

## **EAST ENCOUNTERS WEST: WESTERN MERCHANTS, CAPITULATIONS AND ISLAMIC LAW IN THE OTTOMAN MEDITERRANEAN (16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES)**

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### **Abstract**

An Ottoman manuscript from the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris gathered between the same covers different types of documents, such as peace and commerce treaties (*'ahdname*), legal opinions (*fetva*), Imperial orders (*hüküm*), Grand Vizier's reports (*telhis*), ambassadors' petitions (*'arzuhal*) etc.

Considering the order of documents, one can speak about the incipient design to structure this work in three sections: diplomatic section, juridical section and administrative section. The capitulatory régime is illustrated by the Imperial Charters, granted by the Ottoman sultans to the Kings of France in 1569, 1581 and 1597. Ottoman manuscripts with copies of peace and commerce treaties granted to Christian sovereigns can be frequently found in archives and libraries. Astonishing to this manuscript - and one can say this is the only manuscript structured in this manner, discovered until now -, is the fact that the section of Imperial charters (*'ahdname-i hümayun*) is followed by a special section of legal opinions (*fetva*). Moreover, the attempts of the Ottoman central authorities to limit the abuses of local officials – less known until now – are proved by various imperial commands (*hüküm*).

This manuscript is a basic source for researching the commercial and diplomatic relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in the Mediterranean in the late-16<sup>th</sup> and early-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Particularly, the documents included in the manuscript offer information on: procedure of granting and observing the commercial privileges to Christian sovereigns; the maritime caravans and commercial navigation; prohibition to enslave Christian merchants and to confiscate their merchandise; responsibilities of the French ambassador in Istanbul and consuls in the Mediterranean harbours; legal condition of the Western merchants without an apart ambassador to the Ottoman Court; interdiction to create trouble to the commercial traffic by the corsairs of Tunis, Algiers and Tripoli of Libya; mutual setting free of Muslim and French captives etc.

## Introduction

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## Manuscrit Turc 130

Among the extensive collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Division orientale, there is a manuscript compilation of 278 folios including Ottoman documents from the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>1</sup>

Two particularities make this manuscript a precious source for studying the Ottoman Mediterranean in late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> century. First, it has to be pointed out that there is a large spectrum of documents concerning the same topic, i.e. Western trade in the Mediterranean, and signed by various Ottoman dignitaries. The manuscript contains around 250 documents, issued from different chanceries in Istanbul: im-

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque nationale de France, Division orientale Turc 130 (henceforth : BnF, DO Turc 130). On f. 1r, one can read the following note: "Mémoires de l'Ambassade de Monsieur de Brèves en Levant, très curieux et nécessaire à ceux qui sont employés pour le service du Roy à la Porte Ottomane. Du Ryer de Malezair." It has a Turkish bookbinding, by golden and embossed leather, 21,5 x 16 cm. On this manuscript, see short presentations in: E. Blochet, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Tome I: *Ancien Fonds*, Paris, 1932, pp. 53-54; Annie Berthier, Francis Richard (eds.), *Vers l'Orient*, Paris, 1983, p. 39; *Sources de l'Histoire du Proche-Orient et de l'Afrique du Nord dans les Archives et Bibliothèques françaises. II. Bibliothèque Nationale*, München-New York-London-Paris, 1984, pp. 318-319 (by Annie Berthier).

perial charters (*'ahdname-i hümayun*), imperial orders (*hüküm*) and -letters (*name-i hümayun*), reports of the Grand Vizier (*telhis*) and legal opinions of the *şeyh ül-Islam* (*fetva*), translations of King Henri IV's letters, ambassadorial petitions to the Ottoman government (*'arz*, *'arzuhal*).

Considering the addressees of the imperial orders and the ordinary letters, the major Mediterranean towns, ports and regions mentioned in the manuscript, which I must join together to complete the Ottoman Mediterranean puzzle, are as follows: Egypt (*Misr*) and Alexandria (*İskenderiyye*), Aleppo (*Haleb*) and Alexandretta (*İskenderun*), Algiers (*al-Cezair*), Tunis and Tripoli of Lybia (*Trablus-u Garb*), Chios (*Sakız*), Antalya, Istanbul and Galata, Gallipoli and the Boğaz fortresses, and finally Avlonya (Vlora, Valona).

Thus, we have at our disposal a sufficient documentary base for drawing out a comprehensive picture of Western trade and merchants (especially French ones) in the Ottoman Mediterranean.

On the other hand, it is necessary to emphasize that the Ottoman sources that have been known to date on the French trade in the Levant were far more abundant for the period after 1620 than any preceding period. But this manuscript brings to light documents about the last decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> and first years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Excepting for a few documents dated before 1595, most of them were written between 1596 and 1602. Consequently, from the chronological point of view, this manuscript puts at our disposal a great number of documents, issued over a very short period of time; these will be useful to formulate statements and to come to accurate conclusions.<sup>2</sup>

The structure and substance of the *Manuscrit Turc 130* are connected to the initial intentions of François Savary de Brèves, the French ambassador at Constantinople between 1593-1604, to write a guidebook for France's representatives in the Levant. In September 1592 he received the official instructions to continue the unfulfilled missions of the preceding ambassador<sup>3</sup>, and after that date the King Henri IV called Savary de Brèves in the official letters as his "resident" to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>4</sup> The official appointment as ambassador took place only in July 1593. As evidence, one can invoke that only beginning with the summer of 1593, the King Henri IV addressed his letters *A Monsr de Brèves, Gentilhomme de ma chambre, et mon ambassadeur a la Porte excelse du Grand Seigneur*.<sup>5</sup> Savary de Brèves will be recalled from his office in 1604, in his place being appointed Jean de Gontaut Biron, baron

<sup>2</sup> Viorel Panaite, "Being a Western Merchant in the Ottoman Mediterranean. The Evidence of a Turkish Manuscript from Bibliothèque Nationale de France", *İSAM Konuşmaları. Osmanlı Düşüncesi · Ahlak · Hukuk · Felsefe-Kelâm / ISAM Papers. Ottoman Thought · Ethics · Law · Philosophy-Kalam*, ed. Seyfi Kenan, İstanbul, 2013, pp. 99-100.

