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## VSEBINA / INDICE GENERALE / CONTENTS

- Vid Žepič:** Kužni privilegiji v občepравни doktrini in evropskih civilnih kodifikacijah ..... 1  
*Privilegia pestis nella dottrina del diritto comune e nei codici del diritto civile europeo*  
*The »Plague Privileges« in the Legal Doctrine of the ius commune and in the European Civil Codifications*
- Mario Novak & Tamás Hajdu:** Život i smrt u zaleđu kvarnerskog zaljeva tijekom srednjeg vijeka: bioarheološka analiza ljudskih koštanih ostataka iz Triblja, iskopavanja 2015. godine. Bioarheologija srednjovjekovne populacije iz Triblja ..... 23  
*La vita e la morte nell'entroterra della baia del quarnero medioevale: analisi bioarcheologiche dei resti di ossa umane a Tribalj, scavi nel 2015.*  
*Bioarcheologia della popolazione medievale di Tribalj*  
*Life and Death in the Hinterland of Kvarner Bay During the Middle Ages: Bioarcheological Analysis of Human Bone Remains from Tribalj, Excavations in 2015. Bioarcheology of the Medieval Population from Tribalj*
- Loris De Nardi:** Una modalità di contribuzione indiana per i domini italiani meridionali degli Asburgo di Spagna? I donativi extra-assembleari del 1629, 1630 e 1637 ..... 43  
*An Indian Contribution Modality for the Southern Italian Domains of the Habsburgs of Spain? The Extra-Assembly Gifts of 1629, 1630 and 1637*  
*Indijski model dajatev za južno-italijanske dominione Habsburgov v Španiji? Izredne dajatev v letih 1629, 1630 in 1637*
- Vanja Kočevar:** Generalni mandat cesarja Ferdinanda II. o verskih razmerah na Kranjskem iz leta 1631: (ne)prilagoditev kranjskih elit na protireformacijo in katoliško prenovo ..... 67  
*Il mandato generale dell'imperatore Ferdinando II del 1631 relativo alla situazione religiosa in Carniola: il (dis)adattamento delle élite carniolane alla controriforma e alla riforma cattolica*  
*The 1631 General Mandate of Emperor Ferdinand II on the Religious Situation in Carniola: (Non-)Adaptation of Carniolan Elites to the Counter-Reformation and Catholic Revival*
- Nikola R. Samardžić & Marija V. Kocić:** Naples and Sicily after Utrecht and Rastatt 1713–1714. From the British Perspective ..... 101  
*Napoli e Sicilia dopo Utrecht e Rastatt 1713–1714. Dalla prospettiva britannica*  
*Neapelj in Sicilija po Utrechtu in Rastattu 1713–1714. Iz britanske perspektive*

- Remzi Avci:** Writing the Orient: The Representation of the Ottoman Society in the Travel of Eduard Sachau (1845–1930) ..... 121  
*Scrivere sull'Oriente: la rappresentazione della società ottomana nel viaggio di Eduard Sachau (1845–1930)*  
*Pisanja o Orientu: upodobitev otomanske družbe v potopisu Eduarda Sachaua (1845–1930)*
- Yizheng Zou:** The collaboration of Chinese and British radicals and the role of Hong Kong in modern Chinese history ..... 141  
*La collaborazione tra i radicali cinesi e britannici e il ruolo di Hong Kong nella storia della Cina moderna*  
*Sodelovanje kitajskih in britanskih radikalov ter vloga Hong Konga v moderni kitajski zgodovini*
- Manca G. Renko:** Razredni boj proti nacionalizmu. Primer Trsta med 1888 in 1914 .... 161  
*La lotta di classe contro il nazionalismo. L'esempio di Trieste 1888–1914*  
*Class Struggle vs. Nationalism. Example of Trieste 1888–1914*
- Iskra Iveljić & Miha Preinfalk:** From the Habsburg to the Karadžević Dynasty. The Position of Croatian and Slovenian Nobility in the Yugoslav State ..... 185  
*Dagli Asburgo ai Karadjordjevic. La posizione della nobiltà croata e slovena nello stato jugoslavo*  
*Od Habsburžanov do Karadževićev. Položaj hrvaškega in slovenskega plemstva v jugoslovanski državi*
- Egon Pelikan:** Odstavitev zadnjega slovenskega škofa v Julijski krajini – Franciška Borgie Sedeja ..... 215  
*La deposizione dell'ultimo vescovo sloveno della Venezia Giulia – Francesco Borgia Sedej*  
*Removal of the Last Slovene Archbishop in Venezia Giulia – Frančišek Borgia Sedej*
- Tomaž Ivešić:** Exchanging the “Progressive Experiences” in a Transnational Perspective: Nationality, Economy and Federalism in Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia in the 1960s .... 239  
*Scambiare “l'esperienza progressista” nella prospettiva transnazionale: nazionalità, economia e federalismo in Jugoslavia e Cecoslovacchia negli anni sessanta*  
*Izmenjava “progresivnih izkušenj” v transnacionalni perspektivi: nacionalnost, ekonomija in federalizem v Jugoslaviji in Čehoslovaški v šestdesetih letih*

## NAPLES AND SICILY AFTER UTRECHT AND RASTATT 1713–1714. FROM THE BRITISH PERSPECTIVE

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### ABSTRACT

*The research is based on documents from the National Archives in London, State Papers, Foreign, Venice (n° 99), folders n° 60 i 61. These documents contain precious information on political changes in Italy after 1714 in the light of British interests and from the perspective of British contemporaries as the Treaty of Rastatt has ordered a shift of authorities in the Naples and Sicily. The Austrian takeover of these Spanish possessions has produced important consequences for British interests in the Mediterranean. This research reconstructed the events from the perspective of these interests.*

*Keywords: Kingdom of Naples, Sicily, Great Britain, Vittorio Amedeo II, pope Clement XI*

## NAPOLI E SICILIA DOPO UTRECHT E RASTATT 1713–1714. DALLA PROSPETTIVA BRITANNICA

### SINTESI

*Alla base della presente ricerca ci sono i documenti custoditi negli Archivi Nazionali di Londra, gli State Papers, Foreign, Venice n° 99, fasc. 60 e 61. Contengono preziose informazioni sui cambiamenti politici in Italia dopo il 1714 dal punto di vista degli interessi britannici e della prospettiva dei britannici contemporanei. Il trattato di Rastatt dal 1714 prevedeva il cambio di governo a Napoli e in Sicilia e l'acquisizione austriaca di questi possedimenti, precedentemente in mano spagnola, ha avuto conseguenze importanti per gli interessi britannici nel Mediterraneo. La ricerca ha ricostruito gli eventi tenendo conto del punto di vista di questi interessi.*

*Parole chiave: Regno di Napoli, Sicilia, Gran Bretagna, Vittorio Amedeo II, papa Clemente XI*

INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

Since the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Italy was coming back into the focus of international relations. Its new political prominence almost resembled the already distant era of the Renaissance. The Austrian conquest of the Kingdom of Naples (1707) took place during the Spanish succession war (1701–1714), a major European conflict that followed the long-awaited death of the last Spanish Habsburg, Carlos II (1661–1700, king: 1665–1700).<sup>2</sup> The war threatened to seriously upset European relations. France sought the Spanish throne on behalf of Philip V (1683–1746, king: 1701–1724), a grandson of Louis XIV (1638–1715, king: 1643–1715): that would enable a new leverage of strategic power, but France was lacking the military strength, although possessing the largest single European ground force. Swedish king Charles XII (1682–1718, king: 1697–1718) opened the Great Northern War front (1700–1721) against the coalition of Russia, Denmark and Poland.

