**THE GREEKS OF ANCONA (1510-1595)**

**Migration and Community in the Early Modern Mediterranean**

**Niccolò Fattori**

**Royal Holloway, University of London**

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## Declaration of Authorship

I, Niccolò Fattori, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

## Abstract

In the sixteenth century, the city of Ancona went through an unprecedented period of commercial development, becoming one of the most important trading hubs of the Mediterranean. One of the byproducts of this prosperity was the settlement of numerous foreign merchants, coming from the four corners of the Euro-Mediterranean trading system. Among them, the Greeks coming from the Venetian territories, the Ottoman Empire and Genoese Chios formed one of the wealthiest and most important groups.

Drawing from a wealth of unpublished archival materials, especially notarial folders, this thesis offers a thorough analysis of the Greek migration to the city between 1510 and 1595. The case of Ancona is examined in its own right, and a particular emphasis is given to the specific social and economic factors that shaped the different currents of the migration and the construction of its organized structures, the church and the Confraternity of Sant’Anna.

The Greek migration to Ancona was a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon, which cannot be fully contained in the customary national narratives of the Greek Diasporas. It is also significantly different from other Greek communities in Italy, such as those of Naples or Venice: it was a divided group, unable to build a meaningful relationship with the local authorities, and kept together by a relatively frail network of professional, personal and ethnic social ties.

This thesis proposes a new approach to the study of merchant communities in the early modern Mediterranean, which has generally focused on the twin pillars of ethnic identity and organized institutions. However, any approach based solely on these two factors is bound to severely overestimate the social importance of religious associations and formalized structures, while downplaying the complexity that characterises migratory movements. In the thesis, I argue that one of the potentially most fruitful starting points for an analysis of early modern migrations is an analysis of the lives of the individual migrants and, from there, of the community as a network of interpersonal relationships.

## Acknowledgments

Like the migrants I talk about, I found myself working and trying to build a life for myself in a foreign land. However, unlike the Greeks in Ancona, I never met anything even remotely resembling a hostile bishop. Instead, what I got was a warm, kind, and respectful hospitality from every single person and institution I encountered along the way.

As far as institutions are concerned, I would like to thank the Royal Holloway College. This research would not have been possible at all without the generous funding they provided in the form of a Reid Scholarship.

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I would also like to thank the curators of the Archivio di Stato di Ancona, in particular Carlo Giacomini and Gioia Sturba, for guiding me through the archive’s treasure trove.

There is a proverb saying that if you are the most intelligent person in the room, you are in the wrong room. Throughout the four years of my doctorate, I can safely say that I have always been in the best possible room, which most of the times was MC323 in the History Department. There, the usual small cabal of postgraduates would gather to discuss subjects like the continuity of Hellenism or the (alleged) existence of things like Cricket or Japan, and occasionally get some academic work done. On evenings and weekends, the room was often inside the Happy Man pub, where similar antics would take place. My gratitude goes to all the people that crowded those rooms: Toby, Greg, Mark, Chris, Zosia, Brian, Elliot, Steven. If there were times in which I felt serene and at home in the department, I owe it to them.

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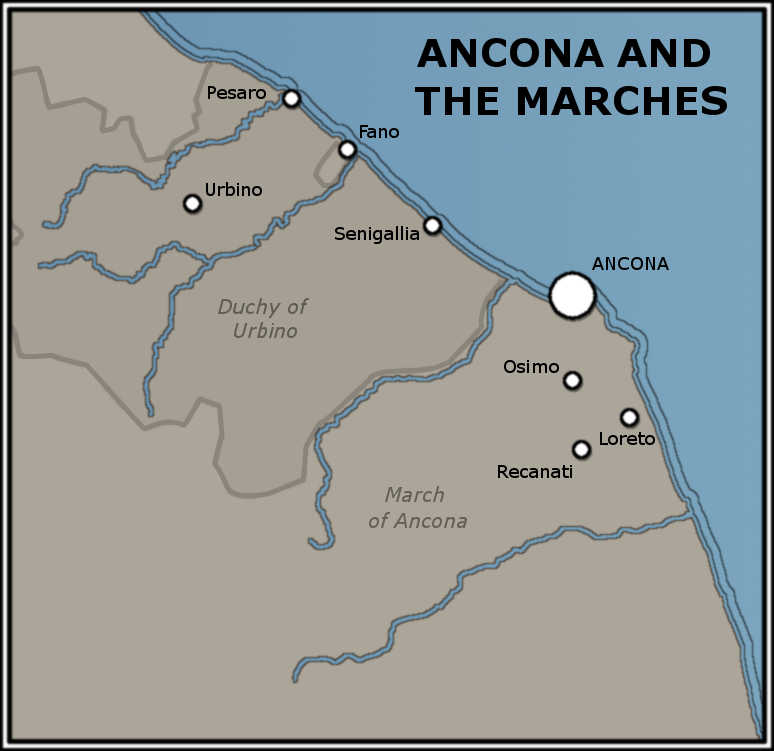
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# Map 1: The Adriatic-Ionian-Aegean Region



# Map 2: Ancona and the Marches



# Map 3: Ancona in the sixteenth-century

# INTRODUCTION

M.A: Et vi si vedono ben ordinate, e artificiose moresche, mattacini destrissimi e molto gratiosi, e alcune rapresentationi ingegnose et nobili, alcune bene intese livree, et una copia assai grande di ricchi istravaganti habiti greci, arabi, turchi, mori, armeni, ongari, polacchi, boemi, et molte altre sorte di vaghissime fantasticarie oltremarine.

Cap.: Voi grandemente havete affaticato l’ingegno insieme con la memoria in osservare, et ricordarvi […] ma considerate le molte nationi che sono in questa città, di tante variate nature et differenti di lenguaggi et di costumi; l’infinite cose che vi sono portate dalli passaggi di mare dalla banda di Levante; et dalle condotte di terra di quella di ponente, trovaremo che non è meraviglia notabile di vedervi tanti, et quasi infiniti assortimenti variati et mirabili.[[1]](#footnote-1)

This sketch of the port of Ancona, written by Captain Francesco Ferretti for his *Diporti Notturni*, conveys a vivid image of a city which acted as the hinge between the four corners of the world, bustling with *fantasticarie oltremarine* and with an infinite abundance of goods and peoples, brought by the countless ships coming from the Levant. *Non è meraviglia*, says captain Ferretti, trying to dispel the amazement of his interlocutor with an understatement about the normality of the situation.It is nothing strange that the variety of foreign faces, customs and languages spoken along the docks resembles that of a provincial Babel, a smaller version of the larger Mediterranean emporia such as Alexandria, Venice or Constantinople. This portrait was not unrealistic: during the sixteenth century the city experienced a short period of international importance, and effectively became the second largest trading node on the Italian side of the Adriatic Sea, threatening (if only slightly) Venice’s absolute monopoly over the Adriatic *Golfo*. But unlike Venice, which based its primacy on a long tradition of citizen merchants, the ruling class of Ancona never really embraced trade as a way of life. They were more than glad to leave the movement of merchandise in and out of the city to groups of resourceful foreigners coming from the most remote corners of the Mediterranean, and often beyond, while reserving to themselves the duty of cleaning up the harbour and devising an attractive tax policy. All sorts of people reached Ancona to set up shop and sell their merchandise, accelerating the city’s transition from a peripheral port of transit to a centre of trade and human exchange: ship owners from Ragusa gave passage to Albanian bishops visiting Rome[[2]](#footnote-2), while Jewish merchants tried to smuggle cargos of weapons to the Ottoman side *sub falso et velato nomine saponis*;[[3]](#footnote-3)Florentine traders executed the last wills of deceased Armenian merchants who owed money to their Turkish partners using Greek and Jewish interpreters[[4]](#footnote-4), and Flemish financiers offered insurance policies to those Chiot and Tuscan (later English or Dutch) vessels that dared to cross the sea all the way to Constantinople or Tripoli.[[5]](#footnote-5)

Communities formed, as these travelling merchants and artisans developed the social links and the institutions that would take care of their collective life. One group in particular took advantage of the favourable economic conjuncture that invested Ancona in the sixteenth century: the Greeks. Whether the subjects of the Venetian Doge, the Ottoman Sultan or the Genoese *Mahona* of Chios, enterprising people speaking the Greek language and following the Orthodox religious tradition took up residence in the city, providing a significant contribution to its prosperity as a trading hub connecting the eastern Mediterranean with western Europe.

## 

## 0.1 – Aims of this thesis

This thesis provides the first analysis of the history, characteristics, and structures of the Greek community of Ancona. Their presence in the city will first be placed within the context of the momentous changes that took place during the Sixteenth century, a fateful conjuncture of Mediterranean history, which saw the twilight of the Italian commercial pre-eminence that characterized the late middle ages and the emergence of new actors.[[6]](#footnote-6) Once the links with the wider picture are established, it will analyse the demographic structure and the internal functioning of the Greek community itself. It will then look into how the presence of a significant group of schismatic Christians was perceived by the Church authorities of Ancona, especially after the cultural shift that followed the Council of Trent, and how the social characteristics of the community influenced its relationship with the surrounding environment.

The aim of this work is twofold: to point out the uniqueness of the Anconitan case within the wider “Greek Diaspora” and to shed some light on a neglected and relatively secondary community of Greek expatriates – all within a framework of analysis which emphasises the community not in its role as an independent actor, but as a network of relationships between individuals.

One of the reasons for the general lack of interest of historians towards Ancona lies in its relatively peripheral location in the Adriatic and Italian contexts, which has relegated the city to the vast limbo of secondary historical entities: too big to be completely ignored, but too small to deserve more than a few anecdotal mentions. Like many other cities, it hosted local and travelling artists (including Venetian painter Lorenzo Lotto, who also worked on the Greek church of Sant’Anna), but it never really became a propagating centre of Renaissance high culture like the neighbouring Duchy of Urbino. It set up a network of consulates in the eastern Mediterranean and had strong diplomatic ties with several Italian states, but it never played an active and independent role in international politics and commerce like its arch-rival Venice. The social and cultural structures of Ancona were, in their uniqueness, closer to those of an “average major centre” of central Italy than to those of unique metropolises like Florence, Rome or Venice. An examination of the processes and patterns of arrival, settlement and integration of the Greeks in Ancona could therefore provide a more accurate template for those other relatively minor cities that hosted immigrant communities.

However, while the analogies between Ancona and other relatively less-known cases constitute some important reasons for the study of its Greek migrant community, the specific circumstances of the city itself set it aside from the other better-known examples of Greek settlements in Italy. For instance, in 1532 Ancona fell under the direct jurisdiction of the Papal States, and was ruled by a governor appointed by Rome. The direct papal sovereignty over Ancona was of no little consequence to the Greek community, which was forced to struggle in order to maintain a certain degree of religious autonomy after the council of Trent had brought a generalized crackdown on heterodoxy, particularly in Italy and inside the pontifical territories. The city’s importance as a trading node between western Europe and the eastern Mediterranean was also a temporary, although cyclical, occurrence, which impaired the development of a lay elite who could do more than just exploit the city’s favourable location – a factor which directly influenced both the commercial niche occupied by the Greek migrants and their relationship (or lack thereof) with the civic authorities. Finally, the bulk of the Greek settlement in the city occurred at least a couple of generations after the exhaustion of the Diaspora that followed the fall of Constantinople in 1453, as the process of gradual assimilation of the remaining post-Byzantine aristocracy in the Ottoman, Italian and Venetian societies was already well under way. Apart from a small number of isolated exceptions, Ancona never became the home of exiled noble families or of an expatriate aristocracy. As Martin Crusius observed in 1580, in the city *pleriquae Graecorum, hodie nautae sunt: pauci vero aut nulli in his loci nobiles*,[[7]](#footnote-7)a fact which in the perception of contemporaries contrasted with the more familiar scenarios of Venice and Naples so much that it needed to be reported. As a case study, Ancona provides a mix of uniqueness and conformity, which has not been stressed enough by the previous scholarship on the subject.

Overall, the best way to emphasize this combination – on the one hand the unique character of the Anconitan situation when compared to other cases of Greek migration to Italy, and on the other the similarities to other cases of secondary urban realities – is to consider Greek migration to the city not as another manifestation of the “Greek Diaspora”, but as an example of early modern mercantile migration, which functioned and evolved in a manner similar to other communities of merchants and artisans that formed across Europe and the Mediterranean in the same period. A similar approach would be able to underline both its peculiarities (especially in regard to its social and demographic structures) compared to the numerous communities of Greek expatriates, and its similarities to other cases of mercantile communities.

The main argument against an approach wholly centred on the idea of a “Greek Diaspora” is the extreme haziness of the term, which has been employed to encompass a variety of structurally different migratory trends that are only connected by an ethnic label. Phenomena as diverse as the dispersion of the post-Byzantine nobility in the fifteenth century, the commercial and financial colonization of the Mediterranean in the eighteenth, and the economic and political migration of the twentieth have been included within this category, overlooking their inherent differences.[[8]](#footnote-8) Instead, I will analyse the social and demographic developments of the Greek migration to Ancona not through the lenses of its “Greekness”, but rather by considering it as similar to other communities of merchants abroad in the sixteenth century.

This change of perspective will offer a more appropriate picture of its development, and challenge some of the limitations that are often encountered in works that compare the vastly different cases of the Greeks who settled in Venice, Ancona, Livorno, Naples and areas of southern Italy, only on the basis of their ethnic self-identification.[[9]](#footnote-9) The Greeks who moved to Ancona did not do so for the same reasons of those who moved, for example, to Naples – the former were mostly merchants and professionals, the latter a mix of traders and refugees settled by the political authorities. The mercantile and spontaneous character of their settlement was at least as influential in establishing the nature of their community and their reciprocal interactions as it was its ethnic character, which would only enter the equation as an important factor *per se* during the last decades of the sixteenth century, with the increased attention given by the papal curia to the development of an authorized form of Greek liturgical rite.

The Greek community of Ancona bore more resemblance to the many Italian merchant coloniesestablished in Antwerp or in other Euro-Mediterranean ports, and despite some structural differences, such as the lack of an exclusive governing body connected with any polity and recognized by their host city, its members were characterized by similar patterns of settlement and integration.[[10]](#footnote-10) Both in Ancona and in Antwerp, for instance, it is possible to witness a two-tiered migration: on the one hand, highly mobile merchants and mariners, whose arrival, stay and integration were deeply influenced by the cyclical and seasonal rhythms of trade; and by a smaller group of stationary settlers who were better integrated within local society, and often worked as intermediaries with the newcomers and the city. Another point of contact between the Anconitan Greeks and the Italians in Antwerp was the susceptibility of their settlement to the fluctuations of international commercial routes, which can be seen in the parallel weakening of both groups when their host cities lost their pre-eminent role in international commerce, in both cases around the 1580s. Unlike the Venetian Greeks, who played a fundamental part in shaping the economic and social fabric of the Republic for centuries, those of Ancona were, as a group, welcome but temporary guests.[[11]](#footnote-11)

Another aim of this thesis is to focus not on the community itself – understood as an active, independent and clearly defined social actor – but rather on the numerous informal relationships established by the single migrant individuals; or in other words, on the community as a network of relations and not as an actor existing independently from its single members. By shifting the focus of the research from the ethnic community as an accomplished actor to the migrant community as a set of relationships, it should be possible to gain a better understanding of what happens inside the “black box” of community formation, and to successfully link it with the wider developments that were taking place in the region.

The inherent differences and specificities that made every case of foreign community a *unicum* can be traced back to the moment in which certain specific individuals associated in groups, which in turn developed the institutional and informal characters of the community itself, including systems of mutual assistance and patronage, networks of personal acquaintance, commonality of personal relations, interests, language and to a certain extent world view. The most apparent differences between these communities lie not in the legal framework of the structures themselves – which tended to be rather similar in function and organization – but in how they were spawned by the specific background of the various individuals involved in its formation through time, and by their interaction with the surrounding environment. A research using the already formed community as the starting point would almost inevitably supersede these differences, or at the very least not give them the proper weight. In other words, the first step in the study of community formation, and in the analysis of its further developments, needs to be the analysis of its individual components, and of the kinds of social dynamics that tied them to each other.

This particular approach is made possible and fruitful by the limited size of the Greek presence in Ancona, which probably never exceeded 200 families and 3-500 individuals during the peak of the migration, in the 1540s, even when including both its transitory and permanent settlers. The size of sample makes it possible to focus on a limited number of significant individuals, in order to trace their origins properly, personal history, actions, network of personal connections and motivations – an operation that would have proven much more difficult in larger communities composed of hundreds of individuals, each with a significant role in shaping its character and its future. However, one of the most obvious shortcomings of a similarly restricted sample is the much stronger significance of those behaviours of single individuals that cannot be contextualized in a wider collective development, or be made to fit a wider historical process.[[12]](#footnote-12) For example, when a second-generation Greek migrant is occasionally recorded as the owner of a plot of land in the countryside, is that the evidence of a widespread ‘race to the land’, in which the heirs of traders and artisans decided to invest their inherited wealth in landed revenues? Or were those just the isolated case of familiar investments outside the city walls?[[13]](#footnote-13) Or, in a different way, how much were the many different reactions of the single Greeks to the post-Tridentine pressures the product of the new mindset, and how much were those reactions dictated by their personal feelings, disagreements, and controversies, now lost to the ages? While I personally did my best to identify recurring trends and contextualize individual behaviours, these rare instances represent an inescapable element of human unpredictability – and were taken as such. Sometimes the historian has to give up and arbitrarily decide, based on his good judgement, that a cigar is just a cigar.

## 0.2 – The migrant community beyond its organised manifestations

By focusing on the community as an actor and not as a network of interpersonal connections, there is also the concrete risk of giving too much weight to the institutionalized community and its formal structures, at the expense of the whole galaxy of individuals orbiting around those same institutions and their members. In fact, the organised structures have often been at the very centre of the study of merchant colonies between the late middle ages and the early modern period, whatever their form or denomination. One particular example of this focus on the institutionalized structures of merchant migration is the attention reserved to the organisation known as *natio.*

In the administrative and archival sources employed for this study, the term *natio* is used to denote an “ethnic group”, understood both as a series of formalized institutions and as a group of people simply connected by a common provenance, language or religious practice. For instance, a notarized testimony about the death and burial of Greek ship captain Stefano Agalli states that the event was *pubblico et noto nella ciptà de Ancona, et maxime appresso la natione greca*,*[[14]](#footnote-14)* while an edict from 1559 condemns the *gran moltitudine de forestieri, romagnuoli, schiavoni, albanesi et altre nationi che* […] *non vogliono lavorare*.*[[15]](#footnote-15)* In the first example, the term *natione* is clearly used to describe the Greeks of Ancona, among whom the news of Agalli’s burial was universally known, having taken place in their church of San Matteo. In the testimony, the term *natio* is used to denote a social circle, rather than a legal body or an ethnic group. In the case of the edict, however, the term *nationi* more simply refers to those foreigners (which, interestingly, included migrants from nearby Romagna, also under papal rule) and has no communitarian implication whatsoever. On the other hand, another edict from 1588 clearly mentions the *nationes* of the Armenians, the Levantine, the Turks, the Greeks and the Chiots.[[16]](#footnote-16) Both the context of this edict – a series of regulations and taxes for commercial intermediaries – and the specific mention of two separate Chiot and Greek *nationes* suggest a purely legalistic use of the term, which refers to the institutions of each community, and their different legal standings. A similar, yet still different use of the word comes from Giuliano Saracini, Ancona’s chronicler from the seventeenth century, who speaks about how the different foreign *nationes* (Levantines, Turks, Armenians and Greeks)celebrated the entrance of pope Clement VIII in the city, in 1598:

Le nationi hebrea [sic], Italiana et Levantina, che in Ancona all’ora (come presentemente) dimoravano, e dimorano, *e che hanno in essa Città le lor Scole, ò Sinagoghe separate* [...] in grandissima quantità riverirano, et adorarono il Papa passando; Più a basso poi, verso la Chiesa, detta di Santo Agostino, erano Turchi, Armeni e Greci, havendo questi (come hò narrato) la loro Chiesa parocchiale [Sant’Anna], e gl’Armeni quella detta di Santa Anastasia, e li turchi per mercantare [...] Queste tre Nationi *distintamente* in ginocchioni à terra prostrate, et con la testa similmente scoperta, adorarono ancor loro il Papa passando.[[17]](#footnote-17)

The single groups are named and described separately, and within the geography of the scene, they are also located separately. However, with the predictable exception of the Muslim\Turkish *natio*, all these groups are mentioned in relation to their religious building, which constituted the most obvious manifestation of each community’s collective life in Ancona. The *natio* in this passage is directly connected with the institutions that managed and represented the foreigners in the city, mostly devotional confraternities or recognized societies – those same institutions that organized the parade and gathered the funds required to erect the provisional triumphal arches used to honour Clement VIII.

The word *natio* had, therefore, a multiplicity of meanings, referring from time to time to groups of outsiders without any kind of communitarian dimension; to an otherwise unspecified network of foreigners; to a clearly defined legal status which granted certain privileges according to a specific provenance; to an association of merchants which was instituted to protect commercial interests; and finally to the institutions that constituted the most formal and organized manifestation of the foreigners’ presence in a host city. The original meanings of the word were therefore as complex and multifaceted as the reality of the situation it was trying to convey, and they could often overlap with each other, while remaining distinct: for example, the Greeks who were members of the Chiot merchant *natio* would also be considered part of the *nation greca* when counting the people who gathered for mass in the Greek church of Sant’Anna. The institutional dimension of the term was clearly not the only meaning, and certainly not the primary one.

Nevertheless, these meanings have been often conflated together in the studies of migrant merchant communities, which tended to use the word *natio* in avery specific and more one-dimensional way, as an officially recognized institution – often overlooking the wider set of social networks that were established among the migrants themselves, and which constituted the core of their experience outside the institutions of the community. Modern historiography has used the term *natio* to describe different sorts of associations, from the group of foreign students in the major academic centres of the high middle ages, to the voluntary and private associations of businessmen (merchants or financiers) who resided outside their native city.[[18]](#footnote-18) In this latter meaning, the principal aim of the *nationes* was the protection of their business interests, through forms of collective representation and mediation between the foreign merchants, the institutions of the host city, and their country of origin, while often maintaining a marked political, ethnic and religious dimension, Based on this assumption, the merchant *natio* remained, from their origins in the thirteenth century to their decline in the second half of the sixteenth, an institution with a specific set of characteristics: it was a selective and closed circle in which only certain specific members of the merchant classes could be admitted.[[19]](#footnote-19) It also had a self-determined internal organization, and enjoyed a certain number of commercial and juridical privileges. The extent of those privileges usually depended on the relationship between the polity of origins of the members of the *natio* and the local political authorities.[[20]](#footnote-20)

The role of the *nationes* has sometimes been approached from a purely legalistic point of view, especially in those earlier works which focused on their statutes and used them as a major source of information about expatriate merchants and their lives abroad.[[21]](#footnote-21) In more recent years, a number of scholars has started to lookat the implications of the *nationes* beyond their immediate juridical\political sphere, using it as a stepping stone for an analysis of their social characteristics. Nevertheless, the focus was always kept on the organised *natio,* rather than on the migrant society that existed outside its structures.[[22]](#footnote-22)The importance attributed by the scholarship to the institutionalized group has sometimes reached a point in which its absence in the life of a merchant community was considered a noteworthy factor in itself: the Genoese in London in the fifteenth century have been described as an unusual “*natio sine natione”,* and similar words are used to describe the German presence in Milan and Como during the same period.[[23]](#footnote-23)

The fortune of the mercantile *natio* in the scholarship is only one example of the generalised priority given to the organised structures in the study foreign communities, and other approaches, while not dealing exactly with the *nationes*, take off from a similar point of view. For example, the institution of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, the warehouse through which Germans (and other merchants from central Europe) were forced to pass in their dealings with Venice, has constituted one of the main objects for the analysis of the German presence in Venice and in neighbouring Vicenza. The limits of this approach, which failed to look at the community outside the walls of thewarehouse*,* were already recognized by Philippe Braunstein in 1977, but the encumbering presence of the *Fondaco* still lingers over the study of the German community in Venice.[[24]](#footnote-24) Similarly, the Armenians in Italy have been approached through the network of their *Domus Arminorum* across the Peninsula, and the *forestieri* in Rome through their national confraternities.[[25]](#footnote-25) When the institutions of the community were loose, or ineffective, the community itself has been assumed to be an independent actor endowed with an agency of its own, therefore representing an effective surrogate of the absent organizations.[[26]](#footnote-26)

However, the evident limits of this approach centred on the institutions themselves, which failed to consider the people and the institutions that were not connected to the organized *nationes* or to similar institutions, have gradually moved the focus towards more inclusive positions. This is explained particularly well by the work of Casarino on the foreign presence in Genoa, which recognizes the social complexity of the migration, and the fact that its study could not be reduced simply to that of the *natio* and must also include an analysis of other personal and professional categories of migrants.[[27]](#footnote-27) The difference between the results produced by an analysis which only took into account the members of the official institutions, and one that also considered the external, “unofficial”, members, is exemplified by two parallel studies conducted on the Italian community in Antwerp during the sixteenth century. By focusing on the richest Genoese merchants in the city, who were also the only members allowed in the official *natio*, Becker was able to infer a very limited degree of integration and connections with the local population, mostly based on her study of mixed marriages and the concessions of citizenship privileges.[[28]](#footnote-28) However, as pointed out by Paola Subacchi in her study of the wider Italian community in Antwerp, those trends were not representative of the large majority of the migrant population, especially the numerous artisans and small-scale traders who would often marry into local families of similar status.[[29]](#footnote-29) A successful attempt to reconcile these two patterns, and to depict the strong relationship that existed between the institutionalized and informal communities at all levels of an expatriate society can be found in Dursteler’s work on the Venetian community in Constantinople, portrayed like a varied microcosm in which Greek sailors, Christian renegades and Italian merchants all interacted with each other and with the Venetian *bailo*, receiving assistance and referring to the Venetian diplomatic structures even without being formally subjects of the Venetian Republic.[[30]](#footnote-30)

## 0.3 – Institutions and the study of the Greek migration

A similar attitude, centred on the role of the institutions, has also affected the study of the Greek migrant communities, especially those of the main destination of the Post-Byzantine and early modern migrations into Italy, the city of Venice. The history of the Greek community in Venice has often been equated with that of its confraternity, the Scuola di San Nicolò, or with that of its church. The first example is, incidentally, one of the earliest works on the subject, a series of notes by Giovanni Veludo, which mostly touched on the institutional history of the Scuola and of the church of San Giorgio dei Greci.[[31]](#footnote-31) The centrality of church and Scuola is maintained in Fedalto’s later documentary history, which is concerned exclusively with the institutional relationship between the Catholic authorities in Venice and the Greek Scuola, seen as the only manifestation of the community in the city.[[32]](#footnote-32) This approach is also clear in Deno J. Geanakoplos’ seminal work on the Greek scholars in Venice, in which the assessment of the demographic and professional characteristics of the community is done exclusively through the archival documents of the confraternity, producing a rather distorted picture of the situation, in which the professional categories at the core of the Greek migration to Venice, such as mariners and specific categories of artisans, were clearly underrepresented in favour of those with a stronger representation in the structures of the Scuola.[[33]](#footnote-33) A later discussion by Thiriet of the Greeks and the Albanians in Venice shows an incidental interest in the informal characteristics of the migrant communities, their religious identity, professional occupations and settlement patterns. However, his discussion rapidly steers towards the more familiar territory of an institutional history of the Scuola and the church.[[34]](#footnote-34) Very little space is given, in any of these accounts, to the complex social system of the Greeks outside their institutions, to their networks of socialization, and to the individual interactions with the rest of the varied population of Venice. As eloquently stated by James Ball, twenty years after Geanakoplos, “the official history of the Greek community is the history of the Greek Scuola; its unofficial history is that of the members of the Scuola”.[[35]](#footnote-35)

Only very recently the limits of this kind of approach have been overcome in the works produced by Ermanno Orlando and Ersie Burke, who respectively looked at the complex situation of integration strategies in the multi-ethnic environment of Venice, and at the social and demographic characteristics of the Greek community.[[36]](#footnote-36) However, an attitude centred on the logical primacy of the migrants’ institutions and organizations for the study of the whole migrant community can still be found in the works of Mathieu Grenet, both on the Greeks in Venice and on those in Marseilles during the eighteenth century.[[37]](#footnote-37) A similar method was also employed in a recent article by Harris and Porfyriou,[[38]](#footnote-38) which has proposed a descriptive model for the settlement of the Greek communities in Italy based on the comparative observation of several cases ranging from Venice to Naples, Livorno, and Ancona. According to this model, the initial step of community life would be the institution of a devotional confraternity, which was followed by the acquisition of a church, and peaked with the formation of a more or less homogeneously Greek residential district. The same model that has been typical of the historiography about the Venetian case – which describes the history of the community as the history of its institutions – is essentially extended to the other cases of early modern Greek migration.

There are two main flaws in this vision. First, the model gives too much prescriptive value to the very peculiar case of the Greek settlement in Venice, whose social and economic developments were shaped by the colonial features of the *Stato da Mar*, by the political importance the Greeks had gained with their service in the armies and navies of the Republic, and in general by the prestige of the city itself, which eventually led to the establishment of a local Greek metropolitan in 1578.[[39]](#footnote-39) However, the settlement pattern of the Greeks in Venice was still the product of a mostly spontaneous movement of people from all the corners of the *Stato da Mar* to a capital which could grant a wide range of opportunities – a peculiar nature which is in contrast with other cases mentioned in the paper, such as Barletta and Naples, where the bulk of the Greek presence resulted from the interactions between the four different demographic layers of communities with ties to the Byzantine and Orthodox tradition – the native Greek-speaking villages of the *Grecìa*, the post-Byzantine aristocratic Diaspora, the Greco-Albanian migrants of the late fifteenth century, and finally the state-led settlement of the exiles from Coroni, the so-called *Coronei,* in southern Italy during the 1530s.[[40]](#footnote-40) The contrast is even more apparent when confronting it with the case of Ancona, where the migration was temporary and of an almost exclusively professional nature.

Another fault in the model is the logical primacy given to the establishment of organized structures within the process of community formation. Despite the importance of institutions that regulated certain aspects of collective life, provided welfare services and a concrete manifestation of a group’s identity, their foundation was simply one step among many, and not necessarily the first one, in the construction of a community. In the case of Ancona, for example, the Greek Confraternity of Sant’Anna, which constituted their main collective institution, was not founded until 1531,[[41]](#footnote-41) seven years after they were granted a church by Clement VII in 1524.[[42]](#footnote-42) Not until the 1560s was it able to elaborate an effective system of community welfare. The Confraternity itself emerged from the *universitas grecorum*, an otherwise unspecified group of people, which apparently did not possess any recognizable organization or functions, and which was the beneficiary of both donations.[[43]](#footnote-43) Those concessions were granted to the Greeks after the numbers of the *universitas* reached the critical mass required to attract the attention of the local authorities, within some 10-15 years from the initial settlement, and were strongly influenced by the contemporary developments in the Roman religious policies. In fact, the Confraternity can be seen as one of the products of the increase in numbers and complexity of the *universitas*, the informal community proper, and not as the unavoidable cornerstone of its growth.

Similar conclusions can be inferred when looking at the case of Naples, where the Coronean exileswere recognized as a *natio* just a yearafter their settlement, and after many of them had served in the armies of Charles V in Tunis,[[44]](#footnote-44) even though there had already been a Greek chapel in the city since at least 1518.[[45]](#footnote-45) In the particular case of the *Coronei* who had been moved by the Spanish fleet into southern Italy, it might be possible to say that many of the community structures were, in fact, imported. In the years that followed their settlement in Apulia and in Naples, they could still rely on many of the social connections that they had built in their native towns and villages. Those connections were not just simple interpersonal relations, but could be as complex and sophisticated as the office of the metropolitan of Coroni, Benedetto, who was able to offer proper pastoral care to the many communities of Greek rite in the area throughout all the 1530s.[[46]](#footnote-46) Rather than being the initial and primary step in the formation and maintenance of the community, the Coronean *natio* was a reflection of the pre-existing social connections that characterized the community itself, before its institutionalization, in the same way the Confraternity of Sant’Anna in Ancona was the product of its particular brand of mercantile migration.

The logical and chronological foundations for the development of these communities lie not in their institutions, but in the network of personal relations that spawned them, and preceded them both in time and, I believe, in overall significance. This is not to say, however, that institutions like the Confraternity of Sant’Anna did not have a fundamental part to play in the everyday life of the Greeks in Ancona, on the contrary: the following chapters of this thesis will show that participation in the Confraternity was the standard practice among a number of long-time settlers, fundamental in their role as cultural mediators. But even though the Confraternity had an important role in shaping the community, its impact in the daily lives of the Anconitan Greeks was often limited to its functions of wealth redistribution, spiritual assistance and collective socialization during religious holidays. The main driving forces behind the construction of a Greek community in Ancona were the connections between the single individuals – and those relations will be the focal point of my research.

## 0.4 – Sources and methods

Secondary literature focusing specifically on the Greek community in Ancona is sparse at best. One of the few relevant articles has been published by Efthalia Rentetzi, and is an architectural and artistic analysis of the church of Sant’Anna.[[47]](#footnote-47) Moreover, its account of the history of the Greek community is based on a limited number of sources, mostly Giuseppe Angelucci’s short account of the history of the church and Confraternity of Sant’Anna, published in 1843. A handful of other researchers have devoted their attention to some particular aspects of the Greek presence in Ancona, often within the wider context of the Diaspora, or the coexistence of Orthodox and Catholic rites after Trent – a field which flourished in the decade following the Second Vatican Council, and the new drive for inter-confessional dialogue. The most important of them is certainly Vittorio Peri, who has produced numerous works of scholarship on the history of the eastern Catholic rite, Uniatism, and the survival of Orthodox minorities under the jurisdiction of Catholic bishops. Many of his works contain long documentary appendixes, offering a huge selection of proceedings, letters, papal briefs, memoranda and doctrinal recommendations.[[48]](#footnote-48) Other evidence of the post-Tridentine attitude to the Orthodox minorities in Italy is presented in the works of John Krajcar.[[49]](#footnote-49) Although Ancona and its Greek community are only mentioned three times, unfortunately in transcriptions of corrupted and unintelligible documents, they provide clear evidence that the issue was brought directly to the popes’ attention. Two articles by Jan Wos, published in the local journal *Studia Picena*, complete the trinity of published primary sources on the last decades of the sixteenth century and the post-Tridentine attitude towards the Greeks in Ancona. The first is a collection of documents, mostly letters, documenting an exchange of views between Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro, founder of the Greek Congregation in Rome, and the bishop of Ancona, Carlo Conti (1556-1615).[[50]](#footnote-50) These letters are of the outmost importance in understanding how the Catholic institutions reacted to the presence of Greek religious practices, as soon as a new generation of bishops educated during the council of Trent came to occupy positions of power. Two documents, attached to the letters sent from Ancona, stand out among the other texts: the working statute of the Confraternity of Sant’Anna, and its reformation proposals redacted by the episcopal vicar, which put its members and its finances under the direct control of the bishop’s office. In his other article, Wos published the documents pertaining the Anconitan students of the Greek College in Rome, the most noticeable being a certain Marco Savari, whose actions were to become central to the crackdown on the city’s Orthodox community in the last decade of the sixteenth century.[[51]](#footnote-51)

Outside Italy, the only historian who studied the Greeks of Ancona was Zacharias Tsirpanlis, who wrote about how they influenced the election of the metropolitan of Italy in the 1540s.[[52]](#footnote-52) Some local Anconitan historians such as Mario Natalucci and Vincenzo Pirani have indeed mentioned Sant’Anna, its hospital or the Greek community in their works, but almost always in passing, and mostly relying on information present in primary narrative sources, like Saracini’s *Notitie Historiche*. In particular, Natalucci wrote a long and detailed history of the city, which touched every aspect of its economic, political and cultural life from its foundation to the nineteenth century.[[53]](#footnote-53) However, his work predates the findings of Wos and Peri, and thus rarely mentions the Greeks of Ancona or their struggles with the bishops. Nevertheless, it is still the most important and comprehensive work available on the history of Ancona. Pirani, on the other hand, extensively wrote about the public health services of the city before the industrial age, and produced several interesting works on its churches. His use of primary sources, however, neglected the notarial and administrative sections of the archive, and he was only able to offer a scant chronology for Sant’Anna.[[54]](#footnote-54)

A useful and detailed study of the Greek population of Ancona in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was recently published by Roberto Domenichini.[[55]](#footnote-55) Domenichini, a curator of the city’s archive, wrote a detailed account of the demographic trends, professional activities and original provenance of the few Orthodox individuals that emigrated in the city during the period of the *porto franco*, making extensive use of unpublished archival sources. Despite its brevity, it proved highly useful, as the demographic analysis contained in his article was used to compare the structures of Greek migration waves of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, delineating similarities and differences in motives and activities. One of his colleagues in the archive, Carlo Giacomini, has also produced a series of essays, articles and transcriptions of primary material which have been able to provide a large amount of detailed information and local context for the information extracted from the archival sources.[[56]](#footnote-56) Another useful product of local historiography was *Italia Felix*, a collection of studies edited by Sergio Anselmi, a seminal work which raised the bar for the study of trans-Adriatic communities in the region, tackling the issue with an extensive use of previously neglected archival sources[[57]](#footnote-57).

For obvious reasons, the bulk of the research was carried out in the Archivio di Stato di Ancona, and its *antico regime* section has been thoroughly examined. In particular, the notarial section of the archive, very well preserved and easily accessible, has offered the majority of the source material, and its vastness somehow compensates for the almost complete disappearance of judicial and administrative records before the late seventeenth century. The value of this section of the archive has its root in the role of the notary as the main source of official and public legitimacy for transactions outside the immediate jurisdiction of the civic authorities. For these reasons, it constitutes an extraordinary instrument in detailing the everyday life of the Anconitan commoners, due to its inherent flexibility and variety. Every human interaction that could count as an economic transaction – from marriages to apprenticeships to the purchases of caviar and rice – was dutifully recorded in the registers of the dozens of notaries active at any given moment inside the city or in its district, with every record being dated and including a location, the names and occasionally the profession of at least two witnesses, more if the act was a last will or if it involved the services of a translating staff. In the first few lines following this common header, the notaries also wrote down the name (often but not necessarily followed by a patronymic or a family name), provenance and profession of each of the parties involved.

Some acts, especially those written by the poorer notaries at the beginning of the sixteenth century, can provide useful information about the geographical distribution of their clients inside the city since they offered “door to door” registration services. Although those same scribes sometimes complained that being forced to run an itinerant business was unbefitting their rank and education, it is indeed a blessing for modern researchers, who can follow their travels from one client to another, and use it to complement the scant administrative sources left. [[58]](#footnote-58) Others were luckier, and could provide their services in crowded public buildings or in their own homes and offices, and might even have a mostly noble clientele[[59]](#footnote-59).

Whatever the status of the single notary, the vast majority of the raw demographic data recorded in this study was derived from the personal details reported in the first lines of each act, and was put to use to draw a preliminary picture of the Greek presence in Ancona. Since time constraints have made it effectively impossible to build a flawless sample from the immense wealth of information contained in the whole archive (which amounts to little less than a thousand folders of five hundred pages each for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries alone), I have decided to limit my research to one folder for each calendar year of the sixteenth century, when possible. After the selection of an initial sample of three names, I have decided which notary to analyse according to several criteria, including the material quality of the surviving folders, any known association with the Greek community, the importance of the notary’s name in the registries of the Anconitan administration and the number of times his name is referenced in the acts of his colleagues. This approach has proven surprisingly productive and fruitful, and has allowed me to collect relatively detailed information about more than 400 individuals, in a time range of eighty years. A list of their names and occupation can be found in Appendix 2.

The data gathered through the analysis of notarial sources are, of course, far from being comprehensive, and many details that may have benefitted the study of social trends were often thought to be irrelevant when drafting the receipt for a transaction. For example, it was particularly difficult to establish whether one of the parties involved had permanently settled in the city, paid periodical visits or was simply passing through. Recurring expressions such as *habitator Ancone*, *ad presentem in Ancona comorans*, and *moram trahens in civitate Ancone* can provide some degree of certainty, but their appearance is far from systematic, and the residential status can often be inferred through a comparative reading of other markers appearing in other transactions made by and to certain persons, including their ability to speak the Italian language, their links with local people and their professional context. However, doubts remain, especially for the dozens of individuals that appear in only one document, often in the position of witnesses or translators.

Another way in which the notarial collection of Ancona has helped this research was through the sheer number of acts related to commercial exchanges involving people *ex partibus orientis*. If the single act can rarely offer any solid insight on more widespread social trends, the complex social and economic networks drawn by the appearance of names in the different roles of witnesses, moneylenders, translators and *procuratori* become more apparent when the documents are studied and considered collectively. Also, not unlike pottery shards for archaeologists, the literally hundreds of records involving simple economic transactions for certain kinds of goods with people from other areas of Italy or the Mediterranean were extremely helpful in determining the range of Greek-Anconitan trade in sixteenth century Italy, the nature of the people involved, and their relationships with each other. This kind of information has been supplemented by the series of folders from the *dogana, fondaco e fiere* collection, in which an official called *fundichero* registered details about the arrival of merchants and their goods in the city’s merchant lodges. [[60]](#footnote-60) Like many other collections from the sixteenth century, it has been severely damaged, and recent archival reorganizations have only been able to recover three volumes from 1551, 1554 and 1562.

Needless to say, notarial acts and the information they contain are not always reliable. Indeed, there may sometimes be odd occurrences, such as the surprising resurrection of Manuele Coressi, who died and was buried before 1530, but apparently decided to rise from the dead in 1536 to collect a debt of 100 florins owed by his son in law, Antonio Ciccholini de Fano. It is extremely likely that the transaction was actually done by his son Galeazzo, but this is not specified in the document. [[61]](#footnote-61)

In the case of Ancona, notarial registers are also extremely useful as a surrogate of those judicial records, both civil and criminal, that were lost with the fire of 1532 and with the allied bombings of 1943.[[62]](#footnote-62) A certain number of cases, especially arbitrations between foreigners involved in long distance trade, were not judged by one of the city courts, but were instead managed by a tribunal of arbiters nominated by the parties involved. The arbiters sat as judges in two special wooden chairs appositely prepared in their *funnico*, and the case only required the signature of a notary to be considered fully official.[[63]](#footnote-63) Some notaries were also involved in local government, both indirectly by virtue of their ancient and influential lineage (like Marino Benincasa, or Lorenzo Trionfi), or by being assigned an administrative responsibilities, like Girolamo Giustiniani. Giustiniani himself had occupied the office of Customs Inspector (*Officiale della Dogana)* for several years, and his registers in particular contain several unique testimonies and judicial enquiries (*dicta testium*)and arbitrations that offer a lively view of day-to-day life around the docks of Ancona, despite the filter provided by the notaries’ mediation. [[64]](#footnote-64) However, the motives behind those investigations are often very vague, and they are almost always devoid of context. Unfortunately, they cannot effectively replace the lost judicial casebooks.

Of the proper judicial archive, only three small folders from the *damno dato* have survived. Since the cases of *damno dato* specifically involved the damage suffered by agricultural properties in the countryside outside the immediate city limits of Ancona, it only had a limited use in the context of this research, which focuses on a community with a distinct urban and mercantile character.[[65]](#footnote-65) Other archival items from the administrative and judicial sections include the archive’s collection of miscellaneous parchments, the surviving petitions to the communal authorities, and the edicts issued by the papal governors in the last decades of the sixteenth century.[[66]](#footnote-66) The communal regulations and trade agreements collected in the *libro rosso* and *libro croco* were also examined, together with the lists of people employed by the city’s administration and the three surviving pontifical cadastres from 1530 and 1531.[[67]](#footnote-67) A common characteristic of all these sources is their limited chronological range. Most of the collections from the *antico regime* section of the Archivio di Stato only cover a very short timeframe, usually of a couple of decades or less, and are unable to provide a coherent perspective for a study focusing on a whole century. For this reason, and for the many others listed above, the registers taken from the notarial collection have been chosen as the preferred archival sources for this research.

The archive of the diocese of Ancona was also visited, and although most of the surviving material is from a later period, a series of volumes of *visitationes apostolicae* from the end of the sixteenth century and some of the notarial records kept by the bishops have proven useful in assessing the relationship between the Greek church of Sant’Anna and the bishops of the city at the end of the sixteenth century.[[68]](#footnote-68) The *visitationes* in particular, were the official instrument of episcopal control over the single churches of a diocese, listing what was right and what was wrong with the physical ritual apparatus and which dispositions were enforced by the bishops – sometimes with tremendous fastidiousness – to make sure that it complied with the new standards required by the Council of Trent. The diocesan archive also hosts one of the few remaining collections of judicial files from the same period (1541 to 1578), which have provided a couple of very interesting cases involving the Greeks of Ancona and their networks of mutual support.[[69]](#footnote-69)

Other state archives, such as those in Pesaro, Fano and Macerata have been visited and were able to supply some complementary information, especially regarding noteworthy individuals like the Albanian Governor of Fano Costantino Arianiti Comneno, the members of the Diplovatazio family in Pesaro, and the few Greeks who lived in Recanati. The large and well-kept manuscript collection in the Biblioteca Oliveriana of Pesaro, which also contains numerous administrative records, has proven a useful resource in assessing the integration of originally Greek families, like the Paleologi and the Diplovatazi, in the context of Renaissance courtly life.[[70]](#footnote-70) Due to wartime destructions, the Biblioteca Benincasa of Ancona could not provide any primary manuscript source, even though its inventories still record the presence of a Greek *menologion* from the fifteenth century. It does, however, host the only existing copy of the one printed work dedicated precisely to the confraternity of Sant’Anna dei Greci, a pamphlet written in 1843 by Giuseppe Angelucci, in which the statutes and the history of the institution are carefully explained, with several references to the long lost archive of Sant’Anna and to many otherwise unavailable sources. Both the state and the diocesan archives of Fano have been fortunately spared a similar fate, and contain a huge amount of material regarding the earlier waves of immigrants from the Balkans, which invested the Adriatic coast of Italy between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This material includes, but is not limited to, the personnel records of the Malatesta household, sacristy payrolls, the omnipresent notarial section and the judicial archive.[[71]](#footnote-71)

Local chronicles written between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century were also employed as primary sources. The most important one is certainly the *Notitie Historiche della Città di Ancona*, written by Giuliano Saracini *nobile anconitano e canonico decano della Cattedrale*. Not only it offers a detailed overview of the political history of the city, but it also backs its information up with the transcription of several fundamental documents that are now lost in their original form, including the brief that granted the church of Sant’Anna to the Greeks in 1524.[[72]](#footnote-72) The *Notitie* also preserved the dedicatory inscription of the Hospital of S. Anna dei Greci, now lost, as well as the epitaph of Captain Alessio Lascari (d. 1562), and a description of his coat of arms. Generally speaking, it is one of the most valuable sources of information for the history of Ancona during the Renaissance. Another important source for the city is the collection of dialogues titled *Diporti Notturni,* a series of miscellaneous observations written in the late sixteenth century by Captain Francesco Ferretti, member of an ancient family of counts and knight of the military Order of St. Stephen.[[73]](#footnote-73) It contains the accurate geographic and human descriptions of most of the inhabited islands of the Aegean and eastern Adriatic, and although some of them are taken straight from classical readings, others certainly stemmed from Ferretti’s own experience as a sea captain. It also offers the lively portrait of the docks of Ancona during the peak of its international importance reported at the beginning of this chapter.

Although it is possible to say that every town had its own local historian in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, later local chronicles, usually written in the early nineteenth century are much more common and informative. A model work in this sense is that of Monaldo Leopardi, father of the famous poet Giacomo Leopardi, and himself a prolific chronicler of his hometown Recanati, which he reported in the *Annali di Recanati, Loreto e Portorecanati*, a detailed three volume history of the area laying immediately south of Ancona.[[74]](#footnote-74) Other examples include the histories of Ancona published by Peruzzi and Leoni. Leopardi’s, Peruzzi’s and Leoni’s histories are a product of their times, and their overviews are characterised by an exclusive focus on political history, which tends to ignore the presence of foreigners and immigrants, and often results in a dry succession of dates and names.[[75]](#footnote-75) Despite these shortcomings, their works provide indirect access to lost primary sources, and can still prove useful to modern historians.

## 0.5 – The Greeks in the notarial sources

It might now be necessary to take a step back, and to define more clearly the *greci* who will be the subject of this thesis. How did they perceive themselves as a group? And how was their collective identity received and constructed by the notarial sources?

As for the first question, the most basic layer of individual identity for the migrants, above elementary ties of family and blood, was shared geographical provenance or *patris*, and chapter 3 will show how pre-existing networks based around the native homeland of each migrant helped to shape and maintain the Greek migration to Ancona.[[76]](#footnote-76) It is nevertheless clear that a sense of wider identity, based on a combination of language, culture and religion existed among the migrants, whatever their social standings. In the late fifteenth century, the jurist Tommaso Diplovatazio, dedicating his treatise on the Venetian Republic to Doge Andrea Gritti, linked himself to the many *graecos illustres viros* of the past, labelling himself *graecus, ex Constantinopoli* […] *Crocirae natus*. Similarly, the Greek craftsman Alexios Effomatos, who resided in England, complained that “noone of his cuntree and tonge” lived in London, and that he was “Grieke and of an estraunge nation”.[[77]](#footnote-77) The two clearly gave a different dimension to their perceived Greekness: Diplovatazio, being a well-educated jurist, was able to frame his own identity in terms that included both the legacy of Classical Hellenism and the Christian Byzantine tradition; Effomatos on the other hand simply referred to language and geographical provenance as the main markers of his ethnic identity. It is nonetheless clear that they both assumed they shared something with people outside the immediate boundaries of their city, village, or island.[[78]](#footnote-78) This commonality of language, culture and religion constituted one the bases upon which the Greek community of Ancona was built. Outside the sphere of professional contacts, the inner social circles of the migrants tended to include a significant portion of other Greeks, who often came from different areas of the Adriatic-Ionian-Aegean region, and even as far as Trebizond. Although these bonds, based on a commonality of ethnic belonging, could not possibly be as strong as ties of blood and *patris,* they were still sufficiently solid as to provide the foundations for the establishment of a network of relations, which eventually evolved into a full-fledged community, endowed with its own institutions.

The existence of a Greek ethnic identity did not imply, however, a disappearance of the wide inclusiveness that characterized the Byzantine oikoumene before the fall, and well into the sixteenth century the legacy of Byzantium continued to constitute an important part of how many migrant families perceived themselves, even though them or their ancestors did not speak Greek. The Musachi, for example, were a family of Albanian exiles in southern Italy who, in their family chronicle, consistently refer to the title of Despot possessed by their *antecessori*, who allegedly came from Constantinople, and insisted on using a double-headed eagle on their crest.[[79]](#footnote-79) Closer to Ancona, in the town of Fano, the Albanian exile Costantino Arianiti Comneno built a rather successful political career on a mix of diplomatic skills and tenacious claims to the imperial past, signing every document with the self-attributed titles of *duca d’Acaja e principe di Macedonia*.[[80]](#footnote-80)Echoes of Byzantium were still felt by the Greeks of Ancona as well, as shown by the patronage offered by the mercenary captain Alessio Lascari Paleologo to the church of Sant’Anna in 1562, when he asked to be buried in a red marble sarcophagus, sporting an imperial eagle and an epitaph clearly stating that he was *ex Paleologo sanguine ortus*.[[81]](#footnote-81) This supra-ethnic nature characteristic of the Byzantine legacy was strongly felt in the religious sphere as well, and the communities of Greeks and Albanians in southern Italy would often share the same priestly class, which in the 1530s responded to the exiled Greek bishop of Coroni, who resided in the Apulian town of Barletta.[[82]](#footnote-82)

The self-perception of the Greeks at the turn of the sixteenth century was therefore articulated across at least three layers: the immediately local, based on a common geographical provenance or *patris*; the ethnic, which had its foundations in the shared Greek language and in a series of common cultural conventions; and finally the supra-ethnic, which was bound to the wider cultural and religious sphere of Orthodox Christianity and to the legacy of Byzantium.

On any of these three levels, multiple identities could coexist, without being mutually exclusive. It could happen even across the apparently insurmountable chasm that existed between Christianity and Islam. The cosmopolitan environment of Ottoman Constantinople was a particularly fertile ground for this kind of self-perception, and it was not rare to find Christian renegades who kept a foot in two camps, as did the Ottoman\Venetian eunuch Gazanfer Ağa, who despite being a faithful servant of the Porte since his childhood was still described by Venetian reports as a faithful “partisan of the [Venetian] *patria*”.[[83]](#footnote-83) Another renegade, the Ottoman admiral, corsair, and general Cığalazade Yusuf Sinan Pasha, did not have a comparable political bias towards the Christian states. He nevertheless maintained close contacts with his native town of Messina, and went as far as signing a truce with the Spanish Viceroy in order to arrange a visit to his mother, donna Lucrezia.[[84]](#footnote-84) The illegitimate son of Doge Andrea Gritti, Alvise Gritti, lived in Pera like an Ottoman prince, attending the Sultan’s court and offering his services as a mediator between Süleyman the Magnificent and the Venetian Republic.[[85]](#footnote-85)

The alleged boundaries between ethnic identities were crossed with the most ease within the same encompassing supra-ethnic sphere. The stradiot captain Tommaso Bua, who served in England in 1545-46, was labelled *Albanoys* in the English documents of the time, and the Greek traveller Nicander Nucius described him as the “general of the Argives from Peloponnesus”, likely recognizing in him a member of the substantial Albanian-speaking population of the Morea.[[86]](#footnote-86) He was also probably related to the famed stradiot captain Mercurio Bua, who was originally from the town of Nauplion, and whose life was immortalized by the Zantiot poet Zane Coroneo, who eloquently described him in the same line as “rampart of the Albanians” and “chosen among the Hellenes”, linking his lineage to that of the ancient Epirote king Pyrrhus, and comparing his feats to those of the Roman Caesars.[[87]](#footnote-87) Coroneo’s poetry was clearly intended to flatter Bua’s pride, and it is significant that, beyond the expected references to classical antiquity, both those ethnic adjectives were used almost interchangeably, and in combination with references to the figures of the Roman world. Both he and Tommaso Bua might have been native bilinguals, and comfortable being called either Greek or Albanian.

Multiple identities could of course exist across confessional boundaries as well, especially between cultures that coexisted within the same urban and political spaces. In particular, the nobility of the Balkan cities under Venetian rule was able to participate in the social life of both worlds, as shown by the examples of the Bruti and Bruni families in the sixteenth century. The head of the family, Antonio Bruti, was an agent of the Venetian government in the areas around his hometown of Ulcinj (Dulcigno), where he kept an important network of contacts on both sides of the border between Venetian and Ottoman territories. One of his grandsons, Bartolomeo Bruni, acted as an agent for the King of Spain, before resolving to use his connections among the many Albanians who lived at the Ottoman court (including the grand vizier, a different Sinan Pasha) to obtain an office under the Voivode of Wallachia. Finally, Bartolomeo’s cousin Gasparo Bruni was a knight of Saint John, enlisted in the registers of the *lingua d’Italia*. While they never reneged on their Albanian origins, which they instead exploited to their full potential, they were also perfectly integrated in the world of the Italian and Ottoman noble circles of the sixteenth century, of which they shared languages and customs.[[88]](#footnote-88) In Ancona, Giovanni Maria Strategopulo was a knight brother of the Catholic order of St. John, while at the same time living completely immersed in the Greek community of Ancona and taking part into the religious life of its Confraternity.[[89]](#footnote-89) On a slightly lower social level, Greek and Italian merchants from the island of Chios very often shared the same social circles, and sometimes even the same accommodation: the family of Greek merchant Costantino Ralli lived in the same house as the Chiot\Anconitan notary Girolamo Giustiniani,[[90]](#footnote-90) and Giorgio Argiroffo shared a house in Gallipoli with the Genoese merchant Carlotto Grimaldi.[[91]](#footnote-91) The social integration of many Chiot families reached a point in which some of them were fully recognized as part of the Genoese nobility after 1528, while still maintaining an identity as Greek subjects of the Republic.[[92]](#footnote-92) There is of course a gap between sharing the same social circles, sharing cultural norms, and defining oneself as belonging to a specific group. But the collective dimension of individual identity cannot be confined to the sphere of self-perception, and the implicit or explicit acceptance given by others played an equally important role in defining the position of individuals within a social group, and in assessing where they belonged.

In the rich tapestry of the early modern Mediterranean, where cross-cultural contact was the norm, multiple identities were not an unusual occurrence.[[93]](#footnote-93) However, barely any trace of this complexity can transpire from the dry and legalistic terminology employed by the notarial sources, in which the word *grecus* is never used in conjunction with another ethnic adjective. This can be partially ascribed to the specific nature of the notarial act, and different documents show different approaches to the subject. In May 1564 Fiorentino Costa sent a petition to the commune of Ancona, in which he requested a small pension and asked them to confirm his accommodation in one of the town’s public warehouses. At the beginning of the document, he described himself as *greco albanense*.[[94]](#footnote-94) Costa was illiterate (he signed with three X’s), but he might as well have known that the commune had signed an agreement with the Ottoman authorities in 1514, granting commercial privileges to the Ottoman Greeks who traded in Ancona. The pact was complemented in the 1540s by a series of measures issued by Paul III, which granted exemption from taxation and from certain forms of judicial persecutions to the *Hebrei, Turci, Greci aut alii orientales*.[[95]](#footnote-95) His self-styling as *greco albanense* might have been a conscious attempt to benefit from that particular set of laws by placing himself in the same juridical group as the Greeks, possibly relying on the shared set of religious beliefs. On the other hand, the episcopal memoranda written by the bishops of southern Italy tended to use the adjective *grecus* first and foremost to refer to the religious rite practiced by their eastern subject, rather than as an ethnic denomination. This is why in 1571 the bishop of the Calabrian diocese of Bisignano could disparagingly refer to his Albanian parishioners as *grecastri, sive albanenses*.[[96]](#footnote-96) When drafting their documents, notaries had other priorities: they wanted to make the two parties of their transactions as recognizable as possible in a world without identity documents. This task required a simple and clear definition of their names, patronymics, and when further confusion could be expected to arise, their nicknames.[[97]](#footnote-97) In case of foreigners, this could be followed by a specification of their geographic provenance, or ethnic background: people could be *Engloso* (English), *de Gallia* (French), *de Antwerpie* as well as *sclavo, albanensis* or *grecus*. Notaries could not afford to reflect the complex identity nuances in the early modern Balkans, and they were not expected to.

The criteria they used to define who was *grecus* and who was not were rather straightforward, and took into account language, culture and family, probably relying on the self-definition provided by the individuals involved. Language was a common feature: there are several instances in which notaries employed bilingual Greeks as interpreters in transactions involving people who did not speak Italian, and in many cases people who came from different areas of the Greek-speaking world performed this service together.[[98]](#footnote-98) Anconitan notaries show a distinct awareness of the many different ethnic groups that populated the Adriatic coastline, and could easily tell them and their languages apart. In 1542 notary Girolamo Giustiniani summoned the Rhodian goldsmith Nicola Buratto to ascertain that the handwriting of a certain letter, written in Greek, belonged to the Nicola Coressi from Chios.[[99]](#footnote-99) Even though he could not read the letter himself, he recognized it was written in the Greek alphabet, and asked for a translation by someone whom he knew could read it. Other foreigners from the Balkan Peninsula who could speak Greek as a second language were also identified as belonging to other ethnic groups, as in the case of the two brothers Demetrio and Michaglia Bogogna, who were identified as Vlachs (*velaccus, de Velacchia*) even though they communicated with the notary through the mediation of Greek speakers.[[100]](#footnote-100) On the other hand, language was not a sufficient requisite, as there are some known cases of second and third generations who are described as *grecus*, even if they had probably grown up speaking the Anconitan vernacular as their first language, and rarely set foot outside the walls of Ancona. For example, Paolo Politi, great-grandson of Bartolomeo Politi (who migrated to Ancona in 1523), was labelled *grecus* in 1575, as was Antonio Buratto, son of the above mentioned Nicola Buratto, in 1577.[[101]](#footnote-101) Religion was also a relatively secondary factor: with the obvious exclusion of Greek-speaking Muslim merchants like Memiscia Ali de Mitilino,[[102]](#footnote-102) who were by law and custom confined within separate categories, religion seems to have played a minor role in establishing the ethnic identity in the eyes of the notary, and chapter 5 will show that there was a number of Greeks who either openly sided with the Latin authorities, abandoned the Greek church, or performed religious ceremonies according to the Latin rite. Similarly, the term was used regardless of the juridical position of the individuals involved, and of their belonging to an organized *natio*: Anconitan laws recognized the existence of a *natio* for the *Sciotti*, i.e. people from Chios, which was separated from the *nation greca*, and included both Greek and Italian merchants who hailed from the island, who enjoyed a series of commercial privileges.[[103]](#footnote-103) Nevertheless, individuals from Chios are also referred to as *grecus*.[[104]](#footnote-104)

In short, it seems that trying to find a univocal legal and juridical rationale behind the definition of *grecus,* is a lost battle. The term clearly had a preponderant ethnic connotation, which is hard to define as it is easy to grasp: while it may sound tautological, the Anconitan notaries considered to be Greek all those individual who presented themselves or were seen as such. This thesis will follow their example, and examine the lives of the people who were described as *grecus* in the documents, or who can be assumed to have been part of such a category due to their names, language, affiliations and religious traditions.

## 0.6 – Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into three parts. The first part, formed by chapters one and two, will deal with the wider context of the Greek migration to Ancona. The first chapter will set the scene, by offering a brief survey of the history of Ancona and its connections with the eastern Mediterranean, emphasizing its role as an active and recognized member of the Adriatic-Ionian-Aegean region spanning from Venice to Constantinople. Chapter two will then describe and analyse the causes and the unfolding of the migratory processes that brought the Greeks to Ancona, in order to place it in the wider and fluid context of the sixteenth-century Mediterranean, and to isolate the factors that attracted people who lived in different areas under different masters – the Venetians, the Ottomans and the Genoese – to Ancona.

The second part of the thesis will detail the connections between the members of the community: chapter three analyses the processes of settlement and integration of the migrants, from their arrival in the docks, to their last wills – passing through the most significant stages of collective and private life, such as marriage, inheritance and professional insertion. The focus of the chapter is on the connections and relationships that created a cohesive community outside the boundaries of its official institutional structures. These structures will then be the object of chapter four, which will concentrate on the Confraternity of Sant’Anna, its demographic composition and its social functions, showing how the religious institution could become the centre of the collective life of the Anconitan Greeks, and trying to define the nature and the precise role of Sant’Anna as a “national” confraternity.

The third and final part will look at the relationship between the post-Tridentine papacy and the Greeks of Ancona, trying to reconstruct how and why they evolved through the religious turbulence of the late sixteenth century. Chapter five will consider the evolution of papal policies towards the communities of Greek rite who lived within the boundaries of Catholic states, from the Albanians in southern Italy to the Cretan and Corfiot subjects of the Venetian Republic, and then return to Ancona in order to see how these policies were concretely applied to the Adriatic city, and what kind of responses they elicited from the local Greek community.

While probably not as inspired as Ferretti’s depiction of the city’s diverse population, this work will try to provide a detailed and effective picture of the lives and relationships of those hundreds of Greek migrants who crossed the Adriatic sea and settled in Ancona, whether it was in search of profit, safety, or just adventure. In doing so, I hope it will shed some light on one of the most neglected areas in the field of the early modern migration studies – offering a different point of view for their formation and development, and for the evolution of their relationship with the ecclesiastical authorities during a very specific and consequential turn of World History.

# CHAPTER 1 – ANCONA IN THE ADRIATIC AND AEGEAN CONTEXTS

## 1.1 – The commercial role of Ancona between the 15th and 16th centuries

One of the most famous pictorial depictions of the port of Ancona can be found in the walls of the Libreria Piccolomini, in the cathedral of Siena. The building was conceived to host the wide manuscript collection of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, better known as the humanist pope Pius II, and was intended by his family as a celebration of his life and achievements. In this respect, the painter Pinturicchio could not avoid depicting the city, which the pope had chosen as the gathering point for his ambitious crusade against the Ottomans for Constantinople, and in which he eventually drew his last breath while waiting for the arrival of the Venetian fleet, on July 1464. At the centre of the scene, under the feet of the pope stands a bearded figure garbed in eastern clothes, usually identified as the despot of Morea, Thomas Paleologo.[[105]](#footnote-105) Despite a number of architectural discrepancies, the painting offers a believable picture of the Anconitan skyline as seen from the *loggia dei mercanti*, highlighting the ancient Arch of Trajan and correctly placing the cathedral of San Ciriaco on the top of the Guasco hill. In the background, behind the colourful crowd that surrounds the papal litter, several war galleys are moving towards the waterfront, together with a handful of larger merchant vessels.

The city frozen in Pinturicchio’s fresco had yet to emerge as a major centre of exchange, and in the mid fifteenth century Ancona was still mostly a port of passage and a centre of regional traffic, rather than an international commercial hub.[[106]](#footnote-106) The situation would change in the first half of the sixteenth century, with the contraction of Venice’s power in the Adriatic and the *terraferma* after the battle of Agnadello in 1509, and the loss of most of its Albanian territories and with the simultaneous expansion of Ottoman merchants across a number of Mediterranean ports.[[107]](#footnote-107) The combination of these factors made the port of Ancona a viable alternative to Venice for numerous merchants coming from the Adriatic region as well as from other areas of Italy, especially Tuscany and Genoa. They generally traded Levantine goods and raw materials (wool and cotton, but especially skins and gallnuts [[108]](#footnote-108)) with the products of Tuscan, Flemish and later English textile manufacture – particularly kersey cloths (*carisee*) and *panni ultrafine*.[[109]](#footnote-109)The ruling class of the city, while not particularly active in international commerce, had been able to exploit the situation and use low tariffs and a welcoming infrastructure to attract foreign merchants, signing a series of deals with Ragusa, Genoa and Florence between the fourteenth and the fifteenth century, and with the Ottoman Empire in 1514 and in 1574.[[110]](#footnote-110) The new role of the city as the outlet of choice for the major Italian states operating on the Tyrrhenian side of the peninsula received an almost official confirmation with the demise of the state-sponsored Florentine galley system connecting Pisa with the Levantine ports, which was replaced by a series of overland routes crossing the Apennine mountains that allowed the Luccan, Florentine and Sienese manufacturers of textiles to sell their goods directly to the Ottoman buyers in Ancona.[[111]](#footnote-111)

Even after the Republic of Venice had recovered much of its political, military, and commercial power in the mid sixteenth century, Ancona maintained its importance as a centre of exchange. Its main strength were its system of lower and more attractive tariffs, an efficient commercial infrastructure, and a relatively tolerant social environment, in which the presence of foreign merchants (especially Turks, Jews and Greeks) was not only tolerated, but actively encouraged and fostered by papal legislation.[[112]](#footnote-112) On the upper end of the Adriatic, the Venetian government was painfully aware of the situation, and the subject of how to undermine Ancona’s position in the skins-for-textiles trade became a subject of heated political discussion in the second half of the century. A series of memoranda written by the *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia* between 1540 and 1597 name Ancona as one of the major threats to Venetian commerce.[[113]](#footnote-113) In 1574 the Ottoman Grand Vizier Mehmed Pasha wrote to Doge Alvise Mocenigo, asking him to lower his tariffs and make them similar to those in Ancona, and in return he would punish certain Muslim pirates that threatened trade around Corfu.[[114]](#footnote-114) In the years after 1579 the ponentine Jewish merchant Daniel Rodriga sent numerous memoranda to the Senate and the Council of Ten, outlining the reasons of the commercial success of Ancona, and suggesting a series of policies that could redirect Anconitan trade to Venice. According to Rodriga, the city was prospering due to the commerce of *robbe grosse* (leather, hides, cloths, cotton, wool), and thanks to a system of very low tariffs. If the Senate had agreed to reduce the 2.5% tax on the *robbe grosse,* a larger number of more valuable *robbe sottili* (luxury goods) would pass through Venice. The proposal was debated by the Senate, and eventually turned into policy.[[115]](#footnote-115) In 1580, the inauguration of a Venetian commercial port in Split redirected most of the overland routes that supplied raw hides from the Black Sea and central Europe away from Ancona.[[116]](#footnote-116) The city, which was already suffering from the simultaneous emergence of Livorno as the port of choice for many Tuscan and European merchants, was thus deprived of the main reason of its commercial importance, and despite the popes’ attempt at promoting its international role, it reverted to its former state of purely regional significance, which it would maintain until the inauguration of the *porto franco* in the eighteenth century.[[117]](#footnote-117)

## 1.2 – Ancona as a gateway to the Adriatic (1180-1450)

Mere regional significance, however, does not equal irrelevance, and Ancona had been an important player on the Adriatic stage for a long time before the sixteenth century, since at least the twelfth. It should by now be apparent that the relationship that existed between Ancona and the *Serenissima*, and the former’s importance in the Adriatic, was deeply influenced by the Venetian policy of assuming that the waters of the *Golfo* were part of its exclusive jurisdiction*,* a claim which implied complete control over naval traffic, a monopoly on long-range trade, as well as the execution of maritime police duties. This assumption was supported and recognized both ideally and in practice by the other major player in the region, the Ottoman Empire, even though their idea of Venetian Gulf was restricted to the area north of the island of Korčula (Curzola).[[118]](#footnote-118) But even before the emergence of a *de facto* (and, for them, *de iure*) Venetian-Ottoman duopoly, the *Serenissima* had been actively working for centuries to turn the Adriatic into its own preserve, a task which set it in direct collision course with other potential rivals, such as Ancona itself or the other cities of the coast.

Minor centres such as Fano were absorbed into the Venetian sphere of influence during the twelfth century, through treaties of friendship and submission.[[119]](#footnote-119) Others, like Ancona, required a different kind of treatment. Already in 1151 Venice and Ancona fought a naval war which saw no clear winner, and led to a treaty that allowed Anconitan merchants to trade in Venice on the same footing as Venetian merchants, at least on paper.[[120]](#footnote-120) The situation degenerated once again twenty years later, and in 1173 the city was besieged and blockaded by a combined Imperial and Venetian force, as the pre-existing hostility between the two cities was dragged into the wider arena of international imperial politics. After the failure of the siege, naval fighting resumed in the 1180s, and lasted through periods of varying intensity until 1264.

