, VI + 623 p., etc.

⁴³ *Travels into Persia (1671)*, London, 1686, pp. 7–8.

⁴⁴ Le Comte de Saint-Priest, *Mémoires sur l'ambassade de France en Turquie*, Paris, 1877, pp. 302–303.

⁴⁵ Wood, *Levant Company*, p. 100.

Before the measures advocated by Colbert had been put into practice and had instilled new life into the French trade in the Levant ⁴⁶, England had an incontestable supremacy over the market of the Ottoman Empire. The volume of the Levant Company's trade may be inferred from the big deliveries of textiles and cloth that amounted to two-three fifths of the entire volume of the English trade with Turkey in those times ; for nearly 20 years — 1666—1683— the English cloth exported to Levant reached, on the average, 15—16,000 bales yearly. These figures compared to yearly average sales of 6,000—7,500 bales of the Dutch and to the 3,000 bales exported by the French, point out the incontestable prevalence of the English trade. Thus, 82,032 bales of English cloth were exported over the period 1666—1671 (yearly average of 13,672 bales) ; over the 1672—1677 period — the summit of the English trade in Levant — the number of exported bales amounted to 120,451 (a yearly average of 20,075). Between the years 1678—1682, the volume of the trade in cloth slightly declined to 117,914 bales (a yearly average of 19,652) and in the period 1671—1683 the Company sold 238,365 bales (a yearly average of 19,863 bales). As regards the value of the English exports to the Ottoman Empire, although the available figures cover a limited period, they point out, however, a considerable increase in a very short interval : in the years 1662—1663, the exports amounted to £ 367,595 and the imports to £ 167,666 only ; in the years 1668—1689, when the exports rose to £ 466,703 and the imports to £ 191,458, the excess was still higher — to £ 275,245 in the most “authentic” spirit of the Mercantilist theory ⁴⁷.

In the last twenty years of the 17th Century, the English trade in Eastern Mediterranean somewhat declined ; this was due to the keen French competition and also to the sharp rivalry between the Levant Company and the East India Company, each one contending to grasp the supplying of the metropolis with fine silks, spices and colonial produce at the lowest possible prices. The East India Company, whose possibilities of acquiring at low prices silk (from India), spices, calico and other goods, were much greater, had monopolized also the Persian market, as, after having conquered Ormuz from the Portuguese (April 23, 1622), the English strengthened — for several tens of years — their positions in South Persia, as a stepping stone for their advance to India. The effect of the obstructions the Levant Company's trade in the Near East had

⁴⁶ See especially C. W. Cole, *Colbert and a century of French mercantilism*, volumes I—II, New York, 1939.

⁴⁷ Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 101—102 ; see also J. Savary, *Le Parfait Négociant* . . . , II, p. 410 and Masson, *Commerce du Levant au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 125—126.

to grapple with appeared very clearly in the continuously lower figures of its exports : in 1696, it sold on the Turkish market only 9,338 bales and in the following year 6,660 bales. The Levant Company lodged two protests against the unfair competition of the East India Company, in 1681 with Charles II and in 1698 with William III, the result being only some formal satisfaction ⁴⁸, which did not prevent at all the East India Company from continuing its prosperous business. The danger the Levant Company incurred because of the East India Company's competition fully came to the fore in the 18th Century, when the trade with India eclipsed the trade with Turkey ⁴⁹. The situation was further worsened by the exhausting war against the Saint League, which considerably curtailed the purchasing power of the Turkish consumer and diminished to a certain extent the Turkish ruling classes' ⁵⁰ demand for luxuries.

Due to Colbert's reforms and to the upsurge of the manufactures in Languedoc, Provence and Dauphiné, the French trade in Levant improved; the 5% custom duty levied by the Ottoman authorities on the value of goods was lowered in the new capitulations concluded on June 5, 1673 to the same 3% paid by the English and Dutch merchants. The foundation of the Levant Companies (in 1670 and 1678) and of the Mediterranean Trade Companies (1685 and 1689) by merchants from Paris and Marseilles, who made

⁴⁸ See the pamphlet *The allegations of the Turkey Company and others against the East-India Company, relating to the management of trade . . .*, London, <1681>, 8 p., apud Moran, *op. cit.*, p. 104, no. 169; Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State affairs from Sept. 1678 to April 1714*, Oxford, vol. I, 1857; Sloane, MSS 2902 : *Papers concerning trade, taxes & collected by Abraham Hill*, ap. Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 117—118.

⁴⁹ Details in Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 103—105, 114—118; S. A. Khan, *The East India Trade in the XVIIth Century*, London, 1923; Bal Krishna, *Commercial relations between India and England 1601—1757*, London, 1924; P. J. Thomas, *Mercantilism and the East India trade*, London, 1926; C. Lestoch Reid, *Commerce and Conquest; the Story of the Honourable East India Company*, New York, 1948; H. F. Kearney, *The Political Background to English Mercantilism, 1695—1700*, in "The Economic History Review", Second Series, XI (1959), no. 3, pp. 484—496; R. Picard, J. P. Kerneis, V. Bruneau, *Les Compagnies des Indes. Route de la porcelaine*, Paris, 1966, p. 92—114; K. N. Chaudhuri, *Treasure and Trade Balances : the East India Company's Export Trade*, in "The Economic History Review", Second series, XXI (1968), no. 3, p. 482 and foll. etc. On the corruption and nefarious influence of the East India Company on the British Governments, see also the well known article *The East India Company — Its History and Results* by Karl Marx carried in the "New York Daily Tribune", no. 3816, July 11, 1853, p. 5—6.

⁵⁰ The absence from Constantinople of the imperial court and of the high dignitaries seriously impaired the demand for expensive cloth, while the penury of cash that caused some disturbances, particularly among the Jannissaries, narrowed still further the market for most English goods (See the letters sent in 1684 and 1686 by the British ambassador in Constantinople, lord Chandos, apud Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 105—106).

good use of the Cairo, Aleppo and Smyrna markets⁵¹, had an important share in adding new strength to the French trade. In proportion as the economic relations between France and the Porte were developing, the political relations improved too, particularly on account of the hostility of Louis XIV to the Habsburgs' Empire, the most powerful and dangerous enemy of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, France and Turkey found themselves in the same camp and after 1683 the authority of the French ambassador to Constantinople became an undisputable fact.

The accession of William III and England's joining the anti-French Augsburg League increased the difficulties of the London Levant Company and lowered the English trade nearly to the level recorded during the Civil War and Cromwell's protectorate. As the English ships were permanently exposed to the attacks of the French men-of-war from the Brest and Toulon naval bases, the number of convoys to the Levant had to be considerably diminished, the Company being unable to obtain for its ships the protection of the British naval forces concentrated in the North Sea⁵².

The hardships the merchants of the Levant Company had to suffer during the war with France were very severe⁵³, particularly after the disaster that befell a convoy of vessels in May 1693, which was nearly completely destroyed or captured by the fleet of Admiral Tourville in the Lagos bay, along the Southern coast of Portugal (June 16)⁵⁴. Contemporary evidence shows that the godowns in

⁵¹ Albert Vandal, *L'Odyssée d'un ambassadeur. Les voyages du marquis de Nointel, 1670—1680*, Paris, 1900. pp. 99—112; Masson, *Commerce du Levant au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 209—218; R. Mantran, *Istanbul ...*, pp. 563—568; Picard, Kerneys, Bruneau, *op. cit.*, pp. 112—126.

⁵² Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 103. See also G. N. Clark, *The Dutch Alliance and the War against French Trade 1688—1697*, Manchester, 1923, and J. Ehrman, *William III and the emergence of a Mediterranean naval policy 1692—1694* in "Cambridge Historical Journal", IX (1949). etc.

⁵³ Nathaniel Harley, a merchant, wrote in 1691 from Aleppo that the war had put an end to all commercial transactions and that he had not received any letter from his homeland for one year; during the first part of the armed conflict, an experienced businessman like Dudley North, the treasurer in Constantinople of the Levant Company lost 10,000 pounds sterling because of the risks he had incurred, see Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 111; see also R. North, *Lives of the Norths*, vol. III, London, 1826, p. 186.

⁵⁴ The disaster in the Lagos bay dealt a heavy blow at the London merchants but it was in the Levant that the impact of the catastrophe was still heavier. The same Harley wrote that "This last misfortune of our Ships is truly a great loss to the nation, but to the traders hither the greatest they or any other society of merchants ever felt at one blow. I cannot compute this factory's (Aleppo) loss to be less than 250 or 350,000 crowns, which is no small matter among five or six and twenty persons", see Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 111; C. H. Matterson dealt also with the English trade in the Levant in his thesis for a doctor's degree *Trade in the Levant 1693—1753*, discussed in 1936 at Harvard University, but not published as yet.

factories were nearly empty, the company's treasurer in Constantinople had no more money to make the necessary payments, the foreign creditors urged the reimbursement of the debts⁵⁵. In the following years, 1694–1696, the English merchant vessels were able, thanks to the protection given by the Mediterranean naval fleet under the command of Admiral Russel, to supply with goods the markets in the East⁵⁶; the British trade in the Levant experienced some more fluctuations⁵⁷ until the conclusion of the Ryswick peace treaty, which put an end to the hostilities between France and her opponents.

In spite of the French and of East India Company's competition⁵⁸, the Levant Company retained, however, an important place in Turkey's trade. The yearly average of the Company's exports over the 1695–1705 period rose to 14,878 bales of cloth and over the 1705–1712 period to 17,464 bales⁵⁹ – not unsatisfactory figures, but inferior to those attained in the period of genuine prosperity, 1660–1683.

During the war for the Spanish succession, England's trade with the Levant could not be disrupted, because of the supremacy of her fleet in the Mediterranean, the conquest of Gibraltar (1704) and of the Minorca island (1708), but her trade declined to a certain extent. The yearly value of the imports from the Ottoman Empire in the period 1697–1702 exceeded the value of her exports – amounting to £ 295,035 and to £ 173,055 – and remained nearly unchanged also in the 1703–1713 period, namely £ 260,315 – imports and £ 193,368 – exports⁶⁰.

⁵⁵ Wood, *Ibidem*, p. 112.

⁵⁶ Thus, merchant fleets under escort sent by the Company in 1695, loaded with cloth, reached Turkey safely, see Wood, *Ibidem*.

⁵⁷ The yearly average of English cloth sold by the Levant Company in the Ottoman Empire over the 1688–1697 period amounted to some 12,329 bales, some of which being captured by the French vessels or lost on the sea, did not reach their place of destination [Public Record Office, *State Papers*, 105,145 (*Register Books*)].

⁵⁸ The yearly average of French exports to Levant, which varied from 2.5 to 3 million livres between 1670 and 1680 rose over the period 1684–1687 to 5.6 million livres and in the subsequent seven years to 7.7 million livres. After the Ryswick peace treaty the yearly average in the years 1698–1700 rose to nearly 11 million livres, see Masson, *Commerce du Levant au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 286 and 294–295 and Mantran, *Istanbul* ..., p. 556.

⁵⁹ Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

⁶⁰ *Tables of imports and exports relating to the Turkey trade in the eighteenth century* (British Museum, Addit. MSS 38, 349 fo. 339–353). See Wood, *Ibidem*. Compared to the French exports in the 1698–1700 period, the exports were lower; while the value of the French exports amounted to 11,000,000 livres, that of the English exports reached only £ 173,055 or 2,076,660 livres (£ 1 = 12 livres).

After this period, in the twenties of the 18th Century, the trade of the Levant Company with Turkey declined substantially ⁶¹, particularly because the English — without, however, losing their concern for the market of the Ottoman Empire — were far more attracted by the riches of India and America; the main preoccupations of the British bourgeoisie shifted to the Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

2. Impact of English Penetration into the Economy of the Ottoman Empire

The large-scale trade carried on by the Levant Company and the commercial activities of the French and Dutch in the Eastern Mediterranean in the latter half of the 17th Century — had a considerable influence on the economic life of the irretrievably declining Ottoman Empire.

In the course of three centuries, the Sultans' feudal-absolutist state had succeeded — by wars of conquest — in expanding to huge areas in Europe, Asia and Africa, inhabited by numerous peoples of different ethnical origin and with various socio-economic structures. The ruling class — of the Muslim war-lords — did not fail to strengthen their power in most of the invaded countries by getting hold of the entire state machine and by taking into their hands all the military, civil and judiciary functions ⁶². The sultan distributed the conquered lands among the spahis who, under the condition of some military service, benefited of the ownership of these feuds known under the name of *timars*. However, this system was never applied to the Romanian Lands and to the Tartar Khanate in Crimea which had not been annexed to the Ottoman Empire and were considered as vassal states with a semi-autonomous status. When the period of military expansion and of conquests came to an end, in the 17th Century, the spahis were obliged to live on the exploitation of their estates. Availing themselves of the deterioration of the state leadership, the Ottoman big feudals extended their estates at the expense of the lands owned by the petty military nobility and by the peasants, exonerated themselves from the greatest part of the previous assumed military obligations and transformed their

⁶¹ For the vicissitudes undergone by the English trade in the Levant towards the middle of the 18th Century, see the ample account forwarded to the State Secretary on March 26, 1765 by the ambassador of Great Britain to Constantinople, Sir Henry Grenville, headed *Observations sur l'état actuel de l'Empire Ottoman*, edited by Andrew S. Ehrenkreuz, Ann Arbor (U.S.A.), 1965 (particularly pp. 48—67).

⁶² L. S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453*, pp. 96—115.

estates into hereditary fiefs⁶³. The consequences were manifold, particularly the military ones. Thus, the fact that little scrupulous landowners, eager to get rich, misappropriated the incomes of the timars, which normally should have entered the state treasury and defrayed the expenditures required by the recruiting and maintaining of the spahis, the acquisitions of horses and armament progressively led to the decay of the empire's armed forces. In the times of Suleyman I, the number of spahis amounted to 200,000; at the beginning of the 18th Century there were only 25,000 of them⁶⁴.

The janissaries, in their turn, degenerated into a privileged class, more intent on personal profits than on the obligations towards the state⁶⁵.

The decay of the timar system and its replacement by the much more onerous system of the *tchiftlik* (villages working on the seigniorial lands, the product of which belonged entirely to the owners⁶⁶) occurred in a period when the relations commodity-money fully asserted themselves.

⁶³ For the system of *timars*, see especially B. Djurdjev, *Prolog pitanja razvika i karaktera tursko-osmanskog feudalizma timarsko-spahiskog uredjenja* (On the development and nature of the Turkish-Ottoman feudalism; the system of timars) in "Godišnjak Istor. Društva Bosno i Hercegovine", I (1949), pp. 101–106; O. L. Barkan, *Osmanlı devrinin "es-kincülü mülkleri" vega "mülk timarları" hakkındaki notlar* (Notes concerning the estates of the eskingies on the timar estates in the Ottoman epoch), in the volume *Dogum yilii münase betiyle Zeki Velidi Togan'ın armağan* (Symbolae in honorem Zeki Velidi Togan), vol. I, Istanbul, pp. 61–70; K. Bastačić, *Timarsko vlasništvo u feudalnom sistemu osmanlijske Turske (od. XVI–XVII stol.)* (The timar ownership in the feudal system of Ottoman Turkey), Zagreb, 1958; B. Cvetkova, *L'évolution du régime féodal turc de la fin du XVI^e jusqu'au milieu du XVIII^e siècle* in "Études historiques . . .", Sofia, 1960, pp. 171–207; V. P. Mutaščeva, *Sur le caractère du timar ottoman*, in "Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae", IX (1959), no. 1, pp. 55–61 and *Аграрните отношения в Османската империя през XV–XVI в.* (Agrarian relations in the Ottoman Empire, in the 15th–16th Centuries), Sofia, 1962; S. A. Dimitrov, *Ликвидация ленноспазийской системы в Турции* (The eradication of the feudal system of the spahis in Turkey) in "Труды Двадцать пятого международного конгресса востоковедов . . .", vol. II, Moscow, 1963, p. 409 and fol., etc. A general survey of the problem in: M. Akdağ, *Türkiye 'nin iktisadi ve icimal tarihi* (An economic and social history of the Turks), vol. I, Ankara, 1959 and in H. Inalcik, *L'empire ottoman* in the volume *Les peuples de l'Europe de sud-est et leur rôle dans l'histoire (XV^e–XX^e siècles)*, Sofia, 1966, pp. 15–17, 32–33, 37–38, 40–41. A more recent work is by V. P. Mutaščeva and Str. A. Dimitrov, *Sur l'état du système des timars des XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles*, Sofia, 1968, 270 p. + 1 facs.

⁶⁴ L. S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453*, pp. 122–123.

⁶⁵ See M. Akdağ, *Yeniçeri ocağı nizamının bozulması* (The decline of the Janissaries) in "Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi", V (1947), pp. 291–313.

⁶⁶ For the *tchiftlik* system may be consulted R. Bush-Zantner's monograph, *Agrarverfassung Gesellschaft und Siedlung in Südosteuropa in besonderer Berücksichtigung der Türkenzeit*, Leipzig, 1938, and also, the more recent papers: T. Stolanovich, *Land*

The development of the big towns in the Levant as centres of handicraft production and of money-exchange operations had resulted, as early as the close of the 16th Century, in an intensified trade with the West European countries, and in the formation of the relations commodity-money in the Ottoman Empire as well. In order to raise the profitableness of its lands — which meant more marketable produce and consequently more profits — the dominant class of the Turkish feudals began to employ additional labour power (nomad gipsies, fugitive villeins, etc.) and, concurrently, to compel the native peasants — by means of extraeconomic coercion — to increase the marketable crops and the number of livestock.⁶⁷

The ever more profound anarchical decentralization and the ever more severe exploitation of the toiling masses worsened the economic and social crisis of the Ottoman Empire; numerous peasants' and soldiers' rebellions, all along the 17th Century, were among the main determinants of the decline of the Turkish power⁶⁸. The

Tenure and Related Sectors of the Balkan Economy, 1600—1800, in "Journal of Economic History", XIII (1953), pp. 398—411; H. Inalcik, *Land Problems in Turkish History* in "Muslim World" XLV (1955), pp. 221—228; Vera P. Mutafoeva, *Как возникла эфемерность в Османской империи через XIV—XVII вв.* (The tchiflick problem in the Ottoman Empire in the 14th—17th Centuries) in "Исторические Препараты", XIV (1953), no. 1, pp. 34—58 and Florin Constantiniu, *Relațiile agrare din Țara Românească în secolul al XVIII-lea* (The agrarian relations of Wallachia in the 18th Century). Bucharest, 1972, p. 28—32.

⁶⁷ On the general economic and social conditions under which the Balkan peasantry evolved at the time of the Ottoman domination, see — inter alia — B. Cvetkova, *Поземлените отношения в Българските земи под Османско владичество до средата на XVII век* (The agrarian relations in Bulgaria during the Turkish domination till the middle of the 17th Century), in "Исторически Препарати", VII (1950—1951), pp. 158—192 and *Туркиското феодализъм под българските народ* (The Turkish feudal system and the Bulgarian people). Sofia, 1962, 80 p.; L. Stavrianos, *op. cit.*, pp. 138—142; B. Djurdjev—M. Vasić, *Jugoslovenska zemlja pod turksam vlašću do kraja XVIII stoljeca* (The Yugoslav areas under the Turkish domination till the end of the 18th Century). Zagreb, 1962, 222 p.; M. Guboglu, *Catalogul documentelor turcești* (The list of Turkish documents), vol. II, (1455—1820), Bucharest, 1965, p. 214, doc. 715 (for the régime of tributary gipsies).

⁶⁸ See G. I. Ibrahimov, *Крестьянские восстания в Турции против феодального гнета (XV—XVII вв.)* (Peasants rebellions in Turkey against the feudal yoke in the 15th—17th Centuries). Moscow, 1949, 24 p. (a printed epitome of a thesis for a doctor's degree, made by the author); Jan Raychman, *O pewnych zagadnieniach dziejów powstań antyfeudalnych w Turcji w XVII—XVIII w.* (On the main claims of the peasant anti-feudal rebellions in Turkey in the 17th—18th Centuries) in "Przegląd Orientalistyczny", IV (1952), pp. 89—100; A. D. Novicev, *История Турции. I. Эпоха феодализма, XI—XVII вв.* (A history of Turkey I. The period of feudalism of the 11th—17th Centuries). Leningrad, 1963, pp. 177—180. It is a judicious study of the Ottoman Empire's socio-economic situation in that period due to Mustapha A. Mehmet, *Problema orientală și imperiul otoman, 1683—1774* (The Oriental problem and the Ottoman Empire 1683—1774), Bucharest, 1966, pp. 14—20 (in manuscript).

attempt made under the Köprülü viziers to redress the empire remained ineffectual, as the situation was such that nothing could put an end to the decay of the state, in the structure of which had penetrated the germs of decomposition⁶⁹. Consequently, as K. Marx, over a century ago, correctly concluded in the light of the research work made by Hammer, in the latter half of the 17th Century the organisation of the Turkish empire had entered a stage of decomposition and since some time it has been visible that the period of strength and grandeur of the Ottomans rapidly draws to its end⁷⁰.

The aggravation of the crisis in the Ottoman Empire coincided with the development of capitalist relations in the countries of Western Europe, of which England was most advanced as far as the technique of manufactures was concerned; in this way the lag of the Muslim society, petrified within the rigid rules of traditionalistic Islamism, appeared still more obviously⁷¹.

Due to the strong positions acquired in Turkey's economy by way of capitulations, genuine "one-sided concessions"⁷² granted

⁶⁹ The general causes of the decline of the Ottoman Empire are pointed out — inter alia — by N. Iorga, *Les causes de la catastrophe de l'Empire ottoman*, Vălenii de Munte, 1913, 20 p.; Abdoullah Zeki, *Essais sur les causes de la décadence de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris, 1929; L. S. Stavrianos, *op. cit.*, pp. 117—136; Bernard Lewis, *Some reflexions on the decline of the Ottoman Empire* in "Studia Islamica", IX (1958), pp. 111—127 and *Ottoman observers of Ottoman decline* in "Islamic Studies", Karachi, I (1962), no. 1, pp. 71—87; J. Saunders, *The problem of islamic decadence*, in "Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale", no. 3/1963, pp. 701—720 etc. For the reforming activity of the Köprülüs see the useful monograph by Ahmed Refik. Köprülüiler, Istanbul, 1331 H. (1915/1916), vol I (143 p.) and vol. II (156 p.).

⁷⁰ "New York Daily Tribune", no. 4114, June 24, 1854, reprinted in K. Marx *The Eastern Question. A reprint of letters written 1853—1856 dealing with the events of the Crimean war* (ed. Eleanor Marx — Aveling and Edward Aveling), London. 1897.

⁷¹ On the penetration of the English into Levant and on their first contacts with the Turks see particularly S. C. Chow, *The Crescent and the Rose. Islam and England during the Renaissance*, New York—London, 1937 (an abstract in "Muslim World", XXXI (1941), pp. 371—399); A. L. Horniker, *William Harborne and the beginning of Anglo-Turkish diplomatic and commercial relations* in "Journal of Modern History", XIV (1942), pp. 289—316; Orhan Burian, *Türk-İngiliz münasebetinin ilk yılları* (The first years of the Turkish-English relations) in "Ankara Dil ... Dergisi", IX (1951), nos. 1—2, pp. 1—7; Hâmit Dereli, *Kiralıçe Elisabeth dönünde Türkler ve İngilizler* (The Turks and the English at the time of Queen Elizabeth), Istanbul, 1951, 135 p.; O. Burian, *Interest of the English in Turkey as reflected in English literature of the Renaissance* in "Oriens", V (1952), pp. 269—229; Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Türk-İngiliz münasebellerinin başlangıcı ve gelişmesi, 1553—1610* (The beginning and the development of the Turkish-English relations, 1553—1610), Ankara, 1953, XVIII + 230 p.; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III., pp. 224—231; T. S. Willan, *Some Aspects of English Trade with the Levant in the Sixteenth Century*, in "The English Historical Review", LXX (1955), pp. 399—410; Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (2nd ed.), vol. I, Paris, 1966, pp. 551—567, etc.

⁷² K. Marx, *The State of Europe* in "New York Daily Tribune", no. 4054, April 15, 1854, p. 5.

by the sultan, and to the derisory 3 % custom duty on the value of the commodities imported from Levant, England and the other European countries as well contributed to the inner erosion of the Ottoman Empire. The capitulations were the foundations of the legal status of foreign nationals in the Ottoman Empire who, with the approval of Turkish authorities, settled in various centres in order to promote trade and supervise the commercial activity of their countrymen so that conflicts with local authorities and possible transgressions of either side should be avoided.

The capitulations concluded with the European powers stipulated under which conditions Turkey's foreign trade was to be carried on, specified the import and export commodities (a few items were prohibited) and the related custom duties, established that the Ottoman authorities were not entitled to raise other taxes, laid down that litigations that had to be brought before the local *cadi* and that foreign merchants were permitted to be assisted by an official representative of their country. Although the concessions made by the Turks favoured primarily the Westerns, the Turkish feudals, however, were interested both in the export of agricultural produce, food and raw materials and in the import of luxuries, while the state — in a permanent financial crisis — tried hard to bring in foreign currency. If the Ottomans granted the English trade most advantageous conditions, it was because they imported from England — besides the cloth on large demand in the empire — such metals as iron and tin which they used in manufacturing weapons and anchors needed by empire's naval force ⁷³.

The trade facilities the Turks — who had neither big shipping companies nor merchant vessels able to reach the Western ports, except those on the Dalmatian and Italian coasts — granted to the foreign states remained unreciprocated, as the Ottomans had no finished goods to export, but only the raw materials required

⁷³ See E. Mantran, *Istanbul . . .*, p. 212 and 445. A deep-going study of the capitulatory régime in the 17th Century in Mantran, *op. cit.*, pp. 546—552. Further details in A. Schopoff, *Les réformes de la protection des chrétiens en Turquie 1673—1904. Firmans, bérats, protocoles, traités, capitulations etc.*, Paris, 1904; G. Pélissier du Rausas, *Le régime des Capitulations dans l'Empire Ottoman* (II^e éd.), Paris, 2 vol., 1910—1911; Gabriel Bieraunal, *The Origin of the Capitulations and the Consular Institutions*, Washington, 1921; Nasim Sousa, *The Capitulatory Régime of Turkey. Its history, origin and nature*, Baltimore, 1933, XXIII + 378 p., etc. The text of the capitulations concluded by England and the other European Powers with Turkey since the 16th Century in Grégoire Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane ou recueil des lois, règlements, ordonnances, traités, capitulations et autres documents officiels de l'Empire ottoman*, Constantinople, undated, 7 volumes; Gabriel Effendi Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris, 1897—1903, 4 vol., etc.

by the manufactures of the developed countries ⁷⁴. The Turks were aware of the technological advance in the Western countries, particularly in England and were informed of the changes having occurred in manufactures and in sea trade. The Ottoman authorities were obliged, to a certain extent, to be concerned with these facts, but instead of trying to usher some changes in the social and economic life of the empire, conducive to a certain technological progress so far barred by the structure of the guilds, preferred the direct import of the necessary finished goods from England and other countries in Western Europe. To avert economic asphyxia, the Turks were obliged to export raw materials to England and other countries of Western Europe, restrictions being existent only in the trade in food grains — permanently violated by smugglers. Thus in the 17th Century the international trade in the Eastern Mediterranean turned into a capitalist-type trade, organized under the sponsorship of the big international companies, by the English Levant Company particularly, which commanded vast financial means ⁷⁵. As a result of the support given by the English government to the activity of this company in the Ottoman Empire, particularly in the latter half of the 17th Century, England's position in South-Eastern Europe gained strength and her political influence in Constantinople, where — except France — she had no longer to vie with serious competitors, substantially increased. Besides, the Turks, disregarding and contemptuous of foreigners, not only conceded a large part of their trade with other countries to English, French and Dutch merchants, but also did not deem fit to have direct relations with them, so that they conducted trade through Greek, Armenian and Jewish agents who, in their capacity as custom-house officials, brokers, carriers, usurers, etc. made substantial profits at the expense of the state. Likewise, the huge expenditures required by an army and a navy almost permanently on a war footing over the period 1645—1699, as well as the waste caused by the instability of the governments,

⁷⁴ I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 575—580; Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453*, pp. 124—128 and, particularly, E. N. Şahmaliev, *Из истории торговой политики европейских держав на Переднем Востоке в XVI веке* (From the history of the commercial policy of the European Powers in the Near East in the 16th Century), Baku, 1959, 29 p. (an epitome, made by the author, of his thesis for dissertation).

⁷⁵ See also N. A. Smirnov, *К истории борьбы европейских держав за колониальное порабощение Турции в XVI—XVIII вв.* (Contributions to the history of the struggle between Western Powers for the colonial enslaving of Turkey in the 16th—18th Centuries) in „Труды Московского института философии и литературы”, II (1938), pp. 162—175. We mention this study with some reticence, because of the too dogmatic stand of the author who sometimes forcibly interprets the sources of information.

controlled by corrupt and venal dignitaries ⁷⁶ — with the exception of the vizirs Köprülü — compelled the Ottoman authorities to frequently resort to arbitrary alterations and modifications of the currency, to the depreciation of the coins that circulated in the Empire ⁷⁷, worsening thus the social and economic crisis. Taking advantage of the obvious mistrust of the consumers in the local coins, the French merchants particularly and, to a lesser extent, the Dutch and English ones introduced western coins in Levant ⁷⁸ and embarked on large-scale speculations. In order to withdraw valuable coins from Turkey unscrupulous European merchants launched on the Levant market counterfeited or devalued money

⁷⁶ See also G. Jaschke, *The moral decline of the Ottoman Dynasty* in "Die Welt des Islams", Neue Serie, IV (1955), pp. 10—11; György Székely, *Décadence du pouvoir ottoman ...*, in "Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Roland Eötvös nominatae", Sectio Historica, IX (1967), pp. 33—38, p. 45—48, etc.

⁷⁷ The "asper" (in Turkish *akçe*), the small old Ottoman silver coin was continuously getting devaluated; its initial weight of five carats and three grains fell by 1704 to three quarts of a carat; therefore, at the beginning of the 18th Century it was withdrawn and replaced by the "para", at the beginning equivalent to four and subsequently to three aspers. The small brass coins called *mangır*, the value of which in 1665 was half an asper, depreciated so sharply that in 1691, when its value fell to only one tenth of an asper, it was withdrawn. The silver piastres or *ghurushi*, coined for the first time under the reign of sultan Suleiman II in 1687—1688, the weight of which was 6 "drams" (equivalent to 160 aspers), began to be used as a current coin in financial operations in the Ottoman Empire particularly in the 18th Century (See *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, volume I, İstanbul, 1950, pp. 232—233); *akçe*, *ibid.*, VI, İstanbul, 1955, pp. 1025—1026; *ghurush*, *ibid.*, VII, İstanbul, 1957, pp. 282—283; *mangır*. Details in Halil Edhem, *Meskkukat-ı Osmanîye* (Turkish coins), volume I, İstanbul, 1334 H. (=1916); G. Zane, *Economia de schimb în Principatele Române* (Exchange economy in the Romanian Principalities), Bucharest, 1930, pp. 120—121; Ziya Karamürsel, *Histoire des Finances de l'Empire Ottoman*, İstanbul, 1933; A.A. Bikov, *Монетный Типичес XIV—XVIII веков*, Leningrad, 1939; H. Dj. Siruni, *Monetele turcești în țările române* (Turkish coins in the Romanian Lands), Bucharest, 1911, pp. 10, 38, 70; Mantran, *İstanbul*, pp. 231—240.

⁷⁸ Among the foreign gold coins — bearing the general name of *kızıl gurush* — widely circulating in the Empire — there were: the Venetian ducat or *şiorin* (*venedik altın*) worth 170 aspers in 1664, 250 aspers in 1669, 205 in 1676—1678, 100 in 1690—1692, and finally 315 in 1700), the Hungarian ducat (*madjar altın*), known in the Romanian Lands under the name of *ughi*, worth 240 aspers in 1669; among the silver coins: the Dutch thaler (*loeven riksdaler*, in Turkish *arstanlı gurush* and in Arabian *abu'l kelb*), the weight of which was 8½ dram; its value initially 80 aspers for one thaler rose by the end of the 17th Century to 80, 110 and 125—130 aspers, because of the depreciation of the Dutch coins; the Austrian thalers (*reichs-thalers*, in Turkish *kara-gurush* or *riyal gurush*), the weight of which, was 9 drams and the value 186 aspers; the Spanish thalers (*Seville* or *Mexican piasters*) named *reals*, which were successively worth 70, 80, 100 and 120 piasters by 1700; see Zane, *op. cit.*, pp. 123—125, 129—130; Siruni, *op. cit.*, pp. 48—70; Mantran, *op. cit.*, pp. 231, 241—244; Costin C. Kirişescu, *Sistemul bănesc al leului și precursorii lui* (Currency system of the leu and its precursors), volume I, Bucharest, 1961, pp. 100—102, etc.

which further disorganized the currency circulation of the empire by the gold and silver drain, causing thus serious disturbances among the people's masses. Speculation with devalued money was practised about the middle of 17th century by French merchants, who unable to procure the necessary quantities of Spanish thalers eagerly sought for on the Levant markets, replaced them with small silver coins worth five French sols. This small coinage named "*sümün*" in the Ottoman Empire, were well received by the Turks who, at the beginning, exchanged them at the rate of eight sols for one thaler, though they were actually worth only one eight of a piaster and in Marseilles the rate of exchange for one thaler was 15—17 sols. This forced rate of 13—15 *sümlens* for one asper was short-lived as, together with French racketeers, with dishonest Venetians and Dutchmen flooded the Levant market with counterfeit money, the silver weight of which continuously decreased with the result that the *sümün* rapidly depreciated and its rate fell to ten aspers in 1653 and to five aspers — one twentieth of a piaster — in 1669. The Turks, aware at last of the cheat, prohibited in 1670 the circulation of the *sümün* in the empire — a measure which restrained but did not entirely bar the smuggling in of counterfeit currency ⁷⁹. In order to prove that the English merchants had no hand in this harmful traffic (though some of them in complicity with the Dutch smuggled in loewenriks thalers counterfeit in proportion of 30—40 %), the Levant Company ordered that any coin carried by English ships into the ports of the Ottoman Empire was to be examined by the ambassador and the consuls in the presence of Turkish authorities. In the climate of utter financial confusion and administration corruption typical of the Ottoman Empire, the authorities viewed this measure as an attempt to sanction the illegal currency traffic, so that, in 1677, when English vessels having aboard 200,000 Dutch thalers landed at Aleppo, the great vizier Kara Mustapha — anxious to prevent the smuggling into the country of counterfeit money — ordered the confiscation of the entire cargo. Though subsequent checks proved that the coins were of the right weight and not adulterated, the local authorities refused to deliver the monetary stock unless they were given "a gracious gift" of 15,000 thalers, to be deduced from the total sum ⁸⁰. The circulation of the devalued money launched by the Turkish authorities on the market and of the adulterated coins acquired from the foreign merchants by Greek, Armenian and Jewish agents dealt a most heavy blow at the people's masses, the petty artisans and handicraftsmen, the wage and salary

⁷⁹ Details in Mantran, *op. cit.*, pp. 241—246, etc.

⁸⁰ See Wood, *Levant Company*, pp. 100—101.

earners of every description who, possessing only adulterated money, were unable to pay the imposts in hard currency, as required ⁸¹. As a result, riots and disturbances, stirred up by the imperial tax-collectors who refused to accept from the needy people payments in adulterated money, broke out in the capital and in other towns, in which the janissaries participated sometimes, as they did, for instance, in Brussa, Bolu and Kutaieh in the years 1669–1680. The continuously skyrocketing prices, the 1687 severe drought and the military failures in Hungary, Transylvania, Dalmatia and Moravia caused a rebellion of the unpaid army against sultan Mehmet IV who was deposed and replaced by his brother Suleiman II; the janissaries, together with the destitute population, pillaged the serai and ransacked the dwellings of the rich. Some partial financial improvements promoted by the viziers Köprülü did not yield the expected results because of the deep-going corruption of the administration and the huge military expenditure that swallowed up to 72% of the state budget, compelling thus the authorities to adulterate the silver coins which were made out of an alloy of silver and copper or merely of copper ⁸².

In order to improve the deplorable financial situation of the Empire, the Ottoman authorities began in the latter half of the 17th Century to substantially raise the taxes to be paid by the masses and particularly by the subjugated peoples — a fact which did not fail to intensify the resistance against oppression particularly among the Balkan populations ⁸³. The Romanian Countries too, which were noted for their natural riches and, besides, had a status of relative autonomy within the Empire, had to suffer the

⁸¹ See Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman decline and its effects upon the reaya* (Rapport au II^e Congrès International des Études du sud-est européen, Athènes, 7–13 May 1970), Athens, 1970, pp. 13–18.

⁸² For all these, see Ahmed Refik, *Felâket seneleri 1094–1110* (The Dark Years : 1683–1699), Istanbul, 1332 H. (=1916/16), 139 p.; Mantran, *op. cit.*, pp. 254–285; M. Mehmet, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 60, etc.

⁸³ For the peasant rebellion in the Balkans in this period see particularly Radovan Samardžić, *Hajdučke borbe protiv Turak u XVI i XVII veku* (The struggle of the outlaws against the Turks in the 16th–18th Centuries), Belgrade, 1952, 58 p.; L. S. Stavrianos, *Antecedents to the Balkan Revolutions of the Nineteenth Century* in “Journal of Modern History”, XXIX (1958), pp. 335–348; ** *Turski izvori za aidustvoto vo Makedonia (1650–1700)* [Turkish sources of information on the outlaws in Macedonia (1650–1700)], Skoplje, 1961, 140 p.; St. Fisher-Galați, *Revolutionary activity in the Balkans from Lepanto to Kuchuk Kainardji*, in “Südost Forschungen”, XXI (1962), pp. 194–213 and *The Peasantry as a Revolutionary Force in the Balkans* in “Journal of Central European Affairs”, XXIII (1963), pp. 12–22; Sava Iancovici, *Haiducia în Balcani, formă de luptă socială și antiotomană* (Outlawry in the Balkans, a form of social and anti-Ottoman struggle) in “Studii și articole de istorie”, VI (1964), pp. 47–60; B. Cvetkova, *Mouvements antiféodaux dans les terres bulgares sous la domination ottomane du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle* in “Etudes historiques . . .”, II, Sofia, 1965, pp. 149–168, etc.

harsher exploitation practised by the Ottoman Empire⁸⁴, which — without reaching the climax recorded at the end of the 16th century — tended to grow ever more severe⁸⁵; the cession of Transylvania and of other vast territories envisaged in the Karlowitz peace treaty was one of the reasons that determined the Turks in 1703 to double the impost levied on Wallachia, trying thus to make up for the losses incurred.

Summing up, it appears that by the beginning of the 18th Century, the Ottoman Empire, whose military power and influence on international affairs had diminished, found itself in a precarious economic situation which was the consequence of the control exercised on the empire's foreign trade by the English and later on by the French through Greek, Armenian and Jewish agents and also of the Western merchants' interference in the monetary system; this situation was the prelude to the political tutelage that Great Britain and France were subsequently to impose on the Bosphorus shores.

2. The Problem of the Free Trade on the Black Sea⁸⁶

While along the 16th—17th Centuries, the Englishmen, as well as the other Westerns had succeeded, generally speaking, in laying

⁸⁴ In this connection see the studies by M. Berza, *Haraciul Moldovei și Țării Românești în sec. XV—XIX* (The tribute paid by Moldavia and Wallachia in the 15th—19th Centuries) in "Studii și materiale de istorie medie", II, 1957, pp. 8—47 and *Variațiile exploatării Țării Românești de către Poarta Otomană în secolele XVI—XVIII* (Variations in the exploitation of Wallachia by the Ottoman Porte in the 16th—18th Centuries) in "Studii", XI (1958), no. 2, pp. 59—71 and the summarized conclusions in *Istoria României* (A History of Romania), III, pp. 13—24. There is an equally useful paper by Damaschin Mioc, *Raporturile româno-turcești în sec. XIV—XVIII. Lupta țărilor române împotriva dominațiilor străine* (The Romanian-Turkish relations in the 14th—18th Centuries. The struggle of the Romanian Lands against foreign domination) in "Studii", XV (1962), no. 6, pp. 1491—1503.

⁸⁵ An intelligence agent of the Austrian mission to Constantinople recalls on June 18, 1679: "Blos binnen der letzten fünf Monate erpreszte der Groszvezier von den Fürsten der Moldau und Walachei 700 Beutel, was ihn jedoch nicht hindiert dieses Aussaugungssystem gegen sie noch fortzusezen. Wahrlich, die beiden Länder scheinen durch die Alchemie in den Besitz des Geheimnisses des Geldmachens gelangt zu sein, da sie, auszer einer sehr beträchtlichen Naturalleistung an Pferden, Hammeln, Butter, Salz, Wachs, Honig, u.s.w. noch so grosze Geldmassen der türkischen Habsucht zu bieten vermögen", cf. E. Hurmuzaki, *Fragmente zur Geschichte der Rumänen*, vol. III, Bucharest, 1884, pp. 320—321; as a purse (in Turkish *kisè*) contained 40,000 aspers (500 Dutch thalers or 200 Venetian ducats), see *ibidem*, p. 322 (Account of the imperial dragoman Marc Antonio Mamucca della Torre, January 28, 1680), 700 purses contained the important sum of 28,000,000 aspers (350,000 Dutch thalers or 140,000 Venetian ducats).

