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**‘Le monde est un logement d'étrangers’:
François Savary de Brèves (1560–1628),
diplomatic agent in the
early modern Mediterranean**

Darren M. Smith

School of Historical and Philosophical Inquiry,
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
The University of Sydney

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Abstract

François Savary de Brèves (1560–1628) served as French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1592 to 1606 and, together with his earlier attachment to the French embassy, spent close to two decades in the Ottoman capital. It was the longest sojourn of any French ambassador since the French entered into formal diplomatic relations with the Ottomans in 1535. Despite scholars crediting his term as a watershed moment in Ottoman-French relations, a complete study on him remains to be published. Savary de Brèves also established the first press in Paris for printing in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, just one component of a broader vision of oriental studies in early modern France whose motivations have remained ambiguous for scholars to-date.

Examining his diplomatic career and oriental studies project within the context of a complex cross-cultural, multi-lingual Mediterranean at the turn of the seventeenth century, this study argues Savary de Brèves represents a new kind of agent who was instrumental in redefining European attitudes towards the Ottomans, in fields including diplomacy, language and oriental studies, in response to pragmatic geopolitical realities. This study has implications for the way we think about diplomacy, language-learning, oriental studies and the Mediterranean in the early modern period, particularly in the often-overlooked period of the early seventeenth century. The study draws on a variety of sources produced by Savary de Brèves, including diplomatic correspondence, Ottoman legal and administrative sources, the travel account of his journey to Tunis and Algiers, and his writings about the Ottomans in his later years.

Statement of Originality

This is to certify that to the best of my knowledge, the content of this thesis is my own work.
This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or other purposes.

I certify that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work and that all the assistance received in preparing this thesis and sources have been acknowledged.

Signature

[on examiners' copy]

Name

Darren Smith

Acknowledgements

*Peste paludicolas passim rapiente Batavos,
Hand liber Rhenus, Leyda nec ipsa fuit.
Rus alij, sulvae alij secedere; noster
Erpenius, Spartam dum colit usque suam,
Intrepidus remanere domi.¹*

‘A pestilence carried off the marsh-dwelling Dutch everywhere,
The Rhine was hardly free; nor Leiden itself.
Some withdrew to the country, others to the woods; our
Erpenius, while he lives in Sparta,
remains fearless at home.’

Arabist Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624), who we will encounter in this dissertation, was aged just 40 when he died in 1624, a victim of the plague. Unlike his Dutch countrymen, who, according to this funeral oratory, fled to the country or woods hoping to escape pestilence’s clutches, Erpenius remained steadfast at home, Spartan-like. Those words above belong to Dutch scholar Peter Schrijver (1576–1660), Erpenius’ contemporary and scholarly associate. I learned of Erpenius’ fate during my research for this dissertation and amidst our own experience of pestilence in the form of SARS-CoV-2. For a time, we all needed to stay at home, uncertain of what lay ahead, relegated to lockdowns, video-conferencing, sourdough baking and QR-code check-ins. There have been many Spartans among us, above all our healthcare workers and others on the pandemic’s frontlines. I am grateful to live in a country with universal healthcare. This dissertation was completed during a global pandemic, a reminder that we write history while living it. Despite the challenges we all faced, it was also a time I received support, encouragement and assistance more forthcoming than ever making these acknowledgements even more noteworthy. Whether my supervisory team, history

¹ In Gerardus Vossius, *Oratio in obitum clarissimi ac præstantissimi viri, Thomæ Erpenii, Orientalium linguarum in Academia Leidensi Professoris* (Officina Erpeniana, 1625).

department, archivists in Australia and France, librarians, peers, colleagues, friends and family — the guidance and support to help me achieve my little goal amidst this big, global drama was incredible.

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My interest in the Mediterranean and its historiographical significance, especially in premodernity, owes much to the influence of my Associate Supervisor, Dr H el ene Sirantoine. It was H el ene who first introduced me to the Mediterranean world — its cultures, its peoples, and the way it continues to challenge historians to reconsider the discipline's methodologies. After taking her undergraduate unit on medieval Mediterranean cultures, I decided that was the world I wanted to explore. Equally important was her rigorous approach to primary source analysis, which has been absolutely instructive for me throughout my dissertation project. In many respects, this research project reflects the influence of these two scholars. I am also indebted to H el ene for her encouragement and enthusiasm for my work, reviewing my Latin and French translation, chapter revisions, and assistance navigating access to archives in France (including a difficult to access private collection near Toulouse).

The origin of this thesis also owes credit to John and H el ene because they supervised my earlier Honours thesis looking at the fifteenth-century Burgundian interest in the Ottoman

Empire during the rule of Phillip the Good (1396–1467) and particularly the travel account of the duke's agent Bertrandon de la Broquière (d. 1459), whose own journey through Ottoman territories has left us with one of the most fascinating European accounts of the Ottomans from that period. It was within a seminar on early modern Europe I took as part of my Honours program that I sought to examine the French interest in the Ottomans during the early modern period and struck upon the account of Savary de Brèves' journey nearly two centuries later, which brings me to this current point in my research journey.

Associate Professor Nick Eckstein provided valuable supervision support in the initial stage of my project, as well as wise counsel as postgraduate coordinator. Likewise, I thank Associate Professor Frances Clark for her support and encouragement, particularly during the challenges of pandemic. Dr David Brophy provided guidance and translation support in Ottoman Turkish. I extend my gratitude to the broader Department of History at the University of Sydney including Professor Michael McDonnell, Professor Andrew Fitzmaurice, Professor Glenda Sluga, Professor Chris Hilliard, Dr Julie-Anne Smith, Dr Peter Hobbins and Dr Sophie Loy-Wilson.

I was fortunate to undertake much of my archival research overseas before the pandemic's border closures, chiefly in France and Italy. Many thanks to Associate Professor Mario Casari for our lunch near the Colosseum in Rome, and particularly for his valuable knowledge of Giovanni Battista Raimondi and possible connections with my thesis subject. In addition to assisting with access to a private archive in Gaillac, Associate Professor Mathieu Grenet (Université d'Albi) offered valuable advice on consular networks in the early modern Mediterranean as well as a tour of the countryside outside Toulouse and lunch in Lautrec. In June 2019, I was privileged to be selected as a participant in the University of Notre Dame's Rome Global Gateway program for a full month and am grateful for Professor Heather Hyde Minor excellent leadership and guidance through working in Rome's archives

and libraries. Thanks also to Dr Una McIlvenna for assistance with archives relating to Catherine and Marie de Medicis.

This dissertation also owes credit to archivists and other specialists whose expertise I drew on. Foremost, I extend my gratitude to the team at Atelier du Livre d'Art et de l'Estampe at the Imprimerie Nationale in France for the opportunity to access and view the printing type produced by the subject of my thesis, as well as a tour of the Imprimerie Nationale's incredible patrimony. Many thanks to M. Charles de Noblet in Gaillac for access to his private archive related to Jean Yversen, special agent of the Henri II to Ragusa and appointed on a special mission to Suleiman I, including hospitality from M. and Mme. De Noblet by inviting me to lunch. Special thanks, too, to the archivists at the Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine in Carpentras, France — despite being in the midst of the first wave of COVID-19, they were able to arrange digitised copies of sources I needed. I undertook some training in modern Turkish thanks to the efforts of Hazal Rende, and many thanks to John Dryden working with my over the years on our Latin.

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While undertaking research in Marseille, I was fortunate to stand at the docks where my grandmother and her children, some months after leaving their home in Malta, finally departed Mediterranean shores to set up home on shores on the other side of the globe — Australia. My achievement is testimony to the leaps and bounds achieved by everyone in our family and the foundations we have built for those ahead — families that started in Villawood and Haberfield, with little wealth and formal education.

Speaking of building foundations, I thank my parents who consistently supported and encouraged my academic interests since I was a child. Neither had the educational opportunities and privileges I have been fortunate to enjoy, even at an undergraduate level. They worked hard to provide those opportunities to their children and continued to be a rock of support from my return to university through to completion of this dissertation. Where others may have questioned my decisions, they stood by them. I am eternally grateful for the support and confidence they have provided throughout this project.

Notes

Translations

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from Italian, French, Latin and Spanish are my own.

Naming conventions in this thesis

When used in relation to language in this study, ‘Turkish’ refers to the Ottoman Turkish of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries rather than Turkish in current usage.

As this study focuses on the sources and experiences related to a French ambassador at the Ottoman court, the Ottoman capital is referred to as Constantinople in most instances, rather than Istanbul. This reflects how the city is referred to in the sources, as well as acknowledging the Ottomans themselves used *Konstantiniyye* to refer to the city even until the end of empire.¹

¹ Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 170–1922*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 4.

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Introduction

In April 1609, François de Canillac (1574–1629), a Jesuit from Riom, left Frascati outside Rome, where he had just received a blessing from Pope Paul V for his mission to Constantinople. The pope had ‘raised his hands and eyes to the ceiling’ moved by the piety of French king Henri IV (1553–1610).¹ Canillac was one of five Jesuits charged by Henri with establishing a mission in Constantinople, a reconciliatory deed to heal relations with the papacy following the king’s abjuration of Calvinism in 1593.² After visiting the pope, Canillac was received at the residence of then French ambassador in Rome, François Savary de Brèves (1560–1628).³ As well as supplying Canillac provisions for the journey, the ambassador gave him a passport written ‘*en langue Turquesque*’. As Canillac explained, this was on account of Savary de Brèves’ earlier ambassadorship in Constantinople, a man who ‘possessed entirely the good grace of all those important in that Empire’.⁴ Canillac then boarded a boat on the Tiber headed for Ostia to begin his eastward journey.

The following year, on 15 September 1610, a funeral ceremony was held for Henri in Florence in the Basilica di San Lorenzo, on order of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo II de’ Medici. According to Giuliano Giraldi’s contemporaneous account of the event, the celebration of Henri’s life included a set of twenty-six paintings depicting scenes from his life, arranged around the basilica’s chapels (Figure 1).⁵ Reproductions of each painting were

¹ ARSI, Gallia 101, f. 34v.

² On 1 February 1607, Henri advised the pope that he had obtained permission from sultan Ahmed I to ‘establish in the town of Constantinople a college or congregation of Jesuits’: Gallia 101, f. 154r.

³ Jacques-Auguste de Thou, *Histoire Universelle, de Jacques-Auguste de Thou, Tome Dixième, 1607–1610* (London: 1734), 27.

⁴ Gallia 101, f. 101r.

⁵ A 1610 engraving depicts the commemorative cycle *in situ* with the caption ‘prospettiva del’ apparato: *The church of San Lorenzo, Florence, with funerary decorations to mark the death of King Henri IV of France*, 1610, print engraving,

included in Giraldi's account as print engravings, including a scene depicting the reception of a diplomat by an Ottoman sultan. The print shows the reception taking place in Jerusalem, with Mount Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre in the background (Figure 2). Accompanying the image were the words: 'Sacrosantum Christi servatoris sepulcrum nefario turcarum regis iussu iam iam abolendum avito exemplo ab excidio vindicat'.⁶ The protection refers to the 1604 agreement between Henri and Ottoman sultan Ahmed I (1590–1617) safeguarding Christians in the Holy Land, establishing Henri as its protector, and authorising the inception of a Jesuit mission in Constantinople.⁷ Orations on Henri printed around this time identified the diplomat: 'Only Henri prevented [destruction of the Sepulchre], through his ambassador Francesco Signor di Breves, who with authority, threat, and terror finally acted such that the chosen order was revoked ... [and] the Sepulchre of Christ be visited, honoured, adored ... freed from the infidel's barbarous tyranny of the infidels'.⁸ In 1615, a French–Turkish edition of the agreement was printed in Paris (Figure 3) using a press developed by Savary de Brèves for printing in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish.

Wellcome Collections, London. This engraving is not associated with Giraldi's text: Giuliano Giraldi, *Esequie d'Arrigo quarto, cristianissimo re di Francia, et di Navarra* (Florence: Stamperia di Bartolomeo Sermartelli e Fratelli, 1610).

⁶ 'Protecting the most Holy Sepulchre of Christ the Saviour from destruction by abominable order of the king of the Turks [sultan], which is to be abolished': Giraldi, *Esequie d'Arrigo quarto*, 46.

⁷ 'Perchè vi si rappresentava la legazione, con la quale il re Arrigo domandò, e ottenne dal Turco la revocazion dell'editto fatto da quell'empie fatture, di tor via il Sepulcro di Cristo, bandeggiar di que' sacri luoghi tutti i Religiosi, e Cristiani, e con la'nterrovina di quelli, estingurene ogni memori ... volle insieme, con la medesima legazione, procurar beneficio, impetrando, che il culto Cristiano in Iersualemme si conservasse, e a'Gesuiti fosse permessa in Pera residenza a e Collegio' : Giraldi, *Esequie d'Arrigo quarto*, 46.

⁸ Francesco Bocchi, *Oratio de laudibus Henrici IIII. christianissimi regis Galliae, et Navarrae* (Florence : B. Sermartellium et fratres, 1610).



Figure 1: The church of San Lorenzo, Florence, with funerary decorations commemorating Henri's death. (Wellcome Collections, London.)



Figure 2: Print from Giuliano Giraldi's *Esequie d'Arrigo quarto* (1610).

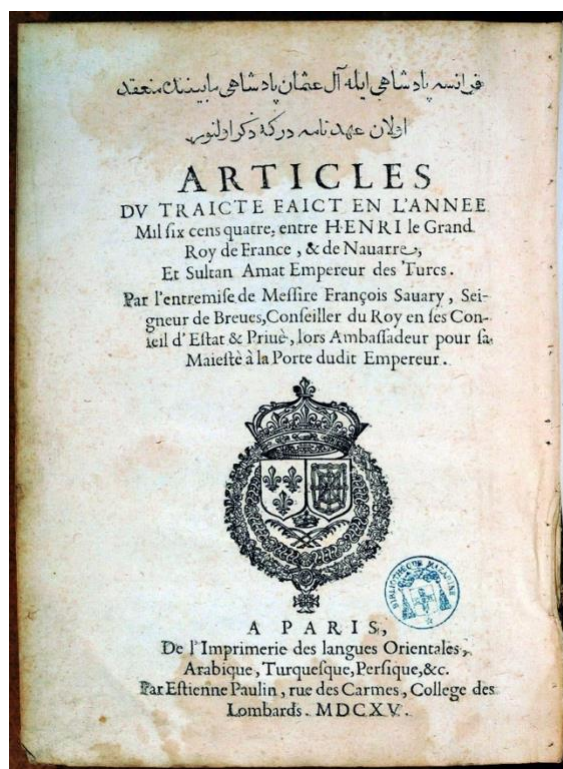


Figure 3: Title page of the printed 1604 capitulations negotiated by Savary de Brèves (printed in 1615).

Decades later, Savary de Brèves appeared in the *Historiettes* of gazeteer Gédéon Tallemant des Réaux (1619–1692), a collection of written personal portraits of literary and political figures in seventeenth-century France. He wrote that Gaston d’Orléans, brother of Louis XIII, ‘repeatedly complained he was only given a Turk and Corsican as governors’.⁹ The ‘Turk’ was Savary de Brèves, whom ‘had been in Constantinople for so long he had become completely *Mahometan*’.¹⁰ Retired from his diplomatic career, Savary de Brèves had been appointed the young duke’s governor by queen regent Marie de Médicis (1575–1642) in 1614. Among the young men Savary de Brèves chose as suitable companions for the duke was Louis Gédoyne, later French consul in Aleppo and who himself earned the sobriquet ‘le

⁹ ‘M. d’Orléans s’est plaint plusieurs fois qu’on ne luy avoit donné pour gouverneurs qu’un Turc et qu’un Corse, M. de Breves et le marshal d’Ornane’: *Les Historiettes de Tallemant des Réaux, Tome II* (Paris: J. Techener, Libraire, 1862), 109. Tallemant did not publish his work out of fear of reprisal so the *Historiettes* remained unpublished until 1834: Marie Thérèse Ballin, “Les Historiettes de Tallemant des Réaux. Manuscrit privé ou clandestin?,” *Revue d’histoire littéraire de la France* 113, no. 2 (2013): 259.

¹⁰ ‘Il avoit esté si longtemps à Constantinople qu’il en estoit devenu tout mahometan’: *Historiettes*, 109.

Turc'. The *Historiettes* elsewhere report that Savary de Brèves met with firebrand cleric at the French court, Père Joseph, Charles I Gonzaga, and scholar Catherine de Parthenay to discuss 'the empire of the Turk'.¹¹

Finally, in 1803, French orientalist Jean-Joseph Marcel (1776–1854) returned to Paris from Egypt, having been among the scholars comprising the Commission des Sciences et des Arts accompanying Napoleon's 1798 campaign in Egypt. On his return, Marcel was appointed Director of the Imperial Press. Together with his expertise in Egypt as an orientalist, this role meant he was one of the central figures involved in producing the *Description de l'Égypte* (1809), the foremost intellectual product of Napoleon's campaign. Marcel's entry in the work begins with a lengthy account of early modern travellers and orientalists, reserving special acclaim for 'one of the most remarkable travellers in Egypt in the seventeenth century ... Savary de Brèves'.¹² Indeed, Savary de Brèves had left his mark in Egypt in the form of graffiti, inscribing his initials at the base of the Great Pyramid of Giza.¹³ 'Orientalists,' wrote Marcel, 'have no less obligation to Savary de Brèves ... As director of the Imprimerie Impériale, and as a member of the Commission d'Égypte, it is my very duty to devote to his memory some hastily written lines that are perhaps not unwarranted in a work that owed part of its perfection to his typographic execution'.¹⁴ The Arabic type that Marcel used in Egypt, and for printing the *Description de l'Égypte*, was that produced by Savary de Brèves in the early seventeenth century.

These are four different sketches of the subject of this present study, Savary de Brèves: a well-connected gatekeeper to the Ottoman world for a French Jesuit, executor of the Most Christian king's protection of the Holy Land against destruction by the infidel, a

¹¹ 'Il a tousjours eu de grand dessein en teste; un temps, il ne faisoit que prescher la guerre sainte. M. de Mantoue [Gonzaga], M. de Breves, Madame de Rohan et luy prenoient fort souvent tout l'Etat du Turc': *Historiettes*, 10.

¹² Jean-Joseph Marcel, "Mémoire sur le meqyâs de l'île de Roudah, et sur les inscriptions qui renferme ce monument," in *Description de l'Égypte, Tome II* (Paris: L'Imprimerie Impériale, 1810), 31.

¹³ For details and a reproduction: Georges Goyon, *Les inscriptions et graffiti des voyageurs sur la Grande Pyramide* (Cairo: Société Royale de Géographie, 1944), XLV and 46 (Plate 113).

¹⁴ Marcel, 'Mémoire', 33.

prince's governor worthy of the sobriquets 'Turk' and '*mahometan*', and an orientalist and erudite traveller in the Levant. How can one figure be at the centre of this most pious of deeds (the protection of the Holy Land) yet also be considered to have become himself *mahometan*? Of course, these absolutes point to the complexity of a figure like Savary de Brèves, an 'agent of empire' (or between empires) in the early modern Mediterranean, to use the language of historian Noel Malcolm.¹⁵

Reconstructing an archive encompassing his life as both ambassador and orientalist, this study uses Savary de Brèves as a prism to acquire new insights into French aspirations in the early modern Mediterranean stretching from Constantinople to Algiers and understand the relationship between diplomatic practice, language-learning and oriental studies. Savary de Brèves spent nearly twenty years in the Ottoman Empire, including an extensive tour across the Ottoman Mediterranean (as far as Algiers and Tunis), unique among his diplomatic predecessors and uncommon among his contemporaries. This lengthy sojourn embedded him in the Ottoman world — its languages, politics and law — an experience that informed an entire vision of oriental studies directed by the pragmatic demands of cross-cultural diplomacy and French foreign policy in the Mediterranean. This thesis shows how 'on-the-ground' agents like Savary de Brèves were crucial in transforming European diplomatic practice and specialist knowledge of the Ottomans in the global early modern.

This present study argues that the career of Savary de Brèves represents a watershed moment in France's diplomatic relationship with the Ottomans and strategic involvement in the Ottoman Mediterranean — he attempted to transform diplomatic practice, whether through building the linguistic tools necessary for effective diplomacy in the region or the consolidation of the roles of France's ambassadors and consuls across the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, his pursuit of a press for printing in the languages of the Ottoman court, together

¹⁵ Noel Malcolm, *Agents of Empire: Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits and Spies in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean World* (London: Penguin Books, 2015).

with a personal manuscript collection that stands distinctively apart from contemporaneous collections of oriental manuscripts across Europe at the time, offers valuable insights and evidence that reveals an ambitious diplomatic vision for France in the early modern Mediterranean.

Savary de Brèves: an introduction

Savary de Brèves served as French ambassador to Constantinople from 1592 to 1606, but had in fact spent nearly twenty years in Ottoman territories, first arriving in 1586 as part of the entourage of his ambassadorial predecessor, Jacques Savary de Lancosme (c. 1528–1593). His sojourn in the empire was the longest residence of any French ambassador since France first entered into formal diplomatic relations with the Ottomans in 1535. Residing in Pera, a district of the city across from the Golden Horn where Europeans from the west made their consular and mercantile footholds, this stay afforded him an intimate and deep engagement with Ottoman culture, politics, law and, most importantly, language. Savary de Brèves pitched his affinity with the Ottomans as the centrepiece of his professional career and life's work. It was a posting that also took him to the western peripheries of the Ottoman Empire —Tunis and Algiers. Thus, he had experienced the heart and fringes of that empire.

After returning to Paris in 1606, Savary de Brèves was appointed ambassador to the Holy See. The new posting did not mean his interest in the Ottomans waned. Quite the opposite, since Rome, an important centre of oriental studies in early modern Europe, saw the genesis of his most renowned achievement — the establishment of a press for printing in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. It was one of the most successful such presses produced in Europe at the time, outshining in precision earlier attempts such as by scholar and Arabist Guillaume Postel (1510–1581) and standing alongside the renowned Medici Oriental Press. Moreover, unlike earlier attempts, the press was designed for printing in Turkish as well, an

important point of distinction this present study explores. The punches and matrices that remain from the press today are held by the Imprimerie nationale alongside the original type of Garamond and the famous ‘*Greco du Roy*’ developed for Francis I.

Repositioning Savary de Brèves: a review of scholarship

Despite his achievements, including the negotiation of the 1604 capitulations, a complete scholarly study of Savary de Brèves remains to be published. The only extensive study is a 1989 dissertation by Isabelle Petitclerc.¹⁶ In her study, Petitclerc attests: ‘Brèves is incontestably not only the diplomat closest to the Turkish milieu until that point. He was also the European of his time who had the longest sojourn in the Islamic Orient.’¹⁷ Petitclerc’s study constitutes an assessment of the ambassador’s career and printing press project, examining his role in France’s foreign policy with respect to the Ottomans through a range of diplomatic sources, as well as several larger works on the Ottomans produced by Savary de Brèves. She concludes with a balance sheet evaluation: ‘Let us test ... the balance sheet of this life that we have presented as a spatial and intellectual journey of great richness and originality’.¹⁸ On the one hand, Petitclerc presents his career and ambitions, which she identifies as the successful development of Ottoman–French relations, as burning bright but eventually snuffed out by projects not fully realised and a professional career abruptly ended following dismissal from the royal court in 1618. ‘His destiny,’ Petitclerc writes, ‘was only a series of insurmountable ruptures’, referring to his ultimately inability to see his projects through to completion. She continues, arguing that ‘what he had rightly considered in the absolute as his superiority, turned out only to be an object of curiosity, even of derision.’¹⁹ In

¹⁶ Isabelle Petitclerc, “François Savary de Brèves, ambassadeur de Henri IV à Constantinople, 1585–1605: diplomatie française dans l’Empire ottoman et recherche orientaliste” (PhD diss., University of Lille, 1989).

¹⁷ Petitclerc, “Savary de Brèves,” VI.

¹⁸ Petitclerc, “Savary de Brèves,” 321.

¹⁹ Petitclerc, “Savary de Brèves,” 324.

other words, the quality he considered most distinctive about his experience — his expertise regarding the Ottomans reflected in his oriental studies project — did not gain the momentum he anticipated. Petitclerc rightly observes his failures. His grand vision for an oriental printing press (the subject of Chapters 7 and 8), part of broader ambitions for the study of oriental languages in Paris, petered out, its most significant product being the Paris Polyglot Bible in 1645, published nearly two decades after his death. The press fell into disuse, later reactivated by Marcel in the early nineteenth century for lack of any other ability to print in Arabic for Napoleon's Egyptian expedition. Even decades after his death, when the discipline that came to be recognised as oriental studies developed its first significant peak in Louis XIV's France, Savary de Brèves' project remained buried in the archives.

On the other side of the ledger, Petitclerc considers his career as ambassador in Constantinople as an 'incontestable diplomatic success', instrumental in sustaining the Ottoman–French alliance while France was divided by deep and violent religious and factional divisions following Henri III's assassination in 1589.²⁰ She attributes his success to three factors: his 'efficiency and charisma among the Turks', demonstrated by his strong knowledge of their language, law, and religion; his loyalty both to the French monarchy and the person of the king, particularly during a period when loyalties could shift like the sands; and his 'surprising independence of thought and action'.²¹ All three of these will prove true across this study. Petitclerc goes so far as to credit him as 'the best minister possible in this calamitous period for France, as it was at the beginning of [his] mission'.²² She adds that we must also conserve the memory of Savary de Brèves as 'the humanist whose experience brings us such warm company on the stony and rough path of orientalist knowledge', acknowledging his contribution to oriental studies in France.

²⁰ Petitclerc, "Savary de Brèves," 324.

²¹ Petitclerc, "Savary de Brèves," 325.

²² Petitclerc, "Savary de Brèves," 325.

Despite accepting many of Petitclerc's arguments, and building on her findings, this present study departs from her investigation in two key ways. First, it examines the world Savary de Brèves operated in. The challenges he encountered as an ambassador in the Ottoman empire and his responses to them (particularly in relation to language), tell us as much about the world he had to negotiate as it does about the success or failure of his endeavours. Second, whereas Petitclerc treats Savary de Brèves' diplomatic and intellectual endeavours separately (and assesses them as such) this study argues that we need to consider them as fundamentally integrated. His orientalist endeavours both emerged out of and shaped a diplomacy specific to the cross-cultural Mediterranean that marked an important new trajectory for French diplomacy that involved building a sphere of influence in the region on the back of Ottoman power. Further, these endeavours were collaborative, leveraging networks and communities specific to the Mediterranean, whether dragomans in Constantinople, Maronites from Mount Lebanon or consuls across Ottoman ports. Since Petitclerc's dissertation in 1986, scholarly approaches to the early modern Mediterranean have shifted to more closely examine the lives and networks of those who participated in it — whether merchants, dragomans, knights, missionaries, corsairs or diplomats — and how they were not merely passive players but active agents and intermediaries across cultures, languages, authorities and religions.

In addition, this study seeks to retrieve Savary de Brèves from the footnotes of scholarship, repositioning him at the centre of this Mediterranean world in a way that unifies the diplomat and the orientalist. Since Petitclerc's work, he has been the subject of shorter studies focused on specific aspects of his career or briefly mentioned as a milestone figure in studies on specific fields, whether oriental studies, dragomans, manuscript collection, printing or international relations. In 2017, Alastair Hamilton wrote a brief entry for a bibliographic volume which provides a biographic summary as well as a some discussion of

an account of his travels in Ottoman territories.²³ In 2019, Niall Oddy published an article examining two writings by Savary de Brèves on the Ottoman Empire, the focus of Chapter 9.²⁴ Ottomanist Viorel Panaite has written several articles using primary sources either produced by, or related to, Savary de Brèves for his studies on western merchants and Ottoman law in the early modern period, while Gérald Duverdier's short 1986 study of the ambassador's printing press remains the key scholarly study on Savary de Brèves' press.²⁵ Additionally, a range of articles focus on Savary de Brèves from the perspective of French foreign policy at the time.²⁶ Elsewhere, Savary de Brèves features briefly in broader works including on early modern oriental studies, dragomans at the Ottoman court, contemporaneous scholars (such as Peter Miller's work on Pereisc), Mediterranean history, European diplomacy at the Ottoman court, and mercantile history. While these accounts are instructive and make valuable contributions upon which this present study draws, they leave us with a patchwork in place of which this present study contributes a more complete study that seeks not only to understand his career but the worlds he engaged — the Ottoman Mediterranean, early modern diplomacy, and oriental studies.

Savary de Brèves' Mediterranean world

The title of this dissertation opens with the words 'Le monde est un logement des étrangers' ('the world is an abode of strangers'). The phrase appears scrawled as a note on the title page folio of a manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Memoires de l'Ambassade de Monsieur de Breves en Levant, tres Curieux de nos affaires, à ceux qui sont*

²³ Alastair Hamilton, "François Savary de Brèves," in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History, vol. 9: Western and Southern Europe (1600–1700)*, edited by David Thomas and John Chesworth (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 415–22.

²⁴ Niall Oddy, "Crusade or cooperation? Savary de Brèves' treatises on the Ottoman Empire," *Seventeenth Century* 34, no. 2 (2019): 143–57.

²⁵ Panaite's and Duverdier's works are detailed in Chapters 4 and 8–9 respectively.

²⁶ See: Thuillier, "Un 'politique' au XVII^e siècle: Savary de Brèves (1560–1628)," *La Revue administrative* 62, no. 368 (2009): 124–29.

employées pour la service du Roy a la porte Ottomane.²⁷ The manuscript volume, discussed in Chapter 4, comprises copies of official Ottoman legal and administrative documents prepared by Savary de Brèves in Constantinople. The writing appears to match Savary de Brèves' hand, written on a manuscript produced in a place initially strange to him and in which he found himself a stranger, but also which impressed upon him an intimate knowledge and lifelong interest, a world that he helped shape through his actions. Through his diplomatic posting, he encountered strangers and worlds foreign to him beyond even the Ottoman capital, meeting the Maronite patriarch in Mount Lebanon, eastern Christians in the Holy Land, as well as beys, pashas, janissary captains and corsairs across the littoral of the Ottoman Mediterranean from Cairo to Algiers. His career was not only diplomatic but cultural and intellectual, which he sought to bring back to Paris with a vision for a college of oriental studies focused, uniquely at the time, on the languages of the Ottoman court.

In his seminal 2015 work, *Agents of Empire: Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits and Spies in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean World*, Noel Malcolm details the lives and careers of two related Roman Catholic families based in Ulcinj, Albania — the Bruti and the Bruni. Whether diplomats, knights, corsairs, dragomans or spies, for Malcolm, these are 'agents of empire' through which intersected the currents of the intercultural sixteenth-century Mediterranean. Malcolm's work is just one example of recent scholarship on Mediterranean history, particularly the early modern Mediterranean, that turns to the seemingly smaller actors in this complex web. Malcolm foregrounds the lives, activities and networks of these actors against the backdrop of Mediterranean geopolitics, the traditional focus of the sea's histories. Where Malcolm talks of 'agents of empire', E. Natalie Rothman talks of 'trans-imperial subjects', referring to 'those who were caught in the web of complex imperial mechanisms but who at the same time were essential to producing the means to calibrate,

²⁷ Paris, BNF, MS Turc 130, f. 1r.

classify, and demarcate imperial alterities'.²⁸ For Rothman, these subjects were cultural brokers who straddled not only imperial domains, but linguistic, religious and political ones too. Her more recent 2019 study of dragomans at the Ottoman court and their important role in early modern orientalism looks at perhaps the trans-imperial subject *par excellence* positioned in Istanbul (which she considers a 'trans-imperial hub').²⁹ In his 2015 study of the archive of French scholar and antiquarian Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), Peter Miller uses the names contained in correspondence amongst the archive's 119 manuscript volumes to piece together a quotidian history of the early modern Mediterranean, particularly from the perspective of Marseille.³⁰ It includes the names of merchants, diplomats, ship captains, consuls and factors — all players on a Mediterranean stage connected to the intellectual life of this *provençal* scholar who never left Marseille's shore. Among those players was Savary de Brèves himself, not only a contemporary of Peiresc but an interlocutor.

Malcolm, Rothman and Miller each present a Mediterranean constituted by mobilities, networks and porous boundaries of culture, religion, language and authority. To their studies we could add many more from over the past two decades, works that have sought to reconsider the early modern Mediterranean as constituted not only by Braudelian topographic and climatic features or macro geopolitical currents, but also constituted by more granular and complex networks of actors.³¹ In the case of sixteenth-century France,

²⁸ E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 13.

²⁹ E. Natalie Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance: Diplomatic Interpreters and the Routes of Orientalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021).

³⁰ Peter Miller, *Peiresc's Mediterranean World* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015).

³¹ Eric R. Dursteler, *Renegade Women: Gender, Identity, and Boundaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011) and *Venetians in Constantinople: nation, identity, and coexistence in the early modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); Elisabeth A. Fraser, *The Mobility of People and Things in the Early Modern Mediterranean: the Art of Travel* (New York: Routledge, 2019); Erica Heinsen-Roach, *Consuls and Captives: Dutch-North African Diplomacy in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2019); Tobias P. Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades: Christian-European Converts to Islam and the making of the Ottoman Elite, 1575–1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Gerard Wiegers, *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010); Gillian Wiess, *Captives and Corsairs: France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019).

beleaguered by civil disorder and possessing little by way of institutionalised engagement in the Mediterranean, these actors (diplomats, special envoys, merchants, travellers) were crucial.³² As David Abulafia observed in his 2011 history of the Mediterranean, ‘The human hand has been more important in moulding the history of the Mediterranean than Braudel was ever prepared to admit’.³³ At least since Fernand Braudel, and perhaps even further back to medievalist Henri Pirenne, historians have conceptualised the Mediterranean as anything but a gulf of water, but a crucial and historically important space of cross-cultural contact, interchange and transmission in which intermediaries played a key role. However, as Rothman notes, ‘Mediterranean historiography has rarely addressed the intermediaries themselves’, and even less so non-elite intermediaries.³⁴

The failure to address these intermediaries has also impacted the way historians use the Mediterranean’s archives. In the preface to *The Ottoman and the Spanish empires, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (1843), Leopold von Ranke wrote: ‘Whilst these three nations [referring to the Ottomans, Spanish and Italians] made themselves formidable or conspicuous among the rest, they encountered each other directly in the Mediterranean; they filled all its coasts and waters with life and motion, and formed there a peculiar circle of their own.’³⁵ Ranke and generations of historians in his wake looked upon the Mediterranean as a

Press, 2011); Robert C. Davis, *Holy War and Human Bondage: tales of Christian-Muslim slavery in the early-modern Mediterranean* (Santa Barbara: Praeger ABC-CLIO, 2009). In 2015, the *Journal of Early Modern History* devoted a double issue (Volume 2 19, nos. 2–3) to the theme ‘Intermediaries, Mediation, and Cross-Confessional Diplomacy in the Early Modern Mediterranean’.

³² The coordination of trade out of Marseille was overseen by its local mercantile and aristocratic community and its Chamber of Commerce, established during the period of Savary de Brèves’ posting in Constantinople in 1599, would continue to see operations largely autonomous from crown control. This persisted until the 1660s when Jean Baptiste Colbert, chief minister under Louis XIV, sought to transform the city as a centre of Mediterranean commerce operating under royal direction: Junko Thérèse Takeda, *Between Crown and Commerce: Marseille and the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011), 20–24. The only French colony in the Mediterranean in the sixteenth century was near Algiers and itself was the initiative of two Marseille merchants: Olivia Patricia Dickason, ‘The Sixteenth-Century French Vision of Empire: The Other Side of Self-Determination,’ in *Decentering the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective 1500–1700*, edited by Carolyn Podruchny and Germaine Warkentin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 88. For a discussion of the French monarchy’s loose hold on Mediterranean affairs, see also: Cornel Zwierlein, *Imperial Unknowns: The French and British in the Mediterranean, 1650–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 8–9.

³³ David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (London: Penguin, 2011), xxx [Introduction].

³⁴ Rothman, *Brokering Empire*, 7.

³⁵ Leopold von Ranke, *The Ottoman and the Spanish Empires in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, translated by Walter K. Kelly (Philadelphia: Lea & Blachard, 1845), xi.

stage for large political and economic forces, using the archives of diplomats and other agents to this end. The correspondence, dispatches, reports and other documents produced by diplomats and similar agents helped reconstruct a Mediterranean host to a clash of empires, civilisations and religions. As Kasper Risbjerg Eskildsen observes, Ranke focused little on the detail of day-to-day diplomacy and the ‘craft and tricks of diplomats’ but rather on the motives of major historical actors.³⁶

Today’s Mediterranean Studies represents an about face from political history, turning to the social and cultural histories of the agents that crossed the sea. In the Mediterranean of Malcolm, Rothman and Miller, the political history approach to the archives has been inverted and, instead, the sea’s archives are avenues to understand the activities of agents who produced the contents of these archives, like diplomats, merchants and dragomans. In his recent survey of the evolution of Mediterranean Studies from the 1940s, coinciding as it does with the emergence of the early modern as a periodisation category, Cornel Zwielerlein comments on recent scholarship on early modern European studies (and, in particular, on Miller’s work on Peiresc): ‘In its turn, Mediterranean history has contributed here, adding its acquired special knowledge about consular, economic and institutional archive sources which traditionally had been studied solely for the purposes of economic and political history.’³⁷

This present study turns to the ‘craft and tricks’ of Savary de Brèves — his diplomatic, legal, linguistic, political and cultural interactions within the Ottoman Mediterranean — and how he transferred that to Paris to shape a geopolitics, diplomacy, and oriental studies. While Petitclerc provides us with a valuable political and diplomatic history that tends to isolate

³⁶ Kasper Risbjerg Eskildsen, “Inventing the archive: Testimony and virtue in modern historiography,” *History of the Human Sciences* 26, no. 4 (2013): 17.

³⁷ Cornell Zwielerlein, “Early Modern History,” in *Handbuch der Mediterranistik. Systematische Mittelmeerforschung und disziplinäre Zugänge*, edited by M. Dabag, A. Lichtenberger et al. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2015), 97.

Savary de Brèves' orientalist project from his diplomatic work, this study considers that project as integrated with his diplomacy.

It is, thus, difficult to approach Savary de Brèves isolated from the world in which he was thoroughly embedded. Indeed, as this dissertation shows, he considered his embeddedness in this world fundamental to his persona. The ambiguities that a historian like Rothman, as an example, presents in her study of dragomans, and perhaps the ambiguity we saw in Savary de Brèves in the opening of this introduction, is symptomatic of life in the early modern Mediterranean. Taking this approach offers us insights beyond the diplomat himself. This study also uses Savary de Brèves as a lens to understand three key shifts: France's growing role in the early modern Mediterranean as it emerged out of the sixteenth-century religious wars; the changing nature of European diplomacy to meet the demands of a broader global horizon and, specifically, its implications for traditional historiographical accounts of the 'rise of the diplomat' in the early modern period; and, finally, assumptions about the nature and players in oriental studies during this period, extending our understanding of this field beyond the Oxford-Leiden-Paris scholarly triangle to include agents such as diplomats not merely as intermediaries in networks of knowledge transfer but as collectors and producers themselves.

France and the early modern Mediterranean

The first of these necessitates some preliminary discussion since it is an important geopolitical framework for Savary de Brèves' presence in the Ottoman Empire. A focus on the Mediterranean's cast of actors is not at all at the expense of the larger geopolitics between sovereigns. Titles of monographs such as *Agents of Empire* and *Brokering Empire* attest that the geopolitical is still within frame. A frame particularly relevant to Savary de Brèves was France's growing strategic involvement in the Mediterranean world, which took shape

despite the French monarchy's preoccupation with its own security (internal and external) and due to its alliance with the Ottomans. In a recent special issue of *French History* on France and the early modern Mediterranean, Megan C. Armstrong and Gillian Weiss observe the relative absence of France in studies of the early modern Mediterranean and that 'only in the past two decades have historians begun to question the assumption that the Mediterranean — whether as a body of water or a social construct — had little to do with the economic, political or cultural formation of metropolitan, if not colonial, France'.³⁸ The issue offers histories that 'provide glimpses of fifteenth- to nineteenth-century France emerging *through* the Mediterranean ... not the product of progressive, court-directed consolidation but a diffuse consolidation of ideas, individuals and institutions'.³⁹ The Ottomans were a crucial hinge for France's engagement in the early modern Mediterranean along four key threads: political alliance, commercial negotiation (with the capitulations providing the framework here), cultural encounter and early modern orientalism, and missionary activity. Savary de Brèves was instrumental in each, and thus an important lens into France's shifting orientation in the region.

Turning to the first, the political alliance was closely entwined with France's growing commercial interests in the Mediterranean throughout the sixteenth century. The well-known treaty negotiated with sultan Suleiman I in 1536 by Francis I's ambassador to Constantinople Jean de la Forêt (d. 1537) was foremost a grant of commercial privileges to the French that coincided with (and cemented) a developing political and military alliance in the Mediterranean in which both sovereigns sought to counter Spanish Habsburg power. On the one hand, Spain was not only a threat to France on its southern borders and those in the north bordering on Habsburg lands, but also a competitor to French interests in the Italian

³⁸ Megan C. Armstrong and Gillian Weiss, "Introduction: France and the Early Modern Mediterranean," *French History* 29, no. 1 (2015): 2.

³⁹ Armstrong and Weiss, "France and the Early Modern Mediterranean," 3.

peninsula. Spain's reach even extended into the religious wars and dynastic power-struggles that were ravaging the French kingdom throughout the sixteenth century. On the other hand, the Ottomans faced extended periods of war with the Habsburgs (and the Holy League they led) on their expanding frontier in eastern Europe, and as the Ottomans moved further westward into the Mediterranean, the Spanish were there to thwart their ambitions too. It is no surprise that this first treaty between the Ottomans and French arrived very soon after the celebrated capture of Ottoman-held Tunis by Charles V's forces in 1535. And, so, as the saying goes, the enemy of my enemy is my friend.

The Ottomans also had the benefit of a now sizeable Mediterranean naval fleet potentially at France's disposal, with the latter at this stage having little naval power in the region.⁴⁰ From the 1530s, the French often sought military aid from the Ottoman navy in expeditions against Spain in the Mediterranean theatre. Most notably, in 1543, the French king's representative Captain Polin negotiated for the Ottoman fleet to assist France against the Spanish-backed duchy of Savoy, with the fleet, under the command of *Kapudan Pasha* (the Ottoman Grand Admiral), and former corsair, Khayreddine Barbarossa (d. 1546). The fleet successfully besieged the ducal capital, Nice, before wintering in the French port of Toulon.⁴¹ The Ottoman fleet, as well as Ottoman pressure on the Habsburgs along the eastern European frontier, continued to remain a potential drawcard in French strategy vis-à-vis the Habsburgs.

The alliance, however, was not a fixed agreement but depended on successful and regular negotiation with the Ottomans, with renewal tending to occur on the succession of a new sultan. The ambassador stood at the centre of this negotiation process. From that first

⁴⁰ Attempts to establish a consolidated naval force in the French kingdom were hampered by the religious wars, and with much of the focus on the Atlantic coast rather than Mediterranean. By the 1590s, as Alan James observes, French naval fortunes were at a particular low ebb, despite Henri IV's attempts to rebuild the naval fleet: Alan James, *The Navy and Government in Early Modern France, 1572–1661* (London: Boydell Press, 2004), 40.

⁴¹ For a discussion of these events: Christine Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidel: The Ottoman and French Alliance in the Sixteenth Century* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011), 114–40.

treaty, the French king appointed a regular ambassador to the Ottoman court and, although there were earlier diplomatic missions, de la Forêt is considered the first formal ambassador, serving in the role from 1534 to 1537.⁴² During this early period, these were not necessarily resident ambassadors comparable to the Venetian *bailo*, who had permanent residency in the Ottoman capital.⁴³ Yet, in the decades following, the French ambassador at the Porte fast became one of the most pivotal European diplomatic figures at the Ottoman court, alongside the Venetian *bailo*. Their diplomatic presence there was permanent and, over the course of the sixteenth century, the French ambassador emerged as an important European figure at the Ottoman court, particularly during the course of the Ottoman-Venetian conflict in the early 1570s.⁴⁴ Resident ambassadors for the English and Dutch did not arrive until the 1580s and 1610s respectively, and while the imperial Habsburgs certainly had an ambassador at the Porte (most notably Ogier Ghiselin Busbecq in 1581), hostilities between the two certainly gave the French an advantage.⁴⁵ With the Venetians out of favour at the Ottoman court and the French strategically unassociated with the Holy League, the ambassador (at the time, François de Noailles) proved not only an important negotiator in this post-Lepanto climate, but also an important source of intelligence for the Ottomans.⁴⁶ Savary de Brèves represents a significant first in this line of ambassadors since his embassy was the first to most resemble a

⁴² François-Emmanuel Guignard, comte de Saint-Priest, who served as ambassador from 1768 to 1784, compiled an account of French ambassadors to Constantinople as part of his memoirs: *Mémoires sur l'ambassade de France en Turquie et sur le commerce* (Paris: Libraire de la Société Asiatique, 1877). For a more comprehensive list of French ambassadors to Constantinople: Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Sinan Kunalalp, and Frédéric Hitzel, *Représentants permanents de la France en Turquie (1536–1991) et de la Turquie en France (1797–1991)* (Istanbul: Editions Isis, 1991).

⁴³ The Venetian presence in Constantinople pre-dates Ottoman rule of the city, dating back at least to 1082 when the Venetian mercantile community was granted commercial privileges by Byzantine emperor Alexis I Comenus. The *bailo* was first instituted in 1265, was essentially the head of the Venetian mercantile community in Constantinople: Eric R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 23. According to Dursteler, the long-term continuity of the Venetian bailate meant it was one of the most authoritative foreign institutions in the city and, by the end of Byzantine rule, the *bailo* had become one of the most powerful men in Constantinople (27–28). For the development of the *bailo*'s residence in Constantinople: Aygül Ağır, "From Constantinople to Istanbul: The Residences of the Venetian *Bailo* (Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries)," *European Journal of Archaeology* 18, no. 1 (2015): 128–46.

⁴⁴ For a discussion of the French ambassador's critical role in this period, see Güneş Işıksel, *La diplomatie ottomane sous le règne de Selim II: paramètres et périmètres de l'Empire ottoman dans le troisième quart du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Peeters, 2016), 182–90.

⁴⁵ While Busbecq undertook ambassadorial missions on behalf of Emperor Ferdinand I in 1554 and 1556, later publishing his personal correspondence as part of these missions, this was not part of a permanent embassy: see Edward Seymour Forster (trans.), *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin Busbecq* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005).

⁴⁶ For Noailles' mission to Selim II: Işıksel, *La diplomatie ottomane*, 175–209.

permanent residency, spending far longer than his predecessors in Constantinople, thus affording him the most intimate one to-date.

Completely entwined with this evolving political relationship was a commercial one and, specifically, the protection of French commercial interests in the Mediterranean. While recent scholarship has revised Braudel's thesis of a 'northern invasion' in the seventeenth-century Mediterranean — that is, the shift of Mediterranean trade away from traditional commercial powers in the region such as the Venetians towards the English, Dutch and French — these new northern entrants were certainly playing a more active role.⁴⁷ The 1535 treaty formed the nucleus of an evolving set of treaties, usually revised and expanded with each new sultan, that came to be known as the capitulations, and which the English (1580), Dutch (1612) and other European powers also obtained over time. As Molly Green observes, however, the Mediterranean of Savary de Brèves' time was much more complex, noting that 'no one was in charge in the seventeenth century'.⁴⁸ Apart from the anachronism of assuming that states controlled the marketplace, the Mediterranean was full of commercial actors who did not fit so neatly into nation categories — corsairs, pirates, the knights of Malta, renegades, and Corsican traders, among others. Yet, as we shall see, it was this very complex and uncertain nature of Mediterranean commercial life that would, through the political relationship with the Ottomans, see the attempt to establish a kind of international mercantile order in the Mediterranean that relied not only on these agreements but the engagement of Ottoman legal and administrative processes. In Chapter 4, we examine Savary de Brèves' central role in this project. Even beyond his ambassadorial tenure, he retained the consulship in Egypt, thus remaining involved in Mediterranean affairs, including with the Chamber of Commerce in Marseille, whose archives this dissertation also draws on.

⁴⁷ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II: Volume 1*, trans. Sian Reynolds (New York: Harper Torch, 1972), 615–42.

⁴⁸ Molly Greene, "Beyond the Northern Invasion: The Mediterranean in the Seventeenth Century," *Past & Present*, no 174 (2002): 44.

Politics and commerce were not the only kind of intimacy that the ambassadors facilitated. A permanent French diplomatic presence at the Ottoman court also opened the door for an evolving cultural understanding of the Ottoman Mediterranean — its languages, religions, and customs. Ambassadors were, on occasion, accompanied by scholars, naturalists and even artists.⁴⁹ Most notable was scholar Guillaume Postel, who travelled with both Jean de la Forêt (1536) and Gabriel d’Aramon (1549–1550). On his return to Paris, Postel wrote several works concerning the Ottomans and attempted to produce Arabic woodblock type.⁵⁰ D’Aramon’s entourage also included naturalists Pierre Gilles and Pierre Belon, cosmographer André Thevet, and geographer Nicolas de Nicolay, the latter composing one of sixteenth-century Europe’s most detailed and popular travel accounts of Ottoman lands that included an illustrated costume book of Ottoman court life, drawings that found their way into print as well.⁵¹ This entanglement of cultural and political intimacy through the Ottoman–French diplomatic relationship remained an enduring feature that made its way into Molière’s *Le bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1670).⁵² No scholars travelled among Savary de Brèves’ entourage, but he made his own important contributions in this space, amassing a collection of manuscripts in Arabic, Persian and Turkish (the subject of Chapter 6) and developing a press for printing those languages in Paris (Chapters 7 and 8).

⁴⁹ Pieter Coecke van Aelst is a notable example of an artist within a diplomatic entourage, travelling with the imperial embassy of Jeronimo de Zara to Constantinople in 1533 and producing a monumental five-metre long printed frieze of ten woodcuts depicting Ottoman customs: see Talitha Maria G. Schepers, “Art and Diplomacy: Pieter Coecke van Aelst’s 1533 Journey to Constantinople,” in *Diplomatic Cultures at the Ottoman Court, c. 1500–1630*, edited by Tracey A. Sowerby and Christopher Markiewicz (New York: Routledge, 2021), 85–108. The most renown artist to travel to and document the Ottoman court was Jean Baptiste Vanmour, who accompanied ambassador Charles de Ferriol in 1699.

⁵⁰ Postel’s most notable work on the Ottomans: Guillaume Postel, *De la Republique des Turcs, & là ou l’occasion s’offrera, des meurs & loy de tous Muhamedistes* (Poitiers: Imprimerie d’Enguilbert de Marnesque, 1560).

⁵¹ Historian Frédéric Tinguely refers to this output as ‘*le corpus aramontin*’: Frédéric Tinguely, *L’Écriture du Levant à la Renaissance: enquête sur les voyageurs français dans l’empire de Soliman le Magnifique* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2000), 22. The works are available in modern editions: Pierre Belon, *Voyage au Levant : les observations de Pierre Belon du Mans: de plusieurs singularités & choses mémorables, trouvées en Grèce, Turquie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie & autres payes étrangères, 1553*, edited by Alexandra Merle (Paris: Chandeigne, 2001). André Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, edited by Frank Lestringant (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1985); Pierre Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, edited by Ronald G. Musto and translated by John Ball (New York: Ithaca Press, 1988); Nicolas de Nicolay, *Dans l’empire de Soliman le Magnifique*, edited by Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud and Stéphane Yérasimos (Paris: CNRS, 1989).

⁵² The Marseille-born Laurent d’Arvieux, who served as consul to Algiers (1674–75) and Aleppo (1679–86), is alleged to have informed the Turkish scenes in Molière’s production, showing again this important link between diplomacy and cultural production: Mary Hossain, “The Chevalier D’arvieux and ‘Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme’,” *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 12, no. 1 (1990): 76–88.

Finally, we must also acknowledge a further overlay on the Mediterranean — a growing missionary reach. While ostensibly reflecting goals of the Holy See and post-Tridentine Church more generally, the global missionary vision of popes and new religious orders such as the Jesuits and Capuchins relied on the extra-territorial diplomatic reach of its Christian sovereigns. In the example of Canillac at the opening of this study, we glimpse how an ambassador such as Savary de Brèves facilitated the missionary project, and we shall see this role became almost inextricable from the ambassador's own personal project, the oriental printing press.

