

Maritime Areas, Ports and Sea Routes: Defining Space and Connectivity between Malta and the Eastern Mediterranean 1770-1820

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Introduction

The numerous ships that arrived in Malta from eastern Mediterranean points of origin and were recorded systematically in the quarantine and arrival registers¹ [henceforth QR] of Malta reveal an intense maritime traffic (1770-1815). They reveal a substantial connection between a large number of eastern Mediterranean commercial nodes and ports and the port of Malta. These ports and nodes were dotted over a wide geographical expanse, they differed widely in scale and importance, and presented different economic profiles, that changed and evolved along the years. Some rose from nothing, like the Black Sea port of Odessa.² Some expanded in their operation, others contracted and declined. Some were massive trading hubs, like Smyrna, Salonica and Alexandria, with a wide range of far-flung sea and land connections, and from where hundreds of sailing voyages started, some of which found themselves sailing into the port of Malta. These hubs dealt with equally massive amounts of cargo consisting of a wide diversity of products that originated from proximal and distant locations in their extensive hinterlands. Others, like a number of locations that dotted the coasts of Epirus, the gulf of Arta, on the western coast of Greece, or the Gulf of Patras were mere beaches; landings that served as an outlet for a local product. At the latter, mariners anchored or beached their small vessels to take on board cargo that was limited in both variety and quantity. These places were often the source of single voyages. Some insight into a hierarchy of scale is necessary. It is the intention of the present paper to shed light on the nature, importance and size of this connection.

Ships sailed within the definite confines of time and space. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss and explain the space in which the actors (the ships with their captains, crews, passengers and cargoes) operated. Using the concept of maritime areas, the geographical picture will be drawn. A general overview of the different ports and maritime areas will lead to the specific activities of the ships. In this paper the (Levantine) port systems will be examined and the maritime trade routes into which the port of Malta had been integrated will be reconstructed. By port systems I understand the spatial allocation and within it the dynamic that existed between small feeder port-locations and the larger parent hubs, and between ports and their hinterland. Although invisible, maritime routes were as real and defined to the mariner as the highway was to the traveller on land.³ Mariners used their accumulated empirical knowledge of winds, currents (tides were not relevant in the Mediterranean context), geography (familiarity with coastal profiles) and sailing skills combined with the influence of political junctures to create the operational spaces that were the shipping routes.⁴ These then are the tools that will enable us to get a clearer picture of the volume, direction and purpose of the maritime traffic.

¹ AOM 6530 – 6533, and NLM Lib. Mss. 818 series.

² For the rise and history of Odessa see P. Herlihy, *Odessa: A History, 1794-1914* (US, Harvard University Press, 1986), especially 1-12.

³ F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* vol. i, S. Reynolds (trans.) (Great Britain, Fontana Paperbacks, 1975), 276.

⁴ J. Chircop, 'The Narrow-Sea Complex: A Hidden Dimension in Mediterranean Maritime History', *Research in Maritime History no. 22: Resources and Infrastructures in the Maritime Economy, 1500-2000*, G. Boyce and R. Gorski (eds.) International Maritime Economic History Association, St. John's Newfoundland 2002, 43; U. Tucci, 'Traffici e navi nel Mediterraneo in età Moderna', in *La penisola Italiana e il mare: costruzioni navali trasporti e commerci tra XV e XX secolo* a cura di T. Fanfani, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, Napoli, 1993, 58; P. Matvejevic, *Mediterranean: A Cultural Landscape*, M. H. Heim (trans.) (California, University of California Press, 1999), gives a movingly poetic

Ports and sea routes in the QR

The present work will rest heavily on the data collected and processed from the QR. The structure and reliability of this source has been described and discussed elsewhere.⁵ This will provide a quantitative view of the seaborne activity. Specifically, the elements of data culled from the QR records and considered here will be the following; the names of ports indicated as ports of origin, other ports named as intermediary stops, and the duration of the voyage, recorded either as dates of departure or number of days of sailing. This will allow us to reconstruct the geographical area of sailing by pinpointing the location of the stops, to infer whether a journey was direct or not, and, if not, how many intermediary stops were undertaken along the way. The length of travel time from one node to the next is also revealed. The analysis of stops is a tool that will help shed light on the type of trade practised – a multiplicity of stops could indicate a cabotage⁶ or tramping⁷ trade, while direct voyages point towards a different trade where seller and buyer were bound in transaction.

The value of these data is that they are consistently noted down for every ship registered. The analysis cannot be straightforward however, as there are omissions in the data. In the majority of the records analysed, the QR do not always tell us the reasons behind the intermediary stops undertaken during a voyage or indeed the length of time spent at a particular location. These two issues will be discussed further, below. The quantitative picture constructed from the QR data will be supported and nuanced by evidence found in other sources, such as the *testimonialli* (also known as *prove di fortuna* or sea protests)⁸ that form part of the records of the maritime court known as the *Consolato del Mare*, insurance contracts, bills of sea exchange,⁹ ships' log books, consular papers and passports.¹⁰ Finally, the name of an onward destination after Malta is not consistently identified and so no quantitative conclusions can be drawn; yet some useful points can still be made.

Understanding port dynamics

Before launching into a specific presentation and analysis of the data, a consideration of some methodological points regarding the study of ports will help provide a framework of interpretation. These considerations will guide and buttress this examination and help establish a veritable picture of the nature of the port of Malta and other selected ports with which it was in connection. The Portuguese maritime historian Amélia Polónia points out that a port is a focal point of the relationship between its hinterland and a *vorland* – an 'outerland'.¹¹ It is a gateway between land and sea with an important role to play. It is both shaped by, and in turn shapes, the

account of the different elements that make up the Mediterranean physical space, and the skills and artifacts that the mariners used to ply their trade.

⁵ See F. Theuma, 'Malta's Trade with the Eastern Mediterranean: 1770-1820', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Malta, 2016, 18-21.

⁶ Cabotage refers to trading along coasts that involved a multiplicity of stops, such as the Maltese brigantine expeditions to Spain during the eighteenth century, see C. Vassallo, *Corsairing to Commerce: Maltese Merchants in XVIII Century Spain* (Malta, Malta University Publishers, 1997), 91, 94.

⁷ Tramping or tramp shipping is defined as 'a cargo vessel that carries goods between many different ports rather than sailing a fixed route'. Retrieved from the Oxford Dictionary of the English Language online <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/tramp> accessed 12 August 2017.

⁸ For a description of these documents see F. Theuma (2016), 26-27.

⁹ Found in the acts of various notaries and preserved at the Notarial Archive Valletta.

¹⁰ Ship muster books (*ruoli di bastimenti*); and passports issued to the inhabitants of the Ionian islands - Passports issued to Subjects of the Ionian Republic falling under British Protection by the Consul of the Ionian Republic in Malta (1810-1814), Passports issued to Subjects of the Ionian Republic falling under British Protection by British Consuls in a diversity of locations (1809-1813), these documents are to be found at the Notarial Archive in Valletta. To date they are not yet formally catalogued. Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku (National Archives of Dubrovnik) *Ruoli di Bastimenti 1775-1801*.

¹¹ A. Polónia, 'European Seaports in the Early Modern Age: Concepts, Methodology and Models of Analysis', *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, 80 (2010), 1-23.

connections that enable it to exist. Social, political, economic, cultural, psychological, demographic and religious forces make this role a complex one.

To understand and make sense of the connectivity existent between ports, an awareness of the ports' internal dynamics and profile is needed.¹² A combination of ranking and profile will help establish a port's integration in a system or systems. Port scholar, Gordon Jackson, proposes a three-tiered port ranking system divided into

1. *major ports*: 'commercial ports engaged in long-haul trade covering an extensive region, ... involving large ships ... and which depends on an extended hinterland';
2. *medium ports*: 'deal with fewer goods, short-haul trading, and fewer, usually smaller, locally owned ships'; and
3. *minor ports*: 'small-scale foreign trade but strong coastal connections, providing support to major ports. Those may also be identified with the so-called "unimportant ports"'.¹³

Within the eastern Mediterranean shipping dynamic, the port of Malta was connected to all three kinds. Meanwhile, presented with this ranking system, the port of Malta itself presents unique characteristics that resist its fitting neatly in any of the above three categories. It certainly had adequate facilities, possessed numerous well-appointed warehouses, wharves,¹⁴ a mercantile community, necessary skills and an ample population.¹⁵ It was integrated into several trade networks; a wide 'foreland' – the French,¹⁶ the Spanish,¹⁷ the Venetian,¹⁸ South Italian and Sicilian, North African, Northern¹⁹ and Levantine.²⁰ What it lacked were an extensive hinterland and locally generated commodities, with the exception of the cotton niche, both raw and manufactured, to export in commercially viable quantities. This no doubt shaped the role that it played alongside the centuries. Moreover, the political structure in which it was embedded for the previous 268 years changed drastically in the early years of the nineteenth century.²¹

The economic profile of a port is based on six parameters as proposed by Jarvis.²² These are: the ports' main types of traffic, ownership or administration model, nature of trade, demographic indications, geomorphologic constraints, and amount of capital debt per yard of quay.²³ Furthermore, the importance of the port of Malta as an element of the eastern Mediterranean maritime network functioning within a wider Mediterranean context was premised on the triple role of commercial - redistribution node, logistical platform (to effect repairs, resupply and use the legalistic setup), and sanitary outpost - a major gate keeper preventing the dreaded plague, endemic in the eastern half of the Mediterranean, from spreading to the western half. The building of wharves, warehousing, introduction of competitive storage fees and strict but efficient quarantine procedures, helped maintain the port of Malta as a redistribution hub. The port of Malta, together with others, had gradually assumed the role of preventing the plague spreading from east to west. The setup of a well-defined and comprehensive sanitary and quarantine framework of regulations²⁴ that were rigidly applied and

¹² Ibid., 3.

¹³ Ibid., 5; On 'unimportant ports' see, G. Jackson, 'The Significance of Unimportant Ports', *International Journal of Maritime History*, xiii, 2 (December 2001), 1-17.

¹⁴ J. Debono, *Trade and Port Activity in Malta 1750-1800* (Malta, Published by the Author, 2000), 5-18.

¹⁵ B. Blouet, *The Story of Malta* (Malta, Allied Publications, 2007), 101.

¹⁶ J. Godechot, *Histoire de Malte* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1952), 53-56; X. Labat Saint Vincent (2000).

¹⁷ C. Vassallo, 'The Brigantine Trade in XVIII Century Malta', in *Proceedings of History Week, 1993* K. Sciberras (ed.) The Malta Historical Society, Malta 1997, 107-122 and C. Vassallo, *Corsairing to Commerce* (1997).

¹⁸ See, V. Mallia-Milanes, *In the Service of the Venetian Republic: Massimiliano Buzzaccarini Gonzaga's Letters from Malta to Venice's Magistracy of Trade, 1754-1776* (Malta, Peg, 2008).

¹⁹ V. Mallia-Milanes, 'English Merchants' Initial Contacts with Malta: A Reconsideration', *Melita Historica*, vi, 4 (1975), 342-361.

²⁰ The object of the present study.

²¹ See F. Theuma (2016), 27-53.

²² A. Polónia (2010), 5.

²³ Ibid., 6.

