

DURRËS (DURAZZO) AND „TURKISH ALBANIA“ (ALBANIA TURCA) IN TREATISE BY GIOVANNI ANTONIO MARIA MORANA

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ABSTRACT

„Saggio delli Commerciali Rapporti di Veneziani colle Ottomane Scale di Durazzo ed Albania“ by Giovanni Antonio Maria Morana, printed in Venice in 1816, is used in this study as a first class source in attempt to track significant changes in local businesses of the the so-called Turkish Albania, within the general framework of Venetian economy, in the circumstances that followed the abolition of the Republic in 1797. Document offers concrete answers to the question, whether this area, with Durrës as an export port, could be a compatible partner to the Venetian economy. At the time this treatise was published, the region came under the rule of Austria.

Keywords: Giovanni Antonio Maria Morana, Albania, Durrës, export, import, cotton, wool, wax, tobacco, glass

DURAZZO E L'ALBANIA TURCA NEL SAGGIO DI GIOVANNI ANTONIO MARIA MORANA

SINTESI

Nel presente studio, il „Saggio delli commerciali rapporti dei veneziani colle ottomane scale di Durazzo ed Albania“, scritto da Giovanni Antonio Maria Morana e pubblicato a Venezia nel 1816, viene utilizzato come fonte primaria allo scopo di identificare cambiamenti significativi nel commercio regionale della cosiddetta Albania turca nel contesto generale dell'economia veneziana nel periodo successivo alla dissoluzione della Serenissima nel 1797. Il documento fornisce risposte concrete alla domanda se quest'area, con Durazzo come principale porto di esportazione, potesse essere un partner adatto all'economia veneta. Al momento della pubblicazione del saggio, i detti territori erano passati sotto il dominio austriaco.

Parole chiave: Giovanni Antonio Maria Morana, Albania, Durazzo, esportazione, importazione, cotone, lana, cera, tabacco, vetro

INTRODUCTION: POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

The abolition of the Republic of Venice (1797) raised the question of its economic future. Instead of a territorial state, Venice built a system of functions based on business relations, navigation, trade, finances and manufactories. The system of functions was maintained by efficient state institutions that protected navigation conjuncture, infrastructure and business interests, collected information, maintained the confidentiality in Venetian economy, politics and security, as the Republic skillfully managed international relations avoiding war conflicts. At the time of the outbreak of the French Revolution (1789), the Venetian oligarchy was aware that Venice is a backward, dysfunctional state. When Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) expelled Austrian forces from Milan to the Tyrol Alps, only a small group of Venetian nobles was ready to resist the French army. Napoleon Bonaparte ordered the Grand Council (*Magior Consiglio*) to abolish the Republic of Venice by itself on May 12 1797 (Lane, 1973, 434–436).

The Venetian Republic was abolished with a large government debt, weighing on its public finances from the end of the seventeenth century. Alberto Errera found that in 1797 the depth amounted to 44 million ducats (Errera, 1870, 39). In the first period of their rule (1797–1798), the French sought to extract from Venice all available profits. Due to the interruption of significant trading activities, during the first period of Austrian rule (1798–1805) prices rose, especially luxury goods, as coffee, sugar, and cocoa. Luckily, the Austrian authorities sought to rebuild the industry, especially silk production, and the grain trade was exempt from certain duties (Errera, 1870, 50–51).

According to the provisions of the peace signed in Campo Formio on October 17, 1797 between France and Austria, the Venetian territories came under the sovereignty of Austria, including Istria, Dalmatia and Boka Kotorska. Summarizing the changes that have taken place since the transfer of power, Croatian historian Tado Oršolić stated that the administrative and judicial apparatus in these areas did not significantly change during the first, short-lived Austrian administration (Oršolić, 2013, 35). As he pointed, all laws and regulations passed between 1797 and 1805 were of a provisional character (Oršolić, 2013, 35). The entry of Austrian forces into Boka Kotorska contained a negative connotation for the Ottoman Port. After Campo Formio in this part of the Adriatic coast was established a border between Austria and Turkey, but that obviously did not stop Austrian aspirations, as Austria could support any movement by the locals against Turkey.

Napoleon Bonaparte considered Dalmatia an important strategic stronghold that opened the paths towards

Constantinople or Belgrade (Oršolić, 2013, 43). After victory at the Battle of Austerlitz (2 December 1805), France annexed the former Venetian Dalmatia from Istria to Kotor.¹ A French garrison settled in Boka Kotorska, in close neighborhood of “*Turkish Albania*”, and France became a new threat to Turkey. French occupation (1806–1814) passed in war, pestilence, poverty. At the beginning of the second Austrian occupation, 1818, the former Republic had fallen to just 1,906,043 inhabitants (Errera, 1870, 92–93). The circumstances in the city of Venice itself were no better. The population dropped from 150,000 (1790) to 115,000 (1811). Summarizing the consequences of Napoleon’s reign, historian Valentina Dal Cin stated: “D’altronde, l’esperienza napoleonica a Venezia si concluse dolorosamente, con il completo isolamento della città all’interno di un Veneto ormai in gran parte occupato dalle truppe austriache” (Dal Cin, 2019, 110–111).

The Peace Congress in Vienna 1814–1815 assigned Venice with Terraferma to Austria, to become a part of the *Kingdom of Lombardy–Venetia*, ruled by Joseph I 1815–1835.² The beginning of Austrian domination did not promise the prosperity of Venice. Despite a pompous welcome at the end of 1815, Joseph I and his first minister, Clemens von Metternich (1773–1859), got a bad impression of Venice. Metternich concluded that the city was flimsy, and not worth the efforts and cost of reconstruction (Bosworth, 2014, 7–8). Austrian efforts to rebuild the economy, however, remained steady, so, contrary to the negative demographic trend, a total of 5.077 factories (i.e. manufactories) were registered in Venice around 1827 (Errera, 1870, 112). However, it turned out that the Austrian administration, in the long run, was favorable, although initially the opposite was expected. Between 1815 and 1846, Venice remained the most peaceful area of the Habsburg Monarchy (Bosworth, 2014, 7–8) and thus was able to re-establish economic growth.

