GREEK SUBJECTS OF VENICE IN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN MARITIME BUSINESS: SOME SIXTEENTH CENTURY CASE STUDIES

GERASSIMOS D. PAGRATIS
(National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)

Studies on the maritime activities of Greeks in the sixteenth century, published in the last decades, have renewed research interest in this field, leading to the revision of the views of earlier researchers who describe Greek merchant shipping in the sixteenth century as an economic activity supported by a few boats, with which Greeks served local fishing and transporting activities, fearful of venturing beyond the safety of the coasts. Thanks to new bibliography it is documented the more active presence of subjects of Venice and foreigners in the maritime life of the State. The present study is part of a personal research project by the undersigned, aimed at compiling a typology of the participation of Greek subjects of Venice in maritime trade. As I see it, prerequisite for achieving this goal is the existence of a series of specific case studies. Some of these are proposed, in general outline, in this paper, referring to the years after the third Venetian-Ottoman war.

Keywords: Venetian maritime state – Shipping history – Maritime History – sixteenth century – Greek subjects of Venice – Shipowners – Eastern Mediterranean.

Studies on the maritime activities of Greeks in the sixteenth century, published in the last decades, have renewed research interest in this field, leading to the revision of the views of earlier researchers who describe Greek merchant shipping in the Sixteenth century as an economic activity supported by a few boats, with which Greeks served local fishing and transporting activities, fearful of venturing beyond the safety of the coasts.[1] Thanks to new bibliography it is documented the more active presence of subjects of Venice and foreigners in the maritime life of the State, for a number of reasons associated with the crisis Venice was experiencing at an economic and political level, and with the increased competition Venetians were facing in the eastern Mediterranean.[2] Due to these

[1] G. Leontaritis, *Elliniki Emporiki Naftilia (1453–1850)*, (in Greek), Athens 1981, p. 37 ff.

[2] From the affined bibliography see inter alia in G.D. Pagratis, "Greek Commercial Shipping (Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries). Literature Review and Research Perspectives", *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 12/2, 2002, p. 411–433; idem, "Sources for the Maritime History of Greece (Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries)", in G. Harlaftis & C. Vassallo (eds.), *New Directions in Mediterranean Maritime History, Research in Maritime History* 28, St. John's, Newfoundland 2004, p. 125–146; M. Fusaro, "Coping with transition: Greek merchants and shipowners between Venice and England in the late sixteenth century", in I. Baghdiantz McCabe, G. Harlaftis & I. Pepelasis Minoglou (eds.), *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History*, New York 2005, p. 103. See also in M. Greene, "Trading identities: The Sixteenth Century Greek Moment", in A. Husain & K.E. Fleming

circumstances, from the mid-16th century many Greeks, Turks, renegade Christians, Armenians, Ragusans and Jews gradually began to find their position in the markets of the Dominant City (*Dominante*), somehow taking their revenge – as noted characteristically by Traian Stoianovich – for the two-century-old commercial hegemony of Venice and Genoa in the economies of the Levant.[3]

The present study is part of a personal research project by the undersigned, aimed at compiling a typology of the participation of Greek subjects of Venice in maritime trade. As I see it, prerequisite for achieving this goal is the existence of a series of specific case studies. Some of these are proposed, in general outline, in this paper, referring to the years after the third Venetian-Ottoman war.

In this time period, between 1540 and up to the war in Cyprus, Venetian merchant shipping as regards its capacity and number of ships not only was stabilized but has been further developed. But as argued by Jean Claude Hocquet, this development was largely based on artificial media and especially on grants in return for building of new ships, with which the Venetians sought to stimulate the decadent shipbuilding industry of their city, allowing to new ship-owners to pay off their debts through the transport of salt in Venice.[4]

Precisely in this period are identified the first serious cracks in the Venetian commercial building, phenomenon strictly connected with the gradual removing of Venetian nobles from the direct exercise of maritime trade. This development has led to increasing pressure for imports of foodstuffs to Venice and then to the relaxation of protective measures such as those restricting trade of the non-privileged entrepreneurs and the foreigners.[5]

The main cargo carried by these non-privileged entrepreneurs, with the permission of the State, were cereals. In seasons characterized by repeated famine and bans of exports of cereals from the Ottoman Empire, Greeks took the opportunity to assume an important role in the transport of cereals from productive zones of the eastern Mediterranean to the Italian ports. This trend is confirmed by the intensification of commercial transactions between Greek subjects of the Sultan and those of the Doge in Venice and its possessions, where, since the mid-16th century, the first of them were founding consulates in order to serve their activities.[6]