²⁴ NLM Lib. Ms. 820 *Regolamento per la buona custodia della Sanità*; See also, *Leggi e Costituzioni Prammaticali Rinuovate, Riformate, ed Ampliate dal Serenissimo ed Eminentissimo Signor Fra D. Antonio Manoel de Vilhena De'*

never relaxed, served to support the second. Quarantine procedures no doubt caused inconvenience, annoyance, delays – lengthier journeys and extra expenses to travellers, mariners and merchants alike. However, these were part of the trading and sailing life and factored in, and their effectiveness can be judged by the relatively long plague-free period in Malta from 1676²⁵ to 1813, despite the fact that Malta was trading and in contact with plague infected areas during the same time.²⁶

This brings the element of competition with nearby ports into the picture. In his history of the Order Giacomo Bosio had written that within the Maltese archipelago itself there were two ports, divided by a spit of land one was bigger than the other. Deep and sheltered, although susceptible to the vagaries of the northeast wind, the larger of the two, was capable of hosting any number of vessels.²⁷ The harbour at Valletta known variously as the *General Porto*, *porto grande* and Grand Harbour was the primary focus of all maritime activity. By the period under discussion this was still the case. Sometimes, due to circumstances mostly to do with the vagaries of inclement weather, but also of a political nature, such as during the blockade of 1800 when the whole port area was off limits to trading vessels owing to the conflict with the French (beleaguered occupiers of the island), ships made landfall and anchored at different sheltered locations around the island. The sources mention mainly S. Paul's bay,²⁸ Marsascala²⁹ and Marsaxlokk.³⁰ There were no facilities at these locations that out of necessity served only as temporary anchorages till ships could proceed to the nerve centre – the port at Valletta and eventually if necessary the quarantine harbour at Marsamxett. The pre-eminence of the Grand Harbour would only be diminished in 1988 with the establishment of the Freeport in Marsaxlokk.³¹ Competition, therefore, as a port with transit and quarantine facilities, came from other locations in the central Mediterranean, such as the ports of Messina³² and Livorno.³³

Two historical periods

The state of flux in the international political situation, affected the trade dynamics. To achieve better clarity of the fluidity of trade patterns, the data presentation and analysis that follow, will take place within the confines of two different historical periods delineated as follows. Internationally the treaty of Utrecht (1713)³⁴ that ended the War of the Spanish Succession signalled the start of a period that lasted till the American War of Independence (1775-82),³⁵ while a second period can be seen to stretch from the American War until the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815.³⁶ In the Maltese context two well-known and well defined long periods,

Conti di Villaflor Gran Maestro della Sacra Religione Gerosolimitana (Malta, 1724), 76-83; and again in *Del Dritto Municipale di Malta Nova Compilazione con Diverse Altre Costituzioni* (Malta, 1784), 269-282; J. Galea, 'The Quarantine Service and the Lazaretto of Malta', *Melita Historica*, iv, 2 (1965), 186-189.

²⁵ D. Cutajar, 'The Malta Quarantine: Shipping and Trade 1654-1694,' *Mid-Med Bank Limited Report and Accounts* (Malta, 1988), 29.

²⁶ Discussion of plague in the east and the information gleaned from the patent column is discussed in F. Theuma (2016), 140-172.

²⁷ I. Bosio, *Dell' Istoria Della Sacra Religione et Ill.ma Militia Di San Giovanni Gierosolimitano Parte Terza Seconda Impressione* (Napoli 1683), 30.

²⁸ For example, AOM 6533 f. 45 v. (24 Mar. 1800), *polacca Li 5 Sorelle*.

²⁹ For example, AOM 6531 f. 16 (11 Apr. 1780), *polacca La Concordia*.

³⁰ For example, AOM 6530 f. 258 (12 Apr. 1775), *polacca L'Ingagiante*.

³¹ Now one of the busiest transshipment hubs in Europe, handling 3.06m TEUs in 2015.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malta_Freeport, Accessed 29 March 2017.

³² See for instance, M. D'Angelo, 'Navigare tra due stretti (1800-1806). Navi, merci e mercanti tra Messina e i Dardanelli', in *Sguardi mediterranei tra Italia e Levante (XVII-XIX secolo)*, M. Mafri and C. Vassallo (eds.) Malta University Press, Malta 2012, 83-99.

³³ For a detailed study of the port of Livorno see J. P. Filippini, *Il porto di Livorno e la Toscana (1676-1814)* 3 vols. (Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1998).

³⁴ D. Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (England, Penguin Books, 2011), 497.

³⁵ See J. Black, *War for America: The Fight for Independence, 1775-1783* (England, Sutton, 2001).

³⁶ G. Harlaftis, 'The "Eastern Invasion": Greeks in Mediterranean Trade and Shipping in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', in M. Fusaro, C. Heywood and M-S. Omri (eds.) (2010), 233.

each with its particular characteristics and signalled by significant events, can be identified. The first period is defined by the hegemony of the Hospitallers, while the second by that of the British. Within these two broad epochs, important events, but of less resonance, nuance these two divisions.

So in the first Maltese period (and relevant to the period under discussion) one such event was the death of Grand Master Emmanuel Pinto in 1773, ending a 31-year magistracy and ushering the Hospitaller Order in the final phase of its sojourn on the Maltese islands.³⁷ These final years of the Hospitallers' permanence on Malta were characterised by the strong influence and dominance of the French Knights reflected in the twenty-two-year magistracy of the French Grand Master Emmanuel de Rohan.³⁸ Another would be the arrival of the French in 1798. The reality of an occupation by the French republicans was no doubt a sharp change from the years under the Hospitaller aristocratic theocracy of before, but in a sense also a continuity of the French influence on the island. While in itself the French conquest under Napoleon left no legacy to speak of,³⁹ it created the conditions for the arrival of the British. Within the second period the treaties of Amiens,⁴⁰ the plague of 1813⁴¹ and the treaty of Paris of 1814⁴² are all events that nudge the trajectory of trade in subtly but clearly different directions. This political change runs parallel to a change in the economic dynamic. Till the departure of the French, Malta was operating in a pre-industrial milieu; with the arrival of the British, although no industrialization occurred in Malta, the port of Malta was grafted into the sphere of the most industrialized world power of the time.⁴³

As such it makes sense to use this moment of twofold change in governance and economy, from the Knights to the British, from pre-industrial to industrial, as a boundary and examine the data in the context of the two periods. Thus the discussion and analysis of such different elements as maritime areas, ports, sea routes, based on the data collected and processed from the QR, will be attached to these two distinct periods, the first spanning the end of the eighteenth century and the second the beginning of the nineteenth. This will facilitate a comparative approach. For the first period (the end of the eighteenth century and henceforth Period A) data was collected from the sample years 1770, 1775, 1780, 1785, 1790 and 1795. The second period (the beginning of the nineteenth century and henceforth Period B) will be based on data collected from the sample years 1805, 1810 and 1815.⁴⁴ Due to specific issues, discussed below, the years 1800 and 1820 will be considered as outliers.

The year 1800 was the year of the blockade and while the QR were maintained they indicated a sharp drop in eastern maritime traffic. There are no QR for 1820, the last extant register being for the year 1816.⁴⁵

³⁷ For a study of Grand Master Pinto's magistracy see C. Testa, *The Life and Times of Grand Master Pinto 1741 – 1773* (Malta, Midsea Books, 1989).

³⁸ A. Luttrell, 'Eighteenth-Century Malta: Prosperity and Problems', *Hyphen*, iii, 2 (1982), 38.

³⁹ Charles Xuereb argues that after the French Republican interlude, whatever French influence that had existed as a result of the Hospitaller years was consciously eradicated from the Maltese memory by the new colonisers, the British, at times with the help of the church, see C. Xuereb, *France in the Maltese Collective Memory: Perceptions, Perspectives, Identities after Bonaparte in British Malta* (Malta, University Press, 2014), xxii, xxiii.

⁴⁰ P. Staines, *Essays on Governing Malta (1800-1813)* (Malta, Publishers Enterprises Group (PEG) Ltd, 2008), 130-132.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 559 following.

⁴² H. Frendo, *Storja ta' Malta: Żmien l-Ingliżi – Is-Seklu Dsatax* (Malta, Klabb Kotba Maltin, 2004), 40.

⁴³ J. Chircop, 'Evolution of a Harbour Infrastructure: from Mercantile to Naval Control', *Melita Historica*, xii, 2 (1997), 210.

⁴⁴ A systematic random sampling technique has been used in the choice of years for analysis. The first sample year is 1770 and following that a sample year was picked at regular intervals of five years. Thus the years of data under consideration are 1770, 1775, 1780, 1785, 1790, 1795, 1800, 1805, 1810, 1815 and 1820. This gives data from eleven evenly-spaced years covering a chronological span of 51 years, and suitable to capture emergent patterns. The main reason for this choice was one of resources and time. It was not possible to note down and process the QR data from every year.

⁴⁵ NLM Lib. Mss. 818/13, 14.

As such the year 1820 cannot be used and will not be used as part of the quantitative analysis, but merely as an opportunity for a concluding reflection. A different source – customs registers - has been used.⁴⁶

The maritime areas

For this narrative to be more intelligible, the whole geographical area under examination has been subdivided into a number of logical maritime areas.⁴⁷ Based on Gelina Harlaftis' and Katerina Papakonstantinou's concept of maritime trade regions,⁴⁸ Chircop's 'narrow-sea complex model',⁴⁹ and the French eighteenth-century groupings of eastern Mediterranean ports into *échelles*,⁵⁰ this division into maritime areas permits a better understanding of what was going on. The grouping of ports situated in geographically proximal areas enables us to perceive emergent patterns with more clarity. The maritime areas that will be used here are the following: the (lower) Adriatic (for the purpose of this study and taking into account the logical coherence premising a maritime area, only the ports on the Eastern shore south of and including Ragusa (Dubrovnik) have been considered), the Ionian Sea (specifically the coast of mainland Greece and the Islands), the Aegean Sea (further divided into five sub areas⁵¹) the southeastern Mediterranean (encompassing the southern coast of Turkey, Cyprus, the Levantine coast the coast of Egypt and on to Benghazi as the westernmost location), and the Black Sea including the sea of Azov (themselves appendices of the eastern Mediterranean). A number of port systems within each maritime area will be selected and their profile and their links with Malta examined.

⁴⁶ NAM CUS 18/10, 11 (1820).

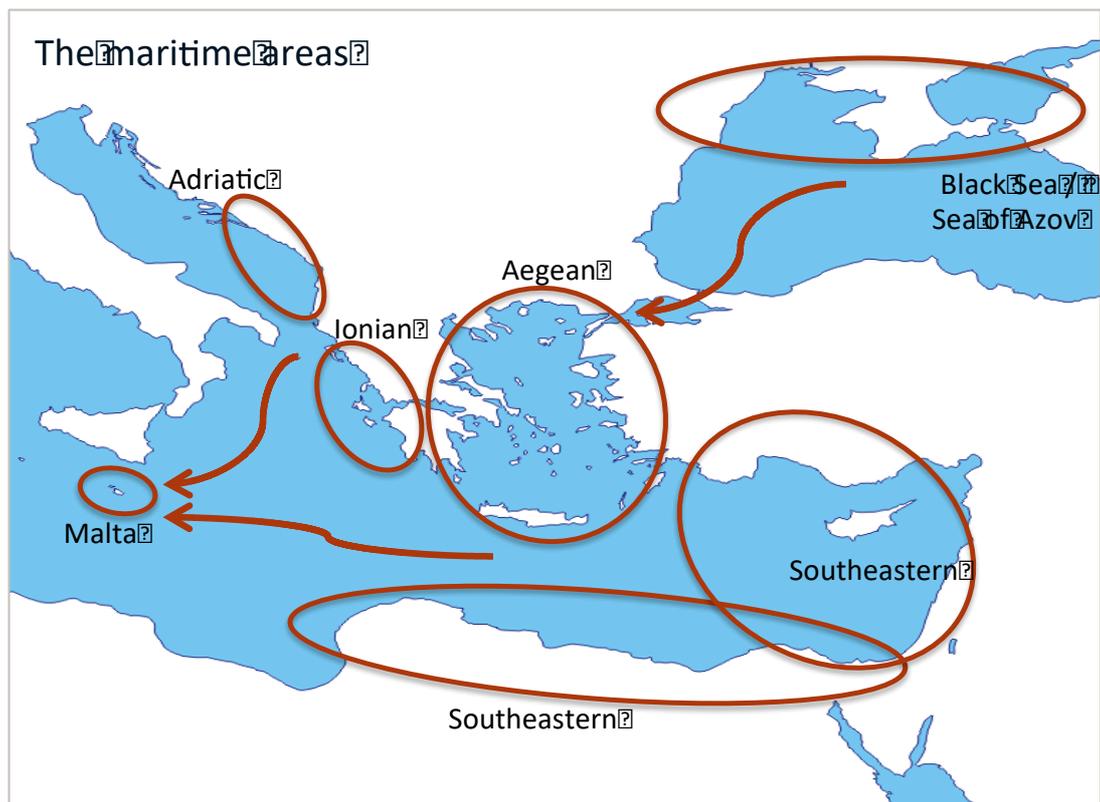
⁴⁷ K. Papakonstantinou, 'The Port of Messolonghi: Spatial Allocation and Maritime Expansion in the Eighteenth Century', *The Historical Review / La Revue Historique*, vii (2010), 283.