Each of these four currents of the early modern Mediterranean intersect in the career and life of Savary de Brèves, shedding light not only on the diplomat himself but also on France's place in the Mediterranean and broader Ottoman world. Studies of France in the early modern Mediterranean have abounded over the past two decades showing that, despite religious and civil conflict in the kingdom (and, perhaps, because of), there was a stronger French interest in the region, the history of which we need to continue to examine. To-date, however, studies have focussed on two chief periods. The first of these is the sixteenth century up to around the 1570s, with the battle of Lepanto as a key bookend and best exemplified in the work of Christine Isom-Verhaaren.⁵³ The second is the 'Grand Siècle' of Louis XIV, which saw the establishment the formal training of a cadre of agents skilled in the languages of the Ottoman Empire (the *jeunes de langue* established under Colbert) and state-supported projects of orientalists like Antoine Galland (himself a diplomat) and Bartolomey d'Herbelot, who produced the *Bibliothèque Orientale*. Here, the works of scholars such as Nicholas Dew and Ina Baghdiantz-McCabe are noteworthy, and this present study establishes

⁵³ Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidels*.

the connection between Savary de Brèves and the oriental studies of this later period explored by Dew and Baghdiantz-McCabe.⁵⁴

The period between — from around 1580 to 1640 — represents a slump, marked by a series of ineffective ambassadors, as well as crises both in France and the Ottoman Empire. Yet, this lacuna is the very period in which our protagonist, heralded as one of the most noteworthy of French ambassadors at the Ottoman court, is active. Savary de Brèves' term as ambassador represents a watershed moment in several respects. He spent more time in the Ottoman empire than any predecessor had, travelling to the fringes of the empire's Mediterranean reaches, enabling him to develop a specialist knowledge of the Ottoman world and even construct the mechanisms to build on this knowledge in France, including a personal library, printing press, and collection of Ottoman judicial and administrative precedents. Savary de Brèves sought to introduce an entirely new set of practices to Ottoman–French relations that centred around the strategic advantage presented to diplomacy by language that resulted in the appointment of native speakers of Arabic and Turkish as royal interpreters in Paris, the ability to print in the languages of the Ottoman court, and the training of French subjects like André Du Ryer to serve as interpreters in Constantinople rather than the problematic reliance on Ottoman-subject dragomans. While such a vision would not be fully realised until the 1660s, it was first envisaged by Savary de Brèves at the turn of the seventeenth century. This dissertation argues for the period to be reconsidered less as a slump and more as a bridge, enabling a more complete history of early modern French involvement in the Mediterranean.

Savary de Brèves and diplomatic practice

⁵⁴ Nicholas Dew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Ina Baghdiantz-McCabe, *Orientalism in early modern France: Eurasian trade, exoticism, and the Ancien Régime* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2008).

Examining Savary de Brèves' diplomatic and orientalist endeavours as integrated also helps us consider the role of the ambassador of early modern Europe in new ways outside the confines of sovereign representation and courtly protocol, focusing instead on the strategies and practices these agents deployed to negotiate a more complex world beyond the court. This is particularly pertinent for the Ottoman context where, as we will see, the ambassador was not just an intermediary between sovereigns, but also an office that tied together several threads of Mediterranean life — mercantile, missionary, protection against piracy, intellectual, and even the administration of empire.

Since Petitclerc's 1989 study, the way we think about diplomacy in early modern Europe has undergone significant reconsideration, particularly how historians consider a diplomat's work. If diplomacy is considered in terms of sovereign foreign relations, an approach that had long informed diplomatic history and the resident ambassador since at least Garrett Mattingly's *Renaissance Diplomacy* (1955), then the connections between Savary de Brèves' diplomatic and orientalist endeavours seem less obvious.⁵⁵ The 'New Diplomatic History' of the past two decades has opened up the way we approach early modern diplomacy in terms of geography (by greater focus on non-European diplomacy), discipline (including literary studies, social and cultural history, and art history), and agency (focusing on non-state actors such as merchants, consuls, spies and missionaries). As Jan Hennings and Tracey Sowerby observe, '[b]y taking an actor-centred approach, scholars have elucidated individual diplomats' agency, tensions between their personal interests and those of their principal, and the personal and clientage networks upon which they depended'.⁵⁶ There has been a plethora of new studies looking at the roles of consuls, merchants, missionaries,

⁵⁵ Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2002).

⁵⁶ Jan Hennings and Tracey A. Sowerby, eds., *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World* (London: Routledge, 2017), 3. For one of the earliest statements of 'new diplomatic history', at least in the context of early modern history: John Watkins, "Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 1–14.

renegades and other non-elites as diplomatic agents. Christopher Markiewicz's 2021 study of scholar-secretaries in Ottoman diplomatic practice, particularly beyond the activities of its statesmen and outside relations with European powers, is an example of such a trend.⁵⁷ In a similar vein, a 2021 volume, *Beyond Ambassadors: Consuls, Missionaries, and Spies in Premodern Diplomacy*, considers the roles of non-state players in premodern international relations and diplomacy.⁵⁸

This shift to actors also means greater focus on practices outside formal courtly protocol. In a special 2021 issue of the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, for example, Lisa Hellman and Birgit Tremml-Werner call for further study of 'on-the-ground' practices of early modern interpreters and the process of translation in diplomacy itself.⁵⁹ This thesis takes up the call to model this scholarly approach in an extended study. In our investigation, we shall see how the experience of Savary de Brèves demonstrates the limits of thinking about early modern diplomacy within the confines of early modern ambassadorial theory and manuals (Chapters 2 and 3), how diplomacy extended beyond court politics and into legal and administrative advocacy (Chapter 4), how he was placed in ambiguous representative roles such that at times he was representing sultan as well as crown (Chapter 5), and the important cultural contribution diplomats made to the development of oriental studies (Chapters 6–10).

Oriental studies and the diplomat

⁵⁷ Christopher Markiewicz, "Persian Secretaries in the Making of an Anti-Safavid Diplomatic Discourse," in *Diplomatic Cultures at the Ottoman Court, c. 1500–1630*, edited by Tracey A. Sowerby and Christopher Markiewicz (New York: Routledge, 2021), 27–52.

⁵⁸ Maurits A. Ebben and Louis Sicking, *Beyond Ambassadors: Consuls, Missionaries, and Spies in Premodern Diplomacy* (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

⁵⁹ Lisa Hellman and Birgit Tremml-Werner, "Translation in Action: Global Intellectual History and Early Modern Diplomacy," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 82, no. 3 (July 2021): 463.

We began this introduction with a story from early nineteenth-century orientalist Jean Joseph Marcel appraising Savary de Brèves as an orientalist and, indeed, scholars continue to refer to him in these terms as much as a diplomat. His career crossed both diplomacy and oriental studies, and the two were indelibly linked. When we think of orientalists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we think of names like Guillaume Postel, Thomas Erpenius, and Joseph Scaliger, as well as Antoine Galland (attached to the French embassy in Constantinople), Barthélemy d'Herbelot (who never travelled outside Europe) and Jean Thévenot. As this study will show, while Savary de Brèves certainly had a vision for oriental studies in Paris, he was hardly a scholar. Further, while many studies consider him an early orientalist, few have sought to understand what that meant in his context. What kind of orientalist was he?

Recent studies have begun to consider the variety of actors involved in the oriental studies project in (and beyond) early modern Europe. Foremost among these is Natalie Rothman's 2019 study of the role of Istanbulite dragomans in a particularly Ottomanist orientalism, sitting as they did at the intersection of translation and specialist knowledge of the Ottoman world.⁶⁰ Peter Miller's study of Peiresc looks at the vast range of agents, including merchants, factors and consuls, who made possible his antiquarianism and orientalism. In this study, we shall encounter a group of Maronite scholars, initially based in Rome, who would not only work alongside Savary de Brèves but continue publishing using his press following his death. A comprehensive study of the role of Maronite scholars in early modern Europe, and early modern orientalism, remains to be written, and would include figures such as Guiseppe Simone Assemani (1687–1768), who was the First Librarian of the Vatican library and represents a tradition of Maronite scholars who worked between Rome

⁶⁰ Rothman, *Dragoman Renaissance*, 16.

and the Levant. We can hope that the rich archives of the Maronite College Library will be opened up for such a study.⁶¹

Overview of sources

There is no dedicated corpus of sources for Savary de Brèves. As far as we know, he did not build or bequeath a private archive and much of the material that is available stems from his diplomatic correspondence while ambassador in Constantinople and Rome or is scattered across a range of archives. This study's approach to consider his diplomatic and orientalist endeavours in unison means drawing not only on his diplomatic correspondence, available chiefly in the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the Archives of the French Foreign Ministry, but also a range of correspondence relating to the oriental printing press. This includes his letters to Jacques-Auguste de Thou, president of the Parlement of Paris, written while Savary de Brèves was ambassador in Rome. In 1614, Savary de Brèves was appointed to the consulship to Egypt and while he himself never returned to Egypt (appointing vice-consuls to take up the duties in Alexandria and Cairo), it meant he continued involvement in French affairs in the Mediterranean and, thus, the archives of the Marseille Chamber of Commerce include correspondence from this period that this study employs. It should be noted that, unfortunately, the archives of the French embassy in Constantinople were destroyed when a fire broke out in the embassy's chancellery in 1665.⁶²

In addition to correspondence, and given Savary de Brèves' involvement and printing, several printed works are also used. Foremost is the travel account of his journey across the Ottoman Mediterranean in 1605–1606 that was first printed in 1628 (this study relies on the subsequent 1630 edition). The same 1630 publication includes a set of other works relevant

⁶¹ The library is based in Rome and I am grateful to the librarians for their time and tour of the library's collection. I was informed that it was hoped the library's archive would be opened to researchers in the near future.

⁶² Jean-Michel Casa, *Le Palais de France à Istanbul* (Istanbul: YKY, 1995), 20–22.

to our study, including two works by Savary de Brèves on the Ottoman empire dated to after his return from Rome in 1614 and which are the focus of Chapter 9. The thesis also examines the publications printed by Savary de Brèves while he was director of the *Typographia Savariana* — the *Doctrina Christiana* (1613) and a psalter (1614), both printed in Rome, and his Turkish–French printed edition of the 1604 capitulations he negotiated while ambassador, which was printed in Paris.

Finally, two important manuscript sources produced in Constantinople are also examined. The first is a Turkish-language compendium of Ottoman court decisions and administrative orders compiled by Savary de Brèves during his term as ambassador and later returned to Paris by Du Ryer. This volume (shelf-marked MS Turc 130) now sits within the oriental holdings of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The second manuscript is a Persian-Turkish-French dictionary or wordlist associated with Savary de Brèves and now also in the oriental holdings of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (shelf-marked MS Persan 208).

Thesis structure

This study comprises eleven chapters that follow the trajectory of Savary de Brèves' career. The first three chapters examine his diplomatic formation in Constantinople, examining the central role language played in his diplomatic development and affinity with Ottoman culture. Chapter 1 provides a biographical account, arguing that the relatively unique conditions of his term as ambassador laid the foundations for his later oriental studies interests, helping us resolve still unanswered questions about Savary de Brèves' motivations for his printing project. Chapter 2 uses Henri IV's instructions to Savary de Brèves — his ambassadorial briefing — to identify the redefinition of Ottoman–French relations and the ambassador's task in controlling the narrative at the Ottoman court that made language so

essential to his diplomatic success. Given the importance of words and communication for diplomacy, Chapter 3 examines how Savary de Brèves negotiated the multilingual, non-Latinate world of Constantinople to achieve his own proficiency in Turkish.

The following two chapters look at the diplomat in action and the stakes that made strategic use of languages of the Ottoman court crucial. Chapter 4 uses the 1604 capitulations to identify the contours of French interests in the Mediterranean, as well as a manuscript compendium in Turkish of documents attesting to Savary de Brèves' advocacy within Ottoman courts and administration. We then turn to a travel account of his journey across the Ottoman Mediterranean in Chapter 5, with a particular focus on his activity in Tunis and Algiers.

Informed by this understanding of his diplomatic experience, we then consider his oriental studies project. Chapter 6 examines his manuscript collection, comprising over 100 volumes in Arabic, Persian, Tatar and Turkish, undertaking a comparative analysis with contemporaneous collections to help inform conclusions about the motivations of his oriental studies interests. Similarly, Chapters 7 and 8 investigate the development of his printing press through an analysis of correspondence relating to its development, as well as its first publications in Rome and Paris.

Before concluding, Chapter 9 examines two treatises on the Ottomans written by Savary de Brèves — one supporting crusade, the other alliance — and attempt to resolve the seeming contradiction between these two texts and show how they reflect Savary de Brèves' overarching vision both for the Mediterranean and diplomatic practice with respect to the Ottomans.

Chapter 1: Portrait of an accidental ambassador

Sculpted in stucco, the busts of our kings starting from Francis I decorated the walls of the [embassy's] hall leading to the throne room ... [Raymond de Verninac Saint-Maur] had them mutilated; in other rooms one could see the portraits of French ambassadors dating from the same epoch; on his order, these were torn down and ripped to shreds. In one word, ... the new agent presents himself here at the outset as infinitely more heinous, if this is possible, and certainly more daring than his predecessor.⁶³

There is no portrait of Savary de Brèves. The above scene describes the sacking of the French embassy in Istanbul in April 1795 by order of the newly minted French Republic's envoy to the Ottoman court, Verninac. The far-flung embassy did not escape the French Revolution's attempted erasure of the Ancien Régime. For us, it means we have no surviving portrait of one of the most important ambassadors to the Sublime Porte, whose interest in the Ottomans extended well beyond his diplomatic posting to lead French policy in the Mediterranean into new terrain and redefine diplomatic engagement with the Ottomans until his death in 1628. We have no face to hold in our minds, no eyes to look into, no sense of how his contemporaries represented him, and no gilded frame to pronounce his importance. While we cannot retrieve the portrait, lost as it is to the ravages of revolution, we can retrieve the traces of his past and reconstruct a brief survey of his life and career.

Little is known of Savary de Brèves' life before his departure for Constantinople in 1585 at the age of twenty-five. Born in the chateau of Maulevrier in 1560, he was a member

⁶³ Letter from the royalist representative in Istanbul, Louis-Antoine Chalgrin: Pascal Firges, *French Revolutionaries in the Ottoman Empire: Diplomacy, Political Culture, and the Limiting of Universal Revolution, 1792–1798* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 227–28.

of the *tourainoise* Savary family, one of five children of Denis Savary, seigneur du Pont, and Françoise Damas de Massilly, the daughter of Jean III de Damas, seigneur de Brèves.⁶⁴ Françoise inherited the lands of Brèves and Maulevrier following the death of her brother Philippe de Damas, who was assassinated, with his wife, in the early years of France's religious wars.⁶⁵ The family was Catholic with several members of the broader Savary family entering the monastery of the Benedictines of Marcigny, including Savary de Brèves' brother.⁶⁶ There is no indication that the family was involved in court or political life, to the exception of Jean Savary, sieur de Lancosme, who served as chamberlain to Louis XI (1423–1483).

Yet, this lack of distinction is what made Savary de Brèves' diplomatic career so distinctive and, perhaps, the perfect candidate for reimagining diplomacy with the Ottomans to open up new geopolitical opportunities and advantage for France in the Mediterranean. He was an unknown, an outsider whose family connections, education and experience before Constantinople hardly destined him for such a high-profile diplomatic career. As we shall see, his appointment was an accident of circumstance — being in the right place at the right time. There are two further distinctive characteristics of his early career. First, his training or preparation for the role was a self-made 'on the ground' apprenticeship that, among other things, saw him achieve such proficiency in the Turkish language as to be lauded by a chronicler at the Ottoman court. This study traces his development from learner to pioneer to master. Second, isolation framed this diplomatic apprenticeship — distant from the turmoil and political divisions of late sixteenth-century France, serving not only at the court of an empire on Europe's periphery but venturing into the fringes of even that empire. Unlike his

⁶⁴ Jean-Baptiste Defrost, "François Savary, comte de Brèves, marquis de Maulevrier, Baron de Semur-en-Brionnais, Diplomate 1560–1628," *Bulletin de la Société d'études du Brionnais* (July–December 1937): 338.

⁶⁵ Guy Thuillier, "Un 'politique' au XVII^e siècle: Savary de Brèves (1560–1628)," *La Revue administrative* 62, no. 368 (March 2009): 124.

⁶⁶ Jean Joseph d'Expilly, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et politique des Gaules et de la France, Tome Quatrième* (Paris: Desaint et Saillant, 1766), 631.

predecessors, he spent nearly two decades among the Ottomans, transforming that isolation into specialisation. Each of these conditions not only set him apart from his ambassadorial predecessors, none of whom nurtured a comparable interest in the Ottomans, they also informed an entire vision of diplomacy with the Ottomans and broader Mediterranean that advocated deeper engagement and cooperation supported by the development of innovative diplomatic practices, particularly around language. His vision was also pragmatic, shaped by, and grounded in, the changing realities both at the Ottoman court and broader Ottoman Mediterranean, such as Tunis and Algiers.

His diplomatic experience enriches our understanding of the early modern resident ambassador. His residency in Constantinople was longer than any of his predecessors (and even his immediate successors), yet mobility was fundamental to his tenure. He was the first to travel extensively across the Ottoman Mediterranean, at times representing the wills of both crown and sultan, and the account of his travel (discussed in Chapter 5) contrasts starkly with accounts of his diplomatic contemporaries, with their focus on the splendour and decadence of a stationary Ottoman court and its protocols. His mobility was as much cultural and linguistic as it was geographic. Savary de Brèves' unremarkable background and pragmatic, almost self-directed, training as a diplomat reflect an emerging cadre of diplomatic agents whose encounter with non-European courts demanded a specialisation beyond the humanist pedagogies of the ambassadorial instruction manuals.⁶⁷ Savary de Brèves sits outside the ambassadorial model contained within these manuals that have informed classical historiographical accounts of early modern diplomacy that centre on the diplomat as a representative of his sovereign at a foreign court. He belongs instead to a richer diplomatic milieu constituted equally by agents such as consuls, merchants, dragomans and

⁶⁷ For a discussion of non-state diplomatic actors in premodern Europe: Maurits A. Ebben and Louis Sickenning (eds.), *Beyond Ambassadors: Consuls, Missionaries, and Spies in Premodern Diplomacy* (Boston: Brill, 2020).

missionaries who were as instrumental in shaping diplomatic practice at the time and are the focus of more recent histories in the field particularly within a global context.⁶⁸ Savary de Brèves was more than a resident ambassador — his outsider status, his distance from a court that was struggling to hold itself together as a state, and his need to develop specialisations *in situ* across the geographic breadth and administrative depth of an Ottoman empire beyond just Constantinople also makes him a perfect candidate for understanding early modern diplomacy in a global context. He is more akin to Rothman's trans-imperial subject than Mattingly's resident ambassador.

An unlikely ambassador

Savary de Brèves's career began not at the French court but in Constantinople. How did he receive an appointment to as significant a position as ambassador at the Ottoman court? Nothing in his family's standing or his education destined him for a future as a diplomat at a court so distant and foreign. His ambassadorial predecessors in Constantinople, on the other hand, included those with experience in royal or diplomatic service of some kind.

The first ambassador, Jean de la Forêt, who had negotiated the initial treaty between Francis I and Suleiman I, was the king's protonotary and secretary, assisted in his advancement by his friendship with humanist Guillaume Budé (La Forêt's knowledge of Greek was a key factor in his choice as ambassador).⁶⁹ Gabriel d'Aramon, ambassador from 1546 to 1553, had already achieved some renown as a military captain in Italy in the 1530s

⁶⁸ For an example of a similar diplomatic agent: Jan Hennings, "Information and Confusion: Russian Resident Diplomacy and Peter A. Tolstoi's Arrival in the Ottoman Empire (1702–1703)," *The International History Review* 41, no. 5 (2019): 1003–19.

⁶⁹ V. L. Bourrilly, "L'ambassade de La Forest et de Marillac à Constantinople (1535–1538)," *Revue historique* LXXVI (1901): 301–02.

and 1540s. In the dedicatory letter to d'Aramon in his *Alcorano di Macometto* (1547),

Venetian publisher and bookseller Andrea Arrivabene wrote:

Prudence, valour, the art of war are traits that you have always been acknowledged to have, just as any other famous captain. Proof of this can be found in the test of your skill and character in the war in Provence, and the one in Piedmont, among others, the extent and nature of which everyone knows, as well as the honour and praise these tests led to.⁷⁰

Unlike Savary de Brèves, we have a portrait of d'Aramon, by no less than Titian in 1541/42 and now housed in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan, with d'Aramon depicted holding a set of arrows (Figure 4).⁷¹ D'Aramon's acclaimed military prowess extended into his ambassadorship, accompanying Suleiman on a military expedition to Persia and joining the



Figure 4: Titian, *Ritratto dell'ambasciatore alla Sublima porta Gabriel de Luetz d'Aramont*, 1541–1542, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

⁷⁰ 'La prudentia, il valore, la liberalita nella militia s'e conosciuta sempre in lei quanto in ogn'altro famosissimo capitano. Siente testimonio fra l'altre la guerra di Provenza & quella del Piemonte, dove ogniuno sa le sue prove quante & quali fussero & del l'ingegno & della persona, & che honore & laude ne riportasse': Andrea Arrivabene, *L'Alcorano di Macometto, nelqual si contiene la dottrina, la vita, i costumi, et le leggi sue* (s.n., 1547). For a discussion of d'Aramon and Arrivabene's *L'Alcorano*: Pier Mattia Tommasino, *The Venetian Qur'an: A Renaissance Companion to Islam*, translated by Sylvia Notini (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

⁷¹ Titian, *Ritratto dell'ambasciatore alla Sublima porta Gabriel de Luetz d'Aramont*, 1541–1542, oil on canvas, 76 x 74cm, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

Ottoman fleet during Franco-Ottoman naval campaigns against Charles V in the Mediterranean in 1552.

Following d’Aramon, the most important of these earlier ambassadors were the Noailles brothers, François and Gilles. Previously ambassador in England and Venice, François de Noailles (1519–1585) served in Constantinople during the critical Lepanto period.⁷² French biographer and contemporary Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme (1540–1614), wrote of François de Noailles’ service in Venice: ‘The kings, his masters, were very satisfied as well as the Venetians. He acquired from them great honour and love.’⁷³ Gilles de Noailles (1524–1600) was ambassador for Henri II at Elizabeth I’s court and, later, to Edinburgh, before succeeding his older brother as ambassador in Constantinople.⁷⁴ Meanwhile, Jacques de Germigny, who served from 1579 to 1585, was a counsellor and *maître d’Hotel ordinaire* to Henri III before his appointment.⁷⁵ A full list of these earlier ambassadors appears in Appendix 1.

Unlike these predecessors, Savary de Brèves was an unknown. At the time of his appointment and instruction as ambassador to the Ottoman court, he had never met the king whose interests he was representing, having been in Constantinople at the time of Henri of Navarre’s struggle for, and accession to, the French throne. Nor did he have any involvement at the French court or with any of the kingdom’s statesmen. How he came to be in Constantinople lies in his predecessor (and uncle), Jacques Savary de Lancosme (c. 1528–1593), appointed as Henri III’s ambassador to Constantinople in 1585.⁷⁶ It was in

⁷² Bacqué-Grammont et al, *Représentants permanents*, 12–13.

⁷³ Quoted in Philippe Tamizey de Larroque, “François de Noailles, évêque de Dax,” *Revue de Gascogne* VI (January 1865): 14. For more on François de Noailles: A. Degert, “Une ambassade périlleuse de François de Noailles en Turquie,” *Revue historique* 159, no. 2 (1928): 225–60; Robert J. Kalas, “Marriage, Clientage, Office Holding, and the Advancement of the Early Modern French Nobility: The Noailles of Limousin,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 365–83.

⁷⁴ For Gilles de Noailles at the English court: Estelle Paranque, *Elizabeth I of England through Valois Eyes: Power, Representation, and Diplomacy in the Reign of the Queen, 1558–1588* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019). See also Bacqué-Grammont et al, *Représentants permanents*, 13–14.

⁷⁵ Saint-Priest, *Memoires sur l’ambassade de France*, 197–98.

⁷⁶ For a genealogy: Peticerlc, “Savary de Brèves,” (v).

Lancosme's diplomatic entourage that the young Savary de Brèves, in his early twenties, ventured to Constantinople.

Born around 1528, Lancosme was the youngest son of Claude Savary and, through his mother, he was nephew to Réne de Villequier, first gentleman of the chamber for Henri III (both as king of Poland and later of France) and 'he who the duke of Anjou liked the most'.⁷⁷ This familial connection saw Lancosme among Villequier's retinue of twenty-four men who joined Henri's court in Poland in 1574; a 'Monsieur de Lancosme' appears in the roll of those who accompanied the newly elected Valois king of Poland.⁷⁸ Henri's election as king of Poland was, at least in part, the consequence of a recommendation by sultan Selim II after lobbying by François de Noailles.⁷⁹ Selim explained to Charles IX that the duke was the second option to his own preferred candidate for the throne (both Selim and Charles sought to avoid a Habsburg king enthroned in Poland), but he later acquiesced in light of the Ottoman relationship with the French.

On Henri's return to France the following year, and succession to the French throne upon Charles IX's death, Lancosme remained at court as a gentleman of the king's chamber and was later appointed colonel for a regiment of infantry.⁸⁰ But Lancosme's most prestigious appointment came in 1585 — the king's ambassador to Constantinople. Dissatisfied with the efforts of the existing ambassador, Jacques de Germigny, Henri recalled him and appointed Lancosme, on Villequier's solicitation. Lancosme's appointment did not impress the secretary of state, Nicolas de Neuville de Villeroy (1542–1617), who expressed

⁷⁷ For the relationship between Villequier and Henri III: Jean-François Solnon, *Henri III: un désir de majesté* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2001), 146.

⁷⁸ A manuscript roll listing members of the king's entourage includes 'Monsieur de Lancosme': Paris, BNF, MS Français 3193, f. 150. For numbers accorded to each of the most important figures: *Catalogue des Princes, Seigneurs, Gentilshommes et autres qui accompagnent le Roy de Pologne* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1574). For discussion of the favourites at the Polish court of Henri: Nicolas Le Roux, *La faveur du roi: mignons et courtisans au temps des derniers Valois* (Paris: Éditions Champ Vallon, 2001).

⁷⁹ For negotiations regarding Henri's election as king of Poland: Işıkşel, *La diplomatie ottomane*, 197–206.

⁸⁰ Abel Rigault, "Savary de Lancosme: un épisode de la Ligue à Constantinople," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* 16, 1 (1902): 522.

concerns about giving such an inexperienced and incapable favourite ‘a charge where he would not be receiving correction or advice from anyone’, which speaks not only to the regard with which someone like Villeroy held this particular posting but also to the isolated nature of the posting.⁸¹ Indeed, after later hearing reports of bad behaviour in Zara by Lancosme’s entourage, Villeroy wrote, ‘It seems that M. de Lancosme and those of his suite are studying how to sow discord everywhere they go through their misbehaviour. If he does not amend himself, I believe it will not be long before he goes.’⁸² The last sentiment was prophetic.

Lancosme left Paris for Constantinople on 23 September 1585 and it is here that the young Savary de Brèves enters the picture, being among the troublesome entourage travelling to the Ottoman capital.⁸³ According to Rigault, Savary de Brèves lost his father at a young age and had attached himself to Lancosme.⁸⁴ We can well imagine that Lancosme’s connection to Villequier might offer promising prospects for someone like Savary de Brèves. Among Lancosme’s instructions from the king, and perhaps foremost, was that he ‘vigorously pursue the revocation and abolition’ of an agreement between Elizabeth I and the sultan that offered to the English the same trade privileges hitherto enjoyed by the French, an agreement that ‘directly contravened the treaties and good friendship between the Kings of France and the House of the Ottomans’.⁸⁵ From the 1580s, with the arrival of merchant–envoy William Harborne, England entered the Ottoman court as a significant competitor to French interests.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Rigault, “Savary de Lancosme,” 522.

⁸² ‘Il semble que M. de Lancosme et ceux de sa suite s’estudient à semer des brisées de leur mauvaise conduite partout où ils passent. Je tiens pour certaine que, s’il ne s’amende, il ne durera pas longtemps où il va’: quoted in Rigault, “Savary de Lancosme,” 524.

⁸³ Although the king’s ambassador in Venice, André Hurault de Maisse, ‘seemed to appreciate [Savary de Brèves] and have great hope in him’: Rigault, “Savary de Lancosme,” 531.

⁸⁴ Rigault, “Savary de Lancosme,” 531.

⁸⁵ ‘... depuis peu de temps que sa Majesté a entendu avoir esté mis sus une banniere Angloise a la poursuite de la Reine d’Angleterre ce qui est directement contrévenir autz traictez et a la bonne amitié d’entre les Roys de France et de la Maison des Ottomans’: Paris, BNF, MS Français 16171, ff. 40–40v.

⁸⁶ William Harborne originally arrived in Constantinople in 1578 seeking commercial privileges for the English, which he obtained in 1580. Three years later, he returned as Elizabeth’s ambassador to the Porte (England’s first): Edhem Eldem,

An accidental ambassador among the Ottomans (1586–1606)

Lancosme's French embassy entered Constantinople on 29 March 1586 with an escort of 150 *çavuş* (court messengers often tasked with accompanying ambassadors to the sultan) on horseback, as well as other Ottoman officials and dignitaries, and supplied with twenty-five horses, fifteen of them from the sultan's own stables.⁸⁷ Lancosme was suitably impressed with the city: 'So beautiful is this city that its master must be master of the world'.⁸⁸ Not long after, on 15 April 1586, Lancosme's party attended the palace to perform the customary *baisemain* (ceremonial hand-kissing) before the sultan.

Savary de Brèves's early years in Constantinople offered an excellent opportunity to live within the Ottoman capital's diplomatic milieu, among the court officials, dragomans (interpreters who we will encounter in Chapter 3) and diplomatic community. The young Savary de Brèves likely used this time to learn the Turkish language proficiently, a skill which became a hallmark of his entire professional life and the foundation of his most notable achievements and projects. In his *Tarih-i Selânikî* (*The History of Selânikî*), Ottoman chronicler Selânikî Mustafa Efendi (d. 1600) praised Savary de Brèves as an 'esteemed lord', so fluent in Turkish that he needed no interpreter.⁸⁹ Given his connection to the diplomatic milieu at the Ottoman court, he may have received assistance from the dragomans or interpreters, particularly those providing services to the French embassy. Some evidence for such work survives in the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The library associates the manuscript shelf-marked as MS Persan 208 with Savary de Brèves (the

"Capitulations and Western trade," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 3: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, edited by Suraiya N. Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 290–91.

⁸⁷ Rigault, "Savary de Lancosme," 525. The term *çavuş* means 'messenger' and is often rendered as 'chaoux' (and similar variations) in French sources. For more on *çavuş*: Mark L. Stein, *Guarding the Frontier: Ottoman Border Forts and Garrisons in Europe* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007).

⁸⁸ Rigault, "Savary de Lancosme," 526.

⁸⁹ Christine Isom-Verhaaren, "Royal French Women in the Ottoman Sultans' Harem: The Political Uses of Fabricated Accounts from the Sixteenth to Twenty-first Century," *Journal of World History* 17, no. 2 (June 2006): 164. The full chronicle has only been translated into modern Turkish.

library's notes indicate that one of the hands belongs to him).⁹⁰ The volume comprises a list of vocabulary in Italian, Turkish, Persian, and French (the hand of the latter is purported to be Savary de Brèves').⁹¹ Each page is divided into four columns, one column each for the Italian, Turkish, Persian, and French translation (see, for example, Figure 5).⁹² The manuscript is consistent with similar tools produced by later French travellers to the Ottoman Empire and orientalists, such as Gilbert Gaulmin (1585–1665; MS Supplément turc 803, BNF) and Antoine Galland (1646–1715; MS Supplément turc 463, BNF).⁹³ We shall further explore Savary de Brèves' interest in, and acquisition of, the Turkish language (including the manuscript) in Chapter 3, as well as Chapter 6, when we examine his personal manuscript collection. This analysis will show the collaborative nature of his language learning, with Savary de Brèves drawing on the rich translation culture in Istanbul's dragoman community and how this shaped his own language project beyond Constantinople. His early years in Constantinople, under the ambassadorship of Lancosme, comprised Savary de Brèves' *apprentissage* in the languages and culture of the Ottoman court that laid the foundation for his life's works and envisioning a new diplomatic practice for French engagement with the Ottomans.

⁹⁰ Paris, BNF, MS Persan 208.

⁹¹ Notes to the manuscript at the Bibliothèque nationale de France indicated that 'la traduction française ... est de deux mains, la seconde ayant corrigé et complété la première. Cette seconde main est (comp. Turc 130) celle de François Savary de Brèves.'

⁹² MS Persan 208, f. 1. That the column headings are in French would indicate the work was used by a French speaker.

⁹³ Paris, BNF, MS Supplément turc 463; Paris, BNF, MS Supplément turc 803.



Figure 5: A page from MS Persan 208.

Such knowledge of Turkish positioned Savary de Brèves quite strategically, not only as a valuable member of Lancosme's entourage, but also, potentially, an important interlocutor between Lancosme and Ottoman officials. Ottoman chronicler Selânikî's observation that Savary de Brèves needed no interpreter surely confirms that he used this linguistic advantage in diplomatic affairs and not simply as a personal interest. In her extensive work on Venetian and Ottoman dragomans in Istanbul, Rothman notes how dragomans navigated the 'in-between position' as vital to protect the interests of their diplomatic clients, with their ability to translate and interpret rendering them as quasi-diplomats.⁹⁴ Having a French subject at the embassy with such linguistic skills was all the more valuable given genuine concerns about the reliability of Venetian or Ottoman interpreters and dragomans, particularly in faithfully representing French interests. The

⁹⁴ E. Natalie Rothman, "Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 4 (2009): 794. See also E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), especially Chapter 5.

French certainly had been using dragomans such as Domenic and Olivier Olivieri, from a well-known family of Venetian dragomans and who we will encounter in Chapter 3.⁹⁵ Yet, we see these concerns expressed in the king's instructions to Lancosme, which concluded with a warning about the reliability of these dragomans: 'Regarding the Dragomans ... when they translate letters sent by the Grand Seigneur to his Majesty into Italian, [Lancosme] will take care that they direct themselves well in their charges and faithfully report the contents of dispatches'.⁹⁶ Savary de Brèves' knowledge of Turkish would have been an asset to the ambassador, rendering him a specialist at the embassy, a specialisation that continued to be relied on long after his return from Constantinople and even in the years before his death, when he offered his advice to statesmen like Richelieu.

Savary de Brèves had been in Constantinople for over three years when news arrived that would change the course of his life. In September 1589, reports of the assassination of Henri III reached the Ottoman capital. Aside from the shock of regicide, the event also threw into uncertainty the question of the king's successor. Whom did Lancosme represent now that Henri III was dead? The Catholic League, a collective formed in the 1570s for 'the conservation of the Catholic religion' in the kingdom's religious wars, emerged with renewed vigour in 1584–85 and with the precise goal of preventing the succession of a Protestant king (notably, Henri of Navarre). In Joinville, on 31 December 1585, the League proclaimed its candidate as successor to the throne — Charles, cardinal of Bourbon.⁹⁷ Also present at the same Joinville agreement were Giovanni Battista de Tassis and Bernardino Mendoza, diplomatic representatives for Philip II of Spain (1527–1598), who formalised Habsburg support for the Catholic League with Philip's promise of a yearly subsidy to the League

⁹⁵ Rothman, "Interpreting Dragomans," 781.

⁹⁶ 'Il prendra grande garde aussy que les Dragomans et Interprettes des lettres que le grand Seigneur envoye aucune fois a sa Maiesté et qu'ils traduisent en Italien se gouvernement bien en leurs charges et rapportent fidellement le contens des depesches': Paris, BNF, MS Français 16171, f. 46.

⁹⁷ For the Catholic League and events around the succession of Henri IV: Mark Greengrass, *France in the Age of Henri IV: The Struggle for Stability* (London: Routledge, 1995), 795–844.

(50,000 *escudos* per month) and backing for the cardinal's succession as king. Among the terms of the Joinville treaty was that the French princes and future king renounce all alliances with the Ottomans.⁹⁸ It was a key moment not just in terms of royal succession but also the future of the Ottoman–French relationship.

The fault lines of division in the kingdom crept into the small French community in Pera. A fervent supporter of the Catholic League against Henri de Navarre as king, Lancosme openly declared support for the League candidate and, in November, announced Bourbon's assumed succession as King Charles X to the Ottoman court. Lancosme now considered himself a diplomatic agent of the League. Whether by calculated ambition, common sense, or loyalties in France, Savary de Brèves distanced himself from Lancosme and supported Henri de Navarre, a loyalty evidenced in a report from the Venetian ambassador to the Senate in April 1583.⁹⁹

Lancosme's move was unwise, to say the least. Not only did he openly support the *ligueurs*, who in turn were backed by the Spanish and papacy, but he also began direct communication with Phillip II; their correspondence survives in the Secretaría de Estado collection of the Archivo General de Simancas in Valladolid.¹⁰⁰ The English ambassador also intercepted letters from Philip to Lancosme that included money.¹⁰¹ The politics of this affiliation would not sit well with the Ottomans. As the French ambassador in Venice noted, '[The Turks] hate the word *ligue*, considering that [a league] cannot be done among Christians with an intention other than to overrun them', referring to the Holy League

⁹⁸ De Lamar Jensen, *Diplomacy and Dogmatism: Bernardino de Mendoza and the French Catholic League* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964), 54. On Spain and the Catholic League: Serge Brunet, "Philippe II et la Ligue parisienne (1588)," *Revue historique* 4, no. 656 (2010): 795–844.

⁹⁹ Giovanni Francesco Moresini to the Doge and Senate on 5 April 1583, in e, 5 April 1583, in *Calendar of State Papers: Venice*, 8:50.

¹⁰⁰ For Lancosme's contact with Rome and the Spanish court: Evrim Türkçelik, "İspanya, Fransa ve Osmanlı: Jacques Savary de Lancosme'nin İstanbul'dan Roma'ya mektupları (1590–1592)," *Kebikeç: İnsan bilimleri için kaynak araştırmaları dergisi* 40 (2015): 291–307.

¹⁰¹ '... son ambassadeur [of Elizabeth of England], qui a trouvé moyen de faire surprendre des lettres qui venoient de Rome avec quelque argent et deniers du roy d'Espagne pour le dict Lancosme': letter from Henri IV to his ambassador in England, Beauvoir-la-Nocle (30 September 1592) in M. Berger de Xivrey (ed.), *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Première Série Histoire Politique Tome III 1589–1593* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1846), 845.

alliance *contra* the Ottomans, a coalition of Catholic princes led by Spain and endorsed by the pope.¹⁰² Bourbon eventually renounced his claim to the throne in favour of Henri, but this complex chain of events culminated in Lancosme's arrest by the Ottomans on 10 June 1592 and his imprisonment in the infamous Yedikule Hisarı, or Fortress of the Seven Towers.¹⁰³ It was a course of action endorsed by Henri IV, who instructed his new ambassador to foremost express to the sultan: 'that it please him not only to make the Sieur de Lancosme a prisoner because of the treason he committed against his king, and to continue to oppose him under the name of his office, but also ... to give him the punishment he deserves'.¹⁰⁴

Those were the instructions to the new ambassador, appointed in 1592 — Savary de Brèves. At the time of his appointment as ambassador, it appears he enjoyed a good reputation at the Ottoman court.¹⁰⁵ After receiving his instructions as ambassador in 1592, he continued in this role for over a decade, making his mark as one of the most significant French ambassadors to the Ottomans in the period. The signal achievement of his ambassadorship was the negotiation of a new set of capitulations between Henri IV and Ahmed I in 1604, the subject of Chapter 4.

With the new capitulations finalised, and after two decades of service in Constantinople, Savary de Brèves was recalled by Henri IV in 1605. His successor was Jean-François de Gontaut-Biron, baron de Salagnac (d. 1610), who had been attached to Henri IV from a very young age. Savary de Brèves left Constantinople on 15 May 1605, but before returning to France he made an official journey through the Levant and Egypt, where he

¹⁰² 'Ils haïssent le mot *ligue*, estimant qu'elle ne se puisse faire parmi les chrétiens à autre intention que pour leur courir sus': ambassador Hurault de Maisse in Rigault, "Savary de Lancosme," 536.

¹⁰³ According to correspondence (30 September 1592) from Henri IV to his ambassador in England, Murad 'had the Sieur de Lancosme taken and wanted him to be killed, but in the end he remitted to me the punishment, having however put him in prison in the tower of the Black Sea until I knew what I wanted to do with him': *Documents inédits*, 845.

¹⁰⁴ 'Mais avant qu'entrer en autre propos ou office de ce qui dépend de sa Majesté, ... fasse tres expres et tres particulier remerciement a sa Hautesse de la signalee faveur qu'il lui a pleu de lui faire non seulement de faire constituer prisonnier le Sieur de Lancosme a cause des trahisons qu'il committoit contre son Roi, et pour lui oster le moiens de les continuer sous le nom de la charge qu'il avoit eüe, mais aussi d'avoir voulu differer a remettre a sa Majesté de lui faire donner le chastiment qu'il merite': MS Français 16171, f. 81v.

¹⁰⁵ MS Français 16171, f. 81v.

climbed to the summit of a pyramid, entered the sepulchre of a Pharaoh, and saw several mummies.¹⁰⁶ He proceeded to Tunis (arriving 24 June 1606) and Algiers. Accompanied by one of the sultan's officials, Couça Moustafa, he visited the rulers of each north African Ottoman territory to petition the release of French slaves, the restitution of French commercial vessels and goods, and the reestablishment of the trading post near Algiers known as the Bastion of France, which earlier had been captured by janissaries.¹⁰⁷ A lengthy report of this journey from Pera to Marseille was written by his secretary, Jean-Baptiste Vinois de Bavon, and later published in two printed editions (1628 and 1630).¹⁰⁸ When Savary de Brèves finally arrived back in France (Marseille) in November 1606, he bore over 100 manuscripts in Arabic, Persian and Turkish that he had collected during his residency in Constantinople, examined in Chapter 6.

Ambassador in Rome (1608–1614): the backdrop to his oriental studies vision

If Savary de Brèves left France in 1585 an *inconnu*, he most certainly returned home with a preeminent reputation and impressive connections. Soon after arriving in Paris in 1607, he married Anne de Thou de Neuville, cousin of Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553–1617), president of the Parlement de Paris, and niece of Nicolas de Neuville de Villeroy, then minister of state for foreign affairs and the same Villeroy who earlier expressed grave misgivings about Lancosme's posting to Constantinople. Such a marriage, so soon after his

¹⁰⁶ 'On monte jusques à la cime, par un des angles, sans danger de tomber, mais non sans travail, de pierre en pierre, comme degré en degré, & n'y a homme si gaillard qu'il soit, que de la pointe tirant une pierre puisse arriver à son pied': *Relations des voyages de Monsieur de Breves, faites en Hierusalem Terre Sainte, Constantinople, Égypte, Afrique, Barbarie, qu'aux Royaume de Tunis & Arger, qu'autres lieux* (Paris: Pierre Rocollet, 1630), 276.

¹⁰⁷ Émerit, "Au temps de saint Vincent de Paul," 300.

¹⁰⁸ This study uses the 1630 edition: *Relations des voyages de Monsieur de Breves, faites en Hierusalem Terre Sainte, Constantinople, Égypte, Afrique, Barbarie, qu'aux Royaume de Tunis & Arger, qu'autres lieux* (Paris: Pierre Rocollet, 1630). It is not entirely clear when the work was written – for a discussion: A. Massé, "Étude bibliographique sur François Savary de Brèves et son œuvre," *Bulletin de la Société scientifique artistique de Clamency* 3, no. 19 (1943): 30–52.

return to France, confirmed Savary de Brèves' standing amongst statesmen.¹⁰⁹ Anne and François would have a child, Camille.

It was not long, however, until he was dispatched to another diplomatic post, this time as ambassador in Rome, on Villeroy's recommendation.¹¹⁰ The Rome posting was important because of the earlier rupture in relations between the new French king and the papacy. During the first months of Clement VIII's pontificate (1592–1605), for example, the pope refused to acknowledge any relationship between his diplomats and those of Henri of Navarre.¹¹¹ In 1601, Philippe de Béthune, brother of the duke of Sully, was appointed as Henri IV's ambassador to the Holy See, for what Jean-Pierre Babelon calls 'la mission d'intérêt capital' and tasked with repairing personal relations with the pope, cardinals and all at the papal court.¹¹² Béthune was replaced by Villeroy's son, Charles de Neufville d'Halincourt in 1605, who was replaced by Savary de Brèves in 1608. When Charles Gonzaga, the duke of Mantua and Nevers (1580–1637), was sent to Rome in November on a special embassy to Pope Paul V, Savary de Brèves received him in Bracciano, northwest of Rome, and joined him in the carriage for their spectacular entry into the city.¹¹³ The account of the duke's entry writes of Savary de Brèves, his host in Rome: 'a cavalier truly born to treat affairs of the state, and celebrated for two embassies to two of the greatest potentates of the land [namely, the pope and the Ottoman sultan]'.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Frank Lestringant, *Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553–1617): écriture et condition robine* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2007), 8.

¹¹⁰ *Mémoires de feu Monsieur le duc d'Orléans contenant ce qui s'est passé en France de plus considerable, avec un journal de sa vie* (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1685), 3.

¹¹¹ Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "The International Policy of the Papacy: Critical Approaches to the Concepts of Universalism and *Italianità*, Peace and War," in *Papato e politica internazionale nella prima età moderna*, edited by Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Rome: Viella, 2013), 52.

¹¹² Jean-Pierre Babelon, "Philippe de Béthune, frère de Sully. Le constructeur et l'amateur d'art," in *Albineana, Cahiers d'Aubigné*, 26, 2014. Sully, *le Ministre et le mécène. Actes du colloque international des 23 et 24 novembre 2012*, edited by Cécile Huchard, Marie-Dominique Legrand et Gilbert Schrenck (Paris: H. Champion, 2014), 208.

¹¹³ *Recit de l'arrivée et entrée solennelle du Seigneur Charles Gonzague de Cleves, Duc de Nevers & de Rethel, Pair de France, Prince Souverain d'Arques, Marquis de l'isle, Comte de S. Manuldes, Gouverneur & Lieutenant general pour sa Majesté tres-Chrestienne es Provinces de Champagne & Brie* (Lyon: Claude Lariot, 1609), 7–8.

¹¹⁴ "... Monsieur de Breves son hoste, cavallier vrayement né pour traicter affaires d'estat, & celebré pour deux Ambassades aux deux plus grands Potentats de la terre': *Recit du Charles Gonzague*, 10.

The king's instructions to Savary de Brèves in Rome chiefly focused on providing reassurances to the pope, and supplied a lengthy itinerary of specific cardinals and other figures of note to visit.¹¹⁵ The ambassador was also to brief the pope on the state of affairs in the Ottoman Empire and was instructed on how to respond to papal requests for a possible holy league against the Ottomans ('because his holiness has often made known to [the king] that he holds this plan in great affection'). Savary de Brèves was to remind the pope that by renewing the capitulations with the Ottomans, Henri had delivered more advantage to Christians than by waging war against them, adding that many French merchants trading within Ottoman territories enjoyed protections under the capitulations.¹¹⁶ A holy league would threaten such an agreement. What better person could defend the capitulations (and guarantee the security of France's relationship with the Ottomans) than the very person who negotiated them?

Savary de Brèves' linguistic skills acquired in Constantinople assumed a new significance in Rome. As a centre for Arabic learning and printing in early modern Europe, Rome proved the perfect host for his continued interest in the languages of the Ottoman court. Perhaps the most critical contact for Savary de Brèves in Rome was Giovanni Battista Raimondi (1536–1614), who, since March 1585, had directed the Medici Oriental Press under the patronage of then cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici.¹¹⁷ With the primary objective of producing a polyglot edition of the bible, Raimondi's press could print in a range of eastern languages including Arabic, Syriac, Persian, and Armenian. Raimondi was also a collector of oriental manuscripts (some five-hundred) as well as an advocate for the teaching of Arabic in

¹¹⁵ MS Français 16171, ff. 230–45.

¹¹⁶ 'Peust estre que le pape parlera aussi ... de la Ligue que sa Sainteté pretend faire pour faire la guerre au Turcs, Car sa Sainteté a siuvent fait connoistre a sa Majesté avoir ce dessein en grande affection ... A quoi sadite Majesté avoit respondu qu'elle n'avoit aucune volonté de commencer la guerre ... Qu'ayant a l'exemple de ses ancestres renouvelé avec la Maison Ottomane leurs anciennes capitulations, sa Majesté l'avoit fait plus pour bien faire aux Chrestiens que pour s'en avantager contre eux ... Et d'autant plus que l'Empire dudit princes estant maintenant rempli d'un grand nombre de ses sujets qui y trafiquent sous la foi et protection desdites Capitulations': MS Français 16171, ff. 243r–243v.

¹¹⁷ For Raimondi: Mario Casari, "Raimondi, Giovanni Battista," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, LXXXVI*, edited by Lorenzo Gennaro Bianconi (Rome: Istituto della Enclopedia Italiana, 2016), 221–24.

Rome.¹¹⁸ Chapter 7 further explores Savary de Brèves's efforts in Rome to produce the technology for a similar press in Paris that could print in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Savary de Brèves' interest in the latter set his project apart from Raimondi's and his other contemporaries since the focus of oriental studies in Europe at the time was chiefly on Arabic and the biblical languages, with Turkish largely dismissed as a 'barbarous tongue'.

Yet, the technology to print in these languages was not in itself sufficient; expertise across these languages was also required (notably Arabic) and Rome provided the perfect context for this too. It was here that Savary de Brèves met three Maronites who were in the city via the College of Maronites established by Pope Gregory XIII in 1584: Victor Scialac (Nasṣallāh Shalaq al-‘Āqūrī), John Hesronita (Yūḥannā al-Ma‘madān al-Ḥaṣrūnī), and Gabriel Sionita (Jibrā‘īl aṣ-Ṣahyūnī). Scialac held the *cathedra* as professor in Arabic at Rome's Sapienza Università during the 1610s. When Savary de Brèves returned to Paris in 1614, he was accompanied by Hesronita and Sionita (both native Arabic speakers) and the ambition to establish oriental studies in Paris. Sionita's future in Paris was inextricably bound to Savary de Brèves' printing press beyond the latter's death since he was later appointed royal chair of Arabic in Paris and contributed to the production of the Paris polyglot bible.

An enduring interest in the Ottomans (1614–1628)

When Savary de Brèves returned to Paris in 1614, the political landscape had changed dramatically. Henri IV had been assassinated and Marie de Medicis was now ruling as regent while Louis XIII (1601–1643) was in minority. There were also new political players. In 1615, Savary de Brèves was appointed by the queen regent as governor to the seven-year-old Gaston, duke of Orléans and younger brother to Louis XIII, whose memoirs provide useful

¹¹⁸ Mario Casari, "Eleven Good Reasons for Learning Arabic in Late Renaissance Italy: A Memorandum by Giovan Battista Raimondi," in *Renaissance Studies in Honour of Joseph Connors*, edited by Machtelt Israëls and Louis A. Waldman (Florence: Villa I Tatti, The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, 2013), 545–57.

information about this period of Savary de Brèves' life. According to the duke's memoirs, Savary de Brèves had insinuated himself into the confidence of Concino Concini and his wife, Leonora Dori.¹¹⁹ The former, a favourite of the queen, was *maréchal* de France, while Leonora had been the queen's companion since her childhood at the Pitti Palace in Florence, following her to the French court upon marrying Henri IV.¹²⁰ During his time as ambassador in Rome, Savary de Brèves had supposedly 'rendered himself as solicitor of affairs that they [Concini and Dori] had in this court, for themselves or their friends ... so as to entirely conform to their wills'.¹²¹ For these services, the memoirs contend, Savary de Brèves had well ingratiated himself to the queen regent.

As well as being the duke's governor, 'he was also super-intendant of the house, the first gentleman of the chamber, and captain-lieutenant, with two hundred of the duke's men-of-arms all engaged under his power'.¹²² He also chose four *gentilhommes ordinaires* to always be near the duke, including Louis Gédoyne, who 'had a lot of spirit, and great knowledge of wordly things, although he was considered to be a little libertine, he did not make it seem so and his manner of acting and speaking was always very composed and comely, accommodating himself to those with whom he was conversing'.¹²³ Gédoyne had served as first secretary to Savary de Brèves' successor in Constantinople, Salagnac, and later served as consul in Aleppo, earning the sobriquet 'le Turc'.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ 'Le sieur de Breves avoit servi le Roi & l'Etat 'espace de trente ans & plus en Levant ... Quelque adresse qu'il eut au Seigneur Cochine & à sa femme, lui ayant donné leur connoissance, il eut grand soin de l'entretenir, & s'insinua si avant dans leur confiance, qu'il passa depuis dans leur esprit pour l'une de leurs plus assidées creatures': *Mémoires du duc d'Orleans*, 3–4.

¹²⁰ For Concini and Dori: Hélène Duccini, *Concini: grandeur et misère du favori de Marie de Médicis* (Paris: A. Michel, 1991); Inès de Kertanguy, *Léonora Galigai* (Paris: Pygmalion, 2007).

