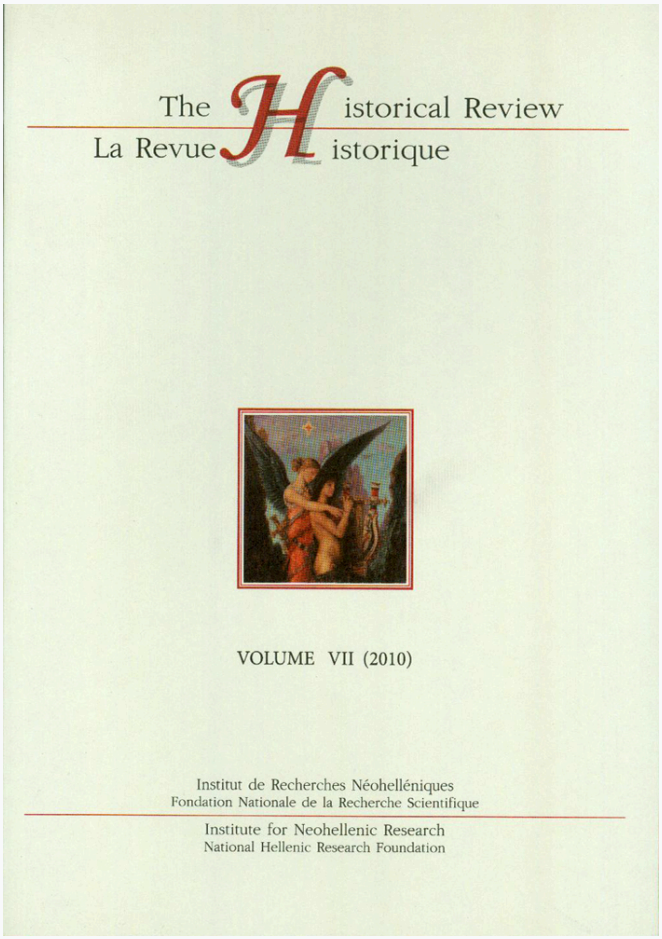
ePublishing

ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΚΕΝΤΡΟ ΤΕΚΜΗΡΙΩΣΗΣ
EKT NATIONAL DOCUMENTATION CENTRE

The Historical Review/La Revue Historique

Vol 7 (2010)

Networking and Spatial Allocation around the Mediterranean, Seventeenth-Nineteenth Centuries



People, their Experiences and Merchant Practices in a Port-city: Naples as a Mediterranean Crossroads in the Modern Age

Giovanni Lombardi

doi: 10.12681/hr.257

To cite this article:

Lombardi, G. . (2011). People, their Experiences and Merchant Practices in a Port-city: Naples as a Mediterranean Crossroads in the Modern Age. *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, *7*, 77–97. https://doi.org/10.12681/hr.257

https://epublishing.ekt.gr | **e-Publisher:** EKT | **Downloaded at:** 08/09/2026 03:31:42

PEOPLE, THEIR EXPERIENCES AND MERCHANT PRACTICES IN A PORT-CITY:
NAPLES AS A MEDITERRANEAN CROSSROADS IN THE MODERN AGE

Giovanni Lombardi

Abstract: Naples, the densely populated capital of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, was a multi-ethnic city in the early Modern Age. The people who lived and worked there intertwined the events of their lives through commercial and maritime activities, identifying themselves in relation to merchant and craft guilds, religious and charitable institutions, national lodges and cultural associations, as well as family networks and economic interests. At this Mediterranean crossroads, co-existence followed complex logics affected by diverse presences and intercultural influences. An opportunity emerges from an examination of these realities from a perspective favouring extroversion: to construct a Mediterranean network among scholars and to encourage synergies among them. In this sense, Neapolitan research sources – which offer an imposing documentation often difficult to utilise – can give unexpected results. Yet what are the underlying problematic areas; what are the possible research instruments and strategies? The second half of the seventeenth century is a fertile terrain for a working theory, exemplified by and illustrated through the case of the House of Raillard. This family enterprise – international in character – intersected the history of the city, linking merchant experiences and businesses in Naples and elsewhere. From this emerge events and personalities, behind which notations of activities pursued and horizons perceived wait to be explored.

Between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Naples was a kaleidoscope of the Mediterranean. The historiography of this period has evaluated institutional and cultural courses of action, religious aspects, and social and economic processes – with discordant interpretations. In general, however, there is agreement on the importance of this capital city on the geopolitical scene of the Modern Age, its relevance as an emporium, its demographic weight and, in particular, its capacity as a maritime crossroads to attract immigration. When the Spanish Viceroy Pedro Álvarez de Toledo (1532-1553) arrived, this man who symbolised the consolidation of the Spanish crown over the Italian dominion found a reality much different from that of other cities of the *monarquía*: the population of the Kingdom was about 1,600,000 in 1532, with Naples passing from 150,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the century to more than 200,000 *c.* 1547. Before the conclusion of that century, Naples would become the most populous city in Christendom after Paris.[1]

* For a better translation and a smoother reading, accounting and archival information has been simplified where possible, and transcriptions, often of names, translated from the

It would be inopportune to hazard a historical synthesis of the capital and its Mediterranean dimension,[2] as this would inevitably make banal a complex history upon which others are more deeply measured. More simply, we would like to encourage an approach that involves planting one's feet firmly in "things archival" and looking at the Mediterranean through the concrete details of life in Naples. Tracing relational networks, as well as presences, settlements, taxation and inheritance related matters, hegemonies, personal histories, commercial practices, and the experiences of the people living in the capital – of either established or temporary residence – can not only round out the history of the city, but can more specifically offer shores, footholds and perspectives for those who carry out research in other contexts. To approach these themes, however, a pervasive documentary network would be very useful.

First of all, it is important to note that Naples had no cadastre, due to the taxation privileges conceded to the city, first by the Aragonese (1443-1501) and then by the Castilians (1503-1707); therefore, we are lacking an instrument that translates *par excellence* the settlements of communities and "nations", their patrimonies and activities, relations among groups, and relations between those groups and the urban space.[3] Approaches to these

---

seventeenth-century Italian have been homogenized, with respect, naturally, for the academic requisites of the text; for these modifications, the author is solely responsible.

[1] C. J. Hernando Sánchez, *Castilla y Nápoles en el siglo XVI. El virrey Pedro de Toledo,* Junta de Castilla y León 1994, pp. 242-243; *id*., *El Reyno de Nápoles en el Imperio de Carlos V. La consolidación de la conquista,* Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001, p. 15.

[2] For a reflection on this, see M. Petrusewicz, "Il Mediterraneo dopo Braudel. È possibile una nuova storiografia?", in F. Cacciatore and A. Niger (eds), *Il Mediterraneo. Incontro di culture*, Rome: Aracne, 2007, pp. 117-128.