If the two cities were, until this point, engaged in an almost even struggle for the control of the Adriatic, with Ancona mounting an effective defence against Venice and its swarm of local allies (the communes of Fano, Osimo, Recanati, Rimini and Senigallia), the situation changed with Ancona’s eventual defeat in the late 1250s.[[121]](#footnote-121) The treaty of 1264 officially sanctioned the role of Venice as the regional *Dominante*, by imposing a series of humiliating restrictions on Anconitan shipment and commerce, expressly forbidding the city from trading with any other centre outside the Adriatic.[[122]](#footnote-122) Another treaty signed in 1345 confirmed the unquestioned supremacy of Venice over the *Golfo,* allowing Venetian merchants to trade freely in Ancona. However, this time no particular restriction was imposed on the Anconitans.[[123]](#footnote-123)

However, Venetian supremacy was not absolute, and the *Serenissima* was never really able dominate Anconitan commerce, or to get rid of it completely. Despite the restrictions contained in the treaty of 1264, Ancona maintained an active and independent trading network throughout all the fourteenth century, especially in regards to the Aegean world, and which will be discussed later in this chapter. But the most consequential answer to Venetian expansionism was the formation of a lasting Ancona-Ragusa axis of shipping, which is attested as early as the twelfth century.[[124]](#footnote-124) The two cities maintained friendly commercial and diplomatic relations throughout the middle ages, signing two treaties in 1372 and 1397.[[125]](#footnote-125) Their collaboration re-emerged in all its importance with the Venetian crisis of the early sixteenth century,[[126]](#footnote-126) and during the contemporary rise of Ancona to international importance. This commercial and political partnership was based on mutually favourable tariffs, and the two cities soon became the two ends of a trading bridge that connected Italy and the Levant, which was particularly important for the development of Florentine trade with Constantinople.[[127]](#footnote-127) Moreover, the peculiar position of Ragusa as a staunchly Catholic subject of the Ottoman Sultans also allowed it to fulfil the role of hinge between the two sides, in times of peace as well as during the periods of open hostility at the end of the sixteenth century.[[128]](#footnote-128) Ragusa’s importance as an effective centre of mediation between the two worlds is also apparent when looking at its role as a place of exchange and ransoming for prisoners captured by Muslim and Catholic pirates: in 1577, a Greek-Anconitan intermediary named Antonio Buratto signed a deal (in Ancona) with a Muslim named Mustafa Celebi, agreeing to take a number of captured Turkish, Moroccan and Egyptian prisoners captured by the Knights of Malta from their prison in Naples to Ragusa, where they would be exchanged for Antonio’s own brother Giovanni, who was held prisoner by the Turks.[[129]](#footnote-129) The Ancona-Ragusa axis was not only used to transfer goods between Europe and the Ottomans, but was also a privileged channel for these kinds of low-level, semi-diplomatic exchanges that characterized the maritime landscape of the Mediterranean in the late sixteenth century. Indeed, it would be possible to see in the endurance of good relationship between Ancona and Ragusa, and in the latter’s importance as the gate to the wider Ottoman world, one of the reasons why Ancona gained an important spot in international commerce in the first place.

Contacts with the other centres of the eastern side of the Adriatic were frequent as well. Located as it is along a small gulf underneath Mount Conero, in one of the few naturally protected harbours along a littoral that Livy described as *importuosum*,[[130]](#footnote-130) Ancona was gifted with a spontaneous projection towards the Balkan-Italianate world of the Dalmatian cities, which took the shape of a continuous exchange of ideas, skills and goods. Centres like Split were fully inserted in the communal culture of central and northern Italy, and when in 1239 the town eventually decided to nominate a podestà who could mediate between rival families, they called upon the Anconitan jurist Gargano de Arcindis, who also embarked on a thorough codification of the town’s existing laws and statutes.[[131]](#footnote-131) In 1258 the two cities signed a trade agreement and a non-aggression pact, and a similar one was signed again in 1388.[[132]](#footnote-132) In the 1440s the gothic façade of the Loggia dei Mercanti was sculpted by Giorgio da Sebenico, a Dalmatian architect.[[133]](#footnote-133) When these cities were ultimately absorbed in the sphere of influence of Venice in the fifteenth century, cultural and commercial exchanges dwindled significantly, but never really disappeared completely.[[134]](#footnote-134)

Starting from the fourteenth century, those channels of cultural and economic exchange became the vehicle for a process of mass migration that moved thousands of individuals across the Adriatic Sea, from the Balkans to Italy. The so-called *Schiavoni*, the Slavic populations of the Dalmatian coastline, as well as the Morlacchi from Bosnia were at the centre of the first wave of migration, which can be placed initially within the wider context of thirteenth and fourteenth century overpopulation, and later to the drastic impoverishment of the Balkan hinterland in the wake of the Plague epidemic of 1347-48. A parallel process of depopulation of the countryside on the other side of the Adriatic facilitated their rapid resettlement and employment as sharecroppers, agricultural labourers and artisans inside an economic system, that of Italy in the early fifteenth century, which had been profoundly shaken by the epidemics, but which was nevertheless experiencing a period of marked growth and dynamism.[[135]](#footnote-135) Migration from Albania began a few decades later, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and in their case, as with the Slavs, it is possible to see the interplay between political factors, such as the expansion of the Ottomans in the Balkan Peninsula or the non-emergence of an Albanian state, with deeper economic causes.[[136]](#footnote-136) Similarities between the Albanian and Slavic migrations are also apparent in the profession of the migrants. They were mostly agricultural or wage labourers, and the payrolls of the sacristy of Fano for the years between 1432 and 1439 mention the presence numerous *Schiavoni* and Albanians employed as cooks, servants or caretakers.[[137]](#footnote-137) However, some of them could reach positions of responsibility, especially in military contexts. The Malatesta payrolls for 1412-14 mention a Captain Grasso de Albania, who commanded 43 lances (around 120 mounted soldiers) in the mercenary company of Pandolfo III Malatesta, *Signore* of Fano, while a Riminese chronicle mentions an officer named Pietro de Albania as a high-level commander in the same army.[[138]](#footnote-138) Giorgio Albanese, another soldier active in the region, died as a saintly monk in 1495.[[139]](#footnote-139) By the second half of the fifteenth century, numerous Slavs and Albanians had settled in Ancona or in its district,[[140]](#footnote-140) particularly around the village of Montagnolo, where the two communities apparently shared the church of Sant’Angelo.[[141]](#footnote-141) The eventual exhaustion of the migratory surge from the Balkans in the early sixteenth century did not mark the end of the older system of exchanges of skills, goods and ideas, which had ran parallel to the mass migration since its inception, and as late as 1572 the Dalmatian clockmaker mastro Trifone di Rado da Cattaro was hired by the civic authorities of Ancona.[[142]](#footnote-142)

Overall, despite the wide fluctuations of its importance throughout the centuries, mostly due to the aggressive expansion of Venice in the *Golfo*, Ancona constantly maintained its position as one of the main centres of attraction for regional trade and migration, helped in this by the long and stable alliance with Ragusa. While the importance of Ancona was clearly outshone by the successes of the *Serenissima* in the Levant and the Aegean, the city remained one of the leading centres of the Adriatic economic and social system.

## 1.3 – Ancona and the Byzantine Empire

Beyond the restricted boundaries of the Adriatic region, in the middle ages Ancona was also able to build a long-lasting relationship with the Aegean markets, initially through the intermediation of the Byzantine Empire. The fruits of this rapport would prove to be important for the later establishment of a Greek merchant colony in the city, as the early political partnership with Byzantium paved the way for closer commercial contacts, and for the opening of channels of human movement between Ancona and the eastern Mediterranean in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

This relationship began when Ancona was dragged into the struggle between Emperor Fredrick Barbarossa and the Italian City-States. In the wide vision of Byzantine Emperor Manuel I, the city acted as an important element in his ambitious Adriatic and Italian policy – which sought to balance Venetian influence (the properties of Venetian merchants had been confiscated just two years before the siege of 1173[[143]](#footnote-143)) and to push forward his diplomatic agenda of imperial recognition.[[144]](#footnote-144) Relationships between the imperial court and the city of Ancona are attested since at least 1149, when Manuel tried to send there one of his most important dignitaries, the Domestic John Axouch. With time, as the rift between the Byzantine and German emperors deepened, the mutual reliance of Ancona and Constantinople intensified, to the point that the city became the target of three different expeditions led by the German general Christian of Mainz, in 1167, 1171 and 1173. It has been significantly pointed out that no other centre, with the exception of Milan, had been so persistently at the centre of Barbarossa’s military attentions.[[145]](#footnote-145) In particular, the third siege of 1173 offers a good testimony of the Anconitans’ position in the Italian and Adriatic power plays. Besieged on land by a German army, and with a Venetian fleet blockading it by the sea, the population resisted long enough to allow the arrival of a relief force commanded by Aldruda Frangipane, countess of Bertinoro and part of the intricate web of dynastic alliances built by Emperor Manuel in Italy.[[146]](#footnote-146) It was Byzantine funds that allowed Ancona to hold out during the siege, and it might be significant that the leading Byzantine representative in the city at the time was Constantine Doukas, *Doux* of Dalmatia.[[147]](#footnote-147) After the siege, Ancona, together with Siena and other Italian centres, remained one of the main listening points on the peninsula, still pivotal to Manuel’s strategy.[[148]](#footnote-148) The siege itself later became the funding episode of the Anconitan civic mythology, as shown by the ubiquitous presence of roads, plaques, institutions and sport teams dedicated to the legendary heroes of the siege, in particularly the woman Stamura, who allegedly sacrificed herself to set some German siege engines on fire during a sortie. It is graphically immortalised by the painting titled *Il giuramento degli Anconitani*, by Francesco Podesti, which portrays the oath made by the citizens to a Byzantine dignitary clad in red and gold, the colours of the city’s arms. But beyond its significance in the later construction of Anconitan history, the rapport built with Manuel Komnenos constituted the first concrete example of the city’s long relationship with the Greek-speaking world.

It is likely that the relationship between Ancona and Byzantium in the twelfth century had been progressively cemented through a series of commercial treaties. However, there are only few certain signs of their presence in Constantinople before the fourteenth century. One *priore* of the Anconitans in Constantinople is attested as a witness in a Pisan deed from 1199,[[149]](#footnote-149) and while their community was probably organized around a religious structure, there is no trace of it at this point.[[150]](#footnote-150) The first clear mention of a church belonging to the Anconitans can be found in the code of maritime laws known as *Statuti del mare,* which mentions an otherwise unknown church of Santo Stefano, to which Anconitan merchants were supposed to pay a small tax after they landed their ships in Constantinople.[[151]](#footnote-151) While the earliest surviving code dates from 1397, it was almost certainly the copy of an older collection.[[152]](#footnote-152)

In the first decade of the fourteenth century, it is possible to witness a series of treaties between the Byzantine emperors and the cities of Genoa (1308) and Venice (1310), which more clearly redefined the prerogatives of the merchant cities vis-a-vis the Empire, as the political crisis caused by the Catalan Company moved away from Constantinople, into Thessaly and Attica.[[153]](#footnote-153) In those very same years, in July 1308, the commune of Ancona was able to obtain from Emperor Andronicus II a series of commercial privileges which, without completely negating import and export tariffs, lowered them to a very favourable 2%. The measure was made necessary by the fact that Anconitan merchants visiting Constantinople usually produced forged documents in order to benefit from the concessions granted to the Genoese, the Venetians and other communities.[[154]](#footnote-154)

It seems that less than fifty years after the treaty of 1264, which forbade them from trading outside the Adriatic, the Anconitans had regained a certain commercial importance even outside their immediate backyard. Indeed, in the very same year of the treaty, the commune of Ancona is listed among the enemies of Emperor Michael VIII, against whom he sought an alliance with the Venetians.[[155]](#footnote-155) It is likely, but at the moment hard to prove, that during the Latin occupation of Constantinople, the commune had been able to squeeze some sort of commercial concession from the Latin emperors, which was then revoked after the Paleologan restoration.

## 1.4 – The Greeks in Ancona

While Anconitan trade was flourishing in Constantinople, a somehow parallel process of settlement and exchange was taking place in Ancona itself, assisted by the consolidation of commercial contacts between the two cities. In January 1392, a Greek priest named Damyanos petitioned the commune to obtain a church and a house, promising that he would be followed in the city by *multas familias graecorum.* The council eventually granted them what they asked, and promised to offer whatever further assistance they might require.[[156]](#footnote-156) It is possible that the church was granted to Damyanos in order to strengthen the negotiating position of Ancona vis-a-vis the Emperor since, in the same year, Manuel II was threatening to suspend the privileges granted in 1308, because of the actions of the Anconitan merchant Niccolò Gherarducci.[[157]](#footnote-157)

The minutes of the city council do not specify which church was given, or what arrangements were made with the local bishops, if any at all. Greek communities under the jurisdiction of Latin bishops were, before the Council of Ferrara\Florence, forced to obey some rather severe restrictions, which prevented them from taking possession of previously Latin churches in which to practice the Greek rite. Even in Venice itself, where a numerous community was beginning to emerge in the same period, they were not allowed to have their own religious building until the late fifteenth century, decades after the Union of Florence was signed by Eugenius IV. Mixture of rite was forbidden in churches consecrated to the Latin rite, and located within the jurisdiction of Latin ordinaries.[[158]](#footnote-158) This, combined with the prohibition of building new churches, concretely meant that the Greeks were prevented from legally taking possession of any already existing consecrated building. In this complex and restrictive ecclesiological situation, the concession of 1392 stands out for having being granted *before* the Council of Florence and the developments in papal legislation of the early sixteenth century.

However, a solution to both questions – the location of the church granted to Damyanos, and its ecclesiological standing – can be found in the visit paid by the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, Paolo Tagaris Paleologo, to the city of Ancona in the spring of 1380. By 1380, Ancona was passing through a short period of direct Church domination, which lasted 33 years and ended when the city passed to the hands of *condottiere* Malatesta III Malatesta in 1350. It then returned under the direct rule of the papacy four years later, when the army led by Cardinal Egidio Albornoz campaigned to recover the territories traditionally claimed by the Patrimony of Saint Peter, in preparation for the pope’s return from Avignon. This phase too ended in 1383 when the local population – with the help of a mercenary company – stormed and destroyed the keep built by Albornoz, scattering its garrison and regaining a communal self-government. That would last until 1532, when a “bloodless coup” would replace the local *podestà* with a governor named directly by Rome.[[159]](#footnote-159) During this convulsed period, in which the city went through five changes in government within less than a century, Paolo Paleologo Tagaris had been able to ascend to the position of Latin Patriarch of Constantinople and papal vicar for all the provinces east of Durazzo. His life as a Sinaite monk had been characterized by a long streak of fraudulent and less-than-pious behaviour, including a period in which he masqueraded for a while as the Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem. By the second half of the century, he had been able to reach an important position in the Catholic hierarchy by exploiting the divisions that had emerged at the end of the Avignonese Captivity.[[160]](#footnote-160)

In the spring of 1380, on his way from Rome where he was appointed by Urban IV to his new see in Venetian Negroponte, he stopped in Ancona.[[161]](#footnote-161) While waiting for the ship that would bring him to Greece, he donated a whole host of sacred relics to the local cathedral of San Ciriaco, on the grounds that both the patron saint of Ancona and Tagaris himself had occupied the position of patriarch of Jerusalem.[[162]](#footnote-162) The relics donated included one of the nails from the Crucifixion of Christ, the head of St. James the lesser, a whole arm of St. Anthony and, most importantly, the left foot of Saint Anne, mother of the Virgin.[[163]](#footnote-163) Knowing how Tagaris had made a fortune early in his career by exploiting, in perfectly bad faith, the alleged miraculous properties of a certain icon in his possession, it is natural to doubt about the honesty of his donations to Ancona.[[164]](#footnote-164) Nevertheless, the foot of Saint Anne was to be taken into procession from the Cathedral to the church of Santa Maria in Porta Cipriana every year on the day of the feast of the saint every 25 July.[[165]](#footnote-165) The procession survived as a tradition for several hundred years, until at least the eighteenth century,[[166]](#footnote-166) to the point that Santa Maria in Porta Cipriana was eventually renamed Sant’Anna. The deed of donation for the relics states that the church was donated to Tagaris by the bishop and the bishop of Ancona,[[167]](#footnote-167) and it is therefore possible to assume that it was placed under the jurisdiction of the Latin patriarch of Constantinople, making it the most logical choice for the donation of 1392.

After the donation, there were very few mentions of Greeks living in Ancona, and the church of Santa Maria in Porta Cipriana had already been an exclusively Latin church for some time before the settlement of a numerically significant Greek community in the early sixteenth century.[[168]](#footnote-168) Some notarial records from 1448 report the presence of one Caterina *quondam* Manolis de Metoni, and of a Giovanni Greco who had two children, a daughter named Nutola and a son named Nicola.[[169]](#footnote-169) Later in the fifteenth century, possibly around the year 1490, Michael Marullus, father of Greek poet Manilius Marullus, was buried in the Latin church of San Domenico.[[170]](#footnote-170) While the connection between Ancona and the Marullus family is admittedly rather tenuous, as Manilius Marullus had spent most of his formative years between Naples and Ragusa,[[171]](#footnote-171) the tenuousness itself underlines the role of the city as a port of transit during the last decades of the fifteenth century. At this stage, the Greeks in Ancona were still sparse, and their presence an uncommon occurrence. Sant’Anna (the new name of Santa Maria in Porta Cipriana) had reverted to exclusive Latin worship, and the resident Greeks did not possess the numbers required to form a stable community, one able to take care of the newcomers and facilitate their absorption in the host society, let alone to petition the religious authorities for a dedicated church. They were most likely exiles, like the father of Marullus, or occasionally merchants and shopkeepers with strong ties to their Italian employers, as in the case of Andrea Lefcodino de Modoni, who was the local steward of Venetian merchant Sebastiano Balbi.[[172]](#footnote-172)

However, by the early sixteenth century a series of changes in the dynamics of Mediterranean trade and in the Greek merchants’ ability to move around and act as a regionally significant economic force changed the situation. Almost overnight, Greek professionals, mostly merchants, artisans and naval workers, moved to Ancona in larger numbers than ever before, sometimes taking residence permanently in the city, more often just paying seasonal visits during their voyages from the Aegean. Notarial records from the 1520s seem to confirm this picture, and for example the index of the volumes by notary Troilo Leoni from 1523 record the presence of 16 individuals identified as *grecus*, against the 4 recorded in 1503.[[173]](#footnote-173)

The civic and ecclesiastical authorities were quick to confirm this presence, and in 1524 pope Clement VII granted them a church, the same Sant’Anna which had been given to Tagaris in 1380 and possibly to Damyanos in 1392, in which to practice the Greek rite, in exchange for a yearly tribute of two pounds of white wax (which was never paid).[[174]](#footnote-174) In the following year the Greeks would be given by the commune of Ancona the right to use the little church of San Matteo, located in the same parish as Sant’Anna, on conditions that they paid for the restorations themselves, and that they remained in the city for their *negotia marcatorum*.[[175]](#footnote-175) As will be shown in the next chapter, the administration of Ancona actively supported the activities of foreign merchants by offering them privileged tariffs and convenient logistical arrangements, and the rapid succession of grants to the Greeks seems to confirm this policy, even though in religious matters it still depended on the approval of the pontiffs. In 1531, the community was allowed to set up a confraternity, also devoted to Sant’Anna, which took care of the landed properties of the church and set up a system of wealth redistribution.[[176]](#footnote-176)

By the early 1530s, the demographic and institutional shape of the Greek community of Ancona – based on a large influx of professionals from the Venetian, Ottoman and Genoese parts of the Greek world, and revolving around the core group constituted by the members of the Confraternity of Sant’Anna – was set, and would survive more or less unchanged for a century. That is, as long as the city maintained an important role in international trade. Between the 1570s and the 1600s, the developments in Catholic ecclesiology and doctrine increased the pressure on the Greeks. They became the target of a series of repressive measures against their religious practices which, combined with the contraction of commercial traffic, stemmed the influx of newcomers, both long-term and temporary residents, who constituted the lifeblood of the Greek community. Reduced to its core group of members of Sant’Anna, the Greek community was gradually absorbed inside the Italian majority of the population of Ancona, and in 1628 the Confraternity was opened to Latin members, who would soon become the overwhelming majority. The city would have to wait until the eighteenth century before a new group of Greek migrants could form a coherent community.[[177]](#footnote-177)

# CHAPTER 2 – CAUSES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GREEK MIGRATIONS TO ANCONA

## 2.1 – One migration, many migrations

On 4 January 1542, the Greek merchant Alessandro Maurodi gave rights of attorney to the Venetian Antonio Bonito and to another Greek, Demetrio Marmoretto, in order to ascertain the condition of the goods he had sent to Venice with the ship of Giacomo Burletto, a Latin ship owner from the Genoese colony of Chios.[[178]](#footnote-178) While for all intents and purposes the document itself was a fairly ordinary *mandato di procura*, describing a common procedure through which one person authorized another to act in his name and represent him legally, the origins of the characters involved make it a striking example of how the historical currents that were shaping the eastern Mediterranean in the sixteenth century were also at work to influence the development of the Greek community of Ancona. The person who granted the right of attorney, the *procuratario*, was Alessandro Maurodi, who hailed from the Ottoman city of Adrianople, in Thrace. Probably the single most successful Greek merchant to settle in Ancona during the sixteenth century, Maurodi was a perfect example of the development of a native merchant class, fostered by the Ottoman authorities as a response to the Italian monopoly on eastern trade. Between his first appearance in the Anconitan notarial sources in 1539 and his death in 1569 he was able to control an important share of the trade of skins from the Black sea to Ancona.[[179]](#footnote-179) He was the only merchant of Greek origins to sign a petition to the Governor of Ancona, asking him to repeal a recent tax increase, and his standing was such that his daughter was able to marry into a lesser noble family from Recanati, with an impressive dowry of 1500 scudi.[[180]](#footnote-180)

The people he chose to represent him were Antonio Bonito, a Venetian, and a certain Demetrio Marmoretto, who is described as *pirottum*, that is, coming from the quarter of Pera, in Constantinople. By the sixteenth century, Pera had turned into the centre of Latin diplomatic and commercial activity in the Ottoman world, and as such represented one of the best manifestations of the cosmopolitanism of Ottoman Constantinople. Those Greeks who came from Pera, unlike those who came, for example, from the regions of Ottoman Epirus or Venetian Crete, enjoyed an ambiguous status that allowed them to take advantage of both Ottoman and Venetian legal protection, a position which many fruitfully exploited as much as possible: in 1559, a Greek ship captain from Pera, Stefano Armatomeno, and a Florentine named Andrea de Veranzano showed up in Ancona as *procuratori* for their Venetian colleague, Pompeo Bono, and at the same time for the Ottoman Subaşı of Pera. The document had been signed by a Florentine notary.[[181]](#footnote-181) It was not the first contact Armatomeno had with Ancona, and during his travels from Venice to Cania and Negroponte (on a ship named, by fortunate coincidence, Sant’Anna) he employed the gunnery expertise of the Anconitan architect and topographer Giacomo Fontana.[[182]](#footnote-182)

His colleague Antonio Bonito, on the other hand, was a Venetian merchant. He must have been a somewhat unusual sight in Ancona, both because the city had a long-standing rivalry with Venice, and because Italian Venetian merchants, especially the so-called *cittadini originari*, were becoming increasingly rare in the international marketplace, being supplanted by Greeks and Jews. Still, Venice itself, far from sleeping “the sleep of the rich”,[[183]](#footnote-183) was engaged in the Sisyphean struggle to keep a shrinking overseas empire together, and to maintain international importance as a centre of production and redistribution, thoroughly conscious that its days as a *de facto* monopolist of eastern trade would never come back.

The ship that brought them there was owned, and possibly captained, by a Latin who had settled in the island of Chios. It was the last remnant of the network of trading posts set up by the Republic of Saint George along the coasts of the eastern Mediterranean, now stuck between Ottoman expansionism and Genoese westward realignment, which eventually allowed its ruling class to abandon trade and focus on controlling the finances of the Spanish Empire; nevertheless, Chios could still boast a flourishing and very active native merchant class. The Chiot community in Ancona, comprising people of both Genoese and Greek origin, was among the most prominent groups. The integration between its Latin and Greek components produced a hybrid merchant class, in which cultural and religious boundaries were not as clearly defined as elsewhere, to the point that, judging from the sources, it is not always possible to tell the former from the latter.

Finally, one of the two witnesses was a certain Marco Gugni de Dulcigno, a member of the strong community of *Schiavoni* that lived in Ancona, coming from the Venetian-held town of Ulcinj, in modern Montenegro. The other witness, an otherwise unspecified baker named Gianmarco, might be the only Anconitan Italian mentioned in the transaction. Local merchants and citizens rarely appeared in the notarial documents drafted inside the *funnici marcatorum,* if not as witnesses. The city, whose population never had naval and mercantile traditions comparable to those of other maritime republics, was more than content to let the foreigners pass through, deal among themselves, and pay the passage fees.

Maurodi, Marmoretto, Bonito, Burletto, and all the other people involved in the draft of the *procura* had met and had learned to trust each other along the docks of Ancona, or in one of the many *funnici* that had been built there since the retreat of the Italian merchants from the eastern Mediterranean marketplaces. It was a development that had turned the city from a simple passageway into a trading hub, in which resources from all over the Ottoman world (including the Black Sea, “preserve of Constantinople”[[184]](#footnote-184)) were exchanged for the woollen textiles produced by Italian and, later, English and Dutch industry.[[185]](#footnote-185)

This chapter will try to understand the historical trends that brought these people together, which factors contributed to those developments, and how they shaped and informed the birth of the Greek community in Ancona. If the general picture is certainly one in which the Conquering Orthodox Merchant easily took possession of the niche abandoned by the retreating Italians throughout the eastern Mediterranean, it is also true that a closer look will reveal different causes and conditions behind the development of a class of travelling Greek merchants in the contexts of the Ottoman Empire, the Venetian dominions and Genoese Chios. These three strands also produced different kinds of migrants, engaged in different professional activities and referring to a different network of social acquaintances: the Greeks who came from the territories of the Venetian dominions, for example, only relatively rarely appear as merchants in Ancona, generally working as artisans, or in the naval sector. These same factors, and others pertaining the changes in manufacture and trade in traditionally active centres such as Florence or Siena, all worked together to turn Ancona into an impressive crossroads of historical trends, a diverse microcosm of the eastern Mediterranean in the sixteenth century, of which the settlement of a Greek community was one of the most important manifestations.

## 2.2 – A professional migration

The most important characteristic of the Greek migration to Ancona was its professional nature, the settlers being for the most part tradesmen rather than refugees or exiles. There was of course a number of people who had crossed the Adriatic in search of safety from the Ottoman conquest of what was left of the Latin territories in the eastern Mediterranean, especially Cyprus, Coroni and the Dodecanese. But the total number of refugees who crossed the Adriatic to Italy in the mid-Sixteenth century, and their social status, were nowhere near that of the mass of exiles who reached western Europe after the fall of Byzantium. Nor did it rival the ‘vero e proprio esodo umano’ that was the arrival of the Albanians in Venice after the fall of Scutari, in 1479, so strong in numbers that it caused a crisis in the otherwise well-tested welcoming structures of the Venetian Republic.[[186]](#footnote-186) Unlike the scores of Albanians crowding the hospitals of Venice, or the Byzantine nobles and scholars seeking a position in the Renaissance courts, the new Greek immigrants that began to settle in the port cities at the beginning of the sixteenth century were professionals, mostly long-distance merchants.

Graph 1, using the documents preserved in the notarial section of the State Archive between 1523 and 1580 shows that, of the 356 individuals of certain Greek origin who left a paper trail, 74 (around 20.7%) were involved in long-distance trade. The second most numerous group were the ship captains and *patroni*, 48 (13.5%), closely followed by the 46 recorded artisans (13%). Lower-level naval workers, including caulkers, secretaries and simple sailors, are only 5.6% (20 individuals), most of whom appear in small transactions, usually involving the purchase of ropes, nets and other items needed to travel the sea.[[187]](#footnote-187) They are only marginally more numerous than the 19 (5.3%) shopkeepers, but still almost twice as many as the 11 (3%) commercial intermediaries and the 11 (3%) translators. The rest were either priests (a total of 9 recorded names, 2.5%) or public employees (4 names, 1.1%). The relative majority of the known Greeks (114 names, 32%) are not associated with a profession. However, due to the circumstances surrounding their recording – which happened in most cases in the crowded merchant *funnici* along the docks of the city, crowded with traders, intermediaries and naval workers – it is possible to assume that they worked either as merchants themselves, as commercial intermediaries, or in the crew of one of the many ships docked there.

As noted, the number of people employed in the lower ranks of the public administration was very limited (four individuals in total, including two who were father and son), which is in itself a symptom of the spontaneous and economic causes of the migration, which can be contrasted with the forced migration of Greek, Albanian and Slavic exiles between the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Both in Ancona and in most other parts of late medieval and early modern Italy, one of the most common strategies employed by the civic authorities to foster the integration of the waves of refugees and impoverished migrants was to employ them in lower-level public offices, or to grant them public pensions if their noble background was officially recognized overseas. It is known for example that, in response to the Albanian crisis of the 1480s, Venice offered jobs as crossbowmen in the state-owned galleys to eighty immigrants. Those who had some basic literacy skills were employed as record keepers, while others who had already served for some time the Republic in its armed forces were granted garrison posts in fortresses that were not under immediate threat, a common way to provide some basic welfare coverage to Veterans. Women were either granted a state subsidy, if they proved to be the widows of soldiers who fought for Venice, or could otherwise find jobs as caretakers and nurses in the public health system, especially in the hospital of Nazareth Vecchio; service in private households was usually seen as a last resort. Indeed, the Venetian government was so generous in granting pensions and small public offices to the families of its exiled Albanian subjects that by the 1490s crowds of people began to fake Albanian origins in order to squeeze benefits from the state.[[188]](#footnote-188) Going southwards along the Adriatic coast, in Romagna, the Malatesta employed several Slavs and Albanians as couriers, guards and generally *familiares* of the court.[[189]](#footnote-189) Further down the coast, in Fano, the records of the local sacristy show a handful of them employed as cooks and caretakers, as well as several others in the payroll of the Malatesta.[[190]](#footnote-190) In the neighbouring Sforza court of Pesaro, the ruling family enjoyed the services of the distinguished Greek scholar Tommaso Diplovatazio, and was also quick to offer shelter to a branch of the Paleologo family fleeing from the Ottomans after 1453.[[191]](#footnote-191) Smaller numbers of Slavs and Albanians were also in the payroll of the commune of Fabriano in the last decades of the fifteenth century, when their migration peaked, even if the majority of them were settled as sharecroppers in the abandoned lands of the *contado*.[[192]](#footnote-192)

In the sixteenth century, the situation in Ancona did not require a wide-ranging public intervention, neither to ease in a crowd of poor newcomers, in order to ensure their subsistence and therefore their fruitful participation in the community, nor to take advantage of their administrative and scholarly skills: the Greeks who reached Ancona in the sixteenth century were not fleeing peasants or exiled intellectuals, who looked for a new home out of necessity. They were merchants, tailors, tanners, retailers and ship captains, coming from the most extreme corners of the Aegean and Levantine world – from Trebizond to Ioannina, to southern Italy, to Cyprus – all of them looking (and able) to gain profit from a changing social and economic environment. While the city certainly offered shelter to a portion of the exiles created by the Ottoman expansion the eastern Mediterranean, they constituted, and by far, a numerically secondary group which was soon incorporated in the export-oriented system of production and commerce that characterized much of the Greek experience in Ancona, instead of receiving a public pension.

When looking at the specializations of those who were not strictly involved in long-distance trade, those artisans and shopkeepers that reached Ancona from the Greek-speaking world, it is apparent that their professions allowed them to occupy a niche in the wider Mediterranean economy, rather than to serve the internal needs of the city or of the immigrant community. Almost half of the Greek artisans were employed in the textile sector (*sutores, coltrarii*), and their products were subject, in Ancona, to a fiscal regime which was intended to punish their retail inside the city, and reward their sale to outsider merchants.[[193]](#footnote-193) Ancona was the place where they manufactured their goods, and the marketplace in which they sold them – but was not in itself a buyer of their products. It is even more unlikely that their products were destined to internal consumption by the migrants, considering the relatively small size of the Greek community. Other very important categories were tanners and carpenters, the former employed in the processing of imported skins, the latter most likely specialized in shipbuilding and naval repairs.[[194]](#footnote-194) The fact that the Greek artisan population in Ancona did not work to supply their host city is also confirmed by the fact that, when Antonio Coressi and Alessio Lascari Paleologo commissioned some decorations for the Greek church of Sant’Anna, they relied on an Albanian carpenter and an Italian stonemason from Brescia.[[195]](#footnote-195)

The portion of the immigrant population that occupied the niche of local retail sale also had strong connections with international trade as well: numerous retailers, such as Pietro Marini Morzoflo supplied the crews of ships and boats with ropes, pottery and other items for their travels.[[196]](#footnote-196) Some of those who appear as barbers were employed as such in the ships.[[197]](#footnote-197) Herbalists and apothecaries depended on international trade for their supply of spices and sugar,[[198]](#footnote-198) and ‘accessory’ professions, such as handymen, only begin to appear in the archival documents when a proper community had already started to take shape in the 1540s, as the settlers started to take roots in Ancona.[[199]](#footnote-199) The only exception to this trend appears to be the presence of three Greek bakers in the period immediately following the concession of the church of Sant’Anna, a handful of years prior to the influx of a large numbers of merchants in the city. [[200]](#footnote-200)

Nevertheless, it seems abundantly clear that the main nature of the Greek migration to Ancona was professional, and very directly linked to the success of the port as a hub for goods coming from Italy, western Europe and the Ottoman Empire, especially bovine skins and textiles. Indeed, this exchange was so pervasive that even people who were not employed full time in international commerce decided to invest some money in it: Alessio Lascari, a mercenary captain, bought some Wallachian leather he hoped to sell in Ancona in 1537, and Giorgio Moro de Corfu, barber, loaded a handful of woollen *carisee* on a ship, to have them sold overseas.[[201]](#footnote-201) In 1560, the Governor of Ancona was eventually forced to forbid their sale and treatment inside the city walls, with the exclusion of the area around the docks, citing the smell of those “cuori puzzolenti” as the reason of his decree.[[202]](#footnote-202)

Besides the many professionals that constituted the core of the Greek migration to Ancona, there was also, as in many migratory movements throughout human history, a significant portion people more or less consciously trying to flee from a situation of dire economic misery. The need to leave behind a poor countryside, made even poorer by a state of constant warfare and by demographic imbalance has already been convincingly linked to the massive migrations of Slavs and Albanians to Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth century,[[203]](#footnote-203) but a similar case can be made for the many Greek peasants, especially Cretan, who were forced to either abandon their homes or turn into seafarers and pirates, if they wanted to move out of their condition of abject poverty. In the words of a Venetian official, “anyone who has not seen the wretchedness of those people is unable to believe it”.[[204]](#footnote-204)

## 2.3 – The conquering Ottoman merchant

The arrival, in western Europe, of significant numbers of Greek professionals after the first quarter of the sixteenth century can be explained by looking at the changes that were taking place at the time in the eastern Mediterranean. Between the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the battle of Lepanto in 1571, the situation in the Adriatic, Ionian and Aegean regions of the Middle Sea was one of shifting monopolies, driven by the expansion of the Ottomans into those territories that constituted the easternmost fringes of the Latin presence in the region. It was a demographic, commercial and economic as well as a political expansion, done at the expense of the Italian trading powers, especially those, like Genoa and Venice, who held colonial possessions in mainland and insular Greece or in the Black Sea.

The rise of an Ottoman thalassocracy over the eastern half of the Mediterranean was the most visible symptom of this change. The conquest of the Aegean Sea, which took place between 1450 and 1470, deprived Venice and Genoa of important way stations like Negroponte and Lesbos, while the later expansion in the Albania Veneta in the 1480s signalled the end of the unquestioned Venetian monopoly over the Adriatic. Ottoman control of the coastal regions of the Anatolian Peninsula was completed with the fall of the Karamanid state in 1487, which opened the way to the eventual advance in the Levant during the early sixteenth century.[[205]](#footnote-205) The growing control over the Aegean and the Straits had meanwhile turned the Black Sea, with its former network of Latin colonies such as Caffa and Tana, into the commercial preserve of Constantinople, allowing the Porte to arbitrarily restrict the access to its markets and resources for those who were not willing to use the longer and costly overland routes.

While the closure of the Black Sea to the Italian merchants after the Ottoman conquest of Caffa and Tana was not as total as it is sometimes thought – it would become complete only after 1592, and in 1555 the trading statutes of Ancona still comprised a section on local shipping going beyond the straits[[206]](#footnote-206) – the eradication of the Genoese presence in the Crimea and the increase in passage tariffs for foreign merchants dealt a heavy blow to the Italian mercantile interests in the area,[[207]](#footnote-207) initiating a process of retreat from the region and of redirection of commerce to other routes, which would gain more and more strength in the following decades. At the end of the fifteenth century, travelling merchants and investors from Genoa, Venice, Florence and other cities saw the disappearance of the privileged fiscal status that allowed them to build a monopoly on eastern trade during the late Byzantine period, as lower tax rates were instead assigned to a burgeoning local merchant class.

However, the concession and retraction of commercial privileges was not the only determining factor. The evolution of Florentine (and to a certain extent Sienese) trade with the Levant between the fifteenth and the seventeenth century might serve as an example to illustrate how the political and commercial changes in the Ottoman Empire directly affected even those cities that did not have any colonial possession in the area. The manufacture of silk and woollen textiles designed to be exported formed the solid backbone of the Florentine economy, one that was able to survive and prosper even after the perfect storm brought by the combination of plague, social instability, and financial collapse in the 1340s. Throughout the sixteenth century the amount produced and its overall value almost constantly grew, despite the constant state of war and the drastic reduction of the relative Florentine share in the international market of finished textiles, mostly in favour of Venice.[[208]](#footnote-208) This was due to the increase of the demand inside the Ottoman Empire, and to the presence of Greek, Jewish and Armenian merchants moving more and more into the ports of western Europe. While the Florentines still had their own *natione* and consuls in Pera by at least 1486, the loss of the Albania Veneta in the last quarter of the century, and the Ancona-Ragusa axis of shipping made the overland route from Florence to the central Adriatic ports much more viable compared to the older routes passing through Venice, or even to the employment of convoys of Pisan Galleys, which sailed for the last time in 1478. Florentine merchants and bankers continued to send their agents to the Levant, but less frequently. The products of their local industry were sold as easily to the Levantine markets through Ancona as they would have been through Pera or Alexandria. Numerous Florentine and Sienese merchants took residence in Ancona, as travelling traders, ship owners or, more often, as providers of goods to be exported.[[209]](#footnote-209) Throughout this period, the key to Florentine trade with the East remained the sale of finished goods in exchange for raw materials. However with time, and with the increased competition of Venetian and northern European industries, Florentine textile production was forced to focus almost exclusively on luxury cloths to be sold in the European markets, and its supply line began to include materials coming almost exclusively from Tuscany, instead of the Levant, gradually excluding the East from the commercial sphere of influence of Florence. The foundation, by the Grand Dukes of Tuscany, of the Crusading Order of St. Stephen and its privateering were the last nail in the coffin, and by the end of the sixteenth century the Florentine retreat from the Levant was almost complete. The Grand Duke tried to redeem the situation by opening the port of Livorno, but in 1589 the Sultan refused to grant commercial privileges to his merchants in Constantinople. The Duke was, instead, forced by the situation to grant privileges to the Ottoman merchants in Livorno.[[210]](#footnote-210) In less than two hundred years, the relationship between Italian and Levantine merchants had been completely reversed.

The new Ottoman merchant class that had emerged during the consolidation of the Porte’s hold on the eastern Mediterranean was not only able to rapidly capitalize on the niche left open by the retreating Italians. They were also capable of monopolizing the enormous task of supplying a growing imperial capital.[[211]](#footnote-211) The economic importance of provisioning a city crowded with hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, and boasting an extraordinarily wealthy court cannot be overstressed. Mediterranean trade in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was not a zero-sum game, in which room for a group of merchants could only be gained at the expenses of another, and the growth of Ottoman Constantinople created an additional niche, and an extremely profitable one, that was quickly occupied by a native class of Greek, Muslim, Jewish and Armenian merchants – some of whom were also able to secure lucrative positions as tax farmers, as many post-Byzantine aristocratic families did.[[212]](#footnote-212) While the *absolute* number of southern European merchants (mostly Italians, after a short Catalan interlude at the end of the fourteenth century) did in fact decrease, the most radical change was in their *relative* importance, especially against the increasingly aggressive competition of the native Ottoman merchants, who rapidly took advantage of the new opportunities offered by the *Pax Ottomanica*. During the two centuries that followed the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans, the native merchants enjoyed not only a virtuous cycle of economic growth, brought by the increased stability of the region and by a new political climate which encouraged urbanization and the expansion of commerce, but could also rely on the support of the Ottoman government, which actively worked to make Constantinople once again a centre of international commerce able to compete, and even surpass, other long established hubs like Alexandria, Tripoli and, of course, Venice.

The conquest of the *Albania Veneta* in the late fifteenth century was essential to push Ottoman commercial interests in Venice’s backyard, the Adriatic. The Ottoman policy was directly aimed at reducing the Republic’s almost absolute monopoly of trade in the Adriatic-Ionian region, and it must not have been a surprise when it met a favourable reception among those maritime cities of the Adriatic coast that had been side-lined from trade, sometimes to the point of total exclusion, by the dominance of Venice and by her enforcement of the time-tested principle that *ogne merce che entra nell’Adriatico deve toccar Venezia.*[[213]](#footnote-213) The major beneficiary was Ragusa, which enjoyed the unusual, but extremely profitable, double status as Ottoman subject and faithful servant of the papacy, becoming an effectively autonomous and liminal subject, halfway between the Ottoman and the Latin worlds, skilfully balancing between two different and often conflicting allegiances.[[214]](#footnote-214)

## 2.4 – Greek-Ottomans in Ancona

On the other side of the Adriatic, it was Ancona which, more than any other Italian port, would benefit from the new situation, becoming the port of choice for the entrance and distribution in the European markets of the goods and resources produced in the Ottoman Empire.

As early as 1514, a series of negotiations between the Council of Ancona and a Greek merchant named Demetrio Caloiro, who represented the merchant communities of Arta, Ioannina and Velona, granted them a series of favourable tariffs on exported goods, in exchange for an intensification of their presence in the city, which was to be privileged over all others between Ravenna to the north and the river Tronto to the south – essentially including all those territories of the Italian peninsula which were neither under Venetian influence nor Spanish rule. A few months later these concessions were extended to all the subjects of the Ottoman Sultan.[[215]](#footnote-215) Arguably, even though the tariff rate was flattened during the yearly period of *franchigia* (between November and December), the ones granted to the Ottoman subjects were much less favourable than those granted to the Ragusans and the Florentines, who were asked to pay only half as much, and only marginally better than the ordinary ones.[[216]](#footnote-216) But they were more than enough to stimulate a rampantly growing merchant class. A few years later, in 1522, the Council decreed that all the Muslim merchants visiting the city during the yearly *franchigia* were to be accommodated, together with their *robbe et mercantie*, exclusively in the Palazzo della Farina. The rich rents they paid were collected by the Council, which also put together a special commission to fine whoever broke the law. The fine amounted to the rather considerable sum of 100 ducats, and was applied to anyone, even inside the public administration up to the Council itself, who offered the Muslims accommodation outside the designated area. It was a measure that had the triple aim of protecting them, keeping them under public control and taxing their passage.[[217]](#footnote-217) While Stoianovich wrote that Ancona “was forced” to make those concessions, both the privileges granted to the Greeks of Arta, Ioannina and Velona and the establishment of a special place to accommodate Muslim merchants seem to be part of a deliberate plan to attract foreign merchants at the expense of Venice, rather than the result of an extortion. [[218]](#footnote-218) Whatever the reasons, however, they were a determining factor in encouraging the settlement of a community of Ottoman merchants in the first decades of the century. The role of Ancona as a major centre of attraction for those merchants coming from the Ottoman world was finally sealed by a *firman* issued by Emperor Selim II in 1574, which ordered all his subjects to avoid the annual fair in Recanati, and to go to Ancona instead.[[219]](#footnote-219)

Still, relations between the Porte and the Holy See throughout the century continued to suffer from the occasional escalation of tension, which peaked with the institution of the Holy League, and the battle of Lepanto in 1571. While the *Turchi et altri infedeli de la seta Maumethana* (and their goods) were more than welcome in Ancona, the fear of a sea-borne invasion was all too real, so much that it contributed to mark the end of communal self-government: local chronicler Giuliano Saracini, who wrote in the seventeenth century, recounts how the sight of *gran quantità de Mercanti Turcheschi* was seen by pope Clement VII as the bridgehead for a future invasion, spurring him to build the massive citadel of Ancona in 1532. Once garrisoned, the citadel allowed the papal commander to take possession of the city as governor with ease.[[220]](#footnote-220)

Political concerns regarding a possible Ottoman invasion, and communal regulations confining Muslim merchants in the Palazzo della Farina during their stay in the city, reduced the impact Ottoman Muslim merchants could have in Ancona, and severely limited their possibility for a long-time settlement. This meant that the only categories of Ottoman merchants that could really reap the benefits of the commercial treaties for prolonged periods of times were the Levantine Jews and the Ottoman Greeks. In particular, the Christian Greeks could also enjoy the effects of the Leonine legislation on the Union of the churches, which in 1524 allowed them to establish their own church, Sant’Anna, outside the jurisdiction of the local bishop.[[221]](#footnote-221) This was followed in 1525 by acquisition of the chapel of San Matteo in 1525, granted on the explicit promise that the Greeks would remain in Ancona for their *negotia marcatorum*.[[222]](#footnote-222) The Greeks were also the intermediaries of choice between the Ottoman peripheral authorities and the civic and mercantile communities of Ancona. In 1536, for example, one Porfirio Georgii de Velona, *procuratore* for Aramadan, Qadi of Velona, crossed the Adriatic to protest about the missed shipment of a cargo of woollen *carisee* his master had bought from some Levantine Jews who lived in Ancona.[[223]](#footnote-223)

The circumstances behind the settlement of the Ottoman Greeks in Ancona, which was primarily the effect of the drastic growth of a native merchant class in the Balkan provinces of the Empire and of the particularly limited mobility of their Muslim colleagues, are reflected in the demographic composition of that part of the Greek community which came from the Ottoman Empire. As shown in Graph 2, the absolute majority of the 74 individuals coming from Ottoman territories whose profession is known were either merchants (36%) or somehow employed in the naval sector (29%), with a handful of them working as commercial intermediaries (11%). Other professional categories are barely represented with a total of 8 artisans and 5 shopkeepers, amounting together to a fifth of the Ottoman Greek immigrant population. Especially when considering the first phase of the migration, roughly between 1520 and 1540, only 3 artisans appear, including two from Morea, a region with strong connections with the Venetian world, and one from Velona, who also appears to be an apprentice (*famulus*) rather than employed in his own right. Shopkeepers, only appear in the early 1540s. Even though far from being complete and exhaustive, these data seem to describe a thoroughly mercantile form of migration, fully in line with the social and economic developments that were taking place in the Ottoman Empire.

## 2.5 – The Venetian Greeks in Ancona

The reasons for the presence of an even larger community of Venetian Greeks are much less straightforward, and do not fit as easily in the relatively simple dynamics that dictated the growth of the native Ottoman Merchant class. This is also reflected by the different composition of the Greek-Venetian population in Ancona: Graph 3 shows how artisans, of whom the vast majority were employed in the textile industry, constituted the single largest group (23%). They outnumbered, if only slightly, traders (22%), ship captains (19%), naval workers (14%) and shopkeepers (9%).

Two factors in particular seem to have been the most influential for the birth and the expansion of the Venetian Greek presence in the ports of the eastern Mediterranean: the slow but sure conversion of Venice from a centre of redistribution of goods imported from the east to a centre of production – especially of woollen cloths – and the parallel retreat of the Venetian citizen nobility from commerce towards other economic activities, as the Venetian grasp on the eastern Mediterranean, even inside its own Adriatic backyard, slowly weakened throughout the sixteenth century, while the ancient regulations that allowed only Venetian citizens to freely move goods in or out of Venice and the dominions visibly relaxed.

Much of the debate about the Venetian economy during the sixteenth century has chosen to focus either on the idea of decline – and sometimes even crisis[[224]](#footnote-224) – or on the drastic changes brought by the so-called Northern Invasion at the end of the century, when the arrival of French, English and Dutch merchants began to reshape the productive and distributive landscape of the Mediterranean.[[225]](#footnote-225) As Lane pointed out, however, the first half of the sixteenth century was not the period of sharp crisis it was once believed to be. The depressing effects of the discovery of the New World on the Mediterranean economies, which was once described as the main cause of economic collapse, have been drastically reassessed,[[226]](#footnote-226) as has the alleged decline of Venice, which was able to redirect its production and reshape its policies to face the challenges of the new century, with varying degrees of success.[[227]](#footnote-227) Indeed, it seems that the trading fleet flying the Venetian flag had never been as large as in the middle years of the sixteenth century.

What had changed was the people that built, manned and captained those ships. The productivity of the central Arsenal in Venice had dramatically decreased by the second quarter of the century: in 1531, some complained about the number of foreign-built ships granted the right to sail as Venetian, and in 1543 at least five ships used by the Republic had been built abroad, four of them in Constantinople.[[228]](#footnote-228) In the dominions, local workers had completely deserted the state arsenal of Crete by at least 1608, preferring instead a more profitable employment in privately owned shipyards.[[229]](#footnote-229)

The fragility of the Venetian shipbuilding industry was accompanied by the encroachment of non-citizen merchants in activities that had been reserved, for centuries, to the close circle of the *cittadini originari*.[[230]](#footnote-230)The status of *originario* was usually granted to anyone who was born in Venice from a family of citizens, and implied a series of economic privileges, the most sought-after being the exclusive possibility to move and trade freely throughout all the territories of the Republic, as everyone else who wished to use the upper Adriatic to trade with central Europe and northern Italy was forced to pass through Venice, reinforcing the city’s role as the major centre of redistribution of imported goods. [[231]](#footnote-231) There were of course other levels of citizenship, which were much easier to obtain, like the one *de intus*, which granted the right to deal in retail trade inside Venice.However, the backbone of the Venetian mercantile class was constituted by the *originari*: access to this restricted and privileged club rested on the attentive, at time even fastidious, vigilance of the Senate over all requests for citizenship.[[232]](#footnote-232) But at least by the beginning of the sixteenth century, the exclusive ability of the *originari* to trade and move freely inside the territories of the Venetian Republic was increasingly being questioned, and the state authorities less and less able (or willing) to enforce their legal monopoly: between 1503 and 1505, a group of about 40 Greek merchants, most of them from Corfu, bought woollen cloths for the staggering sum of 41,000 ducats, directly from the producers in Verona, and many of them had been conducting business directly with the producers since at least the 1480s. This meant bypassing Venice and the necessary intermediation of Venetian merchants.[[233]](#footnote-233) At end of the century the distinction had lost most of its meaning, and the Republic was unable to control the deals made by her Greek subjects with foreign merchants, or to restrict their movements in and outside the dominions, even in the core areas of its *Stato da Mar*, like Zante and Crete.[[234]](#footnote-234) But the Venetian authorities did not consider the increased proportion of foreign merchants occupying the old niche of the *originari* to be a problem, as much as an asset. It is for example known that throughout the sixteenth century Venice engaged in a fierce tariff war with Ancona, Nice and later Livorno, in order to attract their Levantine Jewish merchants.[[235]](#footnote-235)

The loosening of Venetian control over its subjects, and the fading distinction between subjects and citizens in the mercantile practice, fostered the development of a class of Venetian-Greek merchants, parallel, but not entirely identical to, its Greek-Ottoman counterpart. The effects of these developments were particularly felt in the island of Crete, where the process was assisted by the island’s natural projection towards the Ottoman East,[[236]](#footnote-236) and it is not surprising to find that the second largest portion of Greek-Venetian merchants in Ancona came from the three Cretan cities of Rethymnon, Cania and especially Candia. However, the part of the Venetian dominions which produced the largest share of Greek merchants to Ancona was Corfu, which also happened to be much closer geographically, being located at the very entrance of the Adriatic Sea. Traders were not the only beneficiaries of the loosening in control and of the increased freedom of movement within or without the dominions. The Greek regions under Venetian rule supplied the only significant share of low-level naval workers (sailors, helmsmen, caulkers and secretaries, rather than captains), with 13 recorded names against the grand total of 5 coming from the Ottoman Empire and from Chios combined.

Unlike the Greek Chiots, who were integrally part of the local Genoese community, the Greeks coming from the *Stato da Mar* do not seem to have had any special relationship with the Venetians in Ancona. Most of those who were employed in the naval sector were not working for Venetian masters, or in Venetian ships, and the ships they sailed mostly belonged to foreign merchants such as Pandolfo Biliotto and Luigi Pessoni of Florence.[[237]](#footnote-237) The only notarial document attesting a direct working relationship between a Venetian merchant and a Greek in Ancona comes from 1503, as a certain Andrea Lefcodino, who hailed from the island of Cerigo\Kythera, is described in his last will as *factore et negotiorum gestore magnifici viri Sebastiani Balbi de Venetiis.*[[238]](#footnote-238) This is not to say that the Venetian Greeks had cut off all connections with Venice once they reached Ancona: numerous *Procure* attest the persistence of personal and commercial contacts, and in many cases Greeks from the *Stato da Mar,* including a priest from Corfu,worked as middlemen between Venetian and foreign merchants.[[239]](#footnote-239) However, those contacts with Venice took place almost exclusively through a third party, as there was no significant or institutionalized Venetian presence in Ancona to which the Venetian Greeks could attach themselves, like the Chiots did with the Genoese.

While the new and unrestricted freedom to move and trade across the Mediterranean, without having to pass through Venice and Venetian intermediaries, would suffice to explain how people involved in long-distance trade or shipping were able and willing to settle in Ancona, it still does not provide a reason why the largest single group of the Venetian Greeks in the city were artisans. Half of the Greek artisans in Ancona (22 out of 44) were from Venetian territories, and sometimes from Venice itself. Out of those 22, 14 were employed by the textile industry, either as *sutores* (tailors, weavers) or *coltrarii* (blanket makers). The rest worked as tanners (*pelliparii*), barrel makers (*bottarii*) or gold thread makers (*tiraoro*). All those occupations were connected with the basic, but profitable, skins-for-textiles exchange that fuelled the life of the port of Ancona as a hub of international trade. As skins from the Black Sea and eastern Europe were brought in, mostly by Ragusan, Greek-Ottoman or Chiot merchants, the *pelliparii* would turn them into leather. Meanwhile, the *sutores* worked the wool imported from Anatolia, or dealt in woollen cloths coming from Tuscany and from Venice, allowing their shipment to the eastern markets. The *tiraoro* would then produce the gold threads used to enamel the finest silks, while the *bottarii* made the many barrels needed to safely store items and provisions during the long crossings of the Adriatic and the Aegean.

As the regions of the Ottoman Empire were mostly the receivers, rather than the producers, of the finished woollen textiles manufactured in Italy (and later in northern Europe and England), it was only natural that the Greek artisans who worked on those items came from those areas subjected to Venice, one of the largest producers worldwide. The outlet of woollen cloths in the Venetian Republic exploded during the sixteenth century: the earliest figures report a production of 1,310 units in 1516, and a peak of 26,541 in 1565.[[240]](#footnote-240) This impressive expansion of manufacture, fuelled among other factors by the influx of master craftsmen fleeing from the Lombard cities ravaged by the Italian wars and by the destruction of Venice’s old competitors in the area,[[241]](#footnote-241) not only constituted the most visible symptom of the wider process of its redirection from commerce and distribution to manufacture, but was also able to open numerous opportunities to its foreign subjects, Greeks or otherwise, as Venetian reception policies were designed to facilitate the integration of foreigners into local society by allowing them to join a professional corporation, something which was made even easier when the production of woollen cloths expanded more than tenfold in the middle years of the sixteenth century.[[242]](#footnote-242) The parallel emergence of Ancona as a profitable and possibly less controlled marketplace for those specialized artisans who dealt with the city’s major export – woollen cloths – must have been a powerful incentive for a sizeable number of Venetian Greeks weavers and their families, who in addition to that were not bound by the same restrictions that theoretically applied to long-distance merchants.[[243]](#footnote-243)

## 2.6 – The hybrid Chiot merchant class

The development of a Chiot presence in Ancona was the result of yet another set of historical circumstances. As shown at the beginning of this chapter with the case of Giacomo Burletto, the upper echelons of local Greek society had strong ties with the Genoese merchant classes ruling the island, and those very same ties were transferred once they settled in Italy. The commercial partnership between Chios and the city of Ancona had become rather strong during the sixteenth century: Chiot merchants signed a trade agreement with Ancona in 1519,[[244]](#footnote-244) and the Anconitans had a consul on the island, until at least the seventeenth century.[[245]](#footnote-245) Throughout all the period under discussion, both before and after the Ottoman conquest in 1568, the Genoese institutions in the city were joined by large numbers of Chiot merchants, Latins and Greeks, who often employed them to solve their commercial litigations.[[246]](#footnote-246) The strength of the contacts between Chios and Ancona is attested in the *Diporti Notturni*:

La vaghissima et fertile Isola di Scio, gira cento vintiquattro miglia, giace nel mare dell’Arcipelago. [...] Ha belle donne di costume molto vago et lascivo; è molto popolata et mercantile, è particolarmente fruttifera di buonissimi vini bianco et rosso.[[247]](#footnote-247)

Compared to his description of the other islands of the eastern Mediterranean, all of which are filled with nautical information and classicizing notions regarding the birthplace of Sybils or the battles fought by Roman Generals, Ferretti’s short account of Chiot women and wine suggests repeated personal visits to the island’s port, and to its taverns. Ferretti was an Anconitan captain, member of one of its most respected aristocratic families,[[248]](#footnote-248) and just like his city, he apparently maintained close contacts with Chios.

The extraordinarily large Greek-Chiot presence in the Ancona, amounting to at least 70 confirmed individuals, is strictly connected with the history of the island as a Genoese *Mahona*, a legal entity owned and exploited by a private association of ship owners and merchants, and only loosely controlled by the commune of Genoa.[[249]](#footnote-249) The island had a turbulent past of defiance against Latin occupation,[[250]](#footnote-250) which came to an end in the final years of the fourteenth century, when the local Greek elites abandoned all hopes of assistance from Constantinople, and accepted the favourable terms of surrender offered by the Genoese, who in turn vowed to respect all their properties, privileges and prerogatives.[[251]](#footnote-251) The pact was respected throughout the period of Latin domination, and was guaranteed by the commune of Genoa: in 1529, Giorgio Schilizzi successfully appealed to the commune after the *Mahona* deprived him of a right he claimed had been granted by Byzantine Emperor John V Paleologus (1354-1381).[[252]](#footnote-252) It would also constitute the basis of all future interactions between the Chiot elites and the government of the *Mahona*, allowing the locals to benefit from the commercial opportunities brought in by the Genoese presence, while reserving all political rights of participation in the government of the island to the Latin settlers, the *mahonesi.*[[253]](#footnote-253) From this point onwards, a constant process of intermingling would begin between the Greek elites and the *mahonesi*. It was a two-way street. On the one hand, the *mahonesi* gradually lost political and cultural contact with Genoa – which had long given up its major role in eastern trade, and whose policies saw a drastic and consequential westwards realignment from France to Spain in 1528 [[254]](#footnote-254) – and their behaviour and cultural practices were seemingly influenced by those of their Greek subjects.[[255]](#footnote-255) On the other, the Chiot Greek nobility was very quickly accepted as part of the Genoese mercantile and financial aristocracy, without having to deal with the citizenship related issues that influenced the development of the Greek regions of the Venetian *Stato da Mar.[[256]](#footnote-256)* This intermingling meant that those same political developments that in 1528 had moved Genoa away from the French sphere of influence, bringing it closer to the Habsburgs and to Spain, had a direct effect on Chiot society. After a long period of civil strife, the new government of the Republic, guided by Andrea Doria, had issued a decree that grouped the many families of the Genoese aristocracy, old and new, in 28 *Alberghi.* The *albergo* was an institutional device, not unlike the medieval *consorterie*, which allowed noble families to congregate and influence citizen politics. However, unlike their medieval counterpart, the membership in the *alberghi* was official, obligatory, and required the members of lesser family to exchange their own surname for that of the family leading the *albergo*. By diluting the element of direct blood kinship among the aristocratic factions, and by giving different social groups an allegedly unified purpose, Doria was trying to prevent the city from falling into civil strife again, as it had been the rule in the past couple of centuries.[[257]](#footnote-257)

What is significant to note here is that some of the most important families of the Chiot Greek aristocracy, such as the Coressi and the Argenti, were included in one or another of those *alberghi* and, interestingly enough, none of them was co-opted inside that of the Giustiniani, ancient leaders of the *Mahona* and by far the most influential family in Chios, being instead attached to different houses, usually based in Genoa, like the Calvi or the Gentili.[[258]](#footnote-258) It seems however that in their case the regulations prescribing a change of surname were not thoroughly applied. For example the Coressi family name in Ancona remained in use without interruption well into the 1550s, but the name of their *albergo* (Calvi) was attested only a handful of times in 1548.[[259]](#footnote-259) While the Coressi and the Argenti appear to be the only two families of the Greek aristocracy of Chios who were properly recognized as part of the Genoese nobility and made to join an *albergo,* the strength of the relationship between Chiot and Genoese populations, at least among the merchants, seems undeniable.

When Ancona began to assume the role of Venice’s main rival port on the western shore of the Adriatic, Chiot and Genoese merchants began to crowd its docks,[[260]](#footnote-260) which offered an easier and faster way to move goods between the Aegean ports and the productive cities of Tuscany. They maintained a strong and influential presence throughout the century, despite the general redirection of the Genoese higher classes from commerce to finance, and the decline of the city’s shipbuilding industry.[[261]](#footnote-261) The process of thorough integration between the Latin and Greek aristocracies of Chios outlined above makes the task of detecting Greek Chiot individuals in notarial documents harder than in the case of their Ottoman and Venetian colleagues: a significant portions of the individuals labelled as *de Chio* proved to be of Latin origins at a closer inspection, while conversely many of those described as *de Ianua* resulted to be of Greek descent. Nevertheless, with at least 70 ascertained names, Chios was able to provide the single most numerous group of recorded immigrants in the city, followed at a distance by the Venetian held islands of Corfu (39), Crete (29), Zante (23) and by the Ottoman Greeks from Velona (29). Indeed, the vast numbers of the Chiot merchants, their importance in Anconitan trade, and their exclusive and peculiar relationship with the Genoese authority gave them an almost special status in the eyes of the local authority, which persisted even after the end of the *Mahona*, as shown a document from July 1588, in which the Governor of Ancona reports the nomination of Lorenzo Porzio as *ordinario camerale,* responsible for the supervision of all the commercial intermediations that took place in the port, the Chiot *natione* is listed separately from the Greek one.[[262]](#footnote-262)

As shown in Graph 4, half of the Chiots who lived or passed through Ancona were merchants (26), but this includes only those whose profession is recorded, and it would not be surprising to discover that those with an undisclosed profession were also involved in long-distance trade. The lower strata of the Chiot society, which in the professional migration of the sixteenth century would have occupied the roles of naval workers and shopkeepers are almost completely absent. In fact, only six artisans are attested, including only one *coltrarius*, a blanket maker. The rest were two woodworkers, a rosary maker and a gold wire maker (*tiraoro*). Their arrival might be seen as somehow accessory, and outside the main migratory strand from Chios to Ancona, which seemed to have an almost exclusively commercial dimension, with its members being mostly employed in high-level international trade.

Another case which deserves a few lines is that of the migration from Rhodes. The island was neither Genoese nor Venetian, belonging instead to the Crusading Order of the Knights of St John, until it was captured in 1522 by the armies of Süleyman the Magnificent. After it fell, a portion of the local Greeks, mainly the local aristocracy and those parts of the urban population with stronger ties to the Knights decided to emigrate, in most cases following their masters in their new base in Malta.[[263]](#footnote-263) Some members of the migrant community decided to move to Ancona instead, where between 1522 and 1536 at least 9 Rhodians are attested, most of whom artisans. Another phase of the migration from Rhodes, which can be assumed to start with the coming of age of a new generation that did not have the same kinds of social connections with the Latin, around the 1540s, was more in line with the general trends that characterized Greek-Ottoman migration of merchants and commercial intermediaries. But the most peculiar characteristic of the Rhodian migration, especially in its early phase, was its nature as a chain migration, involving one enlarged family and its proxies: half the total of the Rhodian immigrants were in one capacity or another members of the Politi family, which is first attested in 1534, and their family head, Bartolomeo Politi, repeatedly took in youths from Rhodes as his assistants and apprentices.[[264]](#footnote-264) The Politi family name survived well into the seventeenth century, a unique case among the earliest members of the Greek community of Ancona.[[265]](#footnote-265)

## 2.7 – Conclusions: a multi-faceted migration

The sources do not tell us what Antonio Bonito, the Venetian merchant, and Demetrio Marmoretto, the Greek from Pera, found during their mission to Venice, described at the beginning of this chapter. With the exception of Alessandro Maurodi, all the people involved in the *procura* seem to disappear from the sources involving the Greeks of Ancona. As many other recorded individuals, they were passers-by rather than settlers, and for them Ancona was little more than a convenient trading station. Yet Ancona was the place where all their stories met, each and every one the product of only apparently similar sets of circumstances.

This chapter has tried to show that the Greek presence in the city, and indeed the wider historical development generally referred to as “Greek migration” was in fact the result of several connected, but widely different, sets of circumstances. There is no question that in the sixteenth century numerous Greeks started to settle in the major port cities around the Mediterranean. However, in order to get a better understanding of the situation, it is necessary to look at how the different developments inside the different areas of the Mediterranean influenced and shaped the migration. While the general picture gives the undeniable impression that the retreat of the Italian merchants from the eastern marketplaces, was accompanied by a parallel growth, in both absolute and relative terms, of the commercial power held by the populations living under the Venetian and the Ottoman Empires. The different factors influencing and informing the concrete unfolding of these developments were undeniably diverse, and radically different from case to case. The expansion of the Ottomans, increasing both their political sphere of influence and the capabilities of a new local merchant class, which quickly moved in to replace its Italian counterpart with the help of the Porte, taking full advantage of the *Pax Ottomanica*. This change in the balances of Mediterranean trade had the effect of moving the meeting point between Italian and Levantine merchants from Constantinople to the west, including Ancona, allowing people like Alessandro Maurodi from Adrianople to earn huge fortunes by exchanging bovine skins imported from the Black Sea with the products of Tuscan textile manufacture. Venice, on the other hand, lost its absolute monopoly on Adriatic navigation, a development which was accompanied by a crisis of its shipbuilding industry and of the regulations regarding the division between citizens and non-citizens. That opened the doors of international trade to scores of Jewish and Greek merchants, a development that went parallel to the impressive expansion of the Venetian textile manufacture capabilities, which allowed even larger numbers of foreign merchants to learn the skills they needed to earn a living around the other main nodes of Mediterranean commerce. In the case of the document mentioned above, the Venetian Antonio Bonito had travelled to Venice with a Greek, on a vessel owned and captained by an Italian Chiot, Giacomo di Domenico Burletto. The case of Chios was yet again different. The Italian origins of Burletto can only be assumed, and even then rather uncertainly, by his patronymic, *Dominici*, which is somehow unusual for people of Greek descent. The ethnicity of many others of his countrymen seems equally hard to define: the descendants of Latin settlers like the Barle, D’Auria and Amici families are constantly mentioned together with Greeks names such as Argenti, Coressi and Lechavera, in both cases labelled as *de Chio*. Indeed, the island could showcase a thoroughly integrated Greek higher class working side by side, rather than supplanting, the Latin ruling class of the *mahonesi,* still strong as a commercial actor in Ancona despite the social and financial changes that had taken place in Genoa.

Those factors seem to confirm the idea that the Greek presence in Ancona, and indeed the whole beginning of a Greek commercial migration to the Mediterranean port cities, was not the result of one but of many distinct types of human movement. Costantino Ralli, merchant from Chios, had a different story from Stamatis di Tommaso, ship captain from Velona, and both had in turn a set of completely different motivations and interests compared with those of Giovanni Patropoli, tanner from Corfu.[[266]](#footnote-266) The next section will seek to establish whether, despite all the established differences in their origins, these people could claim to have anything in common; and, if they did, how strong this communality was. Indeed it will discuss whether Ancona had a Greek community at all.