<sup>3</sup> "Instructions à Monsr de Brèves pour sa residence à Constantinople..." (BnF, Division occidentale, Français 3463: *Recueil de copies de pièces*).

<sup>4</sup> "A Monsr de Brèves, Gentilhomme de ma chambre, residant pour mon service à l'excelse Porte du Grand Seigneur" (Jules Berger de Xivrey, *Recueil des lettres missives de Henri IV*, III, Paris, 1843-76, p. 705-6, letter of 22 November 1592; p. 709-11, letter of 21 December 1592).

<sup>5</sup> Berger de Xivrey, *Recueil*, IV, p. 6-9. In a note to Henri IV's first letter to de Brèves of 22 November 1592, Berger de Xivrey indicated that de Brèves received the title of ambassador "le 27 juillet suivant" (i.e. 27 July 1593) (Berger de Xivrey, *Recueil*, III, p. 705).

de Salignac. Although he left Istanbul in May 1605,<sup>6</sup> Savary de Brèves continued to have – in different forms – connections with the Ottoman empire until his death.

One of its immediate beneficiaries was André Du Ryer de Malezair, who was appointed consul of France in Egypt for the short period between 1623 and 1626. Certain documents emphasize he left his office before 1630, spent a period in Istanbul working for the interests of France and its merchants. He came back to France in the same year, 1630, where he was appointed “gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du roi.” In 1630 Du Ryer published the first edition of his Ottoman grammar,<sup>7</sup> where he announced also the preparing of an Ottoman-Latin dictionary, which will be never published.<sup>8</sup> But his French translation of *Qur'an*, published in 1647, became famous in Europe, being re-translated into Dutch, English, German, and published more times during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>9</sup>

Considering the order of transcribed documents, one can speak about an incipient design to divide this work in three sections: a diplomatic section (chapter of Capitulations);<sup>10</sup> a legal section (chapter of *fetvas*);<sup>11</sup> an administrative, miscellaneous section (chapter of decrees).<sup>12</sup> For a better understanding of the unusual quotation, it must be mentioned that the transcribed documents have been arranged within the volume in two different ways: in a right-to-left direction on folio 2r to 30v; in a left-to-right direction on folio 278r to 38v.<sup>13</sup>

The documents from the *Manuscript Turc 130* tell the story of Western merchants who wanted to trade in the Ottoman dominions. Their legal status – in terms of the Islamic law – was defined by their quality as “subject of the French emperor.” As such, they belonged to the so-called “group of foreigners under protection” (*müste'min ta'ifesi*), as the Grand Vizier wrote.<sup>14</sup> It must be emphasized that in legal opinions of the *Manuscript Turc 130*, the canonical term *müste'min* is explicitly used. Moreover, in a *fetva* dealing with the French carrying trade in the Mediterranean, the *şeyh ül-islam* Mehmed Çelebi Efendi (1601-1603) created the Turkish notion of *müste'minlik*, adding the suffix *-lik* to the Arabic term *müste'min*. He emphasized

<sup>6</sup> The next ambassador, Jean de Gontaut Biron, baron de Salignac, left Paris on 4 September 1604, and after he followed the German way (Nancy, Strasbourg, Stuttgart, Munich, Innsbruck) arrived to Venice on 5 October 1604. From here he took the sea way and – via Raguse, Corfu, Navari, Milo – arrived in Istanbul on 6 January 1605 (Gabriel du Mun, *Deux ambassadeurs à Constantinople, 1604-1610* (Salignac et Glover), Paris, 1902). In a document from another Ottoman manuscript in BnF was transcribed a document called in French *La minute de la lettre que le sultan Ahmed a écrit du roy sur l'arrivée de monsieur le Baron de Salignac et le depart de Mr. de Breves* (BnF, DO Supl. Turc 119, f. 7v).

<sup>7</sup> *Rudimenta grammatices linguae Turcicae, quibus ejus praecipuae difficultates ita explanantur, ut facile possint a quolibet superari, viam monstrante Andrea du Ryer*, Paris, excudebat A. Vitray, 1630. In the manuscript form: «Compendium grammatices linguae turcicae, quo illius praecipuae difficultates ita explanantur ut facilè possint a quolibet superari, viam monstrante Andraea du Rier, Marciniacensi, pro Christianissimi regis nationibus in Aegypto ex consule» (BnF, DO Turc 202).

<sup>8</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris preserved two manuscripts of *Dictionarium Turcico-Latinum. Türk ve Latin Lugatlaridir* (BnF, DO Supl. Turc 464, 465).

<sup>9</sup> *L'Alcoran de Mahomet, traduité de l'arabe en françois, par le sieur Duryer, sieur de la Garde Malezair*, Paris, 1647; *The Alcoran... translated out of Arabique into French... and newly Englished...*, London, 1649; Amsterdam, 1770, 2 vols. Du Ryer's other translation was *Gulistan, ou l'Empire des Roses, composé par Saadi, prince des poètes turcs et persans*, Paris, 1634.

<sup>10</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 2r-25v.

<sup>11</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 26r-30v. Separate *fetvas* were transcribed on the folio 109r-111r and 276v.

<sup>12</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 38v-278r.

<sup>13</sup> Excepting few pages (31r-37v; 235r-234v; 245v-250v), all folio were used. For a detailed description of the *Manuscript Turc 130*, see: Viorel Panaite, “A French Ambassador in Istanbul and his Turkish Manuscript on Western Merchants in the Ottoman Mediterranean (late sixteenth and early seventeenth century),” *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, 42/1-4, (2004), pp. 117-132.

<sup>14</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 39v.

that those regulations of the charter that granted French subjects protection during their stay in the Ottoman realms were a direct result of their overall legal status in terms of the *şeri*'at (*ancak müste'minlik şartı tasfir olunmuş iken*).<sup>15</sup>

The documents from the *Manuscrit Turc 130* provide evidence for a permanent contradiction between theory and practice, i.e. between the diplomatic text of imperial charters (*'ahdname-i hümayun*) and abusive circumstances, revealed and remedied through imperial commands (*hüküms*) and official correspondence (*mektubs*).