RESEARCH PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

Saggio delli Commerciali Rapporti di Veneziani colle Ottomane Scale di Durazzo ed Albania by Giovanni Antonio Mario Morana, from 1816, is used in this study as a first class source in attempt to track significant changes in local businesses of the the so-called Turkish Albania, after the abolition of the Republic in 1797. The treatise offers immediate insights in a border region of the Venetian peripheral economy. In order to determine the authenticity of the treatise, it was important to reveal the writer’s origins, his social background and business career. The writer himself is interesting, so he did not remain a mere witness. During the research, we found that an important

1 In 1808 he annexed to his “*Italian Kingdom*” the just conquered Republic of Ragusa. In 1809, he removed the Venetian Dalmatia from his Kingdom of Italy and created the *Illyrian Provinces*, annexed to France (Ford, 2005, 233).

2 In German documents *Königreich Lombardo–Venetien*, managed to survive until 1866, when was integrated into the newly formed Kingdom of Italy.

motive led to his economic study, as it derived from his personal experience, gathered during the stay in Turkish Albania, where he served in the service of the Venetian Republic, the state that in the meantime ceased to exist. In Turkish Albania Venice has faced a crisis of central government and autonomist aspirations, as the sanjak of Shkodër was falling into decay already during the first half of the eighteenth century (Frasheri, 1964, 104–107).

Another methodological task was to determine the “economic whole”, a region which, based on the understanding of the authors of the treatise, became an appropriate, more precisely “compatible trading partner” for Austrian Venice. In other terms, we tried to point out the economic characteristics of this region, on the border areas of the local Albanian, Greek communities, becoming the core of the Albanian proto-national movement. Thanks to the weakening of the central government and the strengthening of the autonomy of the Ottoman state in the “time of ayans”, a part of the Albanian people was included in the exchange between Venice and Turkey, and expressed a desire to become more independent. Louis-Auguste-Félix de Beaujour (1765–1836), claimed for the inhabitants of Shkodër, “Les Scoudariotes sont plus industrieux et plus riches que les autres Albanais...” (De Beaujour, 1829, 340). Especially thanks to the leftovers of the past of its coastal cities, the history of Albania was reconsidered in works of a number of Albanian historians (Rey, 1925; Jonuzu, 1958; Pollo & Puto, 1974; Karaiskaj, 1977; Shkodra, 1988), and especially the region of Turkish Albania (Bartl, 2001; Shkodra, 1966).

The development of economic ties between Venice and Turkish Albania was also supposed to contribute to the reduction of local piracy.

Many people, including Muslims, Christians, Jews, Ottoman subjects, English, French, and Dutch, profited immensely from the black market trade in pirate booty, which sustained whole economies in increasingly marginalized ports like Avlonya (Valona, present-day Vlorë in Albania) in the Adriatic and islands like Milos in the Aegean, not to mention Malta, Livorno, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. Shifts in the world economy made maritime predation the only growth industry for those Mediterranean ports that enjoyed strategic locations but were increasingly excluded from participation in other avenues of legitimate commerce. (White, 2018, 13)

The Morana Family originates from Sicily. A noble status of the family was recognized in the second half of the thirteenth century. Previous centuries of the history

of this family remain unknown, and it could be assumed that a few of its members, of a modest fortune, while holding only the titular noble title, entered the service of the rulers of other Italian states. This could partially explain the appointment of Morana as a Venetian consul in Durrës. He has left several writings on his actions and opinions. The essay *Saggio delli Commerciali Rapporti di Veneziani colle Ottomane Scale di Durazzo ed Albania e con quelle di Aleppo* was printed in Venice in 1816. Previously, in 1799, he also published an essay *Relazione del Commerci d’Aleppo ed altre scale della Siria, e Palestine* (Morana, 1799). As Maria Pia Pedani pointed out, only Venetian aristocracy members were appointed to the positions of consuls of Venice in Istanbul, Alexandria (Egypt) and Aleppo (Pia Pedani, 2007, 178).³ In Durrës, however, that was not always applied, although it can be claimed that Morana was a noble, but of that part of not a great wealth and influence.

Consul in Durrës was Morana’s first public function (Morana, 1816, vi), and he was appointed in 1790 (Pescarolo, 1856, 8). In the archive documents collection published by Filippo Maria Paladini there are several letters that he sent from Durrës to the Venetian *provveditore* of Corfu Tomasso Condulmer, from 14 January 1794, and 29 December 1794 (Paladini, 1997, 120, ref. 2), likely still in function of consul. Apparently, from that position, he was appointed consul in Aleppo 1794 (Pescarolo, 1856).⁴ Maria Pia Pedani concluded that in most of the ports on the Ottoman Levant consul service was limited to 3 years (Pia Pedani, 2007, 179). Nevertheless, it is certain that Morana was performing his duties of a consul in Durrës from 1790 to 1794, when he moved to Aleppo. After Napoleon’s attack on Egypt (1798) Morana left Aleppo and returned to Venice (Morana, 1816, ix).

There is only a few detail about Morana from the time after his return to Venice (1799). In *Almanacco Imperiale Reale per le Provincie del Regno Lombardo-Veneto soggette al Governo di Milano per l’anno 1820* Morana is mentioned as Vice-Consul at Ferrara, while the Vice-Consul in Durrës was Giuseppe Emilio Tedeschini (Almanacco, 1820, 219). Recent research indicated that Austria, after the annexation of the Venetian territory, reduced the former consulate in Durrës to the level of a vice-consulate. Already in 1800 Joseph Tedeschini was recorded in the rank of vice-consul (Agstner, 2018, 18). One of his successors is also Giuseppe Emilio Tedeschini, noted in 1820 Almanacco.⁵ Almanacco from 1825 confirms that Morana was still in Ferrara (Almanacco, 1825, 216). Claudio de Dominicis committed him a short bibliographical abbreviation stating that in 1833 he continued to serve as Austrian consul in Ferrara, then from 1834

3 The re-appointment of consul in Aleppo, after a long pause, occurred during the Venetian attempts to rebuild a commercial presence in that part of the Ottoman market, already networked in a world-wide exchange. Maria Pia Pedani found that this happened in 1762 (Pia Pedani, 2007, 186). Vera Constantini also dealt with this problem (Constantini, 2001).