# CHAPTER 3 – COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

In May 1558, two Greek merchants, Nicola Servo de Cania and Nicola Racane de Chio, began to purchase the shares of a ship anchored in the port of Ancona, the *San Giuhanni Baptista*, from its previous owners, Pandolfo Biliotto from Florence and Benedetto Gondola from Ragusa, subsequently leasing them to other merchants.[[267]](#footnote-267) They then decided to entrust the captainship to another Greek, Basilio Notara de Candia.[[268]](#footnote-268) The whole process of buying the ship, leasing its cargo space and devising a route with the new captain was proceeding smoothly, and within twenty days the crates of woollen *carisee* were ready to be loaded in the hold of the *San Giuhanni Baptista*. But the first problems were around the corner: before the ship could depart with its cargo, its route set to Capo Manlio and Castronovo in the Peloponnese, the *procuratore* of Venetian merchant Pompeo De Bono, another Greek named Stefano Armatomeno, reached Ancona. He claimed that while the ship was still anchored in Venice, De Bono had purchased six shares of the ship, which had not been bought back by Racane and Servo and therefore still belonged to him. Racane brought the case in front of an ad hoc consular tribunal manned by judges coming from Genoa, Ragusa, Florence and Ancona. The court, much to Racane’s dismay, confirmed the legitimacy of De Bono’s claims: he still owned those six shares of the ship, and was thus entitled to a proportional part of the earnings.[[269]](#footnote-269) It was a minor setback, which would cost some money, but did not prevent the eventual departure of the ship, which left the port of Ancona on the 23 of June.[[270]](#footnote-270) The owners and the captain of the *San Giuhanni Baptista* disappear from the record for four months, until the 20October 1558; after that date, they are constantly engaged in a long series of arbitrations and litigations with those people who had bought shares in their ship.[[271]](#footnote-271) None of the documents are useful to give an actual idea of what happened during the return voyage from Mani to Ancona. The survival of the captain rules out the possibility of a shipwreck; the only plausible (and likely) alternative would be an attack, either by Uskok pirates, Barbary corsairs, or maybe even by a Venetian patrol or a French ship.[[272]](#footnote-272) Whatever happened, the owners of the *San Giuhanni* had lost all of their cargo, and were forced to jump from one arbitration to another, paying insurance compensations to their outraged shareholders. However, the assistance given to Nicola Servo by two members of the Greek community, Michele Politi and Alessandro Maurodi, was able to ensure him some breathing room. They took over some of his debts,‘*non teneri sed teneri volens,* *non vi dolo vel metu ducti*’ as went the formula: knowing they did not have to, but freely deciding to do it, neither out of malice nor fear.[[273]](#footnote-273) It was not a disinterested act of kindness: Alessandro Maurodi expected Servo to repay his loan of 600 scudi by the following year, and when he himself had to fulfil a payment obligation, he sent his creditors to Servo;[[274]](#footnote-274) and the same can be said for Michele Politi, who requested that Servo pay a fine in his stead.[[275]](#footnote-275) Nevertheless, their assistance was able to chase away the ghost of financial ruin long enough for him to buy some shares in another ship, the *Santa Maria di Loreto*, refurbished for the occasion with a brand new sail bought from Florentine merchants.[[276]](#footnote-276)

The problems of Servo and Racane are a good example of the dynamics of social interaction that characterized the Greeks of Ancona: the two merchants came from different areas, one from Genoese Chios and the other from Venetian Crete, and while they opened the purchase of shares in the cargo of their ship to merchants from all the communities active around the port – Florentines, Ragusans, Genoese, and even an unusual Veronese – they elected a Greek captain, who was also originally from Crete. When troubles arose, it was their network of contacts inside the Greek community that helped them, not as an institutionalized act of charity (as it would have been, had the Confraternity of Sant’Anna been involved in an official capacity), but as a series of favours, granted and requested on the basis of informal personal ties.

This example serves to show that the diverse backgrounds, and the equally diverse set of histories, motivations and professions of the many members of the Greek *natione* did not overshadow the common denominators of language, culture, and shared religious confession. It also shows that the individuals who shared those traits often collaborated and interacted with each other, not only in financial matters – as in the case of Servo, Racane, and their misfortunes – but also, as will be shown later in this chapter, in many other fields of everyday life, including marriage, professional cooperation and mutual assistance in times of need. The mercantile nature of the Greek migration to Ancona also allowed many of them to share the same spaces of professional socialization – and their social relations were cultivated not only under the roof of the Greek church of Sant’Anna, but also inside the *fondaci*, the public or private buildings in which merchants from all Europe and the Mediterranean gathered to store their goods, share information and maintain networks based on personal bonds of trust. Very similar connections were also at the heart of the professional and family relationships that constantly emerged between the individual Greeks and members of other foreign groups, whether it was Sephardic Jews, Ragusans, Flemish, Turkish, or Italians from the many *nationes* that took up residence in the city.

The aim of this chapter is to describe these informal mechanisms of integration, and to analyse how they functioned outside – but not in the absence of – the structures of the organized institutions, following the life of the expatriates and migrants from their arrival in the city, through the almost inescapable phases of professional insertion, socialization, and family integration, all the way to their final moments and worries, as depicted in their testamentary wills.

## 3.1 – Settlement patterns inside the city

One of the single most influential factors in determining the nature of the networks of relations cultivated by foreigners inside a host city, and consequently to assess their degree of integration, is the geography of their settlement. Proximity in everyday life dictates which faces are familiar, which voices known, which people trustworthy. Not only that, but neighbourhood ties could easily facilitate the integration of a foreigner – different in culture, language, and often religion – into their new society. Day-to-day contacts, built around the access to similar services and similar acquaintances, could significantly reduce the impact of said differences, turning the strange and dangerous into something familiar, accepted, or at the very least known – and therefore less alarming. In some cases, neighbourhoods could also work as an informal network of surveillance and control, or even arrange marriages.[[277]](#footnote-277)

The distribution of the Greeks in Ancona, as is typical of other migrant communities, was dictated by their professional needs.[[278]](#footnote-278) As pointed out in the previous chapter, the Greeks in Ancona were mostly engaged in long-distance trade, or worked as artisans or in the naval sectors, activities which required a constant and easy access to the economic heart of the city, the port. The vast majority of the individuals whose residence is confirmed in the notarial sources seem to have lived and worked in the area around the parish of Santa Maria del Mercato, located right on the docks and right in front of the *loggia dei mercanti*. Other preferred dwellings were the parishes of San Nicola and San Primiano, also located in close proximity to the port (see Map 3). The boundaries between those parishes were obviously never clear-cut, and there are instances in which the same house is said to be both in San Nicola and Santa Maria del Mercato, within the same document folder.[[279]](#footnote-279)

While the picture seems to be that of an undeniable projection towards the waterfront areas of Ancona, with only a handful of recorded individuals living in the parishes located further away from the docks, there are some major caveats regarding the nature of the sources. First of all, the notarial act is by its own nature a very imperfect instrument of analysis, a concern that is valid for whatever statistical and demographic information they might show. In particular, it is almost impossible to use them to determine how the provenance of the single Greek individuals and families shaped their settlement inside the city, if migrants coming from the same region found accommodation close to each other. Secondly, most of the notaries studied who had a significant Greek clientele, such as Francesco Brancaleoni, Marino Benincasa and Girolamo Giustiniani tended to be permanently settled in those very same parishes, either working in their own houses, or using one of the local *fondaci* as their office. This could have a clearly distorting effect on the nature of their customers, who were most likely to be employed in the naval and commercial sectors, and to have taken a residence around the area of the port. The comparison made with another notary, Lorenzo Trionfi, who used to perform his services door-to-door (and often even in the streets) rather than in his own office, seems to confirm this idea, as the provenance of his customers was much more varied, occasionally including the parishes of Sant’Anastasia and San Martino, located respectively on the western extremity of the waterfront, and in proximity to the old north-eastern corner of the medieval walls.[[280]](#footnote-280) At this stage of the research, with the huge notarial section of the archive still largely unexplored, it is too soon to draw any definitive conclusions.

However, the locations pointed out by the notarial sources are also partly confirmed by the few surviving cadastres of sixteenth-century Ancona. The only two reported Greeks who owned property inside the city walls in 1531 were Manogli Greco, who lived in Santa Maria del Mercato, and Donna Piera, wife of the *quondam* Lionardo Greco, who had properties in San Primiano. At the same time, most the known properties of the Albanians and the Schiavoni, mostly employed as small artisans or agricultural labourers, were located in the parish of San Claudio, located near the southern gates of the city.[[281]](#footnote-281) Moreover, the very same professional concerns that influenced the settlement pattern of the Greeks in the sixteenth century also shaped that of the later waves of migration in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as the new migrants, who were also engaged mostly in artisanal, commercial and naval activities chose Santa Maria del Mercato, San Primiano and San Nicola as their primary places of residence.[[282]](#footnote-282)

In this situation, the parish of Sant’Anna, where the Greek church was located, stands out for its absence. The only recorded Greek who resided *in parrocchia ecclesie Sancte Anne* during the first half of the century was a woman named Antonia Benisti. Later on, there are surviving records of another Greek woman named Monica Rodiani owning a house in the area, in the same building in which Captain Alessio Lascari decided to build the hospital of Sant’Anna, in 1562.[[283]](#footnote-283) While the hospital itself would immediately be placed under the care of the Latin confraternity *Della Misericordia e della Morte*, probably after some negotiations with the local authorities, the very fact that Lascari had decided to establish it right next to the Greek church seems to confirm the fact that the Greek community of Ancona saw the area around Sant’Anna as its religious centre, even though most of them lived on the other side of the city. The church itself was not in the best position for a merchant community, being located on the eastern end of the medieval walls, next to the old gate of Porta Cipriana, after which the building had originally been named before its concession to the Greeks.[[284]](#footnote-284) Nevertheless, when in 1525 they decided to acquire another religious building, the chapel of San Matteo, they chose one in the very same area,[[285]](#footnote-285) rather than one closer to the waterfront, where most of the community lived. The *solite habitationis* of the priest of Sant’Anna was also located right next to the church,[[286]](#footnote-286) which meant that he was not immediately accessible to his parishioner. Of course, the small size of Ancona meant that the walking distance between Santa Maria del Mercato and Sant’Anna could be covered in fifteen minutes or so, but the perceived polarization between the institutional centre of the community and the locus of the daily lives of most of its members is still apparent (see Map 3). There is a good parallel in the geographical distribution of the Venetian community in Constantinople, which was also split between the institutional centre in Vigne di Pera, where the office of the Bailo was located, and the private merchant residences and warehouses at the waterfront in Galata, an arrangement that caused many complaints from the Venetian merchants themselves.[[287]](#footnote-287)

If the religious complex of Sant’Anna represented the pole in which organized community life took place, the major centres of day-to-day private and professional contacts were certainly the *fondaci* located in front of the docks. The *fondaci* (or *funnici*, as they are sometimes known in the Anconitan sources) were public or private buildings that throughout the centuries covered a number of functions, mainly those of lodging and storages for travelling merchants and their goods.

The most famous examples of similar buildings, such as the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* and the *Fondaco dei Turchi,* both in Venice, were designed as a way to maintain public control on foreign merchant communities, but they gradually evolved to become those communities’ main centres for socialization. However, in most other merchant cities outside Venice, the word was generally used to describe a state-owned or private building, which could function as a warehouse, tax-collecting facility or merchant hostelry, sometimes even becoming the by-word for a private firm.[[288]](#footnote-288) Nevertheless, in certain cases, like for example in Ancona itself, both meanings of the term could easily coexist. On the one hand, the city devoted a particular building, the old *Palazzo della Farina*, as the officially designated residence for all the visiting Muslim merchants,[[289]](#footnote-289) with regulations that closely resembled those of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* in Venice: in both examples the foreign merchants were required to reside inside the building, store their wares, and pay rents to the local authorities. Whoever offered them any other form of accommodation would be fined.[[290]](#footnote-290) However, in the context of Ancona the *Palazzo della Farina* was a rather unique case, and the word *fondaco* was much more frequently used to describe a privately owned building which, in addition to its official function as a temporary storage, was also a centre for personal exchanges, notarial transactions, arbitrations and the gathering of information. There is concrete evidence for the existence of at least four *fondaci*, including a *fontico Luce de Arretio*, a *fundico Mercantiarum,* the *loggia dei Mercanti* (which was exquisitely decorated by Giorgio de Sebenico and Antonio di Domenico in the fifteenth century), and a *funnico heredum quondam Iohannis Thomasii de Ancona*, in which one of the most important notarial sources for the city, Girolamo Giustiniani, had a permanent desk, and in which the vast majority of his deeds involving Greeks were recorded.[[291]](#footnote-291)

These buildings, especially the one owned by the heirs of Giovanni Tommasi, were at the heart of professional socialization between the merchants of different origins and dealing in different commodities. Hundreds of transactions took place every single day, and were dutifully recorded by the notaries. For example, in 1538 the Greek intermediary Pietro Cordella recounts how, while he was working in the *fondaco* he was approached by a merchant named Girolamo Girino, who asked him to find 16 cloths of woollen *carisee.* He promptly contacted anEnglish merchant named Tommaso Udrossi (Thomas Woodrow?), who delivered them to Girino.[[292]](#footnote-292) In 1541, Pietro Greco, a retailer, sold 140 pounds of rope to a Genoese sailor.[[293]](#footnote-293) The following year, another *funnico* was the place where the Greek Confraternity of Sant’Anna finalized the acquisition of a plot of land in the countryside outside the city.[[294]](#footnote-294)

But the *fondici* and similar structures were not only a place of commercial transactions, as they were also the preferred place for arbitrations between merchants.[[295]](#footnote-295) The one in which Girolamo Giustiniani worked had a permanent *scrannum ligneum* from which the arbiters appointed by the parties involved would judge the cases.[[296]](#footnote-296) Rarely, larger courts would meet to judge on more important cases, like the one summoned by Racane.[[297]](#footnote-297) The *fondaci* in Ancona were also the place in which most of the notarized testimonies were recorded.[[298]](#footnote-298)

Besides their official functions, merchant lodgings and other informal meeting points around the waterfront were an essential vehicle for the exchange of information. Ancona was one terminal of a wide network of information circulating and connecting the Mediterranean world, which allowed news, about political events as much as single shipments, to reach the merchant communities. In the summer of 1573, for example, Francesco De Santi da Fabriano received news that one of the ships he had sold to a local merchant, captained by Vincenzo Giustiniani from Chios and sailing from Ancona to Smyrna, had been captured by pirates while crossing the Archipelago. Immediately after he read the letter, which had reached him from Naples, he decided not to spread its contents, not even to the new owner of the ship, as he did not want to be the bearer of bad news. However, another merchant, Pantaleone Vestarchi from Chios, had received the same news, but in his case through Venice. A few hours later Vestarchi reached De Santi, and convinced him that they needed to tell the owner of the ship. This is how, in De Santi’s words, the news began to spread among the merchants in Ancona, where it began to cause a certain alarm.[[299]](#footnote-299)

Outside these two poles of Sant’Anna and the waterfront parishes, there was also a small minority of Greeks who owned property in the countryside of the city, the outlying *contado*. As early as 1521, a Greek named Nicola Grimastri opened a legal case against his neighbour Pietro Gualterucci because one of his cows had wandered into Nicola’s vineyard, doing considerable damage.[[300]](#footnote-300) In the cadastres 1531, there are mentions of seven agricultural properties owned by Greeks, including at least two women.[[301]](#footnote-301) Despite the importance international commerce had for the Anconitan economy, some migrants looked for the financial security provided by landed property – and in the unfortunate case of Costas and Giovanni Schinderi, the loans they took in order to purchase a property in the *contado* would eventually ruin their family, and force them to sell their house in the city.[[302]](#footnote-302)

Sant’Anna was certainly the pivotal point of the communal socialization of the Greeks: it was where their identity as a separate group was cultivated and celebrated through seasonal feasts, processions and religious ceremonies. However, collective gatherings were the exception, rather than the rule, and most of the Greeks who lived in Ancona spent most of their times in or around the *fondaci*, lodges, or neighbouring shops. The geography of their settlement, which was dictated by their professional activities, was instrumental in ensuring their fruitful integration within the diverse mercantile community of sixteenth-century Ancona.

## 3.2 – Mechanisms of professional insertion

In the melting pot of the *fondaci* and the crowded waterfront, Greek migrants from the Venetian *Stato da Mar,* the Ottoman territories and Genoese Chios constantly interacted with each other and with people from all over Europe and the Mediterranean. They formed professional partnerships, appointed *procuratori*, bought sugar from Alexandria, rice from Lombardy and sweet wine from Crete, sold eastern skins to merchants who arrived from the towns close to Ancona, or loaded woollen textiles in the ships sailing to the Levantine ports. Whether it happened through direct personal interaction, or via the mediation of a *procuratore* or a *proseneta*, all the countless transactions registered by the Anconitan notaries seem to describe an extended and varied network of personal contacts in which people of different origins were more than welcome, and not just at the opposite end of a commercial deal.

The insertion of newcomers within an existing network of professional contacts was one of the first steps, and the most important way people of different backgrounds could be eased into local society, in a way that was parallel and complementary to their participation into the religious and official structures of their migrant community, which often played a role of social intermediation between the newly arrived, the existing group, local society and the civic authorities.[[303]](#footnote-303) This was particularly true for those categories of migrants who were not already part of a wider international trading community, like artisans and shopkeepers, and even more so for those who had been forcefully expelled from their homes by military and political upheavals.

In the case of Ancona, the best example of this interaction between the official structures of the community on the one hand, and integration through professional insertion on the other, is offered by the Strategopulo family. Their name is first attested in Byzantine sources from the thirteenth century, and their most prominent member, Alexios Strategopulos, was instrumental in recapturing Constantinople from the Latins in 1261. Their important role at the imperial court is confirmed by the marriage of his son Constantine to a female member of the Vatatzes family. During the troubled times of the fifteenth century, a Simone Strategopulo is attested in the service of the Tocco rulers of Corfu, and it was probably there that his family began to gravitate around the Latin enclaves in the eastern Mediterranean. In 1499, a Giorgio Strategopulo is attested as *sakellarios* of the town of Coroni, in the Peloponnese.[[304]](#footnote-304) A few decades later, in 1532, Giovanni Maria Strategopulo, most likely the son of the *sakellarios* of Coroni, is attested as a member of the Order of Saint John, with the role of *commendatore* for Teano.[[305]](#footnote-305) The Grand Master of the Order granted him the position, together with the dignity of knight, for his distinction in the Knights’ daring but unsuccessful attempt at recapturing Methoni, the previous year.[[306]](#footnote-306)

Giovanni Maria, along with his brothers Nicola and Michele, is first attested in Ancona in March 1539, as he rented out the small abbey of San Sigismondo, owned by the Order in the district of the Umbrian town of Todi, to a local farmer.[[307]](#footnote-307) It is hard to say for sure why the Strategopuli decided to settle in Ancona, seeing that the city did not have any particularly strong connection with the Order of St. John, and did not boast a particularly numerous community from Coroni, Methoni and the Morea, as would Naples and southern Italy after 1536. One Giorgio Strategopulo, possibly their father, is attested as a member of the Confraternity of Sant’Anna in 1548, and while his sons do not appear in the documents of the Confraternity of Sant’Anna before 1575, it is very likely that they too had already joined immediately after their arrival.[[308]](#footnote-308) Much before then they are described as *cognati* (in-laws) of the Greek herbalist Giovanni Filaretti da Tebe, who had been active in Sant’Anna since at least 1543.[[309]](#footnote-309) Their relationship with Filaretti was not just familiar: it was also professional. All the three male members of the family, Giovanni Maria, Michele and later Nicola, found employment as partners in Filaretti’s shop, where they worked for thirty years.[[310]](#footnote-310) They are repeatedly attested taking care of business together, receiving and granting loans, buying and selling spices and sugar.[[311]](#footnote-311)

Both Giovanni Filaretti and the Strategopulo brothers were also among those who were most frequently appointed as officials of the confraternity,[[312]](#footnote-312) until the Strategopuli abandoned it following the increased pressures from the Catholic authorities for a reform of the Greek rite in Sant’Anna, in the late 1570s.[[313]](#footnote-313) The first proof of personal tensions between the Confraternity and Filaretti on one hand, and the Strategopuli on the other, comes from an arbitration which took place in 1578, almost thirty years after their first arrival in Ancona, a quarrel which was probably about the execution of the testament of Giovanni Maria. Unlike in most other cases of arbitrations involving Greeks, which were either solved internally or judged by two elected arbiters who were known and trusted by both parties, in this case they chose to appoint two Italian professional lawyers, who apparently had never been in close contact with any of them.[[314]](#footnote-314) The last known male member of the Anconitan branch of the family was Simone Strategopulo, who entered the Greek College in Rome, around the same time.[[315]](#footnote-315)

The Strategopuli reached Ancona as a family of exiles: the youngest of the three brothers, Nicola, was often described as *de Ancona*, meaning that he probably reached the city in his childhood, together with his younger sister, Veneranda.[[316]](#footnote-316) They were not, unlike many other Greeks who settled in Ancona, a group of professionally specialized close male relatives. Their effective insertion in the wider local society, not just in the Greek community, can be largely credited to their partnership with Giovanni Filaretti, their membership in the Confraternity of Sant’Anna, and their enduring ties with the Latin institutions, first the Order of St. John, and then the Greek College.

But the case of the Strategopuli is unusual, as they did not have any apparent contacts in Ancona before their arrival. The situation was different for many of the other migrants, who could rely on pre-existing connections, especially in the decades after the earliest settlement in the 1510s. Indeed, by looking at the sources, it would be possible to describe the situation of the Greeks in Ancona as a chain migration, a flux of human movement deeply influenced by the personal connections that existed between the points of origin and the point of arrival.[[317]](#footnote-317) The professional specialization of the migrants themselves was often a determining factor in the creation of these connections, as shown by the example of the *famulati*, or apprenticeship contracts.

Not unlike the term *fondaco,* the word *famulato* in Ancona had a multiplicity of meanings, all of which connected to the idea of service. The town administration used it to designate the servants of both the institution itself and its individual members.[[318]](#footnote-318) This was very close to another widely accepted meaning, that of private domestic servant, usually a girl, who lived in her masters’ house from childhood to womanhood – often without a salary, but with the promise of a dowry to be assigned at her coming of age. This last version of the term *famulato* can be frequently encountered when looking at the earlier migration of Dalmatians and Albanians to the Adriatic regions of central Italy, in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, and was a constant feature of the Albanian migration to Venice in the same period.[[319]](#footnote-319) However, this kind of contract almost never occurs in documents regarding Greek migrants, in which the *famulato* appears to be more similar to some sort of professional apprenticeship.

Unlike the *famulati* involving housemaids and servants, the totality of the contracts involving Greeks had a fixed expiration date, usually in the short term (six months to a few years), and were signed with the explicit intention of teaching a craft to a young boy, who would receive room and board, and a small wage. For example, in 1559, the blanket maker Nicola di Giovanni da Sira took in Antonio Moscati da Chio,[[320]](#footnote-320) while in 1563 Pietro di Andrea was accepted as an apprentice by Giorgio Baturi da Chio, carpenter.[[321]](#footnote-321) In 1533, Michele Politi took in Cristodulo da Cania, to teach him the craft of *paternostrario*, or rosary maker. In many of these documents, the *famulo* did not speak Italian, and in this last case the notary needed the presence of a certified translator, in this case Giorgio de Corfu.[[322]](#footnote-322) These contracts were an effective way to integrate newcomers, by offering them the possibility to learn a profession, and by allowing them to work with someone they, or at least their family, already knew and trusted. This is particularly evident in the case of Bartolomeo Politi, who accepted Domenico Politi as a *famulo* in 1534.[[323]](#footnote-323) Both came from Rhodes, and they were likely related. Similarly, in 1533 the Venetian Donna Maddalena allowed her son Baldassarre to work in Ancona with Giacomo Piccinini Greco, also from Venice.[[324]](#footnote-324)

However, this kind of contracts did not exclusively involve two Greek parties. In many cases one of the two parties was either Italian, Ragusan or Dalmatian. In 1525 the baker Zanetto da Candia accepted two *Schiavoni*, Tommaso Bolodich and Nicola Verminich.[[325]](#footnote-325) Contracts also went the other way, and in 1538 a Greek named Bartolomeo di Michele allowed the Anconitan tailor Fortunato Giuliani to tutor his younger brother Girolamo.[[326]](#footnote-326) The first *famulato* involving Demetrio Solevio de Morea, a tailor, saw him accepting a Greek *famulo* from Valona, but eight years later he took in an Italian apprentice, Cecco Cotta da Fano.[[327]](#footnote-327) In 1538, the cooper Giovanni Teodorini de Corfu accepted the services of Paolo di Natale, from Ragusa.[[328]](#footnote-328) In similar cases, rather than being a vehicle for the integration of newcomers, apprenticeship contracts can be seen as the measure of how well-inserted the migrants were in their host society, being entrusted with the education and the accommodation of local children.

Different social classes had other means to enter professional circles. It has already been shown how long-distance traders in other contexts tended to have a different pattern of arrival and settlement, circular and seasonal rather than stationary.[[329]](#footnote-329) However, despite this structural difference, the movement of merchants was as influenced by pre-existing networks of connections as the movement of artisans and small traders.

The large community from Chios offers an extraordinarily well documented series of examples of the mechanics of chain migration applied to the wealthier merchant classes. We know that many Chiot merchants in Ancona relied on other Greek and Genoese merchants from the same island. For instance, the family of Costantino Ralli lived in a house owned by notary Girolamo Giustiniani,[[330]](#footnote-330) who was likely of Chiot or Genoese origins. The most informative case is that of the Coressi family. One of the most ancient and illustrious families on the island, a Michael Coressi is attested as one of the noble signatories of the treaty that granted Chios to the Genoese, in 1346.[[331]](#footnote-331) Thirteen members of the family are attested in Ancona, either as transitory or stable residents, between 1530 and 1548, and can be divided into two family groups, distinct but tightly connected in their business life.[[332]](#footnote-332)

The Coressi lived in Ancona as much as they lived in Chios and in other areas of the eastern Mediterranean: in 1548, Antonio Coressi sent his relative Paolo *quondam Manuellis* to recover the goods owed him in the testament of his late brother, also called Paolo (but *quondam Demetrii*), and which were spread between Cyprus, Lebanon, Crete, Venice and other territories of its *Stato da Mar.*[[333]](#footnote-333) In 1542, a Pietro Coressi was in Chios, where he loaded goods on a Caravel called *La Pellegrina*, following the disposition sent to him by his brother, Nicola.[[334]](#footnote-334) The same Nicola was appointed *procuratore* by Nicola Canari, for the collection of some money Canari was owed in Chios, since Coressi had already rented some shares in Canari’s ship, which was going to the island and back.[[335]](#footnote-335) In 1537, Nicola Coressi was both occasional resident in Ancona and consul of the Genoese in Zante.[[336]](#footnote-336)

Other important families of the Chiot Greek merchant nobility seem to appear in Ancona around the same time as the Coressi: a Tommaso Mavrocordato is attested in 1529, as the executor of Manuele Coressi’s last will and as his main heir, being the husband of his daughter Violante.[[337]](#footnote-337) Demetrio Ralli is first mentioned in 1530, followed by Costantino Ralli in 1536, and eventually by their relative Antonio Ralli in 1541.[[338]](#footnote-338) Their arrival was in turn followed by the influx of a large number of Chiots in the following decade. Migration from the island was clearly a chain process, in which those who settled in Ancona, and would still often travel back to Chios, were able to build contacts in both places, thus facilitating the arrival of their own colleagues and acquaintances, and their insertion in the local society. What is evident in the particularly well-documented case of the Chiots, can also be assumed to be valid for the other Greeks who arrived from the Ottoman and Venetian territories.

This section has attempted to demonstrate the importance of the early phases of professional integration, which were a necessary step in the life of all those migrants who planned to settle in Ancona, whether permanently or just temporarily. The case of the Strategopuli has shown how official community institutions could work as mediators in this process for those groups of people who did not possess a pre-existing network of contacts in the city, and how their insertion in the local job market allowed them to eventually become a full part of the community. On the other hand, the analysis of the *famulati* and of the merchant families from Chios has shown the ordinary way the system of insertion in the workforce could function, for the more stably settled artisans as well as the travelling merchants. In both cases, the presence of relatives, friends and acquaintances who had already settled in Ancona was an almost necessary condition, and during this phase the Greeks would still be mostly involved with other Greeks, more often than not coming from similar communities. If and when they would join the organized structures of Sant’Anna was itself linked to the nature of these original networks.

## 3.3.0 – Old friends and new acquaintances

The previous sections have dealt with the first phases of the integration of the migrants in the social fabric of Ancona, looking at the moment of their arrival, and at their insertion in the job market, through the social connections they inherited from their places of origin. This section will look at what happened next, during the bulk of their stay in the city, giving particular attention to the survival and evolution of the original networks. Through the decades, their transformation was influenced by a number of factors, the most important being the duration of the stay in Ancona. In order to provide a viable picture of the transition from old to new social circles, and to isolate the main causes of this transition, this section will examine a number of individual cases, selected according to the length of their permanence.

The first batch of examples will relate the experience of the long-term settlers, people who are attested as residents in the city for at least two decades. The stories of Alessandro Maurodi, and the two brothers Costantino and Michele Politi will serve to show how the relation between the single individual members of the Greek community changed and evolved in the period between the 1530s and the 1570s. Their cases demonstrate the relation existing between integration, the dissolution of the inherited original networks and the construction of new ones, based on the two centres of gravity of Greek life in Ancona, the docks and the church of Sant’Anna. These new networks would also have some peculiar characteristics, and it is possible to see that the contacts with the local Greeks were slowly relegated from the professional sphere, to the sphere of personal life and private assistance.

On the other hand, in the case of medium-term residents, the original connections often survived together with the new ones, which, unlike those built later on by long-term residents, could be both professional and private in nature. The numerous Chiot merchants who established their presence between the 1530s and the 1540s, and who led a life of constant movement between their home island, the city of Ancona and the rest of the Adriatic-Ionian Region will provide a well-documented case study.

Finally, this section will look at the transitory migrants, those sailors, small-scale merchants and travellers who provided the invisible majority of the Greek community of Ancona, and whose presence was much more strongly influenced by the macro-economic changes that took place in the region than that of the other two groups.

### 3.3.1 – The long term residents

Alessandro Maurodi is first attested in 1539, as the partner of another Greek merchant, Nicola Papadopulo. While from later sources we know that Maurodi was originally from Adrianople, he is described there as *Perottum*, from Pera. In his first appearance, he and his partner promised to repay to a Chiot merchant, Michele Mano, 242 ducats for a load of bovine skins that were loaded in his name on a ship in Constantinople. Unfortunately, the ship had been intercepted by some Venetian galleys, which forced them to stop in the island of Lesbos for several weeks, reducing the quality of the cargo.[[339]](#footnote-339) In this instance, Alessandro Maurodi in Ancona seems to work as the resident agent of a merchant society centred in Constantinople, and built around family connections. His partners in Pera, those who loaded the ship, were a certain Mamo Ciriaci and, more significantly, a Teodoro Maurodi, who might have been his brother. However, none of them appears again in documents regarding Maurodi, and neither does his partner in the city, Nicola Papadopulo.

During the first phase of his recorded life, Alessandro Maurodi was already quite wealthy, and was part of the Venetian social circles in the city. In 1539, he bought *carisee* in Ancona for 712 ducats, to be paid in full in the city of Venice.[[340]](#footnote-340) Three years later, in 1542, he sent a Venetian merchant and a Greek, originally from Pera but also resident in Venice, to the lagoon in order to ascertain the state of some goods he sent there.[[341]](#footnote-341) While in Ancona, he also dealt with merchants from Bergamo, which at the time was part of the Venetian *terraferma.*[[342]](#footnote-342) On the other hand, he was still in contact with Constantinople and Thrace, as shown by his *procura* to Giovanni Ralli-Melichi, who was also from Adrianople.[[343]](#footnote-343)

But Alessandro Maurodi also soon became part of the Confraternity of Sant’Anna, as one of its main members, which allowed him to start orbiting more towards the local Greek community.[[344]](#footnote-344) His level of integration in the Greek community, by at least 1542, is marked by the round of notarized testimonies on the case of the caravel named *La Pellegrina*. The caravel itself, *la quale veniva de furia in Ancona* sank in the vicinity of Crete.[[345]](#footnote-345) It was captained by Tommaso Vulsinate from Chios, and contained a large number of crates of skins purchased by Nicola Coressi, also from Chios, and Alessandro Maurodi. The ship was insured by a company based in Antwerp, and its sinking caused an investigation on who owned which part of the ship’s cargo, probably for insurance purposes. [[346]](#footnote-346) Both Maurodi and Coressi needed testimonies from people they trusted and knew, and they decided to call upon other Greeks, mostly members of the Confraternity of Sant’Anna, to demonstrate to the insurers that they actually had loaded the *Pellegrina* with the claimed amount of merchandise.[[347]](#footnote-347) A third witness was not a member of Sant’Anna, but was also a Greek Chiot, Nicola Bolla. It seems that during this phase of his thirty-years long permanence in Ancona, Maurodi was slowly detaching himself from his former network of connections, centred in Constantinople, Adrianople, and the very varied community that revolved around the Venetian institutions in Pera, while rapidly building a new one among the Greeks in Ancona. His role as an influential member of the community is further confirmed by the number of litigations involving Greeks who chose him as one of the arbiters.[[348]](#footnote-348)

Between the 1540s and the 1560s, the personal and professional networks of Maurodi seem to split. On the one hand, much of his professional life seems to take place among Italians: not only the myriad of small provincial traders to whom he sold wool and skins, in exchange for textiles, caviar and sweet wine,[[349]](#footnote-349) but also the stable commercial partnership he formed in the same years with two wealthy local merchants, Cesare Ludovici from Urbino, and Lorenzo Trionfi from Ancona.[[350]](#footnote-350) This did not mean that he completely abandoned his previous contacts with the Greeks in Constantinople: still in 1559 he is attested as *procuratore* for Leone Servo di Cania,[[351]](#footnote-351) who was most likely related to Nicola Servo, the unfortunate owner of the *San Giuhanni Baptista*. Leone was not only a relative and the agent of Nicola in Constantinople, but he was also apparently well-connected with the diplomatic and administrative structures of the Venetian community in Constantinople, despite his reputation as an arrogant *parvenu.*[[352]](#footnote-352)In this sense, Maurodi did remain as the end link of a long chain of contacts that extended along the Mediterranean trading routes. However, after his first decades in Ancona, his contacts with the Venetian world stop being as important as they were at the beginning.

On the other hand, his contacts with the Greek community of Ancona seem to shift from professional, as in the case of his partnership with Nicola Coressi, to increasingly personal, probably also due to the decline of Chiot trade in Ancona (the last active member of the Coressi family being attested in 1548). He is mentioned together with other members of the Greek community almost exclusively as an arbiter,[[353]](#footnote-353) as a provider of financial assistance – as in the case of Servo and Canari, or in a loan he gave to Xeno Costantini de Patimo[[354]](#footnote-354) – or as the representative of the Confraternity of Sant’Anna and, with the exclusion of a small sale of sweet wine to Alessandro Architetto da Zante, almost never as a business associate. [[355]](#footnote-355) Most of the *procuratori*, charged with representing his interests outside Ancona, were Umbrians, and their tasks mostly involved the collection of debts owed him by local merchants.[[356]](#footnote-356)

The case of Alessandro Maurodi offers an interesting chronological perspective of the development of personal and professional contacts among the Greeks in Ancona. His life began more or less as an extension of his family’s activities in Pera, closely tied to the networks of human movement established by the Venetians. With time, he moved away from that original social circle, and closer to the local Greek community of Ancona, taking full advantage of the business opportunities and human connections he could obtain with the intermediation of the community’s organized structures. Eventually, his involvement in the affairs of the Greek community became more private and less professional.

However, his case is somehow exceptional, as he was, since the beginning, well connected and able to move significant amounts of money. The experience of the two sons of the artisan Bartolomeo Politi, the brothers Michele and Costantino, shows some similarities. Unlike Alessandro Maurodi, their family was never extraordinarily wealthy. Moreover, their case is useful to understand the mechanisms of network formation, since while they both started from the same position as sons of amodest artisan, Michele and Costantino took two very different career paths, a fact which is reflected by the networks of contacts they were able to build. Their father, Bartolomeo Politi, is first attested in 1527, and Michele in 1533.[[357]](#footnote-357) He worked as a *paternostrario*, or rosary maker, and had an active role in furthering Greek settlement in Ancona by employing some *famuli* from Rhodes in his service. Michele, who was probably his eldest son, followed in his footsteps for a while, and continued to produce rosaries as his main activity at least until the late 1550s. Costantino, on the other hand, pursued a career as a merchant, even though on a much smaller scale than Alessandro Maurodi.

Between 1533 and 1559, Michele Politi’s contacts were mostly with local small-scale traders and farmers. In 1533 he welcomed a Greek *famulo* in his shop, and in 1534 and 1535, he is attested buying bones and pieces of wood he used to make rosary beads.[[358]](#footnote-358) In 1541 and 42, his only recorded commercial transactions involved the purchase of some grape must and wheat from two farmers who lived in the countryside around Ancona.[[359]](#footnote-359) In 1537, he was chosen by Costantino Ralli, a wealthy Greek merchant from Chios, to recover a sum of money owed him by certain small-scale traders from the town of Arcevia, some 50km west of Ancona. In the informal network that existed outside Sant’Anna, he worked as the hinge between wealthy Greek merchants and local traders coming from the immediate district of the city.

His brother, on the other hand, had a different experience. He first appears in 1544, engaged together with his partner Giovanni Paleologo de Rodi in a dispute with an Armenian merchant named Zaffer.[[360]](#footnote-360) He only appears again in 1559, when he loaned 3 scudi to the Greek caulker of a ship owned by the Muslim merchant Sinan Rais. On the very same day, he and his Muslim partner, Memiscia Ali de Mitilino, promised a payment of 48 scudi to a merchant from Bergamo.[[361]](#footnote-361) In the same year, he was also appointed as *procuratore* for Giorgio Sabbatiano de Zante, a Greek who was owed 10 scudi by a certain Beltramino, who lived in the Venetian town of Chioggia.[[362]](#footnote-362) In 1561, he is involved in an unspecified transaction with two Greeks from Velona.[[363]](#footnote-363) Unlike his brother Michele, Costantino Politi had a much wider range of contacts, especially on the eastern shore of the Adriatic and in the Ottoman world. He received that *procura* from Sabbatiano precisely because he was known to travel around the Adriatic, and a similar logic governed his partnership with Memiscia Ali and his dispute with Zaffer Armeno. As with Alessandro Maurodi, it is possible to witness the progressive detachment from the initial network of contacts he inherited from his land of origin, in this case his commercial partnership with Giovanni Paleologo from Rhodes, and the redirection towards new connections built around his professional life, which for Costantino Politi revolved around the commercial routes between Ancona and the Ottoman Empire.

However, the differences between Michele and Costantino start to look less significant in the late 1550s, when Michele apparently abandoned his shop and started working as a commercial intermediary. In 1559, together with his new partner Giovanni Pelagano de Neapoli Romanie, he bought some textiles from Vincenzo Barle, a Genoese merchant from Chios. In the same year, he is explicitly qualified as *proseneta,* or officially sanctioned commercial intermediary.[[364]](#footnote-364) Throughout the early 1560s he is attested buying small quantities of textiles from Italian merchants, no more than 2 cloths.[[365]](#footnote-365) In a document from 1563, he is *detto Micaglia*:the fact that he was mentioned by his nickname rather than by his proper name is a testimony to his integration in the merchant circles of Ancona, [[366]](#footnote-366) something his brother had already achieved during his years as a merchant and a ship owner, judging by the number of documents in which he appears as a witness and interpreter.[[367]](#footnote-367)

Just like Maurodi, the two Politi brothers, especially Michele, were prominent members of the Greek confraternity in Ancona. And just like the merchant from Adrianople, they were not strongly involved professionally with other members of the local Greek community. In their case as well, most of the notarial documents involving them and other Greeks, after the first decade or so of attested residency, are neither commercial partnerships, nor purchases or sales. Indeed, the only document mentioning Michele Politi interacting with another Greek outside the structures of the Confraternity of Sant’Anna was in 1559, when he assisted Nicola Servo and Nicola Canari after their ship sank, in 1559. Their experiences seem to show that, after the dissolution of the inherited networks, the role played by ethnicity in matters of business and trade gradually – but constantly – decreased, becoming less and less significant, and eventually relegated to the sphere of personal and religious life.

### 3.3.2 – Medium-term residents: the Chiots

The three cases presented above, however, are not entirely representative of the Greek community as a whole. Both the Politi brothers and Alessandro Maurodi were among the very few long-term residents in Ancona. They all lived in the city for several decades, and they are part of a handful of individuals who left a coherent paper trail of their actions, both due to the length of their stay, and their important roles inside the Greek Confraternity. Most of the Greeks in Ancona, however, were only temporarily resident in the city, settling for a limited number of years, sometimes just a few months or even days.

This is particularly evident when looking at the members of the “Chiot Bubble” as well. As already pointed out in the previous chapter, the Chiots in Ancona were mostly rich merchants, who were well integrated in the Genoese ruling class of the island, to the point that some families, like the Argenti and the Coressi, were even inscribed in the *alberghi* of the Genoese nobility. While the Greek and Genoese Chiots cannot be considered as belonging to a single social circle, their lives and affairs were intertwined more often than not. One of the foremost representative of the Chiot community, Nicola Coressi, appointed people from Genoa and Chios as his *procuratori* in more than one occasion, as did his colleagues Costantino Ralli and Ludovico Racani.[[368]](#footnote-368) *Procure* between Greek Chiots were even more common,[[369]](#footnote-369) especially among members of the same extended family, as in the case of Nicola with Antonio Coressi, and Teodoro Schilizza with his brother Giorgio.[[370]](#footnote-370) This mingling is not only attested in the *procure*, but is also evident from the constant appointment of Genoese arbiters for the resolution of legal controversies involving a Greek Chiot, and in the constitution of commercial partnerships with them.[[371]](#footnote-371) The reliance on Genoese organized structures also meant that the Chiots were proportionally less likely to join the Greek Confraternity than all other groups, and among the many wealthy Chiot merchants in Ancona, only one, Antonio Coressi, is attested as a member.[[372]](#footnote-372) All those factors, together with an average residence time in Ancona of six years – neither extremely short-term, nor long enough to initiate a radical change in social circles – make the Chiots one of the best case studies for the assessment of how social relations among the majority of the Greeks in Ancona developed through time.

In most cases, the connection with the original network inherited from the Chiot and Genoese connections still persisted, and the first and the last documents attesting the presence Antonio Coressi in Ancona both revolve around the Genoese presence in the city, first with the testimony of consul Benedetto D’Auria and later with a *procura* given by Antonio to Pietro Calvi Bellocchi, a Genoese who belonged to his same *albergo.*[[373]](#footnote-373) However, it is possible to see that the Chiots also developed a parallel connection with the local Greek community. This ties can be witnessed, in the case of Nicola Coressi, since the very beginning: in 1537, he is appointed *procuratore* for Alessio Lascari Paleologo de Morea, and in 1541 his house was the location in which several transactions involving Greeks were signed.[[374]](#footnote-374) His brother Antonio, who unlike him was a confirmed member of Sant’Anna, shared similar social relations, and is also attested, just like Maurodi, as one of the judges in several arbitrations involving two Greeks, twice between 1543 and 1548.[[375]](#footnote-375) Another Chiot merchant, Costantino Ralli, had an even wider network of social relations, which encompassed a significant number of Anconitan Greeks, and also members of other expatriate communities, such as the Albanians and the Schiavoni. In his first appearance, in 1536, he makes a transaction in the house of Girolamo Lecchavera, another Chiot but also a member of the Greek Confraternity.[[376]](#footnote-376) In 1538 he was approached by the priest of Sant’Anna, Antonio Patavino de Corfu. Patavino was working as the *procuratore* for a certain Ariadne, a Greek woman who lived in Venice. Her request involved a certain number of bovine skins, which were apparently in the hands of Ralli.[[377]](#footnote-377) In the same year, he was asked to preserve the sum of 97 scudi by Agatia Premendario, through his Dalmatian *procuratore* Giorgio Dolesich. The notes underneath the document report that the money was given back to Premendario four years later, by the agency of Stamatis Zai and Nicola Buratto, two members of Sant’Anna.[[378]](#footnote-378)

Those two examples seem to show that within a year, Costantino Ralli was contacted two times by people who belonged to the organized structures of the Greek community – without ever being a formal member. But his transactions with the Greeks were not just with members of Sant’Anna: in 1538 he formed a commercial partnership with Demetrio Alicastro de Corfu, and bought half a boat from Giovanni Giorgii de Candia.[[379]](#footnote-379) Relations could be both professional and personal. For instance together with Bartolomeo Volentera de Zante, he sold a horse to the Naupliote Nicola Vrana. The animal was sold for 35 scudi, which included the restitution of 3 scudi Ralli and Volentera had previously loaned to Vrana. In the following year, Ralli appeared as the guarantor of Giorgio Poli de Candia, whom he also represented in an arbitration against Pietro Morzoflo, a Greek retailer.[[380]](#footnote-380) In all those cases, the original networks of the Chiot merchants maintained their strength, while existing side by side with the new social circles they had been able to build in Ancona.

### 3.3.3 – The transitory residents

The only significant difference between Ralli and the Chiots on one hand, and Maurodi on the other was the length of their stay in Ancona. While Maurodi resided in the city for at least 30 years, the Chiots were replaced by a relative more or less regularly every five or six years. Antonio Coressi took the place of his brother Nicola, and Costantino Ralli starts to appear less and less in the documents around the time his relative Antonio Ralli is first attested, in 1541.[[381]](#footnote-381) Both Maurodi, the Politi brothers and the Chiots had important family-based connections in Ancona – which shaped the first part of their stay. In the case of Maurodi and the Politi brothers the original network was quickly replaced, but the Chiots maintained it, due to both the shortness of their stay and the stronger resilience of their personal connections with the Genoese\Chiot institutions. In all those cases, as they went on, the range of their acquaintances expanded to include a significant number of Greeks and Italians. It is possible to classify the contacts they built with the rest of the Greek community in two main categories: professional and personal.

While the latter mostly involved short-term loans, notarized testimonies, and financial assistance to known and trusted individuals, the former more often than not involved simple sailors or ship owners, who connected the city with the marketplaces of the eastern Mediterranean and only stayed for very short periods of time. The presence of these categories of people, who can be classified as transitory residents, was clearly linked to the success of the port, and started to become numerically less and less significant with the beginning of its decline in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Transitory residents were the silent majority of the Greeks in Ancona, and probably constituted the single most important share of the Greek presence in the city. A report written by the episcopal vicar in 1595 (at the end of the main cycle of commercial prosperity for the city) states that, against only 30 permanent residents, the church of Sant’Anna would also serve up to more 200 people, mostly ship crews and merchants, who came and went *alla giornata.*[[382]](#footnote-382)Due to the nature of their trade, they tend to be almost invisible in the notarial sources, which dealt mostly with international trade and large transactions. However, relatively infrequent kinds of notarial deeds, such as testimonies, litigations and the occasional small transaction have left a trace of their presence. A series of notarized testimonies from 1574 recounts the experience lived by a group of sailors – Costantino Ioannis da Metelino, Giacomo Camaroso da Patimo and Giovanni Demetrii – who found themselves stranded in the middle of the Adriatic sea after a series of terrible storms.[[383]](#footnote-383) In 1548, a group of Greek sailors attempted a ‘class action’ against the owner of their ship, Giorgio Maurizio Cretese, but was condemned by an arbitration court to pay him 500 Ottoman silver *asperi.*[[384]](#footnote-384) Greek sailors were also employed by Italian ship owners and captains, as in the case of Iannis de Corono, who worked as *nauclerus* for Pandolfo Biliotto from Florence, or Demetrio Manolis de Andria, who worked for Fabrizio Salvaresio, a Venetian merchant living in Pera.[[385]](#footnote-385) All of them, and many others like them, only appear once in the sources, certainly not enough to construct a detailed picture of their interaction with the population of Ancona. In any case, despite their transitory status, they were considered part of the Greek community, and could sometimes be buried in Sant’Anna, as happened to a travelling ship captain named Stefano Agalli, who died during his stay in the year 1548.[[386]](#footnote-386)

However, the numbers and the frequency with which those names of sailors, caulkers, captains and helmsmen appear, if only once, is enough to suggest that the merchants and the artisans who stayed in the city for long period were only the tip of the iceberg. If people like Ralli and Maurodi were at the end of a chain of contacts that extended across the eastern Mediterranean, connected to the Latin merchants by intermediaries like Michele Politi, the hundreds and hundreds of sailors and captains that reached the city from the ports of Constantinople, Crete, Zante and the Archipelago were the chain itself, the vehicle via which Ancona was concretely connected to the rest of the Mediterranean world. Their movement closely followed the fluctuations of the trade routes of the region, and their presence or absence might constitute the best marker of the prosperity of any port city dealing with the Ottoman and Levantine world. With the decline of the port, in the 1560s according to Earle, possibly after the Jewish boycott of the city in 1556-58 and certainly after the opening of the Venetian *scala* in Split in 1580,[[387]](#footnote-387) it is possible to assume that their numbers started to dwindle, making their presence and their commercial importance less and less substantial.

The inherent instability of the lives of those involved in naval trades is effectively illustrated by the case of Giovanni Schiada de Corfu. Himself a long-time resident in Ancona, he spent his life working as a mariner, following the footstep of his father Zacharia.[[388]](#footnote-388) Giovanni is first mentioned in September 1555, as the defendant in a legal case initiated by his creditors, a mix of Anconitan and Latin Chiot merchants. His defence, which would prove unsuccessful, involved pleading extreme poverty on the grounds that, despite his best attempts at sustaining himself *navigando in diversis mundis partibus*, he could not escape his condition of indigence which – he added – was *notoria et manifesta*. As Schiada had already lived in Ancona for at least a decade, he could rely on the assistance offered by a handful of other Greeks, who testified that his disgrace was due to the *mali tempi*, and not to his inaction and laziness.[[389]](#footnote-389) The vast majority of the other Greek sailors could not count on a similar support network, and when the *mali tempi* inevitably hit many of them as well in the second half of the century, they had no other choice but to move elsewhere.

This decline in the number and importance of the transitory residents might partially account for the generalized lack of professional associations between Greeks in the latter decades of the century, as opposed to their frequency between the 1530s and the 1550s. The decline of commercial traffic reduced the number of transitory residents, which in turn influenced the nature of the interactions that took place between the relatively few remaining Greeks, who were for the most part stationary merchants and artisans. Their relations started to take place more around the church and the Confraternity, and less around the docks, initiating a process of transition from a mercantile and fluid community, as it had been since its inception in the 1510s, to one composed mostly by long-time settlers and more centred on Sant’Anna, as in the 1590s. These wider economic factors acted in conjunction with the tendency of long-term settlers to spontaneously integrate inside their host society. The process was often accompanied by a more constant presence inside the Confraternity and by an expansion of the migrants’ network of contacts with the locals, and is a clear manifestation of their gradual integration. The frequency of professional exchanges with the other members of local society was one of the manifestations of this progressive integration, but there was also – and most importantly – the establishment of personal and private connections, which become particularly evident when looking at the marriage patterns of the Greeks in Ancona.

## 3.4 – Marriages and integration

Zanetto Staphi da Candia was a baker who, like many other Greeks, lived in the parish of Santa Maria del Mercato. In January 1525 he signed a contract with Bianca and Biagio, two Dalmatian migrants, who promised him the hand of their *famula*, Elena. Her dowry amounted to a total of 90 florins, 50 of which in cash, the rest in movable goods, including several tablecloths, beddings, and a couple of *gamurre*, a kind of female dress covering the whole body from the neck down.[[390]](#footnote-390) However, something went wrong with the marriage arrangement, and the following November Zanetto married another girl, Aghenia, who also happened to be a Slav *famula*. Her dowry was apparently higher, amounting to 100 florins instead of Elena’s 90, but in Aghenia’s case, only 20 florins were in cash, the rest were part of her dowry box.[[391]](#footnote-391)

The sources do not tell us why the marriage with Elena never took place, but the profession of Aghenia’s erstwhile husband, a baker named Bonetto, as well as the identity of her current employer, a Chiot named Giovanni Racani, might shed some light about the reason why Zanetto might have changed his mind. Aghenia was not only the servant of another Greek, but was also the widow of another baker: in one way or another, she was part of the two main social circles of her new husband. These factors, and the fact that Zanetto was currently living with two *famuli* who shared his wife’s ethnic origins – Tommaso Bolodich and Nicola Verminich[[392]](#footnote-392) – would have certainly helped minimize the cultural, ethnic and religious barriers existing between the newlyweds, creating the right mix of conditions for the arrangement of the marriage, if not for its success. Nine years later, both Zanetto and Aghenia entered into a commercial partnership with Antonio Sancti, alias *el factore*, and his wife: they provided them two rooms inside their own house, and while the men baked bread in the oven provided by Zanetto, the wives would sell it in their shop and bring it to the market square, taking turns every other week.[[393]](#footnote-393)

The case of Zanetto and Aghenia is in no way unique. Exogamy was the norm among the Greeks of Ancona, and on the total of 27 recorded marriages, only 6 were contracted inside the community (Graph 5). In all other cases, one of the consorts, either male or female, was a non-Greek, in 10 cases an Italian (of different origin), in 7 a Schiavone or an Albanian, and in only one case an Armenian. This rather small proportion of endogamic marriages can probably be ascribed to the predominantly male and professional nature of the Greek migration to Ancona. While the contrasting results of parallel studies done on the Greeks in Venice do not allow a clear comparison, it seems that the migrants were unable, and probably unwilling, to limit their marriage options only to other Greeks.[[394]](#footnote-394)

It is possible to draw a connection between the ethnic origin of one of the spouses and the profession of the other. For example, Florentine and Tuscans, both brides and grooms, were consistently married to the families of merchants or people involved in the trade of woollen textiles, as in the case of Felice, daughter of the Chiot merchant Manuele Coressi, who married Benedetto Zitio from Florence[[395]](#footnote-395) or Diana *quondam* Cicchoni, also from Florence, who married Nicola Politi, son of Michele, who spent the second half of his life working as a commercial intermediary. On the other hand, Slavs and Albanians were often married by artisans and shopkeepers: this is exemplified not only by the case of Zanetto and Aghenia, but also by the marriage between Pietro Marini Morzoflo, a retailer, with a Croatian girl named Maddalena;[[396]](#footnote-396) and by the one between Nicola Demetrii, a tailor from Morea, and Marietta Albanese.[[397]](#footnote-397) The differences in status between the marriages contracted by merchants and those that involved artisans are also evident in the dowries recorded. While the average dowry for an artisan marriage amounted to 100 ducats or florins, half of which in movable goods, a wealthy merchant such as Manuele Coressi could afford to grant his daughter Felice two houses in Ancona, and also throw in an unspecified amount of cash.[[398]](#footnote-398)

Another noticeable trend that emerges from an analysis of themarriage-related deeds drafted by the Anconitan notaries is the general demographic character of the Greek spouses. Despite the nature of the recordings, in which the *desponsationes* and the dowry deeds are listed according to the name of the female spouse, there is a clear disproportion of recorded Greek males (21) to females (10). Moreover, only 3 out of 10 mentioned Greek brides are mentioned before 1562, the year in which the Confraternity of Sant’Anna instituted its dowry fund.[[399]](#footnote-399) It is also possible to see that the vast majority of the grooms was employed in professions different from long-distance trade. With the exception of the two merchants mentioned above, all the others were bakers (2), barbers (2), tailors (3), intermediaries (2), one cooper and one retailer.

The combination of these factors shows that marriages were deeply influenced by the wider social circles available to each spouse. Professional relations, together with neighbourhood ties and the intermediation of common acquaintances all played an important role in establishing the nature of the connections from which marriages were arranged.[[400]](#footnote-400) Also, in a way that resembles the settlement patterns outlined by Subacchi in her work on the Italians in Antwerp,[[401]](#footnote-401) the recorded grooms were mostly involved in stationary professions, which might confirm the difference in the migration pattern existing between, on the one hand, merchants and naval workers, whose permanence was seasonal, cyclical and influenced by the changes in the trade routes, and on the others by artisans and shopkeepers who were, by the nature of their profession, much more likely to settle permanently in the city.

But beyond the demographic significance of the data mentioned above, the frequency of mixed marriages signals the openness to external influences – cultural, family, even religious – of both the Greek migrants and the varied society of Ancona. It allowed the creation and the official recognition of new families, in which different cultural and ethnic tradition could coexist, in many cases starting with the ceremony itself. This is apparent in two cases from 1526: while the marriage of Zanetto da Candia with Aghenia Schiavona was celebrated *more consueto sub precepta sancte romane ecclesie*, that of Giovanni Primicerio de Rodi and Maria Trivisano, the Italian *famula* of a local merchant, was accompanied by a ceremony performed *greco more.*[[402]](#footnote-402) In both cases, a mixed marriage was celebrated according to the rite of only one of the spouses, not necessarily the husband or the wife.

Mixed marriage was also a convenient path to social advancement for the wealthier migrants, as evident when comparing the dowries granted by Manuele Coressi to his daughter, with the one received by his son Galeazzo, when he married Caterina, daughter of Antonio Ciccolini da Fano. Caterina’s dowry was certainly remarkable in its own right – an unspecified amount of money, in addition to a landed property worth 100 scudi, but it was probably less valuable than the two properties granted by Manuele to his daughter Felice.[[403]](#footnote-403) By far the most striking example of the use of exogamic marriage as a vehicle for social advancement comes from the impressive dowry of 1500 scudi granted by Alessandro Maurodi to his daughter Marina, for her marriage to Marino Capitosti, who belonged to a noble family from Recanati.[[404]](#footnote-404) The dowry was large enough to cause problems after the death of Alessandro Maurodi in 1569, as his nephew and heir Costantino fought to reduce it to the more manageable, yet still remarkable, sum of 710 ducats.[[405]](#footnote-405) Daughters, much more than sons, tended to marry upwards in the social scale, and were their families’ tool for social advancement.

However, those were clearly exceptional cases, and the wide majority of the Greeks married inside the lower levels of local society, as noticeable by the large number of marriage agreements involving *famule* and servants of wealthier local merchants. This was particularly true during the first phase of the settlement of young professionals in Ancona, in the first decades of the sixteenth century. With time, and with the progressive normalization of the Greek presence in the city which took place together with the gradual emergence of the Confraternity of Sant’Anna, and its role as a safety net for the newcomers, the social condition of the average bride also improved. This is witnessed by the rise in the value of their dowries which increased from an average of 100 ducats to as much as 300 scudi.[[406]](#footnote-406)

But the difference in religious confession could also be a source of problems, especially in the not infrequent cases of mutual misunderstanding about the legitimacy of separation and divorce. In the Byzantine canonical tradition inherited by the Greek migrants, divorce was accepted in case of adultery, impotence, threats to the spouse’s life, and leprosy. The Roman tradition, however, allowed no case for divorce, decreeing instead a separation of the partners without the dissolution of the marriage contract.[[407]](#footnote-407) These different conceptions could cause some attrition within the couple, occasionally with some important ramifications: in 1579, in the middle of an intense phase of reformation of the Greek rite in Italy, the case of a Slav woman who complained to the bishop of Ancona about her Greek husband’s former wife, whom he had left on Crete, initiated a thorough episcopal investigation into the community of Sant’Anna.[[408]](#footnote-408) The resilience, until the very last years of the sixteenth century, of a cultural tradition like divorce among the Greeks in Ancona is attested by the frequent mentions of it in the documents produced by the committees tasked with a reformation of the Greek community.[[409]](#footnote-409)

Cultural and religious tensions were arguably less likely inside those marriages contracted within the Greek community itself, and in which the cultural and religious identity of the two spouses could be passed down almost seamlessly to their offspring, sometimes even through the transmission of material items, as in the case of the dowry agreement between Antonio Petri from Zante and his wife, Elisa daughter of Tommaso de Neapoli Romanie. Alongside the usual list of clothes, beddings and household items, the document mentions one *quadro d’una madonna messa a oro,*[[410]](#footnote-410) which most likely refers to a gold-plated icon of the Virgin painted and decorated according to the Orthodox tradition.

But endogamy, as noted, seemed to be the exception, and ultimately mixed marriages allowed the individual migrants to live, at least in part, outside their inherited networks, the institutions of their ethnic group, and their immediate circle of acquaintances. It was, essentially, one of the most important and necessary stages for the integration of a migrant inside the host society, the turning point of his transition from outsider to accepted.[[411]](#footnote-411) The next natural step was the creation of a new family – and in some cases the transmission of a ‘foreign’ cultural heritage to children who would grow up from the very beginning inside Ancona.

## 3.5 – The second generations

The success of the process of individual integration in the fabric of Anconitan society is underlined by the peak in the numbers of Greek brides recorded for the second half of the sixteenth century, roughly a generation after the settlement of the first wave of migrants. Before 1570, Greek women appear as brides very rarely, coincidentally more or less once every ten years: Maria Greca in 1515, Antonia Benisti in 1525, Felice Coressi in 1535 and Maria Valasto in 1539.[[412]](#footnote-412) In some cases, such as with Felice Coressi, they were likely born outside Ancona.

Nevertheless from the late 1560s the their appearances start to become much more frequent, and there are 8 mentions of them within 8 years: Alessandrina Candili and Elisa Thome in 1570, Veneranda Strategopulina in 1572; Marina Maurodi in 1574; Caterina Greca in 1575; Selvaggia, Anna Florenii and Caterina Politi in 1578.[[413]](#footnote-413) Rather than being migrants themselves, these women were most likely the offspring of those who reached the city between the 1520s and the 1540s. Unlike their migrant parents, they grew up immersed in both the Greek and the Italian worlds, dealing with radically different processes of socialization and creation of social connections. While the individual results of were of course extremely variable – ranging from the total acceptance of the cultural identity of one parent, to its complete rejection, to all the stages in between – there are some common social and professional trends that involved a significant number of second generation Greeks.

One of them was the transition from craftsmanship to commercial mediation, or *prosenaria*, a shift which had already been mentioned for Michele Politi. The grandson of Michele himself, Paolo Politi, continued on his line, and he is mentioned working as both an intermediary and a mercer;[[414]](#footnote-414) Antonio Buratti, son of the goldsmith Nicola Buratti from Rhodes, is also attested as an intermediary in 1577, when he worked as the middleman between Frà Giovanni Barelli, a knight of Malta, and a certain Mustafa Celebi, for the ransom of a number of Turkish slaves.[[415]](#footnote-415) The case of Buratti’s intermediation between a Christian knight and an Ottoman dignitary is exceptional, and somehow extreme. Nevertheless, by growing up within the Greek community of Ancona, yet fully immersed since birth in its mercantile and predominantly Italian environment, the offspring of the original migrants gained some concrete and undeniable business advantages, like habitual bilingualism, knowledge of people on both sides of the market, cultural and personal familiarity with a certain particular environment. Whatever the identity of the two parties connected by the *proseneta*, commercial intermediation seemed like the ideal occupation for many second-generation Greeks. But it was also possible to change careers after a long stay, and migrants would often combine the profession of craftsman with that of commercial intermediary. Pietro Cordella de Chio, for example, was first attested as *tiraoro*, a kind of artisan specialized in the production of fine gold threads.[[416]](#footnote-416) Just a few years later, in 1539, he appears as *sensale*, mediating between an English exporter of cloths and a Latin Chiot, Girolamo Grandona.[[417]](#footnote-417) It is not confirmed by the sources, but it is possible that he pursued both jobs at the same time. As a general rule, however, the constant coming and going of Greek merchants buying and selling wares, combined with the relatively low demand for the products of local craftsmanship would have made the transition of second-generation migrants to commercial intermediation much more desirable, and lucrative.

Others, instead of working into commercial intermediation, received a formal education and went to work as notaries: the archive of Ancona preserves, although in a less than optimal state, a few volumes of deeds drafted by Giovanni Cordella (1577-78),[[418]](#footnote-418) most likely the son of the aforementioned Pietro, and a Giuseppe Sguri (1607-09), possibly a descendant of Giovanni Sguri, a merchant and intermediary attested between 1535 and 1565.[[419]](#footnote-419) Unfortunately, there is no proof of their family ties, as the typically formulaic opening pages of Cordella’s two volumes do not mention his patronymic. Throughout the sixteenth century, there is evidence of some level of personal connection between a few notaries and the Greek migrants: Costantino Ralli lived in the house of notary Girolamo Giustiniani, who was also from Chios, and a tailor named Demetrio Nicolai had his shop in the ground floor of a house belonging to notary Lorenzo Trionfi.[[420]](#footnote-420) On an even more personal level, Nicolosa, daughter of Nicola Politi, married in 1588 the notary Orazio Brancadoro.[[421]](#footnote-421)

However, a thorough study of the life of the second generation is generally harder, as they lose many of the markers that allowed the tracking of their parents in the first place, such as the characterization of *grecus* in the notarial sources, which is in itself a concrete sign of the successful integration of their families into the fabric of local society, as they stopped being officially perceived as foreigners in legally binding documents. Nevertheless, a handful of families maintained strong documented ties with their original ethnic and religious identity, well beyond the second generation. It will not be surprising to find out that the majority of these families were affiliated in one way or another to the Confraternity of Sant’Anna and the most remarkable case is, once again, that of the Politi.

After Nicola Politi died at some point before 1572, his father Michele decided to step in his place as the legal tutor of his five grandchildren, Politia, Caterina, Margherita and Nicolosa and Paolo. He also set aside 20 scudi for the dowry of their household servant, the *famula* Giovanna.[[422]](#footnote-422) The necessity to find a dowry for five women of marriageable age could put a strain on a family’s finance, and with the exception of Giovanna, all of Michele’s granddaughters took full advantage of the 25 scudi granted by the dowry fund instituted by Sant’Anna, which were added to their grandfather’s contributions.[[423]](#footnote-423) The ties between the Confraternity and the Politi family lasted for generations, and survived well into the seventeenth century, with Paolo Politi and his relative Antonio appearing either as members or as Governors between 1595 and 1608. Their connection with the Confraternity was in fact so thorough that in 1645, after it was opened to Latin membership, Paolo Politi’s brother in law, the Italian notary Orazio Brancadoro, is attested as the Governor.[[424]](#footnote-424) The Politi were also one of the few Greek families who actively supported Sant’Anna during the period of strongest pressure by the Latin ecclesiastical authorities, in the last decades of the sixteenth century. The strength of their tenacious connection with the institutional side of the Greek community, in its particular incarnation as a religious confraternity, was unaffected by the family’s history of mixed marriages. Paolo Politi was the son of Diana *quondam* Ciccone, a Florentine merchant,[[425]](#footnote-425) a fact which did not prevent him from identifying himself as *grecus*, and thoroughly embracing the religious heritage of his father, even in the form of opposition to the Church authorities. This is not to say that the family had a distinct preference for external marriages: Nicola’s daughter Caterina married Giorgio Petri, who came from the town of Andrussia in the Morea.[[426]](#footnote-426)

We have seen, by looking at the lives of several members of this family, that they were a model example of integration in the Anconitan society, throughout all the more than 80 years in which their name is attested, between 1527 and 1608: Michele Politi had close and repeated contacts with local farmers and merchants, was chosen as the *procuratore* of a Greek merchant for his familiarity with the Anconitan environment, and eventually started a career as commercial intermediary to put these connections to good use. His son Nicola was married to the daughter of a Florentine merchant, his granddaughters were indiscriminately married off to Greeks or Latins, while his grandson Paolo was close enough to Anconitan retailer Oliviero Saporito to lend him 12 scudi.[[427]](#footnote-427) Yet, despite all these connections, they remained among the most stalwart supporters of the religious independence of the Greek Confraternity, perhaps contributing to the emergence of those internal divisions that weakened its resistance to the Latin attempts at enforcing a religious and administrative *reductio* of their church inside the boundaries of post-Tridentine ecclesiology.

This apparent contradiction rests on the assumptions that the processes of identity formation and evolution work according to a more or less binary system of excluding extremes – irreconcilable “us and them” dichotomies. A similar assumption is strengthened in the scholarship by a tendency to focus on the most apparent markers of individual identity, those that are the most visible and prominent in the sources: religion and ethnicity.[[428]](#footnote-428) However, while clearly important, those factors constitute only one part of an individual’s self-perception, and of the way he was perceived by the surrounding society. Family, class, education, social circles, locality, gender, age and a number of other factors could be as important in determining the sense of individual identity as religion and ethnicity. Moreover, those variables continuously evolved, reacting to all kinds of stimuli and interacting with each other, and individual identity was rarely fixed in time within a single category. This was particularly true in the case of people born into migrant families, as they tended to loosen their ties with those cultural characters, such as monolingualism or accent, the different dress code, and most importantly the absolute and inescapable feeling of being alien coupled with the certainty of being perceived as such, all of which had marked their parents as invariably different from their host society, whatever their degree of familiarity with the new environment. For the second generation, the situation was fluid and multiple, even more than normal, a complexity which can only partially be conveyed by the use of hyphenated labels, such as Greek-Italian.[[429]](#footnote-429) The multiple composition makes it impossible to reduce the analysis of individual identity within the boundaries of a simple binary logic – as for example Catholic vs. Orthodox – and even if we accept terms such as “Greek” and “Non-Greek” as two incompatible extremes, the space between them could be occupied by a potentially infinite number of variations, as numerous as the possible interactions between the elements that constitute a person’s identity and the surrounding environment. In a similar context, the integration of certain individuals, especially in the second generations, was a slow process, with numerous stages and a wide range of possible outcomes.[[430]](#footnote-430)

Being perceived – and perceiving themselves – as both aliens and locals, the children of Greek migrants would gradually and selectively embrace or reject certain aspects of the dominant culture of Ancona, and welcoming Italian spouses, commercial partners or friends was not seen as necessarily in contrast with their identity as members of a certain group, or to the attachment to a certain liturgical rite.

## 3.6 – Conclusions

This chapter has tried to follow the lives of many Greeks who migrated in Ancona during the sixteenth century, by highlighting and describing the different stages of their lives as expatriates, from their arrival to the transmission of their cultural heritage to their descendants. It is only logical to end this overview by considering the migrants in the final moments of their lives, as emerges from an analysis of their testamentary wills.