⁸⁶ A comprehensive summary of this paragraph was published under the heading *England and the Question of Free Trade in the Black Sea in the 17th Century — General Survey* in "Revue Roumaine d'Histoire", VI (1967), no. 1, pp. 15—22.

on firm foundation their trade in the Ottoman Empire and had managed to carry on thriving business transactions in the barbarian protectorates in North Africa, Egypt, Asian provinces and the Greek archipelago⁸⁷ in the Black Sea, however, they met with an unexpected opposition: the Constantinople rulers stood firmly against the Westerns' passage in the Black Sea and against the direct exploitation by the latter of the resources of the limitrophe countries, inclusive of the Romanian Lands which were under the economic monopoly — though not always equally rigorous — of the Ottomans.

The Black Sea area attracted in the 17th Century primarily the English and subsequently the Dutch merchants; this was due not only to the trade prospects, but also to the direct connections that could be established with Central Europe via Black Sea, the Danube with the Baltic Sea (via Moldavia—Gallitzia, Poland and the German States) and with Turkey (via Trebizond); on these continental routes, the Western merchants would have been able to increase the traffic and concomitantly get rid of the Turkish agents from their trade with Persia and the East Indies.

After the English had conquered Gibraltar and the Minorca Island, the Levant Company — whose trade had been seriously endangered during the war with France (1689—1697) — succeeded in obtaining secure navigation in the Mediterranean for its ships. The Company therefore could substantially develop its traffic in Levant and as such grew more interested in the free passage of its merchant vessels, particularly as the Russians, by conquering Azov (1697), could emerge as dangerous competitors.

However, all the attempts of the English — and of the French, the allies of the Porte — were constantly foiled by the Ottoman ruling circles who were deadly set against any cession of their trade monopoly in this area and against the use by foreign merchants of sea routes that were advantageous to the customs interests of the empire⁸⁸.

⁸⁷ For details, see R. Ricard, *Les établissements européens en Afrique du Nord du XVII^e au XVIII^e siècle et la politique d'occupation restreinte*, in "Revue africaine", LXXIX (1936), pp. 678—688; G. Ambrose, *English Traders at Aleppo 1658—1756*, in "The Economic History Review", III (1931—1932), pp. 246—267; P. de Cossé-Brissac, *Robert Blake et la "Barbary Company" 1636—1641* in "Hespéris", XXXIII (1946), pp. 103—121; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, vol. I, Oxford, 1950; G. Fisher, *Barbary Legend: War, Trade and Piracy in North Africa 1415—1830*, Oxford, 1957, etc.

⁸⁸ See Antoine baron de Saint Joseph, *Essai historique sur le commerce et la navigation de la Mer Noire* (II^e éd.), Paris, 1820, pp. 5 and fol.; V. A. Ulianizki, *Дарданеллы, Босфор и Черное море в XVIII столетии. Сборник Главного Московского архива*, Moscow, 1881—1883, vol. II and III, pp. 29, and fol.; P. Masson, *Commerce du Levant au XVIII^e siècle*, pp. 637—639; P. H. Mischef, *La Mer Noire et les détroits de Constan-*

The Black Sea, which in 1475, after the fall of the Genoese Caffa turned into a Turkish lake — just like the Red Sea — consequently became inaccessible to the European countries' trade for three centuries until the Kuchuk Kainardji peace treaty (1774). The produce of its shores and of the contiguous areas were exclusively meant to supply Constantinople, a "tentacular" town whose demands for consumer goods were very high; with its 740,000 people by the end of the 17th Century⁸⁹, Constantinople was one of the most populated European centres and, at the same time, "the golden bridge" connecting the West with the East. In the 18th Century the Black Sea trade was in the hands of "merchants" (*bezirghen*) whose number according to the rather overestimated figure given by the traveller Evliya Çelebi, — rose to 8,000 persons⁹⁰. They had at their command quite a fleet of small crafts (kayaks, barges, *karamüsel*, etc.) which crossed the vast expanses of the sea to Dobrudja, Bugeac or the Crimea, or sailed up the Danube as far as Giurgiu and returned, loaded with goods, to cast anchor at Yebi Köi, on the European shore of the Bosphorus⁹¹. The owners of these ships — the crews of which, according to the same Evliya Çelebi amounted to 2,000 sailors — were not only Turkish big

tinople. *Essai d'histoire diplomatique*, Paris, 1899, pp. 25—76; N. Daşcovici, *La question du Bosphore et des Dardanelles*, Genève, 1915, pp. 74—84; A. Wood, *Levant Company*, pp. 49—50; Gebhard Wobst, *Die Dardanellen Frage*, Leipzig, 1941, pp. 6 and fol.; François Charles-Roux, *La monarchie française d'ancien régime et la question de la Mer Noire* in "La revue de la Méditerranée", V (1948), no. 25, pp. 257—276; Mantran, *Istanbul* ..., pp. 575—589; Paul Gogeanu, *Strămlorile Mării Negre de-a lungul istoriei* (The Black Sea Straits along History), Bucharest, 1966, pp. 42—51; for the Turkish trade in the Black Sea ports in the 17th Century, see also F. Babinger, *Seyyid Nuh and his Turkish sailing handbook* in "Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante", II, München, 1966, pp. 92—95.

⁸⁹ The archives in Istanbul, *Kâmil Kepcioğlu fihristi* (The list of K.K.), the chapter *Mevkufat kalemi* (The Department of taxes), file 3530 (document from 1102 H = 1690/1691) apud Mantran, *op. cit.*, p. 47. Useful for the knowledge of economic life in Constantinople in the 17th Century is also the documents published by Ahmed Refik in the volume *Hicri on birinci asrda Istanbul hayatt (1000—1100)* (Life in Istanbul in the 11th Century after Hegira: 1592—1692), Istanbul, 1931, pp. 25—26, documents 52 and 53, pp. 28—29, document 58, pp. 41—42, document 79, etc., as well as the general information in Afet Inan, *Aperçu général sur l'histoire économique de l'Empire turc-ottoman*. Istanbul, 1941, VIII + 114 p.

⁹⁰ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname* (The Book of Travels), volume I, Istanbul, 1314 H. (= 1896), p. 551, apud Mantran, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

⁹¹ Eremya Çelebi Kômürçüyan, *Istanbul tarihi: XVII asrda Istanbul* (History of Istanbul. Istanbul in the 17th Century), (ed. Hrand. D. Andreassyan), Istanbul, 1952, p. 47, apud Mantran, *ibidem*. For the export of animal fats from the market at Turnu and of the salt from Wallachia, loaded on barges at Galatz, see the firman of sultan Mustafa II, in the year 1695 and the letters of the Muhafiz Ahmed pasha in 1700 apud M. Găboşlu, *Catalogul documentelor turceşti* (A list of Turkish Documents), II, p. 206, document 686 and p. 209, documents 696 and 699.

merchants but also Greeks from Constantinople, who invested their capitals in remunerative business transactions, carried on by a large network of agents in the ports of Dobrudja, the Danube or the Crimea. The products shipped to Constantinople were mainly : food grains (wheat, barley, oats, millet, rye, rice), wax, honey, suet, tobacco, ox and hare hides and also "the yellow grass" used as fabric dye procured from Rumelia, Bulgaria and Dobrudja, and loaded in the ports of Varna, Burgaz, Mangalia, Constantza and Ruschuk ; cattle, grain of every kind, salt, wax, honey, butter, ox and hare hides — acquired in Wallachia and shipped from Giurgiu, Ruschuk and Silistra ; the same goods together with timber for shipmasts and for various constructions as well as potash from Moldavia, shipped from Galatz ⁹² ; lastly, horses, wax, honey, grain in big quantities, fabrics, ox and shagreen hides from the Bugeac and Tartar areas dispatched from Bendery and Ochakov ⁹³. Among the most sought — for commodities imported from Russia, which besides yielded substantial profits, expensive furs purchased by the high dignitaries of the imperial serai ranked foremost ⁹⁴.

In order to get a share in so brisk a trade, the Levant Company merchants, at the time of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, requested the Ottoman authorities to grant to the Company's ships the right of free landing in the Black Sea ports. At the root of this demand was the prospective competition with the Muscovy English Company

⁹² Considered by Dimitrie Cantemir to be "emporium totius Danubii celeberrimum" bustling with international trade exchanges : "Huc quotannis bis vel ter non solum e vicinis Ponto locis, Crimea, Trapezuntio, Sinope, Constantinopoli, sed et ex Aegypto. quin etiam ex Barbaria naves appellant, lignisque moldavicis, quercu cornu, abiete, nec non melle, cera, sale, butyro, nitro et frumento oneratae recedunt, qua ex re haud exiguum cunctis Moldaviae incolis nascitur emolumentum" (*Descriptio ... Moldaviae in Opere* (Works) published by the Romanian Academic Society, ed. by A. Papiu Ilarian, tome I, Bucharest, 1872, p. 13).

⁹³ Eremya Çelebi, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 19, 47, 50 apud Mantran, *op. cit.*, pp. 432—433 ; Ant. de Saint Joseph, *Essai ... sur le commerce ... de la Mer Noire*, pp. 5—8. For the supplying of Istanbul with vegetal and animal products from the Romanian Lands in the latter half of the 17th Century see the narratives by Evliya Çelebi apud M. Guboglu, *Evliya Çelebi : De la situation social-économique des pays roumains vers le milieu du XVII^e siècle*, in "Studia et Acta Orientalia", IV (1962), pp. 169—170, 172, 177, 192—193 and M. Mehmet. *Aspecte din istoria Dobrogei sub dominația otomană în veacurile XIV—XVII* (*Mărturiile călătorului Evlia Çelebi*) [Aspects from the history of Dobrudja under the Ottoman domination in the 14th—17th Centuries (The narratives of the traveller Evliya Çelebi)] in "Studii", 18 (1965), no. 5, pp. 1105—1106, etc. Further details in B. Cvetkova, *Le service des çelep et le ravitaillement en bétail dans l'Empire Ottoman (XV^e—XVII^e s.)* in "Études historiques", Sofia, 3 (1966), pp. 145—172.

⁹⁴ On the Russian trade in furs in the 17th Century see Ianitzki *Торговля меховым товаром в XVII в.* (The fur trade in the 17th Century) in "Киевский Университетский Известия", 1912, no. 9 and R.H. Fischer, *The Russian fur trade, 1550—1700*, Berkeley, Calif., 1943.

that carried on a prosperous trade in the North of Russia, by another route leading to the southern provinces of this country⁹⁵; besides, the English merchants in Constantinople wanted to thwart the attempts of the rival company to establish trade relations with Persia by the Volga and the Caspian Sea⁹⁶. The Levant Company failed to attain these ends; but its failure was partially counter-balanced by the trade treaty concluded with Moldavia on August 27, 1588, by which the English merchants were allowed to freely sell their goods on the country's territory, the custom duty being established at no more than 3% of the value⁹⁷, the same as specified in the capitulations granted by the Porte to English in 1580⁹⁸. The Levant Company merchants, however, could not benefit by this privilege for a long time, as the outbreak of a war between the Ottoman Empire and the Saint League, joined also by the Romanian Lands (1594), deprived them of any possibility to directly trade with Moldavia, and, with the lapse of years, the inoperant 1588 treaty fell into desuetude.

Unwilling to give up their hopes of an active and steady trade with the countries bordering on the Black Sea shores, the English renewed the request of being granted by the Porte the

⁹⁵ Mischef, *La Mer Noire* . . . p. 29.

⁹⁶ William Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade* . . . pp. 17–30; Inna Lubimenko, *Les relations commerciales et politiques de l'Angleterre avec la Russie avant Pierre le Grand*, Paris, 1933, pp. 113–128. See also W. Scott, *The Constitution and finance of English . . . Joint Stock Companies* . . . I, pp. 15–46 and 61–71; E. V. Vaughn, *English Trading Expeditions into Asia under the Authority of the Muscovy Company (Studies in History of English Commerce in the Tudor Period)*, University of Pennsylvania, New York, 1912; I. S. Lurie, *Английская политика на Руси в конце XVI века* (English policy in Russia at the end of the 17th Century), in "Ученые записки Ленингр. гос. пед. университета", LXI (1947). pp. 121–145; T. S. Willan, *The Muscovy Merchants of 1555*, Manchester, 1953; *ibid.*, *The Russia Company and Narva 1558–1581* in "The Slavonic and East European Review", XXXI (1953), no. 77; *ibid.*, *The Early History of the Russia Company 1553–1603*, Manchester, 1956, etc.

⁹⁷ Richard Hakluyt, *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation*, vol. II, London, 1599, p. 290; Hurmuzaki, *Documente* . . . (Documents . . .), vol. III-1, Bucharest, 1880, p. 108, doc. CXIV (correctly XCIV); I. N. Angelescu, *Histoire économique des Roumains*, tome I^{er}, Genève–Paris, undated, p. 317; N. Iorga, *Istoria comerfului românesc* (History of the Romanian Trade) (2nd edition). I, *Epoca veche* (The Old Age), Bucharest, 1925, p. 279–280; N. A. Bogdan, *Din trecutul comerfului moldovenesc și mai ales a celui ieșan* (From the past of the trade of Moldavia and particularly of the Jassy trade), Jassy, 1925, p. 38; St. Nicolaescu, *Date noi* (1) *despre înălțarea lui Petre Vodă Șchiopul domnul Țării Moldovei 1574–1579, 1582–1591, și Tratatul comercial din 27 august 1588 încheiat cu Elisabeta regina Angliei* (New facts on the parentage of Prince Peter the Lame of Moldavia 1574–1579, 1582–1591 and the Trade Treaty concluded on August 27, 1588 with Elizabeth, Queen of England). Bucharest, 1937, p. 12.

⁹⁸ Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, I, p. 147–150; Wood, *Levant Company*. p. 10–11, etc.

right of free navigation for their merchantmen in this area. Owing to the ability of the English ambassador in Constantinople, Sir Thomas Glover, the expectations of the Levant Company merchants were partially met with, as the sultan granted the 1606 capitulations by which they were allowed to trade with Caffa or with any other Black Sea port, provided the cargo was conveyed on affreighted Turkish ships and the goods exchanged in Constantinople only⁹⁹. As a result, the Black Sea kept being inaccessible to foreign ships¹⁰⁰, while the trade activity of the Company had to be under the control of the Turks, who, as intermediaries, derived certain advantages therefrom.

The situation did not undergo any change until 1663, when lord Winchelsea, the first ambassador of the Restoration, tried anew to obtain the right of free navigation in the Black Sea for the English merchant fleet, but his request — in spite of the resumption of the good English-Turkish relations having existed before the bourgeois revolution — was expressly refused. The Englishmen had to yield and to accept only the renewed permission to convey goods to the Black Sea on Turkish ships; later a provision to this effect was introduced in the 1675 capitulation¹⁰¹.

The other Western powers' attempts to enter the Black Sea met with the same rebuff.

In the 17th Century, the French request for free navigation on the Black Sea was repeatedly declined, and Colbert's insistence on obtaining through the marquis de Nointel — the ambassador of Louis XIV — the stipulation of such a privilege in the capitulations conceded to France in 1673 was of no avail¹⁰². Even at the time of the war with the Saint League, the Turks, although defeated in Hungary, Transylvania and Morea and although their armed forces were in a precarious situation, opposed the urgent demands of the

⁹⁹ Noradounghian, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 155—156; Mischef, *La Mer Noire...* p. 30; N. Daşcovici, *La question du Bosphore...*, pp. 78—79; P. Gogeanu, *Strimtorile Mării Negre...*, pp. 43—44.

¹⁰⁰ Exceptionally, the British vessel *The Royal Defence* was allowed to sail on the Black Sea as far as Trebizond, in order to load silk imported from Persia, but the Turks rapidly realized how disadvantageous it would be for their own trade, if the English established by this route direct contacts with Persia; they withdrew therefore the permission they had given in 1610 to the merchant John Midnall to sail as far as Trebizond and forbade the entrance of the English vessels in the Black Sea, see Wood, *Levant Company*, p. 49.

¹⁰¹ Noradounghian, *op. cit.*, I, p. 169; * * * *Treaties and other documents relating to the Black Sea...*, pp. 3—4; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III/2, p. 233.

¹⁰² Fr. Charles-Roux, *La monarchie française... et la question de la Mer Noire*, p. 258.

French ambassador Girardin, suggesting that the Black Sea is a "reserved domain" of the Turkish fleet¹⁰³.

Neither corruption¹⁰⁴ nor threats¹⁰⁵ could change the strong determination of the Turks to abstain from any concession in this respect. Even the Dutch considered by the Turks less dangerous -- who had obtained by the capitulations signed in 1680 the right to trade throughout the empire, the Black Sea inclusive¹⁰⁶ and roused thereby the apprehensions of their competitors¹⁰⁷ -- could only now and then benefit by the prerogatives they obtained¹⁰⁸; most often, their ships, under various pretexts¹⁰⁹ were forbidden

¹⁰³ Masson, *Commerce du Levant au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 287–288. The Turkish high officials retorted to the ambassador Girardin that the sultan would rather open to foreigners the gates of the harem than allow them entrance to the Black Sea (Masson, *Commerce du Levant au XVIII^e siècle*, p. 638; Wood, *Levant Company*, p. 49; Charles Roux, *op. cit.*, p. 259).

¹⁰⁴ In the early 17th Century, the Venetians squandered vainly large sums to bribe some officials of the Porte (Masson, *ibidem*, p. 637); the French acted in the same way also without any result (Mischef, *La Mer Noire ...*, pp. 25–26).

¹⁰⁵ The Turks were not intimidated by the naval demonstrations of tsar Peter the Great who had built a flotilla in the Azov Sea and in 1700 had sent to Constantinople his ambassador Ukraintzev, on board the man-of-war "Крепость", see Mischef, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–57; Daşcovici, *La question du Bosphore ...*, pp. 98–99; B. H. Sumner, *Peter the Great and the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford, 1949, pp. 19–20; Gogeanu, *Strâmtoarele Mării Negre ...* (The Straits of the Black Sea), pp. 47–48.

¹⁰⁶ Noradoughian, *op. cit.*, I, p. 181; * *. *Treaties ... relating to the Black Sea*, p. 4, etc.

¹⁰⁷ A Venetian account revealed as early as August 25, 1674 the intentions of the Dutch to trade directly with the Danubian and Black Sea ports: "considerabile è l'introduzione del negotio che per via del Danubio si pensa fare dalle Olandesi al Caffa". See Mantran, *Istanbul ...*, p. 575. One month earlier, the Dutch resident in Constantinople, Justinus Colyer, noted in his correspondence the presence at Galatz of a Dutch galliot "Postillon", under the command of captain Willem Adriaense, see K. Heeringa, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel*, vol. II, p. 138.

¹⁰⁸ In 1681, the Irish traveller John De Burgh (known under the Italianate name Giovanni de Burgho), noted the presence of Dutch merchants on the Danube; they had a warehouse at Galatz and a permanent correspondent at Kiliya. See *Viaggio de cinque anni in Asia, Africa e Europa*, volume III, Milano, 1686, p. 138; P. P. Panaitescu, *Doi călători italieni necunoscuți în țările noastre* (Two unknown Italian travellers in our lands) in "Studii italiene", I (1934), p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ Mantran, *op. cit.*, p. 575. Therefore, in their trade with Persia, they most frequently resorted to the service of the Armenian merchants in Trebizond who in the fairs held in this town every year marketed silk fabrics embroidered with gold threads from Baghdad and Cairo, precious stones from India and Persia, silk and cotton textures from India and China, etc. and purchased Dutch cloth and stuffs. Details on the Armenians' traffic at Trebizond and in Asia Minor in: H. Dj. Siruni, *Armenii în viața economică a țărilor române* (The Armenians in the economic life of the Romanian Lands), Bucharest, 1944, pp. 28–32, etc. Recently this subject was dealt with by John Carswell, *The Armenians and the East-West Trade through Persia in the XVIIIth Century in Sociétés et Compagnies de Commerce en Orient et dans l'Océan Indien*. Actes du VIII^e Colloque International d'Histoire Maritime (Beyrouth, 5–10 September 1966), Paris, 1970, pp. 481–486.

to enter the Bosphorus straits and the outbreak of the war with the Austrians in 1683 completely disrupted this incipient traffic, which the Dutch were never to resume.

Towards the end of the 17th Century the Russian penetration further complicated the Black Sea problem.

Peter the Great's Russia — a member of the Saint League set up by Austria, Poland and Venice against Turkey — succeeded, as a result of the victorious war that compelled the Turks to conclude the Karlowitz (1699) and Constantinople (1700) peace treaties in getting hold of the Azov port and to cut a passage to the Black Sea¹¹⁰. The Russian expansion worried the English, the Dutch and the French, who could not agree with the possible presence of the tsar's vessels on the expanses of this sea. Though each power acted according to its own interest, the Western diplomacy of Constantinople, as a whole, made every possible effort in 1700 to induce the Porte to grant only some formal privileges meant to appease Russia's ambitions and to bar this country's interference in the Oriental question¹¹¹.

The Russians, therefore, vainly asked of the Turks the permission to trade freely in the Black Sea area; all what they got was the right to reload their goods on Turkish vessels at Kerch situated at the juncture of the Azov Sea with the Black Sea; thus, their trade with the Ottoman Empire was carried on mainly through the agency of Turkish merchants¹¹², as the Russian merchants did not obtain the privileges granted by capitulations.

¹¹⁰ On this problem see the work by N. N. Kochetkov and H. I. Muratov *Борьба России за выход к Черному морю* (The struggle of Russia for an outlet to the Black Sea), Moscow, 1951, 55 p.

¹¹¹ The ambassador sent by Peter the Great to Constantinople in 1700 to conclude the peace treaty with Turkey, Emilian Ignatievitch Ukraintzev, reported to the tsar: "As concerns the Austrian, Venetian, English and Dutch Ambassadors, I don't think they would give us any help ... The English and Dutch Ambassadors fully side with the Turks and it is their welfare that they wish for rather than yours, great ruler. The English and Dutch sea trade with the Ottoman Empire has been important and rich since ancient times and the fact that you have begun to build a fleet ... at Azov and Arkhangelsk kindles their envy and hatred, as they consider it to greatly endanger their own sea trade", See Serghei Soloviev, *История России с древнейших времен*, vol. XIV, Moscow, 1879, pp. 301 and 302; Mischef, *La Mer Noire*, pp. 52—53; Sumner, *Peter the Great and the Ottoman Empire* ..., pp. 23—24. For the mission of Ukraintzev see particularly M. M. Bogoslovski, *Пепел I* ..., том V. *Миссия Е. И. Украинцева в Константинополь, 1699—1700*, Leningrad, 1948, 313 p.

¹¹² The demands for Russian free trade on the Black Sea, made by the envoy the tsar sent to Constantinople in 1700 in order to ratify the peace treaty, prince Dmitri Golitzin, met with a strong opposition on the part of the Porte. The Russian diplomat wrote to the tsar that the great dragoman of the Porte, Alexander Mavrocordat Exaporit, had told him that the Black Sea was for the Turks as dear as "a chaste and

The Turks were continuously haunted by the idea that they should forbid, at any cost, foreigners to navigate and trade in the Black Sea area; therefore, one of the main objectives of their policy after 1700 was the reconquest of the Azov Sea. This stand was also supported by the Tatars' Khans in the Crimea who, in their turn, could not tolerate the Russian expansion towards the shores of the Black Sea ¹¹³, as they feared their state would be isolated and erased. These reasons account for the Porte's and the Tartarian Khanate's hostility towards Russia during the Northern wars and for the alliance Turkey made with the Swedes after Charles XII had been defeated at Poltava in 1709 ¹¹⁴.

Owing to Peter the Great's failure in the 1711 Russian-Turkish war and to the Prut compromise, the Turks regained the Azov

pure virgin" and consequently the entrance of foreign vessels in this area was strongly forbidden; Mavrocordat added that on the day foreign vessels would navigate on the Black Sea. "the Ottoman Empire would come to its end" (Gebhard Wobst, *Die Dardanellen frage* ..., p. 6). Reis-effendi Abdi effendi Sheikhezadé said that "the Sultan is as keen on the Black Sea as he is on his own palace; the foreigners cannot enter it and he would prefer to wage war rather than allow other nations to navigate on this interior sea. (See Soloviov, *op. cit.*, vol. XIV, Moscow, 1881, p. 68). The patriarch of Jerusalem too, Dositheos II Notara, tried to persuade Golitzin to desist from his vain demands for free trade on the Black Sea: "Don't talk any more about trade in the Black Sea; If you persist, you may jeopardize the peace by frightening the Turks, who will start preparations for a new war against your master. The Turks want to bar the strait that connects the Black Sea with the Azov Sea and build there several fortresses to prevent the Russian ships from entering the Black Sea ... what they dread most is the tsar's fleet ... and they are quite aware that the fleet is being built against them ... However much you'll insist, you will never obtain of their own will free navigation of the Black Sea" (Soloviov, *ibidem*, pp. 68–69; N. Kapterev, *Сношения Иерусалимского патриарха Досифея с русским правительством (1669–1707 гг.)* (The connections of the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos with the Russian authorities, 1669–1707), Moscow, 1891, pp. 215–216. See also. Mischef, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–67; Dăscovici, *La question du Bosphore* ... pp. 98–108; Gogeanu, *Strămtorile Mării Negre*... (The Straits of the Black Sea...), pp. 47–51.

¹¹³ The building up of the Azov Sea fleet, as a prelude to the entry of the Russian vessels in the Black Sea, testifies to the same wish for expansion. See the discussion in K. Niculchenkov, *Создание Азовского флота* (The Creation of the Azov Sea Fleet) in „Морской сборник”, VI (1939), pp. 64–76.

¹¹⁴ For all these questions see particularly A. Z. Mishlaevski, *Россия и Турция перед Прутским походом* (Russia and Turkey before the Prut campaign), Petersburg, 1901; T. R. Krilova, *Русско-турецкие отношения во время Северной войны* (Russian-Turkish relations during the Northern War) in „Исторические записки”, X (1941), pp. 250–279; Sumner, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–38, 61–63; V. E. Shutov, *Позиция Турции в годы Северной войны 1700–1709* (Turkish stand during the Northern War 1700–1709) in the volume *Полтавская победа*, Moscow, 1959, pp. 103–162 and T. K. Krilova, *Русская дипломатия на Босфоре в начале XVIII в. (1700–1709)* (Russian diplomacy at Bosphorus at the beginning of the 18th Century) in „Исторические записки”, 1959, pp. 249–277.

Sea; they could thus keep on their domination over the Black Sea for several dozens of years, but the situation was incessantly deteriorating ¹¹⁵.

The efforts made by England and by other European great powers in the 17th and in the earlier half of the 18th Centuries to acquire the right of free navigation and trade on the Black Sea were unsuccessful. The reason that induced the Turks to reject these demands was not only the necessity of ensuring the supply of Constantinople and of keeping in their hands the monopoly on the exploitation of the resources of the Black Sea and of adjacent areas, but also the fear of being deprived — by letting foreigners pass freely to Persia — of the benefits they derived from the transit trade through Aleppo and Smyrna carried on by the caravans of merchants from Ispahan and India.



A general survey of the English commercial policy in Levant at the end of the 17th and at the beginning of the 18th Centuries shows us that England succeeded — after a harsh struggle waged against the Dutch and French competitors — in strengthening its economic position in the Ottoman Empire and in deriving sizable gains from the brisk traffic it carried on in this part of the world. By rigorously applying the Mercantile principles, it transformed the Eastern Mediterranean area into a source of raw materials which her thriving industry needed and also into a market for the sale of her manufactured goods and colonial commodities reexported from the East and the American colonies.

The Levant Company merchants enjoyed a high prestige among the Turkish authorities, who respected them not only for their honesty as traders, but also for the high quality of the goods they sold on the Eastern Mediterranean markets; at the same time, the policy of non-interference and strict neutrality of the English as regards the conflicts of the Turks with the Christian powers — even when England sided with the adversaries of the Turkish Empire — enabled England to continue without interruption her

¹¹⁵ Since 1706 the French had succeeded in infiltrating into the Crimea where they were permitted by the Tartarian Khans to set up a consular agency at Baktch-Sarai, having in mind, much the same as the English, to establish thriving trade relations with Persia via Trebizond and Erzurum (See Masson, *Commerce du Levant au XVIII^e siècle*, pp. 638—639; Charles Roux, *La monarchie française . . . et la question de la Mer Noire*, pp. 259—262), while the Russian reconquered the Azov Sea following the new war with the Turks, that came to an end in 1739, when the Belgrade peace treaty was concluded.

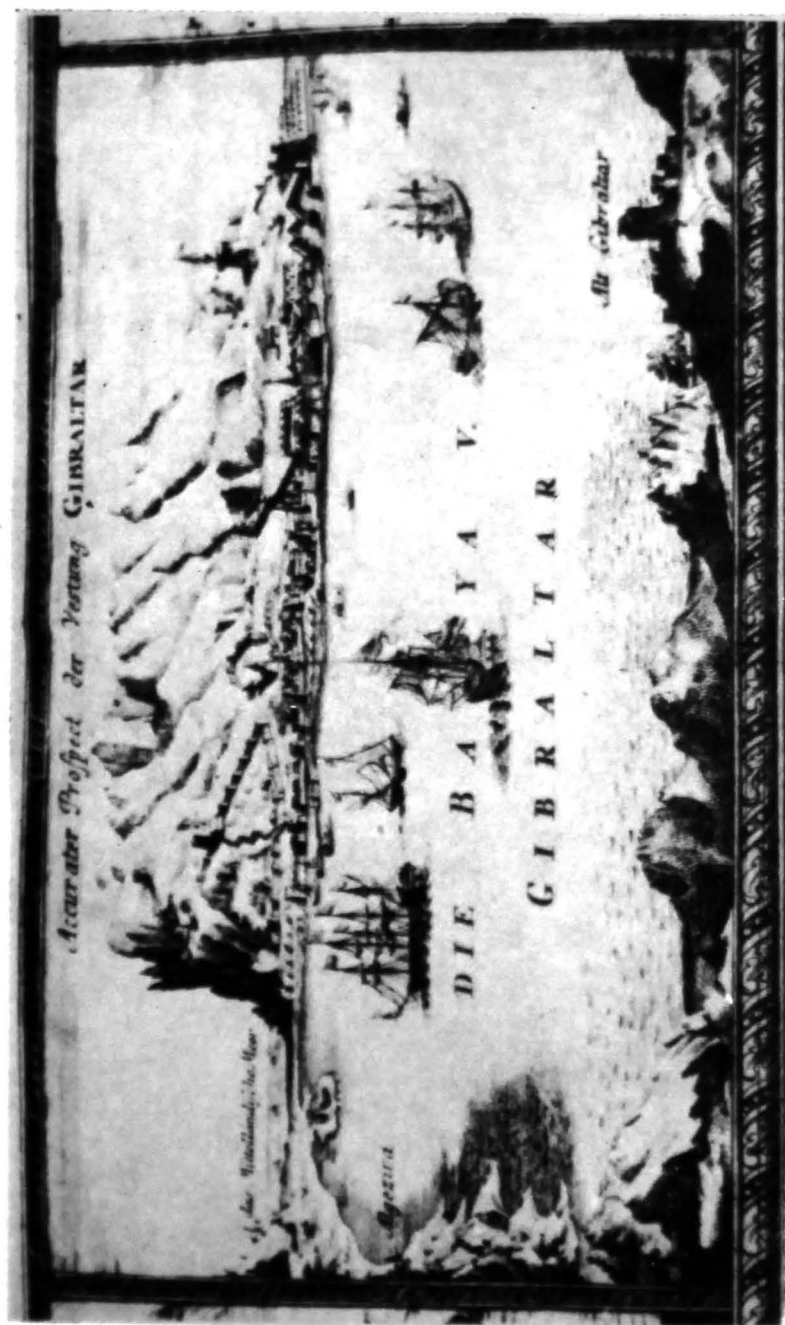


Fig. 1. — Vessels crossing the Straits of Gibraltar (Engraving by J. B. Homan, *Atlas Major* ..., plate VI; The Cabinet of maps — Library of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania).

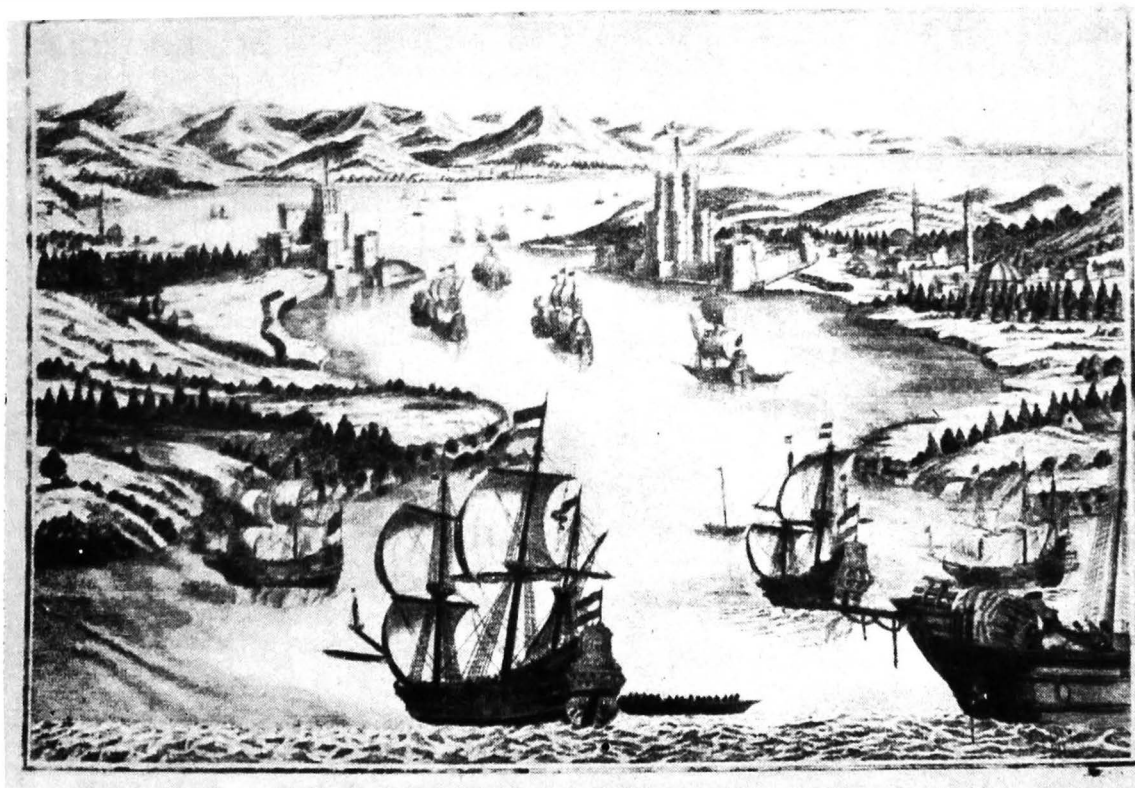


Fig. 2. — Western vessels in the Straits of Dardanelles (18th Century engraving by Georg Bal-
thasar Probst : The Cabinet of engravings — Library of the Academy of the Socialist Republic
of Romania).

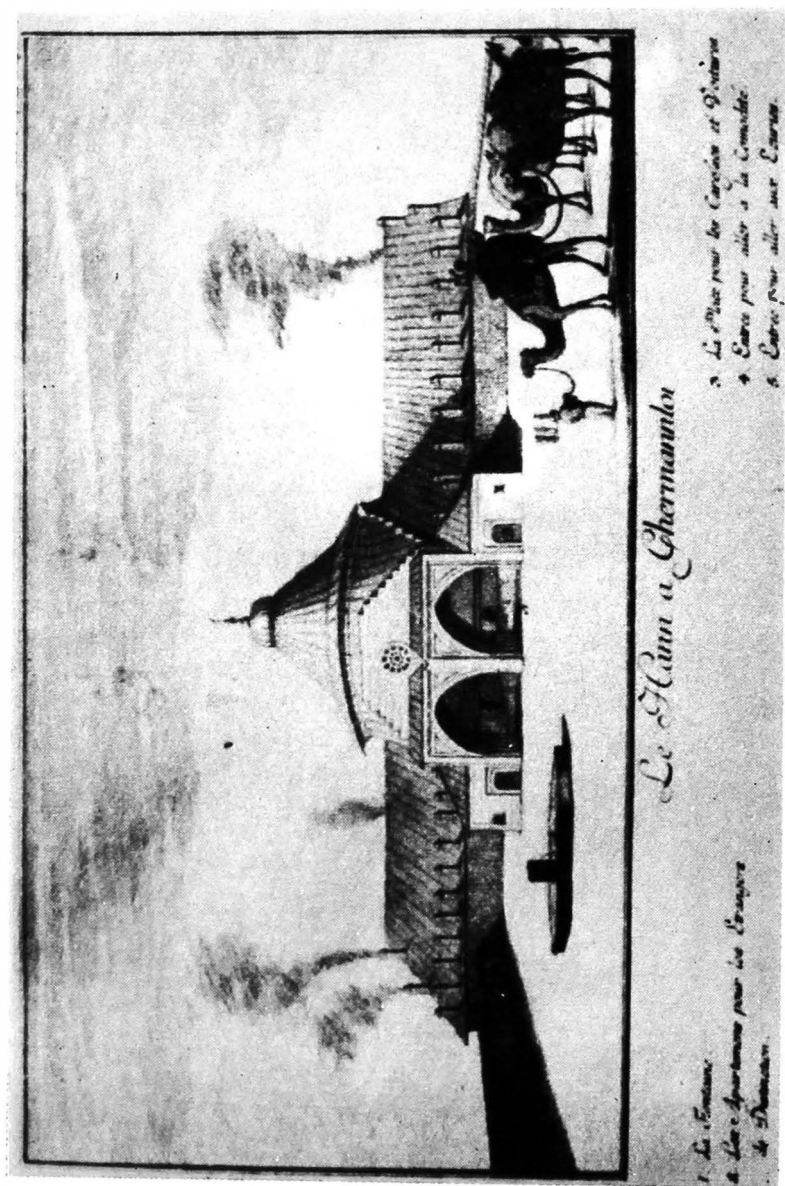


Fig. 4. — Turkish inn (18th Century engraving by Karl Andreas Pfantz. The Cabinet of engravings — Library of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania).



Fig. 5. — Western merchant in Constantinople (engraving, by Gérard Scotin in *Recueil de Cent Estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant...*, Paris, 1714, p. 61 ; The Cabinet of engravings — Library of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania).

trade and afforded full safety to the Levant Company merchants — a privilege that even France — Turkey's traditional "ally" but inconstant and hesitant — under King Louis XIV, did not enjoy. This huge commercial expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean made by the Levant Company, in the latter half of the 17th Century, focussed its attention on other regions of the Ottoman Empire — particularly the Black Sea and the areas bordering on it (inclusively of the Romanian Lands) — in the quest of new routes that could further promote its trade and by which it could transit goods to Central and Northern Europe. But, the Company's attempts were rather unsuccessful; its fleet was not allowed to navigate on the Black Sea and if the Company was able to expand its trade to the South-Eastern Europe, it was mainly in an indirect way, by the agency of Oriental and Balkan merchants.

The victorious end of the war for the succession to the throne of Spain and the shift of the English commercial bourgeoisie's interest to the vast expanses of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans gradually lessened the concern for the trade in Levant, which was transferred to a great extent to France. The 18th Century, before the resumption of the Oriental Question and the emergence of its economic implications, subsequent to Kuchuk Kainardji peace-treaty (1774), was a period of temporary eclipse of Great Britain in this part of Europe.

ENGLISH MERCHANTS' TRADE IN THE ROMANIAN LANDS ¹¹⁶

1. General Conditions of the English Trade in the Romanian Lands

Since the end of the 16th Century the scope of the English trade in the Ottoman Empire began to extend considerably. Soon the main markets in the Near East, Northern Africa and the Greek Islands were dotted with factories that pushed England to the rank of Turkey's main foreign trade partners. It was quite natural that, under such circumstances, the English business circles grew interested in the trade prospects offered by the Porte's possessions in the South-East of Europe, mainly by the Romanian Principalities — Moldavia and Wallachia — which, thanks to their economic and political semi-autonomy, enjoyed a somewhat privileged position within the Ottoman state system.

Though prior to the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, England had no direct trade relations with Eastern Europe, however, some early vestiges of English trade, namely merchandises conveyed from the West through the German towns to Lwów may be found in the Romanian Lands as well. In 1419, Rynghalla, the wife of Moldavia's Prince Alexander the Gentle, received as a present from the Lwów town council "medium stamen angliensis panni emptum apud Johannem Trawtfrewlen pro VI sexagenis" (360 groshen) ¹¹⁷. Later,

¹¹⁶ A succinct outline of this chapter was published under the heading *Relațiile economice ale Angliei cu țările române în perioada 1660—1714* (The economic relations of England with the Romanian Lands in the 1660—1714 period) in "Studii", 21 (1968), no. 2, pp. 259—272.