(eds.), *A Faithful Sea. The Religious Cultures of the Mediterranean, 1200–1700*, Oxford 2007, p. 121–148; eadem, *Catholic Corsaires and Greek Merchants: A History of the Mediterranean in the Age of Piracy*, Princeton 2010; G.D. Pagratis, *Koinonia kai Oikonomia sto venetiko Kratos tis Thalassas: oi Naftiliakes Epiheirisseis sthn Kerkyra (1496–1538)*, Athens 2013; idem, "The Greeks in the Maritime Trade of Venice during the 16th century: the case of the Verghis family", in G. Christ & F. Morche (eds.), *Cultures of Empire. Rethinking Venetian Rule, 1400–1700. Essays in Honour of Benjamin Arbel*, Leiden 2020, p. 209–218.

[3] T. Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant", *The Journal of Economic History* 20/2, 1960, p. 240.

[4] See in J. Claude-Hocquet, "Il libro *Creditorum Conducentium sale Cypro* dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia", *Archivio Veneto* 108, 1977, p. 43–81; idem, *Il sale e la fortuna di Venezia*, Rome 1990, p. 439–468.

[5] See for instance in F.C. Lane, "La marina mercantile della Repubblica di Venezia", in idem, *Le navi di Venezia fra i secoli XIII e XVI*, Torino 1983, p. 24–44.

[6] See in M. Oikonomou, *O thesmos tou proxenou ton Ellinon emporon kata tin periodo tis Tourkokratias. To emporio tou Arhipelagous kai to elliniko proxeneio tis Venetias*, (in Greek), PhD thesis,

In 1558, it is documented that Greeks were 16 of 59 captains of large Venetian ships with a capacity between 300 and 720 tonnes. Some others were also co-owners or owners of large Venetian ships, having exploited largely state grants for their construction, the possibilities to register as Venetian ships, ships built outside Venice given periodically by the Venetian state, or the functions of the free market. From the list of the 59 captains who served in large Venetian vessels and the 45 ship-owners, we have selected five cases on the basis of adequate information provided and the relatively representative nature regarding the places of origin and the type of vessels.[7]

One of these cases is that of Zuanne dalla Vrana. Born in 1500, dalla Vrana was one of the most famous and well-travelled Venetian captains at the time. He commanded large Venetian vessels such as the *Alberta*, with a capacity of 450 tons, owned by grains merchant Antonio Alberti, and the *Giustignana* with a capacity of 600 tons; indeed, one of the journeys of the last one is known to us in every detail thanks to the logbook kept by Vrana himself.[8]

His employment by the owners of the *Alberta* had been steady since 1548, the year that the ship was built in a privately-owned shipyard in Venice, until at least 1561. During that time, he made at least five journeys to Cyprus and one to Ibiza, where the ship loaded salt for the Venetian state.

It appears that dalla Vrana started working for the owners of the *Giustignana* from 1563. Yet, the trajectory of his journeys remained the same, as records show his 11 more trips from Venice to Cyprus to load salt.[9] There is no other information about him, largely due to the fact that he was not registered with the Greek Confraternity in Venice, although other persons with the same surname are registered there, one of whom may be his son.[10]

Georgios Moschovits (*Moscovicchio*) appears on records during the same time period with Vranas and with comparable frequency. Despite the Slavic surname, he stated that he was from Corfu. He journeyed on three of the largest vessels of the age, the *Alboro Doro*, with a capacity of 450 tons, the galleon *Briconi* with a capacity of 300 tons and the *Capella* with a capacity of 240 tons. The journeys of

University of Athens, 1–3 vols, Athens 1990; G. D. Pagratis, "To Consulaton ton Mytilinaion stin Kerkyra (1548–1549)", *Eoa kai Esperia* 4, 2000, p. 22–45; C. Papakosta, "Oi emporikoi proxenoi sta Ionia Nisia: anagki kai skopimotita", in D. Sklavenitis & T. Sklavenitis (eds.), *Proceedings of the Seventh Panionian Conference (Lefkada, 26–30 May 2002)*, II, Athens 2004, p. 577–593.