One of the earlier surviving wills, from 1532, is that of Giovanni Sugduri, who chose to be buried in the monastery of Vatopedi on Athos. The monastery was also named his sole heir.[[431]](#footnote-431) Sugduri was not unique in his wish to reaffirm a strong attachment to his origins, even beyond death, as shown by the will of Manuele Coressi, dating to 1530. The executor of Coressi’s will was his son-in-law, another Chiot named Tommaso Mavrocordato, who had married his daughter Violante and received a substantial part of the inheritance. Another share was split between his son, Galeazzo – who had married the daughter of an Italian merchant – and his widowed wife, Giovanna. A few ducats were also given to a number of Anconitans and Genoese with which he had some outstanding debts. However, when faced with imminent demise, Manuele Coressi did not forget his native land: he requested to be buried in Chios, and more specifically in the church of Santa Maria in the village of Augonima. He also set aside 20 ducats for the poor people of the island.[[432]](#footnote-432)

This can be contrasted with the later example of Costantino Maurodi. Heir and nephew of Alessandro, Costantino was not technically second generation, as he crossed the Adriatic at a certain point in the late 1550s. However, his description as a *prudente iuvene* in 1560 might indicate that he reached Ancona while still in his adolescence, where he completed his socialization.[[433]](#footnote-433) He had a complex story of quarrels with the Confraternity of Sant’Anna,[[434]](#footnote-434) which peaked when he forbid his son Alessandro from marrying a Greek or eastern woman, if he wanted to access his substantial inheritance. For his burial, he chose the Latin church of San Francesco alle Scale, in Ancona, and elected as the main beneficiary of his estate a Latin confraternity, *Della Misericordia e della Morte.*[[435]](#footnote-435)

The cases of Sugduri and Maurodi, chronologically at the opposite ends of the period under discussion and also diametrically different in their relationship with their cultural and religious heritage, mark two extremes between which the vast majority of the Greeks experienced their lives in Ancona: on the one hand, the unshakable attachment to one’s own cultural heritage, which found its ultimate expression in the complete alienation of bodily remains and material goods to a strongly symbolic religious institution, such as Athos; on the other, the complete and utter rejection not only of the original religious tradition, but also of every past and potential personal contact with the members of the original minority. However, their cases were, to my knowledge, extreme and unique, and most of the Greeks who lived in Ancona were happy trying to build a comfortable life in the city while preserving an acceptable level of connection with their native land, a situation of compromise which is well exemplified in the wills of Pietro Drichi and Zaccharia Schiada. They both chose to be buried in the Greek church of Ancona, while also sending as much money and as many goods as possible, in one case just one *cassa de robbe*, back to their wives in Candia and Corfu.[[436]](#footnote-436) Living between two worlds, as many of the Greek migrants did, required compromises, which could sometimes be as demanding as altering one’s own name. This happened particularly to women, as Paraskevi Strategopulina and Eutyche Coressi became Veneranda and Felice.[[437]](#footnote-437) But the Politi as well, whose case has been mentioned numerous times now, probably went by the name Prothopsalti when they first arrived, which needed to be Latinized in order to facilitate their interaction with the local society.[[438]](#footnote-438)

The need to compromise between two cultures, and all the personal hardships associated with expatriate life, were made more bearable on the one hand by the resilience of the original inherited networks, and on the other by the presence of an institution like Sant’Anna, two factors which worked as a loosely-knit safety net, able in most cases to mediate successfully between the foreigner, with his baggage of uncertainties and diversity, and the larger citizen community, open but never fully trusting.

Upon their arrival, the Greek migrants, both those who intended to settle for long, and those who were only transitory, were faced with a foreign, yet familiar environment: most of them settled in areas already inhabited by people who spoke their language and had a similar cultural orientation – whether it was fellow Greeks who had already crossed the Adriatic, or travelling Italian merchants with an international outlook. They could also rely on the presence of people they knew and trusted for their insertion in the local job market, as shown by the many *famuli* taken in by Greek artisans in Ancona, or by the chain migration of members of the same family so apparent in the case of the Chiot merchants. Once they found an occupation and a place to stay, the weight of these inherited connections started to fade, slowly replaced by the contacts established in their new city, and their relationship with the other Greeks started to assume more personal connotations – rather than commercial partnerships, the Greek community expressed its cohesion for the most part through short-term loans, financial assistance, and legal patronage. This tendency to a relatively easy integration is also witnessed by the large number of mixed marriages involving non-Greeks, for the most part Schiavoni and Italians, which constituted one of the most important steps in their integration into local society, and which also implied a participation to entirely new social circles laying outside both their original network of Greek acquaintances, and the structures of welfare and solidarity that existed inside the community. The effects of these marriages on integration were concretely exemplified by the extremely varied attitudes taken by the second, and sometimes third, generations, towards the cultural legacy of their Greek parents.

The Greeks maintained a substantial system ethnic ties, which allowed integration without complete assimilation, and which were open enough to avoid the emergence of forms of ethnic segregation. They were built in large parts by those members of the community which had resided in Ancona for the longest time: a clear minority, mostly artisans and stationary merchants, which placed itself between the Greeks and their host society, within as well as without the institutions of the migrants, through the structured welfare promoted by the Confraternity of Sant’Anna as much as through personal loans, partnerships and friendships. This kind of connection was based initially on a shared familiar experience, and would later develop along the lines of language, religion, culture and the commonality of the migrant experience. Those were relatively weak social ties which, unless reinforced through the creation of stronger family connections, could only grant a relatively small level of collective social resilience. In the situation that would emerge at the end of the century, the Greek community of Ancona rapidly fractured and dissolved in the face of a mounting Latin pressure to conform.

Nevertheless, in the prosperous central years of the sixteenth century these connections made up the largest part of the social experience of the migrant Greeks, and it is possible to say that an actual sense of community only emerged when they began to replace their inherited original networks with those they slowly forged in their host city. It was at this stage of community formation, from the point of view of the individual and of the social group alike, that the institutions of the migrants would come into play, as a means to reinforce, structure and express the personal connections that had previously emerged.

# CHAPTER 4 - THE CONFRATERNITY OF SANT’ANNA

The previous chapter has shown the process of formation of the informal relationships established by the individual migrants and their families, and how their development was instrumental in turning a group of people with different social and geographical backgrounds, who came from very diverse areas of the Greek-speaking world – the Venetian dominions, the Ottoman Empire and Genoese Chios – into an actual community. This chapter will look at the structures of the Confraternity of Sant’Anna, the only known institution of the Greek community, trying to assess its general role, by comparing it to similar institutions spawned in different contexts, and by putting it in relation to the wider community and to the network of relationship that formed its most basic and essential level.

Besides being a religious institution practicing the Greek liturgical rite inside a Catholic city located in the Papal States, the Confraternity of Sant’Anna also worked as an important space for socialization, functioning as a sounding board which strengthened the pre-existing social connections, and as the physical place in which new relationships were created. The people involved in these processes of socialization were not just those Greeks who lived in Ancona, and the Confraternity was also a powerful vehicle for the maintenance and reinforcement of the contacts with the Orthodox world, especially in the religious sphere. Another aspect that emerges from an analysis of the Confraternity and its documents is its role as an administrative body of sorts for the Greek community, which took care of a system of welfare on an ethnic basis and, indirectly, of the resolution of arbitrations and controversies emerging among the Greeks. I will argue that the way these functions were performed, combined with the history of the institution and with its demographic composition, were a direct consequence of the professional and geographical composition of the community.

While these functions had a clear importance in the social life of the Greek community, the existence of the institution of Sant’Anna was logically subordinate to the presence of a pre-existing network of relationships, which it confirmed, reinforced and complemented. Its activities, while certainly important, were accessory, rather than absolutely necessary for its development. In other words, the community could exist without institutions, but institutions cannot exist without a community.

An embryo of collective recognition, referred to as *universitas grecorum,* was already present at the beginning of the intensive settlement of Greeks in the city in 1524 and 1525, when the church of Santa Maria in Porta Cipriana, later to become Sant’Anna, was first granted to the Greek community by Clement VII, and with the purchase of San Matteo.[[439]](#footnote-439) However, no information is available about any kind of internal organization, and it can be assumed that a formalized structure only came into existence with the official establishment of the Confraternity of Sant’Anna of the Greeks (*Societas Grecorum Sancte Anne*) in 1531.[[440]](#footnote-440) During the period between 1524 and 1531 the church building was used for both Orthodox and Catholic religious practices, until its last Latin priest Bernardino Pernotti left it to the Greeks, opening the way to the institution of their confraternity.[[441]](#footnote-441) In these seven years the Latin church of Santa Maria in Porta Cipriana transitioned into its fully Greek identity as Sant’Anna which it would maintain, in one form or another, until at least the nineteenth century. From 1531, and for the following seventy years, the building would be under the jurisdiction of the Greek Confraternity, which took care of the performance of devotional services, the financial maintenance of a church and the management of its religious personnel.

## 4.1 – Sant’Anna as a *national* confraternity

The Confraternity of Sant’Anna was an institution which could not fit comfortably either in the wide model of the Latin lay confraternity, or in that of the organized *natio*, while showing characteristics and functions typical of both. To begin this chapter, it might therefore be necessary to better define the nature of a *national confraternity*, and the position of Sant’Anna in relation to that model.

Italian lay confraternities between the fifteenth and early seventeenth centuries have proved to be a rather difficult subject of analysis, showing an extraordinarily wide variety of forms and functions, and modern research has shifted its focus from time to time on different aspects of their internal organizations, and of their relationship with local societies.[[442]](#footnote-442) This is particularly apparent when they are discussed in the context of the mid to late sixteenth century, a period in which the parallel surge in popular piety and in the presence of the Catholic Church in everyday life triggered a long and troubled process of institutionalization and imposition of episcopal control, which slowly altered the nature of their functions and their relationship to the urban environment and the local bishops.[[443]](#footnote-443) However, while a universal and univocal model of lay confraternity is rather hard to define, there are some features that seem to be present in a significant number of known cases. The first and foremost function of lay confraternities was of course the pursuit of common devotional practices, often linked to particular festivities (such as the *Corpus Christi* in Ancona), the cult of local saints, or the support of specific devotional practices, as in the case of Marian confraternities spreading and supporting the use of the rosary, or the *Disciplinati* practicing self-flagellation. The definition of *lay* confraternity does not exclude the presence of one or more members of the clergy among the ranks of each association, often acting as the parish priests or as spiritual advisors, but the majority of the members was usually not ordained, or part of any religious order.[[444]](#footnote-444) Often, collective religious practice went hand in hand with services of spiritual assistance and charitable philanthropy to members of disadvantaged social groups. Membership of confraternities was usually socially mixed, with a marked tendency towards exclusion of the lower classes only emerging at the end of the sixteenth century.[[445]](#footnote-445) Common religious practice and periodic meetings also offered important occasions to socialize and strengthen boundaries of peerage or patronage.

While the Confraternity of Sant’Anna ticked most of these boxes, by providing religious services, social assistance, and a space for socialization, there are also some significant differences. Unlike other Latin confraternities, which took care of a particular niche of social welfare (such as such as assistance to the pilgrims or the poor, management of hospitals or spiritual comfort to the condemned), the scope of action of Sant’Anna was generally wider but limited to the *nostra nation greca.*[[446]](#footnote-446) Its obligation to provide forms of mutual solidarity was not seen as an expression of the Christian duty of charity towards another social group or particular category of afflicted, but rather as a responsibility towards the specific group of which the institution itself was part of, and which it claimed to represent.[[447]](#footnote-447) The ‘internal’ rather than ‘external’ focus of Confraternity solidarity also influenced the way it was perceived by local society, with the effect of accentuating its nature as a foreign institution, which took care of a community that was seen as external to the main body of the city. This became particularly apparent in the last decades of the sixteenth century, when Sant’Anna was put under close scrutiny by the ecclesiastical authorities for its potential as a hotbed of schismatic doctrine, whereas other confraternities were put on a watch-list for their potential for subversive political activities, and as unregulated gathering points.[[448]](#footnote-448) The foreignness of Sant’Anna would only cease to be a determining factor in its relationship with the city of Ancona when it opened its doors to Latin members as well, in the seventeenth century, and long past its effective incorporation within diocesan structures. Being a foreign body, detached from the wider Italian society and taking care of a foreign community, Sant’Anna was also apparently untouched by the contemporary processes that progressively led to an increasing predominance of the upper classes in confraternal administration, a tendency which started to gain traction among Italian confraternities in the last decades of the sixteenth century, and became particularly apparent throughout the seventeenth.[[449]](#footnote-449)

This attention to the general welfare of a specific community of foreigners, as well as the tendency to escape the process of domination by the upper class were by no means unique to Sant’Anna, or to Greek confraternities in particular. It can be found in the workings of the Scuola di San Nicolò in Venice, which took care of the needs of the local Greeks.[[450]](#footnote-450) The Albanians, Slavs and Corsicans in Rome also had their own confraternities providing a similar system of solidarity and welfare to their respective groups, often managing national hospitals as well.[[451]](#footnote-451) Closer to Ancona, following the trans-Adriatic migrations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Slavs and the Albanians had set up a large number of confraternities, often in urban centres, but scattered examples can also be found in the open countryside, like the one instituted by the Slavs around the small church of Santa Veneranda, a few miles south-west of Pesaro. The statutes of these confraternities have unfortunately survived only in much later copies, but they still show a vestigial requirement of having Albanian or Slavic ancestry, which might point out to an original role as centres for the coordination of a ‘national’ welfare.[[452]](#footnote-452) In general, national confraternities all over Europe had a strong interest in ensuring a range of charitable services to the members of their own ethnic communities, and the Sephardi confraternities in the Low Countries were known to spend between 40 and 60% of their revenues in charitable activities for their own community, and up to 90% in times of war and pestilence.[[453]](#footnote-453)

Interestingly, the tendencies to occupy a very specific niche of welfare, and to accept or deny membership according to social rank would emerge among national confraternities as well in the moment they ceased being the exclusive local gathering point of their ethnic community. This process is evident within the history of the *Gemilut Hasadin*, a Jewish confraternity in Ferrara. An analysis of its statues conducted by Horowitz has shown how membership in the institution became increasingly more exclusive, while its activities focused less and less on providing charity to the wider Jewish community, as soon as other charitable Jewish groups emerged to fill those niches, in particular the *Rahmanim* confraternity. Eventually, membership in the institution turned into a ‘self-justifying activity’ for the wealthier members of the Jewish community, who gained social respect and a reputation for having almost miraculous healing powers. A similar process also took place in the Jewish confraternities of Bologna.[[454]](#footnote-454) The emergence of parallel, when not directly competing, gathering spots for ethnic communities within the same city or region could trigger a process of ‘normalisation’ of the national confraternities, and while most of them retained a marked ethnic dimension in their devotion and admission practices, they started to more closely approach the model offered by their more ordinary counterparts.

However, most national confraternities maintained an exclusive monopoly over the respective ethnic groups, a feature they shared with another contemporary institution, the merchant *natio.* Unlike consulates and diplomatic delegations, which were invariably public and political in character, the merchant *nationes* originated as private associations of traders living in foreign cities, seeking to protect their commercial interest against competing groups and against potential intervention from the local governments.[[455]](#footnote-455) To this end, they could provide a number of services to their own communities, which often revolved around the powers and responsibilities granted to the *natio’*s leader, usually called Consul. The origins of the Consul could vary, and he was sometimes a member of the expatriate community (for instance the consul of the Venetians in Tunis in the fifteenth century), but was as often chosen from among the local notables, as for the Catalans in Pisa or the Genoese in Ancona, who elected the local merchant Benedetto di Tommaso.[[456]](#footnote-456) The Consul would generally function as an arbiter and guarantor in disputes involving members of his own *natio*, whether they were among themselves or with other merchants.[[457]](#footnote-457) Consular responsibilities also included the duty of representing the collective interests of the *natio* vis-à-vis the local authorities. Being at the head of the organization, they would also, with varying degrees of official recognition, act as a chain of transmission between the host society, the polity of origin of the expatriates, and the merchant community, protecting the bilateral trade agreements which constituted the ultimate guarantee for the interests of the travelling merchants, sometimes enforcing the collection of a small tax within the community.[[458]](#footnote-458)

Being an institution strongly geared towards the protection of certain economic interests, the *natio* tended to attract a rather specific kind of membership, often comprising overwhelming quotas of merchants and other professionals involved in long-distance trade, such as ship owners. This is particularly evident in the case of the numerous Italian *nationes* in Antwerp, which represented only a fraction of the overall Italian presence in the city.[[459]](#footnote-459) This also meant that unlike lay confraternities which were, at least in theory, open to all social classes, mercantile *nationes* between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were by nature selective in their membership, often charging entrance fees as a barrier for membership. But besides their functions as a group of interest, the *natio* played an extremely important role as the main gathering point of people sharing a common geographical and cultural background. This was reflected not only in the constant connection with the authorities of their polity of origin, which could often influence or even veto the statutes and decrees of the *natio*, but also in how political squabbles back home could be mirrored by controversies among the *natio*’s members, influencing its composition and its power structures.[[460]](#footnote-460) On the same line, the *nationes* tended to foster the religious practices and festivities of their places of origin, as seen in the promotion of the cult of the *Volto Santo* for the Luccans abroad, or the yearly feasts of the Florentines in London. Internal administration was often carried out within a framework of self-regulation based on their original laws.[[461]](#footnote-461)

Once again, Sant’Anna seems to tick most of the boxes: it was an institution which took care of a specific group, which was foreign to the main body of local society, and fostered its peculiar religious and ethnic practices, providing an effective chain of transmission between their places of origins and Ancona. It was also considered the privileged interlocutor in the rare occasions in which the Greeks interacted as a collective body with the Anconitan government, for instance during the triumphal parade of Clement VIII.[[462]](#footnote-462) It is also evident that some of its most prominent members (in particular Alessandro Maurodi) were often involved in arbitrations involving Greeks and representing the community with the local authorities, essentially fulfilling the role covered by the Consul of a *natio*. It was also allowed to collect a small tax on mercantile shipments owned or manned by Greeks.

However, the differences are equally evident. The most striking is the absence of a single polity able to offer effective political backing to the *natio* and to guarantee the protection of its mercantile interests, an element which gave a distinctive political dimension to the merchant *natio.* The relations between Ancona and the different places of origin of the Greeks were regulated by a series of bilateral agreements, which produced different results.For example, the commune signed a treaty with the Ottomans in 1514, granting them commercial privileges and the establishment of the *Palazzo della Farina* as a Muslim *fondaco*, which led to in time to the institution of a *Console dei Levantini,* tasked with protecting their mercantile interests. This consulate was not established on a request from the bottom, but by papal decree, as a way to provide judicial guarantees to the Levantine merchants, but it lacked the social and political backing that allowed other *nationes* to function in the same environment. Its effective influence in the lives of the Ottoman and Venetian Greek merchants seems to have been labile at best, and in most cases completely irrelevant.[[463]](#footnote-463) A similar agreement signed with the *Mahona* of Chios in 1519 was followed by the appearance of numerous Chiot merchants within the ranks of the Genoese *natio* and community, which unlike the *console dei levantini* had an active role in their lives and in their commercial activities.[[464]](#footnote-464) The remarkably small proportion of Chiots in the ranks of Sant’Anna, and their rooted presence inside the Genoese institutions shows that Greek merchants were prone to use other, more reliable and specific structures for the protection of their mercantile interests, when available and functioning. Whenever these structures did not effectively work, as in the case of the *console dei levantini*, the Confraternity would step in and fill the niche.

Confraternity and *natio* operated on similar, often overlapping levels. But while certain responsibilities of a *natio* were an integral part of the unofficial actions of Sant’Anna, the main function of the Confraternity was to provide services to a community that was defined primarily by its religious affiliation and by its ethnic origins (detached from political allegiance), and only on a secondary level by the relative commonality of the political and commercial interests of its members – whereas the opposite is true for many merchant *nationes*, who were defined primarily by political allegiance, and only on a secondary level by ethnic and religious commonality. That aspect is shown particularly well by the gravitational pull provided by the Venetian *natio* towards people from all over the Serenissima’s area of influence, which incorporated areas as ethnically diverse as Upper Dalmatia, the Venetian Albania, Ragusa, Lombardy, Greece and central Italy.[[465]](#footnote-465) This can be contrasted with the presence within the city of Madrid of a number of national confraternities for the Navarrese, the Aragonese and other Iberian populations, who set up separate institutions while being subjects of the same sovereign.[[466]](#footnote-466) The protection of the interests of Greek merchants was only a by-product of the impossibility of legally establishing a proper channel of political protection and representation for the Ottoman and Venetian Greek merchants. In a way, Sant’Anna was also a ‘surrogate’ *natio*, which tried to fill a representational void. Whenever Greek merchants were actually able to access to a proper *natio* for the protection of their interests they did so, as in the case of the Chiots with the Genoese institutions. This is also confirmed by the small numbers of people involved in international trade among its members.

Sant’Anna clearly fits into the paradigm of national confraternities, a kind of institution which sat halfway between the standard devotional confraternity and the mercantile *natio,* while maintaining a distinct series of characteristics. Yet, within this rather wide model, it is possible to see a number of individual variations, which show how the nature of the single communities and of their institutions was closely influenced by the circumstances behind their emergence, their demographic structure and their relationship with the host environment. The German confraternity of Trent represents a good example of how a well-rooted community of foreigners could become deeply engrained in the life of a city, enough to influence its politics and its urban development: founded in the thirteenth century as the *Hauerbruderschaft* (Confraternity of Miners), it gradually lost its originally professional connotation as it took root in the quarter of St. Peter, where the majority of the Germans lived. Through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it cemented its monopoly on the quarter at the expense of its exclusive ethnic character (which it never completely lost), eventually evolving into a recognized political actor whose interests coincided with those of the Hapsburg dynasty. While the Germans represented only a net minority of the population of Trent, the importance of their institutions was amplified by the connection with the ruling house and by its ability to mingle with local politics.[[467]](#footnote-467)

The Scuola di San Nicolò, the Greek confraternity of Venice, acted in a similar ecclesiological framework as Sant’Anna (at least until the late sixteenth century), and its members had the same cultural and religious orientation. But there were also huge differences in its demographic composition, as its members originated overwhelmingly from the provinces of the Venetian *Stato da Mar* or from the capital itself*.* Thanks to itsimpressive numbers the Greek community was able to sustain a complex and dynamic social life, with a majority of people employed in naval activities accompanied by significant numbers of soldiers, scholars, monks and servicemen of all kinds. It was rooted and structured enough as to establish and take care of a convent, a luxury which other migrant communities could hardly afford.[[468]](#footnote-468) The Scuola rapidly became the official representative of this dynamic community in the eyes of the Venetian government, and it developed a sophisticated institutional structure, which included the establishment of a restricted governing chapter of 40 members who represented the five *patrie* of the Greeks in Venice: seven members for Cyprus, Crete, the Archipelago, Nauplion and Monemvasia, Zante and Corfu, and only five for those regions of the *Grecia Superiore* which were traditionally outside the Venetian sphere of influence.[[469]](#footnote-469) The governing chapter elected the archbishop of Philadelphia, who had pastoral and ordinary responsibility for the Orthodox inhabitants of the city of Venice, and of certain areas of the *Stato da Mar* like Dalmatia and sometimes the Ionian islands. For this election to be canonically valid, the archbishop needed to be licensed by the patriarch of Constantinople, who was contacted by the Venetian Bailo.[[470]](#footnote-470) The fact that the ambassador in Constantinople was officially involved in what were the internal affairs of the Scuola shows how the importance of the Greek subjects in the political, commercial and military activities of the Republic had created a system of mutual symbiosis, which constituted the foundation of the relationship that existed between the Greek fraternity, the Venetian government and the Orthodox hierarchies, and which strongly influenced the trajectory of the Greeks in Venice and their institutions. Despite the common classification as national confraternities, the paths that were open to the Scuola di San Nicolò and to the German confraternity of Trent were precluded to communities with a different social structure, such as the one in Ancona.[[471]](#footnote-471)

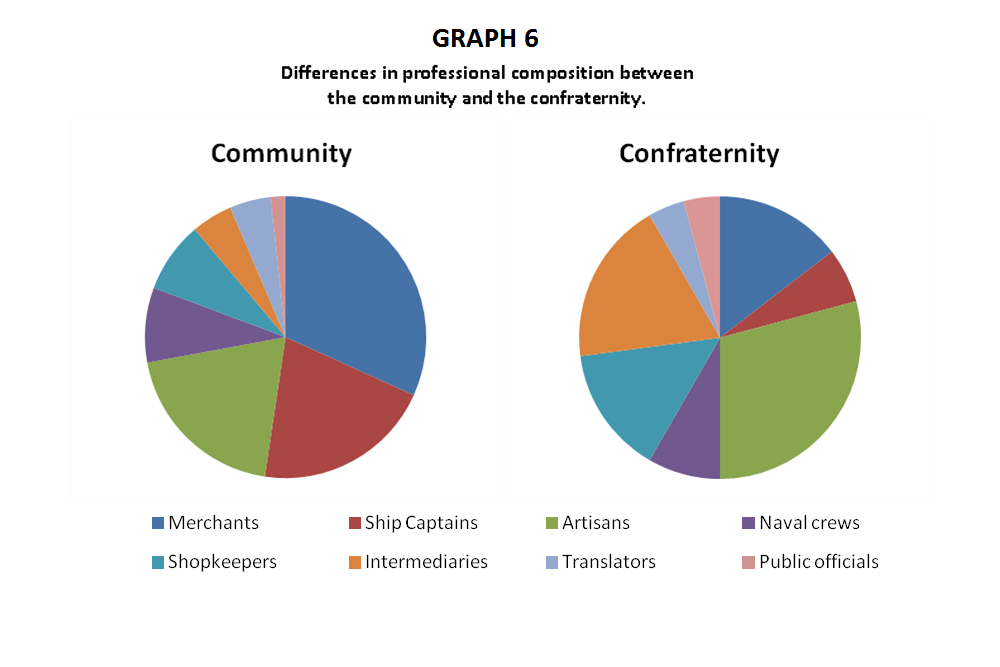
The reasons behind the peculiar development of the Confraternity of Sant’Anna will be the object of the rest of this chapter.

## 4.2 – Organization and demographic composition

While the archives of the Confraternity were completely wiped out by the bombings of 1943, a relatively late version of its statutes dating to 1584 has fortuitously survived. It has been preserved in an enquiry requested by Giovanni Alberti, bishop of Cortona and governor of Ancona, regarding the finances and the accountability of the church in 1595.[[472]](#footnote-472) It reveals a rather simple institutional structure, with a governor (*gubernatore* or *scindico*) assisted by two advisors (*consiliarii)*, a treasurer (also known as *economo*) who took care of the finances, and two almoners (*cercatori*) tasked with the weekly gathering of alms and offerings. Offices were assigned by drawing names from a box once every six months, the first term being the feast of St. George on 23 April, and there is no sign of social position being a significant variable in the electoral process. This is implicitly confirmed by those articles of the charter that mention the possibility of illiterate members being elected for every office, even the most crucial one of treasurer.[[473]](#footnote-473) This structure and the election method were fairly typical of more ordinary Italian lay fraternities, and its fundamental elements remained unchanged for three hundred years despite the changes in religious direction that took place at the end of the sixteenth century.[[474]](#footnote-474)

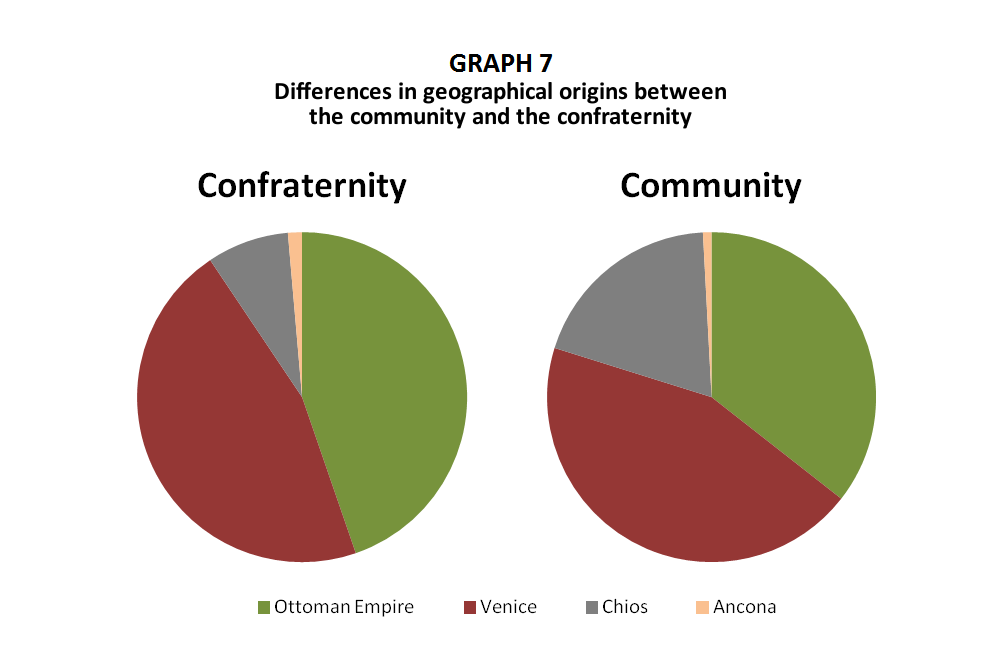
Several notarial acts have left us rosters of the members of the confraternity, providing a total of 98 named individuals.[[475]](#footnote-475) Their numbers drop substantially after 1595, as only 6 members are left to be recorded, due to the increased pressures from the Latin clergy.[[476]](#footnote-476) The charter states that a qualified majority of two-thirds of the members was required to approve collective motions, such as payments and the acceptance of new members, a mechanism confirmed by the notarial documents. When there was no actual vote to be cast, it was applied to the number of witnesses needed for an act to be officially sanctioned by the confraternity.[[477]](#footnote-477) The constant presence of all members at all meetings was not required, as demonstrated by the irregular appearances of Nicola Buratti de Rodio, mentioned for the first time in 1563, absent in 1565 and then reappearing in 1569: his presence was not noted in the list from 1565, even though he was and remained a member.[[478]](#footnote-478) Assuming this two-thirds rule applied to all the collective decisions of the institution, it would mean that the number of members in the 1543-75 period oscillated between 15 and 30, give or take, until the already mentioned drop in 1595.

The random method of selection for any office was designated to ensure that social status was, at least in theory, not influential in the process of election. This is particularly evident in the document from 1563 as the richest and most influential Greek merchant in Ancona, Alessandro Maurodi, was listed as a simple member whereas a more modest cooper, Angelo Iacobi de Milo, figured in the high position of Governor. As will be shown later in this chapter, the effective weight and influence of the single members of the Confraternity were decided more by their wealth and status than by the office they held. Nevertheless, a similar system allowed Sant’Anna to become a gathering points for the members of the Greek community, regardless of their economic status or position in the hierarchy of expatriate society.

Alongside Maurodi, who was a merchant, and the cooper Angelo Iacobi de Milo, the professions of 55 of the named members have been identified, amounting to roughly half of them. Fourteen were employed as artisans, mostly tailors.[[479]](#footnote-479) On the other side of the social spectrum, confraternity member Marco Rattopoli de Zante occupied the prestigious – and lucrative – position of *armirallius* (sometimes referred to also as *chapitano del porto*), an office responsible for the good material conditions of the harbour, and for the enforcement of a series of trade regulations regarding ship cargos. This prestigious and lucrative position was paid with the considerable sum of 75 lire, plus a fixed percentage on the cargo of every foreign vessel that entered the docks.[[480]](#footnote-480) While artisans were the relative majority of the confraternity members, merchants were a net minority, with seven identified members.[[481]](#footnote-481) There were 9 commercial intermediaries and 7 shopkeepers, and others who appear in the documents as public interpreters (2) or as members of naval crews and ship owners (respectively 4 and 3).[[482]](#footnote-482)

As shown in Graph 6, this proportion does not seem to reflect that of the Greek population in Ancona (both settled and periodically visiting), which saw a net majority of mercantile and naval workers over artisans and shopkeepers. There are of course some considerations to be made: first of all, almost half of the share of shopkeepers in the confraternity was supplied by a single extended family, the Strategopuli-Filaretti, who ran a retailing shop of spices and sugar. Furthermore, since the professions of many of the identified members are not specified, either directly or indirectly, these conclusions need to be taken with more than a pinch of salt. As details of their professional lives do not appear in any of the analysed notarial sources, they may be cautiously assumed to be labourers, small traders, artisans or shopkeepers, who rarely needed an official certification of their property transactions. Nevertheless, the difference in composition between the community and the Confraternity is visible and undeniable, with a clear disproportion in the ratio of artisans, naval crews and long-distance merchants.

As for the geographical provenance of the members, the politically fluid situation of the Aegean region in the sixteenth century, combined with the unsystematic nature of the notarial sources makes it difficult to produce the data required for a flawless assessment. For instance, it is nearly impossible to know how long a member who was first mentioned in a document from 1563 – and then never again – had already lived in Ancona, and that makes it harder to correctly state the influence of political factors, like the Venetian and Genoese retreat from the Aegean, in the composition of the Greek community of Ancona. Some members had left a stronger, more visible trace, like Alessandro Maurodi, whose activities are continuously and seamlessly attested between his first appearance in 1539 and his last will in 1569, but most of them are more difficult to follow chronologically.[[483]](#footnote-483)

A first glance at the Confraternity rosters gives the impression that a definite majority of the members (49 out of 89) came from Ottoman territories. The second largest share came from the Venetian dominions (30) and finally Genoese Chios (7), with only 3 members described as *de Ancona*. However, there are a few points that need to be considered. First of all, the mention of one Pietro de Sibinico, modern day Šibenik in Croatia, seems to point out towards a potential opening to people coming from other Orthodox areas of the Balkans, whatever their ethnicity. The fact that, for once, the document does not conclude the list of names with *omnes greci*, but simply with *habitatores et comorantes Ancone,* together with similar examples of Serbian members of the Greek Confraternity of Venice might confirm this hypothesis.[[484]](#footnote-484) However, it seems that the presence of non-Greek Orthodox members was an absolutely exceptional occurrence, and should be considered as such. More importantly, the analysis considers an individual to be coming from a territory that was Ottoman or otherwise according to the signature date of the document. This means that several individuals whose presence is first attested only a few years after a certain place had been conquered by the Ottomans had probably reached Ancona when their native land was still under Venetian or Genoese control, or maybe fled following the capture of their city or island. This is particularly evident when we consider the peak of Cypriot presence in 1572 and 1575: the island had been definitively conquered by the Ottoman armies in 1571, and their sudden appearance among the ranks of the confraternity of Sant’Anna was probably a result of such a significant geopolitical change. This hardly seems coincidental, especially since only one other Cypriot is previously attested as a member, and three decades earlier, in 1541. Something similar could be said for Chios and for the Archipelago islands of Andros, Milos and Tinos, which were all captured by the Ottomans in 1566, and whose latest expatriates are attested in 1572. If the numbers are adjusted accordingly then, the proportion would visibly change, and the Greeks coming from Latin-held territories would become a slight majority, with 40 members against 39 coming from Ottoman lands. Of those, the largest portion came from Valona, Ioannina and Argirocastro, cities with a natural projection to the Adriatic, and with which Ancona had signed trade agreements since as early as 1518.[[485]](#footnote-485) The final results, comparing the geographical provenance of members of the Confraternity as opposed to the wider Greek community of Ancona are shown in Graph 7.

A substantial group of five individuals came from Rhodes, but since most of them were part of the Politi family, their origins have a different significance within the context of the organized institutions of the community. The value of the Politi family as an example to assess the individual strategies of integration for the Greeks in Ancona has already been explored in Chapter 3, but what is worth noting here is that members of the family appear in the rosters throughout all the lifespan of the Confraternity. Their case is worth a closer look, if anything because they are one of the few families that left enough material for a decent prosopographical reconstruction. Notarial sources, as useful as they may be, rarely allow the reconstruction of a family’s genealogy, for a number of reasons: first of all, the family needs to produce at least one male heir each generation, an heir who is able to survive until his majority. Another necessary element to ensure traceability through notarial material is the ownership of property, or at least the professional – or personal – necessity to ensure the official status of a certain number of transactions; the occurrence of last wills, although quite rare, may also offer a huge help in shedding light on a family’s history. The Politi met all those basic requirements, and added a continuous presence within the ranks of Sant’Anna. The first to appear in Ancona was Bartolomeo, a rosary maker from Rhodes, who came along with his sons, Michele and Costantino.[[486]](#footnote-486) While it is not known whether Costantino had any heir, Michele had at least one son, Nicola, who married Diana daughter of Cicchone, a Florentine merchant. Their union resulted in four daughters (Politia, Margherita, Caterina and Nicolosa) and one son, Paolo, who was active at least until 1607.[[487]](#footnote-487) In turn, Paolo had at least two male sons, Tommaso and Michele.[[488]](#footnote-488) Another member of the family, Antonio, was active in Ancona around 1595, although his relations to the others is not completely clear.[[489]](#footnote-489) All of them however, with the exception of Tommaso and Michele the younger, are attested in the confraternity, from 1543 to 1595, an almost unique occurrence for Sant’Anna. One Giovanni Politi is finally attested as Governor of Sant’Anna in 1608.[[490]](#footnote-490)

Most of the Greek families in Ancona, with a couple of significant exceptions, offer similar stories. The Schiada, for instance, who appear for the first time with Zaccaria Antonii de Corfu, who lived in Ancona and worked as a ship captain for the Florentine merchant Pandolfo Biliotti by at least 1538, joining the confraternity before he died somewhere around 1561.[[491]](#footnote-491) The two sons he had from his Greek wife Cali, Giovanni and Giorgio, were also members. Giorgio Schiada married the daughter of another *confratello*, Nicola Alexii a Velona.[[492]](#footnote-492) Another family, the Tromba from Milos, was apparently able to survive for at least two generations, as an Angelo Tromba is first attested in 1572, and a Giacomo Tromba repeatedly appears as Governor between 1618 and 1631.[[493]](#footnote-493) It might be worth noting here that the members of these three families recorded among the ranks of the confraternity for more than one generation were artisans: the Politi worked for two generations as rosary-makers (*paternostrarius*), before turning to commercial mediation. Giorgio Schiada abandoned his father Zaccaria’s work as a ship captain to become a weaver (*sutor*), while his brother Giovanni worked as a mariner, and Angelo Tromba is referred to with the title of *magister*, which is usually reserved for artisans, although the nature of his trade is never specified.[[494]](#footnote-494) Other surnames are attested more than once, for example those of Alessandro Maurodi and his nephew Costantino, or Stamatis and Giovanni Zai from Argirocastro.[[495]](#footnote-495) But those were typical cases of close relatives moving almost simultaneously to Ancona, not families settling in a foreign environment for four generations, as the Politi did.[[496]](#footnote-496) In their case, it is interesting to note how the Zai and the Maurodi were involved with long-distance trade, the former as middlemen, the latter as merchants.

On the other hand, not every Greek family that settled in Ancona decided to join the confraternity wholesale, as shown by the case of the Coressi and the Ralli, both from Chios. Of the five male Coressi attested as resident between 1530 and 1548, only one, Antonio Demetrii, is a confirmed member, whereas his brothers, Nicola and Paolo, and his relatives Manolis and Giorgio are never mentioned. On the other hand, not a single member of the wide Ralli mercantile family – permanently settled between 1530 and the late 1540s – appears in the Confraternity. Just like the Maurodi and the Zai, both Chiot families they were all engaged in long-distance trade, whether as merchants, middlemen or owners of ships.[[497]](#footnote-497) Finally, it is worth mentioning the case of the Strategopuli, already explored in Chapter 3, who were relatives (by marriage) of the apothecary Giovanni Filaretti da Tebe, Governor in 1583, and were members themselves.[[498]](#footnote-498)

The significant disproportion in the number of artisans, shopkeepers and commercial intermediaries in the Confraternity, and the relative absence of merchants, ship owners and sailors is clearly indicative of the fact that membership in Sant’Anna was mostly appealing to those who practiced more sedentary professions. Artisans and shopkeepers were tied to their homes, and the professional capabilities of a commercial intermediary lied in the network of contacts he was able to build in a certain location. Unlike them, merchants and sailors would be more likely to travel around the Mediterranean and to have more than one stable residence, as shown for instance by the case of Giorgio Argiroffi de Chio, who lived for some time in Ancona, but was also known to share a house with a Thracian Greek, a Venetian and a Genoese merchant in Gallipoli, and by that of a Cretan sailor named Giorgio, who had two wives, one in Candia and one in Ancona.[[499]](#footnote-499) This appeal to the most sedentary segments of the migrant population is further confirmed by the fact that most of the Greek families that settled in Ancona for more than one generation, at one point or another, entered the Confraternity. Another category that does not seem to appear was that of the Chiots. Merchants from Chios constituted roughly a quarter of the whole migrant population in Ancona, and many of them, like the Ralli and the Coressi, had been able to take residence in the city for reasonably long periods of time. However, they constitute an absolute minority within the ranks of Sant’Anna – instead, they appear to be constantly involved in the activities of the Genoese *natione*.

It is possible to draw some preliminary conclusions regarding the role of the Confraternity, and its relationship with the Greek community, from this analysis of its demographic composition. First of all, the Confraternity was not a faithful mirror of the larger community, as shown both by the professions of its members and by their geographical provenance. It is also clear that core membership in the Confraternity of Sant’Anna, despite its openness to new members and to the whole community, rested in the hands of a relatively limited number of families (the Politi, Rattopoli, Tromba, Zai, Strategopuli-Filaretti, Schiada, Sgouri and Maurodi) most of which had very strong ties with the host city, and with each other. While this was not a requirement for the membership, it seems to be a recurring characteristic of its core members. For instance, both Marco and Teodoro Rattopoli, in their wide-ranging role as *armiralli*, were well known both by the people who frequented the docks and by the ruling class of Ancona, as they bounced between the recovery of sinking ships and diplomatic missions to Rome.[[500]](#footnote-500) Others, like Maurodi, combined a professional network that included merchants from around Ancona with an attitude of quasi-patronage towards the local Greek community.[[501]](#footnote-501) On a lower level, retailers and regional scale traders such as Pietro Morzoflo or Costantino Politi were at the centre of complex networks of professional contacts which were far from being made exclusively of Greeks, including a good number of Sicilian, Slav, Ragusan, Jewish, Turkish and even French individuals.[[502]](#footnote-502)

These differences should be enough to show that, rather than being a faithful projection of the entire community on a smaller scale, the Confraternity was a distinct body, integral to the community itself, but nevertheless separate from it. It was an institution with a very specific demographic character, which occupied a specific niche in community life, and had some equally specific social functions. Its members were able to provide an effective service of mediation between the migrant community on the one hand and on the other with both the Greek world, from which they usually came as first or second generation migrants, and Anconitan society, in which they moved professionally and with which they were often able to establish personal bonds. This mediation could assume a number of shapes, but the Confraternity’s nature as a channel of communication is perfectly exemplified by how it took care of its religious responsibilities.

## 4.3– Mediation in the religious sphere

Officially, the most important function of the Confraternity was the administration of a religious building and the performance of collective devotional practices, in the same way as other lay fraternities. There was however an essential but major difference: Sant’Anna was a Greek church, and the only one on the western side of the Adriatic between Venice and the Kingdom of Sicily. Both the Confraternity and the Church operated within the framework of the papal policies that dealt with the Greek communities in Italy, and according to the relevant legislation issued by Leo X in the 1520s, the confessional status of Sant’Anna as a Greek institution granted it complete exemption from episcopal jurisdiction. That privilege has already been mentioned when talking about the brief of concession issued by Clement VII in 1524, and it was confirmed by a number of other papal documents issued before the 1570s. It would eventually be repealed in the context of the post-Tridentine Reformation of the Greek rite.[[503]](#footnote-503) However, the exclusion of Sant’Anna from the local diocese created a jurisdictional vacuum, which prompted the Confraternity and the whole community to look elsewhere, especially to the other side of the Adriatic, in order to obtain ritual items and religious personnel.

The very first response to the Greeks’ need for pastoral care was provided by the appearance of exiled churchmen fleeing from the Ottoman expansion in the Greek territories of the Venetian dominions, such as Benedetto, metropolitan of Coroni, who fled the city in 1534 and resumed his role as Archbishop for the Greek and Albanian communities in Apulia, ordaining priests and visiting parishes,[[504]](#footnote-504) all with an explicit papal permission granted in 1536 by a brief of Pope Paul III.[[505]](#footnote-505) This brief aimed at filling the normative void left by the Leonine legislation regarding the eastern communities, which leaned decidedly towards the separation of jurisdictions, and the exclusion of Greek and Albanian communities from the influence of Latin Ordinaries. This theme was at the very core of the papal brief *Accepimus Nuper* (1521) and of the other documents that defined the stance of the Catholic Church in that period, including the donations made to the Greek communities of Ancona and Venice.[[506]](#footnote-506) The permission granted to Benedetto of Coroni was a provisional way to effectively ensure that the migrant communities had someone to attend to their pastoral care, but was not followed by any of the structural adjustments needed by the eastern expatriates in Italy.

A more long-term solution was found in the same year, with the institution of the metropolitans of Agrigento, Italy and Malta, in 1536. As an ecclesiastical office it was in a rather unusual position: on the one hand, the metropolitan was ordained by the semi-autonomous patriarchs of Ochrid – which had emerged in the late fifteenth century as one of the major religious actors in the Balkans, with a significant degree of autonomy vis-à-vis Constantinople.[[507]](#footnote-507) On the other hand, they worked within the jurisdiction of another patriarch, that of Rome, as the holders of an archiepiscopal see which already had a Latin head, that of Agrigento. The election of the first of these metropolitans took place in 1536, when the Greeks and Albanians of Sicily, Apulia and Calabria recommended a certain Sinaite monk, Giacomo, to the Archbishop of Ochrid, who promptly consecrated him as *Sicilie, Appulie, Calabrie et totius Italie et Occidentis Grecorum et Albanorum Metropolita.*[[508]](#footnote-508)

We do not have much more information on the life of the first metropolitan of Italy, but some details of his election seem to be particularly significant. First, the request allegedly came from the bottom, when the Archbishop of Ochrid received the aforementioned petition. Unfortunately, the original letter has not survived, but that a significant enough share of the Greeks of southern Italy actively mobilized to search for and propose a specific candidate for the role of metropolitan of Italy meant that the provisional solution offered by the presence of Benedetto di Coroni and other Greek high clergy in exile was deemed unable to satisfy the increasing pastoral needs of the growing communities of Greek rite that had settled in Italy.

Another interesting element is that the exiled bishops of Coroni did not easily let go of their newly acquired responsibilities towards the Greeks in Italy, and a rivalry exploded between them and the new metropolitans of Agrigento. This is well exemplified by the story of Gabriele Callonas, alleged successor of Benedetto and the only other bishop of Coroni known in the sixteenth century.[[509]](#footnote-509) What is most striking about the work of Callonas is his relentless campaign of defamation against the current metropolitan of Italy, a Sinaite monk and former priest of Sant’Anna named Pafnuzio. Callonas, who styled himself Exarch of the patriarch of Constantinople, accused Pafnuzio of being a pretender, equipped with fake documents, working for the fake patriarch of Ochrid in an Eparchy that was part of the traditional jurisdiction of Constantinople. It took Pafnuzio three years after his election in 1548 before he could clarify his position with the patriarch, who eventually granted him a licence in 1551 and excommunicated Callonas. Before then, Pafnuzio was imprisoned for forgery when he tried to reach the pope in Rome, and was released only after he paid a bail of 1000 ducats. It was a huge sum, equivalent to the cargo of a galleon in textiles.[[510]](#footnote-510)

His story is also symptomatic of the confusion that ruled in the Curia regarding the institutions taking care of the Greeks in Italy. It was also due to the metropolitans’ existence on the fringe of official ecclesiological practice (even in the face of official documents produced by a number of Pontiffs[[511]](#footnote-511)), that their office eventually began to descend quietly into obsolescence in the late 1570s, as both Rome and Constantinople began to take a more centralizing stance.

A few more noteworthy things emerge from the story of the metropolitans of Agrigento, and of Pafnuzio in particular: first of all, as it was mentioned, Pafnuzio used to be the priest of Sant’Anna until 1543. In the same year, for no apparent reason (the document uses a rather generic formula: *sedante lotte et controversiis inter supranominatos* [i.e. the members] *ex una et Pafnuzio Caloyrum ex altera*), he was expelled from the church, and replaced with a Naupliote priest named Onofrio.[[512]](#footnote-512) Five years later, some of the very same people who signed the document that barred him from serving in the Greek church of Ancona sent a petition to Procoro, the archbishop of Ochrid, asking him to grant Pafnuzio the dignity of archbishop of Agrigento. While the reasons for this change of mind are unknown, it is interesting to note that the Greek Confraternity of Ancona had previously asked the exiled metropolitans of Coroni to support the election of Pafnuzio, resolving to ask Procoro only after their request was rejected, an occurrence that might have something to do with the later slandering campaign set up by Callonas.[[513]](#footnote-513) Similarly, the first metropolitan of Agrigento was ordained by Ochrid only after a petition from the Greeks and the Albanians in southern Italy. The number of petitions sent to the major see of the Balkans implies that the various Greek communities in Italy, including Ancona, had an active role in the election of their bishops, and cannot be considered as passive receptors of religious decrees issued elsewhere, at least until after the Council of Trent. In this case, the decisive role of the Anconitan petition for the election of Pafnuzio is explicitly recognized in the letter written by Procoro to pope Paul III, and is otherwise hinted by the higher order of precedence given to Ancona (or by the archaic expression *Picenum*) in the documents concerning Pafnuzio, whereas it was normally given to either Sicily or Apulia.[[514]](#footnote-514) The competition between the Metropolises of Coroni and Agrigento (via Ochrid) offered them a choice of which they were well aware, and they tried to take full advantage of the situation.

In the scenario outlined above, the Confraternity of Sant’Anna played a fundamental role of mediation between the poles of religious decision-making, which it actively reached out to, and the community it claimed to represent. However, the work of the Confraternity as a chain of transmission was not limited to the occasional interaction with the outside world, but would also take the more concrete shape of a constant influx of priests, ritual items and practices imported from the Greek East. Before the enforcement of post-Tridentine regulations in the 1590s, the Confraternity summoned its priests from overseas, mostly from the Venetian *stato da mar* or from other territories which maintained strong ties with the Latin West: the very first mention of a priest directed to Ancona comes from the Chronicle of Marin Sanudo, who claimed that he was arrested by the patriarch of Venice in 1527, when he was travelling from his home in Corfu to Ancona.[[515]](#footnote-515) Later on, the priests attested in notarial sources came from Zante (Pierfilippo Protonotario, 1533-36), Rhodes (Pacomio de Rodi, 1536-38), Corfu (Antonio Patavino, 1538), Nauplion (Onorfio de Neapoli Romanie, 1542), Cyprus (Pafnuzio, 1543), Crete (Giovanni Natana, 1575) , Chios (Giovanni Euripoti, 1579-83), and finally Patmos (Costantino Xeno, 1590).[[516]](#footnote-516) Only two priests, a certain Mariano in 1563 and a Vittorio in 1592 have unknown origins.[[517]](#footnote-517) With the exception of Chios and Rhodes, which at the time had been recently taken respectively from the Genoese and the Knights of St. John, not a single priest came from Ottoman territories. This was most likely an attempt to provide the church with priests who had been ordained by Greek bishops who recognized the primacy of the pope.

As clearly visible from the dates, serving in Sant’Anna was hardly a lifelong engagement, and the large majority of the priests only served for no more than a couple of years, with a few exceptions: Giovanni Euripoti, who served between 1579 and 1583, was the acting priest during the controversy on the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar, and he would have ran away sooner had the Latin authorities not restricted his freedom of movement.[[518]](#footnote-518) The case of Perfilippo Protonotario (1533-1536) is somehow more complex, but is also able to shed some light on the relationship between the Confraternity, the church and the parish priest. In 1533 he asked permission to go and check his properties in the island of Zante. The *procuratore,* or representative of the confraternity, who had been granted s*petialem mandatum ad licentiandum et habilitandum* the priest, magnanimously conceded a three-months paid leave, which would be paid in full three years later, and only because Perfilippo’s mandate was about to expire as he was to be substituted by another priest*,* Pacumio de Rodi, who officiated at least between 1536 and 1538.[[519]](#footnote-519) Sometimes, as in the case of Onofrio de Neapoli Romaniae, two representatives of Sant’Anna, usually merchants, were sent abroad to collect the priests.[[520]](#footnote-520) Through the mediation of its Confraternity, which took care of the recruitment of its priests and the transmission of ritual practices, the church of Sant’Anna was an integral part of a wide-ranging Mediterranean network that extended across the Greek parts of the Venetian Empire, all the way from the Adriatic to the Aegean, the Dodecanese and as eastwards as Cyprus or Mount Sinai.

Religious relationships with the East were only one side of the coin, and the Confraternity was also the middleman between the Latin ecclesiastical authorities and the Greek community. This became particularly apparent in the late sixteenth century when the Latin high clergy became more actively involved in the life of Sant’Anna, as the reformation of the Greek liturgical practice of the church inevitably required the post-Tridentine Latin institutions to act through the Confraternity in order to impose the new doctrines. But mediation with the local authorities could also take place, although much more rarely, during more secular occasions, such as during the visit of Clement VIII to Ancona, when the Greek *natio* (most likely the Confraternity) was required to build one of the provisional triumphal arches for his procession.[[521]](#footnote-521)

However, one of the most striking characteristics of the Greek community of Ancona, and of its Confraternity, is the almost complete absence of a collective relationship with the government of the city. With the exclusion of the construction of processional decorations, almost all known contacts between the Greeks and the Anconitan authorities took place on an individual basis. Five petitions sent by Greeks to the commune have survived in the archive: two of them involved merchants from Alessio (Lezhë, in Albania), asking for the restitution of their wares; one was the case of a *greco albanense* named Fiorentino Costa who pleaded for the renewal of his accommodation in a public warehouse; another one was the request for a pension made by Donna Pasqua, widow wife of a servant of the commune named Costantino Greco; and the last one involved a Greek barber from Corfu who asked to be paid if he kept certain streets clean.[[522]](#footnote-522) None of these petitions show the presence of the Confraternity, or any other form of collective mediation between the individual and the commune. This can be contrasted with the contemporary situation of the Greeks in Venice, where collective mediation between the individuals and the public authority was the norm: many of them were often keen to mention their own, or their family’s past in the corps of *stradioti* or as mariners in the Galleys in private petitions, and their Confraternity, the *Scuola di San Nicolò,* had a long history of direct contacts with the Venetian institutions.[[523]](#footnote-523) Despite being clearly able to transmit religious practices and personnel from the Greek world, and to deal with both the eastern and western religious hierarchies, the Confraternity of Sant’Anna as an institution was unable to provide an effective mediation between the migrant community and the local political authorities.

## 4.4 – Income and landed properties

Outside of its functions as a mediator and a chain of transmission between the Greek world and Ancona, the Confraternity also had the more mundane responsibility of taking care of the financial assets of the church of Sant’Anna, in the form of ordinary and extraordinary donations, alms and landed properties. The institution then redistributed these funds through the channels of its welfare system, or spent them for items of ordinary administration such as the wages of the priest, the maintenance and enlargement of the church building and the yearly feasts and ceremonies.

The two offices of the *cercatori,* who under the statutes of the Confraternity were tasked with the weekly alms-gathering, and that of the treasurer were the most important for the management of the finances of Sant’Anna, at least according to the letter of the statutes. The main sources of income were three: the cash donations and fines paid by each member, the collection of almsand, for the most part, the revenues of the church itself and its landed properties. This last source of income was officially granted by Gregory XIII in 1580, but it was simply the formal recognition of an already existing situation, as the confraternity had managed the revenues of the church since its very inception in 1531.[[524]](#footnote-524)

Alms, regular donations, and fines constituted only a minimal part of the revenues, but were probably the most consequential in establishing the Confraternity as a central social actor for the Greeks in Ancona. Two randomly elected officials called *cercatori*, were tasked with the collection of alms, travelling from door to door and from shop to shop on Saturdays and passing around collection plates during the celebration of the mass on Sundays and the other holidays. There is no clear indication that the shops and the houses passed by the *cercatori* were exclusively populated by Greeks, but seeing how the collected funds were destined to fuel a system of welfare for the migrant community, it is possible to assume that the people who donated were at least somehow involved in the life of the Greeks, possibly through familiar or professional proximity. Similarly, in 1524 Clement VII, with the agreement of the local Greeks, granted the church the right to collect a small tribute levied on the merchandise brought by Greek merchants from the east, which amounted to an overall modest sum of 40-50 scudi per year.[[525]](#footnote-525) The monetary worth of these collection amounted only to a rather small fraction of the overall income of the church. However, their function as an unofficial tax, levied by a religious institution on a group of people clearly defined by their ethnic characteristics, confirmed and reinforced the personal ties that bound the individual migrants and their families, both those that were inherited from their land of origin, and those they had acquired once in Ancona, eventually strengthening the sense of collective cohesion.

Most of the income was supplied by the landed properties the church owned outside the city, which included several vineyards, olive orchards and a couple of wheat fields. Some of these properties were the products of the investment ordered in the last will of Captain Alessio Lascari Paleologo who left, among other things, 500 scudi to be invested in real estates.[[526]](#footnote-526) Later on two countryside plots were acquired in 1575, from the influential Anconitan citizen Giovanni Battista Scalamonti and from Silvio Accorsi. Although the latter property was bought with several delayed instalments, the purchase of the former was done in one instalment, as the confraternity was able to unanimously approve and levy an extraordinary fee on its members, gathering the considerable sum of 425 ducats.[[527]](#footnote-527) However, a record in the Pontifical cadastre of the countryside surrounding Ancona for 1531 shows that the core of the landed possessions of the Confraternity can be dated back at least to the exact same year of its official approval by the city. Significantly, one of its neighbours was a certain Giacomo Greco, and the proximity of two lots owned by members of the Greek community may point out to another testamentary bequest by the relatives of said Giacomo.[[528]](#footnote-528) The same vineyard, or possibly another, was then rented out to a certain Francesco Bardini in 1536 and then to Paolo de Monte Floro in 1559, in both cases with a sharecropping agreement, according to which every year half of its vintage and of its olives had be taken to the officiating priest of Sant’Anna, in his *solite habitationis.* The priest also required olive branches for the celebration of Palm Sunday.[[529]](#footnote-529) We do not know exactly where the priests of Sant’Anna lived. The most likely hypothesis is that they resided in a small house connected to the church. There is a document from 1535 detailing a transaction in which landlord Lorenzo Trionfi rented out one of his properties to priest Perfilippo Protonotario, for the duration of seven months. The house in question was located in the parish of Santa Maria al Mercato, close to the docks and where the majority of the Greeks of Ancona resided. However, the contract was signed at the beginning of autumn 1535, just as the priest was returning from the inspection of his properties in Zante, to receive the arrears of his paid leave, which he obtained in 1536.[[530]](#footnote-530) It is thus possible that the contract in question was signed to grant Perfilippo a temporary accommodation, since the “usual residence” of the priests of Sant’Anna was already occupied by his successor, Pacumio de Rodi. The fact that, in the contract, there is no trace of a representative of the confraternity, would implicitly confirm this conclusion.

The real estate of Sant’Anna was occasionally expanded by direct legacy or dowry clauses. For example some Caterina Greca, once servant of a certain Pietro, Greek as well, received help for her dowry by the confraternity, and named the institution sole heir of her small apartment, in the event of her childless death. The unfortunate occurrence happened in 1574, and when the confraternity received the deed to the apartment, which was apparently in dreadful conditions and completely useless, it moved at once to find a buyer and get rid of the liability.[[531]](#footnote-531)

## 4.5 – The Confraternity as a recipient of patronage

Another very important source of financial and social revenues for the Confraternity was the artistic and testamentary patronage it received from its members and from the surrounding community, on any social level. For example one Giorgio Balani, a merchant from Ioannina who died in 1563, despite leaving a huge amounts of unpaid debts to his brother Nicola, was able to gather four ducats for the confraternity, and four more for the priest, Mariano.[[532]](#footnote-532) Another migrant from Ioannina, Giovanni Sugduri, left 10 scudi to the church, as did Manuele Coressi – even though he also asked to be buried in a church in his hometown in Chios.[[533]](#footnote-533) Prominent members of the community would also occasionally make material gifts to the church, and by extension to the Confraternity that administered it, in the form of decorations and art objects: in 1544 Antonio Coressi paid an Albanian carpenter 50 scudi from his own pocket to produce a wooden frieze, and in 1551 another wealthy Chiot merchant, Giovanni Argenti, commissioned the famous painter Lorenzo Lotto a series of icons for Sant’Anna picturing Christ, Saint Elisabeth, Saint Veronica, and Saint John the Baptist. Argenti emphatically insisted that the icons were to be painted *alla grecha.*[[534]](#footnote-534)

Donations of any kind to the church and the Confraternity were not just acts of devotion, but also a signifier of status and authoritativeness within the community, contributing to the definition of its hierarchies. In this context, the Confraternity was not the place in which the hierarchies themselves were directly expressed through its official ranks, but acted more like a sounding board, which amplified them and made them more visible to the rest of the community. For these reason, choosing the confraternity as the beneficiary of a donation could be an effective way to express forms of patronage over the migrant Greek community as a whole, as exemplified by the testamentary donations of Alessio Lascari Paleologo. In 1563, Alessandro Maurodi, as the executor of the his last will, spent 80 ducats of the testamentary bequest to purchase a set of steps made of white stone for the iconostasis of the church, and a sarcophagus for the Captain, made of red Veronese marble and bearing his coat of arms.[[535]](#footnote-535) Artistic patronage among migrant communities was nothing new in Ancona, and in 1556 the Armenian Giorgio Morato commissioned a series of religious paintings celebrating Armenian saints, to be displayed in the cathedral of San Ciriaco.[[536]](#footnote-536) But the unmistakeable Byzantine echoes of a red marble sarcophagus combined with a coat of arms spotting a crowned double headed eagle went beyond that. They show Lascari’s clear intention to use a very specific arsenal of political symbols, strategically offered to the church and the Confraternity of Sant’Anna, in order to establish himself as one of the leading figures of the Greek community of Ancona, during a period in which the competition among the aristocratic families of the former Byzantine world for a position of pre-eminence over the migrant population was getting more intense.[[537]](#footnote-537)

It was not only the two surnames of Alessio Lascari Paleologo that justified his claims to the leadership of the Greek community of Ancona. During the 70 years of his life he pursued a relatively successful career as a mercenary captain of light cavalry, initially working for Francesco Gonzaga, Giovanni De’Medici, the Sforzas of Santa Fiora and Emperor Charles V, spending the last decades of his life stably employed by a succession of popes, through the contacts he had built serving in the armies of the Farnese family.[[538]](#footnote-538) In the 1550s he was particularly active in the areas of central Italy under papal rule, garrisoning Bologna and Città di Castello with his company of 50 light horse, and is mentioned passing through Fano and Orvieto.[[539]](#footnote-539) His son Giovanni, who died before him in 1557, was also well connected enough to obtain the title of *Miles Lauretanus,* knight of the Sanctuary of Loreto, which was very close to the family residence in Recanati.[[540]](#footnote-540) He must also have been somewhat known among the Greek expatriates at the time, being mentioned by Teodoro Spandounes as one of those scions of the Laskaris family who ‘distinguished themselves in arms’. In the seventeenth century Lorenzo Miniati’s imaginative genealogy of the Komnenos dynasty uses Alessio’s family history, and a rather dubious testamentary bequest, to confirm the pretences of Alessio Comneno Postumo, last heir of the Emperors of Trebizond.[[541]](#footnote-541) The whole family was connected with the military order of St. George, a chivalric institution which placed its origins in the time of Constantine the Great, and claimed to represent the heritage of the Byzantine emperors in exile. Finally, the epitaph of Giovanni, Alessio’s son who died and was buried in Viterbo, goes even further in its effort to establish an imperial connection between his burial site and his imperial ancestry, citing a legend which linked an alleged etymology of the town’s name, derived from *veterus verbus*, to the Greek *palaios logos,* and hence to the Paleologo family.[[542]](#footnote-542)

A lifetime spent among the Italian and European military aristocracy had probably taught Lascari that, for his claim to imperial heritage to be taken seriously, it needed some sort of recognition from below. In his case, this took the shape of a network of patronage he established among the Greeks of Ancona, and his donation to the church and the Confraternity constituted a visible manifestation of his leadership, an echo chamber that transmitted, amplified and clarified his message to the rest of the community. It is also possible to assume that the testamentary bequest was just the most spectacular expression of this, and one of the few that survive in notarial folders. Traces of a more everyday form of patronage can be found in a few notarial acts from Recanati, where they lived: in 1557 his wife Drusiana was asked to safeguard 100 scudi in the name of a number of Greek merchants from Ancona, and in 1559 they pawned a golden necklace they had commissioned years before from the Greek goldsmith Giorgio Cardeo, also from Ancona.[[543]](#footnote-543)

Yet another, and possibly the most important, expression of the importance attributed by Lascari to Sant’Anna can be found in the lavish donation of 2000 scudi made in his testament to the Greek community.[[544]](#footnote-544) In exchange for perpetual masses to be recited in name,[[545]](#footnote-545) he destined half of this sum to the construction of a hospital, complete with eight beds and all the necessary furniture, inside a house located right in front of the Sant’Anna and previously owned by a Greek woman named Monica Rodiani.Although the hospital was facing the church, and was built on the property of a Greek woman, a Latin confraternity was charged with its administration. This institution, known as *Confraternita della Misericordia e della Morte*, was born out of the fusion of two older Anconitan confraternities, that of *Santa Maria della Misericordia* and that of *San Girolamo*, and was initially tasked with offering relief to the prisoners who were sentenced to death. In 1559 it was granted a room in the proximity of the *Lazzaretto*, and the following year it erected a chapel in the nearby parish of San Nicola, right in front of the docks.[[546]](#footnote-546) By the second half of the sixteenth century *Misericordia e Morte* had evolved into one of the main institutions responsible for the healthcare in Ancona, and had developed some very strong ties with the local administration.[[547]](#footnote-547) National hospitals were a common occurrence in cities with a significant presence of foreign migrants, and it is possible that the building, which constituted the core of the Anconitan healthcare system and was therefore of general public interest, had been initially devised to serve the Greek community but was put under Latin administration during the negotiations that preceded the final draft of the testament. The confraternity of *Misericordia e Morte* also took possession of the small church of San Matteo, which had been purchased by the Greeks in 1525, and which became the chapel of the new hospital.[[548]](#footnote-548)

The remaining 1000 scudi was used to create a dowry fund: 500 constituted the initial core of the fund, and the remaining 500 were invested in real estates, the resulting revenues used to fuel the fund for the following decades.[[549]](#footnote-549) Unfortunately, a series of very unlucky investments completely depleted the initial donation between 1585 and 1599.[[550]](#footnote-550) A later ‘perpetual’ donation of 50 scudi per year was made by Costantino Maurodi in 1589 as a continuation of the one made by his uncle Alessandro in 1569, and its survival is attested well into the eighteenth century.[[551]](#footnote-551)

## 4.6 – Charity and rituals: the Confraternity as an actor

Alessio Lascari Paleologo had promised much more than he could afford, and after his death notaries from both Ancona and Recanati recorded a huge number of transactions pertaining delayed instalments, the closure of the *monte di pietà* in which the money was stored, and negotiations of the payment, showing that his wife Drusiana was having a rather hard time finding the cash required to fulfil her husband’s obligations.[[552]](#footnote-552) Nevertheless, this donation would constitute the core of the welfare system administered by Sant’Anna for centuries to come, and the dowry fund represented one of the best expressions of the charitable activities performed by the Confraternity.

The names of the two girls who would receive the dowry were randomly drawn out of a box by the priest, once a year during the feast of Sant’Anna on the 25 July. The requirements were a respectable background, little wealth, and Greek confession. Only if no Greek girls were eligible the dowry could be awarded to an Italian.[[553]](#footnote-553) As it often happens, the randomness of the system was tempered by the personal connections each candidate had with the Confraternity, despite the formal ban of personal favouritisms. For instance at least two of the three daughters of Nicola Politi, well known member of Sant’Anna who died in 1572, were assigned a dowry respectively in 1578 and 1588; and in the case of one of them, Caterina, the 25 scudi offered by the Confraternity were an addition to a dowry which already amounted to 100 scudi, 50 in cash and 50 in movable goods.[[554]](#footnote-554) Similarly, a girl named Caterina Iacobi Armeni, probably obtained the dowry because she was the apprentice (*alumna*) of the well-connected herbalist Giovanni Filaretti da Tebe. She married Domenico Converso de Satalia Caramanie (modern day Antalya, in Turkey) who, judging from his name, was probably a recent convert from Islam or Judaism, while Caterina herself was the daughter of an otherwise unknown Armenian, who must have had some personal or professional contact with Giovanni Filaretti.[[555]](#footnote-555) The fact that, besides Caterina, a significant number of Italian girls were also awarded a dowry (four between 1572 and 1578), might be ascribed simply to the general lack of available Greek candidates, a fact which was in itself a consequence of the professional character of a migration involving for the most part male bachelors with no family and little or no interest in long-term settlement.[[556]](#footnote-556) The naked demographic data, however, does not hide the fact that some of the chosen girls might have had professional and personal contacts with the individual members of the Confraternity, as shown by the occupation of some of the males involved in the dowry transactions: for instance, the promised groom of Magdalena from Bologna, a certain Stefano, was a tailor whose life probably revolved around the same professional circles as those of many members of the Confraternity, and a similar thing can be said for the sailor Gregorio.[[557]](#footnote-557) The ‘national’ nature of Sant’Anna should not distract from the fact that the institution was working in a multi-ethnic (and mostly Italian) environment, and its activities often reflected the social networks established by the Greeks among the population of Ancona.