In the Spanish succession war England and Netherlands supported candidacy of Charles of Habsburg, future Charles VI (1685–1740, emperor: 1711–1740), the son of Leopold I (1640–1705, emperor: 1658–1705). Charles VI, directly engaged in Catalonia, considered Naples as an important financial and strategic stronghold in the struggle for the Spanish succession, although southern Italy was not on the way of strategic operations. Austrians entered in Naples on July 7, 1707, ending a long period of Spanish rule.<sup>3</sup>

Right after taking over the throne, Charles VI gave a lot of prominence to Italy.<sup>4</sup> Divided and moved towards margins of international relations, Italy somehow retained its specific significance, as control over Italy was still considered as a key to influence in the Mediterranean. Austrian conquest of Kingdom of Naples threatened British and Dutch interests (Granito, 1861, II, 120).

During the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) Savoy (Piedmont) also became more important. Vittorio Amedeo II (1666–1732, reign: 1675–1730) showed more and more ambitions from the end of the 17th century, easily willing to switch

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1 This article is a result of research on a scientific project *Modernization of Western Balkans* (n° 177009), financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia. We especially owe a gratitude to the colleague of ours Haris Dajč, assistant professor.

2 The previous success in a long and the challenging so-called Great Turkish War (1683–1699) enabled Austria to take over initiative in international relations. Spanish succession and possible gains in Italy have been set as new Austrian Habsburg priorities. The Spanish succession war engaged both the Western Europe and Austria.

3 From the beginning of the 18th century, new priorities in Austrian foreign policy were Italy and the Danubian provinces along the border with Turkey. Some provinces such as Friuli and Veneto became located on the watershed of strategic directions of Austrian interests. Austrian activities, especially in Italy, were also of interest for Britain, Netherlands and France. (Since the mid 15th century, Naples and Sicily partly substituted the role of Eastern Mediterranean, primarily eastern coasts of Adriatic and Ionian seas, fallen into Turkish spheres of influence).

4 Charles VI succeeded his elder brother, Joseph I (1678–1711, emperor: 1705–1711), as Holy Roman Emperor, King of Bohemia, King of Hungary and Croatia, and King of Serbia, Archduke of Austria, etc.

sides for territorial compensation. Ending alliance with Bourbons (1703), he turned to Austria, Britain and the Netherlands. He was given promises for money and new possessions in northern Italy (Storrs, 2000b, 3). While he resisted pressure from Bourbon army at Turin, Vittorio Amedeo II was compelled to displace his family to Genoa (1706). Austrian successes in Italy helped him to finally obtain new territories (Storrs, 2000b, 4). Savoy had possession of Sicily confirmed in Utrecht, while until then it was controlled by English fleet (Storrs, 2000b, 4).<sup>5</sup> Anyway, English influence on Vittorio Amedeo II was obvious, as shown in recent research that emphasizes their relations after 1684 (Storrs, 2000a, 214).

Historical analyses of the disintegration of the Spanish rule in Italy emphasized unfavorable conditions in economy, politics and army, and internal discontent facilitated a change of government (Cremonini, 2013, 184–185). In processes that took part after Utrecht and Rastatt, Gaetano Sabatini was tracking roots of modern Italian national movement. He considered Spanish rule as backward and degrading force (Sabatini, 2007, 594). Later studies followed his footsteps and pointed even more weaknesses of Spanish rule in the Kingdom of Naples. A significant step forward in clarifying the circumstances in the Kingdom of Naples was achieved in the volume *Naples in the Eighteenth Century. The Birth and Death of a Nation State* (Imbruglia, 2000). In this collective project, structured to follow certain segments of Neapolitan society in the eighteenth century, proceedings almost do not affect the establishment of the Austrian authorities, nor the international relations context. During decades back John A. Marino explores Neapolitan society revealing the essential tendencies of economic development, the details of everyday life, even the cultural climate (Marino, 1988; Marino, 2011). His results have facilitated our understanding of the internal circumstances. Collection of archive documents *Baroque Naples. A Documentary History 1600–1800* is a dense volume of curios data and bibliographical suggestions following the Naples history, contemporary travelers' testimonies, descriptions of the art, architecture and classical inheritance, literature, music and theater (Porter, 2000).

After losing Naples and Sicily, Spain was facing new challenges in international politics. In the otherwise rich and profound study *Napoli capitale. Identità cittadina. Studi e ricerche 1255–1860* (Galasso, 1998) the Austrian intermediate period was neglected together with the international scene where Britain has emerged as an ultimate force in the Mediterranean. Italian historians observed eighteenth century Naples primarily in the light of "proto-national" interests. Therefore, of a significant importance was the volume *Peace Was Made Here: The Treaties of Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden, 1713–1714*, edited by Renger E. de Bruin and Maarten Brinkman: "for the British ... the Treaty of Utrecht was an enormous success, creating a balance of powers in Europe and British dominance at sea" (Bruin & Brinkman, 2013, 238).

5 Sicily remained possession of Vittorio Amedeo II of Savoy for only several days. The island was recaptured by Spanish fleet in the war 1718–1719. By decision of Quadruple Alliance (Great Britain, Netherlands, France and Austria) Vittorio Amedeo II had to switch Sicily for Sardinia.



We noticed a shift in interpretations of a perspective of long-term historical consequences, especially in comparison with the significance of the 1648 Westphalian treaties, in the volume *Performances of Peace: Utrecht 1713* (Bruin et al., 2015). A collection of works that brought together significant connoisseurs of the era, seek to shed light on the various aspects of the negotiations and peace concluded in Utrecht and its immediate aftermath. In particular, the British public attitude related to the Utrecht treaty was presented by Samia Al-Shayban, *The Treaty of Utrecht and Addison's Cato: Britain's War of the Spanish Succession, Peace and the Imperial Road Map* (Al-Shayban, 2015, 123–141). Cited article encouraged our research of the British politics during the government shifts in Naples and Sicily. We have also observed the events following the 1713 Utrecht peace that led to the Triple Alliance between the Dutch Republic, France and Great Britain against Spain in 1717, with all the consequences for relations in the Mediterranean. Frederik Dhondt examined the shift in general political relations in the study “*Balance of Power and Norm Hierarchy: Franco–British Diplomacy after the Peace of Utrecht*” placing emphasis on the alliance of Britain and France from 1716. Dhondt also questioned European diplomacy from the point of the alliance’s sustainability, stressing its consequences in Italy (Dhondt, 2015, 108–155).