For instance, in their letters, the state bureaucrats in Constantinople condemned the local officials' hostile attitude against French merchants and their merchandise and considered it illegal. In this respect, they invoked strong diplomatic and legal reasons, such as the long-standing friendship between the Ottoman Court and France that had been mutually observed. Since the treaty remained unbroken, French subjects should be considered under the sultan's protection and travel safely into his dominions. The sultan did not condone any action against the pact with the Emperor of France and his protection over French subjects.<sup>16</sup> There is no imperial approval for attacking and disturbing the above-mentioned merchants. It is not suitable that goods that Frenchmen had bought and carried from the House of War to Ottoman dominions are seized.<sup>17</sup> The above-mentioned statements are based on the following diplomatic and legal sources: holy law (*şer'-i şerif*) and legal opinion (*fetva*);<sup>18</sup> secular law (*kanun*);<sup>19</sup> customary law (*'adet*);<sup>20</sup> the imperial charter (*'ahdname-i hümayun*) granted to the Emperor of France;<sup>21</sup> and the imperial commands (*ahkam-ı şerife*) to the governor-generals, judges and financial administrators from all provinces with the orders that no aggression should be committed against French subjects and their merchandise.<sup>22</sup>

Let me emphasize that the underlying argument for the Ottoman protective policy towards Western merchants was actually economic in nature. Thus is perhaps best illustrated by Gazanfer Ağa's (*kapu ağası*) letter to the *defterdar* of Aleppo in which he argues that the merchants' comings and goings must be secured in order for the town's financial profit to increase.<sup>23</sup>

The documents from the *Manuscrit Turc 130* offer data on the following topics: Western ambassadors and their commercial diplomacy at the Ottoman Court; the procedure of granting Imperial charters and new commercial privileges in the Ottoman Empire; the juridical condition of Western foreigners, especially of French merchants and the protégés of France; various aspects of Western trade in the Ottoman

<sup>15</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 27r. For details see: Viorel Panaite, "Defending the Status of *müste'min*: Ottoman State Bureaucrats' Correspondence about French Merchants and 'Coffee from Malta' in Aleppo", *Osmanische Welten: Quellen und Fallstudien. Festschrift für Michael Ursinus*, eds. Raoul Motika, Christoph Herzog and Johannes Zimmermann, Bamberg, 2016, pp. 477-498.

<sup>16</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 43v.

<sup>17</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 42v.

<sup>18</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 38v, 39r, 38v, 40v, 40r, 42r, 43v, 46r-45v.

<sup>19</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 38v, 46v.

<sup>20</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 42v.

<sup>21</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 38v, 39r, 42r, 42v, 43v, 46r-45v.

<sup>22</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 39r, 39v, 40r, 40v, 41v, 42v, 43v.

<sup>23</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 42r.

Mediterranean, such as interdiction of taxes on money (*guruş*) brought by foreign merchants and merchants' right over their merchandise; navigation in the Ottoman Mediterranean (maritime powers, enemy ships / *harbî gemiler*); piracy and its effects on international trade in the Mediterranean; Christian and Muslim prisoners, including the prohibition to enslave Western merchants and confiscate their merchandise in Ottoman dominions; conflicts between the French communities and the local authorities, which generally involved *avantias*, i.e. arbitrary payments extorted from the community as a whole and new taxes imposed contrary to former practices; responsibilities and rights of the French ambassador in Istanbul and the French consuls in the main Ottoman ports and towns, such as Istanbul, Alexandria, Aleppo, Antalya, Tunis and Algiers (a consulage of 2%); the powerful executive relationship between the central authorities in Istanbul and provincial officials (punishment for failure to observe imperial orders).

In this paper I am focusing on three topics that are illustrated by documents from the *Manuscrit Turc 130*: imperial charters, consuls and Western non-treaty merchants (*protégés*).

## Imperial Charters

Capitulations formed the main diplomatic base of the relationship between Western representatives and Ottoman authorities.<sup>24</sup> That is why a manuscript compilation like the one conceived by the French ambassador at the Ottoman Court with the purpose of serving the defense of the rights of the French merchants in the Ottoman Mediterranean had to begin with copies of these imperial charters (*'ahdname-i hümayun*, *'ahdname-i şerif*).

Consequently, the *Manuscrit Turc 130* opens with the capitulations granted to the Kings of France in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century: These were the *'ahdnames* granted by Sultan Selim II to King Charles IX on 12-21 October 1569 (*eva 'il-i Cemazi'l-Evvel 977*); by Sultan Murad III to King Henri III on 29 September – 8 October 1581 (*eva 'il-i Ramazan 989*); and by Sultan Mehmed III to King Henri IV on 18-27 February 1597 (*eva 'il-i Receb 1005*). Together they compose what can be called the “diplomatic section” of the *Manuscrit Turc 130*.<sup>25</sup>

This section does not, however, contain the famous text of 1536, which was and still is considered a corner stone of the capitulatory system. This omission supports the conclusion, also suggested by other evidence, that this earlier text never had any legal validity, but was merely a treaty-project, rather than an actual treaty between

<sup>24</sup> Viorel Panaite, “Peace Agreements in Ottoman Legal and Diplomatic View (15th–17th Centuries),” *Pax Ottomana: Studies in Memoriam Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç*, ed. Kemal Çiçek, Ankara and Haarlem, 2001, pp. 277-308.

<sup>25</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, 2r-25v. For details concerning this section see Viorel Panaite, “Western Diplomacy, Capitulations, and Ottoman Law in the Mediterranean, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries: The Diplomatic Section of the *Manuscrit Turc 130* from the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris,” *Erken Klasik Dönemden XVIII. Yüzyıl Sonuna Kadar Osmanlılar ve Avrupa: Seyahat, Karşılaşma ve Etkileşim / The Ottomans and Europe: Travel, Encounter and Interaction from the Early Classical Period until the End of the 18th Century*, ed. Seyfi Kenan, İstanbul, 2010, pp. 357-387

King François I of France and Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent.<sup>26</sup>

On May 20–29, 1604 (*evahir-ı Zi'l-Hicce* 1012), Sultan Ahmed I renewed the previous French *'ahdname*. François Savary de Brèves, in his function as ambassador to the Ottoman Court, had mediated the confirmation of this document, which was usually issued upon the enthronement of a new sultan. The fact that the imperial charter of 1604 was not included in the *Manuscrit Turc 130* proves that it was compiled before 1604. In spite of this relatively early date of composition, this manuscript compilation deserves further attention in light of its relevance to French diplomacy and commerce in the Ottoman Mediterranean during François Savary de Brèves' mission to Constantinople.<sup>27</sup>

Considering the imperial charter of 1597 is actually the starting point of the legal and administrative sections of the *Manuscrit Turc 130*, it deserves more details.