[3] There are no systematic registers showing the geographical and occupational distribution of these foreign communities in Naples, communities which are otherwise quite diverse in relevance and internal cohesion. The interpretive model of Jean-François Chauvard – in which cadastral sources and parish documentation are decisive for interpreting processes of settlement – is exemplary; see Jean-François Chauvard, "Scale di osservazione e inserimento degli stranieri nello spazio veneziano tra XVII e XVIII secolo", in D. Calabi and P. Lanaro (eds), *La città italiana e i luoghi degli stranieri, XIV-XVIII secolo*, Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1998, pp. 85-107. The lack of a cadastre – none was ever compiled – was peculiar to Naples. This absence derives from the statutes of the capital city and from the privileges that were recognised as part of Neapolitan citizenship: Neapolitans were exempt from the payment of hearth tax from 1442 onwards, a privilege confirmed by Charles V. *Prammatiche* [Praxes] 3 and 4 of *De contractibus* of 1609, relating to the creation of a public records office of property contracts, were disregarded; only in 1786 was an archive of this

themes, at least during recent decades, have been relatively few; insofar as the study of foreign communities is concerned, one historiography in particular has focused on the role of the élites, their enfeoffment and their representation.[4] In reality, these foreign communities were not merely islands stitched together by the urban layout: there was commixture among the social groups. There were poles of attraction rather than topographical demarcations. Religious and charitable institutions and national lodges provided outlines of affiliations and linguistic affinities, as well as cultural, economic and geographic backgrounds. The sodalities of San Giacomo della Spada, the Madonna del Pilar, the Madonna di Montserrat, Sant'Anna dei Lombardi and San Giorgio dei Genovesi, as well as the brotherhoods of the Greeks and Germans, all evoked reciprocalities, which accompanied the social amalgam: these were cultural affinities that intertwined.[5]

Returning to the world of commerce as a world in movement – as a place of intercultural cross-pollinations – to social groups taken together as a complex whole, the synergetic consultation of three documentary poles of diverse nature is, in contrast, concrete and practicable, each manifesting an internal coherence and continuity that permits converging readings made up of reciprocal cross-referencing between those sources: that is, the banking, notarial and ecclesiastical poles.

The Historical Archives of the Banco di Napoli are perhaps the most original lever on this path. Comprised of some 300 rooms, these are probably the largest historical banking archives of the Modern Age, safekeeping the documents of eight public banks founded in the Mediterranean capital between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Monte della Pietà, later

type established. Concerning material evidence, the urban palimpsest of Naples is extremely rich; however, changes towards the end of the nineteenth century, military conflicts and, above all, government policies that have been followed since the most recent postwar period (leading to the destruction of *fondachi*, residences, churches and chapels – and their archives) have rendered ancient settlement patterns even more anonymous.

[4] For the ripe fruit of this attention, see G. Brancaccio, *"Nazione genovese". Consoli e colonia nella Napoli moderna*, Naples: Guida, 2001.

[5] For interesting and unexplored information regarding the system of solidarity of the Genoese Nation (the national lodge in Naples) and its ties to the institutions of the Republic of Genoa, see the Archivio Storico del Banco di Napoli (ASBN); the Archivio Storico del Banco del SS. Salvatore (BSalv), *pandetta* II, 1670, m. 53, Monastero Annunziata Torchini di Genova, f. 765, Annunziata di Savona, f. 766; Archivio Storico del Banco di S. Giacomo (BsG), *pandetta* I, 1703, m. 195, f. 255, Ospedale degli Incurabili di Genova; f. 256, Ospedale di S. M. della Misericordia di Genova; f. 349, Officio de poveri di Genova; f. 495, Regia corte - conti eletti de genovesi.

renamed Banco della Pietà (organised 1539-1584), Monte dei Poveri, later known as Monte e Banco dei Poveri (set up and recognised 1563-1609), Banco Ave Gratia Plena, also known as Banco dell'Annunziata (established in 1587), Banco di S. Maria del Popolo (1589), Banco dello Spirito Santo (1590), Banco di Sant'Eligio (1592), San Giacomo e Vittoria (1597) and Banco del SS. Salvatore (1640).[6] This kind of social and economic registry accounts for a myriad of registered names, thousands of accounting, patrimonial and estate documents, and millions of bills of exchange and certificates of credit. The tiniest disbursement, great movements of money, foreign exchange transactions,[7] as well as the accounts of individuals, institutions and the Royal Court, were all handled by these banks.

What provides documentary depth to these sources is the widespread use of *polizze* or *fedi,* which were certificates of credit widely circulated in Naples, almost as if they were paper money: a kind of *cheque ante litteram.* Whoever had money in the bank could give a certificate for an amount up to an account's covered limit; unlike modern cheques, however, these certificates not only showed the reason for payment but also included additional transaction details, such as endorsements, numbers of other bank accounts, references to notarial acts and other third-party documents, and explanations of reasons for payments: they include annotations regarding salaries, large contracts, daily expenses, slaves, naval armaments, objects of daily use, dowries, and more. Just as do great historical events, matters of everyday life leave their traces in banks: in the background we see a simply amazing fiduciary fabric regulated by laws and customs which guarantee the circulation of the *fedi* or certificates of credit. These *fedi* express collective interests, the background of clients, and often the contiguity and the distribution of social bodies.[8] It is truly an accounting of descriptive force! As an example, the Banco di San Giacomo was located

[6] The Archivio Storico del Banco di Napoli was established by decree of Ferdinand I of Bourbon in 1819. The Banco dell'Annunziata failed in 1702. Ferdinand IV merged the remaining seven banks in 1794, forming the Banco Nazionale di Napoli, which gave rise to the Banco delle Due Sicilie in the French period (1806-1816). The documents of the original banks have been inventoried at about 194,000 units (in addition to 236 parchments); however, the inventory is continuously being verified and expanded. A small number of other bank volumes are kept at the Archivio di Stato di Napoli (ASN).

[7] Naples was an interesting money market centre; see L. De Rosa, *Il Mezzogiorno spagnolo tra crescita e decadenza*, Milan: Mondadori, 1987.

[8] P. Avallone and G. Lombardi, "The Historical Archive of the Banco di Napoli: A Primary Resource for Social and Economic History from a Mediterranean View", *Banking and Finance in the Mediterranean: A Historical Perspective*, Annual Conference of the European Association for Banking and Financial History e.V., Malta (1-2 June 2007), forthcoming.

contiguously with buildings representing the powers that be – in the port, at its *fondachi* (plural of *fondaco:* a building reserved for foreign merchants, with lodgings, warehousing and places for negotiations) and on Rua Catalana (then populated by Genoese, Florentines and Greeks) – and the bank's account holders included the Royal Military Fund, merchants, financiers, businessmen, *asientistas* (merchants sharing a granted monopoly), consuls, sea captains, ship fitters, ship-owners, insurers, companies and artisans. These clients included Flemings, Germans known as *Renani* ("Rhiners"), "people of the Empire", English and Spanish, Portuguese of Jewish ancestry, people from Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and, naturally, Neapolitans. Within the multi-faceted Venetian profile, the complicated mimesis of the Levantine or Greek presence emerges: we find Venetians from Greece who hailed from Candia (Heraklion), Zante (Zakynthos), Cephalonia and Corfu.[9] Analogously, the Banco di Sant'Eligio reflected the food provisioning and real estate markets well, offering an impressive mapping of shops and houses through the registration of rental agreements.[10] An immediate consequence of the opening of a General Treasury account at the Banco dello Spirito Santo was the attraction of new account holders from among the contractors to the Court. The details are there to see, but for an overview we need to look from afar.

Notaries possessed unparalleled information about their clients – even that which was of utmost secrecy – and they were among those playing a leading role in the credit market. For these reasons – and in order to secure new clientele – archives of deceased notaries were the object of purchase and sale. Neapolitan notaries in the 1600s followed the traditional usages of Byzantine origin, with apprenticeships at notary offices and time-honoured customs – unlike other Italian centres such as Genoa, Milan and Pisa, which

[9] It is by no means an easy task to define such presences. Moreover, some minorities of the Eastern Mediterranean enjoyed Neapolitan citizenship. For a wider reflection, see D. Livanios, "The Quest for Hellenism: Religion, Nationalism and Collective Identities in Greece (1453-1913)", *The Historical Review / La Revue Historique* III (2006), pp. 33-70.