In Britain, changes after 1713 and 1714 contributed to the development of home policies, with exceptionally stimulating economic implications (McKay & Scott, 1983, 43–66). The presence of British traders became a significant factor observed by several analysts in the mid-18th century Naples. Antonio Genovesi (1713–1769), as revealed by Franco Venturi, emphasized the basic principles of British foreign trade, prejudging how they could be reflected in the Kingdom of Naples (Venturi, 1962, 122–163). Genovesi highlighted the case of the trader John Cary (1649–1722), for many years involved in overseas trade with the West Indies (Caribbean), and later even ran as a candidate in the parliamentary elections. The highly personalized entrepreneurship of the British traders could not go unnoticed by Italian contemporaries, emerging from a different sphere of understanding of commercial business. Our research has revealed the high commitment of British diplomacy to commercial interests in every corner of the Mediterranean, while they occasionally had to be adjusted to frequent and complex changes in the relations of European powers.

The purpose of this research is to shed light on the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily immediately after the treaties in Utrecht and Rastatt, using the British sources. For the first time, these sources were completely examined in this study, both from the British perspective, and from the need to further highlight very sensitive circumstances in Italy, reflecting the general European relations, especially those involving Austria, the Ottoman Empire and France. Of particular importance are, we must stress, the British reports from Venice. From the British point of interest, Venice was becoming an useful information center, rather than being any important trade competitor. In Venice could be heard the latest news and hints of political change. These reports allowed us to explore the British perspective after the abolition of the Spanish rule and the transition of the Savoy and Austrian authorities the Kingdoms

of Naples and Sicily respectively. This methodological approach is also justified by Britain's role as a guarantor of the implementation of the Utrecht Treaty. Events of a "*local character*" did not attract the attention of historians who already used the British sources, since they were preoccupied with crucial diplomatic relations that charted the post-Utrecht Europe.

#### THE ATTEMPTS TO DEFINE THE BRITISH MEDITERRANEAN POLICY FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF THE 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

During the reign of Queen Anne (1665–1714, queen: 1702–1714) Britain has not yet clearly defined its Italian policies. From the point of view of potential British interests, the state of the Apennine peninsula was marked by the decadence of Venice. The decline of Venice in political and economic power opened up new opportunities for the British relations with the Levant and the Middle East. However, lowering the level of diplomatic relations did not prevent Britain and Venice to continue to tolerate the freedom of trade. The similar model was noticeable in British relations with other Italian merchant states. In relations with the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, Britain has also paid attention to their strategic role in Mediterranean navigation. In particular, during the War of the Spanish Succession British ships had to sail in convoys, as in the Mediterranean the merchant vessels were followed by warships as protection from the pirates, especially from the Sallee Barbary pirates (TNA SP 99/60, f. 6r).

British expansion into Western Mediterranean started with the conquest of Gibraltar (1704). After Britain captured Menorca (1708),<sup>6</sup> Port Mahon became significant anchorage for the British Mediterranean fleet. Gibraltar and Menorca remained mostly strategically important for Britain, although also several economic projects were envisaged with Menorca (some circles in London planned to build a commercial centre, in a fashion of Livorno or Marseille) (Anderson, 2003, 336). From Gibraltar and Menorca, British fleet could supervise ports of southern France, and eastern and southern Spain.

The Spanish succession war brought Sicily partly under British control. English merchants decided to take advantage of the British fleet supremacy and submitted "*A memorial from the Sicily merchants*". The document was read in the Parliament on December 10, 1712, and afterward forwarded to Sir Edward Gould (?–1728) for further analysis. The project on trade with Sicily was soon confirmed and signed. British merchants, however, did not succeed in achieving favorable relations with Venice (Atkinson, 1925, 396–400; Kocić, 2018a, 147 and further on).

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6 The British conquest of Menorca also faced the local pontifical influence. The pope possessed the right of appointing bishops. A report from the beginning of February 1713 reveals that both the local clergy and the Vatican accused the British government on the island of acting against Catholic interests and papacy, and expected the protection of France (TNA SP 99/60, ff. 44r–44v). Complaints about the British behavior continued to arrive in Vatican from Menorca also after the Utrecht treaty (TNA SP 99/60, ff. 165r–165v).

Peace conference in Utrecht was convened in order to close the Spanish succession war, but the conflicts did not end until the beginning of 1713.<sup>7</sup> Anyway, new demarcations were taking shape. Charles VI did not take part in peace negotiations in Utrecht, but continued operations in Spain, Italy and Flanders. The Treaty of Utrecht recognized Louis XIV's grandson Philip, Duke of Anjou, as King of Spain, as Philip V. The Treaty confirmed the rise of Great Britain under Queen Anne and later the House of Hanover. On behalf of Spain, Phillip V renounced his rights over Sicily in favor of Savoy. The Spanish territories in Europe were divided as Savoy obtained Sicily and parts of the Duchy of Milan, and Austria (Charles VI, the Holy Roman Emperor and Archduke of Austria) the Spanish Netherlands, the Kingdom of Naples, Sardinia, and the other part of the Duchy of Milan. Austria compensated the loss of Spanish Habsburg inheritance by possessions in Italy: Milan, Naples, Sardinia. Spain was the single state that lost territories in the Succession war (Spanish Netherlands taken over by Austria). The peace agreement in Rastatt (1714) provided Austria with Flanders, Milan, Sardinia, Kingdom of Naples and administration of Tuscany (Anderson, 2003, 335; Ingraio, 2000, 117–119).

In Utrecht, Britain performed as a dictating force. Philip V was forced to renounce Sicily and Savoy possessions on behalf of the Spanish throne. And it was just his personal unwillingness to compromise the Utrecht agreement that paved the way to the Austrian dominance in southern Italy.

## THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES

Christian Cole (1673–1734)<sup>8</sup> emphasized that “*The Neapolitan Nobil[i]ty, which loves changes, is very weary of the Germans, and it is thought they would gladly chose a new Master*” (TNA SP 99/60, f. 40v). The same source claim that: “*The Neapolitan Nobil[i]ty is very ill pleased with their present Government, & would willingly change Master*” (TNA SP 99/60, f. 43r). Pope Clement XI (1649–1721, pope: 1700–1721) was not contended when Carlo Borromeo Arese (1657–1734, viceroy: 1710–1713) was removed and replaced by Wirich Philipp von Daun (1669–1749, viceroy: 1713–1719), who took part in Austrian conquest of Naples (TNA SP 99/60, f. 77r).<sup>9</sup> Austrian administration inherited habits of Spanish administration, as certain historians believed, to impose decisions from the central administration to Naples. That manner applied primarily to the fleet, army and fortifications (Mafrici, 2007, 637). *Supremo Consiglio d'Italia* was moved to Vienna, where Kingdom of Naples had two representatives (Schipa, 1904, 6).

7 About the same conference: Pitt, 1971, 446 and further on.

8 Christian Cole arrived in Venice in 1707 as a Secretary of the British Embassy in this State. From 1708 until 1714 he was on the position of a *chargé d'affaires*, but his rank was that of a Secretary. In 1715, for a brief period he was named a Resident.

9 Conte di Teano, marchese di Rivoli, occasionally noted as Dhaun, in British sources Thau.

The viceroy Carlo Borromeo, described by British sources as kind but inactive, was at the port of Baia, overseeing construction of a new ship. In mid-April arrival of count Daun was awaited, and that was supposed to mean an administration with experience and authority (TNA SP 99/60, ff. 82r–82v). For that reason count Daun was named a viceroy of Naples for the second time,<sup>10</sup> despite the fact that “*a military man was necessary in these times*” (TNA SP 99/60, f. 84v).

Circumstances became even more complicated when the plague, that devastated most of Apennine peninsula, attacked the Papal States (Kocić & Dajč, 2014, 145–154). After news of plague outbreak came to Vienna, Clement XI insisted that viceroy of Naples takes part in defense. “*The Pope wrote to Naples desiring all vessels coming from Trieste, Fiume, & that coast may be forced to doe contumacia, and if His desire be refused He will stop all commerce with Kingdom of Naples*” (TNA SP 99/60, ff. 86r–86v).

British trade took place in convoys, that is, accompanied by warships. Two warships, “*Superbe*” and “*Ormond*”, who had previously sailed from Messina and Palermo to Naples (TNA SP 99/60, f. 98v), in mid-May 1713 left this port and set sail for Livorno accompanied by a merchant ship “*Crown Galley*” (TNA SP 99/60, f. 110r). At the same time the largest warship of the Neapolitan fleet “*Sant Leopold*”, accompanied by several tartans loaded with grain and other groceries shipped from Barcelona, sailed further south (destination not specified), along with several British merchant ships (TNA SP 99/60, f. 110v).

Count Daun remained in Rome, where he managed to avoid meeting the pope (Kocić, 2017, 49). Just at that time the pope decided to appoint eight new bishops for Naples, mostly friars, while Monsignor Jérôme Alexandre Vicentini (1672–1723) was to travel to Naples as a papal (apostolic) nuncio (1713–1723) (TNA SP 99/60, f. 112v). With these decisions, Vatican *de facto* recognized the new government in the Kingdom of Naples.

Count Daun arrived in Naples at the end of May 1713 “*and had took possession of the Government of that Kingdom*”. New viceroy urgently needed money, so he ordered 300,000 ducats are to be collected (TNA SP 99/60, f. 116r). He decided to tax also the clergy, asking for one tenth of the income. He refused appointment of two of papal bishops, with explication that they were not born on the territory of the Kingdom of Naples. He required Council and all supreme institutions to enforce the laws more strictly (TNA SP 99/60, f. 118v; Kocić, 2017, 49). Viceroy Daun has political and economic support from the local nobility (TNA SP 99/60, f. 126r).

At the end of May, 40 tartans were sent from Naples to Barcelona with the task of embarking German troops (TNA SP, 99/60, f. 118v). Thus began exchange of soldiers, after defining the boundaries in Utrecht. At the same time strengthened a political party in Naples with the idea of the conquest of Sicily - (TNA SP 99/60, f. 126r). Anti-clerical measures by the new government received approval from Neapolitan subjects (TNA SP 99/60, ff. 126r–126v). An indicative attitude towards

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10 First time he was named in 1707, after conquest of the city.

the policy of Charles VI in the Kingdom of Naples was described by the words of Christian Cole “*The Germans are now a going to shew what they can doe when they will, and that both we and the Dutch have been too forward during all the war by charging our selves wholly with it*” (TNA SP 99/60, f. 126v). Cole criticized British support for Charles VI during the War of the Spanish Succession, although he was aware of the difficulties the British government faced in implementing the Utrecht treaty. The time that followed revealed that the role of the guarantor heavily burdened the British court, and also its representatives in the Kingdoms of Naples and in Sicily (Kocić, 2017, 49 and further on).

The Armistice between Austria and France was announced on June 30, 1713 “*but the Correspondence with Sicily was not yet thereby opened*” (TNA SP 99/60, f. 138r). The viceroy Daun soon after inspected the Spanish and German troops, stationed in the Kingdom of Naples. The local Spanish soldiers were required to give oath of faithfulness to Charles VI, and those who refused had to leave the Kingdom (TNA SP 99/60, f. 144v). Anyway, Spanish soldiers who refused to join the Austrian army were to be transported to Spain on first convenient opportunity with passports. Several soldiers soon changed their minds, but viceroy Daun refused their offer (TNA SP 99/60, f. 150v). Spaniards who took oath previously, deserted the army. Three of them were captured, and viceroy Daun condemned them to death (TNA SP 99/60, f. 154r).

Imposition of the Austrian administration in Naples was impeded by prerogatives of Papal States. Charles VI refused to confirm bishops named for Kingdom of Naples by Clement XI (TNA SP 99/60, f. 165r). Relations between Kingdom of Naples and the Holy See worsened during events here reconstructed according to the British sources. Francesco Pignatelli (1652–1734), Archbishop of Taranto (and from 1703 until 1734 Archbishop of Naples), summoned the Grand chamber and excommunicated the whole Naples *Judicatura* on pretext that they breached the immunity of the church. Viceroy Daun sent soldiers to archbishop’s palace, and they arrested some clerks. Afterwards they sent prisoners to Rome (TNA SP 99/60, f. 178r; Kocić, 2017, 52–53). For his part, the Pope decided to act with caution with the Kingdom of Naples, hoping a protection from Charles VI. British reports reveal that within some circles of the Austrian authorities in Naples persisted the idea of conquering Sicily. For this reason Daun ordered the armament of the troops and came to an agreement with his confidants in Palermo (TNA SP 99/60, f. 185r). Meanwhile, three ships with German soldiers from Barcelona returned to Naples (TNA SP 99/60, f. 190r). Several ships with soldiers sailed for Calabria under command of don Giuseppe de Liguori (TNA SP 99/60, f. 190r). Under pressure, or in order to maintain good relations with Charles VI, Vatican decided to withdraw the excommunication of the Archbishop of Naples (TNA SP 99/60, f. 190v).