[7] Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr di Venezia (BMCCV), Donà dalle Rose, cod. 217, f. 16r–39r. The vessels that were Greek, on the basis of their owners' names, were the *Curcumela* of Andreas Kourkoumelis, around 480 tonnes, and the *Vergì* or the *Santa Maria de Cassoppo* of Matthaios Verghis, of around 540 tons.

[8] BMCCV, cod. Cicogna 1596 (olim 2377) / XVIII, Viaggio a Cipro della nave Giustiniana, 14 ff.

[9] On Vranas' maritime activities see in J. Claude-Hocquet, "Il libro *Creditorum Conducentium sale Cypro* dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia…", p. 56–81.

[10] A. Pardos, "Alfavitikos katalogos ton proton melon tis Ellinikis Adelfotitas Venetias (1498-1530)-B΄ Gynaikes", *Thisaurismata* 17, 1980, p. 179; F. Mavroidi, *Symvoli stin Istoria tis Ellinikis Adelfotitas Venetias sto 16o aiona (1533–1562)*, Athens 1976, p. 269.

these vessels covered the whole of the Mediterranean, from Spain to the Middle East ports. All these ships carried soldiers from Venice to Cyprus and imported to Venice grains and other agricultural products and raw materials from the Levant such as acorns from the eastern Mediterranean, salt from Cyprus and Ibiza, etc.[11]

There is no other personal information about him, only his own statement that he was born in 1510.

Markos Defaranas (or di Eriedi) from Zakynthos, in contrast with the above, is a man of the sea whose life has been recorded, not only because his seafaring career but also because of his literary production. He came from a family of seafarers who held many roles on large Venetian ships. He was born in 1503, according to his own statement, and served as captain and chief mate in 7 large Venetian ships as well as in Venetian merchant galleys. From 1532 to 1549 he travelled to Venice almost every year, for work. In 1539–40 he was chief mate on the ship *Luna*, journeying between Venice, Crete and Famagusta.[12] He was adequately trained to fulfil the demands of this job, as he spoke fluent Greek and Italian, and had an elementary knowledge of Latin, while he was also equally knowledgeable in business communication, keeping accounting ledgers and logbooks. Until 1540 his permanent residence was in Zakynthos. In the end of fourth decade of the 16th century he moved to Venice with his wife and son. His last journey that is documented in the records was in 1559 as captain of the ship *Tamisera* to Ibiza, where the ship loaded salt for the Venetian state.[13] After 1560 he chose to stop travelling and preferred the administrative work at the Greek Confraternity of Venice as well as his own literary interests.[14]

Defaranas also served as captain on the vessels owned by the Kourkoumelis brothers, one of which, the *Bragadina ditta Curcumella*, with a capacity of 480 tons, is included in the list with the largest Venetian vessels of the year 1558. The central figures in this story are the brothers Andreas and Alexandros Kourkoumelis, sons of Anastasis Kourkoumelis, whose family came from Nafplion. Andreas was among the most powerful Greek merchants in Venice, with a large turnover and a considerable number of vessels that he co-owned either with Venetians or with his brother Alexandros. It is said that he had shares in 13 large vessels, galleons and *schirazzi*.[15]

Andreas lived in Venice probably from the second decade of the 16th century and so started dealing with administrative issues of the Greek Confraternity. In 1549 he was married in the church of *San Giorgio dei Greci* in Venice, and had three children. He maintained close ties with the Venetian authorities and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.[16]

[11] BMCCV, Donà dalle Rose, cod. 217, f. 17r–18r.
[12] Stefanos Kaklamanis, "Markos Defaranas (1503–1575)", *Thisaurismata* 21, 1991, p. 274.
[13] J. Claude-Hocquet, "Il libro *Creditorum Conducentium sale Cypro*…", p. 67.
[14] Kaklamanis, "Markos Defaranas (1503–1575)…", p. 253.
[15] Mavroidi, *Symvoli stin Istoria tis Ellinikis Adelfotitas Venetias sto 16o aiona…*, p. 122–124.
[16] *Ibid.*

His second brother, Alexandros, initially worked at the ducal chancellery in Candia, but soon abandoned the security of this office and the "noble penury", to work with his brother in commercial activities based in Candia (today Herakleion). He participated actively in the third Venetian-Ottoman War, providing financial contribution and serving as captain of a galley in the Venetian fleet.

The Kourkoumelis brothers carried all kinds of products from Venice to the eastern and western Mediterranean, as well as further, to Flanders and England, without their active participation in any of the journeys.