[10] Concerning information on real estate in bank records, only one study of this element exists: E. De Simone, "Case e botteghe a Napoli nei secoli XVII e XVIII", *Rivista internazionale di storia della banca* XII (1976), pp. 77-140; data are also presented in G. Lombardi, *Tra le pagine di San Biagio. L'economia della stampa a Napoli in Età Moderna*, Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2000. Furthermore, we highlight the propensity – in particular among foreign entrepreneurs – to lease property in the city while eventually purchasing property outside, especially when there was an opportunity for productive investment; cf. ASN, Notai del '600, Giuseppe Cerbino, *fascio* 531/19, 15 March 1680, and ff. 196 seqq. (regarding the Englishman Hatton, the milling sector and the right to engage in bread-making in a villa near Naples).

had boards of notaries, as well as schools. Perhaps because of this, empirical research prompts us to study the lives of individual notaries, including such details as their *banca* (the office where they practised), the channels habitually used in their work, and their transmissions of records with other notaries.[11]

Ultimately, and with immediate evidence to be found among parish documents, the registries of the Roman Catholic Church reveal social microfibres, origins, family distributions and family alliance strategies.[12]

From these three poles, an incisive domino effect is generated, providing access to information about information, which gets pertinently sorted out in the most disparate sources and archives: paths of research able to shine light on mercantile firms and other entrepreneurial ventures. The approach suggested in this paper is a particularly advantageous way to carry out research on the period extending from the second half of the 1600s to the first decades of the 1700s. Justification for this is found in the intrinsic characteristics of the sources and of their accessibility. This "work space" is exploited in function of other considerations, however. Historiography has prevalently paid attention to the first part of the century and to the Spanish viceroyalty; furthermore, after the terrible pestilence of 1656, a deep reshuffling of Neapolitan society took place, with phenomena still to be investigated, such as immigration, the plurality of the productive and commercial hierarchies, the re-registration of merchant and craft guilds, the reinterpretation of citizenship, the repositioning of this maritime crossroads inside more general international dynamics, etc.[13]

---

[11] G. Borrelli, *Notai napoletani tra Seicento e Settecento*, Naples: Arte Tipografica, [1995]. The transmission of notarial records followed protocols which permit researchers to trace client activities. To give an idea of the documentary mass of the notarial patrimony – and its importance – it is sufficient to note that, according to a rough subdivision, the ASN conserves 6000 volumes for the 1500s, 30,000 for the 1600s, and 1500 for the 1700s (notarial records dating up until 1750 are on deposit at the ASN). I am grateful to Dr M. R. de Divitiis, director of the ASN, for this information.

[12] The Roman Catholic Church focused attention on the Kingdom of Naples – formally a papal fief – as an important place to test Catholic reforms, which had consequences for administrative structures, immigration, merchant laws and family networks. With regard to archives, besides the fundamental Archivio Storico Diocesano di Napoli (ASDN) and the Vatican Archives, we also call attention to scattered sources and material evidence – often forgotten but whose existence we have verified – among parishes, congregations, chapels, hospitals and individuals.

[13] Concerning merchant and craft corporations, see G. Lombardi, "Societas, mestieri e assistenza a Napoli in Età Moderna", in E. De Simone and V. Ferrandino (eds), *Assistenza, previdenza e mutualità nel Mezzogiorno moderno e contemporaneo*, Pubblicazioni DASES, Milan: Franco Angeli, 2006, Vol. I, pp. 111-128.

The pestilence was in fact a dramatic caesura in the history of the capital. The first signs of an imminent epidemic appeared at the beginning of 1656. Government leaders, the viceroy *in primis,* downplayed the danger. Political worries and considerations led to temporising and to concealing that which was to soon become evident. Bank documents from those months show that merchants were intent on business as usual, starting up enterprises and ventures in preparation for the spring, when fairs and the climate were to have revived maritime and land transport. Bills of exchange were discharged; accounts were settled with the Dogana Grande (the Great Customs House), with the *fondachi,* and with the ancient dockyard alongside the market (which had just been renovated after the uprising of 1647-1648). Rents were paid and daily life went on as usual. Yet, for some months, problems with food provisioning had already been evident, the cost of foodstuffs had increased, and some people had begun to suffer from hunger. Only afterwards were those signals understood as a prelude to the epidemic.

Having shown its first signs in January, the plague was virulent by May. Just when new harvests were expected, the city was struck. Aside from the provisioning of the most elementary foodstuffs, and the activities of a small number of merchants in possession of a "bill of health", business came to a halt. Coastal patrols and *cordons sanitaires* were employed to stop fugitives and smugglers.[14] In order to circumscribe the danger of contagion, several countries blocked trade relations and commercial traffic with the Kingdom. Ships from Livorno, Genoa and Venice, routinely present in the port of Naples and other ports in the region, stopped coming. Overland trade with Rome also ceased, as well as maritime commerce with Sicily and the Levant. Many people were involved in collecting cadavers and in sanitary operations – from men of the local population to convicts and slaves – while sailors recuperated the bodies of those swept from the sewers into the sea, or thrown into the sea by those who had speculated on fugitive smuggling. On 30 May, the Deputation of Health ordered the 29 *ottine* [districts] of the city to each elect a representative to inspect jointly neighbourhood dwellings and streets with their *ottina* captain in order to find the sick and provide cleaning and burial services. One of those responsible for this prophylaxis was the royal printer Egidio Longo, already in the front line during the uprising of Masaniello,

[14] Payment in favour of the captain of the *ottina* of Porto, Giuseppe Valiero, for the provision of *feluche* [cocked hats] to sanitary guards; cf BSalv, g. 1656, m. 62, d. 36, 21 June.

captain of the *ottina* of San Biagio – the printing and silk district – and the only one able to print posters, announcements and other information.[15]

Shops were deserted, in a city that had become a lazaretto. A small sampling from the parish of San Gennaro all'Olmo (located within the *ottina* of San Biagio) shows that widows and widowers were among those married in 11 of the 14 marriages celebrated in that parish from the end of October to the last days of December of 1656; from this part of the population, more than 400 of those who had died were printers, booksellers, illustrators and engravers, as well as their relatives – people connected with printing and the world of books.[16]

The crisis blotted out the signs of economic recovery that had followed the uprising of Masaniello, the Peace of Westphalia, and treaties such as that published in Italy on 1 July 1651 regarding navigation and commerce (which had apparently revived Hispano-Dutch cooperation).[17] The worst finally passed and normal day-to-day activities of city life resumed. The "Italian

---

[15] "To the Health Deputies, 60 ducats…to Egidio Longo, *ottina* captain, for public service on behalf of the entire city, as payment for the hire of horses to pull carts and coaches of cadavers and for the accumulated debts of the *ottina*, and for coachmen and gravediggers…and for whatever more might occur or might be necessary for the public health" (BSalv, g. 1656, m. 62, d. 60, 26 June). "To the Health Deputies, 75 ducats to be paid to Egidio Longo for the printing of, and the paper for, 1500 notices of instructions for inspections, cleaning and quarantine; that is, 1250 printed in booklet form and 250 on two large sheets of 'reali' paper, which were posted on the streets of this city" (BSalv, g. 1656, m. 63, d. 75, 30 October).

[16] C. F. Riaco, *Il Giudicio di Napoli. Discorso del passato contaggio, rassomigliato al Giudicio Universale. In cui si specificano le qualità, e numeri dé morti, con tutti gl'accidenti intervenuti. Opera del molto reverendo Padre D. Carlo Francesco Riaco, S.T. e U.I.D. Abbate, rettore curato di S. Sapienza di Polina, In Perugia, per Pietro di Tomasio, 1658*. To be more exact, the author wrote: "The printers were crushed by the press of the plague, and while the contagion was oppressing them, a book was published listing the dead, among them engravers, illustrators, the sons of booksellers, and daughters, agnates, and first cousins, and workers, surpassing one thousand four hundred" (p. 239); but an errata note (unnumbered page) mentions elsewhere that this figure should have read "four hundred".