¹²¹ 'Pendant qu'il fut à Rome il se rendit comme solliciteur des affaires qu'ils avoient en cette Cour, pour eux ou pour leurs amis, allant au devant de celles qu'il croyoit leur être agreables': *Mémoires du duc d'Orleans*, 4.

¹²² *Mémoires du duc d'Orleans*, 5.

¹²³ 'Le sieur Gedoyne avoit beaucoup d'esprit, & grande connoissance des choses du monde ; bien qu'il fut en estime d'être un peu libertin, il ne le faisoit pas paroître, & sa façon d'agir & de parler étoit toujours fort composée & fort accorte, s'accommodant au goût de ceux avec lesquels il s'entretenoit': *Mémoires du duc d'Orleans*, 11–12.

¹²⁴ Gédoyne's journal and correspondance have been published: A. Boppe, *Journal et Correspondance de Gédoyne "Le Turc", consul de France à Alep (1623–1625)* (Paris: Typographie Plon-Nourrit, 1909).

Following the coup against Concini, and the *maréchal*'s execution on 24 April 1617, Louis XIII dismissed Savary de Brèves from the governorship. As a client of the now exiled Queen Mother, Savary de Brèves' proximity to the young duke, the king's brother, threatened to maintain a link with the queen regent and so he was replaced by the cousin of the king's favourite, the newly titled duke of Luynes, Charles d'Albert (1578–1621).¹²⁵ As the memoirs note, the dismissal was not for untoward reason on Savary de Brèves' part: 'rather than reproach him for any failure in the education [of Gaston], [the state council] praised him for the good that he had brought' and that Louis XIII 'wished to give him some more effect by awarding him fifty thousand crowns, which his Majesty had ordered him to take in three years'.¹²⁶ On termination of his governorship in 1618, Savary de Brèves receded from public affairs. He was named first secretary for the Queen Mother, who herself was living in quasi-exile away from the court and now out of political affairs. Despite his dismissal from the court, he remained involved in Mediterranean affairs. The crown granted Savary de Brèves the consulship of Egypt and while never returning there, he coordinated the placement of consuls, including André Du Ryer (b. 1580), whose instruction in Arabic and Turkish on order of Savary de Brèves set him up as an acclaimed orientalist, translating an edition of the Qur'an (1647) and the Persian classic, the *Gulistan* (1634). Savary de Brèves also wrote two works on the Ottomans (subsequently printed and the subject of Chapter 9), and his contacts and specialist knowledge of the Ottoman state and politics in the Mediterranean saw him continue to advise to statesmen such as Cardinal Richelieu (secretary of state for foreign affairs from 1616 and chief minister from 1624). As late as 1624, four years before his death,

¹²⁵ Sharon Kettering, *Power and reputation at the court of Louis XIII: the career of Charles d'Albert, duc de Luynes (1578–1621)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 147.

¹²⁶ 'Il fut mandé un jour au Conseil ... & au lieu de lui reprocher aucun manquement en l'éducation de Monsieur, ils lui donnerent des Eloges du bon devoir qu'il y avait apporté ... le Majesté [Louis XIII] avoit une entiere satisfcation de ses services ... elle avoit voulu encore lui en donner des effects par la recompense de cinquante mille écus, que Sa Majesté lui avoit ordonnée à prendre en trois années': *Memoires du duc d'Orleans*, 16–17.

Savary de Brèves wrote several reports to Louis XIII on affairs relating to the Ottomans and Mediterranean.¹²⁷

In 1625, his ancestral lands were promoted to county (‘érigée en comte’) and he was made knight of the order of the Holy Spirit, an order founded by Henri III. Three years later, in 1628, Savary de Brèves died in Paris. One of the few visual sources that remain for Savary de Brèves is an armorial device (Figure 6), which appears in a collection of arms of men in Gaston’s service compiled by genealogist Pierre d’Hozier in 1627. The role is for ‘Maistre de la Garderobe’ and belongs to ‘Cosme Savary Marquis de Maulevrier [now count], Maistre de la Gardrobe de Monseigneur. Fils de Francois Savary seigneur de Breves, Marquis dudit Maulevrier’.¹²⁸



Figure 6: Armorial devices for Savary de Brèves recorded in MS Français 32520 (BNF), ff. 4r–4v.

¹²⁷ Paris, BNF, MS Français 18075. The reports are in the nature of advice and are contained in a manuscript volume at the BNF and comprise a defence of alliance with the Ottomans, advice on relations with Rome and the Mediterranean, and a portolan chart.

¹²⁸ Paris, BNF, MS Français 32520, ff. 4r–4v.

A diplomatic first for Ottoman–French relations

As this brief survey of his diplomatic career demonstrates, Savary de Brèves represents a significant milestone in Ottoman–French relations. For the first time, a French ambassador who would end up at the centre of political influence in France made the Ottomans the centre of a life-long specialisation and interest. He was not only the first to develop a diplomatic training in the Ottoman milieu, but also the first to continue this development built on an experimental, inventive and self-directed approach that set him apart from his peers on the continent across a range of practices beyond diplomacy, including print, oriental studies, and international relations. Perhaps this is what Tallemant des Réaux meant when he wrote that Savary de Brèves had spent so long in Constantinople that he had turned *mahometan*. It is this development that we trace through the remainder of this present study. All of this was achieved at a time when French political power sought to reconstitute itself and its place in the world following decades of religious and civil war, as borne out in his very first instructions as ambassador, the focus of our next chapter.

Chapter 2: A *récit* to ‘carry to the sultan’s ears’: the ambassador’s instructions

‘We give them not forces or ships of war to manage, but words, days, hours, and moments, and they are also to give an account even to syllables and minutes, if they do anything to the prejudice of the Commonwealth.’ Diplomat and author of popular manual *L’Ambassadeur* (1603) Jean Hotman (1552–1636) here quotes ancient Greek statesman Demosthenes to underscore the centrality of words and time to the diplomat’s mission in foreign policy.¹²⁹ As Isabella Lazzarini notes, ‘diplomacy is the realm of words’, whether written, spoken, read or heard.¹³⁰ For an early modern diplomat, the most important words came from the sovereign, namely the instructions given to the ambassador at the start of his posting. Instructions essentially comprised the ambassador’s brief. Indeed, Hotman’s reference to Demosthenes occurs as a prelude to his discussion of an ambassador’s instructions. The diplomat’s career was a career of words.

A contemporary of Hotman, Savary de Brèves received his instructions from the king in 1592.¹³¹ As in the previous chapter, his appointment as ambassador was rather unexpected, a matter of circumstance following Lancosme’s refusal to acknowledge Henri IV as king.

¹²⁹ ‘Demosthene [sic] disoit: Nous ne leur dōnons pas des armes, ou des vaisseaux de guerre à conduire : mais bien des paroles, des jours, des heures & des momens, aussi ont-ils à rendre compte jusqu’aux syllables & minutes s’ils font chose au prejudice de la Republique’ : Jean Hotman, *L’Ambassadeur* (s.n., 1603), 51.

¹³⁰ Isabella Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict: Italian Diplomacy in the Early Renaissance, 1350–1520* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 189.

¹³¹ There exist several copies of Henri’s instructions to Savary de Brèves. This dissertation uses the copy in: Paris, BNF, MS Français 17833, ff. 68–91v.

While most ambassadors received instructions before their departure, Savary de Brèves was already in Constantinople. Henri finalised his instructions on 30 September 1592 on the ‘camp de champs’, the battlefield, and Savary de Brèves received them on 8 July 1593. As we shall see, that the instructions were prepared on the battlefield is appropriate since their words bore the very struggles of that battlefield. True to Demosthenes, this was a sovereign giving his diplomat a very different set of arms in war.

Any study of an ambassador’s career should start with his instructions; if Savary de Brèves’ formation as an ambassador in Constantinople was shaped by his apprenticeship at the Ottoman court, then it was equally shaped by his diplomatic briefing. However, our reasons for examining them go beyond this because they stand apart from those received by his predecessors. Rather than simply provide an itinerary or set of discrete missions, Savary de Brèves’ instructions set out a lengthy and detailed report on the complex political conflicts in France that involved a challenge to the crown by an internal faction, the Guise. Savary de Brèves was instructed to ‘carry to the ears’ of Murad III (1546–1595) this ‘*récit*’ or story. The report’s narrative anchors France’s political struggles between crown and factions to a broader Mediterranean geopolitics that integrates the Ottomans and strategises the western Mediterranean as a new theatre of Ottoman–French cooperation. As we shall see, the assassination of a French king and attempts to dethrone another are transformed into matters of Ottoman security. ‘It matters greatly,’ the instructions briefed Savary de Brèves, ‘that [Murad] hears this speech not only for what happened since [Henri’s] succession ... but for this evil’s origin and source’ and that the sultan be ‘requested to give a benevolent audience to the story presented to him’. The words of this *récit* then follow, words Savary de Brèves presented as a speech to Murad. Quite literally, we have Demosthenes’ words as arms. Written on the battlefield, these words construct a narrative seeking to build a new frontline in France’s conflict with Spain located in the Ottoman Mediterranean.

Instructions in early modern diplomatic practice

What was the place of instructions such as these in the context of diplomatic practice at the time? Usually a written document issued to an ambassador or other diplomatic agent, instructions defined and relayed the diplomatic mission.¹³² They could go by a variety of other names (in the Italian context, *mandato*, *memoria*, *ricordança* or *nota*) and were usually accompanied by a letter of credence, establishing the ambassador's reliability and authority to the receiving sovereign.¹³³ As Filippo de Vivo notes, instructions provided the 'basic plotlines' to ambassadors, a starting point from which they could undertake their negotiations.¹³⁴ In his *De officio legati* (1541), Étienne Dolet noted: '[i]nstructions ... are the basis of an ambassadorship, and in following and executing them lies the whole duty of an ambassador'.¹³⁵

Instructions have long been used by historians of political history to divine the motivations of sovereigns; after all, they purport to represent the sovereign's will. Yet, there are remarkably few studies on the genre itself despite instructions constituting what Lazzarini considers 'among the most significant diplomatic written records' and recent studies of other genres of texts produced in the context of early modern diplomacy.¹³⁶ In his study of instructions to ambassadors under the medieval Aragonese kings, Stéphane Péquignot observes that, in the medieval context, while historians of international relations have used these documents extensively as sources to understand the actions and intentions of

¹³² For *instructione* in early modern Italy: Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*, 53–55.

¹³³ Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*, 54.

¹³⁴ Filippo de Vivo, "Archives of Speech: Recording Diplomatic Negotiation in Late Medieval and Early Modern Italy," *European History Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (2016): 535.

¹³⁵ A copy of *De officio legati* appears in: Jesse S. Reeves, "Étienne Dolet on the Functions of the Ambassador, 1541," *American Journal of International Law* 27, no. 1 (1933): 82–95.

¹³⁶ Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*, 54.

sovereigns, ‘the instruction process itself has received little attention and the typological study of these documents has only been undertaken for a few sets of territories’.¹³⁷ A study remains to be written on instructions comparable to de Vivo’s work on the Venetian *relazioni* (reports presented to the Venetian Senate at the end of an ambassador’s mission) or, more recently, Elizabeth R. Williamson’s study of the diplomatic letter book.¹³⁸ While diplomatic sources such as the *relazioni*, dispatches and instructions have long informed the efforts of historians, it is only recently, particularly with the advent of ‘new diplomatic history’ and the archival turn, that these documents, the ‘paperwork’ of diplomats, have attracted study in- and-of-themselves.

Although written *from* the sovereign, instructions themselves tended to be written *by* the minister of foreign affairs and his secretary.¹³⁹ In this case, the minister was Villeroy. No background player, Villeroy was arguably the most preeminent statesman of sixteenth-century France. Involved in state affairs from age 16, Villeroy was sent to Spain in 1559 in relation to the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (between Henri II and Emperor Charles V) and continued his involvement in foreign affairs across the reigns of Charles IX, Henri III, and Henri IV. As secretary, Villeroy was often involved in the negotiation of peace treaties and directing foreign policy.¹⁴⁰ Henri IV may be a new king, but Villeroy provided the continuity of three decades’ worth of service and knowledge, critical decades both in terms of the French religious wars and developing Ottoman–French relations. Savary de Brèves’

¹³⁷ Stéphane Péquignot, “Les instructions aux ambassadeurs des rois d’Aragon (XIII^e–XV^e siècles). Jalons pour l’histoire de la fabrique d’une parole royale efficace,” *Cahiers d’Études Hispaniques Médiévales*, no. 31 (2008): 19–20. The practice of instructing diplomatic players in the medieval context: Pierre Chaplais, *English Diplomatic Practice in the Middle Ages* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2003).

¹³⁸ Filippo de Vivo, “How to Read Venetian ‘Relazioni’,” *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 34, no. 1/2 (Spring 2011): 25–59 ; Elizabeth R. Williamson, *Elizabethan Diplomacy and Epistolary Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2021).

¹³⁹ L. Battifol, “Le charge d’ambassadeur au dix-septième siècle,” *Revue d’histoire diplomatique* (1911): 347.

¹⁴⁰ N. M. Sutherland, *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici* (London: The Athlone Press, 1962), 151.

instructions may well represent the will of the new king, but they also likely represent the career-long experience and strategy of Villeroy.

Instructions sat at the heart of an ambassador's duties. In *L'Ambassadeur*, a manual for ambassadors published in 1603, diplomat Hotman noted the general rule that regardless the length or type of instruction, the ambassador 'as far as possible, employs the words, terms, reasons, and conclusions carried by his instruction, always touching on the will of his master'.¹⁴¹ It was Hotman who referenced Demosthenes' line, the opening quote of this chapter. Indeed, as we shall see, the instructions very literally gave Savary de Brèves 'words' to convey to the sultan's ears. The eldest son of Calvinist and lawyer François Hotman, Jean served as diplomat for Henri IV and was among the chief negotiators at the Twelve Years' Truce (1609) between the United Provinces and Spain, operating in a different geographic space to Savary de Brèves but still his contemporary.¹⁴² Hotman dedicated *L'Ambassadeur* to Villeroy, opening his dedicatory epistle: 'It is you, Monseigneur, who gives to the Ambassadors the instructions and for their charge and for their manners. ... for thirty years you have instructed and trained a good number [of them].'¹⁴³ Villeroy thus represents a figure who was not only at the heart of the political crisis during the French religious wars, but he played a fundamental role in instructing and training ambassadors, later appointed secretary of state for foreign affairs (1610–1617). Villeroy remained a constant figure in Savary de Brèves' career until the former's death in 1617.

¹⁴¹ 'Qu'autant qu'il luy sera possible il employe les paroles, termes, raisons, & conclusions portees par son instruction, buttant tousjours à la volonté de son Maistre': Hotman, *L'Ambassadeur*, 51.

¹⁴² For Hotman's text in the context of Henri IV's foreign policy: Lucien Bély, "La polémique de *L'Ambassadeur* de Jean Hotman: culture et diplomatie au temps de la paix de Lyon," *Cahiers d'histoire* 46, no. 2 (2001): 327–54; Lucien Bély, *L'Art de la paix en Europe: naissance de la diplomatie moderne* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2007), 134–54.

¹⁴³ 'C'estes vous, Monseigneur, qui donnez aux Ambassadeurs les instructions & pour leur charge & pour leurs mœurs. J'en ay veu aucunes qui m'ont fait admirer la grandeur de vostre esprit, & l'infiny de vostre experience. Aussi en avez-vous depuis trente ans instruit & formé bon nombre': Hotman, *L'Ambassadeur*.

Savary de Brèves' instructions

As mentioned, instructions were usually given to the ambassador before their departure, along with letters of credence and often the ciphers they needed to use for future encrypted dispatches. While instructions were a routine part of an ambassador's appointment and service, those granted to Savary de Brèves are particularly striking. Compared to those given to his immediate predecessors, Savary de Brèves' instructions differ in two very distinct respects. The first is quantitative — his instructions cover nearly 30 folios, considerably longer than those received by his predecessors. Those given to François de Noailles in his important embassy of 1571, an embassy that required careful diplomatic negotiation during the peak of Ottoman–Venetian tensions, run across just six folios.¹⁴⁴ Those given to Germigny in April 1579 and Lancosme in September 1585 also run quite short.¹⁴⁵ The second distinction concerns the contents themselves. The instructions provided to Noailles, Germigny and Lancosme follow similar patterns, providing the usual reassurance to the sultan of the king's friendship and commitment to long-standing Ottoman–French relations, as well as very specific requests or mission objectives. For example, Lancosme's instructions include directions to protect the commercial privileges granted to the French from incursion by other nations, with particular reference to the English.¹⁴⁶ Another theme across this set of instructions concerns petitioning the release of French subjects captured and enslaved within Ottoman territories. The instructions Savary de Brèves received for his appointment to Rome in 1608 likewise set out discrete tasks, including matters to raise with the pope and a lengthy itinerary of curial dignitaries.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ For Noailles' instructions: Paris, Service historique de la Défense (SHD), A¹ 3, ff. 22r–24v.

¹⁴⁵ I accessed early print copies of instructions for Germigny and Lancosme. For Germigny's instructions: *Recueil des pièces choisies, extraites sur les originaux de la Negotiation de Mr. de Germigny, de Chalon sur Saône* (Lyon: Pierre Cusset, 1661), np. For Lancosme's instructions: *Instruction et lettres de l'ambassade du Sieur de Lancosme ambassadeur en Levant pour le Roy Henry III. l'an 1585* (1592), 3–17. The instructions run to fifteen quarto pages.

¹⁴⁶ *Instructions de Lancosme*, 11–12.

¹⁴⁷ MS Français 17833, ff. 230r–245r.

Certainly, Savary de Brèves' instructions address specific issues such as the imprisonment of Lancosme, a request to supplicate for the release of Ottavio Avogadro (an Italian captured by corsairs), and matters relating to Moldavia's succession crisis. However, the substance of the address comprised an exceptionally detailed report to Murad on the state of affairs within the French kingdom. Specifically, the focus is on the Guise rebellion, the assassination of Henri III, and the current reigning Henri IV's struggle to ascend the throne. Reading his instructions alongside those of his predecessors, one suddenly feels in a foreign land, thrust bewilderingly into the complex world of late sixteenth-century French internal politics. One might conjecture that, with a new king on the throne in France and a young ambassador in Constantinople long adrift from the kingdom's factional politics, such a report might be a necessary briefing to sultan and ambassador alike. However, as we shall see, something more is in play. The narrative is not so much a report to update the Ottoman court on events in France; rather it is an argument for Savary de Brèves to present to Murad to persuade the sultan to launch a western Mediterranean offensive against Spain.

The narrative is part of a larger discourse we can break into three sections. The first is a 'summary description of the state of France from the raising of the arms of rebellion commenced against the late king and the events which followed year-by-year'.¹⁴⁸ The second is a brief pause or intervention in the discourse explaining the purpose of the previous narrative and directing Savary de Brèves to 'carry it to the ears' of Murad. The third section resumes the discourse by setting out both a justification and strategy for Ottoman military intervention against Spain. It is now necessary to look at these sections in further detail.

¹⁴⁸ 'Cette sommaire description de l'estat on a esté a France depuis la levee des armes et la rebellion commenee contre le feu Roi dernier, et des evenemens qui en sont ensuivis annee par annee': MS Français 17833, f. 79v.

A kingdom divided by *princes étrangers*

After setting out the usual preliminaries that appear in the other instructions, Savary de Brèves is charged with affirming Henri's rightful succession to the throne as a first *prince du sang* and apologising for the delays in bringing this news to Murad, delays due to 'great hindrances and obstacles' in the kingdom. Savary de Brèves is then instructed to proceed to explain these impediments and to ensure that Murad be 'beseeched to kindly give audience to the story that will be made to him'. For the purposes of unpacking this narrative, I also ask a similar audience of my reader — as we unpack the detail of French politics, we are less interested in the events they outline and more in why this document includes them.

According to the instructions, soon after inheriting his estates in the wake of Emperor Charles V's death, and with the pope's authority, Philip II of Spain attempted to create a league of Christian princes against the Ottomans (the instructions use the word *ligue*, referring to the Holy League). Since the French kings had long resisted these enterprises, Phillip resolved to achieve this in two ways: either by convincing the French king to renounce his friendship with the Ottomans or, failing that, by trying through all means possible to 'ruin and reduce' the French kingdom such that it could not intervene in this greater plan. What benefit did the Ottomans receive from the French? Foremost, they received friendship, and in tangible terms this meant never joining a holy league or crusade (as when the French crucially declined to join the Holy League just before Lepanto). The Ottoman–French alliance also potentially obstructed Spanish/Habsburg power in the Mediterranean and eastern Europe (and a weakened or co-opted French kingdom would remove the final obstacle to Spain's ultimate, crusade-like intention vis-à-vis the Ottomans).

The instructions continue: since the death of Henri II (1559), and with his sons as successors, ‘royal authority diminished in their hands on account of their minority’, a reference to the minority reigns of Francis II and Charles IX.

France was divided into two parts under the pretext of some religious difference but, in reality, by the ambition of the House of Lorraine, foreigners who France had received and elevated in property and authority before they conspired to make themselves masters of government ... and exterminate the *princes du sang* and others who they knew were against their plan, they strengthened themselves in hiding, took the faction of the Roman religion under the cloak of which they drew to themselves the main body of government because the kings professed themselves [Catholic] and, consequently, the devotion of the most part of the people were nourished and instructed in the same faith.¹⁴⁹

The ‘House of Lorraine’ refers to the Guise family, who were indeed *étrangers*. Claude de Lorraine (1496–1550) arrived at the French court in March 1506, a young man to be educated at court alongside the dauphin Francis (later Francis I). Claude was awarded letters of naturalisation, took a French title (his elevation to count of Guise), and married into the Bourbon family (Antoinette de Bourbon). The Guise family became *princes étrangers* (a formal status contrasted to *princes du sang*) of French nobility.¹⁵⁰ Claude’s grandson Henri, duke of Guise (1550–1588), led the Guise rebel faction. In the extract above, the reference to the Guise ‘taking the faction of the Roman religion’ is an important distinction that associates the Guise with the pope (and, thus, the Holy League against the Ottomans).

Phillip then enters the narrative:

¹⁴⁹ ‘Les temps avoit esté fort favorable a ce sien dessein; car p[ar] la mort du Roi Henri père des derniers Rois, l’autorité Roiale diminua entre leurs mains a cause de leur minorité ; la France se divisa en deux parts sous pretexte de quelques differents de la religion, mais en effet par l’ambition de ceux de la Maison de Lorraine, estrangers que la France avoit recueillis et elevez en biens et autorite, si avant qu’ils conspiroient de se rendre maistres du gouvernement, et avec le temps de tout l’estat, et exterminer les princes du sang et autres qu’ilz connoissent contraires a leur dessein ; aians pour se fortifier en reclui prins le parti de la Religion Romaine sous le manteau de laquelle ils tiroient a eux la principale disposition du gouvernement a cause que le Rois faisoient profession d’icelle et consequemment la devotion de la pluspart de peuple nourri et instruit en la mesme creance’: MS Français 17833, f. 67.

¹⁵⁰ For the Guise as *princes étrangers*: Jonathan Spangler, *The Society of Princes: The Lorraine-Guise and the Conservation of Power and Wealth in Seventeenth-Century France* (London: Routledge, 2009), 23–26; Stuart Carroll, *Martyrs and Murderers: The Guise Family and the Making of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

The pope and the king of Spain were also in favour [of the Guise], pleased with so good a meeting for the ground work of their cause, very careful [was] even [Philip II] to incite and feed this fire of division as the most appropriate means ... to achieve his intention. ... He did not fail to vigorously pursue his league against the said kings [Henri II's sons], first wishing them to renounce the friendship with his highness [the sultan]. This [Philip] desired most as the fastest way to construct his enterprise against [the Ottomans].¹⁵¹

As the narrative contends, the 'fastest way' for Spain to achieve their ambitions against the Ottomans was to compel the French kings to renounce their alliance with them. The mentioned meeting is likely the secret treaty of Joinville (1584) between the Guise (whose base was the town of Joinville) and Spain in which the Spanish promised to recognise the Guise (and Catholic League) claimant to the French throne (Charles, cardinal of Bourbon) on condition that, among other things, Charles would renounce the French alliance with the Ottomans once crowned.¹⁵²

Should that strategy fail, Phillip's alternative plan, according to the instructions, was to pursue the 'ruin and destruction of the [French] kingdom' so that it 'could no longer stop the progress of his ambition'. Here, too, the Guise were agents in Phillip's larger ambition.

[The Guise] rebelled against the last [kings] and [by] persuasions of [Phillip] they openly raised arms against [Henri III] in 1586, forcing him to recommence war against the present king, first *prince du sang* [that is, Henri of Navarre] ... And to remove all means of reconciliation [Henri of Navarre] was declared to be deprived of his right [to be king] for not professing the Roman religion. They also claimed to deprive the other *princes du sang* for other reasons of Spain's making, so as to put the crown on the head

¹⁵¹ 'Ils y eurent le pape et le Roi d'Espagne favorables, bien aussi de si bonne rencontre pour le subastement de leur cause, et tres soigneux mesme ledit Roi de fomentier et nourrir ce feu de division comme moien le plus propre qu'il pouvoit desirer pour l'effet de son intention ... il ne faillait de poursuivre vivement sa pratique de Ligue envers lesdits Rois, les aiant premierement voulu embarquer par la renonciation de l'amitie de sa Hautesse. C'estoit ce qu'il desiroit le plus comme le chemin le plus court pour bastir son entreprise': MS Français 17833, f. 69v.

¹⁵² The treaty provided: 'Renoncera le dict sieur Cardinal de Bourbon ou ses successeurs, comme font aussy lesdicts princes catholiques, entierement aux ligues et confederations que la couronne de France a de present avec le Turc, et ne pourront doresnavant en dresser d'aultres, ou avoir avec icelluy Turc ou ses successeurs aucune corespondance qui puisse tant soit peu prejudicier a la Chrestienté, non plus que fera Sa Majesté Catholique'. For the treaty text: Francis Gardiner Davenport (editor), *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies* (Washington D. C.: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917), 223–28.

of the late duke of Guise, head of the house of Lorraine, pensioners and adherents of the king of Spain

...¹⁵³

The instructions then detail events starting from the Day of the Barricades (12 May 1588): when ‘the late king [Henri III] was in his capital city [Paris], the duke of Guise went there against the king’s will, revolted against him ... Had the king not hastened to leave, he would have been in danger of being imprisoned, at the mercy of the duke of Guise, who would become master’.¹⁵⁴ In remarkable detail, this narrative covers events leading up to the defeat of the duke of Parma (governor of the Spanish Netherlands and general of the Spanish army) at Caudebec and his retreat to Flanders in May 1592. These events include the assassination of the duke and cardinal of Guise, the rise of the duke of Mayenne (Charles, brother of the duke of Guise, who returned from crusading against the Ottomans in Hungary in 1572), the defeat of the duke of Aumale (cousin of the duke of Guise) at Senlis, Henri III’s siege of Paris, the king’s assassination, and the various stages and military campaigns in Henri IV’s struggle for eventual power.¹⁵⁵ The assassination of Henri III is represented as a conspiracy: ‘as they [Phillip and his allies] saw no remedy other than the death of the late king, so they conspired to find a monk bold enough to undertake the coup [a reference to the king’s assassin, Jesuit Jacques Clément]’.¹⁵⁶ This narrative comprises the bulk of the instructions, covering ten folios.

¹⁵³ ‘Lesdits de Lorraine fomentez des derniers et persuasions dudit Roi d’Espagne leverent ouvertement les armes contre leur Roi en l’an 1586 le contraignirent de recommencer la guerre contre le Roi de present premier prince du sang, et plus proche de succeder a la Couronne en defaut d’enfans de feu Roi ; Et pour oster tout moien de reconciliation le firent declarer descheu de sondit droit pour n’estre de la Religion Romaine duquel ils pretendoient aussi priver les autres princes du sang sous autres raisons de la forge d’Espagne, pour mettre ladite Couronne sur la teste du feu Duc de Guise chef de la susdite maison de Lorraine, pensionnaires et adherans dudit Roi d’Espagne’: MS Français 17833, ff. 70r–70v.

¹⁵⁴ ‘Mais l’histoire seroit trop longue a vouloir raconter particulierement toutes les surprises de villes, fascheries et allarmes qu’ils lui firent, il suffit de la signaler par un acte qui advint en mai 1588. Ledit feu Roi estant dans sa ville capitale ledit Duc de Guise y vint contre la volonte de sa Majeste, fit revolter ladite ville contre lui, et s’il ne fust hasté d’en sortir il estoit en danger d’estre y arresté prisonnier a la merci dudit Duc de Guise qui y demeura le maistre’: MS Français 17833, f. 71v.

¹⁵⁵ Robert S. Sturges, “The Guise and the Two Jerusalems: Joinville’s *Vie de saint Louis* and an Early Modern Family’s Medievalism,” in *Aspiration, Representation and Memory: The Guise in Europe, 1506–1688*, edited by Jessica Munns and Penny Richards (London: Routledge, 2015): 25–46.

¹⁵⁶ ‘[C]omme n’y voians autre remede en la mort du feu Roi, et y fut tellement travaillé qu’il se trouva un moine assez hardi pour en entreprendre le coup’: MS Français 17833, f. 73.

Why recount this lengthy and detailed sequence of events in the kingdom to the Ottoman court? What was the point of underscoring the civil crisis in the kingdom, hanging out the kingdom's dirty laundry, its weakness, at a moment when assuring the sultan of its power would surely be preferable? The value of unpacking the details of this report lies less in understanding the complex affairs of late sixteenth-century France but to show the way this narrative crafts an argument. Overall, the narrative casts Spanish support for the Guise faction, and the divided state of the French kingdom that saw a king assassinated and another's troubled rise to the throne, as preliminary stages of broader Spanish ambitions against the Ottomans. The Guise were just pawns in Spain's strategy against the Ottomans, by either achieving the willing renunciation of the longstanding Ottoman–French relationship or weakening the French kingdom to make them ineffective allies. Lancosme, imprisoned on Murad's orders following his defection against Henri IV and alleged complicity with Philip of Spain, was just further evidence of the argument. It weaves the Ottomans into France's seemingly internal crisis.

The narrative also underscores the strategic value of alliance with France to the Ottomans as an essential line of defence for the latter. By extension, Ottoman security depended on the stability and strength of their French allies. The master stroke of these instructions is that they transform the crisis around Henri's succession — the religious wars, the Day of the Barricades, Henri III's assassination — into a solid argument for Murad to continue the alliance. The potential for France's vulnerability and instability to suggest the king was weak or lacked power is instead spun as an argument for renewing the alliance. The instructions use the kingdom's crisis to bind the relationship, killing two birds with one stone — they address potential concerns over the crisis in the kingdom and use that crisis as the solid foundation for an argument designed to obtain Ottoman support and, as we shall see, intervention. Savary de Brèves' instructions described religious division in France as just a

‘cloak’ for a factional division driven by the Spanish through the Guise, with the final goal of crusade against the Ottomans.

‘Carried to the ears’ of the sultan

There is then a pause in the argument, where the instructions provide some ‘stage directions’ to Savary de Brèves, explaining that ‘this summary of the state of France from the raising of the arms of rebellion commenced against the late king and the events which followed year-by-year’ was provided for two reasons. The first was to explain to Murad the delays in appointing an ambassador and renewing the capitulations. From the moment God called Henri to the crown, the king had not sent an ambassador to renew the capitulations (‘leur antienne amitié’) and the only cause for such delay was ‘the continual obstacles that [the king] has experienced without intermission’, obstacles which continue. In other words, Savary de Brèves was instructed to reassure Murad the delays in renewing the friendship were not due to any wavering of loyalty but attributable to rebellion at home incited by Spain. Second, the instructions expressed a hope that:

... if this discourse could be carried to the ears of his highness [Murad], not only would his Majesty [Henri] receive consolation that, amidst his affliction, he will find a true friend into whose bosom he can lay down some of his troubles ... The king also hopes that [Murad], seeing in this portrait and image of the state of France, as well as the tragic acts that have happened there, could not bear the pains and labours of such a kingdom ... without being moved to compassion, nor similarly to be able to hear the cruel assassination and parricide of a king, his friend, without detesting the crime and all those who participated in it, when this would only be for the evil and dangerous example of which such an attack is for the life of all other princes.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ ‘Secondement que si ce discours peut trouver lieu pour estre porté aux oreilles de sa Hautesse, non seulement sa Majesté en recevra la consolation que recoivent ceux qui en leur affliction trouveent un vrai ami au sein duquel ils puissent déposer une partie de leurs ennuis, comme le recit qu’ils lui en font, s’il s’y rend attentif, leur en allège de beaucoup la pesanteur, mais aussi elle espere davantage que sa hautesse voiant en icelui comme un portrait et image de l’Estat de la France, et les actes tragiques qui y ont esté jouez, autre qu’elle ne pourra contempler les peines et travaux d’un tel Roiaume, qu’elle les

These words call on Savary de Brèves to implore Murad's compassion and warn the sultan about the dangerous example a king's assassination sets for other princes, including himself. The Ottomans, after all, were no strangers to the fratricidal assassination of princes that characterised the Ottoman succession process, including Murad's own.¹⁵⁸ This is then followed by the examples of Spain's 'usurpation' of the kingdom of Portugal and attempt to do the same to England 'by way of the greatest army that has ever been seen on the Ocean'.¹⁵⁹ Here, the instructions refer to Phillip's successful claim to the Portuguese throne after the battle of Alcântara (1580) and the Spanish armada against Elizabeth I's England (1588). The crisis in France, plotted by the Spanish, was just another tranche of Spanish strategy against princes and their kingdoms. To address this threat, Savary de Brèves was to request Murad's 'aid and assistance to stop the course of the ambition of a common enemy'. It is at this point the argument transitions to its third and final act.

The proposition to Murad

In effect, the instructions use this 'portrait of the state of France' to provide justification and motivation for Ottoman intervention against Spain, appealing both to Murad's compassion as friend and fellow prince and his fears. First, in return for assistance, Henri IV could offer intelligence. If Murad intended to send his army to undertake an assault on the Spanish 'in Sicily or elsewhere in the lands and countries of the king of Spain', then Henri would 'give him hereafter advice by which the sultan will understand the state of these

Empereurs ses predecesseurs ont de si long temps cheri et favorisé d'une singuliere bienveillance, sans estre meu a compassion, ni pareillement ouir le cruel assassinat et paricide d'un Roi son ami sans en detester le crime, et tous ceux qui ont participé, quand ce ne seroit que pour le mauvais et dangereux exemple dont est tel attentat pour la vie de tous autres princes': MS Français 17833, f. 80r.

¹⁵⁸ According to Cipa, the practice formed part of sultan law since Mehmed II: H. Erdem Cipa, *The Making of Selim: Succession, Legitimacy, and Memory in the Early Modern Ottoman World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 29–32.

¹⁵⁹ '... la Monarchie a laquelle le Roi d'Espagne aspire, et l'usurpation qu'il a desja faite du Roiaume de Portugal, et l'essai qu'il fit l'an passé de se saisir de celui d'Angleterre par le moien d'une armee la plus grande qui ait jamais esté veuë en la mer Oceane ...': MS Français 17833, f. 80v.

said territories and even through some special person who he will send to the Porte of his highness before the army's departure so as to accompany it'.¹⁶⁰ The instructions suggest the duke of Savoy as a target, a Spanish ally who posed a more immediate threat to France's territories in coastal Mediterranean Provence. The king would also offer support by way of armies, ports, and supplies.

Just as Phillip aided all means for making war against his neighbours, including through promoting internal discord, it is only just, Savary de Brèves was to propose, that the sultan combat the Spanish king with the same methods. Here, Granada enters the scene.

His Highness or his ministers might be mindful of the uprisings which happened in Granada and other adjoining countries, when Selim his father of glorious memory was living, of which the beginnings were not so weak. And how much for lack of help they were reduced to the mercy of the king of Spain, who killed a great many of them. If the same affections continue which have remained as from an ordinary succession in in all [their] descendants, so that it awakens with good hope of [receiving] support, some notable stirring could be born.¹⁶¹

The Granadan uprising referred to here is the rebellion of the Alpujarras or Morisco Revolt of 1568–71, a rebellion of Moriscos (Andalusian Muslims under Castilian rule who had converted to Catholicism, at least nominally) in the Alpujarras region south of Granada.¹⁶² While then sultan, Selim II (1524–1574), corresponded with the Morisco rebels and pledged his support, his own military campaigns in Cyprus and elsewhere in the Mediterranean prevented any meaningful military support from transpiring before the

¹⁶⁰ 'sa Majesté lui donnera ci apres advis selon qu'elle entendra de l'estat des dits pais, et mesme par personnage expres qui se rendra a la Porte de sa Hautesse avant la sortie de ladite armee pour icelle accompagner': MS Français 17833, f. 82v.

¹⁶¹ 'Sa hautesse ou ses ministres peuvent estre memoratifs de la sous levation qui avint en Grenade et autres pais contigus vivant encore Selim son père de glorieuse mémoire, dont les fondemens n'estoient si foibles. Et combien qu'a faute de secours ils furent reduits a la merci dudit Roi d'Espagne qui en fit mourir une grande partie, si est ce que les mesmes affections continuent qui sont demeurees comme d'une succession ordinaire en tous les descendants, de sorte que cela réveillè avec une bonne esperance de support il en pourroit naistre quelque remuement notable audit pais': MS Français 17833, f. 83r.

¹⁶² MS Français 17833, f. 83r. See: Chakib Benafri, "La posición de la sublime puerta y de la regencia de Argel ante la rebelión de los moriscos granadinos (1568–1570): entre esperanza y decepción," *Áreas. Revista Internacional de Ciencias Sociales* 30 (2011): 141–46.

rebellion was eventually quashed.¹⁶³ However, should these rebellious sentiments lurk in the hearts of their descendants, then there was hope, with Murad's support, of mounting another, more successful Granadan rebellion. Moreover, since many of those who were persecuted in Granada had fled to Algiers, the instructions continue, 'there were none whom one could choose more apt' and, thus, the instructions suggest Murad give such an order to the king of Algiers.¹⁶⁴ It is also suggested that Murad 'employ his authority towards the king of Fez so that, on his side, he make some effort against the king of Spain'.¹⁶⁵ In effect, the Granadans could be used against Spain as the Guise were used against the French crown. These plans were not fanciful either, since Henri had, through a Frenchman from the *navarrois* town Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port called Pascual de Santisteban, maintained contact with Moriscos on behalf of the French king. During Henri's reign, the Spanish council of state was on the lookout for Morisco support for, and communications with, the French.¹⁶⁶

The instructions call upon Murad to enter into a western Mediterranean theatre of conflict with the Spanish, using potential Ottoman influence with Moriscos in Spain, as well as its position and perceived influence in the Maghreb, to challenge them. The strategy outlined in the instructions attempts to shift the theatre of conflict to Spain's doorstep in the western Mediterranean, which was still very much a periphery of the Ottoman Empire. We have to keep in mind that so much of the conflict between Spain and the Ottomans had focused on the eastern and central Mediterranean (Lepanto, Crete, Cyprus, Malta, and

¹⁶³ For correspondence between the Ottomans and Moriscos: Andrew C. Hess, "The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *The American Historical Review* 74, no. 1 (October 1968): 1–25.

¹⁶⁴ 'Et s'il y fait fondement donner sur ce tel commandement au Roi d'Agér qui seroit trouvé a propos :' MS Français 17833, f. 83. Technically, there was no king of Algiers, since by the region was by the stage an Ottoman territory governed by an Ottoman appointee.

¹⁶⁵ 'Semble aussi qu'il seroit qu'il pleust a sa hauteesse emploier son autorité vers le Roi de Fez afin que son costé il fist quelque effort contre le Roi d'Espagne sur les places qu'il tient de son costé': MS Français 17833, f. 83.

¹⁶⁶ On three occasions in January 1603, Juan Bautista de Tassis informed the council about Morisco plans 'to favour the king of France'. For Henri's connections to the Moriscos: Mayte Green-Mercado, "Morisco Prophecies at the French Court (1602–1607)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 61, nos 1–2 (2018): 91–123.

Tripoli, for example).¹⁶⁷ It also signalled a shift in orientation for French foreign policy



Figure 7: Portolan chart of the western Mediterranean produced for Richelieu in 1633 (Paris, BNF, MS Français 20122, ff. 2v–3r).

towards the western Mediterranean, one perhaps best visualised in a portolan chart produced in Marseille a few decades later in 1633 (five years after Savary de Brèves' death) for Cardinal Richelieu, depicting a figure dressed with a turban and armed with an arrow pointed at the king of Spain (Figure 7).¹⁶⁸ Indeed, in 1605–1606, Savary de Brèves would be the first of the ambassadors to travel to meet the beys of Tunis and Algiers, and a detailed account of his diplomatic activities there were recorded by his secretary and later published. His time in Tunis and Algiers, as well as the travel account, is the focus of Chapter 5.

¹⁶⁷ For Ottoman foreign policy in the Mediterranean under Selim II: Işıksel, *La diplomatie ottomane*, 140–76.

¹⁶⁸ Paris, BNF, MS Français 20122, ff. 2v–3r. The manuscript volume comprises three maps: the first a map of the Aegean Sea, the second a map of the eastern and central Mediterranean, and the third the western Mediterranean. The charts were produced by Augustin Roussin, a well-known cartographer in Marseille. Corradino Astengo makes reference to this chart and Roussin in his study: Corradino Astengo, "The Renaissance Chart Tradition in the Mediterranean," in *The History of Cartography: Volume 3 — Cartography in the European Renaissance (Part 1)*, edited by David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 174–262.

Geopolitical strategy and strategic words

Standing distinctly apart from the instructions given to his predecessors, Savary de Brèves' instructions offer some valuable insights into a shifting French geopolitical orientation towards the Mediterranean (and, specifically the western Mediterranean) and at the centre of this shift was the ambassador himself, whom these instructions charged with deploying such an orientation. Containing as they do a substantial discourse on the political crisis in France and a proposition for Ottoman assistance that was to be presented to Murad, we also find in them an example of instructions used as a direct carrier of speech, but not just any speech. These words were designed to spur military action and be 'reconverted' into the deployment of arms and galleys.

The immediate observation we can make about the above analysis of the instructions is how they make a case for a Mediterranean strategy chiefly directed to the western Mediterranean. The political crisis within the French kingdom that preceded Henri IV's rise to the throne is integrated into a broader geopolitical field — namely, the western Mediterranean — and one which Murad is urged to join. Of course, this was not the first time the French called upon Ottoman intervention in the region. In July 1543, an Ottoman fleet of 100 galleys, 40 *fustes* and three great *nefs*, all carrying 25,000 to 30,000 men, arrived in Marseille. Among the men was the Ottoman Kapudan Paşa, the commander-in-chief of the Ottoman fleet, Khayreddine Barbarossa (c. 1478–1546).¹⁶⁹ The fleet then moved on to besiege the city of Nice in the duchy of Savoy, a Spanish ally that threatened French territories in Provence, including Marseille itself. The August 1543 siege ultimately failed and subsequent minor joint actions the following year produced no significant accomplishments.¹⁷⁰ Nearly fifty years later, we once again see a French king appeal for

¹⁶⁹ Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidel*, 126.

¹⁷⁰ Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidel*, 139–40.

Ottoman assistance, only this time a more strategic vision is set out for Ottoman intervention. Savary de Brèves' instructions reveal both a continuity in policy but also a more consolidated approach and maturation focused not simply on specific attacks on a town or port, but a strategy that engages the entire western Mediterranean, including Algiers and Fez. Roussin's portolan chart of 1633 discussed earlier and commissioned by Cardinal Richelieu, shows how this geopolitical vision persisted. These instructions represent an important moment in a French Mediterranean outlook in development since the 1540s because they reignite French attempts to draw its Ottoman ally into a western naval theatre that could counter their mutual Spanish threat in the Mediterranean.

The instructions also weave the Ottomans into the crisis in the French kingdom, recasting a seemingly internal crisis into a vaster geopolitical conflict that fully integrated the Ottomans in the France's religious wars. The instructions appeal to Murad's noble affinities as a prince, calling on his indignation towards regicide, binding the destinies of kingdom and empire tightly together. Within this frame, Henri emerges as a king who is not a religious zealot, like his Guise and Spanish detractors, but a partner. It should be noted that the instructions make no mention of affairs on the Ottoman side, including the Ottomans' still recently concluded peace with Safavid Persia in 1590 following over twelve years of war. The instructions give us cause to reconsider the place of the Ottomans in the French wars of religion beyond mere outliers, as well as to consider the ways the Ottomans understood their involvement or engagement in this conflict.

If, as de Vivo observes, instructions provided the 'basic plotlines' of a diplomatic mission to ambassadors, then it was Savary de Brèves who was charged with enacting this broader vision. Unlike ambassador de la Forêt, who was charged with securing the Ottoman fleet's assistance against Savoy in 1543, Savary de Brèves' charge was far broader. The latter's instructions not only define a mission; they also define his geographic perimeters. His

experience in Constantinople might have shaped his career, but these instructions shaped its geography. Indeed, towards the end of his posting, in 1605–06, he would undertake an extensive journey through the Levant, Egypt, Tunis and Algiers that none of his predecessors had hitherto undertaken.¹⁷¹ In this sense, the instructions position Savary de Brèves as a diplomat not simply appointed to address specific requests for aid but one charged with deploying a broader strategic vision. These instructions reflect not just the beginning of Savary de Brèves' formal appointment as ambassador, but the start of his Mediterranean career. In the final Chapter to this present study, we will revisit another discourse concerning the strategic value of the Ottoman alliance — this time, one presented by Savary de Brèves to Louis XIII. Savary de Brèves goes from being the instructed to the instructor.

These instructions also offer an example of how instructions were used beyond simply setting out a diplomat's itinerary, mission or objectives. What we find in Savary de Brèves' instructions is a narrative and argument that were to be 'carried to the sultan's ears'. The instructions were not just a written text, but also both oral and aural — the narrative was intended to be both performed and heard, as well as serve a heuristic function of informing the ambassador's daily negotiations and interactions at court more generally. As Lazzarini observes: 'The continuous intersection of oral, face-to-face talks and written texts — be they an instruction or a letter, a summary of news or a report — was in fact structural to the negotiating process itself, both during negotiations about specific issues and within the daily interactions which constituted the work of long-serving ambassadors'.¹⁷² We cannot be certain how 'the story' presented in the instructions was presented to the sultan and his advisors. An ambassador's first audience with the sultan, as with diplomatic receptions elsewhere, tended to involve an oration by the ambassador, his most formal and public

¹⁷¹ In February 1535, Jean de la Forêt was instructed to go to Tunis before his embassy to Constantinople so as to meet with Hayreddin Barbarossa, but this had a very specific agenda in mind.

¹⁷² Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*, 195.

performance.¹⁷³ Further, the absence of scholarship on the instruction process itself prevents us from better understanding how instructions were used in broader diplomatic procedure and practice. This present set of instructions demonstrates how this important genre of diplomatic writing was used not only to convey missions but also to convey speech.

Within these instructions we see the living example of the lines from Demosthenes (via Hotman) that the ‘arms’ a sovereign gives to his ambassadors are words. In this case, the words were arranged together in a lengthy discourse that Savary de Brèves was to ‘carry to the ears’ of Murad and, taking on Hotman’s guidance, he was to do this ‘to the syllable’. As ambassador, Savary de Brèves was indeed the voice and ears of the king. The instructions also underscore the importance of having control of the narrative, seen in the way the instructions spin the story of France’s political crisis into a case for continuing the alliance, as well as a justification and strategy for Ottoman intervention. At a court so removed geographically and politically from events in France, where French news often first came to the sultan through intermediaries such as the Venetian bailo, the king’s ambassador played a key role in ensuring these events were not relayed in an unfavourable way and to the king’s prejudice. For example, in May 1559, Jean Yversen, Henri II’s agent in Ragusa, was sent on a special mission to Suleiman I following the peace between Henri and Phillip of Spain at Cateau-Cambrésis. According to Yversen’s report on his mission, he was tasked with assuring the sultan that the peace did not reflect a rupture of the alliance between France and the Ottomans nor any French intention to join a Holy League against them, despite rumours to the contrary spread by the Venetian bailo.¹⁷⁴ While the Spanish did not have a dedicated resident ambassador at the Porte at the time (they would not until 1782), the Habsburg emperor’s ambassador relayed information to the Spanish.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*, 191.

¹⁷⁴ Gaillac, Private archive.

¹⁷⁵ For a discussion of the asymmetry between Austrian Habsburg and Spanish representation at the Ottoman court, see: Aneliya Stoyanova, “The Benefits and Limits of Permanent Diplomacy: Austrian Habsburg Ambassadors and Ottoman-

Controlling the narrative with words, and against the misrepresentations of potential enemies at court, was critical. This was all the more so at a court where linguistic specialisation in a language like Turkish for the purposes of diplomacy sat almost completely out of the hands of the ambassador himself, who instead had to rely on the local translators and interpreters at that court itself. If words are so central to an ambassador's role, then what challenges might we imagine a French ambassador would encounter where the language used in diplomacy was not Latin, French or Italian, but Turkish? The next chapter explores how these 'arms' of an ambassador presented challenges to Savary de Brèves and how he responded to these challenges by attempting to master the languages of the Ottoman court. Indeed, words became fundamental to Savary de Brèves' career — his most renowned achievement and project was to forge the very characters that would make communicating with the words of the Ottomans possible.

Spanish Diplomacy in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," in *Diplomatic Cultures at the Ottoman Court, c.1500–1630*, edited by Tracey A. Sowerby and Christopher Markiewicz (London: Routledge, 2021), 153–73. For the first Spanish ambassador, see: Hüseyin Serdar Tabakoğlu, "The Re-establishment of Ottoman-Spanish Relations in 1782," *Turkish Studies / Türkoloji Araştırmaları* 2, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 496–524.

Chapter 3

Negotiating Ottoman words: dragomans and dictionaries

‘If he knows the language of the country where he is,’ noted Hotman in *L’Ambassadeur*, ‘this will be a very great advantage to him for understanding more perfectly both the history and affairs of this State [of the ambassador’s posting]. Cicero said: *Sumus surdi omnes in linguis quas non intelligimus* [We are deaf in all languages that we do not understand]. Better to be deaf than not understand that which is said.’¹⁷⁶ For Hotman, an ambassador was well served by understanding the language of the court of his posting. Hotman was less concerned with an ambassador speaking in the language (he goes on to say that this would not inhibit effective service and that he had a preference for the diplomat to talk and negotiate in his own language), but rather with hearing. In this chapter, we look at another important role of the ambassador in relation to language. Hotman’s quotation of Cicero is a useful reminder that an ambassador not only spoke words but also heard them; he was not only his sovereign’s mouth, but also his ears. Language is not only spoken but also heard, and an important function of an ambassador was to have his ‘ears to the ground’ and regularly report back by way of dispatches. Intelligence-gathering was a key advantage of a resident ambassador, with the daily chatter among court officials and other ambassadors as valuable as negotiation itself. Hotman proposes this knowledge was not only about things

¹⁷⁶ ‘S’il sçait la langue du païs où il est, ce luy sera un advantage tresgrand pour entendre plus parfaitement & l’histoire & les affaires de cet Estat là. Ciceron dit : *Sumus surdi omnes in linguis quas non intelligimus*. Autant vaut estre sourd que de n’entendre ce qui se dit’: Hotman, *L’Ambassadeur*, 16.

said but also, more broadly, about understanding ‘both the history and affairs’ of the place of his posting — knowledge not just of language but also context. The next chapter considers how fulfilling his instructions demanded more than just diplomatic sophistry at court but had to more deeply protect and assert French interests, including those of merchants and missionaries, within Ottoman judicial and administrative practices. He had to become more embedded, more truly resident, in a way that his predecessors had not. Increased competition from new entrants at the court such as the English and Dutch meant language was a strategic advantage through which to gain the parity with Venice at the Porte that the French crown sought and have an edge on the competition. Understanding this situation is crucial to appreciating why Savary de Brèves made Arabic, Persian and Turkish such a strong interest during and beyond his diplomatic career, and how the complexity of diplomacy in the global early modern demanded pragmatic, innovative solutions using language as a form of strategic knowledge. Language is the bridge between Savary de Brèves as diplomat and Savary de Brèves as orientalist.

Language and diplomacy at the Ottoman court

Rhetorical skill and eloquence were considered by many as paramount qualities of an ambassador, so linguistic versatility was expected amongst a diplomat’s skills. In his *De Legationibus Libri Tres* (1585), Italian jurist Alberico Gentili (1552–1608), advised that ‘if the legate holds the Latin language, I imagine good prospects; for today, this is far more known in all Europe than was Greek’, adding the advantage of knowing the language of the ambassador’s placement.¹⁷⁷ But Gentili was thinking within the confines of his familiar

¹⁷⁷ ‘Et nunc quidem si legatus linguam Latinam teneret, benè prospectum et opinor : quoniam longè haec est hodie in universa Europa notior, quam fuerit Graeca. Si tamen et eas cognosceret, quae nunc vivunt, ubi futurus legatus est, magis atque magis probatem’: Alberico Gentili, *De Legationibus Libri Tres* (London: Thomas Vautrollerius, 1585), 105. Timothy Hampton considers Gentili’s treatise as ‘the first systematic treatise on modern diplomacy’: Timothy Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 24.

humanist world, in which Latin was a universal language. Among other contemporaneous works in the genre, only Ottaviano Maggi, in his *De Legato Libri Duo* (1566), seemed to consider the advantage of a broader array of languages: ‘it is therefore necessary firstly for the legate to acquire a knowledge of the Italian language, then Latin, which is understood among almost all nations, also Spanish, French, German, and finally even Turkish’.¹⁷⁸

Maggi’s addition of Turkish reflects his service as secretary to Alvise Mocenigo, Venetian ambassador at the imperial and papal courts (and later doge of Venice from 1570 to 1577).