The third imperial charter (*'ahdname-i hümayun*) copied in the diplomatic section of the *Manuscrit Turc 130* was granted by the Sultan Mehmed III to the King Henri IV on *eva'il-i Receb* 1005 / 18-27 February 1597. Outside of text, one can read the following explanatory note: "it is a copy of the imperial charter granted by His Excellency, the Sultan Mehmed Khan" (*Sultan Mehmed Han hazretlerinden inayet olunan 'ahdname-i hümayun suretidir*).<sup>28</sup>

The original of this *'ahdname* was not found until today. An Ottoman copy made in Egypt is preserved in Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. This version is actually a *nişan-ı şerif*, including also the *invocatio*. On the right side it is written an Arabic formula ending with the seal of the judge 'Abd el-Ra'ouf ibn Mohammed el-'Arabi. On this signature is indicated the year 997 / 1588-1589 probably the year when he was appointed in this office. It is possible this imperial charter would be translated also in Arabic. On the back of this Ottoman copy of the *Capitulation* of 1597 was written *Firman turc de Mahomet III en faveur des François* and *Rouleau arabe*.<sup>29</sup>

The imperial charter of 1597 was unfairly ignored by those who have been compiling manuscripts on the French trade in Levant. For instance, it was not included in the manuscript *Traicte et ambassades de Turquie. Recueil de pièces relatives à l'histoire des relations diplomatiques de la France avec le Levant. 1528-1640*.<sup>30</sup> Yet, one can find it in several manuscripts preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Division Occidentale in Paris.

<sup>26</sup> Usually, the French manuscripts gathering information on treaties with and embassies to the Ottoman Empire also included the texts of 1528 and 1535/1536. For instance, in the manuscript "*Traictez et ambassades de Turquie*": *Recueil de pièces relatives à l'histoire des relations diplomatiques de la France avec le Levant, 1528-164*, the first texts are *Traité entre Soliman et les consuls des Catelans et François, 1528* and *Traité que fit Jean de la Forest, ambassadeur de France, avec Soliman, 1535* (Bibliothèque d'Arsehal, Ms. 4767-4771, tome I, f. 1-3, 10-13).

<sup>27</sup> The bilingual Ottoman-French edition of the *'ahdname* of 1604 was printed by François Savary de Brèves in 1615, including both the Ottoman text and its French translation: *Articles du traicté fait en l'année Mil six cens quatre, entre Henri le Grand Roy de France, & de Navarre, Et Sultan Amat Empereur des Turcs, Par l'entremise de Messire François Saury, Seigneur de Breues, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseil d'Etat & Priuè, lors Ambassadeur pour sa Maiesté à la Porte dudit Empereur* (Paris, 1615). This published text can also be found in the *Traictez et ambassades de Turquie*, Tome III (Bibliothèque d'Arsehal, Ms. 4769, f. 299-322). An Ottoman version of the *'ahdname* of 1604 was included in Feridun Ahmed Bey, *Mecmu'a-i Münşe'atü's-Selaṭin*, II, İstanbul, 1264-65/1848-1849), pp. 400-404; this version has been translated into French in François Alphonse Belin, *Des Capitulations et des traités de la France en Orient*, Paris, 1870, pp. 120-128.

<sup>28</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 17r-25v.

<sup>29</sup> BnF, DO Supplément Turc 821.

<sup>30</sup> Bibliothèque d'Arsehal, Ms. 4767-4771, Tome I-V.

In the manuscript *Recueil de lettres et de pièces originales*, François Savary, who indicated clearly that he is the author of this translation (*Traduict par Moy Breves*), have been translated only the twelve articles added to the precedent imperial charter of 1581. The text was titled *Traduction des Articles que les Sieur de Breves, Ambassadeur du Roy en Levant, a fait inserer dans les Cappitulations et Traictez de paix qui sont de longue memoire entre la Couronne de France et l'Empire Ottoman, accordez de Sultan Mehmet, l'an 1597*.<sup>31</sup> Later, the imperial charter of 1597 was included, together with the precedent and subsequent capitulations granted to France, in the annexes of *Mémoires sur l'ambassade de France en Turquie et sur le commerce des Français dans le Levant* written by François Emmanuel Guignard, Comte de Saint-Priest, who was Ambassador of France at the Ottoman Court between 1768-1784.<sup>32</sup>

In the copy made in Egypt is mentioned *Francisku Savary* (François Savary, Seigneur de Brèves) as being the French ambassador who had negotiated the text of 1597. The renewal of previous imperial charters was a common task of any French ambassador. Savary de Brèves stands out from those before him by negotiating and obtaining – in 1597 from Mehmed III and 1604 from Ahmed I – the inclusion of new commercial privileges as a guarantee against the actual abuses of Ottoman provincial authorities. Being a time of friendly relations between France and the Ottoman Empire, the custom of treaty renewal on the occasion of a new sovereign's enthronement was observed by the Sultan Mehmed III. Moreover, new clauses on navigation, export of cereals, pirates of the North Africa and taxes were added.<sup>33</sup>

The legal opinions copied in the second section of this manuscript legitimated new clauses added to the *'ahdname* of 1597. Also, imperial decrees (*hüküms*) from the administrative section of the manuscript asked imperatively from the Ottoman local authorities to observe the stipulations of the French *Capitulation* granted in 1597. Here are certain instances.