⁴⁸ G. Harlaftis 'The "Eastern Invasion"', (2010); K. Papakonstantinou (2010) and G. Harlaftis and K. Papakonstantinou (eds.), *Η ναυτιλία των Ελλήνων, 1700-1821 [Greek Shipping, 1700-1821: The Heyday before the Greek Revolution]* (Athens, Kedros Publications, 2013) introduce and discuss the concept of "maritime region".

⁴⁹ J. Chircop (2002).

⁵⁰ For the French system of *échelles* see, for example, P. Masson, *Histoire du commerce Français dans le Levant au XVIII^e siècle* (New York, Burt Franklin, 1967), 139-184; and X. Labat Saint Vincent, 'Malte et le commerce français au XVIII^e siècle', unpublished Thèse multigr., Université Paris IV Sorbonne, 2000, 77-91. The French had organised a system of *échelles*. These were the most important ports of call in which a small French mercantile community lived and a French consul was installed. They were grouped roughly as follows: the *échelles* of Syria-Palestine and Anatolia, the *échelles* of Egypt, those of Ottoman Greece and that of Smyrna (Izmir).

⁵¹ See below.



Map 1. Maritime areas in the eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea (Source: data collected by the author and modelled on trade regions conceptualised by Gelina Harlaftis).⁵²

The above mentioned maritime areas were glued together by the dual and interwoven strands of areas of production and areas of transport⁵³ and thus demonstrate a certain level of cohesion and unity within themselves. The two activities (production and transport) often transcended the boundaries imposed by politics or religion as commercial and shipping activity in the Ionian maritime area clearly demonstrates. The Venetian dominated Ionian islands were in a close trade relationship and cooperation with the Ottoman ruled ports of the mainland.⁵⁴ As Papakonstantinou points out, often individuals based in the differently dominated areas, were relatives. Conversely, the island of Cerigo (Cythera) although occupied by Venice and considered part of the Ionian archipelago never looked towards the Ionian islands for its trade connections, but towards the Aegean, mainly towards the island of Crete to its south as its natural partner. Even more, third party carriers - European ships and captains, mainly French, together with a not negligible amount of English and Dutch (in other words Christian) ships dominated the Aegean, southeastern and eastern Mediterranean maritime areas as they were generally chartered by Muslim merchants to move cargo from one Ottoman port to another following a pattern of practice, known as the caravan.

The Adriatic maritime area

The Adriatic maritime area as envisaged in this study comprises the southeastern shore of this sea just above the Ionian maritime area. Considered here as it was the area of origin of the important merchant fleet of Ragusa (Dubrovnik). Ragusan ships connected this Adriatic port city to eastern locations and on to the port of Malta in what seemed to be a triangular trade. Brazza (modern Brač) and the Bocche di Cattaro (modern Bay of Kotor) were nodes from which a significant amount of vessels departed.

⁵² G. Harlaftis and K. Papakonstantinou (2013), 73.

⁵³ K. Papakonstantinou (2010), 282.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 283.

The Ionian maritime area

The Ionian Sea maritime area considered here coincides with the boundaries of the Ionian narrow-sea⁵⁵ arrangement as described by John Chircop, and it provided a vigorous connectivity with the port of Malta. This maritime area was politically divided between the Venetian dominance over the seven main islands.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, there was a logistical and commercial partnership between Venetian-Greek and Ottoman-Greek ship captains and merchants from the two sides. From the four major Ionian islands⁵⁷ the Republic of Venice considered Corfu as its most important and valuable strategic possession.⁵⁸ Various epithets, such as ‘Corfu sentinel of the [Adriatic] Gulf’, and ‘shield of all Christianity’ illustrate this clearly.⁵⁹ The island was the seat of the important office of the *Provveditore da Mare* and a compulsory stop⁶⁰ for shipping between the Levant and the Serenissima. It was strategically situated to serve as an observation post of maritime traffic and a clearing station for information. As far as westward traffic to Malta was concerned, the sources reveal a weak connection during the last decades of the eighteenth century. During six selected years from 1770 – 1795, ship captains mention Corfu only twice as the first port of departure and seven times as a stop along the way.⁶¹ The compulsory sailing from Corfu to Venice as required by the laws of the *Serenissima*, could be an explanation for the weak link revealed by the QR between Corfu and Malta.

This weak link changes during the second period when the political juncture of both Maltese and the Ionian islands shifts and coincides with the British Imperial domination of both territories and when for a time the two archipelagos, the Maltese and the Ionian, shared Thomas Maitland as Governor and Lord High Commissioner respectively.⁶² Thomas Maitland was a convinced autocrat, and demonstrated an ‘utter contempt’ for the islanders’ ability to participate in the political running of their lives.⁶³ Brusque and overbearing he was disliked by his subjects of both archipelagos.⁶⁴ Yet he still sought to improve their lot with unflagging vigour. Maitland took several steps to increase the commercial prosperity of the Ionian islands. These steps can be summarized as follows. A regularised system of customs duties replaced a previous system of random impositions.⁶⁵ Markets and granaries were built in Corfu, a mole and aqueduct were built in Zante. At Cephalonia a new health office and lazaretto were set up.⁶⁶ Furthermore, the navigation of the islands was improved by the building of lighthouses and the charting of the Corfu channel, while weights and measures were also standardised.⁶⁷

⁵⁵ See J. Chircop (2002) and F. Theuma (2016), 9-10 for a discussion of ‘The Narrow-Sea’ concept.

⁵⁶ Corfu, Paxos, Cephalonia, S. Maura, Ithaca, Zante (Zakynthos), Cerigo (Kythira).

⁵⁷ Corfu, Cephalonia, S. Maura (Lefkada) and Zante.

⁵⁸ T. Pizzetti, *Con la bandiera del protettor San Marco: La marineria della serenissima nel settecento e il contributo di Lussino* v. i (Italia, Campanotto Editore, 1999), 151.

⁵⁹ T. Pizzetti (1999), 151.

⁶⁰ G. Pagratis, “Le fortune di mare” Incidenti della navigazione mercantile nei mari Ionio e Adriatico (1611-1795) in *Ricchezza del Mare Ricchezza dal Mare Secc. XIII-XVIII: Atti della “Trentasettesima Settimana di Studi” 11-15 aprile 2005* a cura di Simonetta Cavaciocchi, (Le Monnier, Firenze, 2006), 843; and G. Pagratis, ‘Shipping Enterprise in the Eighteenth Century: The Case of the Greek Subjects of Venice’, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, xxv, 1 (2010), 71.

⁶¹ QR entries from AOM 6530, 6531 and 6532.

⁶² See R. Montgomery Martin, *History of the British Possessions in the Mediterranean: Comprising Gibraltar, Malta, Gozo, and the Ionian Islands* (London, Whittaker & Co. Ave Maria Lane, 1837), 306; C. Willis Dixon, *The Colonial Administrations of Sir Thomas Maitland* (London, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1968); M. Pratt, *Britain’s Greek Empire: Reflections on the History of the Ionian Islands from the fall of Byzantium* (London, Rex Collings, 1978).

⁶³ M. Pratt (1978), 105.

⁶⁴ G. Pagratis, ‘The Ionian Islands Under British “Protection” (1815-1864) in *Anglo-Saxons in the Mediterranean: Commerce, Politics and Ideas (XVII-XX Centuries)*, C. Vassallo and M. D’Angelo (eds.) Malta University Press, Malta 2007, 132; E. L. Zammit, ‘Aspects of British Colonial Policies and Maltese Patterns of Behaviour’, in *The British Colonial Experience 1800-1964: The Impact on Maltese Society*, V. Mallia-Milanes (ed.) Mireva Publications, Malta 1988, 167.

⁶⁵ C. Willis Dixon (1968), 236.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 247.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 248.

Within the Ionian islands, there was labour distribution of activities: Corfu was the administrative centre, Cephalonia the maritime centre owning the largest fleet and Zante the commercial centre, the main export place of currants. Of more importance, thus, to the port of Malta network was the island of Zante. On both islands the Hospitaller Order maintained a consul. Together with consuls in Cerigo, Ragusa and Napoli di Romania (modern Nafplio) these constituted the entire consular network in the east Mediterranean.⁶⁸ While only four ships mentioned the island as the starting point of their journey, 23 captains mentioned it as a port of call along their voyage before arriving in Malta.

The other component of the Ionian maritime area is the mainland - the coast of Epirus - extending from Valona (Vlore in Albania) to the Ambracian Gulf, Acarnania-Aetolia, the gulfs of Patras and Corinth and the western coast of the Peloponnese, all of which were entirely under Ottoman hegemony with the exception of Prevesa (captured in 1717 and held on to till the downfall of the Republic of Venice in 1797).

The Aegean maritime area

Due to the extensive and diverse geo-social conditions prevalent in the Aegean sea, its major and minor ports can be grouped into five distinct maritime areas: the northwest, northeast, southwest, southeast and the central Aegean areas. In every maritime area there were maritime centres, usually islands, and trade centres where cargoes were gathered. From the literature we know that the main ports in the Aegean maritime area were Salonica⁶⁹ and Smyrna.⁷⁰ It was the fleets of the maritime centres of the northeast Aegean, and (Psara), Hydra and Spetses in the southwest that carried the cargoes. The nodes in the Aegean with the greatest volume of connections with the port of Malta were not only the big port cities, Smyrna and Salonica, but also, the hundreds of small *échelles* in the Aegean (and Ionian) coastline.

During six selected years that fall within Period A, circa 500 ships originating from the eastern Mediterranean made harbour in Malta. Proportionally this works out as the same rate of traffic travelling through the island of Chios that sat astride the Alexandria – Constantinople routes.⁷¹ This goes some way to establish the port of Malta as a relevant hub of Levantine traffic heading West. Once again similar to the situation in the Ionian maritime area, the geographical distribution is a wide one. While the bulk of the ship traffic arriving at Malta was taken by the previously mentioned main ports, numerous lesser ports, landings, and anchorages from myriad locations on the islands and both the Greek and Turkish mainland coasts were the origin of what often seemed to be one-off sailing voyages, as will be shown below.

The southeastern Mediterranean maritime area

This was an important region for shipping serving the Ottoman Empire and the insatiable city of Constantinople (Istanbul). The most important nodes here were Alexandria, Damietta, with an important shipping route connecting Alexandria with Smyrna, and the great city of the empire - Istanbul. European shipping coming into these ports served two functions. First, to serve other Ottoman ports, the French, the British and the Dutch, but mostly the French, plying the maritime caravan trade; secondly, to move goods – at times, according to Panzac,⁷² smuggled, to Europe. The area's connection to Malta was primarily through

⁶⁸ AOM 6429 - *Consoli*.

⁶⁹ M. Mazower, *Salonica City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950* (New York, Vintage Books, 2006).

⁷⁰ E. Frangakis, 'The Port of Smyrna in the Nineteenth Century', in *Southeast European Maritime Commerce and Naval Policies from the Mid-Eighteenth Century to 1914*, A. E., Vacalopoulos, C. D. Svolopoulos, and B. K. Kiraly, (eds.) Institute for Balkan Studies Thessaloniki, Greece 1988, 261-272; E. Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century, (1700-1820)* (Athens, Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992).

⁷¹ D. Panzac, 'L'Escale de Chio: Un observatoire privilégié de l'activité maritime en mer Égée au XVIII^e siècle', *Histoire, Economie et Société*, 4 (1985), 541-561; G. Pagratis, G. Pagratis, "The Port of Chios Seen Through the Maritime activities of the Ionian Islanders (1804-1806)", *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, vol. 26/27 (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 2010/11), 221-232.

⁷² D. Panzac, 'International and Domestic Maritime Trade in the Ottoman Empire during the 18th Century', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, xxiv, 2 (May, 1992), 189-206.