Yet, we still see the assumed universality of Latin. Gentili, we should note, also opposed the concept of a Christian prince making alliance with the Ottomans.¹⁷⁹

What happens when we step outside the Latinate world of Gentili and Maggi and into the world of the late sixteenth-century, multi-lingual Ottoman empire? We could assume that Savary de Brèves was educated in Latin and perhaps Italian, but he had no immediate training for an ambassadorial posting before leaving for Constantinople. Moreover, his first ambassadorial posting was at an entirely non-Latinate court. While the Ottoman Empire was very much multi-lingual, by the sixteenth century the chief working language of its court and bureaucracy was a high Ottoman that blended elements of Arabic and Persian with the Turkish vernacular, all of them written in Arabic script.¹⁸⁰ Arabic and Persian were also in the linguistic wheelhouse of Ottoman elites and, given that many officials at the Ottoman court came from different parts of the empire, Greek, Italian or Slavonic were also part of this fabric. These languages — Arabic, Persian and Turkish — became the centrepiece of Savary de Brèves’ professional career and personal endeavours even after Constantinople.

¹⁷⁸ ‘Est igitur in primis legato necessaria cognition italice lingue, deinde latine, quae apud omnes prope gentes intelligitur, item hispanae, gallicae, germanae, ac postremo etiam turcicae’: Ottaviano Maggi, *De Legato libri duo* (Venice: 1566), 50.

¹⁷⁹ Noel Malcolm, “Alberico Gentili and the Ottomans,” in *The Roman Foundations of the Law of Nations: Alberico Gentili and the Justice of Empire*, edited by Benedict Kingsbury and Benjamin Straumann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 139.

¹⁸⁰ Eric R. Dursteler, “Speaking In Tongues: Language and Communication in the Early Modern Mediterranean,” *Past & Present* 217 (2012): 54; Michiel Leezenberg, “The Vernacular Revolution: Reclaiming Early Modern Grammatical Traditions in the Ottoman Empire,” *History of Humanities* 1, no. 2 (2016): 259.

Arriving in Constantinople in his early twenties, Savary de Brèves found himself in a world linguistically quite different to his own. As explored further in Chapter 6, while there had been a long-standing study of Arabic in Europe, particularly from the sixteenth century with Arabists like Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) and Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), there was little interest in the study of Turkish, which was considered a ‘barbarous tongue’ by Arabists and other language scholars. Yet, by no later than 1600, Savary de Brèves had achieved such proficiency in Turkish to warrant praise from Ottoman chronicler Selânikî Mustafa Efendi, who, in his *Tarih-i Selânikî*, wrote of Savary de Brèves as an ‘esteemed lord’ who was so fluent in Turkish that he needed no interpreter.¹⁸¹

The Istanbul in which he arrived hosted a thriving culture of interpreting and translation, the centre of a vast, multi-lingual empire supported by a long-established bureaucracy and community of translation that was inextricably linked to diplomacy at the Ottoman court. Far from the advice of Gentili and Hotman, whose horizons for ambassadors were limited to Europe’s society of princes, Savary de Brèves instead relied on this rich environment of translation and language-learning. If language was fundamental to a diplomat’s work — his ‘arms’ — then the tools at his disposal were to be found in this Istanbulite translation community. He drew on two chief tools here, both explored in this chapter. The first was the pre-existing networks of translators, chiefly drawn from the Latinate community in Pera. However, as we shall see, reliance on these translators generated its own challenges and problems, which prompted the second tool, developing his own proficiency in Turkish, a task only possible by spending time within this linguistic milieu. In

¹⁸¹ The chronicle covers the period 1563 to until Selânikî’s death in 1600. According to William Peachy’s study of the *Tarih-i Selânikî*, the chronicle was written close to contemporaneously with the events they describe, which means the comments about Savary de Brèves’ linguistic capabilities reflects the period 1592–1600 (when, as ambassador, he would become a proper subject of the chronicle) and 1600: William S. Peachy, “A Year in *Selânikî*’s History: 159–94” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1984), 53.

order to understand his later projects, we must investigate his very first experience with language at the Ottoman court.

Interpreters and dragomans at the Ottoman court

When Savary de Brèves arrived in 1586, he stepped not only into a foreign city but into another world new to him, one in which language and words, as we saw in Chapter 2, were crucial — diplomacy. His linguistic interface with these worlds — Ottoman and diplomatic — were interpreters. Extending across a vast stretch of territories from the Mediterranean to central Europe, Arabia and to the borders of Safavid Persia, it was only natural that an increasingly multilingual Ottoman Empire demanded interpreters and translation at the heart of its administration. Following the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, it was Mehmed II (1432–1481) who established the position of official dragoman in the Empire.¹⁸² ‘Dragoman’ is a Latinised loanword, with cognates *tarjumān* and *tercüman* in Arabic and Turkish respectively.¹⁸³ As Ottoman conquest extended further into eastern Europe, the need for interpreters specialising in languages of the empire’s new non-Muslim subjects (for example, Greek and Slavonic) became critical to administration. Many of these dragomans were drawn from these new subjects, recruited through the practice of *devşirme* (a child levy from conquered territories).¹⁸⁴ For example, the Naval Dragoman was almost exclusively drawn from Istanbulite Greeks and was responsible for supervising the regular collection of taxes from non-Muslim subjects in parts of the eastern Mediterranean under the jurisdiction of the Admiral of the Fleet, highlighting the interconnection between translation

¹⁸² Ebru Diriker, “On the evolution of the interpreting profession in Turkey: From the Dragomans to the 21st century,” in *Tradition, Tension and Translation in Turkey*, edited by Sehnaz Tahir Gürçaglar, Saliha Paker and John Milton (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2015), 89–90.

¹⁸³ In French it was often rendered as *truchement*. For a discussion of the etymology, see Rothman, *Dragoman Renaissance*, 4. Dragomans were by no means unique to the Ottomans, and were a feature of medieval Fatimid, Mamluk and Turkic societies, as well as among the Mughals and Safavids of the early modern period.

¹⁸⁴ Diriker, “On the evolution of the interpreting profession in Turkey,” 90; Rothman, “Interpreting Dragomans,” 774.

and administration.¹⁸⁵ The naval dragoman role was eventually recast as Chief Dragoman at court. As well as imperial dragomans at the Ottoman court, there were also regional and provincial dragomans in centres like Izmir, Thessaloniki and Aleppo, a linguistic interface between the governing class and non-Turkish-speaking subjects.¹⁸⁶ Imperial dragomans also served as translators in diplomacy, particularly as the Ottomans expanded relations with European polities from Wallachia to France. For example, in 1479, Lufti Bey, considered the first imperial dragoman mentioned in Ottoman records, was sent as emissary to Venice to deliver a treaty.¹⁸⁷ At least initially, foreign embassies in Istanbul were provided with Ottoman dragomans to assist in diplomatic negotiation. By the sixteenth century, then, a professional class of interpreters was fully institutionalised within Ottoman administration and diplomacy.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, with a more permanent ambassador in Constantinople and growing commercial interactions with the Ottomans, the Venetians developed their own ‘dragomanate’, modelled on the Ottoman institution. While the Venetians initially relied on the Ottoman dragomans for translation, this was short-lived. In 1534, Girolamo Civran was appointed to the official position of *dragommano*, responsible for translating Greek and Turkish. These interpreters were trained and attached to the *casa bailaggio*, the house of the Venetian bailo in Constantinople, and were often drawn from Venice’s *stato da Mar*, its maritime colonies on the Ottoman frontier. Civran, for example, came from Methoni, a Venetian colony in the Peloponnese since the thirteenth century until its Ottoman conquest in 1550.¹⁸⁸ His successor, Michele Membré, appointed in 1550, was

¹⁸⁵ Saliha Paker, “Turkish Tradition,” in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, edited by Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha (London: Routledge, 2009), 551.

¹⁸⁶ Paker, “Turkish Tradition,” 550.

¹⁸⁷ Paker “Turkish Tradition,” 550; Diana Gilliland Wright and Pierre A. Mackay, “When the *Serenissima* and the *Gran Turco* made Love: The Peace Treaty of 1478,” *Studi Veneziana* LIII (2007): 262.

¹⁸⁸ Rothman, *Brokering Empire*, 172.

from Cyprus, a Venetian colony since 1489.¹⁸⁹ The Venetians, thus, could draw on the Ottoman model and leverage their own longstanding embeddedness in the multilingual eastern Mediterranean.

On 21 February 1551, the Venetian Senate further developed the institution through a decree that two young Venetians be sent to Istanbul annually for training as interpreters in oriental languages, what became known as the *giovani di lingua* ('language youth', from the Turkish *oğlanı dil*). The Senate was acting on advice of ambassador Alvise Renier, who urged in his *relazione*: 'I have considered, Most Serene Prince, in the many services of importance I have to do, it is very important to have a person [skilled] in the Turkish language who is able to express our opinion and who understands the terms and defences of a cause that is treated'.¹⁹⁰ This need for interpreters who not only understood Turkish but could better serve Venetian interests (rather than using Ottoman dragomans) reflect both the aspirations of Hotman and very similar challenges expressed by Savary de Brèves, which we will come to shortly. According to Rothman, these young apprentices began their tenure around the age of fifteen or eighteen, sometimes as young as ten. Since the 1550s, they were recruited from three different pools: the Venetian citizen class, the urban elites of Venice's Adriatic and Mediterranean colonies, and the Latin community of Pera (the *Magnifica comunità*, as they called themselves).¹⁹¹ Of these, the most effective source of recruitment was from prominent Latin families in Pera around whom emerged dragoman families (almost dynasties) since the immediate kin of dragomans – their sons, sons-in-law, and nephews –

¹⁸⁹ Prior to this, Membré was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Safavid capital Isfahan and his *Relazione della missione in Persia* is among the most important surviving European accounts of sixteenth-century Safavid Persia: A. H. Morton (tr.), *Michele Membré, Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539–1542)* (London: London School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1993).

¹⁹⁰ 'Ho considerato, Serenissimo Principe, nelli tanti trattamenti occorsemi de importanza molto importer haver persona nella lingua turca, che fusse atta di esprimer il concetto nostro et che apprehendesse li termini et defese di una causa che si trattasse': Venice, ASV, Collegio, Relazioni, b. 61, n. 207, f. 120.

¹⁹¹ Rothman, "Interpreting Dragomans," 776; Rothman, *Dragoman Renaissance*, 25. Rothman provides a breakdown of the composition of the Venetian dragomanate in Constantinople (Venetian citizens, Venetian colonial subjects, and Ottoman subjects) for the period 1570–1720 that shows Venetian citizens comprised just 16 per cent of the dragomanate in the early modern period (p. 29).

were preferred choices for apprenticeship. As Latinate speakers (with lineage to the Genoese and Venetian communities in Byzantine Constantinople), but also Ottoman subjects, they were natural candidates for this cross-linguistic role. From the late sixteenth century, as Rothman observes, ‘several of the most distinguished Latin families had at least one son employed as a Venetian apprentice dragoman at almost any given moment’.¹⁹² These families include names like the Fortis, Grillo, Navon, Negron, Salvago and Olivieri (the latter, we shall see, were particularly relevant to Savary de Brèves). A dragoman, then, was part of a complex web of kinship networks (especially when we consider inter-marriage between these groups), as well as networks between the Ottoman court and European diplomats in Constantinople (ambassadors resided in Pera as well). They were also at once foreign (Venetian or Latinate, and attached to the Venetian bailate) and local (residing in Constantinople and trained to understand the local language and customs), the very example of Rothman’s trans-imperial subjects. Sitting astride local and foreign and deeply embedded in Istanbul proved an advantage to these dragomans, endowing them with influence and not just as interpreters.

Of course, dragomans were foremost interpreters, whether translating correspondence and official documents or making presentations at court. They relieved ambassadors of the need to develop their own proficiency in Turkish, which was unlikely given the Venetian ambassador tended to technically serve two-year terms.¹⁹³ However, dragomans were also intermediaries and gatekeepers to the Ottoman world in two ways. First, they possessed an understanding of Ottoman diplomatic protocol, administration, and culture. They were not just language specialists but knowledge specialists. Rothman takes this further by positioning them as important producers of knowledge about the Ottomans which, when entangled with

¹⁹² Rothman, “Interpreting Dragomans,” 778.

¹⁹³ Dursteler indicates that the terms were technically two years but often extended to three: Dursteler, “The Bailo in Constantinople,” 17.

the philological knowledge-production practices of the Renaissance humanist project, constituted a pivotal contribution to orientalist epistemologies and methodologies (the ‘routes to orientalism’ of her book’s title).¹⁹⁴ We shall explore Savary de Brèves’ involvement in this Ottomanist knowledge production in Chapter 6. For the moment, however, given their role as gatekeepers to the Ottoman court (and their intimate association with foreign ambassadors) to consider dragomans simply as translators understates their power. Second, while ambassadorial terms for European diplomats were often short and periodic, dragomans spent much longer, if not their entire professional lives, within the Ottoman court and diplomacy. On Savary de Brèves’ arrival in Pera as a complete stranger to the Ottoman world, this community and world of dragomans was already well-established. Moreover, fifty years after the first French diplomatic presence in the city, it seems one of the dragoman families was already well attached to the French embassy — the Olivieri family.

Savary de Brèves and the Olivieri dragomans

At least in the sixteenth century, the French did not have a ‘dragomanate’ like the Venetians and not until 1669 was a school for *jeunes de langue* (clearly modelled on the Venetian practice) established, instigated by French Minister of State under Louis XIV, Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), in response to a request from Marseille’s mercantile community.¹⁹⁵ As with the Venetian dragomans, the later *jeunes de langue* provided not only an important cadre of diplomatic interpreters who were the French subjects, but also established important foundations for orientalist knowledge production in Paris.¹⁹⁶ In sixteenth-century France, there was neither the political support (such as provided by the

¹⁹⁴ Rothman, *Dragoman Renaissance*, 11–16.

¹⁹⁵ For the *jeunes de langue*: Frédéric Hitzel, “Les Jeunes de langue de Péra-lès-Constantinople,” *Dix-Huitième Siècle*, no. 28 (1996): 57–70. Rothman adds that from 1626, French apprentice dragomans were housed near the French embassy and while it originally intended to enrol eight to twelve students each year, these objectives were not met: Rothman, *Dragoman Renaissance*, 41.

¹⁹⁶ For a discussion of the influence of the *jeunes de langue* on oriental studies: Nicholas Dew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV’s France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 22–29.

Venetian Senate) nor the benefits of a longstanding ex-patriate community that supported the Venetian enterprise. Instead, French ambassadors relied on existing dragoman families and one in particular — the Olivieri.

The Olivieri were just one of a number of prominent dragoman families with origins in the Pera community, potentially of Genoese origin.¹⁹⁷ French ambassadors in Constantinople had used Olivieri dragomans from at least the 1560s, including Dominic Olivieri, who served the ambassadors for a period of 25 to 30 years. Such length of service, greater than any of the individual ambassadors, including Savary de Brèves, underscores their significant continuity in, and intimacy with, French affairs at the Porte than even the ambassadors themselves. Dominic Olivieri's length of service likely rendered him indispensable to ambassadors given not only his knowledge of the Ottoman court by virtue of being a dragoman, but also his knowledge of French diplomacy at the Porte.

Dominic Olivieri's name surfaces in several records from the period. He was the '*premier dragoman*' for the 1572 legation of François de Noailles to Selim II, receiving '300 *écus* ... 20 *écus* for ship fees, and two robes of scarlet cloth'.¹⁹⁸ In 1588, a few years after Savary de Brèves arrived in Constantinople, Olivieri was granted a salary of 300 *écus* by Henri III.¹⁹⁹ Importantly, the same document refers to payment of a salary of 200 *écus* to 'a tutor who taught Gabriel de Bourgogne to read and understand Turkish, so that he could fill the office of dragoman when capable of doing so'.²⁰⁰ This suggests a practice within the

¹⁹⁷ Vanessa R. de Obaldía, "A Legal and Historical Study of Latin Catholic Church Properties in Istanbul from the Ottoman Conquest of 1453 until 1750" (PhD diss., Aix-Marseille Université, 2018), 9.

¹⁹⁸ 'On lit dans la correspondance de cet ambassadeur [François de Noailles], qu'il avoit 30,000 livres d'appointemens ... Le premier drogman de la légation de France, Domenico Olivieri, avoit 300 écus de trente aspres l'un d'appointemens, 20 écus pour frais de bateaux, et deux robes de drap écarlate': *Mémoires de l'Institut royal de France, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Tome Dixième* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1833), 560.

¹⁹⁹ 'Au dragoman de Sa Majesté, maistre Domenico Olivieri, pour ses gages par an, 300 escus.' The same record includes payment to a dragoman of the sultan: 'Au dragoman du Grand-Seigneur, pour la pension que le Roi luy donne par an, 200 escus ; plus une robe de soye coustant 25 escus': M. L. Cimber and F. Danjou, *Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France depuis Louis XI jusqu'à Louis XVIII, Tome 40^e* (Paris: Beauvais, Membre de l'Institut Historique, 1836), 433.

²⁰⁰ 'Au dragoman du Grand-Seigneur, pour la pension que le Roi luy donne par an, 200 escus ; plus une robe de soye coustant 25 escus. ... Au précepteur qui apprend à Gabriel de Bourgogne à lire et entendre le turq, pour remplir l'office de dragoman quant il en sera capable': Cimber and Danjou, *Archives curieuses*, 433.

French embassy (and funded by Henri III) similar to the Venetian model, but on a much smaller, ad hoc scale. The concept, however, was there. Gabriel de Bourgogne, tutored in Turkish on sponsorship of the French king as training to become a dragoman, likely was an associate of Savary de Brèves, potentially of a similar age and attached to Lancosme's embassy. This provides evidence of training in Turkish for French subjects associated with the embassy, with a view to their becoming dragomans at the same time that Savary de Brèves was there, before his appointment as ambassador.

For now, we return to Dominic Olivieri. In addition to the above records, we also have several documents he translated from Turkish into Italian.²⁰¹ The documents are signed: 'tradotto per Domenico Olivieri, Dragoman di Sa Maiesta XPIamissima' ('translated by Domenico Olivieri, Dragoman of His Majesty'). The translated documents comprise: a capitulation concluded between Suleiman I and ambassador de la Forêt; a safe conduct granted by Selim II to ambassador Claude du Bourg; a capitulation signed between Suleiman and the Venetian Senate; and orders from Murad III in favour of French merchants. Olivieri's name also appears at the end of an order made by Murad and received by Henri: 'written at the end of this moon of *Saban*, the year 983 in the residence of Constantinople, which is of the year of Salvation 1575: translated from the Turkish language by Dominique Olivieri, the king's dragoman in the Levant'.²⁰²

Dominic Olivieri clearly served not only several French ambassadors but was 'the king's dragoman' and in his pay. We should consider someone who had served as dragoman for the French ambassadors for at least 25 years as *de facto* part of the embassy. It also made him not only an important translator but also a holder of information, possessing a high level

²⁰¹ Paris, BNF, MS Dupuy 745, ff. 215r–235r.

²⁰² '... escrit a la fin de cette Lune de *Saban*, l'an 983. en l'habitation de Constantinople, qui est de l'an de Salut mil cinq cents soixante-quinze : traduit de la Langue Turque, par Dominique Olivieri Dragoman, du Roy en Levant'. A French translation was printed in Pierre de l'Estoille, *Journal de Henri III Roy de France & de Pologne: ou memoires pour servir a l'histoire de France, Tome III* (La Haye: Pierre Gosse, 1744), 45.

of knowledge of sensitive French affairs with the Ottomans. Olivieri had been in service since 1566, which we know from a letter sent by Savary de Brèves to Henri IV on 3 December 1599. The letter not only offers some precision around Olivieri's service but also insights into a key weakness in relying on these dragomans — trust and loyalty.

The letter begins and ends with the concept of duty: 'While the nature and duty of a good subject obliges him to serve his king well and loyally, ... as is often the case, the expectation he has of recognition and reward makes him persevere with more affection; and often when he sees himself deprived of this, forgetting his duty, neglects affection and sometimes loyalty'.²⁰³ What happens, though, when the individual is not a subject? The letter continues, observing similar outcomes (and even more acute) can be expected 'from those who serve without any natural obligation'.²⁰⁴ The people referred to here are dragomans in service of the ambassador and king — they serve the king, but are not his subjects and thus have no natural duty to him. He continued:

I have addressed this topic [of duty] to say to your Majesty that this service [that is, the service of interpreters] at this Porte cannot be done by his subjects. For so many years, his ambassadors were forced to rely on the ability of other Christian interpreters who were born subjects of [the sultan] serving not for duty but only in the hope to be recompensed and to leave something to their posterity.²⁰⁵

This passage identifies two key problems. First, the service of interpreters, at least at that stage, could not be done by any of the king's subjects, forcing ambassadors instead to rely on the skills of 'other Christian interpreters' who were Ottoman subjects, a direct reference to dragomans from the *Magnifica comunità*. Second, being subjects of another lord, these interpreters served not for duty but for recompense and their loyalty was not a natural given.

²⁰³ 'Encore que la nature et le devoir d'un bon subiect l'oblige de bien et fidellement servir son roy, si est ce que souventesfois l'esperance qu'il a d'estre recogneu et recompensé le faict': Paris, BNF, MS Français 16144, f. 271.

²⁰⁴ '... a plus forte raison semblables resolutions se peuvent attendre de ceux qui servent sans aucune obligation de nature': MS Français 16144, f. 271.

²⁰⁵ 'Sire, j'ay pris ce subiect pour dire a vostre Majesté que son service a ceste porte ne se peut faire par ses subiects; Estans ses ambassadeurs forcez depuis tant d'annees de ce reffier au pouvoir d'aucuns interpretes Chrestiens nez Subiects de ce Seigneur lesquelz ne servent pour devoir, ains seulement pour en esperer recompence, et laisser quelque chose a leur posterité': MS Français 16144, f. 271.

The letter echoes sentiments similar to those of Venetian ambassador Renier to the Venetian Senate, prompting the *giovani di lingua*.

The immediate context for Savary de Brèves' remarks to Henri IV was that several of the dragomans used by French ambassadors were unpaid. Dominic Olivieri, who was 'the first interpreter of the predecessors of your Majesty' had not been paid the thousand *écus* by Lancosme's predecessor, Grandchamp. This, Savary de Brèves added, despite Olivieri not 'failing to persevere in his loyalty, which accompanied him to his tomb'.²⁰⁶ We learn that Dominic Olivieri's son had also been in service for the past fifteen years. '[Dominic Olivieri's] death did not bury his loyalty with him, nor his good services,' wrote Savary de Brèves, 'but had left them as inheritance to his son Olivier Olivieri [hereon Olivier], who carries this letter and has served your Majesty for fifteen years in the same quality as his late father'.²⁰⁷ The ambassador was full of praise for Olivier:

He has greatly relieved me for seven years that I am honoured to be his ambassador, helping to make the commandments that your Majesty often makes to me whether in Constantinople or in several ports where I have sent him to redress the wrongs that have been done to your merchants.²⁰⁸

Olivier, he added, was instrumental in recovering 30,000 *écus* in Aleppo and negotiating the abolition of the *Cassepelic*, a tax imposed on French merchants. Here, we see an interpreter performing a quasi-diplomatic role. Savary de Brèves went so far as to recommend Olivier's appointment as consul of Constantinople (an office effectively based in modern day Çanakkale, an important customs point for merchant shipping in the Dardanelles). Savary de Brèves also mentioned Dominic Forteny (Domenico Fornetti), 'who had proved for twenty years that he served [the king's] ambassadors in this Porte ... and his Consuls in the *eschelles*

²⁰⁶ 'Il n'a pas laissé deperservir en sa fidelité qui l'accompagné jusques au tombeau': MS Français 16144, f. 271.

²⁰⁷ 'La mort dudit Dominic Olivieri n'aurait ensevely sa fidelité avec luy ny ses bons services, mais les a laissé pour heritage à son filz nommé Ollivier Olivieri porteur de ceste, lequel est au service de Vostre Majesté depuis quinze ans en mesme qualité que feu son père': MS Français 16144, ff. 271r–271v.

²⁰⁸ 'Il m'a beaucoup soulagé depuis sept annees que je suis honoré du nom de son ambassadeur pour aider a faire reusir les commandements qui me sont souvent este faicts de Vostre Majesté tant a ceste porte que en plusieurs eschelles ou je l'ay envoyé pour faire reparer les torts qui estoient faicts a ses subjects tranficans': MS Français 16144, f. 271v.

of Syria, and yet is old and barely mobile'.²⁰⁹ The ambassador asked the king to take pity on Fornetti and provide him a means to nourish his poor children in his last days. It was a fortuitous investment, if made, since the Fornetti family supplied the French embassy with interpreters into the nineteenth century.²¹⁰

The correspondence provides several insights into Savary de Brèves' initial experience and challenges in Istanbul concerning language. First, at this stage, no French subject was capable of acting as the king's interpreter in Turkish at the Ottoman court, with ambassadors compelled to rely on dragomans, specifically those from Pera's Latinate community. Second, someone like Domenic Olivieri, dragoman to the French for over twenty years and across several ambassadors, was almost a fixture to the embassy, privy to French affairs at the Porte. Some even performed quasi-diplomatic services on behalf of the king, such as Olivier. Third, despite their diplomatic role, these interpreters were not the king's subjects but the sultan's — their 'natural duty' was to the Ottomans (and, we might add, to their own dragoman community). Absent such duty, loyalty was not a given and had to be bought. Finally, these dragomans were instrumental to a diplomat's success at the Ottoman court not only as a linguistic bridge but in navigating Ottoman administration.

Loyalty did not appear to be an immediate issue with Domenic and Olivier Olivieri, but it was clearly a broader concern for Savary de Brèves. The question of loyalty was indeed a problem and was conditional on payment. The very trans-imperial nature of dragomans, being both foreign and local, as well as part of a complex Pera-based kinship network, meant they had multiple potential professional and personal loyalties. As Ottoman subjects, they

²⁰⁹ 'Je ne loueray tant sa fidelité que je ne parle encores de celle de Dominic Fornety son premier interprete delaquelle il a donné preuve depuis vingt annees qu'il sert ses ambassadeurs a ceste porte sans ce qu'il a servy ses Consulz aux eschelles de Surie, et pour autant qu'il est vieux et mal portatif': MS Français 16144, f. 271v.

²¹⁰ Following Dominic Fornetti, there are: Thomas Fornetti (cited in 1625); Jean-Baptiste Fornetti (serving in 1653–94); François Fornetti (serving 1720–33); another Dominique Fornetti (serving 1717–1724); Charles Fornetti (1760); Pierre Luc Fornetti (1768–90); and François Louis Fornetti (1790 and then 1816–21): Frédéric Hitzel, *Istanbul et les langues orientales: actes du colloque organise par l'IFÉA et l'INALCO à l'occasion du bicentenaire de l'École des Langues Orientales, Istanbul 29-31 mai 1995* (Paris: Éditions Harmattan, 1997), 533–38.

risked being more deferential at the Ottoman court, as noted by Venetian bailo Antonio Tiepolo in his *relazione* in 1576: ‘the dragoman, while Christian, because he is nonetheless a Turkish subject, is fearful by his nature, and even more so for having neither the talent nor the experience to negotiate’.²¹¹ This is echoed by bailo Paolo Contarini in 1583: ‘the service of one’s own [subjects] is more advantageous and has more public dignity than that of Turkish [that is, Ottoman] subjects, because the [former], who are not preoccupied with showing respect, speak with daring, whereas the Turks are afraid to do so’.²¹² Much later, in the seventeenth century, secretary at the English embassy, Paul Rycaut, observed: ‘The reason of which Tyranny and presumption in these prime Officers over the Interpreters, is because they are most commonly born subjects of the Grand Signor’.²¹³ Perhaps more problematic was that they also provided services to several foreign ambassadors. The Olivieri, for example, were interpreters for both French and Venetian ambassadors, all the more problematic given their intimate connection with the diplomatic affairs of the embassies they serviced.

Dragomans, mercenaries and questionable loyalties

What was the concern with loyalty? The act of interpreting is no simple matter of translation from one language to another. Recent scholarship in translation studies, influenced by the cultural turn, has considered the relationship between ideology/power and interpreting, whether ideology in terms of a value system deployed by a political power or in terms of a particular worldview that reflects personal or community attachments.²¹⁴ According to this view, the act of interpreting is a much more active one in which ideology of political

²¹¹ Quoted in Rothman, “Interpreting Dragomans”, 784.

²¹² Quoted in Rothman, *Dragoman Renaissance*, 24.

²¹³ Quoted in Rothman, *Dragoman Renaissance*, 24.

²¹⁴ See, for example, Michael Cronin, “The empire talks back: Orality, heteronomy and the cultural turn in interpreting studies,” in *The Interpreting Studies Reader*, edited by Franz Pöchhacker and Miriam Shlesinger (London: Routledge, 2002), 386–97.

association can come into play. The concept is best captured by the old Italian adage *traduttore traditore* ('the translator is a betrayer'), a play on words in which the act of mistranslation is revealed in the subtle change of a vowel sound from *traduttore* to *traditore*.²¹⁵ In her study of translation and use of indigenous interpreters by Europeans in the New World, Anna Brickhouse examines how, contrary to the success of translation reported in Spanish and English accounts at the time, 'motivated mistranslation' by indigenous interpreters in colonial diplomatic contexts was consciously deployed to resist settlement.²¹⁶

In the early modern Ottoman context, a recent study by Ingrid Cáceres Würsig on loyalty in the history of interpreting, observes that 'loyalty' and 'loyal' are 'recurring words in the interpreters' personal files, ambassadors' reports and clerks' correspondence material which have been examined in the process of developing the history of interpreting'.²¹⁷ Her historical survey examines several medieval and early modern histories of interpreting, including in Constantinople, which she considers 'the place where the loyalty of interpreters towards the represented Crown became a matter of great importance ... without doubt'.²¹⁸ Although we have to be careful to avoid unconsciously reproducing orientalist tropes of Ottoman corruption and deception that have their roots in this very period, as Rothman observes, these concerns about loyalty and trustworthiness were the flipside of exactly what made these dragomans so useful — their intimate connection with the Ottoman court.²¹⁹

The experiences revealed both in Savary de Brèves' correspondence and the Venetian reports mirror similar challenges in another theatre of foreign relations at the time — war and the use of mercenaries. The use of large-scale contracted, private foreign mercenary armies

²¹⁵ See Arthur C. Danto, "Translation and betrayal," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 32 (1997): 61.

²¹⁶ Anna Brickhouse, *The Unsettling of America: Translation, Interpretation, and the Story of Don Luis de Velasco, 1560–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 28–29.

²¹⁷ Ingrid Cáceres Würsig, "Interpreters in History: A Reflection on the Question of Loyalty," in *Ideology, Ethics and Policy Development in Public Service Interpreting and Translation*, edited by Carmen Valero-Garcés and Rebecca Tipton (London: Multilingual Matters, 2017), 5.

²¹⁸ Cáceres Würsig, "Interpreters in History," 12.

²¹⁹ Rothman, *Dragoman Renaissance*, 79.

flourished from the fourteenth century, with sovereigns heavily relying on these forces in the absence of permanent local militias or armies, especially as the scale of war expanded from the Italian wars of the sixteenth century.²²⁰ Among the most well-known were the German *landsknechte* and Swiss infantry. In the Mediterranean, sovereigns also hired private galley squadrons such as the Genoese admiral and *condottiero* Andrea Doria (1466–1560). While contracted mercenaries offered a ‘ready-to-go’, highly skilled army (and the arms and galleys needed to gain military advantage) they presented two key challenges that sharpened during the Habsburg-Valois conflicts of the sixteenth century. First, they were expensive, requiring huge loans and threatening financial collapse, as was certainly the case for Henri II and Phillip II in the 1550s.²²¹ Second, as armies for hire and not subjects of the sovereign, loyalty was also an issue. As with the dragomans in Savary de Brèves’ correspondence, mercenaries ‘entered into military activity for profit rather than honour or duty’, a quality David Parrott argues has led historians to (mistakenly) consider mercenary hires as incompatible with the growth of state power.²²² In 1528, a few years before Francis I called on naval support from the Ottoman fleet, Doria transferred his contract to supply his private squadron of galleys from France to the Habsburgs, forcing the French to engage the services of the quasi-mercenary corsairs led by Khayreddin Barbarossa and under Ottoman authority.²²³ These challenges provoked an active conversation, albeit not for the first time given Machiavelli’s own concerns about the use of mercenaries, particularly, as Parrott observes, in France during the 1580s and 1590s, when French civil wars had reduced the French crown’s military and

²²⁰ Janice E. Thomson, *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns: State-Building and Extraterritorial Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 27.

²²¹ Parrott notes that substantial defaults on interest payments generated an undeclared crown bankruptcy in 1558–59 that prompted a peace settlement in 1559, while the cost of war for the Habsburgs was so high it threatened a similar bankruptcy in 1557: David Parrott, *The Business of War: Military Enterprise and Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 71–72.

²²² Parrott, *The Business of War*, 7–8. For the benefits of the Spanish infantry over contracted mercenaries during the sixteenth-century Italian Wars: Idan Sherer, “‘When War Comes They Want to Flee’: Motivation and Combat Effectiveness in the Spanish Infantry During the Italian Wars,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* XLVII, no. 2 (2017): 385–411.

²²³ Parrott, *The Business of War*, 81–82. Phillips and Sharman make a similar observation about the use of privateers (most famously Sir Frances Drake) by the English and Dutch: Andrew Phillips and J. C. Sharman, *Outsourcing Empire: How Company-States Made the Modern World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), 31–32.

political authority to a shadow.²²⁴ As part of this conversation, one solution was to create local militias comprising soldiers conscripted from the king's subjects, and the late sixteenth century saw renewed momentum for such a project. These projects to create local militias were ultimately unsuccessful, and private mercenaries continued to be a feature of military practice for some time, but the conversation highlights how foreign policy in early modern France, including the Mediterranean, had rendered these challenges and need for solutions more acute.

Diplomacy was another theatre of this conflict and, to use the words of Demosthenes via Hotman, an enterprise for which words and language are the arms and galleys. It is curious that at the same time the French crown was struggling with the financial and loyalty challenges presented by mercenaries on the battlefields and seas of its conflict with the Habsburgs, the French ambassador expressed similar concerns to the crown presented by dragomans, a kind of 'linguistic mercenary', when negotiating in the *divan* and corridors of the Ottoman court in what was another theatre of the French conflict with the Habsburgs. Here, too, it was a challenge exacerbated by the demands of a geopolitics that was drawing the French and Ottomans into a closer Mediterranean orbit. Moreover, just as the French crown experimented with the concept of locally sourced militias, Savary de Brèves found a solution that brought subjecthood into the equation. French subjects may be unable to do the task of dragomans immediately, but they could be trained in time. We have already seen one such attempt with Georges de Bourgogne tutored in Turkish in 1588, subsidised by the king. Savary de Brèves himself also provided a perfect model.

A French subject learning Turkish

²²⁴ Parrott, *The Business of War*, 95–96.

Savary de Brèves was not the first member of a French embassy to learn the language of the Ottoman court. ‘As I plan to travel,’ wrote Jesuit and grammarian Dominique Bouhours (1626–1702), ‘if I had something to ask of God for the convenience of life, I believe I would ask for the gift of languages, or at least a little of the genius of Postel so renown in the last century for his knowledge of languages, and who one day boasted before Charles IX of his ability to go around the world without a dragoman.’²²⁵ While in Istanbul as part of d’Aramon’s embassy, Guillaume Postel had found ‘a man certainly not of great culture but one of a remarkable probity, who had such love for me or for Christians that he had wanted, however poor he was, to teach me [Turkish] freely’.²²⁶ Also attached to the d’Aramon embassy, Pierre Belon undertook to learn the Turkish language, although only to the extent necessary for his interests as a naturalist. Unlike Savary de Brèves, however, their interests in Turkish were driven by essentially philological or other scholarly interests, and while Postel’s interest in Arabic was enduring, his interest in Turkish was short-lived.

It is uncertain when Savary de Brèves started learning Turkish, with little to no sources to assist us. We can, however, speculate based on what we know. First, we know he achieved proficiency by at least 1600, when the chronicler Selânikî died. He was also in the unique position of having spent more time in Constantinople than any of his predecessors and, we might assume, other European ambassadors at the time; even the Venetian bailo served short-term appointments. Second, six to seven of those years (1585–1592) predated the demands of being an ambassador. Again, none of his predecessors had the benefit of such a sojourn in Constantinople before being appointed ambassador, and it was rare for other European

²²⁵ ‘Comme je suis dans le dessein de voyager, si j’avois quelque chose à demander à Dieu pour la commodité de la vie, je croy que je luy demanderois le don des langues, ou du moins un peu du génie de ce Postel si renommé au siècle passé par la connaissance des langues, et qui se vanta un jour en présence de Charles IX de pouvoir aller sans truchement jusqu’au bout du monde’: Dominique Bouhours, *Les entretiens d’Ariste et d’Eugène* (Paris: Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1671), 36–37.

²²⁶ ‘... qui avait un tel amour pour moi ou pour les Chrétiens, qu’il aurait bien voulu, quoique pauvre, m’enseigner gratuitement’: in Frédéric Hitzel, “L’école des jeunes de langues d’Istanbul: un modèle d’apprentissage des langues orientales,” in *Langues et Langages du Commerce en Méditerranée et en Europe à l’Époque Moderne*, edited by Gilbert Buti, Michèle Janin-Thivos and Olivier Raveux (Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 2013), 23.

ambassadors at the time more generally. It is difficult, although not entirely impossible, to imagine an ambassador having the luxury of time to dedicate to language-learning alongside diplomatic duties. It was easier for an ambassador simply to rely on the existing pool of dragomans. No Venetian bailo since 1544 took the trouble to learn Turkish, with the first to do so being Giovanni Battista Donà in 1680.²²⁷ Savary de Brèves' first six to seven years in Constantinople afforded a perfect opportunity for a man in his twenties to learn the language of the Ottoman court. It was also the perfect environment, not simply in the Ottoman capital, but residing in Pera, among the very dragoman community within which the Venetian *giovani di lingua* were trained and operated. We have also seen evidence earlier of how a tutor received a salary from Henri III for teaching Turkish to Georges de Bourgogne, likely in the same company as Savary de Brèves.

How might he have achieved this? While opportunities to study Arabic were available in Paris at the time (a chair in Arabic at the Collège royale existed since Postel's first placement, the same position that facilitated Thomas Erpenius' study of the language), for Turkish there were no comparable opportunities, few lexicographic tools (dictionaries and grammars) and limited interest for its study.²²⁸ Perhaps he had the assistance of a tutor or one of the Olivieri dragomans attached to the French embassy. Pera's dragoman community provided ample opportunities, though we cannot be certain. However, one source in the Persian collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (MS Persan 208) offers us the kind of tool that would have formed part of his language training: an 86-folio manuscript dictionary comprising lists of vocabulary in Italian, Turkish, Persian, and French. Moreover, according to the library's provenance records, at least one of the hands in this multi-lingual

²²⁷ Rothman, *Dragoman Renaissance*, 141.

²²⁸ The Turkish language was not introduced into the Collège Royale until 1775, when the second chair of Arabic was transformed into a chair of Turkish and Persian: Despina Magkanari, "Sinological Origins of Turcology in 18th-century Europe," *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 24 (2017): 10.

work was Savary de Brèves'. A vocabulary list such as this was by no means innovative but one of the chief tools for language-learning in early modern Europe.

Dictionaries and language-learning in early modern Europe

The production of dictionaries or wordlists for language learning in Europe, particularly learning languages of the non-Christian world, predates the early modern period. In the Middle Ages, merchants in the Mediterranean and those travelling to the Black Sea and beyond through Central Asia needed some ability to communicate in non-European languages. That most renowned merchant and traveller of the Middle Ages, Marco Polo, had 'learnt so well the customs, languages, and manners of writing of the Tatars, that it was truly a wonder, for ... not long after he had reached the khan's court, he knew four languages, and their alphabets, and manner of writing'.²²⁹ In clerical circles, initially in cross-cultural contact zones such as Iberia and southern Italy (and then in scholarly centres such as the university of Paris), Arabic was studied for translating Arabic texts into Latin.²³⁰ A third important context for learning foreign languages in medieval Europe was missionary work, particularly among the Franciscan missions to Central Asia from the thirteenth century.²³¹ The portable fourteenth-century *Codex Cumanicus* (Fig. 8), considered by historian of lexicography John Considine as 'the most fascinating and exotic of all the wordlists made by people from medieval Latin Christendom', comprises two lexicographic texts that reflect both the mercantile and missionary contexts for language learning.²³² The first part, developed by Genoese merchants, is a Latin–Persian–Cuman dictionary (Cuman is Kipchak Turkic; Persian

²²⁹ L. F. Benedetto, ed., *Travels of Marco Polo* (London: Routledge, 2005), 12–13.

²³⁰ For this history: Charles Burnett, *Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages: The Translators and their Intellectual and Social Context* (London: Routledge, 2009).

²³¹ See: Julia McClure, "The Franciscans Order: Global history from the margins," *Renaissance Studies* 33, no. 2 (April 2019): 222–38.

²³² John Considine, *Small Dictionaries and Curiosity: Lexicography and Fieldwork in Post-Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 11. For the manuscript: Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. Z.549/597.

appears here because it was an important Central Asian *lingua franca*), while the second is a set of Cuman–German and Cuman–Latin wordlists for missionary use.²³³ However, as

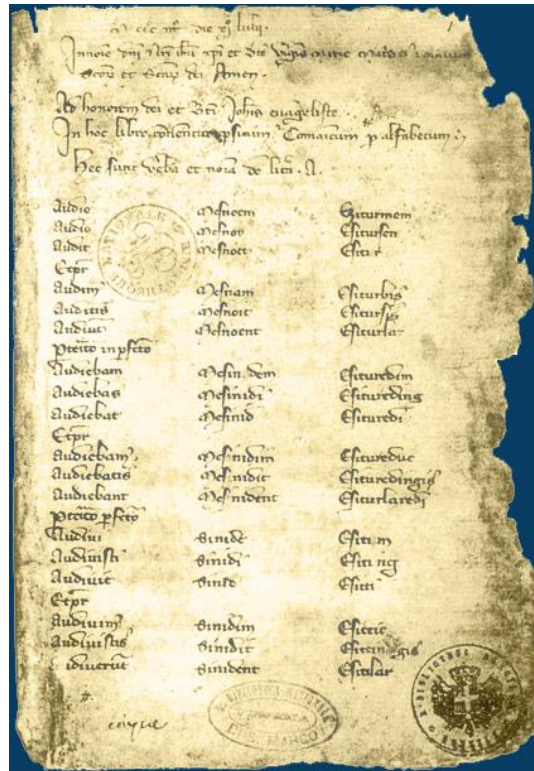


Figure 8: Page from the *Codex Cumanicus* (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana).

Considine notes, within medieval Christendom, where Latin was a *lingua franca* for cross-cultural communication and scholarship, interest in non-Christian languages (and even Christian vernaculars) was circumscribed to particular activities such as translating texts, trade, or evangelising.²³⁴

From the fifteenth-century, and coinciding with European’s broadening global horizons from Ming China to the Americas, language in Europe increasingly occupied a central place in the way people understood their world, an era historian Peter Burke considers ‘the discovery of language in early modern Europe’.²³⁵ This interest in language was also

²³³ Considine, *Small Dictionaries*, 12–13.

²³⁴ Considine, *Small Dictionaries*, 13.

²³⁵ Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 16–17. Italians Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) and Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), pivotal figures in early Jesuit missions to China, both learned Chinese, with the former producing the first Portuguese–Chinese dictionary. Yu Lui, “The True Pioneer of the Jesuit China Mission: Michele Ruggieri,” *History of Religions* 50, no. 4 (2011): 362–83. For early Castilian dictionaries of

reflected in the extensive study of classical and scriptural languages at the heart of the humanist project and biblical scholarship, as well as the growing prominence of European vernaculars in political and cultural life, each of which are vast fields of historical study today. Suffice to say, language diversity became more pronounced and with it, too, the interest in language-learning. This extended to the diplomatic sphere with the assumed universality of Latin prioritised by Gentili and Maggi as essential to an ambassador's linguistic capabilities, which did not square with the actual experience of ambassadors like Savary de Brèves in Constantinople, who instead had to rely on an institution explicitly designed to meet the demands of a multilingual reality — the dragomans. While humanists like Gentili, and even the Demosthenes-quoting Hotman, looked to antiquity for models of language-learning for diplomacy, the Venetians, faced with a more practical challenge in Constantinople, looked to Ottoman models. Savary de Brèves, too, faced with practical demands similar to his Venetian counterparts did the same.

These trends generated a significant need and market for the tools of language-learning, with lexicographic works playing a greater, more expansive role than ever. Lexicographic genres such as dictionaries, grammars and word lists went hand-in-hand with trends discussed above. The interest in classical Latin and Greek for philological/translation purposes necessitated the production of authoritative dictionaries and grammars that scholars across Europe could rely on. Considine, for example, cites the Greek dictionary of Giovanni Crastone (1476) and Latin dictionary of Ambrogio Calepino (1502) as crucial 'contributions to the humanistic recovery of the classical lexical heritage'.²³⁶ As the vernaculars rose in prestige, so too we see the emergence of lexicographic works such as Henri Estienne's

languages such as Nahuatl, Otomi and Quechua: Byron Ellsworth Hamann, *The Translations of Nebrija: Language, Culture, and Circulation in the Early Modern World* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2015), 43–84.

²³⁶ Calpino's Latin dictionary was the best-selling Latin dictionary of the sixteenth century and 211 editions were printed between 1502 and 1779 (with a 1559 edition also including a Japanese word list). John Considine, *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe: Lexicography and the Making of Heritage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 27–29.

Traicté de la grammaire françoise (1557), *Die Teütsch Spraach* (1561), and the Tuscan *Vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca* (1612).

These developments extended to Europeans who needed to work with non-European languages, including the three key languages of the Ottoman court: Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. While Arabic was of interest from a scholarly perspective at the time, considered in Chapter 6, Persian and Turkish were mostly relevant to more practical, pragmatic needs such as travel, trade, missionary work, and diplomacy. Europe's broadening horizons through travel, as mentioned earlier, is an important part of this 'discovery of language'. Word lists became incorporated into traveller accounts from the fifteenth century. The travel account of Arnold von Harff (1471–1505) includes wordlists for Albanian, Arabic, Armenian, Basque, Breton, Greek, Ethiopic, Hebrew, Hungarian, Croatian, Syriac, Turkish.²³⁷ Similarly, the *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (1486) of Bernhard von Breydenbach includes what is considered the first printed Arabic alphabet.²³⁸ A sixteenth-century travel account by French traveller to Constantinople Jean Carlier de Pinon included 'Quelques mots et façons de parler en langue turcque' (Figure 9).²³⁹ However, wordlists prepared by travellers such as von Harff

²³⁷ Malcolm Letts (ed.), *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff, Knight from Cologne through Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Ethiopia, Nubia, Palestine, Turkey, France and Spain, which he Accomplished in the years 1496-1499* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2010). For wordlists in von Harff: Albrecht Classen, "Multilingualism in Medieval Europe: Pilgrimage, Travel, Diplomacy, and Linguistic Challenges. The Case of Felix Fabri and His Contemporaries," in Albrecht Classen (ed.) *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Communication and Miscommunication in the Premodern World* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 279-311; Albrecht Classen, "Traveller, Linguist, Pilgrim, Observer, and Scientist: Arnold von Harff Explores the Near East and Finds Himself Among Fascinating Foreigners," in *Ain güt geboren edel man: A Festschrift for Winder McConnell on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, edited by Gary C. Schockey et al. (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2011), 195–248.

²³⁸ For a discussion of Breydenbach's account: Mary Boyle, *Writing the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages* (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2021), 67–108.

²³⁹ Paris, BNF, MS Français 6092, f. 43v. A print edition is available: E. Blochet, "Relation du voyage en Orient de Carlier de Pinon," *Revue de l'Orient latin* 12 (1909–1911): 327–421.

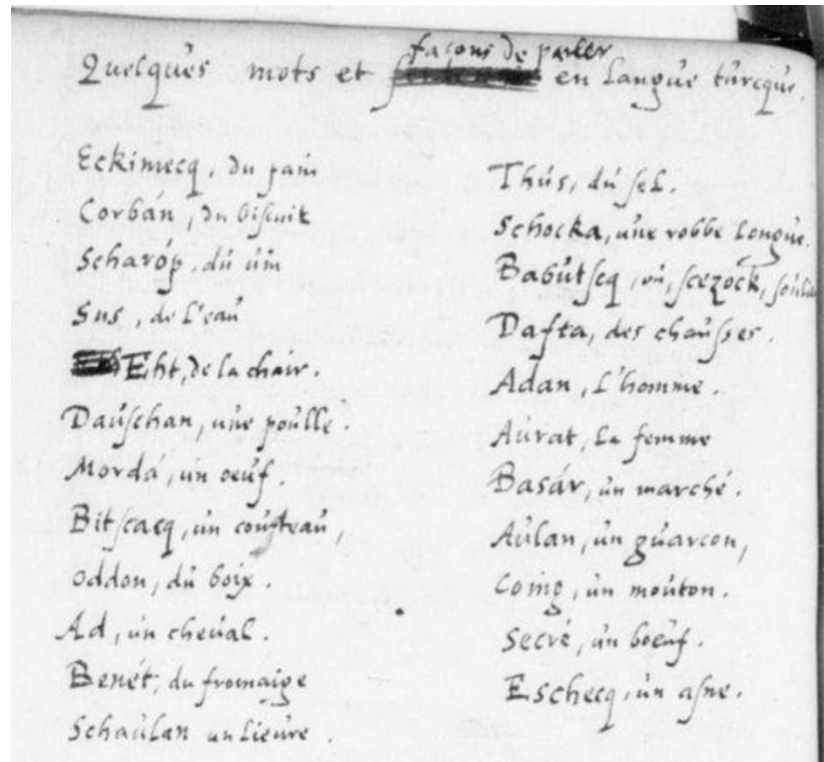


Figure 9: Extract from Carlier de Pinon's account listing Turkish words with French translations (Paris, BNF, MS Français 6092, f. 43v).

were part of constructing a broader ethnographic picture complementing their travel accounts, rather than lexicographic works *per se*.

While much is written on the multi-lingual context of the Mediterranean and Ottoman–European relations, there remains limited work on *how* merchants, diplomats and other agents in the Mediterranean actually learned languages such as Turkish. Eric Dursteler has made some in-roads, noting the particular proficiency of French and English diplomats, as has Jocelyne Dakhlia, who writes on the Mediterranean's *lingua franca*.²⁴⁰ Dursteler notes the particular proficiency of French ambassadors, who generally spent several years as ambassadors in Constantinople, longer than their Venetian counterparts.²⁴¹ For Dusteler, the linguistic skills of Savary de Brèves were 'legendary'.²⁴² André Thevet, who accompanied

²⁴⁰ Eric R. Dursteler, "Speaking in Tongues: Language and Communication in the Early Modern Mediterranean," *Past & Present* 217, no. 1 (November 2012): 47–77; Jocelyne Dakhlia, *Lingua franca. Histoire d'une langue metisse en Méditerranée* (Arles: Actes Sud, 2008); Jocelyne Dakhlia, "The Lingua Franca from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Mediterranean 'Outside the Walls'?" in *New Horizons: Mediterranean Research in the 21st Century*, edited by Mihran Dabag, Nikolas Jaspert, Achim Lichtenberger and Dieter Haller (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 91–107.

²⁴¹ Dursteler, "Speaking in Tongues," 61.

²⁴² Dursteler, "Speaking in Tongues," 62.

d’Aramon in Constantinople, wrote that the ambassador ‘made a singular effort to learn and know how to speak the common languages of the land, Turkish, Arabic, and vulgar Greek’.²⁴³ Postel published two lexicographic works on Arabic: first, a work on twelve alphabets including Arabic, the *Linguarum duodecim characteribus differentium alphabetum* (1538); and, second, his *Grammatica Arabica* (1543).²⁴⁴ When we consider both texts were written in Latin, and Postel’s own later scholarly role as an Arabist at the Collège Royale, we ought to consider these texts as belonging to a scholarly practice rather than tools someone like a diplomat might employ.