¹¹⁷ N. Iorga, *Studii și documente privitoare la istoria românilor* (Studies and documents concerning the history of the Romanians), vol. XXIII, Bucharest, 1913, p. 293; cf. also Corina Niculescu, *Istoria costumului de curte în țările române, secolele XIV—XVIII* (The History of the Court dress in the Romanian Lands, in the 14th—18th Centuries), Bucharest, 1970, p. 48, no. 8.

in 1471, Niklas, the burgomaster of Lwów delivered 20 bales of cloth, including also London cloth (Londis)¹¹⁸ to Dorino Cattaneo, a Genoese, and to Cocea, an Armenian living in Suceava, who had farmed the custom duties of Moldavia. Lastly, on September 1, 1476, the Moldavian herald Stanciuc received from the Polish royal court, as a present for Stephen the Great "unum stamen panni angliciensis"¹¹⁹.

In Wallachia, the edict dated July 30, 1512, by which Prince Neagoe Basarab confirmed the holdings of the Bistrița monastery, refers to the purchase of some estates at the price of 4,000 aspers, six cubits of London cloth and six of Malines cloth¹²⁰. In the month of September of the same year, the accounts of the Brașov town record, among other presents offered to the herald of Neagoe Basarab, "two English hats" ("duos pileos english") worth 32 aspers¹²¹.

England's penetration in the economy of the Eastern Mediterranean and the appointment, since 1583, of her first resident in Constantinople enabled the English merchants and the diplomats of Queen Elizabeth I to get into direct touch with the Romanian circumstances.

The merchants of the Levant Company were particularly interested in Moldavia, as through this principality, thanks to its favourable geographical position, they could convey their own goods and also those imported from the Ottoman Empire to Poland and to the German lands and thence farther to the more remote Baltic ports.

¹¹⁸ S. Goldenberg, *Comerțul, producția și consumul de postavuri de lână în țările române (sec. XIV—jumăt. sec. XVII)* (The trade in woollen cloth, its production and consumption in the Romanian Lands (14th Century — early half of the 17th Century) in "Studii", 24 (1971), no. 5, pp. 880—881.

¹¹⁹ *Rachunki Królewskie z lat 1471—1472 i 1476—1478* (The Crown's accounts in the years 1471—1472 and 1476—1478) (ed. S. Gawęda, Z. Perzanowski, A. Strzelecka), Wacław-Kraków, 1960, p. 142.

¹²⁰ *Documente privind istoria României* (Documents concerning the history of Romania), B. 16th Century, vol. I, Bucharest, 1951, p. 83, doc. 81; C. Nicolescu, *op. cit.*, p. 48, no. 8.

¹²¹ *. *. *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen*, vol. I, Kronstadt, 1886, p. 281. On the other hand, in the treasure of Western coins unearthed at Adunați-Copăcenii (Ilfov district) — a settlement sited on a road by which foreigners travelled from Giurgiu to Bucharest — was found a shilling coined at the time of Henry VIII (1509—1547), cf. Elena Isăcescu, *Un tezaur de monede franceze și engleze din secolele XV—XVI găsit în județul Ilfov* (A treasure of French and English coins from the 15th—16th Centuries, unearthed in the Ilfov district), in "Studii și cercetări de numismatică", IV (1968), p. 430 and p. 432.

The desire of the Levant Company's merchants to enter into steady trade relations with Moldavia¹²² was satisfied by Prince Peter the Lame. The Moldavian Prince, on the occasion of the passage through Moldavia of the English ambassador in Constantinople, William Harborne who, having been recalled, returned home, granted the wished-for permit at the Țuțora camp, on August 27, 1588. Thus, the English merchants were given the right to buy and sell goods in Moldavia, for which they had to pay as custom duties only 3% (the other foreign merchants and even the native ones had to pay 12%)¹²³.

However, after the 1588 treaty, that conferred on England the right of free trade in Moldavia¹²⁴ had become null on the strength

¹²² In twelve years, from 1582 till 1594, no less than nine English merchants and businessmen journeyed to Moldavia, some of them not only on exclusive trade errands : John Newberie (1582), Henry Austell (1586), William Harborne (1588), Richard Mallorye (1589), Thomas Wilcox and Richard Babington (1592), George Anglesea. Edward Bushell, William Aldridge (1594); besides, the two Italian visitors, the merchants Sebastiano and Luciano di Biagio (1595), were in fact representatives of the English ambassador in Constantinople, Edward Barton (1592), cf. Richard Hakluyt, *The principal navigations ...*, vol. II, pp. 196–198, 289–290; Hurmuzaki, *Documente ...* vol. III₁, p. 122, no. CVII and vol. XI, p. 195, no. CCCXXI; S. Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Glasgow, 1905, vol. VIII, chapter III, pp. 449–450, 476–481; N. Iorga, *Les premières relations entre l'Angleterre et les pays roumains du Danube (1427 à 1611)* in *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Mr. Charles Bémont*, Paris, 1913, pp. 562–563 and *A History of Anglo-Romanian Relations*, Bucharest, 1931, pp. 7–16; I. I. Podea, *A contribution to the study of Queen Elisabeth's Eastern Policy (1590–1593)* in "Mélanges d'Histoire Générale", publiées par C. Marinescu, tome II, Cluj, 1938, p. 428, 465; A. C. Wood, *Mr. Harrie Cavendish, his journey to and from Constantinople 1589* by Fox, his servant, in "Camden Miscellany", vol. XII, London, 1940, pp. 17–19; E. D. Tappe, *Documents concerning Rumanian History (1427–1601) collected from British Archives*, The Hague, 1964, pp. 57–58, no. 79; pp. 61–62, no. 86; p. 64, no. 95; p. 68, no. 102; p. 84, no. 123; p. 87, no. 124, etc.

¹²³ In "An Extract of Mr. Harborne's Journey from Constantinople" (December 1588), the English ambassador showed that „Her Ma(gestic's) subiects there traffickinge shoulde paie but three upon the h(undreth) ... (here the document is torn, the missing word is probably "not" or "not the") XII^o w(i)ch so well his owen subiects as all other nac(i)ons annswere", cf. Public Record Office, State Papers Foreign, *Turkey*, file 97/1, f. 156 (xerographic copy obtained through the amiable care of David Britton Funderburk, Ph. D., Candidate and Instructor at the University of South Carolina, U.S.A.). This text, reproduced by R. Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, II, p. 289, from an imperfect copy (omitted parts and disregard for the original orthography), was included also in Hurmuzaki's *Documente ...* III₁, p. 122, document CVII.

¹²⁴ The mention, on November 24, 1598, of the exchange of some precincts at Ștefănești (Suceava area), in which one of the parties had to add "three cubits of London cloth" is the first written evidence we know of English cloth in Moldavia, after the grant in 1588 of the afore shown privileges; cf. *Documente privind istoria României, A, Moldova, veacul XVI* (Documents concerning the history of Romania, A, Moldavia, 16th Cent.), vol. IV, Bucharest, 1952, p. 239, no. 293. A Transylvanian source informs that on May 11, 1591, a load of timber for the vessels of the English fleet, im-

of the circumstances (the 1594—1603 war between the Turks and the Christian League), the Levant Company was deprived of its former privileges, because of the vicissitudes that marked Moldavia in the unsettled times during the Movilești rule, of the internal lack of safety, of the Turkish-Polish wars (1617—1621). Thus the efforts made by England's ambassadors in Constantinople, urged by the Levant Company, to support various claimants to the Moldavian throne, in the hope of regaining the trade privileges granted by the 1588 treaty, were not at all fortuitous. Edward Barton succeeded, as a result of his intercessions, in obtaining from the Porte the nomination of Prince Aron (1592—1595) who, as a token of gratitude, reestablished the freedom of the protestant faith in Moldavia and handed back to the Reformed the churches that the Jesuits had abusively occupied during the reign of Peter the Lame ¹²⁵. Likewise, in the years 1602—1611, Sir Henry Lello and Sir Thomas Glover insistently requested the Ottoman high dignitaries to nominate the pretender Ștefan Bogdan as ruler of Moldavia. This son of Prince Iancu the Saxon, who found a shelter at the court of Queen Elizabeth and of her successor James I, had secured the protection of the two monarchs up to the point that in the spring of the year 1610 the question arose of the Moldavian exile's marriage with the King's cousin, the famous Arabella Stuart, a claimant to the throne of England. But, Ștefan Bogdan, on seeing that neither his matrimonial designs nor his claims to the throne of Moldavia could materialize, converted to Islamism in 1612 and was rewarded with the Pistrina sanjak (Albania) which he exchanged later for Brussa in Asia Minor ¹²⁶.

Later, the outbreak of the bourgeois revolution in England and the Sublime Porte's refusal to recognize the republican regime and Cromwell's Protectorate hindered the Levant Company's activity in Eastern Mediterranean and damaged English trade in this area. Somewhat compensatorily was the fact that during the reign of

ported from Țara Birsei, was conveyed across Moldavia (*Chronicon Fuchsio-Lupino-Mardinum*, ed. J. Trausch, vol. I, Corona. 1847, p. 87). Lastly, on November 15, 1600, John Sanderson, a merchant and a traveller, who was at that time in Pera, hinted in his letters to the trade in the brand of cloth named *Karasie* ("Kersey") carried on by his country fellowmen in Moldavia and Wallachia, cf. E. D. Tappe, *op. cit.*, p. 139, no. 208.

¹²⁵ Cf. N. Iorga, *Anglo-Roumanian Relations* . . . , pp. 13—14; Podea, *op. cit.*, pp. 456—464; Tappe, *op. cit.*, pp. 60—65, no. 85—96.

¹²⁶ For all these see N. Iorga, *Pretendenți domnești în secolul al XVI-lea* (Claimants to the throne in the 16th Century) in "Analele Academiei Române", tome XIX (1897—1898), series II, M.S. I., pp. 251—259 and *Anglo-Roumanian Relations*, pp. 17—21; Wood, *Levant Company*, p. 83, but especially Elvire Georgescu, *Le séjour d'un prince moldave à la cour de Jacques I-er roi d'Angleterre* in "Mélanges de l'école roumaine en France", Paris, XII (1934), 1^{re} partie, pp. 3—32.

Vasile Lupu (1632—1653) Scotch merchants, who had carried on their trade business in Poland, travelled to Moldavia where — on the strength of the privileges they obtained from the afore-named Romanian ruler and from his successor, Gheorghe Ștefan — settled in some places of the Hirilău, Cîrligătura and Vaslui areas, in order to get possession of the potash and potash-ashes obtained by the combustion of trees-substances needed in the manufacture of glass and also, after being calcinated, used as caustic soda in the manufacture of soap and dye stuffs¹²⁷. The markets for the sale of these products were Gdańsk (Danzig) on the Baltic shore and Constantinople¹²⁸. Initially, the Scotch in Poland who dealt in the potash and potash ash they obtained from Moldavia were travelling vendors who peddled their goods in various Polish fairs. Towards the end of the 16th Century they associated into guilds and obtained from the kings Stephen Bathory (1581), Sigismund III (1621) and Wladyslaw VII (1636) some privileges, namely the permit for seling in Poland some small wares such as woolen cloth named "Scottish", linen threads, iron and tin vessels, scissors and knives. Settled in Poznań, Piotrków, Cracow, Warsaw, Lublin, Zamosć, Wrocław and Gdańsk, the Scotch merchants in Poland — whose number according to an obviously overestimated information amounted to 30,000 — were either owners of small shops (*institutae Scotorum*), or, the wealthier ones, money-lenders and bankers of the local high officials and noblemen; eight of the foremost Scotch merchants were given the privilege of supplying the royal court and named, therefore, *Mercatores aulici* or *curiales*. Unlike the traders of the Levant Company, who only now and then carried on trade operations in the factories in the Ottoman Empire, the Scotch had settled down in Poland, where they married and formed separate communities, on which a general tax of two zlotys per person was imposed¹²⁹. Towards the middle of the 17th Century, some of these

¹²⁷ See the information given by the English traveller Robert Bargrave in *Robert Bargrave, un voyageur anglais dans les pays roumains du temps de Basile Lupu (1652)*, by Franz Babinger in "Analele Acad. Rom.", tome XVII (1935), series III, M.S.I., pp. 172—174, 186—187.

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 172 and 186; Hurmuzaki, *Documente ...*, suppl. II, vol. III, Bucharest, 1900, pp. 185—187 and 201, no. CIII, etc.

¹²⁹ For details on the Scotch trade in Poland see particularly A. Francis Stewart, *Papers relating to the Scots in Poland, 1576—1793*, Edinburgh, 1915, pp. XII—XIV, XVII, XXIX, 86—87, passim; on the presence of the Scotch in Silesia and Prussia and on the trade in the Baltic Sea, see Th. H. Fisher, *The Scots in Germany*, Edinburgh, 1902; *The Scots in Eastern Prussia*, Edinburgh, 1903; T. C. Smout, *Scottish Commercial Factors in the Baltic at the end of the Seventeenth Century* in "The Scottish Historical Review", XXXIX (1960), no. 128, etc.

merchants, particularly those in Zamość and Gdańsk started exploiting potash ashes in Moldavia. As they were not members of some big association such as the Eastland Company¹²⁰, the Muscovy or Levant Companies, able to efficiently protect the interests of their traders, the Scotch merchants had very soon to grapple with great difficulties in the exploitation of their enterprises in Moldavia. Firstly, they were unable to compete with the Polish, Greek, Dutch or native merchants¹²¹ who disrupted the Scotch traffic nor could

¹²⁰ The scope of the activity of this important trade company, founded in 1579 and given new privileges on February 20, 1661 included vast areas in the northern and north-eastern Europe: the Scandinavian countries, Poland, Livonia, Prussia, Pomerania, and Finland; it exported cloth (mainly the brands *kersey*, *broadcloth*, *perpetuana* and *dozen*) and imported grains, timber, mineral ores, textile plants, cattle and hides through Copenhagen, Rostock, Gdąnsk, Stockholm, Elbląg, Riga, Tallin and Narva, cf. J. et Ph. L. Savary des Brulons, *Dictionnaire universel de Commerce* ..., vol. I, pp. 1403–1404; F. Neumann, *Die englische Handels-Societät. Mittheilungen aus Elbings Vorzeit*, in "Der Neuen Preussischen Provinzial Blätter", Andere Folge, Bd. 12 (1857), pp. 141–148; R. Hassencamp, *Handelspolitische Verhandlungen zwischen England und Polen in den Jahren 1597 und 1598* in "Zeitschrift der Historischen Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen", III (1888), pp. 91–108; Maud Sellers, *Acts and Ordinances of the Eastland Company*, London, 1906; W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*, vol. I, Cambridge, 1912, pp. 17 and 169; Neva R. Deadorff, *English trade in the Baltic during the Reign of Elisabeth* in the volume *Studies of English Commerce in the Tudor Period*, New York, 1912; A. Szelagowski and N. S. B. Gras, *The Eastland Company in Prussia, 1579–1585* in "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society", 3rd series, VI (1912), pp. 163–184; P. Simson, *Die Handelsniederlassung der Englischen Kaufleute in Elbing* in "Hansisch Geschichts Blätter", XXII (1916), pp. 87–143; R. W. K. Hinton, *The Eastland Trade and the Common Weal in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge, 1959, pp. 11, 32, 113, 121, 142, *passim*; H. Zyns, *Przywilej Elzbiety I z 1579 r. dla Eastland Company* (The privilege granted by Elizabeth I in 1579 to the Eastland Company) in "Rocznik Elbląski", III (1961), and *Geneza angielskiej Kompanii Wschodniej (Eastland Company) z 1579* (The origins of the Eastland Company in 1579) in "Zapiski Historyczne", XXIX (1964), nos. 2–3, pp. 3–42; H. Piirimäe, *Тенденция развития и объем торговли прибалтийских городов в период шведского господства в XVII веке* (Trends in the development and size of the trade of the Baltic towns during the period of Swedish domination in the 17th Century) in "Скандинавский сборник" VIII (1964), pp. 99–115; Antoni Maczeka, *Angielska Kompania Wschodnia a bilans handlu bałtyckiego drugie połowie XVI w.* (The English Eastland Company and the Baltic Trade Balance in the second half of the Sixteenth Century) in "Zapiski Historyczne", XXXIV (1969), pp. 115–126 etc. The most comprehensive monograph on the Eastland Company's beginning of its activity in the Baltic Sea, in the latter half of the 16th Century, was written by Henryk Zins, *Anglia a Bałtyk w drugiej połowie XVI wieku* (England and the Baltic in the latter half of the 16th Century), Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1967, 363 p. (with numerous illustrations and statistical tables).

¹²¹ Among whom: Nicolae Novicus, a Lwów merchant, who received in 1653 from Vasile Lupu 185 barrels of potash, cf. E.M. Podgraskaia, *Торговые связи Молдавии с Львовом в XVI–XVII веках* (Economic relations between Moldavia and Lwów in the 16th and 17th Centuries), Kishinev, 1968, p. 134; Ștefan Nestorovič Krasowski, a partner in 1666 of the Prince Gheorghe Duca; Alexandru Balaban, a Greek

they vie with the Muscovy Company which obtained big quantities of potash in Russia and exported them in various foreign countries ¹³². Secondly, the Scotch merchants had to endure the arbitrariness of the rulers and of the boyards, on whose estates the potash-kilns had been built, as no well-defined juridical privileges had been given to them nor did they enjoy the efficient protection of some big company. Lastly, the tumultuous events in Moldavia in the latter half of the 17th Century, the frequent Turkish, Tartar and Polish incursions on the country's territory at the time of the 1672—1676 and 1693—1699 wars, the loss of Podolia and the Turks' conquest of Kamenets, by disrupting the routes to the Baltic Sea, caused the ruin of the potash trade initiated in Moldavia by the Scotch that, actually, came to an end in 1690 ¹³³. In Poland too, the circumstances turned quite unfavourable to the Scotch trade. The defeats this country suffered in the wars it waged in the latter half of the 17th Century and particularly in the 1655—1660 period of "The Deluge" could not but intensify those regressive trends which had

merchant from Rumelia established in Lwów, a business associate—from 1677 till 1683—of the great treasurer Gheorghe Ursachi and of the treasurer Neculce; Gheorghe Papara, Mihail Manu ("Maniow"), Cristea Ghenovici ("Christoph Giniewicz"), Iani Conduratu, Dimitrie Ipati, Ioan Mazaraki, Roman Wisocki from Kazimierz and many others (cf. Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, suppl. II, vol. III, pp. 185—204). For the Dutch merchants, who made abode in 1681 at Galatz and Kiliya [cf. P. P. Panaitescu, *Doi călători italieni ...* (Two Italian travellers), p. 4] and had a share in the exportation of potash to Constantinople in 1690, see Hurmuzaki, *Documente ...*, VI, pp. 290—291, no. CLXLIII.

¹³² The factor of the Company, Simon Digby, was authorized to exploit ashes in the Jaroslaw, Vologda and Totma districts during the period 1642—1651; the merchant Alexander Crawford was licensed to "burn ashes" for seven years in the Murom forest in order to obtain potash, to which end he even hired workers from England. In 1648, the Muscovy Company sent a petition to the tsar to be granted the licence of exploiting potash ashes in Russia for ten years, cf. I. Lubimenko, *Les relations commerciales ... de l'Angleterre avec la Russie ...*, p. 199. The Eastland Company too imported through Narva, with the permission of Sweden, besides tar, pitch, timber, rush mats, etc., big amounts of potash and potash ashes; see the entries of the cargo books in Narva in H.A. Piirimäe, *Состав, объем и распределение русского вывоза в 1661—1700 гг. через шведские владения в Прибалтике на примере г. Нарвы* (The structure, volume and distribution of Russian exportations in the years 1661—1700 across the Swedish areas along the Baltic, with the example of the town Narva) in "Скандинавский сборник", V (1962), pp. 72—73. Some general information on the Anglo-Russian trade in the 17th Century may be found in A. Öhberg, *Russia and the World Market in the Seventeenth Century* in "The Scandinavian Economic History Review", III (1955), no. 2, pp. 123—162 and in Ernst Schulin, *Englands Russenhandel in 17 und 18 Jahrhunderts* in "Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte", XLVIII (1961), no. 4, pp. 503—537.

¹³³ Hurmuzaki, *Documente ...*, VI, pp. 290—291, no. CLXVIII.

been manifest in Poland's economy since the end of the previous century. Even before the wars, "the revolution of prices" in Poland hastened the decay of the social and economic system, by sharpening the rural economy's contradictions, as a result of the continuous demand for vegetable food and cattle on the foreign market, a fact which increased the difficulties the seignioral reserve, strangled with the scarcity of serfs, had to cope with; besides, the development of agriculture and cattle-breeding only braked the development of handicrafts and trade in towns, slackening off thereby the formation of the internal market and causing frequent rises in prices ¹³⁴.

As Poland — at that time a country in full-fledged feudal-nobiliary anarchy — was economically on the decline, in spite of the attempts made during the reign of John III Sobieski to redress the country's economy, the Levant Company, soon after the Restoration, abandoned the idea of an important traffic of goods to the Baltic Sea across Poland ¹³⁵ and, consequently, was no longer so

¹³⁴ For the general economic and social crisis of the Polish state in this period, see particularly the studies by Irina Gieysztorowa, *Guerre et régression en Masovie aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles* in "Annales — Économies — Sociétés — Civilisations", 13 (1958), no. 4, pp. 651—668; D. L. Pochilowicz, *W sprawie kryzysu i upadku gospodarki obszarnej Rzeczypospolitej w II poł. XVII i I poł. XVIII w.* (The crisis and ruin of the big landlords' economy in Poland in the latter half of the 17th Century and first half of the 18th Century) in "Kwartalnik Historyczny", LXV (1958), no. 3, pp. 742—765; Stanisław Hoszowski, *The Revolution of Prices in Poland in the 16th and 17th Centuries* in "Acta Poloniae Historica", II (1959), pp. 7—16 and *L'Europe Centrale devant la révolution des prix aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles* in "Annales Écon. — Soc. — Civilisat.", 16 (1961), no. 3, pp. 441—456; Jerzy Topolski, *La régression économique en Pologne du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle* in "Acta Poloniae Historica", VII (1962), pp. 28—49, etc.

¹³⁵ On this route it clashed against the competition of the Eastland Company. For England's pursuits in the Baltic sea in the 17th Century and for the struggle waged for hegemony in this zone of Europe see particularly G.V. Forsten *Балтийский вопрос в XVI—XVII вв.* (The Baltic problem in the 16th and 17th Centuries), St. Petersburg, 1895; Adam Szelagowski, *Walka o Baltyk* (The struggle for the Baltic), Kraków, 1904 and *Z dziejów współzawodnictwa Anglii i Niemiec, Rosji i Polski* (On the History of the rivalry between England and Germany, Russia and Poland), Lwów, 1910; Andrew Losski, *Louis XIV, William III and the Baltic Crisis of 1683*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1954; H. Kellenbenz, *Die Westeuropäische Konkurrenz in der Nordmeerfahrt bis ins 17. Jahrhundert* in "Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte", XLVII (1960), no. 4, pp. 474—497; M. Belfast, *Cromwell and the Baltic* in "The English Historical Review", LXXVI (1961), no. 300, pp. 402—446, etc. Recently the history of the English trade in the Baltic Sea has been synthetically presented by W. S. Unger *Trade through the Sound in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* in "The Economic History Review", Second Series, XII (1959), no. 2, pp. 206—211 and by Antoni Maczak *The Sound Toll accounts and the balance of English trade with the Baltic zone 1565—1646* in "Studia historiae oeconomicae", Poznań, vol. 3 (1968), pp. 93—113, on the basis of the minute information in the Helsingoer (Elseneur) cargo books relating to the traffic through the Sund straits over the period 1661—1783, published by Knud Korst, *Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennem Øresund* (Na-

much interested in Moldavia — laid waste by the wars and weakened by the instability of her reigns — as it had been at the end of the 16th Century. As a matter of fact, nor the political relations were as good as before, the rulers of the Cantemir family being on friendly terms with the ambassadors of France in Constantinople¹³⁶. The Levant Company turned its attention to other areas of the south-eastern Europe, more favourable to economic activities, primarily to Transylvania, a country that had established close relations with England during Cromwell's protectorate¹³⁷.

Untill the second half of the 17th Century, English commodities (particularly "the fyne lundish cloth", "the lundish cloth" and "the Kersey" brands) had been imported in Transylvania by foreign or native merchants, who bought them in Jaroslaw, Lwów, Cracow

vigation and transport tables of the commodities shipped through Sund), series II, vol. I and II-1, Copenhagen—Leipzig, 1930 and 1939; cf. also Pierre Jeanin, *Les comptes du Sund comme source pour la construction d'indices généraux de l'activité économique en Europe (XVI^e — XVIII^e siècles)*, in "Revue historique", 88 (1964), tome CCXXXI, no. 470, pp. 307—314, 324—331, 334—335, 339. The most deep-going researches were made by the Finnish historian Sven Erik Åström in the paper *The English Navigation Laws and the Baltic Trade 1660—1700* in "The Scandinavian Economic History Review", X (1962), no. 12 in the book *From Stockholm to St. Petersburg. Commercial factors in the political relations between England and Sweden 1675—1700*. Helsinki, 1962, 146 p., and particularly in his excellent monograph based on statistical information, *From Cloth to Iron. The Anglo-Baltic Trade in the Late Seventeenth Century*, vol. I and II, Helsingfors, 1963—1965. For a recent bibliography of the problems see Maria Bogucka, *Les dernières recherches sur l'histoire de la Baltique* in "Acta Poloniae Historica", VII (1962), pp. 103—122 and Pierre Jeannin, *En Europe du Nord : sources et travaux d'histoire commerciale* in "Annales. Économies—Sociétés—Civilisations", 23 (1968), no. 4, pp. 848—855, etc.

¹³⁶ See Hurmuzaki, *Fragmente zur Geschichte der Rumänen*, vol. III, pp. 325, 388—389; Marquis de Ferriol, *Correspondance* (éd. Emile Varenberg), Antwerp, 1870, p. 212, 221, 224; Ilie El. Angelescu, *Din corespondența bavareză și saxonă (1691—1793). Scrisorile lui Stoyberer și Franz Hannibal von Mörmann, trimiși bavarezi la Viena* (From Saxon and Bavarian correspondence. The letters of Stoyberer and Franz Hannibal von Mörmann, Bavarian envoys in Vienna), Tirgoviște, 1904, pp. 52—53, 55; Germaine Lebel, *La France et les Principautés Danubiennes (Du XVI^e siècle à la chute de Napoléon I)*, Paris, 1955, pp. 44—45, etc.

¹³⁷ Cf. Sándor Márki, *Cromwell és Erdély* (Cromwell and Transylvania) in "Erdélyi Múzeum", XVIII (1901), fascicle I, pp. 16—37. Details in Ludovic Demény, *The English Revolution and Transylvania in the Middle of the XVIIIth Century* in "Revue roumaine d'études internationales", 2 (8), 1970, pp. 97—116.

and other Polish towns¹³⁸, where mainly the Eastland Company carried on trade operations¹³⁹.

The even more serious decline of Poland, impoverished and devastated by the many wars it waged against the Cossacks, Russians, Swedes and Turks rebounded also on the country's international

¹³⁸ The importations of fine lundish cloth (in Hungarian "fayn londys" or "faj londis"), *shay* and *kersey* in Transylvania in the 16th Century are mentioned by S. Goldenberg in *Clujul în sec. XVI. Producția și schimbul de mărfuri* (Cluj in the 16th Century. Production and exchange of goods), Bucharest, 1958, p. 146 and 257; S. Goldenberg—S. Belu, *Două registre privind postăvâritul și comerțul cu postav la Brașov în sec. XVI* (Two account books regarding the manufacture of cloth and the clothtrade in Brașov in the 16th Century) in "Acta Musei Napocensis", IV (1967), p. 130 and 141 and *Postăvâritul din Brașov în secolul al XVI-lea* (Cloth-manufacture in Brașov in the 16th Century) in "Revista Arhivelor", new series, X (1967), no. 2, p. 173. On the purchase of English cloth in Hungary and Transylvania through Poland till 1660 see A. Diveky, *Felső Magyarországi kereskedelmi összeköttetése Lengyelországgal főleg a XVI—XVII században* (The commercial relations between upper Hungary and Poland particularly in the 16th and 17th Centuries), Budapest, 1905, passim; K. Pieradzka, *Handel Krakowa z Węgrami w XVI w.* (Cracow trade with Hungary in the 16th Century), Kraków, 1935, passim; György Székeli, *Niederländische und Englische Tucharten im Mitteleuropa des 13—17 Jahrhunderts* in "Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae", "Sectia historica", VIII (1966), pp. 31—42 and in Hungarian in "Századok", 102 (1968), pp. 26—34, etc. Details in L. Demény, *Relațiile economice dintre țările române și Anglia în prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea* (Economic relations between the Romanian Lands and England in the early half of the 17th Century), Bucharest, 1966, pp. 10—26 (in manuscript). See also the recent study by Zsigmond Pál Pach, *The role of East Central Europe in international trade (16th and 17th Centuries)*, in "Études historiques publiées à l'occasion du XIII^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques", vol. I, Budapest, 1970, pp. 249—250.

¹³⁹ On the English trade in cloth (brands, prices, quantities, etc.) in the 16th and 17th Centuries in Poland see particularly the studies by Antoni Maczak, *Rola kontaktów z zagranicą w dziejach sukiennictwa polskiego XVI i pierwszej połowy XVII wieku* (The role of the relations with foreign countries in the history of the manufacture of Polish cloth in the 16th Century and in the first half of the 17th Century) in "Przegląd Historyczny", XLIII (1952), no. 2, pp. 247—250 and *Sukiennictwo Wielkopolskie XIV—XVII wiek* (Textile industry in Great Poland in the 14th—17th Centuries), Warszawa, 1955, pp. 50—52, 104, 161—162, 193, 201, 204, 210, 225, 228—233, etc.; M. Małowist, *Z zagadnień popytu na produkty krajów nadbałtyckich w Europie zachodniej w XVI* (The role of the products imported from the Baltic zone in the Western national economy in the 16th Century) in "Przegląd Historyczny", L (1959), no. 4, pp. 725—726, 733—734, 736 and *The Economic and Social Development of the Baltic Countries from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries* in "The Economic History Review", Second Series, XII (1959), no. 2, pp. 183—185; R. Hinton, *The Eastland Trade and the Common Weal in the Seventeenth Century . . .*, pp. 17, 34, 36, 43, 119, etc.; St. Hozzowski, *The Polish Baltic Trade in the 15th—18th Centuries* in the volume *Poland at the XIth International Congress of Historical Sciences in Stockholm*, Warsaw, 1960, p. 133, 145; A. Maczak and H. Samsonowicz, *Z zagadnień genezy rynku europejskiego strada bałtycka* (The Baltic zone. Contribution to the study of the emergence of the European market) in "Przegląd Historyczny", LV (1964), no. 2, p. 201, 213—214, 217 and *La zone baltique : l'un des éléments du marché européen* in "Acta Poloniae Historica", XI (1965), pp. 80—81, 90; H. Zyns, *Anglia a Bałtyk . . .*, pp. 166—198, etc.

trade that, by sensibly diminishing in the decades of the 17th Century¹⁴⁰, harshly restricted the importance of foreign goods and, consequently, it reduced the supply with English goods of the Transylvanian towns, that used to acquire such goods at the fairs in Galitzia and Podolia; it was only Jaroslaw that retained some of its former prosperity¹⁴¹. Meanwhile, the extension of the trade with the Ottoman Empire, carried on by the Greek Companies in Sibiu (1639) and Braşov (1678) and by the Armenian merchants in Transylvania enabled the Levant Company's dealers to enter into contact with the Greek and Armenian agents in Salonika, Adrianople, Constantinople, Brussa and Smyrna and to initiate exchanges of goods¹⁴². The markets of the big towns in Transylvania — Sibiu, Braşov, Bistriţa, Alba Iulia, Cluj, Oradea, etc. — started being supplied with goods (various brands of English cloth and colonial goods) exported by the Levant Company, but mostly sold by the merchants of the Greek companies. The plans, of a Mercantilist nature, for vitalizing the Transylvanian foreign trade — inspired by the suggestions of Giuseppe Maria Vecelli, a well-known economist living at the Court of Vienna and mapped at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th Centuries by Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli and the chancellor Nicolas Bethlen¹⁴³ — envisaged, *inter alia*, the foundation of a *Company of Transylvanian trade* and the receipt of gains from the transit of English goods through Central Europe by way of the Danube and Black Sea routes to the Levant ports and from the return transit of the goods imported from Persia and the Ottoman Empire. The proposition tallied with the most ambitious plans of the Levant Company, who willingly would have encouraged this traffic, as it would not have been compelled to divide the profits with various other foreign commercial companies.

The reactionary frame of mind of the magnates in the Transylvanian diet, deaf to any tentative economic change and unwilling to incur the risk of any investment they considered to be uncertain

¹⁴⁰ Jan Rutkowski, *Histoire économique de la Pologne avant les partages*, Paris, 1927, pp. 159—160, 173, 192, etc.; St. Hozzowski: *Les prix à Lwow (XVI^e—XVII^e siècles)*, Paris, 1954, pp. 62—85 and *The Polish Baltic Trade ...*, p. 145.

¹⁴¹ I. Moga, *Politica economică austriacă şi comerţul Transilvaniei în veacul XVIII* (The Austrian economic policy and Transylvania's Trade in the 18th Century) in "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie naţională din Cluj", vol. VII (1936—1938), p. 100.

¹⁴² N. Iorga, *Acte româneşti şi cîteva greceşti din arhivele Companiei de comerţ oriental din Braşov* (Romanian and some Greek documents in the archives of the Levant Trade Company in Braşov), Vălenii de Munte, 1932, pp. VIII—IX, XXVII—VIII, 2—22, no. 2—35; N. Camariano, *L'Organisation et l'activité culturelle de la Compagnie des marchands grecs de Sibiu* in "Balcania", VI (1943), pp. 201—241, etc.

¹⁴³ Moga, *op. cit.*, p. 96—102.

caused Marsigli's plan to be purposely ignored and that of the chancellor outrightly rejected as inapplicable. The outbreak of the war Francis II Rákóczi waged against the Habsburgs and the interruption for a long time during the hostilities of the relations with Vienna further complicated the situation in Transylvania and, as a result, the plans were completely abandoned, although their application was not as impossible as the magnates pretended, since the route proposed by Bethlen was successfully followed, as an experiment, by several Armenian merchants in the service of England.

As to Wallachia, it was only later that the Levant Company began being interested in this country, as on the one hand the entire Wallachian foreign trade had been monopolised by Balkan merchants, who used to convey its products to the Ottoman Empire and, partially, to Ragusa and Venice and, on the other hand, the bulk of its imported goods came from the Transylvanian towns, and a smaller part from Austria, Russia and Poland¹⁴⁴. Therefore, it was only after the outbreak of the war between the Saint League and the Turks — to the extent to which within this general conflagration in the south-eastern Europe Wallachia was a somewhat less unsettled oasis and it was such particularly during the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688—1714) and after the Karlovitz peace-treaty — that the Levant Company began to be interested in Wallachia, especially from the point of view of a possible transit of English goods to Transylvania and Central Europe across this land. As a

¹⁴⁴ See especially N. Iorga, *Istoria comerțului românesc* (The History of the Romanian Trade), vol. I, pp. 258—316; Șt. Meteș, *Relațiile comerciale ale Țării Românești cu Ardealul pînă în secolul al XVIII-lea* (The trade relations of Wallachia with Transylvania by the 18th Century), Sighișoara, 1920, pp. 170—210; V. Papahagi, *Contribuții la istoria relațiilor comerciale ale Munteniei cu Peninsula Balcanică și cu Veneția în sec. al XVII-lea și al XVIII-lea* (Contributions to the history of the trade relations of Wallachia with the Balkan Peninsula and with Venice in the 17th and 18th Centuries) in "Revista Istorică", XIX (1933), nos. 4—6, pp. 119—126; Al. Doboși, *Relațiile comerciale ale Principatelor Române cu Veneția* (The trade relations of the Romanian Principalities with Venice), Cluj, 1936, pp. 33—39; Al. Grecu (P. P. Panaitescu), *Relațiile Țării Românești și ale Moldovei cu Ragusa (sec. XV—XVIII)* [The relations of Wallachia and Moldavia with Ragusa (15th—18th Centuries)], in "Studii", II (1949), no. 4, pp. 117—121; Tr. Ionescu-Nișcov—A. Constantinescu, *Relații comerciale româno-ruse în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea* (Romanian-Russian trade relations in the latter half of the 17th Century) in "Analele româno-sovietice", Istorie, 1956, no. 3, pp. 83—96; M. Guboglu, *Evlja Çelebi: De la situation sociale-économique des Pays Roumains . . .*, p. 169—172, 192—193; C. Șerban, *Relațiile comerciale româno-ruse în secolul al XVIII-lea . . .* (The Romanian-Russian trade relations in the 18th Century . . .) in "Studii privind relațiile româno-ruse", III, Bucharest, 1963, pp. 67—77; Lia Lehr, *Comerțul Țării Românești și Moldovei în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea* (The trade of Wallachia and Moldavia in the latter half of the 17th Century) in "Studii", 21 (1968), no. 1, pp. 29—51, etc.

matter of fact, unlike Transylvania and Moldavia, which had engaged in trade with England as early as the 16th Century, in Wallachia we can trace only sporadic vestiges of a traffic in English cloth, of the Kersey brand; it is only at the end of the 17th Century that we can find hints to a rather limited trade in other brands such as those called in Levant *mahout* and *shy* or *shy-mahout*.



So far we have presented the general conditions of the economic relations between England and the Romanian Lands, in the latter half of the 17th Century; further, we shall try to make a more deep-going study of some facets of the English trade in each of these lands.

2. The Relation with Moldavia

The main English-Moldavian economic relations in the latter half of the 17th Century materialized primarily in the manufacture and sale of potash by Scottish merchants established since Vasile Iagup's reign in the Hîrlău, Cîrligătura and Vaslui areas.

The sources of information available so far, disparate and lacunar as they are, consisting mainly of Robert Bargrave's travel book (1652) and of the documents relating to the law suit that involved between 1660 and 1668 the merchant Patrick Simson and his former Greek partners, Pepano and Nomico, are far from mirroring the extent of a traffic, doubtlessly, rather important.

The rulers and the boyards were interested in farming out to the foreigners the right to manufacture potash and potash ashes on their estates and to export them abroad as from the exploitation of the forests of the country which was proved of her "*silvis... quam plurimis, tum caeduis, tum frugiferis, arboribus conspicuis*"¹⁴⁵ they derived substantial benefits¹⁴⁶. The fact is corroborated by

¹⁴⁵ Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descriptio Moldaviae*, in *Opere* ..., I, p. 29.

¹⁴⁶ De la Croix, a French traveller and secretary of the French ambassador in Constantinople, the marquis Olivier de Nointel (1671—1678) who was sent on various missions to Moldavia in 1672 and 1675 informs in his *Mémoires ... contenant diverses Relations très curieuses de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris, Seconde partie, 1684, p. 191, that the ruler obtained an yearly income of 100 purses (50,000 thalers) from those places where potash and potash ashes were prepared (Le (!) lieux où l'on fait les cendres, cent Bourses), cf. Franz Babinger, *O relațiune neobservată despre Moldova sub domnia lui Antonie Ruset (1676)* [A so far unnoticed information on Moldavia at the time of Antonie Ruset's reign (1676)] in "*Analele Academiei Române*", M.S.I. series III, tomul XIX (1937), p. 130. A document dating from 1672 specifies that the rulers of the country collected from the foreign merchants who exported potash and potash ashes

the direct participation in this profitable trade of some first-rank members of the ruling class such as the great treasurer Gheorghe Ursachi and even of the Prince of Moldavia, Gheorghe Duca, partners of Polish merchants¹⁴⁷, who began to seriously compete with the Scottish tradesmen, though in the second half of the 17th Century, the potash manufactured through the technical know-how of the Scottish contractors — who hired also local manpower for auxiliary operations such as wood-sawing, transportation and storage of ashes¹⁴⁸ — was exported mainly to Poland, particularly to Gdańsk, to be sold to the foreign merchants among whom it was in great demand. In this port Polish-English trade relations greatly developed (mainly through the Eastland Company) in the 17th Century; the importations consisted of “thin” (fine) cloth — *falendysz* or *londyńskie* (“fine lundish cloth”)—and *karazja* (“kersey”), while the exportations included, besides potash (exploited in the southern provinces of the country and in Moldavia by the Scottish merchants), important quantities of pitch, thick ropes and particularly hardwood for masts¹⁴⁹. The goods purchased at Gdańsk were transported exclusively on the foreign merchants’ vessels, as the number of Polish merchant ships was very low and continued to decrease in the second

one zloty for each bushel of potash and for each “lasht” of ashes (a lasht was 3,840 litres or 1,865 Kg). cf. *Słownik języka Polskiego* (Dictionary of the Polish Language), edited by Polska Akademia Nauk, tom IV (L-Nić), Warsaw, 1962, pp. 275–276.