French captains transporting rice and other commodities to Marseilles⁷³ stopping over at Malta. Damietta was situated inland on the eastern branch of the Nile. This provided the shelter that the other major port, Alexandria, was never able to provide.⁷⁴ However, access was difficult due to sand bars. Its location made it a hub for trade between Palestinian, Syrian and Anatolian markets. Europeans were excluded from Damietta but during the eighteenth century they were active under the pretext of transporting foodstuffs to Ottoman ports. Rosetta and Behir were minor ports that also appear in the sources.

The near eastern shore is considered here as part of the southeastern maritime area. Spread over 800 km of coastline the main ports on the Eastern shore of the Mediterranean were Alexandretta, Latakia, Tripoli (of Syria), Beirut, Saida (Sidon), Sur (Tyre), Acre, Caifa (Haifa) and Jaffa.⁷⁵ However, according to the French historian Panzac, there was no apparent hierarchy. Unlike the other main Eastern Mediterranean ports, Alexandria in Egypt, Salonica in Macedon and Smyrna in Aegean Anatolia, and eventually Odessa in the Black Sea, these were not great port cities but outlets to the great cities situated further inland. Cotton in two kinds and silk were the two major exports, together with some dyestuffs. These ports served a dual function - trading with the west and also internally within the Ottoman trade network. Panzac, using consular evidence, demonstrates strong connections between the Syrian ports and the ports of Salonica, Istanbul, Smyrna, Chios, and Alexandria and Damietta in Egypt.⁷⁶

The Black Sea (including the sea of Azov) maritime area

During the modern period, the Black Sea area was on the periphery of long distance trade.⁷⁷ Until the treaty of Kucuk Kajnardji 1774, the Black Sea was a 'Turkish lake',⁷⁸ almost hermetically sealed against penetration by foreigners. The Ottoman Porte reserved passage through the Bosphorus as a privilege for its own subjects.⁷⁹ Catherine the Great's conquests and consolidation of territory along the northern shore of the Euxine was followed by a push to populate and develop what became known as New Russia. A number of port cities (Odessa founded in 1794, Mariupol, Cherson-founded 1778, Taganrog 1698, the former Kaffa renamed Theodosia in 1783, Nikolaev founded in 1789) were established or expanded. From all these, Odessa was to rise and become the queen of the Russian Black Sea ports. This rise was also mirrored in the shipping that arrived in Malta. It was only in the early years of the nineteenth century that the port of Malta became part of the Black Sea-Sea of Azov network. The numbers of Greek and Ragusan ships carrying grain from these ports were reinforced and gradually replaced by Maltese ships.⁸⁰

Ports of origin - the geographical distribution

Having presented the maritime areas and the main ports within them, a reconstruction and examination of the routes sailed, based on the QR data, is the next step in the endeavour to discover the port of Malta's evolving position in the eastern Mediterranean trade shipping network. This requires the identification of the ports from where the shipping originated, and analysis of their geographical distribution. The number, names and

⁷³ D. Crecelius and H. 'Abd Al-'Aziz Badr, 'French Ships and Their Cargoes Sailing between Damiette and Ottoman Ports 1777-1781' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, xxxvii, 3 (1994), 251-286.

⁷⁴ D. Crecelius, 'Damiette in the Late Eighteenth Century' *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, xxvii (1990), 185.

⁷⁵ D. Panzac, 'Commerce et commerçant des ports du Liban Sud et de Palestine (1756-1787) in *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 55-56, (1990), 75.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁷⁷ P. Herlihy (1986), 3.

⁷⁸ D. Panzac (1992), 189.

⁷⁹ C. Ardeleanu, 'The Opening and Development of the Black Sea for International Trade and Shipping (1774-1853)' *Euxinos Governance and Culture in the Black Sea Region, Nations Nation-States Trade and Politics in the Black Sea* 14 (2014) C. Adreleanu (guest ed.), 30.

⁸⁰ C. Vassallo, 'The Maltese Merchant Fleet and the Black Sea Grain Trade in the Nineteenth Century' *International Journal of Maritime History*, xiii, 2 (Dec. 2001), 19-36.

locations of ports and landings within the maritime areas discussed above and that were connected to the port of Malta, will be laid out. The evolution of the connections will be traced. This will be done by an analysis of the volume of traffic, measured by the number of arrivals from selected locations, and the permanence of the links over time. These in turn will serve as indicators of the strength or weakness of the connections. The additional elements of intermediary stops along the voyages and duration of the voyages undertaken will also be examined.

Within the maritime areas under discussion, the QR reveal a total of 117 (± 5) (degree of error due to the possibility that different place names given to same location were counted as different locations) place names as journey starting points for the end of the eighteenth century⁸¹ and an increase to a total of 135 (± 5) place names for the first years of the nineteenth century.⁸² On examining these place names, it is revealed that 60 locations were unique for the sample years 1770, 1775, 1780, 1785, 1790 and 1795, while 78 locations were unique for the sample years 1805, 1810 and 1815. Sixty-one locations could be found in both periods. This means that while the connection between 60 points of origin and the port of Malta seems to have been broken during the beginning of the nineteenth century, contact was established with at least 78 new locations, while 61 places were the source of voyages during the entire period under examination.

For the last years of the eighteenth century (Period A) we see the following distribution of ports, the numbers in parentheses indicating individual ports within a maritime area: Adriatic (5), Ionian (39), southwestern Aegean (9), northwestern Aegean (8), northeastern Aegean (12), southeastern Aegean (9), central Aegean (6), southeastern Mediterranean (19), and Black Sea (3). Fifteen ports could not be identified. For the beginning of the nineteenth century (Period B), we see that each of the maritime areas had connections with the port of Malta as follows: Adriatic (17), Ionian (37), southwestern Aegean (8), northwestern Aegean (10), northeastern Aegean (14), southeastern Aegean (4), central Aegean (9), southeastern Mediterranean (18) and Black Sea including the sea of Azov (8). An initial look shows that while the number of connections with the Ionian, Aegean and southeastern Mediterranean fluctuated only lightly, the connections with the Adriatic and the Black sea experienced a significant increase in points of origin.

Table 1. *Distribution of number of ports of origin per maritime area*

	Adriatic	Ionian	S. W. Aegean	N. W. Aegean	N. E. Aegean	S. E. Aegean	Central Aegean	S. E. Med	Black Sea
Period A	5	39	9	8	12	9	6	19	3
Period B	17	37	8	10	14	4	9	18	8
change	+12	-2	-1	+2	+2	-5	+3	-1	+5

(Source: QR – AOM 6530, 6531, 6532; NLM Lib. Mss. 818/4, 7, 12).

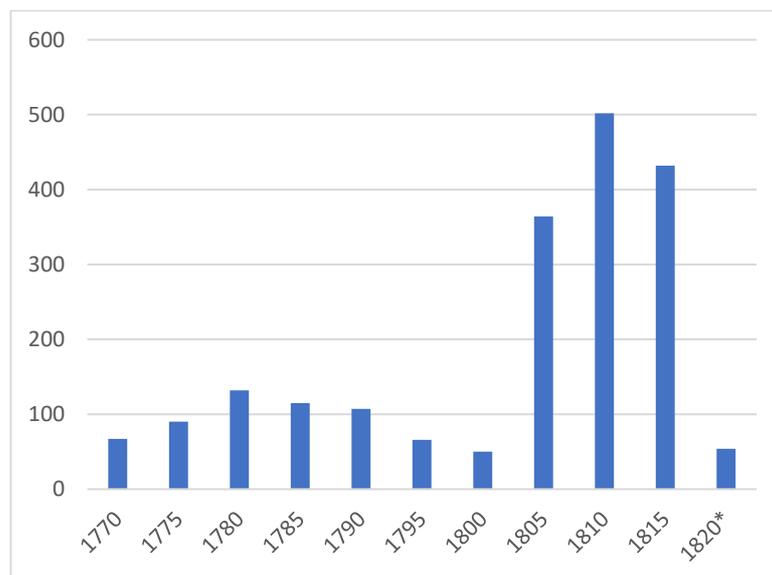
The total number of ships that arrived from these points of origin is grouped according to maritime area of origin and shown in figures 2 and 3. It is clear that at the end of the eighteenth century the majority of shipping arrived from Aegean points of origin (199 sailings), followed by the southeastern Mediterranean (171 sailings) and the Ionian maritime area (158 sailings). As far as sea traffic to Malta is concerned, the sample years from the beginning of the nineteenth century continue to show a continuity in the domination of the Aegean maritime

⁸¹ Data collected and processed by the author from AOM 6530 (years 1770, 1775), AOM 6531 (years 1780, 1785), AOM 6532 (years 1790, 1795), AOM 6533 (year 1800).

⁸² Data collected and processed by the author, from NLM Lib. Ms. 818/4 (year 1805), NLM Lib. Ms. 818/7 (year 1810), NLM Lib. Ms. 818/12 (year 1815).

area (425 arrivals), with the Ionian (293 arrivals) as the second largest source of shipping that had replaced the southeastern Mediterranean area (262 arrivals). The latter had become the third largest source of shipping. A significant change is linked to the Black Sea maritime area. Following the opening of the sea to foreigners in 1774 the French had shown a keen interest in Black Sea trade. However, despite the strong link between French Levantine shipping and Malta, we have no evidence that French Black Sea traders used Malta as a port of call, as, according to the QR, the Euxine was the source of a meagre three sailings during the sample years of the eighteenth century. This position changed dramatically during the early nineteenth century: during just two sample years, 1805 and 1815, the ports of the Black Sea/sea of Azov were the source of 142 sea voyages.⁸³

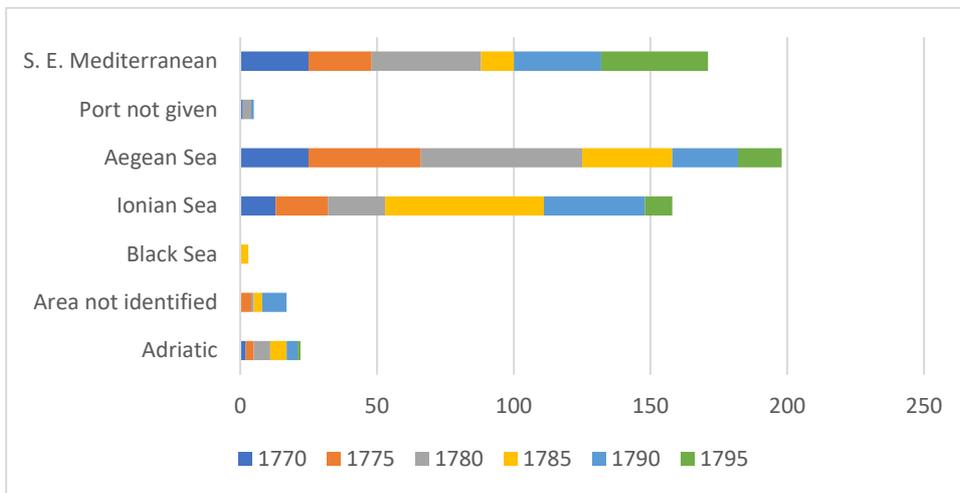
Figure 1. *Total number of arrivals at the port of Malta from eastern Mediterranean locations*



(Source: AOM 6530, 6531, 6532; NLM Lib. Mss. 818/4, 7,12; *The arrivals for the year 1820 are based on a four-month sample taken from customs registers NAM CUS 18/10, 11).