[17] "De nautis, portibus prohibitos et commercio inter Holandiam et status regis, Pragmatica VI", *Pragmaticae, edicta, decreta, regiaque sanctiones regni neapolitani, pluribus additis, cuisque locis optima methodo, et labore collatis per U.I.D. Blasium Altimarum advocatum neapolitanum, deputatum per Regium Collaterale Consilium, cum superintendentia Ill. D. Caroli Calà, Ducis Diani, Collateralis Consiliarii, Regiam Cancelleriam Regentis, & C. Tomum Primus,* Neap. MDCLXXXII, Officina Typographica Iacobi Raillard eiusdem sumptibus, cum privilegio, ff. 719-720 (copy in the Archivo General de Simancas, Secreterias provinciales, libro 22).

bridge" in the Mediterranean once again found Naples: the epidemic had more than halved the population,[18] and the capital was busy reorganising its people, rebuilding its economy and rearranging its manufacturing and commercial sectors. With the generations that had vanished, technical knowledge and experience had also disappeared, along with human energies and customary work practices – legitimated over many years – which had become part of the collective heritage.

New immigrants found a world decomposed, without its original architecture. Dozens of silk experts and silk merchants came to the maritime crossroads that was Naples. Genoese, Venetians and Florentines, who had led the city's silk manufacturing capacity to almost 5000 looms in the 1500s,[19] ceded space to Germano-Flemish dynamism and the commercial leadership of the English. A glance through the register of the Arte della Seta (silk guild) is sufficient to form an idea. To the Florentines, Genoese, Messinese and Sardinians were added "people of the Empire": Flemings such as Filippo di Mes, Giovanni and Andrea van Woosel, the Grutters and Pietro Voyret; Lyonnaise such as Francesco Gerin; Venetians such as Guglielmo Samuelli, followed by his nephew, the public prosecutor Vincenzo Samuelli (consul of the silk guild from 1683 to 1684); the Spanish merchant of Pamplona Antonio de La Carrera; second generation immigrants such as the Neapolitan citizen Francesco van Haelst, son of a foreign consul; political personalities such as the lawyer-merchant Pietro Emilio Guaschi; and Florentines such as Alessandro Federighi (consul of the silk guild from 1679 to 1680) and Vincenzo del Beccuto (consul from 1688 to 1689).[20] Many, however, worked without membership in merchant or craft guilds and without legal title to their shops, managing

[18] Considered to be in the range of 300,000 to 350,000; although diverse estimates are not lacking, the magnitude is clear. See I. Fusco, *Peste, demografia e fiscalità nel Regno di Napoli del XVII secolo*, Milan: Franco Angeli, 2007.

[19] F. Battistini, "La tessitura serica italiana durante l'Età Moderna. Dimensioni specializzazione produttiva, mercati", in L. Molà, R. C. Mueller and C. Zanier (eds), *La seta in Italia dal Medioevo al Seicento*, Venice: Marsilio, 2000, pp. 335-351, in particular p. 339.

[20] ASN, Arte della Seta, Libro delle matricole IX (microfilm), 1660-1705, in particular ff. 1v, 8, 20, 41v, 58, 60, 65v, 66, 72v, 85v, 115v, 116v, 118v, 123, 153 and 188. Regarding Vincenzo Samuelli, cf. ASN, Arte della Seta, 36, Libro delle matricole 1662-63. Regarding Alessandro Federighi, cf. ASN, Arte della Seta, 36, Libro delle matricole 1662-63. Regarding Federighi and del Beccuto, cf. Archivio Storico del Banco della Pietà (BP), *pandetta* II, 1696, m. 203, f. 312, Deposito del patrimonio d'Alessandro Federichi e Beccuto. On Vincenzo del Beccuto, cf. ASN, Arte della Seta, 36, Libro delle matricole 1662-63. Giovanni and Andrea van Woosel were registered among the silk merchants of the silk guild on 29 November 1674; cf. ASN, Arte della Seta, Libro delle matricole XI, f. 198.

business activities and monopolies and financing raw materials and looms, as well as the work of master craftsmen and labourers, of wholesale dealers and retail merchants, and of *fondachi* directors. This was not a completely new phenomenon but was a *modus operandi* that rapidly gained force and led to changes in the merchant and craft guilds, in institutions, and in matters of taxation and citizenship. Many came on the scene in this way, and often through the use of proxies: there were ship captains; well-off Venetians such as Alessio Foscari; Londoners such as Melchisedech Benedetti, who by the end of the century had looms for producing stockings; Spanish such as the Galician Benito Enriquez Flores of Pontevedra; Burgundians such as the glove-fabric merchant Francesco Miritati; and Flemings such as Claudio Faure and Marco Simone Pietro Baes, proxies for the Duke of Medina de las Torres. Often temerarious, many were reminiscent of the "merchant adventurer class" of whom Pirenne spoke in regard to the capitalistic spirit and the formation of the bourgeoisie.[21]

The experience of the House of Raillard is emblematic. Giacomo Raillard arrives in Naples *c*. 1664, coming from Augsburg (Germany). His wife, Maria Schortemel, was Belgian: with her, he had a son named after himself. In 1664, he traded in books between Lyon and Naples.[22] Moreover, as wrote a privileged witness: "Almost all the booksellers had gone to settle their accounts in the book of life, and were often well-accompanied by neighbours and that this was truly the situation became clear immediately after the contagion, when neither books nor bookshops [and] neither booksellers nor neighbours were to be found."[23] Raillard acted as business agent for an uncle of his who lived in Basel, for whom he traded in garnets and crystals. He also traded in woven fabrics, amber, silver and gold, silk stockings and shirts, as well as hardware items and fox furs; he paid duties, he paid dyers, he carried out maritime importing.[24] He knew the marketplace and the few trading houses that

[21] H. Pirenne, *Storia d'Europa dalle invasioni al XVI secolo*, Florence: Sansoni, 1967.

[22] "[Paid] to Antonio Bonito, 50 ducats for Giacomo Raillard. He declares this to be the completion [payment] of 154 ducats and 3.11 tarì [5 tarì = 1 ducat]…for the total price of many groups of books of various authors, bound in green roan [sheepskin leather and] provided to [the] library of the Congregation of the Oratory of Naples, [all of which] don Giacomo of Lyon arranged to be provided. Said price includes the cost of the books as well as charges for insurance, packaging and binding. And this payment is made by the librarian of said library, and with money belonging to the aforementioned Congregation and destined for this purpose." (BP, g. 1665, m. 564, d. 50, 14 November).

[23] Riaco, *Il Giudicio*, pp. 278-279.

[24] For Giacomo Raillard of Basel, cf. BsG, g. 1675, m. 390, d. 370, 12 September. For

survived the epidemic – such as the House of Beruliet, from which originated Beruliet & Imbrecht –[25] as well as new enterprises. At customs houses and at the *fondachi*, he came to know contractors to the Court, entering into the relational substratum which animated trade exchanges.

The shores of the Rhone were familiar to Raillard. Lyon was a cornerstone for book printing as well as silk production – and in Naples there was a hunger for silk. Influenced by both fashion and the economy, in an aesthetic climate between late Baroque and avant-garde Rococo, vertical segmentation of silk products grew, ranging from luxury items such as taffetas to more common fabrics: trimmings and frills such as *zagarella* edging, silk thread, and widely used light fabrics such as passementerie trimming. Naples imported, but also exported: to France, England and Poland, and even to Spain and Portugal; to Cadiz, Valencia, Seville and Lisbon. Silk pervaded the city, reflecting the social reshuffling underway and taking on new symbolic significances. A Neapolitan citizen belonging to the Nation of Genoa (the national lodge in Naples) highlighted:

> In former times, gold brocade or velvet palls at funerals were the exclusive prerogative of kings and princes of royal blood. For vassal Barons there were velvet bordered palls of *ormesino* [a light silk fabric] or an inferior fabric, but only in times of war. Today, this is not only the prerogative of Lords, but also of simple gentlemen, and not only of simple gentlemen, but also [of] merchants.[26]

In this climate, Raillard was in partnership with Gillio de Gastines, the principal agent in Naples of Antonio Magliabechi, the noted librarian of the

---

book importations from Lyon, cf. BP, g. 1665, m. 564, d. 50, 14 November. For other transactions, cf. BsG, Libro maggiore II, 1670, m. 78, ff. 974, 1619.