First, it should be emphasized the Grand Vizier's report (*telhis*) to Mehmed III concerning the new articles that would be added to the imperial charter of February 1597 (*Vezir a'zaman sa'adetlü padişah hazretlerine etdüği telhisdir; 'ahdnameye ilhâk olunacak maddeler için; hatt-ı hümayun name-i hümayinuna katulsun; fait le 20eme fevrier 1597*).<sup>34</sup>

On *evahur-ı Zi'l-ka'de* 1005 / 6-15 July 1597, Mehmed III commanded to the governor-general and defterdar of Egypt to respect all stipulations from the Imperial Charter granted to the King of France in February 1597 (*Mısır beylerbeyine ve defterdarına 'ahdname-i hümayunun cemi' şartların icra etmek için*).<sup>35</sup>

More similar commands were dispatched to the governor-generals, governors, judges and soldiers of Tunis, Algiers and Tripoli of Libya on *evahur-ı Safer* 1006 / 2-11

<sup>31</sup> BnF, Division Occidentale, Ancien Fonds Français 3491, f. 83r-84r

<sup>32</sup> François Emmanuel-Guignard, Comte de Saint-Priest, *Mémoires sur l'ambassade de France en Turquie et sur le commerce des Français dans le Levant, 1525-1770*, ed. Charles Schefer, Paris, 1877 (reprinted, Amsterdam, 1974), pp. 398-410.

<sup>33</sup> Belin, *Capitulations*, pp. 84-89; H. İnalcık, "İstanbul", *EF*, IV, pp. 233-259.

<sup>34</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 255v-r.

<sup>35</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 241v.



October 1597, asking them to observe the stipulations of the French *'ahdname*, to abstain themselves from robbing and enslaving the French merchants and to set free the French captives. The content of this document is also expressed by short but explicit headline and final annotation: *Tunis beğlerbeğisine hüküm-ü 'ahdname ile 'amel olunmak için* (above: *Cezayir ve Trablusa bu minval üzere hüküm verilmiştir. Au bacha de tunis pour la conservasion de la Capitulation le meme a été donne Au bacha d'argers & de tripoly écrit le 10me octobre 1597*).<sup>36</sup>

## Consuls

An essential aspect of the Western presence in the Ottoman Mediterranean was the institution of the consulates, which were part and parcel of the evolution of the capitulatory régime.<sup>37</sup> Once their hegemony had extended over the entire eastern and southern coasts of the Mediterranean, the Ottomans adopted the consular system from the Mamluks. Thus, the consulate became a customarily required institution established by Western powers in those Ottoman cities that played an important role in international trade. The consuls worked together with the ambassadors in Constantinople in support of their *nation's* commercial activities by ensuring the safety of their merchants, masters of ships, and mariners.<sup>38</sup> The petitions (*'arz*) submitted by the French ambassador to the Ottoman authorities were, in fact, based on the information received from the French consuls that had been established in certain Ottoman towns.

In comparison with Venice (which had a centralized system for the nomination of consuls) and England (where the Queen granted the right to appoint its own consuls to the Levant Company), France had a mixed process of appointing consuls in the Levant.<sup>39</sup> According to the simplistic interpretation of the diplomatic text of the capitulations, the appointment of consuls was a right reserved to the King of France, usually exercised by the ambassador in Constantinople. The standard clause of the imperial charters of 1597 and 1604 stated that nobody may interfere when the king of France appoints and changes consuls in Alexandria (İskenderiyye), Tripoli of Syria (Trablus-i Şam), Algiers (*Cezayir*), and in the scales of other places (*sayir yerlerin iskelelerinde*).<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> BnF DO, Turc 130, f. 188r-187v. See, also, f. 189r-188v, 190r-189r, 200r-199v.

<sup>37</sup> Fedor F. Martens, *Das Consularwesen und die Consular-jurisdiction im Orient*, Berlin, 1874; Karl Lippmann, *Die Consularjurisdiction im Orient*, Leipzig, 1898; Francis Rey, *La protection diplomatique et consulaire dans les Echelles des Levant et de Barbarie*, Paris, 1899; Gérard Pélissier du Rausas, *Le régime des capitulations dans l'Empire Ottoman*, 2nd edition, I-II, Paris, 1910-1911; Nasim Sousa, *The Capitulatory Regime of Turkey: Its History, Origin and Nature*, Baltimore, MD, 1933; Halil İnalçık and J. Wansborough, "İmtiyazât", *EF*, III, 1971, pp. 1207-1225.

<sup>38</sup> Wyndham Beawes, *Lex mercatoria rediviva; or, the merchant's directory*, London, 1752, pp. 295-302; B. Spuler, "Consul", *EF*, II, 1965, pp. 61-62.

<sup>39</sup> Niels Steensgard, "Consuls and Nations in the Levant from 1570 to 1650", *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 15, (1967), pp. 13-55. For the Venetian consuls, see the most recent studies of Maria Pia Pedani, "Venetian Consuls in Egypt and Syria in the Ottoman Age", *Mediterranean World*, 18 (2006), pp. 7-21, and "Appunti sul consolato veneto in Marocco nella seconda metà del XVIII secolo", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 19, (2001), pp. 87-100. For the English consuls, see Sonia P. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycout at Smyrna, 1667-1678*, Oxford, 1989.

<sup>40</sup> BnF DO, Turc 130, 24r. In the French translation of the 1597 *'ahdnâme*: "Qu'au changement et établissement des Consuls François en nos échelles d'Alexandrie, Tripoli de Syrie, Alger et autres, personne des nôtres ne s'y oppose" (Saint-Priest, *Mémoires*, 407-408); François Savary de Brèves, *Articles du traité fait en l'année Mil six cens quatre, entre Henri le Grand Roy de France, & de Nauarre, Et Sultan Amat Empereur des Turcs, Par l'entremise de Messire François Saury, Seigneur de Breues, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseil d'Etat & Priuë, lors Ambassadeur pour sa Maiesté à la Porte dudit Empereur* (Paris, 1615), 20 (art. 33).