The dowry fund was only one way in which the Confraternity expressed its role as the provider of financial patronage and welfare for the families, the wider social circles of its members, and the Greek community. Certain activities, such as the weekly distribution of the alms collected to the poor members of the community, had a similar function, even though the destruction of the Confraternity’s archive has made it impossible to assess their concrete effects.[[558]](#footnote-558) Alms and charity were regularly used by national confraternities, and other charitable institutions of migrant communities, to define the boundaries of their social body, preserve its unity and discipline the behaviour of its members. The establishment of a dowry fund was also particularly useful to bind new families to the religious and ethnic community, cementing their identity as part of the group, and helping to ensure the transmission of the group’s legacy to the newer generations. For migrant communities, these forms of charity were an investment in future membership.[[559]](#footnote-559)

Other services had more to do with the offer of moral and religious support. For instance, Sant’Anna could also provide burial services for travelling Greeks who happened to die in Ancona, as in the case of Stefano Agalli, a sea captain from Coroni who died in July 1548 and was interred in the Greek chapel of San Matteo, and we also know that a certain Giorgio, an otherwise unknown Greek who died in Pesaro in 1573, requested to be buried in Sant’Anna.[[560]](#footnote-560) In other cases, the Confraternity was tasked with keeping open the channels of communication with the families of their members, who were often still overseas, as shown for instance by the example of Manuele Accide de Rodi, *magnoiconomo grecorum* who supervised the preparation and delivery of two crates filled with *diversis rebus* to Antono, wife of the deceased Pietro Drichi de Candia.[[561]](#footnote-561)

Outside the redistribution of wealth among the members of the community, the most prominent way in which the Confraternity showed its role as an active entity was through religious ceremonials. The weekly gatherings for mass provided a constant space for socialization and community-building, but it was during the annual religious celebrations that the Confraternity of Sant’Anna could express and reinforce the social ties, both vertical and horizontal, that held the community together. While there were celebrations during Easter Week and Christmas as well, the main religious feast for the Greeks of Ancona fell on Saint Anne’s day, 25 July. There was a great procession, when the foot of the saint was processed from the cathedral of San Ciriaco to the Greek church, and back. This was an occasion for the community to showcase itself in relation to the rest of the city, even though the procession was not an originally Greek celebration, being instituted by the donation made by Paul Paleologo Tagaris in 1380, when the church of Santa Maria in Porta Cipriana had not yet been renamed Sant’Anna.[[562]](#footnote-562)

Another highlight of the day was the banquet organized by the officials of the Confraternity, who were allowed to spend up to 6 scudi from the common coffers (but often spent more from their own pocket).[[563]](#footnote-563) After a solemn mass, in which the names of deceased benefactors such as Lascari or Alessandro Maurodi were publicly remembered, the Governor of Sant’Anna assigned to each official a white candle of varying size, according to their institutional rank. The distribution of candles would also keep into account the importance of external donors and benefactors, who might be awarded one by the Governor.[[564]](#footnote-564) At the end of this ceremony, a feast was held inside the church itself, when the participants – both the members and the benefactors – would eat and drink *come fusse un’hosteria.*[[565]](#footnote-565)The feast on the day of Saint Anne was not just a way to remind the population of Ancona of the presence of a Greek community, but also an occasion to express and reinforce the internal hierarchies of the community itself, and the annual gift of candles to the benefactors was the material manifestation of an otherwise intangible internal hierarchy based on wealth and status, which could not find a proper expression in the randomly assigned offices of the Confraternity. Similar instances of devotional practices being transplanted from the place of origins of the migrants into the host society were rather common among organised migrant communities, and most of the known mercantile *nationes* in Europe also held periodic religious ceremonies.[[566]](#footnote-566)

## 4.7 – The Confraternity outside Sant’Anna, mutual assistance and members as patrons

All these systems – the dowry fund, the alms, and the yearly celebrations – were expressions of how the Confraternity, as an institution, acted and made its presence felt to the Greek community, to the extended social circles of its members, and to the population of Ancona as a whole. On a more informal level, outside the rules and the statutes, the members of Sant’Anna often appear as the pivotal elements in the unofficial systems of mutual assistance and civil justice of the Greek community, and there is a clear connection between membership and social prestige. But which one came first? By looking at the role they played in the resolution of controversies it might be possible to find a solution to this chicken-egg situation.

The Confraternity itself had, like many similar religious institution, a provision in its statutes openly stating that any internal disagreement between its members was to be judged by a tribunal composed by the Governor and his *Consiglieri,* and cases could be brought forward to the Anconitan courts only with an express authorization from the Governor. The criteria used by the ‘court’ of the confraternity in judging such cases are not clear, and it is not known whether the prosecuted would be judged according to Anconitan laws or otherwise. The possibility that the tribunal upheld some kind of written or unwritten common law originating in the Greek homeland and refined through several decades of practice should not be excluded: indeed, a failed attempt at organizing a controlled settlement of Greek immigrants in an abandoned area of Maremma at the end of the fifteenth century would have allowed them to govern themselves according to *eorum mores, consuetudines ac reformations*, which were taken straight from the code of Justinian, as emended by *Grecorum imperatores et ecclesie.*[[567]](#footnote-567) Whatever the rationale behind those decisions, however, things were to be kept inside the confraternity: the fine for any unauthorized recourse to an external authority for a civil case was an exceptionally high quantity of the usual white wax, four pounds. If the unauthorized recourse happened for a criminal offence, the infringer was to be expelled immediately. It may be noted here that every other infringement of the charter incurred lower material penalties, and none of them was punishable with immediate and final expulsion on the first violation.[[568]](#footnote-568)

Due to the destruction of both the Confraternity’s archive and the Anconitan judicial archive, it is impossible to say anything about the number of civil controversies that were absorbed by this internal justice system, and their nature.[[569]](#footnote-569) Criminal offences remained clearly outside the jurisdiction of Sant’Anna, as shown by a number of collateral sources. A long list of condemned criminals from 1539 to 1543 reports a total of 128 names, of which only 2 are coupled with the adjective *greco,* against seven *albanenses*, five *schiavoni,* two *de Ragusa* and seven *hebrei.*[[570]](#footnote-570) The two Greeks were a certain Alessandro, only known for his job as *tricolo* (door-to-door food retailer), condemned for murder, and one Teodoro, who was fined with 55 ducats for an unspecified crime. A few years later, in 1548, a Corfiot sailor named Vasilio Garona, accused of stealing and cutting some nets belonging to the Anconitan noble Girolamo Straccha, requested a safe-conduct through his cousin in order to prove his innocence.[[571]](#footnote-571) In 1544, a decree issued by Paul III granted to *Turcos, Hebreos, Graecos et omnes alios orientales* exemption from the jurisdiction of Anconitan officials, and permitted causes between said *orientales* to be judged solely by their Consul. When a civil controversy involved members of the eastern communities jurisdiction was shared between the Governor of Ancona and the Consul. In criminal cases, other than notifying the Consul, the procedure remained unaltered.[[572]](#footnote-572) The Consul tended to be an Italian merchant (the Anconitan Francesco Tommasi and the Florentine Angelo Baglioni are named in the late 1540s[[573]](#footnote-573)), and acted on a level which, while similar in nature to that of the confraternity, had a different scope, and was exclusively restricted to the protection of the mercantile interests of the Levantines in the city. In none of these cases, was the Confraternity ever mentioned in any capacity, and its possibility to influence anything more than civil arbitrations needs to be categorically excluded.

An intervention of some members in defence of another during a judicial controversy can be seen in the case of Giovanni Schiada, who was condemned for insolvency in 1555, despite the support received by his fellow *confratelli* Alvise Demetrii de Patrasso and Costantino Politi, who testified in his favour.[[574]](#footnote-574) It clearly was not an institutional act, as the Confraternity is never mentioned in the proceedings, but the two witnesses’ unsuccessful attempt at certifying Schiada’s good faith shows how sharing a space for socialization could create and reinforce horizontal bonds of peerage among members with a similar social standing.

The members of Sant’Anna also had an active role in solving civil controversies between Greeks, as emerges from an analysis of the surviving arbitrations. The resolution of commercial controversies in early modern judicial practice was generally entrusted to corporate actors such as merchant guilds and consulates, but private and extra-judicial mediation also played an important part, often leading to amicable settlements decided by arbiters, who tended to be respected and trusted individuals appointed by both parties.[[575]](#footnote-575) The arbitrations involving Greeks in Ancona seem to sit between the two extremes of purely institutional and purely individual mediation of commercial controversies, as most of them were managed by members of the Confraternity, who were almost always elected as arbitrators by the Greek party involved in the case. So for example Nicola di Metelino appointed Alessandro Maurodi, while in another controversy between Giorgio Cretese and some of his sailors the two parties were represented by the Chiot Antonio Coressi and by the Corfiot *armirallius* Teodoro Rattopulo. Sometimes a Greek could be appointed as the general arbiter by both parties, and in the controversy between Perota Politi de Corfu and Giacomo de Imola they both decided to rely on the good judgment of the Greek intermediary Pietro Cordella.[[576]](#footnote-576) The only exception to this rule that arbitrations involving Greeks should be judged by members of Sant’Anna is given, once again, by the Chiots, who relied on the Genoese *natio* in Ancona, often calling upon prominent Italian merchants and consuls to solve their controversies.[[577]](#footnote-577) All the four arbiters were influential in their own way: Antonio Coressi belonged to a rich merchant family with interests all over the eastern Mediterranean, Pietro Cordella was a gold thread maker who started a profitable career in commercial mediation, and the office of *armirallius* held by Teodoro and Marco Rattopulo has already been mentioned in this chapter.[[578]](#footnote-578)

But the most influential of them all was, by far, Alessandro Maurodi. After he reached Ancona in 1539, his successful merchant activities allowed him to accumulate money and prestige, turning him into one of the most respected figures of the Anconitan merchant community, as shown by the marriage he was able to arrange between his daughter Marina and a noble from the Capitosti family of Recanati, with a dowry of 1500 scudi.[[579]](#footnote-579) He was one of the most respected members of the Greek community, appearing as an arbitrator in on numerous occasions, more than all other Greek arbitrators combined; he was chosen by Captain Lascari as the executor of his last will, almost certainly because of his reputation. He was also the only Greek to sign a petition sent to the commune by the representatives of the many *nationes,* and after his death he left a yearly donation of 50 scudi from his estates to the Confraternity.[[580]](#footnote-580) In short, before his death in 1569 he was possibly the one person that came close to being a commonly recognized leader of the community. The absence of a similar figure after him was a decisive factor in the unfolding of the post-Tridentine crackdown on the Greek church of Ancona in the 1580s. His frequent appearances as an arbitrator and as the main intermediary between the community, external benefactors and government institutions are extraordinarily similar to the responsibilities of the Consuls of merchant *nationes*, who had among their duties the double task of solving commercial controversies and mediating between the local governments and the commercial interests of their *natio,* with one main difference: they all took place outside a clear institutional framework, and represent a clear expression of informal patronage.

Maurodi’s reputation and his social standing did not derive from his membership in Sant’Anna. They were rather a product of his successful mercantile activities, his ability to establish social connections with the right people, and his attitude towards active patronage and religious philanthropy. Individuals like him, Coressi, and Rattopulo were probably the prime candidates for the special wax candles that were assigned each year to the institution’s benefactors. Other constant members of Sant’Anna, such as the Politi family, while well-inserted in local society and well known by the rest of the Greek community never achieved the influence Maurodi or Rattopulo could obtain by virtue of their wealth and proximity to the government of the city. For them, and for their clientele in the Greek community, the Confraternity represented an echo chamber for social prestige that was already in place, one which membership in the institution could not generate, but rather amplify. In the same way commonality of membership could reinforce horizontal bonds of peerage, so already existing vertical bonds of patronage towards the whole community could be strengthened and expressed in a clear, visible manner.

## 4.8 – Conclusions

This chapter has tried to show in which niches the institutions of the Confraternity of Sant’Anna operated, and how its functions were influenced by the social structure of the community it served. The community, intended as the network of relationship that were built and maintained by the Greeks in Ancona, was the ground from which the Confraternity could emerge, and while the institutions of Sant’Anna were strongly influenced by the geographic, professional and demographic characters of the wider migrant population, it was nevertheless a clearly distinct object. Community and Confraternity shared a relationship of mutual influence: the former provided the social ties of friendship, acquaintance and peerage that formed the basis of confraternal organization, and which were consolidated and amplified by the Confraternity itself through its rituals and activities. However, the larger community had the leading role in this relationship, being not just an actor but also the stage itself: changes in its composition implied a series of changes in the functions of its institutionalized structures, which in turn had little or no transformative power in relation to the community.

During the central decades of the sixteenth century, the Greek community grew very rapidly as a gathering of professionals, with a significant share of individuals and families who chose to settle permanently as weavers, shopkeepers and established merchants; and an even larger proportion of temporary residents who were employed in long-distance commerce and in naval trades. The professional, and to a certain extent geographic, division between permanent and temporary residents was a by-product of the causes that allowed Ancona to flourish as an international hub, whose main activities involved the trade of skins, wool and tanning materials from eastern Europe and the Black Sea with finished textile products. This basic exchange fostered the appearance of a numerous group of transitory merchants who dealt with the transport of resources between the two sides. On the other hand, it also allowed the emergence of a group of manufacturers, who came for the most part form the Venetian territories, and who could supply some of the textiles required by the eastern markets. There was a whole galaxy of complementary professionals and semi-permanent merchants who lived and worked on the sides of this core business, but the dichotomy between these two groups was one of the most consequential characteristics of the Greek community of Ancona, and it was around the permanent side that the Confraternity emerged and developed, as shown by the comparison between its demographic structure and that of the wider community.

The origins of Sant’Anna were therefore firmly anchored in the population of artisans, shopkeepers and merchants who resided regularly in Ancona. Yet the institution was always significantly smaller than this group, counting no more than 20-30 members at any given time, over a stable resident population that could have numbered up to 150-200 individuals. Judging from the activities and the connections of its members it seems that social class and wealth was not a discriminating factor, and the institution could include at the same time a penniless sailor like Giovanni Schiada and a tremendously rich merchant like Alessandro Maurodi. What mattered were the social connections, and core members like Michele Politi, Pietro Morzoflo and the Zai family all show a remarkable frequency of appearance in notarial documents, in relation to people of different ethnic backgrounds, more often than not in contexts that are completely independent from the activities of the Confraternity. Membership could bring prestige, and more contacts, but what characterized the members of the institutions was the presence of an extensive and well-established social circle, which connected them with the world of the Greek migrants, both transient and permanent, and with the rest of the varied population that crowded the docks around which most of them worked.

It is therefore clear that we are looking at a social group with a foot in two camps, and actively engaged in an expanding marketplace. This allowed them to easily sustain the responsibility of mediating between the three cardinal points of the life of the Anconitan Greeks: the migrant community, the majority component of the local population, and the hierarchies of the Orthodox Church. This cultural intermediation relied on the same channels that brought people, goods and information to the commercial hub of Ancona, and had a fundamental role in the preservation of the Confraternity. They provided its only contact with its recruitment basin in the Greek world, as the resident Greek population of Ancona was not large enough to trigger a process of demographic self-sustainment. Once this lifeline was severed, in the last decades of the century, by the combined action of the post-Tridentine systematization of the Greek rite and by the simultaneous sudden reversal of the city’s commercial fortunes, change was unavoidable. To the point that, in 1595, at the end of the process of incorporation of the church and the Confraternity of Sant’Anna within the local diocesan structures, bishop Alberti could easily dismiss the institution, describing its members as

Una Compagnia di alquanti pochi Greci – poveri levantini laici – li quali in tutto sono sette, de li quali l’uno è cieco, l’altro è infermo per la longa vecchiaia giacendo in letto, restano cinque li quali governano et dispensano le dette entrate, tra li quali uno è sensale, li quattro sono poveri sartori.[[581]](#footnote-581)

But before the reins of the Confraternity passed into the hands of a bunch of impoverished Levantine laymen, the institution had been able to stand out as the pivot of a community which was characterized, as we have seen, by a marked transience of its members and by a non-existent relationship with the local political authorities.

By managing its social and charitable activities, the Confraternity was able to precisely delineate the boundaries of the community; at the same time its religious ceremonies, combined with the prestige enjoyed by its members and their informal patronage among the migrant society, were all ways to clearly and unequivocally clarify the internal hierarchies of the community itself. The rich testamentary legacy left by Alessio Lascari Paleologo is exemplar in this regard: through the essential mediation offered by the Confraternity, and by its informal head Alessandro Maurodi, Lascari associated his patronage with the legacy of the Byzantine past, thus reaffirming the boundaries of the community, and offering a specific characterization to its identity. At the same time his donation established a clear hierarchical relationship between himself, a noble descendant of emperors, and the rest of the group. The many cases of non-Greek girls who benefitted from the dowry fund he instituted show that these boundaries were by no means impassable, far from it. But they were nevertheless clearly defined by the Confraternity and by its direct or indirect actions.

The shapes and the range of these actions would suffer from heavy limitations, due to the nature of the social structures of the Greek community in Ancona. These limitations emerged in all their importance in the last decades of the century, and would condition the unfolding of the post-Tridentine policy of incorporation of the Greek churches into the Latin dioceses, which will be the subject of the next chapter.

# CHAPTER 5 – THE GREEKS AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH: SOCIAL INSTABILITY AND RELIGIOUS PRESSURE

This chapter will look at how the relationship between the Greeks of Ancona and the Catholic Church developed during the sixteenth century. The beginning of this process can be found in the Union that was achieved, on paper if not in reality, between the Catholic and the Orthodox Church at the Council of Ferrara\Florence in 1439. The outcome of the Council influenced the Catholic understanding of the Union, and together with the development of a new Greek migration into Italy in the 1510s, it led to the so-called Leonine phase, inaugurated by Leo X with his brief *Accepimus Nuper* (1521). This brief, which established the exemption from diocesan jurisdiction for those Greek parishes previously located under Latin bishops, was repealed in 1564, and superseded by a new set of legislative measures issued by Pius IV and Pius V. These measures were fully in line with the cultural and religious shift that occurred after the Council of Trent and reflected, especially during the pontificates of Gregory XIII and Clement VIII, the new and different Unionist drive that characterized the Post-Tridentine Roman Curia. It will be seen how, in the second half of the sixteenth century, the attitude of the Catholic authorities towards the Greeks living in Italy changed together with their understanding of the Union of the Churches, and how this development was reflected by a set of concrete policies that sought to incorporate the parishes of Greek rite in Italy, including Ancona, within the tightly-administered dioceses of the Counter-Reformation.

This chapter is divided into three parts: the first (5.1 and 5.2) will lay down the foundations of the relationship between the Holy See and the Greek communities in Italy, discussing the conceptual categories of Greek rite and *reductio*, and then providing a more detailed chronological framework of the evolution of papal policies.

Ecclesiological attitudes, as important as they were, were not the only factors involved, and the *reductio* was strongly influenced by the social characteristics of the communities themselves. Section 5.3 and its subsections will try to show exactly how these characteristics influenced the implementation and the ultimate outcome of those papal policies in Ancona. A fluid and highly mobile social structure was the common denominator of all those Greek communities that formed inside Italian port cities in the early sixteenth century. There, the bonds that held together the expatriate society were much looser than in the rural settlements, in which the population was tied to the land and had clear leaders and stronger familiar connections with their neighbours. This was particularly apparent in Ancona, where a very significant portion of the immigrant population was involved in long-distance trade and there was an inescapable link between the survival of foreign communities and the success of the city itself as a commercial hub. Such a loosely knit community was also unable to produce any kind of commonly recognized leadership. This also meant an inability to construct and maintain a common stance against external interferences. The only organized institution of the Greeks, the Confraternity of Sant’Anna, did not have anything comparable to a political authority over its members, its functions being limited to wealth redistribution and social assistance. When the pressures began to increase in the late 1570s, the Greek community became visibly split, and no charismatic figure or institution able to hold it together emerged in the following years. A significant portion of its members, sometimes among the most influential, decided to leave the Confraternity when a college for the formation of an approved Greek clergy opened in Rome, in the 1570s. It seems that some of the Anconitan Greeks felt the need, on the one hand, to balance their need to join a social institution that helped the survival of their cultural heritage and, on the other, to keep on the good side of the Latin authorities, now that their stance towards the communities of eastern rite had changed. Some other divisions, however, involved personal disagreements and only barely transpire from the notarial documents.

The Greeks in Ancona also visibly lacked all the political filters and institutional connections that allowed similar settlements to survive and prosper for longer periods, like those in Livorno or in Venice, in which the Greek presence was either linked to a coherent, top-down, political project, or to overseas territories. There was no connection between the Greeks and the Anconitan ruling class: Ancona did not employ regiments of *stradioti*, had no colonial possessions in the Aegean and was not trying to set up a military order that needed large numbers of oarsmen and marines. What it did have, on the other hand, was a series of governors appointed directly from Rome, often members of the high clergy themselves. For them, the political risks for openly contravening to directives emanating from the Curia heavily outweighed the potential benefices of assisting the local Greek community.

The third part of this chapter, articulated in sections 5.4 to 5.6, will analyse how the post-Tridentine policies were effectively carried out between 1579 and 1596. One section will describe the first phase, which roughly coincided with the pontificate of Gregory XIII (1572-1585), and saw the beginning of Latin intervention in the life of the Greek community. During this period, the case of the church of Sant’Anna briefly assumed a certain importance on the international stage, as it became involved in the tug-of-war played by Rome and Constantinople for the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar in the Greek Church. The wider historical context ultimately ensured the failure of the negotiations, and the chaotic situation of the patriarchate of Constantinople in the last two decades of the sixteenth century deprived the community of Sant’Anna of a sorely needed source of external support.

The death of Gregory XIII in 1585, and the elections of Sixtus V (1585-1590) and Clement VIII (1592-1605) radically changed the outlook of the Roman Curia, and the way they approached the persistence of a Greek church within the Papal States. Whereas the Latin high clergy during the pontificate of Gregory XIII had simply tried to impose certain theological and ecclesiological items on the Greeks, without ever addressing the deep sources of their religious practice, such as their reliance on the Adriatic-Ionian channels of human movement for the recruitment of their priests. Through the 1590s, the Latin authorities adopted a much more structured approach to the problem, realizing that a definitive solution could only come with the complete incorporation of Sant’Anna into the diocese of Ancona, and with the replacement of their priests summoned from the Greek mainland with candidates approved and appointed from Rome.

## 5.1 – The Ecclesiastical background: *Reductio* and Greek rite

The specific beliefs of the Greek and Albanian communities in Italy were virtually indistinguishable from the ones of those who lived on the other side of the Adriatic. What differed, and changed through time, was the ecclesiological system in which these beliefs were expressed. For these reasons, this chapter will focus not on theology or belief, but rather on the ecclesiological evolution of the relationship between these communities and the Roman Church, trying to trace the ways the Greeks and the Albanians were treated by the Latin authorities in matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and pastoral care. In order to analyse the ecclesiological evolution of the sixteenth century, it is therefore necessary to understand two key conceptual categories, that of *reductio* – the systematic attempts at incorporating the eastern communities into the Latin ecclesiastical system – and that of Greekrite.

The term Greek rite is at the same time outside and complementary to the more familiar scheme of Uniatism vs. Orthodoxy. The communities that settled in Italy and recognized papal primacy or the jurisdiction of Latin bishops cannot be defined as Uniate, neither before nor after the council of Trent.[[582]](#footnote-582) Before, as a consequence of the legislation issued by Leo X, they had come to occupy an ecclesiological grey area between the jurisdictions of Rome and Constantinople, a concept very clearly expressed by the odd figure of the metropolitan of Agrigento. After 1564, constant Roman attempts at limiting the influence of the eastern ecclesiastical hierarchy were accompanied by an attempt to standardise the theological beliefs and ecclesiological structures of the Greek communities inside the structures of post-Tridentine Catholicism. In the eyes of the Latin bishops, the eastern communities that had settled in Italy did not form a separate Church within the Universal Catholic Church, but were considered as Catholic subjects – whose parishes and pastoral affairs depended on the local Latin ordinary – adopting approved forms of Greek rite.[[583]](#footnote-583) Indeed, the idea of a Uniate Church, characterized by its own independent structures and rituals but dogmatically tied to the papacy, emerged only at the very end of the sixteenth century, when the Ruthenian Church joined communion with Rome.[[584]](#footnote-584) For similar reasons of episcopal structure and jurisdiction, despite the resistance of many theological tenets inherited directly from the Byzantine tradition, these eastern communities cannot be placed inside the Orthodox flock in the strictest sense.

Against historians like Peri and Ware, who wrote in favour of a more nuanced definition of the categories of Orthodox, Uniate, and Catholic in relationship to the fluid environment of the early modern Mediterranean, many modern Greek scholars have argued that the population that migrated from the Balkans was simply and unmistakeably Orthodox, and that it was constantly harassed by the Catholic authorities even before the Council of Trent.[[585]](#footnote-585) The relationship they describe is inescapably hostile, pivoting around a clear-cut distinction between the Catholic oppressors and the oppressed Orthodox, in which the occasional mention of a United Greek (or Catholic Greek) population appeared as the result of a necessary religious and ethnic compromise, when not immediately caused by Latin coercion.[[586]](#footnote-586) Tsirpanlis for instance uses the example of several ritual practices, like communion *in fermentato sub utraque species,* combined with the dependence of several communities around Otranto on the Greek archbishop Timoteo di Gravenà as a proof of their Orthodoxy.[[587]](#footnote-587) However, while they were indeed theologically indistinguishable from those of the Greek mainland, the customs he described had been officially legitimized by Pope Leo X in his *Accepimus Nuper*, and Timoteo di Gravenà was the metropolitan of Agrigento, a figure that proved that obedience of both Rome and Constantinople was at the time a concrete possibility.[[588]](#footnote-588) Speaking of the Greek community of Venice, Manoussacas draws a clear line between Catholic and Orthodox when he states that the bishop of Monemvasia turned Catholic in 1534, and imposed on the Venetian church of San Giorgio two Catholic priests.[[589]](#footnote-589) However, if there is a line to be drawn during this period, it would not be between Uniate and Orthodox, but between Unionist and non-Unionist bishops inside the wider post-Byzantine Greek Church: in the first half of the sixteenth century, the theological and ritual components of the Greek rite were generally left untouched by the Catholic authorities – and any intervention in the daily religious life of the communities of the Diaspora was sponsored by the individual Latin bishops, and very rarely authorised by Rome, which still considered the Union of Florence of 1439 valid and binding.

The declared objective of the Roman Church throughout the sixteenth century was generally one and the same: the accomplishment of a Union of all the Churches under papal primacy. What substantially changed in time and space was how the Union was to be achieved. While initially the Union of Florence, at least on paper, was considered a rapprochement of two divided halves of the one Universal Church – under the undisputed primacy and leadership of the bishop of Rome, of course – the post-Tridentine attempts at achieving Unity would be much more appropriately labelled as *reductio,* a word oftenused by the members of thePost-Tridentine high clergy, and which comfortably applies to the general policy pursued by the Holy See towards all the eastern Churches at the end of the sixteenth century.[[590]](#footnote-590)

The concept of *reductio* rested on a different understanding of the ideal of reconciliation that shaped the Florentine process and its aftermath: its aim was to normalize the juridical and doctrinal status of the eastern communities, which before the second half of the century was less than thoroughly consistent. By doing that, it also heavily stressed the idea of *schism* and separation, the alien and almost heretical nature of the eastern Churches, which needed to be addressed and corrected for the normalization to take place.[[591]](#footnote-591) Scholars like Wos tried to justify the behaviour of the Latin bishops by claiming that the Greeks had a reprehensible moral life, and that their disobedience brought disorder.[[592]](#footnote-592) Others, like Giorgio Fedalto described this heavy-handed intervention as the best way to harmoniously reconcile the needs of two different religious systems within a single juridical frame, a claim that does not appear to take into account the evidence that shows that this intervention was neither harmonious nor a reconciliation, but was instead an imposition carried out through often coercive means.[[593]](#footnote-593)

Even before the beginning of the post-Tridentine *reductio,* the migrant communities of Greeks and Albanians occupied a position of weakness as religious and ethnic minorities, often living in conditions of poverty as farmers or agricultural labourers in economically depressed areas, and the pace of their relationship with the Catholic high clergy was almost constantly dictated by the changes that took place among the political and religious authorities of the regions they settled in, which mostly meant the Roman Curia and Venice.[[594]](#footnote-594) This is not to say that all the migrants were simply passive recipients of the measures taken by others. Sometimes they reacted to changes in policy by asking for outside help. In 1583 for example, the Greeks of Ancona actively sought the assistance of the patriarch of Constantinople in restoring the more favourable ecclesiological regime of the 1520s.[[595]](#footnote-595) At other times, they took the situation in their own hands, as the Albanians of Campomarino did when they almost stoned to death a papal envoy who entered their church to announce an extraordinary jubilee in 1564.[[596]](#footnote-596) But they also made a direct contribution to the implementation of papal policies, especially during the phase of intensive information-gathering that began in the early 1570s. The older communities of Apulian and Calabrian *italogreci* were instrumental in this, and a priest named Giovanni Arcudi put together a Greek breviary that was later used as a textbook in the Greek College in Rome.[[597]](#footnote-597) The evolution of their relationship, in time and in space, will be the object of the first part of this chapter.

## 5.2 – Papal policies – From Florence to the *Perbrevis Instructio*

Scholars approaching the matter from a purely Byzantine or Orthodox perspective have generally dismissed the Union of the Churches signed at Florence in 1439 as a complete failure. Indeed, it has been described as doomed to fail from the start, due to the essential incompatibility between the monarchical model espoused by the papacy and the pentarchical tradition of the eastern sees, as well as to the different intellectual traditions of the Greeks and the Latins. Another frequently cited factor is the undeniable legacy of the fourth crusade, which stood at the peak of a centuries-long process of estrangement and growing mistrust between the two main branches of Nicaean Christianity. Considering these differences, the Council of Florence has often been depicted as a rushed political compromise, in which Greek religious identity was sacrificed on the altar of *realpolitik* to gain Latin support against the Turks. It has also been said that the Union itself had weakened Byzantium, by deepening the rift between the Unionist faction of the secular clergy, and the anti-Unionist majority of the population. This interpretation has been contested but, nevertheless, the rapid series of denunciations of the Union that took place after the return of the delegates further cemented the reputation of the Council of Florence as a missed occasion at best, and a resounding failure at worst.[[598]](#footnote-598)

However, on the other side of the fence, the Roman Church considered the Union as legally accomplished, whether the majority of the Greek bishops in the following decades accepted it or not, and continued to use it through the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries as the foundation upon which to elaborate its policies towards the Greek Church.[[599]](#footnote-599) It also formed the first stable framework within which a legitimate form of Greek rite could be practiced, allowing for the administration of the sacraments according to the old Byzantine custom. This included traditions that would later be explicitly forbidden after the Council of Trent, like communion *sub utraque species* and *in fermentato* and the possibility of a married lower clergy.[[600]](#footnote-600) As Hofmann stated, “Nel concilio di Firenze si aspirò e si fissò l’unione degli orientali al cattolicesimo, ma non la loro latinizzazione”.[[601]](#footnote-601) In the long term, this was probably the most important achievement of the Council: the validation, within the boundaries of a Church guided by the pope, of rites that differed from the Latin one, in this case an expression of a Greek liturgical tradition that drawn its legitimacy from its antiquity and its theological prestige.[[602]](#footnote-602) However, the ecclesiological assumptions behind the admission of a Greek rite were rather confused in the immediate aftermath of Florence and would only begin to become clearer in the sixteenth century, with the Leonine reforms.

This was simply because in the second half of the fifteenth century the problem of large foreign communities practicing a different rite had not yet emerged. Albanian mass migration in southern Italy would only begin in the 1470s, while the settlement of larger communities of Greeks in mercantile cities would only start in the first quarter of the following century, reaching its climax in the 1540s. The relatively few Greeks that settled outside Venice were not able to reach the critical mass needed to elicit a wider response from Rome until around the 1520s. It is possible to see, in places like Ancona, Venice and Naples a surge in ecclesiastical concessions to the Greeks in the early decades of the sixteenth century: the first chapel was granted to those in Naples in 1518, followed by a church in 1544;[[603]](#footnote-603) in Venice they were allowed the use of a chapel in the church of San Biagio as early as 1445, but it was not until 1510 that they received papal permission to form a confraternity, and in 1514 they were allowed to build a church.[[604]](#footnote-604) In Ancona permission to take possession of Sant’Anna was granted in 1524, followed by that of San Matteo the next year, while the confraternity was officially instituted in 1531. It may be worth noticing that both the Venetian and the Anconitan concessions were the results of a lobbying effort that took place in the Roman Curia. Several renowned humanists interceded in the case of Venice,[[605]](#footnote-605) while the Greeks of Ancona relied on Monsignor Girolamo Grandonico and on Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.[[606]](#footnote-606) This ability to obtain support where it counted speaks for an increase in overall influence, not only in numbers.

This intensification of church-building among the Greek communities that had settled in mercantile cities was not just the product of demographic increase and economic growth. During the same period the Roman Curia would enact an extremely consequential series of measures, epitomized by the Brief *Accepimus Nuper*, issued in 1521 by Pope Leo X. The Brief itself was written in reaction to complaints of forced baptisms and other prevarications coming from the Venetian overseas territories, where the coexistence of two ritual communities produced a climate that was not devoid of tensions: Latin priests would celebrate mass early in the morning, knowing that their Greek counterparts were not allowed to pray on altars used for other rites, in order to prevent them from using certain churches. At the same time, the local Latin bishops constantly interfered in the religious life of the Greeks by forbidding their priests from administering communion *in fermentato* or from baptising according to their custom, which had acquired full canonical legitimacy after the Florentine Union. All those issues, together with other Greek religious and liturgical traditions are explicitly said to be permitted under the Union, at the very beginning of the brief.[[607]](#footnote-607)

The solution it proposed was simple: to enforce a separate jurisdiction where possible, allowing and even recommending the presence of two bishops practicing different rites in the same diocese. Where this was not possible the Latin bishops would maintain a Greek delegate judge and a Greek episcopal vicar tasked with approving and investigating civil causes. With these dispositions, the Latin bishops could not intervene in any way on the lives of the local Greek clergy, and it was confirmed that the Greek priests had the same rights and privileges of the Latin ones, as did their widows and families.[[608]](#footnote-608) The document was later confirmed by Clement VII,[[609]](#footnote-609) and its insistence on the separation of the Greek and Latin jurisdiction would become a staple of the pre-Tridentine attitudes towards them.

For Venice, the *Accepimus Nuper*created an early concrete ecclesiological and jurisdictional framework that followed up and gave more substance to the concession to build the Greek church of San Giorgio, granted in 1514. Together with the one for Ancona in 1524, those concessions have to be read under the light of the briefs, as they are the product of the specific attitudes spearheaded by the popes of the early sixteenth century.[[610]](#footnote-610) The first thing to notice is that the structure and the content of the two documents are extraordinarily similar, to the point that it can be assumed that the Venetian Concession constituted the direct model for the Anconitan one. Both begin by mentioning a population fleeing from the Ottomans, which was given merciful hospitality in the city, and both end by taxing the communities with a yearly tribute of white wax, amounting to five pounds for Venice and two for Ancona. They then go on to either grant an already existing church (Sant’Anna) or give license for the erection of a new one (San Giorgio) for the Greek rite, placing the building outside the jurisdiction of the local bishop. The exclusion of those communities from the Latin diocese is perfectly coherent with the spirit of the brief, and with its stated aim of reducing the abuses of the Latin clergy while preserving the religious customs of a community that was believed to be in full communion with Rome.

This relaxed attitude trickled down to the process of selection of the parish priests. For the first half of the sixteenth century there are mentions, at least in Venice, of Unionist professions of faith signed by priests who were summoned from overseas.[[611]](#footnote-611) It seems however that the main factor which dictated whether or not priests could be accepted was their provenance, which generally reflected that of their ordaining bishops. They often occupied a grey area between Roman and Constantinopolitan obedience, usually recognizing both authorities, a typical product of the early sixteenth-century understanding of the Union. This idea that the members of the Greek Church who had not explicitly refused the Union agreed to accept it started to lose ground in the 1540s and was eventually discarded two decades later, but in the meantime the vacuum left by the Leonine legislation, which sought to enforce a separation of jurisdictions between the communities of Greek and Latin rite without providing a clear and feasible alternative to the Latin Ordinaries, allowed the existence of ecclesiological anomalies which trod a fine line between Union and Schism.[[612]](#footnote-612) The most notable was certainly the office of the metropolitans of Agrigento and Italy, whose role in relationship to the Confraternity of Sant’Anna has already been detailed.

The phase opened by Leo X in 1514, with the concession of the church of San Giorgio to the Greeks of Venice, effectively laid the foundations of the developments of the following decades. By granting exclusion from episcopal jurisdiction to the individual churches of Greek rite in Italy, and by allowing priests who had been ordained by allegedly Unionist bishops to celebrate without any kind of systematic theological examination, the policies of Leo and his immediate successors favoured the rooting of communities whose religious life had developed outside the reach of the local bishops for decades. When the Roman Church radically changed its understanding of the Florentine Union in the last decades of the century, it took a thorough series of investigations and interventions to undo the process.

The new phase was inaugurated by the brief *Romanus Pontifex*, written by Pius IV in 1564, a document which described the measures implemented by Leo X as a pretext used by the Schismatics to persevere in their *haereticas, nefariasque opiniones, et absurda deliramenta.*[[613]](#footnote-613) The first act of this process amounted to a complete reversal of the policies of Leo X and Clement VII, which had established around the airtight separation of Greek and Latin jurisdictions in mixed dioceses. This separation was completely cancelled, encouraging the bishops to intervene and take back those parishes that had depended on the metropolitans of Agrigento. Like many other measures sponsored by Pius IV the *reductio* of those communities inside the Latin dioceses was part of the concurrent process of centralization and rationalization of the Catholic structures worldwide, and of their irresistible drive towards the disciplining of individual and collective behaviour to an unprecedented extent.[[614]](#footnote-614) Along the same lines, a later brief issued by his successor Pius V, titled *Providentia Romani Pontificis* forbid the practice of the Greek rite inside those communities in which there were no more ethnic Greeks or Albanians.[[615]](#footnote-615) The efficacy of these new centralizing policies rested on a capillary action of investigation of the life and customs of the communities of Greek rite. After these two confrontational pontificates, this focus on investigation and correction would become the mark of Gregory XIII, whose reign was characterized by the institutionalization of the missionary effort both in the eastern Mediterranean and within the Italian peninsula, unleashing an ambitious plan which included not only the Greek Church and its complex network of expatriate communities, but reached as far as the Christian Churches of Syria and Egypt.

Alongside this hardening of attitude, there was a wish for a renewed Union with the eastern Churches. It was not just a unilateral concern of the Roman Curia: the first opening occurred during the pontificate of Pius IV, who replied to a message from the Syrian Jacobite Patriarch Ignazio Na’matallah by exhorting him to make a catholic profession of faith. After four failed attempts to send a messenger, in 1571, Na’matallah eventually decided to leave his office to his nephew and undertake journey to Rome by himself, and once he arrived he was awarded a small stipend and soon entered into negotiations.[[616]](#footnote-616) Messengers of the pope travelled the Mediterranean to propose the adoption of the Gregorian calendar to all the most important representatives of the eastern Churches, from the Syrian patriarch to the Coptic one, to Jeremias II of Constantinople.[[617]](#footnote-617) Despite the significant breakthrough made by the papal envoys in establishing a personal rapprochement between the pope and the eastern patriarchs, these negotiations failed to achieve any substantial result, mostly because of the strong internal opposition in the synods of the eastern Churches, a situation particularly evident in the case of Jeremias II – who was forced to fight a uphill battle against a hostile high clergy and the political concerns of the Ottoman court. In Syria and Egypt the deals were sunk by the fear of Ottoman reprisal, fears that were not quelled by Rome’s inflexibility regarding their full acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon.[[618]](#footnote-618) In all those cases, an extremely ambitious program came close to achieving a historic result, only to crumble under the weight of Roman doctrinal intransigence, resistance inside the eastern Churches and the Ottoman fears of a rapprochement with the west.

It is hard to agree with Peri’s assessment of the Unionism of Gregory XIII as “lungimiranza larga e realistica”,[[619]](#footnote-619) especially when considering the number of political and cultural factors that played against it. But is equally hard to deny his impressive ability to organize an aggressive missionary effort in the East. Indeed, the failure to negotiate a lasting union with any of the major eastern Churches is only one of the many faces of the unionist project he jumpstarted, and probably not the most remarkable. The thoroughness of Gregory’s ambitious programme was reflected by the systematic use of the printing press as an instrument of propaganda, combined with the creation of several educational institutions dedicated to the proper cultural formation of a native clergy to be employed as missionary personnel. Every spiritual, institutional and cultural resource that could assist the realization of this huge project was tapped.[[620]](#footnote-620)

The first wave of Greek Catholic missionaries had employed people who had spontaneously joined the Latin institutions, without a specialized education. Things changed with the foundation of the Greek College in Rome, in 1576. Sponsored by a group of bishops and cardinals who had lived and worked in close proximity with the Greek world, the college tried to offer a solution to one of the main perceived causes of Greek errors in doctrine: lack of education.[[621]](#footnote-621) While part of the wider post-Tridentine drive towards a more thorough religious education, the Greek College was also a direct product of Gregory XIII and his Unionist vision, to the extent that immediately after his death there were serious talks about its closure. Nevertheless, the college survived, becoming a pole of attraction for Greek families all over Italy and the *Stato da Mar* – two thirds of the early students came from those territories that were, or had recently been, under Venetian domination, while only a minority came from Italian communities, including Ancona.[[622]](#footnote-622) Almost half of the students left the college before completing their studies, a statistic that gives an idea of how severe a discipline governed the institution. Of them, only a minority took the vows and were sent abroad.[[623]](#footnote-623) In later years, the program gained momentum towards its stated aim of preparing a Greek clergy that would spiritually conquer Greece *tamquam ex equo troiano,*[[624]](#footnote-624)educating a larger number of successful candidates who would cover important roles in the wider plan of Union and *reductio* of the Greek world.

Such an articulated missionary and propagandistic effort needed a clear coordination, which was provided by the *Congregatio pro reformatione Graecorum in Italia existentium et monachorum et monasteriorum ordinis sancti Basilii*. Founded in July 1573, the Greek Congregation was active on and off until the very last year of the sixteenth century, tasked with the reformation of the rite of those Greek communities that lived in Italy. Through its three decades of existence, it operated as an extension of the person of Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro (1532-1602) and of his activity as the chief reformer of the eastern rites – The cardinal would also be the only constant member of the Congregation, which was dissolved and merged with the wider Congregation *De Propaganda Fide* the year before his death, in 1600.[[625]](#footnote-625) Santoro had had a first-hand experience of the communities of Greek rite, his metropolitan see being in the Calabrian diocese of Santa Severina, close to prevalently Greek-speaking villages like the eloquently named *Papanicefori*. Within the constraints imposed by his own intransigent personality and by the ideological structures of the immediately post-Tridentine period, this direct knowledge allowed him to realize the limits and the potential of the current Roman attitude towards the eastern rites. The privileged point of view of the Congregation and its members was eventually able to produce in 1596 the first organic text for the reformation of the Greek communities in Italy, the *Perbrevis Instructio.*[[626]](#footnote-626) The *Instructio* was, however, a product of the very last phase of its existence, and during its first decades the Congregation concentrated on the solution of concrete issues regarding ecclesiological and ritual matters. The responses of the Congregation and the queries made by the bishops were influenced by the kind of community they were directed to, and it offered a more flexible alternative to the radical attitude of unilateral abolition of the Greek rite that emerged during the pontificate of Pius IV.

This effort was accompanied by a thorough work of investigation on their religious practices, highlighting what could be preserved and what could not. The Congregation actively sponsored the creation of treatises like the *Trattato contra Greci* written by Agostino Castronovo, which listed the theological errors of the Greeks and proposed unusual workarounds to bypass hotly debated subjects like the ordination of priests.[[627]](#footnote-627) However, its main source of information was the steady stream of memoranda sent from the dioceses with Greek parishes. Their tone varied according to the author, stressing either their flock’s innocence, and the hope that they could still receive salvation through the correct doctrine, as much as their lack of hygiene and restraint, often emphasizing their potential as a hotbed of heresy through the use of words belonging to the sphere of contagion such as *appestato, infettato* and *infeccione .*[[628]](#footnote-628) In rare cases the description of their doctrine could be relatively neutral, neither demonizing their subjects nor apologizing for them.[[629]](#footnote-629) Whatever the tone, all this information gathered through direct was of invaluable assistance to the Congregation, which used it as the core of its reformation project.

The overarching programme promoted by Gregory XIII superseded for little more than a decade the severity of the reforms initiated by Pius IV and Pius V. The reorganization of the Greek parishes in Italy under Latin ordinaries continued unabated, but in Rome zeal against the unorthodox practices of the Greeks was substituted by a more meticulous approach that always tried to keep in sight the ultimate goal of a complete *reductio* and Union of the Greek Church. These concerns trickled down to the treatment of the individual communities throughout Italy, and in many cases the *reductio* was carried out by trying to correct theological and liturgical issues, rather than by tackling their social roots and building a sustainable structure that did not need constant episcopal intervention. For example in the Albanian parishes in the diocese of Bisignano, in Calabria, the list of 19 points that the *grecastri sive albanenses* needed to respect consistently focused on rectifying erroneous ritual practices, and there seems to have been no trace of a restructuring of their hierarchical and ecclesiological relationship with the diocesan authorities.[[630]](#footnote-630) Ten years later, in 1581, a summary report of a meeting of the Greek congregation shows that little had changed in the way certain problematic items of the Greek religious practice were tackled separately from the system that allowed their reproduction.[[631]](#footnote-631) With the end of the pontificate of Gregory XIII, and after the intervening reign of Sixtus V, with Clement VIII the Latin policies would turn towards implementing more structural changes.

The main step in this direction was an intensification of the congregation’s work on the *Perbrevis Instructio,*[[632]](#footnote-632) a short handbook containing a series of detailed disposition and recommendations for those bishops who happened to have communities of Greek rite in their dioceses. The value of this document went beyond its immediate content, which was essentially a restatement of the same advice sent by the congregation to the enquiring bishops. What made the *instructio* no less than a milestone in the evolution of the Roman policies towards the communities of Greek rite was the fact that it supplanted the need for a centralized institution. It crystallized the doctrine elaborated since the beginning of Santoro’s work on the subject, and by addressing a variety of ritual, theological and ecclesiological items defined the boundaries within which the practice of a Greek rite could be considered legitimate by the Roman Church.[[633]](#footnote-633)

The creation of a general framework for the legitimacy of the rite was accompanied by a crackdown on the social sources of the unorthodox religious behaviour, particularly evident in those communities with a more volatile organization. Where the priestly class was not imported but “home-grown”, like in certain Albanian communities of Apulia, an administrative *reductio* could prove harder to enforce, but attempts were nevertheless made, and by the early 1590s the Albanian problem ceased to be a priority of the Congregation.[[634]](#footnote-634) Still, Santoro’s other great success in addressing the systemic causes of the Greek errors was the institution of a Greek bishop in Rome, Germano Cusuconari, the first figure of his kind who was responsible directly to the pope, without the mediation of an eastern synod. This figure was used together with the students of the College to create a priestly class of Greek rite which did not depend in any way from Constantinople.[[635]](#footnote-635) In this and other results achieved during his pontificate – such as obtaining a short-lived union with the Coptic Church[[636]](#footnote-636) – Clement VIII reaped the fruits of Gregory XIII’s and Santoro’s work through the previous decades, and brought to a relatively successful end the project of *reductio* initiated by the Greek Congregation.

## 5.3 – The specificities of the Anconitan case

The application of the Roman policies was influenced by the characteristics of the communities involved in the *reductio*. It is now time to look more closely at the case of Ancona, in order to see how its social and demographic peculiarities interacted with the contemporary developments of post-Tridentine ecclesiology. In particular, the case of Ancona (and of most port cities) was characterized by a series of very fluid and labile social connections, which were based on language and culture rather than on blood and kinship. During the *reductio,* in particular, the Greek community was also internally divided, and unable to provide a common front. All these issues, and the complete absence of any sort of political support from the local authorities were fundamental to establish the direction taken by the process of *reductio* ad the end of the century.

### 5.3.1 – Social fluidity and lack of leadership

The migrant communities that grew in mercantile cities usually had a distinctively transitory character, and their social fabric had to be rebuilt from scratch rather than imported – as happened instead in the case of the Albanian communities of southern Italy. Frequently, expatriate merchants and other professionals came from different areas of mainland Greece, often under different masters (the Ottomans or the Venetians). The commonality of language, culture and religion, as strong as it was, could not even compare to the strength of the blood ties that held together the Albanian communities of the South. The concrete effect of the dichotomy between those Albanian semi-tribal ties on the one hand, and the looser non-familiar ones of the Greek merchants on the other, was a different reaction to religious pressure.

In the sixteenth century, the Albanian communities in Apulia constituted an open network of small settlements (*casali*), in which the immigrants moved from one hamlet to the other rather freely, and in which the settlers worked almost exclusively in agriculture, either as daily labourers in other peoples’ properties, or as emphyteutic tenants.[[637]](#footnote-637) While it is almost impossible to assess accurately the demographic proportion that existed between the native Italian population and the Albanian newcomers in the area as a whole, it seems certain that some settlements had an overwhelming Albanian majority, like Carosino, in which only 2 out of 52 registered families were Italian, and Civitella, in which there were 20 Albanian families out of 30.[[638]](#footnote-638) Further to the north, in the diocese of Larino, Albanians settlers reportedly repopulated the deserted villages of Chieuti, Castelluccio degli Schiavi and Campomarino.[[639]](#footnote-639) Several of those villages saw a later influx of immigrants from Coroni after its second fall, when it is believed that around five thousand of them fled the city and were resettled between Naples and Apulia.[[640]](#footnote-640)

The *casali* east of Taranto enjoyed geographical proximity and relative ethnic homogeneity, but were also located in an area which saw the migration and settlement of what remained of the old Albanian ruling class, which was often able to find a new path in life as vassals of the kingdom of Naples. San Marzano, for example, was bought as a fief by the Albanian military captain Demetrio Capuzzimadi, in 1530 or 1540.[[641]](#footnote-641) Lazzaro Mathes bought the fief of Roccaforzata in 1507, and rented those of San Martino and San Marco in 1509,[[642]](#footnote-642) while the Musachi family had an undeniable influence over the village of Faggiano, even though they did not own the place.[[643]](#footnote-643) Later on, the heirs of the Stradiot commander Giorgio Basta bought San Martino and Monteparano in 1597 and 1601.[[644]](#footnote-644) On a lower level, the leadership came almost naturally from the ranks of the Greco-Albanian clergy. Almost every *casale* had its parish in which the Greek rite was officiated, and the local priests often transmitted their role to their sons, creating priestly dynasties with a strong influence on the local populations, like the Pigonati in Faggiano. Some of those priests were clearly aware of their role as community leaders, and behaved not unlike local barons, spending their time hunting and lending money at interest, like Luca Papocchia did in 1577.[[645]](#footnote-645) The convergence of these social elements – the presence of a recognized Albanian ruling class, a lower-level priestly elite with hereditary characteristics, a large number of Greek rite parishes in almost every village, geographically and ethnically cohesive population – helped to preserve the popular religion of the immigrants, setting them on collision course with the reformed Catholic clergy at the end of the sixteenth century. The tension reached its acme in the 1560s, and in 1564 the news of the special jubilee indicted by Pius IV after the siege of Malta was apparently not well received by the Albanians of Campomarino, who were gathered for the Sunday service when the announcement reached them. They started throwing rocks at the messenger, threatening and insulting him.[[646]](#footnote-646) Similar acts of defiance were outside the realm of rational possibilities for the Greek merchants active in port cities, who would have reacted more simply by changing their destination or shortening their stay, instead of mounting a violent resistance or changing their cultural habits. Only a minority of them had familiar ties in Italy, and their source of income was mobile, flexible and replaceable by definition.

Of course, the social fluidity of the Anconitan migrant communities was also influenced by external factors, which were not immediately related with the change of attitude of the Roman authorities, or with the specific type of personal bonds that existed between the migrants. The dates of the intensification of Latin interference in the affairs of Sant’Anna coincide with those of a strong economic contraction at the end of the century. As a quick glance to any map of the city will confirm (see Map 3), the life in Ancona completely revolved around its docks, showing a natural projection towards commerce with the eastern Mediterranean. While on the one hand the wealth brought in by the many Greek merchants initially shielded them from the most radical forms of post-Tridentine intervention – which only began after 1579 – religious pressure on the community progressively increased with the decline of their commercial leverage, and there seems to be a strong chronological coincidence between the acceleration in the pace of the *reductio* and the slowing down of Anconitan commerce. So much that in 1597, at the very peak of the process of their incorporation into the diocesan structures, the Anconitan bishop Carlo Conti described what was left of the Greek community as *gente vile, bassa, e semplici artisti*, adding that *il pretesto* [to have their privileges reconfirmed] *che pigliano del commercio* […] *è al tutto falso.*[[647]](#footnote-647) This decline in trade was concretely exemplified by the material conditions of the port, filled with debris and kept alive more by the construction site of the new *lazzaretti* than by the coming and going of merchant ships. It had become a living symbol of the city’s change of fate, and in 1589 the government of the city sent an urgent memorandum to Rome, eloquently titled *Del modo di ravivare il quasi morto comercio di Ancona.*[[648]](#footnote-648)

Other major destinations of Greek mercantile migration were not as susceptible to these kinds of economic fluctuations as Ancona. Through the sixteenth century, Venice could always count on the steady flux of immigrants coming from the *Stato da Mar*, while the community of Livorno relied on the political project of the Order of St. Stephen for its prosperity. Ancona however, had a strong Greek presence only as long as overseas merchants saw a real potential for profit, bringing about a following of other collateral professionals (caulkers, seamen, tailors). As the city became less and less important as an international trading station, the Greek community began to lose strength, numbers and cohesion, affecting its capacity of dealing with, rather than just being subject to, the dictates of the Latin authorities. Some members of the more settled strata of the immigrant population, such as artisans and shopkeepers, offered a certain resistance to change at first. But they would eventually lose their battle, with the loss of their religious centre and the possibility of regular “cultural reinforcement” coming from overseas.

Fluidity, mobility and impermanence also meant that those mercantile communities were not able to raise a proper priestly class, and were therefore dependent on an outside network for the performance of religious services. Moreover, the imported priests would rarely set up roots in their new communities, and this is particularly evident in Ancona, where scarcely any priest between 1524 and 1592 served for more than a couple of years.[[649]](#footnote-649) This dependence would be used by the Latin authorities in the last decade of the sixteenth century to incorporate Sant’Anna inside the diocesan structures of Ancona, by replacing the priests summoned from Greece with those who had graduated at the College in Rome. Once again, the situation in Ancona can be compared with that of the Albanian villages of southern Italy, which produced a deeply rooted and hereditary priestly class, which in some cases behaved like a landed gentry. Another fruitful comparison can be with the case of the Venetian Republic, which maintained a variable but restricted number of Greek metropolitans in its overseas territories, to allow the circulation and reproduction of a local priestly class under the close supervision of the republican government, and eventually appointed an Orthodox bishop dependant exclusively from Constantinople to take care of the Greek community of its capital.[[650]](#footnote-650)

Another consequence of this state of fluidity, also due to the peculiar urban setting of Ancona, was the lack of a recognized leadership that could rally the Greeks in favour or against the renewed Latin interventions, once again in contrast with the more organized settlement of the Italian Albanians. While their community revolved around the Confraternity of Sant’Anna for matters of socialization, welfare and administration, the institution never possessed any kind of proper political legitimacy and capital. The Confraternity did nevertheless prove to be the main opposition to the Latin crackdown. Its later history, starting from at least 1574, was plagued by desertion, and by the lack of charismatic or influential figures that could stand up and offer a proper leadership. The institutional structure of the confraternity itself, in which legitimate leadership was neither elective, nor hereditary thanks to family or status, but rather randomly assigned by lot every six months, hindered the formation of a ruling group that could effectively mediate for the interests of the whole Greek community during the last critical decades of the sixteenth century. The case of Giovanni Filaretti da Tebe, a simple herbalist who happened to be governor in 1583 and was forced to bear the full weight of a scolding by the bishop of Ancona,[[651]](#footnote-651) can be contrasted with the experience of the many Albanian families that ruled their villages as fiefs. The leadership of those villages was hereditary, often legally recognized by the viceregal authorities of Naples, and in the hands of a ruling class that could successfully relate to both their Albanian subjects and to the aristocratic class that produced much of the Latin high clergy.

But while on the one hand these occurrences had the obvious effect of greatly reducing the ability of Sant’Anna to provide a source of leadership, on the other they never really changed the nature of the Confraternity as the natural rallying point of the Anconitan Greeks. This was also due to the composition of the institution itself, and while the majority of the migrants were merchant and sailors, who due to the very nature of their trade lacked incentive to forge strong personal connections with the Italian population of Ancona or with the other resident Greeks, the members of Sant’Anna were mostly artisans or ran small local businesses, often marrying into Italian families.

### 5.3.2 – The internal divisions

The *reductio* of Sant’Anna should not be seen as a struggle between two sides that were clearly and unequivocally defined by their ethno-religious affiliation and identity. Of course, the Catholic front (meaning bishops Conti and Albertini, Cardinal Santoro and the rest of the Congregation) seemingly had a rather homogeneous stance on the issue, derived from the institutional role and the similar social extraction of the individuals involved. The Greeks, however, can hardly be said to have constituted a cohesive block, and their degree of defiance or compliance varied widely from family to family. These internal divisions within the Greek community of Ancona become apparent when comparing the lists of students of the Greek College in Rome with the several notarial documents from the 1580s and 1590s describing the collective meetings of the confraternity of Sant’Anna. A quick comparison of the different sets of names and dates seem to confirm the idea that, as pressure increased, more and more families abandoned the confraternity and applied for a place at the Greek College – and this was probably the immediate cause of the sorry state of Sant’Anna in 1595, as remarked by governor bishop Alberti.[[652]](#footnote-652) For example, the first member of the Anconitan branch of the Strategopulo family who is attested as a student in the Greek College is a certain Simone, possibly son of Nicola Georgii Strategopulo. Simone studied Greek humanities at the College between 1577 and 1581, when he was discharged on account of his poor health.[[653]](#footnote-653) Meanwhile the last mention of any Strategopulo as a proper member of the confraternity dates to 1575.[[654]](#footnote-654) The break was probably neither sudden nor dramatic though, since a few Strategopuli were to be chosen as *procuratori* of Sant’Anna in 1578,[[655]](#footnote-655) and a member of their extended family, Giovanni Filaretti de Tebe, is attested as the spokesperson for the confraternity as late as December 1583.[[656]](#footnote-656)

The rift necessarily deepened when the Latin clergy began to look into the religious life of the Greeks after 1579. The head of the Tromba family from Milos, Angelo Iacobi Tromba, is last attested in the Confraternity rolls in the same year, while the two brothers Giorgio and Mario Tromba de Milo are attested as students of the College between 1577 and 1583, when they left after six years of study.[[657]](#footnote-657) Other families that sent their children to Rome, like the Sauri\Savari from Tinos, are never attested as members of the Confraternity, and the two brothers Atanasio and Marco Savari eventually became priests of Sant’Anna in the 1590s. The dichotomy between Confraternity and College would eventually fade with the seventeenth century: the Tromba are often attested again as governors of the Confraternity between 1618 and 1631.[[658]](#footnote-658) During this period members of the Politi family, originally from Rhodes, are attested in both institutions, even though they remained tenaciously attached to the confraternity at the end of the sixteenth century.[[659]](#footnote-659)

Joining or resisting the *reductio* was not the only dividing issue for the confraternity and the wider Greek community of Ancona at the end of the century, as personal tensions could also play a significant role. The best example is that of Costantino Maurodi, heir and nephew of Alessandro Maurodi of Adrianople, who ended his life in bad terms with the community of Sant’Anna. He is still remembered by local historiography as the founder of the Anconitan system of healthcare, as he left most of his inheritance to the Latin confraternity of Misericordia e Morte, which used it to found a new hospital.[[660]](#footnote-660) His legacy included a particularly luxurious mansion, located right outside the walls, which at least by the end of the seventeenth century was still called La Mavordina*.* Its furniture was auctioned for a total of 2000 scudi, later used to finance the hospital of Santissima Trinità, administered by Misericordia e Morte just like the hospital of Sant’Anna.[[661]](#footnote-661) In his will, he also explicitly forbade his son, also named Alessandro, from marrying any woman who belonged, or had any kind of relationship with the Greek and eastern nations, if he wanted to inherit the family estate.[[662]](#footnote-662) While the reasons of this deep bitterness are never openly stated in the document, it is significant that the only contact between Costantino, who used to be a member of Sant’Anna, and the Confraternity was a single annual grant of money. Costantino had taken on himself the responsibility of fulfilling his uncle’s promise for a “perpetual donation” of 50 scudi each year, which would go to the dowry fund after the exhaustion of an earlier grant of 500 scudi left by captain Lascari in 1562. This commitment was also confirmed in his last will, dated July 1589. Costantino is last attested as a member of Sant’Anna four years before the death of his uncle, in 1565.[[663]](#footnote-663) In the following 25 years, the only contact he would have with his former companions was the yearly payment of the 50 scudi.[[664]](#footnote-664) The relationship that transpires denotes a certain coldness, despite the impersonal legal terminology used by the notarial sources. Costantino would keep paying the money to honour the memory of his uncle – but outside the yearly donations, his relationship with the Greek community was characterized by mistrust, verging on hostility. This can be contrasted with the life of Alessandro himself, who throughout his 30 years in Ancona constantly acted as the benefactor, and as one of the foremost representatives, of the Greek community. In such a small group of people as the Greek population of Ancona in the late sixteenth century, personal disagreements of whatever nature played an important part, and could stack with the desertions created by political issues to further undermine its already loose cohesion.

Another example of internal divisions comes from 1583, when the Greek church of Ancona was put under tight episcopal scrutiny for not adopting the Gregorian calendar, after an unknown Greek had related the situation to the authorities. This happened during a rather delicate period of negotiations between Rome and Constantinople, and whoever blew the whistle was probably fully aware of the consequences of his actions, which eventually assumed international significance. The other members of the confraternity did not take this well, and in their call for help to the metropolitan of Ephesus and patriarchal vicar of Italy they explicitly claimed they had been *calunniati*, slandered.[[665]](#footnote-665) These examples, and there are certainly many more hidden in unexplored documents, paint the picture of a complex situation, that goes beyond an easy depiction of the *reductio* of the Greeks of Ancona as a clash between two ethnically and religiously homogenous sides locked in a fight over theological minutia, or as a dualism between an attacking oppressor (the Catholic authorities) and a resisting oppressed (the Greeks). Instead, the *reductio* elicited a wide range of responses: from the staunch resistance of the core members of Sant’Anna, to bitterness and total integration in Italian society – as in the case of Costantino Maurodi – to the more conciliatory stance of the Tromba and the Strategopuli, who took advantage of the opportunities made possible by the new post-Tridentine institutions to find a balance between their sense of ethnic identity and the need to keep in good terms with the ecclesiastical authorities.

### 5.3.3 – The absence of a political protection

A divided community and the lack of a recognized leadership were not the only political issues that weakened the Greek community of Ancona. The relationship of the Greek communities in Italy with the authorities of their host cities and the state is another of the keys to understanding Ancona’s differences compared to the other major outlets of Greek commercial migration, Venice and Livorno.

The protection afforded to the Venetian Greeks by the republic, which pursued an independent religious policy, was able to restrict Roman interferences in the capital and its dominions. The trajectory of this exceptionalism peaked in 1578, with the arrival in Venice of the metropolitan of Philadelphia. Through the Venetian institutions in Constantinople, the community of San Giorgio maintained a direct and fruitful connection with the patriarchs of Constantinople, who officialised the election of the metropolitans by the Scuola di San Nicolò, the local Greek confraternity.[[666]](#footnote-666) The Republic also filtered Roman actions during the post-Tridentine period, as the transmission of papal dispositions regarding the Greek rite to the ordinaries of the Venetian state and its dominions was consistently hindered and forbidden between 1566 and 1581. One attempt at concretely applying them in Crete in 1578 resulted in political and legal retaliations against the Latin bishop responsible. The prohibition against applying Roman legislation regarding the Greek rite continued long after the *Perbrevis Instructio* was published in 1596.[[667]](#footnote-667) Even when the curia temporarily softened its approach during the pontificate of Gregory XIII, assuming a more rationalized and careful stance with the stated aim of obtaining a long-lasting Union with the eastern Church, the Venetian state effectively worked like a filter.[[668]](#footnote-668) Cardinal Facchinetti, Nuncio in Venice and future pope Innocent IX (1591), remarked that the “incredible dexterity” of Rome’s attempt at influencing the religious policy of Venice could not overcome the “incredible shrewdness” of the Republic.[[669]](#footnote-669) The reasons behind Venice’s stance, both in its active resistance to Roman intervention and in its passive acceptance of non-Catholic forms of Christianity were pre-eminently political. The legal advice given by the jurist Paolo Sarpi on the case of a Greek from Candia, who appealed in 1612 to the Apostolic Nunciature in Venice about matters of marriage, is useful to understand the nature of those concerns:

Che quando i Candiotti fossero necessitati di fare i Matrimonj contra il Rito Greco, e fossero in altro modo sottoposti alla Corte Romana, *se gli sarebbe desiderabile piuttosto esser sotto il Turco,* *dal quale non le viene impedito di vivere secondo la loro Religione*. Che in questo modo i Greci di Candia sarebbero trattati peggio, che quelli di Cefalonia, Zante e Corfù, e gli altri che sono in Venezia medesima, perché a questi è concesso il fare Matrimonj secondo le Leggi del Rito Greco, e non sono costretti andare a Roma.[[670]](#footnote-670)

A few years earlier, in 1609, after two Greek students had engineered the escape of the Venetian Alvise Maffei from prison, a minor diplomatic crisis ensued between the Apostolic Nuncio in Venice, who claimed the Sant’Uffizio had jurisdiction over a case involving two schismatics, and the Venetian government, which refused to grant his request. The Venetians, on the other hand, claimed that the two Greeks were not guilty of religious offences but of a common crime – assisting the escape of a convicted criminal.[[671]](#footnote-671) Again, the Venetian juridical and political doctrine is well explained by Sarpi in another one of his legal consultations, which reiterates the absence of any jurisdiction on part of the Inquisition over the Greeks, comparing them to the Jews, the Muslims, and other Christian denominations. Since they did not recognize the authority of the pope, they should not be judged by his religious courts, and the secular ruler was supposed to act only when they broke the secular laws, or in those cases in which “[the Greeks, Jews and Muslims] have a perverted opinion regarding those subjects on which their Religion and ours agree: if they deny the creation of the world, the immortality of the soul etc.”.[[672]](#footnote-672)

The phrasing of the plea made to the Council of Ten by the Venetian Greeks, in which they requested the concession of a confraternity and a church, is also able to underline the relationship of co-dependence that existed in the Most Serene Republic between the institutions of the state and the ethnic minorities that occupied some specialized niches that had proven fundamental for its prosperity and its survival. The Greeks presented themselves as *militi e difensori del vostro glorioso stado*,[[673]](#footnote-673)long-time servants of the Venetian Republic who had fought for decades as stradiots and as oarsmen, filling the ranks of fleet and army during a century in which Venice was engaged in almost constant warfare on land and sea.[[674]](#footnote-674) The concrete services they offered to the Republic heavily weighted on the eventual acceptance of their religious requests: as the Council replied to its pleading Greek subjects, the Scuola di San Nicolò, the Greek confraternity in Venice, had to ‘ajutar vedoe, et orfani, [...], che *hanno perso i mariti e i padri nelli servizii della Vostra Serenità’.*[[675]](#footnote-675) Nothing similar ever happened in Ancona, which never had independent military structures that could offer the expatriates a fast track towards acceptance or integration. While people such as Captain Alessio Lascari Paleologo could hope to pursue relatively successful careers within the armies of the papacy, this solution was only available to a few individuals, never enough to turn the Greek population of Ancona into an effective pressure group. The other concrete benefits which the Greeks provided to the city, either as visiting merchants or permanent residents, could not be as easily quantified, or converted into a political capital to spend during a time of crisis. The lack of a relationship of a mutual reliance, reinforced by Ancona’s place inside the state ruled by none other than the pope, had some obviously strong repercussions in the application of a religious policy. In the case of the Greek minority, it took the shape of a complete absence of the city’s lay authorities (Governor, Elder Council) from the issue, which was completely left to the authority of the bishop, his vicars and the Greek Congregation.

In Livorno, the Greeks began to be settled by the Grand Dukes of Tuscany in the last years of the sixteenth century, some of them as collateral economic immigrants, but most of them as maritime tradesmen attracted by the opportunity offered by the newly founded Order of St. Stephen.[[676]](#footnote-676) Being a chivalric order that engaged in low-intensity warfare against the Ottomans in the Mediterranean, often side by side with the Knights of St. John, St. Stephen needed oarsmen, caulkers, helmsmen and marines, who could be abundantly supplied by the Venetian dominions.[[677]](#footnote-677) The nature of the Livornese settlement as the part of a very specific political project with a clear top-down nature, reveals the high levels of protection which the Grand Dukes of Tuscany were willing to provide to the Greek settlers. However, protection did not mean complete immunity from Roman intervention, and the Grand Dukes initially only allowed them to take possession of a very isolated church located a few miles outside Livorno, San Iacopo in Acquaviva, between 1564 and 1580. According to Francesca Funis, the choice of the location reflected the need to make the Greek presence in Livorno less apparent, while at the same time granting a religious outlet to the new subjects of the Medici. All this caution seems to have paid off, and the church of San Iacopo in Acquaviva never appears in the memoranda of the Greek congregation. A Greek church in the town centre of Livorno was eventually founded in 1606, ten years after the publication of the *Perbrevis Instructio*, and was fully inscribed in the new ecclesiological framework*.* However, the protection of the ruler did not help a handful of Greek priests when they were physically assaulted by some of the Latin monks of San Iacopo, who claimed that ‘they knew no other ruler besides themselves’ inside the walls of the church.[[678]](#footnote-678)

A relationship of the close kind that existed between the Greeks of Venice or Livorno and their rulers cannot be found at any time in the history of Ancona. Unlike Livorno, the settlement of Ancona had a seemingly more spontaneous character, and grew out of the increased importance of the city in the eastern Mediterranean trading network, and not as the part of a coherent political project. Also, the lack of any kind of colonial presence in the region meant that the Anconitan ruling class was never pressed into considering religious tolerance as a political issue with a high priority, as in the case of Venice. On the contrary, Ancona’s role as the main port of the Papal States meant that its adherence to the policies formulated in Rome had to be stricter and more literal than anywhere else. One the one hand, migration was initially encouraged, for example with the free concession of the ruined church of San Matteo in 1525 on the condition that the *universitas grecorum* remained in Ancona for their *negotia marcatorum.*[[679]](#footnote-679)It could also be noted that the church of Sant’Anna was granted through the intercession of Cardinal Farnese and monsignor Girolamo Grandonico,[[680]](#footnote-680) and that a handful of Greeks was co-opted in the ranks of the civil administration (either as servants or as magistrates).[[681]](#footnote-681) Nevertheless, those are single and disconnected episodes, and there are no sources suggesting that the Anconitan ruling class and its Greek community ever built a lasting alliance, or indeed anything that looked like a strong and lasting connection of any kind, neither before nor after 1532.

Social fluidity, loose community bonds, internal divisions and the lack of any kind of affiliation with the lay political authorities were the forces that shaped the life of the Anconitan Greeks in their internal and external relations. Combined with a strong increase in religious pressure, those factors worked together to ensure the effectiveness of the *reductio* of Sant’Anna during the most radical years of the counter-reformation, in the last decades of the sixteenth century.