Their main method of ensuring a working capital for these vessels followed the beaten track at the time; that is, the creation of a company for the duration of the journey or of a series of journeys, with the participation of a number of people providing funds or labour, or both. It seems that these funds and the profits invested were linked with the ownership of agricultural land and properties in Crete and in Venice. Andreas Kourkoumelis had received state land in Lasithi in return for his services in the war of 1537. The link with the state was also traced to the ownership of vessels: one of his ships, the *Curcumella*, had been built with state subsidy, while some of the grain transports had also been state orders.[17]

The two brothers' cooperation in the family corporation that had operated informally came to an end in the late 1550s. The death of Andreas was the final blow to a company that had already a large burden of debts. Alexandros became a monk with the name Athanasios, perhaps to evade the demands of his debtors.[18]

One other important Greek man of the sea is Matthaios Verghis from Corfu. Thanks to the notarial archives of Corfu and Venice, we have been able to reconstruct a picture of his adventurous life and business career, since traces of his commercial and maritime activities span a remarkably long period of some sixty years. Until 1540, Matthaios made numerous voyages between Venice and the eastern Mediterranean, as skipper of Corfiot ships of small or medium capacity, and as captain of large Venetian vessels transporting goods on behalf of the State. Specifically, in 1511, 1512 and 1518, in his capacity as captain, he travelled from Venice to Constantinople.[19] In 1518 the Venetian authorities ordered two galleys to accompany the ship under Verghis's command as far as Cape Malias, for fear of pirates, as it was transporting "rich merchandise",[20] while in 1522 they used a ship of his[21] to carry the Venetian commercial consul Bernardo to Damascus.[22] In the

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] ASVe (General State Archives of Venice), Notarile, Atti, vol. 8099 (Notary Vettor Maffei), f. 467r.

[20] G. Ploumidis, *Oi Venetokratoumenes ellinikes hores metaxi tou defterou kai tou tritou tourkovenetikou polemou (1503–1537)*, (in Greek), Ioannina 1974, p. 118-119. ASVe, Senato Mar, vol. 19, f. 81v.

[21] In all probability this is the ship of which Verghis is mentioned as co-owner, with Vikentios Palouris, in the two years 1522–1523. F. Mavroidi, *Symvoli stin Istoria tis Ellinikis Adelfotitas Venetias sto 16o aiona…*, p. 138.

same year, Verghis made the voyage Candia-Cyprus-Venice[23] and the following year (1524) he sailed from Alexandria to Cyprus and thence to Venice.[24]

With the eight ships of which he was either part or full owner,[25] and with other chartered vessels, as well as in the capacity of sleeping partner,[26] Verghis participated frequently and concurrently in numerous joint ventures of maritime trade, the so-called *syntrophies.*[27] These companies bought agricultural products and raw materials in various Venetian and Ottoman harbours, where they then sold manufactured goods, such as glassware, textiles and so on.

Much of Verghis's wealth, and probably the first source of its accumulation, almost certainly resulted from his utilization of subventions from the Venetian State, in order to import grain to the city; he was active in this field from 1524.[28] To ensure the success of his business affairs, he had correspondents in Venetian and Ottoman ports, and had cultivated appropriate relations in the Ottoman bureaucracy. By these means he was able to influence local authorities to grant licenses for the export of cereals, violating the occasional bans on the export of grain, issued by the Sublime Porte.[29]

Probably around the time of the end of the third Ottoman-Venetian War in 1540, Verghis decided to settle in Venice, from where he monitored his affairs, having set up a network of agents, based largely on the strength of family ties. From Venice he was able to utilize effectively opportunities such as State grants to build large ships. Thus, he secured the sum of 15,000 Venetian ducats, to build his ship the *Vergì* or the *Santa Maria di Cassoppo*, of capacity of 540 tons. In order to pay off his debt to the Venetian government, in the period 1560-1569 his ship made nine trips to Cyprus and one to Spain's Ibiza, loaded with salt.[30]

As was a common method of capital formation in this period, Verghis channeled part of his money stock into the rental of public incomes. In 1541, through this system of tax farming, he undertook the collection of the tax called *gabella*, in Parga.[31] In 1553, he took over the management of the Marcella feudatory in Corfu, jointly with his brother Alexander.[32]

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[23] ASVe, Senato Mar, vol. 20, φ. 2r.

[24] G. Ploumidis, *Oi Venetokratoumenes ellinikes hores…*, p. 119.