4 This part of the issue is not paginated.

5 Family Tedeschini was giving vice-consuls in Durrës until 1854 (Agstner, 2018, 18).

to 1835 as vice consul in Fano,⁶ and between 1836 and 1837 again as a consul in Ferrara (De Dominicis, 2017II, 111). After that date, information about him is missing, and that is why it is possible that he retired, or passed away soon after.

Austria, however, already returned to the Albanian neighborhood according to the decisions of the Vienna Congress (Lane, 1973, 436). On the maritime route to the depths of the eastern Mediterranean, Albania was of a particular importance, both because of security risks and the possibilities of trade. During the eighteenth century the Albanian proto-national movements took place under changing foreign influences.⁷ Since coming to power, sultan Abdülhamid I (1774–1789) faced a series of riots in various provinces of the Ottoman state, and began to settle with their leaders, assigning them titles and functions.⁸

As the most important Albanian cities during the Middle Ages contemporary historian Dritan Egro highlighted Shkodër, Durrës and Valona (Avlonya), settlements located on the most important economic communication “*Via Egnatia*”, established during the Roman rule. The trade route lasted for centuries, and during the Ottoman period remained the most significant link between the Albanian coast and Istanbul (Kocić, 2017, 153). Egro pointed that Durrës “constitutes the starting point of a major pathway

between West and East” (Egro, 2010, 13–14). Peter Bartl considered Durrës the most important port in Albania (Bartl, 2001, 290). The role of the city in Venetian foreign trade is also confirmed by the fact, as pointed by Maria Pia Pedani, that Venice was appointing consular representatives in Durrës since the seventeenth century (Pia Pedani, 2007, 183). Durrës was becoming so significant for regional trade that several European nations, following Venice, opened their consulates.⁹ Otherwise Morana never mentioned English and French presence in any way, and neither offered any other insinuation related to commercial competition.

In first part of the treatise *Saggio delli Commerciali Rapporti di Veneziani...* Morana tried to define the borders of Turkish Albania.¹⁰ For Venetian officials (including Morana) Turkish Albania was a clear denomination but never accepted by the Ottoman administration, since Albania belonged to the parts of regional territorial units (tur. sanjak). Morana, by that term, implied parts of present-day Albania and Montenegro. As most important cities he noted Bar, Shkodër, Durrës, Lesh (Lezha, Lezhë, it. Alessio), Vlora (Vlorë, it. Valona), Krujë. He also included Elbasan (Elbasani), Tirana (Tiranë), Kavajë, Muzaki,¹¹ Capo Rodoni,¹² Cape Palli,¹³ Shëngjin (Shëngjini, it. San Giovanni di Medua)¹⁴, *Argento*¹⁵ and *Valdinoce*¹⁶ (Mora-

6 Fano (ancient name Fanum Fortunae) is located 12 km southeast of Pesaro, and is mentioned for the first time in 49 BC.

7 In the 1711 proclamation to the Orthodox and Catholic Christians in the Ottoman Empire, to raise against the Porte, the Russian Tzar Peter I (1682/89–1725) also mentioned the Albanians (Bartl, 2001, 72). An Albanian rebellion in Himarë (Himara) erupted when the Russian fleet sailed into the Mediterranean during the Ottoman–Russian War (1768–1774). After the Kuchuk–Kainarji peace agreement the rebels were moved with their families to Russia, and later settled in Crimea (Bartl, 2001, 72).

8 A special threat to the Ottoman rule was the Kara Mahmud Pasha, Ottoman governor (*mutasarrıf*) of the Sanjak of Shkodrës (Pashalik of Scutari), belonging to the Ottoman Albanian Buşatlı family (Kocić & Elezović, 2018, 291 and further). Mahmud Pasha gained the popular support while lavishing in relations with the Ottoman authorities primarily developing economic potentials. A special place was given to the local traders and their businesses that went through the Shkodrës port. However, by the end of the eighteenth century, until the fall of the Venetian Republic, the most dangerous movement, launched by Ali Pasha of Ioannina, was only in initial stages (Fleming, 1999, 70–76; Kocić, 2013, 205–221).

9 Louis Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas (1643–1727), the French state secretary, appointed a consul in order to strengthen the French trade in that part of the Mediterranean (Masson, 1896, 443). During the Second Morean War (1714–1718) Britain also held a consul in Durrës (Kocić & Samardžić, 2019, 297–298). The strengthening of French and British commercial activities in the Adriatic has been slow and accompanied by numerous incidents. France was still privileged in the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century, but both French and British ships were the prey of Ulcinj pirates (Kocić & Samardžić, 2019, 298). Durrës and Ulcinj were under Ottoman rule but, according to British sources, trade encouraged piracy activities (Kocić & Samardžić, 2019, 294). Even after the abolition of the Republic of Venice, the pirates impeded the navigation on the Adriatic Sea. Despite all the efforts, Porta was unable to eradicate the pirates.

10 While persistently using the term “Turkish Albania”, Morana applied terminology adopted by the Venetian authorities much earlier. Specifically, parts of Albania recognized the rule of Venice until 1571, when Venice lost that part of the coast. Nonetheless, the title of Kotor superintendent was as follows: “Proveditore Estraordinario di Cattaro et Albania”. Proveditori in Zara (Zadar) were also inclined to mention Albania in their official title (Milošević, 1986, 240). Miloš Milošević found in an anonymous manuscript from Perast of the late seventeenth century a mention of the “right to Albania” (Milošević, 1986, 240). In the same context he recognized “a sign of lasting Venetian aspirations towards earlier own possessions on the Albanian coast lost after the penetration of the Turks” (Milošević, 1986, 240).

11 This area was named after a medieval family who, at the height of the power in the Berat city, also possessed a large plain named after them, it. *Mussachi*. With more details in: Bartl (2011, 282).