Another traveller among d’Aramon’s entourage offers insight into how travellers, merchants, and diplomats might have learnt Turkish. While the travel account of naturalist Pierre Belon focuses very much on flora and fauna, it reveals a concern with correct attribution between words and animals or plants he observed in the Levant. As apothecary to his patron, Cardinal François de Tournon, he also procured apothecary goods in Turkish markets.²⁴⁵ His lack of Arabic language skills on arrival in Constantinople necessitated a solution, and he describes it thus:

... after finding a Turkish man of education who knew Arabic, I agreed with him on a price for giving me a table of all the goods, drugs and other matters sold in shops in Turkey ... And to speak briefly of it, it was one of the things that taught me most and helped me to learn what I wanted to know. For when the table was finished the Turk read out the words to me one after the other, and as he read I wrote down in my [Latin] script the word which he had written in his vulgar tongue as he had written it in Arabic. Then I asked him to show me the thing that he had named, so that, having seen it, I could write down in my own language, below the word he had written, the thing that I had seen, desiring by this means to be able

²⁴³ ‘Monsieur d’Aramont, bien aymé du grand Turc, & des gens de vertu ... ha pris une peine singuliere d’apprendre, & savoir parler les langues communes du païs, tant Turquesque, Arabesque, que le Grecque vulgaire’: André Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant* (Lyon: Jan de Tournes et Guillaume Gazeav, 1556), 76–77.

²⁴⁴ Postel was able to print the Arabic (and other characters) from wooden blocks he had created. Guillaume Postel, *Linguarum duodecim characteribus differentium alphabetum* (Paris: Dionysium Lesenier, 1538). François Secret, “Guillaume Postel et les études arabes à la Renaissance,” *Arabica* 9, no. 1 (January 1962): 23.

²⁴⁵ Florike Egmond, “Into the Wild: Botanical Fieldwork in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Naturalists in the Field: Collecting, Recording and Preserving the Natural World from the Fifteenth to the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Arthur MacGregor (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 186.

to ask for it elsewhere when I wanted it; and wherever I went in Turkey I made great use of it among the Turks. ... [W]hen I wanted to get something in a druggist's shop (for there are no apothecaries), if I could not ask for it in their language I showed its name in writing, so that the merchant selling it could understand better what I wanted. This was a most useful means of getting them to show me the simples which are no longer sold in the way of trade and which our merchants who trade in Turkey have not been accustomed to send us.²⁴⁶

This passage from Belon describes how he produced a word list for use throughout the rest of his journey in the Levant. It demonstrates that *in situ* language-learning was a collaborative act that required working with local native speakers and that these word lists were laid out in table format, perhaps similar to the columns in MS Persan 208. However, Belon's language needs were extremely pragmatic and focused; unlike Savary de Brèves, he was not interested in developing proficiency. Further, Belon was chiefly interested in Arabic. Still, this small example from Belon, demonstrates the techniques one might employ.

MS Persan 208: Savary de Brèves' Persian–Turkish dictionary?

The manuscript itself bears no overt marking to indicate its ownership by Savary de Brèves. Affixed to a page in the manuscript is a note written by François Pétis de la Croix (1653–1713), a French orientalist, court translator and one of the *jeunes de langue* established under Colbert: '3667 Ce manuscrit est un vocabulaire en persien et en turc qui est repliqué par le françois'. A further note states: 'book in 8^o [octavo] containing a collection of Persian verbs and nouns explained in Italian and French, the first two languages are written in their characters'.²⁴⁷ This note is signed 'Armain', referring to Pierre Armain, another of the *jeunes*

²⁴⁶ Pierre Belon, *Travels in the Levant : The Observations of Pierre Belon of Le Mans on Many Singularities and Memorable Things found in Greece, Turkey, Judaea, Egypt, Arabia and Other Foreign Countries (1553)*, translated by James Hogarth (Kilkerran: Hardinge Simpole, 2012), 57.

²⁴⁷ 'livre 8^o qui contient un recueil de verbes et mots persans, expliqués en italien et en françois les deux premiers langues sont écrites en leurs caractères. Armain': MS Persan 208, not numbered.

de langue.²⁴⁸ Armain served as dragoman in Cairo, then, in 1734, he was engaged as interpreter for the king's library, under which he organised the library's Persian collection of which project this note was no doubt a product. After a stay in Istanbul in 1747, he returned to Paris in 1752 to teach oriental languages at the Collège Louis-le-Grand, a later incarnation of Colbert's *École des Jeunes de Langue*.²⁴⁹

As mentioned, the manuscript comprises 86 folios, in oblong format (140mm x 225mm) and opens left to right (corresponding with the format for Turkish and Persian texts). Three red lines divide each page into four columns, with each column dedicated to a language in the following order (right to left): French, Persian, Turkish and Italian. For the most part, however, there are very few entries for the Italian translations beyond fol. 2r, indicating that this work was used by a French speaker. It also appears that the Turkish and Persian are written, if not with the same hand, then certainly with the same ink and quality. French translations are not always written in the same column and sometimes written alongside the Turkish or Persian words, within those columns. Elsewhere, an original French translation is struck out and a correction written. These features all suggest that the dictionary's production was produced in several stages, and perhaps across broad periods of time involving several hands. We can speculate that the first entries in the columns were the Turkish and Persian, since they are of high quality, with the French and (few) Italian translations added as a next stage almost as annotations to the Turkish and Persian originals, but with the distinct intention that this book should serve not as a complete dictionary but as ongoing workbook, a mobile tool to be used and added to progressively. In this sense, it serves two purposes. First, it was a kind of workbook with its user adding translations over

²⁴⁸ He was also teacher at the 'Chambre des enfants de langues': Dew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France*, 23 (fn. 57). Rothman notes that Armain, a graduate of the *jeunes de langue* program, produced the first catalogue of Ottoman and Persian manuscripts in the Royal Library and later became instructor in oriental languages at the Collège Louis-Le-Grand: Rothman, *Dragoman Renaissance*, 246.

²⁴⁹ Paris, Archives provinciales des Capucins, Fonds Constantinople, I n° 3 and K n° 17.

time as part of their language-learning process. Second, as a dictionary for ongoing consultation.

In terms of the words themselves, they are not organised in any specific order, such as alphabetised. They are mostly verbs and sometimes clustered around a common theme. For example, the first page relates to general activity (*s'en aller, s'asseoir, demourer debout, apporter, manger* and so on) or, on fol. 2, verbs relating to senses (*lécher, mascher, gouter, digerer, sentir, and veoir*). From fol. 12, we start to see phrases such as '*ne pas antandre*' (*entendre*), '*ne pas savoir*' and '*il ha antandu*' (*il a entendu*). The vocabulary and its organisation does not seem to reflect a particular lexicon such as words specifically relevant to diplomatic activities and instead reflect the interests of someone attempting to learn these languages for broader, more general use.

MS Persan 208 demands a more extensive examination than this present study can offer. Our presents interests are to gain insight into the techniques Savary de Brèves adopted for learning Turkish, and what they say about his embeddedness in Ottoman culture, the potential contribution of the dragomanate and broader reflections a text like this offers for understanding his Mediterranean world. As mentioned in Chapter 1, similar texts were also produced by later French travellers to the Ottoman Empire and orientalists, such as Gilbert Gaulmin and Antoine Galland.²⁵⁰ A complete study of these texts and similar tools for early modern Europeans to learn Turkish and Persian, drawing on specialists in these languages, is greatly needed. As John Gallagher recently observed in his work on language-learning in early modern England, while there is vast scholarship on language study in early modern Europe, there remains much to be done on language-learning as a set of practices and particularly seen as 'an endeavour that was oral, aural, and sociable'.²⁵¹ What makes this text

²⁵⁰ Gaulmin's dictionary: Paris, BNF, MS Supplément turc 803 ; Galland's: Paris, BNF, MS Supplément turc 263.

²⁵¹ John Gallagher, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 5.

belonging to Savary de Brèves, alongside those of Gaulmin and Galland, such an important point of departure from Gallagher's valuable in-roads is that they belong to a wholly different world of pedagogy and sociability to the England of his study.

Without the formal training of the Venetian dragoman program or the later *jeunes de langue*, under which the curators of MS Persan 208 (Pétis de la Croix and Armain) benefited, Savary de Brèves had to rely on resources at hand. From our brief analysis of this source, we can make several observations. First, as a multi-lingual work, the volume itself is the product of many hands, drawing on available expertise in Turkish and Persian. In a study of eighty-four Ottoman metalinguistic texts in Latin and Romance languages up to 1730, Rothman observes that almost half (39) were produced by dragomans, while the rest were produced by scholars (16), missionaries (14), lay sojourners (10) and others unable to be identified (5).²⁵² Of that first set of thirty-nine, twenty-five were manuscripts like this. It is quite likely, then, that Savary de Brèves benefited from the assistance of dragomans associated with the embassy, perhaps even an Olivieri. Second, while we might expect a diplomat's language aid to foremost assist him with diplomacy's lexicon, the vocabulary is mostly unstructured and broad. This is not the kind of word list produced by someone like Belon, which was pragmatically focused on a specific agenda. Instead, the word list reflects the interests of someone seeking more broad-based proficiency in the language. Third, the text was designed, at least in its initial life, not as a complete work for consultation (as with a true dictionary or grammar) but a kind of text 'in transit' for ongoing use and development. The regular corrections and annotations suggest that its contributors were not producing a complete work, but more of a tool for language proficiency.

²⁵² Rothman, *Dragoman Renaissance*, 150.

Language as a geopolitical imperative

If words are the arms and galleys of a diplomat, then language was not only fundamental to diplomatic practice but also to diplomacy's broader geopolitical ends. Ottoman conquest and territorial expansion necessitated development of an institutionalised corps of interpreters or dragomans to support governance, from centre to province, of its multilingual empire. Venice's growing entanglement with the Ottoman Mediterranean necessitated the innovation of the *giovani di lingua*, based on the Ottoman model, and developed partly in response to the linguistic specificities of the Ottoman court and the vulnerabilities of relying on that court's own dragomans. Similarly, France's increasing Mediterranean orientation and entanglements with the Ottomans necessitated similar linguistic innovation. While the Istanbulite dragoman community provided an accessible solution to the French ambassadors since the 1530s, reliance on that community presented challenges in terms of finance and trust, evidenced both in Savary de Brèves complaint to the king about unpaid salaries and questions about relying on non-subjects playing such key roles in French affairs at the Porte.

While the Venetians already had mechanisms to respond to these challenges, Savary de Brèves had to have recourse largely to his own means. Unlike Postel or Belon, his interest in learning Turkish was not driven by scholarly interests or narrow needs, but instead driven by the imperative of successfully achieving the very fundamental objectives of his duty — protecting French interests at an increasingly competitive court. In this case, tools like the wordlist or dictionary of MS Persan 208 become more than just language-learning aids but strategic instruments of a certain geopolitics. In order to understand why language was so central to a figure like Savary de Brèves, and in order to understand his ongoing interest in oriental studies, we need to understand the geopolitical stakes involved and for this we turn to the capitulations, the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 4: **The 1604 capitulations and the strategic use of Turkish**

If Hotman considered language important to ‘understand the history and affairs’ of the ambassador’s placement, then Savary de Brèves certainly put it into effect in his manoeuvrings within Ottoman administrative and legal structures. Serving as ambassador from 1592 to 1606, a period of at least 12 years, his central diplomatic achievement was negotiation of a new set of capitulations with Ahmed I (1590–1617) in 1604, essentially a set of commercial privileges protecting French subjects across Ottoman territories. Renewal of the capitulations constituted a core mission in Henri IV’s instructions to the ambassador and came at a time when the English emerged as a competitive new threat to French interests at the Ottoman court and broader Mediterranean. However, the capitulations were only half the story, amounting to little if they could not be enforced and such enforcement necessitated engaging Ottoman legal and administrative processes. A manuscript volume in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, compiled by Savary de Brèves and in Turkish, testifies to his recourse to Ottoman legal and administrative processes to protect French interests not only against practices like piracy but also against encroachment from other European powers, particularly the English.

This chapter uses the 1604 capitulations and manuscript volume to identify shifting French geopolitical interests in the Mediterranean at the time and the stakes involved in Savary de Brèves defending those interests through strategic use of the linguistic skills he

acquired. We shall see that the very nature of the capitulations as an Ottoman legal instrument demanded a deeper engagement with legal and administrative channels, and the compilation — in Turkish — of a volume of relevant precedents from that engagement, a compilation that demonstrates the strategic advantage of language acquisition.

There now exists a significant scholarly corpus on the capitulatory system governing Ottoman–European relations.²⁵³ While this chapter undertakes a close comparative analysis of the evolution of Ottoman–French capitulations during this period, arguing the 1604 capitulations represent a milestone, our concern is less with surveying their contents or assessing the value of Savary de Brèves’ contribution. Rather, the capitulations are examined to understand the activities of an ambassador at the Ottoman court, an important centre for an empire and the broader Mediterranean. This approach investigates the ambassador at work, pushing beyond sovereign negotiations to consider extra-diplomatic functions shaped by changing realities in the Mediterranean. We shall see that since the capitulations were less a bilateral treaty and more an Ottoman legal instrument, Savary de Brèves had to engage the procedural and normative world of Ottoman law. Further, by identifying his additions to the evolving French capitulations, as well as his advocacy in Ottoman courts, we gain insight into how French geopolitical interests extended into Ottoman north Africa, challenged new competitors in the region such as the English and Dutch, and consolidated France's consular network under the authority of the ambassador (and thereby the crown).

²⁵³ Maurits H. van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System: Qadis, Consuls and Beratlis in the 18th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Mehmet Bulut, “The Ottoman Approach to the Western Europeans in the Levant during the Early Modern Period,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 44, no. 2 (March 2008): 259–74; Edhem Eldem, “Capitulations and Western Trade,” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, edited by Suraiya N. Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 280–299; A. H. de Groot, “The historical development of the capitulatory regime in the Ottoman Middle East from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries,” *Oriente Moderno* 9, no. 83 (2003): 575–604.

The capitulatory system

Since capitulations in general formed part of a European legal tradition, we might erroneously take them as uniquely Western bilateral agreements between sovereigns, but they were actually an Ottoman legal instrument as well and, as such, embedded Savary de Brèves within an Ottoman legal order. What this meant in practical terms is explored later in the chapter, but for the moment we should understand the jurisprudential foundations of the capitulations. Capitulations were the main instrument through which European commercial activity in the Ottoman Empire was regulated, particularly at a granular level. They governed European relations with the Ottomans up to the empire's entrance into the First World War as one of the Central Powers in 1914.²⁵⁴ While focused mainly on mercantile issues, over time they evolved to reflect changing European activities in the empire. Established first with the Venetians and Genoese in the Middle Ages, from the second-half of the sixteenth century they became the framework governing relations between Europeans and the Ottomans.

Their title as capitulations, however, belies their fundamental role as instruments of the Ottoman legal order. 'Capitulations' derives from the Italian *capitolazioni*, relating to the Latin *capitulum* and *caput* indicating a chapter or section. This may reflect the long-running practice of Italian mercantile communities such as the Genoese, Pisans and Venetians receiving commercial privileges from Muslim rulers. The term may also relate to the medieval capitulary (*capitulare*), an administrative instrument dating back as early as the Merovingians, also referring to the chapters (*capitula*) into which they were divided.²⁵⁵ Early modern European sources do not consistently refer to these instruments as capitulations; for

²⁵⁴ Linda Darling, "Capitulations," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*, edited by John L. Esposito (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). Revocation of the capitulations is detailed in a letter from Ottoman Minister for Foreign Affairs to US ambassador Morgenthau on 11 September 1914: *Papers Relating to the Foreign Office of the United States*, File No. 711.673/49, No. 53699/89.

²⁵⁵ For capitularies in Merovingian and Carolingian France: Sören Kaschke and Britta Mischke, "Capitularies in the Carolingian Period," *History Compass* 17, no. 10 (October 2019): 1–11.

example, the 1604 capitulations negotiated by Savary de Brèves, are titled either ‘traicté’ or ‘articles’ in their various copies in French archives.

There are two problems with these categories. First, the instruments were technically not treaties or agreements, which implies they were bilateral. Rather, they were unilateral on the Ottoman part. This takes us to the second problem: these were actually an Ottoman instrument, an *ahdname*, combining the Arabic word *ahd* (pact or promise) with the Persian *name* (letter) — unilateral grants of privileges (or promise) from the Ottoman sultan to a particular community of non-Muslim foreigners. This is not to say there was not an element of bilateralism, after all their provisions were the result of negotiation, but they essentially were unilateral concessions on the sultan’s part to foreigners in his realm.

The instrument governed the legal status of non-Muslim foreigners temporarily residing in the Islamic world, as distinct from *Zimmi* (*dhimmi*, in Arabic), Christians and Jews who permanently resided under Muslim rule and subject to the protections and obligations accompanying that status.²⁵⁶ Under Hanafī Islamic law, the world was divided into the *dār al-Islām* (‘the Abode of Islam’, lands ruled by Muslims) and the *dār al-harb* (‘the Abode of War’, lands under non-Muslim rule), with those living in the latter considered *harbi kūffar* (‘enemy infidels’) who could be enslaved or have their property seized.²⁵⁷ In practice, Islamic jurisprudence also had to accommodate the reality of non-Muslim travellers in the *dār al-Islām*, such as merchants and diplomats. What, for example, was the legal status of a Venetian merchant trading in Pera or a French ambassador at the Ottoman court? The category of *müste’min* (a non-Muslim temporarily in the *dār al-Islām*) was applied,

²⁵⁶ For *Zimmi* status: Najwa Al-Qattan, “Dhimmīs in the Muslim Court: Legal Autonomy and Religious Discrimination,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31, no. 3 (1999): 429–44.

²⁵⁷ Joshua M. White, *Piracy and Law in the Ottoman Mediterranean* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2020), 16. Nicola Melis, who offers a valuable discussion of these concepts, observes that this territorial bifurcation can be an oversimplification and that historians have identified a third category, *dar al-’ahd* (‘the Abode of the Covenant), within which the capitulatory system sits. Nicola Melis, “Some Observations on the Concept of *dār al’ahd* in the Ottoman context (Sixteenth–Seventeenth Centuries),” in *Dār Al-Islām / dār Al-harb: Territories, People, Identities*, edited by Giovanni Calasso and Giuliano Lancioni (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 182–202.

encompassing agents like merchants, pilgrims, consuls, and ambassadors.²⁵⁸ The category has deep foundations in Islamic international law, *Siyar* (regulating relations involving a Muslim state or between Muslim and non-Muslim states), dating back at least to Arab jurist Muhammad al-Shaybani (749/50–805).²⁵⁹ Protections for *müste'min* were grounded in the concept of *aman* (safe-conduct), which assured safe conduct to non-Muslims temporarily travelling through Muslim territories.²⁶⁰ The legal instrument according this safe conduct was an *ahdname* made by an order of the sultan and granted to individuals or communities (such as the Genoese community in Pera or 'subjects of the king of France').²⁶¹ For example, the first key article of the 1604 capitulations is a promise of safe conduct to French ambassadors, consuls and merchants. While *müste'min* status meant such protection was limited by a specific purpose (for example, a particular period of time or activity), Eldem notes that the 1569 capitulations granted to Charles IX marked a turning point by according protection unlimited by time.²⁶² Yet, since an *ahdname* was granted as an expression of the sultan's will, they generally needed renewal with each successive sultan (hence several iterations of the French capitulations), and each renewal offered an opportunity to renegotiate terms to reflect new commercial realities.

These kinds of grants from a sovereign were not unique to the Ottomans. Prior to the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Byzantine emperors accorded similar rights to communities in the Latin West, notably the Byzantine *chrysobull* of 1092 that granted trade privileges to the Venetians.²⁶³ Even the early Ottoman capitulations with the Venetians were

²⁵⁸ For the legal status of *müste'min* and its application to ambassadors: Juliette Dumas, "Müste'min Dealing with the Ottoman Justice: Role and Strategy of the Ambassador," *Oriente Moderno* 93 (2013): 480.

²⁵⁹ Khaled R. Bashir, *Islamic international law: historical foundations and al-Shaybani's Siyar* (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Pub., 2018), 1 and 188–89.

²⁶⁰ Eldem, "Capitulations," 293; Viorel Panaite, "Being a Western Merchant in the Ottoman Mediterranean," in *İSAM konuşmalarlı: Osmanlı düşüncesi, ahlâk, hukuku, felsefe-kelam. İSAM Papers: Ottoman thought, ethics, philosophy-kalam*, edited by Seyfi Kenan (Istanbul: İSAM Yayınları, 2013), 92.

²⁶¹ Melis, "Some Observations on the *dār al-'ahd*," 197.

²⁶² Eldem, "Capitulations," 295.

²⁶³ A *chrysobull* (or Golden Bull) was a decree issued by Byzantine emperors and the particular instrumental form for such a grant of privileges: Peter Frankopan, "Byzantine trade privileges to Venice in the eleventh century: the chrysobull of 1092," *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2004): 135–60.

likely based on Byzantine and Mamluk models.²⁶⁴ However, for our purposes, it is important to understand the capitulations within their proper Ottoman legal context, because this was also the context within which Savary de Brèves had to operate. While this present study continues to refer to them as capitulations, consistent with the terminology of Savary de Brèves' own context, we need to bear the *ahdname* framework in mind.

Evolution of the Ottoman–French capitulations

The 1604 capitulations negotiated by Savary de Brèves were far from new, representing an accretion of successive iterations dating to the first agreement between Francis and Suleiman in 1535. Even then, they were based on earlier capitulations with the Venetians, and for much of the sixteenth century the French were seeking at least parity with the Venetian privileges.²⁶⁵ The scope and provisions grew with each iteration in response to new commercial realities in the Mediterranean, competition from other European powers, and the evolution of the diplomatic relationship (for example, provisions specific to the ambassador, consuls and interpreters evolved with the resident embassy). While the capitulations developed in the context of the Ottoman–French alliance, they were predominantly preoccupied with French commercial interests in the Mediterranean. In fact, French trading concessions pre-date the alliance, with agreements secured by the consuls for the Catalans and French in Alexandria from the Mamluks, later confirmed by Selim I upon the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1528.²⁶⁶

When Francis sent de la Forêt to Constantinople as ambassador to formalise a military alliance with Suleiman, he was also instructed to secure a longer term commercial treaty,

²⁶⁴ White, *Piracy and Law*, 107.

²⁶⁵ See: de Groot, "Historical Development of the Capitulatory Regime," 577–78. Indeed, the grant of privileges by Muslim rulers to Latin Christian communities dates even earlier to the twelfth century.

²⁶⁶ Paris, BNF, MS Français 4767, ff. 1r–3r.

which he achieved in February 1535.²⁶⁷ Consistent with characteristics of the capitulations outlined above, the treaty was largely a unilateral grant of privileges to the French king's subjects. Among other things, it provided for the establishment of a French consul in Constantinople and Syria, and later in Algiers in 1565.²⁶⁸ But it was really the capitulations negotiated with Selim II in October 1569 by ambassador Claude de Bourg that represented the first formal capitulations accorded to the French.²⁶⁹ Comprising eighteen articles, they were even more extensive than the 1535 terms and included an assurance of the French ambassador's precedence over other European ambassadors.²⁷⁰ Together with the subsequent vacuum created in the wake of Lepanto that saw a decline in Venetian trade with the Ottomans, these protections proved a boon to French trade in the Levant, an advantage that further secured Marseille as a competitive mercantile player in the Mediterranean.²⁷¹ Jensen notes that in 1535, fewer than twenty French vessels could be found trading spices in the Mediterranean; by the 1570s the king was assured that 100–200 ships were available for that purpose.²⁷²

French competitive advantage soon encountered a new threat — the English and Dutch. We shall see how the English and Dutch surface as antagonists in Ottoman court proceedings litigated by Savary de Brèves; keeping this rivalry at bay was an important preoccupation for French ambassadors in Constantinople. By the late 1570s, the English were edging into the scene. William Harborne (1542–1617) arrived in Constantinople on 28 October 1578, part of a secret mission on royal warrant from Sir Francis Walsingham and funded by London

²⁶⁷ A copy of the agreement is reproduced in M. le Comte de Saint-Priest, *Mémoires sur l'ambassade de France en Turquie et sur le commerce des Français dans le Levant* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur, 1877), 353–62.

²⁶⁸ Saint-Priest, *Mémoires sur l'ambassade*, 355; Jensen de Lamar, "The Ottoman Turks in Sixteenth-Century French Diplomacy," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 16, no. 4 (1985): 463.

²⁶⁹ Eldem, "Capitulations," 290. For a copy of these capitulations: Saint-Priest, *Mémoires sur l'ambassade*, 363–75.

²⁷⁰ Art. XVI; Saint-Priest, *Mémoires sur l'ambassade*, 374.

²⁷¹ Eldem, "Capitulations and Western trade," 290.

²⁷² De Lamar, "The Ottoman Turks," 464.

merchants.²⁷³ No sooner had Harborne secured an agreement from Murad III than a new French ambassador was dispatched to renew capitulations with the sultan and have the English treaty revoked.²⁷⁴ Negotiated in July 1581 by Jacques de Germigny, these capitulations included an outright statement that the English (among others) could only trade under the French banner. Despite Germigny's efforts, Harborne returned in March 1583 as the first English ambassador to the Porte, and secured renewal of the cancelled agreement, marking the first English capitulations with the Ottomans.²⁷⁵ By 1585, French commercial privileges were looking a little less privileged, foreshadowing the competition around commercial privileges that heightened when the Dutch gained their own in 1612. These manoeuvrings in response to English and Dutch competitors highlights how the capitulations were constantly recalibrated in response to changing realities in the Mediterranean.

When Murad died in 1595, it was Savary de Brèves' turn to negotiate. In 1597, the capitulations were renewed with the new sultan, Mehmed III, but it was the following set of capitulations, negotiated with Ahmed in 1604, that represented not only the climax of Savary de Brèves' career but, as de Lamar notes, 'the climax of a successful first century of Franco-Turkish diplomacy'.²⁷⁶

The 1604 capitulations

²⁷³ Jerry Brotton, *The Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World* (London: Penguin, 2016), 87–88. Earlier, in 1575, leading members of London's mercantile communities, Edward Osborne and Richard Staper, sent agents to Constantinople to secure commercial privileges and within a year Elizabeth I granted a group of 12 London merchants the right to trade in the Ottoman Empire, the nucleus of what would become known as the English Levant Company: Despina Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans: The Levant Company in the Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), 13.

²⁷⁴ In a letter from Murad to Henri III, the sultan writes, noting the overtures of friendship from Elizabeth I, that 'all English merchants who come to contract, make goods and traffic under my Empire and State, as from early days of old to the present, they come and go under Your Majesty's name and banner': Brotton, *Orient Isle*, 89.

²⁷⁵ Brotton, *Orient Isle*, 120–21.

²⁷⁶ De Lamar, "The Ottoman Turks," 469.

Accorded on 20 May 1604, the capitulations totalled some fifty articles. Savary de Brèves had earlier negotiated the 1597 capitulations with Mehmed III. Before looking at his contributions to the Ottoman–French capitulations, a brief summary of the provisions is necessary — as an instrument seeking to address issues encountered by French subjects in Ottoman territories, they paint a picture of the world Savary de Brèves navigated beyond the Ottoman court and specifically in the Mediterranean. More than his predecessors, the enlarged scope of their focus drew Savary de Brèves into the Ottoman Mediterranean, particularly its peripheries of Algiers and Tunis where he influenced the appointment of governors and even visited in-person.

While the capitulations are overwhelmingly directed towards protecting French commercial activity in Ottoman territories, they are ultimately an instrument for providing protection to *müste'min*. Thus, they provide a range of protections and privileges, which we can categorise into several issues of concern: safe-conduct; seizure of persons (captives) and goods; taxes and customs; corsair activity; the functions of ambassadors, consuls and others associated with the embassy (such as interpreters); the experience of merchants living in Ottoman territories; and the legal status of the capitulations themselves.

The first of these — safe conducts — is the most important because, as seen in the earlier discussion of the capitulatory system generally, it reflects the place of this instrument in the Ottoman legal concept of *aman*. The first article makes an overarching statement of broad purpose:

That the Ambassadors who are sent by [the Emperor of France] to our Porte, the Consuls he appointed to reside by our harbours and ports, the merchants his subjects who travel through them not be disturbed in any way whatsoever, rather they must be received and honoured with all the care which it must in public faith.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁷ 'Que les Ambassadeurs qui seroient envoyez de sa part, à nostre Porte, les Consuls qui seront nommez d'elle, pour resider par nos havres & ports, les marchands ses sujets, qui vont & viennent par iceux ; ne soient inquietez en aucune façon que ce soit, ains au contraire, receus & honorez, avec tout le soin qui se doit à la foy publique': Saint-Priest, *Mémoires*

The following article extended this overarching protection to ‘the Venetians and English, the Spanish, Portuguese, Catalans, Ragusans, Genoese, Anconitans, Florentines and generally all other nations’ who trade in our country ‘under the avowal and security of the French banner, which they carry as their safeguard’, with the requirement that ‘they obey the French Consuls’ (art. 4).²⁷⁸ The privileges accorded to French merchants in the remaining articles extended to other European merchants by virtue of trading under the French banner. Further, granting the French crown a monopoly over safe-conduct for other European merchants, as Article 23 later provides, generated its own revenue through a two-percent consular duty: ‘French merchants and those trading under their banner, must pay duties to the Consuls’.²⁷⁹ Effectively, these other European merchants had to trade under the French banner in order to receive the capitulations’ protections. Inclusion of the English among these nations is significant, seeking to restore English protection under the French banner. We will see how this was contested by the English and litigated by Savary de Brèves in the Ottoman courts.

Another set of articles (arts. 10–15) are concerned with addressing the threat to merchants of being attacked whether taken as captives or having their goods seized. Piracy was a critical issue, with the period 1570–1580 considered the start of the ‘golden age’ of early modern Mediterranean piracy; the sea’s vast and lucrative commercial shipping offered rich pickings for pirates and corsairs.²⁸⁰ Merchandise was not the only target for plunder, with people taken captive from raided ships and directed towards ransom or servile labour,

sur l’ambassade, 417. The designation of emperor was a deliberate accordance of higher status to the French king among other European sovereigns.

²⁷⁸ “Que les Vénitiens et Anglais en la leur, les Espagnols, Portugais, Catalans, Ragousins, Genevois, Napolitains, Florentins, et généralement toutes autres nations, telles qu’elles soient, puissent librement venir trafiquer par nos pays sous l’adveu et seureté de la bannière de France, laquelle ils porteront comme leur sauvegarde ; et, de ce façon, ils pourront aller et venir trafiquer par les lieux de nostre Empire, comme ils y sont venue d’ancienneté, obéyssans aux Consuls François, qui demeurent et résident en nos havres et estapes”: Saint-Priest, *Mémoires sur l’ambassade*, 418.

²⁷⁹ ‘Que les marchands François, & ceux qui traffiquent sous leur bannière, ayent à payer les droicts des Consuls’: Saint-Priest, *Mémoires sur l’ambassade*, 423.

²⁸⁰ Following the Holy League’s success at Lepanto (1571) and the Ottoman success in Tunis (1575), combined with pressing demands on other frontiers (such as the Spanish Netherlands for the Habsburgs and Safavid Persia for the Ottomans), drew attention away from the Mediterranean, creating a power vacuum in which piracy could flourish: Molly Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 80; White, *Piracy and Law*, 6–7.

such as galley slaves. Piracy was by no means confined to Ottoman or Barbary corsairs. The Tuscan port of Livorno and Knights of Malta fortress city Valletta were centres of Christian piracy. Livorno had a large sculpture in tribute to its primary booty, the Monumento dei Quattro Mori (Monument of the Four Moors).²⁸¹ Erected in 1595 by Giovanni Bandini and dedicated to Ferdinand I, the four Moors represent ‘infidels’ captured by Tuscans, brought to Livorno and sold as slaves or ransomed (in 1622, a year before the installation of the first two Moor sculptures, slaves comprised around ten percent of Livorno’s population).²⁸² A recent study went so far as to call seventeenth-century Malta ‘a veritable corsair state’.²⁸³ As a major threat to commercial shipping and a constant source of tension between the Ottomans and those who traded in their domains, piracy was a priority issue for European ambassadors such as Savary de Brèves.²⁸⁴

The 1604 articles deal with specific circumstances when merchants or goods were captured, such as when a French subject might be travelling on an enemy vessel, where a French vessel might be carrying booty taken from enemy ships, or when a French subject is found on an Ottoman vessel with supplies for sale to the enemy. Specific attention is directed to the Barbary corsairs and the ports (Tunis and Algiers) that harboured them (art. 19):

The Corsairs of Barbary, going by French ports and harbours, are received, helped and aided according to their needs ... yet, with disregard to our promises, when they encounter French vessels on the sea, capture and raid them to their own advantage and against our will, making slaves of the merchants and mariners they find on the vessels ... by our Imperial Capitulation, we order that they be freed and their goods restored: we declare that, where corsairs continue their brigandage, at the first complaint that is made to us by the Emperor of France, the Viceroy and Governors of the countries where the corsairs make their home, will be held liable for the harms and losses those French have incurred ...²⁸⁵

²⁸¹ For Christian piracy from Livorno and Malta: Greene, *Catholic Pirates*, 78–98.

²⁸² Steven Ostrow, “Pietro Tacca and his Quattro Mori: The Beauty and Identity of the Slaves,” *Artibus et Historiae*, no. 71 (2015): 152.

²⁸³ Anne Brognini, *Malte: Frontière de chrétienté (1530–1670)* (Rome: École française du Rome, 2006), 253.

²⁸⁴ White, *Piracy and Law*, 105.

²⁸⁵ ‘Les Corsaires de Barbarie, allants par les ports & havres de la France, y sont receus & aidez à leur besoin ... neanmoins sans avoir esgard à nos promesses, rencontrans les vaisseaux François en mer, à leur avantage, les prennent & deprent,

It adds that ‘if the corsairs of Algiers and Tunis do not observe this our Capitulation, then the Emperor of France will pursue them, chastise them and block them from his ports’ (art. 20).²⁸⁶ The next chapter explores what happens when Savary de Brèves delivered these orders in-person to the very doorstep of the governors of Tunis and Algiers.

Another set of articles concerns the roles and privileges of ambassadors and, in particular, consuls. Consuls were key officers in the capitulatory system since they were the local intermediaries between French subjects and Ottoman authorities in trading centres like Alexandria, Aleppo, and Tripoli, these capitulations mattered to daily work conditions (compared to the ambassador, whose role, centred in Constantinople, removed him from that sphere). Aside from collecting levies relating to trading under the French banner, the ambassadors and consuls were important ‘go-tos’ for handling disputes and, indeed, were accorded legal jurisdiction by the capitulations over disputes involving French merchants. For example, in the case of ‘some murder or dispute between French merchants and traders, the Ambassadors and Consuls of this nation can do justice according to their laws and customs without any of our officers taking control of the matter’ (art. 24).²⁸⁷ Other provisions related to jurisdiction over disputes between French subjects (art. 43) and between Ottoman and French subjects (art. 42), probate relating to French subjects who decessed in Ottoman territory (art. 35), and the need for a French interpreter where a French subject was before an Ottoman court (art. 42). The latter highlights another key function of interpreters such as the Olivieri not just in formal diplomacy but also in regular advocacy in Ottoman juridical

font esclaves les marchands et mariniers qu’ils trouvent sur iceux, contre nostre vouloir... Nous commandons par ceste nostre Capitulation Imperiale, qu’ils soient remis en liberté, & leurs facultez restituées : declarons qu’en cas que lesdites Corsaires continuent leurs brigandages, à la premiere plainte qui nous en sera faite par l’Empereur de France, les Viceroy & Gouverneurs des pays de l’obessance esquels iceux Corsaires font leur demeure, seront tenus des dommages & pertes qu’iceux François auront faites’: Saint-Priest, *Mémoires sur l’ambassade*, 422.

²⁸⁶ ‘... si les Corsaires d’Arger & Tunis, n’observent ce qui est porté par ceste nostre Capitulation, que l’Empereur de France leur face courir sùs, les chastie & les prive de ses ports’: Saint-Priest, *Mémoires sur l’ambassade*, 422–23.

²⁸⁷ ‘Que survenant quelque meurtre ou autre inconvenient des marchans François et négocians, les Ambassadeurs et Consuls d’icelle nation puissent selon leurs loix et coustumes en faire justice, sans qu’aucuns de nos Officiers en prennent cognoissance et s’en empeschent’: Saint-Priest, *Mémoires sur l’ambassade*, 424.

processes. The French ambassador is assigned the highest status among all ambassadors at the Ottoman court (art. 22):

... this Emperor of France is among all the Christian Kings and Princes the most noble and of the highest family and the most perfect friend that our grandparents acquired among the kings and princes of the faith of Jesus ... we wish and command that his Ambassador, who resides at our happy Porte, has precedence over the Ambassador of Spain and ambassadors of the other kings and princes, either in our public Divan or other places where they meet.²⁸⁸

A statement like this was particularly important at a court increasingly crowded with other European ambassadors.

The capitulations also include other provisions relating to situations where French ships at sea are shipwrecked or imperilled by storms, exempting French merchants from specific or excessive custom duties and taxes, stipulating how judges should handle matters involving French subjects accused of blasphemy, and prohibiting other French subjects being punished for the bad behaviour of their fellow countrymen who had fled punishment or incurred debts. Article 46 adds that everything granted to the Venetians in their capitulations be extended to the French.²⁸⁹

The capitulations conclude with a set of articles demanding obedience to the provisions, noting that ‘the admirals of our naval armies, our viceroys, governors of our provinces, judges, captains, castle-keepers, ... and others under our obedience [must] carefully observe this our Treaty of peace’ (art. 48) and that those ‘who act contrary to our will ... are condemned to serious punishment, so that they serve as an example to those who have the desire to imitate their wrong’ (art. 49).²⁹⁰ This underscores the intended geographic

²⁸⁸ ‘Et pout autant qu’iceluy Empereur de France est entre tous les Roys & Princes Chrestiens, le plus noble & de la plus haute famille, & le plus parfaite amy que nos ayeuls ayent acquis enter lesdits Roys & Princes de la croyance de Jesus-Christ ... nous voulons et commandons que son Ambassadeur qui reside à nostre heureuse Porte, ayt la preseeance sur l’Ambassadeur d’Espagne, & sur ceux des autres Roys & Princes, soit en nostre Divan public, ou autres lieux où ils se pourront rencontrer’: Saint-Priest, *Mémoires sur l’ambassade*, 424.

²⁸⁹ Article XVI, 1569; art. 18, 1581.

²⁹⁰ Art. XVIII, 1569; 19, 1581.

and administrative reach of the capitulations — their major concern was to establish a set of governing rules or protections that extended across the Mediterranean (particularly where French interests were relevant) and down to every level of administration (even the castle-keepers). The document might have been issued by the sultan in Constantinople but the scope of its concern was the granular, everyday world of the Mediterranean. As we shall see, the provisions also provided a set of understood rules that an ambassador could seek to enforce, particularly within the Ottoman courts and administration.

Tracing the contours of French Mediterranean interests

If the 1604 capitulations were an accretion of earlier privileges and protections in the making since the original alliance between Suleiman and François, what specific contributions did Savary de Brèves make? In identifying these, we are more interested in what these additions tell us about the priorities and direction of French engagement with the Ottomans (and Mediterranean) at this point in time. If, as Joshua White notes, capitulations evolved over time in response to shifting realities or priorities, then any new additions help us identify those specific shifting realities and priorities. While the 1597 and 1604 capitulations did not deliver much novelty, they did elaborate and better define existing privileges, possibly reflecting Savary de Brèves' experiences negotiating these issues in Ottoman courts and administration. There are, however, two noteworthy new additions: first, protections relating to religious orders in the Holy Land and, second, the strongest statement yet concerning corsair predation from Tunis and Algiers. Unsurprisingly, the following year, Savary de Brèves undertook an extensive journey across the Ottoman Mediterranean, with visits to Jerusalem, Tunis and Algiers, discussed in the next chapter.

The most notable addition concerned the Holy Land (art. 5) and provided protections to Christian religious orders in places like Jerusalem. The practical implications for these

protections will be discussed in Chapter 5, when Savary de Brèves himself visited Jerusalem, but they delivered a significant victory and acclaim to Henri IV, who could now present himself as protector of the Holy Land. As we saw in the Introduction, these protections featured in eulogies to Henri IV following his assassination in 1610, with paintings at a spectacular funeral ceremony held for Henri IV that included a scene depicting a diplomat (Savary de Brèves) received by an Ottoman ruler in Jerusalem. Another printed oration from the same period acclaimed: ‘Only Henry hindered [the destruction of the Sepulchre], through his orator Francesco Signor di Breves, who with authority, threat and terror finally acted such that the chosen commandment should be turned away ... [and] the Sepulchre of Christ be visited on the ground, honoured, adored ... freed from the barbarous tyranny of the infidels’.²⁹¹ This eulogy gives us some insight into the reception of this provision in Catholic Europe, including no doubt the papal court, which had its own eastern Mediterranean ambitions. The period coincides with the post-Tridentine church’s growing interest in missionary activity among eastern Christians. This coupling of the French crown with the Holy Land, the latter’s embrace into the protection of the former, resurfaced later in Savary de Brèves’ career in Rome (discussed in Chapter 7) and his advocacy for alliance with the Ottomans towards the end of his career (Chapter 9).

He also succeeded in gaining the most detailed and strongest pronouncements to-date concerning the corsairs and their enablers among governors in Tunis and Algiers. The 1604 capitulations included prohibitions on captivity and the seizure of goods in specific circumstances, such as French vessels carrying booty captured from enemy ships (art. 12), French subjects found on Ottoman vessels with supplies for sale to the enemy (art. 13), and merchandise belonging to Ottoman enemies on French ships (art. 15). Each of these scenarios

²⁹¹ Francesco Bocchi, *Oratio de laudibus Henrici IIII. christianissimi regis Galliae, et Navarrae* (Florence: B. Sermartellium et fratres, 1610).

we might assume were attempts to respond to real-world justifications made by those involved in taking captives or goods. We also find in both the 1597 and 1604 capitulations the strongest condemnation of corsair activity that also seeks to hold the governors of territories hosting these corsairs (Algiers and Tunis) to account for the harm and loss experienced by merchants (art. 9, 1597; art 19, 1604). In his study of Ottoman–Venetian capitulations, White notes that this was a particularly key difference with the 1604 capitulations, effectively giving the French the right to defend themselves against north African piracy. He observes that of the 179 Ottoman documents issued on Savary de Brèves’ request concerning piracy during his term, 158 were addressed to specific Ottoman governors or qadis, with nearly half sent to north Africa (39 to Algiers and 24 to Tunis).²⁹² As we shall see in Chapter 5, these provisions gave Savary de Brèves the strongest statement yet from the sultan on the issue, one that the ambassador would take with him when he visited the two ports in 1606. This focus on addressing activity in north Africa also reflects France’s growing geopolitical orientation towards the western Mediterranean we saw in the analysis of Henri IV’s instructions to Savary de Brèves in Chapter 2.

A third achievement was consolidation of consular privileges and legal jurisdiction. There are several relevant provisions here but a key one was that merchants travelling under the French banner had to not only pay the regular consular duty but an additional duty for the ambassador, a revenue stream to help cover embassy costs. Both the 1597 and 1604 capitulations provide formal protections to the consuls, as well as better define their legal jurisdiction. For example, the 1597 capitulations stipulate that the appointment or establishment of a consul must not be opposed by local governors (art. 30, 1597; art. 41, 1604) and consuls must not be made prisoner nor their houses attacked (art. 12, 1597; art. 25, 1604). By further protecting the consuls, these capitulations centred them much more within

²⁹² White, *Piracy and Treaty Law*, 133.

the capitulatory regime and, therefore, brought them further under the remit of the ambassador and Constantinople. In the lead-up to this period, consuls remained very much attached to their mercantile communities (in this case, Marseille) rather than the crown.²⁹³ Since the capitulations required any disputes involving consuls to be brought to the Ottoman court, it meant these matters would be dealt with not by regional governors or qadis but in Constantinople, where the ambassador exerted influence. Legal jurisdiction of consuls over disputes and other matters relating to French subjects in the Ottoman domain had been part of the capitulations since 1569, but there are further enhancements here including the requirement that, in the case of a murder or disputes between French merchants, the ambassador or consuls had legal jurisdiction over the affair based on the extraterritorial application of French laws (art. 12, 1569; art. 24, 1604). What we see here is a consolidation of the roles of ambassador and consul within the capitulatory regime by providing an additional revenue mechanism to sustain their operations, protections for their appointments under Ottoman justice, and the further extension and definition of their legal jurisdiction. Through these capitulations, Savary de Brèves transformed the kernel of the preceding capitulations into a fully realised foundation for embedding French interests in the Ottoman Mediterranean by concretising and centralising authority over the consular offices. These are the very kind of privileges that gave substance and definition to the very concept of a resident ambassador. The capitulations evolved to be more than just the protection of mercantile interests, concretising the ambassador's authority and, by consequence, the crown's.

By 1604, the relationship between Ottoman and French sovereigns had evolved from a political alliance prompted by a desperate French king in need of military support in 1535 to

²⁹³ As Maïa Pal observes, consuls have their origins in mercantile communities, representing a particular 'nation' of merchants and largely out of the control of sovereigns. This began to gradually shift from the sixteenth century with the increase of trade and expansion: Maïa Pal, *Jurisdictional Accumulation: An Early Modern History of Law, Empires and Capital* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 194–97. This shift was not without tension between royal control and local mercantile elites seeking to maintain power: Junko Thérèse Takeda *Between Crown & Commerce: Marseille and the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011), 23.

a fully-fledged legal framework for protecting and extending French commercial activity and predominance in the Mediterranean, a framework that placed the ambassador at the centre of its administration. It was a framework that recognised continued Ottoman predominance in the Mediterranean (even after Lepanto) and that operated on the coattails of that predominance. The above analysis reveals the additional articles reflect an assertion of authority that was both geographic and consular. The first was an extension of authority in the Holy Land and north Africa, while the second was a consolidation of consular jurisdiction under the ambassador in Constantinople (keeping in mind that by this stage, French consuls were spread across the breadth of the Ottoman Mediterranean from Algiers to Aleppo). The latter represents a maturation of decades of French capitulations, a kind of book-end, while the former reflects a broader vision of French involvement in the Mediterranean.

Capitulations in practice: MS Turc 130

It was one thing to receive a set of protections such as these capitulations, but, as with any legal instrument, how these provisions operated ‘on the ground’ was another matter altogether. There was a significant gap between the content of capitulations and their application in practice, particularly in the Ottoman Mediterranean peripheries specifically targeted by many of the provisions — the western Mediterranean and north African ports of Tunis and Algiers.²⁹⁴ It was not enough for an ambassador like Savary de Brèves to attain the capitulations — that was only the beginning and words on paper were only worth as much as they could be enforced. Enforcement and application of these protections was a role for ambassadors and, at a local level, consuls. For this, Savary de Brèves turned to the Ottoman courts and administration. Activities like piracy were very difficult for the Ottomans to police

²⁹⁴ Viorel Panaite, “French Capitulations and Consular Jurisdiction in Egypt and Aleppo in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,” in *Well-Connected Domains: Towards an Entangled Ottoman History*, edited by Pascal Firges et al 87 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 87.

on the high seas — an all-season fleet was costly — but, as White observes, the rise of piracy instead prompted a turn to ‘dynamic diplomatic, legal, and administrative action’.²⁹⁵ While maritime concerns could not be policed on the seas with force, they could be dealt with through diplomacy (the capitulations), along with courts and administration. Savary de Brèves certainly made use of both the courts and administration to give effect to the capitulations and we have an example of how he did so in a manuscript held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France comprising a Turkish-language compendium of judicial and administrative decisions that not only involved the ambassador but that he specifically collected potentially for use by consuls and his own successors. The volume testifies not only to his recourse to Ottoman courts both to seek rulings on specific issues affecting French subjects and to assert French predominance over other European interests, but also his immersion within an Ottoman legal and administrative world.

MS Turc 130 is a volume in the oriental manuscripts collection at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.²⁹⁶ On folio 1 recto appears the title ‘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’ (Figure 10). ‘Du Ryer de Malezair’ refers to André Du Ryer, French consul in Egypt in 1625–26 and, as we shall see in Chapter 7, a protégé of Savary de Brèves. The volume comprises 278 folios mostly in Turkish, with occasional annotations in French. As suggested by the description written by Du Ryer, the manuscript is addressed to ‘those employed for the king’s service at the Ottoman Porte’, namely, ambassadors and consuls. The presence of Du Ryer’s signature suggests that the compendium did not return to Paris with Savary de Brèves in 1606 but stayed with the embassy in Pera. Du Ryer, who initially served as vice-consul in Egypt, was

²⁹⁵ White, *Piracy and Law*, 15.

²⁹⁶ Paris, BNF, MS Turc 130.

later appointed royal interpreter in Turkish and Arabic and, in 1631, accompanied later French ambassador to Constantinople, Henri de Gournay, Comte de Marcheville, to the Ottoman capital as the ambassador's interpreter, adviser and secretary.²⁹⁷ We can assume from these details that the compendium was designed as a collection of legal and administrative precedents for future reference within the embassy.

The manuscript has been the subject of several recent studies by Viorel Panaite whose

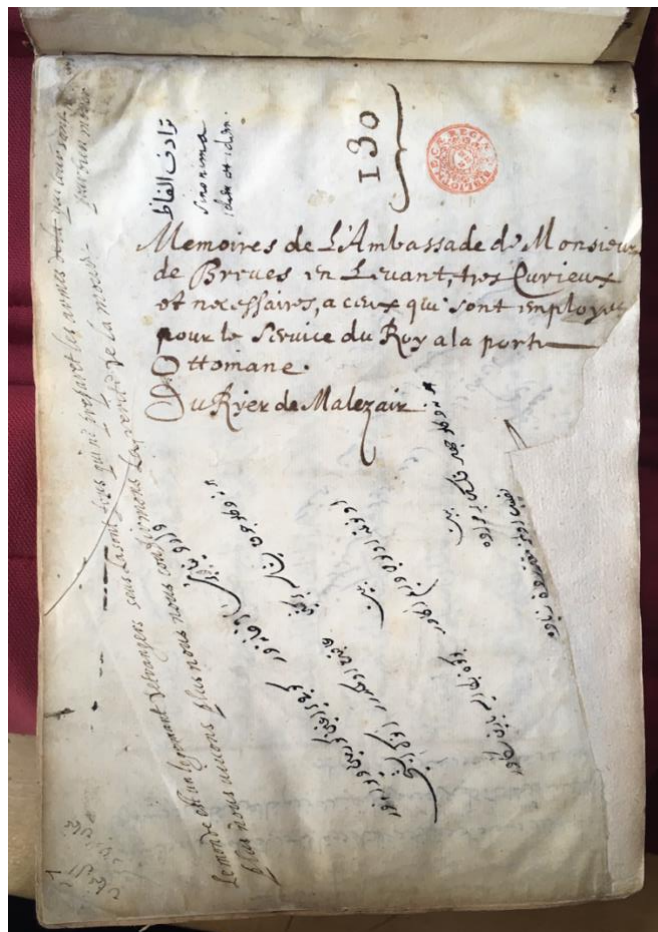


Figure 10: Folio 1r of MS Turc 130, showing the title of the work.

efforts, while focused on Ottoman mercantile and maritime law, have nonetheless opened it

²⁹⁷ Alastair Hamilton, "André Du Ryer," in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 9: *Western and Southern Europe (1600-1700)*, edited by David Thomas and John Chesworth (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 453–54.

up to non-Ottomanists.²⁹⁸ Panaite's studies reveal that the volume comprises around 250 documents of various types including: annotated capitulations; judicial opinions (*fetvā*) of the grand mufti (*şeyh ül-Islam*); imperial orders and letters; reports from the grand vizier; and petitions to the Ottoman courts. Most of the documents were written between 1595 and 1602. The documents can be clustered according to document type and in a particular order: diplomatic charters (the 1569, 1581 and 1597 capitulations); judicial opinions (mostly signed by the grand muftis); and administrative orders (Panaite identifies 200 of these). These would be copies of official documents made by someone attached to Savary de Brèves' embassy, most likely a dragoman such as Olivier Olivieri.