## 5.3 – The first phase of the *reductio* of Ancona, 1579-1590

The process itself followed very closely the phases of the wider post-Tridentine developments in doctrine and practice that began after the institution of the Greek Congregation in 1573. A period of information gathering began in the late 1570s, in which the issue of the community of Sant’Anna was assessed for the first time as a religious problem, and some early, relatively milder solutions were devised. This phase overlapped with the pontificate of Gregory XIII and the momentum it gave to Catholic missionary activity in the east. Inside the wider framework of the Gregorian efforts at achieving a Union of the Churches, or at least a lasting rapprochement with the patriarchate of Constantinople, the city became the battle ground for the adoption of the new calendar. With the weakening of the unionist drive of the Roman Curia, after the election of Sixtus V in 1585, Ancona began to suffer from stronger interference by the Catholic authorities, beginning with a series of measures aimed at placing the confraternity of Sant’Anna directly under episcopal control. Finally, in the last years of the century, the absorption of the church and the confraternity within the diocesan structures became complete with the imposition of the first unelected priests in its history, Atanasio and Marco Savari.

The troubles began, as often happens, with a family squabble, reported in a letter written by bishop De Lucchis to Cardinal Santoro: ‘un Giorgio Greco habitante in Ancona è stato accusato dalla sua moglie, la quale è Schiavona, ch’egli ne ha un’altra in Candia’.[[682]](#footnote-682) The trial that followed was apparently the first time the Anconitan ecclesiastical authorities delved into the religious conventions of the resident Greeks, and it revolved around two main points: the divorce of Giorgio from his first Cretan wife, and the legitimacy of his second wedding. Unfortunately, the proceedings of the trial have not survived, but from the letter we know that bishop De Lucchis decided to appeal to Rome before making any decision. It seems, however, that the bishop was not completely unaware of the Greeks’ history, as he showed a good knowledge of the legal framework that regulated their presence as a religious community. In the letter, he cites both the bull of concession granted by Clement VII and the contents of the brief *Romanus Pontifex* published by Pius IV, the most recent authoritative document regarding the privileges of the Greeks in Italy. Throughout the text, there are often mentions of an undefined *loro, li Greci.*[[683]](#footnote-683)It is probably a reference to the Confraternity of Sant’Anna, but it is not known whether the institution itself was directly interrogated by the episcopal vicar in charge of the investigation, whether the vicar himself assumed that all Greeks would be members, or whether it autonomously offered some kind of legal assistance, as it did in other cases. From this point on, the confraternity and the church of Sant’Anna would become the focus of all direct Latin intervention, and while the institution was sometimes explicitly mentioned, most of the times is referred to using plural third person pronouns. This usage reflects the fact that the Confraternity of Sant’Anna, being the only recognized collective shape taken by the Greek community and the organization ultimately responsible for their church, was also the only institution the bishops could deal with, influence and try to reform.

The issue emerged again in a meeting of the Congregation dated 17 January 1581, when the Greeks of Ancona – again, it was probably a reference to their Confraternity, rather than to the migrant community as a whole – are said to have refused obedience to their bishop, claiming instead they depended directly on Constantinople. In this instance, they were simply ordered to obey the dispositions made by the bishop.[[684]](#footnote-684) The sources however only reveal the Roman point of view, but we know that the main argument used by the Greeks in their defence against the intervention of De Lucchis in 1579 was the Bull that granted them Sant’Anna in 1524. The bull was a perfect example of the Leonine ecclesiological legislation on the separation of jurisdictions, which in Ancona meant their complete exemption from episcopal interference. The Greeks’ insistence on their exemption might as well have turned into a call for help to the patriarchs of Constantinople, who were perceived as a potentially helpful lifeline, still holding a certain degree of legitimacy in the eyes of the Roman Curia. However, this must have been a relatively recent development, as Ancona had been thoroughly and fully inscribed in the Leonine jurisdictional system embodied by the figure of the metropolitans of Agrigento, from the very beginning.

The office of the metropolitans of Agrigento had descended into obsolescence since the late 1560s, with the establishment of the new post-Tridentine ecclesiological regime. The situation prompted a reaction of the Greek religious institutions and communities in Italy to these changes, which saw the patriarchate of Constantinople more directly involved in the affairs of the most peripheral communities of the Orthodox flock. The most important occasion on which the patriarchs had to intervene on behalf of the Anconitan Greeks was during the negotiations for the adoption of the Gregorian calendar, between 1582 and 1584.[[685]](#footnote-685) When the calendar was approved and imposed in the Catholic countries in 1583, several Greek communities – including of course the one in Ancona – refused to adopt it, insisting instead on using their traditional Julian calendar. The issue quickly assumed a certain international significance, as both Constantinople and Rome began to use it as a bargaining chip. The cabinet of Gregory XIII, spurred by the ambitious designs of the pope himself, had infused a great momentum to the project of a definitive union between the Roman and the Greek Churches, and the adoption of the reformed calendar was seen as a necessary and fruitful stepping-stone towards this end. Patriarch Jeremias II also proved more helpful than his predecessors, seeing the political benefits that his Church could derive from a rapprochement with Rome. Despite the openness of the patriarch, neither of the two sides ever took the final results of the negotiations for granted. In the end the weight of other political factors, mostly the concerns of the Ottoman court over a Greek church with closer ties to Rome and the tenacious opposition of a wide portion of the Orthodox clergy, ensured their ultimate failure.

The problem arose in Ancona when the local bishop discovered that the Greeks were still celebrating their festivals according to the Julian calendar, and consequently referred the situation to Rome. Rightfully fearing the *gran travaglio* the Greeks would suffer if they insisted on using the old calendar, Giovanni Euripoti de Scio, priest of Sant’Anna, sent a letter to the metropolitan of Ephesus and patriarchal vicar in Italy, Dionisio Stronghilo, asking for help and directions. The situation was so tense that Euripoti would have left the city, had it not been winter.[[686]](#footnote-686) Stronghilo recommended them to conform to the new calendar, and his reply made it seem as if the Gregorian reform was soon to be adopted by the eastern Church as well, implying that the decision to use the new calendar was taken because of, and not in spite of, their obedience to Constantinople.[[687]](#footnote-687) While he was in Rome, Stronghilo also asked to receive the pastoral care of the Greek church of Ancona, but to no avail.[[688]](#footnote-688) The request was described as coming directly from the local Greeks, and can be seen as an attempt to resurrect a figure similar to that of the metropolitans of Agrigento, but placed under a much more direct supervision of the patriarch of Constantinople. By asking to receive jurisdiction on the Greeks of Ancona, Stronghilo was essentially advocating a return to the ecclesiological system of the 1520s.

However, this request could not be granted, for a number of reasons. The most important was that Rome was neither willing nor able to revert to the old ecclesiological regime, or to give up the jurisdiction on the Greek parishes in Italy. The new consciousness of the role of the Catholic Church after Trent, and the new outlook of its high clergy made Stronghilo’s request for jurisdiction impossible to satisfy. The request itself needs to be read in the immediate contemporary context of calendar negotiations: if the calendar was a stepping-stone towards the Union, then the restoration of an ecclesiological regime more akin to the one that developed in the first half of the century was the price set by Constantinople. The ultimate aim of the patriarchate was also indirectly expressed in a letter that Jeremias II sent to Rome in the summer of 1583,[[689]](#footnote-689) months before the controversy over Ancona reached its acme. The letter, which was delivered by the two Greeks the pope had chosen as diplomats, Michele Eparco and Giovanni Buonafè,[[690]](#footnote-690) asked the pope to put a stop to the vexations suffered by the Greeks of Ancona, who were forced to administer communion using unleavened bread and to receive the sacred oils from the local bishops instead of Constantinople.[[691]](#footnote-691) However, what is most interesting is the closing statement of the letter, which begs the pope to allow them to celebrate mass according to their rite, as it had always been the case in the previous decades, clearly a reference to the Catholic policy formulated in the 1520s and respected until the 1560s. The combination of these two elements, the patriarch’s reference to recent tradition and Stronghilo’s demands for episcopal jurisdiction over Sant’Anna, seems to confirm that the ultimate aim of Constantinople in the negotiations of 1582-84 was in fact the restoration of a Leonine order of separate coexistence of the two rites, in which the Greek communities in Italy were administered by a Greek archbishop, responsible to the ecumenical patriarchate but also within the oversight of Rome. The unfortunate fate of Jeremias II and the accession of Sixtus V to the pontifical throne marked the unfruitful end of these negotiations, sealed in 1590 by the official condemnation of the reformed calendar by a Greek Synod.[[692]](#footnote-692) Nevertheless, it served to bring the issue of the Greek community of Ancona to the fore, paving the way for a new phase of intervention and regulation.

## 5.4 – An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure: structural adjustments in the 1590s

The action of the local prelates during the reign of Gregory XIII focused more on the direct imposition of a number of ritual measures, such as the use of unleavened bread for communion and the distribution of sacred oils by the hands of the local bishops (instead of the patriarch of Constantinople) to the Greek parishes. These measures had a debatable degree of success, as shown by the persistence and repeated re-emergence in time of a number of practices that had been declared incompatible with Catholic beliefs, when not banned outright. The matter of the sacred oils and their provenance offers one of the best examples of how Latin attempts at directly defining religious practice did not produce any concrete result. The first mention of a debate on the source of the sacred oils used in the ceremonies of baptism and confirmation appears in the letter of Jeremias II mentioned above, sent in 1583. In the letter the patriarch complained that the bishop of Ancona prevented all those Greeks who did not accept his position as the source of the sacred oils from receiving the sacraments.[[693]](#footnote-693) According to the Latin tradition, every community ought to take the blessed oils from its bishop, and the dispositions contained in *Romanus Pontifex* and enforced after 1579 in Ancona made it clear that the bishop of Sant’Anna was the Latin bishop of Ancona. The pope’s response, reported in Cardinal Santoro’s professional diary, was clear enough: “et non approvò che i greci di Ancona pigliassero la chresima et oglio santo da Costantinopoli, ne che dessero la comunione ai parvoli, eccetto se non potesse fare altro”.[[694]](#footnote-694) A pastoral visitation to Sant’Anna from June 1588 adds more details to the situation, explaining that while chrism came from a Greek bishop, the oil of the catechumens and the oils used for the administration of the last rites were simple olive oil mixed with water and blessed by the parish priests.[[695]](#footnote-695) Cardinal Santoro himself confirmed the prohibition in a letter from 1587, which does not survive but is mentioned in a later document from the summer of 1592.[[696]](#footnote-696)The same document that relates Santoro’s letter explicitly mentions that the Greeks of Ancona never obeyed those orders, and still received their sacred oils from schismatic bishops. Another point of concern was the conservation of these sacred oils, which were kept for five years or more.[[697]](#footnote-697) The same concerns are repeated almost verbatim in a report on the *status ecclesiae* which bishop Conti of Ancona sent to Rome a few weeks later, in June 1592.[[698]](#footnote-698) In another visitation from September of the same year they are taken for granted and omitted for brevity.[[699]](#footnote-699) Almost ten years had passed since the issue was first mentioned, but despite the relentless vigilance of the bishops of Ancona, the oils still arrived from overseas. And it was not just the oils, as the very same can be said of some less tangible ritual practices like administering communion *sub utraque species*, giving confirmation to infants together with baptism and of course commemorating the name of the patriarchs of Constantinople during mass. Practices and ritual paraphernalia travelled through the same channels of human movement that had ensured Sant’Anna a fresh supply of priests throughout the sixteenth century: from the Aegean-Ionian-Adriatic network of Venetian colonies, former dominions and other remnants of the older Latin expansion in the Greek East, like Rhodes and Chios. These territories had provided all the priests of Sant’Anna, and despite the thorough missionary activity that began with Gregory XIII, they were still outside the immediate sphere of control of the Catholic Church.

As long as the church of Sant’Anna could rely on these channels for the recruitment of its priests, any Latin attempt at correcting its perceived abuses would be undone by the arrival of a new priest from overseas a few years later. The issue was initially neglected,[[700]](#footnote-700) but eventually, the Catholic authorities realized that they needed to address its roots before they could claim a complete *reductio* of Sant’Anna and its community. A coherent response to this problem began to take shape in the 1590s, at the end of the pontificate of Sixtus V. Despite being better remembered for his centralization of the Papal States[[701]](#footnote-701) and for his complete lack of interest, possibly even hostility, towards the ideals of Church Unity that constituted such an important part of his predecessor’s pontificate,[[702]](#footnote-702) the Sistine administration saw the first implementation of a direct episcopal control over the Confraternity of Sant’Anna. This transpires from a notarial transaction dated 4 October 1590 (*sede vacante*), in which the usual formulas reported after every confraternity roll call (*omnis confratres concordes et nemine ipse discrepante nomine dicte societatis ac ecclesie Sancte Anne*) are followed by an unprecedented clause: *accedentes tamen consenso apostolic*,[[703]](#footnote-703) which seems to imply that some kind of permission was granted, and therefore requested, before the transaction could be carried out. The document was not in any way related to religious matters, being a simple agreement for the leasing of one of the confraternity’s agricultural properties to a certain Giovanni Battista Scalamonti. The same transaction reports the presence of two Latin priests as witnesses, another unprecedented occurrence that is repeated in most of the collective documents of the confraternity between 1590 and 1594.[[704]](#footnote-704) Both the explicit mention of episcopal consent and the recurring presence of members of the Latin clergy as witnesses seems to point out towards a tightened control over the institution. Rather than a change in direction, it was simply an application of the Tridentine canons, which stressed the necessity of a direct episcopal control over religious confraternities (not just of the National kind) and their attached structures, like hospitals, nunneries or schools. The rationalization of confraternity management throughout the Catholic world could obviously not spare foreign institutions, which were more often than not under suspicion of heresy.[[705]](#footnote-705)

Another important step was the imposition of a priest with a trusted theological background, who could steer the flock of Sant’Anna towards positions more fitting to the new Catholic doctrine. In the same period, the graduation of the first classes of students who had entered the Greek College in Rome created just the right kind of candidate, one who was able to perform his duties according to the new Catholic Greek rite and also had direct knowledge of the community he was destined to serve. The first Anconitan graduate to serve as the priest of Sant’Anna was Atanasio Savari. His family, originally from Tinos, sent both him and his brother Marco to the College, where they successfully pursued their studies. Unlike those of his brother, the exact dates of Atanasio’s enrolment and graduation are not known. Fyrigos, in his list of students of the Greek College, attests both an Antonio Savari, who left the college for illness in 1584 and an Atanasio Savari, who is said to have been enrolled in 1590.[[706]](#footnote-706) However, this is incompatible with his certified four-year presence in the institution,[[707]](#footnote-707) and with the fact that Atanasio is unequivocally attested as priest of Sant’Anna by at least September 1592 in several other documents.[[708]](#footnote-708) We know that before him the church was served by a certain Vittorio,[[709]](#footnote-709) a priest who had been summoned from overseas as usual by the confraternity, and before Vittorio by another Greek priest, Costantino *quondam* Ioannis Xeno de Patimo,[[710]](#footnote-710) who is never attested in the rolls of the College. It therefore seems that Atanasio Savari was indeed the first priest of Sant’Anna who was placed there by the Latin authorities, rather than called in by the Greeks.

1592 was a momentous year for the relationship between Sant’Anna and Rome. Not only it was the first year that an external priest, Atanasio Savari, was imposed, but it was also the beginning of the final process of investigation and incorporation of the church and its confraternity in the diocesan administration. The brother of Atanasio, Marco Savari, was also sent to Ancona, but as an inspector rather than as an officiating priest: his role was to file an investigation on the practices of the community of Sant’Anna, and to devise ways to fix them. The report, which he delivered to Santoro in November 1592, is a goldmine of information about the religious life of the Greeks in Ancona. It contains a list of all their ritual and theological traditions (including the usual complaints about the sacred oils, communion *sub utraque species*, divorce and purgatory), and an unusual short exposition of the Orthodox doctrine of afterlife, which does not seem to appear in any other document addressed to or written by the Congregation.[[711]](#footnote-711) But the most interesting part is certainly the interrogation of the aforementioned Vittorio, the only more or less direct witness on the beliefs of the priests that served in Sant’Anna before the church and the confraternity were placed under episcopal control. Vittorio was a widower, who had been married before his ordination, according to the Greek custom. He also confirmed to Savari that no ecclesiastical authority had sent him, and that he had been directly summoned by the Anconitan Greeks, according to the community’s tradition. The very fact that Savari had asked who sent him, implying the presence of an external agency coming from the Orthodox world, seems to prove that despite two decades of investigations, the Catholic authorities had very little knowledge of exactly how Sant’Anna worked. They projected the functioning of their own system, based on centralized decision making and aggressive missionary activity, to the Greek world, which had been touched, but only slightly influenced, by those religious developments that brought the post-Tridentine institutions and worldviews into being. It would not be surprising to see how Vittorio, when asked about the theological tenets of his faith, proved completely unaware about those very same developments, professing an ecclesiological and theological thought still anchored to a typically Greek and immediately post-Florentine conception of the Union. His ecclesiological positions confirm this view: the pope was recognized as the first among the five patriarchs, and those who paid respect to the patriarch of Constantinople were not schismatic, but rather *bonos christianos et catholicos.* Those answers did not prove good enough for Savari, who recommended in his report that Vittorio should be put under trial *tanquam haereticum* by a religious court, but also asked to proceed with clemency, as he was *valde ignarus* and had been educated in his schismatic faith since his childhood.[[712]](#footnote-712) The report written by Marco Savari ended with a series of 12 proposals for the correction of the community, which effectively dictated how the ecclesiastical authorities would later relate to Sant’Anna.

The 12 points can be divided in four major topics: the certification of the Catholic creed of priests and laymen, concrete corrective actions for ritual and sacramental errors, the acceptance of Greeks who wanted to convert to the Latin rite, punitive measures against those who persisted in their schismatic positions. The first set of measures, which had been already implemented when Atanasio Savari had taken Vittorio’s place as priest of Sant’Anna immediately after the report was written, asked the Congregation and the Ecclesiastical authorities to put a stop on the import of priests from the Greek world, and to only admit those who had passed a rigorous theological examination and had obtained a papal dispensation. As for those laymen who came to Ancona *haeresi aut schismate infecti*, they were also supposed to pass a doctrinal test followed by a profession of Catholic faith. It was a clear change of attitude, especially when compared with the total absence of controls that characterized the Leonine phase, in which the Unionist orthodoxy of the priests and the parishioners of Sant’Anna was assumed without any kind of examination. Even when compared with the approach used during the Gregorian period, which focused more on addressing theological and ritual issues, this renewed emphasis on the prevention of doctrinal mistakes through rigorous examination by the authorities is symptomatic of a definite steering towards direct control and incorporation. Similar measures would have been very hard to implement in earlier decades, given the large volume of human traffic passing through Ancona. However, the decline of the city’s role as a centre of commercial redistribution in the 1580s, following a general contraction of Adriatic trade and Venice’s successful bet on Split as the new hub for the sale of eastern European leather, visibly reduced the presence of foreign merchants in Ancona, allowing for much easier control.[[713]](#footnote-713)

The second batch of articles in the 1592 report, those regarding ritual practices, is also rather innovative when compared to the previous phases of Latin intervention. Articles 4 and 8 offer a conventional approach to the issue of the sacrament, forbidding the old practices of confirming infants and obtaining the sacred oils from overseas. However, articles 6 and 7 put forward a more mature post-Tridentine approach, possibly based on the Jesuit experience: every week, the parishioners of Sant’Anna, especially women and children, would be compelled to attend classes on the approved Greek rite and Catechism, taught by a man of proven Catholic orthodoxy.[[714]](#footnote-714) The execution of this item was probably the reason why Atanasio Savari was asked to compile a comprehensive list of all the people who regularly attended mass in the church, in December of the same year.[[715]](#footnote-715) Another thing that Marco Savari recommended was that the Decrees of the Council of Trent be posted inside the church. Both articles reflect the tendency to exert a direct control on Sant’Anna through education and reformation of its old ecclesiological assumptions, which is also reflected in the articles about conversions from the Latin rite, which are forbidden, and conversions to the Latin rite, which required that the convert accepted the Latin sacrament of Confirmation, and asked for papal absolution.

These proposals were later implemented, at least by 1595, when Marco Savari himself was instated as the rector of Sant’Anna. It is possible that he had worked together with his brother Atanasio,[[716]](#footnote-716) who had not proven effective enough in correcting the perceived errors of his parishioners. The Greek community, or at least the part that still ran the confraternity and professed a pugnacious attachment to its traditional practices, did not welcome him with opened arms. The Greek Congregation had probably chosen the Savari brothers for their Anconitan origin, which was supposed to make the execution of their duties easier, and avoid the impression that Rome had appointed a complete stranger to take care of their church. However, this was apparently not enough, and the interventionism of the two priests, especially Marco, produced a certain hostility, to the point that the Confraternity offered to double Marco’s pay to 90 scudi if he agreed to leave the church, less than six months after he was appointed. Of course, true to his missionary calling, Marco disdainfully declined the offer.[[717]](#footnote-717) Later that year the Confraternity requested a complete restoration of the old policies and privileges, including the possibility of summoning their own priest and celebrating the sacraments according to their traditions.[[718]](#footnote-718)

However, by June 1595 the process of incorporation of the church was already almost complete, and gained further momentum after a brief promulgated by Clement VIII, which pushed for an end of the reformation process.[[719]](#footnote-719) This final phase began with a series of measures aimed at rationalizing and controlling the bookkeeping of the Confraternity. The inept administration of Sant’Anna had already astonished the episcopal vicar for its inefficiency when it was first examined in February 1595. At the time, it was described as the personal reserve of cash of its members, who repeatedly used the collective finances for personal ends rather than collective redistribution.[[720]](#footnote-720) The *ordini et capitoli per il buon governo della chiesa et Confraternità di S. Anna* were initially conceived as provisions for the rationalization and supervision of the finances of the institution, requiring the presence of detailed registries of all the movable assets and real estate owned by the church, the institutionalization of the *procuratore* as an integrating part of a scheme of financial accountability, and generally the introduction of sound administrative practices, with no mention of any theological matter.[[721]](#footnote-721) The institution was also required to have transactions certified by an episcopal notary, to provide yearly accounts to the bishop of Ancona, and to ask for his explicit permission for any extraordinary expense.[[722]](#footnote-722)

A few weeks later, in a letter dated 3 July 1595, another comprehensive plan of reform was drawn up by the episcopal vicar and sent to the Greek Congregation for approval. The 20 points that made up this document read like a general recapitulation of all the issues that had emerged in the past twenty-six years, and the policies formulated until that moment*.* There are mentions of marriage law, the provenance of the sacred oils, the administration of sacraments, increased accountability of both the church and the confraternity to the bishops of Ancona, the appointment of priests and their responsibilities in forming and educating the community through the teaching of proper rituals and theology.[[723]](#footnote-723) The emphasis given to education is symptomatic of the influence the new priests of Sant’Anna – Atanasio and especially Marco Savari – had on the drafting process. Both had been students at the Greek College, and it is no coincidence that the reformation program prescribes weekly readings of the Catechism of St. Cyril and the Rule of St. Basil, two books that featured prominently in the education offered by the College.[[724]](#footnote-724) However, in the corrections sent back by Santoro, the Cardinal recommends the use of different books, as those ones were not considered to be fit for the laity.[[725]](#footnote-725) Future priests were also required to read out loud the Proclamation of Union signed at Florence, at least once a month. A text of the document was to be posted on the walls of the church in Latin, Italian and Greek (both the original and a modern translation).[[726]](#footnote-726) The text was sent back with a few corrections, mostly pertaining to details about weekly fasting and the conservation of the Sacred Oils, which were updated according to the norms contained in the soon-to-be published *Perbrevis Instructio*.[[727]](#footnote-727)

This was the first organic reform proposal for the Greek church and community of Ancona, one that took into account theological, administrative and ecclesiological matters, and had good chances of having them thoroughly implemented. It would also be the last: the Confraternity was now reduced to a handful of members, and could no longer claim to be the representative of a community which adopted a whole varied range of stances in response to Latin intervention. Moreover, the church of Sant’Anna had already lost its main anchor to the rest of the Greek world, the possibility of appointing priests summoned from overseas. Despite a certain Greek reticence to obey these measures, and despite the bishop’s paranoia about them opening ‘a gathering of schismatics and heretics who, through promiscuous unions and conversations at home, would infect the rest of the flock’, by 1597 the *reductio* of Sant’Anna was effectively complete.[[728]](#footnote-728)

## 5.5 – Conclusions – Sant’Anna after the *reductio*

The controversies regarding the liturgical customs of the church of Sant’Anna did not end in 1596: according to Rodotà, the last time the church and the confraternity were brought to the attention of a Roman congregation was in 1624, with a debate regarding the administration of communion *sub utraque species*. However, the controversy was quickly put to rest by referring to an inquisitorial decision made in 1605, which openly forbade it.[[729]](#footnote-729) A few years later, the handful of remaining members of the confraternity (four or six), petitioned the bishop of Ancona for assistance in managing their squandered assets, paving the way to the admission of Latin members, who soon became the majority. This also meant that the church was transformed into a mixed-rite institution, as it had been for a short while between 1524 and 1531.[[730]](#footnote-730)

This is not to say that its original character as a Greek institution was forgotten or discarded, on the contrary. The surviving inventories of the church, all dating from the last decades of the eighteenth century, show that Sant’Anna kept two sets of liturgical materials, one for each rite.[[731]](#footnote-731) The church also preserved a small library of 34 Greek books, which probably included works that were part of the officially sanctioned Greek Catholic canon, like the homilies St. Basil, the Catechism of St. Cyril and copies of *Laetentur Coeli*, as well as books that had been originally brought by the first Greek settlers, like that fifteenth century Greek psalter that ended up in the communal library of Ancona.[[732]](#footnote-732) Certain traditions were preserved as well, including the yearly procession during the feast of St. Anne, and the perpetual donations left by Alessandro and Costantino Maurodi were still collected in the years 1696 and 1700,[[733]](#footnote-733) as was the tax levied on the passing Greek merchants in 1780.[[734]](#footnote-734) In 1787, a Greek priest drafted the translation of the trading privileges granted in 1308 by Byzantine Emperor Andronicus II.[[735]](#footnote-735) During the peak of Italian *Risorgimento* at the end of the nineteenth century, another *papasso* served as a model to painter Francesco Podesti for his depiction of a Byzantine ambassador in his painting celebrating the siege of 1174, starting point and founding myth of the Anconitan civic identity. When the parish of Sant’Anna was shut down in 1880, it was because of the exhaustion of the Greek Catholic community, and there were requests to grant it back to the new Orthodox residents.[[736]](#footnote-736)

The Greek traditions and religious presence in Ancona did not really die, even after the drastic *reductio* of the late sixteenth century. It behaved like an underground river, apparently disappearing only to periodically re-emerge during times of commercial revival. Like in the first phase of its settlement in the 1510s, the presence of Greek immigrants was tightly linked to the fortunes of the city, and when the declaration of Ancona as a free port brought renewed prosperity in the eighteenth century, a new immigrant community was allowed to settle. However, this renewed community, which can be properly addressed as schismatic or Greek Orthodox by this point, never possessed any kind of religious centre, the building of Sant’Anna being reserved for the few descendants of the original immigrants, its new Italian members and the handful of Greeks who practiced the United Greek rite.[[737]](#footnote-737) In 1843, the latest survey of the members of the Confraternity shows that only one out of 39 members of Sant’Anna was Greek, a certain Niceforo Loverdo. The rest, including the priests, were all Italians.[[738]](#footnote-738)

This was undoubtedly the product of the pressure exerted during the last decades of the sixteenth century, which turned Sant’Anna from a more or less spontaneous expression of the settlement of an immigrant community into a tightly controlled church, administered according to the rules dictated by the Greek Congregation. Constrained by episcopal supervision and by the regulations imposed by the Catholic Greek rite, Sant’Anna could no longer present itself as the unquestioned gathering point for the spiritual needs of the Greek communities that formed in Ancona in later periods,[[739]](#footnote-739) losing much of the social and demographic vitality that had allowed it to flourish in the mid sixteenth century.

It would be misleading to treat the process that led to the incorporation of Sant’Anna inside the diocesan administrative and liturgical structures just as the result of a one-sided aggression from the authorities down to an undefended community. As this chapter tried to demonstrate, a wide variety of factors played an important role in deciding which direction the process of *reductio* was going to take. Primarily, the very nature of the Greek community of Ancona as a gathering of merchants and collateral professionals (sailors, caulkers, tailors, commercial intermediaries) employed in the leather-for-textiles exchange that constituted such a large part of the city’s economic prosperity created an environment of social fluidity and geographical mobility, hindered the constitution of a cohesive community. The Greek presence in Ancona was inextricably bound to the success of its port, and when the fierce competition mounted by Split and the lack of regular dredging reduced its potential for profit in the late 1570s, the majority of those merchants that spearheaded the first settlement began to move elsewhere. The lack of a recognized political authority – one that could take decisions and enforce them through coercion or persuasion – was also instrumental in sealing the fate of the Greek church of Ancona. The sphere of action of the only institutional expression of the Greek community, the confraternity of Sant’Anna, could most properly be described as social and administrative, rather than political. It was certainly able to levy a small tax on its community and on the goods shipped by Greek merchants, but its lack of leadership and its limited representativeness meant that it was never able to take and enforce decisions for the whole community. By contrast, in 1556, the Jewish communities of Italy and the Ottoman Empire set up a commercial boycott of the city in response to the strong repressive measures enforced by Paul IV against the Portuguese *marranos.* Large numbers of Jews abandoned Ancona, diverting their trade towards the port of Pesaro instead, where the Duke of Urbino had already welcomed them. While the boycott was short-lived due to internal divisions and to the bad conditions of the Pesarese port, its brief success was made possible by the leadership of a recognized Rabbinic class that organized it and helped to carry it out through their legal *response.*[[740]](#footnote-740) It is very hard to imagine that the Greeks of Ancona, reportedly the second largest foreign community in the city, could be capable of organizing and pulling off a similar operation on their own. The only time at which they were able to call upon a widely recognized transnational authority to act on their behalf was in 1582-83, during the controversy regarding the Gregorian Calendar. Even then, the severe limitation to the political autonomy of the patriarch, imposed by its Synod and by the Ottoman State, meant that the intervention of Jeremias II was destined to remain ineffective. The effects of this lack of internal leadership and external direction were exacerbated by the complete absence of a mutually beneficial rapport between the Greek community – both in its institutionalized forms and as a network of individuals – and the civic authorities of Ancona, which in other instances might have constituted a powerful filter against Roman intervention. Individual members of the community occasionally appeared as servants of the Elder Council, and the Rattopoli family from Zante provided two *capitani del porto,* but the community as a group never constituted an influential pressure group even before the 1532 change in government, when Ancona was definitively incorporated in the Papal States. These factors would have greatly facilitated the *reductio* of a cohesive community, which the one in Ancona was not. As previously shown, even before Roman pressure intensified in the 1580s, many Greek families in Ancona decided to send their children to the Greek College, often leaving the confraternity of Sant’Anna as a result. Others, like Costantino Maurodi, severed their ties with the community over personal and financial issues.

The fact that the Catholic authorities took the best part of two decades to complete the *reductio* of a small, divided community with no institutional shielding can be ascribed to two main factors. In their already mentioned connection with the fortunes of the Anconitan port, the Greek immigrants were not merely passive recipients of the port’s ability to connect the Ottoman and Italian markets. The merchants themselves were an active element, producing wealth and contributing to the overall prosperity of the city. While the relatively mild measures implemented before the pontificate of Sixtus V, which focused on the direct imposition of certain theological and ecclesiological items instead of addressing their immediate causes, were a product of the early post-Tridentine doctrine, their enforcement was made even milder by the importance of the Greek merchants in the economy of the city. When this importance eventually declined beyond recovery in the last decade of the century, the catholic authorities could finally implement a more thorough incorporation of the church and the confraternity of Sant’Anna.

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# CONCLUSIONS

In his *Turcogreciae libri octo,* Martin Crusius talks about his encounter with Stamatis, a Greek wanderer who travelled around Europe in search of ways to gather the 250 ducats he needed to ransom his family, which had been captured by the Ottomans during the Cypriot campaigns of 1570-71. While *rerum multarum peritus,* the unfortunate Stamatis was completely illiterate, and he could communicate with Crusius only through what little German he had picked up in his travels, but especially by using those bits and pieces of Italian and Latin that were part of the Mediterranean *lingua franca.*[[741]](#footnote-741)Despite the language barrier, he was able to impress Crusius with his curiosity and his religious devotion. He was eventually taken to the prefect of Tübingen, who gave him 6 ducats.[[742]](#footnote-742) Like many other Greeks before and after him, he reached Italy and central Europe by passing through Ancona.

He was not alone: in the years immediately following the Ottoman conquest of the island, the Confraternity of Sant’Anna had welcomed an unprecedented number of Cypriots into its ranks.[[743]](#footnote-743) Like Stamatis, they were labourers – bakers and weavers, mostly – and like him they were fleeing from the conflict. Unlike Stamatis, however, who could still hope to go back and ransom his mother and his two brothers, they were forced to remain in Ancona. Despite the fact that many Greek-speaking villages in Cyprus had welcomed the Ottoman armies, the destruction wrought by the clash of the Ottoman and Venetian armies must have left them without a place to go back to, and flight became the only viable choice.[[744]](#footnote-744) They were not the first ones: before them, people like Giovanni Maria Strategopulo and his family had lost the possibility of returning to their homes in Coroni, and it is more than likely that many others besides them, whose stories can only be imagined, had been forced by the circumstances to leave their native lands behind for good. They were, to use a modern word, refugees. Nevertheless, they found a safe haven in Ancona, where they could use the safety nets provided by the local Greek community to start building a new life.

Most of the people who welcomed them were not refugees themselves, and they had often freely decided to cross the Adriatic and settle in a city in which they could put to good use their business expertise, or their skills as mariners and craftsmen. It was a growing mercantile hub, which prospered by connecting the Ottoman suppliers of raw resources – in particular Anatolian wool and, of course, the omnipresent bovine skins from the Black sea, those *coria moncastri* that appear in almost every commercial transaction – with the Italian and European manufacturers of woollen kerseys. A clever customs policy, assisted by a series of bilateral agreements between the Anconitan government and those of Ragusa, Constantinople, and Chios had been able to secure a steady flow of shipments to the port of the city. Attracted by lower custom duties and by favourable regulations, Ottoman and Chiot merchants of all faiths elected Ancona as their preferred marketplace, and brought with them a host of mariners, ship captains, and all sorts of auxiliary personnel. In the Venetian dominions, the loosening of Venice’s grip on its subjects had also provided a good incentive for many Greek merchants coming from Corfu, Zante, Crete and all the other territories of the *Stato da Mar*. It was not just merchants, however, who reaped the benefits of Ancona’s sudden expansion: the flourishing textile market was also quick to draw a significant number of artisans, mostly tailors and weavers, who had previous occasions to learn their craft thanks to the parallel expansion of the Venetian textile industry. They provided a bridgehead, which was exploited by their friends and families, rapidly turning the trickle of individual arrivals into a self-sustaining process of chain migration.

By the time Stamatis reached Ancona in 1570, these individuals had been able to establish a strong network of personal and professional relations among themselves, and their social bonds had developed into an organized community. In a sense, the decade between 1565 and 1575 represented the full maturity of the Greek community in Ancona: it was the period immediately after the establishment of the structures of the Confraternity, and the affirmation of its role as a centre of wealth redistribution. It was also before the game-changing intervention of the Catholic clergy reduced its autonomy. It took a while, however, to reach this stage, and to achieve it the initial group of migrants had to relinquish the inherited social connections with their homeland, and start to create new ones in their host city. It could take months, even years, for that to happen, and the degree of detachment was strongly influenced by the length and nature of each individual’s stay, by their professional circles, and by their family. Chiot merchants, for example, never really gave up their connections with the Genoese merchant community, and people whose lives revolved around maritime trade had of course a harder time taking up roots in a single location. But it eventually happened, and by 1524 the Greeks who had settle for a longer time had reached the level of organization, the numbers and the influence required to lobby Rome and the local authorities for a dedicated religious building, which would be followed by an organized confraternity in 1531.

This did not substantially alter the dynamics of the process of migration and integration, which remained closely associated with the three phases of professional insertion, gradual emancipation from inherited ties, and creation of new professional and personal connections in the host city. It provided, however, with an additional tool: the Confraternity of Sant’Anna. The Confraternity was a space in which social bonds of peerage and patronage could be reinforced and expressed in a more elaborate form. Additionally, by offering a privileged channel for the transmission of religious practices, it became the main keeper of the cultural heritage of the migrant families. On a more practical note, its system of alms, the dowry fund, and (in the intentions of its founder) the hospital, could provide assistance to the newcomers and to those migrants who required financial help. It is not known whether Stamatis took any advantage of these structures. However, it would be fair to assume that the Greeks of the city would have provided him with some of the help he needed for his long journey through central Europe.

It would nevertheless be wrong to try and paint the Greek community of Ancona as an example of idyllic brotherhood based on ties of language and culture. The notarial acts which provide the core of this study, with their tendency to use a formulaic legal language, cannot be considered the ideal source for this kind of situations, but they can nevertheless offer a certain amount of insight, especially when coupled with external material. Litigations were common among merchants, in particular regarding late payments for goods and services, and in those cases they could be solved by appealing to trusted mediators appointed by both parties, who were often chosen from the ranks of Sant’Anna. Disputes outside the sphere of mercantile activities are harder to come by in notarial folders, but this is not a reason to assume they did not happen. A case in point is provided by Costantino Maurodi, nephew of Alessandro Maurodi, who severed his contacts with the Greek community after the death of his uncle in 1569. More or less around the same years, after the death of Giovanni Maria Strategopulo, the relationship between his heirs and their professional partner\brother-in-law Giovanni Filaretti da Tebe steadily deteriorated to the point of requiring the mediation of two Anconitan lawyers.[[745]](#footnote-745) These two characters, Giovanni Maria Strategopulo and Alessandro Maurodi, were central to a vast network of social relationships: when they eventually passed away, the connections they helped to establish and mediate proved difficult to maintain in the same form. The link between the Strategopuli and the Filaretti had its legal basis in a marriage, but the tensions that inevitably arose through the years were probably kept under control by the mediation of Giovanni Maria, and by his prestige as a Knight of St. John and a veteran. The same can be said for Maurodi, whose effective leadership contributed to the social cohesion of the whole Greek community between the 1540s and 1569.

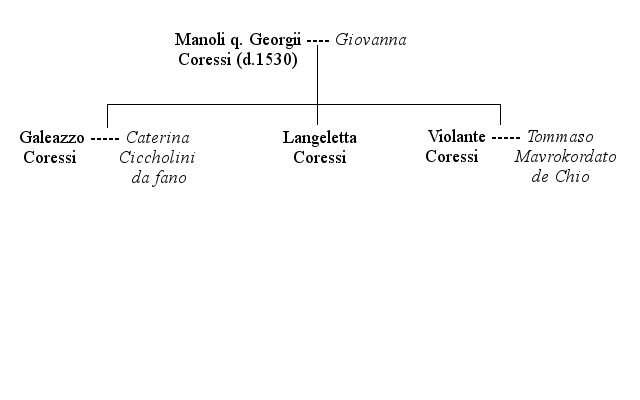
The very nature of the network that constituted the Greek community is one of the underlying factors of this inherent social instability. The one in Ancona was a community of unrelated merchants, artisans and mariners who did not feel compelled to establish marriage ties with other Greeks, due both to the absence of an appropriate number of eligible Greek women, and to the lack of a widespread cultural taboo against outside marriages on both sides of the fence. As a result, while most of them knew each other, helped each other out, and shared the same spaces of socialization in the *fondaci* or in the church of Sant’Anna, their community would nevertheless maintain a limited level of social cohesion. Bonds of friendship and acquaintance, even when based on a shared set of cultural, linguistic, and religious norms, could not prove as resilient as those provided by blood and kinship, or as those growing under the umbrella of a recognized leadership. The limitations of this community-network became evident in the 1580s, when many Greeks started to leave a city whose trade was becoming more and more stagnant. But its main stress test took place during the simultaneous post-Tridentine reformation. Latin attempts at enforcing a reform of the Greek rite, while initially unsuccessful due to the systemic limitations of the Gregorian approach to the *reductio*, never encountered any significant form of resistance, negotiation or mediation – with the possible exception of the bribe offered by the members of Sant’Anna to Marco Savari, in 1595. As soon as the Roman policy-makers realized they needed to act on the roots of the issue, rather than on its symptoms, the pace of the *reductio* swiftly accelerated, and its success became inevitable.

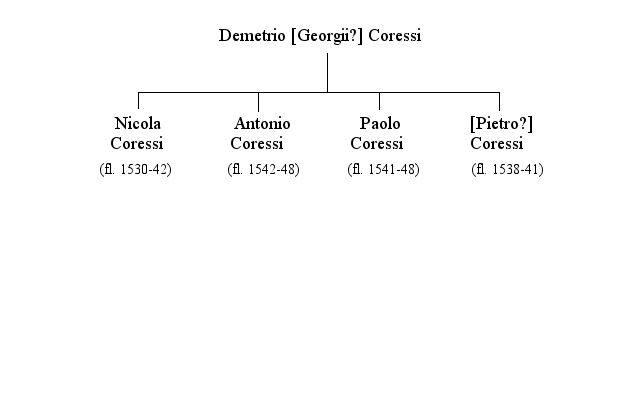
Such was therefore the end of the Greek community of Ancona, which lived its most flourishing period between 1520 and 1580. Later waves of Greek-speaking migrants would come to the city in due course, in particular when new forms of commercial migration emerged Europe-wide in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[[746]](#footnote-746) Later migrations were based, however, on completely different premises: the Greek communities abroad were more interconnected between themselves, and moved within a system of centralized states and professional diplomacies that in the sixteenth century was barely in its infancy.[[747]](#footnote-747) The later migrants also developed a kind of political consciousness that was simply impossible in the sixteenth century, and during the Napoleonic period some of the new settlers in Ancona kept contacts with revolutionary movements in France and in Greece, even contributing to the war effort against the Ottomans in the 1820s by sending funds and weapons to the troops of Mavromichalis.[[748]](#footnote-748) All these elements worked together to produce completely different outcomes in terms of collective self-identification, community organization and integration strategies, and cannot be included in the social history of the Anconitan Greeks during the sixteenth century.

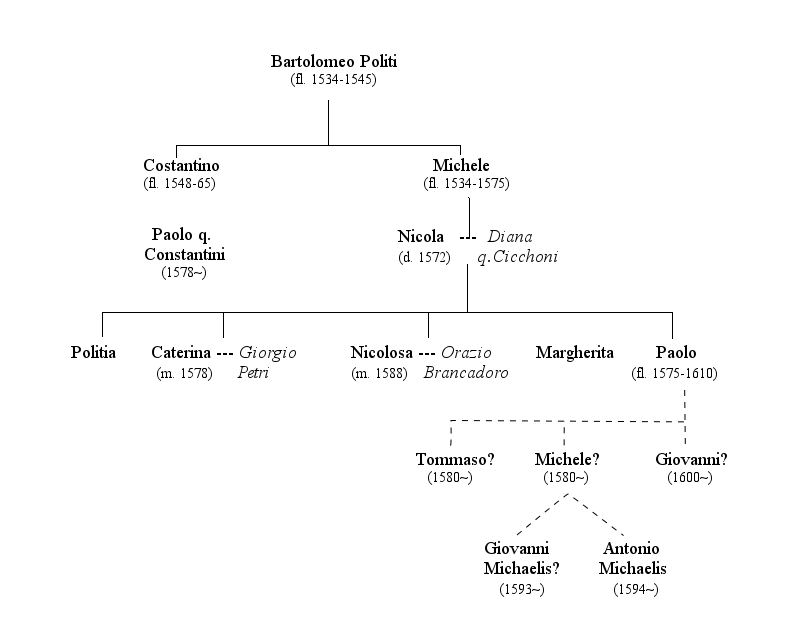
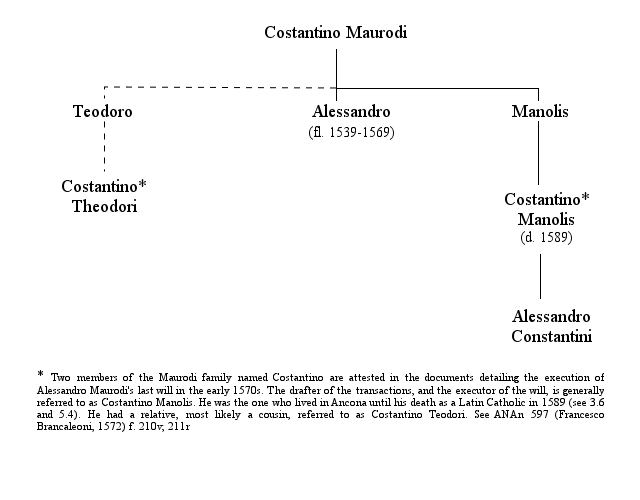
This thesis has tried to offer the first extensive overview of the Greek community of Ancona. Being a preliminary study, there are of course many issues that are yet to be addressed: first and foremost, in order to offer a complete picture of a merchant community in the fluid commercial environment of the early modern Mediterranean it would have been necessary to analyse the sources of more than just one city. The archives of Dubrovnik, Rome, Florence and especially those of Genoa and Venice might all contain precious information about the mercantile interests of the Greeks in Ancona, and about the way they developed networks of relations beyond the boundaries of their host city and in the context of the wider Adriatic-Ionian-Aegean system of commercial and human exchanges. In Ancona itself the sheer vastness of the notarial section permits the exploration of only a minimal (however, hopefully significant) fraction of the available material, and even then the limitations inherent to notarial sources have probably led to an underestimation of the number of Greek individuals who were not able-bodied males involved in commercial transactions. Furthermore, the unfortunate fate of the judicial section of the Anconitan archive has denied the possibility of explaining the personal connections established by the Greek migrants even further. But it is not just the array of sources that needs to be expanded: this thesis does not have the space to analyse in depth the connections between the migrants and their Italian customers and partners, or with the members of other foreign communities such as the Jews, the Slavs, the Albanians and the Armenians. Particularly the latter offer the example of another small group of migrants practicing an eastern rite, eventually able to obtain their own church but never the target of post-Tridentine pressure. They shared many similar features, and might constitute an interesting basis for future comparisons.

All these omissions notwithstanding, it is my hope that by approaching the community as a network of individuals and familiar relationships, and by comparing it when possible with other migrant communities which shared some of its defining characters, be it language and culture, or some organizational and demographic specificities, this study will provide an original and comprehensive exposition of the social mechanisms that brought to the formation and to the dissolution of the community itself. The primary aim of this research was to avoid the usual approach that treated the complex and faceted phenomenon of the migrations of Greek-speaking peoples exclusively as part of a grand unified narrative of “Greekness” and Hellenic history. Studying migrations by privileging the ethnic angle means overlooking the numerous characteristics that made each community a unique case. While certainly influential in its own right, ethnicity was just one influential factor among many, and to properly discern the fundamental differences in characters which define each migrant community it might be necessary to transcend this perspective, and to concentrate on other important aspects such as the professional composition, the variety of political and social triggering factors, and the inherent demographic diversity that characterised each single strand of migration. The starting point for the combination of all these elements needs to be the gathering of individuals, and how it consequently developed structures and consolidated networks of social interactions. Any other approach which takes the organized institutions as its starting point will necessarily lead to the exclusion of important segments of migrant society from the frame of analysis. A similar method, which bears the clearest fruits in fields traditionally dominated by national or ethno-centric scholarly traditions like the study of Greek Diasporas, might as well be applied to other examples of early modern and late medieval migrations, in the Mediterranean basin and beyond.

# APPENDIX 1 – FAMILY TREES

The following pages will contain the family trees of four families of Anconitan Greeks: two distinct branches of the Coressi family from Chios, the Maurodi from Adrianople, and the Politi from Rhodes.





# APPENDIX 2 – DATABASE OF NAMES

The following pages contain the names of around 420 individuals, who are mentioned as Greek in the documents, or can be reasonably assumed of having Greek origins. The entries are ordered alphabetically according to their first name, and include the patronymic and the family name. They also include the place of origin and their occupation(s), as well as their confirmed dates of activity in Ancona. When their status of resident in the city could not be confirmed or denied, i left it open. However, it seems plausible that most of the people with an undecided status were in fact transitory merchants. The proper names and the family names are reported, as in the text of the thesis, in their Italianized form, but the patronymics have been left in the original Latin. The terminology of the naval professions has been translated into English when possible, using a comparative table of roles aboard merchant ships.[[749]](#footnote-749) The sources include the known mentions of each individuals, and the note specify in which sub-section of the thesis they have been mentioned as a central example. For those individuals whose lives have been explored in depth in the body of the text, and who appear numerous times in the notarial sources (such as, for example, Alessandro Maurodi and the Politi brothers), this database will simply report their first appearance. The sources are for the most part folders from the Archivio Notarile di Ancona (ANAn), and are presented with their serial number, but without the name of the notary. The names mentioned in published sources are referred to using the shortened form of their bibliographic reference.