[25] F. Mavroidi, *Aspetti della Società veneziana del'500. La Confraternita di S. Nicolò dei Greci*, Ravenna, 1989, p. 50–51.

[26] Investor of capital in maritime trading companies, without participating in the voyages.

[27] See in G.D. Pagratis, "Trade and Shipping in Corfu (1496–1538)", *International Journal of Maritime History* 16/2, 2004, p. 173–177.

[28] GSA (General State Archives of Corfu), Notaries, vol. S 146 (Notary Petros Spongos), f. 37r.

[29] Mavroidi, *Symvoli stin Istoria tis Ellinikis Adelfotitas Venetias sto 16o aiona…*, p. 63. ASVe, Notarile, Atti, vol. 8112 (Notary Vettor Maffei), f. 218v.

[30] J. Claude-Hocquet, "Il libro *Creditorum Conducentium sale Cypro…*", p. 68–73.

[31] GSA, Notaries, vol. S147 (Notary Petros Spongos), f. 434r–v. This tax was imposed on vessels entering or leaving the port of Parga. A. Xirouhakis, *I Venetokratoumeni Anatoli, Kriti kai Eptanissos*, Athens 1934, p. 212 note 3.

[32] ASVe, Notarile, Atti, vol. 5586 (Notary Giovanni Frigolin), f. 69v–70r. On Mattaios Verghis see in G.D. Pagratis, "The Greeks in the Maritime Trade of Venice during the 16th century: the case of the

Some thoughts in lieu of conclusions can be drawn from the above. There are two categories of seafarers who are connected to the large-scale Venetian maritime trade: the captains and the businessmen.

The captains gained the trust of Venetian noblemen when it came to their vessels and their commodities of great monetary value, thanks to their considerable experience at sea. None of the captains mentioned above became a significant merchant in Venice. There are dozens of other cases of seafarers – Greeks, Slavs as well as Venetians of lower social provenance – who replaced the Venetian noblemen as managers of their merchant vessels in the mid-16th century.

As regards businessmen, from the above descriptions of the Kourkoumelis and the Verghis business activities the following evidence has emerged:

- the family nature of their enterprises, at least with regard to its "executives", a somewhat informal form of business collaboration of the various members of the family,
- the formation of a network of collaborators from Greek subjects of the Sublime Porte, which facilitated their access to the main markets of the Ottoman Empire,
- the focus on the export from Venice of manufactured goods, such as glassware, and the import to Venice of comestibles and raw materials from the whole of the Mediterranean region,
- the exploitation for all these developments of the crises in the Venetian economy and of the incentives which, at various times, the Serenissima offered subjects and foreigners who would import goods of which the Venetian market had need,
- the adoption of established practices of accumulating and investing capital (leasing of feudatories, tax farming, shipbuilding), as well as the introduction of new business practices, especially after 1540, and the utilization of incentives that Venetian State offered subjects and foreigners (subsidies to build new ships in return for transportations to import salt, permits to import grain, etc.), and, finally,
- the participation in the Brotherhood of Greeks in Venice, which constituted, among other things, a policy communication tool with both the Venice authorities and the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

Thus, to the degree that the example of all these persons, which we propose here in their general outline, is in some way representative, it could contribute to widening the information base on entrepreneurial activities of the subjects of the *Serenissima*, describing their developmental course in the fields of the economy and the society. Nonetheless, it is clear that more corresponding examples, built on

Verghis family", in G. Christ & F. Morche (eds.), *Cultures of Empire. Rethinking Venetian Rule, 1400–1700. Essays in Honour of Benjamin Arbel*, Brill, Leiden 2020, p. 209–218.

the wealth of archival material, are required, which will allow us to arrive with greater confidence at a typology, distinguishing the normal from the unusual and penetrating into their subtlest shades.

gpagratis@ill.uoa.gr

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival Sources

General State Archives of Venice, Notarile, Atti, vols. 8099 & 8112 (Notary Vettor Maffei); Notarile Atti, vol. 5586 (Notary Giovanni Frigolin); Senato Mar, vol. 20.

General State Archives of Corfu, Notaries, vols. S 146 &147 (Notary Petros Spongos).

Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr di Venezia, Donà dalle Rose, code 217 ; code Cicogna 1596 (olim 2377) / XVIII, Viaggio a Cipro della nave Giustiniana, 14 ff.