As with Ottoman legal practice generally at the time, judicial opinions were often sought to obtain clarification or affirmation of some aspect of the capitulations, especially where provisions and their application to particular circumstances were contested or where someone might wish to strengthen their claims.²⁹⁹ Scholars have already examined how Venetian ambassadors referred questions to the *şeyh ül-Islams* in this way, and we might assume that the judicial opinions in this manuscript were a result of similar activity by Savary de Brèves.³⁰⁰ There are seventeen judicial opinions in total copied into the manuscript covering two broad categories: first, disputes relating to other European agents (particularly

²⁹⁸ Viorel Panaite, "A French Ambassador in Istanbul, and his Turkish Manuscript on Western Merchants in the Ottoman Mediterranean (Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries)," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 42, nos. 1–4 (2004): 117–32; "Being a Western Merchant in the Ottoman Mediterranean," in *İSAM konuşmaları: Osmanlı düşüncesi, ahlâk, hukuku, felsefe-kelam. İSAM Papers: Ottoman thought, ethics, philosophy-kalam*, edited by Seyfi Kenan (Istanbul: İSAM Yayınları, 2013), 91–135; "French capitulations and Consular Jurisdiction," 71–87; "French Commercial Navigation and Ottoman Law in the Mediterranean According to the Manuscript Turc 130 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France)," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 46, nos. 1–4 (2008): 253–68; "Two Legal Opinions (Fetvās) from the Manuscript Turc 130 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) on the Western Non-Treaty Merchants in the Ottoman Mediterranean," in *Enjeux politiques, économiques et militaires en mer Noire (XIVe–XXIe siècles), études à la mémoire de Mihail Guboglu*, edited by Faruk Bilici, Ionel Căndea, Anca Popescu (Brăila: Éditions Istros, 2007), 169–94; "Western Merchants and Ottoman Law. The Legal Section of the Manuscript Turc 130 from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 45, nos. 1–4 (2007): 45–62.

²⁹⁹ For use of the *fetva* in diplomacy: Joshua White, "Fetva Diplomacy: The Ottoman *Şeyhülislam* as Trans-Imperial Intermediary," *Journal of Early Modern History* 19, nos. 2–3 (2015): 199–221.

³⁰⁰ Halil İnalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300–1600* (London: Phoenix, 1973), 172. For the practice of ambassadors seeking judicial opinions: Giustiniana Milgiardi O'Riordan, "Présentation des Archives du Baile à Istanbul," *Turcica* 33 (2001): 339–67; Dilek Desai, "Les documents en ottoman des fonds des archives du Baile à Istanbul," *Turcica* 33 (2001): 369–77.

the English and mostly in relation to the legal status of non-treaty European merchants); and, second, disputes relating to specific protections (for example, ten of the decisions relate to captivity or seizure of goods). We cannot assume these represent all judicial matters involving French merchants or the French capitulations, but rather a selection of those judicial opinions Savary de Brèves considered significant enough to function as precedents for future consultation by ambassadors and consuls.

As noted, by the time Savary de Brèves arrived in Constantinople, French primacy at the Ottoman court was challenged by a growing English diplomatic presence. The English were determined to acquire equal standing with the French at the Porte and supplant France's favoured status, which meant not only freeing themselves from French protection but also challenging French monopoly over other European non-treaty merchants. These disputes played out before the grand mufti as Savary de Brèves sought recourse against English incursions on French privileges in the Ottoman courts. Panaitie translated two decisions from the grand mufti, both included in MS Turc 130 and decided in favour of the French. The first decision, issued some time in 1598–99 by Hoca Sa'adeddin, considered a scenario where the English ambassador had requested that non-treaty merchants trade under the English banner and refer to English consuls.³⁰¹ The question for determination was whether 'one should observe the Imperial Charter granted to France [i.e., the French capitulation] or the illustrious order procured by the English ambassador'. The answer of the grand mufti was that it be done according to the French capitulation. The second matter was resolved by Mehmed bin Sa'adeddin around 1601–1603 on a similar question but this time involving Dutch merchants.³⁰² Here, the English possessed orders to the effect that Dutch merchants could refer to the English ambassador and consuls, so there was a question about which documents

³⁰¹ MS Turc 130, f. 130v.

³⁰² MS Turc 130, f. 26r.

prevailed in relation to the Dutch. The decision, again, favoured the French, noting that it was not possible to order contrary to the preceding (French) pact and, in addition to this decision, a *firman* was to be issued stipulating that the French capitulation not be violated.³⁰³ Both decisions show Savary de Brèves referring disputes with the English to the grand mufti and successfully obtaining judicial confirmation of French precedence. It also underscores that capitulations alone could not stand without support and that an ambassador had to not only engage diplomatic avenues, but legal ones as well.

Piracy against French vessels in the western Mediterranean was another concern for Savary de Brèves while in Constantinople and, as we have seen, particularly in relation to corsair predation on French shipping. As soon as he secured the 1597 capitulations, which included a specific charge of culpability against the pashas in Algiers and Tunis, Savary de Brèves frequently petitioned the Ottoman court for imperial orders directed to the governors and janissary commanders in the north African ports, and the Paris manuscript contains copies of many of these orders. One order, for example, addresses the governing authorities and ship captains who had taken French merchants as captives and admonished them for failing to adhere to imperial commands. Savary de Brèves also sought legal opinions from the grand mufti, including one decision ordering a governor who failed to follow imperial orders requiring the return of seized goods to be removed from office (we will encounter a similar situation in the next chapter when he visited Tunis).³⁰⁴ Combatting piracy against French vessels by English privateers associated with ports like Tunis and Algiers was more difficult since the sultan had no direct authority over English privateers. Yet, Savary de Brèves successfully sought a *fetvā* on the question of whether Islamic law allowed the sultan to forbid *müste'min* from entering Ottoman domains where they came not for commerce but to

³⁰³ Panaite, "Two Legal Opinions," 175–76.

³⁰⁴ MS Turc 130, f. 26v; see Panaite, "Being a Western Merchant," 122–23.

seize the ships of other western merchants, clearly seeking advice on whether there was any recourse in Islamic law to deal with English piracy against the French.³⁰⁵ The legal response was that protection does not extend to such a *müste'min* and that they deserve to be punished. He obtained a further confirmation of this *fetvā* in 1603–04 from Ebu'l Meyamin Mustafa Efendi. Once again, we see him having recourse to the Ottoman juridical system to resolve a dispute with other European agents and seeking clarification on questions of Islamic international law concerning relations between *müste'min* in its empire.

The final area of concern relates to the jurisdiction of consuls. While the role of consuls and ambassadors attracted increasing definition in the capitulations since 1569, documents in MS Turc 130 highlight that the rights and jurisdiction of consuls had to be supported with regular petitions from Savary de Brèves and imperial orders from the sultan. These documents paint a picture of Savary de Brèves seeking further elaboration on these rights. Many of the orders reinforce the need for local governors to bring issues relating to consuls in their region to be decided upon at the Ottoman court, thus centralising authority over consular affairs in Constantinople and giving an ambassador like Savary de Brèves greater control over centres like Aleppo and Alexandria. Another document in the manuscript, an order from Mehmed III, stipulates that 'if any person undertakes a lawsuit against the consuls ... the consuls must not be put under arrest, nor their houses be sealed [and] ... lawsuits involving consuls and dragomans must be heard at our threshold of felicity [that is, Constantinople]'.³⁰⁶ With consular matters referred to the Porte, the ambassador was in a better position to influence outcomes, rather than leaving them to local governors or qadis. Other documents in the volume include confirming an annual allowance to consuls and ambassadors by local governors, the appointment of deputy consuls, the requirement for

³⁰⁵ MS Turc 130, f. 29v.

³⁰⁶ MS Turc 130, ff. 254v-253v.

interpreters to be present in legal complaints against French subjects, and the precedence of French consuls over other western consuls. These documents testify to Savary de Brèves actively referring regional consul-level disputes to the Ottoman administrative and legal procedures in Constantinople.

MS Turc 130 provides a rich documentary testimony to the efforts of Savary de Brèves on the ground to give effect to the capitulations he secured on behalf of Henri IV. Through the pages of this volume, we see Savary de Brèves actively engaging Ottoman administrative (imperial orders) and legal procedures (*fetvās*) to supplement the capitulations and ensure they were more than just words on paper. Moreover, we can assume this activity and experience informed the content of the more detailed 1604 capitulations.

Conclusions

The above analysis of both the 1604 capitulations and the judicial opinions in MS Turc 130 shows Savary de Brèves at work to assert French authority in three areas, each reflecting broader French geopolitical interests in the Mediterranean. The first of these is geographic, with both the capitulations and the ambassador's advocacy through Ottoman legal and administrative avenues seeking to assert control over predation of north African corsairs in the western Mediterranean through a set of privileges issued by the sultan, as well as judicial and administrative orders that attempted to impose responsibility on governors in ports harbouring corsairs such as Tunis and Algiers. The protections obtained in 1604, providing express orders to the Ottoman ruling class in north Africa from the highest to lowest levels of governance, were the strongest yet obtained by the French in their evolving capitulations. Savary de Brèves' advocacy in Constantinople, whether in diplomatic negotiations at court (the capitulations) or representations before the grand mufti, reflect a non-military attempt to

assert French political and commercial authority in the western Mediterranean, a geopolitical strategy we saw in the instructions.

The second set of interests concerned maintaining French precedence at the Ottoman court. We have seen that the early evolution of the French capitulations sought to achieve *parity* with Venetian privileges but by the end of the sixteenth century, French *primacy* became the central goal, seeking to bring all other European 'nations' under its banner in order to have access to the privileges of safe-conduct accorded by the sultan. In essence, the capitulations sought to extend French authority over European trade in the Ottoman Mediterranean, as well as use this status as a source of revenue through the imposition of consular and ambassadorial duties. This authority was sought not only in relation to trade, but also missionary activity by setting up the French crown as the chief guarantor of the church's rights in the Holy Land through a newly introduced article in the capitulations. The vision encapsulated here will resurface later in Savary de Brèves' life, over twenty years after he left Ottoman shores, when he presented his own defence of the alliance to Louis XIII, the subject of Chapter 9. Of course, one of the new developments Savary de Brèves had to contend with through the capitulations and his advocacy was the emerging threat of the English and Dutch not only as commercial competitors in the Mediterranean, but diplomatic competitors at court.

A third area of authority central to these efforts was the consolidation of the ambassador's role in the capitulatory system. Not only do the capitulations give greater definition to protections afforded to consuls and their jurisdiction over matters involving French subjects (in addition to requiring other European merchants trading under the French banner to obey French consuls), they also refer much jurisdiction back to Ottoman courts in Constantinople and the ambassador himself. As discussed, the consuls grew out of the mercantile community, a kind of parallel quasi-diplomatic network largely controlled by

mercantile elites in French ports such as Marseille. By bringing the consuls further under the auspices and authority of the ambassador in Constantinople, and by centralising disputes to the Ottoman capital, these developments were effectively attempting to bring the consular network under the authority of the crown. This, too, then reflects the crown's growing involvement in the Mediterranean by edging in on a control that was centred in Marseille.

In order to execute this geopolitical vision, it was not enough for someone like Savary de Brèves to secure the capitulations from the sultan. Rather, he had to engage the very legal order from which they derived, which meant advocating before Ottoman courts and obtaining a raft of administrative orders directed at a more local level. We saw how, despite Germigny's attempts to undercut Harborne's first agreement with the Ottomans on behalf of the English in 1583, Harborne simply returned to establish an even more formalised set of capitulations that challenged French precedence. Diplomatic negotiation alone was insufficient and Savary de Brèves sought recourse in legal and administrative avenues to defend those interests. This made the need for an ambassador to not only be resident at court, but more deeply embedded within the Ottoman world, a vital strategic advantage. Further, MS Turc 130, both as a manual for future diplomatic agents at the embassy and its entire composition in Turkish, underscores the importance of language to this strategic advantage. Yet, in order to protect these interests he also travelled to the very localities where these capitulations mattered the most — the Ottoman Mediterranean.

Chapter 5

Words with patriarchs, corsairs and rebels: Jerusalem, Tunis and Algiers

‘Since you persist in wanting to make your voyage to Jerusalem, I pray that God conducts you there happily. ... My wife infinitely wishes that it should please you to take your return by [Venice], to show you the service she and I have promised you; waiting thus for the good fortune to talk to you more closely.’³⁰⁷ These are the last words written from France’s ambassador in Venice, Philippe Fresne-Canaye (1551–1610), to Savary de Brèves on 28 February 1605, just before the latter ended his time in Constantinople and began his journey across the Ottoman Mediterranean. While an unremarkable final epistolary sign-off between two ambassadors who had been in regular correspondence over the preceding few years, this seemingly prosaic expression of sentiment brings together two historic moments. Both men had stood before sultans at watershed moments in the French–Ottoman relationship. On 9 March 1573, Fresne-Canaye was received by Selim II as part of the entourage of Noailles, a crucial embassy following the Ottoman loss at Lepanto in which the ambassador sought to renew the French alliance on behalf of Charles IX.³⁰⁸ A French Huguenot on leave in Venice from studies in law and unable to return in the immediate wake

³⁰⁷ ‘Puis que vous persistés à vouloir faire vostre voyage de Hierusalem, je prie Dieu qu’il vous y conduise heureusement. ... Ma femme souhaite infiniment qu’il vous plaise prendre vostre retour par cette ville, pour vous tesmoigner le service qu’elle & moy vous avons voüe ; attendant donc le bon-heur de vous entretenir de plus près, nous vous baison’: *Lettres et ambassade de Messire Philippe Canaye, seigneur de Fresne, Tome Second* (Paris: Mathurin du Puys, 1644), 516.

³⁰⁸ A. Degert, “Une ambassade périlleuse de François de Noailles en Turquie,” *Revue Historique* 159, Fasc. 2 (1928): 236.

of the St Bartholomew's Day massacre, Fresne-Canaye joined Noailles' mission to Constantinople, an experience that no doubt primed him for his Venice post. Fresne-Canaye left us one of the most important European accounts of Selim's court written at the time, not dissimilar to other sixteenth-century accounts describing a courtly world at its height and still new to European travellers.³⁰⁹

Savary de Brèves also left an account, care of his secretary, but rather than telling of the Ottoman court, it is a sweeping report of his travels through the Ottoman Mediterranean — the Levant, Egypt, Tunis and Algiers. This was the very world the capitulations sought to regulate — not a world of high court politics, but local governors, janissaries, eastern and Latin Christians, pashas, beys, corsairs, and renegades, far away from Constantinople and yet where French privileges counted the most. If Savary de Brèves' two main contributions to the capitulations related to the Holy Land and Barbary corsairs, then his subsequent Mediterranean journey reflected those priorities. It was also the periphery of the Ottoman Empire, which for Savary de Brèves, represented a periphery within a periphery since Constantinople represented the edge of his own world and now he ventured into the western reaches of that one.

The *Relation* of Savary de Brèves

The *Relation* was composed by the ambassador's secretary Jean-Baptiste Vinois de Bavon, who accompanied him on the journey, and edited by Jacques du Castel. Secretaries were involved in the 'paperwork' of diplomacy including writing correspondence and working with ciphers, which reflects the *Relation's* particular focus on the ambassador's itinerary.³¹⁰ There is, of course, the possibility that Savary de Brèves himself had a hand in its

³⁰⁹ Fresne-Canaye's account was first published in 1896 by Henri Hauser: Philippe Fresne-Canaye, *Le Voyage du Levant (1573)* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur, 1896).

³¹⁰ For the role of early modern ambassadorial secretaries: Catherine Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome: The Rise of the Resident Ambassador* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 94–97.

production and that it was a collaborative project. However, both appear in manuscript format (discussed below) and do not appear in the hand of Savary de Breves. An edition was first printed in 1628 (again in 1630), a few years after the ambassador's death, which edition also includes a copy of the 1604 capitulations, and two treatises authored by Savary de Brèves on the Ottoman empire (the subject of Chapter 9).³¹¹ The edition runs to 383 pages and comprises two parts. The first covers his journey from Constantinople, through the Aegean and Dodecanese, then on to Tripoli, Jerusalem, and Egypt. It provides a fairly standard topographic account of the voyage, encounters with specific eastern Christian communities, and a pilgrimage to holy sites. The second part, detailing his time in Tunis and Algiers, is a very different kind of narrative — an account of a diplomatic mission, specifically one seeking to address predations by Barbary corsairs on French shipping in the Mediterranean. It details the ambassador's attempts at negotiation, often in very hostile conditions far from the formalities and reach of the Ottoman court. There is no extant manuscript copy of the *Relation* in full, but a manuscript copy of each part exists in two separate collections — the first in the BNF, and the second in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France as the *Discours du voyage d'Égypte en Barbarie et de la navigation que fit Monsieur de Breves aux royaumes de Tunis et d'Alger l'an 1606, par Jehan-Baptiste Vinois de Bavon, secrétaire dud. Sieur*.³¹² This separation of the *Relation* divides the journey into two worlds — a Christian one (Aegean Greece, the Levant and Holy Land) and a Barbary/Ottoman one (Tunis and Algiers) — perhaps explaining why we find separate copies of these two parts in different collections.

³¹¹ *Relation des Voyages de Monsieur de Breves tant en Grece, Terre-Saincte et Ægypte, qu'aux Royaumes de Tunis & Arger* (Paris: Nicolas Gasse, 1628). This dissertation uses the more readily accessible 1630 edition, though both editions use identical reports and front matter.

³¹² For part one: Paris, BNF, MS Français 24215. For part two: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, MS 308. The latter volume comprises 38 folios on parchment. It originally belonged to Pierre Dipy, a Maronite scholar who was chair in Arabic (1667–1709) and Syriac (1695–1705) at the Collège Royale.

The *Relation* has received no scholarly attention apart from a 1965 article that focused on the mission in north Africa.³¹³ This is despite a growing range of studies on early modern European travellers in the Ottoman world.³¹⁴ Following the inception of the Ottoman–French alliance, the sixteenth century witnessed a notable increase in French travellers in Ottoman territories, with some leaving the period’s most renowned travel accounts of the region, including those of Fresne-Canaye, Nicolas de Nicolay, and Postel.³¹⁵ This trend continued into the seventeenth century, with accounts from figures like Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Jean Chardin, and Louis d’Arvieux from the 1630s on.³¹⁶ While these accounts have received significant scholarly attention, including accounts linked to the d’Aramon embassies spanning 1536–1573 (Christine Isom-Verhaaren and Frédéric Tinguely) and those written in the second-half of the seventeenth century (Michel Longino), the decades around 1600 represent a lacuna.³¹⁷

The *Relation* is an pointed departure from the earlier accounts in two respects. First, it is less concerned with ethnographic detail — that is, in documenting Ottoman customs or practices — than the earlier French accounts. The narrative of his journey to Tunis and

³¹³ Marcel Émerit, “Au temps de saint Vincent de Paul: La mission de Savary de Brèves en Afrique du Nord (1606),” *Revue française d’histoire d’outre-mer* 52, nos 188–189 (1965): 297–314.

³¹⁴ Gerald M. MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580–1720* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Eva J. Holmberg, “Writing the Travel Companion in Seventeenth-Century English Texts about the Ottoman Empire,” in *Early Modern Exchanges: Dialogues Between Nations and Cultures, 1550–1750*, edited by Helen Hackett (London: Routledge, 2016), 183–99; Eric Dursteler, “Bad Bread and the ‘Outrageous Drunkenness of the Turks’: Food and Identity in the Accounts of Early Modern European Travelers to the Ottoman Empire,” *Journal of World History* 25, nos. 2/3 (2014): 203–28; Sascha R. Klement, *Representations of Global Civility: English Travellers in the Ottoman Empire and the South Pacific, 1636–1863* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2021); Anthony Parr, “‘Going to Constantinople’: English wager-journeys to the Ottoman world in the early-modern period,” *Studies in Travel Writing* 16, no. 4 (2012): 349–61.

³¹⁵ Guillaume Postel, *De la Republique des Turcs, & là ou l’occasion s’offrera, des meurs & loy de tous Muhamedistes* (Poitiers: Imprimerie d’Enguilbert de Marnesque, 1560). Nicolas de Nicolay, *Dans l’empire de Soliman le Magnifique*, edited by Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud and Stéphane Yérasimos (Paris: CNRS, 1989).

³¹⁶ Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Les Six voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, qu’il a fait en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes* (Paris: Gervais Clouzier, 1679); Jean Chardin, *Voyage de Paris à Ispahan*, edited by Stefanos Yerasimos (Paris: La Découverte, 1983); Jean de Thévenot, *The Travels of Monsieur de Thévenot into the Levant*, translated by Archibald Lovell (London: Farnborough, 1971); Laurent d’Arvieux, *Mémoires du chevalier d’Arvieux: voyage à Tunis*, edited by Jacques de MauSSION de Favières (Paris: Editions Kimé, 1994).

³¹⁷ Michel Longino’s study of French travellers in the Ottoman Empire starts with Tavernier: Michel Longino, *French Travel Writing in the Ottoman Empire: Marseille to Constantinople, 1650–1700* (London: Routledge, 2015). For Isom-Verhaaren: *Allies with the Infidel*, 140–79; for Tinguely: *L’Écriture du Levant à la Renaissance. Enquête sur les voyageurs français dans l’Empire de Soliman le Magnifique* (Geneva: Droz, 2000).

Algiers (where we might expect an ethnographic contribution given the unfamiliarity of these ports to French travellers) focuses on reporting (sometimes verbatim) the complex negotiations of a diplomatic agent. Alterity is rarely the focus, although there are moments where observations about cultural differences are made. The second difference is location — none of the earlier accounts went as far as Tunis and Algiers, nor are they as extensive in geographic scope and mobility. Many of these earlier accounts focus either entirely on the Ottoman capital (such as Fresne-Canaye) or Greece, Constantinople and the Levant. This reflects the French crown's growing interests in the western Mediterranean and north African littoral, as well as Ottoman territorial expansion in the period.

As a whole, the *Relation* presents us with an important panorama of the Mediterranean world Savary de Brèves navigated, in all its rich cross-confessional and geopolitical complexity. It also presents us with the work of this ambassador in a very different geography — if the Ottoman court represented a frontier or periphery for a French ambassador like Savary de Brèves, then this journey takes him to the fringes of that empire. By the turn of the seventeenth century, Tunis and Algiers were still Ottoman frontiers far from the centre and we will see the implications of this soon. In the previous chapter, we saw how negotiating the 1604 capitulations alone was insufficient to ensure French interests were protected and Savary de Brèves had to engage Ottoman legal and administrative processes to ensure French privileges were enforced. However, the efficacy of the capitulations also depended on their observance in the places where they mattered most, in territories far from the Ottoman capital with their own political complexities. We recall that the capitulations' privileges applied to the daily work of the local governors, qadis, and even castle-keepers, the very kind of figures he encountered on his journey. The *Relation* provides us with three excellent case studies — Jerusalem, Tunis and Algiers — where the ambassador, bearing the

kind of *firman*s we examined in MS Turc 130, sought to protect French interests at a local level on the Ottoman frontiers.

Jerusalem: negotiating sectarian claims

On 16 June 1605, Savary de Brèves arrived in Haifa to begin the pilgrimage leg of his journey through the Holy Land. Soon after arriving, his party visited the cave of the prophet Elijah, where ‘the walls are so full of names Greek, Chaldean, Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish and Latin that it was hardly possible to find a place to mark a letter’ — an apt metaphor for the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional nature of the region.³¹⁸ Among other things, the *Relation* narrates encounters with the *derviş* (members of the Sufi Muslim order), Nestorian Christians, Franciscans, Georgians, Armenians, the Druze, and Muslim pilgrims en route to Mecca.

Savary de Brèves was not only there on pilgrimage; he was also on a diplomatic mission. Article 5 of the 1604 capitulations provided:

... the religious orders who live in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and other places of our devotion to serve the Churches there built from antiquity, can sojourn there with safety, go and come without any trouble and disturbance and are there well received and protected, aided and succoured ...³¹⁹

These religious orders referred to were predominantly Franciscans, Jesuits, Capuchins and others from the Latin church who resided in cities like Jerusalem. The Franciscans had a longstanding presence in Jerusalem dating to the Middle Ages.³²⁰ At Ottoman conquest of Jerusalem, the order had been solely responsible for the Custody of the Holy Land for almost two centuries (the Custody was an ecclesiastical authority to administer Latin rites in holy

³¹⁸ ‘... les parois sont si pleins de noms Grecs, Chaldeans, Hebrieux, Arabes, Turcs, & Latins qu’à peine s’y pouvoit-il trouver lieu pour marquer une lettre’: *Relation*, 69.

³¹⁹ ‘... les Religieux qui demeurent en Jerusalem, Bethlehem, & autres lieux de notre obeissance, pour y servir les Eglises qui s’y treuvent d’ancienneté basties, y puissions avec seureté sejourner, aller & venir, sans aucun trouble & destourbier, & y soient bien receus & protegez, aydez & secours, en la consideration susdicte.’

³²⁰ For the Franciscan relationship to the Holy Land: Michele Campopiano, *Writing the Holy Land: The Franciscans of Mount Zion and the Construction of a Cultural Memory, 1300–1550* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

sites for Catholic pilgrims).³²¹ From the late sixteenth century, new missionary orders, backed by the post-Tridentine church in Rome, also entered the scene, notably the Jesuits and Capuchins. François de Canillac, who we encountered in the Introduction, was among Jesuits sent to Jerusalem to establish a permanent residence for the Jesuits in the holy city, a plan local Franciscans resisted.³²²

These holy sites also held a special significance for Jewish and Muslim populations, as well as the vast and diverse eastern Christian confessions in the region. It was a space crowded with competing claims over devotional sites broadly at two levels. The first was between these Christian communities and a large, local Arab-Muslim population, with the overlay of a still new Ottoman governing class. The *Relation* frequently describes former Christian churches now converted to mosques, with varying practices of allowing non-Muslim worship. At a former church at the cave of Elijah: ‘The Moors [local Arab-Muslims] used it as a mosque and to perform their *salà*, or orations, always allowing entry to Christians and Jews’.³²³ At a church in Lod, ‘the Moors ... having agreement with the devotion of the Christians, shared the church with them and have converted the section where once stood a bell tower into a mosque’.³²⁴ Elsewhere, however, such as the chapel of the Ascension, Christians were prohibited: ‘There is a beautiful church carved into the mountain which the Moors use as a Mosque, denying entry to Christians’.³²⁵ For the most part, however, the *Relation* notes a sharing of devotional sites between Muslims and Christians, albeit determined by local Muslim religious or Ottoman authorities.

³²¹ Megan C. Armstrong, “Jerusalem in the reinvention of the Catholic tradition, 1500–1700,” in *Layered Landscapes: Early Modern Religious Space Across Faiths and Cultures*, edited by Eric Nelson and Jonathan Wright (London: Routledge, 2017), 12.

³²² Robert John Clines, “Fighting enemies and finding friends: the cosmopolitan pragmatism of Jesuit residences in the Ottoman Levant,” *Renaissance Studies* 31, no. 1 (2017): 70–71.

³²³ ‘Les Mores la tiennent pour Mosquée, & y font leur salà, ou oraison, toutesfois en permettent l’entrée aux Chrestiens et Juifs’: *Relation*, 68.

³²⁴ ‘... les Mores, qui ont grande reverance à saint George, ayans agreable la devotion des Chrestiens, ont partagé avec eux ladite Eglise, & de la piece où est le clocher ... en ont fait une Mosquée’: *Relation*, 100.

³²⁵ ‘Il y a une belle Eglise taillée dans la montagne, dont les Mores se servent pour Mosquée, n’en permettant l’entrée aux Chrestiens’: *Relation*, 140.

Another level of competition occurred between Christian sects, intensified by the growing interest and presence of new Catholic orders. Savary de Brèves had to address a particular instance of this conflict at the Holy Sepulchre. On 5 August, the group visited the church of the Holy Sepulchre:

The Georgians, people of the Black Sea ... occupy [the chapel of St Helena in the Sepulchre complex] and did not allow Catholics to celebrate the Mass there or even make their devotions. Monsieur de Breves had [a *firman*] the Porte to take it away from them [the Georgians] and return it to Catholic hands, from whom it was usurped: but they were disobeyed because the Greeks, who guarded this holy place on behalf of the Georgians, did not want to answer this fact ... and bribed the qadi with money... until the arrival of the Georgian Patriarch, who was in Damascus, all remained undecided since Monsieur de Breves could not make so long a stay.³²⁶

Together with the Church of the Holy Nativity in Bethlehem, the Holy Sepulchre was among the most sacred Christian sites, regardless the confession. Under Muslim rule since the Ayyubids, both sites received immunity from destruction or repurposing as mosques in recognition of such importance, a practice maintained under Ottoman rule.³²⁷ The Ottomans confirmed immunity of these sites by a *firman* of 1589, with complaints referred to the qadi in Jerusalem. Oded Peri gives the example of a complaint by the Venetian ambassador in 1614 to Constantinople over attempts by a group of Muslim zealots to take the keys to the Church of Nativity from the Franciscans. The Ottoman government responded by ordering the qadi to arrest them and stop their schemes.³²⁸

Savary de Brèves' encounter illustrates competing claims between Christian communities themselves. While the Franciscans held formal custody of the sites, the Greek

³²⁶ 'Les Georgiens, peuples de la mer noire, habitans autour de Colchos, l'occupent, & ne permettent aux Caholiques, d'y celebrer la Messe, ouy bien d'y faire autres devotions. Monsieur de Breves avoit des commandemens de la Porte, pour la leur oster, & remettre és mains des Catholiques, sur lesquels ils l'on usurpée : mais ils ne furent obeïs : Car les Grecs, à qui les Georgians avoient laissé ce lieu saint en garde, pendant leur absence, ne voulans respondre sur ce fait, que les autres n'en fussent advertis, corrompirent à force d'argent, le Cady de la ville, de peur qu'il ne donnast sentence definitive, & obtindrent de luy, jusques à la venuë de leur Patriarche, procureur desdits Georgians, lequel estoit à Damas, que le tout demeurast indecis : Monsieur de Breves n'ayant loisir de faire là si long sejour': *Relation*, 204–05.

³²⁷ Oded Peri, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 67.

³²⁸ Peri, *Christianity under Islam*, 71.

Orthodox church started to reassert its claim, particularly with Ottoman rule (centred in the former Byzantine capital and home to the Greek Patriarch) now extended over all the former eastern patriarchates (making the case for a kind of shadow extension of the patriarchate).³²⁹ Added to this was Rome's growing missionary imperatives in the Holy Land and the claims of other eastern Christian communities such as the Armenians.³³⁰ These competing interests were legally asserted by claims and counter-claims backed by evidence of (often fake) *firman*s issued by earlier sultans and even forged ancient deeds claimed to be issued by seventh-century caliph Umar.³³¹ Franciscans, however, tended to rely on *firman*s obtained by the Venetians (the Venetians would not have religious clauses in their capitulations until later) and, from 1604, thanks to the efforts of Savary de Brèves, the French.³³² The above extract reveals this competition between Franciscan, Greek and Georgian claims. Savary de Brèves, fresh from the Ottoman court, entered the fray confidently bearing the sultan's *firman* and seeking to implement the newly minted protections under the capitulations. Clearly, he realised that things would be a little more complicated once there and it seems the matter was unable to progress.

This case study from the *Relation* highlights the gap between the capitulations on paper and how they operated in a territory still very much an Ottoman frontier, and host to these competing local claims where even the qadi's loyalty was in question. Savary de Brèves, as ambassador, himself had to go there, bearing the sultan's *firman*. From the account, it seems he was initially unsuccessful. Yet, the moment casts Savary de Brèves as a

³²⁹ Peri explains that the influence of the Greek Patriarchate was aided by Ottoman southward expansion into former Byzantine lands, with the Greek Orthodox church seeking to extend its influence as a kind of shadow of Ottoman expansion, preferential to the Ottomans given the head of the Church being in Constantinople: Peri, *Christianity under Islam*, 100–01.

³³⁰ From the sixteenth century a power struggle emerges between the Armenian patriarchate in Constantinople, set up by the Ottomans, and the Armenian church in Etchmiadzin, under Safavid rule. See Peri, *Christianity under Islam*, 102–03.

³³¹ Peri, *Christianity under Islam*, 127–28.

³³² Radu Dipratu notes that while the French were the first to have religious clauses in their capitulations (in 1604), the Venetians did obtain a *nişan-ı hümayun* (an administrative document of less status than an *ahdname*) later in December 1604 that was almost a verbatim copy of the French provision, but also including a statement about the right to repair the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (significant because of complexities around the repair of Christian churches under Islamic law): Radu Dipratu, *Regulating Non-Muslim Communities in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire* (London: Routledge, 2021), 70–73.

figure representing not just Henri IV, as his appointed ambassador, but also the will or demand of the sultan. In order to resolve this conflict between two Christian claims over holy sites he had to use an Ottoman instrument.

Tunis: negotiating on a corsair's deck

Savary de Brèves' experience in Tunis was even more challenging. From Jerusalem, he travelled to Egypt, where, among other things, he visited the pasha in Cairo (3 November) and the pyramids (11 November), before departing for Tunis (concluding the first part of the *Relation*). He arrived on 17 June 1606, mooring at La Goulette, the fortress port built by Emperor Charles V in 1535 soon after he took the city. Earlier, the sultan gave the ambassador 'favourable orders [*firman*] to present to the [beys of Tunis and Algiers] with credence and more weight' as well as the company of a Turk with great credit at the Porte.³³³ He had several specific objectives, set out in the *Relation*: to free French captives detained as slaves 'against the tenor of the treaties between this Crown and the Ottoman Empire'; to defend French ships against piracy; the restitution of ransacked coins, vessels and merchandise; and to rebuild the Bastion de France, a small fortress on the north African coast that the janissaries had captured.³³⁴

By 1606, Tunis and Algiers were Ottoman *eyalets* (a primary administrative division in the empire), yet the political climate remained complex owing both to events in the sixteenth century and the two regions' distance from the Ottoman centre. Ottoman political and military influence in the western Mediterranean gradually increased from the early sixteenth

³³³ 'Sa remonstration mise en consideration par le Sultan, il en obtint tous les commandemens favorables, qu'il desira ; & pour les presenter avec creance & avec plus de poids, aux Viceroyes, & à la milice qui estoit sur les lieux, il fut accompagné d'un Turc, qui avoit grand credit à la Porte': *Relation*, 2.

³³⁴ '... voici les points qui sont les plus considerables: Pour faire delivrer les François detenus esclaves contre la teneur des traitez d'entre ceste Couronne, & l'Empire Ottoman : Défendre les Pirateries, sur les navires & denrées de France : Faire restituer l'argent, vaisseaux, & marchandises depreedées : Et rebastir une petite retraicte, que les François avoient en la coste du Royaume d'Arger, appellée par nous, le Bastion de France, que les janissaires avoient depuis deux ans, ruynée & pillée': *Relations*, 284.

century, initially prompted by requests for military support from the Tunis-based Hafsid rulers of what is now littoral Algeria, Tunisia and Libya to combat Spanish incursions.³³⁵ Tunis itself was captured by Emperor Charles V in 1535. Seeking military support, particularly naval, the Hafsids turned to the only non-Christian naval power in the western Mediterranean, the corsairs and, in particular, the brothers ‘Arrouj (c.1474–1518) and Khayriddine Barbarossa (c.1478–1546).³³⁶ As these corsairs successfully defended north African cities from Spanish attack, they themselves began to make claims on political authority, becoming embedded in the region’s politics. Blili contends that Khayreddine sought to create a Maghrebi state under his rule.³³⁷ At the same time, the Ottomans supported corsair efforts by sending janissaries to assist in the campaigns. In 1520, as a result of Khayriddine seeking assistance from the Ottoman sultan, Algiers was incorporated into the empire under the corsair’s rule with a garrison of janissary troops.³³⁸ After the Spanish took Tunis in 1535, attention turned to retaking the city. Following a series of strikes and counter-strikes, an Ottoman fleet commanded by Sinan Pasha and Alūj Ali (both of Italian and corsair heritage) definitively took the city in 1574 and the Ottomans annexed Tunis.³³⁹ Hafsid rule now ended, with Algiers and Tunis fully incorporated into its empire. The sultan appointed a *beylerbey* (essentially a governor), supported by a garrison of janissary troops for each city. However, Ottoman annexation did not mean control. By the 1570s, there were at least three key political interests at play in Tunis: the distant Ottoman administration (represented by the appointed *beylerbey* or pasha), the garrisoned janissary corps, and the corsairs, who continued as a maritime force in the region.

³³⁵ By 1510, the Spanish had already taken Mers El-Kebir (1505), Oran (1509), and Tripoli (1510) from the much weakened Hafsids. Meanwhile, other cities started to pay tribute to the Spanish including Tenes, Algiers, and Mostagenem: Houari Touati, “Ottoman Maghrib,” in *The New Cambridge History of Islam. Volume 2: The Western Islamic World, Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries*, edited by Maribel Fierro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 504.

³³⁶ Leila Temime Blili, *The Regency of Tunis, 1535–1666*, translated by Anna Boots and Margaux Fitoussi (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2021), 28.

³³⁷ Blili, *Regency of Tunis*, 33–41.

³³⁸ Blili, *Regency of Tunis*, 32.

³³⁹ Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 156.

The situation in Tunis became further complicated in the late sixteenth century. While the sultan appointed a pasha to govern, Tunis remained very much on the empire's periphery. In 1590, the city's janissary militia rebelled and forced the pasha to hand over the running of the army from the Tunis divan to the militia's immediate supervisors, the *deys* (a term of affection from the Turkish *deyi* or 'uncle'). A new divan was constituted, comprising 300 Deys, and some time between 1594 and 1598, after several years of struggle, one of the deys emerged as leader — Qara Othman, who ruled as Uthman Dey from 1598 until 1610.³⁴⁰

This is the political climate Savary de Brèves entered when he arrived in Tunis, bearing an order from the sultan in Constantinople and accompanied by a representative from the Ottoman court, Mustafa Aga. Politics in Tunis challenged Savary de Brèves to stretch beyond his familiarity with cosmopolitan modes of diplomacy and deal with the complexity of friction typical of distant provinces with contested histories. Following a welcoming fanfare of artillery fired from merchant vessels both to honour (in the case of the French merchants) and to caution (the English), he was sent gifts from the pasha who, according to the *Relation*, 'was named Mehmet, a creature of Monsieur de Brèves and who in his favour had once been made Viceroy of this country'.³⁴¹ Even while in Constantinople, then, Savary de Brèves strategically manipulated appointments to key governing roles in the western Ottoman Mediterranean, which we shall see again when he arrives in Algiers. It indicates the kind of influence over Ottoman administration in Tunis sought by the ambassador. Not only did he negotiate treaty terms but he also sought to affect the appointment of a pasha to distant Tunis, testifying to just how entrenched he had become in Ottoman administration.

On the same day, and yet to meet the pasha, an English corsair sent his men to welcome the ambassador and offer gifts, which Savary de Brèves steadfastly refused, 'saying

³⁴⁰ Sadok Boubaker, "Trade and Personal Wealth Accumulation in Tunis from the Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries," *Revue d'histoire modern et contemporaine* 50, no. 4 (2003): 32.

³⁴¹ 'Le Bassa de Tunis, nommée Mehemet, creature de Monsieur de Brèves, & qui en sa faveur, avoit une fois esté fait Viceroy de ce país': *Relation*, 305.

that he only receives gifts from friends and not from those who pillage the merchant subjects of his Prince'.³⁴² We are told it was 'Captain Wert, renowned across all the Mediterranean sea due to his great predations', who 'usually retired in Tunis, being banished from almost all other harbours of Turkey where pirates rest'.³⁴³ This was renegade English corsair Jack Ward (also Yusuf Re'is), who was indeed well known, the subject of pamphlets, ballads, and playbooks, and other popular works in England.³⁴⁴ By this stage, Ward was both an Ottoman subject and *reis* (an Ottoman naval rank equivalent to captain).³⁴⁵ The account continues:

[Ward] gives part of his takings to the Bassa and to the principal janissaries, one of whom, named Cara Osman [Uthman], a simple soldier, but who governs the State, gives himself the law, before all others, even before the Bassa himself, to choose for advantage those who agree with him ...³⁴⁶

The following day, Uthman, 'in the name of the militia of Tunis', wrote to Savary de Brèves declaring his grievances against French merchants, citing examples of wrongs they had done against the city, and arguing that French sailors had joined warships 'under the banners of enemies of his Prince, to say of Malta, Florence, Genoa, Spain and Savoy'.³⁴⁷ These were mere excuses, notes the *Relation*, before going on to describe Uthman:

The said Cara Osman, of whom we will make frequent mention in this discourse, is a Turk of nationality, a simple janissary without command, a leather-worker of first vocation, but who by his conduct and factions, has governed Tunis for fifteen years in the name of the janissary militia, so

³⁴² 'un Corsair Anglois, qui estoit aussi en ce port, envoya de ses gens audit Seigneur de Breves, pour se resjouir de sa bienvenue, avec presens de rafraichissemens, tels que ceux du Bassa : mais il les refusa, disant qu'il ne recevoit dons que des amis, & non de ceux qui pilloient les marchands sujets de son Prince': *Relation*, 306.

³⁴³ 'Ledit Corsaire, appellé Capitaine Vvert, redouté par toute la mer Mediterranée, à cause de ses grandes voleries ... Il se retire ordinairement à Tunis, estant banny quasi de tous les autres havres de Turquie où abordent les Pirates': *Relation*, 306.

³⁴⁴ Sıla Şenlen Güvençi, "'A Foe to All Christians': The Notorious English Corsair Captain and Ottoman Reis John Ward in Early Seventeenth Century English Literature," *Çanakkale Araştırmaları Türk Yılığ / The Turkish Yearbook of Çanakkale Studies* 17, 29 (Autumn 2020): 35–54.

³⁴⁵ Şenlen Güvençi, "'A Foe to All Christians'," 43.

³⁴⁶ 'Il fait part de ses prises au Bassa & aux principaux Janissaires, l'un desquels, nommé Cara Osman, simple soldat, mais qui gouverne l'Estat, se donne loy, avant tous autres, voire avant le Bassa mesme, de choisir par precupit, ce qui luy agrée': *Relation*, 307.

³⁴⁷ '... sous les bannieres des ennemies de son Prince, açavoir de Malte, Florence, Genes, Espagne, & Savoye, estoient armez de François, ou au moins avoient les Pilotes & Capitaines de nostre nattion': *Relation*, 308–09.

absolutely that all things depend on him, not daring anyone, not even the Bassa himself, to undertake anything other than by his advice.³⁴⁸

As to his person, ‘he is of average size, big and robust, of a proud and arrogant countenance to marvel, having a furious eye and who never looks one in the face’.³⁴⁹ Thus, already by his second day, Savary de Brèves found himself in the throes of the city’s political life. Tunis no doubt immediately presented a much more different political culture to Constantinople and, as it seemed, the key political figure is represented as something of an undeserving tyrant, perhaps to mitigate the reputational damage of the later shortcomings of Savary de Brèves’ negotiations in Tunis.

On 25 June, Savary de Brèves attended the divan of the janissaries to present and have read the sultan’s orders, by which stage he had met the pasha in person and received a threatening visit from Uthman. Before the council, Mustafa Aga read the orders. Uthman responded, ‘all big and puffed-up with anger’, that the orders ‘had been obtained by surprise and falsely given to understanding, otherwise if [the sultan] had been well informed of fact and duly informed of the evils and plunder that the French make on his seas’ he would not have granted such letters of favour.³⁵⁰ Mustafa replied that the French king could not be held accountable for subjects who betrayed his obedience or were banished, and that those of the king’s subjects who were of good intentions were assured protection under the capitulations. The divan session concluded after further debates and altercations with what seemed like an impasse. Uthman resolutely left the divan.

³⁴⁸ ‘Ledit Cara Osman, duquel nous ferons frequente mention en ce discours, est Turc de nation, simple Janissaire sans charge, cordovannier de sa premiere vacation [sic], mais qui par ses menées & factions, gouverne depuis quinze ans en çà, l’Estat de Tunis, au nom de la milice des Janissaires, si absolument, que toutes choses dépendent de luy, n’osant aucun, non pas le Bassa mesme, rien entreprendre que par son advis’: *Relation*, 309–10.

³⁴⁹ ‘... il est de moyenne taille, gros & robuste, de contenance & arrogante à merveilles, ayant l’œil furieux, & qui ne regarde jamais en face’: *Relation*, 310.

³⁵⁰ ‘Alors Cara Osman s’estant avancé, d’une boutade soldatesque, tout gros & bouffi de cholere ... disant que lesdits commandements avoient esté obtenus par surprise & faux donné à entendre : autrement que si le Grand Seigneur eust esté bien informé du fait, & devèment instruit des maux & rapines que les François font sur ses mers, tant s’en faut qu’il eust octroyé telles lettres en leur faveur’: *Relation*, 320.

But, as the ambassador was about to discover, Uthman may not have been the de facto ruler in Tunis after all. Another layer of political power in Tunis was about to be peeled back. The next day, Savary de Brèves visited a galley in La Goulette. There, on the stern of the vessel, they found a man ‘dressed like a simple villager, in a coat of white cloth, sitting on a miserable carpet and under a tent of *toile*’.³⁵¹ It was Murat Reis, ‘an old Turkish Corsair, one of the most renowned of this century ... having exercised his craft for sixty years, with great prosperity ... taking galleys of all the states of Christianity who had them ... He is of eighty years, a small man, very spotted in his face, brave and courageous as possible’.³⁵² Murat Reis had a prestigious career as a corsair, accompanying Khayriddine on campaigns in north Africa and Turgut Reis in the Indian Ocean. The course of negotiations with Murat radically shifted the ambassador’s prospects, with the corsair writing to the militia in Algiers calling on them to follow the sultan’s orders presented by Mustafa Aga. When Jack Ward turned up on the galley, Murat asked him ‘why he took French vessels, friends of Muslims’, to which Ward replied that ‘men of his quality have no regard to these alliances’.³⁵³ There was tentative agreement by Uthman, who was also present, to promise not to take ships bearing the French banner and to release French slaves on condition that Turks detained in Marseille would also be released. The following day, Uthman sought to apologise to ‘a certain Corsican former consul of our nation in Tunis’, explaining:

... the said Seigneur must not prick himself with such words, nor weigh them with the weights [measures] of his country: let it be like money, which changes in value according to the province where it is used: among them, lashes of the tongue neither wound or bruise ...: their old hauntings and long criminal habits have hardened their ears against insult and injury, rendering them indifferent the words

³⁵¹ ‘luy vestu comme un simple villageois, d’une casaque de drap blanc, assis sur de chetifs tapis, & dessous une tente de toile’: *Relation*, 324.

³⁵² ‘Ce Murat Rais est un vieil Corsaire Turc, des plus renommez de ce siecle ; en ayant exercé le mestier durant soixante ans, avec tres grande prosperité, se pouvant variter avec verité, d’avoir pris des galeres de tous les Estats de Chrestienté qui en tiennent, sans que jamais on l’ayt sceu accrocher. Il est agé de quatre-vingts ans, petit homme, fort bourgeonné au visage, brave & courageux au possible’: *Relation*, 323.

³⁵³ ‘il luy demandé pourquoy il prenoit les vaisseaux François, amis des Musulmans, il luy respondit en Italien baragouiné, que les gens de sa qualité, n’avoient point esgard à ces alliances’: *Relation*, 325.

they express ... those who have a good idea of who we are, and know our condition, will find a remedy for what offends him; brigade of thieves, assassins, and desperate rebels, people without altar and without faith, all black with crimes, sinful pustules and humours, of the greatest states of the world, ... why expect courtesy and civility from them, things that one must expect from virtuous people?³⁵⁴

It is a reminder, once again, of the importance and value of words; only Tunis was far removed from the more predictable, refined and courtly diplomatic diction of the Ottoman court.

In July 1606, any progress in negotiations was hampered by further attacks on French shipping — two French ships recently captured by corsairs arrived in Tunis and news arrived that a galley from Bizerte had sacked two ships from Marseille. It was also clear that neither Uthman nor the pasha were willing to carry out Savary de Brèves' wishes for the restitution of goods captured by galleys from Tunis. Uthman argued that seeking restitution would 'provide to a mutinous and seditious populace a pretext for leading parricidal hands to ruin and subvert the entire state'.³⁵⁵ Assured of support from the janissaries, who were often recipients of the plunder, he indicated: 'If the [sultan] sends an army against us, so long as my companions do me the honour of trusting the care of their salvation to my affection ... I will abandon all duties, deliver myself from all obligations so as to reward forever the choice they made in my person'.³⁵⁶ Similar sentiments were shared by the general, Mehemet Bey, who argued that restitution would 'entirely alienate the will of the soldiers, whose favour

³⁵⁴ '... ledit Seigneur ne devoit se piquer de telle paroles, ny les peser au poids de son païs: qu'il estoit comme de la monnoye, laquelle change de valeur, selon la diversité des Provinces où elle est employée: que chez eux, les coups de la langue ne faisoient, ny playe, ny contusion, & moins encore estoient reputez capables d'emouvoir tant soit peu, la faculté irascible: Que leurs anciennes hantises & longues habitudes avec les crimes, leur avoient endurcy l'oreille contre les iniures & convices/conuices, & rendu indifferens, les temps qui les exprimoient: ... qu'il se represente bien qui nous sommes, & il trouvera en la cognoissance de nostre condition, le remede à ce qui l'offense; brigade de voleurs, d'assassins, & rebelles desesperez, gens sans autel & sans foy, tous noirs de crimes, les apostumes, & les humeurs peccantes, des plus grands Estats du monde, Et quelle raison, d'en attendre de la courtoisie & civilité, qui sont choses que l'on doit attendre des personnes vertueuses?': *Relation*, 327–28.

³⁵⁵ '... ce seroit attiser leu feu avec l'espée, & fournir à une popilace mutine & seditieuse, pretexte de mener les mains parricides, à la ruine & subversion entiere de l'Estat': *Relation*, 332.

³⁵⁶ 'Si le Grand Seigneur envoye une armée contre nous, tant que mes compagnons me feront l'honneur de fier à mon affection, le soin de leu salut ... je me desprendray de otus devoirs, me deslieray [sic] de toutes obligations, afin de signaler & rendre loüable à jamais, autant le choix qu'ils ont fait de ma personne': *Relation*, 333.

determined not only their [Uthman and the pasha] authority and their lives'. Moreover, Mehemet Bey thought little of the threat of action by the sultan: 'let us not fear that the Grand Seigneur would get angry and face us to experience the force of his threats; other more pressing occupations keep him hindered and with the time that he must take to send out a force, will change anger to phlegm'.³⁵⁷ Tunis may have been nominally Ottoman, but it remained far from the effective power of the sultan. Regardless, he added, they were already in such a predicament with the sultan as a result of recent rebellions, things really could not get worse. Finally, the pasha himself backed down, fearful of the militia, saying that while 'he had been made Viceroy of Tunis at [Savary de Brèves'] request (nothing is so dear to me as the opportunity to testify to you of my grateful will, nor so grievous than to see myself prevented by the insolence of this rabble of soldiers)', yet 'if I do what I have promised you, I will attract the indignation of Cara Osman and all the militia'.³⁵⁸ The odds were against a positive outcome for Savary de Brèves on the question of restitution.

Apart from restitution, the other issue was the release of French captives and this process also brought contention. Around the same time, at the request of the ambassador, the divan was assembled to respond to his requests. At the end of the divan's session, a letter was read from a Turkish slave in Marseille, 'full of pleas to Osman Dey and to all the militia of ... to satisfy the said Seigneur de Brèves what they could so that, on his return [to Marseille], they can be freed'.³⁵⁹ While the letter fell on deaf ears and the ambassador's continued requests were met with increasing discontent, the divan's members were more open to the

³⁵⁷ 'Au reste, ne redoutons point que le Grand Seigneur s'en irrite, & nous face esprouver la rigueur de ses menaces ; les autres plus pressantes occupations qui le tiennent empesché, & le temps qu'il liu faut pour s'en démesler, le contraindront assez de changer sa cholere en phlegme': *Relation*, 336.

³⁵⁸ 'Vous scavez, faisoit-il à Monsieur de Breves, combien je vous suis tenu car, ainsi que j'ay dit cy-dessus, il avoit esté fait Viceroy de Tunis, à sa requisition, rien ne m'est si cher que l'occasion de vous tesmoigner ma reconnoissante volonté, ny si grief que de m'en voir empesché par l'insolence de ceste soldatesque ... Si j'effectué ce que je vous avois promis, j'attire sur mes bras, l'indignation de Cara Osman, & de toute la milice': *Relation*, 338–39.

³⁵⁹ 'sur la fin ... fut fait lecture d'une lettre, qu'un de leurs compagnons, esclave à Marseille, leur envoyoit, pleine de prieres à Osman Day, & toute la milice du Royaume, de contenter en ce qu'ils pourroient, ledit Seigneur de Breves, afin qu'à son retour, on les mist en liberté': *Relation*, 342.

release of slaves. The *Relation* explains that Savary de Brèves ‘had obtained that which the grand vizier himself had never secured, with all his authority’. It was also agreed that no English corsairs would be received in Tunis that had attacked French shipping and, if any did, the merchandise was to be given to the French consul in Tunis and the corsair punished as a pirate. In return, the ambassador promised that any Turk detained in Marseille would be freed within a year and that all shipping from Tunis would have free entry to French ports, where they could be given supplies and replenishments, as the vessels of good friends.³⁶⁰ While it was not entirely the outcome the ambassador sought, ‘it was judged more expedient to happen thus than to leave ... and return with nothing done’, as much as it ‘provided the time and opportunity to the King to make up his mind about what he would do against this rabble and advise that he equip himself a fleet for Barbary’.³⁶¹ He returned to his ship on 22 August, followed by seventy-two freed slaves, and two days later set sail for Algiers.