¹⁴⁷ See below.

¹⁴⁸ Ștefan Olteanu, *Meșteșugurile din Moldova în secolul al XVII-lea* (Handicrafts in Moldavia in the 17th Century) in “Studii și materiale de istorie medie”, III (1959), p. 180. The exploitation included such expenditures as the rent for the use of the forests, the cost of making the pipes for conveying the ashes, the cost of the hatches, the hire of the ox-drawn waggons used for the transportations, etc.. cf. Hurmuzaki, *Documente* ..., suppl. II, vol. III, pp. 191–192 and 199, no. CIII (document dated August 3, 1671).

¹⁴⁹ J. Rutkowski, *Histoire économique de la Pologne* ..., p. 194; Stanisław Kutrzeba, *Gdańsk przeszłość i teraźniejszość* (Gdańsk — its past and present), Lwów—Warszawa—Kraków, 1928, pp. 133–136, 147, 153 (information on the amount of potash-ashes exportations in “lashts”, between 1600 and 1657); R. Hinton, *The Eastland Trade* ..., p. 39, 40, 105, 113; Maria Bogucka, *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekstylne od XVI do połowy XVII wieku* (The textile industry in Gdańsk in the 16th Century and the first half of the 17th Century), Wrocław, 1956, pp. 11, 16, 18, 29–30, 55–57, 71, 75, 77, 82, 85, 89–90, 94, 100, 108, 160, 181, 201, 268; idem, *Udział szypłowni gdańskich w handlu bałtyckim pierwszej połowy XVII w* (The place of the Gdańsk commercial roadstead in the Baltic commerce in the first half of the 17th Century) in “Zapiski Historyczne”, 29 (1964), no. 4, p. 15–26; Czesław Biernat, *Statystyka obrotu towarowego Gdańska w latach 1651–1815* (Statistics of the Gdańsk exchange of goods in the years of the 1651–1815 period), Warsaw, 1962, pp. 76–184; idem, *Les Archives d'États à Gdańsk*, in “Acta Poloniae Historica”, XI (1965), pp. 190–191 (the transactions with England in the years of the 1362–1786 period recorded in the port books).

half of the 17th Century¹⁵⁰. Most transportations from and to this important Baltic maritime centre, after the decay of the Hanse, were made by Dutch, Scandinavian and English vessels¹⁵¹. The Gdańsk merchants, however, enjoyed important privileges, by dint of which the foreigners or "the guests" — which means those who were not residents in the town — could sell their goods only to the local merchants. The town derived thus huge profits, particularly from the trade in grains, thanks to the difference between the selling price at Gdańsk and the purchase price on the international market¹⁵². The potash, obtained either from Moldavia or from the local market, was sold in this big Baltic port at the price of 12 Dutch thalers a "szafunt"¹⁵³ or 90 zlotys a barrel ("beczka"), while the potash ash at 204 zlotys and 6 groschen a "lasht"¹⁵⁴. However, an important quantity of potash was conveyed through Galatz by the Danube and the Black Sea to Constantinople, where it was purchased, especially by the factors of the Levant Company and by the Dutch merchants at 4 piasters "a weight"¹⁵⁵; it was used for cloth degreasing. On this route the Scotsmen had to overcome, besides the competition of the Turkish, Greek and Armenian mer-

¹⁵⁰ Cf. St. Hoszowski, *The Polish Baltic Trade* ..., p. 145 and Zbigniew Bincowski, *Gdański przemysł okrętowy od XVII do początku XIX w.* (Gdańsk and its ship-building from the 17th till the beginning of the 19th Centuries), Gdańsk, 1963, etc.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Rutkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 195 and especially Stanisław Gierszewski, who in *Statystyka żeglugi Gdańska w latach 1670—1815* (The statistics of the sea traffic in Gdańsk between 1670 and 1815) Warsaw, 1963, gives the quantities of the traded goods (particularly, table 9, p. 260, specifies the number of English vessels having entered the port in the years 1670—1752).

¹⁵² Rutkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 198 and B. Czesław, *Statystyka obrotu towarowego Gdańska* ..., pp. 76—184.

¹⁵³ "Szafunt" or "sziffunt" (in German "schiffspfund") was equivalent, in Gdańsk, to 300 pounds and a Gdańsk pound had the weight of 0.405 kg; consequently, a "szafunt" was equal to 121½ kg cf. St. Hoszowski, *Les prix à Lwow* ..., p. 36 and Marian Wolański, *Statystyka handlu Śląska z Rzeczpospolitą w XVII wieku. Tablice i materiały statystyczne* (Statistics of the trade between Silesia and Poland in the 17th Century. Statistical tables and information), Warsaw, 1963, p. 187. The Polish barrel was equivalent to 159.84 litres (*ibid.*, p. 186), while the Moldavian one had varied sometimes up to 112 "vedre" and 5 "ocale"; [one "vadra" = 10 "ocale" = 15.20 litres; "ocaua" = 4 litres, each one subdivided into 100 "dramuri" (= 1.520 l)] cf. N. Stoicescu, *Cum măsurau strămoşii. Metrologia medievală pe teritoriul României* (How our ancestors used to measure and weigh. Mediaeval weights and measures), Bucharest, 1971, pp. 152, 174—175, 185.

¹⁵⁴ Hurmuzaki, *Documente* ..., Suppl. II, vol. III, pp. 191, 193, 199 and 201.

¹⁵⁵ Jacques Savary, *Le parfait négociant* ..., I, p. 414: "Il vient aussi à Constantinople par la Mer Noire de la cendre que l'on appelle *Polachy*, son prix est de 34 piastres le quintal; les Anglois & les Hollandois enlèvent quantité de ces sortes de cendres, des quelles ils se servent pour dégraisser leurs draps". The weight of a "cintar" (quintal) was 44 "ocale", that is 56.80 kg cf. *ibidem*, p. 415 and N. Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

chants, also that of the Dutch merchants¹⁵⁶, who had warehouses at Galatz and exchange agents at Kiliya¹⁵⁷.

It is from the notes of the English traveller Robert Bargrave, who together with Richard Nevett accompanied James Modyford, a member of the Levant Company, in transit through Moldavia in the fall of 1652 on return from Constantinople to their homeland, that we learn about the existence in our country of the oldest potash centre exploited by the Scotsmen: the Dracșani estate¹⁵⁸, in the Hirlău area, near Botoșani, rented to a certain Black who was in the service of the merchant Peter Dunbar from Gdańsk¹⁵⁹. Bargrave gives some interesting details on the manufacture of potash; by the combustion of oak trees or other species of trees two varieties were produced: one having the aspect of a hard mineral ore "of a mixed sulfurious Colour", and the other named "Rich Ashe" (a kind of waste product or residuum) — obtained in the kilns by the combustion of willow trees (similar to the English beech) — a liquid substance "like melted lead"¹⁶⁰. As to what potash¹⁶¹ and potash ashes were employed for, an English account from 1691 shows that the potash proper (which means the solid product obtained by the combustion of oak trees or other species of trees) was used in soap making¹⁶² while the potash ashes (known as "weed ashes" or "wood

¹⁵⁶ Hurmuzaki, *Documente* . . . , VI, pp. 290–291, no. CLXIII.

¹⁵⁷ P. P. Panaitescu, *Doi călători italieni* . . . (Two Italian travellers . . .), p. 4.

¹⁵⁸ "Brackshaw". At present, the village is in the Sulitza commune, Botoșani district.

¹⁵⁹ Franz Babinger, *Robert Bargrave, un voyageur anglais dans les pays roumains* . . . , p. 172. Further details on the activity of the Scottish merchants who had exploited potash in Poland and particularly of Peter Dunbar in Gdańsk are given in Albert Rode, *Robert Bargrave, ein englischer Reisender des XVII Jahrhunderts. Mit bisher nicht veröffentlichten Auszügen aus seiner Reisebeschreibung in "Oberrealschule und Realschule in Eimsbüttel zu Hamburg 13 Jahresbericht Schuljahr 1904–1905"*, Hamburg, 1905. pp. 4–12.

¹⁶⁰ Babinger, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

¹⁶¹ Cf. the word *polash* = *potassium carbonate* in Webster's *Third New International Dictionary of the English Language*, London, 1961, II, p. 1774; from it derives the German word *pollasche* and from the latter the Romanian *polaz* [Titkin, *Dictionar român-german* (Romanian-German Dictionary), III, p. 1222]. In Poland the name of this substance was *połaż* (cf. M. Wolański, *Statystyka handlu Śląska z Rzeczpospolitą* . . . , p. 142), and in Russia *nomau* (cf. Plirimăe, *Сосна, обьем и пачнеделенне* *русскаго еуропа в 1661–1700* . . . , p. 72).

¹⁶² In order to promote the national soap manufacture, particularly developed in Scotland, the English authorities abolished, according to the most orthodox mercantile theory, all the custom duties on imported raw materials (oil, potash, etc.) used in the manufacture of soap at home and exempted from taxes the soap manufacturers for 19 years; on the other hand, in order to restrain the importation of foreign soap (particularly from France) they laid on the importers the prohibitive tax of six

ashes'')¹⁶³, produced in fact by the combustion of willow wood mixed with some earthen residua, was used as steep in bleaching linen and as raw material in glass-making¹⁶⁴; another source specifies that wood ashes helped in refining brimstone and sometimes dyers prepared them in vats or boiled them in order to fasten the dyes on the fabrics¹⁶⁵.

The documents concerning the affairs of the Scottish merchant in Moldavia, Patrick Simson¹⁶⁶ show that there were several places where potash was manufactured: at Racova¹⁶⁷ and Sinești¹⁶⁸ in the Cîrligătura area and also at Girbești¹⁶⁹ and Uncești¹⁷⁰ in the Vaslui area; a document dated December 20, 1667, specifies that

pounds a barrel. Thanks to the protective measures in favour of the manufacture of the Glasgow soap, a company for the production and sale of this commodity, with a capital of 11,700 £ was set up in 1667. In 1685 it obtained the privilege for the manufacture of soap and continued its activity for one hundred years till 1785, cf. W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and finance of ... Joint-Stock Companies ...*, vol. III, Cambridge, 1911, pp. 131–132. For details on the use of potash in the soap factories and on the conflicts between the Eastland Company and the Corporation of London Soap-makers on the monopoly of the product see R. Hinton, *The Eastland Trade ...*, pp. 44, 45, 81, 178–180, 185–187.

¹⁶³ In the Baltic trade, it was known under the German corrupted term “*waidasche*” or “*wailasch*”, which in Russia it turned into *вайдаш*, cf. Piirimäe, *ibidem*.

¹⁶⁴ *Report by the Commissioners of Customs (1691) in Calendar of Treasury Papers 1557–1696*, p. 191, ap. E. D. Tappe, *Patrick Simson: A Scottish Merchant in the Moldavian Potash Trade* in “*The Slavonic and East European Review*”, XXX (1952), no. 75, pp. 494–495. In order to foil foreign competition, the glass-makers in London and in the south of England joined into “*The Company of Glass-Makers of London*” (1691), with a capital of £ 25,000 in 1693 and into “*The Glass-bottle Company*” (1694), cf. W. R. Scott, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 110–114.

¹⁶⁵ J. and Ph. L. Savary des Bruslons, *Dictionnaire universel de Commerce*, vol. I, p. 586; vol. II, p. 1202.

¹⁶⁶ Patrick Simson, named “*Petrus Simson*” in the documents of the Lublin Scottish Brotherhood, settled in Poland in 1652; it is also possible that he was born there. Besides Moldavia, he traded also in Zamość and Szczecin (Stettin) in Pomerania. For Patrick Simson, besides the above quoted study by Tappe, the information of which is reproduced in the Romanian historiography by C. Șerban, *Știri despre o sticlărie în finutul Romanului la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea* (Information on a glass manufacture in the Roman area at the end of the 18th Century) in “*Studii și mat. de ist. medie*”, I (1956), p. 356 and by Șt. Olteanu, *op. cit.*, p. 179; see also A. Fr. Steuart, *Papers relating to the Scots in Poland*, p. 274, 275, 278, 353 and N. Iorga, *Scrisori domnești din arhivele de la Stockholm* (Rulers’ letters in the Stockholm Archives) in “*Analele Acad. Române*”, M.S.I., series III, tome X (1929), p. 521.

¹⁶⁷ Nowadays, the village is a part of the Girceni commune, Vaslui district.

¹⁶⁸ Nowadays, a commune in the Jassy district.

¹⁶⁹ Also in the Jassy district.

¹⁷⁰ The village is a part of the Telejna commune, Vaslui district.

"signor Condarado"¹⁷¹ produced potash in the vicinity of the town Vastui¹⁷².

"In these places the manufacture of potash was rather intense, if we judge by the quantities stored in the sheds in these villages : at Rahova 55 "lashts" (laszt) and 4 barrels of potash ; at Uncești 130 barrels of wood ashes ; at Gîrbești, 351 barrels of wood ashes, 48 "lashts" and 6 barrels of potash and at Sinești 148 "lashts" on potash"¹⁷³.

Patrick Simson settled in Moldavia at the time of the reign of Gheorghe Ștefan (1653—1658), who gave him a loan of 20,000 thalers¹⁷⁴. When the ruler was dethroned and Moldavia sacked by the Turkish and Tartarian armies (in 1658 and in 1659), during the troublous years of Gheorghe Ghica's reign), the Scottish merchant returned to Poland and established the headquarters of his affairs at Zamość. Back in Moldavia at the time of Ștefăniță Lupu's reign (1659—1661), Simson, associated with two Greek merchants, Fran-

¹⁷¹ Undoubtedly, this name designates the Greek merchant Iani Condorat (Jani Kondorat) or Conduratu, appointed on October 17, 1680, together with other big merchants and with boyards of the princely council to the jury meant to give verdict on the litigation, pending for many years, between the Lwów merchant Alexandru Halaban and the treasurer Gheorghe Ursachi, associates in the Moldavian potash trade. cf. Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, suppl. II, vol. III, pp. 209—210, no. CIII.

¹⁷² State Papers, *Turkey*, 105/175, f. 276, ap. Tappe, *op. cit.*, p. 495 and 503.

¹⁷³ The deposition of James Hay, a Scottish merchant, before the Lwów notary public, Mathias Ruczanski, on November 7, 1662, translated from Polish into Italian : "Essendo io restato apresso il travaglio delle merci Boschareggo nelle Barache del dominio di Valachia per parte del Signor Pietro Simson, mi e noto che le merci Boschareggo restate nelle Barache, dopo il fine del travaglio, sono state tante. Et prima, nella Baracha di Rakonia era del smalto cinquante cinque stive e quatre botte. Nella altra Baracha chiamata *Uscbesla*, cento trenta botte delli ceneri Potaschi.

Nella terza Baracha chiamata *Cherbestii*, trecento cinquanta una botte delli ceneri potaschi ; e ne la medesima Baracha, quaranta otto stive, e sei botte di smalto. Ne la quarta Baracha chiamata *Scheniaslii*, cento quaranta otto stive di smalto, si come io tengo il conto particolare", cf. Tappe, *Patrick Simson* . . . , pp. 509—510, appendix no. VI.

¹⁷⁴ In a letter from 1665 to Karl Gustav Wrangel, Marshall of Sweden, the late Moldavian Prince Gheorghe Ștefan, at that time in exile at Szczecin, among the debtors he complained of not having refunded the sums of money he had lent them, was mentioned also Patrick Simson, who owed him 25,000 thalers. (Cf. Hurmuzaki, *Documente* . . . , IX₁, p. 235, no. CCCXXI). In a letter he sent in 1666 to Charles X. King of Sweden, the former ruler stated the reasons of his proceeding : while he was reigning in Moldavia, he lent to Simson 20,000 thalers in order to help him in starting his potash trade in Moldavia, but, after he had departed from the country, he merchant did not repay the debt, that—together with the due interest—amounted to 25,000 thalers. Learning that Simson carried on his business in Pomerania, at that time a Swedish province, he requested the King to confiscate Simson's goods in order to compel him to repay the sum he had borrowed. cf. *Ibidem*, p. 246, no. CCCXXXVIII. We are of the opinion that Simson's insolvency was also due to the losses caused by his Greek partners in the potash trade, resumed in Moldavia in the years 1660—1661 : a protracted law-suit in Poland ensued, in which the British ambassador in Constantinople, lord Winchelsea, was also involved (see further).

gola Pepano¹⁷⁵ and Ververi Nomico¹⁷⁶, resumed the potash exportations at Gdańsk. Soon the three partners disagreed on the distribution of the gains; it was a protracted dispute, revealed in numerous documents. At first, they resolved on bringing the litigation before an arbitration jury at Lwów, on the understanding that the non-observance of the arbitration award should be punished to a fine of 100,000 thalers. On August 18, 1660 the arbiters decided that the amount of potash stored in Moldavia should be divided in equal quotas among the three partners and that Simson should pay to Pepano, as shipping expenses 15,000 Polish florins. Artfully, he secured from Prince Ștefăniță Lupu the right to sell at Smyrna the potash, conveyed by the Danube and the Black Sea, unscrupulously taking hold of a part of the quantity that belonged to the Scottish merchant¹⁷⁷. Dispossessed of his goods, Simson dispatched to Constantinople an agent, James Smith, to report his master's plight to the British ambassador, Heneage Finch lord Winchelsea¹⁷⁸.

The ambassador signified to the English merchants to refrain from any deal in the litigious potash; on February 16, 1661, the interdiction reached Smyrna where the consul Richard Baker imparted it to the concerned persons. Unfortunately, a part of the potash imported by Pepano in Turkey had already been purchased by an English merchant, Arnold White, and loaded aboard "Prosperous", while the remaining part had been bought by Dutch merchants who refused to comply with the English ambassador's order,

¹⁷⁵ Probably, a relative of the noted merchants in Wallachia the brothers Dona. Ghinea and Pană Pepano and their nephew Pano Pepano and also Ianc Pepano, who, in this period (1634–1680), traded on a large scale with Venice and the Balkan Peninsula. Details in N. Iorga, *Cîteva știri despre comerțul nostru în veacurile al XVII-lea și al XVIII-lea* (Some information on our trade in the 17th and 18th Centuries) in "Analele Acad. Române", M.S.I., series II, tome XXXVII (1914–1915), pp. 305–306; *Studii și documente*, vol. V, p. 482; vol. VI, p. 601; vol. XXI, p. 94; Al. Doboși, *Relațiile comerciale ale Principatelor Române cu Veneția*, p. 34; George Potra, *Documente privilegiate la istoria orașului București (1594–1821)* (Documents relating to the history of the town of Bucharest – 1594–1821), Bucharest, 1961, pp. 95, 98–99, 102–103, 120, 149, 182, 184, 208, 211, 213–215, etc.

¹⁷⁶ See the decision of the English ambassador Winchelsea in the judgment of the issue between the contending parties, Simson and his associates, in Pera (Constantinople) on April 13, 1663 (cf. Tappe, *Patrick Simson* . . ., p. 510, appendix VII).

¹⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 510–511. See also the undated statement of Paul Rycaut at that time secretary of the English Embassy in Constantinople, on the potash affair; the statement was reproduced by Tappe, *ibidem*, pp. 511–513, appendix VIII.

¹⁷⁸ Tappe, *op. cit.*, p. 496, cf. the letter sent by the English consul in Smyrna to lord Winchelsea on February 18, 1661, in *Historical Manuscripts Commission's printed report on the Finch Papers*, vol. I, London, 1913, p. 94 ap. Tappe, *ibid.*, p. 502, no. 1.

with the result that the Scottish merchant lost the potash cargo of three sykes¹⁸⁰.

Moreover, his former partners induced Prince Ștefăniță Lupu, by various tricks, to confiscate even the potash the Scottish merchant had in the warehouses at Galatz, and to forbid him to sell it. After having obtained in this affair the support of Vasile Lupu¹⁸¹, the father of the ruler, who was at that time in Constantinople and died soon afterwards, on March 19, 1661, lord Winchelsea personally wrote a letter to Ștefăniță Lupu and dispatched James Smith, Simson's agent, to deliver it to the Moldavian ruler, whom he requested to consider that "grave damnum, quod Dominus eius Patricius Simpson (!) sustulit, ex avaritia et libidine quorundam Graecorum, qui coniurati ad bona eius spolianda, cineres suos (qui vulgo *potashes* et *redashes* appellabantur) fraude et violentia diripuerunt: quorum pars magna hanc Portam Ottomanicam praeteriens, Smyrnae advecta est, vendita tandem, et dilapidata"¹⁸²; thus, the ambassador appealed to the good faith and kindness of the ruler to do justice¹⁸³. On May 4, Smith reported from Jassy to lord Winchelsea that the letter seemed to have somewhat impressed Prince Ștefăniță¹⁸⁴, but Simson who had travelled to Poland in order to win the support of King John Casimir and of his chancellor, Mikola Prazmuski, informed the ambassador in a letter dated June 11, that he was very disappointed at the irresoluteness of the Moldavian ruler, who delayed the release of the goods blocked at Galatz¹⁸⁵. The Scottish merchant succeeded in obtaining from the Polish King¹⁸⁶ and chancellor¹⁸⁷ some letters of recommendation

¹⁷⁹ Tappe, *ibid.*, p. 496. See also the letters that the consul Baker addressed from Smyrna to lord Winchelsea, on 22 and 26 February and on 31 March 1661 (cf. Tappe, *op. cit.*, p. 502, no. 2, 3 and 5) and that of the merchant A. White to lord Winchelsea, dated April 2, 1661 (*ibid.*, p. 502, no. 6).

¹⁸⁰ (in Turkish *şayka*), a small craft, used by Greek and Turkish merchants on the Danube and the Black Sea, cf. Lazăr Șăineanu, *Influența orientală asupra limbii și culturii române* (Eastern influence on the Romanian language and culture), Bucharest, 1900, p. 133.

¹⁸¹ Tappe, *op. cit.*, p. 496. See also the letter sent from Jassy, by James Smith to lord Winchelsea, on May 4, 1661, cf. *ibid.*, no. 7.

¹⁸² Tappe, *op. cit.*, p. 505, appendix I.

¹⁸³ The absence of any reference in this letter to the old privilege the English merchants had obtained during the reign of Peter the Lame to freely sell their goods in Moldavia clearly shows that it has been forgotten and passed into desuetude.

¹⁸⁴ Tappe, *op. cit.*, pp. 496–497.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 497. See also the letter of P. Simson, dated June 11, 1661, sent to lord Winchelsea in Tappe's *op. cit.*, p. 502, no. 8.

¹⁸⁶ See the letter King John Casimir sent to ambassador Winchelsea, on July 10, 1661, in Tappe's *op. cit.*, p. 602, no. 10.

¹⁸⁷ The letter of chancellor Prazmuski, dated July 3, 1661 (*ibid.*, p. 502, no. 9).

addressed to lord Winchelsea, whom they requested to intercede more actively in this affair and even to induce Charles II, King of England, to ask his ambassador in Constantinople to see to it that the great visier Fazil Ahmed pasha Köprülü enjoin the Moldavian ruler to release Simson's confiscated goods and to allow their sale¹⁸⁸. Considering that all these measures of precaution were not sufficient, the tenacious Scotch sent his brother William to the court of Moldavia in order to request once more Prince Ștefăniță to equitably settle his dispute with the Greek merchants¹⁸⁹. As the ruler died from typhus (on September 19, 1661) without solving Patrick Simson's request, the great chief justice of the Lower Country, Toma Cantacuzino, who before the accession to the throne of the new ruler Eustratie Dabija exercised the authority of a regent, released one half of the goods confiscated at Galatz and allowed John Hay¹⁹⁰, the Scottish merchant's representative, to transport it to Jassy. However, Simson did not enjoy the favour of the new ruler, who, alleging that the Scottish merchant owed money to his predecessors¹⁹¹, continued to keep confiscated the remaining half of the merchant's goods, in spite of the intercession of his protector, the Polish magnate count Jan Zamoyski with the great visier¹⁹². Moreover, Eustratie Dabija permitted Simson's opponents, Pepano and Nomico, to further sell, without any hindrance, the potash that in fact had been manufactured by all the three together. This fact compelled lord Winchelsea to forbid once more the English merchants in Constantinople and Smyrna¹⁹³ to buy the disputed potash¹⁹³. Concurrently, the English ambassador summoned Simson to Constantinople to have the contention with his former partners judged by the ambassador so that an end be put to it¹⁹⁴. As Simson, who wanted to know first the response of the Moldavian ruler to the new intercession of King John Casimir, the chancellor of Poland

¹⁸⁸ The letter of King Charles II, dated November 14, 1661, sent from Whitehall to lord Winchelsea, reproduced in *extenso* by Tappe, *op. cit.*, pp. 505–506, appendix II.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 498, according to the testimony of Frangolo Pepano, before lord Winchelsea, acting as judge, in Constantinople, on April 8, 1663 in Tappe, *ibid.*, p. 503, no. 41.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 497. See the letter John Hay addressed from Jassy to Winchelsea, on November 28, 1661, *ibid.*, p. 502, no. 13.

¹⁹¹ He was a debtor of Gheorghe Ștefan only, as we have already shown.

¹⁹² Tappe, *op. cit.*, p. 497. The letter sent from Zamość by Zamoyski to the grand visier Fazil Ahmed pasha Köprülü, on May 14, 1662, cf. *ibidem*, p. 502, no. 17.

¹⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 497, cf. the letter of lord Winchelsea to W. Cave, the consul in Smyrna, sent from Pera on July 1, 1662, cf. Tappe, *op. cit.*, p. 502, no. 18.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 497 and the letter Winchelsea sent from Pera, also on July 1, 1662 to P. Simson (*ibid.*, p. 502, no. 19).

and the hetman Potocki¹⁹⁵. procrastinated the answer, lord Winchelsea, urged by the English merchants in Turkey, was obliged to raise the interdiction, on July 30, 1662, on the purchase of potash from the two Greeks and to accept a caution of 13,000 thalers up to the time the case would be tried¹⁹⁶. Simson protested against the Constantinople arrangement and decided to send James Smith there, as his representative, in order that he, together with his former partners submit the case to the judgement of the English ambassador¹⁹⁷. The legal proceedings took place between the 6th and 13th of April 1663 before a gathering of Greek, Italian, French and English merchants in Constantinople, who reaffirmed the decision taken at Lwów on August 18, 1660 to equally divide the benefits among the three partners; consequently, the two defendants, Pepano and Nomico, were obliged to give back to Simson the amount of potash they had abusively got hold of¹⁹⁸. On April 13, Winchelsea ordered the Smyrna consul, William Cave to hand over to Simson's representative the 175 barrels of potash stored in that town by the two Greeks¹⁹⁹ and informed the Prince of Moldavia, Eustratie Dabija, in a letter dated April 18, on the result of the arbitration²⁰⁰. Pepano and Nomico, however, without heeding the Constantinople arbitration award, succeeded by bribing the kadi in Smyrna, in

¹⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 497. However, the Polish overtures to Eustratie Dabija remained ineffectual, as the ruler had to count on the interests of his boyards who preferred in the potash business the partnership of the Greek merchants in order to avoid the complications likely to occur in the case of the Scotch, more scrupulous in the observance of the mutual financial arrangements. As a matter of fact, the relations between Moldavia and Poland became tense, because of the counterfeited "schillings" (*șaldi*) coined in the princely clandestine mint at Suceava, that flooded Podolia and the neighbouring frontier areas, causing the Polish merchants to incur losses and damages. For Dabija's financial policy see the study by C. A. Stoide, *Însemnări despre meșterii și mănăstria lui Eustratie Dabija* (Notes on Prince Eustratie Dabija's craftsmen and mint) in "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie", Jassy, vol. I (1964), pp. 145–154.

¹⁹⁶ See the abolition of the interdiction by Winchelsea on July 30, 1662, as communicated to the consul Cave, in Tappe, *op. cit.*, pp. 506–507, appendix III.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 498 (the document of the 23rd of March 1663, by which J. Smith is accepted as the proxy in Constantinople for P. Simson, *ibidem*, p. 503, no. 4). In a letter addressed on August 14, 1663 to the Doge and Senate, the Venetian bailo to Constantinople, Ballarino, insinuates that Simson had likely promised to lord Winchelsea a "present" of 2,000 reales, if he gained the suit (cf. Tappe, *ibid.*, p. 498 and p. 504, no. 78).

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 510–511, appendix VII (The decision dated April 13, 1663).

¹⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 498, cf. the letter sent by lord Winchelsea to the consul Cave in Tappe, *op. cit.*, p. 503, no. 47.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 48.

taking away the potash barrels from the warehouses of the port and loading them on several Dutch vessels bound to Leghorn ²⁰¹.

In order to pursue in the Western countries the debtors of his master, James Smith was obliged to borrow 1,100 thalers from William Hedges, the treasurer in Constantinople of the Levant Company ²⁰²; lord Winchelsea, in his turn, gave him a letter of introduction addressed to the Great Duke of Tuscany and another one to the English ambassador in Paris, lord Holles, who was requested to recommend him to the Dutch envoy in the Capital of France and to the English resident in The Hague ²⁰³. Simson, who in February 1664 was at Lwów, sent another agent to Amsterdam to prevent there the sale of potash, if the litigious goods reached that town before Simson's or of his authorized agent's arrival there ²⁰⁴. Seeing the turn taken by the affair, the adversaries attempted to come to terms with the stubborn Scotsman ²⁰⁵, who decided lastly to make the voyage to The Hague at the end of the year 1663 ²⁰⁶. Unluckily, the outbreak of the English-Dutch hostilities in 1666 frustrated once more Simson's expectations. Back in Lwów, he could at last on February 22, 1668, inform the British ambassador in Constantinople that thanks to a final judicial decision taken in the Netherlands, he had gained the day ²⁰⁷. After an eight year long struggle the obstinate Scotsman succeeded in defeating his adversaries and in compelling them to pay damages.

²⁰¹ According to the letters addressed from Smyrna by James Smith to Winchelsea, on July 26, on August 5 and 17 and on October 1, 1663 (Tappe, *op. cit.*, pp. 503–504, nos. 50–52, 55), by Paul Rycaut to the same on August 17 and 18, 1663 (*Ibid.*, nos. 53–54) and according to the letter sent by Winchelsea to the State Secretary Sir Henry Bennet (*ibid.*, no. 56) and to the undated report of Rycaut (*ibid.*, p. 512).

²⁰² According to the receipt, dated December 18, 1663, signed by Smith, acknowledging the debt to Hedges (Tappe, *op. cit.*, p. 504, no. 59 a). Later, this debt provoked a conflict, George Draperys, lord Winchelsea's dragoman, compelling Simson's servants to give over to the treasurer, besides 60 barrels of potash, an interest amounting to 1,000 thalers, cf. *ibid.*, p. 500 and lord Winchelsea's letter to Simson, on January 6, 1667 (*ibid.*, p. 504, no. 72).

²⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 499, according to lord Holles' letter of answer to Winchelsea, April 7, 1664 (*ibid.*, p. 504, no. 61) and of the latter to the Great Duke of Tuscany on April 26, 1664 (*ibid.*, no. 62).

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 499 (The letter of P. Simson to Winchelsea on May, 18, 1664, cf. *ibid.*, p. 504, no. 63).

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 499 (The former to the latter on March 2, 1665, cf. *ibid.*, p. 504, no. 66).

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 499. He wrote from that place to lord Winchelsea on April 6, 1666, cf. *ibid.*, p. 504, no. 59.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 499 (The former to the latter, *ibid.*, p. 504, no. 76).

This victory, that was so hard to win, did not improve, however, the irretrievable declining potash trade carried on by Scotsmen in Moldavia. The intercession of lord Winchelsea with Prince Eustratie Dabija meant to protect the Scottish merchants from the various harassments they were exposed to, was ineffectual²⁰⁸; likewise, the letter sent to Dabija's successor, Gheorghe Duca, on February 8, 1666²⁰⁹ did not receive any answer — a fact that the early removal from the throne of the ruler may account for. Patrick Simson, in the letter he sent to lord Winchelsea on April 6, 1666 while he was in The Hague, described the difficulties he had met with in the potash trade in Moldavia, adding that "The Prince and his subjects are so rigorously oppressing ... strangers that they had no kind off (!) commerce in their dominions"²¹⁰. Simson's remarks were only partly true and concerned mainly the potash trade, where the rulers and the boyards, sometimes directly interested in it, cooperated with the Greek and Polish merchants better than with the Scotsmen and therefore, naturally, created obstacles meant to deter the latter from further competition. A proof thereof is the fact that Iliș III Alexandru, appointed as Prince of Moldavia (end of May 1666) thanks to lord Winchelsea's direct financial and political support meant to incline the Ottoman high dignitaries to Iliș²¹¹, took the same stand as his predecessors in the problem of the potash trade conducted by the Scottish merchants. Though the King of England himself, Charles II, on May 21, 1666, recommended Patrick Simson²¹² to Prince Iliș Alexandru's protection, the Scottish merchant's brother, William, wrote from Lwów to lord Winchelsea on the 25th of September of the same year that "My brother's servands' doe suffer great violence without any just cause. So thatt (!) if such extorsions shall be done to us, it is impossible thatt any of his Majestie's subjects shall have any beeing in his

²⁰⁸ See the letter dated April 18, 1663 (*Ibid.*, p. 503, no. 48).

²⁰⁹ Tappe, *op. cit.*, p. 504, no. 67. Independently of this letter, Gheorghe Duca addressed a message on the same question to ambassador Winchelsea on February 19, 1666, (*ibidem*, no. 68; the letter's text is not reproduced by Tappe) although his relations with the British ambassador were not quite cordial, as the English diplomat had supported, one year earlier, the candidature of Iliș Alexandru to the throne of Moldavia (cf. Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, V, p. 107, no. CLXVII; p. 108, no. CLXIX; p. 111, no. CLXXIV; G. F. Abbot, *Under the Turk in Constantinople. A record of Sir John Finch's Embassy 1674—1681*, London, 1920, p. 51; C. J. Karadja, *Un bacșiu princiar* (A princely tip) in "Revista istorică", X (1924), no. 7—9, pp. 182—183).

²¹⁰ Tappe, *op. cit.*, p. 499.

²¹¹ Cf. note no. 202.

²¹² Tappe, *op. cit.*, p. 504, no. 69 a; the letter is not reproduced.

dominions; which is most acted by counsell of his Boyars'" ²¹³. Likewise, Patrick Simson wrote from Zamość to the same ambassador, on May 5, 1668, that he was disappointed at the attitude of Prince Iliáš Alexandru, who, without heeding lord Winchelsea's letters, subjected him and his servants to a very harsh treatment, as a result of the boyards' pressure ²¹⁴.

In spite of all the harassments inflicted on him by the boyards who were competitors in the potash trade and by the court, Patrick Simson, realizing that after the disastrous war with Sweden, Brandenburg and Russia and after Lubomirski's uprising, Poland was in a state of utter confusion, decided to transport the potash thenceforth, by the Danube and the Black Sea, to Smyrna. On February 26, 1688 he informed Winchelsea of this plan ²¹⁵; he obtained a new letter of recommendation from King Charles II and also a passport ²¹⁶. How successful Simson's new plans were we do not know, as the sources known so far do not contain any information of the kind. This plan, however, has the meaning of an attempt to remove the Scottish potash trade from Moldavia to the Ottoman Empire and to abandon the Gdańsk route, not only because of the disturbances caused by the wars and uprisings in Poland, but also, we think, because of the unbearable competition of the Polish merchants, associated with some boyards and with the ruler. The suit, protracted for 18 years, from 1671 till 1689 ²¹⁷ that opposed the

²¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 499 and 500.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 500: "I will . . . expect from Your Excellencie such letters of importance unto the Prince of Moldavia thatt myselff (I) or servands bee not under such a slavish government, not so much by the Prince, himselff as acted by his Boyars. Bot withall I admire thatt the Prince haveing had so great enjoyment of Your' Excellencie's favours thatt he does esteem Your Excellencie's letters in such a low degree, his command beeing absolute above his boyars'".

²¹⁵ *Ibidem*. Another Gdańsk merchant, Johann Friederich Becker, hastened in his turn to request a letter of introduction to lord Winchelsea in October 27, 1668, in order to sell in the Ottoman Empire the potash he exploited in Moldavia (parts of the letter reproduced by Tappe, *ibid.*).

²¹⁶ The letter of introduction and the passport were emitted on December, 20, 1667 (cf. Tappe, *op. cit.*, p. 504, nos. 74–75).

²¹⁷ All the documents concerning this law suit were published either condensed or *in extenso* in Hurmuzaki, *Documente . . .*, suppl. II, vol. III, pp. 119–120, no. LXII. 137–141, nos. LXXI–LXXIII, 185–229, no. CIII and in *Monumenta Comitalia Regni Transylvaniae* (ed. Szilágyi Sándor), vol. 16, Budapest, 1893, p. 292, no. 2 (the letter of Prince Antoine Russet to Prince Michael I Apaffy on October 15, 1676); cf. also N. Iorga, *Istoria comerțului românesc* (A history of the Romanian trade), I, pp. 289–290 and *Ucraina moldovenească* (The Moldavian Ukraina) in "Analele Academiei Române", series II, M.S.I., tome XXXV (1912–1913), pp. 350–352. A more recent history of the conflict between Ursachi and Balaban in Lia Lehr, *Comerțul Țării Românești și Moldovei în a doua jumătate a secolului XVII* (The trade of Wallachia and Moldavia in the second half of the 17th Century), pp. 48–52.

treasurer Gheorghe Ursachi to his partner Alexandru Balaban, a Lwów merchant, reveals not only interesting details on the large-scale potash trade carried on in Moldavia by Polish, Greek and some native merchants and on the heavy traffic to Gdańsk but also the existence of potash exploitation centres on the estates of the above-cited Moldavian high dignitaries, situated in the Orhei (at Telita ²¹⁸ and Pojarna ²¹⁹) and in the Vaslui (at Poenesti ²²⁰) areas. The sentence passed on the treasurer Ursachi, who unable to pay to Balaban the enormous sum of 140,000 thalers ²²¹, was jailed and deprived of all his possessions ²²² must be viewed not as an expression of Prince Gheorghe Duca's equity but rather of his wish to get rid of a troublesome competitor in the potash trade which he carried on — since 1666 — as a partner of another Polish merchant, Stefan Nestorović Krasowski ²²³.

An interesting document casts new light on Gheorghe Ursachi's business relations. Forced by his precarious financial situation — manifest also in the above-mentioned law-suit — the enterprising Moldavian treasurer borrowed on mortgage in Constantinople, by the agency of his proxy, the sum of 2,600 Dutch thalers and, later, 1,000 thalers from the wealth of the two daughters under age of the late English protégé Frederic Warner — administered by the English merchants Robert Hiatt and Alexander Jacob. As the debt was not refunded, the tutors of the two minor girls, learning that another of Ursachi's proxies, Giovanni Camerotti, was in Constantinople, gave an account of the case to the English ambassador,

²¹⁸ *Telitsa*, cf. Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, suppl. II, vol. III, p. 201, no. CIII (document dated August 3, 1671). A village on the Dniester (in the district Bulboaca, the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, Soviet Union). In the storehouse at Telitsa remained a surplus of the 1670 production amounting to 48 barrels of potash, 17 "lashts" and 5 barrels of potash ashes.

²¹⁹ *Pojarny*, cf. Hurmuzaki, *ibid.*, p. 203, no. CIII (December 18, 1679). A glade, surrounded by forests, on the Bic river, in the vicinity of Cornești (at present, Călărași district, in the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, Soviet Union). The treasurer Ursachi had given to the merchant Balaban, before 1678, 38 "lashts" and 8 barrels of potash ash from the Pojarna production.

²²⁰ *Poianeste*, in the Racova brook valley. At present, a commune in the Vaslui district.

²²¹ Hurmuzaki, *Documente* . . . , suppl. II, vol. III, p. 212, no. CIII.

²²² Namely, 25 villages, 8 bee gardens, 63 hectares of vineyards at Cotnar and Jassy, 2 houses and other buildings in Jassy on the Tailors' Lane, silverware, gold, jewels, cash, herds of cattle, horses, sheep, all the crops in various barns, commodities, wines and must of grapes, etc. On Duca's unfair behaviour and his obvious hostility to Ursachi see also Ion Neculce, *Letopiseșul Țării Moldovei* . . . (The Chronicle of Moldavia) (ed. Iorgu Iordan) (2nd edition), Bucharest, 1959, p. 81.

²²³ N. Iorga, *Studii și documente* . . . , vol. XX, Bucharest, 1911, p. 72, no. VIII (document dated August 9, 1681). Cf. also *idem*, *Istoria comerțului românesc*, I, p. 290.

lord James Chandos, requesting him to intercede with the new prince of Moldavia, Constantin Cantemir, to settle their dispute with the former great treasurer. It is probable that lord Chandos' letter addressed to Prince Cantemir on December 7, 1685 did not yield any result, because of the financial insolvency of Ursachi, imprisoned in 1681 and with all his possessions confiscated, that prevented the Moldavian boyard from refunding the debt ²²⁴.