Atmosphere in Kingdom of Naples remained, however, restless. Approximately a hundred “*German*” soldiers appeared in front of prison Benevento with a request to have delivered “*state enemy*”.<sup>11</sup> Prison principal answered there is no

11 Provincia di Benevento in the Campania region.

such a man, and that he will not deliver it without approval of the pope himself. After that, soldiers broke into the prison. The mutiny caused a local population discontent. Five soldiers and two locals were killed, and soldiers forced to retreat. After news of that incident Clement XI addressed the emperor Charles VI complaining that viceroy Daun breached his “*temporary jurisdiction*” (TNA SP 99/60, f. 214v; Kocić, 2017, 53).

The Austrian authorities in Naples were still afraid of the behavior of the Spanish troops. The ships that were supposed to transfer Spanish troops from Naples were ready to sail in early November 1713. Half of the Spanish soldiers on board were born in the Kingdom of Naples and had no other homeland (TNA SP 99/60, f. 224r). Charles VI’s order caused some dissatisfaction but also confirmed the authorities’ intention to put it into action (TNA SP 99/60, f. 224v). There were 3.000 Spanish soldiers in the Kingdom in Naples. A group of Spanish deserters fled to Sicily instead of being transported via Rijeka to Hungary (TNA SP 99/60, f. 231r). Austrians feared they could be followed by the rest of Spanish soldiers. Spanish soldiers were transported on several occasions by convoys, supervised by British warships, during the autumn of 1713 until the late spring of 1714.

Since Spain was taken over by a French dynasty, the viceroy Daun ordered on October 31, 1713 that all Frenchmen and all “*French supporters*” leave the Kingdom of Naples within 15 days (TNA SP 99/60, f. 231v; Kocić, 2017, 53).

Between Sicily and Naples, tensions continued in 1713, but British war and merchant ships continued to traverse their ports. Two British warships (the Colchester and the Bristol) left Naples after four days stay in mid-October 1713 to join the British Mediterranean fleet in Palermo. Previously in Naples they transferred the claims related to the British ships’ damages, and the vice-king Count Daun accepted the British requests (TNA SP 99/60, ff. 214r–214v), and they returned quickly to Palermo (TNA SP 99/60, f. 216r). A few days later, the British “*Gayhound*” was sent to find out whether the government in Naples decided in favor of the British merchants. Admiral John Jennings (1664–1743) was also expected to arrive in Naples as the commander of the British Mediterranean fleet, in order “*to finish that affair*” (TNA SP 99/60, f. 220r). The British interests were threatened again by Charles VI’s decision to ban imports of foreign goods to Naples (silk, silver, etc.). It was followed by a Decree, which prescribed the clothing that every social group was allowed to wear (TNA SP 99/60, f. 232v). A few months later, new trade taxes were introduced, “*by which Our Navigation thether (Read as: thither) would suffer very much*” (TNA SP 99/60, f. 267v).

The government in Naples became particularly upset about the arrival of the new British fleet in the Mediterranean in early March 1714 (TNA SP 99/60, f. 294r). At the same time, the government banned any trade between Calabria and Messina, and issued an order to repair Gaeta and other fortresses in the Kingdom of Naples (TNA SP 99/60, f. 296r). The peak of tension was triggered by the

Daun's order to ban grain exports from Naples under the pretext of a bad harvest. Regarding the attitude of the King of Sicily, and the emergence of a new British Mediterranean fleet, the British sources claim that "*They have strang[e] notions in their heads there about the King of Sicily, and of the designs of Her Majestys Squadron lately come into the Mediterranean*" (TNA SP 99/60, 345v). Count Daun has ordered that the cannons should be turned towards the sea, and fortifications to be supplied with guns and grenades (TNA SP 99/60, ff. 345v–346r). Thanks to the growing tensions, the Kingdom of Naples could hardly wait for the conclusion of a peace treaty between France and Austria, concluded on 7 March 1714 in the Baden city of Rastatt, and across the Kingdom *Te Deum* was played for months in the Churches, and the free trade was established with Germany, Hungary and other states or territories (TNA SP 99/60, f. 355v). The new Naples authorities continued to work on rebuilding the army and navy. A decision was made to build a new pier at the port. The arrival of 500 German soldiers from Manfredonia was also expected (TNA SP 99/60, 352v).

#### VITTORIO AMEDEO II IN SICILY

Britain did not hold consuls in the ports of Sicily, contrary to the practice in Naples. For this reason, the news Cole received from his confidants came largely from his Naples intelligence circles, possibly from Rome or from the press. The archive sources allow conclusion that the Naples kept attractiveness for the British of aristocratic origin, but they were less likely to visit Sicily. Sicily gained importance for the British, especially the merchants, only after 1713, when some British merchants also decided to settle on the island.

Another important circumstance has affected different developments in Sicily, in relation to the kingdom of Naples. Until 1713, Sicily was the possession of Spain, and its military base. Philip V initiated reforms in 1701 that produced important political, social and financial consequences, according to the historian Valentina Favarò (Favarò, 2019, 107). This is how the Spanish authorities brought in order their rule in Sicily until the peace in Utrecht. Consolidation of Spanish governance made it difficult for Vittorio Amedeo II to establish his own rule on Sicily. Defined as the *Nueva Planta*, reforms included the Kingdom of Naples, but were suspended as Naples fell under Austrian rule already in 1707.

Britain primarily tried to protect commercial positions in Sicily, defined by Utrecht treaty, on March 8, 1713 (Cooper, 1832, II, 373). Local nobility was pleased to hear that the duke of Savoy will soon arrive at Sicily as a king (TNA SP 99/60, f. 94r). While addressing previous viceroy of Sicily (Carlo Antonio Spinola, 4th Marquis of the Balbases 1665–1721, viceroy 1707–1713), Vittorio Amedeo II informed him that mediation of Britain and admiral Jennings was secured in Utrecht. He considered that the danger was coming from Kingdom of Naples, where 5.000 Catalan soldiers were stationed (Stellardi, 1862, 27).

The military preparations that followed pointed out a determination of Austria to seize Sicily. With that, Charles VI threatened to violate the peace agreements. He specially endangered principle of “*neutrality of Italy*”, emphasized by several Apennine states.

In the first days after the signing of the Utrecht treaty, Vittorio Amedeo II began to act as a sovereign of Sicily, seeking to put under his control even the ecclesiastical possessions (TNA SP 99/60, f. 92v). Unable to cope with his decisions, the Pope published the *Second Monitorio* in early August 1713 demanding that all those who violate church privileges have a period of 50 days to repent, and in the future to refrain from any violation of church immunity. As punishment was intended excommunication, regardless of sex and social status of the offender. The *First Monitorio*, previously enacted with a similar purpose, was annulled by the Turin Edict issued by Vittorio Amedeo II. Then already, a British source predicted a more radical move by the Pope, as Vittorio Amedeo II rejected a reconciliation proposal (TNA SP 99/60, f. 154v).