12 Located south of the mouth of the Drim (Drin) river into the Adriatic Sea.

13 About 10 kilometers north of Durrës.

14 The town of Shëngjini in present-day northern Albania, not far from Lesh.

15 A small harbor pier.

16 In nineteenth-century sources mostly referred as *Val di Noce*, port not far from Ulcinj. Regarding the ports of Bar and Val di Noce, a passenger from the mid nineteenth century stated that they were not suitable for receiving large ships and that they were not protected from the western and southwestern winds; (Karaczay, 1847, 46).

na, 1816, 30).¹⁷ The listed cities and fortified sites also represent Morana's understanding of Turkish Albania. By Turkish Albania, he meant the area that bordered on the north with Serbia and Dalmatia, on the east with Macedonia, on the west with the Adriatic Sea and Epirus, and covered a territory of 150 miles in length, and a little less than 100 miles in breadth (Morana, 1816, 29).

Morana indicated that Durrës managed to maintain importance in regional trade, despite the constant change of government at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. While describing the city of Durrës, Morana did not provide information that could be used to determine its population at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, neither descriptions of the everyday life (Morana, 1816, 31).¹⁸

Morana justified the creation of this treatise with two facts. The first is that the document was supposed to serve the Austrian consul in Durrës in purpose of a manual, as assumed from the title, although it was not possible to determine to which precise person his dedication refers. However, a recent research revealed that the Austrian consul at that moment was Emilio Tedeschini (1816–1817) (Agstner, 2018, 18). Another reason was the need to honor Carlo Antonio Marin (1745–1815) who wrote a voluminous *Storia Civile e Politica del Commercio dei Veneziani*.¹⁹ Morana spoke about explicitly (Morana, 1816, xiii). Carlo Antonio Marin noted that the progress of Venetian trade in Aleppo was achieved during Morana's consulate. Morana thanked him with his own treatise (Marin, 1808VIII, 344–345). Although there are no indications in the form of quotations, Carlo Antonio Marin used a document published several years earlier in the analysis of the Venetian trade in Aleppo *Relazione del Commerci d'Aleppo ed altre scale della Siria, e Palestina* (Morana, 1799). This is easy to conclude on the basis of the data presented in *Storia Civile e Politica del Commercio dei Veneziani* relating to the Venetian trade at Aleppo (Marin, 1808, VIII, 344–353). Morana could also find the stimulus in the fact that the analysis of Marin's work ends with the abolition of the Venetian Republic (1797). According to the current circumstances, after the disappearance of the Venetian Republic, Morana expanded the scope of Marin's work.

Morana's treatise (1816) originated at the beginnings of the Austrian rule over Dalmatia. The shift in government meant the subsistence of economic ties between Venice and Turkish Albania in a new political framework. Political

changes and the new conjuncture, however, led to the rise of new trading houses and the collapse of the old ones. Using the port of Durrës, merchants from Turkish Albania continued to do business with Venice, and maintained private connections. Thus, Durrës, as well as Shkodër and other ports on the Albanian coast, were included in the wider flows of Adriatic and Mediterranean trade.

The purpose of this research is more complex than its methodology. Defining the research, we tried to look at all the facts that connected the local Albanian with the much broader Venetian economy. That is why the focus is on imports from Albania, and on the export of Venetian goods to the same region. For that reason, we have compared Morana's allegations with other immediate sources, and already known facts. Thus, we tried to point out to what extent his critique of Venetian-Albanian economic relations from the beginning of the nineteenth century corresponded to the real needs and possibilities of both sides, while functioning within different economic and social systems.

EXPORT OPPORTUNITIES OF TURKISH ALBANIA FROM THE ASPECT OF COMPLEMENTARITY WITH THE VENETIAN ECONOMY

Turkish Albania mainly exported cereals, wheat and Turkish sorghum (*Sorgo Turco*).²⁰ Barley, beans, flax seeds and other crops of "minor importance" were also grown in some parts of Turkish Albania (Morana, 1816, 36). Turkish sorghum Morana equates to "large grain" (it. *granone*), and was grown in the plains of Musakia, Bastove and Vlora, near Bar, Shëngjin, Cape Rodon (Morana, 1816, 36). "Turkish sorghum" was grown primarily to meet the local needs, but part of its production remained for export. "Sorghum" was exported to the Ionian Islands of Cephalonia and Zakynthos, to Boka Kotorska and Dalmatia. Morana emphasized that much of the production was exported to Boka Kotorska for the needs of Montenegrins settled in the mountains (Morana, 1816, 37). It is not clear whether Morana mentions sorghum or corn, as *misër* or *kukuruz* was spread throughout the Balkans during the eighteenth century, including parts of Turkish Albania. This is supported by the fact that in the middle of the 19th century Durrës was considered the main port in the export of Albanian corn to Dalmatia and Trieste (von Reden, 1856, 130).

Olive oil was also produced in some areas of Albania, especially in the vicinity of Vlora. It was transported by

17 For this part of the coast one passenger from the mid-nineteenth century stated the following: The harbour of Durazzo is very indifferent, and, properly speaking, only a roadstead. Then follow the small harbours of St. Anastasio, St. Pietro, Arzenta, Cavo de Pali, Cavo de Laki, and Bestova. They have little depth, and admit only small vessels (Karaczay, 1847, 46).

18 Morana exclusively mentions the inhabitants as "Arnauti". He considered "Arnauti" as an old people, descended from the Scythians (Morana, 1816, 29). His contemporaries mostly related the Albanian origins with old Illyrians. He described Albanians as a warrior nation, stating that they were strong and courageous, and fought both as infantry and as cavalry (Morana, 1816, 29).

19 Carlo Antonio Marin was a member of a prominent patrician family who was acquiring, from centuries ago, responsible functions in the Venetian Republic. His eight-volume work *Storia Civile ...* was published from 1798 to 1808. Marin died shortly after Morana published his treatise.