[25] Antonio Beruliet (foreign consul of the silk guild from 30 April 1653) and Samuel Beruliet assumed the monopoly of the lumber trade from the late 1620s to the late 1630s, with strong interests in Puglia, and were linked above all to the food provisoning market. Cf. ASN, Arte della Seta, Consolato II, nn. 27 & 31. On the consulship of Antonio Beruliet, cf. ASN, Arte della Seta, Consolato II, no. 27. On Samuel and Antonio Beruliet and the lumber trade, cf. ASN, Regia Camera della Sommaria: Council, v. 37 (34), 39 (23); Council of 31 May 1627 to 23 March 1639. Powers of attorney of the Beruliets are in ASN, Notai del '600, Nr Giovanni Batta Ricciardo, *fascio* 351/1 1643; for additional notarial records of the Beruliets, cf. Archivio di Stato di Caserta, Notai, Nr Domenico Antonio Notarnicola, year 1667, *corda* 5197, *scheda* 434, *ad vocem*. For exchanges between Raillard and Beruliet, cf. BsG, g. 1675, m. 390, d. 10.-.15, 26 October.

[26] G. B. Spinelli, *Arte del comporre lettere italiane...,* Naples: per Luc'Antonio di Fusco [printed or outsourced by said Fusco], 1678, p. 169.

Grand Duke of Tuscany:[27] the brothers Gillio and Carlo de Gastines, from the Jewish community in Livorno, shuttled between the ports of the Tyrrhenian Sea. Raillard also collaborated with Sebastiano van Dalen, a businessman born in Hamburg – whose roots extended into the thriving merchant world of the Elba estuary and who had close ties in the Flemish community of Naples. Van Dalen helped him to strengthen relations with Genoa.[28] The activities of Raillard and his associates revolved around the trading hub of Livorno; they crossed the Mediterranean and opened breaches for Atlantic and Northern European trade.[29] Raillard's work and his cultural background linked him to the Neapolitan group of Rhenish and Flemish merchants and financiers. He collaborated with the Grutter brothers, born in Cologne of a German father and a Flemish mother, and who had emigrated to Naples, where Francesco Grutter had become consul of the Flemish merchants of the silk guild during the 1670s. The Grutters had projected their first business activities with Cologne, Amsterdam and Antwerp and had later appointed business agents in Cadiz, Lisbon, Venice and Livorno.[30] The brothers

[27] Magliabechi and Raillard had a long-standing business relationship and correspondence; for an overview, see Lombardi, *L'economia della stampa*.

[28] Cf. BsG, g. 1665, m. 304, d. 172.4.10, 24 October, and general ledgers referring to Raillard, ff. 1015 and 1757. The House of van Dalen exported silk stockings and other items in exchange for precious metals and stones, jewellery, fabrics, linens and other goods mainly from North Sea markets. The brothers Sebastiano and Guglielmo van Dalen were registered at the silk guild in 1667 and became suppliers to the Court. Guglielmo died in August 1677, and his business affairs were assumed by his brother Cornelio and his nephew Agostino, an apprentice; the van Dalens were business partners with Arnold Varmont (a silk merchant in Naples) and Hugsman from Brussels; see also G. Borrelli, *La borghesia Napoletana della seconda metà del Seicento e la sua influenza sull'evoluzione del gusto da Barocco a Rococò* (Part VI/2), Milan 1991, *passim*; and ASN, Notai del '600, Nr Carlo Celso di San Giorgio, *fascio* 358/33, f. 286, 26 October 1679, there indicated. Within these circles, we observe a phenomenon deserving further research: various individuals of German ancestry declare themselves to be Flemish and there is a jurisdictional forum for people who were naturalised or who had foreign consorts. One member of these groups was Marino Gheldof, who was active in the Venetian marketplace, trading in precious metals and stones, jewellery and objects of art.

[29] On Raillard and Invitti, with reference to merchants active in Livorno, see BsG, g. 1670, m. 346, d. 926.2.15, 8 August; as well as BsG, g. 1670, m. 346, d. 724, 8 August. At the same bank and in the same six-month period we also see various other accounts: Francesco Bourel, Simon Giogalli of Venice and Flaminio Buonvicino (f. 992); Paolo Soldanelli, Geher & Lauber, Gio Cristoforo Hochicher and Sebastiano Vandale (f. 1127); Guglielmo Samuelli (f. 1079); Gio van den Eynden (f. 1177); and Carlo Invitti (f. 1113).

[30] On Giovanni Michele and Francesco Grutter, see ASN, Arte della Seta, Libro delle

Francesco and Giovanni Michele Grutter did business with the English, as well as with fellow countrymen such as Ruggero van Viorb and Cornelio van Limmen, and with the Armenian Stefano Arachel, an importer of fabrics, precious metals and stones, and jewellery. They were relatives of the Strasser family, in particular of Lotario, resident in Cologne, from whence they had immigrated, and Pietro, resident in Naples and active in the Neapolitan marketplace.[31] However, Raillard's business contacts in Cologne also passed through Simone and Francesco Bourel.

In 1671, Raillard established himself in the booksellers' district of San Biagio in the very heart of Naples, surrounded by the great Banco della Pietà, the records office of the silk guild and various *fondachi*, as well as the shops of dyers, weavers, paper manufacturers, printers and engravers. He was located near the Jewish ghetto, where taffeta as well as English and Flemish fabrics were sold. All this forms part of an interesting fiduciary and credit network.[32] He took on local labourers, summons masters and workers from Provence and hired Germans such as David Reisen ("Teuton").

In the spring of 1672, a master weaver and loom constructor from Roanne, Roberto di Noyon – a "Frenchman, [and] master of manufacturing English-style stockings" – came to work for the House of Raillard. He was

---

matricole XI, f. 1v, 6 October 1660, and f. 188, 21 April 1672, respectively. Michele worked at the fairs in Novi with Giacomo Raillard and imported books and typographic materials from Venice for him; see ASN, Notai del '600, Nr F. Sansone, 569/25, f. 6, 9 February 1694. Giovanni Michele Grutter, a money changer and financier who traded principally in textiles, was active in the Venetian book market and managed a book-related business for Raillard and for Giambattista Decimo of Rome, an established publisher and bookseller in Naples. On family alliance strategies, see also ASN, Notai del '600, Nr Carlo Celso de Giorgio, 358/32, f. 312, 5 November 1678. For useful, although sometimes imprecise information, see Borrelli, *La borghesia* (Part IV), 1989, pp. 7-27; (Part V), 1990, pp. 43-59.

[31] Giovanni Michele died in 1688; Francesco, the Duke of Santaseverina, in 1690. Heir of both and son of Francesco, Antonio Grutter transferred to Oppido Cascani, obtaining tax benefits from feuds and contracts. Grutter's new status accompanied him in his business dealings: he maintained his citizenship, trading house and residence in Naples, while gaining control of the grain trade from Oppido. In 1726, he left a vast inheritance.