Additional sources show that in the last decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> and the first decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, several parties were involved in the process of instating a French consul in the Levant.<sup>41</sup> The prospective consul was nominated by the merchants of Marseille and confirmed by the King of France.<sup>42</sup> Formal recognition in the Ottoman Empire was granted by an imperial diploma (*berat-i hümayun*) obtained through the ambassador. This diploma stipulated his functions, rights, and privileges. Unfortunately, the imperial diplomas provided to French consuls in the Levant were rarely preserved, especially during this early period.

Once he was appointed, the new consul had to establish administrative, juridical and diplomatic relationships with Ottoman local authorities, his “nation” and the consuls of other Western powers in town. This process was made easier by imperial commands dispatched to the governor-generals and judges, informing them that a new consul would come to their town and forbidding them to trouble him.

Imperial orders usually referred to a particular aspect of the consul’s status and functions. Fortunately, these are illuminated in three detailed imperial commands included in the *Manuscrit Turc 130*. They were dispatched to local officials on the occasion of the reinstatement of Jean de Coquerel in Egypt (on 18-27 March, 1599 / *evahur-ı Şa‘ban 1007*)<sup>43</sup> and the appointments of Gabriel Fernoulx and Jean Rénier “Junior” as French consuls, respectively, in Alexandria (on 2-11 July 1601 / *eva‘il-i Muharrem 1010*)<sup>44</sup> and Aleppo (on 12-21 October 1598 / *evasıt-ı Rebi‘i‘l-Evvel 1007*).<sup>45</sup>

According to the above-mentioned *hüküms*, which actually enforced old customs and reiterated stipulations of the imperial charter of 1597, the consuls’ rights, privileges, immunities, and obligations functioned in relation to, first, the Ottoman local authorities, second, other Western consuls in town, and, third, their co-nationals.

Financial sources for the maintenance of the French ambassador and the consuls in the Levant were assured by collecting a two-percent “consulate duty” (*konsolosluk hakķı*) on imports and exports. On 30 September 1592, King Henri IV instructed Savary de Brèves on managing the French subjects’ commercial affairs in the Levant. At the same time, the king of France granted the French ambassador at Constantinople the right to levy a two-percent duty on any merchandise carried on ships sailing under the French banner in the Ottoman Mediterranean. The collection of this duty was to be entrusted to the consuls or specially-appointed agents.<sup>46</sup> Sultan Meĥmed III reiterated this privilege in the ‘ahdname-i hümayun and ‘adaletname of February 1597: “The Frenchmen and their protégés may not oppose to pay to the French ambassadors and consuls the consulage on the merchandise loaded on their ships.”<sup>47</sup>

<sup>41</sup> The inclusion of several parties in the process of consular appointments led to frequent disputes.

<sup>42</sup> Julien Pillaut, *Les Consulats du Levant: III. Alep – Seïde – Tripoli de Syrie (1548–1900)*, Nancy, 1902, 1.

<sup>43</sup> Jean de Coquerel was the secretary of the French embassy. In this *hüküm* he is described as “one of embassy’s officials” (*kätiblerinden*) (BNF DO, Turc 130, f. 96r-94r). Actually, Jean de Coquerel was appointed consul for the first time in 1597, replacing Simeon Borelli (BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 237v).

<sup>44</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 57r-55r.

<sup>45</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 114v-r.

<sup>46</sup> Pierre Grandchamp (ed.), *La France en Tunisie à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle (1582–1600): Documents inédits publiés sous les auspices de la Résidence générale de France a Tunis*, Tunis, 1920, pp. 55 and 143-146.

<sup>47</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 21v (*resimlerin ve bāylāc hakķların bī-kuşūr verüb*), f. 254v-253v; Saint-Priest, *Mémoires*, p. 404. Also in Brèves, *Articles*, pp. 13-14 (art. 17).

In the context of the French-English rivalry for protecting the Western non-treaty merchants in the Levant (especially the Dutchmen), more *hüküms* were successively dispatched to the governor-generals and judges of Aleppo (1595, 1599), Egypt, and Alexandria (five *hüküms* in 1601), and the governor of Chios (1598), commanding them to observe the French consuls' right to collect the consulage of two percent from both the French and the Western merchants travelling in the Ottoman Empire under French protection.<sup>48</sup>

Further stipulations were inserted into the imperial charters which asserted the French consuls' rights and obligations towards their trading nations, including administering the inheritance of co-nationals,<sup>49</sup> freeing Frenchmen from captivity,<sup>50</sup> protecting and assuring conditions for fair business, and fighting the Ottomans' abuses as well as the bad practices of their own co-nationals. All of the above obligations were part of a consul's main duties and functions. In short, he had to make sure that the commercial interests of his *nation* were defended.<sup>51</sup>

## Protégés

The inhabitants of Western countries were generally called “enemies” (*harbiler*) in the Ottoman legal and administrative sources. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>52</sup> both merchants from Western states that had received capitulations, and merchants from Christian states that had not been granted commercial privileges were active in the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman “international” law made a more emphatic distinction than classical Islamic legal texts between “*harbî* with ‘*ahdname*” and “*harbî* without ‘*ahdname* and a distinct ambassador to the Porte.” In the Ottoman texts there were no synonyms for the term “protégés” used in the contemporary French translations<sup>53</sup>, but instead one can find two Ottoman formulas. On the one hand, there was an emphasis on the fact that they did not have their own ambassadors to the Porte to protect their commercial interests. The 1604 *ahdname* granted to King Henri IV of France specifically referred to the “whole group of enemy merchants with no separate envoys of their own” to the Porte (in Ottoman, *müstakil elçileri olmayan cümle harbî tüccar tayfesi*; in French, *les autres nations aliénées de l'amitié de notre grande Porte, lesquelles n'y tiennent Ambassadeur*).<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, the

<sup>48</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 240, 161v-r, 124r-123v, 87v-r, 51v-50r, 48r-47v.

<sup>49</sup> BnF DO, Turc 130, f. 23v; Saint-Priest, *Mémoires*, p. 406; Brèves, *Articles*, p. 14 (art. 18) and 18 (art. 28).

<sup>50</sup> BnF DO, Turc 130, f. 23v; Saint-Priest, *Mémoires*, p. 407; Brèves, *Articles*, p. 19 (art. 32).