20 Sirak (lat. *Sorghum*) a genus of flowering plants in the grass family *Poaceae*. Some species are also grown as cereals.

caravans to Berat (quoted as Belgrado), and then to the Gulf of Venice. Total annual export was 20,000 barrels (von Reden, 1856, 37). Morana noted that Albania partly covered needs in Venice for olive oil, also used in the production of soap. Venice managed to develop this manufactory much earlier, and it gained a significant place in the export balance. Soap production in Venice, however, has dropped drastically due to increased olive cultivation on the Italian and French coasts, and in Crete. Protectionist policy in Venice enabled the recovery of production, so that during the eighth and ninth decades of the eighteenth century, soap was the ninth most exported product, and Venice generated revenue of 102,000 ducats a year (taken from Panciera, 2006, 197). Soap producers were organized into a craft that in 1773 employed 128 people in 7 workshops. It also included retailers, who supplied the city with soap (Sagredo, 1856, 264). This increased the need for olive oil. Understanding the problems of that production sector, Morana tried to highlight the advantages of Albanian resources.

Analyzing the possibilities of exporting certain products from Turkish Albania Morana devoted considerable attention to tobacco.²¹ The Venetian government did not promote the cultivation of tobacco on its estates, but used the imported one. Tobacco consumption under state supervision became the subject of “apalt” (lease of sales rights), a kind of monopoly, while the state benefited greatly. Such policy encouraged tobacco smuggling. In the middle of the eighteenth century, Albanian tobacco was mostly delivered in Istria by the smugglers from Boka Kotorska (Bertoša, 2001, 24). French traders were the first to show interest in tobacco exported via Durrës port. French embassy sought to obtain from Porte a permit, in given capitulations, to export tobacco through Durrës, Thessaloniki and Arta (Masson, 1896, 441). In the mid-eighteenth century, the consul of Venice in Durrës had problems with the local authorities precisely in regard to tobacco exports, as the Ottoman Porte sought to maintain a monopoly (Paladini, 2007, 254).

Buşatlı Kara Mahmud Paşa rebellion against the central Ottoman authorities, backed by Austria and Russia, caused a local crisis and a decline in tobacco production. Morana noticed that as soon as he arrived in Durrës (1790) (Pescarolo, 1856, 9). As the situation calmed down, Albanian tobacco production began to recover. The writings of Morana testify that Turkish Albania had become another area with tobacco of a particular kind cultivated for export. Among the traders and consumers,

this type was known as “Albanian” tobacco. Morana pointed production areas, Durrës, Elbasan and Tirana. Tobacco was also grown in other parts of Turkish Albania, especially in the vicinity of Valona. From this area, the total quantity of tobacco intended for export was 8,000 bales annually. Morana noted that Albanian tobacco exports had become monopolized, and that the state thus harmed Venetian merchants and ship owners. The tobacco monopoly was under the control of Counts Ivanović and Tripković, who exported tobacco from Turkish Albania. Most of the Albanian tobacco was exported to Trieste and Ancona (Morana, 1816, 38–39).

A region of intensive cattle breeding, primarily sheep, Albania was able to export a significant amount of wool. Particularly appreciated was the one from around Shkodër, known as *lana scutarina*. That wool was exported by Albanian traders who used Venetian ships, selling a significant amount to Venice (Morana, 1816, 39). Morana emphasized that the Venetian wool industry was constantly supplied from Albania. Although wool production in Venice suffered from competition, it received a strong impetus from the middle of the seventeenth century with the development of new manufactories in Terraferma (Panciera, 2006, 189–190). Morana considered that investments a successful intervention. New centers of woolen manufacture became Padova, Vicenza, Verona, Bassano, Schio, Follina (Morana, 1816, 42). In the city of Venice worked (1773) only ten *Cimolini*, workers who prepared wool for weaving (Sagredo, 1856, 242). And only two families are registered as the owners of weaving looms for weaving wool (*Proprietari di tiratoi per i panni lani*) (Sagredo, 1856, 241). At the same time, there were 41 specialized wool traders in the city within “*Corpo mercantile...aperto e libero a chiunque*” (Sagredo, 1856, 257). By coming under the rule of Austria, Terraferma managed to maintain its economic potential, and at the same time that would mean that Albanian wool also preserved its market.

Leather production was also intense during the Ottoman rule. During the sixteenth century, the town markets were full of leather goods, handled by several craftsmen (Kocić, 2017, 187–191). In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Turkish Albania also became a producer and exporter of leather raw materials and products. Morana noted the nature of the terrain that allowed the cultivation and hunting. He listed the leathers of buffalo, rabbit, lamb, beef, bear, yellowish damaskin (*Damaschini gialli*) “and other leather types in general” (Morana, 1816,

21 Tobacco production in the Balkans began already in the early seventeenth century. Under pressure from religious authorities, tobacco has, however, become subject to the state prohibition in the Ottoman Empire, advertised on several occasions during the seventeenth century. Over time, the Ottomans yet realized that tobacco is useful for the state budget, and introduced a monopoly on its sale. In the early eighteenth century tobacco was cultivated in Macedonia, in parts of Anatolia and northern Syria (Kocić, 2017, 363–368). Local trade, including tobacco, was studied in Yugoslav historical science by Gligor Stanojević, who published documents on trade between the border Venetian and Ottoman estates in the eighteenth century (Stanojević, 1977; Stanojević, 1983; Stanojević, 1985; Stanojević, 1986). In an analysis of the Venetian local administration, Maksim Zloković found that the trade of Novi (Herceg Novi, or its suburb of Topla) with Durrës, intensified immediately after the conclusion of the 1699 peace. In Novi, a Venetian estate from 1687, were imported from Durrës grain, wool, resin, hides and tobacco (Zloković, 1971, 21–22).

40). In the first place he emphasized the *cordovans*. Venice absorbed a part of the Albanian cordovan production, as indicated by a document from 1773 revealing that there was, in the city, an association (*arti*) of cordovan traders (*Mercanti da cordoani*) – ten men in four stores (*botteghe*) (Sagredo, 1856, 256).²² The city also had an association of tanners (*conciatori di cuojo*), with 117 members, who worked in 12 workshops (Sagredo, 1856, 242). On the other hand, there were craftsmen and support staff engaged in the production and repair of footwear – 1.172 workers, in 340 premises. All of the above indicates that there was a defined market in the city that absorbed part of the Albanian leather production. This branch of craft however went into recession as the association reached the debts in the amount of 10,791 ducats (Sagredo, 1856, 238).