| Name | Patronymic | Family name | Origin | Profession | Dates | Confr. | Resident | | Sources | Notes |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Agathia | N/A | Premendario | Patras | Merchant | 1538 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 352, f. 432r |  |
| Alessandro | Paliotti | Theotochi | Corfu | Unknown | 1523 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 344, f. 18v |  |
| Alessandro | N/A | Ralli | Chios | Unknown | 1536 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 350, f. 204r | See 3.3.2 |
| Alessandro | Demetrii | Alicastro | Corfu | Shopkeeper - Retailer | 1538 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 352, ff. 175, 191, |  |
| Alessandro | Constantini | Maurodi | Adrianople | Merchant | 1539 - 69 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 353, f. 128r | See 3.3.1; 4.6 |
| Alessandro | N/A | Charchiopoli | Velona | Merchant | 1548-49 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 358, f. 463r  ANAn 359, ff. 118r, 154r |  |
| Alessandro | Ioannis | Architetto | Zante | Naval – Pilot | 1559 -65 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 543, f. 57v  ANAn 539, f. 256v  ANAn 540, f. 113r |  |
| Alessandro | N/A | Piciotto | Unknown | Unknown | 1595 | Yes | | Yes | Wos, ‘La comunità...’, 57 |  |
| Alessio | Ioannis | Calerghi | Rethymno | Merchant | 1561 | no | | no | ANAn 541, f. 244r |  |
| Alvise | Georgii | Micognati | Mikonos | Naval - Boatswain | 1559 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 539, f. 256v |  |
| Alvise | Ioannis | N/A | Corfu | Naval - Coxwain (bergantini) | 1563 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 543, f. 345 |  |
| Alvise | Demetrii | Vrostino | Patras | Interpreter | 1559-65 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 29v  ANAn 541, f. 175r |  |
| Andrea | N/A | Crisospatti | Coroni | Artisan - Famulo - Weaver | 1536 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 350, f. 32r |  |
| Andrea | Iohannis | N/A | Candia | Naval - Guardian | 1542 | no | | no | ANAn 354, f. 430v |  |
| Andrea | N/A | Avloniti | Corfu | Shopkeeper – Herbalist | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 355, f. 52r |  |
| Andrea | Theodosii | N/A | Zante | Naval - Mariner | 1548 | no | | no | ANAn 358, f. 385r |  |
| Andrea | Ioannis | Patropuli | Corfu | Artisan – Furrier | 1533-37 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 389, f. 112v;  ANAn 197, f. 18r |  |
| Andrea | Ioannis | N/A | Corfu | Unknown | 1529 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 389, f. 4v |  |
| Andrea | Manussi | N/A | Candia | Unknown | 1575 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 600, f. 189v |  |
| Andrea | N/A | Maruda | Zante | Unknown | 1557 | ?? | | ?? | ANR 1221, f. 49v |  |
| Andriane | N/A | N/A | Venice | Wife | 1538 | no | | no | ANAn 352, f. 123r |  |
| Andronico | N/A | Candili | Mytilene | Merchant | 1562 | no | | no | ANAn 542, f. 366r |  |
| Angelo | Antonii | Zanni | Candia | Merchant | 1559 | no | | no | ANAn 539, ff. 138v, 141v |  |
| Angelo | Iacobi | Casanova | Milos | Artisan – Unknown | 1563-65 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 336rv  ANAn 594, f. 269v |  |
| Angelo | Camilli | N/A | Andro | Unknown | 1565-75 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 594, f. 269v  ANAn 600, f. 189v |  |
| Angelo | Iacobi | Tromba | Milos | Artisan – Unknown | 1563-77 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 597, f. 280v  ANAn 600, f. 189v |  |
| Angelo | Nicolai | Vranas | Tinos | Merchant | 1575 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 600, f. 43v |  |
| Antonia | Iohannis | Gervisti? | Unknown | Wife | 1525 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 195, f. 82v |  |
| Antonio | N/A | Patavinum | Corfu | Priest | 1538 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 199, f. 15r  ANAn 352, f. 123r |  |
| Antonio | Leonardi | N/A | *Grecus* | Unknown | 1528 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 344, f. 2v |  |
| Antonio | N/A | Conci | Chios | Merchant | 1537 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 350, f. 60v |  |
| Antonio | Demetrii | Ralli | Chios | Naval - Captain; Merchant | 1541-43 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 353, f. 102v | See 3.3.2 |
| Antonio | Demetrii | Coressi | Chios | Merchant | 1542-48 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 354, f. 418v | See 3.3.2 |
| Antonio | Michaelis | N/A | Unknown | Famulus Antianorum | 1543 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 355, ff. 35r, 88r |  |
| Antonio | Georgii | N/A | Candia | Naval - Mariner | 1548 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 358, f. 471r |  |
| Antonio | Nicorosi | Moscati | Chios | Artisan – *Coltraro* | 1559 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 539, f. 164v |  |
| Antonio | Stephani | de Gotis | Corfu | Artisan - Famulo - *Coltraro* | 1562 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 542, f. 340v |  |
| Antonio | Nicolai | Buratto | Ancona | Intermediary | 1574 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 596, f. 199r |  |
| Antonio | N/A | Politi | Ancona | Unknown | 1595 | Yes | | Yes | Wos, ‘La comunità...’, 57 |  |
| Apostolo | N/A | Zupanno | Corfu | Unknown | 1524 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 173, f. 182v |  |
| Apostolo | N/A | Gerva | Patras | Naval - Captain | 1548 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 358, ff. 405v, 476r |  |
| Attanasio | Manussi | N/A | Candia | Unknown | 1575 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 600, f. 369r |  |
| Bartolomeo | N/A | Volentiera | Zante | Merchant | 1538 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 352, f. 357r |  |
| Bartolomeo | N/A | Politi | Rhodes | Artisan – Rosary Maker | 1534-43 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 355, f. 52r | See 3.2, 3.3.1 |
| Bartolomeo | N/A | N/A | Unknown | Canonicus | 1529 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 389, f. 4v |  |
| Basilio | Alexii | N/A | Unknown | Shopkeeper – Baker | 1529 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 389, f. 129v |  |
| Benedetto | N/A | N/A | Corfu | Shopkeeper – Retailer | 1542 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 354, f. 350r |  |
| Blasio | Pauli | N/A | Lepanto | Merchant | 1514 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 193, f. 15r |  |
| Cali | N/A | Schiada | Corfu | Unknown | 1561 | no | | no | ANAn 541, f. 3v |  |
| Caloianni | N/A | Zuchi | Sinope | Naval - Captain | 1531 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 346, f. 243v |  |
| Candili | N/A | Glava | Mytilene | Naval - Master (galeonis) | 1548 | no | | no | ANAn 358, f. 405v |  |
| Christodulo | Iohannis | N/A | Chania | Artisan - Famulo – Rosary Maker | 1533 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 347, f. 295r  ANAn 197, f. 198r |  |
| Christophoro | N/A | Casa | Velona | Merchant | 1535 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 349, ff. 293v, 312v |  |
| Christophoro | Simonis | N/A | Cyprus | Naval - Coxwain (barche) | 1562 | ?? | | no | ANAn 542, f. 160r |  |
| Ciriaco | N/A | Lexi | Velona | Naval - Coxwain (schirazzo) | 1524 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 173, f. 18r |  |
| Ciriaco | Nicolai | N/A | Alessio | Naval - Master | 1533 | no | | ?? | ANAn 347, f. 301r |  |
| Ciriaco | N/A | Alexopulo | Trebizond | Unknown | 1560 | no | | No | ANAn 540, f. 400r |  |
| Clemente | N/A | Calegros | Unknown | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Clemente | N/A | Colinsentia | Unknown | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Comninus | N/A | Aliluias | Unknown | Unknown | 1543 | no | | no | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Cosma | N/A | Argiroffo | Chios | Merchant | 1543 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 355, f. 202v |  |
| Costa | N/A | N/A | Unknown | Naval - *barcarolo* | 1536 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 198, f. 44v |  |
| Costantino | N/A | Dura | Velona | Unknown | 1524 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 173, f. 182r |  |
| Costantino | Zannis | N/A | Candia | Artisan – Rosary Maker | 1535 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 197, f. 351v |  |
| Costantino | N/A | Columeno | Chios | Artisan – Rosary Maker | 1535 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 197, f. 351v |  |
| Costantino | Manolli | Calearis | Candia | Naval - Purser | 1536 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 350, ff. 56r, 66r |  |
| Costantino | N/A | Ralli | Chios | Merchant | 1531-43 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 350, ff. 60v, 85r, 89r | See 3.3.2 |
| Costantino | Candilii | Glava | Mytilene | Naval - Master (galeonis) | 1548 | no | | no | ANAn 358, f 405v |  |
| Costantino | Manolli | N/A | Patras | Artisan – Weaver | 1559- 75 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 538, f. 57v  ANAn 542, f. 368v  ANAn 600, f. 189v |  |
| Costantino | Ioannis | Scanda | Velona | Unknown | 1559-62 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 539, f. 362r  ANAn 542, f. 355 |  |
| Costantino | Bartholomei | Politi | Rhodes | Merchant; Naval - Patronum | 1548-65 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 539, f. 48v | See 3.3.1 |
| Costantino | N/A | Baturi | Chios | Artisan - Shipcarpenter | 1563 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 183v |  |
| Costantino | N/A | Cavestri | Chios | Unknown - Interpreter | 1563 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 183v |  |
| Costantino | Manolis | Maurodi | Constantinople – Pera | Merchant | 1560 - 89 | Yes\No | | Yes | ANAn 593, f. 18r  ANAn 540, f. 296r | See 3.6; 5.4 |
| Costantino | N/A | Schienderi | Velona | Shopkeeper – Barber | 1563 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 594, f. 269v  ANAn 742, f. 323 | See 3.1; 3.5 |
| Demetrio | N/A | Sachylo | Corfu | Unknown | 1525 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 195, f. 91v |  |
| Demetrio | Nicolai | N/A | Mani | Artisan – Weaver | 1537 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 198, ff. 122r, 149v |  |
| Demetrio | Iohannis | Ralli | Chios | Merchant | 1529-1537 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 344, f. 201v  ANAn 351, f. 199r |  |
| Demetrio | Michellis | Solevio | Morea | Artisan – Weaver | 1525-38 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 351, ff. 35r, 15r, 156r, 379v  ANAn 196, f. 138v  ANAn 197, f. 43v  ANAn 198, f. 188v |  |
| Demetrio | N/A | Assuli | Lepanto | Unknown | 1538 | no | | no | ANAn 352, f. 123r |  |
| Demetrio | Nicolai | N/A | Thessaloniki | Artisan – Furrier | 1543 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 355, f. 145v |  |
| Demetrio | N/A | Marmoretto | Constantinople – Pera | Unknown | 1543 | no | | no | ANAn 355, f. 284v |  |
| Demetrio | Manolli | N/A | Alessio | Naval – Boatswain | 1544 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 356, f. 92v |  |
| Demetrio | Pauli? | Coressi | Chios | Unknown | 1548 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 358, f. 556r |  |
| Demetrio | Christophari | Eparchi | Corfu | Merchant | 1549 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 359, f. 25v |  |
| Demetrio | N/A | Pacti | Mytilene | Naval - Master | 1549 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 359, f. 270v |  |
| Demetrio | Manolli | N/A | Rhodes | Shopkeeper - Retailer | 1562 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 542, ff. 13r, 78v |  |
| Demetrio | Nicolai | N/A | Naxos | Naval - Massarus; Interpreter | 1560-63 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 102v |  |
| Demetrio | Ioannis | N/A | Chios | Unknown | 1575 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 600, f. 189v |  |
| Demetrio | N/A | Vurio | Athens | Merchant | 1575 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 600, f. 45rv |  |
| Demetrio | N/A | Bogogna | Walachia | Unknown | 1542 | no | | ?? | ANAn, 354, ff. 317rv, 323r, 339rv |  |
| Demetrio | N/A | Maruda | Zante | Unknown | 1557 | ?? | | ?? | ANR 1221, f. 49v |  |
| Demetrio | N/A | N/A | Servia | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Demetrio | N/A | Castoriano | Unknown | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Demetrio | N/A | Contos | Unknown | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Demetrio | N/A | Mircaopulos | Unknown | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Dimus | Georgii | Vargani | Corfu | Unknown | 1534 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 348, f. 241v |  |
| Dimus | N/A | N/A | Corfu | Unknown | 1549 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 359, f. 2v |  |
| Dimus | Barbari | N/A | Alessio | Unknown | 1563 | ?? | | no | ANAn 543, f. 199v |  |
| Domenico | N/A | Politi | Rhodes | Artisan - Famulo – Rosary Maker | 1534 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 348, f. 290r |  |
| Domenico | Georgii | N/A | Candia | Unknown | 1538 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 352, ff. 160v, 201rv |  |
| Domenico | N/A | Argiropapuzo | Unknown | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Duca | Nicolai | Procatumeno | Argirocastro | Intermediary | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69  ANAn 350, f. 141v |  |
| Duccio | Birri | N/A | Velona | Artisan - Famulo - Weaver | 1525 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 196, f. 138v |  |
| Dura | N/A | Cherto | Argirocastro | Unknown | 1524 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 173, f 182v |  |
| Elisa | Georgii | N/A | Unknown | Wife | 1563 | no | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 305r |  |
| Filippo | N/A | Poxudi | Chios | Unknown - Interpreter | 1531 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 346, f. 205r |  |
| Florio | Antonii | Scura | Alessio | Unknown | 1535 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 349, f. 57v |  |
| Francesco | N/A | Saredaftero | Cyprus | Unknown | 1541 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 354, f. 5v |  |
| Francesco | N/A | Cotrocoius | Zante | Unknown | 1563-75 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 336rv  ANAn 600, f. 189v |  |
| Francesco | Laurentii | N/A | Alessio | Unknown | 1575 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 600, f. 189v |  |
| Francesco | N/A | N/A | Athens | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Frangia | N/A | Capsambeli | Candia | Unknown | 1563 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 336rv |  |
| Galeazzo | Manollis | Coressi | Chios | Unknown | 1530-35 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 345, f. 62v  ANAn 350, f. 14v  ANAn 197, f. 263r |  |
| Giacomino | Pauli | Chimina | Corfu | Naval - Coxwain (piatte) | 1562 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 542, f. 78v |  |
| Giacomo | N/A | Hyeronimus | Corfu | Unknown | 1524 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 173, f. 182r |  |
| Giacomo | Iohannis | Piccioli | Venice | Artisan – Weaver | 1533-43 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 19t, f. 67r  ANAn 355, f. 52r |  |
| Giacomo | N/A | Mavrokordato | Chios | Merchant | 1529 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 344, f. 198v  ANAn 345, f. 61v |  |
| Giacomo | Nicolai | Franchi | Coroni | Artisan – Weaver | 1536-42 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 354, f. 407r  ANAn 198, f. 32r |  |
| Giacomo | Francisci | N/A | Cyprus | Artisan – Weaver | 1542-59 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 354, f. 455r  ANAn 539, f. 57v |  |
| Giacomo | Ioannis | N/A | Alessio | Interpreter | 1549-65 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 541, ff. 219r, 244r  ANAn 359, f. 186r |  |
| Giacomo | Vrane | N/A | Mytilene | Naval - Captain | 1562 | no | | no | ANAn 542, f. 367v |  |
| Giacomo | N/A | Scartambucci | Cyprus | Unknown | 1572 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 597, f. 280r |  |
| Giorgio | Basilii | Sinopittis | Sinope | Unknown | 1533 | no | | No | ANAn 197, f. 16r |  |
| Giorgio | Constantini | Vorti | Rhodes | Merchant | 1534 | ?? | | no | ANAn 197, f. 198r |  |
| Giorgio | Marci | N/A | Chios | Artisan - Shipcarpenter | 1536 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 198, ff. 8r, 96r |  |
| Giorgio | Iohannis | Radi | Corfu | Merchant | 1530 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 345, f. 229r |  |
| Giorgio | N/A | Mane | Chios | Naval - Mariner | 1531 | no | | no | ANAn 345, f. 243r |  |
| Giorgio | N/A | Trundafilo | Cyprus - Nicosia | Merchant | 1531 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 346, f. 78r |  |
| Giorgio | N/A | Schilitii | Chios | Unknown | 1534 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 348, f. 24r |  |
| Giorgio | N/A | Laura | Velona | Merchant | 1535-36 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 349, f. 293r  ANAn 350, ff. 141v-142v |  |
| Giorgio | N/A | Agabiris | Corfu | Unknown | 1536 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 350, f. 56r |  |
| Giorgio | N/A | Solmiani | Chios | Naval - Master | 1535 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 350, ff. 144r, 145v |  |
| Giorgio | N/A | Vulnica? | Coroni | Merchant | 1537 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 351, f. 191v |  |
| Giorgio | Iohannis | Coressi | Chios | Merchant | 1537-38 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 351, f. 60v  ANAn 352, f. 174r |  |
| Giorgio | Iohannis | Poli | Candia | Merchant | 1538 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 352, ff. 16r, 160r, 201rv |  |
| Giorgio | Manollis | N/A | Candia | Naval - Master | 1539 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 353, f. 123v |  |
| Giorgio | Micheli | N/A | Cyprus - Nicosia | Merchant | 1542 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 354, f. 235r |  |
| Giorgio | N/A | Amira | Mytilene | Naval - Master | 1542 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 354, f. 371r |  |
| Giorgio | Iohannis | N/A | Chios | Shopkeeper – Retailer | 1543 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 354, f. 68v |  |
| Giorgio | N/A | Argiroffo | Chios | Merchant | 1541 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 354, f. 73r |  |
| Giorgio | N/A | N/A | Corfu | Naval - Unknown | 1542 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 355, f. 136v |  |
| Giorgio | Michaellis | N/A | Rhodes | Shopkeeper – Repairman | 1543 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 355, f. 145v |  |
| Giorgio | N/A | Begheli | Trebizond | Naval - Master | 1543 | no | | no | ANAn 355, f. 146r |  |
| Giorgio | Candilii | Glava | Mytilene | Naval - Master (galeonis) | 1548 | no | | no | ANAn 358, f. 405v |  |
| Giorgio | Mauritium | N/A | Crete | Naval - Master | 1548 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 358, f. 437v |  |
| Giorgio | N/A | Voro | Chios | Merchant | 1548 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 536, f. 62r |  |
| Giorgio | Nicolai | N/A | Rhodes | Merchant | 1553 | no | | no | ANAn 537, f. 43v |  |
| Giorgio | N/A | Sabbatianus | Zante | Unknown | 1559 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 539, f. |  |
| Giorgio | Michaelis | Arfagni | Chios | Merchant | 1559-62 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 539, f. 140r  ANAn 542, f. 13r |  |
| Giorgio | Cornelii | Micognati | Mikonos | Naval - Master | 1559- 63 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 539, f. 94r  ANAn 543, f. 185r |  |
| Giorgio | Michaelis | Serre | Chios | Naval - Master | 1559-65 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 539, ff. 474v, 480r  ANAn 540, f. 134v  ANAn 541, f. 83v  ANAn 545, f. 21v |  |
| Giorgio | Michaelis | Cusunadi | Chios | Unknown | 1560 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 540, f. 156v |  |
| Giorgio | Zacharie | Schiada | Corfu | Artisan – Weaver | 1561 -63 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 541, f. 3v  ANAn 543, f. 348v  ADAn, *Causae,* 2 | See 3.3.3; 4.6 |
| Giorgio | Andree | N/A | Zante | Unknown | 1563 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 543, f. 194r |  |
| Giorgio | Philippi | N/A | Velona | Naval - Coxwain (schirazzo) | 1563 | no | | no | ANAn 543, f. 291v |  |
| Giorgio | Nicolai | Mori | Corfu | Shopkeeper – Barber | 1564-1577 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 544, ff. 19r, 28v  ANAn 742, f. 324r  ACAn, *Suppliche*, 1, f. 201 | See 2.2; 4.2 |
| Giorgio | Andree | N/A | Santorini | Naval - Famulo | 1563 | No | | No | ANAn 592, f. 102v |  |
| Giorgio | Andree | N/A | Venice | Unknown | 1563 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 183v |  |
| Giorgio | Iohannis | Balani | Ioannina | Merchant | 1563 | Maybe | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 29v |  |
| Giorgio | Marci | N/A | Alessio \ Tinos | Unknown | 1563 - 75 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 305r  ANAn 597, f. 3r  ANAn 600, f. 189v  ANAn 741, f. 306 |  |
| Giorgio | Nicolai | N/A | Corfu | Unknown | 1563 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 305r |  |
| Giorgio | Parogani | Bua | Nauplion | Merchant | 1563 | ?? | | no | ANAn 592, f. 331v |  |
| Giorgio | Andree | N/A | Morea | Unknown | 1563 - 72 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 336rv  ANAn 597, f. 280v |  |
| Giorgio | Donati | N/A | Volos | Unknown | 1563-75 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 336rv  ANAn 594, f. 269v  ANAn 600, ff. 189v, 280r  ANAn 741, f. 306r |  |
| Giorgio | Angeli | N/A | Cyprus | Artisan – Weaver | 1578 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 742, f. 238v |  |
| Giorgio | N/A | Cardeus | Unknown | Artisan - Goldsmith | 1559 | ?? | | ?? | ANR 1223, f. 273v |  |
| Giorgio | N/A | Maruda | Zante | Merchant | 1557 | ?? | | ?? | ANR 1221, f. 49v |  |
| Giorgio | N/A | Libanisios | Unknown | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Giorgio | N/A | Saurus | Unknown | Unknown | 1595 | Yes | | Yes | Wos, ‘La comunità...’, 57 |  |
| Giovanna | N/A | Coressi | Chios | Wife | 1530 | no | | no | ANAn 345, f. 62v | See 3.3.2 |
| Giovanni | N/A | Malvasiottus | Candia | Naval - Master (galeonis) | 1514 | ?? | | No | ANAn 193, f. 24v |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Primicherus | Rhodes \ Genoa | Artisan – Weaver | 1525 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 196, f. 49r |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Blaxinii | Candia | Merchant | 1525 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 196, f. 83r |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Sprolianum | Methoni | Unknown | 1525 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 196, f. 91v |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Andiohi | Corfu | Unknown - Interpreter | 1533 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 196, f. 94v |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Gomini | Ioannina | Merchant | 1533 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 197, f. 94v |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Sugduri | Ioannina | Intermediary | 1534 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 223, f. 234r |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Silani | Unknown | Famulus - Unknown | 1534 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 223, f. 234r |  |
| Giovanni | Leonardi | N/A | *Grecus* | Unknown | 1528 | ?? | | ?? | ANAN 344, f. 2v |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Curtesius | Constantinople – Pera | Merchant | 1531 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 346, f. 78r |  |
| Giovanni | Michaelis | N/A | Corfu | Unknown | 1534 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 348, f. 241r |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Valacudi | Chios | Merchant | 1534 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 348, f. 241v |  |
| Giovanni | Marini | Lampri | Dulcigno | Unknown | 1535 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 349, f. 57v |  |
| Giovanni | Constantini | N/A | Melionico | Unknown | 1536 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 350, f. 141v |  |
| Giovanni | Georgii | N/A | Candia | Naval - Master | 1536-39 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 350, f. 66v  ANAn 352, f. 40r  ANAn 353, f. 245r;  ANAn 198, ff. 33r, 34r |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Theodorini | Corfu | Artisan – Cooper | 1538 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 351, f. 112v |  |
| Giovanni | Georgii | Scuri | Velona | Shopkeeper – Famulo – Barber | 1537 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 351, f. 192r |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Calauria | Cefalonia | Unknown | 1537 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 351, f. 35v |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Ralli-Melichi | Adrianople | Merchant | 1542 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 354, f. 254r |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | N/A | Rhodes | Unknown | 1542 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 354, f. 455r |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Florini Pelaganus | Nauplion | Intermediary | 1536-60 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 354, f. 455r  ANAn 355, f. 244v  ANAn 359, f. 52r  ANAn 540, f. 24r  ANAn 198, f. 44v |  |
| Giovanni | Sergii | Mavrokordato | Chios | Merchant | 1541 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 354, f. 82r |  |
| Giovanni | Petri | Coressi | Chios | Unknown | 1543 | no | | no | ANAn 355, f. 20r |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Cariopoli | Bodrum | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 355, f. 52r |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Paleologo | Rhodes | Merchant | 1548 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 358, f. 488r |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Corafii | Constantinople | Unknown | 1537 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 389, f. 43v |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | N/A | Unknown | Naval - Captain | 1541 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 416, f. 34r |  |
| Giovanni | Nicolai | Filaretti | Thebes | Shopkeeper – Herbalist | 1544 - 1578 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 539, f. 104  ANAn 540, f. 178r  ANAn 592, f. 336rv  ANAn 594, ff. 169r, 178v  ANAn 600, f. 189v  ANAn 355, f. 52v  ANAn 358, f. 441r | See 3.2; 4.1; 4.5; 5.4 |
| Giovanni | Theodori | N/A | Velona | Naval – Caulker | 1559-62 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 539, f. 48r  ANAn 542, f. 139v |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Corsari | Zante | Unknown | 1561 | ?? | | no | ANAn 541, f. 175r |  |
| Giovanni | Zacharie | Schiada | Corfu | Naval - Mariner | 1561 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 541, f. 3v |  |
| Giovanni | Demetrii | N/A | Chios | Artisan – *Coltraro* | 1537-62 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 542, f. 340v  ANAn 198, f. 149v |  |
| Giovanni | Pantaleonis | Schilizza | Chios | Naval - Mariner | 1562 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 542, f. 368v |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Arbisore | Chios | Unknown | 1562 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 542, f. 404r |  |
| Giovanni | Fotii | N/A | Cyprus | Unknown | 1563 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 543, f. 135r |  |
| Giovanni | Michaelis | N/A | Chios | Unknown | 1564 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 544, f. 28v |  |
| Giovanni | Michaelis | Arfani | Chios | Merchant | 1564 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 544, f. 97r |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Labopoulo | Ioannina | Merchant | 1563 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 592, f. 29v |  |
| Giovanni | Stamatti? | Zai | Argirocastro | Intermediary | 1536-63 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 336v  ANAn 350, ff. 195r, 204r |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Vlasopulo | Zante | Unknown - Interpreter | 1563 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 592, ff. 102v, 116r |  |
| Giovanni | Nicolai | Sguri | Velona | Intermediary | 1534-65 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 592, ff. 29v, 336rv  ANAn 594, f. 269v  ANAn 539, f. 164v  ANAn 540, f. 150r  ANAn 542, ff. 30v 150r  ANAn 545, ff. 14r  ANAn 348, f. 252v |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Codopheno | Mytilene | Artisan – Weaver | 1572-95 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 597, f. 280r  ANAn 600, f. 189v  Wos, ‘La comunità...’, 57  ANAn 542, f. 467 |  |
| Giovanni | Iacobi | Androvino | Cyprus | Unknown | 1572 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 597, f. 3r |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Natana | Candia | Priest | 1575 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 600, f. 189v |  |
| Giovanni | Nicolai | Buratto | Ancona | Merchant | 1577 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 602, f. 228v |  |
| Giovanni | Constantini | Schienderi | Velona | Shopkeeper – Barber | 1577 | ?? | | Yes | ANAN 741, f. 14v |  |
| Giovanni | Andree | Vernesi | Thessaloniki | Artisan – Weaver | 1577 | ?? | | Yes | ANAN 741, f. 59v |  |
| Giovanni | Andree | Vernesi | Thessaloniki | Artisan – Weaver | 1577 | ?? | | Yes | ANAN 741, f. 59v |  |
| Giovanni | Michaelis | Politi | Ancona | Artisan – Weaver | 1578 | ?? | | Yes | ANAN 742, f. 467 |  |
| Giovanni | Michaelis | Politi | Ancona | Artisan – Weaver | 1578 | ?? | | Yes | ANAN 742, f. 467r |  |
| Giovanni | Petri | Floreni | Cyprus | Shopkeeper – Baker | 1578 | ?? | | Yes | ANAN 742, f. 563r |  |
| Giovanni | Petri | Floreni | Cyprus | Shopkeeper – Baker | 1578 | ?? | | Yes | ANAN 742, f. 563r |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Euripoti | Chios | Priest | 1579-83 | Yes | | Yes | Peri, ‘Chiesa Latina...’, 427 |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Maruda | Zante | Unknown | 1557 | ?? | | ?? | ANR 1221, f. 49v |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Cazidii | Corfu | Unknown | 1524 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 173, f. 182rv | Founder of S. Anna |
| Giovanni | N/A | Zaghiano | Corfu | Unknown | 1524 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 173, f. 182rv | Founder of S. Anna |
| Giovanni | N/A | Dura | Velona | Unknown | 1524 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 173, f. 182rv | Founder of S. Anna |
| Giovanni | Giorgii | N/A | Velona | Unknown | 1524 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 173, f. 182rv | Founder of S. Anna |
| Giovanni | N/A | Spiritualis | Coroni | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Plithachi | Unknown | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Giovanni | N/A | Codino | Unknown | Unknown | 1595 | Yes | | Yes | Wos, ‘La comunità...’, 57 |  |
| Giovanni Maria | Georgii | Strategopulo | Coroni | Shopkeeper - Aromatario | 1539 - 1578 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 353, f. 85v | See 0.4; 3.2; 4.1; 5.4 |
| Girolamo | N/A | Lecchavela | Genoa | Intermediary | 1536-43 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 350, f. 54v,  ANAn 354, f. 455r  ANAn 355, f. 52r  ANAn 223, ff. 234r, 273v |  |
| Girolamo | N/A | Argiroffo | Chios | Intermediary? | 1548 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 358, f. 549r |  |
| Girolamo | Iacobi | Scartambucci | Cyprus | Unknown | 1577 | ?? | | Yes | ANAN 741, f. 59v |  |
| Giuseppe | Ioannis? | Sguri | Ancona | Notary | 1607-09 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 1023  ANAn 1024 |  |
| Gregorio | N/A | Tarle | Velona | Intermediary | 1534 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 223, f. 234r |  |
| Gregorio | N/A | Trianidosoli | Trebizond | Naval - Master | 1534 | no | | no | ANAn 348, f. 159v |  |
| Guglielmo | N/A | Statti | Alessio | Unknown | 1575 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 600, f. 189v |  |
| Guglielmo | N/A | Almani | Unknown | Unknown | 1595 | Yes | | Yes | Wos, ‘La comunità...’, 57 |  |
| Iannis | N/A | Chirinelli | Crete | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 355, f. 52r |  |
| Iannis | N/A | N/A | Coroni | Naval - Pilot | 1543 | no | | no | ANAn 355, f. 81v |  |
| Iannulus | Georgii | N/A | Ancona | Artisan – Unknown | 1538 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 352, f. 104 |  |
| Isarus | Georgii | N/A | Unknown | Unknown | 1563 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 543, f. 340v |  |
| Langeletta | N/A | Coressi | Chios | Daughter | 1530 | no | | no | ANAn 345, f. 62v | See 3.3.2 |
| Lazzarus | Theodori | Vrachnee | Trebizond | Unknown | 1563 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 543, f. 370v |  |
| Luca | N/A | Calumata | Cefalonia | Unknown | 1537 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 198, f. 128r |  |
| Luca | N/A | Basilisco | Unknown | Naval - Master | 1542 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 354, f. 235r |  |
| Luca | Nicolai | N/A | Morea | Artisan – Weaver | 1562 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 542, f. 160r |  |
| Luca | Mathei | N/A | Santorini | Unknown | 1563 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 592, f. 102v |  |
| Mamo | Chiriachi | N/A | Constantinople – Pera | Intermediary | 1539 | no | | no | ANAn 353, f. 117v |  |
| Manoli | Georgii | N/A | Unknown | Merchant | 1514 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 193, f. 15r |  |
| Manoli | Georgii | N/A | Venice | Artisan – Gold Thread Maker | 1523-35 | ?? | | Yes | ANAN 344, f. 40r  ANAN 349, f. 221r |  |
| Manoli | Georgii | Coressi | Chios | Merchant | 1529-35 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 345, ff. 61, 62v  ANAn 350, f. 14v | See 3.3.2 |
| Manoli | Chiriachi | Curtesius | Constantinople – Pera | Merchant | 1531-43 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 346, f. 78r  ANAn 354, f. 450r |  |
| Manoli | N/A | Monoianni | Momemvasia | Merchant | 1533 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 347, f. 198r |  |
| Manoli | N/A | Spiliotti | Melionico | Unknown | 1536 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 350, f. 141v |  |
| Manoli | N/A | Laurus | Crete | Naval - Master | 1542 | no | | no | ANAn 354, f. 430r |  |
| Manoli | N/A | Accide | Rhodes | magnoiconomo grecorum | 1559 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 539, f. |  |
| Manoli | Constantini | N/A | Naxos | Naval - Master (olim) | 1560 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 540, f. |  |
| Manoli | Syderi | Cazzarra | Chios | Unknown | 1562 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 542, f. 367v |  |
| Manoli | Constantini | N/A | Candia | Unknown | 1562 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 542, f. 61v |  |
| Manoli | Georgii | N/A | Termoli | Naval - Coxwain (grippi) | 1577 | no | | no | ANAN 741, f. 305r |  |
| Manoli | N/A | Grecus | Ioannina | Unknown | 1524 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 173, f. 182rv | Founder of S. Anna |
| Manoli | N/A | N/A | Unknown | Artisan – Weaver | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Marco | Schileri? | Fanosfacti | Corfu | Merchant | 1538 | no | | no | ANAn 352, f. 123r |  |
| Marco | N/A | Sesaurus | Corfu | Merchant | 1539 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 353, f. 51r |  |
| Marco | N/A | N/A | Cyprus | *capitano di bombarde* | 1542 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 354, f. 455r |  |
| Marco | N/A | Plaidemus | Mytilene | Merchant | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 355, f. 52v  ANAn 354, ff. 430r, 450r |  |
| Marco | Theodori | Rattopoli | Zante | Armirallius | 1559 - 65 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 539, f. 4r  ANAn 541, f. 201v  ANAn 594, ff. 194r, 269v |  |
| Marco | Veronis | N/A | Cyprus | Naval - Purser | 1564 | no | | no | ANAn 544, f. 97r |  |
| Marco Antonio | N/A | Bretio | Samos | Unknown - Interpreter | 1537 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 389, ff. 109r, 111r |  |
| Maria | N/A | Valasti | Constantinople | Wife - Widow | 1539 | no | | Yes | ANAn 353, f. 340r |  |
| Mariano | N/A | N/A | Unknown | Priest | 1563 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 29v |  |
| Marietta | Nicolai | N/A | Rhodes | Merchant | 1553 | no | | Yes | ANAn 537, f. 43v |  |
| Marino | Ioannis | N/A | Velona | Naval - Coxwain (schirazzi) | 1560 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 540, f. 357r |  |
| Marino | Ioannis | Dunavi | Naxos | Merchant | 1563 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 543, ff. 190r, 204v |  |
| Matteo | N/A | Vulsinatum | Chios | Merchant | 1531 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 346, f. 326r |  |
| Matteo | N/A | Calaughiro | Chios | Unknown - Interpreter | 1542 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 354, f. 425r |  |
| Matteo | N/A | Pecchorladi | Chios | Unknown | 1544 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 356, f. 83v |  |
| Matteo | Nicolai | Iassi | Corfu | Artisan – Weaver | 1563 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 543, f. 163r |  |
| Matteo | N/A | Padua | Corfu | Unknown | 1563 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 336rv |  |
| Matteo | Michaelis | Arfagni | Chios | Merchant | 1565 | no | | no | ANAn 594, f. 248v  ANAn 544, f. 126v |  |
| Matteo | N/A | Geromegiatos | Unknown | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Michaglia | Nicolai | Varipati | Chios | Naval – Caulker | 1562-75 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 542, f. 369r  ANAn 600, f. 189v |  |
| Michaglia | Ioannis | Zaccovini | Alessio | Merchant | 1563 | no | | no | ANAn 543, f. 414r |  |
| Michaglia | N/A | Tardilis | Ioannina | Unknown | 1524 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 173, f. 182rv | Founder of S. Anna |
| Michaglia | N/A | Lexi | Velona | Naval - Coxwain (schirazzo) | 1524 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 173, f. 182rv | Founder of S. Anna |
| Michele | N/A | N/A | Corfu | Intermediary | 1525 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 196, f. 91v |  |
| Michele | Bartholomei | Politi | Rhodes | Artisan – Rosary Maker; Intermediary | 1534 -75 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 197, f. 198r | See 3.3.1 |
| Michele | Nicolai | N/A | *Grecus* | Intermediary | 1533 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 347, f. 289v |  |
| Michele | Manolli | Calearis | Candia | Unknown | 1536 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 350, ff. 56r, 66r |  |
| Michele | Emanuellis | N/A | Mytilene | Naval - Captain | 1538 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 352, f. 117r |  |
| Michele | N/A | Mano | Chios | Naval - Master | 1539 | no | | no | ANAn 353, f. 117v |  |
| Michele | N/A | Bogogna | Walachia | Unknown | 1542 | no | | no | ANAn 354, ff. 317r, 323r |  |
| Michele | Nicolai | N/A | Coroni | Naval - Mariner \ Intermediary | 1529-48 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 389, 129v  ANAn 358, f. 471r  ANAn 198, f. 44v |  |
| Michele | Marci | N/A | Chios | Unknown | 1537 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 389, f. 43v |  |
| Michele | Georgi | N/A | Coroni | Unknown | 1529 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 389, ff. 52v, 101r |  |
| Michele | Georgii | Strategopulo | Coroni | Shopkeeper – Herbalist | 1560 - 1578 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 540, f. 178v  ANAn 543, f. 279r  ANAn 597, f. 3r  ANAn 600, f. 189v  ANAn 741, f. 719r |  |
| Michele | Manussi | N/A | Momemvasia | Unknown | 1560-63 | ?? | | no | ANAn 540, f. 53v  ANAn 543, f. 395r |  |
| Michele | Zannis | Vurzi | Zante | Naval - Pilot | 1564 | no | | no | ANAn 544, f. 28v |  |
| Michele | N/A | Calauda | Chios | Merchant | 1541-63 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 592, f. 305r  ANAn 354, f. 102v |  |
| Michele | N/A | Diachi | Constantinople – Pera | Unknown | 1563 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 336rv |  |
| Michele | N/A | Zaconinus | Velona | Unknown | 1563 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 336rv |  |
| Micoccio | N/A | N/A | Unknown | Naval - Boatswain | 1542 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 354, f. 235r |  |
| Nicola | Theodorii | N/A | Corfu | Unknown | 1533 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 197, f. 20v |  |
| Nicola | Georgii | N/A | Momemvasia | Merchant | 1536 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 198, f. 44v |  |
| Nicola | Georgii | Apostoli | *Terranova* | Unknown - Interpreter | 1531 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 346, f. 205r |  |
| Nicola | Bartholomei | N/A | Candia | Naval - Mariner | 1531 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 346, f. 243r |  |
| Nicola | N/A | Valacudi | Chios | Merchant | 1534 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 348, f. 241v |  |
| Nicola | Demetrii | Solevio | Morea \ Ancona | Artisan – Weaver | 1535-37 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 349, f. 234v  ANAn 197, f. 379v  ANAn 198, ff. 8r, 122r |  |
| Nicola | N/A | Alamanno | Corfu | Naval - Master | 1535 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 349, f. 312v |  |
| Nicola | N/A | Creti | Chios | Merchant | 1537 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 350, f. 60v |  |
| Nicola | Bartholomei | N/A | Zante | Naval - Master | 1537 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 351, f. 155r |  |
| Nicola | Demetrii | Coressi | Chios | Intermediary; Naval - patronum | 1530-42 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 351, f. 35r | See 3.3.2 |
| Nicola | Georgii | N/A | Ravenna | Merchant | 1533-38 | no | | no | ANAn 352, f. 344r  ANAn 197, f. 18r |  |
| Nicola | N/A | Vranas | Nauplion | Unknown | 1538 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 352, f. 357r |  |
| Nicola | N/A | Canari | Chios | Naval - Master | 1538 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 352, ff. 117r, 203v, 204v |  |
| Nicola | N/A | Premendario | Patras | Merchant | 1538 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 352, ff. 277v, 342r |  |
| Nicola | N/A | Papadoulos | Constantinople – Pera | Merchant | 1539 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 353, f. 117v |  |
| Nicola | Iohannis | N/A | Mytilene | Naval - Master | 1542 | ?? | | no | ANAn 354, f. 420v |  |
| Nicola | Georgii | N/A | Segna | Artisan – Furrier | 1543 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 355, f. 145r |  |
| Nicola | Constantini | N/A | Velona | Unknown | 1547 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 357, f. 1v |  |
| Nicola | Michaglie | Servo | Chania | Merchant | 1540-59 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 538, f. 79v  ANAn 539, ff. 86r, 89v  ANAn 364, ff. 49rv, 52v |  |
| Nicola | Alexii | N/A | Velona | Intermediary; interprete | 1542-1560 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 538, f. 86v  ANAn 540, ff. 172r, 216r, 484r  ANAn 354, f. 455r  ANAn 358, f. 405v |  |
| Nicola | Ioannis | Vestarchi | Chios | Merchant | 1559 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 539, f. |  |
| Nicola | Ioannis | N/A | Skyros | Artisan - Famulo - *Coltraro* | 1559 | no | | Yes | ANAn 539, f. |  |
| Nicola | N/A | Rachani | Chios | Merchant | 1559-60 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 539, f. 164v  ANAn 540, f. 256v  ANAn 542, ff. 79v, 130v  ANAn 564, f. 23v |  |
| Nicola | Vasilii | Grimianis | Paterno | Naval - Master | 1560 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 540, f. 400r |  |
| Nicola | Ioannis | N/A | Negroponte | Naval - *barcarolo* | 1560 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 540, f. 9v |  |
| Nicola | N/A | Thomopulo | Corfu | Tenant | 1561 | no | | no | ANAn 541, f. 3v |  |
| Nicola | Ioannis | Balani | Ioannina | Unknown | 1563 | No | | No | ANAn 592, f. 30v |  |
| Nicola | Damiani | Buratto | Rhodes | Artisan - Goldsmith | 1536-65 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 592, ff. 336rv, 46v  ANAn 539, f. 326r  ANAn 541, f. 219v  ANAn 352, f. 342r,  ANAn 354, ff. 5r, 421v  ANAn 198, f. 169r |  |
| Nicola | Michaellis | N/A | Candia | Unknown | 1565 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 594, f. 269v |  |
| Nicola | Michaelis | Politi | Rhodes | Unknown | 1563 - 1572 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 597, f. 135r |  |
| Nicola | Georgii | Strategopulo | Ancona | Shopkeeper – Herbalist | 1575 - 1578 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 600, f. 189v |  |
| Nicola | Stamatti | N/A | Nauplion | Artisan – Weaver | 1578 | ?? | | Yes | ANAN 742, f. 134v |  |
| Nicola | N/A | Sarna | Ioannina | Unknown | 1524 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 173, f. 182rv | Founder of S. Anna |
| Nicola | N/A | Zeleme | Arta | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Nicola | Michaelis | Avloniti | Corfu? | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Nicola | N/A | Cutruli | Unknown | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Oliviero | Michaglie | N/A | Corfu | Artisan – Cobbler | 1559 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 539, f. |  |
| Oliviero | N/A | N/A | Corfu | Tenant | 1561 | no | | no | ANAn 541, f. 3v |  |
| Onofrio | N/A | N/A | Nauplion | Priest | 1542 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 354, f. 455r  ANAn 355, f. 52v |  |
| Orazio | Marsilio | N/A | Chioggia | Naval - Master | 1559 | no | | no | ANAn 539, f. |  |
| Pacumio | N/A | N/A | Rhodes | Priest | 1536-38 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 198, f. 156r |  |
| Pando | Pauli | N/A | Velona | Naval - Master | 1543 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 355, f. 152r |  |
| Pantaleone | N/A | Vestarchi | Chios | Merchant | 1570- 1608 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 1023, f. 93v  ANAn 742, f. 467r |  |
| Pantaleone | Sergii | Mavrokordato | Chios | Naval - Master | 1541 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 354, f. 94r |  |
| Pantaleone | Cosmi | N/A | Chios | Naval - Master | 1555 | no | | Yes | ANAn 537, f. 65v |  |
| Paolo | Demetrii | Coressi | Chios | Naval - ? | 1541-48 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 354, ff. 14v, 311r |  |
| Paolo | Manollis | Coressi | Chios | Unknown | 1548 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 358, f. 395r |  |
| Paolo | Nicolai | Politi | Ancona | Intermediary | 1575- 1607 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 600, f. 189v  ANAn 1023, f. 26v |  |
| Paolo | Damianii | N/A | Argirocastro | Unknown | 1524 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 173, f. 182rv | Founder of S. Anna |
| Paolo | N/A | Balza | Corfu | Unknown | 1524 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 173, f. 182rv | Founder of S. Anna |
| Perota | N/A | Politi | Corfu | Unknown | 1534 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 348, f. 122r |  |
| Pierfilippo | N/A | Protonotarius | Santa Maura | Priest | 1533-42 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 347, f. 138v | See 4.2 |
| Pietro | N/A | N/A | Rhodes | Unknown | 1530 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 345, f. 327r |  |
| Pietro | N/A | Cordella | Chios | Artisan – Gold Thread Maker \ Intermediary | 1534-43 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 348, f. 122r  ANAn 353, f. 109v  ANAn 355, f. 52v |  |
| Pietro | N/A | Mudagni | Patras | Unknown | 1535 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 349, f. 241r |  |
| Pietro | N/A | Coressi | Chios | Naval - Master | 1538-41 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 352, f. 34r,  ANAn 352, f. 51 |  |
| Pietro | N/A | Cavazza | Chios | Unknown - Interpreter | 1542 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 354, f. 374r |  |
| Pietro | N/A | N/A | Sibinico | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 355, f. 52r |  |
| Pietro | N/A | Drichi | Candia | Unknown | 1557 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 539, f. |  |
| Pietro | Stamatti | Cosenti | Zante | Artisan – Cooper | 1542 - 72 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 539, f. 141v  ANAn 592, f. 336rv  ANAn 597, f. 269v  ANAn 355, f. 67v |  |
| Pietro | Andree | N/A | Venice | Artisan - Famulo – Shipcarpenter | 1563 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 592, f. 183v |  |
| Pietro | Gregorii | N/A | Cyprus | Unknown | 1572 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 597, f. 280r |  |
| Pietro | Marini | Morzoflo | Methoni | Shopkeeper – Retailer | 1534-62 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 542, f. 366r  ANAn 290  ANAn 198, ff. 8r, 33r, 34r, 80r, 96r, 128rv, 129v, 154v  ANAn 199, f. 71v  ANAn 349, f. 135r  ANAn 352, ff. 74v, 160v, 260r  ANAn 353, ff. 116v, 174v, 245r  ANAn 354, f. 156v  ANAn 355, f. 52v  ANAn 358, f. 471v  ANAn 359, f. 295v | See 2.2; 3.4; 4.1 |
| Pietro Stefano | N/A | N/A | Velona | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Porfirio | Georgii | N/A | Velona | *Datiarius Velone* | 1535 | no | | no | ANAn 350, f. 75r |  |
| Prepotito | Vasilii | N/A | Patmos | Unknown – *reverendus?* | 1561 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 541, f. 449r |  |
| Selvaggia | N/A | N/A | Unknown | Wife | 1577 | ?? | | Yes | ANAN 741, ff. 14v, 59v |  |
| Sevasto | Georgii | N/A | Negroponte | Naval - Boatswain | 1562 | no | | no | ANAn 542, f. 369r |  |
| Severo | Iohannis | N/A | Rhodes | Artisan – Rosary Maker | 1530 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 345, ff. 229r, 327r |  |
| Simone | N/A | Chotala | Unknown | Unknown | 1529 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 389, f. 4v |  |
| Stamatis | N/A | Paudi | Corfu | Merchant | 1530 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 345, f. 229r |  |
| Stamatis | Ioannis | Zai | Argirocastro | Intermediary | 1531-43 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 346, f. 138v  ANAn 348, f. 253r  ANAn 351, f. 191v  ANAn 352, f. 98r  ANAn 354, f. 234r  ANAn 355, f. 268r  ANAn 359, f. 455r  ANAn 223, f. 371r  ANAn 225, f. 156r  ANAn 199, f. 15\*r  ANAn 197, f. 16r | See 4.1 |
| Stamatis | Theodori | Mai | Corfu | Naval - Master | 1536 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 350, f. 144r |  |
| Stamatis | Thome | N/A | Velona | Naval - Master | 1548-49 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 358, f. 219v  ANAn 359, f. 179r |  |
| Stamatis | Ioannis | Franchi | Coroni | Unknown | 1560 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 540, f. 178rv |  |
| Stamatis | Theodori | Verton | Nauplion | Merchant | 1560 | ?? | | no | ANAn 540, f. 216r |  |
| Stamatis | Pantaleonis | Scrini | Chios | Naval - Purser | 1564 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 544, f. 97r |  |
| Stamatis | Georgii | N/A | Candia | Unknown | 1572-75 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 597, f. 280r  ANAn 600, f. 189v |  |
| Statto | N/A | Smidali | Zante | Artisan – Carpenter | 1560 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 540, f. 130r |  |
| Stefaninno | N/A | Cornalle | Corfu | Naval - Coxwain (schirazzo) | 1524 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 173, f. 182rv | Founder of S. Anna |
| Stefano | Paleotti | Theotochi | Corfu | Unknown | 1523 | ?? | | ?? | ANAN 344, f. 18v |  |
| Stefano | Mili? | Stimisce | Massignano | Unknown | 1531 | no | | Yes | ANAn 346, f. 62v |  |
| Stefano | Chiriachi | N/A | Velona | Merchant | 1535 | no | | no | ANAn 350, f. 127r |  |
| Stefano | Nichitta | N/A | Velona | Shopkeeper – Barber | 1548 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 358, f. 411r |  |
| Stefano | N/A | Exidattili | Velona | Unknown | 1561 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 541, f. 219r |  |
| Stefano | Georgi | Zervi | Mytilene | Naval - Mariner | 1562 | no | | no | ANAn 542, f. 368v |  |
| Stefano | N/A | Balani | Ioannina | Merchant | 1565 | no | | no | ANAn 544, f. 14r |  |
| Teodoro | N/A | Paraschili | Unknown | Unknown | 1537 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 198, f. 149v |  |
| Teodoro | N/A | Schilitii | Chios | Unknown | 1534 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 348, f. 24r |  |
| Teodoro | N/A | Maurodi | Constantinople – Pera | Intermediary | 1539 | no | | no | ANAn 353, f. 117v |  |
| Teodoro | N/A | Mavrokordato | Chios | Unknown | 1540 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 354, f. 14v |  |
| Teodoro | Demetri | Ralli | Chios | Naval - Master | 1548 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 358, f. 549r |  |
| Teodoro | Petri | Rattopoli | Zante | Armirallius | 1548 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 358, ff. 437v, 518r |  |
| Teodoro | Demetrii | N/A | Momemvasia | Unknown | 1553 | no | | no | ANAn 537, f. 43v |  |
| Teodoro | N/A | Paraschive | Mytilene | Merchant | 1559 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 539, f. |  |
| Teodoro | Nicolai | Focas | Zante | Naval - Master | 1564 | no | | no | ANAn 544, f. 97r |  |
| Teofilatto | N/A | Moratti | Unknown | Unknown | 1543 | Yes | | Yes | Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Teodoro | Georgii | Condili | Chios | Unknown | 1572 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 597, f. 3r |  |
| Tommaso | Iacobi | Mavrokordato | Chios | Merchant | 1529-41 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 344, f. 198v  ANAn 345, f. 61v  ANAn 354, f. 14v |  |
| Tommaso | N/A | Vulsinatum | Chios | Naval - Master | 1542 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 354, f. 311v |  |
| Tommaso | Ioannis | Vuro | Chios | Merchant | 1558 | ?? | | no | ANAn 358, f. 7v |  |
| Tommaso | Stamatti | Rendi | Chios | Naval - Captain | 1560 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 540, ff. 58r, 11v, 445v |  |
| Tommaso | N/A | Maruda | Zante | Unknown | 1557 | ?? | | ?? | ANR 1221, f. 49v |  |
| Valasto | N/A | N/A | Constantinople | Unknown | 1538 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 352, f. 340r |  |
| Vasilio | Georgii | Notara | Candia | Naval - Master | 1558 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 538, f. 136r  ANAn 364, f. 55r |  |
| Vasilius | N/A | Garona | Corfu | Naval - Unknown | 1548 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 538, f. 219v |  |
| Veneranda | Georgii | Strategopulo | Coroni | Wife | 1572 | no | | Yes | ANAn 597, f. 3r | See 3.2; 3.5; 3.6 |
| Vincenzo | Leoni | N/A | Ancona | Merchant | 1536 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 225, f. 4v |  |
| Vincenzo | Leonardi | N/A | *Grecus* | Unknown | 1528 | ?? | | ?? | ANAN 344, f. 2v |  |
| Vincenzo | Laurentii | Argirofo | Chios | Merchant | 1565 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 544, f. 92r |  |
| Violante | N/A | Coressi | Chios | Daughter\Wife | 1530 | no | | no | ANAn 345, f. 62v | See 3.6 |
| Xeno | Constantini | N/A | Patmos | Naval - Master (galeonis) | 1561 | ?? | | no | ANAn 541, ff. 244r, 246v |  |
| Zaccaria | N/A | Spanopulo | Unknown | Unknown - Interpreter | 1531 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 346, f. 78r  ANAn 137, f. 128r |  |
| Zaccaria | Antonii | Schiada | Corfu | Naval - Boatswain | 1538-60 | Yes | | Yes | ANAn 352, f. 260r  ANAn 353, f. 299v  ANAn 355, f. 82v  Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή’, 69 |  |
| Zanetto | Statti | N/A | Candia | Shopkeeper – Baker | 1525 | ?? | | Yes | ANAn 196, ff. 7v, 48v, 91v |  |
| Zanni | Basilii | Sinopittis | Sinope | Merchant | 1533-37 | no | | No | ANAn 389, ff. 101, 109v, 111r, 113v  ANAn 197, f. 16v |  |
| Zanni | Stephani | de Stephani | Unknown | Shopkeeper – Baker | 1529 | ?? | | ?? | ANAn 389, ff. 45v, 52v |  |