Nowhere was the gap between the words of the capitulations and their operation in practice so wide than in Tunis. Once again, Savary de Brèves carried orders from a sovereign, only this time from a different prince and to a very different court. From his arrival, and as he met the layers of political power in the city, the authority and reach of those sultanic orders destabilised. In this Ottoman periphery, it seemed the sultan’s words were only as effective as the real power players (the pasha, Uthman, Murat Reis, and even Ward) were willing to acknowledge. Savary de Brèves stood before each of them representing not only the French Crown (held accountable for the actions of French subjects), but also the sultan. While he was not entirely successful, leaving with the thought of a possible military response to the situation down the track, he did achieve some success with the release of

³⁶⁰ *Relation*, 348.

³⁶¹ ‘... il fut jugé plus expedient de le passer ainsi, que de quitter sans rien faire ; tant pour fournir de temps & d’opportunité au Roy, à se resoudre de ce qu’il feroit contre ceste canaille, & aviser s’il equiperait une flotte pour Barbarie’: *Relation*, 348–49.

captives, boasting that he obtained ‘that which the grand vizier himself had never secured, with all his authority’. Algiers was to be less promising.

Algiers: an ambassador under siege

In Algiers, Savary de Brèves encountered similar hostility, albeit more personally violent. Mustafa Aga continued to travel in the ambassador’s company to present the sultan’s *firman* before the Algiers divan. The two main requests concerned, again, the release of French captives but also the rebuilding of the Bastion de France. As the *Relation* tells, the bastion ‘was built by permission of the Grand Seigneur as a retreat for French coral fishers in Barbary: under the guise of such fishing they took away all sorts of merchandise ... It initially belonged to a company of Marseillais merchants, and now is in the hands of ... Sieur de Moissac, under whose poor management it is understood to be destroyed’.³⁶²

The bastion (Figure 11) was originally built by Thomas Lenche (d. 1568), a Marseille-based merchant of Corsican origin who established the Magnifique Compagnie du Coral in 1552 soon after being granted rights to fish for coral in the region by Selim II and a monopoly on coral fishing by Henri II. The Sieur de Moissac mentioned above is Thomas de Lenche, the founder’s nephew. Not long after Savary de Brèves finalised the capitulations, the Bastion was captured by a group of Algerian corsairs and then destroyed by the militia of Bône (now Annaba) on order of the Algiers divan.³⁶³ As a French trading presence on the north African littoral, the Bastion acted as an important way-station, not just for French shipping in the region but also for information and intelligence. Article 21 of the 1604 capitulations include specific protections relating to the Bastion:

³⁶² ‘... edifiée par permission du Grand Seigneur, pour retraicte des François peschans le corail en Barbarie : sous couleur de laquelle pesche, ils enlevoient toute sorte de marchandises ... Il appartenoit premierement à une compagnie de marchands Marsillois, & maintenant est ès mains d’un particulier, nommé le Sieur de Moissac, par le mauvais mesnage duquel, on tient qu’il a esté destruit’: *Relation*, 355.

³⁶³ Paul Masson, *Histoire des établissements et du commerce français dans l’Afrique barbaresque (1560–1793) (Algérie, Tunisie, Tripolitaine, Maroc)* (Paris : Librairie Hachette, 1903), 17.

We also permit that the French named and authorised by their Prince, can come fishing for fish and coral in the gulf of Stora Courcoury [now the Skikda gulf], a place dependent of our Kingdom of Arger, and in all other places of our coasts of Barbary, and in particular, in places of the jurisdiction of the Kingdoms of Arger and Tunis, without there being given and trouble or hindrance.³⁶⁴

While not making specific reference to the bastion itself, the provision was clearly directed towards the trade centred around the bastion and implied protections for the bastion itself.

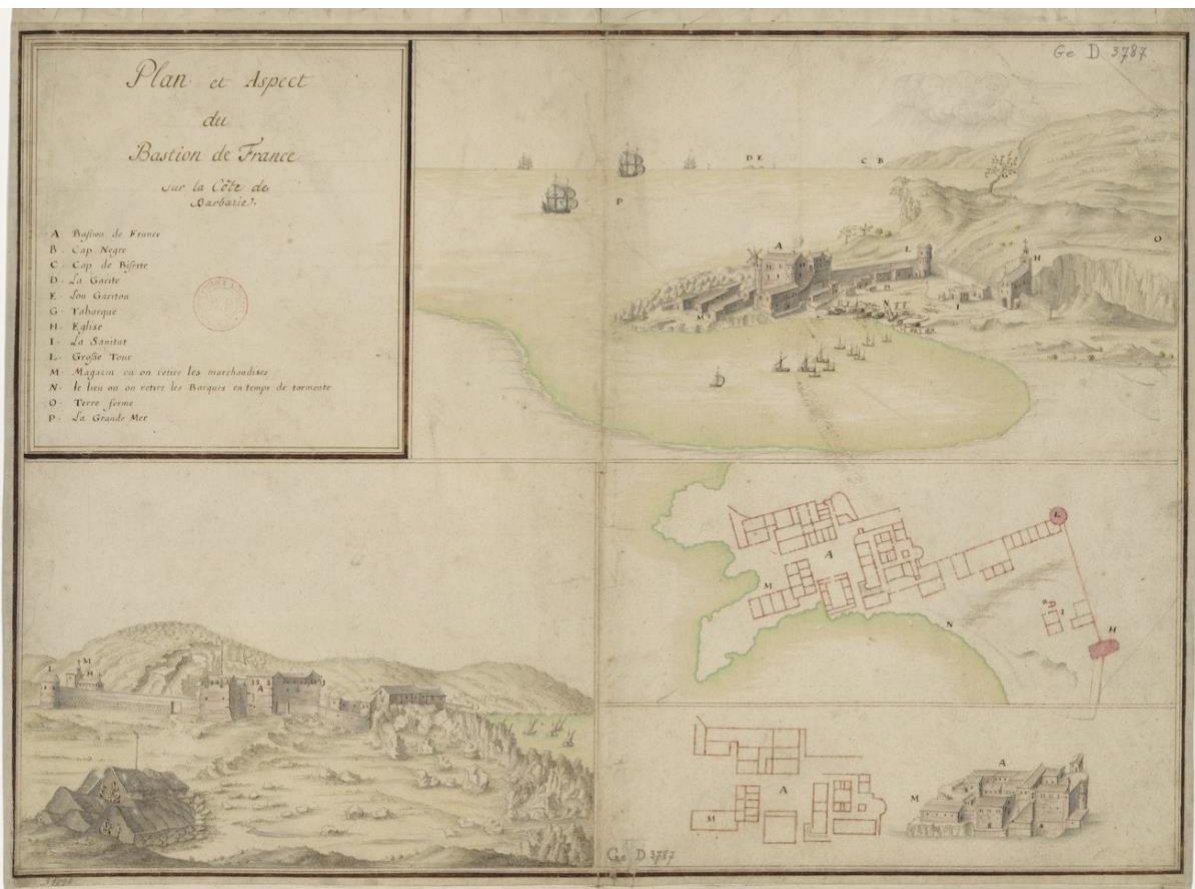


Figure 11: An eighteenth-century plan of the Bastion de France (Paris, BNF, GE D-3787).

As for Algiers itself, like Tunis, at the time of Savary de Brèves' arrival, the *eyalet* was governed on behalf of the sultan by a pasha appointed to three-year terms. After

³⁶⁴ 'Nous permettons aussi, que les François nommez & avouéz de leur Prince, puissent venir pescher du poisson & corrail, au golfe de Stora Courcoury, lieu dépendant de nostre Royaume d'Arger, & en tous autres lieux de nos costes de Barbarie, & en particulier, aux lieux de la iurisdiction de nosdictes Royaumes d'Arger & Tunis, sans qu'il leur soit donné aucun trouble ny empeschement'.

incorporation into the Ottoman Empire in 1516, Algiers was initially ruled by Khayreddine and his immediate successors as *beylerbeys*, a choice reflecting Algiers' setting on the front line of the Ottoman campaign against the Spanish in the western Mediterranean.³⁶⁵ From the mid-1580s, Algiers was governed by appointed pashas, though this was not without its own instability. Among them was Khizr (or Kheder), who first governed as pasha in 1590 before being replaced in 1592 and returning as pasha again in 1595/96, only to be replaced again in part due to a request by Savary de Brèves, while ambassador in Constantinople, the second example of Savary de Brèves strategically intervening from Constantinople in politics on the western Mediterranean fringes of the empire.³⁶⁶ When Khizr returned for a third (and final) term as pasha in 1603, he directed the attack on the bastion, which was his fatal last stand since, in response to protests from Henri IV, the sultan sent Mohammed Kouça to replace him and see to Khizr's strangulation.³⁶⁷ Mohammed Kouça was later succeeded by Mustafa Aga, the envoy travelling alongside the ambassador.³⁶⁸

Savary de Brèves arrived in Algiers on 20 September 1606, a country where the 'janissaries comprise the militia's corps, and absolutely govern the state, in a most tumultuous and strange way ... not recognising the [sultan] any more than their Bassa, who they very often imprison'.³⁶⁹ As to the rest, 'they are nearly all renegades, lost men, without faith, without conscience and without religion, gathered together like a cesspool from all the states of Turkey and Christendom whether banished or fugitive from their country'.³⁷⁰ The account strategically positions Savary de Brèves in a world foreign and hostile the courtly

³⁶⁵ James McDougall, *A History of Algeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 11. We await a more comprehensive study of the regency of Algiers, particularly during the early Ottoman period.

³⁶⁶ H-D de Grammont, *Histoire d'Alger sous la domination turque (1545–1830)* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur, 1886), 139–40.

³⁶⁷ Grammont, *Histoire d'Alger*, 145.

³⁶⁸ Grammont, *Histoire d'Alger*, 147.

³⁶⁹ 'Lesdits janissaires font le corps de la malice, & gouvernement absolument l'Etat, d'une façon la plus tumultuaire & estrange ... ne reconnoissant le Grand Seigneur, non-plus que leur Bassa, lequel bien souvent ils mettent en prison': *Relation*, 359–60.

³⁷⁰ 'Au reste, font presque tous reniez, gens perdus, sans foy, sans conscience, & sans Religion, ramassez comme en une cloaque, de tous les estats de Turquie & de Chrestienté, & bannis ou fuitifs de leur pays': *Relation*, 360.

diplomatic practice. The political climate in Algiers was even more fraught than in Tunis. On 30 September, Mustafa Aga presented the sultan's *firman* to the divan to which the janissaries responded, 'spewing a barrage of outrageous words in contempt of the Grand Seigneur'.³⁷¹ The encounter left Mustafa in fear of his own life and he sent a man to warn Savary de Brèves that 'the militia was being strongly armed against his person'.³⁷²

Savary de Brèves' reputation had preceded his arrival in Algiers. First, according to the *Relation*, in Constantinople he had 'made condemned a Cherif (as the Turks call the descendants of Mahomet, who carry a green turban to identify their lineage) Mufti, or grand priest of the Janissaries of Algiers for having insulted a Consul of our nation'.³⁷³ Then there was the fate of Khizr:

Now, the people of the said Cader [Khizr/Kader], recalling how Monsieur de Brèves caused him to be sent to Constantinople and forced him to surrender six thousand ducats he had plundered from French subjects, along with thirty slaves; and finally reduced to such condition that if he had wanted, he could be beheaded.³⁷⁴

Once again, we see the ambassador's involvement in governance in these north African territories, in this case urging action against a mufti and the former pasha, whose assassination was attributed to complaints made by Savary de Brèves in Constantinople. His personal safety could not be assured in the city since the ambassador 'had for enemies the most powerful of the town, people audacious and enraged'.³⁷⁵ This threat was compounded by new mutinies against the pasha on 9 October and again on 16 October, when the

³⁷¹ 'lesdits janissaires firent un grand tumulte au Divan, & ayant vomy tout plein de paroles outrageuses, en mepris du Grand Seigneur': *Relation*, 364.

³⁷² 'il dépescha un homme vers Monsieur de Breves, pour l'aviser du peril où il se trouvoit, & luy mander aussi, comme la milice estoit fort animée contre sa personne': *Relation*, 364.

³⁷³ 'Monsieur de Breves estant à Constantinople, fist condamner aux galeres un Cherif (ainsi appellent les Turcs, les descendans de Mahomet, qui pour marque de leur extraction, portent le Turban verd) Mufti, ou grand prestre des janissaires d'Arger; & ce, pour avoir donné un soufflet au Consul de nostre nation': *Relation*, 365.

³⁷⁴ 'Or les gens dudit Cader, memoratifs comme Monsieur de Breves l'avoit mal mené à Constantinople, & contraint de rendre six mil sequins, qu'il avoit desrobbez aux François, avec trente esclaves; & finalement reduit à tel terme, qu s'il euff voulu, on luy coupoit la teste': *Relation*, 366–67.

³⁷⁵ '... ledit Seigneur Ambassadeur avoit pour ennemies, les plus puissans de la ville, gens audacieux & enragez': *Relation*, 368.

janissaries ‘flooded into the palace, took guard around [the pasha’s] chamber, assembled themselves in the divan, and held council on what they must do [to the pasha], whether to strangle him or make him prisoner in the tower’.³⁷⁶ The personal threats and the janissary mutinies made for a less than ideal climate for negotiation, and without an assurance of safety, only Mustafa Aga was able to attend the divan.

Circumstances became more favourable, however, with the arrival from Tunis of Murat Reis on 19 October with his two galleys. We are told that as soon as Murat stepped foot ashore and learned of the threats to the ambassador, he blamed the janissaries, assured Savary de Brèves’ safe conduct, and promised to do all in his power to assist in the affair.³⁷⁷ On 24 October, Ahmed I’s *firman* was read in the divan, to which the pasha replied with the utmost wish to obey the commands, unless he was prevented from this by the militia, in which case he would renounce administration of Algiers. At a further council of the divan, it proposed that they did not wish the bastion rebuilt in any way and, as for the slaves, that they would be returned once the Turks had been brought back from Marseille.³⁷⁸ A few days later, on 30 October, Savary de Brèves left Algiers without any firm guarantee of the sultan’s orders and much more limited success than in Tunis. From Algiers, they sailed by way of the Balearic islands to Nice, before arriving in Marseille on 19 November 1606, which is where the *Relation* ends.

Conclusion

The *Relation* provides us with a rich, unique account of an early seventeenth-century European diplomat’s work in the complex and politically charged world of the Ottoman

³⁷⁶ ‘... ils inuestirent le palais. & ayans pose gardes autour de sa chambre, s’assemblerent au Divan, & tindrent conseil sur ce qu’ils en devoient faire, ou l’estrangler, ou le mettre prisonnier à la tour’: *Relation*, 372.

³⁷⁷ *Relation*, 374.

³⁷⁸ ‘Qu’ils ne vouloient que le bastion se refist, en aucune façon : & pour les esclaves, qu’ils les rendroient, quand on auroit amené les Turcs, de Marseille’: *Relation*, 376–77.

Mediterranean frontier, far removed from the court that many of his contemporaries would have been accustomed to. As Cara Uthman said, Tunis and Algiers, in particular, were places far removed from the ‘courtesy and civility’ of diplomacy.

Savary de Brèves was the first of the French ambassadors to Constantinople to undertake diplomacy in these far reaches. D’Aramon may have accompanied Ottoman naval expeditions and de la Forêt may have sought assistance from Khayriddine back in the 1530s, but this was the first time a French ambassador had undertaken such an extensive mission. As the *Relation* notes, this was done on request of Henri IV back in France. Unlike his predecessors, who were largely stationary in Constantinople, Savary de Brèves’ experience as ambassador was one of remarkable mobility, not only geographic but also across cultures, communities and authorities (even if renegade). Fresne-Canaye produced a travel account while attached to the Noailles embassy in 1572–73 but its focus is almost entirely on Selim II’s court, reflecting a longstanding interest in the Ottoman court and seraglio. Even the more contemporaneous (and popular) *Descrizione del seraglio del Gransignore* by Venetian ambassador to the Porte Ottaviano Bon (ambassador from 1604 to 1609) keeps in line with this traditional focus. Dursteler credits Bon’s account as ‘the first account of the seraglio ... based on actual, first-hand experience and observation’ gained by ‘unprecedented access during an absence of Sultan Ahmed I’ and circulated widely in manuscript form, keeps in line with this traditional focus.³⁷⁹ Indeed, Achille Harlay de Sancy (1581–1646), who served as French ambassador in Constantinople a few years later, would produce a manuscript copy of Bon’s work, now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France and incorrectly attributed to Sancy.³⁸⁰ The focus of these accounts no doubt reflect a privileging of court-centred diplomacy and longstanding interest in the Ottoman court’s alterity and intrigue, but it also

³⁷⁹ Eric Dursteler, “Ottaviano Bon,” in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History 1500–1900*, edited by John Chesworth and David Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 669. For a recent edition: Ottaviano Bon, *The Sultan’s Seraglio: An Intimate Portrait of Life at the Ottoman Court*, translated by John Withers and John Greaves (London: Saqi Books, 2001).

³⁸⁰ Paris, BNF, MS Français 19029.

reflected the largely stationary experience of figures like Fresne-Canaye, Bon and Sancy. The mobility of someone like Savary de Brèves in the Mediterranean explains, in part, the surprising absence of the seraglio and court from his own account.

Further, Savary de Brèves' mobility and the expansiveness of his journey (and report) reflects growing French interests in the western Mediterranean, which we have seen was an area of Spanish activity throughout the preceding century. The geopolitical mis-en-scène to the dramas embroiling Savary de Brèves in an attempt, at some level, by the French crown to exert some kind of influence in the western Mediterranean through the Ottoman territorial reach, even attempting to reestablish the foothold (albeit small) of the Bastion. Meanwhile, in the eastern Mediterranean, the French Crown was attempting to establish itself as the protector of the Church's claims in Christendom's most sacred site — the Holy Sepulchre. His itinerary mirrored the very priorities captured in the 1604 capitulations and his advocacy before Ottoman courts, both explored in Chapter 4.

Meanwhile, the figure at the centre of all this, Savary de Brèves, encountered a much more complex reality. Each of these places — Jerusalem, Tunis and Algiers — shared a common feature, namely, a fractured or volatile authority. The Ottomans may have *de jure* ruled these frontiers, governing through qadis, pashas and beylerbeys, but such authority was undermined by competing and powerful local interests, whether local sectarian figures (as in Jerusalem) or janissary captains and corsairs (as in Tunis and Algiers). These were places where qadis could be bribed by local sectarian interests and pashas caved in fear to janissary captains. It is unsurprising that the capitulations negotiated by Savary de Brèves sought to be applied right down to the level of castle-keeper. These were very different kinds of 'courts' to the more clear-cut world of negotiating between two princes in Constantinople. The account offers insights into the distinctive political cultures in centres like Tunis and Algiers, comparable to the 'ungoverned peripheries' described by James C. Scott, which he suggests

should be understood less as ‘barbarians’ (particularly pertinent to the way we continue to think about the ‘Barbary coast’) but ‘barbarian by design’, societies that attracted those seeking to escape the state to establish political agency in the perfect setting of a remote periphery.³⁸¹ In Tunis and Algiers, Savary de Brèves encountered these very kind of figures — corsairs, mutinous janissary captains, renegade English pirates — who were extremely reluctant to relinquish this agency.

These contexts thrust Savary de Brèves in a rather curious position. How might he have been perceived by those with whom he negotiated in these three cities? On the one hand, he represented the French crown. We saw how he was held answerable for the actions of the king’s subjects in Tunis and Algiers, how he advocated for the restitution of French goods and release of French slaves. On the other hand, in each instance, he arrives at these ‘courts’ bearing the orders of the Ottoman sultan, working alongside the sultan’s envoy as a necessary intermediary, there to defend and implement the sultan’s will. For the *de facto* governors in Tunis and Algiers, he represented the interests and will of both sovereigns. Indeed, Savary de Brèves had crossed these lines, having become entrenched enough in the Ottoman administrative machinery to influence the appointment of a governor of Tunis and the deposition of two political players in Algiers (to such a degree that he had already earned a reputation before his arrival). Moreover, the *Relation* boasts that the ambassador had achieved more success in the release of French slaves in Tunis than even the grand vizier back in Constantinople could.

Jean Hotman and Cara Uthman lived worlds apart. Yet both understood the value of words to place — for Hotman they were windows into the affairs of a particular state and for

³⁸¹ James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 8.

Uthman their weight was relative to place. It was Savary de Brèves who negotiated these two worlds, not only in diplomatic terms, but also linguistic.

Chapter 6:

The early modern diplomat as collector: the oriental manuscript collection of Savary de Brèves

When Savary de Brèves landed in Marseille in 1606, returning to France for the first time after twenty years, he was no longer the inexperienced *inconnu* who once belonged to Lancosme's troublesome entourage but an experienced diplomat. Knowledge from his sojourn was not the only thing he brought back to France. Returning with him was a collection of over one hundred manuscripts in Arabic, Persian and Turkish that formed the nucleus of a project that occupied him for at least another decade and resulted in the production of the oriental printing press for which he became renowned. Savary de Brèves was no longer ambassador at Constantinople, but he did not abandon his interest in the Ottoman world, nor its languages, at Marseille. This interest accompanied him back to Paris and even to his next diplomatic appointment in Rome (the subject of Chapter 7).

We saw in the Introduction how orientalist Jean-Joseph Marcel credited Savary de Brèves for his contribution to orientalist studies chiefly owing to his enterprises after his service in Constantinople to set-up a press for printing in the languages of his posting. The next five chapters examine this phase of his career, attempting to establish what kind of orientalist he was, how he figured in broader practices of oriental studies in early modern Europe at the time, his motivations, and what new insights his example offers to the history

of oriental studies in sixteenth-century Europe. Our starting point in these next two chapters is his collection of manuscripts which formed the nucleus of his oriental studies project, focused foremost on the Ottoman court's languages and ultimately directed towards establishing a college for oriental studies in Paris.

Oriental studies in early modern Europe has attracted increased scholarly attention over the past two decades, particularly concerning the study of Arabic. The edited volume, *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe* (2017), surveys the study of Arabic in the Netherlands, England, Germany, Sweden, Spain, and Rome.³⁸² More recently Robert Jones' *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505–1624)* (2020) extends our understanding of the teachers and texts involved in learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe.³⁸³ A 2018 study from Alexander Bevilacqua reveals a 'republic of Arabic letters' and European studies of Islam during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.³⁸⁴ Natalie Rothman's 2019 study, *The Dragoman Renaissance*, contributes a valuable focus on the interest in Ottomanist studies and the important role played by dragomans. With the exception of Rothman, scholarship focuses largely on the study of Arabic (compared to Turkish), which, as we shall see, is understandable considering prevailing attitudes to Turkish at the time. Further, while many of these works attest to the important role of non-scholar actors (such as merchants and diplomats) in oriental studies (again, Rothman is most commendable here with her focus on dragomans), these studies continue to centre scholars themselves, most of whom were stationary figures relying on the mobility of other actors to provide them with their materials. These non-scholar actors are cast as intermediaries in a vast network with termini in centres like Paris, Oxford or Leiden. Our analysis of Savary de Brèves' collection offers new ways to

³⁸² Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton and Charles Burnett (eds.), *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

³⁸³ Robert Jones, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505–1624)* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

³⁸⁴ Alexander Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic letters: Islam and the European Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2018).

consider oriental studies in early modern Europe and reassess non-scholar actors like diplomats as more than intermediaries but collectors in their own right. Moreover, we should ask what their practices mean for our understanding of the contours of oriental studies in the period. Examining Savary de Brèves' manuscript collection demonstrates that oriental studies also encompassed the development of strategic knowledge about the Ottomans to facilitate the more pragmatic needs of diplomacy and foreign policy.

Before further considering his manuscripts, it is worth briefly exploring his role in manuscript collection beyond his diplomatic career. As a reward for his services in Constantinople, Savary de Brèves was granted the French consulate in Alexandria, a position inherited by Camille on his father's death in 1628. As holder of rights over the French consul in Egypt, Savary de Brèves remained an important agent in Levantine networks of manuscript collection. Antiquarian and collector Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc was among those who directly benefitted from the diplomat's efforts, writing soon after Savary de Brèves' death:

I feel very sorry for Monsieur de Breves, whose loss is very great and detrimental to the public, because this man was capable of great things. His widow did me the great honour to write to me a very honest letter on this subject ... if I had the means to serve her and the Messieurs her children, I would do it with all my affection ...'.³⁸⁵

Peiresc was among the most pre-eminent scholars of seventeenth-century France, with a strong interest in the littoral Mediterranean, from his own Provence across to Egypt.³⁸⁶ As we shall see, even after his death, Savary de Brèves (at least, through his family and protégés such as André Du Ryer) continued to play an influential role in the collection of manuscripts

³⁸⁵ 'Mais je plains bien davantage Mr de Breves dont la perte est trez grande et prejudiciable au public, car cet homme estoit capable de grandes choses. Sa vesve m'a faict l'honneur de m'escire une bien honneste lettre sur ce sujet de mesme datte que la vostre, à laquelle je responds maintenant, et si j'ay moyen de la servir et Messieurs ses enfants, je le feray de toute mon affection mesmes Monsieur l'abbé de Montmajour': Philippe Tamizey de Larroque (ed.), *Lettres de Peiresc aux frères Dupuy, Tome I* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1889), 603–04.

³⁸⁶ For Peiresc's scholarly interests: Peter Miller, *Peiresc's Mediterranean World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015); Sydney H. Aufrère, *La Momie et la Tempête: Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc et la 'Curiosité Egyptienne' en Provence au début du XVIIe siècle* (Avignon: Éditions A. Barthélemy, 1990).

and other objects from the Levant. The consulship granted Savary de Brèves control over vice-consul appointments, which is how André Du Ryer came to be vice-consul and an eminent collector and translator of oriental manuscripts, including the first European translation of Saadi's *Gulistan*, a key text in the Persian literary canon.

Our present concern lies with the manuscript collection Savary de Brèves brought back from Constantinople, which today forms part of the oriental collections at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. While not all of these works have been identified within the library's collection, three separate lists of Savary de Brèves' collection survive, each composed not long after his death. At least one of these lists provide a near complete account of the contents of his collection, including the language of each work. We need to consider these manuscripts as part of Savary de Brèves' printing press project; after all, the manuscripts travelled, across the centuries, with the characters and punches he developed. As such, the collection offers insights into his overall vision and ambitions with its overwhelming focus on Turkish language that set his collection apart from those elsewhere in Europe.

Oriental collections in early modern Europe

The late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed critical transformations in the practice of manuscript collection. Among these was the establishment of new libraries and re-establishment of old libraries across Europe, as well as the growth in personal libraries. The manuscript as a commodity was also undergoing a shift whereby manuscripts once chiefly collected in smaller quantities as luxury items were collected in increasingly larger numbers

for their ‘intellectual usefulness’ and to fill these new libraries.³⁸⁷ Late Renaissance manuscript collections were assembled and organised for *use* — for service and utility.³⁸⁸

As a gateway between Europe and Asia, and a centre for learning both under the Byzantines and Ottomans, Constantinople was a key hub for buying and selling manuscripts, with systematic and active work in the seventeenth century to source, collect, archive, and copy manuscripts in the Ottoman Empire for European collections.³⁸⁹ As seventeenth-century orientalist Antoine Galland noted in 1685:

There is no place more convenient for making progress [in the acquisition of books] in a short time than the city of Constantinople, which, since it is the capital of the Empire, must be considered the gathering place of all men of learning who aspire to receive compensation for their works by accepting an appointment [in the city]. ... [Books] were bought in unbelievable quantity, as much from Egypt, from Syria, from Arabia, and Mesopotamia as from Persia itself, where the Turkish armies once advanced considerably.³⁹⁰

Booksellers operated in the city’s Grand Bezestan (or grand market), as well as smaller markets. Manuscripts were also sold in centres like Aleppo, Izmir, and Cairo, each of which were commercial and intellectual centres attracting European merchants and hosting diplomatic consuls.

The two key agents responsible for manuscript acquisition were merchants and diplomats (or people associated with diplomats). By virtue of their residency at a foreign locale, ambassadors, consuls, and their diplomatic personnel (such as secretaries) had for some time been involved in book acquisition on behalf of royal or other patrons. For example, Henri II’s special ambassador to Constantinople (1557–58) and Venice (1561–64), Jean Hurault de Boistailié, had collected more than one hundred Greek and oriental

³⁸⁷ Warren Boutcher, “Collecting Manuscripts and Printed Books in the Late Renaissance: Naudé and the Last Duke of Urbino’s Library,” *Italian Studies* 66, no. 2 (2011): 211.

³⁸⁸ Boutcher, “Collecting Manuscripts,” 213.

³⁸⁹ John-Paul Ghobrial, “The Archive of Orientalism and its Keepers: Re-imagining the Histories of Arabic Manuscripts in Early Modern Europe,” *Past & Present* 230, Issue suppl. 11 (November 2016): 95.

³⁹⁰ In Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, 88.

manuscripts during his diplomatic service.³⁹¹ This included the tenth-century Paris Psalter and a copy of the Qur'an.³⁹² At times, scholars might even accompany ambassadors, as did Postel during de la Forêt's embassy. While diplomats and travellers could collect for themselves, they were usually commissioned by clients and patrons in Europe. There was an immense appetite for oriental manuscript acquisition, at times extremely competitive and motivated by a variety of impulses. Importantly, collectors sat within a transnational network of agents that wove scholars, merchants, diplomats, patrons, librarians, and other players into an interconnected transnational network or 'republic of letters'.³⁹³

It is therefore unsurprising that Savary de Brèves, a diplomat who spent nearly two decades in Constantinople and developed proficiency in Turkish, returned with such a significant collection. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, he was more than an intermediary acting on behalf of clients or patrons back home. He was himself a collector with an interest in oriental manuscripts and oriental studies. In order to appreciate what makes his collection so distinctive when we analyse its contents in the next chapter and understand his motivations as collector, we need to position his collection in the context of other oriental manuscript collections across Europe at the time. While recent studies survey the language of Arabic in early modern Europe, we await a more complete study specifically on the collection of oriental manuscripts during the same period, so a brief survey will be presented below.

Spain

³⁹¹ Isabelle de Conihout, "Jean et André Hurault: deux frères ambassadeurs à Venise et acquéreurs du Cardinal Grimani," *Italique* 10 (2017): 109–11.

³⁹² Paris, BNF, MS Grec 139; D. F. Jackson, "The Greek Manuscripts of Jean Hurault de Boistaillé," *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 2 (2004): 209–52; M.-P. Laffitte, "Une acquisition de la Bibliothèque du roi au XVII^e siècle: les manuscrits de la famille Hurault," *Bulletin du Bibliophile* (2008): 42–98. For the Qur'an: Paris, BNF, MS Arabe 384.

³⁹³ See: Alastair Hamilton et al (eds), *The Republic of Letters and the Levant* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

In early modern Spain, we observe a practice not of collecting manuscripts in oriental languages, but of their destruction. Following centuries of Arabic studies during the Middle Ages, the defeat of the last Muslim Iberian kingdom in 1492 ushered in a policy across the peninsula of eradicating not only Islam, but remnants of its culture.³⁹⁴ In 1499, Archbishop of Toledo and Chancellor of Castile Ximenes de Cisneros (1436–1517) accompanied the inquisitorial court to Granada, centre of the former Muslim kingdom, and ordered the burning of some 5,000 Arabic manuscripts in the public square.³⁹⁵ The confiscation of Arabic books was also pursued by the Spanish Inquisition and, in 1567, Philip II banned the use of spoken and written Arabic in Castile, further encouraging inquisition authorities in confiscations.³⁹⁶ As Toomer notes, the interest in Arabic studies in Spain was mostly limited to missionary activity, with some lexicographic works produced in 1505 but no other similar work printed in Spain until 1775.³⁹⁷

It may thus seem surprising that the royal Escorial library of the seventeenth century held one of the most impressive collections of Arabic manuscripts in Europe. However, the reconstruction of this collection had nothing to do with a concerted royal collecting effort. In 1612, French consul-turned-pirate Jehan Philippe de Castelane, sent by Louis XIII to Morocco, was commissioned by Moroccan sultan Muley Zidan to transport his household goods from Sali to Agadir. Castelane broke his commission, instead heading to Marseille to sell the goods there. Castelane's ship was intercepted by the Spanish, who seized the Frenchman and his goods, among which was the sultan's library. The collection of roughly

³⁹⁴ For Arabic in medieval Spain: Charles Burnett, "The Translating Activity in Medieval Spain," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, edited by Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1036–58.

³⁹⁵ Daniel Eisenberg, "Cisneros y la quema de los manuscritos granadinos," *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 16 (1992): 108; Mercedes García-Arenal, "La Inquisición y los libros moriscos," in *Memoria de los moriscos. Escritos y relatos de una diáspora cultural*, edited by Alfredo Mateos Paramio et al (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2010), 57.

³⁹⁶ Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Sacred History, Sacred Languages: The Question of Arabic in Early Modern Spain," in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic*, 137.

³⁹⁷ G. J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 18–19.

4,000 books was transferred to Madrid and entered the Escorial library.³⁹⁸ A recent study also notes that the head librarian of the Escorial, Hebraist Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598), was interested in acquiring Arabic texts even though prohibited by the Inquisition.³⁹⁹

France

In France, collecting oriental manuscripts predated Savary de Brèves, but was also undertaken in the context of France's diplomatic relationship with the Ottomans. The key figure here is Postel, who accompanied the French ambassador to Constantinople from 1534 to 1537. We learn from Nicolas de Nicolay, who also travelled to Constantinople in 1550 accompanying ambassador d'Aramon, that Postel 'was sent into the Oriental parts with the Sieur de la Forest, by order of the great king Francis ... where besides the charges committed to him, he was to bring to Paris several other [works] of the Arabic language, both Mathematics and Medicine as well as Philosophy and other disciplines to enrich the country of his birth'.⁴⁰⁰ Following Postel's return from a second journey to the Levant in 1549–50, he amassed what Toomer considers 'undoubtedly the best contemporary collection of Arabic manuscripts in Europe'.⁴⁰¹ Due to personal financial circumstances, however, Postel was compelled to sell the manuscripts, with a significant number passing into the Biblioteca Palatina of Otto Henry, Elector Palatine, which itself passed into the Vatican library collection as a result of the Thirty Years' War.⁴⁰² Many of the oriental manuscripts collected

³⁹⁸ Daniel Hershenzon, "Travelling Libraries: The Arabic Manuscripts of Muley Zidan and the Escorial Library," *Journal of Early Modern History* 18 (2014): 535–58.

³⁹⁹ García-Arenal and Mediano, "Sacred History," 139.

⁴⁰⁰ 'M. Guillaume Postel ... envoyé es parties Orientales avec le Sieur de la Forest, par ordonnance du grand Roy François premier du nom: là ou outre les charges à luy commises, apporta à Paris plusieurs autres de la langue Arabique, tant en Mathematiques & Medecine, comme en Philosophie & autres disciplines pour enrichir le pais de sa naissance': in the preface to Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les navigations, peregrinations et voyages, faicts en la Turquie, par Nicolas de Nicolay* (Anvers: Guillaume Silvius, Imprimeur du Roy, 1577).

⁴⁰¹ Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom*, 27.

⁴⁰² Stephan Roman, *The Development of Islamic Library Collections in Western Europe and North America* (London: Mansell, 1990), 147–48.

by Postel, the *manoscritti postelliani*, now sit within the Vatican Library.⁴⁰³ Postel's interest was chiefly in Arabic and Hebrew.

According to historian Stephan Roman, the earliest evidence for Turkish manuscripts entering the royal library was 1616, with French ambassador to Constantinople Achille Harlay de Sancy (1581–1646) writing to the king's librarian promising to send valuable manuscripts.⁴⁰⁴ The king's librarian at the time was François-Auguste de Thou, son of Jacques-Auguste, who himself was president of the *parlement* of Paris, friend of Arabist Joseph Scaliger and father-in-law (through marriage of his daughter, Anne) to Savary de Brèves.⁴⁰⁵ François-Auguste was on the verge of becoming ambassador to Constantinople and was in the Levant in 1628–1629 to collect manuscripts for Peiresc.⁴⁰⁶ Cardinal Richelieu, who later acquired Savary de Brèves' collection, also commissioned agents to collect manuscripts. In 1638, the French ambassador in Venice wrote to Richelieu: 'I have written through all the Levant and in all places where there are French consuls and ordered them to search there with great care all those [works] which can be found worthy of [your library]'.⁴⁰⁷ Yet, this collecting occurred after Savary de Brèves' posting in Constantinople, suggesting little earlier interest in oriental manuscripts beyond those in scriptural languages.

Italy

Given the longstanding mercantile and diplomatic connections between Italian cities and the Ottomans (particularly Venice, Genoa, and Florence), as well as the longstanding

⁴⁰³ For the *manoscritti postelliani* in the Vatican: Giorgio Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1989), 290–327.

⁴⁰⁴ Roman, *Islamic Library Collections*, 91.

⁴⁰⁵ Correspondence between de Thou and Sancy: Paris, BNF, MS Français 6415, ff. 143r–144r. Several of these letters make reference to Savary de Brèves as consul in Egypt.

⁴⁰⁶ Peter Miller, "La méditerranée de Peiresc: ce que les enseignements du XVII^e siècle apportent au XXI^e," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 157, no. 2 (2013): 867.

⁴⁰⁷ '... j'ay desja escrit par tout le Levant et imposé les ordres necessaires en tous les lieux où il y a des consuls de France pour y rechercher avec grand soin tout ce qui s'y pourra trouver digne d'elle': Paris, AAE, Correspondance, Venice, vol. 52, f. 160.

interest in book collection in Italy, we would well expect to find collections of oriental manuscripts across the peninsula. Italian merchants and diplomats were certainly active players in the collection of such manuscripts in centres like Constantinople, Aleppo, and Cairo. The Vecchietti brothers, Giovanni Battista and Gerolamo, are celebrated for their pioneering role in the collection of oriental manuscripts.⁴⁰⁸ Giovanni Battista's second voyage to Persia (1590–1608/09) under the direction of Pope Sixtus V saw the systematic collection of Judeo-Persian manuscripts, and while much of his acquisition activity was directed towards biblical works (such as copies of the Pentateuch), manuscripts collected by the brothers included works of astronomy, poetry (including a copy of the *Gulestan*), and dictionaries.⁴⁰⁹ When Jean-Baptiste Duval, travelling in the company of the French ambassador to Venice, was in Rome in September 1607 visiting the pope's interpreter in oriental languages, he met Giovanni Battista, and wrote: 'While I was visiting, another of his friends arrived, who was interpreter of the Persian language, a man of great body, dark of face, who perpetually wore glasses attached to his nose. His name was Joan Baptista Vecchietti'.⁴¹⁰ Francis Richard considers the brothers as 'pioneers without whom the extraordinary development of seventeenth-century orientalism from its inception could not have benefitted from the resources of rich libraries'.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁸ Francis Richard, "Les frères Vecchietti, diplomats, érudits et aventuriers," in *Republic of Letters and the Levant*, 11.

⁴⁰⁹ For Vecchietti's acquisitions in the BNF: Francis Richard, "Les manuscrits persans d'origine indienne à la Bibliothèque Nationale," *Revue de la Bibliothèque nationale* XIX (1986): 30–46.

⁴¹⁰ 'A la mesme heure que je l'entretenois arriva un aultre sien amy, interprète de la langue persan, homme grand de corps, noir de visage, lequel porte perpétuellement des lunettes attachées sur le nez. Il s'appelle encore Joan Baptista Vecchietti, a fait plusieurs beaux voyages, ayant esté mesmement esclave': Paris, BNF, MS Français 13977, f. 223v.

⁴¹¹ Richard, "Les frères Vecchietti," 26.



Figure 12: Page from a Persian translation of the Proverbs of Solomon produced in Mughal Sindh in 1605 for Vecchietti. Notice that the illumination includes the pontifical arms, destined as it was for Clement VIII. (Paris, BNF, MS Supplément Persan 2, f. 1v.)

Yet, it was the pope's interpreter of oriental languages visited by Duval who represents the most significant figure in oriental manuscript collecting in Italy at the time: Giovanni Battista Raimondi. The Vecchietti brothers had collected manuscripts for

Raimondi, who was working in Rome as director of the Medici Oriental Press. Promoted by Pope Gregory XIII (1502–1585) under the patronage of Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, the main aim of the press was to print books in oriental languages to facilitate missionary activity among eastern Christians in Muslim lands, as well as production of a new polyglot bible that included versions in Hebrew, Greek, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, and Persian (each volume with its own parallel Latin translation).⁴¹² Mario Casari notes that beneath the surface of this evangelistic project, Raimondi's own interests and work was more broadly intellectual, predominantly linguistics, science, and literature.⁴¹³ Casari argues that Raimondi was 'one of those rare Renaissance Orientalists whose intellectual reflections and work affected all the three main fields of interest for the oriental studies of the age: the religious, the linguistic, and the scientific'.⁴¹⁴ A key activity in Raimondi's personally directed work at the Medici Oriental Press was manuscript acquisition, with approximately 500 original oriental manuscripts now in Florentine archives and libraries attributable to Raimondi (either owned by him or imported by Raimondi's collaborators).⁴¹⁵ While any communication between Raimondi and Savary de Brèves remains to be identified, the latter keenly followed the former's project. Yet their interests in printing in oriental languages seemed to differ, with Raimondi's works either servicing the missionary objectives of his patrons or his own intellectual pursuits.

⁴¹² For a history of the Medici Oriental Press: Alberto Tinto, *La tipografia Medicea Orientale* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 1987).

⁴¹³ Mario Casari, "Eleven Good Reasons for Learning Arabic in Late Renaissance Italy: A Memorandum," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, edited by Machtelt Israëls and Louis A. Waldman (Florence: Villa I Tatti, 2013), 548.

⁴¹⁴ Casari, "Eleven Good Reasons for Learning Arabic," 549.

⁴¹⁵ A core of the oriental manuscripts at the Medici Oriental Press derived from Ignatius Ni'matallah, the head of the Syriac Orthodox Church from 1557 to 1576 who later worked in Rome under Gregory XIII. The rest came from Raimondi's own collection, acquired through the efforts of people like the Vecchiotti brothers: Mario Casari, "Raimondi, Giovanni Battista," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani: LXXXVI* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2016), 222.

United Provinces

From the late sixteenth century, the United Provinces became an important centre for the study of oriental languages, largely built around the university at Leiden. The first Arabist at the university was Franciscus Raphelengius (1539–1597), encouraged to learn Arabic by Postel while he was studying in Paris.⁴¹⁶ As well as compiling an Arabic–Latin dictionary in 1613, Raphelengius designed Arabic printing type modelled on the Medici Oriental Press making Leiden the first place after Rome where Arabic could be printed.⁴¹⁷

French-born Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609) was most critical for the university’s oriental studies. While studying Greek and Hebrew at the university of Paris, Scaliger took lodgings that formerly belonged to Postel, who, upon his return from the Levant, taught the young pupil Arabic in exchange for board and lodgings.⁴¹⁸ Scaliger earned his scholarly reputation working on Greek and Latin texts in the 1570s and 1580s, though this also included a book about calendars that sought to combine the calendars of all known peoples in the east and west.⁴¹⁹ From 1593 until his death in 1609, Scaliger enjoyed a preeminent place at the university of Leiden, to which he left ‘all my books of foreign languages, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Ethopian, which are listed in the catalogue I have added to the Latin copy of this will’.⁴²⁰ Incidentally, among these manuscripts is a set that once belonged to a French nobleman and marked, *Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huralti Boistalerii*. This was Jean Hurault, sieur de Boistaillé, ambassador for Francis I in Venice and at the Ottoman court.⁴²¹ How these works

⁴¹⁶ Alastair Hamilton, “The Perils of Catalogues,” *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 1 (2010): 32. Scholars involved in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible project were associated with Postel: Marion L. Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel: Prophet of the Restitution of All Things His Life and Thought* (The Hague: Springer, 1981), 163.

⁴¹⁷ For the Arabic type specimen of Raphelengius: John Lane, ed., *The Arabic type specimen of Franciscus Raphelengius’s Plantinian Printing Office (1595)* (Leiden: University Library Leiden, 1997).

⁴¹⁸ Arnoud Vrolijk and Richard van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands: A Short History in Portraits, 1580–1950* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 20.

⁴¹⁹ It is suggested that this was the work that earned his reputation as a scholar of oriental studies: Vrolijk, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*, 21.

⁴²⁰ In: Kasper van Ommen, “‘Tous mes livres de langues estrangeres’ Reconstructing the Legatum Scaligeri in the Leyden University Library,” *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 34, no 3 (Summer 2011): 146.

⁴²¹ In 1557–58, Hurault was sent to Constantinople with a dispatch from the French king requesting financial and naval support from Suleiman I in defence of the French king’s recently won hold of Corsica: Isabelle de Conihout, “Jean et André Hurault: deux frères ambassadeurs à Venise et acquéreurs de livres du cardinal Grimani,” *Italique* X (2007): 110.

ended up in Scaliger's collection remains a point of conjecture, but Kasper von Ommen suggests that Scaliger's friend and librarian of the Royal Library, Jacques-Auguste de Thou, also shared close contacts with the Hurault family.⁴²²

Scaliger, however, never necessarily gave momentum to oriental studies at Leiden, a task that belonged to Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624). A student at Leiden with an interest in oriental languages that Scaliger encouraged, Erpenius travelled to Paris in 1609, where he became acquainted with the professor of Arabic at the Collège Royale (a position formerly held by Postel) Étienne Hubert (1567–1614), who earlier served as physician to Moroccan sultan Ahmed al-Mansur in 1598–1600. During a return to Paris in 1611, Erpenius met Ahmad ibn Qasim Al-Hajari, a Morisco diplomat sent to the city by Moroccan sultan Mulay Zidan (whose library ended up in the Escorial) and who offered Erpenius further instruction in Arabic.⁴²³ As the first professor of Arabic at Leiden, Erpenius made two significant contributions to the study of oriental languages in early modern Europe: his *Grammatica Arabica* (1617) and an oration on the virtue of learning Arabic.⁴²⁴ During this time, he collected a significant number of Arabic manuscripts, purchasing some from the estate of Hubert after his death and acquiring others through the efforts of the Dutch ambassador in Constantinople, Cornelius Haga (1578–1654).⁴²⁵ In his oration on the Arabic language, Erpenius cited Haga: 'there are two Arabic libraries [in Constantinople], each worth a hundred thousand ducats, which in our terms is four tons of gold'.⁴²⁶ It is a reminder that manuscripts were not only of scholarly value, but also valuable commodities. Two days after Erpenius's death from a contagious disease in November 1624, a funeral oration was

⁴²² Van Ommen, "Reconstructing the *Legatum Scaligeri*," 154–55.

⁴²³ Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom*, 18–19. For Ahmad ibn Qasim Al-Hajari: Omar Moumni, "Neither Occidentalism nor Orientalism in Al Hajari's Nasir al-Din ala al-Qawm al-Kafirin 1611–1613," *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 54, no. 7 (2022): 1034–47; Lahoucine Aammari, "Discursive and Cultural Encounters in Ahmad bin Qasim Al-Hajari's Ambassadorial Travel Narrative, Kitab Nasir Adin ala alqawm al-kafirin," *Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 4, no. 1 (2017): 47–68.

⁴²⁴ Thomas Erpenius, *Oratio de linguae Arabicae praestantia et dignitate* (Leiden: Typographia Auctoris, 1613).

⁴²⁵ Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom*, 20.

⁴²⁶ Jones, "The Value of the Arabic Language," 19.

delivered and later printed, to which was appended a catalogue of his oriental manuscripts.⁴²⁷ The catalogue includes manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hebrew, Syriac, Hindi, Chaldean, and Ethiopian. The collection was purchased the following year by the Duke of Buckingham, George Villiers, and because of his tenure as chancellor at Cambridge, the collection now sits within that university's collection.⁴²⁸

For Jacobus Golius (1596–1667), Erpenius' pupil and successor at Leiden, the Dutch assumption of diplomatic relations with Morocco (1610) and the Ottomans (1612) afforded new opportunities for studying oriental languages and acquiring manuscripts. Golius spent over a year in Morocco, attached to a special diplomatic mission, and over two years in Aleppo and Constantinople similarly attached to diplomatic missions.⁴²⁹ However, it was Golius's student, Levinus Warner (1618–1665), who bore the fruits of all these years of oriental studies at Leiden and its application in a diplomatic context. Unlike earlier figures, Warner opted for a life in Constantinople rather than as a teacher at Leiden, arriving in the Ottoman capital in 1645 with diplomatic aspirations eventually fulfilled upon appointment as resident ambassador in 1654.⁴³⁰ He remained in Constantinople until his death in 1665, amassing a collection of 1,486 manuscripts in Arabic (1,164), Persian (224), and Turkish (98), which were acquired by Leiden university (the 'Legatum Warnerianum'). They covered an impressive range of subjects, led by histories (155), philosophy (127), and poetry (124).⁴³¹

Clearly, by Warner's time, Leiden had become a pre-eminent centre for the study of oriental languages in early modern Europe, with an avid interest in manuscript collection. In the earlier period, these efforts relied on the presence of Arabic studies in Paris, and reflected

⁴²⁷ Gerardus Joannes Vossius, *Oratio in obitum clarissimi ac praesantissimi viri, Thomae Erpenii, orientalium linguarum in Academia Leidensi Professoris* (Leiden: Ex Officina Erpeniana, 1624).

⁴²⁸ Catherine Ansoorge, "Cambridge University Library Islamic Manuscript Collection. Origins and Content," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 7, no. 2 (2016): 130.

⁴²⁹ Boris Liebrez, "Golius and Tyschen and Their Quest for Manuscripts. Three Arabic Lettets," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 8, no. 2 (2017): 220.

⁴³⁰ For Warner's time in Istanbul: *Levinus Warner and his legacy: three centuries Legatum Warnerianum in the Leiden University Library* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970).

⁴³¹ For a full listing of the contents: *Levinus Warner and his legacy*, 37–44.

a stronger interest in Arabic manuscripts and language learning. Warner marks a shift that occurred once the Dutch assumed diplomatic relations with the Ottomans — while a strong interest in Arabic manuscripts remained, we start seeing an interest in Persian and Turkish language and manuscripts. Golius and Warner represent departures from their predecessors at Leiden since both were attached to Dutch diplomatic missions in the Ottoman Empire, a trait they share with Savary de Brèves. A further important observation about the Dutch context is that it was institutionally supported by the university at Leiden, providing a continuity unavailable to Postel, Raimondi and Savary de Brèves.

Imperial collections

Despite Habsburg hostility vis-à-vis the Ottomans on Europe's eastern frontier, their close contact generated a considerable interest in the Turkish language in Vienna. Sebastian Tengnagel (1563–1636) was the leading figure in oriental manuscript collection in the imperial capital, serving as the Habsburg court librarian from 1608 until his death in 1636. Still, only 176 of the 4,000 manuscripts in his private library, which became part of the imperial library after his death, were in oriental languages.⁴³² Tengnagel himself never visited the Ottoman Empire, instead relying on interpreters at the Ottoman court such as Michel D'Asquier, Josephus Barbartus, and Johannes Paulus Albanus for collecting.⁴³³

⁴³² Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik, "Books as a Means of Transcultural Exchange between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans," in *International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World*, edited by Matthew McLean and Sara Barker (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 121.

⁴³³ Barbarics-Hermanik, "Books as Transcultural Exchange," 122. Marseille-born Michel d'Asquier, for example, served as chief interpreter at the court of Ferdinand II, and would not only go on to service a further two emperors (Ferdinand III and Leopold I), but later served as Grand Dragoman at the Ottoman court from 1669 to his death in 1673: see Alastair Hamilton, "Michel D'Asquier, imperial interpreter and bibliophile," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 72 (2009): 237–241.

England

English interest in oriental studies and the collection of oriental manuscripts is well documented by Gerald J. Toomer in his *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England*. It was not until the 1630s that Oxford became a centre for Arabic studies comparable to Paris or Leiden, and it did so chiefly under the direction of William Laud (1573–1645), chancellor of the University of Oxford and later Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud took an interest in collecting oriental manuscripts, even issuing a request in the king's name to the Levant Company that every company ship return with one Arabic or Persian manuscript.⁴³⁴

However, collecting efforts by Oxford-educated scholars Edward Pococke (1604–1691) and John Greaves (1602–1652) made the greatest contribution the university's collection. After successfully applying for the post of chaplain to the Levant Company, Pococke spent six years in Aleppo from 1630 where he assembled a significant collection of manuscripts.⁴³⁵ As an Arabist, Pococke translated Hugo Grotius' *De Veritate Religionis Christianae* (1627) into Arabic, with Grotius explaining that Pococke 'thinks that no book is more useful either for instructing the Christians in those parts, or even for converting the followers of Muhammad who live in the Turkish, Persian, Tatar, North African, or Indian dominions'.⁴³⁶ In 1637, Pococke travelled to Constantinople with another scholar, John Greaves, and their joint efforts resulted in further large additions to Laud's collection.⁴³⁷

While their collections certainly included Persian and Turkish manuscripts, their chief interest was in Arabic texts, especially due to their scholarly interests (Pococke in biblical studies and the propagation of the faith in the Christian east, and Greaves in astronomy).