Of the other products, Morana also cited wax, cotton and cotton yarn (Morana, 1816, 40), however, he mentioned all the listed articles only occasionally. Centuries ago, most of the wax was procured from the Adriatic hinterland. The import of Albanian wax at a low price would provide the raw material for Venetian industry, and by its re-export to the country of origin Venice would make an additional commercial profit. According to a report from 1773, 138 people worked in 16 waxworks in the city of Venice (*Cerarie*). This production was intended for trade as the wax craft came under control of *Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia* (Sagredo, 1856, 240). Morana recommended Albanian wax, but did not consider the possibilities for Turkish Albania to contribute to the further development of the wax craft in Venice, and neither suggested how to tie the Albanian export to Venetian production.

The cotton industry in Venice suffered from declining exports in the early eighteenth century, and was forced to adapt to new market demands (Pancieri, 2006, 208–209). Only within one branch of cotton production *fustangieri* employed about 10.000 workers from Terraferma and Venice (Pancieri, 2006, 210). This led to increased demand for raw cotton and cotton yarn. Morana also mentioned cotton as a possible import raw material from Albania, but ignored the details regarding its production. He particularly stressed the need for imports “*Cotone in natura, Cotone filato, bianco e rosso*”, but did not list the cultivation areas (Morana, 1816, 40).

Morana considered the timber a significant commodity that Venice could import from Turkish Albania through the Durrës port (Morana, 1816, 40). He emphasized wood, primarily necessary for the Venetian shipbuilding industry. In Venice, deficiency of timber emerged already in the sixteenth century (Pezzolo, 2007, 78), and Morana was aware of constant needs (Morana, 1816, 40). The

wood had to be specially prepared, it took a long time for drying, so the problem was then even more complicated. The need for timber led to the separation of the Association (*arti*) of timber traders, with 10 members in 1773 (Sagredo, 1856, 256).

OPPORTUNITIES FOR EXPORTING VENETIAN GOODS TO TURKISH ALBANIA

Morana was primarily interested in Venetian export of manufactory products, and the various trading merchandise to Turkish Albania. According to the mercantilist doctrine, he was convinced that exports would boost Venetian economic growth (Morana, 1816, 41). He suggested increasing exports of different types of woolen fabrics, especially those known as *londrins*. He recalled that the Venetian Senate encouraged domestic production for export (in Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Bassano, Schio, Follina, and other cities). Considering that Venice, in the meantime, came under Austrian rule, Morana suggested that Emperor Joseph I should give certain subsidies and benefits in order to promote textile production and obtain a favorable market in Turkish Albania (Morana, 1816, 42). To substantiate his assertions, he stated that in Turkish Albanian ports the turnover on annual basis amounted to 2,300,000 piasters, or 8,000,000 Venetian liras (Morana, 1816, 43).

Morana particularly advocated the need to export a cloth known as *panno saglia parangone*, claiming that it was well received in all parts of the Ottoman Empire. This type of cloth was red, and among the Ottomans also known as *baracan*, and used to produce a variety of headgear. Highlighting the export potentials of the Venetian manufactory, Morana reminded that wearing the *fez* was especially popular in the Ottoman state, as a “the Turkish model of hat” (Morana, 1816, 41).²³ Morana suggested that the cloth for *fez* should be produced in the areas of the former Venetian Republic, and exported to the Balkans via ports in Turkish Albania (Morana, 1816, 44). He also mentions the possibility of exporting silk cloths, as: *Velluto, Drapperie, Manti, Mantini, Ciambellotti* “and the others according to the taste of the Muslims” (Morana, 1816, 45). Morana emphasized here that members of the Ottoman society, including the Albania, adopted new dressing standards. There was a gradual degradation of the “traditional Ottoman way of dressing”, and preferably more expensive textiles were used.²⁴

For centuries, the most prized European glass was produced on the island of Murano, and production continued after the abolition of the Republic. During the eighteenth

22 Sagredo stated: *Mercanti di pelli, concie, fra le qualli i cordovani* (Sagredo, 1856, 256).

23 Otherwise, the *fez* had appeared much earlier in the Ottoman mode of dress, and its acceptance took place gradually. In the mid-seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi, Ottoman explorer and the famous journal writer, stated that *fes* was “the red cap according to Greek custom” (Kocić, 2017, 381), noting that, by then, it had been accepted by the Muslim population in a significant part of the Balkans. Until the adoption of *fez*, the basic headgear used in the Ottoman way of dressing was different types of turbans, representing the social rank and origin of the wearer.

24 On the Ottoman style of dress and its abandonment cf. Kocić, 2017, 372 and further.

century, Murano manufacturing of glass and glass products was at its peak, while the entire industry turned to the specialization of articles. Murano was famous for his mirrors centuries ago. As the standard of households grew, glassware was increasingly in demand. Window panes began to be installed. Some glaziers specialized in manufacturing small products. Francesca Trivellato noted the production of glass lamp stands (*perle a lume*). Another glass guild (*margariteri*) produced *conterie*, small glass pieces intended for decorating embroidery, details on clothes, etc. (Trivellato, 2006, 146). With the development of mass consumption, as the drink became more accessible and it was necessary to store it in appropriate packaging, in Venice was also developed production of bottles based on the model of British glassmakers. From 1791, this production was monopolized by Giorgio Barbaria (Trivellato, 2006, 148), and by producing bottles Venice became involved in regional and international trade. Morana listed glass products but did not specify what their reception would be on the Ottoman side.²⁵