<sup>51</sup> For details see: Viorel Panaite, “French Capitulations and Consular Jurisdiction in Egypt and Aleppo in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries”, *Well-Connected Domains: Towards an Entangled Ottoman History*, Firges, Pascal W., Graf, Tobias P., Roth, Christian et Tulasoğlu, Gülay (eds.), Leiden-Boston, 2014, pp. 71-87; Viorel Panaite, “Les consuls de France dans le Levant au cours de l'ambassade de François Savary de Brèves à Constantinople (1593-1605) à partir d'une source ottomane conservée à la Bibliothèque nationale de France”, *De l'utilité commerciale des consuls. L'institution consulaire et les marchands dans le monde méditerranéen (XVIIe-XIXe siècle)*, Coordinateurs de l'ouvrage: Arnaud Bartolomei, Guillaume Calafat, Mathieu Grenet, Jörg Ulbert, Editeur: la Casa de Velázquez, 2016, pp. 101-115.

<sup>52</sup> The category of merchants protégés also existed in the pre-Ottoman period. In the Seljukid commercial privileges granted to Venice in the 13<sup>th</sup> century – for instance, the *ahdname* of 8 March 1220 – were included all “latins” without consuls, the term “latins” designating all Western merchants, see Melik Delilbaşı, “Ortaçağ'da Türk Hükümdarları Tarafından Batılılara Ahidnamelerle Verilen İmtiyazlara Genel Bakış”, *Belleten*, XLVII/185, (1983), p. 97.

<sup>53</sup> In the French translation of the *ahdname* of 1604 (Saint-Priest, *Mémoires*, p. 419; Pélissié du Rausas, *Capitulations*, II, 3, p. 37). In the *ahdname* of 1597, “les autres nations ennemies” (Saint-Priest, *Mémoires*, pp. 401-402).

<sup>54</sup> Feridun *Münşe'at*, II, pp. 400-401.

protégé merchants were defined with reference to the banner of their ships. In the French Capitulations of 1581 they were generically called “those who navigate in the name and under the banner of the French Emperor” (*Franca padişahının nâmı ve sancağı altında yürüyenler*).<sup>55</sup> Later, in the *ahdname* granted to Queen Elisabeth I of England in 1601, the protégés are called the “group of merchants who navigate under the English colors” (*İngiltere bayrağı altında yürüyün tüccar tayfesi*).<sup>56</sup>

Through the diplomatic efforts of William Harborne, the first English ambassador to the Porte, England obtained the imperial charter of *eva'il-i Rebi ül-ahır* 988 / 16-25 May 1580 from Murad III. It was a diploma (*berat-ı hümayun*) “which gave the English the privilege of official representation at the Porte and placed English merchants on a footing of complete equality with the French with regard to privileges in the Levant trade.”<sup>57</sup> These included also the right to navigate under the English flag.

France accepted the new status of the English merchants in the Mediterranean in the *ahdname-i şerif* granted by Sultan Mehmed III to King Henri IV in 1005 / 1597, where the Englishmen were added to the Venetians in their new quality as Western merchants navigating under their own colors (*Venedikliü ve İngilterelüden ma'ada*). The Spaniards, Portuguese, Ragusans, Genoese, Anconitans and Florentines were expressly listed among the protected merchants, but the category “others” (*généralement tous les autres*, in French translation) was much expanded.<sup>58</sup>

The procedure of insertion of this article in the *ahdname* of 1597 is explained in a condensed report (*telhis*) submitted by the Grand Vizier to the Sultan Mehmed III, which was copied in the *Manuscrit Turc 130*. Accordingly, François Savary de Brèves presented a petition to the Ottoman Court, and notified that the King of France had requested more stipulations to be added to the renewed imperial charter as compared to the old charter. The Grand Vizier made the following condensed report and submitted it to Sultan Mehmed III. The first stipulation considered in the Grand Vizier's report concerned the *harbî* merchants.<sup>59</sup>

The confirmation of the right of protection over Western non-treaty merchants in the French Capitulations of February 1597 did not mean the end of the English-French rivalry. Savary de Brèves frequently submitted petitions to the Ottoman Court complaining that the English ambassador brought and showed an illustrious order contrary to the French Capitulations, according to which the *harbî* merchants should refer to their consuls, driving them to revolt against France's protection. Each *arzuhal* ended with a demand for issuing an imperial order forbidding the above-mentioned abuses of the Englishmen.

<sup>55</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 11r; Susan Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey. 1578-1582. A Documentary Study of the First Anglo-Ottoman Relations*, London, 1977, p. 273.

<sup>56</sup> Feridun, *Münşe'at*, II, p. 550.

<sup>57</sup> For the text and comments see: Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Türk-İngiliz Münasabetlerinin Başlangıcı ve Gelişmesi (1553-1610)*, Ankara, 1953, pp. 182-186; Necmi Ülker, “XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İzmir'deki İngiliz Tüccarına Dair Ticarî Problemlerle İlgili Belgeler”, *Belgeler*, XIV/18, (1989-1992), pp. 306-308; Skilliter, *Harborne*, pp. 86-89, 232-239 (English translation, Ottoman text, Contemporary Italian translation); Arthur Leon Horniker, “William Harborne and the Beginning of Anglo-Turkish Diplomatic and Commercial Relations”, *The Journal of Modern History*, XIV/3, (1942), pp. 289-316.

<sup>58</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 17r-25v.

<sup>59</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 255v-r: *Vezir-i a'zamın sa'adetli padişah hazretlerine etdüği telhisdir. 'Ahdnameye ilhak olunacak maddeler için. Hatt-ı hümayun name-i hümayununa katılsun. Fait le 20ème février 1597* (Condensed report of the Grand Vizier to be submitted to the Sultan concerning the new articles added to the imperial charter granted to the King of France in February 1597. The imperial decree was added to the imperial letter).