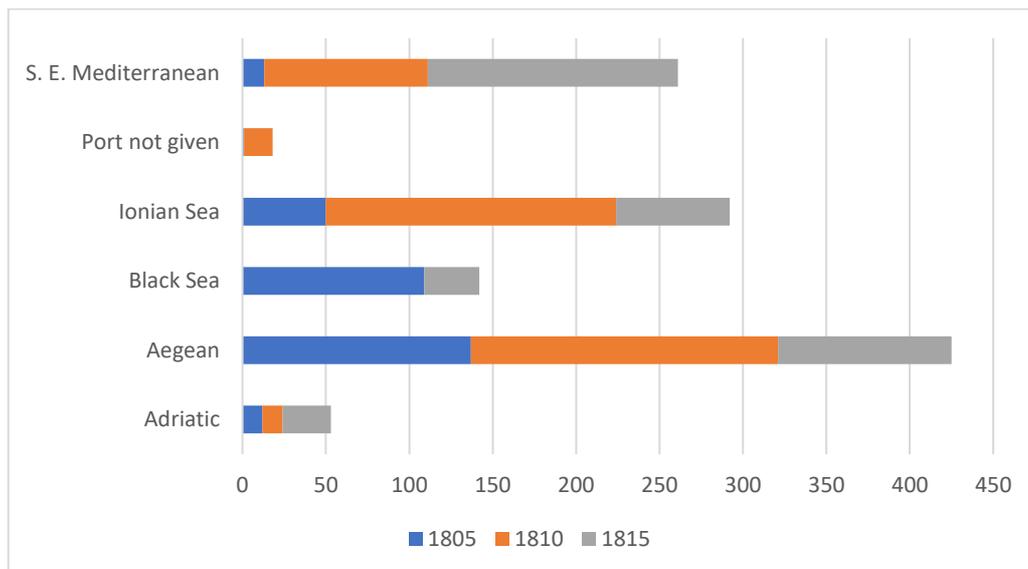
⁸³ An analysis of the nationality of the carriers is laid out in F. Theuma (2016), 87-139.

Figure 2. Period A - Arrivals by maritime area



(Source: AOM 6530, 6531, 6532)

Figure 3. Period B - Arrivals by maritime area



(Source: NLM Lib. Mss. 818/4, 7, 12)

Narrowing down to individual ports, from the 117 (± 5) ports mentioned above, the first period reveals the dominance of the following ten ports. The port of Smyrna dominated with 82 sea voyages followed by Alexandria 49, Prevesa 36, Salonica 31, Acre 23, Canea 22, Catacolo 19, Damiata 18, Benghazi 15, and Patras 14 (as seen in table 2). Fifteen other ports were the source of five or more sailing voyages headed to Malta. In addition, 27 ports were the source of 2 to 4 voyages, while around 70 locations were the source of just one recorded voyage. From the list of the dominant ten ports of origin, we can see that four (Alexandria, Acre, Damiata, and Benghazi) were in the southeastern Mediterranean maritime area, three (Prevesa, Catacolo and Patras) were in the Ionian maritime area, one (Smyrna) in the northeastern Aegean, one (Salonica) in the northwestern Aegean and one (Canea) in the southwestern Aegean.

Table 2. *Period A - The ten dominant ports*

Name of port	Number of voyages to Malta
Smyrna	82
Alexandria	49
Prevesa	36
Salonica	31
Acre	23
Canea	22
Catacolo	19
Damietta	18
Benghazi	15
Patras	14

(Source: AOM 6530, 6531, 6532)

During the second period (sample years 1805, 1810, 1815 as seen in table 3) and from the 135 (± 5) individual ports identified, 31 locations were the source of five or more sailings, 49 were the source of 2 to 4 voyages, while 85 were the origins of only one voyage. The ten connections that generated the greatest amount of traffic during this second period were Alexandria 167, Smyrna 140, Odessa 113, Constantinople 86, Zante 70, Patras 65, Cephalonia 36, Psara 31, Benghazi 30, and Corfu 29.

Table 3. *Period B - The ten dominant ports*

Name of port	Number of voyages to Malta
Alexandria	167
Smyrna	140
Odessa	113
Constantinople	86
Zante	70
Patras	65
Cephalonia	36
Psara	31
Benghazi	30
Corfu	29

(Source: NLM Lib. Mss. 818/4, 7, 12)

Thus the maritime areas represented during Period B show the following shift, one port (Odessa) in the Black Sea, two (Alexandria and Benghazi) in the south east Mediterranean, three (Smyrna, Psara and Constantinople) in the north east Aegean, and four (Zante, Patras, Cephalonia and Corfu) in the Ionian. The changes and continuities between the two periods are clear. The importance and strength of the link between the port of Malta and the ports of Smyrna, Alexandria, Patras, and Benghazi are evident. Not only had a connection that spanned the whole period under discussion been retained; the shipping from these locations increased significantly during the second period. The percentage increase of voyages during Period B was of 70.7 per cent for Smyrna, 240 per cent for Alexandria, 364 per cent for Patras and 100 per cent for Benghazi. On the other hand, Constantinople, Odessa, Zante, Cephalonia, Psara and Corfu, whose activity was not significant during Period A, became important players during Period B, Canea retained the same traffic as before 22, while Salonica 21, Acre 1, and Catacolo 2 diminished in importance, the traffic from the last two becoming to all intents and purposes insignificant.

Table 4. *The ten dominant ports by Maritime Area*

	S. E. Med	Ionian	N. E. Aegean	N. W. Aegean	S. W. Aegean	Black Sea
Period A	4	3	1	1	1	0
Period B	2	4	3	0	0	1

(Source: AOM 6530, 6531, 6532; NLM Lib. Mss. 818/4, 7, 12)

The sailing routes and journey typology

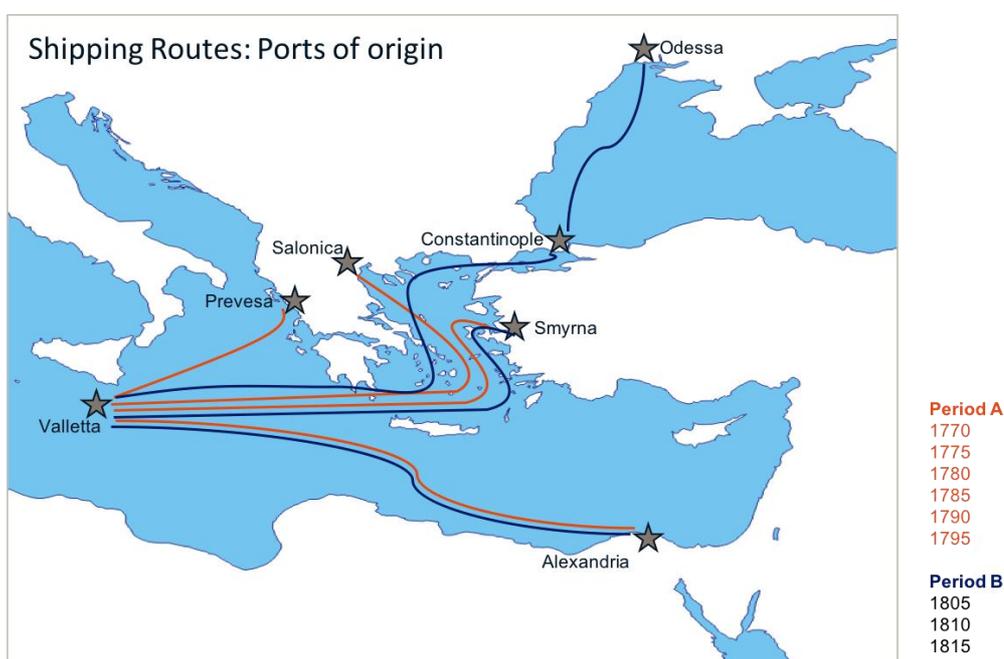
The above overview has revealed the volume and continuity over time of seaborne traffic, shown by number of voyages and period in which connections were existent between ten selected major ports of the Eastern Mediterranean and the port of Malta. The parameters of volume and continuity indicate the strength or weakness of the different connections.

In addition, the consistent and detailed nature of the data in the QR enables us to reconstruct not only the points of origin of the maritime traffic but also the geographical space and time of the routes that were followed. We can also see the fluctuations in the routes' rate of use as well as the types of journeys made - whether they were direct voyages from a single port of origin to the port of Malta, or broken up by a number of intermediate stops. If a voyage was broken up, the intermediate ports of call were noted down by the sanitary authorities in Malta. The element of time is given either as dates of departure or as number of days. Since in the majority of instances the data in the QR record only dates of departure and not of arrival at particular locations, we cannot work out the length of time spent at particular intermediary ports. Having said that, we will still use the element of time to make additional meaningful inferences. The reasons for stops undertaken along a sailing voyage are similarly obscure. A number of QR records for the year 1815 are an exception to this, as some details have been noted down about the stops undertaken. An additional source, the *testimonialii* documents, sheds some light on the nature of these stops and, although quantitative conclusions cannot be drawn, the indication is that these stops were often unplanned, not part of a trading pattern, and forced on the ship's captain due to extraordinary circumstances, such as bad weather and damage to the ship. It will be assumed that direct voyages indicate a stronger connection between ports. As pointed out earlier, the length of time taken to travel from one location to the next was meticulously noted down. This is understandable as the health authorities in Malta were anxious to know if crew, cargo and passengers (if any) were still likely to introduce contagious diseases.

The routes sailed were dictated by commercial factors, perils encountered along the way, and logistical needs. The commercial element was arguably the most important and saw the port of Malta in the role of direct

consumer of imported goods or as a transit port. Besides the demands of commerce, ships found themselves sailing into the port of Malta due to dangers encountered along the way. Inclement weather was the cause of most perils. Storms caused damage and loss to both ship and cargo and also of lives; other perils included attacks by corsairs, privateers or warships, fire, and damage, or loss caused by human error. The logistics factor included the need to obtain a clean bill of health from a recognized authority to smoothen transactions in other ports in the western Mediterranean, the necessity to lodge any sort of legal statements, such as *testimonialiali* for insurance purposes, the need to visit a home port, undertake repairs and take on board supplies or take on board pilots familiar with particular sea routes. Map 2 illustrates the shipping routes from six important points of origin.

Map 2. Shipping routes from six major ports



(Source: Reconstruction of shipping routes is based on QR data collected by the author)

The route morphology is made of the first point of origin and other intermediary points recorded before the final arrival in the port of Malta. Thus for example, the Neapolitan *tartana Il Padre Eterno*,⁸⁴ captained by Ferrando Scarpato from Sorrento, entered Malta on 27 May 1770 after almost two months at sea, having departed Salonica on 1 April of that year. She made three recorded stops along the voyage, the first at Cerigo from where she departed on 6 May, a second at Coron from where she departed on 13 May, and a final stop at Messina from where on 22 May she set sail for Malta. The *tartana* was laden with a mixed cargo of tobacco, cotton, incense, coffee and other items for Naples. According to the captain's statement, she stopped at Malta to undergo quarantine and was released with a clean bill of health on 24 June. The French corvette *S. Francesco Saverio*,⁸⁵ captained by Spirito Tomas from Antibes, reached Malta on 27 January 1775. She had departed Smyrna on 24 October of the previous year, stopped at Schiavata in the Gulf of Stanchio from where she departed on the 3 January, and headed to Curabarla. From Curabarla she departed on 8 January and sailed directly to Malta where she made landfall almost three months after her initial departure from Smyrna. Laden

⁸⁴ AOM 6530, f. 13v (27 May 1770) *tartana Il Padre Eterno*.

⁸⁵ AOM 6530, f. 247 (27 Jan. 1775) corvette *S. Francesco Saverio*.

with a cargo of grain and wax for Marseilles, the captain requested quarantine and repairs, as his ship had started taking water during the voyage. The *S. Francesco Saverio* cleared quarantine at Malta on 14 February. The Venetian *checcia La Pallade*⁸⁶ made port in Malta on 27 December 1795. The QR tell us that she had left Candia 40 days earlier, and sailed to Malta via Navarino in 25 days, Zante in 18, and Cephalonia in 12. This means that the four legs of the journey, time in harbour and days sailing combined, were 15, 7, 6 and 12 days long respectively.

The above examples and the tables 5 and 6 are samples of the profusion of different routes the mariners sailed on and that are recorded in the QR. During the first period the total 578 arrivals travelled via 304 different routes. If we take the routes connecting the top three ports (mentioned above) to the port of Malta we can see the following. There were twenty-nine different routes that connected the port of Smyrna to Malta, 18 routes connected Alexandria to Malta and 8 routes Prevesa to Malta.