[32] Raillard received a loan of 3000 ducati (cf. BP, g. 1671, m. 645, d. 3000, 14 November), referred to in a notarial act of Notary Carlo Celso of San Giorgio dei Fiorentini Road, and sent the money to Vincenzo Reij (BP, g. 1671, m. 642, d. 3000, 18 November), who had worked in the Kingdom for more than 20 years, financing business activities, trading in textiles and importing veils from Poland, and who was active in food provisioning and was linked to Joachim van Dalen, Cornelio van Viechenhort (or Vannicurt, Vannichirort, perhaps Flemish) and to other protagonists of trade with Flanders, the Hanseatic cities and the Adriatic, English and Levantine marketplaces.

accompanied by his sons, Ludovico and Michele, who arrived from Cannes with other family members as well as skilled workers. This is an example of mobility that became migration; among the archival details, we see how a family business started up.[33] The factory had 19 looms, some purchased in Rome, others constructed or rented. The objective was to produce long and short silk "English-style" stockings. During the first half of the century, stockings had been exported from Naples via Livorno, but now the flow was reversed. Raillard acquired the monopoly – *jus prohibendi* – on the production of stockings.[34] He imitated foreign-made stockings, modernized production and tried to oust some imported products from the marketplace, but the success of this strategy was anything but guaranteed. A weaver from London with French colleagues had tried in vain to carry out the same strategy in Livorno in 1665, risking grave bodily harm and running up against decisive and unscrupulous English protectionism.[35] The vicissitudes of Raillard and the new immigrants clearly demonstrate the situation in Naples: low barriers to market access, destructured merchant and craft guilds (including the powerful silk guild) and social mobility. The innovations introduced in Naples by Raillard were admired:

> I'll say something else, worthy of note: silk stockings used to be made by women, [each] using two tiny *ferretti* [metal needles]. Was it then such recklessness on the part of that very perspicacious English [inventor] to assemble a machine with 3040 *ferretti* in the form of needles, so that one hand movement marvellously produces 500 pieces of knitted fabric of more or less fine [quality]? This contrivance puts together more pairs of English-style stockings in two days than could be previously made in twenty days. I confess that having seen this instrument in the house of Mr Giacomo Raillard, a German, I judged it to be a more admirable invention than the printing press or the clock; it's something that one can only believe if one sees it and observes it carefully. And that which most amazed me was that certain

[33] For a reflection on the family-company node, see P. Malanima, *Tipi d'impresa prima della Crescita Moderna,* Naples: ISSM–CNR, www.issm.cnr.it/asp/cv/malanima/dati/imprese2.pdf (page visited 1 July 2008).

[34] The *jus* was sold by Marco Antonio Ariano. All but unknown to researchers, Ariano was involved in various business ventures, from retailing activities to supplying lead to the Royal Mint; see, for example, BsG, 1677, *pandetta* II, f. 1512; as well as BsG, g. 1677, m. 398, d. 28, 13 October. For accounts between Raillard, Marco Antonio Ariano, Roberto de Noyon and other businessmen, cf. BsG, g. 1675, m. 388, d. 54.2.10, 22 November; BP, g. 1679, m. 755, d. 35, 26 October; and BsG, g. 1675, m. 382, d. 300, 25 February.

[35] G. Pagano de Divitiis, *Il commercio inglese nel Mediterraneo dal Cinquecento al Settecento*, Naples: Guida Editori, 1984, pp. 160-161.

> young women work there with great ease and ability. What more can be said?[36]

The French concentrated on the weaving and keeping the looms in good working order, while Raillard took care of the trading activities, anticipating capital needs, and the food and lodging for his partners and their families and workers. Frenchmen who produced English-style stockings in Naples under the management of a German: this is the Mediterranean! The initial figures are interesting: there were about 1500 ducats in costs for the silk and a little more than 1000 ducats in expenses related to retaining the services of Noyon (including food and lodging), without counting the operational costs of the looms.[37] The most precise reference is the Royal Chamber of the Sommaria, the financial and tax tribunal of the Kingdom, whose presence constituted an additional sign of the loss of effective control on the part of the merchant and craft guilds, as well as the existence of new institutional counterbalances. Almost all the collaborators of Raillard were newly immigrated. His was a typical merchant approach: diversifying interests, seeking compensation through bills of exchange as well as goods, conciliating operations during single business trips in order to lower costs, reducing risks and increasing profits, and detecting and evaluating the possibilities of new projects.

These were frenetic years: in the second quarter of 1675 alone, Raillard moved more than 20,000 ducats at the Banco di S. Giacomo.[38] He had an

---

[36] C. Celano, *Avanzi delle poste del signor Carlo Celano. Parte seconda. All'Illustrissimo signore D. Fabrizio Caracciolo Duca di Girifalco, Marchese dello Stato di Soreto, utile sig. delle Baronie di S. Vito, Cenàdi, Motta Caracciola, e Prataria, del Conseglio di Stato di S. M. Cattolica nel Regno di Napoli, e prefetto dell'Annona della città, e del Regno*, *Napoli, appresso Antonio Bulifon, 1681*, p. 223. At roughly the same time, in 1671, stocking looms were brought to Lucca by the English mechanic Fluy; see R. Berveglieri and C. Poni, "L'innovazione nel settore serico. I brevetti industriali della repubblica di Venezia fra XVI e XVII secolo", in Molà, Mueller and Zanier (eds), *La seta in Italia,* pp. 477-508, in particular p. 496, with reference to the interesting contribution of R. Sabbatini, *L'innovazione prudente. Spunti per lo studio di un'economia d'Ancien Régime*, Florence: Le Lettere, 1996.

[37] ASN, Notai del '600, *fascio* 462/7, ff. 74-77.

[38] For Raillard's transactions with Giovanni Michele and Francesco Grutter, Piatti and Pietro Paolo Mariani of Venice, Francesco Bourel, Marchetti, Mariotto Talocci and Giovanni Ardeando in Livorno, Carlo Invitti, G. C. Cattaneo, Carlo Arici, Sebastiano Ball, Broching, Littleton Apton, Sebastiano van Dalen, the Spinolas, the brothers Johan, Antonio and Baldasarre Vannoselli (transcription of van Hosen) and others, see, for example, the entries indicated in BsG, Libro delle matricol, 1675, I semester, ff. 1199, 2311; as well as BsG, Libro delle matricol, 1675, II semester, f. 959. Marchetti died in 1677 and

intense financial transaction activity with Goffredo Spinola, the German merchant Giorgio Velz,[39] the Genoese Giovanni Carlo Cattaneo, Vincenzo Piritei[40] and Domenico Breven. For "coloured merchandise", he worked with the influential Fasano as well as rich dyers and silk merchants. He maintained regular correspondence with the Venetian Carlo Arici, a native of Bergamo who is linked to currency exchange for Livorno and ports of call in the Adriatic.[41] He associated with the directors of the silk customs house, the management of which had been contracted out to van den Eynden & de Roomer.[42] The customs

---

was succeeded by his son Giovanni Pietro; cf. ASN, Notai del '600, Nr Carlo Celso de Giorgio, 358/31, f. 555, 8 December 1677.

[39] Registered among the silk merchants on 27 September 1681; cf. ASN, Arte della Seta, Libro delle matricole XI, f. 222.

[40] Piritei carried out maritime trade, with interests in Livorno and on the Adriatic Sea. He worked with Raillard for at least 15 years. He was an art merchant; see, for example, "1027/1027 To Vincenzo Piritei = two hundred ducats and for this to Luca Giordano, paid as the price for two paintings, both [measuring] nine palms, that is, one of St Lorenzo, and [the other of] the martyrdom of St Pietro Vestorini, and [both] delivered; and for this to = Vincenzo Piritei = for those same 200 ducats" (BsG, g. 1665, m. 304, d. 200, 7 November, f. 108v).