In August 1713 “*An Excom[m]unication in primo grado was affix[ed] at Rome against the Judges in Sicily, and against al[l] who assisted [Him] in executing the orders of their King in banish the Bishop of Catania, and these cannot be absolved but by the Pope himself*” (TNA SP 99/60, f. 178r; Kocić, 2017, 52). Otherwise, the pope considered Sicily as a feud of the Holy See (TNA, SP, 99/60, f. 206v). Sicilian bishop in Giurgenti excommunicated all king’s officials and ordered all churches in his diocese to be shut. The dispute threatened to further deterioration of the relations between the Holy See and Savoy. Therefore Clement XI sent to Palermo Dominican friar Gamardi (TNA SP 99/60, ff. 202r–202v).<sup>12</sup>

British sources shed light on the strained relations between Savoy and Rome. Vittorio Amedeo II directly opposed the pope in order to take over Sicily. He was ceremoniously crowned in the Savoy capital, Turin, on September 22, 1713, on Saint Maurice Day. Public celebration lasted for three nights (Stellardi, 1862, 33–34). Vittorio Amedeo II started towards Sicily already on September 25 1713 (Stellardi, 1862, 41; Di Casalgerardo, 1899, 9). He arrived in Palermo in mid October, where he received “*loud and joyfull acclamations of their Subjects*” (TNA SP 99/60, f. 220r; Di Casalgerardo, 1899, 11 and further on). Soon he revoked two most hated taxes and ordered release of all prisoners “*even those who wer[e] condemned for crimes of the State*” (TNA SP 99/60, f. 224v).

The army of Vittorio Amedeo II took over all the fortifications on the island, and all Spanish soldiers had to leave Sicily (TNA SP 99/60, f. 232r). As Britain was a signatory and guarantor of the Treaty of Utrecht, the British Mediter-

12 In October 1713 “*An Excommunication was again affixed & fulminated against the Marquis de Los Balbasos, and all the Government in Sicily, because they banished the Bishops of Messina & Giurgento*” (TNA SP 99/60, f. 217r).



anean fleet had the task of ensuring the safe arrival of Vittorio Amedeo II in Palermo. The fleet under Admiral John Jennings remained in Sicily (Messina) overseeing the transfer of power.

For several reasons, Sicily became a sort of a test field showing how the implementation of the Utrecht provisions could easily fail. Of particular importance is the fact that, in the new redistribution of forces in the Apennine Peninsula, the island became isolated territory that could not be controlled from the Savoy. Despised as an ally, Vittorio Amedeo II had the desire, though not the ability, to retain power by flirting with the support of France. But the Vatican did not easily relinquish its property rights. British reports reveal that Pope Clement XI was close to the idea of reunion of the Two Sicilies, i.e. the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. This is indicated by the document from the end of 1713 referring a conversation between the Pope and French representative with the Vatican, Cardinal Joseph–Emmanuel de La Trémoille (1659–1720). The cardinal persuaded the pope to surrender his investiture over Sicily to Vittorio Amedeo II. The Cardinal claimed that the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Naples hated the Germans, and that Clement XI would be assisted by the fleet and armies of France, Spain and Sicily, in case of an attack from Naples. The pope replied that he would consider the proposal only after he sees Vittorio Amedeo II “*in possession of bo[th] the Sicilies*”, and after that he changed the topic of conversation (TNA SP 99/60, f. 242v). In his second report, a week later (December 15, 1713), Cole announces the results of Clement XI’s conversation with Charles VI’s envoy Marquis di Priè<sup>13</sup> and he appealed to Pope “*agains[t] the sending to treat with the King of Sicily*”. The pope promised the Austrian envoy that he would “*not medle att all in that affair, nor to send any body to treat w[ith] His Sicilian Majesty*” (TNA SP 99/60, f. 244v). Cole was at that time already convinced that Venice decided not to accept Vittorio Amedeo II as the king of Sicily (TNA SP 99/60, 285r).

The intentions of the Spanish soldiers camped in tents around Messina, were unclear, although it was assumed they will soon be taken back to Catalonia (TNA SP 99/60, f. 234v). In a tense situation following the shift in local Sicilian administration, and within the conflict between Spain and the pope, Vittorio Amedeo II delayed the public crowning ceremony. There were even rumors that he will soon return to Savoy “*where his presence is thought necessary, whilst a war seems<sup>14</sup> unavoidable in Italy*” (TNA SP 99/60, f. 234v). Vittorio Amedeo II was crowned in Palermo on December 21, 1713.<sup>15</sup> Nobility and ordinary subjects joyfully greeted the new ruler, expecting a support of their prerogatives and rights.

13 Ercole Giuseppe Lodovico Turinetti, marchese di Priero e di Pancalieri, and marchese di Priè (1658–1726), began his career at the court of Vittorio Amedeo II. Since 1706 in Austrian service, since 1708 Austrian ambassador in Rome. Charles VI appointed him as governor of Austrian Netherlands in 1716. He held the post until 1725, when he was dismissed.

14 Writes: seemees.

15 A short pamphlet was published that described the whole ceremony and all achievements of Vittorio Amedeo II that recommended him for a ruler of Sicily; Fontana, 1714.

However, new king was more inclined to entrust high positions to his personal loyalists instead to the local nobility who soon started to feel nostalgic in regard to the previous Spanish rule (Symcox, 1983, 171).<sup>16</sup>

Vittorio Amedeo II considered Sicily an important conquest and property. Sicily exported grain, raw silk and olive oil. Palermo was a huge commercial port, Messina exporter of a raw silk. According to the census, ordered by him personally, there were 1,125,120 inhabitants in Sicily in 1714. By the end of February 1714 a parliament convened in Palermo declared new taxes (Symcox, 1983, 171–172). In June 1714 Vittorio Amedeo II moved to Messina and confirmed old privileges, established a status of a free port and founded a trading company for export of goods from the Sicily (Symcox, 1983, 172). He left Messina on the 2nd of September and returned to Palermo (Di Casalgerardo, 1899, 39). In the domain of his authority over the church in Sicily, Vittorio Amedeo II remained in conflict with Rome ordering that papal decisions are not to be accepted without his personal permission (TNA SP 99/60, f. 294r).