Secondary Bibliography

Claude-Hocquet, Jean-Claude, "Il libro Creditorum Conducentium sale Cypro dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia", *Archivio Veneto* 108, 1977, p. 43–81.

Idem, *Il sale e la fortuna di Venezia*, Jouvence: Rome, 1990.

Fusaro, Maria, "Coping with transition: Greek merchants and shipowners between Venice and England in the late sixteenth century", in I. Baghdiantz McCabe, G. Harlaftis & I. Pepelasis Minoglou (eds.), *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History*, Berg Publications: New York 2005, p. 95–123.

Greene, Molly, "Trading identities: The Sixteenth Century Greek Moment", in A. Husain & K.E. Fleming (eds.), *A Faithful Sea. The Religious Cultures of the Mediterranean, 1200–1700*, Oneword: Oxford 2007, p. 121–148.

Eadem, *Catholic Corsaires and Greek Merchants: A History of the Mediterranean in the Age of Piracy*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 2010.

Kaklamanis, Stefanos, "Markos Defaranas (1503–1575;)", (in Greek), *Thisavrismata* 21, 1991, p. 210–315.

Lane, Frederic C., "La marina mercantile della Repubblica di Venezia", in Idem, *Le navi di Venezia fra i secoli XIII e XVI*, Einaudi: Torino, 1983, p. 24–44.

Leontaritis, Gheorgios, *Elliniki Emporiki Naftilia (1453-1850)*, (in Greek), Mnimon: Athens 1981.

Mavroidi, Fani, *Symvoli stin Istoria tis Ellinikis Adelfotitas Venetias sto 16o aiona (1533–1562)*, (in Greek), Notis Karavias: Athens, 1976.

Eadem, *Aspetti della Società veneziana del'500. La Confraternita di S. Nicolò dei Greci*, Diamond Byte: Ravenna, 1989

Oikonomou, Mitsa, *O thesmos tou proxenou ton Ellinon emporon kata tin periodo tis Tourkokratias. To emporio tou Arhipelagous kai to elliniko proxeneio tis Venetias*, (in Greek), PhD thesis, University of Athens, 1-3 vols, Athens 1990.

Pagratis, Gerassimos D., "To Consulaton ton Mytilinaion stin Kerkyra (1548–1549)", (in Greek), *Eoa kai Esperia* 4, 2000, p. 22–45.

Idem, "Greek Commercial Shipping (Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries). Literature Review and Research Perspectives", *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 12/2, 2002, p. 411–433.

Idem, "Trade and Shipping in Corfu (1496–1538)", *International Journal of Maritime History* 16/2, 2004, p. 169–220.

Idem, "Sources for the Maritime History of Greece (Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries)", in G. Harlaftis & C. Vassallo (eds.), *New Directions in Mediterranean Maritime History, Research in Maritime History* 28, International Association of Maritime Economic History: St. John's, Newfoundland 2004, p. 125–146.

Idem, *Koinonia kai Oikonomia sto venetiko Kratos tis Thalassas: oi Naftiliakes Epiheirisseis sthn Kerkyra (1496–1538)*, (in Greek), Pedio: Athens, 2013.

Idem, "The Greeks in the Maritime Trade of Venice during the 16th century: the case of the Verghis family", in G. Christ & F. Morche (eds.), *Cultures of Empire. Rethinking Venetian Rule, 1400–1700. Essays in Honour of Benjamin Arbel*, Brill: Leiden 2020, p. 209–218.

Papakosta, Cristina, "Oi emporikoi proxenoi sta Ionia Nisia: anagki kai skopimotita", (in Greek), in D. Sklavenitis & T. Sklavenitis (eds.), *Proceedings of the Seventh Panionian Conference (Lefcada, 26–30 May 2002)*, II, Etaireia Lefkadikon Meleton: Athens 2004, p. 577–593.

Pardos, Antonis, "Alfavitikos katalogos ton proton melon tis Ellinikis Adelfotitas Venetias (1498–1530) -B΄ Gynaikes", (in Greek), *Thisavrismata* 17, 1980, p. 149–215.

Ploumidis, Gheorghios, *Oi Venetokratoumenes ellinikes hores metaxi tou defterou kai tou tritou tourkovenetikou polemou (1503–1537)*, (in Greek), University of Ioannina: Ioannina, 1974.

Stoianovich, Traian, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant", *The Journal of Economic History* 20/2, 1960, p. 234–313.