[41] Arici speculated on foodstuffs and was a contractor to the Royal Court, textile merchant, financier and ship-owner, as well as a representative of English and Venetian trading houses and a trader of Spanish and Sicilian corals; cf. ASN, Patrimonio, diversi, 230/Ledger account of the paper of the Royal Court; 245/Acts of the tax authority and Carlo Arici 1677 [referred to the financial and tax tribunal of the Kingdom], Dipendenze, semester I, 383/IV; Archivio Storico del Banco del Popolo (Bpop), Libro maggiore, II semester 1677, f. 491; ASN, Regia Camera della Sommaria, Carte Reali, years 1611-1694 (with one document dated 1536), b. 40, Ristretto de Reali ordini from 1536 to 1694, Libri de regali ordini di sua Maestà, Carlo Arici ff. 282, 352, 362, 377, 389 and 421. The business partners Carlo Arici and Francesco Saminiati acted as proxies for the brothers Francesco and Giovanni Saminiati of Livorno, as well as for the Florentine Guido Maria Arezzi; they also collaborated with the money changer Migliorotti, with whom they were partners, and to whom they were united by kinship ties. A partner of Carlo Arici, Santi Maria Cella, was a "resident" (that is, an appointed agent) of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and was related to an old and respected Spanish family. He had come to Naples before 1656 with the older Giambattista Cella. His sumptuous residence was flanked by that of his brother Gianpiero. After he died in 1680, Pietro Andrea Andreini succeeded him as appointed agent of the Grand Duke. Among the Florentines known to Andreini were Tommaso and Giuseppe Tirone, inhabitants of the Greek neighbourhood of Naples, who had gone from managing the trading houses of others to making their own investments in foodstuffs and military supplies.

[42] Ferdinando van den Eynden was a native of Antwerp, trader and financier, owner of various businesses, at the lead of an important charitable institution created by the masters

duties were often compensated for by the delivery of goods, above all undershirts and stockings. It was a traditional procedure, in consonance with the rising popularity of silk in the clothing sector, but is also a sign of contiguity between customs officials and merchants. In these interstices of concrete everyday life, in the comings and goings of workers, labourers and businessmen – in the tangle of relationships intercepted through the story of Raillard – confiscations, customs clearances, trade arbitrations, guarantees and transfers of assets were handled with attention given to citizenship and membership in "nations" (the national lodges in Naples). The sorting out of matters of citizenship and "nationality" was not only a question of theoretical and normative status, but was also manifested concretely in privileges, living conditions and commercial rights, and in symbolical and social universes[43] such as the professional sodalities. Citizenship and "nationality" were also factors of importance during political crises. As Neapolitan citizens, many of those registered were permitted to "carry out business by means of agents and proxies" and enjoyed enviable legal and tax conditions: protections that reinforced the penetration and consolidation of a broader market than that purely urban, as in the obvious case of the fair markets and foreign exchange activities.

The many French presences in Naples were scattered. The House of Raillard became one of the meeting places of Francophone circles, maintaining this connotation even during years that were complicated for French immigrants, such as those of the War of Messina (1674-1678).[44] In

---

of velvet-making; his son Jan inherited the estate and the company in 1630 and continued business activities in collaboration with the great entrepreneur and ship-owner Gaspare de Roomer of Antwerp, naturalised in Naples. Experts in food provisioning, financing and in naval armaments, the de Roomers and the van den Eyndens were great art merchants.

[43] For a fundamental perspective, see P. Ventura, "Il linguaggio della cittadinanza a Napoli tra ritualità civica, amministrazione e pratica politica (secoli XV-XVII)", in G. Petti Balbi and G. Vitolo (eds), *Linguaggi e pratiche del potere,* Salerno: Laveglia, 2007, pp. 347-375. For a more general view, I refer back to the recent discussion concerning the positions of Simona Cerutti and Peter Sahlins on the subject of citizenship and *diritto di albinaggio* (the right of a state to take possession of the inheritance of a foreigner who had died without a testament or legitimate heir). My thanks to P. Ventura and B. Salvemini for their suggestions.

[44] With the war, there were anti-French retaliations; see L. A. Ribot García, *Monarquia de España y la guerra de Mesina (1674-1678)*, Madrid: Actas, 2002. Concerning the ties of Giacomo Raillard with the Francophone world, we note, for example, that Raillard was a witness at the baptism of some of Bulifon's children (Parish of San Gennarello all'Olmo, Battesimi. Dal 1656 al 1687, f. 109) and was also a witness at the wedding of Giambattista Brison of "Lyon of France" on 28 March 1683 (Parish of San Gennarello, Libbro dei

1673, Raillard began a collaboration with Antonio Bulifon di Chaponay, a notary's son who came to Naples from the Dauphinate about 1670. The silk and book-trading circuits intersected. With Bulifon, Raillard opened one of the best printworks in the Kingdom and perhaps Italy and was able to compete with many printers located north of the Alps; Bulifon concentrated on publishing and social climbing, which he realised by frequenting the Court. In the meantime, Raillard's printing activities opened up relationships with political, administrative and cultural leaders in Naples. Unlike most Neapolitan printers, Raillard had a type-font foundry and may have introduced the use of Dutch typefaces. He earned an enduring reputation:

> Giacomo Raillard was truly one of our greatest printers [and] his editions unquestionably earn us much glory. He used clear and sharp type fonts, optimal [qualities of] paper, and paid great attention to the correction of [the texts in his] books. Some of his works were printed in tiny characters, yet they were so clear and sharp that they cause no discomfort to readers, not even to those who are short-sighted. He also had high-quality Greek-type fonts and [produced] very beautiful tooled adornments for [his] books. His emblem was a Mermaid with the motto "Not always harmful".[45]

Bishop Giuseppe Sanz de Villargut chose Raillard as printer for his diocese of Pozzuoli. Raillard gained recognition for his successful printed works, which enjoyed a large circulation and were of good typographic quality.[46] He wed the Neapolitan Maria Agropoli.[47] He was related by marriage to Giovanni Battista Joppel, a well-off importer from the community of San Giorgio dei Genovesi, originally from Castello di Fossanova in Liguria.[48] In 1693, he was a deputy of the SS. Sacramento at the church of San Gennarello all'Olmo, counted among the "magnificent" masters of the editorial and printing arts of the Kingdom: in this one office he united religious participation, social recognition and

---

matrimoni dal 1656, cit. f. 76); for archival details and contextualization, see Lombardi, *L'economia della stampa*.

[45] L. Giustiniani, *Saggio storico critico sulla tipografia del Regno di Napoli*, Naples: Vincenzo Orsini, 1793, pp. 178-179.

[46] A fine exemplar of *Pragmaticae, edicta, decreta* can be seen at the Archivo General de Simancas, Secretarias provincials, libro 22. (See also note 17 above.)

[47] Libbro dei matrimoni dal 1656, f. 80v. Bernardo Michele Angelo Antonio, son of Giacomo Raillard and Maria Agropoli, born on 25 December 1685 (Battesimi. Dal 1656 al 1687, f. 139).

[48] Joppel married Anna Maria Raillard, sister of Giacomo, in 1686; in attendance were Romans, Florentines and the Frenchman Giovanni di Muntme of Lyon.

professional achievement as a guild member.[49] He threw himself into a new enterprise in 1695, with the influential Piedmontese printer Luigi Michele Mutij and the importer and paper manufacturer Giovanni Vernuccio, a native of the Italian paper-manufacturing region of Marche on the Adriatic Sea. Raillard took over a paper mill belonging to Giuseppe Piccolomini d'Aragona, Prince of Valle; however, the operation represented a threat to those who enjoyed situation rents connected to importation from the Papal States, Genova and the Levant.[50] Raillard left on a business trip. The capital city was then torn to pieces by pro-French and pro-Austrian factions – and Raillard had relatives in both France and Germany. Raillard returned later.[51]

As a backdrop to those years, the experience of Raillard included a matrix of business ventures with England, guided by Neapolitan residents such as: George Davies, Consul of England from 1671 to 1702; Giovanni Bernardiston; Ball; the firm John Smith, John Footh & Co.; and Thomas Hatton and his partner W. Hyde.[52] Raillard's business networks included many people of

---

[49] ASDN, Santa visita del cardinale Giacomo Cantelmo, Vol. III, ff. 585-593, in particular f. 590 (the visitor referred to a notarial act of the Neapolitan notary Andrea Passaro).