Having examined the circumstances of the Scottish potash-trade in Moldavia, further we shall try to draw some conclusions.

Firstly, the fact that the Polish merchants interested some Moldavian rulers and great boyards in the manufacture and trade of potash and wood ashes explains why the trade in these products carried on in Moldavia by Scottish merchants could not endure and why the latter tried to remove their selling place from Gdańsk to Smyrna. Secondly, the Scotsmen collided against powerful competitors, namely the Greek, Turkish, Jewish and Armenian merchants who had a monopoly over the Danube and Black Sea traffic ²²⁵, besides the Dutchmen who had also tried to transport their goods

²²⁴ British Museum, Mss. Stowe 219, *Lord Chandos' Letter Book*. vol. I, March 1681 – June 1686, f. 411 – 412 (a microfilm at the State Central Library, index M 35/65). An integral reproduction of the Latin text and a comprehensive account of the entire affair in our article *An episode of the relations between England and Moldavia in 1685* in "Revue roumaine d'histoire", VIII (1969), no. 3, pp. 659 – 671.

²²⁵ Ercünya Çelebi, a Turkish Chronicler of Armenian origin, confirms the fact that in the second half of the 17th Century, vessels loaded with goods from Cetatea Albă, Ismail, Galatz and other ports arrived in the Constantinople harbour. Cf. *Istanbul tarihi* . . . , p. 18, ap. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle*, p. 188. The French traveller De la Croix also noted in 1675 that Wallachia and Moldavia "sont . . . fort marchandes, servant de passages pour les Royaumes de Pologne, de Hongrie, de Tartarie et de Moscovie", because "... le Danube facilite beaucoup ce commerce par ses trois embouchures, Kili, Selina & Saint George, par lesquelles entrent toutes les Saïques qui viennent de la Mer Noire et vont jusques au Braylow où elles déchargent leurs marchandises dans des bateaux plats qui les portent à Belgrade", cf. F. Babinger, *O relațiune neobservată despre Moldova*, p. 122. Dimitrie Cantemir mentioned that "mercatores enim alienigenae, Turcae, Judaei, Armeni et Greci . . . tota sibi vendicarunt Moldaviae commercia" (*Descriptio Moldaviae*, in *Opere*, I, p. 120 – 121), – an affirmation corroborated by the Swedish officer Erasmus Schneider von Weissmantel, who specified in 1710, that in the Moldavian towns there are merchants who "die meisten aber sind Griechen und Armenianer, auch wohnen anjetzo in dem lande viel Türcken und Juden", cf. N. Iorga, *O nouă descriere a Moldovei în secolul al XVIII-lea, de un suedez* (A new description of Moldavia in the 18th Century, made by a Swede), in "Revista istorică", XVI (1930), nos. 1 – 3, p. 25. Also the Russian pilgrim Leontie mentioned in 1702 the traffic on the Danube of the Greek vessels, on which passengers embarked at Galatz, who paid 1 "leu" (Dutch thaler) per person for a voyage to Constantinople. Cf. Gh. Bezviconi, *Călători ruși în Moldova și Muntenia* (Russian travellers in Moldavia and Wallachia), Bucharest, 1947, p. 72. For the Danubian navigation of the Turkish vessels in this period see the Istanbul State Archives, *Cevdet tasnifi* (The catalogue of Cevdet), *Bahriye* (Marine) Service, file 9542, ap. Mantran, *op. cit.*, p. 645.

on the same routes²²⁶. Consequently, unable either to overcome the adversities — on the one hand, the unsafety of the route to Gdańsk after 1672, because of the nearly uninterrupted wars between Poland and Turkey and, on the other hand, the overwhelming competition of the Polish merchants and of the Eastland Company in the Baltic zone and that of the Balkan merchants in Levant or to secure a stable Danubian and Black Sea traffic, they disappeared from Moldavia about the year 1690²²⁷, and never returned. To all these causes one more has to be added: towards the end of the 17th Century, the soap manufactures in England introduced some improvements, which rendered obsolete the method of making soap with the help of potash²²⁸. Therefore, the preparation of potash and wood ashes in Moldavia, which was struggling with more difficulties than its counterpart in Poland or in Russia²²⁹ — even omitting the fact that the English merchants could indirectly pur-

²²⁶ K. Heeringa, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel*, II, p. 138; P. P. Panaitescu, *Doi căldători italieni necunoscuți* ..., p. 4.

²²⁷ A sultan's firman granting facilities in the potash trade to Austrian merchants, addressed in 1719 to the rulers of the Romanian Lands and preserved in a Latin copy, specifies that "In regno Valachiae (!) Potash nuncupata species quaedam cineris quercus, quo pannifices utebantur. Antehac Angli et Batavi mercatores ad dictum cinerem coemendum veniebant, quem propriis pecuniis a Principibus Valachiae emebant, et ad regiones suas transportabant, sed aliquot annis abhinc talis mercatorum cursus et recursus interruptus fuit ... Quod antehac proemendis cineribus ex Anglia et Batavia venientium mercatorum cursus et recursus interruptus sit, an vero ex parte excelsi Imperii orta cautione impeditus sit ... quos praeactis mercatoribus vendebant, quodque circiter triginta anni sint, a quo mercatores interrupti et nulla truncatio et combustio facta sit ...", Cf. Hurmuzaki, *Documente* ..., vol. VI, pp. 290—291, no. CLXI.III.

²²⁸ M. Sellers, *Acts and Ordinances of the Eastland Company*, London, 1906, p. LVI, ap. Tappe, *Patrick Simson* ..., p. 494.

²²⁹ The largest part of potash importations in England were made by the Eastland and Muscovy Companies that, in the second half of the 17th Century derived therefore important gains. Thus, only to the London manufactures the Eastland Company sold in 1663 potash worth £ 13,000 and £ 29,000 in 1669, see Ralph Davis, *English Foreign Trade 1660—1700* in "The Economic History Review", 2nd series, VII (1954), p. 150 and R. Hinton, *The Eastland Trade* ..., p. 105, table 10, (no specification of the sold quantities); towards the end of the Century the benefits somewhat diminished because of the decreased demand: in 1697 the sales were £ 22,000 pounds worth, in 1698 they rose to £ 25,000 and in 1699 fell down to £ 14,000 only (global figures, no specification of the quantities). Cf. Hinton, *op. cit.*, p. 113, table 14. In 1677, the Eastland Company imported from Russia through Narva — with the permission of the Swedes — 1184 "Schiffspfund" ("Szy funt", шиффунт) (1 "schiffspfund" in Narva = 400 pounds) and 12 "Веспfund" (лѣспfund) (1 "Веспfund" = 20 pounds) of potash, but in 1679 only 371 "sryfunds" and 18 "Веспfunds"; selling prices are not specified (cf. Pilrimäev, *Сосмаг. ошес и распроделение русское ошес* ..., p. 73, table 14) between 1662 and 1696, a number of 99 English vessels loaded up various goods (except potash, grains, forest products, food) at Narva; thus, among the importers, England ranked second, after Sweden and before Finland, the seaport Lübeck and Holland (*Ibidem*, p. 40).

chase these products from Greek or Turkish agents — turned to be quite unprofitable and was definitively abandoned.

We do not know whether except the potash trade there were other direct economic relations between England and Moldavia in the second half of the 17th Century. About English goods — cloth primarily — what we know so far is that they were traded only casually²³⁰ in this country²³¹ and the single certain information we possess we found it in a customs tariff of the time. Thus, the so-called “*Vama cea mare precum s-au așezat să se ea, scoțându-se din testamentul vămii cel vechiu*” (Comprehensive list of custom duties such as they were established and taken out of the list of the former custom duties) which dates from the year 1761²³², but, undoubtedly, refers to a period at least half a century earlier, consequently to the end of the 17th Century or to the beginning of the 18th Century, mentions among the goods imported in Moldavia the brand “*perpetan*” for which the charged custom duties amounted to 110 bani (or aspers) per piece²³³ (1 to 5 cobits long). We identify

²³⁰ Thus, on April 16, 1706, in the inventory of the properties in Moldavia, at Băltătești, near Tirgu Neamț, of Francis Lázár, a Transylvanian magnate, are listed, *inter alia*, various articles of clothing (skirts, cloaks, jackets, etc.) made out of English stuffs (“*Angliai poszto*” — broad cloth) of various colours (white, green, red, brown), lined with fur and woven with gold thread; their value and origin are not mentioned (Academy of Socialist Republic of Romania. Cluj Branch, *Lázár fund*, fascicle 108, l. 2—2 v^o).

²³¹ We are prone to think that there is an indication on the traffic in English cloth in Moldavia in the second half of the 17th Century, namely the term “*postav negru*” (black cloth) that ordinarily designated the mahut cloth produced in England for the eastern markets [J. et Ph. L. Savary, *Dictionnaire universel de Commerce*, vol. I Amsterdam, 1726, p. 608; H. Tiktin, *Dicționar român german* (Romanian-German Dictionary), vol. II, D—O, Bucharest, 1911, p. 941: *mahut* (in Turkish: *mahu't*) = *Feines Schwarzes Tuch*]. In the book in which a shop in Jassy entered the debts, mention is made, on August 25, 1679, of the damage paid to a selling agent or to a carter for the loss of a piece of *black cloth* (“I have given two good zlotys to Constantin as a compensation for the *black cloth*”), cf. C. Turcu, *Catastihul unei dughene din Iași la 1679* (The book of a shop in Jassy in 1679) in “*Studii și cercetări științifice*”, series III (Științe sociale), Jassy, VI (1955), nos. 3—4, p. 180. The high price of two “good” zlotys (a Polish coin worth 1½ thaler) as compared to that of other goods listed in the accounts of the shop strenghtens our assumption that this “black cloth” might be the English cloth *mahut*, which was comparatively more expensive.

²³² After N. A. Bogdan, *Din trecutul comerțului moldovenesc* ... in which on pp. 158—162 is reproduced the text of the custom tariff; the text is ascribed to Grigore II Ghica (1726—1733).

²³³ “*Arhiva Românească*” (The Romanian Archive) edited by Mihail Kogălniceanu (2nd edition), II, Jassy, 1860, p. 251. As compared to other brands of cloth in the tariff, *perpetuana* ranked in the middle: the duty for a piece of cloth “*ecstra*” was 1½ leu, for a piece of cloth “*thin*”, “*Filendris*” (Flemish cloth) and “*tuzunuk*” respectively 220 “*bani*” (1 “*ban*” = the 100th part of a “*leu*”), for a piece of cloth “*novigation*” (Neue Gattung) 132 “*bani*”, for “*șift*” (Transylvanian cloth) — a weight of “14 ocale for 1 leu”, cf. *ibidem*, pp. 249, 251, 254.

under this name the English ordinary cloth called "*perpetuana*"²³⁴, purchased in large quantities in the Baltic ports²³⁵ and Western Mediterranean²³⁶. "*Perpetuana*" was a durable woollen cloth of variegated texture, manufactured mainly at Colchester and Exeter²³⁷. Except this single mention of the English cloth "*perpetuana*" in the afore cited custom duties tariff, we have not found any other information on the traffic in *perpetuana* in Moldavia in the second half of the 17th Century.

Compensatorily, the tariff informs on various other goods, transported in Moldavia by Levantine, Greek, Turkish, Armenian and Jewish brokers, which the English Levant Company exported usually such as tin²³⁸, lead²³⁹ and wine²⁴⁰, colonial produce — pepper²⁴¹, cinnamon²⁴², clove²⁴³, nutmeg²⁴⁴, etc. — and sugar²⁴⁵. As our source does not give specific information, we do not hurry to set forth gratuitous assertions regarding the place of origin of these goods, sold on the Ottoman markets, to a great extent, also by Dutch, French and Venetian merchants. The Englishmen, however, thanks to the vast resources they controlled — an indication thereof being the goods they transported on their own vessels from the American colonies and from the East Indies — enjoyed a certain priority in the sale of the above mentioned goods on the Levant markets. From the competent information supplied by the noted French merchant and economist Jacques Savary (1622—1690)²⁴⁶

²³⁴ Webster's *Third New International Dictionary of the English Language*, II, p. 1685.

²³⁵ Table 3 in R. Hinton's *The Eastland trade* . . . , p. 35, shows that in 1625 the English merchants sold only 30 pieces of "*perpetuana*" in the Baltic ports, appraised according to the Sund tariff 344 "*rixdollars*" (Danish thalers); in 1635 the number of the pieces they sold rose to 2,337 (31,380 Danish thalers) and in 1646 to 6,318 pieces (77,829 Danish thalers). There are no statistical estimates for the 2nd half of the 17th Century. More details on the sale of *perpetuana*, *ibid.*, pp. 34 and 35.

²³⁶ J. et Ph. Savary, *Dictionnaire universel de Commerce*, II, p. 1055.

²³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 1536.

²³⁸ Charged "14 ocale = 1 old leu" (which means "lowen thaler", Dutch thaler), cf. "*Arhiva Românească*", II, p. 247.

²³⁹ Charged "50 bani per weight", a "weight" being equivalent to 44 "ocale", that is 56.80 Kg in Moldavia. Cf. also our note 155.

²⁴⁰ It was charged "50 bani a piece" and "a piece shall be 5 drams". Cf. "*Arhiva Românească*", II, p. 253.

²⁴¹ The custom duty was "1 old leu for 14 ocale", *ibid.*, p. 250.

²⁴² "One oca" charged "95 bani", *ibid.*, p. 252.

²⁴³ "One oca" charged "88 bani", *ibid.*, p. 247.

²⁴⁴ "One oca" charged "95 bani", *ibid.*, p. 249.

²⁴⁵ An "old leu" for "14 ocale", *ibid.*, p. 246.

²⁴⁶ *Le parfait négociant*, I, pp. 391, 413.

and from that given by Giacomo Quirini (1676)²⁴⁷, the bailo of Venice in Constantinople, it ensures that the hardware specified above was annually sold by the Levant Company's merchants particularly in Smyrna and Constantinople, namely: wire that they purchased in the Baltic and North Sea ports, especially in Hamburg, lead (about 4—5,000 weights at the price of 4—5 piasters a weight) and tin mined in the Cornwall County (4—500 weights at the price of 32—35 piasters a weight)²⁴⁸.

The same was the situation in the case of spices²⁴⁹ and of the sugar imported from Antilles²⁵⁰, which — refined only once²⁵¹ — the Englishmen sold in Constantinople at the price of 24 piasters a weight or two piasters a loaf²⁵².

As far as importations of Moldavian raw materials were concerned, we know that the English merchants purchased them in an indirect way either in the Baltic ports or on the markets in Levant. It is obvious that Poland, an exporter of wood, wax, vinous hydromel and hides to the Western countries²⁵³ could not buy such goods in Moldavia for internal consumption but only for exportations²⁵⁴. As a matter of fact, the merchants in Cracow, Lwów, Lublin, Toruń, Elbląg and Gdańsk derived substantial profits from the differences between the purchase and selling prices.

²⁴⁷ N. Barozzi—G. Berchet, *Relazioni degli stati Europei (Turchia)*, XVIIIth Century, I, pp. 173—174.

²⁴⁸ Savary, *op. cit.*, I, p. 413.

²⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, I, p. 391.

²⁵⁰ The most systematic monograph on sugar exploitation in the Antilles was written by the Brazilian research-worker, Alice Piffer Canabrava: *A Indústria do Açúcar nas Ilhas Inglesas e Francesas do Mar des Antilhas (1697—1736)*, São Paulo, 1946.

²⁵¹ Because of the large quantities of sugar imported from the colonies, four big refineries were commissioned in a short time in England, all in Glasgow: "Wester Sugar Work (1667)" (managed by 4 partners), "Easter Sugar Work" (1669) (managed by 5 partners), the capital of which amounted in 1689 to £ 10,000 (both firms had obtained a 19-year long privilege for the manufacture of sugar), "New Sugar Manufactory of Glasgow or South Sugar House", established in 1696 by the financiers Robert and James Montgomery and "The King Street Sugar Work or North Sugar House", founded in 1700 by Mathew and David Campbell, cf. W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of ... Joint-Stock Companies*, vol. III, pp. 133—137 and T. C. Smout, *The Early Scottish Sugar Houses 1660—1720*, in "The Economic History Review", Second series, XIV (1961), no. 2, pp. 240—253.

²⁵² J. Savary, *Le parfait négociant*, I, p. 413; the Venetians were, to a great extent, middlemen in this Levant trade, buying sugar from the English and French producers and selling it in Constantinople and in the Balkan Peninsula, cf. I. N. Angelescu, *Histoire économique des Roumains*, I, p. 300.

²⁵³ J. Rutkowski, *Histoire économique de la Pologne ...*, pp. 193—194; A. Mączak—H. Samsonowicz, *La zone Baltique; l'un des éléments du marché européen ...*, pp. 81 and 85.

²⁵⁴ S. Hoszowski, *The Polish Baltic Trade in the 15th—18th Centuries*, p. 145; Mączak—Samsonowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

Besides potash and wood ashes, a part of the wood the Polish merchants exported from Gdańsk to England ²⁵⁵ and to other countries came from Moldavia's forests; according to such an authoritative statement as that of the Moldavian Prince Dimitrie Cantemir, "*nautis in primis commendata est quercus moldavica, eamque illi omnibus aliis lignis ad naves construendas esse aptiorem et contra carum firmiorem praedicant*" ²⁵⁶; as to the quality and strength of the wood in the Moldavian forests, if the white substance that covered the tree within was stripped off, then the tree "... contra omnes tempestatum, aëris et aquarum injurias per plus quam centum annos incorruptum servari" ²⁵⁷. The most famous were the Cotnari forests, in the vicinity of the townlet with the same name and the Tigheci woods ²⁵⁸, wherefrom entire trunks were transported to Poland ²⁵⁹; purchased in this country, the trunks were shipped to the Western countries' ship-building yards, particularly to those of London, Hull, Ipswich, Southend and Portsmouth ²⁶⁰ where they were hewed into keels and masts ²⁶¹.

The information on the cattle trade in *Descriptio Moldaviae* is still more comprehensive: "Boves itidem montium incolae parvos

²⁵⁵ St. Kurtzeba, *Gdańsk przeszłość i teraźniejszość*, pp. 133—136 and R. Hinton, *The Eastland Trade* ..., pp. 39—105 and 113 present in statistical tables the cost of purchases of wooden materials — unfashioned logs, fir and oak boards, hoops, mast wood — made by English merchants in the Baltic zone; between 1663 and 1669, the sales in London only of such goods increased from £ 55,000 to £ 135,000, but towards the end of the 17th Century, the trade in Baltic wood somewhat declined (£ 62,000 in 1697, £ 106,000 in 1698 and £ 83,000 in 1699); for the importation through Narva of wooden materials (timber, oak boards, big trunks of trees, etc.) by the English between 1661 and 1700 see Pliřmāev *Сostas, объем и распределение русского вывоза* ..., p. 75, tables 15 and 76.

²⁵⁶ *Descriptio Moldaviae*, in *Opere*, I, p. 29.

²⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

²⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 29 and 30.

²⁵⁹ On this Century-old prosperous trade see particularly M. Małowist, *L'approvisionnement des ports de la Baltique en produits forestiers pour les constructions navales aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles* in the volume *Le Navire et l'économie maritime du Nord de l'Europe du Moyen Age au XVIII^e siècle*, Actes du III^e Colloque d'Histoire Maritime, Paris, 1960 and Arnold Soom, *Ostbaltischer Holzhandel und Holzindustrie im 17 Jahrhundert* in "Hansische Geschichtsblätter", 79 (1961), etc.

²⁶⁰ On the development of the shipbuilding yards in England at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th Centuries, see R. Hinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 95—101; R. G. Albion, *Forests and Sea Power 1652—1862*, Harvard University Press, 1926; J. Ehrman, *The Navy in the War of William III*, Cambridge, 1953; Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry*, London, 1962, etc.

²⁶¹ Samuel Pepys, the author of memoirs on the English fleet, dated 1677, appreciated that the best wood for shipbuilding came from Gdańsk, Królewiec (Königsberg) Riga and Hamburg (*Memoires of the Royal Navy*, ed. J. R. Tanner, Oxford, 1906, p. 35 apud R. Hinton, *The Eastland Trade* ..., p. 98).

habent, campestris vero magnos majorum pulchrumque boum greges e quibus singulis annis plusquam XL millia per Poloniam Dantiscum aguntur, et inde Polonicorum nomine in vicinas regiones distribuuntur. In Moldavia per boum quinque imperialibus, in hieme tribus etiam emitur: contra Gedani XL et L imperialibus vendi acceptus”²⁶². The most numerous oxen, of the best breeds, were reared in the Fălciu zone, along the Sărata brook and in the Cernăuți zone, in the vicinity of the Bașeu stream — areas where the soil was fertile and salt abounded; by selling their cattle at the fairs in Poland and Ukraine, the inhabitants could pay the high tribute the Porte levied on them²⁶³.

Polish and Russian sources reveal how important was in the 17th Century the trade in the cattle purchased in Moldavia at the Sniatyn, Kolomeea, Halicz, Rohatin, Bóbrki and Lwów fairs²⁶⁴ in Poland and at the Moghilev fair in Ukraine²⁶⁵; the cattle were

²⁶² D. Cantemir, *op. cit.*, p. 31. The price of five and even three thalers per head for the purchase of Moldavian oxen which were sold in Gdańsk or on other markets at a tenfold price shows how rapidly could foreign merchants get rich from the trade in cattle with Moldavia. The sources record the names of some of these merchants. At the beginning of the 17th Century Izaak Nachmanowicz from Lwów purchased cattle in Moldavia that he sold in Red Ruthenia, Minor Poland, Silesia and even Prussia [M. Bałaban, *Żydzi lwowscy na przełomie XVI i XVII w* (The Jews in Lwów at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th Centuries), Lwów, 1906, pp. 399, 412 apud Maurycy Horn, *Handelwólami na Rusi Czerwonej w pierwszcy połowie XVII w*. (The trade in cattle in Red Ruthenia in the early half of the 17th Century) in “Roczniki dziegów społecznych i gospodarczych”, XXIV (1962), p. 79, note 15]; Simon the Jew (Żyd Szymon) purchased in 1637 in Moldavia 30 oxen, which he subsequently sold at Sniatyn in Poland (*ibidem*). In Moldavia, the exit custom duty for oxen considered as commodities was “one old leu per head” (“Arh. Rom.”, II, p. 243). N. Iorga in *Istoria comerțului românesc* ..., I, p. 283, writes that “from Moldavia came oxen, which mostly reached Dantzic and therefrom were transported to Western Europe, even to England (underlined by the author — P.C.). For details, E. M. Podgraskaia *Торговые связи Молдавии с Львовом*, pp. 102—104, etc.

²⁶³ D. Cantemir, *Descriptio Moldaviae*, p. 31; N. Bogdan, *Din trecutul comerțului moldovenesc*, pp. 58—59.

²⁶⁴ M. Wolański, *Związki handlowe Śląska z Rzeczpospolitą w XVII wieku* ..., pp. 256—262; M. Horn, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 79, 83, 86, etc.

²⁶⁵ Cf. V. I. Meleşko, *О торговле и торговых связях Могилева в XVII веке* (On the trade and commercial relations of the Moghilev town in the 17th Century) in “Труды Института истории Акад. Наук БССР”, 3 (1958), pp. 58—60 (the list of goods) and *ibid.* *Торговые связи Могилева с городами Польши и Прибалтики во второй половине XVI—первой половине XVII века* (The trade relations between Moghilev and the Polish and Baltic towns in the second half of the 16th Century — first half of the 17th Century) in “Acta Baltica-Slavica”, II (1965), pp. 61—102.

further transported to the Baltic ports where the merchants of the Eastland Company bought especially hides ²⁶⁶.

As already mentioned, the English merchants could purchase Moldavian products also in an indirect way, namely those conveyed by the Southern route. And, in fact, among the goods they bought on the Levant markets, particularly in Salonika, Adrianople, Constantinople and Smyrna, were also some wares from Moldavia, such as wax and tanned hides ²⁶⁷.

Wax, on the market of Constantinople — where habitually some 500 weights were imported — was sold mainly in Spring, its price was 25–30 piasters per weight ²⁶⁸. At Smyrna 3,000–4,000 weights of yellow wax were sold yearly (imported, of course, not only from Moldavia), the price of which was 24 or 28 or 30 piasters per weight, according to the quality of the produce ²⁶⁹. Some 8,000 tanned hides were imported yearly from Moldavia in Constantinople; the price of the hides of the oxen was 2½ thalers and of the cows 2 thalers only ²⁷⁰. At Smyrna, the hides were sold by the hundred:

²⁶⁶ I. Lubimenko, *Les relations commerciales ... de l'Angleterre ...*, p. 265; Pii-riimăev *Сорта, объем и распределение русского вывоза ...*, p. 57, table 8; (refers to statistical data on the exports of hides, Russian leather purchased by the English traders in Narva, between 1668–1696); R. Hinton, *The Eastland Trade ...*, p. 35, table 2, shows the cost in Danish thalers of the tanned hides and of the moroccos purchased by the Eastland Company merchants in the Baltic ports over the period 1625–1646 and page 80 reminds of the conflict the Company had over their sale with the London Company of leather traders. L. Demény minutely dwells upon this indirect aspect (trade in cattle and hides) of English-Moldavian economic relations in *Relațiile economice dintre țările române și Anglia în prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea*, pp. 30–33 (MSS).

²⁶⁷ J. Savary, *Le parfait négociant ...*, I, pp. 385, 414; Wood, *Levant Company*, p. 122; Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique ...*, pp. 199, 207, 219; Mantran, *Istanbul ...*, pp. 211, 479, etc. Wax and hides are mentioned among Moldavia's export items by the travellers De la Croix in 1675 (F. Babinger, *O relațiune neobservată despre Moldova ...*, p. 122) and Weissmantel in 1710 (N. Iorga, *O nouă descriere a Moldovei*, p. 25); Dimitrie Cantemir specifies that the town Killya was "emporium celeberrimum, frequentatum ab omnibus, non circum jacentium solum maritimarum civitatum navibus, sed et remotioribus Aegyptiis, Venetis et Ragusaeis, qui inde ceram et cruda boum coria solent abducere" (*Descriptio Moldaviae in Opere*, I, p. 22).

²⁶⁸ Savary, *op. cit.*, I, p. 414.

²⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 398. The above-mentioned Moldavian customs tariff specifies the customs duties on wax exportations: "solid wax — 220 bani per weight or 5 bani per och", cf. "Arhiva românească", II, p. 256.

²⁷⁰ According to tariffs from 1660 (Archives Nationales, Paris, *Papiers de l'ancien bureau des Consuls*, sous-série B, III, no. 234, *Mémoires sur le commerce du Levant I (1630–1684)*).

432 piasters and 5 aspers buffalo hides, 136 piasters and 5 aspers ox and cow hides ²⁷¹.

The Russian furs, conveyed through Moldavia, were purchased not only in Moscow and Arkhangelsk by the factors of Muscovy Company ²⁷² and at Narva by those of the Eastland company ²⁷³, but also in Constantinople by the merchants of the Levant Company ²⁷⁴. Some times Moldavian merchants — such as Ioan, son of Ioan Alexe, who was in Moscow on March 5, 1707 or Pavel Ioan on March 1709 ²⁷⁵ — had a share in the fur trade. The most expensive were the sable furs, the selling price of which in Constantinople was 1,500—2,500 piasters a box ²⁷⁶. Yearly Turkey imported 200 boxes of sable furs, conveyed through Ukraine and Moldavia. The furs were transported by waggon (the cost of the transport: 80 piasters) and customs duties were charged for each box: 20 piasters on entering or leaving the “Cossack country”, 36 piasters on leaving Moldavia, 25 piasters on entering, at Măcin, the Ottoman Empire; in Constantinople, 120 piasters more were paid as customs duties and storage charges ²⁷⁷. White ermines were sold in Turkey at 10—11

²⁷¹ Savary, *op. cit.*, I p, p. 400. The Moldavian customs tariff specifies that the charge for 14 ox hides was one old leu, cf. “Arhiva Românească”, II, p. 250. Dimitrie Cantemir shows how profitable was this trade for the foreign merchants; they purchased in Moldavia at low prices, flocks and herds and sold them at two or threefold prices in Constantinople: “Mercatores ... Turcae, Iudaei, Armeni et Graeci, quos vulgo *dzelepi* vocare solemus ... pecorum pecudumque integros greges vili in Moldavia pretio cōemptos Constantinopolin aliasque urbes ducunt et ibi duplo triplo ve vendere solent” (*Descriptio Moldaviae in Opere*, I, pp. 120—121).

²⁷² I. Lubimenko, *Les relations commerciales et politiques de l'Angleterre avec la Russie* ..., pp. 263—266.

²⁷³ Piirimäcv, *Состав, объем и распределение...*, p. 62, table 10.

²⁷⁴ Savary, *op. cit.*, I, p. 416.

²⁷⁵ C. Șcriban, *Relațiile comerciale româno-ruse în secolul al XVIII-lea*, pp. 72—73. The census of the foreign merchants registered at the Moscow Department of Delegations enumerated also 8 Wallachians and 7 Moldavians settled in Russia, where they dealt in furs. Cf. *Исторические связи народов СССР и Румынии в XV—начале XVIII века* (The historical relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Romania in the 15th Century until the beginning of the 18th Century). Documents and materials in 3 volumes, Moscow, vol. III (1672—1711), Moscow, 1970, pp. 231—234, document no. 70. See also more recently Mihnea Berindei, *Contribution à l'étude du commerce ottoman des fourrures moscovites. La route moldavo-polonaise 1453—1700* in “Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique”, XII (1971), 4^e Cahier, pp. 404—409.

²⁷⁶ Customarily, a box contained ten “soroc” (сорокъ) and one “soroc” contained a bundle of 40 sable furs with long and very black hair, cf. C. C. Giurescu, *Relațiile economice dintre români și ruși până la Regulamentul Organic* (The Romanian-Russian economic relations up to the Organic Regulations), Bucharest, 1947, p. 23.

²⁷⁷ J. Savary, *op. cit.*, I, p. 416. The Moldavian customs tariff charged 10 lei for one “soroc” of sable furs, 1 leu and 8 “potronici” for one “soroc” of belly sable furs and 4 lei for one pair of leg sable furs.

piasters a "soroc", the transport by waggon amounted to 1 piaster a "soroc" and the custom duties to 1/2 piaster "per soroc" at the Ukrainian entrance and exit points, 3/4 piaster on the departure from Moldavia, 1/2 piaster when reaching Măcin and 1 1/4 piaster in Constantinople ²⁷⁸. Lastly, the marten and Siberian squirrel furs were sold in Constantinople by sacks of one thousand pieces at 70 piasters a sack. The transport fees amounted to 10 piasters and the custom duties to 4 piasters per sack in Ukraina, 6 piasters in Moldavia, 4 piasters at Măcin and 12 piasters in Constantinople (storage included) ²⁷⁹.

The above shown facts and circumstances clearly show that England, though it had established commercial relation with Moldavia as early as the end of the 16th Century, could neither expand them nor directly turn them to good account because of the Turkish economic monopoly that impeded the Levant Company to enter the Black Sea area and also because of the economic and political decay of Poland, afflicted by feudal anarchy and weakened by the numerous wars waged against her neighbours and against the Turks, which compelled the Eastland Company to restrict its commercial relations with the Polish Baltic Sea ports. Concurrently, the competition of the Balkan merchants who had got hold of most of Moldavia's foreign trade and gained the favour of some rulers and of some of the boyards through substantial benefits and also the unsafe roads in Poland decided the Levant Company merchants to abandon the route through Moldavia to the Baltic Sea they had used in the 16th Century and to find a new route for the transit of their goods to Central Europe.

3. The Relations with Wallachia

As already mentioned, some scarce vestiges of English-Wallachian trade exchanges dating from as early times as the end of the 16th Century could be detected, although the Wallachian Principality was more oppressed by the Turkish economic monopoly and with her foreign trade nearly entirely seized by Balkan merchants, excited less the attention of the Levant Company or of the Eastland Company, which had comparatively closer relations, through middlemen, with Moldavia and Transylvania.

²⁷⁸ Savary, *op. cit.*, I, p. 614. According to the Moldavian tariff the custom-duty for one soroc of ermine was 50 bani and for an ermine fur 230 Lani. Cf. "Arh.-Reun.", II, p. 246.

²⁷⁹ Savary, *op. cit.*, I, p. 417. The Moldavian customs tariff specifies that large back furs of Siberian squirrels were charged 66 bani a piece, smaller ones 28 bani; large belly furs 55 bani, smaller ones 14 bani.

Besides, the merchants of the Levant Company had to pay heed to Austria's attempts to organize a direct traffic, by the Danube, with the Ottoman Empire, after 1667, when her own Company of Oriental Trade ²⁸⁰ was established, the intent of which was to sell not only Austrian products but English cloth purchased in the West as well ²⁸¹. Although this mercantile device — inspired by Joachim Becker's ideas — was shortlived and utterly failed ²⁸² in 1683, the year of Vienna's siege and of the resumption of the Austrian-Turkish

²⁸⁰ Fr. M. Mayer, *Die Anfänge des Handels und Industrie in Oesterreich und die Orientalische Compagnie*, Innsbruck, 1882, p. 15 and foll.; Herbert Hassinger, *Die erste Wiener orientalische Handelskompagnie 1667—1683* in "Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte", Stuttgart, XXV (1942), no. 4, pp. 1—53; R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle*, pp. 578—580, etc. The founder of the Commercial Company was the merchant Lelio de Luca, a native of Milan, attendant on Leslie, Imperial resident in Constantinople, acknowledged in the capital of the Ottoman Empire as "capo di mercanti"; he had consular attributions and was under the obligation to pay 2% of his cash incomes to the representative of Emperor Leopold I, cf. Hassinger, *op. cit.*, p. 14 and 17.

²⁸¹ A Venetian account, dated April 7, 1675 specified the intention of the Austrian Oriental Company to sell *lundish cloth*, conveyed by the Danube, in Constantinople: "... Si continuave nella practica e ne trattati con la Compagnia di Levante di Germania per condur le *Londrine* a Constantinopoli per il Danubio" (Mantran, *op. cit.*, p. 580, no. 4).

²⁸² From the Summer of the year 1667 until 1678, Austrian vessels carrying goods annually sailed down the Danube between Komorn and Rustchuk (Russe), but not without being subjected to many nuisances created by the local Turkish authorities: by 1683, the trade of Austria, whose manufactured products were of a poor quality, could not but vegetate in Constantinople, where the competition of the English, Dutch, French and even of the Venetian traders was overwhelming and, as a result, the venturesome undertaking of Vienna utterly failed (Cf. Hassinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 16—49; Tröjan Stoianovich, *L'économie balcanique aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, p. 181—182). A French merchant in Constantinople, Robolly, noted down on August 10, 1669 that "les Allemands se sont establys depuis peu et il n'y a qu'une seule maison de marchand ... Ils apportent de leur pays quantité de quincaillerie et mercerie qu'ils font venir par la Mer Noire et font descendre par le Danube. Ils remportent d'issy quantité de soye fine de Perse, camelots et poils de chevre et quelques joyeaux qu'ils enlèvent, mais on ne croit pas qu'ils continuent n'ayant pas faict grand chose jusques à présent à cause des voittures qui coustent beaucoup, pour le transport des marchandises de part et d'autre ...". (Mantran, *op. cit.*, p. 580, no. 2). Finally, the Austrians had to curb their ambitions and to appeal, in their Oriental trade, to Serbian agents, who had the same function as the Greeks and Armenians in their relations with the Turks. Big traders such as Luca Jacobović, Constantin Popović and Luca Marianović started sending Oriental goods to Vienna and Austrian or Western manufactured goods to Adrianople: they imported silk, carpets, colonial wares, tobacco, Arabic gum, English cloth, dye-stuffs, hides, etc. and exported Silesian cloth, paper, beaver skin, nails, etc. Cf. Carl Pecz, *Alle serbische Handelsbeziehungen zu Wien* in "Mittheilung des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichte", Innsbruck, XXXVI (1915), pp. 498—510. The attempt of the Austrians in this period to set going at least a steady cattle trade with Wallachia and Moldavia failed as well (Cf. Hassinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 49—53).

warfare, the idea of the Danube to be used as a route for the transit and sale of goods to Central Europe arrested the attention of the Levant Company.

At the beginning of the 18th Century, some Armenian agents under British protection ²⁸³ conveyed up the Danube, now and then, goods procured in the East, but the venture finally proved to be difficult and expensive, because of the outbreak of the Kuruts' anti-Habsburg rebellion and of the difficulties created by the Balkan competitors, particularly of the Sibiu and Braşov members of the Greek trade companies ²⁸⁴, who succeeded in monopolizing a great portion of the Romanian, Transylvanian and Hungarian trade with the Levant. It was as a result of the activity of the members of these companies that the exchange of goods between England, Wallachia and Transylvania became more lively at the end of the 17th Century, when English wares were transited and sold mainly by Greek merchants. This circumstance accounts for the entry since 1675 in the Wallachian customs tariffs of some goods made in England and also for their sale, confined as it was within very restricted circles, namely the ruler and the high boyards.

The favourable position of Wallachia, situated between the Carpathians and the Danube, at the crossroad of the trade routes from Central Europe to the Balkans, Adrianople and Constantinople and particularly the advantage in the last ten years of the 17th Century of not having taken a direct part in the war between the Turks and the Christian powers allied in the Saint League secured her a certain economic precedence over her neighbours, the merchants' caravans avoiding Serbia and Bosnia, which were seats of war, the Danube route being open only from Turnu Severin downstream. "The Geographical Mapp drawn for the use of traders . . . with the Ottoman Empire", made by Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, a noted Italian traveller, diplomat and soldier, preserved in the Bologna Archives ²⁸⁵, indicates with red lines the international

²⁸³ I. Moga, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 102–103.

²⁸⁴ N. Iorga, *Istoria comerşului românesc*, I, p. 308–309 and *Acte româneşti şi cetera greceşti din arhivele Companiei de comerş oriental din Braşov*, pp. VIII–X, XXVI–XXXII, 2–21; N. Camariano, *L'organisation et l'activité culturelle de la Compagnie des marchands grecs de Sibiu*, in "Balcania", VI, pp. 201–208, etc.

²⁸⁵ *Mappa Geografica facta in usum Commerciorum a Buda et Baja tamque centris et terminis, a quo, tam cum Polonia et Italia, quam primario cum Imperio Ottomanico per vias punctis rubris expressat, instituendorum et Scripturae qui spectanti clarius lumen afferent*, in Bologna State Archives, MSS. 49, f. 16, apud Maria Emilia Amaldi, *La Transilvania attraverso i documenti del conte Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli*, in "L'Europa Orientale", Rome, IX (1929), p. 268.

trade routes in South-Eastern Europe: Buda—Szeged—Arad—Lipova—Deva and Sibiu, where the route forked into three directions: to Turnu Severin—Nicopole through the mountain pass Ciineni, to Braşov—Bran—Cîmpulung—Giurgiu, through Piteşti and Bucharest, and to Tg. Ocna—Galatz—Sf. Gheorghe, Black Sea. From Giurgiu the route passed through Slivno (Bulgaria) to Adrianople and therefrom either to Salonika or to Constantinople²⁸⁶. It was on these routes—frequently trodden by the Sibiu and Braşov companies' merchants, by other independent traders from Greece (among whom were also Macedo-Romanians)²⁸⁷ who carried on business in Salonika, Moscopole and Constantinople and also by Armenians, Jews and Ragusans²⁸⁸, that goods sold by the Levant Company in Turkey and purchased by these agents started being conveyed. The customs tariffs at the transit points in Wallachia to Transylvania, at the end of the 17th Century, namely at Dragoslavele, Ciineni and Cîmpina on the Prahova Valley²⁸⁹, had not been preserved; the only exceptions are the 1675—1676 (repeated in 1691) and 1705 customs tariffs at Ciineni. At this custom-house, taken over by the ruler and farmed out²⁹⁰ (the third part of the incomes being allotted, however, to the monasteries Cozia and

²⁸⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁸⁷ Valère Papahagi, *Les Roumains de l'Albanie et le commerce vénitien aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, in "Mélanges de l'école roumaine en France", 1931, pp. 27—124; *Contribuţii la istoria relaţiilor comerciale ale Munteniei cu Peninsula Balcanică şi cu Veneţia în sec. al XVII-lea şi al XVIII-lea* in "Revista istorică", XIX, pp. 119—126 and *Aromânii moscopoleni şi comerţul veneţian în sec. al XVII-lea şi al XVIII-lea* (The Macedo-Romanians from Moscopole and the Venetian trade in the 17th and 18th Centuries), Bucharest, 1935, pp. 47—95; N. G. Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIII^e siècle*, pp. 193—211, etc.

²⁸⁸ N. Iorga, *Istoria comerţului românesc* (A History of the Romanian Trade), I, pp. 301—303.