Table 5. *Period A - Sample of routes connecting Smyrna with Malta*

Route travelled	Frequency
Smyrna/Malta	50
Smyrna/Coron/Malta	1
Smyrna/Largentiera/Malta	1
Smyrna/Livorno/Malta	1
Smyrna/Milo/Malta	1
Smyrna/Milo/Napoli di Romania/Malta	1
Smyrna/Mitiline/Malta	1
Smyrna/Napoli di Romania/Hydra/Malta	1

(Source: AOM 6530, 6531, 6532)

As expected during Period B, the increased amount of arrivals was also reflected in an increased number of different sailing routes. The 1300 arrivals travelled along 546 different routes. At face value there was an increase of 242 routes; however, it is clear that the parallel increase in shipping was not matched by an equivalent increase in sea routes travelled. This meant that there were fewer routes available in the second period. Thus while there was an increase in voyages of 124.9%, the routes that serviced them increased by 79.6%. The dominant ports of origin manifest the widest range of routes used. To illustrate this issue, again taking the top three ports as an example, we can see that 44 routes were used between Alexandria and Malta, 48 between Smyrna and Malta and 30 between Odessa and Malta. This means that while one route was a direct one between Alexandria and Malta, Smyrna and Malta the rest of the routes involved a combination of one or more stops along the way. The different nature of the connection with Odessa, the third most important port during Period B, will be clarified below.

Table 6. *Period B - Sample of routes connecting Alexandria with Malta*

Route travelled	Frequency
Alexandria/Malta	53
Alexandria/senza toccar altri porti/Malta	62

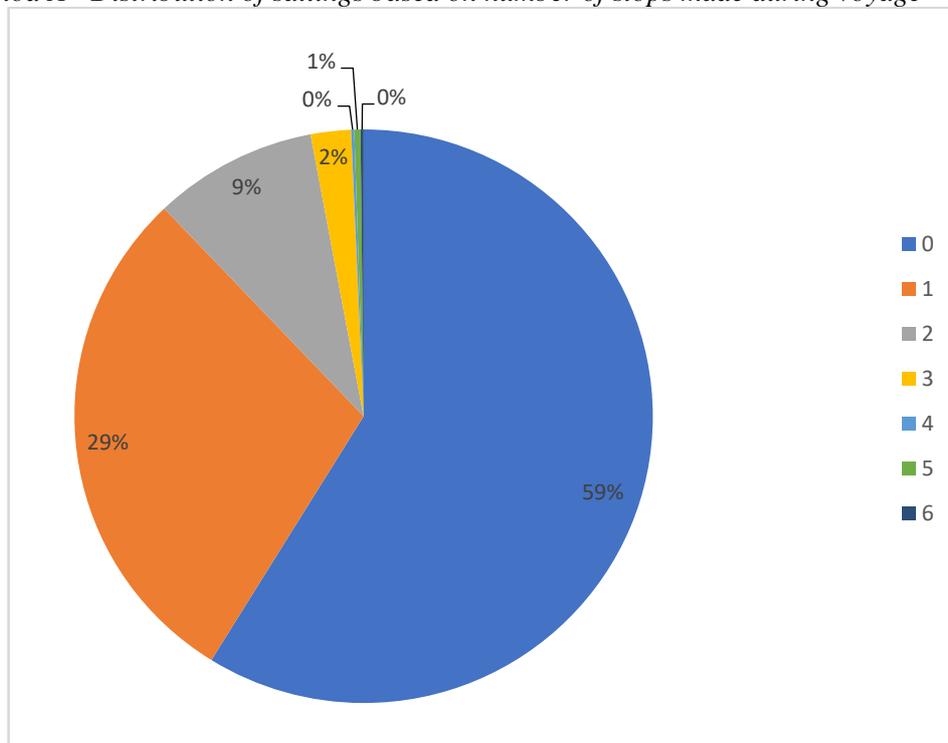
⁸⁶ AOM 6532, f. 197 (27 Dec. 1795) *checcia La Pallade*.

Alexandria/Alaxia in Gulf of Scandarun/S. Giov d'Acrici/senza tocar altri porti/Malta	1
Alexandria/Amorgo/Cephalonia/Malta	1
Alexandria/Barba Nicola in Caramania/senza toccar altri porti/Malta	1
Alexandria/Candia/Malta	1
Alexandria/Carambusa near Candia/Capo Passaro/senza toccar altri porti/Malta	1
Alexandria/Castel Rosso/Nio/senza toccar altri porti/Malta	1
Alexandria/Castel Rosso/Petes in Natolia/senza toccar altri porti/Malta	1
Alexandria/Castel Rosso/senza tocar altri porti/Malta	1

(Source: NLM Lib. Mss. 818/4, 7, 12)

The examination of the number, location and nature of stops is important, as it sheds light on the type of trade being carried out. Were the stops made for trading purposes? Were they a variation of the cabotage (and caravanning) that occurred within the network of Ottoman ports in the Levant? Figure 4 shows that 59% of the total number of trips undertaken during the first period were direct ones, with no stops made en route. Journeys with one stop made 29% of the total, journeys with two stops made up 9%, what remained were one trip with four stops, two trips with five, and one with six stops. More specifically, if we look at the 82 arrivals from Smyrna as port of origin, 50 trips or 60.9% were direct. The same bias in favour of direct journeys repeats itself for the port of Alexandria where 25 out of 49 or 51% of the voyages were direct. Figure 4, shows clearly the overwhelming frequency of direct voyages.

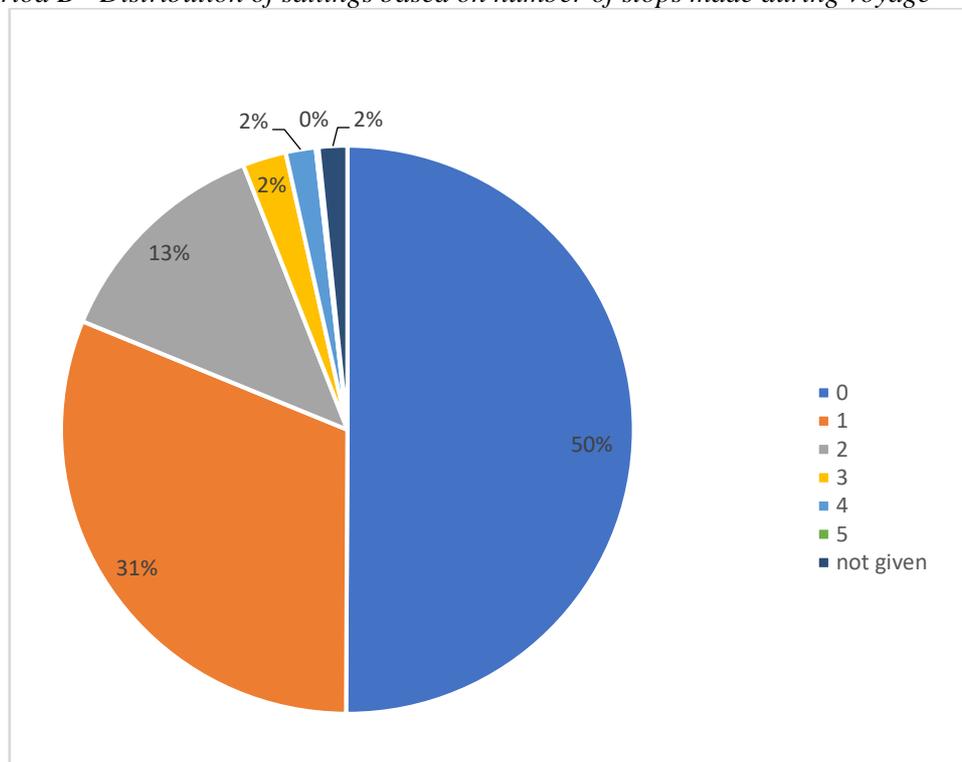
Figure 4. Period A - Distribution of sailings based on number of stops made during voyage



(Source: AOM 6530, 6531, 6532)

Looking at the situation during Period B as represented in figure 5 one observes the following. This time round half of the trips sailed were direct, followed by trips with one stopover that made 31% of the total, while trips with two stops made 13%, three stops and four stops 2%. Another 2% do not have a recorded provenance: so their number of stops are unknown, with only 2 trips or 0% have 5 recorded stops. Tables 2 and 3 show us the movement from specific ports. We see that of the 167 trips proceeding from Alexandria, 115 or 68.8% were direct, while 60.7% of the trips from Smyrna were direct. An exception is manifested by the ports of Odessa and Taganrog in the Black Sea maritime area. No direct trips were recorded from these two locations, as all ships performed a stop at Constantinople on their way out of the Black Sea and into the north east Aegean. Constantinople itself appears 86 times as a point of origin and 134 times as a first stop on the Black Sea - Malta routes.

Figure 5. *Period B - Distribution of sailings based on number of stops made during voyage*



(Source: NLM Lib. Mss. 818/4, 7, 12)

Using the analysis of a first intermediary stop, on journeys from the top ten ports of origin, as a tool to further explore the connectivity between the port of Malta and the eastern Mediterranean the following can be detected. During Period A the data reveal two important facts, firstly a diversity of routes existed the majority of which were used infrequently if not just once, secondly routes connecting two or more major ports although existent were very rare. Although it is well known and documented that the ships of several nationalities such as the French, the British and the Dutch⁸⁷ were sailing between the major and minor ports of

⁸⁷ See D. Panzac (1985); Panzac (1990); Panzac, 'Le contrat d'affrètement maritime en Méditerranée: droit maritime et pratique commerciale entre Islam et Chrétienté (XVII^e-XVIII^e Siecles)', *JESHO* xl, 3 (2002), 342-362; and Panzac, *La Caravane Maritime: Marins Européens et Marchands Ottomans en Méditerranée (1680-1830)* (Paris, CNRS EDITIONS, 2004); D. Creclius 'Damiette in the Late Eighteenth Century' *Journal of the American Research Center in*

the Ottoman empire, it seems that when business interests dictated a journey west cargo was laden at one port of origin, at most two, and carried due west with as few stops as possible, until touching port at Malta. A possible exception to this is the port of Smyrna. In thirteen cases Smyrna is seen as an intermediary first stop for voyages starting at Salonica or in the northeast Aegean (Constantinople or the Dardanelles) and Malta. Furthermore, besides the direct trips that have no recorded stops, one route, Smyrna – Porto Olivieto – Malta, appears four times in the QR. The rest of the routes recorded were 28 unique variations with stops made at places such as Orla (in the Gulf of Smyrna), Mitelini, Cerigo, and Coron. Breaks in the voyage made either close to the start or to the end of the journeys. Such a pattern suggests pit stops dictated by foul weather or logistical needs. If we look at Alexandria, the pattern is similar. Eighteen different routes were recorded between Alexandria and Malta. Ships that sailed directly between the two ports were recorded 23 times. Of the seventeen remaining routes the distribution is as follows, ships that sailed along the route Alexandria – Hydra - Malta were recorded on five occasions, four routes were used twice each while the remaining routes were used once. There is no record that the port of Alexandria functioned as an intermediary stop on any route examined. Closer to home, in the Ionian maritime area, data about the port of Prevesa reveal that very few trips required a stop along the way and none of the first stops were repeated. Data about the port of Patras reveal that while only four trips required a stop, twice the stop was made at Missolonghi.

How does this compare with the stops made during Period B? As expected, due to the wider range of traffic nodes and increased shipping volume, the picture is more complex. If we take routes connecting the port of Alexandria to Malta we can see the following. Apart from the route Alexandria - Siracusa – Malta that was used 9 times during the select years of the second period, the QR reveal the route Alexandria – Rhodes - Malta used 5 times, a route connecting Alexandria to Cyprus and Malta used twice and 14 other unique variations. An interesting and atypical route, connected Alexandria to the other major port of Smyrna before connecting to Malta was used only once. Whereas there is only one record where Alexandria was used as an intermediary stop between Damiette and Malta. The routes from Smyrna to Malta reveal that there were 19 routes with one stop, with Smyrna - Psara - Malta used 8 times, Smyrna - Mykonos - Malta 3 times, 6 routes used twice each and the rest once. In addition, Smyrna appears 19 times as an intermediary stop on routes that from the Black Sea and northeast Aegean led to Malta.