[50] The death of Vernuccio resulted in the closing of his company; cf. ASN, Notai del '600, *fascio* 1347/4, Nr Domenico Cavallo, ff. 66v-70v; ff. 208-214; acts dated 8 and 13 May and 11 September 1695.

[51] The traceability of merchants was controlled by the Sommaria, the financial and tax tribunal, to which the *ottina* captains communicated every departure: in the background there were procedures for the necessary authorisations (cases of protest have made identification possible, for example, regarding this departure of Giacomo Raillard); see *Istruttioni della numeratione del Regno di Napoli con le regole antiche di detta numeratione. E con li decreti, decisioni, e declarationi fatte per la Regia Camera della Sommaria nell'anno 1661 nel Tractatus de numeratione personarum per focos, seu familias, in universitatibus Regni, pro onerum personalium, realium, et mistorum solutione, ac de modo procedendi ad dispunctionem iurium regij fisci, & universitatum, cum instructionibus Regiae Camerae, antiquis, & recentioribus, ac adnotationibus, & decretis generalibus eiusdem supremi tribunalis, auctore Ioanne Bernardino Manerio. Neapoli, MDCXCVII, ex typographia Caroli Porpora, & Io: Dominici Pietroboni, expensis Caroli Porpora.*

[52] George Davies came into conflict with the government as a result of speculative activities and forbidden business connected with the War of Messina. In 1679, he was arrested for confessional reasons, yet he remained one of the principal businessmen in the Neapolitan marketplace. He died in Livorno in 1705; see Pagano de Divitiis, *Il commercio inglese*; *id*., *Mercanti inglesi nell'Italia del Seicento. Navi, traffici, egemonie*, Venice: Marsilio, 1990; *id*., *Verso i mari del Nord. Mediterraneo ed Europa settentrionale in Età Moderna*, Rome: Donzelli, 2005. In 1687, in order to return to London, the wealthy English Consul Hatton had wanted to cede his residence-and-trading-house, located at the Castle Square in the port, to his colleague Stevenson. Hatton remained in Naples, however, as the

reference who were protagonists in the Neapolitan marketplace: Giovanni Piatti, a Venetian of great prestige, resident in Naples and business associate of his brother Bartolomeo in Munich;[53] the Fleming Giovanni Cristoforo Velsche; the merchants Gaspare Schroe, Megalt and Large Bartol; in Rome, Giacomo Giaccherino and Giuseppe Veneglia; on the Adriatic horizon, the banker-merchants Migliorotti & Uberti, with ties to the area of Lecce (Puglia); in Palermo, Nicola Broccoli; in Genoa, Tomase Acton, Giovanni Georg Hienlein and Agostino Olivieri; in Livorno, Mariotto Talocci, as well as the banker-merchants Salviati & Strozzi, C. John Broching, Littleton and Upton,[54] and the financier Carlo Invitti.[55] Raillard collaborated with the

representative of the ship captain Matthia. He also represented Wadham and Windham of London, and Guglielmo Langford in Lisbon. When he ceded his business interests, in part to the young Joseph Cousladil, he had slaves, cabriolets, an art gallery, and goods from across the Atlantic and from Alexandria, Egypt. The most important English company in 1709, Fleetwood & Peers, was located in the same neighbourhood and was managed by the future consul Fleetwood. On the Hattons – including Timoteo, the oldest, and Guglielmo – see also the following (the transcriptions of names vary and the degree of kinship between persons is not always clear): ASN, Notai del '600, Nr Giuseppe Cerbino, *fascio* 531/32, 1693, *ad vocem*, in particular ff. 43-133, and *fascio* 531/19, *ad vocem*. On Ball and other English merchants, see also H. Roseveare (ed. and author of the introduction), *Markets and Merchants of the Late Seventeenth Century: The Marescoe-David Letters, 1668-1680*, Oxford University Press 1991, *passim.*

[53] His blood relative Francesco Piatti was Consul-General of the Venetian Nation in Naples; cf. BsG, g. dated 1705, m. 560, *passim*.

[54] Regarding Anthony Upton, a business relation of the Bathursts in Seville, and of Charles and Leonora Marescoe, see Roseveare, *Markets and Merchants.* Neoportus Littelton – dedicated to the Maltese routes – collaborated with John and Pietro Bridges, John Young, C. John Broching, William Hortis, William Seles, William Giffort in Palermo, and with Charles Balles, Consul in Messina. Littelton was a business partner of Tommaso Carneschi, a Florentine resident in Naples.

[55] The Invittis began their aristocratic ascent at the end of the 1600s. On Carlo Invitti, see, for example, ASN, Regia Camera della Sommaria, Carte Reali, years 1611-1694, b. 40, Ristretto de Reali ordini dal 1536 al 1694, Libri de regali ordini di sua Maestà, p. 554, copy of the Royal Paper dated 17 May 1694, which commands that the office of the inventory of food provisions of the city of Salerno be sold, and that the payment be applied to the account of Carlo Invitti for that which he was owed by the Royal Court, as indicated above on f. 418 (v. XII). As well, see the entry of 374.4.13 ducats of 5 September, transferred to Invitti in favour of Raillard (account numbers 1455/1015, respectively) in BsG, g. 1665, m. 304; "To Carlo Invitti one thousand six hundred and seventy ducats and for this to Giacomo Railardo [sic] paid with 1000 sequins…given in exchange for the fair at Novi next Easter at 167 percent in return for providing bills of exchange on demand 1670 ducats." (BsG, g. 1675, m. 386, entry of 1670 ducats dated 12 February).

Venetian Pietro Marchetti, a Neapolitan citizen from Bergamo who had a spacious residence-and-trading-house. Marchetti's trade activities ranged from brocades to gold and silver leaf, and from raw silk to silk clothing and woollen fabrics; he exported to Flanders, Holland, Silesia, Bavaria, France and Switzerland; he imported precious metals and stones, jewellery, manufactured goods from England, and waxes; in Italy, he had business associates in Venice, Fabriano, Bergamo, Genoa, Livorno and Rome; he did business with Giovanni Carlo Cattaneo, the Ansaldis in Livorno, the firm Pollir & Viati of Nuremburg, Isaul Histis of Amsterdam, Francesco Uberti of Venice, and Giacomo Perasca of Cremona; and, as would be expected of a man in his position, he received income from real estate holdings and investment in public debt.

When Giacomo Raillard passed away, his pro-Austrian son Bernardo Michele Angelo Raillard obtained the newspaper monopoly, in 1713. The newspaper business was in crisis, and the company began to fail: costs were high and there were political risks as well. The prestige of the House of Raillard was weakened but not destroyed: important editions were in print, they had high-quality engraving plates and they had a qualified clientele. But then there was a confiscation. Among the creditors was Giacomo Raillard Jr, arriving on the scene from Augsburg; he had business ventures and holdings in Switzerland, France and in the Empire, and he did business in Venice and Chioggia, where he traded in swords, razors and various other goods. He demanded 1000 German thalers – 1500 Neapolitan ducats – as inheritance from his Belgian mother.[56] The Spanish government in the Kingdom had come to an end in 1707, Naples was the third largest European city after London and Paris, and once again had over 200,000 inhabitants. The dimension of a multi-ethnic presence emerged not as a sociological variant but as an innate element of the city. The lives of people produce paper, and this paper becomes the bread of historians.

Translated by Stéphane Fournier

ISSM-CNR

[56] Paolo de Matteis – a famous painter who was a frequent guest of Raillard – was sent by the governing delegate of the Belgian Nation to appraise 22 paintings of the residence-printworks. Cases of type fonts were confiscated, along with presses, textile looms and newspapers. Madame Agropoli initiated the recovery of the company, began production of type fonts, and arrived at an agreement with the Sommaria, as well as her creditors, regarding conditions for rejoining her sons in Paris; ASN, Pandetta comune 2209/115, *passim*.