²⁸⁹ N. Stoicescu, *Despre organizarea pazei hotarelor în Ţara Românească în sec. XV—XVIII* (On the organisation of the defence of the frontiers in Wallachia in the 15—18th Centuries) in "Studii şi materiale de istorie medie". IV (1960), pp. 208—213.

²⁹⁰ In 1691 the customs were farmed out to a scrivener, Vlad Căzănescul [cf. N. Iorga, *Manuscripte din biblioteci străine relative la istoria românilor* (Manuscripts in foreign libraries relating to the history of the Romanians) in "Analele Academiei Române", series II, M.S.I., tome XI (1897—1898), p. 250] and on January 22, 1690 to Páter János, a rich merchant (Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, p. 211, no. 2) who was sent later to Alba Iulia, as a delegate of Constantin Brâncoveanu, to oppose the Union of the Transylvanian Orthodox Church with Rome, cf. Alexandru Lepădatu, *Páter Iánoş in Prinsoa lui D. A. Sturdza la împlinirea celor şaptezeci de ani* (Homage to D. A. Sturdza on his 70th birthday), Bucharest, 1903, pp. 303—310.

Arnota), the first tariff ²⁹¹ mentions, among its 78 items ²⁹², besides the "thin" English cloth (the Romanian name of which was in 1705 "*anglie*" and in Hungarian "*angliai posztó*"), in fact the broad cloth ²⁹³, some metals from England and Germany, dye-stuffs, colonial wares from Western Indies, exported mainly by the Levant Company in the Ottoman Empire particularly to Smyrna and Constantinople. Thus, for what was called a "povară" (159.56 kg) of "thin" English cloth the custom duties at Clineni amounted to 333 "bani" (or aspers) ²⁹⁴; the top quality cloth "*londre*" ²⁹⁵ or "*londrine*" (named,

²⁹¹ *Adelul oămii schelii de la Clineni de povărdle și bucatele ce trec prin scală, de ce marfă câte cât iasle să scă* ia la vamă; car se s-au scos după calastih schilie (1) de la Duca Vodă la leatul 7184 și povara dereapă de ocă 125; Ghen. 1 d ni l(ea)l 7199 (The duties to be levied at the custom-house of Clineni for the horseweights and pieces that pass through this point, showing the duties for each kind of good and respective quantity — extracted from the custom book compiled during the reign of Prince Duca in the year 7184 since the Creation of the World — and also the right weight of an "oca" 125; January, 1, 7199); cf. C. Erbiceanu, *Tariful vamal de pe timpul lui Brâncoveanu* (The customs tariff at the time of Brâncoveanu) in "Arhiva Soc. Științifice și Lit. din Iași", X (1899), pp. 620—622; N. Iorga, *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor* (Studies and documents relating to the history of Romanians), V, Bucharest, 1903, pp. 364—367; Dinu C. Giurescu, *Analefterul. Condicta de porunci a Vistieriei lui Constantin Brâncoveanu* (Analefterul. The Ordinances' Register Book of the Treasury of Constantin Brâncoveanu) in "Studii și materiale de istorie medie", vol. V (1962), pp. 446—477, no. 200.

²⁹² C. Șerban, *Sistemul vamal al Țării Românești în secolul al XVIII-lea* (The custom-duties system of Wallachia in the 18th Century), in "Studii și articole de istorie", III (1961), p. 136.

²⁹³ The English high quality broadcloth, manufactured at Suffolk was known in Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe under the names of "*English Tuch*", in the German speaking countries, "*sukno angielskie*" in Poland, "*англиское сукно*" in Russia, "*angliai posztó*" in Hungary and Transylvania, "*anglie*" in the Romanian lands, "*anglija*" in Serbia, "*ἀγγλία*" in Greece, etc. [cf. Tiktin, *Dicționar româno-german* (Romanian-German Dictionary), vol. I, A—C, Bucharest, 1903, p. 68 (explanations only partially exact); *Таможенные книги Московского государства XVII века* (Customs tariffs of the Moscovian State in the 17th Century) (edited by A. I. Iakovlev), vol. I, Moscow, 1950, pp. 13—17, 21, 24, 31, etc.; R. Hinton, *The Trade ...*, pp. 34—35; H. Zyns, *Anglia a Baltik ...*, p. 190; G. Székely, *Niederländische und Englische Tucharten ...*, pp. 33—34], it was a twilled and napping clothing fabric of woolen or worsted with a smooth lustrous face and a close dense texture, cf. Webster's *Third New International Dictionary of the English Language*, I, p. 280.

²⁹⁴ Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 365 and *Istoria comerțului românesc*, I, p. 296; Giurescu, *ibid.*, p. 446. "*Povara*", theoretically a horse-charge, weighed 125 "ocale", that is 159.56 Kg ("ocaua", plural "ocale", the main weight unit, was equivalent to 1.271 Kg) cf. N. Stoicescu, *Cum măsurau strămoșii ...*, pp. 256—257 and p. 278. Money, taken in the meaning of coin and not in the general meaning, always designates aspers, being thus a second name of this small silver coin of current circulation at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th Centuries, cf. Const. C. Giurescu, *Istoria românilor* (A history of the Romanians), vol. III, Bucharest, 1946, p. 619.

²⁹⁵ In Constantinople 3,000 pieces of "londres" were sold yearly at the price of 150 aspers per "pic". Cf. J. Savary, *Le parfait négociant*, I, p. 410. The "pic" was a measure of length used in Turkey for measuring cloth just as the cubit was used in

in general, in English “*fine lundish cloth*”²⁹⁶ and in Hungary where the term was borrowed from German — “*fayn londys*” or “*fay-londis*”) ²⁹⁷ were charged in 1683 at the Turnu Roșu custom-house two florins a piece (“*val*” or “*veg*”) ²⁹⁸; as to the brands and counterfeits of English cloth named in Levant “*mahout*” ²⁹⁹, “*shy*” ³⁰⁰

our lands. The Turkish “*pic*” was equal to three fifths of a Paris “*aune*” which consisted of 2 feet, 2 fingers and 2 lines (cf. P. Masson, *Histoire du Commerce français dans le Levant du XVIII^e siècle*, appendix, p. XXVIII, and W. Hinz, *Islamisch Masse und Gewichte umgerechnet ins metrische System*, Leyda, 1955, s.v.) and was 0.650–0.660 m long, while the cubit used in Wallachia was longer, 0.661 m; cf. N. Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, p. 88. Habitually, the londrine bales consisted of 10 pieces of assorted cloth, three blue, three green, two red and two violet, cf. Savary, *Ibidem*. The English “*longcloth*” and “*shortcloth*”, named by the Turks *ensiz-kinar* and *enli-kinar* were in great demand in Turkey, as they were of a quality that the French could not attain, cf. *Mémoires sur les draps du 8 Août 1707 — 29 Août 1709* of the French consul in Salonika, Antoine Arnaud, in the Archives Nationales of Paris, B¹, 990, apud Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIII^e siècle*, pp. 221–222.

²⁹⁶ The English “*londres*”, made of Segovia wool were in high demand in Levant and by the beginning of the 18th Century they ranked first in the sale of Western cloth on the Ottoman market, cf. Svoronos, *op. cit.*, p. 221. Their price in Constantinople was 2 1/4 piaster (225 aspers) a “*pic*”; the bale had to consist of 4 pieces of an intensely violet-blue colour, 3 green, 1 blue and 2 red pieces, cf. Savary, *op. cit.*, I, p. 410. The Levant Company merchants had to pay in Constantinople for “*londres*”, “*londrines*” and “*shay*” (see note 293) the so-called *misteria*, that amounted to 20 aspers per 50 “*pics*” of cloth (cf. *Tarif ... de la meseterie* in K. Heeringa, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel*, II, p. 359).

²⁹⁷ I. Lubimenko, *Les relations commerciales et politiques de l'Angleterre avec la Russie ...* p. 95; S. Goldenberg, *Clujul in sec. XVI ...*, p. 146 and 257; G. Székely, *Niederländische und Englische Tuchten im Mitteleuropa ...*, pp. 33–34; H. Zyns, *Anglia a Baltyk ...* p. 191.

²⁹⁸ Sibiu State Archives, *Zwanzig und Dreisig Rechnungen*, box XXVII, 17.

²⁹⁹ J. et Ph. L. Savary, *Dictionnaire universel de Commerce*, vol. II, p. 608: “*Mahouts*” — *Draps de laine destinés pour les Échelles du Levant qui se manufacturent en Angleterre*; in the first half of the 18th Century, big quantities of “*mahout*” were imported in Salonika by Jewish merchants who purchased it from the English merchants mainly in Leghorn, cf. Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–221. “*Mahout*” (in Turkish *mahu't* which means good, well-known) designated a kind of black and thin cloth (“*feines Schwarzes Tuch*”) exported by the English merchants to Levant (cf. H. Titkin, *Dictionar român-german*, vol. II, D–O, Bucharest, 1911, p. 941; see also Lazăr Șăineanu, *Elementele turcești în limba română* (The Turkish elements in the Romanian language) in “*Revista pentru istorie, arheologie și filologie*”, year III (1885), volume V, fascicle II, p. 202, no. 780, and *Influența orientală asupra limbii și culturii române* (The Oriental influence on the Romanian language and culture), vol. II, Bucharest, 1900, p. 74. On Easter, the ruler used to give to the boyards, as a valuable present, pieces of “*mahout*” and Florentine satin (cf. Dan Simonescu, *Literatură românească de ceremonial. Condica lui Gheorgachi, 1762* (The Romanian writs on ceremonial. Gheorgachi's Book, 1762), Bucharest, 1939, p. 223: “According to a former custom, on Easter day, the Prince gave as a present to each of the boyards, from the *vel logofăt* (high chancellor) down to the *vel comis* (great squire) a piece of mahout cloth and one of Florentine silk, which was sent to their residences”).

³⁰⁰ “*Şai*” (*Shay*) (in Turkish *şali*, in Hungarian *sája*, in Polish *saja*) was a brand of fine red cloth, similar to the serge, made in England and purchased not only in

or “*shy mahoul*”³⁰¹ — entered as such in the accounts of the Wallachian Treasury book and of the “Anatefter” (Ordinances’ Register Book) of the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu — we do not know the customs duties. The Ciineni customs tariff shows that for one “*povara*” of quicksilver the charges amounted to 333 *bani*, of lead 120 *bani*, of steel 50 *bani*³⁰². Quicksilver — which the Levant Company merchants purchased in the Baltic ports or in Hamburg — lead, steel³⁰³, tin and tin plates (usually sold at 32 piasters per 450 sheets), brass (50 piasters a weight) were in high demand with the Turkish purchasers³⁰⁴, particularly in Smyrna and Constantinople.

In the 1675–1676 Ciineni tariff are also listed such goods as dyes (80 *bani* per “*povara*”) and also pepper (333 *bani* per “*povara*”)³⁰⁵ — one of the commodities that the Levant Company merchants used to export to Levant³⁰⁶. The dye-stuffs the Company dealt in included cochineal, azure and indigo (*indigo lauris*), the price of which was 6 piasters one “oca”³⁰⁷.

Sometimes Wallachian merchants bought on the markets of Transylvania English cloth imported there. The customs tariffs at Turnu Roşu recorded, on September 18, 1685, a certain Radu from Ocnele Mari, who was charged four florins for the transport in Wallachia of two bales (“veg”, “vigh”) of English cloth (“angliai posztó”, which means “broadcloth”); on January 15 and May 5, 1690, Vasilco, a merchant also from Ocnele Mari, was charged 3 florins

Levant but in Central Europe as well. cf. Maria Bogucka, *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekstylne od XV do połowy XVII wieku*, p. 64 and 65; it was counterfeited in the Netherlands (*Ibidem*, pp. 64, 88, 102 and 105), at Gdańsk (*Ibidem*, pp. 73, 77, 87, etc.) and in the Angora manufactures (as a striped woolen cloth, cf. L. Şăineanu, *Elementele turceşti* . . . p. 227 and *Influenţa orientală*, II, p. 113). In Transylvania, this kind of cloth was used in the 16th and in the early half of the 17th Century (cf. S. Goldenberg, S. Belu, *Postăvăritul din Braşov* . . . , p. 173 and note 30 and also the list of prices, dated April 4–30, 1627, published in *Monumenta Comititalia Regni Transylvaniae*, vol. VIII, Budapest, 1882, p. 380, no. XXXVII); no specification, however, is made whether the cloth was imported from England or it was a counterfeit; details at L. Demény, *Economic relations between the Romanian countries and England in the first half of the 17th Century*, pp. 25–26 (MSS).

³⁰¹ A brand of black “shy” cloth, counterfeited in the Angora manufactures.

³⁰² N. Iorga, *Studii şi documente* . . . , V, p. 366; D. Giurescu, *Anatefterul* . . . p. 447.

³⁰³ J. et Ph. Savary, *Dictionnaire universel de Commerce*, I, p. 941. At that time in England there were several companies producing lead (1670), brass (1691) and steel (1692) which they sold at home and abroad, cf. W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies*, vol. III, pp. 105–109.

³⁰⁴ J. Savary, *Le parfait négociant*, I, p. 413.

³⁰⁵ N. Iorga, *Studii şi documente* . . . , V, p. 365, 366; D. Giurescu, *Anatefterul* . . . , p. 446, 447.

³⁰⁶ J. Savary, *op. cit.*, I, p. 391.

³⁰⁷ *Ibidem*.

for two bales of fine "londrine" ("failondis" — "fyne lundish cloth") and ten fox skins and 1.8 florins more for four cubits of fine "londrine" exported beyond the Carpathians and on May 5, 1690, a certain Radu from Brîncoveni was charged 3 florins for the transport to Wallachia of 16 cubits of English cloth and 3 cubits of fine "londrine"³⁰⁸.

Sometimes "londrines" (as a rule, not the genuine English cloth, but counterfeited in the manufactures in Languedoc, Provence and Dauphiné), tin and colonial wares, all imported from Venice³⁰⁹, were sold in Wallachia by Macedo-Romanian and Greek merchants from Moscopole. In Venice — much the same as in Leghorn — tin and colonial goods were sold by the same Levant Company, the trade activity of which in these renowned economic centres was very brisk³¹⁰.

The 1691 Ciîneni customs tariff reproduced word by word the 1675/1676 tariff. In 1705, when custom duties were levied³¹¹ on the goods (81 items)³¹² the merchant Tănase Venețianul — who was on business relations with Siguli Stratu, a noted wholesale dealer of the Sibiu Greek Company³¹³ — had purchased in Turkey to sell them in Transylvania, the only charges in the custom tariff that can be noticed concern the horseweight of "thin" cloth or "anglie" — 335 bani instead of 333 and the horseweight of dyes, that sky-rocketed from 80 to 120 bani³¹⁴, while the charges for horseweights of quick silver, lead and steel remained unchanged³¹⁵.

³⁰⁸ State Archives in Sibiu, *Zwanzig und Dreissig Rechnungen*, box XXVII, 17.

³⁰⁹ V. Papahagi, *Aromânii moscopoleni și comerțul venețian*, pp. 48–49.

³¹⁰ A. C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 139–140; Svoronos, *Le Commerce de Salonique . . .*, p. 167, 221; Michel Morineau et Charles Carrière, *Draps du Languedoc et commerce du Levant au XVIII^e siècle* in "Revue d'histoire économique et sociale", XLVI (1968), no. 1, p. 119.

³¹¹ *The customs duties at Ciîneni, such as they had been established, to be levied by the custom-house officers on a horseweight of any kind of goods — which the treasury raised from Mr. Tănase the Venitian, on February 30 (1) 1705.* Cf. N. Iorga, *Studii și documente*, XII, pp. 12–17, no. XX; Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, XIV₁, pp. 759–760, no. DCCXLVII.

³¹² C. Șerban, *Sistemul vamal al Țării Românești . . .*, p. 136.

³¹³ Sibiu State Archives, *The archive of the Greek merchants at Sibiu*, register no. 89, l. 40 (a so far unknown document, dated October 5, 1694); a summary of the document in [D. Limona], *Catalogul documentelor referitoare la viața economică a țărilor române în sec. XVII–XIX*, *Documente din Arhivele Statului Sibiu* (A list of documents relating to the economic life of Romanian Lands in the 17th–19th Centuries. Documents from the Sibiu State Archives), volume I, Bucharest, 1966, p. 4, no. 20.

³¹⁴ Iorga, *op. cit.*, XII, pp. 12, 13, 15, 16; Hurmuzaki, *ibid.*, XIV₁, pp. 759, 760.

³¹⁵ Iorga, *ibid.*, pp. 13, 14, 16; Hurmuzaki, *ibid.*, pp. 759, 760.

The sugar imported in Wallachia was of the kind the English merchants imported from the American colonies and sold in Constantinople ³¹⁶ or the kinds exported by the French and Venetians and — as the Florentine secretary of Constantin Brâncoveanu, Antonmaria del Chiaro reports — conveyed to Wallachia by Greek and Turkish merchants, together with other dainties: “che non produce il paese, come: caffè ³¹⁷ . . . droghe” and also “panni rasi, tappeti alla persiana ed altre merci, che fanno per lo più venire per la via di Constantinopoli” ³¹⁸.

The English black cloth, known in Levant under the name of “mahout” and the brands called “shay” or “shay mahout” as well as their counterfeits were more often met with in Wallachia, if we judge by the frequent mentions thereof in the information sources of the time. Thus, “The Records of the Treasury” in the times of Constantin Brâncoveanu’s reign mentions the various presents of “mahout” ³¹⁹ and “shay-mahout” ³²⁰ the ruler offered to the Turkish high officials he had relations with or was compelled to establish contacts with over the period 1696—1703; the “shay” cloth was included, as a rule, in the gift he sent to the Tartarian Khan and his dignitaries ³²¹; at times, it was given as a present to some boyards and clergymen ³²² and even to the “jesters” at the princely court, as a bonus ³²³. It appears from the “Records of the Treasury” and the “Ordinances’ Register Book” that the “mahout” cloth was usually sold by pieces (4—5 cubits long) ³²⁴, the price of which was commonly 18 thalers and, sometimes, rose up to 33 thalers ³²⁵; the price of the “shay-mahout” cloth was 17.50—20 thalers a piece ³²⁶,

³¹⁶ J. Savary, *Le parfait négociant* . . . , I, p. 413.

³¹⁷ In an autographic note, dated April 23, 1707, Constantin Brâncoveanu specifies that he had commissioned the agent Constantin Dikiti to buy for him in Constantinople goods, coffee included, amounting to 24 thalers, cf. Academy of the S.R.R. MSS Romanian 3214, l. 1. See also R. Pava, *Criptogramele din Insemnările de lăină ale lui Constantin Brâncoveanu* (The cryptograms in the secret notices of Constantin Brâncoveanu) in “Studii și materiale de istorie medie”, IV (1960), p. 515.

³¹⁸ Antonmaria del Chiaro, *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia* . . . (ed. N. Iorga), Bucharest, 1914, p. 110.

³¹⁹ *Condica Vistieriei*, pp. 96, 450, 526, 549, 593, 651, 691, 694, 722, 741, 742.

³²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 526, 530, 531.

³²¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 29, 109, 151—153, 169—170, 407, 415—416, 477, 720; D. Giurescu, *Analefterul*, pp. 458, 460.

³²² *Ibidem*, pp. 455, 457.

³²³ *Ibidem*, pp. 440 and 460—461.

³²⁴ The price of a cubit of “mahout” cloth was 5 thalers, cf. *Condica Vistieriei*, p. 96.

³²⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 549, 742.

³²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 526, 530, 531.

while the “shay” 15 thalers a piece ³²⁷. In Wallachia, these brands of cloth as well as the counterfeited English cloth were more expensive than other imported assortments such as *feléndres* (Flemish cloths) sold at 10 thalers a piece, *brecles* [Breslau (Wrocław) cloth?] 7 ½ thaler a piece and *shift* (Transylvanian cloth) 5 thaler a piece ³²⁸.

Besides, the broadcloth or lundish cloth (“thin cloth”, “anglie”) and the “mahout”, “shay” and “shay-mahout” brands, which were either conveyed through or imported in Wallachia, the sources point out that the personal properties of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu and of the stolnic Constantin Cantacuzino included English cloth considered as a luxury (which means broadcloth or “fynelundish cloth”). Partly these tissues came from the presents sent to the Prince and his counsellors by England’s ambassador to Constantinople, lord William Paget, who was on friendly terms with the Wallachian ruler ³²⁹, and partly from purchases, mostly made in Germany ³³⁰ (probably in Leipzig) ³³¹. It seems that Brâncoveanu owned a large quantity of English cloth; on the occasion of the wedding of his daughter Ilinca with paharnic Scarlat, the son of the noted dragoman Alexandre Mavrocordat, in February 1698 ³³², he gave, as a present, a piece of this expensive cloth to the Bohemian

³²⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 407, 415.

³²⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 407, 415, 681.

³²⁹ See the letter of stolnic Cantacuzino addressed to lord Paget on February 8, 1695, and the letters of the English ambassador to the Romanian ruler on November 26 (1696) and to the stolnic (High steward) on November 28 (1696), which confirm that English cloth was sent as a present, several times, to Brâncoveanu and to his adviser cf. E. D. Tappe, *Documents concerning Rumania in the Paget Papers*, in “The Slavonic and East European Review”, vol. XXXIII (1954), no. 80, pp. 204 and 205.

³³⁰ The report on the possessions Brâncoveanu deposited in the hands of the Braşov merchant Manu Apostol, the count Etienne de Stainville, Imperial General Commander of Transylvania, sent on August 16, 1714 to the Vienna War Council, specifies among “*variis generis pannis adductis ex Germania*”, the “*Pannus Anglicus ulnae 525, quaelibet ulna tal. 4*”, consequently a rather great quantity of English cloth, estimated 4 thalers a cubit (in all 2,100 thalers or 4,200 florins), cf. Hurmuzaki, *Doc. privit. la ist. rom.*, VI, p. 140, no. LXX.

³³¹ Gheron Netta, *Negustorii orientali la Lipsca. Contribuţiuni la istoria comerţului românesc* (Oriental merchants in Leipzig. Contributions to the history of Romanian trade), Bucharest, 1916, p. 20. Del Chiaro relates that some Wallachian boyards used to buy valuable Bohemian crystal vases “che sogliono due volte all’anno arrecarsi (insieme con varie sorte di altre mercanzie) da negozianti che vengano da Lipsia” (op. cit., p. 50).

³³² For details on this marriage see Radu Greceanu’s *Istoria domniei lui Constantin Basarab Brâncoveanu Voievod (1688—1714)* (The History of Prince Constantin Basarab Brâncoveanu’s Reign, 1688—1714), ed. A. Ilieş, Bucharest, 1970, pp. 122—123 and *Istoria Ţării Româneşti de la octombrie 1688 pînă la martie 1717* (A history of Wallachia from October 1688 till March 1717) (ed. C. Grecescu), Bucharest, 1959, pp. 95—96.

glass-blower Georg Kreybich, who had come in Bucharest to offer valuable crystal vases to the newly married couple ³³³.

As already mentioned, most of the foreign merchants who sold English wares in Wallachia or conveyed them across the country, were members of the Greek Companies in Sibiu and Braşov; besides, other foreign merchants — Greek, Macedo-Romanians, Turks, Jews and Armenians ³³⁴ from Smyrna, Constantinople, Salonika, Moscopole, Durazzo, Ragusa and Venice — carried on trade on their own account, sometimes under the protection of the English Embassy in Constantinople. Thus, on April 22, 1689, in Bucharest, a Greek merchant from Constantinople named Demetrios, engaged in trade in Wallachia since the reign of Şerban Cantacuzino, being falsely accused of dishonesty, obtained from Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu — on the basis of the recommendations of Dionisios IV, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and of Sir William Trumbull, the English ambassador in Constantinople ³³⁵ — a certificate of good behaviour and free passage. This certificate was of good help to the trade business carried on by Demetrios in Transylvania too, as a copy of it, authenticated by the Vienna authorities on July 15, 1690, was deposited in the Imperial Archives ³³⁶. Similarly, the Armenian under British protection, Zachariah Sedgewick, Andreas Vaulierd, Joannes Chris-

³³³ Ludwig Schlessinger, *Reisebeschreibung eines deutsch-böhmischen Glasschneiders* in "Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen", Prague, VIII (1870), p. 228: "...mit einem englischen Tuch zu einem Pelz beschenkt". See also Nicolae Vătămanu, *Un meşter sticlă din Boemia la curtea domnească din Bucureşti (1690)* (A Bohemian master glass blower at the Bucharest princely court) in "Materiale de istorie şi muzeografie", Bucharest, I (1964), pp. 391—394.

³³⁴ Hurmuzaki, *Documente* ..., XV², p. 1470, no. 2769; p. 1480, no. 2801, etc. D. Giurescu, *Analefterul* ..., p. 388, no. 33; pp. 393—394, no. 41; p. 394, etc. V. Papahagi, *Contribuţii la istoria relaţiilor comerciale ale Munteniei cu Peninsula Balcanică* ..., pp. 115, 121, 124—126, etc. and *Aromânii moscopoleni şi comerţul veneţian*, pp. 74—75, 93—95, etc.; Al. Dobos, *Relaţiile comerciale ale principatelor române cu Veneţia*, pp. 31—38; Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique* ..., pp. 194—199, 207, etc.

³³⁵ Hurmuzaki, *Documente* ..., V₁, p. 249, no. CLXXXIV: "...Praesentium exhibitor honestus Demetrius Natione Graecus Mercator Constantinopolitanus in calumniis certi negotii constitutus, quatenus innocens ab illis liberaretur, suae integritatis et vitae probitatis tam a sanctissimo Patriarcha Constantinopolitano Dionysio, quam ab alio nobilibus, ac insignibus eiusdem loci viris ipsum scientibus testes expetit; Insuper et alias suae honestatis litteras ab Illustrissimo ac Excellentissimo Domino Wilhelmo Trumbull Equiti Aurato Serenissimi Regis Magnae Britanniae et ad Portam Ottomanicam Legato, super liberationem a suis calumniis obtinuit, easque tam praedecessori nostro celsissimo Sarbano Cantakuzeno avunculo nostro, quam nobis praesentavit. Quibus inhaerentes, qualiter predictum Demetrium commendatum habuimus, talem fuisse, et esse nullique suspicioni obnoxium, imo honestae et integrae vitae eum semper fuisse attestamus ...".

³³⁶ I. Lupas, *Documente istorice transilvane* (Transylvanian historical documents), vol. I, 1599—1699, Cluj, 1940, pp. 430—431, no. 181.

tophor Hazzi and others were granted, in 1702 and in 1703, by Emperor Leopold I the privilege of transporting English goods through Central Europe by the Danube and the Black Sea, on their way to Persia and to convey therefrom, on the same route, silk and other goods, to the Netherlands and England ³³⁷.

In a report addressed on February 8, 1699, by Basile Comte, the French consul in Durazzo, to the Minister of the Navy, Count de Pontchartrain, it is stated that the Balkan merchants (particularly Greeks and Turks) in Wallachia, Scutari, Elbasan, Moscopole, Shiaciste, Janina and Salonika used, for the transportation of their wares, not only Ragusan, French and Dutch vessels, but English ones as well ³³⁸ — a fact showing that the Levant Company ships directly participated in the Adriatic transit trade.

Generally, the English-Wallachian trade at the end of the 17th Century and at the beginning of the 18th Century developed in an indirect way, particularly through Balkan and Armenian agents; however, in Adrianople and Constantinople several Romanian merchants were engaged not only in the purchase of goods but also in credit transactions. The "Records of the Treasury" of Constantin Brâncoveanu reveals the presence in the two important towns of some very wealthy merchants from Wallachia ³³⁹, owners of important capitals ³⁴⁰ gained, doubtlessly, thanks to their prosperous business

³³⁷ I. Moga, *Politica economică austriacă și comerțul Transilvaniei în veacul XVIII*, pp. 97, 102—103, etc.

³³⁸ V. Papahagi, *Les Roumains de l'Albanie* . . . , pp. 94—96, no. XXXIII, *Contribuții la istoria relațiilor comerciale ale Munteniei*, p. 123 and *Aromânii moscopoleni și comerțul venețian* . . . , p. 166, doc. XXV: "il y a environ 100 négociants, lesquels sont tous Turcs ou Grecs, habités (!) partie à Valachie, Escutarij, Albanan, Voscopolij, Satista, Janina et Salonique . . . Et ces Messieurs les marchands ne se servent que des navires françois, anglois, hollandois et ragusois pour le transport de leurs marchandises" (reproduced by Al. Doboși, *op. cit.*, p. 39).

³³⁹ Among them: in Constantinople, Costea the Skinner (between December 30, 1698 and 1703) (*Condica Vistieriei* . . . , pp. 450, 742), Dumitrache (January 28—March 1, 1701), (*Ibid.*, f. 603, 615), Iordache (January 28, 1701), (*ibid.*, p. 603). Atanasie (January 28, 1701) (*Ibid.*), Ioan (1701), (*ibid.*, p. 620), Toma (1701), (*ibid.*), Constantin (September 20, 1703) (*ibid.*, p. 727) and Andronic (December 30, 1703) (*ibid.*, p. 742); in Adrianople, Panait the Skinner (between August 5, 1696 and August 1701 (*ibid.*, p. 230, 507, 578) and his son Grigorașco (on March 1 and December 22, 1701) (*ibid.*, p. 603, 647), Chiriac al Neculii (February 10 and December 30, 1703) (*ibid.*, pp. 691, 742) and Dumitru son of State (February 10, 1703) (*ibid.*, p. 691).

³⁴⁰ Thus, the Treasury of Wallachia refunded to Panait the Skinner sums varying from 654 to 3,925 thalers, to Dumitrache 3,000 thalers, to Chiriac son of Necula 3,500 thalers, to Ioan and Toma 8,840 thalers, etc., representing loans these merchants granted the boyards sent by the ruler to Adrianople and Constantinople on various state affairs (*Condica Vistieriei* . . . , pp. 230, 507, 578, 691, 742) and to Brâncoveanu's personal representatives (*ibid.*, pp. 603, 615, 620) or the sums spent for the purchase of the "Bairam gifts for the Empire" (*ibid.*, p. 450).

in Turkey. In Constantinople, most of them resided in the Kapu-Silivri quarter ³⁴¹ and used to sell their goods in the centre of the town, in the famous Bezestan — with its numberless shops, bazaars and inns — where guilds of every description and merchants of various nations carried on each its well defined business ³⁴².

To suppose that Romanian merchants sometimes purchased in Turkey English goods from the Levant Company merchants seems to be risky, as there is no document to confirm it; however, the supposition is quite reasonable, as these merchants were in close relationship with the princely court in Bucharest and with the representatives in Constantinople of the ruler who, as we know from other sources ³⁴³, were in touch with the English Embassy in the Ottoman Empire. This fact might account for the reason of the loan granted in March 1696 to Brâncoveanu's boyards by the English merchant from Constantinople "Pătru Buiuc" (unidentified), to whom 2,750 thalers — 2,500 thalers the amount of the loan and 250 thalers a ten percent interest — were refunded five months later, on August 5, 1696 ³⁴⁴. On the other hand, a reverse situation — mentioned, it is true, only once in the documents — may be noted: the presence in Wallachia at that time of English merchants. A report of the English ambassador in the Habsburg Empire, George Stepney, sent on August 15, 1703, to the State Secretary, Charles Hedges, informs that several English merchants from Aleppo and Smyrna arrived in Vienna and that they accompanied Constantin Brâncoveanu — who had been called by the sultan and the great vizier to Adrianople for the confirmation of the Wallachian ruler's

³⁴¹ R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle*, p. 43.

³⁴² *Ibidem*, pp. 38—39. See also the account of the traveller Jean du Mont, written in Constantinople in July 1690, in *Voyages en France, en Italie, en Allemagne, à Malthe et en Turquie*, vol. II, La Haye, 1699, pp. 80—81.

³⁴³ E. D. Tappe, *Documents concerning Rumania in the Paget papers*, p. 205. The High steward Constantin Cantacuzino himself, before his departure to Padua, on further education ends, wrote in his note-book, on January, 10, 1667 that he had deposited in the hands of the treasurer of the Levant Company in Constantinople, William Hedges, the important sum of 400 "oughi" (Hungarian gold coins) and 500 lei, he received subsequently, on demand, in Venice [cf. Constantin Cantacuzino, *Opere* (Works), ed. N. Iorga, Bucharest, 1901, p. 1)].

³⁴⁴ *Condica Vistieriei* . . . , p. 230 "August 5 leat 7204 (= 1696), 27.50 tal<eri> s-au dat la Buiuc Pătru englezul care au dat împrumut boierilor la Țarigrad de au dat unde au fost trebile împărătești după cum au dat capuchehaielele calastih, însă capele <1>aleri 2500 iar tal<eri> 250 s-au dat pentru doblînda acestor bani de cinci luni" [August 5, 7204 (= 1696), 2,750 thalers were given to the Englishman « Buiuc Pătru », who had loaned, 2,500 thalers to the boyards in Constantinople to be given there where the ruler's personal representative indicated. — 2,500 thalers the loan and 250 thalers the interest for five months] (The text was corrected by tallying it with the original "Records", Bucharest State Archives, MSS, 126, I. 151 v°).

reign — on his return journey to Bucharest, wherefrom they together with their goods crossed Wallachia, entered Transylvania, followed the Arad and Szeged route, traversed Hungary and finally reached Vienna ³⁴⁵.

No reliable information on the Wallachian goods the Levant Company merchants purchased in Turkey is available so far. Among the items the English merchants purchased in Turkey were wax and hides ³⁴⁶, which were imported in Salonika, Adrianople, Constantinople and Smyrna not only from Moldavia and Transylvania but from Wallachia as well. As a rule, wax was sold in Constantinople at 25—30 piasters a weight ³⁴⁷; as to hides, what we know is that the price of buffalo hides — the number of which sold yearly amounted to about 10,000 — was 3—4 piasters a piece ³⁴⁸, of ox and cow hides — the exportations of which to Constantinople consisted of about the same number — only 1—1³/₄ piasters a piece ³⁴⁹.

A document relates an interesting though rather strange fact: sometimes, England's ambassadors in Turkey ordered their carriages in Wallachia! On January 28, 1662 lord Winchelsea appealed to Prince Grigore I Ghica to help him to buy a "cocie" ³⁵⁰ and four horses "*ad usum et modum terrae Valachiensis*" ³⁵¹; on the 11th of August of the same year he thanked for the present he

³⁴⁵ Simonyi Ernő, *Angol Diplomatiái Iratok II Ferenc Rakóczi korára* (Archivum Rakocianum I), vol. I, Pest. 1871, pp. 28—29, no. 14; "Since my last, some English Merchants from Aleppo and Smyrna are arrived here: They accompanied the Prince of Wallachia from Turkey to his Residence of Bucharest & in their way through Hungary happened to pass by Arat, Segedin and other places ...".

³⁴⁶ J. Savary, *Le parfait négociant*, I, pp. 385, 398, 400, 411; Wood, *Levant Company*, p. 122; Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique*, pp. 207, 209, etc.

³⁴⁷ Savary, *op. cit.*, p. 414. For the sale of Wallachian wax, honey and salt in Turkey see also the Istanbul State Archives, *Hariciye (Foreign Affairs) service*, no. 308 in 1103 H (= 1691—1692), ap. Mantran, *Istanbul ...*, p. 408, no. 3, and 654.

³⁴⁸ Savary, *ibidem*.

³⁴⁹ Besides hides, Wallachia exported to Constantinople also beef, out of which — according to Evliya Celebi — pastrami was made, which the gïaour merchants sold in their shops in Galata and near Top-hané and Odun-Kapisi, cf. Mantran, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

³⁵⁰ The word comes from the Hungarian *Kocsi*; it designates a nicely adorned carriage with a tilt used by the ruler, metropolitan, bishop and foreign delegates [cf. *Glosar* (Glossary) in Dan Simonescu's *Literatură română de ceremonial ...*, p. 223].

³⁵¹ *Uncalendered letter from Winchelsea's Letter Book*, I, p. 211, ap. E. D. Tappe, *An English contribution to the biography of Nicolae Mănescu* in "Revue des études roumaines", Paris, I (1953), p. 156. According to Romanian records, master carriage wrights and gigwrights were employed at the princely court in Bucharest, cf. Șt. Olteanu, *Meșteșugurile din București în secolele XVI și XVII* (Crafts in Bucharest in the 16th and 17th Centuries) in "Studii" XII (1959), no. 5, pp. 78—79.

had received from the Romanian ruler, who wanted by this gift to oblige the influential diplomat ³⁵².

To conclude with, we want to emphasize that, in the 1660—1711 period, the exchange of goods between England and Wallachia — most often carried on through Balkan agents, sometimes in Levant Company's pay — was rather limited in scope and failed to exert a sizable influence on the economy of Wallachia, the foreign trade of which was mostly channelled by Greek, Turkish and Armenian merchants to the Ottoman Empire. Such very expensive luxuries as English thin cloth, spices and colonial ware imported in Turkey from the remote America or East Indies were consumed only at the princely court, by the boyards and the wealthy merchants ³⁵³. In towns, the production of local craftsmen or goods imported from Transylvania and the Balkans met the consumption demands of the broad masses; as to the rural population, it was mostly their own production which satisfied their needs ³⁵⁴.

³⁵² *Historical MSS Commission's Report on the Finch*. I, p. 209, ap. Tappe, *ibidem*. In the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Hariciye) — Istanbul State Archives, file 4777, a document from the second half of the 17th Century is mentioned relating to the vehicles the Turkish authorities used to put at the disposal of England's ambassadors, cf. Mantran, *op. cit.*, p. 647.

³⁵³ A comparison of the cost of a suit made out of English "thin" cloth with that of ordinary similar goods shows that the price of the first kind was so high that only the rich could afford it. The price of a cubit (0.644 m) of "mahut" was, on the average, 5 thalers or 650 aspers (1 thaler = 130 aspers); for a suit 5—6 cubits were needed (see further, the regulation of the Sibiu tailors in 1703), the cost of the cloth only amounted to 25—30 thalers (3,650—3,900 aspers). In Wallachia, in the second half of the 17th Century the prices for various agricultural and food products varied within the following limits: a bushel (74.712 l) of wheat 90—200 aspers; a bushel of millet 100—165 aspers; an "oca" (1.271 Kg) of butter 30—33 aspers, of pressed cheese or cheese 8—12 aspers; a sheep 100—133 aspers; a pig 266—399 aspers; a cow 500—1,300 aspers; an ox 1,200—1,300 aspers; a horse 7—10 thalers (931—1,330 aspers) (documents quoted by L. Lehr in *Comerțul Țării Românești și Moldovei în a doua jumătate a secolului al 17-lea*, pp. 30—32). It ensues that the highest price of a suit made out of English "thin" cloth (without the pay for its making) was equivalent to 19 bushels of wheat or 23 of millet, or to 19 bushels of butter, to 325 "ocale" of pressed cheese and cheese, or to 29 sheep or 9 pigs or 3—4 cows or 3 oxen or 3 horses. According to the estimate made by D. Giurescu in the Preface to "*Analefterul*" ("Studii și mat. de Ist. medie", V, p. 362) a boyard's garment at the time of Brâncoveanu's reign was 116 up to 1,118 (!) times more expensive than the similar clothes worn by the people.

³⁵⁴ See G. Rețegan's interesting remark in this question presented in the study *Evoluția populației urbane a României* (The evolution of Romania's town population) in "*Revista de Statistică*", XIV (1695), no. 7, p. 61—62.

In the latter half of the 17th Century — more specifically at the time when the Swedish-Polish and Turkish-Polish wars broke out and when the economic decline of the “nobilian” republic grew worse — the trade of the Transylvanian towns with the main Baltic and Podolian economic centres where the English Levant Company used to sell its wares — sensibly declined. While in the course of the 16th Century and in the first half of the 17th Century, Cracow, Jaroslaw and Lwów ³⁵⁵ markets currently supplied the Transylvanian merchants with English cloths — as pointed out by the regular entries of this item in the custom records at Cluj between 1599 and 1636 ³⁵⁶ — the last thirty years of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th Century witness the extension of the trade of the Sibiu and Braşov Greek companies with the Levant, whence English goods (cloth, spices, colonials, etc.) started being exported on a big scale to Transylvania.

The trade carried on by the merchants of the various commercial companies gave a mighty impetus, in Transylvania and in the entire region situated between the Near East and the Central Europe, to the development, particularly in the 17th Century, of economic exchanges between countries far apart, to increased production and to the formation of new sources of capitalist accumulation. As early as the 16th Century, the so-called “turco-meritzi” merchants — merchants of Balkan origin (Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian or Macedo-Romanian), whose tongue was Greek and citizenship Turkish — began to migrate from their native places in Macedonia, Epirus, Thracia, Dalmatia coast, Albania, etc. to Transylvania where, after temporary stays meant to expedite their current affairs, settled permanently in some big towns, mainly in Sibiu and Braşov ³⁵⁷. On July 8, 1636, these South-Danubian merchants, generally called

³⁵⁵ S. Goldenberg, *Clujul în secolul XVI...*, p. 146. 257; G. Székely, *Niederländische und Englische Tuchten...*, pp. 32–36; S. Goldenberg—S. Belu, *Postăvăriţul din Braşov în secolul al XVI-lea*, p. 173, note 30 and idem, *Două registre privind postăvăriţul şi comerţul cu postav la Braşov în secolul al XVI-lea*, p. 130. For Hungary, see the recent paper by Walter Endrei, *Középkori angol textil-importunk gyapjászövelei* (Hungary's mediaeval imports of English woolen cloth) in “Századok”, 104 (1970), no. 2, pp. 288–299, etc.