Among the Venetian products that may have received favorable reception in Turkish Albania, Morana included an “antidote”, *triacca* or *theriacca* (*Venice Treacle*), produced in Venice and famous throughout Europe (Morana, 1816, 44). It was a mixture of 64 ingredients that also contained opium. Treacle was exported from Venice to Europe and the Levant for several centuries back. Morana reminded that the product was becoming a kind of Venetian trade “brand”. Treacle was a drug sold to treat a wide range of diseases, including plague. Drug was produced according to the prescribed recipe, and also contained hopscotch meat. Production was prescribed by state regulations. However, despite the detailed inventories of crafts, Apollonio del Senno did not list the *triacca* producers in his writing from 1773. Within one trade, were emphasized wholesalers of sugar and medicines (*Spezieri di grosso*) a total of 190 people in 84 stores, who operated under supervision of *Cinque Savii della Mercanzia* (Sagredo, 1856, 267).²⁶ Next, “*Droghieri*” manufacturers and sellers of drugs, a craft with 63 members, of which 20 masters, who worked in 20 workshops. The craft was classified in the category of production and consumption (Sagredo, 1856, 245). There was also, in the city, a registered craft *Erbaroli – Venditori di erbe*, where 130 people worked in 122 shops, and belonged to the category of crafts that del Senno classified in “*arte di vittuaria*” (Sagredo, 1856, 245). The very numbers lead to assumption that this craft supplied the city with a wide range of spices used in everyday nutrition, and that producers could not be sought within *triacca* framework.

The fact that Venice exported 200,000 pounds of *triacca* a year at the end of the eighteenth century also confirms a “mass consumption”. Commercial trends also included

textiles, tobacco and coffee. Walter Panciera pointed out the overuse and abuse of opiates (Panciera, 1998). In *triacca*, the most important ingredient was opium. The use of *triacca* and opiate abuse in certain parts of the Levant have been offset. In Istanbul, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, European contemporaries all opium addicts considered as “*Theriaky*” (Kocić, 2019). Morana, on the other hand, does not cite Albania as a possible exporter of opium, required in production of *triacca*. Opium was not grown in Europe, and Venice imported opium from the Ottoman territory, mostly from Anatolia (Afion Kharahisar).

While proposing the export of weapons to Durrës and Albania, Morana primarily meant production in Brescia and other parts of Terraferma. This can be deduced from his individual list of types of weapons that could have been well accepted by the Albanian population – “*di Pistole, Canne da Schioppo, Azzalini, Ballini, Chiodi, e di ogni altra sorte di ferramenta*” (Morana, 1816, 45). Albania was certainly interested in buying firearms, during the rebellions led by Buşatlı Kara Mahmud Paşa and Ali Pasha of Ioannina against the Ottoman Porte.

Morana also suggested the export of refined processed wax and sugar (Morana 1816, 45). Until the end of the fifteenth century, Venice was the most important international trade center of refined sugar. Sugar then became a commodity of world trade thanks to traffic growth through the Dutch port of Anvers, and the discovery of the Americas. In the city of Venice, in 1773, within the sugar processing craft (*raffinatori da zucchero*) 41 people worked in 4 refineries (Sagredo, 1856, 262). The Venetian craft system included the Association of Wholesalers (*Spezieri da grosso*) which included traders in spices (medicines) and sugar, and 190 people worked in 84 workshops (*botteghe*). This association did solid business, as it was not noticed that it had any debts. The Association also included *raffinatori di zucchero*, but their number was not given (Sagredo, 1856, 267). Although the Venetian sugar processing industry has managed to survive, it has experienced a significant decline, and its homes have been reduced to local, regional frameworks.

With the suggestion that Venice also exports paper, Morana merely followed the already established trade flows. Venice became famous throughout the Eastern Mediterranean for paper production much earlier. Paper mills were built in the Terraferma since the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. One of the first protectionist measures introduced by the Ottoman Porte at the beginning of the Second Morean War (1714–1718) was a ban on the import of Venetian paper. Immediately after the conclusion of the Passarowitz peace agreement, the export of paper was renewed and Venice managed to regain the old market. Production was supported by pro-

25 “*Specchij, Chioche di cristallo, Lustri, Cristali in genere, e vetri ‘ogni sorte. Anche la Conteria, ossia Margarite, e Perle...*” (Morana, 1816, 44).

26 As listed: “*In questo corpo entrarono per colonnelli: il cereri – il droghieri – fabbricatori di oglio di mandole dolci, e raffinatori di zucchero*” (Sagredo, 1856, 267).

tectionist measures, and developed in Venice and parts of Terraferma, Bergamo, Brescia, Vicenza, Padova etc. In the city of Venice alone, 150 members of the special craft were engaged in the production of paper in 1773 (*Libreri a conti e carta bianca/Cartai*) in 44 workshops. This craft operated solidly without debt, and supervised by *Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia*, as production was intended for trade and export (Sagredo, 1856, 251–252). Since the production of several types of paper, of different quality and purpose, was developed in the Venetian industry, Morana recommended for export to Durrës “*detta tri Lune, al uso Turco*” (Morana, 1816, 45).²⁷

Morana also considered the benefits for Venetian shipowners. He recommended that the goods, for security reasons, should be transported to Albanian ports by state-owned ships. He also noted that navigation along the eastern Adriatic coast takes place on the principle of cabotage (it. *cabottaggio*) (Morana, 1816, 46).²⁸ On the way back, these ships would be loaded with fodder, wool, and the material he stated as *pegola dura*, tobacco, oil and commodities. He estimated that about 160 ship cargoes of different products were exchanged with Turkish Albanian ports each year. Intensifying trade would further employ the Venetian economy, and hire additional crews (Morana, 1816, 46–47). However, he recommended that trips to Albania should be undertaken by more experienced sailors, veterans (Morana, 1816, 52).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

With his treatise *Saggio delli Commerciali Rapporti di Veneziani colle Ottomane Scale di Durazzo ed Albania e con quelle di Aleppo* Giovanni Antonio Marie Morana he offered concrete advices to his Venetian contemporaries, how to overcome the political and economic transition at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After the loss of independence, Venice also faced an increased presence of European powers in the eastern Mediterranean, and the beginnings of the disintegration of the provincial administration at the border edges of the Ottoman Empire. One of the hubs of unrest was Albania, in a broader context of movements that led to national liberation in Southeastern Europe (Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, and the autonomist movements in Bosnia and Herzegovina). Morana was still counting of the permanence of economic interests and abilities of Venetians, to expand their business activities within “*Turkish Albania*”.