Various documents of the *Manuscript Turc 130* illustrate the French-English diplomatic confrontation over the right of protection of Dutch merchants.<sup>60</sup> Among them, one can quote: two legal opinions (*fetvas*) issued by the *şeyh ül-Islams* Hoca Sa'adeddîn Efendi (1598-1599) and his son, Mehmed Efendi (1601-1603); an imperial decree (*nişan-ı hümayun*) from the spring of 1598, allowing the Dutch merchants to come to the Ottoman Empire under the French banner;<sup>61</sup> more ordinary orders (*hüküm*) addressed to Ottoman local officials;<sup>62</sup> a report of the Grand Vizier to the Sultan (*telhis*);<sup>63</sup> several petitions of the French ambassador to the Ottoman Court (*arz-u hal*).<sup>64</sup> The main personages of this diplomatic fight in Istanbul were the French ambassador François Savary de Brèves and the English envoys, Edward Barton and Henry Lello. A few Ottoman high dignitaries in Istanbul were also involved in this dispute.

Until the imperial charter of 1612, the Dutch merchants – as an enemy nation (*harbî*) from the Islamic point of view – could navigate and trade in the Ottoman dominions only under the banner and protection of a Christian sovereign who had already received commercial privileges for his own merchants. According to the French capitulations of 1569, 1581, and 1597, the *harbî* merchants could come and trade in the Ottoman dominions in the name and under the banner of the King of France. The Dutch merchants were not explicitly mentioned as being protégés of the French King in any Imperial charter granted to France in the second part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. But they were accustomed to travel for their trade into the Ottoman Empire under the French flag, and as such should be considered as being included in the category of “all the others” (*bi'l cümle*) who “were accustomed since the ancient days of yore to navigate in the name and under the flag of the Emperor of France” (*Franca padişahının namı ve sancağı altında yürüyenler kadim ül-eyyamdan ila*).<sup>65</sup>

A series of imperial orders (*hüküm*) were sent to the local officials, ordering them not to obey the documents shown by the English ambassador, but to observe the recent imperial charter granted to France. One such document is the order of *evahir-ı Zi'l-ka'de* 1005 / 6-15 July 1597 to the governor-general of Egypt. As usual, the text begins by pointing out that Savary de Brèves sent a petition to the Ottoman Court as a reminder that the imperial charter had required all *harbî* merchants – excepting the Venetians and the Englishmen – to enter the Ottoman seas and territories under the French banner, as well as to refer and report to the French ambassador and consuls. He protested that the English ambassador had brought forth and shown an illustrious order contrary to the French capitulation, according to which the *harbî* merchants could refer to their own consuls, driving them to revolt against France's protection.

<sup>60</sup> For the earliest diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic, see: Nicolae Iorga, “Les rapports entre la Hollande et l'Empire Ottoman au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et au commencement du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *Revue historique du Sud-est européen*, XIV/10, (1937), pp. 283-293; A. H. de Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic. A History of the Earliest Diplomatic Relations. 1610-1630*, Leiden-Istanbul, 1978; G. R. Bosscha Erdbrink, *At the Threshold of Felicity: Ottoman-Dutch Relations during the Embassy of Cornelis Calkoen at the Sublime Porte. 1726-1744*, Ankara, 1975, pp. 1-40; Mehmet Bulut, *Ottoman – Dutch Economic Relations in the Early Modern Period. 1571-1699*, Hilversum, 2001, pp. 107-120.

<sup>61</sup> BnF DO Turc 130, f. 160v-r.

<sup>62</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 86v-85r, 108v-r, 157v-156r, 203v-r, 238v-r, 240r, 275r.

<sup>63</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 74r-73v.

<sup>64</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 67v, 73r-72r, 89r-88r.

<sup>65</sup> Wood invoked the supposed Ottoman-French treaty of 1535-1536, which would grant this right to France (A. C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, Oxford, 1935, p. 28). According to A. H. de Groot: “The Dutch had not yet concluded a treaty with the sultan but were allowed to trade under the French Capitulations of 1569” (Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic*, p. 86).

He was asking for an imperial order forbidding the above-mentioned abuses of the Englishmen. Consequently, the sultan commanded the governor of Egypt to ignore the order shown by the English ambassador and to observe the recent imperial charter granted to France and the present *hüküm*. Any tax collected by the English consuls had to be returned to the French consuls.<sup>66</sup>

The French consulates' right to protect the Western non-treaty merchants in the major commercial cities of the Levant was a customary practice. A special paragraph was also included in the *hüküms* of March 1599 and July 1601, dispatched on the occasion of the appointments of Jean de Coquerel and Gabriel Fernoulx as consuls in Egypt: "Excepting the Venetians and Englishmen, all the Franks may refer – in all circumstances and difficult matters – to the above-mentioned *baylo*, according to the imperial charter; and nobody may oppose him when he takes decisions according to their own [French] customs."<sup>67</sup>

Yet, in the *'ahdname* of 1601, Mehmed III granted the Queen of England the right to protect the Dutch merchants.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, despite the French opposition, on the 1<sup>st</sup> July 1612 (*Cemazi ül-evvel 1021*) Ahmed I granted the Dutch Republic the first imperial charter with commercial privileges. According to its terms, the Dutch could appoint a permanent ambassador to the Ottoman Court and consuls in the Ottoman harbors.<sup>69</sup>

It is quite clear from the above observations that during his mission to the Ottoman Court (1593-1605), François Savary de Brèves conceived this manuscript as a guide-book for the ambassadors and consuls of France in the Ottoman Empire. Regardless its structure and form, the substance of the documents offers a complex picture of the Western trade and merchants (especially the French ones) in the Ottoman Mediterranean at late-16<sup>th</sup> and early-17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>66</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 238v-r.

<sup>67</sup> BnF, DO Turc 130, f. 96r-94r, 57r-55r.

<sup>68</sup> Feridun, Münşe'at, II, pp. 381-385; Wood, Levant, p. 29.

<sup>69</sup> Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic*, pp. 233-246 (Ottoman transliteration), pp. 247-260 (English translation). An Ottoman copy was included in the manuscript *Recueil des plusieurs Traités entre les Puissances Chrestiennes et la Porte*, preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The folio 61v contains a note in Italian only, *Capitulazioni fra l'Imp. di Turchia Sultan Achmat Chan e gli Potentiss. Sig. di Stati generali della confedera de Provincie de Paesi Bassi* (BnF, DO Supplément Turc 118, f. 61r-69r, 8 pages only).

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