³⁵⁶ See the detailed analysis made by I. Demény in *The economic relations between the Romanian Lands and England in the former half of the 17th Century*, pp. 11–26 (in MSS).

³⁵⁷ N. Iorga, *Istoria comerţului românesc*, I, pp. 130–133; Fr. Pall, *Relaţiile comerciale dintre braşoveni şi raguzari (cu documente inedite despre negoşul lînei în anul 1578)* [Trade relations between Braşov and Ragusa citizens (with new documents on the trade in wool in 1578)] in “Revista arhivelor”, New Series, I (1958), no. 1,

"Greeks" — because of their language and Orthodox faith — obtained from Transylvania's Prince George I Rákóczi the licence to found at Sibiu a trade company³⁶⁰, that began its activity on January 7, 1639³⁶⁰.

After Transylvania had been annexed to the Habsburg Empire — September 12, 1701 — the Emperor Leopold I reinforced the Company's privileges. In its seven items the document stipulated the rights and duties of the Sibiu merchants, the gist of which was the freedom to trade in "Turkish commodities" (*res turcales*) by "wholesale" and not "in retail" in the Transylvanian towns, for which they were bound to pay to the Imperial Treasury an annual tax of 1,000 Rhenish thalers only, being exempted from other cash payments, contributions to the army, billeting, etc.³⁶⁰

Taking as a model the Sibiu Company³⁶¹, communities of "Greek" merchants came into being in other Transylvanian centres

pp. 93—120; S. Goldenberg, *Der Südhandel in den Zollrechnungen von Sibiu (Hermannstadt) im 16. Jahrhundert* in "Revue des études sud-est européennes", II (1964), no. 3—4, pp. 396—398; Iladu Manolescu, *Comerțul Țării Românești și Moldovei cu Brașovul (secolele XIV—XVI)* [The trade of Wallachia and Moldavia with Brașov (14th—17th Centuries)], Bucharest, 1965, pp. 77—78; Dinu C. Giurescu, *Relațiile economice ale Țării Românești cu țările Peninsulei Balcanice din secolul al XIV-lea până la mijlocul secolului al XVI-lea* (The economic relations of Wallachia with the Balkan countries from the 14th Century to the middle of the 16th Century) in "Romanoslavica", XI (1965), pp. 187—191, 194—198; S. Goldenberg, *Despre Vama (Vigesima) Sibiului în secolul al XVI-lea* (The Custom House of Sibiu in the 16th Century) in "Acta Musei Napocensis", II (1965), pp. 676—677, etc. The most deep-going studies on this problem are those by M. Dan—S. Goldenberg, *Le commerce balkano-levantin de la Transylvanie au cours de la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle et au début du XVII^e siècle* in "Revue des études sud-est européennes", V (1967), no. 1—2, pp. 87—117 and by Lidia A. Demény, *Le commerce de la Transylvanie avec les régions du sud du Danube effectué par la douane de Turnu Roșu en 1685* in "Revue roumaine d'histoire", VII (1968), no. 5, pp. 761—777. These last quoted two studies reveal the vast size of the Levantine trade in Transylvania, which was one of the Principality's main sources of incomes.

³⁶⁰ T. Bodogae, *Le privilège commercial accordé en 1636 par G. Rákóczi aux marchands grecs de Sibiu* in "Revue roumaine d'histoire", XI (1972), no. 4, pp. 647—653.

³⁶⁰ N. Iorga, *Studii și Documente* ..., XII, p. VI.

³⁶⁰ Hurmuzaki, *Documente* ..., XV₂, pp. 1487—1489. no. MMDCCLXX; I. Moga, *Politica economică austriacă* ..., pp. 105—106.

³⁶¹ N. Iorga, *Acte românești și cîteva grecești din arhivele Companiei de comerț oriental din Brașov*, pp. XXIV—XXXII. For the volume of the Eastern trade carried on by Greeks, Armenians and Jews in Transylvania and Hungary and for the transit of goods to Poland and to Austria see particularly the records of the Turnu Roșu Custom-House in the years 1673—1714 in the Sibiu State Archives, *Zwanzig und Dreissig Rechnungen*, box XXVII, comprehensively studied by L. Demény, *Comerțul de tranzit spre Polonia prin Țara Românească și Transilvania (ultimul sfert al sec. al XVII-lea)*. [The transit trade to Poland through Wallachia and Transylvania (the last quarter of the 17th Century)] in "Studii", 22 (1969), no. 3, pp. 465—498; the 1706 customs tariff was published in Hurmuzaki, *Documente* ..., XV-2, pp. 1510—1511, no. MMDCCLXIV.

as well : Braşov, Alba Iulia, Cluj, Arad, Hunedoara ³⁶², etc. On October 1, 1678, the Diet in Alba Iulia granted to the Greek merchants in Braşov an important privilege, reinforced in the same year on November 4 by Prince Michael I Apaffy, on the strength of which they obtained the same rights as those enjoyed by the Sibiu merchants, provided they paid an annual tax of 300 thalers only ³⁶³.

Subsequently, the Habsburg authorities encouraged and protected the activity of the Sibiu and Braşov Greek companies of merchants not only because of the regular revenues the fisc raised from them, but also because their prosperous business agreed with the mercantile policy of the ruling circles in Vienna who strove to secure in the East sources of raw materials and markets for the sale of the goods manufactured in the empire. Consequently, on the occasion of the numerous travels the merchants of the Greek companies made to the most important Ottoman towns in Europe and Asia Minor, they also purchased English goods sold there by the factors of the Levant Company.

First ranked the various assortments of cloth mentioned in the years 1667—1690 in the accounts of the court of Princess Anna Bornemisza — Michael I Apaffy's wife — and, in the years 1667—1690 in the accounts of the Sibiu wholesale merchants Siguli Stratu.

Thus, the English high quality cloth "broadcloth" was listed mostly as "*angliai posztó*" ³⁶⁴ or *ἀγγλίας* ³⁶⁵; it was of various colours : purple red, cherry-coloured, rosy, green, yellow or orange ³⁶⁶; it was sold either by the cubit (sing, elen, ulna) or by the piece (*vég. stück*) the length of which varied from 25 to 60 cubits ³⁶⁷. The price of a cubit of high quality English cloth varied very little; 5 florins

³⁶² * * * *Az erdélyi görög kereskedők szabadelom levelei 1673—1678* (The privileges of the Greek merchants in Transylvania 1673—1678) in "Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle", V (1898), pp. 402—404.

³⁶³ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, pp. 2—3, document no. 2.

³⁶⁴ Béla Szádeczky, *I. Apafi Mihály fejedelem udvartartása* (The administration of the Court of prince Michael I Apaffy), volume I, *Bornemisza Anna gazdasági naplói (1667—1690)* [The accounts of Anna Bornemisza (1667—1690)], Budapest, 1911, pp. 112, 184, 219, 222, 236, etc.

³⁶⁵ A document unpublished so far, dated October 5, 1694 in the Sibiu State Archives, *Archives of the Sibiu Company of Greek merchants*, register no. 89, leaf 40; cf. also <D. Limona>, *Catalogul documentelor referitoare la viața economică a țărilor române*, I, p. 20, no. 4; for dark-red cloth the name was "*ἀγγλίας μορικόν*", cf. the unpublished document dated May 22, 1695 at the Sibiu State Archives, *ibid.*, register no. 91, leaf 4; cf. also *Catalog* ..., I, p. 24, no. 27.

³⁶⁶ Szádeczki, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 238, 564, 606, 611, 612, 615, 618.

³⁶⁷ *Vectigal Transylvanicum*, Claudiopoli, 1700, p. 6. The cubit (ulna) in Sibiu and Cluj was equal to 0.6342 m.

(in the years 1672–1680) ³⁶⁸ 4–4.50 florins (in the years 1682–1689) ³⁶⁹ and 5.50 florins (in the years 1694–1695) ³⁷⁰. The custom tariffs at Braşov ³⁷¹, Cluj ³⁷² and Sibiu ³⁷³ mention the duty for a cubit and a 60-cubit piece of English cloth: 5 dinars per a cubit, 3 florins per a piece.

The accounts of the administration of the Transylvanian princely court mention also a brand of English cloth called “*fajlondis*” ³⁷⁴ or “*londis posztó*” ³⁷⁵, in fact top-quality “londrines” (“*fyne lundish cloth*”). This cloth – also of various colours: white, green, red, blue, cherry-coloured and rosy ³⁷⁶ – was sold by the cubit (the price of which remained nearly the same over the period 1675–1689 – 3.70 or 3.75 florins – with the exception of the years 1675, 1683 and 1689 when it fell to 3, 3.30 and 3.50 florins ³⁷⁷. The custom duty for the “*fajlondis*” was 2 florins and 25 dinars per bale at Cluj ³⁷⁸, 2 florins and 40 dinars at Sibiu ³⁷⁹; for a cubit, in both places, the charge was 4 dinars.

³⁶⁸ Szádeczki, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 112, 184, 222, 233, 236, 239, 261, 267, 330. The Hungarian florin, a current silver coin in Transylvania, was equal to 1/2 Dutch thaler (“*löwenthaler*”), cf. *ibidem*, p. 261 and C. Kirilescu *Sistemul bănesc al leului ...*, I, pp. 100 and 109.

³⁶⁹ Szádeczki, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 283, 416, 471, 482, 492, 563, 564, 606, 609, 611, 612, 615, 616, 618.

³⁷⁰ The 5th October 1694 and 2nd May 1695 above quoted documents. At the same price – 5½ florin a cubit of English cloth (“*angliai posztó*” – Johann Haller, the envoy of Prince Michael I Apaffy to Vienna, makes his purchases on July 6, 1686, cf. Szabó Károly, *Haller János följegyzései 1685–1687-ről* (Johann Haller’s notes in the years 1685–1687) in “*Történelmi Tár*”, 1878, July–September, p. 689.

³⁷¹ N. Edroiu and P. Gyulai, *Tricesima la Braşov în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea* (The Custom-House in Braşov in the latter half of the 17th Century) in “*Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai*”, XII (1967), Series *Historia*, fascicle I, p. 12.

³⁷² *Vectigal Transylvanicum*, p. 6.

³⁷³ *Vectigal Transylvanicum Hungarico-Germanicum ...*, Cibinii, 1714, p. 20.

³⁷⁴ Szádeczki, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 238, 330, 454, 481, 482, 485, 492, 563, 564, 607, 612, etc. “*Fajlondis*” or “*fayn londis*” – names under which this kind of cloth was known in Transylvania – are corrupted forms of the German words “*fein lundish*”, “*lundisches Tuch*”, borrowed from the English language “*fyne lundish cloth*”, cf. H. Zyna, *Anglia a Baltık ...*, p. 191; the same English term became in Polish “*faleńdysz*” (A. Mączak, *Sukiennictwo Wielkopolskie ...*, pp. 231–233) and in Russian “*мош-дун*” (V. Meleşko, *О торговле и торговых рясах Могилева в XVII веке*, p. 58); details in G. Székely, *Niederländische und Englische Tucharten ...*, p. 33–34.

³⁷⁵ Szádeczky, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 238, 416, 473.

³⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 165, 184, 221, 238, 330, 417, 564, 611, 612, 615, 616, etc.

³⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 240, 417, 471, 473, 481, 492, 563, 564, 606, 607, 609, 612, 615, 616, 619.

³⁷⁸ *Vectigal Transylvanicum*, p. 6.

³⁷⁹ *Vectigal Transylvanicum Hungaro-Germanicum ...*, p. 20.

In the accounts we mentioned, the third quality of English cloth is named "*Közlondis*"³⁸⁰, which means ordinary londrine ("*lundish cloth*"), sold at 25—28 florins a bale (in the years 1675—1687) or 1.20 to 2.50 florins a cubit (in 1673 and in 1680)³⁸¹; the custom duty was 75 dinars for a 40-cubit bale and 30 dinars for a 24-cubit bale³⁸².

The English cloth "*perpetan*" or "*perpetuana*" (in Hungarian "*perpeta*" or "*Köz perpeta*") — an ordinary strong woollen cloth — had a smaller selling-market in Transylvania and in fact, limited amounts³⁸³ of it were sold there in that period³⁸⁴; the prices of a perpetuana cubit was 0.70 florins (in 1677—1678)³⁸⁵ and 0.75 florins (in 1686—1687)³⁸⁶, while the custom duty per bale was no more than 0.45 florins³⁸⁷.

At that we do not meet any longer the "*karasia*" (kersey)³⁸⁸, in so great a demand in the 16th and first half of the 17th Century. The cause of the disappearance from Transylvania of this brand of cloth may reside in the decline of Poland's international transit trade in the second half of the 16th Century, as "kersey" had been

³⁸⁰ Szádeczki, *op. cit.*, I. pp. 85, 240, 473, 716. For the term "*közlondis*" (common londrine) see G. Székely, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

³⁸¹ Szádeczki, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 165, 223, 238, 330—332, 416, 473, 564, 609, 611—612, 615.

³⁸² *Vecligal Transylvanicum Hungaro-Germanicum* ..., p. 22.

³⁸³ Which means 5 cubits in 1677, 101 cubits in 1678, 52 cubits in 1686 and 11 ½ cubits in 1687, cf. Szádeczky, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 181, 222, 564, 609, 612 and 615.

³⁸⁴ This brand of cloth is mentioned in the belongings of the Metropolitan Sava Brancovich and his brother George, confiscated at Sibiu on July 9, 1680 ("three pieces of green "*perpeta*", suitable to curtains"), cf. Marina I. Lupaş, *Mitropolitul Sava Brancovici* (The Metropolitan Sava Brancovich) Cluj, 1939, p. 99 (the cloth under item 5 is wrongly identified).

³⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 181 and 222.

³⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 609, 612 and 615.

³⁸⁷ N. Edroiu and P. Gyulai, *Tricesima la Braşov* ..., p. 12.

³⁸⁸ A heavy wool or wool and cotton fabric made in plain or twill weave with a smooth surface and used especially for uniforms and coats, manufactured in Kersey-Suffolk County, cf. Webster's *Third New International Dictionary* ..., I, p. 1238; G. Székely, *op. cit.*, p. 35; the cloth "*karasia*" is mentioned only in a "*limitatio*" of prices, dated July 21, 1706, in the Kis-Honth district, cf. Iván Nagy, *Árucikkék szabályzata 1627 és 1706 évekből* ... (The price regulations on the years 1627 and 1706) in "*Magyar Történelmi Tár*" ..., XVIII (1871), p. 259. For the brisk sale and purchase of English *karasia* (kersey) in Transylvania in the first half of the 17th Century see the accounts of the Custom-House in Cluj, in L. Demény, *The economic relations between the Romanian Lands and England* ..., pp. 21—25 (MSS).

imported mainly through Gdańsk, Elbląg, Królewiec, etc.³⁸⁹, where the Eastland Company merchants sold it. Nor the brand "*sajo*" ("*shay*") is mentioned among the kinds of cloth common in Transylvania, although it was purchased on the Ottoman market, where it was exported by the Levant Company and although in this period it was a current commodity in Wallachia where it was called "*şai*"³⁹⁰.

As to the price of English cloth, if compared with other brands of cloth imported in Transylvania in this period, it may be noticed that the broadcloth, appraised on the average 5 florins a cubit, was cheaper than the Venetian atlas (a luxury cloth embroidered with gold threads, sold at 8 florins a cubit)³⁹¹, but more expensive than all the others, such as the Turkish "*granat*" — 3.5—4 florins a cubit³⁹², or the common Venetian "*granat*" — 3.85 florins a cubit³⁹³, and naturally much more expensive than the Turkish coarse woollen cloth or the local assortments of cloth, sold at such low prices that they were bought — not by cubits — but by bales (25 or 45 or 60 cubits)³⁹⁴. For a suit made out of fine English cloth the price of the material only (5 to 10 cubits)³⁹⁵ was 25—50 florins, a sum which was not within the purchasing power of the broad masses. It is interesting to note that in Transylvania, at the end of the 17th Century, the sum of 25—50 florins was quite enough for the purchase of 5—10 oxen (on the average, the price of an ox was 5.25 florins)³⁹⁶ or 6—12 cows (4.50 florins per cow)³⁹⁷, 42—84 sheep (0.60 florins per sheep)³⁹⁸, 10—12 large ox hides (2.5 florins a piece)³⁹⁹ or 125—255 sheep or raw hides (a

³⁸⁹ St. Kutrzeba, *Gdańsk przeszłość i teraźniejszość*, p. 153; cf. A. Mączak, *Rola kontaktów z zagranicą w dziejach sukiennictwa polskiego* . . ., pp. 248—249, in which it is shown that this brand of English cloth began being counterfeited in Poland and Silesia, but its selling price was much lower than that of the original Kersey cloth; M. Bogucka, *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekstylne* . . ., p. 90; R. Hinton, *The Eastland Trade* . . ., pp. 17—18, 24, 34, 35, etc.

³⁹⁰ Cf. note 300.

³⁹¹ Szádeczky, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 165, 222 (documents from 1676 and 1677).

³⁹² *Ibidem*, pp. 164, 241, 243, 263, 264, 452 (documents from 1675—1677 and 1681).

³⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 330 (document from 1680).

³⁹⁴ Thus, a bale of Braşov cloth was sold at the price of 18.18 thalers (*Ibidem*, p. 250, document from 1678), of Sibiu cloth at 18 florins (*ibid.*, pp. 77, 428, 602; documents from 1671 and 1688) and the Turkish rough woollen cloth (*abà*) at 3.2 florins (*ibid.*, pp. 234, 248; documents from 1674 and 1677).

³⁹⁵ Sibiu State Archives, *Materch Buch*, no. 62, f. 57—58, 63.

³⁹⁶ Szádeczky, *op. cit.*, I, p. 347 (document from 1674).

³⁹⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁹⁸ *Ibidem*.

³⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 27 (document from 1670).

piece being appraised 0.20 florins)⁴⁰⁰ or 30—60 “mierțe” (26—30 dn³) of wheat⁴⁰¹.

Among the Company's merchants who supplied the court of Apaffy's wife with English cloth we mention Páter János, a noted magistrate of the Greek Company and farmer of the Alba Iulia Custom House in the years 1673—1675⁴⁰² and of that at Ciineni in 1692, Dimitrie Zaharia (1685), Isaac (1686), Dumitru Nicolae (1686), Toma from Făgăraș (1686—1687), Cosma Butzi⁴⁰³ (1688—1689). The documents in the Archives of the Sibiu Company reveal the very prosperous affairs conducted by the wholesale merchant Siguli Stratu and lists among his agents and brokers who imported goods from Brusa and Constantinople Armenians (Cristof, Petre, Grigore Bucur Manu, Iacob Vasile, Ștefan Ion — each of them nicknamed “the Armenian”)⁴⁰⁴ but also Romanians, Macedo-Romanians, Hungarians and Jews such as Panu, Vlahali, Nicula and Gheorghe Golea from Făgăraș, Tănase the Venetian and Bașa Gheorghe who traded also in Wallachia, Tănase the Moldavian, the goldsmith Lucaci of Brașov, the goldsmith Calamarita, Istvan Déak from Aiud, Dinu Banoglu, the Jew Abraham from Sibiu⁴⁰⁵ a.s.o.

The English cloth was sold in the most important towns of Transylvania and, particularly, at the fairs which were held at Aiud, Alba Iulia, Brașov, Cetatea de Baltă, Dumbrăveni, Făgăraș, Mediaș, Orăștie, Sibiu, Tîrgu-Mureș and Vințul de Jos⁴⁰⁶.

The high quality English cloth was considered a luxury and was used especially at Ann Bornemisza's princely court at Alba

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 274 (document from 1677). In Transylvania a “mertza” had 16 “cofe”, which means that it was equal to a “ferdela” (about 20—25 l), cf. N. Stoicescu, *Cum măsurau strămoșii* ..., pp. 186, 199, 237.

⁴⁰² Szádeczky, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 219, 222, 236, 240; cf. also our note 290.

⁴⁰³ *Ibidem*, pp. 481, 492, 563, 564, 606, 607, 609, 615, 616, 617, 619.

⁴⁰⁴ See the documents dated February 12, April 22, May 6, May 22, July 10, 1695, December 20, 1696 etc. at the Sibiu State Archives, *The Archives of the Company of Greek Merchants* ..., register no. 89, l. 22—23; *Catalog* ..., I, p. 22, no. 17; p. 23, no. 21, 23; p. 24, no. 27; p. 25, no. 32; p. 28, no. 49.

⁴⁰⁵ See particularly the documents dated August 9, September 6, October 5 and 20, November 18 and December 1, 1694; January 1, 1695; November 2, December 20, 1696 etc. (Sibiu State Archives, *ibidem*; register no. 83, l. 1, 7—10; register no. 89, l. 5—7, 10—11, 13, 15—17, 40; register 85, l. 8, 10; cf. și *Catalog* ..., I, p. 19, no. 1, 3; p. 20, no. 4, 8; p. 21, no. 10, 12; p. 27, no. 46; p. 28, no. 49).

⁴⁰⁶ Documents dated October 5, 1694 and May 22, 1695 at Sibiu State Archives, *ibid.*, register no. 89, l. 40 and register no. 91, l. 1—4 (cf. also *Catalog* ..., I, p. 20, no. 4 and p. 24, no. 27); Szádeczki, *I. Apafi Mihály fejedelem udvartartása*. I, pp. 165, 261, 417, 453, 473, 481, 485, 563, 607, 609, 612.

Iulia⁴⁹⁷, by the noblemen⁴⁹⁸, the high clergymen⁴⁹⁹ and the wealthy bourgeoisie⁵⁰⁰; the ordinary English cloth answered the needs of

⁴⁹⁷ According to incomplete estimations, purchases of English cloth (of various brands) between the years 1672–1689 amounted to 20,472.85 florins. A part of this sum represents the cost – sometimes rather big – of English cloth ("angliai posztó" and "fajlondis") received by the princely court as advance payments on the custom duties farmed out to Páter János and Kristof Kisz at Alba Iulia (60 cubits of English cloth – 300 florins on December 2, 1673; 96.4 cubits – 492 florins on June 8, 1675; 50 cubits – 275 florins on November 23, 1679; 330.9 cubits of "fine londrine" – 1654.50 florins on November 20, 1681; cf. Szádeczky, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 184, 219, 240 and 273), to György Szabo at Cetatea de Baltă (60 cubits of English cloth – 300 florins, August 23, 1673, cf. *ibidem*, p. 267), György Szegedi at Orăștie (85 cubits of English cloth – 100 ducats or 420 florins on June 28, 1682, cf. *ibid.*, p. 453) or the frequent purchases made by Princess Anna Bornemisza from the Greek Company merchants particularly at the fairs held on the occasion of St. Catherine's festival (November 25) at Vințul de Jos (105 cubits of English cloth – 472.5 florins on November 25, 1683; 384 ½ cubits of "fajlondis" and 88 cubits of English cloth – 1817.70 florins on September 9, 1686; cf. Szádeczky, *op. cit.*, I, p. 417, 563 and 607). The expenditures of the princely court included also the sums paid for the garments of the domestic attendants, made out of second-quality "fajlondis"; thus, on October 18, 1679, the court received, on account of the custom duties ("tricesima"), 100 cubits of cloth which worth 370 florins from Páter Kristof; 750 cubits of "londrine" at the price of 3.70 florins a cubit (2775 florins in all) were bought for the servants on November 25, 1683 at the fair of Vințul de Jos; finally, on August 15, 1689, a sum of 2640 florins was paid to Cosma Butzi, the magistrate of the Sibiu Greek Company's merchants representing the price of 800 cubits of English cloth (3.30 florins per cubit) for the servants at Apaffy's court at Iernut (cf. Szádeczky, *ibid.*, pp. 446, 454, 619).

⁴⁹⁸ The inventory of the belongings left at her death by lady Christine Toldalagi at Bistrița (July 1, 1681) (Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania – Cluj Branch, *Lázár fund.* fascicle 75) or of baron Ferenc Perényi (November 20, 1699) (András Komáromy, *A báró Perényi család levéltárából* (From the Archives of the Perényi family) in "Történelmi Tár", 1896, p. 715–716, mentions luxury garments made out of English cloth ("angliai posztó"); the accounts of Princess Bornemisza list among the buyers of English cloth and among those who received such cloth as gift the noblemen András Toldalagi (December 2, 1673), Lugosi (March 26, 1680) and Belényesi (May 10, 1681) cf. Szádeczky, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 222, 330, 416.

⁴⁹⁹ For instance, the inventory made at Sibiu on July 9, 1680, of the Metropolitan Sava Brancovich's confiscated property lists also two bales and a number of cubits of English cloth ("angliai posztó") and londrines ("fajlondis") of various colours and various items of clothing made out of the same fabrics. cf. Marina Lupaș, *Mitropolitul Sava Brancovici* ..., pp. 98, 100–104.

⁵⁰⁰ See, *inter alia*, the inventory of the belongings of Margaret Kornis, the wife of Francis Lázár from Bistrița, on July 4, 1704. (Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Cluj Branch, *Lázár fund.* fascicle 35) which lists several garments made out of English cloth ("angliai mente", "angliai posztó"). In a document dating from the beginning of the 18th Century, we find among the properties of the parents of Marica Muliu, the wife of Ioan Pădure from Brașov, a cloak made out of English cloth ("anglie"), cf. N. Iorga, *Studii și documente* (Studies and Documents), XIII, Bucharest, 1906, p. 224, no. 30.

the town middle bourgeoisie⁴¹¹. Generally, cloaks⁴¹², dolmans⁴¹³, caps and bonnets⁴¹⁴, trousers⁴¹⁵, horse trappings⁴¹⁶ were made of English cloth of various brands ("angliai posztó", "angliai mente", "londish", etc.); two manuals on tailoring, used in Sibiu since 1703, clearly specified how much English cloth was needed for various garments: surplices, students' uniforms, horse trappings, etc.⁴¹⁷.

⁴¹¹ The inventory of the property confiscated from the Brancovich brothers — mentioned above — specifies a cloak made out of ordinary londrine ("közlondis"), doubled with sheep skin and having tin buttons (M. Lupaş, *op. cit.*, p. 100—101), which obviously had belonged to a female servant. The remembrance of the 17th Century army of the Transylvanian Principality, the soldiers of which were clad in uniforms made out of red English cloth survived even in the Szekler folk-ballade in the Odorhei district (Felöltözék gúnyájába, *Talpig vörös angliába*), cf. József Faragó, *Diófának három ága. Székely népballadák* (The three branches of the wall-nut tree. Szekler folk ballads), Bucharest, 1956, p. 49 (A variant of the poem "Molnár Anna"); G. Székely, *Niederländische und Englische Tucharten ...*, p. 35.

⁴¹² Cloaks out of English cloth ("angliai posztó"), doubled with various furs (commonly lynx furs) and adorned with gold and silver embroideries are mentioned, but with no specification of their cost, in the inventory of several trunks — deposited at Bistriţa on July 23, 1680 — containing various pieces of clothing and silver ware (Cluj State Archives, *The Archive of family Kemény*, III/81, l. 1—1 v^o) and also in the inventories of the belongings of late Christine Toldalagi also at Bistriţa, on July 1, 1681 (The Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Cluj Branch, *Lázár fund*, fascicle 75) and of Margaret Kornis, wife of Francis Lázár in the same town, on July 1, 1701 (*ibidem*).

⁴¹³ Dolmans ("dolmány") out of English cloth ("angliai posztó") with silver buttons — the value of which is not specified — are listed also in the inventory of the belongings of Christine Toldalagi, made at Bistriţa on July 23, 1680 (*ibidem*).

⁴¹⁴ Winter bonnets, caps ("sapka") out of English cloth ("angliai mente", "angliai posztó") doubled with lynx or marten furs are mentioned (with specification of value) among the objects in the Bistriţa trunks (July 13, 1680) and among Margaret Kornis' belongings (*ibidem*).

⁴¹⁵ Trousers ("nadrág") out of English cloth ("angliai posztó") of various colours (white, blue, yellow, light red) are mentioned among the objects in the Bistriţa trunk and among those left by Christine Toldalagi (*ibidem*).

⁴¹⁶ Horse trappings ("czafrag") out of English cloth ("angliai") of various colours (green, blue and light red), with silver-thread embroidered flowers are mentioned in the inventory of chattels in the Bistriţa trunks and also among Margaret Kornis' belongings (*ibidem*).

⁴¹⁷ These books on tailoring were used, after 1716, as manuals by craftsmen preparing the examination for admission in the Sibiu Tailors' Guild. The information contained in these books is particularly precious. For the models of garments presented there the necessary number of cubits of cloth: for surplices, 6 cubits of londrine ("Londisch"), for students' uniforms 7 cubits, for a pair of trousers 1½ cubit, etc. (cf. Sibiu State Archives, *Materch Buch*, no. 63, l. 57—58: "Dass Preister Gurt Röcklein, Kerntuch 5, Londisch 6 Ellen"; l. 67—68: "Studenten Rock, Londisch 7 Ellen"; *ibid.*, *Materch Buch*, no. 64, l. 25: "Zu einem Priester Röcklein mit einer abgeschnittener wist Londis 5 Ellen, Granath 4 Ellen"; l. 50: "Zu einem Türkische oder Rachischen pater Hosen Faylondisch 2 Ellen", etc.

Besides cloth, among other English commodities, clocks were casually imported in Transylvania⁴¹⁸, and exceptionally horses of English breed (mentioned only in the inventory of Prince Francis II Rákóczi)⁴¹⁹.

The ledgers of the Sibiu merchant Siguli Stratu lists in great detail the goods acquired by its factors from Brussa and Constantinople⁴²⁰, which he sold in Sibiu, Aiud, Braşov, Bistriţa, Mediaş, Făgăraş, Baia Mare, Cluj, Tirgu Mureş, Sighet, Simeria and Săbolciu (Bihor)⁴²¹. Siguli Stratu dealt mainly in fabrics (Oriental, English

⁴¹⁸ For instance, on August 30, 1709, the administrator ("solgabirău") from Borşa (Maramureş) offered to a Turkish agha from Bendery a gift of "unum anglicum horologium affabre factum" with 40 thalers, cf. F. Mencsik and J. Kluch, *Historia ablegationis Dni Superintenden. Dantelis Krmann ... ad Regem Speciae Carolum XII ...*, in *Monumenta Hungariae Historica; Scriptores*, vol. XXXIII, Budapest, 1894, p. 592. In *Condica Vistieriei* from Brâncoveanu's reign it is mentioned that on November 20, 1700 the Prince spent 50 thalers to buy a clock that he gave as a present to the *Sernakler* (Turkish officer) of Baba (*Cond. Vist.*, p. 595). The high price of the clock shows that it was a foreign one, probably made in France or England.

⁴¹⁹ The inventory of the possessions of Rákóczi's court at Munkacsy, made in 1601, lists two horses of English breed, a white one ("anglicus albus") and a black one ("anglicus niger"), besides two sorrel horses ("anglicus subruher") of the same breed, on which the Princess, Rákóczi's wife, used to ride in hunting parties, cf. Kálmán Thaly, *Munkácsi leltárak s udvartartási iratok (1680–1701)* (Inventories and administrative acts of the Munkacsy court) in "Történelmi Társulat", 1900, fascicle I, pp. 383–384, document XXXVI.

⁴²⁰ On October 15, 1694, at Braşov, Siguli Stratu wrote in his note-book that he had given to Hristu, son of Colca, 936 "aslani" and other sums, in order that the latter should bring goods from Brussa and Constantinople (Sibiu State Archives – *The Company of Greek merchants at Sibiu*, register No. 89, l. 1 – 4; *Catalog ...*, I, p. 20, no. 5); in the same year on November 2, at Tirgu Mureş, Siguli listed the goods brought by Nedelcu from Brussa and divided them among himself, his brother Siguli Ioan and his partner Hristu (Sibiu State Archives, *Ibid.*, l. 8 – 9; *Catalog ...*, I, p. 20, no. 7); on May 22, 1695, the whole sale-dealer from Sibiu noted goods purchased in other parts, Brussa inclusively (Sibiu State Archives, register no. 91, l. 1 – 4; *Catalog ...*, I, p. 24, no. 27).

⁴²¹ Documents dated October 5, 1694 (Aiud); November 2, 1694 (Tirgu Mureş); November 25, 1694 (Făgăraş); December 12, 1694, May 12, June 6, August 10, 1695 (Baia Mare); January 1, April 22, December 20, 1696 (Sibiu), 1695 (Braşov); February 12 and May 6, 1695 (Bistriţa); July 10, 1695 and November 2, 1696 (Mediaş); September 5, 1696 (Săbolciu); September 10 and October 10, 1696 (Cluj); October 12 1696 (Simeria and Sighet), cf. Sibiu State Archives, *Company of Greek Merchants at Sibiu*, register no. 85, l. 1 – 2, 4, 8, 11 – 13; register no. 87; register no. 89, l. 8–9, 14, 22 – 23, 35 – 36, 40; register no. 90, l. 2 – 3; register no. 91, l. 7, 9 – 10; cf. *Catalog ...*, I, pp. 20–21, 23–27, documents 4, 7, 9, 11, 17, 23, 24, 29, 32, 33, 36, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46.

and Polish cloth, atlas, silks, etc.) but also in hides and precious stones ⁴²².

In the Archives of the Braşov Company there are documents dating from the beginning of the 17th Century mainly related to the affairs of the merchant Zotu, who was engaged in money-leading⁴²³, and in the sale of spices, sugar, Oriental cloth, garments etc. in Braşov and Tirgu Mureş, having as partners Gheorghe Manciu, Petru and Gheorghe Făgărăşanu⁴²⁴ etc.

The goods re-exported by the English traders and purchased by the Sibiu and Braşov Companies' merchants were mainly spices imported from East Indies (cinnamon and especially pepper) and sugar procured from the Antilles. Among the spices Siguli Stratu dealt in, pepper ranked first⁴²⁵; in his ledger we read the following items: 60 "funţi"⁴²⁶ of pepper sold at Tirgu Mureş in 1695 to Bucur and Gheorghe from Braşov⁴²⁷ at 54 florins; 56 "funţi" of pepper sold at Aiud on January 15, 1695, to Ion "pipergiu" (which means "specialized in pepper-trade")⁴²⁸; on November 20, 1696, in Sibiu, the merchant noted the goods returned by Panu, his agent at Baia Mare, among which there were 22 "funţi" of pepper worth 22 florins⁴²⁹. The Braşov merchant Zotu was engaged in pepper⁴³⁰ and cinnamon⁴³¹ trade; on January 2, 1702, listing the goods he had delivered to be sold at Tirgu Mureş, he mentioned 18½ "funţi" of sugar⁴³². In 1709, Zotu had in his godowns 40 "ocale" of sugar

⁴²² *Ibidem*. Details in our study, *Les marchands balkaniques, intermédiaires du commerce entre l'Angleterre, la Valachie et la Transylvanie durant les années 1660—1714* in *Actes du Premier Congrès International des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes*, Sofia, 26 août—1 septembre 1966, vol. III, Sofia, 1969, pp. 649—658.

⁴²³ Braşov State Archives, *Acte Diverse* (Diverse Acts), parcel 9, no. 1003/3 and 6.

⁴²⁴ See the documents from January 2, 1702 (Braşov State Archives, *Acte Diverse*, parcel no. 8, no. 825) and from September 22 and also an other from 1709 (*Ibid.*, parcel 9, no. 1003 and no. 1003/1). Zotu used to purchase goods also at the fairs at Slivno (Bulgaria) and Cimpulung; his agents carried on a brisk trade in Wallachia as well (*Ibidem*).

⁴²⁵ For pepper, the custom duty was 3 florins per quintal (Centner) (cf. *Vectigal Transylvanicum Hungarico-Germanicum*, p. 68).

⁴²⁶ The Transylvanian "funt" either, comprised 32 "lots" (1 "lot" = 10 g) or was equal to 1/2 Kg. cf. the glossary annexed to E and D. Limona, *Aspecte ale comerţului braşovean în veacul al XVIII-lea ...* (Aspects of the Braşov trade in the 18th Century), in "Studii şi mat. de ist. medic", IV (1960), pp. 561—562.

⁴²⁷ Sibiu State Archives, *The Sibiu Company of Greek merchants*, reg. no. 89, l. 29—30.

⁴²⁸ *Ibidem*, l. 20—21.

⁴²⁹ *Ibidem*, no. 85, l. 14.

⁴³⁰ The custom duty charged for a quintal of sugar was 3 florins in Transylvania (cf. *Vectigal Transylvanicum Hung. Germ.*, p. 70).

⁴³¹ For cinnamon the custom duty was 4 florins per quintal (*Ibidem*).

⁴³² Braşov State Archives, *Acte diverse*, parcel 8, no. 825.

worth 62 "arslanlii" (Dutch thalers)⁴³³ and in the same year, on September 22, he sold at Braşov to Gheorghe Manciu among other goods 8 "funţi" of cinnamon at 13.16 florins⁴³⁴.

No accurate data are available as yet on the goods the merchants of the Greek Company exported in the East to be purchased by English traders; therefore, we only mention that the exportations from Transylvania — much the same as in the case of Moldavia and Wallachia — consisted mainly of salt, wax, horses, cattle and cattle hides⁴³⁵, out of which wax and cattle hides were currently imported from Turkey by the Levant Company⁴³⁶.

From what has been said above it results that the Greek-Eastern merchants got a firm hold on Transylvania's foreign trade, expelling the Transylvanian Saxons from the Principality's foreign economic relations⁴³⁷. The attempts of the Saxon merchants to regain the ground they had lost by the setting up of some rival companies — mentioned in 1703 in the project of the Chancellor Nicholas Bethlen — and by founding a new *Societas mercatoria Cibiniensis* (January 2, 1710), which in fact had never worked⁴³⁸, were thwarted by the inertia of the Habsburg authorities, who passively accepted the situation existent at that time in Transyl-

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, parcel 9, no. 1003, an. no. 6.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, an. no. 1. In a bill of purchases made in Braşov at the end of the 17th Century, mention is made also of "red pepper" bought for 0.70 bani. cf. N. Iorga, *Ade româneşti şi cîteva greceşti*, p. 18, no. 25.

⁴³⁵ I. Moga, *Politica economică austriacă şi comerţul Transilvaniei în secolul XVIII*, p. 99.

⁴³⁶ J. Savary, *Le parfall négociant*, I, p. 385, 398, 400, 414; Wood, *Levant Company*, p. 122, etc.

⁴³⁷ For the economic rivalry between the Greeks and the Transylvanian Saxons and the latter's attempt to curb the trade activity of the former, see I. Lupaş, *Concurenţa comercială între grecii şi saşii din Transilvania* (The trade competition between the Greeks and Saxons in Transylvania) in the vol. *Paralelism istoric* (Historical parallelism), Bucharest, 1937, pp. 259—266 and I. Moga, *op. cit.*, pp. 104—108. For earlier facets, in the 16th Century, see also I. Lupaş, *Măsurî legislative luate în dielele ordeleni contra grecilor* (Legislative measures against the Greeks taken in the Transylvanian Diets) in "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Naţională", III (1924—1925), pp. 537—539.

⁴³⁸ Dr. Otto Fritz Ickeli, *Der Handel der Siebenbürger Sachsen in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* in "Archiv des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde", Neue Folge, XXXIX (1913), I Heft, pp. 95—96 and Moga, *op. cit.*, pp. 107—108. Moga's work corrects the wrong information contained in earlier studies — based on an erroneous interpretation of the decision taken by the Diet of Transylvania on October 10, 1672 that factually envisaged the Danubian Oriental Company in Austria, founded by Becker — on the existence in 1672 of a so-called Oriental Company of Transylvanian Trade. It is an error that slipped also in *Istoria României* (The History of Romania), Edit. Academiei, vol. III, Bucharest, 1964, p. 109, where in connection with it some inexact considerations are made.

vania, a fact that the substantial bonuses they got from the Greek merchants' trade with Turkey may partly account for. Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli himself, the well-known geographer, amateur archaeologist and diplomat, who was in the service of Austria, recommended in 1699, after Transylvania had been annexed to the Habsburg Empire, that the Eastern trade of this province be reinvigorated and reorganized not in the way the Sibiu and Braşov Greek merchants would like to do it, but in the way the Vienna Court thought it most suitable. As Transylvania was connected with Hungary and the Danubian areas by numerous rivers — Tisa, Mureş, Someş, Olt, etc. — Marsigli suggested in his *Introduzione della linea geografica e di commercio fra l'Asia e l'Europa per l'Ungheria*⁴³⁹ that these fluvial waterways be opened, so that they might compete with the sea routes used by the English and the Dutch and the riparian ports might vie with the Levant sea-ports, such as Smyrna and Iskenderun, whose traffic was quite heavy⁴⁴⁰. Briefly, Marsigli tried to persuade the Habsburg authorities to resume the activity of the former Austrian Oriental Company (dissolved in 1683) on the new basis provided by the possession of Transylvania, which was to turn into an important centre of transit-trade. By the Danube, the Black Sea and the ports of Anatolia, Persia could be reached and the trade the merchants from Austria might carry on there could strongly compete with that of the English, Dutch and French, obliged to use routes much longer and more difficult⁴⁴¹. Although the authorities in Vienna inclined to adopt it and even tried to carry it out, it remained, however, ineffectual, because of the instability of the beginnings of Austrian rule in Transylvania, and, particularly, because of the Kurutz' uprising which disrupted for a while the relations between the rebellious province, Hungary and the Empire.