Observations about Durrës and Albania date back to the days time of his stay in those areas (1790–1794), and were published when Venice was already under Austrian rule, in 1816 (in continuity, Venice remained under Austria 1814–1866). Morana formed his economic views according to new tendencies, when the doctrines of mercantilism were retreating before the teachings about the need to liberalize production and the market. Morana specifically expressed his view of the relationship between mercantilism and liberalization on the example of the textile industry, which has been developing in Venice since the beginning of the eighteenth century, when certain textile workshops began to produce “*ad uso estero*”.

Morana accepted the concept of state support for export orientated industry, but also supported more liberal approach to the market, aware of the new circumstances after the inclusion of Venice in the Habsburg Monarchy. That is why Morana considered how to intensify Venetian trade with the Ottoman Empire in Turkish Albania, and also Syria and Palestine. The importance of Albanian market he proved by saying that it was a “*little India*” for the Venetians (Morana, 1816, 54). He recognized in Turkish Albania a significant trading partner for Venice and its Terraferma. This can be concluded from the fact that he exclusively analyzed the placement of goods of Venetian origin. This primarily concerned certain types of cereals, tobacco, various types of leather, i.e. agricultural and livestock products. On the other hand, Morana suggested the export to Durres of products that constituted the most important items of Venetian export balance from the previous era of independent state (different types of clothes, products of the glass industry centered in Murano, paper, etc.).

Morana offered detailed insights into Venetian businesses in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, especially toward the eastern Mediterranean. The treatise is also a targeted appeal to the Austrian authorities on the need to maintain Venetian-Albanian economic relations, but it is not as thorough as the works of his contemporaries who also performed the consular, but dealt with much more precise information and data. Conceived as a descriptive presentation full of hints, the writing remained vague in many places, and is useful only in more specific segments. Likewise, the treatise is a testimony of survival of business circles interested in integration into new structure of politics and economy that emerged after the Napoleonic Wars.

27 Morana included other products of Venetian crafts as part of the intended export policy to Albania, as stated: “*Finalmente il Rame lavorato, Ottone lavorato, Vetriolo, Allume di rocca, Galloni d’oro, di Velluto e seta, Casse di noce, Zucchero raffinato, Confetture, Sciloppi, Cera lavorata, e tant’altri minuti generi, venivano generosamente provveduti di questa mnostra marittima Piazza, e insieme a tutte altre suaccennate manifatture, così di Venezia effettivamente, che dell’altre contermini Venete Provincie, serivano all’importazione diurnale per le Albanesi Scale, con significante nazionale utilità*” (Morana, 1816, 45).

28 Cabotage refers to a navigation that usually takes place below the coast and therefore is less risky than the crossing in the open sea. Small-scale cabotage generally refers to maritime transport between neighboring ports.

DRAČ IN „TURŠKA ALBANIJA“ V DELU GIOVANNIJA ANTONIJA MARIE MORANE

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POVZETEK

V prispevku avtorja analizirata najpomembnejše delo Giovannijske Antonije Marie Morane, objavljeno leta 1816 pod naslovom „Saggio delli Commerciali Rapporti di Veneziani colle Ottomane Scale di Durazzo ed Albania e con quelle di Aleppo“, ki se nanaša na razmere v „turški Albaniji“. Morana je bil seznanjen z razmerami na tem območju, ker je več let (1790–1794) opravljaj funkcijo konzula Benetk v Draču. Avtorja skušata opozoriti na določene kroge v beneški družbi iz začetka 19. stoletja, ki so bili zainteresirani za nadaljevanje trgovinskih vezi Benetk, tedaj znotraj Avstrije, z Albanijo. Pogled na razmere v Draču in njegovi širši okolici nam omogoča, da opazujemo njegove povezave z drugimi trgovskimi središči. Zgodovina območja, ki je bilo takrat del otomanskega dela Albanije, je razmeroma slabo raziskana, zlasti z vidika zgodovinskih pričevanj evropskega (v tem primeru italijanskega) izvora. Avtorja skušata poudariti gospodarski potencial turške Albanije v času, ko so večino tega naroda prizadela protinacionalna gibanja. Po mnenju avtorjev raziskave je pomen Moranovega dela v tem, da razkriva takratno strukturo njenega izvoznega potenciala, pa tudi možnost uvoza blaga, proizvedenega v beneških manufakturah v Terafermi v obdobju, ko so nekatere evropske države (predvsem Francija) začele kazati večje zanimanje za gospodarski prodor na ta del Balkana. Po Moranovem prepričanju so bili izvozni artikli iz turške Albanije, ki jih je potrebovala industrija v Terafermi in Benetkah, žita, predvsem „turški sirek“, kar je najverjetneje bila koruza. Šele raziskave, ki bi skušale ugotoviti njeno porabo v Beneški republiki na začetku 19. stoletja, bi lahko pokazale, ali je Morana v njej videl priložnost za uvoz, ali pa je šlo le za možnosti transporta na Jonske otoke, kjer je bila potrošnja koruze pomembna. Sledi olivno olje, ki so ga v Benetkah uporabljali za proizvodnjo mila, in tobak, ki je bil v 18. stoletju eden najpomembnejših izvoznih artiklov turške Albanije. Poleg teh izdelkov je Morana omenjal še volno, usnje, vosek, bombaž in bombažno prejo, ki jih avtorja analizirata skozi potrebo beneške manufakture po teh izdelkih. Med blagom, ki bi lahko bilo zanimivo za trg turške Albanije, je Morana izpostavil izdelke beneške manufakture in delavnice Teraferma, predvsem najrazvitejših industrijskih območij. To so bile različne vrste tkanin, orožje iz Brescie, steklo iz Murana, znameniti terjak, rafinirani vosek, sladkor in papir, s katerimi so Benetke že več kot dve stoletji oskrbovale otomanski trg.

Ključne besede: Giovanni Antonio Maria Morana, Albanija, Drač, izvoz, uvoz, bombaž, volna, vosek, tobak, steklo

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