Vittorio Amedeo II left Palermo on September 8, 1714, and appointed for a Sicilian viceroy count Annibale Maffei (1666–1735, viceroy 1714–1718), previously his former representative in Utrecht (Symcox, 1983, 173).<sup>17</sup> Maffei was elected viceroy of Sicily in Messina on August 28, 1714. On the next day Vittorio Amedeo II traveled to Palermo (Di-Blasi & Insegna, 1842, II, 485). Charles VI was still refusing to accept the Savoyard possession of Sicily. Savoyard Sicily was also left in the unsolved conflict with the pope, who remained deprived of his local jurisdictions.

The viceroy Maffei appeared in Palermo on September 10, 1714, and the next day officially took power in Sicily (Candela, 1996, 100). Although he was considered one of most successful Sicilian grandees, he faced a plot against his rule in March 1715 (Di-Blasi & Insegna, 1842, II, 486). Sicily remained a “*calamita grafissime*”, a reflection of dissatisfaction with Savoyard rule (Sanfilippo, 1843, 276).

## FURTHER IMPLICATIONS

A new shift took place when the Queen of England, Scotland and Ireland Queen Anne was succeeded by Elector of Hanover George I, on 1 August 1714. George I (1660–1727, reign: 1714–1727), was prone to the cooperation with Austria, as

16 Vittorio Amedeo II remained in Sicily for the most of 1714. In Savoy, his absence encouraged the development of the heretical Waldensian movement. Vittorio Amedeo II previously, in 1686, banished their pastors, forbade public worship and forced parents to give their children a Roman Catholic baptism, and violently crushed their rebellion. London was warning that the basic Waldensian religious rights must be respected. The appeal, in that sense, by the British envoy in Turin, was accepted favorably (Muston, 1866, II, 239). The Savoy cooperation enabled Britain to support Vittorio Amedeo II, even in domain of religious relations.

17 The book that contains significant bibliographic data on Maffei family, and on previous duties of Maffei, 1737.

Charles VI was suddenly endangered with the relations between Savoy and Britain. In the meantime, Austria contested the rights of Savoy on Sicily. Similarly, Britain started to consider that Vittorio Amedeo II was becoming too influential in Italy, and endangering the British relations with Austria. As a signatory guarantor of the Utrecht peace treaty from the previous year, Britain gained Gibraltar and Menorca, consolidating its presence and influence in the Mediterranean. Situation in the Kingdom of Naples was becoming complex. News arrived in Naples at the beginning of March 1714 that Britain sent a large fleet to Mediterranean (TNA SP 99/60, f. 294r). To distance themselves from relations with Savoyard Sicily, the first answer of Austrian administration was to ban any trade between Calabria and Messina (TNA SP 99/60, f. 296r).

Relations with the Vatican were again disturbed when Vittorio Amedeo II decided in early 1715 to expel the Jesuits from Sicily and close their colleges. The pope responded with a new bull against Sicily (TNA SP 99/61, f. 22r). However, Vittorio Amedeo II had to face his Sicilian subjects and their readiness to settle the relations with the pope while he relied in vain on British support. The British sources state that the conflict with the pope also distracted Vittorio Amedeo II to support Charles VI against the Turks (TNA SP 99/61, f. 37r).

Unresolved issues following the Utrecht and Rastatt settlements (1713–1714) led to hostilities between Austria and Bourbon Spain. New war against the Ottoman empire did not match Austrian interests, as Austria was involved primarily to protect Venice (1716–1718). In complex circumstances, Charles VI was prepared to take into account the needs of Spaniards settled in previous Spanish dominions, including the Kingdom of Naples. In negotiations with the Ottoman Empire, Austria was more willing to accept French than British mediation “*avoiding the unconditional character implied in the confirmation of the Utrecht settlement*” (Dhondt, 2015, 121). It was a significant shift in the structure of European relations.

The navigation on the Mediterranean remained threatened by the attacks of pirates, or corsairs (Kocić, 2018b, 504–505; Kocić & Samardžić, 2019, 294). The British government was dedicated in order to ensure safe navigation in the waters of Sicily and the Kingdom of Naples after the Utrecht peace. The War of Venice with the Ottoman Empire (1714–1718) fully actualized the issue of the Ulcinj pirates, but also emphasized personalities such as George Apatal. It was his career that confirmed that the maritime merchant could turn into a pirate, and then he himself accepted the role of the corsair (i. e. privateer) after being recruited into the service of the Papal State (Kocić, 2018b, 508–515). The Ottoman wars in the Mediterranean in particular contributed to the strengthening of piracy. The Ulcinj pirates were particularly considered exempt from any responsibility. The wars would usually activate North African pirates who were also under the nominal authority of the Sultan. British merchants, damaged in pirate attacks, rarely managed to compensate the damages, although British ambassadors to the Porte and Venice worked in that sense (Kocić & Samardžić, 2019, 298–300).

The War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718–1720) was mainly a result of the ambitions of King Philip V of Spain, his wife Elisabeth Farnese (1692–1766), and his first minister Giulio Alberoni (1664–1752) to retake territories in Italy on account of the France. Charles VI refused to recognize Philip V as the King of Spain. In return, Philip V decided to withhold his claims to Naples, Milan, and the Netherlands. Philip V was roused by his influential wife, Elizabeth Farnese, daughter of the Duke of Parma, who personally held dynastic claims in the name of her son Don Charles to the duchies of Tuscany and Parma. Representatives from a newly formed alliance of Britain and France, determined on European peace for their own dynastic securities, called on both parties to affirm each other's sovereignty, but Philip V remained intractable. On August 22 1717 Spanish first chief minister Alberoni launched the invasion of Austrian Sardinia in what seemed like the beginning of the re-conquest of the Spanish former Italian empire. In June 1718, Philip V unleashed another assault, this time on Savoyard Sicily, as a preliminary for attacking the Italian mainland. Realizing that only British fleet could prevent further Spanish landings, and that pro-Spanish groups in France might push the regent Orléans into war against Austria, Charles VI signed the contract with Britain and France on August 2 1718, based on British plan that he renounces his claims to Spanish throne if Philip V renounces his expectations of previous Spanish possessions in Italy. Savoy had to cede Sicily and gain Sardinia in exchange, and Charles VI had to confirm the rights of the house of Savoy to the Spanish throne if the Bourbon line fails to survive.

Philip V and Elizabeth Farnese, however, remained resolute. Austrian military effort in Sicily proved derisory. Only after the British Navy's attacks on the Spanish fleet and shipping, Philip V and Elizabeth Farnese dismissed Alberoni and made peace with the allies – Britain, Austria, Netherlands, Savoy – with the Treaty of The Hague on February 17 1720 (Samardžić, 2011, 23–24). During the conflict, Britain faced a strengthening of Russian aspirations in northern Europe (Samardžić & Kocić, 2019, 108), and the Russian challenge limited the operation of its fleet in the Mediterranean.