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## List of Abbreviations

ACAn Archivio comunale di Ancona

ACC Archivio della Congregazione per il Clero

ADAn Archivio diocesano di Ancona

ADF Archivio diocesano di Fano

ANAn Archivio notarile di Ancona

ANR Archivio notarile di Recanati

APCG Archivio del Pontificio Collegio Greco di S. Anastasio

APF Archivio Propaganda Fide

ARSJ Archivio Romano della Società di Gesù

ASAn Archivio di stato di Ancona

ASF Archivio di stato di Fano

ASGe Archivio di stato di Genova

ASMc Archivio di stato di Macerata

ASV Archivio Segreto Vaticano

*BBGG* Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata

BMV Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia

BNVEN Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III di Napoli

BOPs Biblioteca Oliveriana Pesaro

BAV Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

BVall. Biblioteca Vallicelliana

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184. Ibid., p. 110 [↑](#footnote-ref-184)
185. Delumeau, ‘Un ponte’, pp. 28-30; Earle, ‘The commercial development’, pp. 34-37 [↑](#footnote-ref-185)
186. Orlando, *Migrazioni Mediterranee*, pp. 65-66 [↑](#footnote-ref-186)
187. ASAn, ANAn 350 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1538), f. 346r; ANAn 351 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1539), f. 299v [↑](#footnote-ref-187)
188. Orlando, *Migrazioni mediterranee*, pp. 67-68; Nadin, *Migrazioni e integrazione,* p. 40 [↑](#footnote-ref-188)
189. Bonazzoli, Viviana; Delucca, Oreste, ‘Slavi e albanesi nella Romagna malatestiana: primi esiti di ricerche d’archivio a Cesena, Rimini, Forlì’, *Italia Felix – Migrazioni slave e albanesi in occidente: Romagna, Marche, Abruzzi secolo XIV XVI,* ed. Anselmi, S. (Ancona, 1988), pp. 213-231, at 216 [↑](#footnote-ref-189)
190. ADF, *Entrate e uscite della sagrestia*, 1432-39, ff. 3r-5r; ASF, *Codici Malatestiani*, vol. 54, sez. conductores lanciarum caporales et armigeri, 1412-14, ff. 133r, 147r,198r; vol. 56, sez. conductores lanciarum caporales et armigeri, f. 260r [↑](#footnote-ref-190)
191. For Diplovatazio see Olivieri, Annibale, *Memorie di Tommaso Diplovatazio, patrizio costantinopolitano e pesarese* (Pesaro, 1771), pp. VI-VII; Kantorowicz, Hermann, ‘La vita di Tommaso Diplovataccio’, *Studia Gratiana* 10( Bologna, 1968), pp. 1-140, at 10; Besta, ‘Tomaso Diplovataccio’, pp.340-346; for the Paleologi of Pesaro see Paximadopoulos, Stavros, ‘Rapports entre la Grèce byzantine et la ville de Pesaro au XVe et XVIe siècle’, *Studia Oliveriana* 2 (1954), pp. 61-68, at 66; [↑](#footnote-ref-191)
192. Sassi, Romualdo, ‘Immigrati dall’altra sponda adriatica a Fabriano’, *Italia Felix,* pp. 94-110, at 97 [↑](#footnote-ref-192)
193. Delumeau, ‘Un ponte’ pp. 29, 34; At the end of the fourteenth century, the tax on transit was 1%, while the tax on goods sold internally was 4%. We do not have certain data for the sixteenth century, but the archival series of the Custom Office seems to be concerned only with transiting goods, suggesting a commercial policy that was still intentionally trying to punish internal consumption and foster the role of the port as a convenient waystation. [↑](#footnote-ref-193)
194. ASAn, ANAn 593 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), f. 183v; ANAn 198 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1536-37), ff. 8r, 96r [↑](#footnote-ref-194)
195. ASAn, ANAn 356 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1544), f. 187r; ANAn 593 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), f. 140r; [↑](#footnote-ref-195)
196. ASAn, ANAn 350 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1538), f. 346r; ANAn 351 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1539), f. 299v [↑](#footnote-ref-196)
197. ASAn, ANAn 544 (Marino Benincasa, 1564-65), f. 28v [↑](#footnote-ref-197)
198. ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), f. 104r [↑](#footnote-ref-198)
199. ASAn, ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1543), f. 145v [↑](#footnote-ref-199)
200. ASAn, ANAn 196 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1527-27), f. 7v; ANAn 389 (Francesco Manfredi 1528-37), ff. 45v, 52v, 129v [↑](#footnote-ref-200)
201. ASAn, ANAn 544 (Marino Benincasa, 1564), f. 19r; ANAn 351 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1537), f. 35r [↑](#footnote-ref-201)
202. ASAn, ACAn 1, *Editti, Bandi, Notificazioni* 1, unnumbered folia, dated VII Maii MDLX. [↑](#footnote-ref-202)
203. “Non si va ‘alla ventura’ se non quando si avverte che le radici hanno scarso nutrimento, ed i rami non danno (o non daranno) più frutti”, Anselmi, ‘Aspetti economici’, pp. 58-63; Dinić-Knezevic, ‘Dall’interno a Ragusa’. pp. 45-47 [↑](#footnote-ref-203)
204. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, pp. 79-80 [↑](#footnote-ref-204)
205. Fleet, Kate, ‘The Ottoman expansion’, pp. 144-148 [↑](#footnote-ref-205)
206. Veinstein, Gilles, ‘From the Italians to the Ottomans: the case of the northern Black Sea coast in the sixteenth century’, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1 (1986), pp. 231-237, at 229; Delumeau, ‘Un ponte tra occidente e oriente’, p. 28 [↑](#footnote-ref-206)
207. Greene, Molly, ‘The Early Modern Mediterranean’, *A Companion to Mediterranean History*, ed. Horden, P. and Kinoshita, S. (Oxford 2014), pp. 91-107, at 94 [↑](#footnote-ref-207)
208. Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*, pp. 265, 278, 295 [↑](#footnote-ref-208)
209. To cite a few of the many Florentine names that are mentioned just for the year 1559: Pandolfo Biliotto and his son Agostino, Girolamo Girino, Vincenzo Mazzenghi, Federico Pessoni, Simone Rinuccino, Marsilio Albizzi, Gianbattista Ugolini, in ASAn, ANAn 364 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1536), ff. 62r, 188v, 224r, 319r; Sienese merchants like Camillo Acarisio also appeared regularly in the same period, ANAn 540 (Marino Benincasa, 1560), f. 293r [↑](#footnote-ref-209)
210. Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*, pp. 189-192 [↑](#footnote-ref-210)
211. Stoianovich, ‘The conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant’, pp. 239-240 [↑](#footnote-ref-211)
212. Ibid. p. 241 [↑](#footnote-ref-212)
213. Greene, Molly, *A Shared World – Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton NJ 2000), p. 142 [↑](#footnote-ref-213)
214. Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, pp. 128-130; Anselmi, ‘Venezia, Ragusa, Ancona’, pp. 50-53 [↑](#footnote-ref-214)
215. ASAn, ACAn, *Libri diversi di Cancelleria – Raccolta Albertini*, 3, ff. 183v-185r and 188rv; the only exception to the privileged status of Ancona was the annual fair of Recanati, one of the most important in the Adriatic. [↑](#footnote-ref-215)
216. Delumeau, ‘Un ponte’, p. 33 [↑](#footnote-ref-216)
217. ASAn, ACAn, Libri diversi di cancelleria – Raccolta Albertini, 8, ff. 17r-18r. [↑](#footnote-ref-217)
218. Stoianovich, ‘The conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant’, p. 237 [↑](#footnote-ref-218)
219. ASAn, *Pergamene*, 74bis, Fermano dell’Imperatore Solimano II [sic]. [↑](#footnote-ref-219)
220. Saracini, *Notitie historiche,* p. 337-338; This passage has been sometimes used by modern historians to describe the busy commercial life of Ancona, see Greene, ‘The Early Modern Mediterranean’, p. 95; However, they usually omit to say that the citadel was much more successful in ensuring papal direct control on the city after 1532, than it ever was in preventing Ottoman incursions. [↑](#footnote-ref-220)
221. See 5.2 – Papal policies – From Florence to the *Perbrevis Instructio* [↑](#footnote-ref-221)
222. ASAn, ANAn 196 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1525-1527), ff. 1r-2r [↑](#footnote-ref-222)
223. ASAn, ANAn 350 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1536), f. 75r [↑](#footnote-ref-223)
224. Rapp, Richard, *Industry and Economic Decline in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Cambridge MA 1976); Lane, Frederic C., *Venice, a Maritime Republic* (Baltimore MD 1973); Sella, Domenico, ‘Crisis and transformation in Venetian trade’, *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy,* ed. Pullan, B. (London 1968), pp. 88-105 [↑](#footnote-ref-224)
225. Fusaro, Maria, ‘After Braudel - A reassessment of Mediterranean history between the northern invasion and the Caravane Maritime’*, Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel’s Maritime Legacy*, ed. Fusaro, M., Heywood, C., Omri, M. (New York 2010), pp. 1-22, at 6-7; Fusaro, Maria, *Uva Passa – Una guerra commerciale tra Venezia e l’Inghilterra* (Venice 1996), pp. 9-26; Id. *Political Economies of Empire* [↑](#footnote-ref-225)
226. Lane, Frederic C., ‘Venetian shipping during the commercial revolution’, *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy,* ed. Pullan, B. (London 1968), pp. 22-46 at 33-34: “For the first few years at least, the Portuguese were more successful in disorganizing the Alexandrian spice market than in supplying the needs of Europe”; Id. ‘The Mediterranean spice trade: further evidence of its revival in the sixteenth century’, *Crisis and Change,* pp. 47-58, at 57-58 [↑](#footnote-ref-226)
227. Lane, *Venice*, pp. 297-298; Rapp, *Industry and Economic Decline*, p. 12 [↑](#footnote-ref-227)
228. Lane, ‘Venetian shipping’, pp. 37-40 [↑](#footnote-ref-228)
229. Greene, *A Shared World*, p. 148 [↑](#footnote-ref-229)
230. Greene, Molly, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants* (Princeton NJ 2010), pp. 29-33; while her work has concentrated on the later expansion of Greek commerce, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, her conclusions also apply to the transition from the Italian to the Ottoman commercial hegemony on the Eastern Mediterranean in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. [↑](#footnote-ref-230)
231. Orlando, *Migrazioni mediterranee*, pp. 49-51 [↑](#footnote-ref-231)
232. Mueller, Reinhold C., ‘Greeks in Venice and ‘Venetians’ in Greece – Notes on citizenship and immigration in the Late Middle Ages’, *Πλπουσιοι και φτωχοι στην κοινωνια της ελληνολατινικης ανατολης*, ed. Maltezou, Chryssa A. (Venice, 1998), pp.167-180, p.169: “Marco Minotto, Venetian bailo of Constantinople in 1320, [complained whether] he would be able to prove sufficiently, if put to the test by Venetian bureaucrats, that he really was a Venetian citizen.” [↑](#footnote-ref-232)
233. Ibid, pp. 177-178; Greene, *Catholic Pirates*, p. 32; Demo, ‘“Forestieri” e industria laniera a Verona e Vicenza’, p. 235 [↑](#footnote-ref-233)
234. Fusaro, *Uva Passa*, p. 14; Greene, *A Shared world,* pp. 146-147 [↑](#footnote-ref-234)
235. Ravid, ‘A tale of three cities’, pp. 141-146 [↑](#footnote-ref-235)
236. Greene, *A Shared World*, p. 144 [↑](#footnote-ref-236)
237. ASAn, ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1543), ff. 81v,87v; ANAn 542 (Marino Benincasa, 1562), f.264r; [↑](#footnote-ref-237)
238. ASAn, ANAn 160 (Troilo Leoni, 1503), ff.23r-24v [↑](#footnote-ref-238)
239. ASAn, ANAn 352 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1538), f.123r; ANAn 353 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1539), f. 245r; ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), f. 235r [↑](#footnote-ref-239)
240. Sella, Domenico, ‘Rise and fall of the Venetian woollen industry’, *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy,* ed. Pullan, B. (London 1968), pp. 106-126, at 109; Rapp, *Industry and Economic Decline*, p. 7 [↑](#footnote-ref-240)
241. Lane, *Venice*, p. 309; Sella ‘Rise and fall’, p. 113 [↑](#footnote-ref-241)
242. Orlando, *Migrazioni mediterranee*, p. 175 [↑](#footnote-ref-242)
243. Unfortunately, the regulations regarding the textile industry in Ancona in the fifteenth and sixteenth century have not been explored in academic literature, which has preferred to concentrate more on the policies regarding its export. [↑](#footnote-ref-243)
244. Ciavarini, *Statuti*, p. 279 [↑](#footnote-ref-244)
245. ASAn, ACAn, *Suppliche*, 6 (1600-1603), unnumbered folia. [↑](#footnote-ref-245)
246. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), ff. 94v, 108r [↑](#footnote-ref-246)
247. Ferretti, *Diporti Notturni,* p. 104 [↑](#footnote-ref-247)
248. It might be worth mentioning the village of Castelferretti, built on the family’s estate immediately north of Ancona. [↑](#footnote-ref-248)
249. Argenti, *The Occupation,* p. 117: “The delegation on paper of the functions of the State to an association of shipowners and a private commercial company and other public elements amounts to giving the *Mahona* of Chios the right to be considered as the remote precursor of the famous East India Company” [↑](#footnote-ref-249)
250. Ibid.; the political history of Chios, and its inextricable connections with those of Byzantium and Genoa, are the subject of a good half of Argenti’s 600 pages book. [↑](#footnote-ref-250)
251. Balard, Michael, ‘The Genoese in the Aegean (1204-1566)’, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4 (1989), pp. 158-174, at 164-165 [↑](#footnote-ref-251)
252. Archivio di Stato di Genova, Sezione Segreta, *Oriente Scio*, 2774B, in Argenti, *The Occupation,* 2, pp. 473-475 [↑](#footnote-ref-252)
253. Ibid., p. 169; The Greek aristocracy was nevertheless excluded from the trade of ‘strategic’ commodities such as mastic, alum, salt and pitch. [↑](#footnote-ref-253)
254. Pistarino, Geo, ‘Chio dei Genovesi – Caput omnium Ianuensium in terris transmarinis’, *Studi Medievali* 10 (1969), pp. 3-68, at 64-66; Kirk, Thomas A., *Genoa and the Sea* (Baltimore MD 2005), p. 29 [↑](#footnote-ref-254)
255. Balard, ‘Genoese in the Aegean’, pp. 171-172; Argenti, *The Occupation*, p. 594 [↑](#footnote-ref-255)
256. Mueller, p. 169: “Marco Minotto, Venetian bailo of Constantinople in 1320, [complained whether] he would be able to prove sufficiently, if put to the test by Venetian bureaucrats, that he really was a Venetian citizen. By contrast, he continued, Genoese authorities in Romania recognised as Genoese anyone who proclaimed himself to be such, a lax policy which tended to benefit Venice’s competitors in international commerce.” [↑](#footnote-ref-256)
257. Kirk, *Genoa and the Sea,* pp. 23-25, 29 [↑](#footnote-ref-257)
258. Argenti, *The Occupation*, pp. 332-334 [↑](#footnote-ref-258)
259. ASAn, ANAn 358 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1548), ff. 385v, 437v, 556r [↑](#footnote-ref-259)
260. One of the foremost notaries in Ancona, who also happens to be one of the most profitably mined sources for this study, Girolamo Giustiniani, was likely of Genoese-Chiote origins. [↑](#footnote-ref-260)
261. Kirk, *Genoa and the Sea*, pp. 31, 34-37 [↑](#footnote-ref-261)
262. “in tutti e singoli negotii da farsi tra quelle nationi Greca, Armena, Turca, Sciotta, Albanese et altri di Levante”, ASAn, ACAn, *Editti, Bandi, Notificazioni* 2, unnumbered folia, dated 6 di luglio 1588 [↑](#footnote-ref-262)
263. Papadia-Lala, Anastasia, ‘Collective expatriations of Greeks in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries’, *Homeland and Diasporas: Greeks, Jews and their Migrations*, ed. Rozen, M. (London 2008), pp. 127-133, at 129 [↑](#footnote-ref-263)
264. ASAn, ANAn 347 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1533), f.295r; ANAn 348 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1534), f.290r; [↑](#footnote-ref-264)
265. Angelucci, *Cenni storici,* p. 34 [↑](#footnote-ref-265)
266. ASAn, ANAn 350 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1531), f. 85r; ANAn 536 (Marino Benincasa, 1548), f. 219v; ANAn 197 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1533-35), f. 18r [↑](#footnote-ref-266)
267. ASAn, ANAn 364 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1558-59), ff. 49r-53v [↑](#footnote-ref-267)
268. ASAn, ANAn 364 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1558-59), f. 55rv [↑](#footnote-ref-268)
269. ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559),f. 223v; ANAn 364 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1558-59), f. 61r [↑](#footnote-ref-269)
270. ASAn, ANAn 364 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1558-59), f. 71v [↑](#footnote-ref-270)
271. ASAn, ANAn 364 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1558-59), ff. 207v, 210v, 220r, 222r, 222v, 224r, 226r, 234r, 239r, 319rv, [↑](#footnote-ref-271)
272. It would not be the first time ships coming from Ancona were seized by foreign pirates or Venetian ships. ASAn, ANAn 358 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1548), f. 385r mentions a ship seized by *piratas de Galia*; ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1542-43), f. 339v refers to a Greek captive *in manibus scoccorum de Segna*; ANAn 353 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1539), f. 117v mentions two ships sailing to Ancona and captured by *triremes venetas*. [↑](#footnote-ref-272)
273. ASAn, ANAn 364 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1558-59), ff. 226r, 239r [↑](#footnote-ref-273)
274. ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559),f. 140r [↑](#footnote-ref-274)
275. ASAn, ANAn 540 (Marino Benincasa, 1560),f. 53v [↑](#footnote-ref-275)
276. ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559),f .89v [↑](#footnote-ref-276)
277. Orlando, *Migrazioni Mediterranee*, pp. 155, 203-206 [↑](#footnote-ref-277)
278. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, p. 28; Bratchel ‘Alien merchant colonies’, p. 41; [↑](#footnote-ref-278)
279. ASAn, ANAn 197 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1533-35),ff. 18v, 224r [↑](#footnote-ref-279)
280. ASAn, ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1543), f. 38r , ANAn 196 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1525-27), f. 48v [↑](#footnote-ref-280)
281. ASAn, ACAn, *Catasti Pontifici,* 1, ff. 6r, 10r, 13r, 88r,103v [↑](#footnote-ref-281)
282. Domenichi, ‘La piccola comunità’, pp. 106, 110 [↑](#footnote-ref-282)
283. ASAn, ACAn, *Fondo Ospedale Umberto I*, Testamento di Alessio Lascari Paleologo, ff.2r-5r [↑](#footnote-ref-283)
284. Pirani, *Le chiese di Ancona*, p. 15; The church was originally known as Santa Maria in Porta Cipriana. [↑](#footnote-ref-284)
285. ASAn, ANAn 196 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1525-27), f. 1rv; Unfortunately, the precise location of San Matteo is unknown. [↑](#footnote-ref-285)
286. ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), f. 362r [↑](#footnote-ref-286)
287. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, pp. 25-28 [↑](#footnote-ref-287)
288. Concina, *Fondaci* ; Remie Constable, Olivia, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World – Lodging, Trade and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2009),p. 351; Calabi, Donatella and Keene, Derek, ‘Merchants’ lodgings and cultural exchange’, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe - Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700,* ed. Calabi, D., Turk Christensen, S. pp.315-348 at 317; [↑](#footnote-ref-288)
289. See 2.4 – Greek Ottomans in Ancona; The *Palazzo della Farina* in Anconais also often mentioned when discussing the evolution of merchant lodgings in the secondary literature: see for example Remi Constable, *Housing the Stranger,* pp. 325, 330; Braudel, Ferdinand, *Civilization and Capitalism III,* tr. Reynolds, Siân (London 1984), p. 480; Stoianovich, ‘The conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant’, p. 237 [↑](#footnote-ref-289)
290. ASAn, ACAn, *Libri diversi di cancelleria – Raccolta Albertini*, 8, ff. 17r-18r; Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, p. 317 [↑](#footnote-ref-290)
291. ASAn, ANAn 193 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1514), f. 15r; ANAn 536 (Marino Benincasa, 1548), f. 45v; ANAn 350 (Girolamo Giusiniani, 1536), ff. 59r, 66v; Mazzalupi, ‘Ancona alla metà del Quattrocento…’, pp. 231-237 [↑](#footnote-ref-291)
292. ASAn, ANAn 353 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1539),f. 109v [↑](#footnote-ref-292)
293. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42),f. 156v [↑](#footnote-ref-293)
294. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42),f. 364r [↑](#footnote-ref-294)
295. Burroughs, Charles, ‘Spaces of arbitration and the organization of space in Late Medieval Italian cities’, *Medieval Practices of Space,* ed. Hanawalt, B., Kobialka, M. (Minneapolis 2000), pp. 64-101, at 66-72 [↑](#footnote-ref-295)
296. ASAn, ANAn 358 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1548),f. 488rv [↑](#footnote-ref-296)
297. ASAn, ANAn 364 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1558-59), f. 61r [↑](#footnote-ref-297)
298. ASAn, ANAn 350 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1536), f. 58v [↑](#footnote-ref-298)
299. ASAn, ANAn 599 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1574), f. 117v; “e vedendo la nova io non la publicai né palesai ad alcuna persona tenendola segreta in me per non mi piacendo dire cattive nove”; “credo che l’avisso mio et di meser Pantaleo siano stati li primi che de tale nova siano venuti in Ancona” [↑](#footnote-ref-299)
300. ASAn, ACAn, *Danno Dato*, 5, ff.53r-55r [↑](#footnote-ref-300)
301. ASAn, ACAn, *Catasti pontifici*, 1, ff. 29r, 88r, 94r, 103r, 139r; 3r, ff. 31r, 156v [↑](#footnote-ref-301)
302. ASAn, ANAn 742 (Giovanni Cordella, 1578),f. 323r, “che detti mastro Costa et Giovanni hanno preso denari a interesse da Hebrei per pagare detta selva, et questa compra è stata et è la lor rovina, e questo è la verità”; see ANAn 596 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1570), f. 230 for the sale deed of the house owned by *donna Nastasia, uxor Coste Schiendeti barbitonsoris* [↑](#footnote-ref-302)
303. Orlando, *Migrazioni mediterranee*, p. 182 [↑](#footnote-ref-303)
304. Zečević, Nada, ‘Notes on the prosopography of the Strategopoulos Family’, *Радови – филозофскг факултета* 15 (2013), pp. 123-136, at 124-126, 129 [↑](#footnote-ref-304)
305. Bosio, Giacomo, *Dell’Istoria della sacra Religione et illustrissima militia di San Giovanni gerosolimitano* (Naples 1683), pp. 103-108; Spandounes, Teodoro, *De la origine degli imperatori ottomani,* ed. Sathas, C. N., *Documents inédits relatives a l’histoire de la Grèce au moyen age*, vol. IX, pp. 133-261 (Paris 1890), at 193; Del Pozzo, Benedetto, *Ruolo generale dei cavalieri Gerosolimitani della venerabile lingua d’Italia* (Turin 1714), p. 80. [↑](#footnote-ref-305)
306. Bosio, *Dell’istoria della sacra religione*, pp. 103-108; Spandounes, *De la origine*, p. 193 [↑](#footnote-ref-306)
307. ASAn, ANAn 353 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1539), ff. 85v-86r [↑](#footnote-ref-307)
308. BMV, Cod. Marc. Lat. cl. x, nr. 174, ff. 256r-257v, in Peri, ‘I metropoliti di Agrigento’, pp. 306-7; Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή μητροπολίτη Ιταλίας’ , p. 69; ASAn, ANAn 600 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1575), f.189v [↑](#footnote-ref-308)
309. ASAn, ANAn 540 (Marino Benincasa, 1560), f.178r [↑](#footnote-ref-309)
310. ASAn, ANAn 604 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1578, 2), f. 137r [↑](#footnote-ref-310)
311. ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), f.104r; ASAn, ANAn 542 (Marino Benincasa, 1562), f.264r; [↑](#footnote-ref-311)
312. ASAn, ANAn 599 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1575), f.199r; ASAn, ANAn 600 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1575), ff. 229r, 457r, 480r [↑](#footnote-ref-312)
313. See 5.3.2 – Internal divisions [↑](#footnote-ref-313)
314. ASAn, ANAn 742 (Giovanni Cordella, 1578), ff. 478v, 504r [↑](#footnote-ref-314)
315. BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 5527, ff. 35r-39r, in Peri, ‘Inizi e finalità ecumeniche’, pp. 39-42; APCG, *Cronaca di tutti i scolari del Collegio Greco dalla fondazione sin all’anno 1640*, f. 8v, inWos, ‘I primi anconetani’, p. 38 [↑](#footnote-ref-315)
316. ASAn, ANAn 596 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1570), f. 230 [↑](#footnote-ref-316)
317. Moch, Page L., *Moving Europeans. Migration in Western Europe since 1650* (Indianapolis IN 1992), pp. 16-17; Chatzioannou, Maria Cristina, ‘L’emigrazione commerciale greca nei secoli XVIII-XIX: una sfida imprenditoriale’, *Proposte e Ricerche* 42 (1999), pp. 22-37, at 24 [↑](#footnote-ref-317)
318. ASAn, ACAn, *Libri dei salariati e dei provisionati*, 4 (1546-54), ff. 105r, 204r [↑](#footnote-ref-318)
319. Anselmi, ‘Aspetti economici’, at 66; Insabato, Elisabetta, ‘La donna slava negli strumenti dotali delle Marche’, *Italia Felix,* pp. 169-191, at 176-177; Nadin, *Migrazioni e integrazione,* pp. 30-32 [↑](#footnote-ref-319)
320. ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559),f. 164v [↑](#footnote-ref-320)
321. ASAn, ANAn 592 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), f. 102v [↑](#footnote-ref-321)
322. ASAn, ANAn 347 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1533), f. 295r [↑](#footnote-ref-322)
323. ASAn, ANAn 348 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1534), f. 290r [↑](#footnote-ref-323)
324. ASAn, ANAn 197 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1533-35), f. 146r [↑](#footnote-ref-324)
325. ASAn, ANAn 196 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1525-27), ff. 48v, 66r [↑](#footnote-ref-325)
326. ASAn, ANAn 291 (Piergentile Senili), f. 453v [↑](#footnote-ref-326)
327. ASAn, ANAn 196 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1525-27), f. 138v; ANAn 197 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1533-35), f. 86r [↑](#footnote-ref-327)
328. ASAn, ANAn 352 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1538), f. 112v [↑](#footnote-ref-328)
329. Subacchi, ‘Italians in Antwerp’, p. 84 [↑](#footnote-ref-329)
330. ASAn, ANAn 352 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1538), f. 171v [↑](#footnote-ref-330)
331. Argenti, Philip, *The Occupation,* p. 97 [↑](#footnote-ref-331)
332. See appendix 2, the family tree of the Coressi families in Ancona [↑](#footnote-ref-332)
333. ASAn, ANAn 358 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1548), f. 395v [↑](#footnote-ref-333)
334. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), f. 304v [↑](#footnote-ref-334)
335. ASAn, ANAn 352 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1538), ff. 203v, 204v [↑](#footnote-ref-335)
336. ASAn, ANAn 351 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1537), f. 35r [↑](#footnote-ref-336)
337. ASAn, ANAn 345 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1530), f. 62v [↑](#footnote-ref-337)
338. ASAn, ANAn 345 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1530), f. 16v; ANAn 350 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1536), f. 54v; ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), f. 103r [↑](#footnote-ref-338)
339. ASAn, ANAn 353 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1539), f. 117v [↑](#footnote-ref-339)
340. ASAn, ANAn 353 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1539), f. 128r [↑](#footnote-ref-340)
341. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), f. 206v [↑](#footnote-ref-341)
342. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), f. 255v [↑](#footnote-ref-342)
343. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), f. 254r [↑](#footnote-ref-343)
344. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), f. 455r [↑](#footnote-ref-344)
345. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), f. 304v [↑](#footnote-ref-345)
346. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), f. 329v [↑](#footnote-ref-346)
347. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), f. 304v [↑](#footnote-ref-347)
348. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), ff. 317r, 420r; ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1543), f. 81v; ANAn 540 (Marino Benincasa, 1560), f. 400r [↑](#footnote-ref-348)
349. ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), f. 42r; ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), f. 459r; ANAn 543 (Marino Benincasa, 1563), f. 204r [↑](#footnote-ref-349)
350. ASAn, ANAn 592 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), f. 253r, 259v, 297r, 325r, 330r; [↑](#footnote-ref-350)
351. ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), f. 140v [↑](#footnote-ref-351)
352. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, p. 176 [↑](#footnote-ref-352)
353. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), ff. 317r, 420r; ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1543), f. 81v; ANAn 540 (Marino Benincasa, 1560), f. 400r [↑](#footnote-ref-353)
354. ASAn, ANAn 541 (Marino Benincasa, 1561), f. 246v [↑](#footnote-ref-354)
355. ASAn, ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1543), f. 52v; ASAn, ANAn 543 (Marino Benincasa, 1563), f. 204r [↑](#footnote-ref-355)
356. ASAn, ANAn 538 (Marino Benincasa, 1558), f. Unintelligible; ANAn 592 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), f. 95r [↑](#footnote-ref-356)
357. ASAn, ANAn 174 (Troilo Leoni, 1525-27), f. 65r; ANAn 197 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1533-35), f. 198r [↑](#footnote-ref-357)
358. ASAn, ANAn 197 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1533-35), ff. 198r, 270v [↑](#footnote-ref-358)
359. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), ff. 64r, 344v [↑](#footnote-ref-359)
360. ASAn, ANAn 356 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1544), f. 480r [↑](#footnote-ref-360)
361. ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), f. 48r [↑](#footnote-ref-361)
362. ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), f. 235r [↑](#footnote-ref-362)
363. ASAn, ANAn 541 (Marino Benincasa, 1561), f. 139v [↑](#footnote-ref-363)
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367. ASAn, ANAn 364 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1558-59), f. 62r; ANAn 538 (Marino Benincasa, 1558), f. 57v; ANAn 540 (Marino Benincasa, 1560), f. 363v; ANAn 542 (Marino Benincasa, 1562), ff. 366r-367v [↑](#footnote-ref-367)
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369. ASAn, ANAn 351 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1537), f. 1r; ANAn 352 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1538), f. 203v; ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), f. 14v [↑](#footnote-ref-369)
370. ASAn, ANAn 348 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1534), f. 24r [↑](#footnote-ref-370)
371. ASAn, ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1543), f. 66v; ANAn 541 (Marino Benincasa, 1561), f. 83v; ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), f. 138v [↑](#footnote-ref-371)
372. See 4.2 – Organization and demographic composition [↑](#footnote-ref-372)
373. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), f. 418r; ANAn 358 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1548), f. 556r [↑](#footnote-ref-373)
374. ASAn, ANAn 351 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1537), f. 25rv; ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), f. 5r; ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1543), ff. 52r, 66v; ANAn 356 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1544), f. 4v; [↑](#footnote-ref-374)
375. ASAn, ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1543), ff. 81r, 87v; ANAn 358 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1548), f. 437v; [↑](#footnote-ref-375)
376. ASAn, ANAn 350 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1536), f. 54v [↑](#footnote-ref-376)
377. ASAn, ANAn 352 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1538), f. 123r [↑](#footnote-ref-377)
378. ASAn, ANAn 352 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1538), ff. 277v, 342r; [↑](#footnote-ref-378)
379. ASAn, ANAn 352 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1538), f. 40v; ANAn 353 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1539), f. 123v [↑](#footnote-ref-379)
380. ASAn, ANAn 352 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1538), f. 375r; ANAn 353 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1539), f. 16r [↑](#footnote-ref-380)
381. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), f. 102v [↑](#footnote-ref-381)
382. BNVEN, Ms. Branc. I.B.6, f. 18r, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 30 [↑](#footnote-ref-382)
383. ASAn, ANAn 599 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1574), ff. 247r-249v [↑](#footnote-ref-383)
384. ASAn, ANAn 358 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1548), f. 437v [↑](#footnote-ref-384)
385. ASAn, ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1543), f. 81v; ANAn 356 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1544), f. 92v; A contemporary portrait of Fabrizio Salvaresio by Titian is preserved in Vienna, at the Kunsthistorisches Museum. [↑](#footnote-ref-385)
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388. ASAn, ANAn 352 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1538), f. 260r [↑](#footnote-ref-388)
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390. ASAn, ANAn 196 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1525-27), f. 7v [↑](#footnote-ref-390)
391. ASAn, ANAn 196 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1525-27), f. 92v [↑](#footnote-ref-391)
392. ASAn, ANAn 196 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1525-27), ff. 48v, 66r [↑](#footnote-ref-392)
393. ASAn, ANAn 197 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1533-35), f. 140r [↑](#footnote-ref-393)
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395. ASAn, ANAn 349 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1535),f. 221r [↑](#footnote-ref-395)
396. ASAn, ANAn 198 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1536-37), f. 71v [↑](#footnote-ref-396)
397. ASAn, ANAn 197 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1533-35), f. 379v [↑](#footnote-ref-397)
398. ASAn, ANAn 349 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1535), f. 221r [↑](#footnote-ref-398)
399. See 4.2 – Organization and demographic composition [↑](#footnote-ref-399)
400. Orlando, *Migrazioni Mediterranee*, pp. 203-205 [↑](#footnote-ref-400)
401. Subacchi, ‘Italians in Antwerp’, pp. 84-85 [↑](#footnote-ref-401)
402. ASAn, ANAn 196 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1525-27), ff. 49v, 95v [↑](#footnote-ref-402)
403. ASAn, ANAn 293 (Piergentile Senili, 1541), f.6rv; ASAn, ANAn 349 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1535), f. 14v [↑](#footnote-ref-403)
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405. ASAn, ANAn 599 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1574), f. 37v; [↑](#footnote-ref-405)
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407. Laiou, Angeliki E., ‘Nuptias facit consensus – et non, Pope Nicholas’ *Responsa* to the Bulgarians as a source for Byzantine marriage customs’, *Rechtshistorisches Journal* 4 (1985), pp. 189-201, at 198; Orlando, ‘Mixed Marriages’, pp. 110-111 [↑](#footnote-ref-407)
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409. APF, *Miscell. Diverse* 21, ff. 204r-205v, 233r236r, in Peri, *Chiesa romana e ‘rito’ greco*, pp. 225-227, 268-271; BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I. B. 6., ff. 54r-56v, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, pp. 53-56 at 55, “Non si deve lasciar la prima moglie per pigliar un’altra per qualsivoglia causa, et è prohibito il congiungersi in matrimonio sino al IV° grado, che il greco lo chiama ottavo” [↑](#footnote-ref-409)
410. ASAn, ANAn 596 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1570), f. 246rv [↑](#footnote-ref-410)
411. Orlando, *Migrazioni Mediterranee*, pp. 369-372; [↑](#footnote-ref-411)
412. ASAn, ANAn 193 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1514-16),f. 99r; ANAn 196 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1525-27), f. 82v; ANAn 349 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1535),f. 221r; ANAn 353 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1539),f. 240r [↑](#footnote-ref-412)
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418. ASAn, ANAn 741-742 (Giovanni Cordella, 1577-78) [↑](#footnote-ref-418)
419. ASAn, ANAn 1023 (Giuseppe Sguri, 1607-8) [↑](#footnote-ref-419)
420. ASAn, ANAn 353 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1539), f. 19r; ANAn 199 (Lorenzo Trionfi 1538-39), f. 62r [↑](#footnote-ref-420)
421. ASAn, ANAn 614 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1588, 2), f. 787rv [↑](#footnote-ref-421)
422. ASAn, ANAn 597 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1572), f. 135rv [↑](#footnote-ref-422)
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425. ASAn, ANAn 597 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1572), f. 135rv [↑](#footnote-ref-425)
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428. For instance Dursteler *Venetians in Constantinople,* pp. 7-16 [↑](#footnote-ref-428)
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432. ASAn, ANAn 345 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1530), f. 62v; The will refers to a the church as *Ecclesia Sancte Marie de Achamum de Chio*, which might refer to the village of Αυγώνυμα in Chios, see Argenti, *The Occupation*, pp. 491, 549 [↑](#footnote-ref-432)
433. ASAn, ANAn 540 (Marino Benincasa, 1560), f. 296v [↑](#footnote-ref-433)
434. See 5.3.2 – Internal Divisions [↑](#footnote-ref-434)
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436. ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), f. 141v; ANAn 543 (Marino Benincasa, 1563), f. 348v [↑](#footnote-ref-436)
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456. Pedani, Maria Pia, ‘Consoli veneziani nei porti del Mediterraneo in età moderna’, *Mediterraneo in armi,* ed. Cancilia, Rossella (Palermo 2007), pp. 175-205, at 177-179, 196-197; Houssaye Michienzi, Ingrid, 'La “nation” et les milieux d’ affaires florentins aux XIVe et XVe siècles', *Actes du 44e congrès de la SHMESP*, (Paris 2014), pp. 299-310, at 306; Soldani, Maria Elisa, ‘«E sia licito a’ mercatanti katelani avere loggia»: presenza e organizzazione dei mercanti catalani a Pisa e a Siena nel basso Medioevo’, *La presència catalana a l’espai de trobada de la Mediterrània medieval: noves fonts, recerques i perspectives,* ed. Cifuentes, L., Conamala, R. and Lluch, M. ,(Rome 2015), pp. 283-316, at 288; ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), f. 3r [↑](#footnote-ref-456)
457. Petti Balbi, ‘Le *nationes* italiane’, pp. 403-404 [↑](#footnote-ref-457)
458. Ibid., p. 408; Soldani, ‘E sia licito’, p. 289 [↑](#footnote-ref-458)
459. Becker, ‘Éléments sociaux’; Subacchi, ‘Italians in Antwerp’; [↑](#footnote-ref-459)
460. Galoppini, ‘Lo statuto della nazione dei lucchesi’, p. 35; Id. ‘I lucchesi a Bruges ai tempi della signoria di Paolo Guinigi’, *Atti del convegno “Paolo Guinigi e il suo tempo”* (Lucca 2003), pp. 57-96, at 73-78 [↑](#footnote-ref-460)
461. Galoppini, ‘Lo statuto della nazione dei lucchesi’, pp. 34-38; Bratchel, ‘Alien Merchant Colonies’, pp. 41, 53. [↑](#footnote-ref-461)
462. Saracini, *Notitie historiche*, p. 402 [↑](#footnote-ref-462)
463. ASV, Reg. Vat. 1721, ff.168v-171v, in Simonsohn, ‘Marranos in Ancona’, pp. 255-256 [↑](#footnote-ref-463)
464. ASAn, ACAn, *Libri diversi di Cancelleria – Raccolta Albertini*, 3, ff. 183v-185r and 188rv; Ciavarini, *Statuti,* p. 279 [↑](#footnote-ref-464)
465. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, pp. 85-88; An interesting definition of the Venetian area of influence as a *kommunikationsraum* can be found in Sander-Faes, Stephan, ‘Merchants of the Adriatic: Zadar’s trading community around the mid-sixteenth century’, *Union in Separation- Diasporic Groups and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean (1100-1800)*, ed. Christ, G., Morche, F., Zaugg, R., *et al.* (Rome 2015), pp. 647-664, at 656 [↑](#footnote-ref-465)
466. Sànchez de Madariaga, Elena, ‘Caridad, devociòn e identidad de origen: las cofradrìas de naturales y nacionales en el Madrid de la Edad Moderna’, *Devociòn, paisanaje e identidad – Las cofradìas y congregaciones de naturales en España y en America (siglos XVI-XIX)*, ed. Alvarez, O., Morales, A. , Ramos, J. (Bilbao 2014), pp. 17-32, at 18, 20-21 [↑](#footnote-ref-466)
467. Luzzi, Serena, *Stranieri in città – Presenza tedesca e società urbana a Trento (secoli XV-XVIII),* (Bologna 2003), pp. 199-204 [↑](#footnote-ref-467)
468. Pardos, Α., Αλφαβητικός κατάλογος των πρώτων μελών της Ελληνικής Αδελφότητας Βενετίας από το κατάστιχο 129 (1498-1530) – Α΄. Άντρες, *Thesaurismata* 16 (1979), pp. 294-386; Petta, *Stradioti*; Hale, John R. and Mallet, Michael E., *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State – Venice c. 1400 to 1617* (Cambridge 1984), p. 377; Manoussacas, Manoussos I., ‘La comunità greca’, p. 60 [↑](#footnote-ref-468)
469. Grenet, Mathieu, ‘Naissance et affirmation’, p. 424 [↑](#footnote-ref-469)
470. Manoussacas, ‘La comunità greca’, pp. 60-63 [↑](#footnote-ref-470)
471. Grenet, ‘Naissance et affirmation’, p. 437; Ball, ‘Poverty, Charity’, pp. 139, 141-142; Burke, ‘To live under the protection’, p. 131; Setti, Cristina, ‘Sudditi fedeli o eretici tollerati? Venezia e i “greci” dal tardo medioevo ai consulti di Paolo Sarpi e Fulgenzio Micanzio’, *Ateneo Veneto* 13 (2014), pp. 145-182, at 156; Peri, Vittorio *‘*L’ “incredibile risguardo” e l’ “incredibile destrezza”. La resistenza di Venezia alle iniziative postridentine della Santa Sede per i greci dei suoi domini’ , *Venezia centro di mediazione tra oriente e occidente (Sec. XV-XVI)*, ed. Manoussacas, M. (Florence 1977)*,* pp. 599-625, at 606 [↑](#footnote-ref-471)
472. BNVEN, Ms. Branc. I.B.6, f. 27r, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 35 [↑](#footnote-ref-472)
473. BNVEN, Ms. Branc. I.B.6, f. 31r-32v, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 37; Illiterate members were given a cross-shaped seal to use as official signature. [↑](#footnote-ref-473)
474. Angelucci, Giuseppe, *Costituzioni della venerabile confraternita di S. Anna dei greci uniti* (Pesaro 1843). [↑](#footnote-ref-474)
475. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1542), ff. 455r-455v; ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1543), ff. 52r-52v; ANAn 592 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), ff. 336r-337v; ANAn 594 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1565), ff. 269v-270v; ANAn 597 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1572) f.128r, f. 280v; ANAn 600 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1575) ff. 189v-190v; ANAn 601 (Francesco Brancaleoni 1575), ff. 369r-369v [↑](#footnote-ref-475)
476. BNVEN, Ms. Branc. I.B.6, f. 57v, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 57 [↑](#footnote-ref-476)
477. BNVEN, Ms. Branc. I.B.6, f. 34r, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 39; ASAn, ANAn 597 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1572), f. 128 “[ipsos] asserentes esse in numero sufficienti et valido ac ultra duas tertias partes confratrum ad presens Ancone comorantium” [↑](#footnote-ref-477)
478. ASMc, ANR 1233 (Pietro Buonamici, 1569), f. 91; [↑](#footnote-ref-478)
479. ASAn, ANAn 349 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1535), f. 247r; ANAn 540 (Marino Benincasa, 1560), f.178v; ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), ff. 57v-58r; ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1543) f. 52; ANAn 198 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1536-37), f. 156r; ANAn 541 (Marino Benincasa, 1561), f. 3v. ANAn 592 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), f. 46v ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1534) f. 122r [↑](#footnote-ref-479)
480. Giacomini, Carlo, ‘Fonti per la storia’, p. 97; ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), f. 4r; ANAn 541 (Marino Benincasa, 1561), f. 194v [↑](#footnote-ref-480)
481. ASAn, ANAn 359 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1549), f. 245r; ANAn 350 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1536), 54v; ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), f. 164v; ANAn 223 (Andrea Pilestri, 1532-34), f. 386r; ANAn 542 (Marino Benincasa, 1562), f. 130v; ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1542), f. 430v [↑](#footnote-ref-481)
482. ASAn, ANAn 540 (Marino Benincasa, 1560), f. 327v; ANAn 541 (Marino Benincasa, 1561), f.175r; ANAn 542 (Marino Benincasa, 1562), f. 369r; [↑](#footnote-ref-482)
483. ASAn, ANAn 353 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1539), f. 118r; The last will of Maurodi has not survived directly, but is referred to in several documents, and always dated to April 1569. See for example ANAn 601 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1575), ff. 229r-229v [↑](#footnote-ref-483)
484. ASAn, ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1543), f. 52r; Mavroidi, Fani, ‘I serbi e la confraternita greca di Venezia’, *Balkan Studies* 24 (1983), pp. 511-529 [↑](#footnote-ref-484)
485. ASAn, ACAn, *Libri diversi di cancelleria e raccolta Albertini*, Libro rosso del Comune di Ancona (1459-1522), f. 183v [↑](#footnote-ref-485)
486. ASAn, ANAn 348 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1534), f. 290; ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino benincasa, 1559), f.86v; ANAn 542 (Marino Benincasa, 1562) f. 366v [↑](#footnote-ref-486)
487. ASAn, ANAn 597 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1572), ff. 135r-136r; ASAn, ANAn 1023 (Giuseppe Sguri, 1607-08), f. 26v [↑](#footnote-ref-487)
488. Wos, ‘I primi anconetani’, p. 39 [↑](#footnote-ref-488)
489. BNVEN, Ms. Branc. I.B.6, f. 57v, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 57 [↑](#footnote-ref-489)
490. Angelucci, *Cenni Storici,* p. 34 [↑](#footnote-ref-490)
491. ASAn, ANAn 352 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1538), f. 260r; ASAn, ANAn 541 (Marino Benincasa, 1561), ff. 3v-4r [↑](#footnote-ref-491)
492. ASAn, ANAn 592 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), ff. 336r-337v; ANAn 543 (Marino Benincasa, 1563), f.348v [↑](#footnote-ref-492)
493. ASAn, ANAn 597 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1572), f. 280r; Angelucci, *Cenni storici,* p. 34 [↑](#footnote-ref-493)
494. ASAn, ANAn 541 (Marino Benincasa, 1561), ff. 3v; ANAn 597 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1572), f. 280r; ANAn 348 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1534), f. 290r; ADAn, *Causae,* 2 (1541-1560), *1555 - Io.em Zaccarie Greco con suos creditores,* folia unnumbered. [↑](#footnote-ref-494)
495. ASAn, ANAn 348 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1534), f. 268r; ANAn 592 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), ff. 336r-337v; ASAn, ANAn 592 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), ff. 336r-337v; 594 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1565), ff. 270r-270v. [↑](#footnote-ref-495)
496. A similar pattern can be found among the Italian merchants in London, described as ‘essentially communities of bachelor uncles’, Bratchel, Michael E., ‘Regulation and group-consciousness in the Later History of London’s Italian merchant colonies’, *Journal of European Economic History* 9 (1980), pp. 595-610, at 593 [↑](#footnote-ref-496)
497. ASAn, ANAn 455 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1543), f. 455r; ANAn 349 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1537), f. 35; ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), f. 14v; ANAn 345 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1530), f. 61v; ANAn 352 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1538), f. 174 [↑](#footnote-ref-497)
498. ASAn, ANAn 540 (Marino Benincasa, 1560), f.178r [↑](#footnote-ref-498)
499. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42), f. 73r; BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I.B.6., ff. 142r-143v, in Peri, *Chiesa romana e ‘rito’ greco*, p. 221 [↑](#footnote-ref-499)
500. ASAn, ANAn 358 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1548), f. 517v; ASAn, ACAn, *Lettere di Ambasciatori, Agenti, comunità e mittenti diversi,* 12, letters dated 29.2.1569 and 5.3.1569 [↑](#footnote-ref-500)
501. ASAn, ANAn 592 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), f. 253r, 259v, 297r, 325r, 330r; For the patronage, see below. [↑](#footnote-ref-501)
502. ASAn, ANAn 356 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1544), f. 480r; ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), ff. 48r, 235r; ANAn 197 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1533-35), 184v; ANAn 198 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1536-37), ff. 33v, 80r, 154v; ANAn 353 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1539), f. 229v [↑](#footnote-ref-502)
503. The brief reported in Saracini, *Notitie historiche,* p. 321: ‘cum omnibus et singulis bonis suis, tam spirituali bus quam temporalibus ab omni ordinarii loci iurisdictione, superioritate, et dominio, perpetuo exemit’ [↑](#footnote-ref-503)
504. Tomai-Pitinca, *‘*Comunità albanesi nel Tarentino’, p. 12, mentions several Coronean priests ordained *a quodam Metropolita greco nomine Benedicto* serving in the village of Roccaforzata; Peri, ‘La Congregazione’, p. 182 [↑](#footnote-ref-504)
505. Peri, ‘L’Unione’, p. 465; Varnalidis, Sotirios L. ‘Le implicazioni del breve *Accepimus Nuper* di Papa Leone X (18.5.1521) e del breve *Romanus Pontifex* di Papa Pio IV (16.2.1564) nella vita religiosa dei Greci e degli Albanesi dell’Italia meridionale’, *Nicolaus – Rivista di teologia ecumenico-patristica* 13 (1981), pp 359-382, at 369 [↑](#footnote-ref-505)
506. *Archieraticon - Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Grecae, Bullae Leonis X et Clementis VII pro Ritibus Graecorum*, ed. Isaach Habert (Paris 1676), ff. 1r-1v Saracini, p. 321; Cecchetti, p. 460, note 1. The concession to the Greeks of Ancona was made under the pontificate of Clement VII, whose policies towards the Eastern communities followed in the same path opened by Leo X, and are therefore included in the “Leonine” phase of ecclesiastical legislation. [↑](#footnote-ref-506)
507. Péchayre, A. P., ‘L’archeveché d’Ochrida de 1394 a 1767: À propost d’un ouvrage récent’, *Échos d’Orient* 35 (1936), pp. 183-204, at 187-188. [↑](#footnote-ref-507)
508. BAV, Cod. *Marc. Lat.* cl. x, nr. 174 (= 3621), ff. 262r-262v, in Peri, ‘I metropoliti orientali di Agrigento…’ p.310 [↑](#footnote-ref-508)
509. Peri, ‘I metropoliti di Agrigento’, p. 280, note 16 [↑](#footnote-ref-509)
510. Ibid pp.282-83; In ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), f. 42r, Alessandro Maurodi purchased 300 bales of green textiles for 1168,3 scudi, a very considerable sum, only available to the richest members of the community. [↑](#footnote-ref-510)
511. ASV, *Secr. Brev.,* Arm. 39, vol. 60, f.152rv; Arm. XLIV, vol. 7, f. 8rv, in Peri, ‘I metropoliti orientali di Agrigento…’, pp. 318-319 [↑](#footnote-ref-511)
512. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1542), f. 455r-456r; ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1543), ff. 52r-52v [↑](#footnote-ref-512)
513. BMV, Cod. Marc. Lat. cl. x, nr. 174, ff. 256r-257v, in Peri, ‘I metropoliti di Agrigento’, pp. 306-7; Tsirpanlis, ‘Εκλογή μητροπολίτη Ιταλίας’, p. 69; At least six individuals appear in both lists: Girolamo Lecavela, Bartolomeo Politi, Pietro Murzuflo, Andrea Avloniti, Marco Plaidemo, and Stamatto Zai. [↑](#footnote-ref-513)
514. BMV, Cod. Marc. Lat. cl. x, nr. 174, ff. 258r-259v and 262rv, in Peri, ‘I metropoliti di Agrigento’, pp. 308-311 [↑](#footnote-ref-514)
515. Sanudo XLVI, 381-2, in Fedalto, p. 62; The episode apparently triggered a response from the highest republican authorities against the bishop: “Vene in Collegio molti greci, tra li qual domino Theodor Paleologo, dolendosi ch’el Patriarcha ha schomunicà la soa chiesia nova zà tre zorni, et non vol si digi li officii, cosa concessa dal Papa, dal Conseio di X con la Zonta; et più ha fato retenir uno suo papa overo cloiero venuto da Corfù, el qual andava in Ancona. Adeo, di questo il Collegio si duolse. Pur il Patriarcha è obstinato et vol siano calogeri catholici. Fu concluso di mandar per il Patriarcha venisse poi disnar a parlar al Serenissimo, il qual lo persuaderia a cavarlo di prexon.” [↑](#footnote-ref-515)
516. ASAn, ANAn 347 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1533), ff. 138v-139r; ANAn 198 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1536-37), ff. 156r-156v; ANAn 352 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1538), f. 15r; ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1542), ff. 455r-455v; ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1543), ff. 52r-52v; ANAn 601 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1575), f. 189v; ANAn 615 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1590), f. 213v BAV, Vat. lat. 6416, ff. 91r-92v, in Peri, ‘Chiesa Latina e Chiesa Greca…’ pp. 427-428; FB90, f. 213v [↑](#footnote-ref-516)
517. ASAn, ANAn 592 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), ff. 29v-30r; APF, *Miscell. Diverse* 21, ff. 204r-205v, in Peri, *Chiesa Romana e ‘rito’ Greco*, pp. 224-225 [↑](#footnote-ref-517)
518. BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 6416, ff. 91r-92v, in Peri, ‘Chiesa Latina e Chiesa Greca…’, pp. 427-8 [↑](#footnote-ref-518)
519. ASAn, ANAn 224 (Andrea Pilestri, 1535), ff. 253v-254r; ANAn 347 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1533), ff. 138v-139r; ANAn 350 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1536), f. 58v; ANAn 198 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1536-37), ff. 156r-156v. [↑](#footnote-ref-519)
520. ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1542), ff. 455r-455v [↑](#footnote-ref-520)
521. Saracini, *Notitie historiche*, p. 402 [↑](#footnote-ref-521)
522. ACAn, *Suppliche (reiette et accolte) al magnifico consiglio*, Busta 1 (1545-1578), ff. 56, 57, 112, 201; Busta 2 (1558-1578), f. CCLX. [↑](#footnote-ref-522)
523. Burke, Ersie C., ‘“…to live under the protection of your serenity”: immigration and identity in Early Modern Venice’, *Studi Veneziani* 67 (2013), pp. 123-155, at 132-138; Cecchetti, *La Repubblica di Venezia,* p. 461; Fedalto, *Ricerche Storiche*, p. 136; Ball, James G., ‘Poverty, charity and the Greek community’, *Studi veneziani* 6 (1982), pp. 129-145, at 139-140 [↑](#footnote-ref-523)
524. BNVEN, Ms. Branc. I.B.6, f. 23v, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 33; [↑](#footnote-ref-524)
525. BNVEN, Ms. Branc. I.B.6, f. 18v, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 31; the Greek merchants agreed to offer a portion of their revenues since the very foundation of Sant’Anna as a Greek church in 1524: ASAn, ANAn 173 (Troilo Leoni, 1523-24), f. 182v [↑](#footnote-ref-525)
526. ASAn, *Fondo Ospedale Umberto I*, Testamento di Alessio Lascari Paleologo, ff.2r-5r. [↑](#footnote-ref-526)
527. ASAn, ANAn 600 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1575), ff. 190v-191r, f. 480r [↑](#footnote-ref-527)
528. ASAn, ACAn, Catasti Pontifici, 3, f.156v: “Iacomo Greco ha terra arativa nella contrada delle Lamaticcie, da lato Gironimo Scalamonti et Luciano Venerio, da capo li beni della compagnia delli greci, da piedi la strada.” [↑](#footnote-ref-528)
529. ASAn, ANAn 198 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1536-37), ff. 156r-156v; ANAn 539(Marino Benincasa, 1559), f. 362. Since the property is mentioned only indirectly in the cadastre, and since its position relative to the bordering properties may have shifted significantly in three decades, it is impossible to unequivocally ascertain whether or not it was the same property. [↑](#footnote-ref-529)
530. ANAn, ASAn 224 (Andrea Pilestri, 1535), ff. 253v-254r; ANAn 350 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1536), f. 58v [↑](#footnote-ref-530)
531. ASAn, ANAn 601 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1575), f. 712r; the property is described as *inutilis, sed fortasse damnosa.* [↑](#footnote-ref-531)
532. ASAn, ANAn 592 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), ff. 29v-30v; [↑](#footnote-ref-532)
533. ASAn, ANAn 223 (Andrea Pilestri, 1532-34), ff. 234r-234v; ANAn 345 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1530), ff. 61v-63r [↑](#footnote-ref-533)
534. Rentetzi, ‘La chiesa di Sant’anna…’, p. 348, n.24: “Zuane de Argenta, levantino siotto, per tre quadretti per la chiesa de Santa Anna […] fato el mercato in scuti tre d’oro, et forzarme che tira alla grecha” [↑](#footnote-ref-534)
535. ASAn, ANAn 356 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1544), f. 187r; ANAn 593 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), f. 140r; Saracini, p. 367: “un Arma in campo azzurro scolpita con un’Aquila indorata, e con due teste coronate, et un sole in mezo del petto di dett’Aquila”. The tomb has been [↑](#footnote-ref-535)
536. Hansen, Morten Steen, ‘Immigrants and church patronage in sixteenth-century Ancona’, *Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation in the Italian Renaissance City,* ed. Cambell, Stephen J. (Cambridge 2004), pp.327-354, at 336; Saracini, *Notitie historiche*, p. 365; The Armenians in Ancona would only be granted their own church, Santa Anastasia, in the 1580s, see Pirani, *Le chiese di Ancona,* pp. 12-13; ADAn, *Visite Pastorali*, 1 – Visite del Cardinal Carlo Conti (1586-1597), f.86v; [↑](#footnote-ref-536)
537. Harris, ‘Despots, Emperors’, p. 660; on the longevity of the Byzantine tradition among the migrant Greek and Albanian families in Italy see Zečević, ‘Searching for acceptance?’; Petta, *Despoti d’Epiro* [↑](#footnote-ref-537)
538. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze, MS 2032, De’ Rossi, Girolamo, *Vita di Gio. de’ Medici, del Beato Angelico, e del Savonarola*, ed. Litta, P. (Milan 1833), p. 60; Giovio, Paolo, *La seconda parte dell’istorie del suo tempo* (Venice 1560), p. 96; Ratti, Nicola, *Della famiglia Sforza* (Rome 1794), pp. 224, 262; Guidiccioni, Giovanni, *Opere di Monsignor Giovanni Guidiccioni*, ed. Minutoli, Carlo (Florence 1867), p. 426; Guazzo, Marco, *Cronica di M. Marco Guazzo* (Venice 1553), p. 415; Manente, Cipriano, *Historie di Cipriano Manente da Orvieto* (Venice 1561), p. 268. [↑](#footnote-ref-538)
539. Albéri, Eugenio (ed.), *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato, vol. VII* (Florence 1846), p. 329; Muzi, Giovanni, *Memorie civili di Città di Castello, volume secondo* (Città di Castello 1844), p. 144; Amiani, Pietro Maria, *Memorie istoriche della città di Fano* (Fano 1751), p. 176; Cappello, Bernardo, *Lettere di Monsignor Bernardo Cappello*, ed. Ronchini, Amadio (Bologna 1870), p. 49. [↑](#footnote-ref-539)
540. ASMc, ANR 1221 (Pietro Buonamici, 1557), f. 203v. [↑](#footnote-ref-540)
541. Spandounes, *De la origine,* p. 141; Miniati, Lorenzo, *Le glorie cadute dell’antichissima ed augustissima famiglia Comnena* (Venice 1663), p. 114: According to Miniati, Alessio Postumo Comneno had married Anna Lascarina, Alessio Lascari’s nephew. He mentions a huge donation of 3000 scudi from Lascari to Postumo, of which no trace survives in any version of the testament or in any notarial document that I have examined. However, the mention of the actual executor of Lascari’s will, Alessandro Maurodi, gives a certain amount of credibility to this otherwise very dubious account. [↑](#footnote-ref-541)
542. Marini Dettina, Alfonso, *Il legittimo esercizio del gran magistero del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio*, (unpublished PhD thesis at the Pontificia Università Lateranense, 2002), pp. 35, 246; Scriattoli, Andrea, *Viterbo nei suoi monumenti* (Viterbo 1988), pp. 101-102 [↑](#footnote-ref-542)
543. ASMc, ANR 1221 (Pietro Buonamici, 1557), f. 49v; ANR 1223 (Pietro Buonamici, 1559), f. 273v. [↑](#footnote-ref-543)
544. ASAn, *Fondo Ospedale Umberto I*, Testamento di Alessio Lascari. The original text of the will, signed by notary Girolamo Bonamici of Recanati, has not survived. The importance of its contents as one of the founding documents of the Anconitan system of public hospitals, however, ensured the ultimate survival of at least one later copy. [↑](#footnote-ref-544)
545. ASAn, *Fondo Ospedale Umberto I*, Testamento di Alessio Lascari; His request was fulfilled, at least according to the statutes, BNVEN, Ms. Branc. I.B.6, f. 37v, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 42 [↑](#footnote-ref-545)
546. Natalucci, Mario, *Ancona Attraverso i secoli* (Città di Castello, 1960), p. 348; Albertini, Camillo, *Storia di Ancona dal 282 al 1824* (Ancona 1830), pp. 214, 223. [↑](#footnote-ref-546)
547. Ceccarelli Isopi, Paola, ‘Le confraternite anconitane: devozione e assistenza in età moderna’, *Proposte e Ricerche* 44 (2000), p. 15; Pirani, ‘Gli ospedali di Ancona’ [↑](#footnote-ref-547)
548. Pirani, Vincenzo, *Le chiese di Ancona* (Osimo, 1998), p. 138; ADAn, *Visite Pastorali*, 1, Visite del Cardinal Carlo Conti (1586-1597), f. 90v [↑](#footnote-ref-548)
549. ASAn, *Fondo Ospedale Umberto I*, Testamento di Alessio Lascari [↑](#footnote-ref-549)
550. Angelucci, *Cenni storici…,* p. 37. [↑](#footnote-ref-550)
551. ASAn, *Fondo Ospedale Umberto I*, Testamento di Costantino Maurodi; ASAn, ACAn, Inventario chiesa di Sant’Anna, busta 2, Libro di Entrata ed Esito, 1780, c. 1, art. IV. [↑](#footnote-ref-551)
552. ASMc, ANR 1226 (Pietro Buonamici, 1562), f.338v; ANR 1229 (Pietro Buonamici, 1565), ff.43v-51v; 1568, f.128v; 1569, f.91.; ANR 1232 (Pietro Buonamici, 1568), f. 128v; ANR 1233 (Pietro Buonamici, 1569), f. 91r; ASAn, ANAn 592 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), ff.336r-337v ; ANAn 593 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1565), f.270; 1572, f.169-170v; ANAn 594 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1565), f.270; ANAn 597 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1572), f.169, f.280-280v; ANAn 599 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1574), f. 164r, 199rv; ANAn 601 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1575), f. 494rv; ANAn 615 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1590), f. 135r. [↑](#footnote-ref-552)
553. BNVEN, Ms. Branc. I.B.6, f. 36r-37v, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 40-42; ASAn, ANAn 592 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), f.336v: “duabus pupillis pauperibus nationis grece si extarent in Civitate Ancone bone conditionis ac fame sint autem duabus pupillis italis similiter bone condictionis et famei”. [↑](#footnote-ref-553)
554. ASAn, ANAn 597 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1572), f. 135r, ANAn 603 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1578), f. 395v; ANAn 613 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1588), f. 487v. [↑](#footnote-ref-554)
555. ASAn, ANAn 597 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1572), ff.95v, 282, 288; *Satalia Caramanie* is modern day Antalya, in Turkey. [↑](#footnote-ref-555)
556. ASAn, ANAn 599 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1574), f. 199r-202v; ANAn 602 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1577), 135v [↑](#footnote-ref-556)
557. ASAn, ANAn 599 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1574), ff. 200v-201rv, [↑](#footnote-ref-557)
558. BNVEN, Ms. Branc. I.B.6, f. 38v, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 43: ‘due nostri Fratelli di buona coscienza, quali debbino dispensare la farina et altre elemosine diligentemente per la città dove sono poveri et povere della nostra Nation Greca’; as for the archives of the Confraternity ibid, f 52r-53v (pp.51-53), confirms that they were kept in an appalling state, prompting the bishop to impose a thorough reform of their bookkeeping. In the light of this, it is rather unlikely that a decent pre-reformation archive would have survived, even without bombings and other conservation accidents. [↑](#footnote-ref-558)
559. Muchnik, ‘Charité et communauté diasporique’, pp. 10-14 [↑](#footnote-ref-559)
560. ASAn, ANAn 358 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1548), f. 476r; Albertini, p. 253 [↑](#footnote-ref-560)
561. ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), f. 141v [↑](#footnote-ref-561)
562. Saracini, *Notitie historiche,* p. 234; ADAn, Titolo IX, 32, *Atto di consegna delle reliquie da parte di Paolo Paleologo,* in Loenertz, ‘Cardinale Morosini et Paul Paléologue’, p. 244 [↑](#footnote-ref-562)
563. BNVEN, Ms. Branc. I.B.6, f. 37v, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 42 [↑](#footnote-ref-563)
564. Ibid., pp. 42-43 [↑](#footnote-ref-564)
565. BNVEN, Ms. Branc. I.B.6, f. 19v, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 31 [↑](#footnote-ref-565)
566. Bratchel, Michael E., ‘Alien merchant colonies’, p. 41; A good example is the devotion of the Luccans worldwide to the civic cult of the Volto Santo. See Galoppini, Laura, ‘Lo statuto della nazione dei lucchesi di Bruges (1478-1498)’, *Honos alit artes: studi per il settantesimo compleanno di Mario Ascheri* – *gli universi particolari, territori e città dal medioevo all’età moderna,* ed. Maffei, Paola and Varagnini, Gian Maria (Florence 2014), pp. 33-43, at33, 37-40. [↑](#footnote-ref-566)
567. Harris, Jonathan, ‘Cardinal Bessarion and the ideal state’, *Philellenische Studien* 12 (2006), pp. 91-97, at 97. [↑](#footnote-ref-567)
568. BNVEN, Ms. Branc. I.B.6, f. 39r-39v, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, Doc. VIII, p. 44. [↑](#footnote-ref-568)
569. Giacomini, Carlo, *Le magistrature giudiziarie* [↑](#footnote-ref-569)
570. ASAn, ACAn, *Pergamene,* 56, Lista dei condannati per l'anno 1542. Despite the inventory title, the document clearly states that it was written for 1539-43. [↑](#footnote-ref-570)
571. ASAn, ANAn 536 (Marino Benincasa, 1548-52), f. 219v [↑](#footnote-ref-571)
572. ASV, Reg. Vat. 1721, ff.168v-171v, in Simonsohn, ‘Marranos in Ancona’, at 255-256 [↑](#footnote-ref-572)
573. ASAn, ANAn 358 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1548), f. 488v; ANAn 359 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1549), f.122v [↑](#footnote-ref-573)
574. ADAn, *Causae*, 2 (1541-1560), 1555 - Io.em Zaccarie Greco con suos creditores, folia unnumbered; See 3.3.3 – The Transitory Residents [↑](#footnote-ref-574)
575. Gelderblom, Oscar, *Cities of Commerce – The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250-1650* (Princeton NJ 2013), pp.105-109; Caracausi, Andrea, ‘Procedure di giustizia in età moderna: i tribunali corporativi’, *Studi Storici* 49 (2008), pp. 323-362, at 326-27 ; Marrella, Fabrizio and Mozzato, Andrea, *Alle origini dell’arbitrato commerciale internazionale – L'arbitrato a Venezia tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Padua 2001), pp. 51-59; Burroughs, ‘Spaces of arbitration’, pp. 64-101 [↑](#footnote-ref-575)
576. ASAn, ANAn 348 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1534), f. 122; ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1542), f. 420; ANAn 358 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1548), f. 437v; [↑](#footnote-ref-576)
577. ASAn, ANAn 351 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1537), f. 60v; ANAn 353 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1539), f. 16r; ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541-42),ff. 3r, 14v, 94v, 108r; ANAn 358 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1548),f. 549 [↑](#footnote-ref-577)
578. ASAn, ANAn 358 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1548), f. 395v; ANAn 348 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1534), f. 122r; ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), f. 4r; ANAn 541 (Marino Benincasa, 1561), f. 194v [↑](#footnote-ref-578)
579. ASAn, ANAn 599 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1574), f. 37v; [↑](#footnote-ref-579)
580. ASAn, *Fondo Ospedale Umberto I,* Testamento di Costantino Maurodi; ACAn, *Suppliche,* 1 (1545-78), VII; ANAn 601 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1575), ff. 229r-229v [↑](#footnote-ref-580)
581. BNVEN, Ms. Branc. I.B.6, f. 19r, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 31 [↑](#footnote-ref-581)
582. Peri, Vittorio, *Chiesa romana e ‘rito’ greco*, pp. 34-36 [↑](#footnote-ref-582)
583. Peri, Vittorio, *Chiesa romana e ‘rito’ greco*, pp. 191-205 [↑](#footnote-ref-583)
584. Tatarenko, Laurent, ‘La naissance de l'Union de Brest: La curie romaine et le tournant de l'année 1595’, *Cahiers du Monde russe* 46 (2005), pp. 345-354 [↑](#footnote-ref-584)
585. Peri, Vittorio, ‘L’unione’; Ware, Kallistos T., ‘Orthodox and Catholics in the seventeenth century: schism or intercommunion?’, *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, ed. Baker, D. (New York 1972), pp. 259-276, at 259-263 [↑](#footnote-ref-585)
586. Manoussacas, Manoussos I., ‘La comunità greca’, pp. 48, 51-53 [↑](#footnote-ref-586)
587. Tsirpanlis, ‘Memorie storiche’p. 875 [↑](#footnote-ref-587)
588. Peri, ‘I metropoliti di Agrigento’, pp. 287-287 [↑](#footnote-ref-588)
589. Manoussacas, ‘La comunità greca’, pp. 51-52 [↑](#footnote-ref-589)
590. Peri, Vittorio, ‘La lettura del Concilio di Firenze’, p. 598 [↑](#footnote-ref-590)
591. Peri, Vittorio, ‘L’unione’, pp. 486-487 [↑](#footnote-ref-591)
592. Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 22 [↑](#footnote-ref-592)
593. Fedalto, *Ricerche storiche*, p. 114 [↑](#footnote-ref-593)
594. A good picture of the status of the Albanians in Calabria is available in De Leo, Pietro, ‘Condizioni economico-sociali degli albanesi in Calabria tra XV e XVI secolo’, *BBGG* 35 (1981), pp. 45-67, at 52 [↑](#footnote-ref-594)
595. BAV, Vat. Lat. 6416, ff. 91r-92v, in Peri, Vittorio, ‘Chiesa Latina e Chiesa’, pp. 427-428 [↑](#footnote-ref-595)
596. BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I.B.6, ff. 440r-442v, in Tomai-Pitinca, Emidio, ‘Comunità greco-albanesi in diocesi di Larino, aspetti ecclesiali e di costume (sec. XVI)’, *BBGG* 38 (1984), pp. 19-66, at 61-62 [↑](#footnote-ref-596)
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598. Geanakoplos, Deno, ‘The Council of Florence (1438-1439) and the problem of union between the Greek and Latin Churches’, *Church History* 24 (1955) pp. 324-346; Gill, Joseph, ‘The Council of Florence: a success that failed’, *Personalities of the Council of Florence and other Essays*, ed. Gill, J. (Oxford 1964), pp. 1-14; Schmidt, Martin Anton, ‘The problem of Papal primacy at the Council of Florence’, *Church History* 30 (1960), pp. 35-49; Dendrinos, Charalambos, ‘Reflections on the failure of the Union of Florence’, *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 39 (2007), pp. 131-148; Varnalidis, Sotirios L., ‘Problemi del primato romano dal concilio di Firenze (1439) ai nostri giorni: punto di vista Ortodosso’, *Nicolaus – Rivista di teologia ecumenico-patristica* 5 (2007), pp. 54-76 [↑](#footnote-ref-598)
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600. Ibid. pp. 599-600 [↑](#footnote-ref-600)
601. Hofmann, Georg, *Papato, conciliarismo, patriarcato (1438-39)* (Rome 1940), p. 36 [↑](#footnote-ref-601)
602. Peri, ‘L’unione’, pp. 461-463 [↑](#footnote-ref-602)
603. Ambrasi, ‘In margine all’immigrazione’. p. 164 [↑](#footnote-ref-603)
604. The original bulls for both the church and the confraternity have been published by Cecchetti, *La Repubblica di Venezia*, pp. 460-463 [↑](#footnote-ref-604)
605. Fedalto, *Ricerche storiche*, p.48 [↑](#footnote-ref-605)
606. Saracini, *Notitie historiche*, p. 320 [↑](#footnote-ref-606)
607. *Archieraticon*, ff. 1r-1v [↑](#footnote-ref-607)
608. Rodotà, Pietro Pompilio, *Dell’origine, progresso e stato presente del Rito Greco in Italia, libro terzo: degli Albanesi, chiese Greche moderne e collegio Greco in Roma* (Rome, 1763) p. 136; Varnalidis, ‘Le implicazioni del breve’, pp. 364-370 [↑](#footnote-ref-608)
609. *Archieraticon*, f. 1r [↑](#footnote-ref-609)
610. Saracini, *Notitie historiche*,p. 321; Fedalto, *Ricerche storiche*,p.48; Peri, ‘L’unione’, p. 463 [↑](#footnote-ref-610)
611. Peri, ‘L’unione’, pp. 456-57 [↑](#footnote-ref-611)
612. Peri, ‘L’unione’, pp. 455-459 [↑](#footnote-ref-612)
613. *Bullarium Pontificium Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide* (Rome 1839), pp. 8-9: “Sed immunitatum, aliorumque privilegio rum sibi per fel. Rec. Leonem X, Paulum III, Iulium etiam III et forsan alios Romanos Pontefices Praedecessores nostros, et dictam Sedem antiquitis concessorum pretextu, sed ab eorumdem Ordinariorum jurisdictione et superiori tate exemptos esse pretendentes, impunitate sibi proposita, in diversas haereticas, nefariasque opiniones, et absurda deliramenta passim prolabuntur…” [↑](#footnote-ref-613)
614. De Boer, Witse, *The Conquest of the Soul Confession - Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (Leiden and Boston MA 2001), pp.323-326; Prosperi, Adriano, *Il Concilio di Trento – Un’introduzione storica* (Turin 2001), pp. 98-106; Bireley, Robert, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700 - A Reassessment of the Counter-Reformation* (London 1999), pp. 71-75; Farr, James R., ‘Confessionalization and social discipline in France, 1530-1685’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 94 (2003), pp. 276-293; Parker, T. M. ‘The Papacy: Catholic Reform and Christian Missions’, *The New Cambridge Modern History,* ed. Wernham, R. B.(Cambridge 1968), pp. 44-71, at 49-51; Taveneaux, René, ‘Les prémices de la réforme tridentine’, *Revue d’histoire de l’Eglise de France* 75 (1989), pp. 205-213; [↑](#footnote-ref-614)
615. *Magnum Bullarium Romanum, a Pio Quarto usque ad Innocentium IX, Tomus Secundus* (Lyon 1673), p. 192; Peri, *Chiesa Romana e ‘rito’ Greco*, pp. 53-54; [↑](#footnote-ref-615)
616. ASV, LXIV 34, f. 130, in Levi Della Vida, Giorgio, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni delle Chiese orientali con la S. Sede durante il pontificato di Gregorio XIII* (Vatican City 1968),pp. 51-52; also ibid. pp. 5-6.The unfortunate fate of the four messengers is explained by the patriarch himself in a letter to Cardinal Santoro: the first one was eaten by a crocodile in Egypt, the second one died of plague in Constantinople, the third one could not reach Italy because of the Cypriot war, and the last one was arrested by the Ottomans before he could even embark from Tripoli. One can only imagine the sigh of relief among the potential Syrian messengers, when the Patriarch decided to do the journey himself. [↑](#footnote-ref-616)
617. Levi Della Vida, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni,* pp. 1, 5-6, 19, 121-122; Peri, *Due date* [↑](#footnote-ref-617)
618. Levi della Vida, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni,* pp. 39, 120 [↑](#footnote-ref-618)
619. Peri, Vittorio, *Ricerche sull’Editio Princeps degli atti greci del Concilio di Firenze* (Vatican City 1975), p. 90 [↑](#footnote-ref-619)
620. Ibid. p. 11-12; Peri, Vittorio, ‘Documenti e appunti sulla riforma postridentina dei monaci Basiliani’, *Aevum* 51 (1977), pp. 411-478, at 448-450 [↑](#footnote-ref-620)
621. BVall. K 17, ff. 118r, 119r-120v, in Peri, ‘Inizi e finalità ecumeniche’, pp. 53-54; ibid., pp. 2-3 [↑](#footnote-ref-621)
622. Ibid., p. 10; Porfyriou, Heleni, ‘La presenza greca: Roma e Venezia tra XV e XVI secolo’, *La città italiana e i luoghi degli stranieri XIV-XVIII secolo,* ed. Calabi, D., Lanaro, P. (Rome 1998), pp. 21-38, at 21-32 [↑](#footnote-ref-622)
623. Peri, ‘Inizi e finalità ecumeniche’, pp. 8, 10 [↑](#footnote-ref-623)
624. BVall. K 17, ff. 118r, 119r-120v, in Peri, Vittorio ‘Inizi e finalità ecumeniche’, p. 54 [↑](#footnote-ref-624)
625. Peri, ‘La Congregazione’, pp. 137-138, 153-154 [↑](#footnote-ref-625)
626. Krajcar, *Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro*, p. 6; Peri, *Chiesa Romana e ‘rito’ Greco*, pp. 78-79 [↑](#footnote-ref-626)
627. Minuto, Domenico, ‘Il “Trattato contra greci” di Antonino Castronovo (1579)’, in *La Chiesa Greca in Italia*, pp. 1001-1074, at 1008 [↑](#footnote-ref-627)
628. BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 6198, ff. 71r-77v, In Peri, ‘La Congregazione dei Greci’, pp. 195-210; BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.,* I. B. 6., ff. 185r-186v, 232r-240r, 392r-393v in ibid. , pp. 210-215, 217-219, 234; De Leo, ‘Condizioni economico-sociali degli albanesi in Calabria’, p. 52; [↑](#footnote-ref-628)
629. BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.,* I. B. 6., ff. 210r-211v; ACC, *Messanensis 1588;* in Peri, *Chiesa romana e ‘rito’ greco*, pp. 212-213 and 214-216 [↑](#footnote-ref-629)
630. BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I. B. 6., ff. 382v-383v, in Peri, ‘La Congregazione’, pp. 227-230; [↑](#footnote-ref-630)
631. BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I. B. 6., ff. 513r-518v, in Peri, ‘La Congregazione’, pp. 243-245 [↑](#footnote-ref-631)
632. Full title is *Perbrevis Instructio super aliquibus ritibus Graecorum, ad RR. PP. DD. episcopos latinos, in quorum civitatibus, vel diocesibus Graeci, vel Albanenses Graeco ritu viventes degunt* (Rome 1596) [↑](#footnote-ref-632)
633. Peri, *Chiesa romana e ‘rito’ greco*, pp. 201-202 [↑](#footnote-ref-633)
634. O’Mahony, Anthony, ‘Between Rome and Constantinople: the Italian-Albanian Church: a study in Eastern Catholic history and ecclesiology’, *International journal for the study of the Christian Church* 8 (2008), pp. 232-251, at 242-243 [↑](#footnote-ref-634)
635. Peri, ‘Chiesa latina e chiesa greca’, pp. 409-412; Krajcar, *Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro…* p. 50 [↑](#footnote-ref-635)
636. Levi della Vida, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni*, p. 120 [↑](#footnote-ref-636)
637. Tomai-Pitinca, Emidio, ‘Comunità albanesi nel Tarentino, sec. XVI (1/2)’, *BBGG* 35 (1981), pp. 113-132; Id. ‘Comunità albanesi nel Tarentino, sec. XVI (2/2)’, *BBGG* 36 (1982), pp. 3-21; [↑](#footnote-ref-637)
638. ibid. *BBGG* 35, 126 [↑](#footnote-ref-638)
639. Tomai-Pitinca, Emidio, ‘Comunità greco-albanesi in diocesi di Larino, aspetti ecclesiali e di costume (sec. XVI)’, *BBGG* 38 (1984), pp. 19-66, at 22-25, notes 10, 12 and 14 [↑](#footnote-ref-639)
640. Ambrasi, ‘In margine all’immigrazione’ p. 162; Hassiotis, ‘Las emigraciones’, pp.432-433 [↑](#footnote-ref-640)
641. Tomai-Pitinca, *BBGG* 35, 119-120 gives 1540; Petta, *Stradioti,* p. 112 gives 1530 [↑](#footnote-ref-641)
642. Petta, *Stradioti*, p. 113 [↑](#footnote-ref-642)
643. Tomai-Pitinca, ‘Comunità albanesi nel Tarentino’, *BBGG* 36, p. 103 [↑](#footnote-ref-643)
644. Petta, *Stradioti*, p. 118 [↑](#footnote-ref-644)
645. Tomai-Pitinca, ‘Comunità albanesi nel Tarentino’*, BBGG* 36, pp. 3-8, 101-103. The Pigonati lasted for at least three generations. [↑](#footnote-ref-645)
646. BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I.B.6, ff. 440r-442v, in Tomai-Pitinca, ‘Comunità greco-albanesi in diocesi di Larino’, p. 59-63. The words spoken by the Albanians were “Veniti cqua! Fativi innanti, preiti caperruni cornuti! Che cosa è Giubileo!? Andati con diavolo” [↑](#footnote-ref-646)
647. BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I. B. 6., ff. 60r-61r, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 58 [↑](#footnote-ref-647)
648. Orlandi, ‘Il porto di Ancona’, p. 258; A more complete survey of the city’s brief period as a renaissance trading hub is offered by Earle, ‘The Commercial Development…’ [↑](#footnote-ref-648)
649. ASAn, ANAn 347 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1533), ff. 138v-139r; ASAn, ANAn 198 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1536-37), ff. 156r-156v; ASAn, ANAn 352 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1538), f. 15r; ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1542), ff. 455r-455v; ASAn, ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1543), ff. 52r-52v; ASAn, ANAn 601 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1575), f. 189v [↑](#footnote-ref-649)
650. Peri, ‘L’unione’, pp. 465-467; Morini, Enrico, ‘Vescovo ortodosso in terra latina. Profilo istituzionale di Gabriele Seviros nell’intreccio di relazioni tra Costantinopoli, Venezia e Roma’, *Gavriil Seviros arcivescovo di Filadelfia a Venezia, e la sua epoca,* ed. Apostolopulos, D. (Venice 2004), pp. 21-44 [↑](#footnote-ref-650)
651. BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 6416, ff. 91r-92v, in Peri, ‘Chiesa Latina e Chiesa Greca’, pp. 427-428 [↑](#footnote-ref-651)
652. BNVEN, Ms. Branc. I.B.6, f. 19r, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 31 [↑](#footnote-ref-652)
653. BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 5527, ff. 35r-39r, in Peri, ‘Inizi e finalità ecumeniche’, pp. 39-42; APCG, *Cronaca di tutti i scolari del Collegio Greco dalla fondazione sin all’anno 1640*, f. 8v, inWos, ‘I primi anconetani’, p. 38 [↑](#footnote-ref-653)
654. ASAn, ANAn 600 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1575), ff. 189-190v [↑](#footnote-ref-654)
655. ASAn, ANAn 742 (Giovanni Cordella, 1578), f. 450r. At this stage, the *procuratori* could still be external to the Confraternity, even though it was becoming increasingly rarer. [↑](#footnote-ref-655)
656. BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 6416, ff. 91r-92v, in Peri, ‘Chiesa Latina e Chiesa Greca’, pp. 427-428. In 1572, Giovanni Filaretti de Tebe is described as *cognatus* of the Stratigopuli, ASAn, ANAn 597 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1572), ff. 3r-4v [↑](#footnote-ref-656)
657. BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 5527, f. 36v, in Peri, ‘Inizi e finalità ecumeniche’, p. 40; APCG, *Cronaca di tutti i scolari del Collegio Greco dalla fondazione sin all’anno 1640*, f. 20r, inWos, ‘I primi anconetani’, p. 39 [↑](#footnote-ref-657)
658. Angelucci, *Cenni storici*, p. 34 [↑](#footnote-ref-658)
659. Ibid; APCG, *Cronaca di tutti i scolari del Collegio Greco dalla fondazione sin all’anno 1640*, f. 34r, in Wos, ‘I primi anconetani’, p. 39 [↑](#footnote-ref-659)
660. ASAn, ACAn, *Fondo Ospedale Umberto Primo*, Testamento di Costantino Maurodi, f. 2r [↑](#footnote-ref-660)
661. Saracini, *Notitie historiche*, pp. 378-379: “morì egli [Maurodi] li 2 luglio l’anno seguente 1590, consistevano i suoi effetti in mercantie et in un podere vicino alla Città, nella contrada detta Penochiara, hoggidì chiamato, la Mavordina, e fu ogni cosa stimato, il valore, di due mila, e trecento scudi in circa, con li mobili di Casa, e detta villa, ondè tutto fu venduto (eccetto il podere) per mille novecento e più scudi.”; Pirani, ‘Gli ospedali di Ancona’, pp. 476-477 [↑](#footnote-ref-661)
662. ASAn, ACAn, *Fondo Ospedale Umberto Primo*, Traduzione Italiana del testamento di Costantino Maurodi, f. 4: “che questo legato di beni immobili avesse luogo nell’evento nel quale il detto Alessandro suo figlio avesse preso moglie legittima seguente il rito di S. Romana Chiesa, che sia di buona condizione e fama, seguente la Chiesa romana, nata da padre di nazione Italiana, non avente dai geci o da altra nazione orientale origine…” [↑](#footnote-ref-662)
663. ASAn, ANAn 594 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1565), ff. 270r-270v [↑](#footnote-ref-663)
664. While the date is absent from most documents, judging from the position inside the folder the contacts all happened in similar dates through the year, possibly in the middle of July. ASAn, ANAn 597 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1572), f. 157v; ASAn, ANAn 599 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1574), f. 164rv; ASAn, ANAn 601 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1575), f. 229r; ASAn, ANAn 602 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1577), f. 133r; ASAn, ANAn 603 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1578), f. 110r; ASAn, ANAn 604 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1579), ff. 176r-177v [↑](#footnote-ref-664)
665. BAV, *Vat. Lat. 6416,* ff. 91r-91v, in Peri, ‘Chiesa latina e Chiesa greca’, pp. 427-28: “per il che uno della Natione, che non so qual sia stato, ci ha calunniati appresso questo Reverendissimo Vescovo che non habbiamo unitamente il Natale…”. The bishop of Ancona took the matter rather personally: “In che maniera mi honorate voi? Et in che mi obedirete? Mi tenete voi per una pecora o per Vescovo di questa città?” [↑](#footnote-ref-665)
666. Manoussacas, ‘La comunità’, p. 60 [↑](#footnote-ref-666)
667. Peri, ‘L’ “Incredibile risguardo”’, pp. 620-621 [↑](#footnote-ref-667)
668. Ibid. p. 614 [↑](#footnote-ref-668)
669. Ibid. p. 621 [↑](#footnote-ref-669)
670. Sarpi, Paolo, *Opere di fra Paolo Sarpi, teologo e consultore della Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia – Tomo sesto*, ed. Iacopo Muller (Helmstadt, 1765) p. 176 [↑](#footnote-ref-670)
671. Lavenia, Vincenzo, ‘Quasi Hereticus. Lo scisma nella riflessione degli inquisitori dell’età moderna’, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines* [Online] 126 (2014), uploaded on 22 October 2014, accessed on the 19 march 2015. URL : <http://mefrim.revues.org/1838> [↑](#footnote-ref-671)
672. Sarpi, *Opere*, p. 160 [↑](#footnote-ref-672)
673. Cecchetti, *La Repubblica di Venezia*, p. 461 [↑](#footnote-ref-673)
674. Petta, *Stradioti*, pp. 37-84 [↑](#footnote-ref-674)
675. Ball, ‘Poverty, Charity’, p. 139; emphasis is mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-675)
676. Greene, *Catholic Pirates*, p. 93 [↑](#footnote-ref-676)
677. Funis, Francesca, ‘Sotto il segno del capricorno. I greci nella chiesa di San Iacopo in Acquaviva’, *Nuovi studi livornesi* 13 (2006), pp. 55-67 at 56. Attempts at stealing Greco-Venetian maritime workforce began in the late 1560s, and were not received well by the Republic. In 1568 Venice implemented heavy fines for those seamen and marine soldiers that were caught going to Livorno. [↑](#footnote-ref-677)
678. Ibid., p. 56-58 and 65, n. 24: “di poi ho inteso che dalle contese si sono anche dati delle pugnia, e il prete greco dice che sentì dir al frate che non conosceva altro principe che lui in San Jacopo […] si mosse abaterlo e così s’azuforno insieme e frati el prete el chierico” [↑](#footnote-ref-678)
679. ASAn, ANAn 195 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1525), ff. 1r-2r [↑](#footnote-ref-679)
680. Saracini, *Notitie historiche*, p. 320 [↑](#footnote-ref-680)
681. For example Teodoro Rattopoli de Zante and his son Marco, ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), f. 4r; ANAn 541 (Marino Benincasa, 1561), f. 194v; or Costantino, servant of the Elder Council, ASAn, ACAn, Sez. II, Libri dei Salariati, 4(1546-1554), f. 150; 5 (1555-1560), f. 24; 7(1564-1571), f. 187 [↑](#footnote-ref-681)
682. BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I.B.6., ff. 142r-143v, in Peri, *Chiesa romana e ‘rito’ greco*, p. 221 [↑](#footnote-ref-682)
683. Ibid. : “dicono che con questi lor privilegi sono comportati inVinetia in Napoli et in Sicilia […] li lor Preti o Caloiri, che chiamano, celebrano et communicano il popolo loro alla Greca […]” [↑](#footnote-ref-683)
684. BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I. B. 6., f. 513r, in Peri, ‘La Congregazione’, 243: “Dei Greci di Ancona, che non vogliono obbedire agli ordini dati dal Vescovo, ma chiedono restare sotto l’obedientia del patriarca schismatico di Costantinopoli. Observentur observationes Reverendi Patri Domini Episcopi Anconitani iuxta Bullam Innocentii Papae IV et Breve Pii Papae IV et ei scribatur ut illas executiones mandet.” [↑](#footnote-ref-684)
685. Peri, *Due date*, is still to my knowledge the only monograph on the subject of the Greco-Latin negotiations over the Gregorian calendar. As is often the case with the works of Vittorio Peri, it offers a detailed appendix of documents, in this case containing the letter exchange between Patriarch Jeremias II Tranos and Gregory XIII: BAV, *Vat. Gr. 2124,* f. 10r, pp. 243-244 [↑](#footnote-ref-685)
686. BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 6416, ff. 91r-92v, in Peri, ‘Chiesa Latina e Chiesa Greca’, pp. 427-8. “Poiché se insieme non faremo la Pasqua, haremmo gran travaglio et io non so come debbo procedere; vorrei fosse modo a potermi partire di qui, ma essendo l’inverno non so dove andare” [↑](#footnote-ref-686)
687. ASV, *AA. Arm., I-XVIII, 4568,* f. 21r, in Peri, ‘Chiesa Latina e Chiesa Greca’, pp. 429-30: “Ecco ch’io vi scrivo tanto a Vostra Reverentia [Euripoti] come a tutto il popolo Graeco dandovi licentia et facultà che habbiate da celebrare le feste conforme il nostro rito *secondo la nuova riforma dell’anno* […]. De ciò vi scrivo, et che siate benedetti et absoluti della consubstantiale et individua Trinità et anco della nostra humilità *secondo l’auttorità che havemo della Magna orientale chiesa come commessario et exarcho de D. Geremia Patriarcha oecumenico*, si come a voi stessi costa. […] Che avemo già visto et considerato et cercato bene ch’il calendario novo è vero et convenevolmente fatto secondo li dogmi del Santo universal Concilio Nicaeno delli santi et divini 318 Patri […]” [↑](#footnote-ref-687)
688. ASV, *Vescovi,* X, ff. 63r, 68r, in Peri, ‘Chiesa Latina e Chiesa Greca’, pp. 430-31: “Itaquae illud peto ut Beatitudo Vestra [Pope Gregory XIII] me Rectorem constituat Ecclesiae, quae Anconae est, iuxta nostros Graecorum ritus, quemadmodum et a Graecis ipsis illic habitantibus rogatus sum vehementer; quod faciam et consensu Constantinopolitani Patriarchae, qui nunc est." [↑](#footnote-ref-688)
689. BAV, *Vat. Gr. 2124,* f. 10r, in Peri, *Due date*, pp. 243-44. Since the very subject of the negotiations was a new calendar, there ought to be a certain confusion when dating the sources, but the translated copy present in the *Archivio di Stato di Venezia* is dated 9 of August 1583. [↑](#footnote-ref-689)
690. Peri, *Due date*, pp. 45, 54. Both Eparco and Buonafè, who came from Zante and Corfu respectively, were personally acquainted with the patriarch. The latter was also a student at the University of Padua. [↑](#footnote-ref-690)
691. Krajcar, *Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro*, p. 67; Apparently Eparco and Buonafè did too good a job representing the interests of the Anconitan Greeks, to the point that when discussing the matter with the pope, Cardinal santoro remarked that he believed he was speaking to an ambassador of the Greeks, rather than with a papal messenger: “che [gli] pareva di parlare con l’agente dei Greci di Ancona”. [↑](#footnote-ref-691)
692. Peri, *Due date*, p. 54 [↑](#footnote-ref-692)
693. BAV, *Vat. Gr. 2124,* f. 10r, in Peri, *Due date*, pp. 243-44. [↑](#footnote-ref-693)
694. Krajcar, *Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro*, p. 67 [↑](#footnote-ref-694)
695. ADAn, *Visite Pastorali*, 1, Visite del Cardinal Carlo Conti (1586-1597), ff. 85r-85v: “utuntur tamen crismate quod accipiunt a quod episcopo greco. Oleum autem infirmorum ipsi Presbiteri benedicunt. Oleum catecuminorum non habent sed miscent oleum simplem aque baptisimi. Infantibus statim post baptismum datur crisma ab ipsomet sacerdote qui baptizavit nec alia utuntur confirmatione [quotiet?] baptizant totium benedictorum aquas mixtas oleo communi” [↑](#footnote-ref-695)
696. APF, *Miscell. Diverse* 21, ff. 204r-205v, in Peri, *Chiesa romana e ‘rito’ greco*, pp. 224-227 [↑](#footnote-ref-696)
697. Ibid. “Chrisma non accipiunt ab Episcopo Anconitano, sed a Patriarcha Constantinopolitano vel ab alio Episcopo schismatico, illudque per quinque vel plures etiam annos non renovatum conservant” [↑](#footnote-ref-697)
698. ASV, *Congr. Conc.,* Visite, Ancona, ff. 6r-6v, in Peri, *Chiesa romana e ‘rito’ greco*, p. 227 [↑](#footnote-ref-698)
699. ADAn, *Visite Pastorali,* 1, Visite del Cardinal Carlo Conti, ff. 40r-40v: “Invenit etiam nonnulla alia fieri contra forma Concilii Florentini ac etiam invenit que in alia vivistatione fuerunt annotata, et hic brevitatis causa pretermittuntur.” [↑](#footnote-ref-699)
700. Krajcar, *Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro*, p. 65: “Delle scritture trovate e viste de’ greci d’Ancona, e breve relatione, e che vi è la minuta di lettera scritta da Mons. Ill.mo Cardinale San Sisto al Vescovo d’Ancona, dal 1581, e la lettera del vescovo scritta di questo maggio passato 1583, con li capi di quali essi si aggravarono più volte, e furono risoluti.” [↑](#footnote-ref-700)
701. Zenobi, Bandino G., ‘L’assetto territoriale dal XV al XVIII secolo’, *La Marca e le sue istituzioni al tempo di Sisto V*, ed. Cartechini, P. (Rome 1991), pp. 15-30 [↑](#footnote-ref-701)
702. “gli mostrai le lettere di mons. di Sidonia… mostrò il papa in questi ragionamenti molta avversione delle cose orientali, dolendosi che si dava il pane a quelle nationi che c’insidiavano” cited in Levi della Vida, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni*, pp. 37-38, note 2 [↑](#footnote-ref-702)
703. ASAn, ANAn 615 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1590), f. 213v [↑](#footnote-ref-703)
704. See for example ASAn, ANAn 884 (Orazio Brancadoro, 1592-1593), f. 149r and ANAn 885 (Orazio Brancadoro, 1594-1595), f. 98v. The definition of “collective documents” includes all those transactions in which the confraternity was *Convocata, congregata et capitulariter coadunata* […] *ad sonum campane*, and not the documents signed by a single *procuratore* of any other agent, which were drafted as personal transactions and do not present any apparent specificity. [↑](#footnote-ref-704)
705. Black, *Italian Confraternities*, pp. 61-65 [↑](#footnote-ref-705)
706. Fyrigos, Antonis, ‘Catalogo cronologico degli alunni e dei convittori del Pont. Collegio greco in Roma (1576-1640)’, *BBGG* 34 (1980), pp. 75-104, at 38, 55 [↑](#footnote-ref-706)
707. *Cronaca di tutti i scolari del Collegio Greco dalla fondazione sin l’anno 1640*, ff. 12v-13r, in Wos, ‘I primi anconetani del collegio’, p. 38 [↑](#footnote-ref-707)
708. ASAn, ANAn 884 (Orazio Brancadoro, 1592-1593), f. 149r; ADAn, 10 – Visite Pastorali, 1 – Visite del Cardinal Carlo Conti (1586-1597), f. 40r. [↑](#footnote-ref-708)
709. APF, *Miscell. Diverse* 21, ff. 204r-205v, in Peri, *Chiesa romana e ‘rito’ greco*, pp. 225-227 [↑](#footnote-ref-709)
710. ASAn, ANAn 615(Francesco Brancaleoni, 1590), f. 213v, 244r [↑](#footnote-ref-710)
711. APF, *Miscell. Diverse* 21, ff. 204r-205v, in Peri, *Chiesa romana e ‘rito’ greco*, pp. 225-227, at 224: “credunt quod animae in charitate decedentium habeant locum, in quo reserventur usque ad diem resurrectionis, ex quo ad aeternam patriam transferuntur, et animae damnatorum alium locum, in quo interim reservantur, donec transferantur in infernum.” [↑](#footnote-ref-711)
712. Ibid. pp. 226 and 227 [↑](#footnote-ref-712)
713. Paci, Renzo, ‘La rivalità commerciale’, pp. 280-282 [↑](#footnote-ref-713)
714. APF, Miscell. Diverse 21, ff. 204v-205v, in Peri, *Chiesa romana e ‘rito’ greco*, p. 227 [↑](#footnote-ref-714)
715. ADAn, *Visite Pastorali*, 1, Visite del Cardinal Carlo Conti (1586-1597), f. 40r. [↑](#footnote-ref-715)
716. Atanasio’s latest appearance in a notarial document dates to November 1595, in ASAn, ANAn 885 (Orazio Brancadoro, 1594-1595), f. 98v, while Marco is attested as rector of Sant’Anna since at least August 1594 in BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I. B. 6., f. 18r, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 30. Their conjunct tenancy of Sant’Anna is made more likely by the fact that Marco remained in Ancona for 4 years, as by *Cronaca di tutti i scolari del Collegio Greco dalla fondazione sin all’anno 1640…*, f. 8v, inWos, ‘I primi anconetani’, p. 38, and Atanasio remained in Ancona as the priest of Sant’Anna for 20 more years, see Fyrigos, ‘Catalogo cronologico’, p. 55 [↑](#footnote-ref-716)
717. BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I. B. 6., ff. 20r-20v, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 32: “il presente sacerdote, alunno del Collegio di Roma, l’hanno licentiato, non volendolo per sacerdote loro, et per farlo acconsentire a questo gli hanno accresciuto il salario, dove prima aveva il sacerdote scudi 50 hora gli hanno accresciuto di 40 di più che sono scudi 90, il che ne con questo acconsentendo, ma predicando loro la verità et dottrina catholica, non si è mosso da detta Chiesa”. [↑](#footnote-ref-717)
718. BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I. B. 6., f. 30r, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 35. [↑](#footnote-ref-718)
719. BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I. B. 6., ff. 45r-46r, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, pp. 47-48. [↑](#footnote-ref-719)
720. BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I. B. 6., ff. 18r-24r, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, pp. 30-34: “Come questi Fratelli della Compagnia governino et dispensino l’entrate di questa Chiesa mi sono informato, che è governata malamente, perché essendo bisognosi e carichi di debito, riscotendo dette entrate, alle volte l’usurpano in servitio delle loro case, qualche parte di esse, dicendo di volerle restituire et mai vengono in quella possibilità di restituire a detta Chiesa il debito, et così la Chiesa ogni anno viene a indebitarsi come hora si trova debitrice di alquanti scudi a diversi.” The amount of money spent on wax is also described as “superfluo et indecente”. [↑](#footnote-ref-720)
721. BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I. B. 6., ff. 51r-53v, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, pp. 51-53, at 51. Before these measures, the *procuratore* was simply the individual person given right to represent the confraternity in official acts of civil and criminal nature, often changing more than once a year. After 1595, his position was made permanent, and he became responsible together with the *depositario* and the priest of its correct bookkeeping. [↑](#footnote-ref-721)
722. Ibid. p. 52 [↑](#footnote-ref-722)
723. BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I. B. 6., ff. 54r-56v, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, pp. 53-56 [↑](#footnote-ref-723)
724. BAV, *Vat. Lat. 6432,* f. 261r, in Peri, ‘Inizi e finalità ecumeniche’, p. 53, and also p.12 [↑](#footnote-ref-724)
725. BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I. B. 6., f. 57r, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 57 [↑](#footnote-ref-725)
726. BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I. B. 6., ff. 54r-54v, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 54 [↑](#footnote-ref-726)
727. BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I. B. 6., f. 57r, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, pp. 57-58: “Gli ogli santi non occorre pigliarli dall’Ordinario secondo il rito Greco, perché li preti Greci quando battezzano, et quando ungono gli infermi, benedicono l’oglio de’ Cathecumeni, et degli infermi, ma basta che piglino solamente la Chresima”; compare with *Perbrevis Instructio*, p. 5: “Non sunt cogendi Presbyteri Graeci Olea sancta, *praeter Chrisma*, ab Episcopis Latinis Diocesanis accipere, cum huiusmodi Olea ab eis in ipsa Oleorum, et Sacramentorum exhibitione ex veteri ritu conficiantur, sev benedicantur. Chrisma autem, quod nonnisi ab Episcopo, etiam iuxta eorum ritum, benedicti potest, cogantur accipere.” [↑](#footnote-ref-727)
728. BNVEN, *Ms. Brancacc.* I. B. 6., ff. 60r-61r, in Wos, ‘La comunità greca di Ancona’, p. 58-59, ‘una scola di scismatici et heretici insieme, che con i promiscui connubii, e domestica conversatione infettaranno anco l’altre pecorelle’. [↑](#footnote-ref-728)
729. Rodotà, *Dell’origine, progresso e stato presente*, p. 228-29 [↑](#footnote-ref-729)
730. Angelucci, *Cenni storici,* pp. 31-34 [↑](#footnote-ref-730)
731. ASAn, *Sant’Anna dei Greci*, Inventario Chiesa di Sant’Anna, Busta 2 [↑](#footnote-ref-731)
732. Unfortunately, the book was somehow lost. The librarians have no idea where it is now, but its memory lives on, if only in the printed inventories from the 1970s. [↑](#footnote-ref-732)
733. ASAn, *Sant’Anna dei Greci*, Entrata ed Esito della Compagnia di Sant’Anna dei greci, dal 1692 al 1700 [↑](#footnote-ref-733)
734. ASAn, *Sant’Anna dei Greci*, Libro delle entrate e degli esiti della compagnia di Sant’Anna dei Greci, 1780, f. 1r [↑](#footnote-ref-734)
735. ASAn, *Pergamene*, I, attached eighteenth century translation. [↑](#footnote-ref-735)
736. Ambrasi, ‘In margine all’immigrazione’, p. 179 [↑](#footnote-ref-736)
737. Domenichini, ‘La piccola comunità’, p. 105. [↑](#footnote-ref-737)
738. Angelucci, *Cenni storici* p. 44. [↑](#footnote-ref-738)
739. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, an Italian member of the confraternity of Sant’Anna wrote a letter documenting the only exception to this trend, which happened during the short-lived Napoleonic administration (1797), when Sant’Anna was taken away from the United Greek\Italian community and granted to the Orthodox immigrants. The document in question is preserved in ASAn, and does not have archival coordinates, begin at present part of a section that is undergoing thorough reorganization. [↑](#footnote-ref-739)
740. Saperstein, ‘Martyrs, merchants and rabbis’, pp. 215-228. [↑](#footnote-ref-740)
741. Cortelazzo, Manlio, ‘Il contributo del veneziano e del greco alla lingua franca’, *Venezia centro di mediazione tra oriente e occidente (Sec. XV-XVI)*, ed. Manoussacas, M. (Florence 1977), pp. 523-525, at 526. [↑](#footnote-ref-741)
742. Crusius, *Turcograeciae* pp.188-189. [↑](#footnote-ref-742)
743. ASAn, ANAn 597(Francesco Brancaleoni, 1572), ff. 3r, 280rv; ANAn 741 (Giovanni Cordella, 1577), 59v; ANAn 742 (Giovanni Cordella, 1578), ff. 263r, 238v. [↑](#footnote-ref-743)
744. Malcolm, *Agents of Empire*, p. 123. [↑](#footnote-ref-744)
745. ASAn, ANAn 742 (Giovanni Cordella, 1578), ff. 478v, 504r. [↑](#footnote-ref-745)
746. Chatzioannou, ‘L’emigrazione commerciale greca’; Domenichini, ‘La piccola comunità’; Papagheorghiou, Gheorgios, ‘Συμβολη στην ιστορια της ελληνικης παροικιας της Αγκωνας κατα τον 19ον ΑΙ.’, Δωδωνη 4 (1975), pp. 295-340. [↑](#footnote-ref-746)
747. Hassiotis, ‘Modern Greek Diasporas’; Serinidou, Vasiliki, ‘The ‘old’ diaspora, the ‘new’ diaspora, and the Greek diaspora in the eighteenth through nineteenth centuries Vienna’, *Homeland and Diasporas: Greeks, Jews and their Migrations*, ed. Rozen, Minna (London 2008), pp. 155-159; Kardasis, Vassilis, ‘Greek diaspora in Southern Russia in the eighteenth through nineteenth centuries’, *Homeland and Diasporas*, pp. 161-167; Grenet, Mathieu, ‘Entangled allegiances: Ottoman Greeks in Marseille and the shifting ethos of Greekness (c. 1790–c. 1820)’, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 36 (2012), pp. 56-71. [↑](#footnote-ref-747)
748. Papagheorghiou, ‘Συμβολη στην ιστορια’, pp. 298-99. [↑](#footnote-ref-748)
749. Allaire, Bernard and Fusaro, Maria, *Comparative Table of the Roles aboard Merchant Ships during the Seventeenth Century*, available at <http://humanities.exeter.ac.uk/history/research/centres/maritime/resources/sailingintomodernity/roles/> [↑](#footnote-ref-749)