A second and more comprehensive project — that approached more its materialization — was worked out by the Transylvanian

⁴³⁹ M. E. Amaldi, *La Transilvania attraverso i documenti del conte Marsili* ..., p. 53.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁴¹ Marsigli's proposals, laid down in MSS 57, on the policy to be followed for the development of Transylvania's foreign trade, consisted of several chapters dealing with the Danube tributaries which could be rendered navigable, with the navigation conditions by the Danube, the trade in the areas bordering the Danube, Rhine and Elba, the means and ways of securing a steady traffic by the Danube and the Black Sea up to Trebizond and thence back to Regensburg in Germany, etc. cf. Amaldi, *op. cit.*, p. 54. See also *Trattative tra il Marsili con Re Augusto II di Polonia per riabilitare il commercio negli Stati di S. M. Caesarea* (Bologna State Archives, MSS 79, asc. 2), ap. Amaldi, *ibidem*.

Chancellor Nicholas Bethlen, a partisan of the mercantile theory and an admirer of the principles formulated some tens of years earlier by Becker ⁴⁴².

Bethlen developed the ideas of an earlier project, elaborated in 1670 and modified in 1689 ⁴⁴³. He entered into contact with the enterprising Italian businessman Giuseppe Maria Vecelli — later “Kammer-Counsellor” and chief of the division for commercial affairs of the empire — who was an expert in Oriental trade ⁴⁴⁴ and also with the merchant Zachariah Sedgewick — a British protégé of Armenian origin — who had been given by the Emperor Leopold I a ten-year licence to transport cloth from England to Persia and

⁴⁴² Dr. Takáts Sándor, *Külkereskedelmi mozgalmak hazánkban I Lipót alatt* (The evolution of the foreign trade in our country under Leopold I) in “Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle”. VI (1899), pp. 441–443; Dr. Lukinich Imre, *Egy erdélyi kereskedelmi társaság terve 1703-ból* (The project of a Transylvanian modern commercial company in 1703) in “Századok”, XLVIII (1914), pp. 464–476; I. Lupas, *Un proiect de organizare comercială modernă în Transilvania la anul 1703* (A project of a Transylvanian modern commercial organisation in 1703) in “Libertatea”, I (1933), no. 9 (May 5), pp. 129–130; Al. Dobosi, *Considerațiuni asupra istoriei comerțului ardelean în secolul al 18-lea* (Considerations on the history of the Transylvanian trade in the 18th Century), Bucharest, 1936, pp. 6–7; I. Moga, *Politica economică austriacă . . .*, pp. 96–102.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 97: A copy of a Latin excerpt of the 1689 modified project bearing the title “*Majoris Projecti veteris de Commerciiis Transylvanicis*” is in the Sibiu State Archives, *Bruckenthal fund.*, A. 1–15, no. 139, f. 1–4 v. (Bethlen M. *Projekt zur Verbesserung des Commerz Wesens in Siebenbürgen*).

⁴⁴⁴ Vecelli was a genuine advocate of the projects envisaging the development of Austrian foreign trade on a mercantile basis; he supported the idea of the foundation of a “collegium mercantile” in Vienna and was in favour of the attempt to deflect the route of the prosperous Levantine international trade (an idea supported also by the Chancellor Bethlen of Transylvania), so that the goods imported from and exported to Persia and the Ottoman Empire be conveyed to and from England and Holland, by the Black Sea and the Danube across the territories of the Habsburg dynasty. To this effect, Vecelli obtained also the consent of the English ambassador to Vienna, Sir Robert Sutton, who in 1701 recommended the project. Three years later, in 1704, the energetic Viennese economist, together with count Gallas, were sent to England in order to negotiate with the London business circles the ways and means of carrying out this bold project and to obtain a number of loans his government needed badly as a consequence of the financial difficulties caused by the war with France and Bavaria and by the campaigns against the Kurutz insurgents in Hungary and Transylvania. However, because of the opposition of the English trade companies which feared they might lose the profits derived from the Levant and the East Indies and also because of the rigid attitude of Hoffmann the Imperial ambassador in London — a narrow-minded man and besides hostile to Vecelli — the project of the transit through Austria of Oriental wares to the Western countries had to be abandoned; besides, the uprising led by Francis II Rákóczi and the resultant temporary occupation by the rebels of some parts of Hungary and Transylvania (1703–1711) disrupted the communications between the Habsburg Empire and the Levant, impeding thus the carrying out of the project.

to import therefrom silk by the fluvial route Linz — Prague — Vienna — Buda and farther on by land via Széged — Sibiu — Wallachia to and from the Levant ⁴⁴⁵.

Relying on the experience of the above merchants and on the available economic information, Chancellor Bethlen advocated at the Vienna Imperial Court, the setting up of a Transylvanian trade company, on the pattern of the East Indies Company in the Low Countries ⁴⁴⁶; through the instructions such a company would have given in matters pertaining to a judicious exploitation of gold, silver, iron, tin, cooper and salt, Transylvania would have produced many export goods. On the other hand, by the efforts centred on rendering navigable the rivers Tisa, Mureş, Someş and Olt, it would have benefited of the two-way transit trade between the West and the East ⁴⁴⁷.

Concurrently, prompted by the desire to curb the importation of western goods through Poland, Bethlen recommended that the role played by the town Jaroslaw (the only active commercial centre that survived in the Kingdom torn asunder by nobiliar anarchy and devastated by wars) — where Greek merchant purchased goods imported from England, the Netherlands, Germany and other countries in order to export them to Transylvania and Turkey, wherefrom they brought Levant products — were overtaken by Vienna, which was to turn into “locus permutationis talium mercium” ⁴⁴⁸. The Transylvanian chancellor recommended that the English and Dutch goods — which were shipped by sea to Gdańsk and therefrom had to traverse a 200-mile route to reach Transylvania — were conveyed on the hardly 100-mile long route across Germany, through Frankfurt, Ulm or Regensburg to Vienna and further by the Danube, across Hungary, to Transylvania; the Transylvanian trade company, intended to be created, in its turn, had to convey the Levant goods through Transylvania to Buda and Vienna through Széged ⁴⁴⁹.

Although Bethlen's project enjoyed the favour of the Vienna Court, the Transylvanian Diet rejected it as inapplicable, alleging that the turn-over capital of the forthcoming company exceeded

⁴⁴⁵ Takáts, *op. cit.*, p. 361; I. Moga, *ibidem*.

⁴⁴⁶ Article 9 of the 1689 project (Sibiu State Archives, *Brukenthal fund*, A. 1—5, no. 139, l. 1); see also I. Moga, *op. cit.*, p. 99 and our study *Mercantilist Projects Intending to promote Transylvania's Foreign Trade ...* in “The Journal of European Economic History”, Rome, I (1972), no. 2.

⁴⁴⁷ Lukinich, *op. cit.*, pp. 471—474; Lupaş, *ibidem*; I. Moga, *op. cit.*, pp. 99—100.

⁴⁴⁸ Article 31 of the 1689 project (Sibiu State Archives, *Brukenthal*, A 1—5, no. 139, l. 3).

⁴⁴⁹ Article 32 (*Ibidem*, f. 3v^o—4).

the available amount of money of the Transylvanian Saxons' bourgeoisie (about 200,000 Rhenish florins) ⁴⁵⁰. Besides, the Diet expressed its doubt whether the Saxon merchants were sufficiently conversant with the eastern trade and whether they did not run the risk of being cheated by the western competitors, better acquainted with the eastern business circumstances; moreover, the Diet further argued, it would be hard for the Austrian merchants to prosecute their rivals in so far a country as England. The Transylvanian Diet members preferred that the English merchants sold their goods in Transylvania and "if we went to buy their goods then they have to sell at the price they sell at Vienna and if we don't want to buy, let them carry their goods where they want, provided they pay the custom duties at the Transylvanian custom-houses and not elsewhere" ⁴⁵¹.

The rejection of Bethlen's project was not a proof of its inefficiency. The influential Armenian merchant Zachariah Sedgewick, who was in the service of England, had successfully undertaken several travels on the Danube—Black Sea—Trebizond—Persia route and return ⁴⁵²; lord Paget, British ambassador in Constantinople, followed the same route on his return to England; Sedgewick's experiment was reiterated by other Armenian merchants, among whom some were under British protection: Andreas Vaulierd ⁴⁵³, Joannes

⁴⁵⁰ Lukinich, *op. cit.*, pp. 475—476; Lupaş, *ibidem*; I. Moga, *op. cit.*, p. 101; P. Cernovodeanu, *op. cit.*

⁴⁵¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁵² Takats, *op. cit.*, p. 361; I. Moga, *op. cit.*, p. 97. Subsequent to Andreas von Lierdt's missions to the Sublime Porte in 1703—1704 to prospect the trade possibilities of Austria with the Ottoman Empire, the authorities in Vienna agreed to support the transit of the English and Armenian tradesmen across the Habsburg's estates. cf. I. Moga, *Les antécédents du traité de commerce de Passarowitz* in "Balcania", Bucharest, VI (1943), p. 124 and 128.

⁴⁵³ In the conclusions of the 1703 project, Chancellor Bethlen showed clearly (item 2): "Per consequens quantum ex Anglia vel Hollandia, itineris et temporibus impendendum est usque in Transylvaniam, nempe mari Amsterdamum vel Hamburgum, et inde terra Ratisbonam, inde per Danubium usque Tetel secundo flumine et a Tetel usque Albam Juliam adverso Tibisco et Marusio, sive usque ad Buda, Danubio, et inde per Currus Salinarios, Szegedinum vacuos redire solitos, usque Szegedinum, et inde sive adverso Marusio, per naves salinarias vacuas redire solitas, sive per terram usque Albam vel Cibinium in Transylvania, totidem diebus potest Cibinio siquis vult in Persiam ire, per Valachiam et Silestriam usque Varnam, inde per Mare Nigrum ad Trapezuntium et inde in Persiam, ita ut vel cum gravissimis mercibus possit quis, per duos ad summum menses, in Transylvaniam et inde per duos iterum menses ire in ipsam Persiam. Id quod honestus mercator Zacharias Sedgewics Suae Majestatis privilegio ad certos annos donatus, et Natione Anglus expertus est, et quod, ad distantiam inter Constantinopolim et Viennam expertus est ipsimet Excell^{entissimus} D^{ominus} Milord Paget experietur in brevi alius etiam honestus mercator Andreas Vaulierd Suae Majestatis Passibus instructus" (Sibiu State Archives, *Brukenthal*, A 1—5, no. 139, l. 18 v^o—19).

Christophor Hazzi, Joannes Ivan Alexi⁴⁵⁴ who carried on as brisk a trade with the Orient as the merchants of the Greek Companies in Sibiu and Braşov⁴⁵⁵.

It ensues that Austria's efforts and those of the Empire's supporters in Transylvania to set up sound trade companies meant to seriously compete with the eastern trade of the Levant Company were not successful. On the other hand, under the conditions prevailing at that time in Turkey, the English merchants could not do without the Armenian and Greek agents — some of whom were under protection of the British ambassador in Constantinople — in the sale of the Levant Company's goods on the Transylvanian market or in the small-scale purchase of raw materials; it was a traffic by which these Balkan intermediaries benefited more than the Company's factors.

⁴⁵⁴ Some Armenian merchants, headed by Hazzi and advised by Sedgewick decided to change the route they ordinarily followed in transporting Persian silk to England — namely through Russia, Sweden and Holland (see Dr. K. Heeringa, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel*, II, pp. 28–29) — and to convey it by the Black Sea and the Danube and farther through Transylvania, Hungary, Austria and Germany; in 1703 they obtained from Emperor Leopold I the licence to carry their goods across the Empire, for which they had to pay a transit duty at Vienna. The outbreak of the hostilities between the Kurutz and the Austrians disturbed the Oriental traffic of the Armenian merchants; besides, the Hungarian authorities failed to observe the custom regulations of the Austrian administration, so that the venture of the Armenian merchants clashed against the tactics adopted by the rebellious local bodies; see the case of Joannes Ivan Alexi in 1704 or of the merchants retained in 1705 by the Custom-House officers at Bratislava, cf. Takáts, *op. cit.*, pp. 406–407 and I. Moga, *Politica economică austriacă* . . . , pp. 102–103. For the trade of the Armenian merchants in Transylvania with neighbouring countries see also Hurmuzaki, *Documente* . . . , XV₂, p. 1470, no. MMDCLXXIX, etc.

⁴⁵⁵ In Transylvania, the Armenians had obtained trade licences since 1672 and organized a company in 1703. Cf. N. Iorga, *Studii şi documente* . . . , XII, pp. 11–12, no. XVIII; I. Moga, *op. cit.*, p. 106. See also Á. Várkonyi, *Hapsburg Absolutism and Serfdom in Hungary at the turn of the 17th and 18th Centuries* in “Nouvelles Études Historiques” . . . , Budapest, 1965, pp. 380–381.

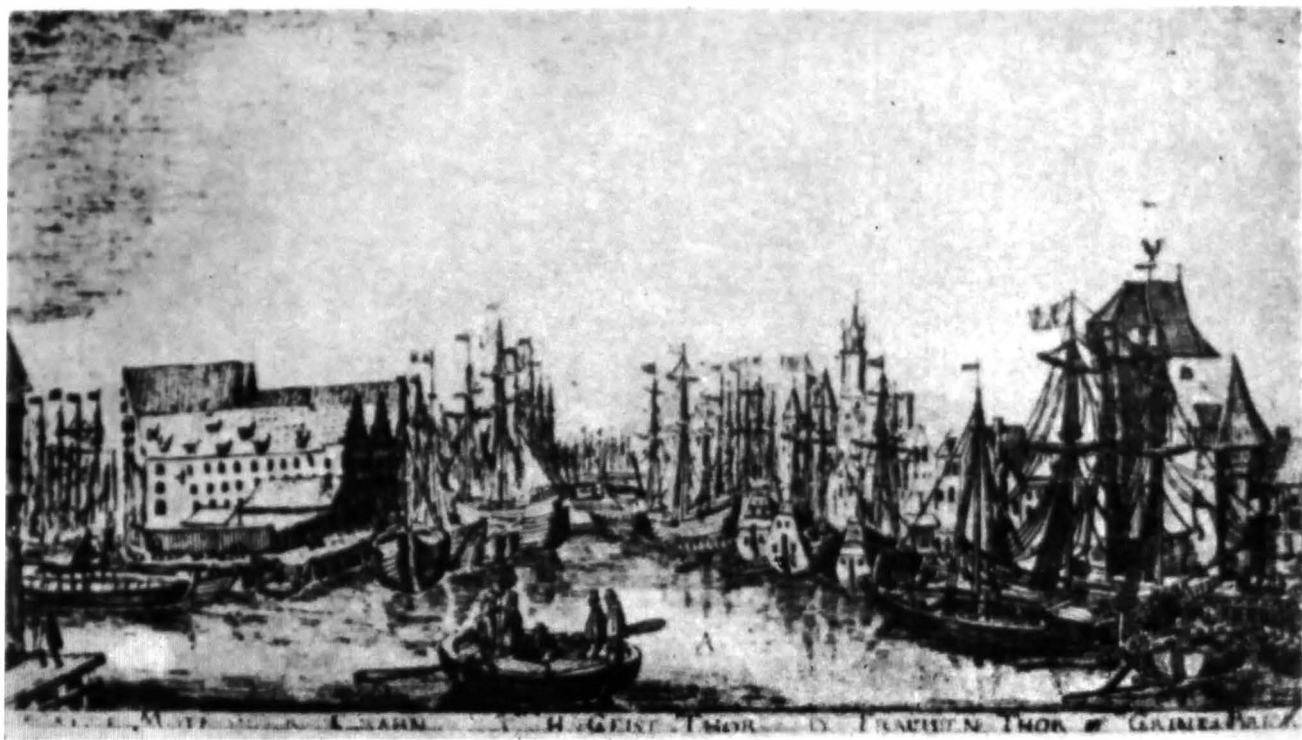


Fig. 6. — View of the Gdańsk harbour (17th Century engraving by J. Dickman, reproduced in the *Historia Polski*, I₂, Warsaw, 1957, p. 478).



Fig. 7. — Western merchants concluding transactions in Gdańsk (Engraving by J. B. Homan, *Atlantis Topographici* ..., reproduced in *Historia Polski*, I₂, p. 465).



Fig. 8. — The seals of the Eastland and Muscovy Companies (reproduced from H. Zyns, *Anglia a Baltik w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, Wrocław-Warszawa — Kraków, 1967, pp. 49 and 136).

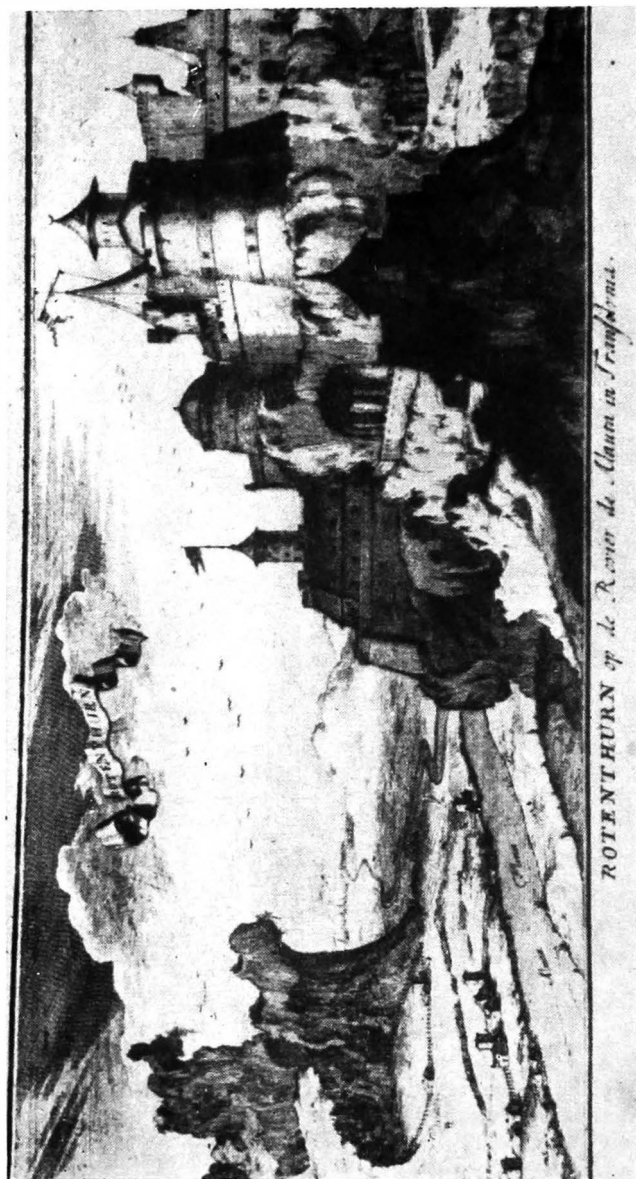


Fig. 9. — The castle at the Turnu-Roșu at the customs point (A fancy engraving made by Jakob Harrewijn in 1688). The Cabinet of engravings — Library of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania,



Fig. 10. — A Greek merchant in Levant (a 18th Century anonymous engraving). The Cabinet of engravings — Library of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania.



Fig. 11. — Western coins current in the Romanian Countries; a shilling coined during the reign of Henry VIII, King of England; a six groschen coin minted in 1661 by John Casimir; löwendaaler dated 1641 from the Netherlands; a 3 kreutzer coin, minted in 1708 by Emperor Joseph I. (The Numismatic Cabinet of the Library of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania).



Fig. 12. — Turkish coins current in the Romanian Countries :
 "the gurush" of the sultan Soleiman II; "onluk" and "bashlik" of
 the sultan Ahmed III. (The Museum of History of the Bucharest
 Municipality).

CONCLUSIONS

Our survey of the economic relations in the 17th Century between England and the Romanian Lands has come to an end. We want now to draw some general conclusions.

From what has been said above it ensues that the Levant Company succeeded over the 1660—1714 period in extending, step by step, its selling market in the three Romanian Countries and in increasing the transit of its exported goods through the territory of these lands — especially through the agency of the Armenian merchants in Transylvania and the Balkan merchants. As a matter of fact, this was the outcome of the cessation or the considerable diminution of the other foreign or English Companies' competition; indeed, the first Austrian Oriental Company was dissolved in 1683 and by the Passarowitz peace treaty (1718) no direct Austrian-Turkish economic exchanges were recorded; in Moldavia the Scottish and Dutch trade in potash stopped in the last years of the 17th Century; trade carried on in Transylvania by the Eastland Company through Polish go-betweens sharply decreased, if compared to what it was formerly.

A characteristic feature in this period of England's economic relations with the Romanian Countries is the shift of the English commercial interests from Moldavia — a fact caused by the continuous deterioration of the situation in Poland and by the resultant impossibility of a steady traffic by the Baltic Sea area to Wallachia—Transylvania—Central Europe. This shift was due to the extension of the relations between Habsburg's Austria and England, both

allied against France, ruled at that time by Louis XIV ⁴⁵⁶; it was also due to Austria's need for English manufactured goods. However, the attempts of the Levant Company to obtain the monopoly in Austria of the sale of its own products and of imported colonial goods were unsuccessful as, although by the Passarowitz peace treaty Austria could not set going a direct ⁴⁵⁷ traffic with Turkey, she obtained the goods she needed from the Ottoman Empire through the Greek and Armenian merchants in Transylvania. The English merchants too, in their turn, were obliged to sell their goods in the South-Eastern Europe through the agency of the same indispensable brokers. The merchants of the Levant Company could neither establish trade agencies in the Black Sea and Danube ports nor trade directly with Vienna through the Balkans, so that the Levant Company's possibilities in that period to extend its economic relations with the Romanian Principalities were not too large.

Finally, we want to point out that at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th Centuries England's economic relations with the Romanian Lands were not of a homogeneous nature; they varied with the economic and social characteristic trait of each separate country that — besides the lack of political unity and the vicissitudes created by the domination of two antagonistic powers — the Ottoman Turkey and Habsburg's Austria — had to bear the consequences deriving from the absence of an integrated internal

⁴⁵⁶ In this period, the Balkan area too was the theatre of a fierce competition between the French and the English; the former had a strong position in the trade of continental Greece, where they carried on a brisk trade, the centre of which was Salonika. At the beginning of the 18th Century, the French merchants were allured by the prospects of direct exchanges with the Romanian Lands; on December 10, 1718, the noted Adrianople merchant Honoré Bonneau obtained a firman from the Sultan by which he was permitted to freely sell his goods in Wallachia. (Hurmuzaki, *Documente . . .*, VI, pp. 246—247, no. CLXXI). Later, the enterprising silkdealer Garoutte, vice-consul of France at Zagora, recommended, on July 1, 1727, to the head of the French Fleet Department, Maurepas, that the Moldavian and Wallachian cattle-hides and molten fats conveyed by then through Ragusa, Trieste, Venice and Constantinople were transported through the Aegean port Aenos (cf. Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIII^e siècle*, pp. 211—212). An other project — that never materialized — was that of the Marquis de Villeneuve, ambassador of France in Constantinople (1729—1741) who wanted to set up a trade agency at Rustchuk or Șistov, in order to determine the Wallachian merchants to purchase at the fairs which were held in these towns cheap French cloth and to sell there cattle hides and wax (cf. Masson, *Commerce du Levant au XVIII^e siècle*, p. 612).

⁴⁵⁷ Only in the period of the activity of the first Austrian Oriental Company (1667—1683).

market ⁴⁵⁸. Because of the precarious conditions created by the Sublime Porte's monopoly ⁴⁵⁹, the English trade with Moldavia and Wallachia — carried on mainly through Greek and Armenian agents — was sporadic and its value not too high. In Transylvania, the English trade was better organized and covered a somewhat more important section of the economic life.

The Romanian Countries imported — by various ways — English cloth, metals and — to a certain extent — silk and spices which the Levant Company purchased from East Indies; they exported potash, wood-ash, cattle hides, wax. Russian furs, purchased by the English merchants through Balkan intermediaries at Salonika, Adrianople, Constantinople, Brussa and Smyrna were conveyed across the Romanian Lands. In Moldavia and Wallachia the goods the English merchants traded in were rather scarce, as they were considered as luxuries and bought only by the ruler and the high

⁴⁵⁸ It is known that in Moldavia and Wallachia, under the condition of a low production of commodities and of an internal circulation of goods hindered by feudal monopolies and internal customs, there were separate markets, divided in their turn in small local markets weakly connected to each other; in Transylvania, an integrated internal market came into being as early as the 15th–16th Century, as an outcome of the development of crafts and of the frequent exchanges between the various local and regional markets. A discussion on these problems in Constantin Șerban, *Contribuții cu privire la problema pieței interne a Țării Românești și Moldovei în timpul feudalismului dezvoltat (secolele XV–XVIII)* (Contributions to the problem of the internal market of Wallachia and Moldavia in the time of developed feudalism (15th–18th Centuries), in "Studii", XVI (1964), no. 1, pp. 27–44.

⁴⁵⁹ The need for supplying the Capital of the empire — primarily with grains — decided the Turkish authorities to requisition the crops in the Romanian Lands and in other areas as well (Thessaly, Macedonia, Thracia, Bulgaria, etc.) and, with the exception of what was needed for self-consumption, to prohibit the sale of such goods. This did not prevent, however, the Romanian Lands — especially Wallachia — to sell now and then some of its cereals in Habsburg's Transylvania (see Șerban Papacostea, *Contribuții la problema relațiilor agrare în Țara Românească în prima jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea* (Contributions to the problem of the agrarian relations in Wallachia in the first half of the 18th Century), in "Studii și materiale de istorie medie", III (1959), p. 237–241) but not in remoter countries. French and English merchants succeeded sometimes in smuggling grains but only from Macedonia, Thessaly and the Aegean Islands, where the Turks could not control the traffic as strictly as they did in the case of the vessels sailing from the Romanian Principalities by the Black Sea, which the custom officers could muster very rigorously at the Dardanelles. The traveller Jean du Mont noted in July 1690 that the Turks severely prohibited any sale of grains in Constantinople and that, to this end, they ruthlessly controlled the market, forbidding any sale of grain without the permission of the "nalb" (*Voyages en France ... et en Turquie*, II, p. 64). See also Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique ...*, pp. 213; 271–276 and Mantran, *Istanbul*, pp. 182–189; for the supply of Constantinople with grains see M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *Contribution à l'étude de l'approvisionnement en blé de Constantinople au XVIII^e siècle* in "Studia et Acta Orientalia", I, (1957), pp. 13–37.

noblemen; in Transylvania, the demand for English goods was higher, as they were used also by a section of the towns folk.

The benefits that the princely customs derived from the transit of the English goods to Transylvania cannot be estimated as yet from the available information; however, they appear to be rather moderately important, if viewed from the angle of the situation that prevailed at that time in this land. The defeat inflicted on the Kurutz and the definitive annexation of Transylvania to the Habsburg's Empire (Satu Mare peace treaty, 1711), put an end to the existence of Transylvania as an autonomous Principality; Transylvania became a province of Austria, directly subordinate to the economic interests of the authoritarian Habsburg state. From the year 1711 on, England's economic relations with Transylvania ceased to be a separate chapter in the history of the British trade policy and were integrated in the Kingdom's general policy in relation with the Holy Empire. The merchants of the Greek Companies at Sibiu and Braşov continued to sell English goods in Transylvania, but in proportion as the Levant Company's trade in the Ottoman Empire declined, Vienna acquired an ever more outstanding position in the trade with the South-Eastern Europe and supplied the Romanian Principalities with ever larger quantities of goods imported from England⁴⁶⁰. Much the same as in the case of Wallachia and Moldavia, in Transylvania too, the 18th Century witnesses a change of the routes of the English trade, the place formerly occupied by Constantinople, Adrianople and Smyrna being taken primarily by Vienna and secondarily by Leipzig⁴⁶¹.

⁴⁶⁰ C. F. Iikeli, *Der Handel der Siebenbürger Sachsen* ..., pp. 93—114; I. Moga, *op. cit.*, pp. 115—128, etc.

⁴⁶¹ Charles de Peyssonnel, *Traité sur le commerce de la Mer Noire*, vol. II, Paris, 1787, pp. 180—181. See also Gh. Neta, *Negustorii orientali la Lipsca* ..., pp.10—27, etc.

Tables 1 — 4

Table
Potash and potash ashes pro

Year	Name	Area	Owner	Lessee
1652	Dracșani	Hirlău	Princely estate	Black
1662	Racova	Cirligătura	?	Patrick Simson
1662	Sinești	Cirligătura	Monastery Putna	Patrick Simson
1662	Girbești	Vaslui	The boyards Murguleț	Patrick Simson
1662	Uncești	Vaslui	?	Patrick Simson
1662	Lingă orașul Vaslui	Vaslui	?	Iani Conduratu
1671	Poenești	Vaslui	Gheorghe Ursachi great treasurer	—
1671	Telița	Orhei	Gheorghe Ursachi great treasurer	—
1679	Pojarna	Orhei	Gheorghe Ursachi great treasurer	—

Potash selling price

1 "Gdąnsk szafunt" (121 ½ Kg) = 12 thalers
 1 bushel = 90 zlotys
 1 "łaszt" (1.865 Kg) = ?

Carbon oxides in Hollewin

Production of potash (fortuitous figures)	Value (in zlotys)	Production of potash ashes (fortuitous figures)	Value (in zlotys and grosher)
—	—	—	—
55 "laszt"	?	—	—
4 barrels	360	—	—
148 "laszt"	?	—	—
48 "laszt"	?	—	—
6 barrels	540	351	?
—	—	130 barrels	?
—	—	—	—
12 ½ barrels	1125	—	—
—	—	17 "laszt"	3468 zl. and 102 gr.
128 barrels	11,250	5 barrels	?
—	—	38 "laszt"	7752 zl. and 228 gr.
		8 barrels	

Potash ash selling price

1 barrel — ?

1 "laszt" (1.865 Kg) — 204 zlotys and 6 grochen

Table 2

Selling price of English cloth in Wallachia as compared to other import brands of cloth (after the Treasury Book)

The brand of the cloth	1695		1699		1700		1703	
	Thalers for one 5-cubit piece	Thalers for 1-cubit piece	Thalers for 1-cubit piece	Thalers for 1-cubit piece	Thalers for one piece	Thalers for 1-cubit	Thalers for one piece	Thalers for one cubit
English cloth "mahout"	25	5	—	—	18,30	3.66	33	6.60
English cloth "shay-mahout"	—	—	17.50	3.50	20	4	—	—
English cloth "shay"	15	3	15	3	15	3	15	3
"Felendres" cloth	10	2	10	2	—	—	10	2
"Brecleș" cloth	—	—	—	—	—	—	7.50	1.50
"Șift" cloth	5	1	5	1	—	—	—	—

Table 3

The number and price of cubits, by brand of English cloth, purchased by the court of the Princess of Transylvania 1672–1689

Brand of cloth	1672			1673			1674			1675			1678			1679			1680			1681		
	Price of a cubit (in florins)	No. of cubits	Price (in florins)	Price of a cubit (in florins)	No. of cubits	Price (in florins)	Price of a cubit (in florins)	No. of cubits	Price (in florins)	Price of a cubit (in florins)	No. of cubits	Price (in florins)	Price of a cubit (in florins)	No. of cubits	Price (in florins)	Price of a cubit (in florins)	No. of cubits	Price (in florins)	Price of a cubit (in florins)	No. of cubits	Price (in florins)	Price of a cubit (in florins)	No. of cubits	Price (in florins)
English cloth (Angliai posztó = broad-cloth)	5	10	50	5	144	720	5	75	375	5	148 ³ / ₂₀	740.75	—	—	—	5	157	785	5	64 ⁴ / ₅	324	5	342 ⁴ / ₅	1,714
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fine londrine (Fajlondis = fyne lundish cloth)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.75	8	30	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.70	130 ¹ / ₂	482.85	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Common londrine (Közlondis = lundish cloth)	—	—	—	250	2	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.20	9	10.80	—	—	—
TOTAL	—	—	50	—	—	725	—	—	375	—	—	1223.60	—	—	540	—	—	785	—	—	364.80	—	—	1,714

Table 3 (continued)

Brand of cloth	1682			1683			1685			1686			1687			1688			1689			TOTAL	
	Price of a cubit (in florins)	No. of cubits	Price (in florins)	Price of a cubit (in florins)	No. of cubits	Price (in florins)	Price of a cubit (in florins)	No. of cubits	Price (in florins)	Price of a cubit (in florins)	No. of cubits	Price (in florins)	Price of a cubit (in florins)	No. of cubits	Price (in florins)	Price of a cubit (in florins)	No. of cubits	Price (in florins)	Price of a cubit (in florins)	No. of cubits	Price (in florins)	Cubits	Price
English cloth (Angliai posztó = broad-cloth)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	941 ³ / ₄	4,708.75
	4.50	11	49.50	4.50	123 ¹ / ₄	554.63	4.50	128 ³ / ₄	579.37	4.50	146	657	4.50	197 ¹ / ₂	888.75	4.50	6	27	4.50	19	85.50	631 ¹ / ₂	2,841.75
	4	3.25	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3 ¹ / ₄	13
Fine londrine (Fajlondis = fyne lundish cloth)	—	—	—	3.75	37 ⁸ / ₂₅	146.16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	45 ² / ₅	170.16
	—	—	—	3.70	750	2755	3.70	448	1,657.60	3.70	153	566.10	3.70	577 ¹⁶ / ₂₅	2137.26	3.70	73 ¹ / ₄	271.03	3.70	176	651.20	2308 ² / ₅	8,541.04
	—	—	—	3.50	11 ¹ / ₂	39.35	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11 ¹ / ₂	39.35
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.30	800	2640	800	2,640
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	180	540
Common londrine (Közlondis = lundish cloth)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	5
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	10.80
TOTAL	—	—	62.50	—	—	3,509.14	—	—	2,236.97	—	—	1,223.10	—	—	3026.01	—	—	298.03	—	—	3376.70	—	19,509.85

Table 4

The bales of common londrine by number and price purchased by the court of the Princess of Transylvania 1675–1687

Brand of cloth	1675			1676			1677			1679			1680			1681			1682			1685			1686			1687			TOTAL	
	Price of a bale (in florins)	No. of bales	Price (in florins)	Price of a bale	No. of bales	Price (in florins)	Price of a bale	No. of bales	Price (in florins)	Price of a bale	No. of bales	Price (in florins)	Price of a bale	No. of bales	Price	Price of a bale	No. of bales	Price	Price of a bale	No. of bales	Price	Price of a bale	No. of bales	Price	Price of a bale	No. of bales	Price	Bales	Price			
Common londrine (Közlön- dis = lindish cloth)	23	3	84	28	5	140	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	224			
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	27	2	54	27	5	135	27	3	81	9	9	81	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	351		
	—	—	—	—	—	—	26	1	26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	26	2	52	26	6	156	26	4	104	13	338	
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	2	50	2	50		
	—	—	84	—	—	140	—	—	26	—	—	54	—	—	135	—	—	81	—	—	81	—	52	—	—	156	—	—	154	—	963	
TOTAL :	—	—	84	—	—	140	—	—	26	—	—	54	—	—	135	—	—	81	—	—	81	—	52	—	—	156	—	—	154	—	963	

GENERAL TOTAL

florins
19,509.85 +
963
20,472.85

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AAR	= Analele Academiei Române
AESC	= Annales. Économies-Sociétés-Civilisations
AIIN	= Anuarul Institutului de istorie națională din Cluj
APH	= Acta Poloniae Historica
AR	= Arhiva Românească
AUSB	= Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae
EH	= Études historiques publiées à l'occasion du XIII ^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Budapest
EHR	= The English Historical Review
Ec.HR	= The Economic History Review
MHG	= Mélanges d'Histoire Générale, publiés par C. Marinescu, Cluj
EO	= Europe Orientale
RESE	= Revue des études sud-est européennes
RFVI	= Revue de la Faculté des Sciences économiques de l'Université d'Istanbul
RI	= Revista istorică
RM	= La revue de la Méditerranée
SZ	= Századok
SAO	= Studia et Acta Orientalia
SCN	= Studii și cercetări de numismatică
SEER	= The Slavonic and East European Review
SEHR	= The Scandinavian Economic History Review
SHR	= The Scottish Historical Review
SI	= Studii italiene
SMIM	= Studii și materiale de istorie medie
SSb	= Skandinavskij Sbornik
SUBB	= Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai Cluj
TT	= Történelmi Tár
VSW	= Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte

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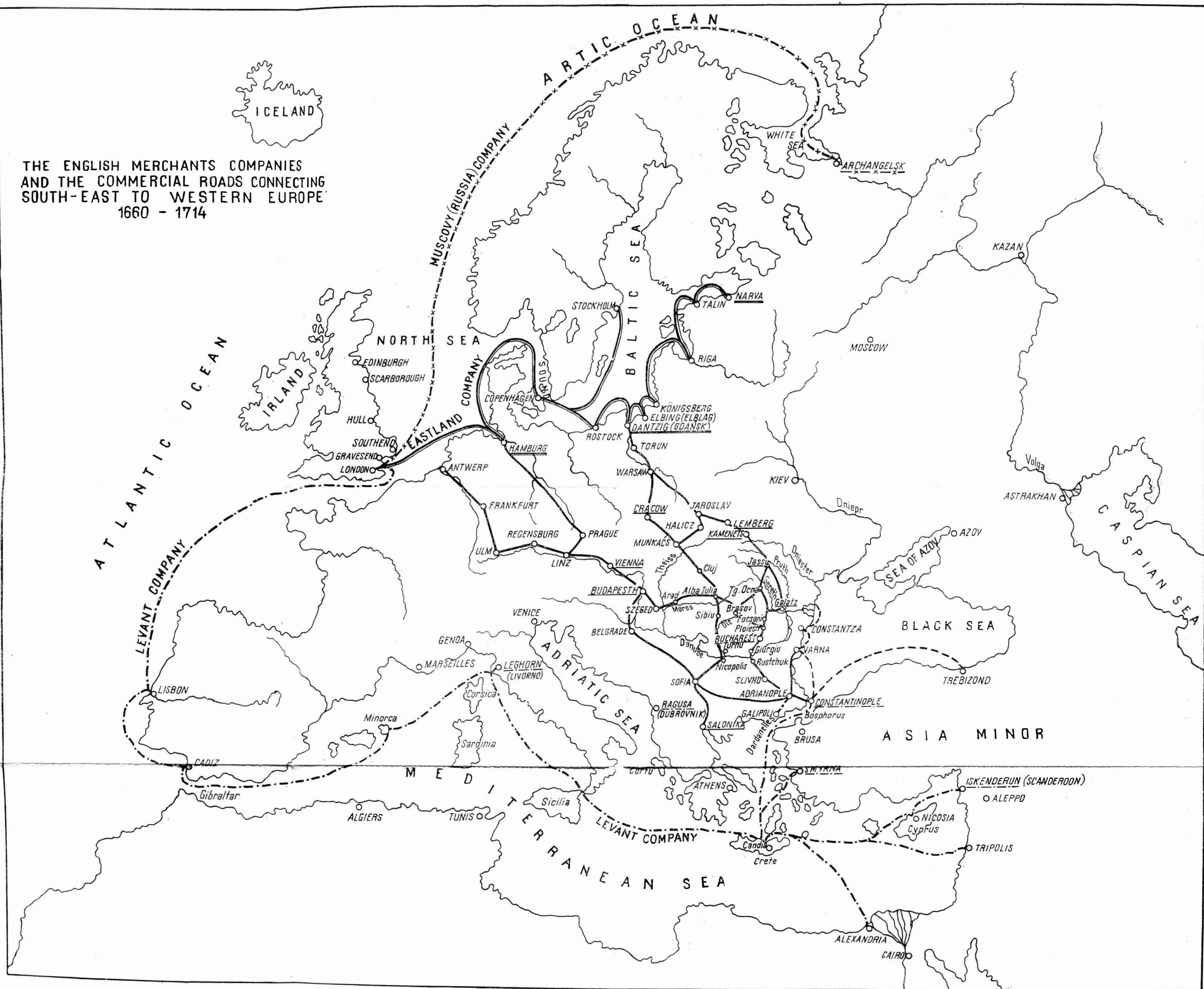
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