On cases of Naples and Sicily Britain mastered techniques of managing international relations and economy that surpassed the limits of traditional territorial states and contemporary mercantilist theories. British interests in the Mediterranean, both Western and Eastern, were accomplished due to weaknesses of disjoined Italy and retreat of Spain and Turkey to the level of second-rate powers. Simultaneously, using its possessions in Italy, Austria was trying to improve conjuncture of reduced agrarian economy, oriented towards limited continental market. That is why Austria was so dedicated to Italy from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century – trade, seafaring, manufacturing, mining (Di Vittorio, 1973, 3–21).

Britain was so concentrated on Austrian role in Italy and Germany both from the points of its strategic interests in the Mediterranean and the Baltic, and after the experiences of the previous from the seventeenth century that impeded general European prosperity. Ending the Quadruple Alliance war, The Treaty of The Hague, signed on 17 February 1720, confirmed the 1713 Utrecht peace provisions, and

Philip V repeated his renunciation of the French throne and the claims to former French possessions in Italy. Emperor Charles VI renounced again his claim on the Spanish throne. The four-year-old Philip's third son Charles of Spain (future Carlos III, 1716–1788, King of Spain 1759–1788) was recognized as heir to the Duchies of Parma and Tuscany. Savoy and Austria exchanged Sicily for Sardinia.

During the Quadruple Alliance war Britain used its economic and diplomatic strongholds in the Ottoman Empire in order to clearly consider the complexities of European relations, as the alliances and hostilities entered in dynamics of changes while any European power could not rely on previous historical or institutional experience. For the first time in history, clear and lasting political ties have been established between the European East and West, and also the Baltic and the Mediterranean. Britain restored alliances with Austria and Netherlands, while still restraining both Austrian continental pretensions, and the ones within the general relations of Catholicism and Protestantism. Britain used France to curb Spanish attempts in the Mediterranean.

There were other important sequences of events in Italy. The War of the Spanish Succession and the wars of Austria and Venice against Turkey concluded with the Treaty of Passarowitz (1714–1718), produced indirect pressures on the province of Friuli. The war efforts and difficulties, especially since 1716, led to new economic troubles, in particular due to increased taxes on soy and skin in the counties of Gorizia and Gradisca, introduced by Charles VI. There were also rioting in Tolmin and Udine (Maniacco, 2015, 157–158).

The rearrangement of Italian possessions after 1714 has also contributed to the importance of the provinces caught on the path of the Austrian extent on Italy. Trieste became a free port in 1719. Ships of all types were sailing to Trieste, Ancona, Rijeka, and Dubrovnik. “*Golfo di Venezia*” became “*polycentric*” and cosmopolitan. The Peace of Passarowitz 1718 was otherwise generally considered as the beginning of the “*last phase*” of the Republic of Venice, where a fatigue should have taken place after exhausting Turkish wars and economic recession. Venice already withdrew from active Italian policies, and Austrian breakthrough limited its sovereignty and strategic maneuvering space. However, the mid-eighteenth century, and onward, a new economic dynamism was felt, associated with the engagement of Venice in connection with renewed conflicts at sea and British and French fleets. Cultural performance has persisted, even increased, and there has been no noticeable demographic decline until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The cessation of the Turkish wars (1645–1669, 1684–1699, 1714–1718), and, quite certainly, the new regional role of Austria and Britain contributed to the noticeable economic and social recovery of Istria, Dalmatia and the Bay of Kotor (Albania Veneta). Although the Peace of Passarowitz, 1718, was for Venice unfavorable due to the loss of the possessions in Ottoman Greece (Morea), the “*territorial gains along the eastern Adriatic marked its greatest expansion ever*” (Ivetić, 2011, 63–70).

NEAPELJ IN SICILIJA PO UTRECHTU IN RASTATTU 1713–1714.  
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## POVZETEK

*V prispevku so analizirane razmere v Neapeljskem kraljestvu in na Siciliji med pogajanjem v Utrechtu in Rastattu in neposredno po njih. Po določbah pogodbe v Utrechtu je bilo Neapeljsko kraljestvo dodeljeno Avstriji, na Siciljo pa je bil pripeljan vladar savojske vladarske hiše (Piemonte) Vittorio II. Amedeo. Neapelj in Sicilija sta bila tedaj španski posesti in papeški fevdi. Z osvojitvijo Gibraltarja in otoka Menorke si je britanska vlada zagotovila dve izjemno pomembni pomorski bazi na zahodnem Sredozemlju, kar je bilo bistvenega pomena za ohranitev njene levantske trgovine. Sprememba oblasti je povzročila izjemno pozornost britanske vlade, ki je, med drugim, imela vlogo poroka za izvajanje pogodb podpisanih v Utrechtu. Ta vloga je poudarjala novo in pomembno mesto Britanije v evropskih razmerjih in v Sredozemlju. Avtorja opozarjata, da je med primopredajo oblasti britanska trgovina še naprej krožila s posredništvom v pristaniščih v Neapeljskem kraljestvu in na Siciliji. Viri, na katerih temelji raziskava, razkrivajo, da je britanska vlada po prihodu kralja Jurija I. na oblast še naprej pozorno spremljala dogodke v Neaplju in na Siciliji, osredotočena na zagovarjanje svojih strateških in trgovinskih interesov ter v kontekstu ohranjanja novega ravnovesja v mednarodnih odnosih. Kot sta avtorja potrdila na primeru dogodkov v Neaplju in na Siciliji, se z dodatnimi podrobnostmi iz britanskih poročil hitro postavijo pod vprašaj teritorialne rešitve dogovorjene v Utrechtu in Rastattu. Britanska podpora je prispevala k utrditvi položaja Vittorija Amedeja II. na Siciliji. Nekaj let kasneje, ko je izgubil to podporo, se je moral odpovedati Siciliji. Avtorja ugotavljata, da britansko gradivo o dogodkih v Italiji dodatno osvetljuje zapletene odnose v Italiji in priča o vlogi Velike Britanije neposredno po Utrechtu in Rastattu. Tesni odnosi in stare težnje so privedle do Vojne štirikratne alianse (1718–1720), ki je bila zlasti posledica ambicij nove španske kraljice Elizabete Farenske in prvega ministra v vladi Giulia Alberonija. V skladu z določbami mirovnega sporazuma v Haagu (1720), se je Filip V. ponovno odrekel svojim pravicam do francoskega, cesar Karel VI. pa do španskega prestola. Kot kompromisno rešitev je Avstrija dobila Sicilijo, Španija pa Sardinijo. Nesoglasja med Španijo, Francijo in Avstrijo so odprla prostor za krepitev britanskega vpliva na Apeninskem polotoku in na splošno v Sredozemlju. K temu so prispevali tudi notranji italijanski konflikti ter šibkost Španije in Osmanskega cesarstva.*

*Ključne besede: Neapeljsko kraljestvo, Sicilija, Velika Britanija, Vittorio Amedeo II., papež Klemen XI.*

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