Traffic from Odessa was the third most frequent. As mentioned above, there are no recorded direct voyages from Odessa to Malta. From the total of 113 voyages, 55 performed one stop along the way. The route Odessa – Constantinople – Malta was used 50 times, and five times ships sailed along an Odessa – Livorno – Malta route. Forty-five voyages took place along twelve routes with two stops. During the latter journeys, Constantinople was the first stop along the way, after which an additional stop was made at the Dardanelles (22 times). The Odessa – Constantinople – Smyrna – Malta route was used 10 times and the remaining routes included a second stop at a location either in the south west Aegean or south Ionian before the ships set their bows in the direction of Malta. The Odessa – Constantinople – Smyrna – Malta route is of interest. During the first period we saw that ships arriving in Malta hardly ever sailed on a route that connected major ports, contrary to that the present route connected three of the largest ports in the east Mediterranean and two maritime areas to Malta.

Let us examine the voyage of the English *bombarda La Madonna Faneromeni*⁸⁸ captained by Vincenzo Combottega. She performed four stops along her journey to Malta. She arrived in Malta on 10 May 1815 having sailed from Scalanova via Mykonos, Navarino, Zante and Cephalonia. Fortunately, this is one of the records that reveals the reasons for the stops. She set sail after lading a cargo of legumes and raisins at

Egypt, xxvii (1990), 185-189; D. Crecelius and H. Abd Al-'Aziz Badr 'French Ships and Their Cargoes Sailing between Damiette and Ottoman Ports 1777-1781' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, xxxvii, 3 (1994), 251-286; J-P. Filippini, L. Meignen, C. Roure, D. Sabatier, G. Stéphanidès, *Dossiers sur le commerce Français en Méditerranée Orientale au XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1976) and K. Galani, 'British Shipping and Trade in the Mediterranean in the Age of War, 1770-1815', unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2010.

⁸⁸ NLM Lib. Ms. 818/12, n. f. (10 May 1815) *bombarda La Madonna Faneromeni*.

Scalanova. However, foul weather forced her to seek shelter in Mykonos. Subsequently the captain had to stop at Navarino and Zante, on both occasions, due to a leaking hull. Finally, the damage to the hull forced the captain to seek repairs in Cephalonia before setting sail to Malta. Or the voyage of the *polacca Speranza*⁸⁹ sailing under a Russian flag captained by the Greek Andrea Conduri. She had sailed from Odessa via Constantinople, port Bisatto, Sapienza and Cephalonia before arriving in the port of Malta on 3 March 1815. The captain revealed that he had laden his ship with a cargo of grain, legumes and *soppressati* from Odessa and Constantinople respectively. During his voyage to Malta he was obliged to stop at port Bisatto where he spent seventeen days, followed by six days at Sapienza island and two days at Cephalonia – the last three stops were undertaken due to bad weather and each time we are told that the captain neither loaded nor unloaded any sort of cargo. In all the journey of the *Speranza* took four months. Another example, the Russian *nave Atlante*⁹⁰ also with a Greek captain Dimitri Rizardopulo. The *Atlante* was carrying a cargo of raisins laden at Çeşme and directed to Malta. The captain declared that due to bad weather he had to spend ten days at port Bisatto (in Morea), another ten days at Megasini (an island close to S. Maura), and eight days at Cephalonia. He stopped at Lampedusa to take on water, before touching port at Malta on 10 March 1815. The whole voyage had taken a total of 45 days.

The duration of the journeys varied considerably. It depended on the type of vessel, the weather conditions and the skill of its captain and crew. The Cephaloniot *polacca La Madonna di Megaspileo*⁹¹ left Smyrna on 26 December 1769 and entered port in Malta 41 days later on 6 February 1770, since no stops are recorded and given the late time of year, perhaps contrary weather caused such a prolonged peregrination. On the same route and five years later, the French corvette *L'Amabile Maria Sabina*⁹² departed Smyrna on 20 April 1775 and reached Malta on the following 4 May this time after 14 days at sea. It took 16 days for the Venetian *checcio La Providenza Divina*⁹³ to complete the same voyage – from 27 May 1780 to 12 June. It seems that fifteen days was the norm for a direct voyage from Smyrna to Malta. From Alexandria, the French *barca La Modesta Anrietta*⁹⁴ departed on 28 January 1775 to arrive in Malta, after 30 days at sea, on 27 February 1775. The Ragusan *polacca La Beata Vergine Immacolata Concezzione*⁹⁵ accomplished the same trip (Alexandria – Malta) in 18 days as it travelled from 20 October to 7 November 1780, while the Venetian brigantine *L'Europa*⁹⁶ travelled from 12 October 1795 till 12 November 1795, spending a month at sea like *La Modesta*. The Alexandria – Malta trip typically took twenty days.

As already mentioned the QR records do not contain any information describing the nature of the stops made during a voyage. Were they stops made for trading purposes? Were they part of a cabotage network – part of the caravan trade or similar to the tramping brigantine trade that was active along the north west coast of the Mediterranean? Or were the stops simply dictated by meteorological, logistical or other demands? In other words, did ships stop as they sought shelter from heavy weather, effected repairs, re-victualled and if necessary lodged statements of misfortune at sea for insurance purposes following the onslaught of storms? This is where when the entries in the QR coincide with the *testimoniali* documents interesting and important light is shed on what occurred during a journey. For instance, according to the QR the two Greek *polaccas*, the *S. Spiridion*⁹⁷ and *S. Sophia*⁹⁸ sailed into the port of Malta on 11 April 1795 and 14 September 1795 respectively. The first from Arta via Prevesa, the second from Alexandria via Mykonos. On arrival in Malta the captains of both vessels lodged a *testimoniale* at the Consolato del Mare as both had run into severe storms leading to damage to the ship and loss of cargo due to jettison. Both captains declare that the stops undertaken

⁸⁹ NLM Lib. Ms. 818/12, n. f. (3 Mar. 1815) *polacca Speranza*.

⁹⁰ NLM Lib. Ms. 818/12, n. f. (10 Mar. 1815) *nave Atlante*.

⁹¹ AOM 6530, f. 5v (6 Feb. 1770) *polacca La Madonna di Megaspileo*.

⁹² AOM 6530, f. 261v (4 May 1775) corvette *L'Amabile Maria Sabina*.

⁹³ AOM 6531, f. 32v (12 June 1780) *checcio La Providenza Divina*.

⁹⁴ AOM 6530, f. 251 (12 Nov. 1795) *barca La Modesta Anrietta*.

⁹⁵ AOM 6531, f. 59v (7 Nov. 1780) *polacca La Beata Vergine Immacolata Concezzione*.

⁹⁶ AOM 6532, f. 191v (12 Nov. 1795) brigantine *L'Europa*.

⁹⁷ AOM 6532, f. 162 v (11 Apr. 1795) *polacca S. Spiridion*; CDM Test. bundle 10, n. f. pro Costantino Lambropolo (12 Apr. 1795).

⁹⁸ AOM 6532, f. 184 (14 Sep. 1795) *polacca S. Sophia*; CDM Test. bundle 10, pro Antonio Carajoli (14 Sep. 1795).

during the voyage were simply to seek shelter and not to trade. The Ragusan *polacca S. Antonio di Padova*⁹⁹ laden in Odessa with grain on its way to Barcelona, entered port on 15 January 1805 arriving via Constantinople and Milo. Similarly, it had experienced loading accidents, foul weather and near sinking, damage to ship and loss of cargo. Once again the stops undertaken were to deal with the mishaps that occurred. There are others. Although these documents are not conclusive evidence that stops undertaken were not of a commercial nature, they are in agreement with the evidence found in some of the 1815 QR and thus provide additional support to the idea. Moreover, the great number of routes used, as seen above, also suggests that stops along the way were not part of a known and practiced trading pattern, but rather an accidental one dictated by the tyranny of the elements.

In an age when the motive power was almost entirely derived from the wind and when the ability to predict weather conditions in a reliable fashion and ahead of time was almost non-existent, the weather exerted a tyrannical hold on sailing patterns. Ships were thrown off route, reversed their courses, foundered, lost men and cargo, journeys were prolonged and unplanned stops undertaken, as poignantly shown in the *testimoniali*. By their very nature they are not and cannot be all encompassing and record every ship that sailed in from the eastern Mediterranean as their creation depended on extraordinary events - when things went wrong. Moreover, they survive in a highly disturbed state. Although the events they record are not part of the norm, they still serve to shed important light on the norm. The bulk of the *testimoniali* consulted do not fall within the selected years of this study however, they will still be used to illustrate and corroborate different facets of the sea journeys that are the subject of the QR.¹⁰⁰

Thus Costantino Lambropolo master of the *polacca S. Spiridione*¹⁰¹ arrived at the port of Malta on 9 August 1795, after having set sail from the Gulf of Aegina in June. On his way bad weather severely damaged his ship and obliged him to seek shelter at Santa Maura where he spent eight days undergoing repairs, then set sail when the weather became favourable.¹⁰² And captain Basilio Pisut of the *trabaccolo l'Antico*,¹⁰³ who arrived in Malta on 11 July 1796 after a difficult voyage from the port of Salonica. The *tabaccolo* encountered squalls as she rounded cape Matapan, was beaten back and forth, the wind was so fierce and the pounding suffered was so great, that the captain declared that they were on the verge of sinking and together with his crew implored divine mercy.¹⁰⁴

The years 1800 and 1820

As already indicated, the year 1800 was an irregular year, due to the turmoil created by the blockade. Not surprisingly a decline in arrivals that had already started in 1795 due to the international political juncture (50 arrivals from east Mediterranean locations, compared to 107 five years before) continued.¹⁰⁵ The epicentre of trade in Malta, the harbour at Valletta, was itself in a state of war with Portuguese and British ships blockading the French cowering behind the city walls. However, a stream of shipping still made its way and the QR reveal that a total of 50 ships that made landfall at Malta had originated from 24 different points in the east Mediterranean, the shrinkage in volume was also reflected in the geographical distribution, with only eight locations being the source of two or more sailings. The distribution between direct journeys and journeys with stops is almost equal at 29 and 21 respectively. The pattern of stops remained similar to what occurred during

⁹⁹ NLM Lib. Ms. 818/4, f. 24 (15 Jan. 1805) *polacca S. Antonio di Padova*.

¹⁰⁰ The following *testimoniali* documents were consulted: CDM *Testimoniali* bundle 10 (1791-98), *Testimonial con Atti* bundles 1 (1800-03), 2 (1804-06) and 5 (1808-11); *Testimoniali Contestati* bundle 10 (1770-1780) and 11 (1771-1780); *Testimoniali Semplici* bundles 1 (1800-04), 2 (1805-08) and 3 (1809-14). Following the suppression of the *Consolato del Mare*, *testimoniali* or sea protests became notarised documents and preserved at the Notarial Archive in Valletta. Sea protests lodged by notary William Stevens sen. R 450 (1818-1820) were also consulted.

¹⁰¹ CDM Test. bundle 10, n. f. pro Costantino Lambropolo (9 Aug. 1795).

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ CDM Test. bundle 10, n. f. pro Basilio Pisut (11 July 1796).

¹⁰⁴ CDM Test. bundle 10, n. f. (11 July 1796) pro Captain Basilio Pisut.

¹⁰⁵ Quarantine entries for the year 1800 are registered in AOM 6533.

the previous period and what was to occur in the subsequent one, a bias towards trips with one stop (11 trips), six trips made two stops, one trip three and three trips four stops. Most of the arrivals dropped anchor at S. Paul's bay. The organization of port and quarantine facilities in these particular times of crises is of great interest, and more research needs to be conducted to find out how the Maltese insurrectionary leaders went about organizing this very important aspect of the island's economic life.

The year 1820, seven years after the plague outbreak and six years after the Maltese islands became formally incorporated in the British empire, was considered a fitting conclusion to this study. Internationally the peace after the end of the Napoleonic wars and the geopolitical reconfiguration that followed would soon give way to the storm brewing in the Balkans that would turn into the Greek War of Independence. Seafaring nation that they were the Greek men of the sea were a crucial element in the overthrow of Ottoman domination. While the war was shaped by the mariners, the mariners were equally shaped by the war.¹⁰⁶ On the eve of the war, the massive Greek presence retreated from the western Mediterranean and from the port of Malta.

Despite the fact that maritime quarantine for ships arriving from eastern Mediterranean ports continued to be enforced no QR have survived after 1816. It was therefore not possible to include the year 1820 within the Period B analysis carried out above. As a reflection it is however possible to have a glimpse into the maritime traffic for that year. A series of customs registers that were started by the British government in 1815 allow us to get some insight.¹⁰⁷ As customs registers their purpose was different, it is therefore probable that traffic coming from the east is under represented. Some valid broad brush strokes can still be made, however. Despite the disruptive plague outbreak of 1812, the data for the year 1815 demonstrated signs of a quick recovery. However, a sample of shipping arriving during the months of March, June, September and December of 1820 revealed a meagre fifty-four arrivals.¹⁰⁸ When this number is compared with the same sample from 1815 a 62.7 percent drop is registered. The customs registers also confirm the complete withdrawal of the Greek ships and mariners. No doubt this withdrawal together with the turmoil that the war caused in the eastern Mediterranean spelled a downturn to a trade that to that point had been vigorous.

Conclusion

The link between Malta and the sea is a historic and indissoluble one. It has existed since prehistoric times when man sailed and traded across the Sicilian channel and it is still evident today. The island's maritime destiny was further enhanced with the arrival of the Hospitaller Order that strengthened and broadened an already existing seafaring culture. This maritime influence continued under the British. While the Maltese maritime world expanded at a hitherto unprecedented rate under British hegemony, it also became subservient to the strategic plans of the colonial masters whose aims and needs were not always aligned with those of the islanders. Despite, or perhaps because of, this long and eminent relationship between Malta and the sea, certain aspects of the island's maritime history remain unexplored.

Malta's maritime trade links with the eastern Mediterranean is one such. Generalizations keep being repeated, but with scant analysis of quantitative evidence to really show what the connection between the two was actually like. Three different analytical models – micro regions, trade regions, and narrow-sea complex – constructed by the historians Horden and Purcell, Harlaftis, and Chircop to better understand the connectivity that existed in the Middle Sea serve for interpretative analysis for the data presented in the present work. This paper has focused on maritime areas, ports of origin and sea routes.

The examination of ports and sea routes has revealed the substantial link that between 1770 and 1815 the port of Malta had with several commercial nodes in the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea. This link existed not only with myriad small ports but also with most of the major ones. Smyrna, Alexandria, Patras, Prevesa, Salonica and later Constantinople and Odessa were all a source of major and significant maritime

¹⁰⁶ D. Brewer (2011), 89.

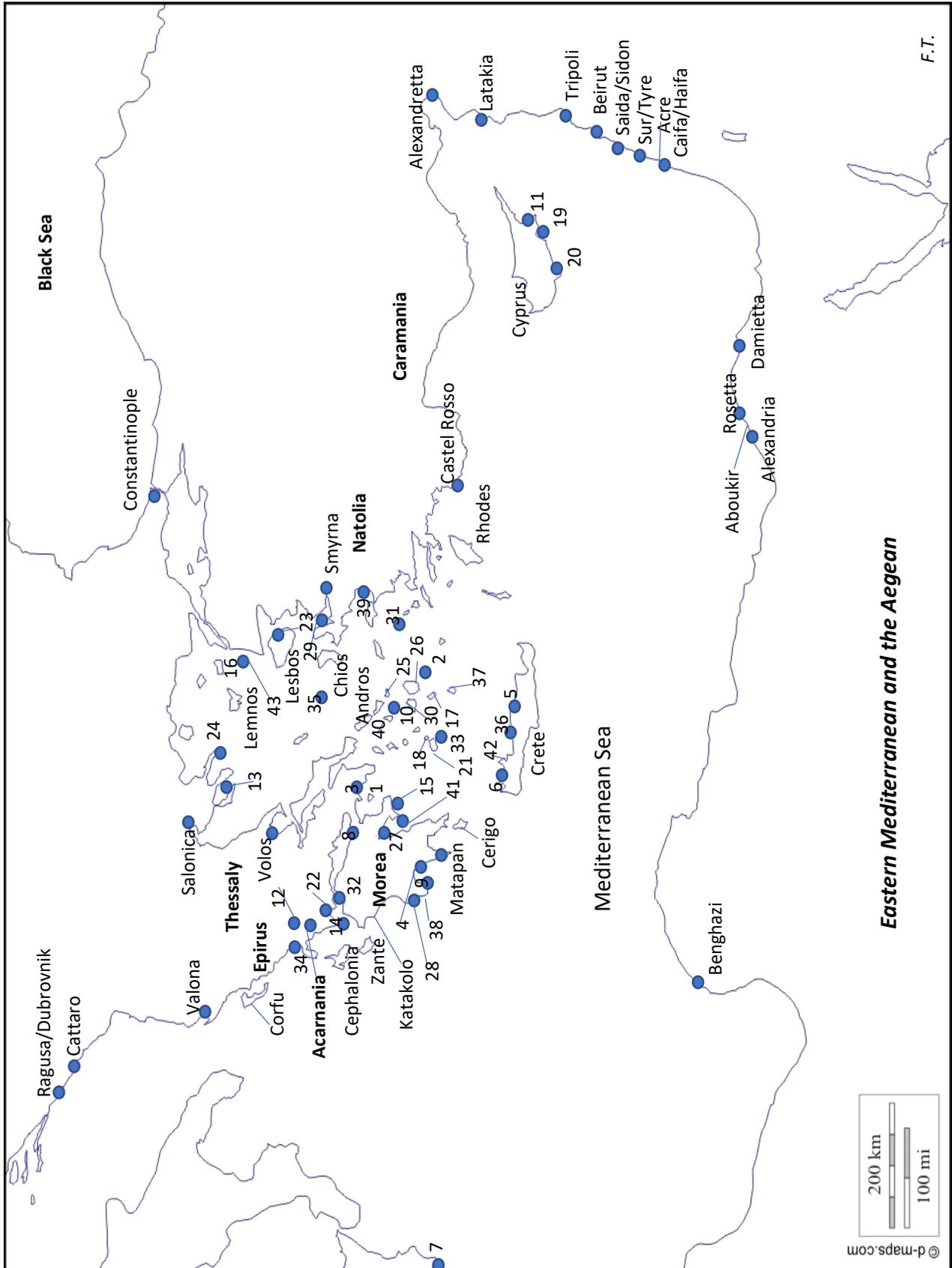
¹⁰⁷ NAM CUS 18, 1815-21, 13vols.

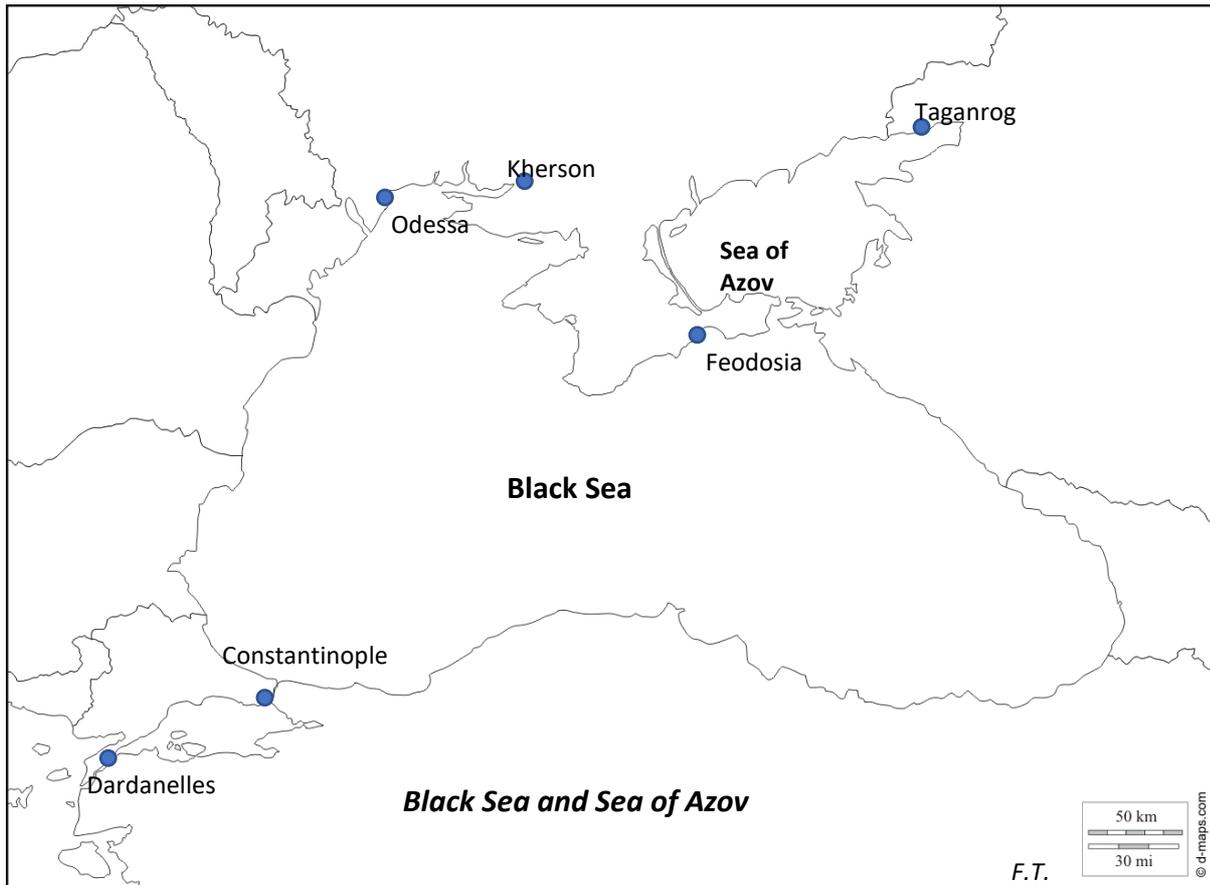
¹⁰⁸ See Figure 1.

traffic that headed to Malta. Furthermore, the number of ports were grouped in logical maritime areas that very clearly served to indicate the evolution of the dominance that one area had over the other. The division of the period under examination into two sub periods also facilitated a comparative approach where change and continuity of trade patterns could become more visible.

It has been shown that overwhelming majority of sea voyages were direct ones, followed by voyages that involved at most one intermediary stop. Although voyages that involved more than one intermediary stop were made, they were significantly fewer in number. This indicates that the port of Malta was not part of a tramping trade but a more direct and long distance one. Evidence from the *testimonial* series of documents continues to support this by illustrating consistently that stops undertaken were dictated by extraordinary events such as storms and damage to ships.

Thus staging post, entrepôt, quarantine facility, point of rest and repair, or fortuitous landing place – the port of Malta fulfilled all these functions for the ships and mariners in their never-ending peregrinations along the myriad sea routes that traversed the Middle Sea.





Eastern Mediterranean and Aegean locations:

- | | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| 1 Aegina | 14 Gulf of Patras | 27 Napoli di Romania | 40 Sira/Syros |
| 2 Amorgo | 15 Hydra | 28 Navarino | 41 Spetses |
| 3 Athens | 16 Imbros | 29 Orla | 42 Sude |
| 4 Calamatta | 17 Ios | 30 Paros | 43 Tenedos |
| 5 Candia/Heraklion | 18 Largentiera/Kimolos | 31 Patmos | |
| 6 Canea | 19 Larnaca | 32 Patras | |
| 7 Capo Passero | 20 Limassol | 33 Polycandro | |
| 8 Corinth | 21 Milo | 34 Prevesa | |
| 9 Coron | 22 Missolonghi | 35 Psara | |
| 10 Delos | 23 Mitiline | 36 Rethymno | |
| 11 Famagusta | 24 Monte Santo | 37 Santorini | |
| 12 Gulf of Arta | 25 Mykonos | 38 Sapienza | |
| 13 Gulf of Cassandra | 26 Naxos | 39 Scalanova | |