⁴³⁴ Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom*, 108.

⁴³⁵ For Pococke's collecting activities in Aleppo: Simon Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge: trade, religion, and scholarship between England and the Ottoman Empire, 1600–1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 71–95.

⁴³⁶ Grotius in a letter to his brother Willem on 16 February 1641, in: Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom*, 145.

⁴³⁷ Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom*, 138–38.

Simon Mills notes that of the 419 manuscripts recorded in Pococke's collection, three-quarters were in Arabic, with the remainder chiefly comprising works in Hebrew.⁴³⁸

Meanwhile, Laud was interested in building on the foundations of the new professorship in Arabic he had established. Thus, the interest here was deeply anchored in scholarly interests, an important distinction from Savary de Brèves. Arguably, the efforts of Pococke and Greaves, supported by Laud at Oxford, comprise the bedrock of the Bodleian's oriental manuscript collections today. Such an achievement would unlikely be possible without the presence of Pococke and Greaves in Aleppo and Constantinople, since commitments by Levant Company merchants to return with manuscripts were rather weak. Moreover, their residency in these foreign cities was made possible by a diplomatic presence — Pococke stayed with the English consul in Aleppo for six years, while he and Greaves resided with the English ambassador in Constantinople. This presence meant they had immediate access to the markets and auctions where manuscripts were sold, and the advice of locals to guide them to suitable acquisitions (Pococke relied on the advice of Aleppo-based sufi Aḥmad al-Gulshanī, who also tutored him in Arabic).⁴³⁹ While the two were scholars rather than diplomats, the English diplomatic presence in these cities offered the logistical framework for their work.

The diplomat's intervention in oriental manuscript collections

From this brief survey we can make several broad observations about the practice of oriental manuscript collecting in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the period coinciding with Savary de Brèves' career. First, the key clients or collectors were scholars, people like Postel, Scaliger, Raimondi, and Greaves. Apart from Postel, most of these figures never themselves travelled to the Levant, instead commissioning agents to acquire

⁴³⁸ Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge*, 71.

⁴³⁹ Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge*, 76.

manuscripts from markets in the Levant. Many of these agents were diplomats residing in cities like Venice and Constantinople, while merchants too played an active role. In some instances, such as Boistailé and Hubert, these diplomats possessed collections of their own as well as supplying to clients in Europe. Overall, manuscript collection was driven by individuals, and chiefly by scholars, with agents like merchants and diplomats, who were based in centres like Constantinople, Alexandria and Aleppo, acting as intermediaries collecting on behalf of clients.

Second, given this it is unsurprising that the key motivation behind these collections was scholarly. The particular interest in manuscripts in languages like Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac — languages of the bible — reflects the central focus of early modern oriental studies with biblical erudition and scholarship.⁴⁴⁰ Other important drivers were missionary (as in the case of the Medici Oriental Press and the later Congregation of *Propaganda Fide*) and linguistic, such as Erpenius' desire to improve the study of Arabic. There was also a continued interest in accessing Arabic translations of classical Greek texts, such as Raimondi's edition of Euclid's works. These are by no means mutually exclusive. While in some cases texts in Persian and Turkish were acquired, collectors mostly sought manuscripts in Arabic. Where Persian texts were acquired, these were in connection with biblical studies, such as the Proverbs of Solomon in Persian commissioned by Vecchietti in the Sindh. Where was the place of a language such as Turkish amongst this — a language that had no connection to the bible, little connection to works by the classical Greeks, and of little value to missionaries seeking to proselytise amongst eastern Christians? We shall return to this question in the next chapter, when we unpack Savary de Brèves' own collection. Suffice to say, there was limited interest in Turkish amongst these early oriental studies collectors.

⁴⁴⁰ Daniel Stolzenberg, "What Was Oriental Studies in Early Modern Europe ? 'Oriental Languages' and the Making of a Discipline," in *The Allure of the Ancient: Receptions of the Ancient Middle East, ca. 1600–1800*, edited by Margaret Geoga and John Steele (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 344.

Third, we do however see a critical shift with collectors like Golius and Warner. Once diplomacy further opened up opportunities for broadening the horizons and possibility of acquiring oriental manuscripts and diplomatic relations are established with the Ottomans, resident ambassadors and consuls provide a foothold in cities like Constantinople and Aleppo for collecting manuscripts and establishing new interests in languages like Turkish outside the immediate concerns of scholarship. Further, we see diplomatic agents themselves (like Warner) not just acting as intermediaries for client–collectors, but themselves becoming the end-point for collecting oriental manuscripts.

Savary de Brèves' collection

To-date, there has not been a comparable study of Savary de Brèves' own collection. One possible explanation for this is that studies to-date place scholars like Erpenius and Postel at the centre of oriental manuscript collection during the period, with those involved in the actual acquisition considered simply as agents or conduits in a network rather than collectors themselves. Yet Savary de Brèves was no middle-man — he never transferred his collection to a client and the collection was only later acquired by a patron–collector after his death (Cardinal Richelieu ordered its acquisition from Savary de Brèves' widow). Arguably, Savary de Brèves' status as a diplomat rather than as a scholar has meant that, despite his avid interest in these manuscripts, his collection has received limited attention. Indeed, there is little to suggest he considered himself a scholar or that his efforts were anchored in a scholarly field. Levinus Warner perhaps represents Savary de Breves' closest analogue. By turning to this collection, we not only develop a greater understanding of this particular diplomat's motivations and vision, but also understand the broader notion of diplomats as collectors in this period.

The collection's journey to the Bibliothèque nationale de France

Shortly after Savary de Brèves' death in 1628, his manuscripts were acquired by Cardinal Richelieu and then inherited by the cardinal's niece, Marie Madeleine de Vignerot du Pront de Courley, duchess d'Aiguillon. Following d'Aiguillon's death in 1675 the collection passed to the Sorbonne where it remained until transferred to the royal library (now the Bibliothèque nationale de France) during the revolutionary period. The collection's presence in the Sorbonne was the subject of an eighteenth-century debate between French orientalist Joseph de Guignes (1721–1800) and Antoine-Auguste-Lambert Gayet de Sansale (1729–1792), librarian at the Sorbonne.⁴⁴¹ In 1788, Louis XVI commissioned Guignes to produce a study on the oriental characters conserved in the Imprimerie royale. Guignes concluded that the ambassador's manuscripts passed into the Sorbonne.⁴⁴² Sansale disputed this claim, arguing only a portion of Richelieu's library was transferred to the Sorbonne in 1660 and that Savary de Brèves' collection was not included.⁴⁴³ Guignes counter-argued that a judgement of the Parlement of Paris in February 1660 between the duke of Richelieu and the Sorbonne instructed that the cardinal's library be transferred to the Sorbonne in full, with no mention of any division of its contents.⁴⁴⁴

The task of identifying each of these manuscripts within current collections at the national library remains to be undertaken. It is a task all the more important since Savary de Brèves stands as a crucial figure at the foothills of grander collections assembled by figures like Gilbert Gaulmin, Antoine Galland, and Melchisédech and Jean Thévenot some decades

⁴⁴¹ For this debate: Joseph de Guignes, "Réponse de M. de Guignes à la Lettre de M. l'Abbé de Sansale, inserée dans l'Annale Littéraire 1788, no. 7, au sujet des Manuscrits de M. de Brèves, dont l'acquisition a été ordonnée par Louis XIII," *Journal des Sçavans* (May 1788): 3–15.

⁴⁴² Joseph de Guignes, "Essai historique sur l'origine des Caractères Orientaux de l'Imprimerie royale, sur les Ouvrages qui ont été imprimés à Paris, en Arabe, en Syriaque, en Arménien, &c & sur les Caractères Grecs de François Ier appelés communément *Grecs du Roi*," in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi : Lûs au Comité établi par Sa Majesté dans l'Académie royale des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, Tome Premier* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1788), ix–cii.

⁴⁴³ *L'Année Littéraire*, no. 7 (1788).

⁴⁴⁴ Guignes, "Réponse," 12. According to Richelieu's will, his library was to be housed in a building then under construction connected to the Palais Cardinale, with several doctors of the Sorbonne appointed to keep an inventory of its contents and continue to purchase books so the library could be of service to the public. The building was never completed, which is why we might suppose the collection was transferred to the Sorbonne instead.

later. While we are unable to presently identify all these works in current collections, we do know the contents of Savary de Brèves' collection thanks to three extant records of the collection composed soon after his death. The table below sets out the three separate records of the ambassador's manuscripts. The records can be found in separate manuscript volumes at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, as indicated below.

List	Description	Items listed
Vitré⁴⁴⁵	<p>This is a printed list of Savary de Brèves' oriental manuscripts purchased by Antoine Vitré (1595–1674) on order of Louis XIII (in fact, Richelieu).</p> <p>Vitré was the king's printer for oriental languages from 1630, leading the Paris Polyglot Bible project (printed in 1645).⁴⁴⁶ The list appears at the end of a set of printed documents composed by Vitré as part of proceedings in the <i>Parlement</i> of Paris and king's council through which he was seeking remuneration for his purchase of the manuscripts and oriental printing press. This printed list was composed in the 1640s.</p>	93 ⁴⁴⁷
Peiresc⁴⁴⁸	<p>This is a hand-written list, entitled 'Illustrissimi Domini de Brèves / Libri arabici, Persici, et turcici / M.S. celebriores'. In the top left-hand corner appears 'BIBLIOTHECA ARABICA / DMI DE BREVES' (the hand is Peiresc's).</p> <p>The volume is a collection of Peiresc's notes relating to oriental languages (Hebrew, Samaritan, Arabic, Egyptian and Coptic, as the title page of the collection indicates).</p>	66
Dupuy⁴⁴⁹	<p>A hand-written list of 'the most famous Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts of the very illustrious Sieur de Brèves' ('Illustrissimi domini de Brèves libri arabici, persici et turcica ms. celebriores') that now sits within a volume of diverse documents compiled in 1648. There is nothing else in this volume that seems connected to Savary de Brèves.</p> <p>The volume was composed by Pierre Dupuy, the king's librarian until 1651, and whose name appears on the handwritten title page (fol. 2). The volume also includes a document (ff. 96–105) in Peiresc's hand that essentially comprises notes on etymologies for certain words.</p>	66

⁴⁴⁵ Paris, BNF, MS Français 15528, ff. 220r–221v.

⁴⁴⁶ *Histoire de l'imprimerie et de la librairie, où l'on voit son origine & son progress jusque'en 1689* (Paris: Jean de la Caille, 1689), 24–42. Vitré was appointed printer of oriental languages (Hebrew, Chaldean, Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Armenian, Samaritan, and others) on 7 April 1630.

⁴⁴⁷ Note that four titles have more than one volume, bringing the total number of volumes to 104 to 105.

⁴⁴⁸ Paris, BNF, MS Latin 9340, ff. 328r–330r.

⁴⁴⁹ Paris, BNF, MS Dupuy 673, ff. 131r–132v.

A copy of the Vitré list is reproduced in Appendix 2. As mentioned in the table above, Vitré's inventory of the collection sat within a printed work alongside extracts from the registers of the *Conseil d'Etat*, correspondence to the king and his council, and ordonnances. The list is part of a printed report documenting Vitré's legal claims relevant to proceedings he was pursuing related to his purchase of the collection on the king's behalf, with the inventory forming evidence in his claims. As such, the list could be considered an accurate account of the ambassador's collection. While the list records 93 items, when the ambassador was said to have brought back over one hundred manuscripts, some of the items in the Vitré inventory comprise more than a single volume or book (an additional eleven or twelve).

The Peiresc and Dupuy inventories list only 66 items. Importantly, each lists the same items, presenting them in the same order, with the same genre headings, and the same header for the inventory. We can make some observations about the relationship between these two lists. First, the Dupuy list is written on long, narrow paper in an informal, rough, though legible, hand. The Peiresc list is written in a much more formal hand. Neither list is written in Peiresc's hand. However, at the top left-hand corner of the first page of the Peiresc list is written 'BIBLIOTHECA ARABICA / DMI DE BREVES'. This text is written in Peiresc's hand and seems to be a note for annotating his documents in his archive (other documents in his archive bear a similar annotation). We know that the royal librarian Pierre Dupuy and Peiresc were in regular correspondence and, indeed, that Peiresc made mention of the ambassador's collection to Dupuy in a letter from 1628. Peiresc mentions meeting Gabriel Sionita, noting: 'there is no shortage of very beautiful manuscript books of Monsieur de Brèves'.⁴⁵⁰ We can speculate that the Peiresc list was composed in the royal library (possibly by Dupuy or on his orders) and then sent to Peiresc in response to his request (thus ending up

⁴⁵⁰ In Philippe Tamizey de Larroque (ed.), *Lettres de Peiresc aux frères Dupuy, Tome I* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1889), 579.

with his other notes). Why the two identical lists? One possible explanation is that the Dupuy list represents an initial transcription of the titles from the ambassador's collection, to be rewritten in more formal presentation to Peiresc in a new document. We can only speculate, however. For present purposes, we will treat the Peiresc and Dupuy lists as identical; a copy of the Peiresc list appears in Appendix 3. Notably, these lists only include 66 manuscript volumes, considerably fewer than the Vitré list. This list is also entitled '*MS celebriores*' ('the more famous manuscripts'), so clearly it represents a specific selection of more well known works. This analysis suggests that the Vitré list is the more accurate and complete, particularly since it represents an itemisation of claims made as part of Vitré's legal proceedings.

The coherence of Savary de Brèves' collection presented by these lists has since dissolved into the broader collection of oriental manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The dissolution was a problem noted by Guignes as well when he was writing about the collection. Not only had it been incorporated into Richelieu's library, with the manuscripts embossed with the cardinal's arms, but, he observed: 'I could not make known those [works that belonged to] M. de Brèves other than by the catalogue of Vitré, a catalogue made in haste and in the course of a judicial raid by a Commissaire. The titles, translated from Latin into French, have been abbreviated and altered, and one must be instructed in oriental literature and understand the language in order to discover them in the inventory of 1643'.⁴⁵¹ Despite these challenges, these surviving lists give us a kind of momentary unity, enabling us to unpack the collection. We know the texts were variously written in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, and covered several genres of writing. An analysis of these characteristics offers potential insights into not just the ambassador's collection, but the

⁴⁵¹ 'Je n'ai pu faire connoître ceux de M. de Breves que par le catalogue donné par Vitré, catalogue fait à la hâte dans une descente de justice par un Commissaire : les titres traduits en latin en françois ont été abrégés & estropiés, & il faut être instruit de la Littérature Orientale, & entendre la langue pour les découvrir dans l'inventaire même de 1643': Guignes, "Réponse," 13.

collector himself, particularly when we consider them in light of the earlier analysis of oriental manuscript collecting in early modern Europe.

Correlations between the Vitré and Peiresc/Dupuy lists

Despite differences in the number of manuscripts itemised in each list, we can still match several specific works common to both. A few preliminary, cautionary observations need to be noted. First, as Guignes noted, sometime after their acquisition, these manuscripts were first allocated titles in Latin. We might assume that this work was done by a person like Gabriel Sionita, who had at least a command of Arabic and Latin (the latter thanks to his stay in Rome at the College of Maronites, explored in Chapter 7) and in whose possessions the manuscripts were found when acquired on Richelieu's order. Where available, native-speakers were often enlisted to assist in cataloguing such as the example of young Christian convert from Nanking, Shen Fuzong (c. 1658–1691), who, following his visit to London in the company of a Jesuit, was recruited to catalogue the Bodleian library's Chinese collection.⁴⁵² After Sionita's cataloguing into Latin, Vitré then may have compiled his own list (in French) as part of his legal claims and printed the list. Thus, the accuracy of these titles reflecting their contents relies on both the original transcriber's knowledge of the texts' languages and content (as Guignes observed) and their choice of title to represent the work. A second, and related, point is that so many of the works bear general titles such as 'Une Introduction au Droit Civil', 'Une livre du Droit', and 'Plusieurs Fables', making the task of matching works across both lists difficult and requiring caution.

Nonetheless, there are certainly several very clear matches between the two lists. For example, each list has a manuscript in Tatar: 'Les Amours d'un Roy de Perse, en Tartare'

⁴⁵² William Poole, "The Letters of Shen Fuzong to Thomas Hyde, 1678–88," *Electronic British Library Journal* 9 (2015): 1–28.

(Vitré) and ‘Amores regis cuiusdam Persarum, Tartarice’ (Peiresc/Dupuy). Both lists contain a copy of an important dictionary in the Arabic tradition: ‘Le grand Kamous, ou Thresor de la langue Arabique, en 2. volumes, en Arabe’ (Vitré) and ‘Camus seu amplissimum totius arabice lingue vocabularium’ (Peiresc/Dupuy). This is the *Al-Qamus al-Muhit* of the fourteenth-century, Persian lexicographer Fairuzabadi (1329–1414).⁴⁵³ The two lists share another lexical work: ‘Une Grammaire de Kaphia, imprimée’ (Vitré) and ‘Commentaria in Cafiam’ (Peiresc/Dupuy). The ‘Kaphia/Caphiam’ is a Latinised form of *Kafiya*, an Arabic grammar first produced by twelfth-century Mālikī grammarian Jamāl al-Dīn b. al-Hājib, and it is possible that the edition is Raimondi’s 1592 version printed while directing the Medici Oriental Press.⁴⁵⁴ A further match in both lists is a collection of poetry by tenth-century Arabic poet, al-Mutanabbi: ‘Les œuvres d’Almotannabi, tres celebre Poëte Arabe, en Arabe’ (Vitré) and ‘Motannabi poeta celeberrimus Arabice’ (Peiresc/Dupuy). Both lists also contain copies of the *Gulistan*, a popular piece of thirteenth-century Persian literature by Sa’di, with four copies in the Vitré list but only one in the Peiresc/Dupuy list. As we shall see, the first European translation of this important Persian text was made by Savary de Brèves’ protégé, André Du Ryer. A full list of matched titles appears in the table below.

Vitré list	Peiresc/Dupuy list
Les Amours d’un Roy de Perse (Tatar)	Amores regis cuiusdam Persarum (Tatar)
Le grand Kamous, our Thresor de langue Arabique en 2. Volumes (Arabic)	Camus seu amplissimum totius arabice lingue vocabularium
Les œuvres d’Almotannabi, tres celebre Poëte Arabe (Arabic)	Motannabi poeta celeberrimus Arabice (Arabic)
La Vie d’Alexandre le Grand (Turkish)	Historia Alexandi Magni Turcico carmine (Turkish)
La Vie des Saints (Turkish)	Liber de veneratione sanctorum, ubi refertur historia sanctorum Mahometanorum (Turkish)
Histoire de Joseph & ses amours avec la femme de Putiphar (Turkish)	Historia Josephi Patriarche et Zelcha regine Aegipti (Turkish)

⁴⁵³ For Fairuzabadi and the *Al-Qamus*: Ramzi Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition: From the 2nd/8th to the 12th/18th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 391–95.

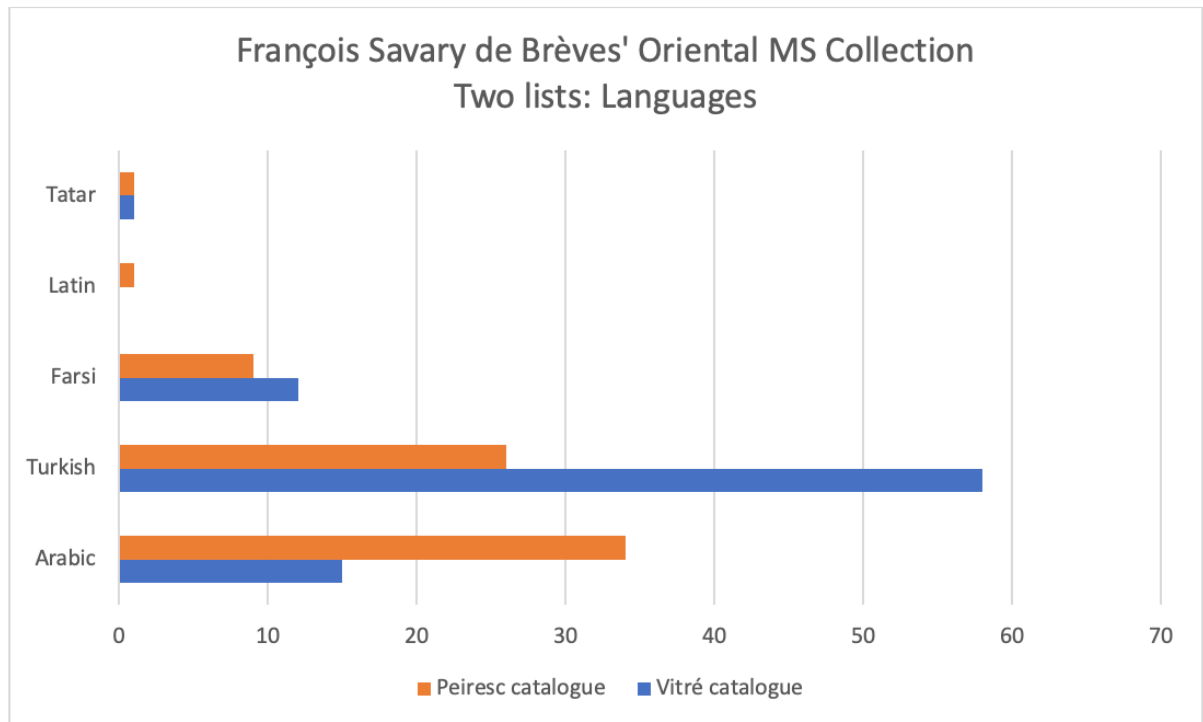
⁴⁵⁴ Jan Loop, “Introduction,” in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton and Charles Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 4. A copy of Raimondi’s edition of the *Kafiya* is held by the BNF.

Exposition des diverses Sentences (Arabic)	Varie sententio tum serio tum iocose e diversis authoribus selecto (Arabic)
Histoire de Tamerlan (Persian)	Historia tamerlam Percico carmine (Persian)
Une Grammaire de Kaphia, imprimée (Arabic)	Commentaria in Cafiam (Arabic)
Le Riche & le Pauvre (Turkish)	Amores divitiis et pauperis (Turkish)
Commencemens & progrès de l'Empire des Otthomans (Turkish)	Historia amplissima recens conscripta de origine et imperium Othomannorum tribus voluminibus contenta (Turkish)

Languages

We saw earlier that language was a key determinant in the acquisition of oriental manuscripts in early modern Europe, with a particular interest in Arabic and the biblical languages. The importance of language is reflected in the titles of the three lists of the ambassador's collection: 'manuscrits arabes, turcs, persans'. The earlier analysis of oriental manuscript collecting also demonstrated how the language preferences of those acquiring oriental manuscripts reflected particular interests: scholarly, missionary, and linguistic. What might the language breakdown of manuscripts in Savary de Brèves' collection tell us about his own interests?

Figure 13 shows a comparison of the language breakdown of manuscripts in both the Vitré and Peiresc/Dupuy lists. The Vitré catalogue lists 93 items, though possibly reflects 104 to 105 actual manuscripts given some items have multiple volumes. The list is written in French and for most of the titles, the language of the manuscript is indicated, which helps us identify the language for most of the manuscripts. The manuscripts are written in: Arabic (15); Persian (12); Tatar (1); and Turkish (58). Eight titles have no language indicated, so this is unknown. One manuscript, a Persian–Turkish dictionary, is in two languages. A significant majority of manuscripts are in Turkish.



The Peiresc/Dupuy list itemises 66 items, all but one being manuscripts. These are listed in Latin and, as with the Vitré one, the language of most titles is indicated. Here, the manuscripts are written in: Arabic (34); Latin (2); Persian (9); Tatar (1); and Turkish (26).

Two titles have no language indicated, so this is unknown. Seven titles are polyglot texts. We can see here a strong showing of works in Arabic and Turkish. This reveals an immediate lack of correlation between the two in terms of Arabic works, with the Peiresc list containing more than double the number of texts in Arabic. Given the bare bones of what we know about the provenance of this list, it is difficult to make solid assessments about how this list was compiled. Moreover, as mentioned, the Peiresc/Dupuy list is entitled (in Peiresc's hand) 'BIBLIOTHECA ARABICA / DMI DE BREVES', which suggests the list was composed with a preference for Arabic-language texts, confirming our observation about how Savary de Brèves' collection stands apart from those of contemporaries like Peiresc. Once again, we are

Figure 13: Comparison of the Vitré and Peiresc/Dupuy lists based on language.

left with uncertainty as to whether this reflects an accurate inventory of the manuscripts Savary de Brèves acquired in Constantinople.

Despite this uncertainty, both lists attest to the predominance of works in Turkish, a feature that sets the ambassador's collection apart from many of his contemporaries, particularly those better known for collecting oriental manuscripts. In our earlier analysis of oriental manuscript collections, the prevailing interest was in languages like Arabic, Syriac, and Hebrew. This interest reflected needs relating to missionary activity (particularly among eastern Christians), biblical scholarship, and the translation of classical Greek texts. Turkish represents an exception to these languages since it was not predominantly a language of religion (as was the case with Arabic within the Ottoman empire) nor a bridge to classical or biblical texts in the Western tradition. However, Turkish was a significant language in political, diplomatic and mercantile contexts, evident with the great efforts made by the Venetians to institutionalise Turkish language acquisition.

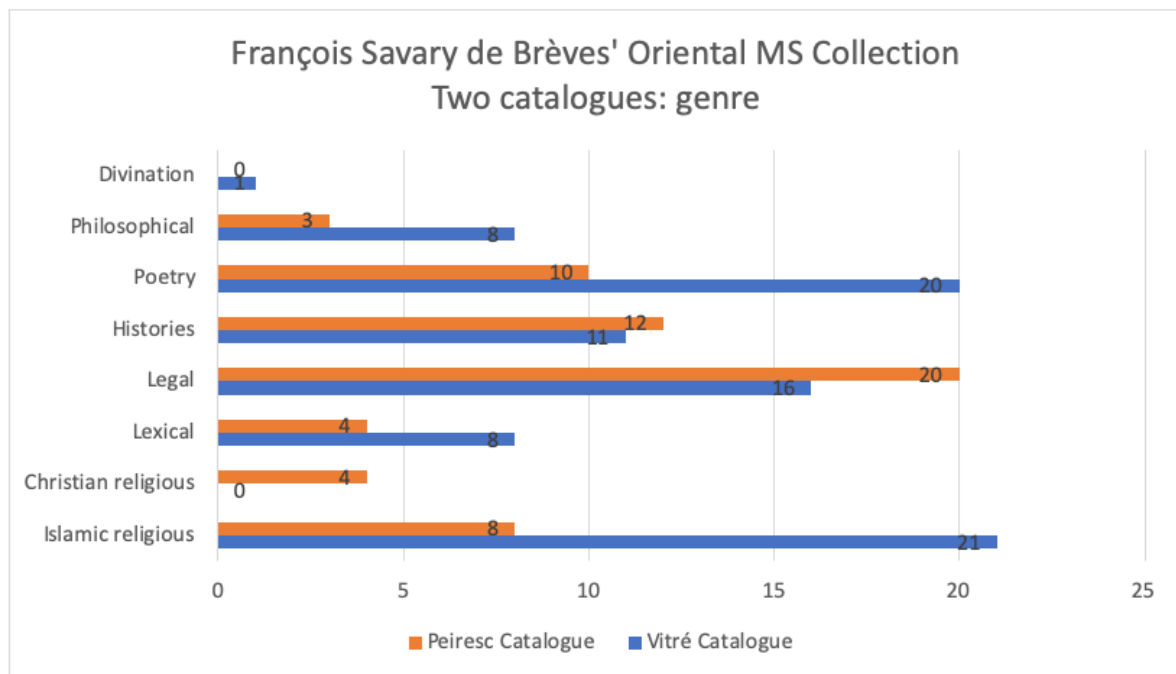
Genre

In considering the genre of manuscripts within each list, this present study can only rely on the titles. This method has its limitations since they reflect the understanding of those who originally compiled those lists, themselves unlikely to be specialists in their contents. Not until the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries did Parisian librarians such as Pétis la Croix, whom we encountered in Chapter 3, master the skill set for this kind of cataloguing.

The two lists reflect a similar variety of works. For our present purposes, the works are grouped according to the following genres: religious (Islamic, including commentaries on the Qur'an); religious (eastern Christian); lexical (dictionaries, grammars); legal/jurisprudential; histories (including ethnographic works); poetry and other literary

works; philosophical; and divination. We have assigned genre based on titles, mindful that these titles are themselves translations (French for the Vitré list and Latin for the Peiresc/Dupuy list). A category of ‘other’ indicates works where the genre is unable to be accurately ascertained through this method.

The Vitré list comprises: Islamic religious works (21, including commentaries on the Qur’an, as well as histories of Muhammad and other sacred figures); lexical (8; importantly, these are dictionaries and grammars sitting across Arabic, Turkish and Persian rather than bridging one of those languages and a European language); legal (16, most of these works



concern *droit civil* or civil law); histories (11, 9 in Turkish, one in Arabic, and one in Tatar); poetry (20, with 12 of these in Turkish); philosophical (8, including works on moral philosophy); and divination (1). The Peiresc/Dupuy list comprises: Islamic religious works

(8, mostly works relating to the Qur’an); eastern Christian religious works (4); lexical (8,

Figure 14: Comparison of the Vitré and Peiresc/Dupuy lists based on genre.

mostly in Arabic or Arabic–Turkish); legal (20); histories (12, with nine in Turkish); poetry (10); and philosophical (3). The comparison is set out in Figure 14 below.

What patterns emerge when we consider only those works in Turkish? In the Vitré list, we see literary and religious works feature most strongly, while across both lists reveal a high number of historical and legal texts. On the whole, it is difficult to say whether these texts reflect a specific collecting agenda from a genre point of view. Indeed, these classifications are potentially arbitrary, and some works may cross more than one genre.

Genre	Vitré list	Peiresc list
Divination	1	0
History	8	10
Legal	6	6
Lexical	4	4
Philosophical	7	8
Poetry/Literary	17	2
Religious	17	2
Other	3	0

Savary de Brèves' consulate in Egypt

Before we reflect on the above analysis, a brief note is needed on Savary de Brèves' continued acquisition of manuscripts well after his diplomatic term in Constantinople. Upon his appointment to Rome he was also granted the French consulate in Alexandria and, although he never himself returned to Egypt, the consulship meant he continued to play an influential role in the region. A notable example was his relationship with Peiresc, with whom he corresponded following the ambassador's return to France in 1606. Indeed, Miller writes that 'the story of Peiresc and Marseille begins with François Savary de Brèves' and he

suggests the two first met when the latter arrived in the port fresh from Algiers.⁴⁵⁵ Even towards the ends of his life, in the 1620s, Savary de Brèves continued to communicate with Peiresc through his appointments to the Cairo consulate such as Gabriel Fernoulx and Santo Seghezzi.⁴⁵⁶ Following Savary de Brèves' death in 1628, Peiresc sustained contact with the former ambassador's wife (involved in the Algiers cloth trade) and their son Camille, who inherited the consulship.⁴⁵⁷ The correspondence sits within the Peiresc archive at the Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine in Carpentras and largely comprises letters between Peiresc and these consular agents.

Another product of his consular post was the apprenticeship of André Du Ryer, whom Savary de Brèves took under his wing, first sending him to Egypt to study oriental languages and then appointing him as vice-consul to Alexandria. As Savary de Brèves wrote to the Marseille Chamber of Commerce in 1623:

I have chosen the present bearer named André Du Ryer whom I have kept for five or six years in Egypt so as to learn the Arabic and Turkish languages, as well as their customs, and all that which pertains to trade. He completed his stay there about two years ago, when I recalled him for training and to see if he had benefited in these said languages.⁴⁵⁸

Du Ryer's expertise in Arabic and Turkish was such that, when later accompanying another French ambassador to Istanbul, Henri de Gournay, Comte de Marcheville, he served as the primary interpreter. As the ambassador's attestation in favour of Du Ryer notes, 'the sieur Durier, sieur de Malzair, served the king in his charge of first and principal interpreter before the Grand Seigneur, the Mufti, the Grand Vizir, and the principal officers of the Ottoman

⁴⁵⁵ Miller, *Peiresc's Mediterranean*, 36–38.

⁴⁵⁶ Miller, *Peiresc's Mediterranean*, 184–85.

⁴⁵⁷ Miller, *Peiresc's Mediterranean*, 207. For Savary de Brèves' wife in the cloth trade: Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 1873, f. 468r.

⁴⁵⁸ '... j'ay faict choix du porteur de la presente nommé André Durier que j'ay tenu l'espace de cinq ou six ans en ce pais là pour y apprendre les langues Arabesques et Turquesques comme aussy les coustumes et tout ce qui appartient au negoce. Et apres qu'il a eu faict ce sejour au dict pais je j'ay rappelé il y a environ deux ans pour le façonner et voir s'il auroit proffité aux dictes langues': Marseille, CCM, J0129.

Porte, with great honour for the service of his Majesty'.⁴⁵⁹ Du Ryer became the exact example of what Savary de Brèves expressed a hope for in his letter to Henri IV from Constantinople in 1599 — a French subject trained in Turkish and serving as interpreter for the ambassador at the Ottoman court.

Du Ryer's greatest legacy was a French translation of the Qur'an (1647), a pioneering work that was the first original translation of the Qur'an into a vernacular European language.⁴⁶⁰ While Du Ryer certainly relied on earlier European translations (particularly that of Robert of Ketton in the twelfth century), he also relied on lexicographic tools (dictionaries and grammars), exegetical works (including Quranic commentaries such as the *Tafsir al-Jalālayn*), and Maronite acquaintances (among them, Gabriel Sionita).⁴⁶¹ Du Ryer's translation departed from the earlier religious polemical goals of Latin translations, directing itself instead to merchants and, more generally, scholars interested in the Islamic world, travellers and, no doubt, diplomats. His translation was frequently reprinted in various European editions: English (1649), Dutch (1658), German (1688) and Russian (1716).⁴⁶² It represents a watershed in the European translations. Du Ryer dedicated his translation to then French chancellor, Pierre Séguier, who also inherited the majority of Du Ryer's collection of oriental manuscripts that he acquired during diplomatic posts in Cairo, Alexandria, and Constantinople. This collection was eventually transferred to the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1796.⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁹ '... le sieur Durier, sieur de Malzair, a servi le roi dans la charge de premier et principal interprète près du Grand Seigneur, le Mouphti, le Grand Vizir et les principaux officiers de la Porte Ottomane, avec beaucoup d'honneur pour le service de Sa Majesté': Henri de Gournay, Comte de Marcheville's attestation in favour of André Du Ryer (12 November 1651) in J. B. Derost, "Notice sur André Du Ryer," *Bulletin de la Société d'Études du Brionnais* (September–October 1935): 238.

⁴⁶⁰ Sylvette Larzul, "Les premières traductions françaises du Coran, (XVII^e-XIX^e siècles)," *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 147 (July–September 2009): 148.

⁴⁶¹ Larzul, "Les premières traductions," 149.

⁴⁶² Thomas E. Burman, "European Qur'an Translations, 1500-1700," in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Volume 6, Western Europe (1500–1600)*, 27 and 35–37. Hamilton and Richard contend that Du Ryer's translation was really the first to appeal to a broader, non-specialist audience: Alastair Hamilton and Francis Richard, *André Du Ryer and Oriental Studies in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford: The Arcadian Library Press, 2004), 93.

⁴⁶³ For the transfer of Séguier's collection: Hamilton and Richard, *André Du Ryer*, 160.

In the dedicatory epistle to another of his celebrated translations, that of the *Gulistan*, Du Ryer writes of ‘browsing the most curious libraries in Egypt, Cairo and Constantinople’ and, indeed, during his time in Egypt and the Ottoman capital, Du Ryer acquired a noteworthy collection of manuscripts, many of which were Quranic commentaries that no doubt assisted in his translation of the work but also Turkish and Persian manuscripts, particularly lexicographical works.⁴⁶⁴ His collection was smaller than those of Golius or Pococke, serving his own needs rather than an institution like the Leiden or Oxford universities. Although most of the works became Séguier’s, a few items found their way to orientalist Gilbert Gaulmin.⁴⁶⁵ A full list and analysis of fifty-eight of the Du Ryer’s manuscripts has been undertaken by Hamilton and Richard.⁴⁶⁶

While Savary de Brèves did not survive to witness his protégé’s incredible output, there is no doubt he would have been quite happy with his student’s achievements. Du Ryer reflects the kind of model in line with the ambassador’s vision. Unlike Pococke, Greaves, and Warner, each of whom had certainly spent time in the Ottoman empire, Du Ryer was not a scholar in the same sense as these figures, educated as they were within an Arabist tradition at Leiden and Oxford. Du Ryer’s training was a practical apprenticeship as vice-consul in Egypt where Savary de Brèves sent him to master these languages. Du Ryer’s scholarly formation is more akin to the Venetian *giovani di lingua* or the *jeunes de langue* established later under Colbert, a formation whose scope was expressly diplomatic rather than scholarly. We might conjecture that this unique apprenticeship helped make possible a translation of the Qur’an cast off from the moorings of the scholarly institutions like Oxford or Leiden, instead reflecting the curiosity of a traveller in the east.

⁴⁶⁴ ‘Fueilletant les Bibliothèques des plus curieux d’entr’eux en Egypte, au grand Caire & à Constantinople, j’ay rencontré que le livre intitulé Gulistan’: André Du Ryer, trans., *Gulistan ou l’Empire des roses* (Paris: Anthoine de Sommerville, 1636).

⁴⁶⁵ For the transfer of Gaulmin’s collection: Hamilton and Richard, *André Du Ryer*, 167–68.

⁴⁶⁶ Hamilton and Richard, *André Du Ryer*, 159–70.

Positioning the Savary de Brèves collection in early modern Europe

How are we to understand the significance of the Savary de Brèves collection in the broader context of oriental manuscript collections in early modern Europe? How does this collection compare to oriental manuscripts collections elsewhere in Europe? In our analysis of comparable collections elsewhere in Europe at the time, we saw the emphasis on languages closer to scriptural traditions, including Arabic. Consider, for example, the catalogue of Erpenius' collection recorded by Gerardius Vossius soon after the scholar's death. When we break down his collection into languages, as we did with Savary de Brèves' collection, we notice a significant interest in Arabic and Hebrew texts. Manuscripts in Turkish represent a small fraction. Indeed, while Erpenius delivered an oration on the value and beauty of the Arabic language, his sentiments towards the language of the Turks could not any more distant. In the very same oration praising Arabic, he wrote:

Nor, indeed, should my hearers think that the Arabs were anything like those who have now gained power over matters in the Orient, the Turk — a tribe of Scythian barbarians who took power some three centuries ago when that famous kingdom of the Saracens had been broken up. The Turks neither were nor are lovers of learning.⁴⁶⁷

It should not surprise us that works in Turkish accounted for so few of the manuscripts in Erpenius' collection — this was not a language of 'lovers of learning' worthy of a scholar's collection.

⁴⁶⁷ Robert Jones, "Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) on the Value of the Arabic Language," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 2 (1987): 22.

Breakdown of Erpenius oriental manuscript collection by language.

Language	Number of texts
Arabic	52
Persian	17
Turkish	9
Hebrew	136
Chaldean, Syriac and Ethiopian	17

Although Arabic texts also feature strongly in the Savary de Brèves collection, and these volumes evidently interested Peiresc, the predominance of texts in Turkish is what sets Savary de Brèves' collection apart from other collectors at the time. However, our earlier analysis of oriental manuscript collections did observe an important shift in manuscript collection in the seventeenth century; a growing interest in Turkish and Persian texts that coincided with the development of diplomatic relations with the Ottomans. We saw this tendency with Dutch collectors Golius and Warner, coinciding with the Dutch capitulations with the Ottomans, and with Pococke and Greaves, as an English diplomatic presence embedded itself in the east. European diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire not only made the acquisition of oriental manuscripts much easier, particularly for scholars like Peiresc and Erpenius, but also diplomacy generated its own interest in manuscript collecting independent of the objectives of these scholars. That interest was fuelled by the need to understand the language and customs of their diplomatic counterparts, and we see this in the presence of lexicographic works. When André Du Ryer returned from Constantinople, successful as he was in his apprenticeship in the Turkish language, he wrote his own Turkish grammar (*Rudimenta grammatices linguae turcicae* of 1630), a work that built on grammars and dictionaries he produced for his own use while learning the language in Egypt, similar to the

MS Persan 208 glossary we considered earlier.⁴⁶⁸ But lexicographic texts were not the only works useful in language learning. The process of translating one text from a language like Turkish into French or Latin itself served not only the purpose of making a work's contents available to European readers, but the translation process was itself a process of language learning. What better way to develop mastery of a language like Arabic than to translate its most sacred text, the Quran? Thus, texts like the Quran or *Gulistan* can also be understood as having value in language learning.

In this light, the collection Savary de Brèves brought back to Paris from Constantinople represents the seed of his vision for a particular kind of oriental studies, one that was different to other scholars in Paris, Oxford and Leiden. It was a library of works that could make possible the learning of Arabic, Persian and Turkish (but particularly Turkish) in Paris. To service what end? Diplomacy.

⁴⁶⁸ André Du Ryer, *Rudimenta grammatices linguae turcicae* (Paris: Excudebat Antonius Vitray, 1630).

Chapter 7

Publishing in an empire of souls: the first publications in Rome

On 26 November 1608, a great procession made its way towards the papal palace in Rome, the formal entry of the duke of Nevers, Charles II Gonzaga, sent to the pope as *ambassadeur extraordinaire* for Henri IV. Jacques-Auguste de Thou described the scene:

... [the duke] left the city in a closed carriage with the marquis de Brèves and retired to the palace of Leon Strozzi, a mile from Rome ... Six trumpets and a hundred of the pope's light-horses led the way; then came the baggage of the Ambassador [the duke] carried by thirty-two mules covered in gold-embroidered silk cloth, their hooves were of silver ... All the Cardinals were present, riding on mules covered in purple, followed by a hundred Swiss of the pope's guard, twelve drum horses and four trumpets. After them marched twelve guards of the Ambassador and as many pages, with one hundred and thirty French gentlemen who followed him from Marseille. Behind them came the brother of his Holiness, before whom two Swiss carried two large swords. Finally, [the duke] appeared, mounted on a prize horse, preceded by the grand *Ecuyer* of the Pope and two Moors, who led two white horses. [The duke] had on his sides the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Alexandria. The marquis de Brèves walked after, amongst several Archbishops ...⁴⁶⁹

Within two years of his return to France, Savary de Brèves was appointed ambassador to Rome, representing Henri IV at the papal court. He commenced his term on 17 July 1608.⁴⁷⁰ In another account of the duke's arrival at the Holy See, Savary de Brèves is described as 'a

⁴⁶⁹ *Histoire Universelle de Jacque-Auguste de Thou. Depuis 1543 jusqu'en 1607, Tome Quinzieme* (London, 1734), 27–28. Original French in Appendix 4.

⁴⁷⁰ Paris, BNF, MS Cinq Cents de Colbert 351, f. 51r.

knight truly born to treat affairs of the state, and celebrated for two embassies to two of the greatest potentates of the land [the pope and the Ottoman sultan]'.⁴⁷¹ In Henri's instructions to the ambassador, dated May 1608, Savary de Brèves was to continue the work of his predecessor, Villeroy's son Charles de Neufville d'Halincourt, ordering him to 'kiss the feet [of his Holiness] on my behalf as the first and most affectionate son of the Church and of his Holiness ... a name he legitimately possesses along with the title of Most Christian king by virtue of the piety and merit of his ancestors'.⁴⁷²

Rome: another court, another language hotbed

While relations between the former Huguenot French king and the papacy had improved since Henri's abjuration in 1593 and subsequent absolution by Clement VIII in 1595, the re-establishment and maintenance of French influence at the papal court, particularly amongst the cardinals, remained an important task entrusted to figures like the duke and Savary de Brèves.⁴⁷³ French presence at the Sacred College may have achieved equilibrium with the Spanish by 1604, but the latter's threat remained real, particularly with still simmering tensions between the Roman and Gallican churches.⁴⁷⁴ This is borne out in the comprehensive itinerary for meeting specific curial figures set out in the instructions. Like the Ottoman court, French interests had to be vigilantly protected against the threat of diplomatic competition.

⁴⁷¹ '... Monsieur de Breves son hoste, cavalier vrayement né pour traicter affaires d'estat, & celebré pour deux Ambassades aux deux plus grands Potentats de la terre': *Récit de l'arivvee et entree solennelle du Seigneur Charles Gonzague*, 10.

⁴⁷² 'Estant appellé et introduit en l'Audience du pape, il dira a sa Sainteté que sa Majesté lui a commandé lui baiser les pieds de sa part, en la qualité de premier et plus affectionné fils de l'Eglise et de sa Sainteté : qualité qu'elle possède a bon droit avec le Tiltre de Roi tres-Chrestien par la pieté et les merites de ses ancestres dont sa Majesté veut estre exact imitateur, et par la particuliere et singuliere affection que sa illa jesté porte a la personne de sa Beatitude': Paris, BNF, MS Français 17833, f. 230v.

⁴⁷³ For Henri IV's relationship with the papacy: Alain Tallon, "Henri IV and the Papacy after the League," in Alison Forrestal and Eric Nelson (editors), *Politics and Religion in Early Bourbon France* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 21–41.

⁴⁷⁴ Tallon, "Henri IV and the Papacy," 33.

By his arrival in Rome, Savary de Brèves had already proved himself a perfect candidate for demonstrating the king's commitment to the Church. He had successfully negotiated capitulations that not only offered protections to Christians in the Levant, but, importantly for the Roman Church, had secured protections and guarantees for orders like Franciscans and Jesuits, critical to papal activities, aspirations, and claims in the Holy Land. In his instructions, Henri asked his ambassador to remind the pope that, 'following the example of his ancestors, [the king] has renewed their former capitulations with the Ottoman House, which his Majesty did more for the good of Christians than for his advantage', particularly given the empire was 'now full of a great number of his subjects who trade there under the faith and protection of the capitulations'.⁴⁷⁵ We have seen how later orations on Henri immediately following his death in 1610 praised the efforts of the ambassador in securing protections for the Holy Sepulchre. The ambassador had also travelled through the Levant, visiting holy sites and meeting Christian communities stretching from Tripoli to Cairo, as well as the Barbary Coast, to which the king also made reference in the ambassador's instructions for Rome: 'Savary de Brèves is very experienced in things of the Barbary coast of the Mediterranean sea and can now more truthfully inform his Holiness than anyone else'.⁴⁷⁶ Savary de Brèves had earned the status of a trusted specialist in matters concerning the north African Mediterranean.

However, Savary de Brèves' appointment also crucial to the ambassador's own personal project since he brought to Rome his ongoing interest in the Ottomans. It was in Rome that he pursued the *Typographia Savariana*, a press for printing the languages of the Ottoman court —Arabic, Persian and Turkish. In Rome, he found a city that provided him

⁴⁷⁵ 'Qu'avant a l'exemple de ses ancestres renouvelé avec la Maison Ottomane leurs anciennes capitulations, sa Majesté l'avoit fait plus pour bien faire aux Chrestiens que pour s'en avantager contre eux partant qu'elle ne pouvoit a present les violer, et d'autant plus que l'Empire dudit prince estant maintenant rempli d'un grand nombre de ses sujets qui y trafiquent sous la foi et protection desdites Capitulations, elle ne le pourroit faire sans ruiner et perdre sesdits sujets en leurs personnes et facultez': MS Français 17833, ff. 292r–292v.

⁴⁷⁶ 'la Barbarie du coste de la Mer Mediterranée dont ledict Sieur de Breves qui est tres pratiqué en choses dudit pays pourra maintenant plus veritablement informer sa Sainteté que personne': MS Français 17833, f. 145.

with the very logistical and technical means for realising such a project, as well as a potentially supportive papal court that itself sustained a growing interest in oriental languages. If Constantinople, with its rich translation culture and dragoman communities, offered Savary de Brèves the perfect environment for language acquisition, then early seventeenth-century Rome provided a similarly rich linguistic environment to transform that knowledge into the technology of print, something that Constantinople simply could not do since printing was not yet practised among the Ottomans. It is in Rome that we can begin to not only understand how he undertook this project, but also why.

The next two chapters examine Savary de Brèves' press for printing in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, from its initial development and first publications to its transfer to Paris (Chapter 8). While the press has received some scholarly attention, particularly from Gérald Duverdier in the 1980s, there remains a need to further explore his intentions, particularly in the context of his broader diplomatic career, something Duverdier omits. Like Savary de Brèves' manuscript collection, his printing project does not so neatly align with comparable projects for printing in oriental languages in the Europe of this period, projects focused more on Arabic rather than Turkish. His intentions are complicated by the nature of his first publications which, as we shall see in the next chapter, were of a missionary nature, as well as the project's limited lifespan in Paris. This present chapter argues that the establishment of the *Typographia Savariana* crucially depended on the linguistic and technical expertise uniquely available in Rome, which explains the missionary framing of the first publications, a framing aligned to Rome's oriental studies agenda. Before we can consider questions of why, we must first consider how he developed the press.

The early modern printing press: practices and definitions

Before we turn to trace the development of the *Typographia Savariana*, we need to explore some key components and terminologies in the design and production of early modern type, particularly given it relates to a technical, artisanal practice. The key innovative element of early modern printing pioneered by figures like Johannes Gutenberg (d. 1468) was moveable type, the arrangement (or ‘setting’) of individual letters or characters engraved on material like wood or (significantly for the early modern press) metal into a text order which, with ink applied, is reproduced when pressed on paper.⁴⁷⁷ The starting point for producing type was to design characters/glyphs (for example, individual letters of the alphabet in upper and lower case). The design of type (or ‘typeface’) also involved stylistic choices, a career largely invented by early modern typographers like Francesco Griffo (1450–1518), Robert Estienne (1508–1559), Henri Estienne (1528–1598), Claude Garamont (1510–1561), and Robert Granjon (1513–1590).⁴⁷⁸ The next step was to transform the two-dimensional character design into its first three-dimensional form — the ‘punch’. Here, the character design was cut as a relief into the end of a metal bar. The punches were then used to create a ‘matrix’ for the character, essentially a mould for casting the actual type that would be used in the printing itself. The matrix was usually made from a softer metal (such as copper) so the punch can leave a sufficiently deep impression when struck on the softer metal, and that mould was filled with molten type metal (usually an alloy) to produce the type. These three typefounding objects — the punch, the matrix and the type — are key materials used for printing. The term ‘characters’ is often used to refer not only to the designs, but collectively to the characters in any of the above forms (that is, punches, matrices, type), including in this

⁴⁷⁷ James Mosley, “The Technologies of Print,” in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, edited by Michael F. Suarez and S. J. H. R. Woudhuysen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) <https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.library.sydney.edu.au/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606536.001.0001/acref-9780198606536-e-0011>.

⁴⁷⁸ For the early types of Estienne, Garamont, and Grandjon: H. D. L. Vervliet, *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

present study. When scholarship refers to ‘les caractères orientaux de Savary de Brèves’ it is referring to the set of punches, matrices, and type used to print in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Moreover, until 1928, Turkish was written using the Arabic alphabet, as was Persian.⁴⁷⁹ In order to print material in these three languages, Savary de Brèves only required punches, matrices and type for Arabic characters, and these are the focus of this present study.

As the above summary suggests, the production of type involved of a range of specialists, including type designers, punch-cutters and engravers, and metalworkers or founders.⁴⁸⁰ Further, and particularly in the case of languages using non-Latin characters (for example, Hebrew or Arabic), we must also include people with expertise in the relevant language. Coordinating all these specialists required someone to direct the work — in the case of the Medici Oriental Press, Raimondi. As we shall see, each of these technical skills, including linguistic, were available in Rome.

Rome: a centre for oriental languages in early modern Europe

Since the mid-sixteenth century, Rome was among the most important centres both for the study of oriental languages in Europe and printing in these languages, with the establishment of the first effective oriental printing press in 1584, the Medici Oriental Press.⁴⁸¹ Even prior, in 1564, Pius IV commissioned Giovanni Battista Eliano (1530–1589), a Jewish convert who taught Arabic and Hebrew, to acquire oriental type for use by the Jesuit-run *Tipographia del Collegio Romano*.⁴⁸² The type was intended to print materials for

⁴⁷⁹ Korkut Bugday, *The Routledge Introduction to Literary Ottoman*, translated by Jerold C. Frakes (London: Routledge, 2009), 1.

⁴⁸⁰ Roger Gaskell, “Printing House and Engraving Shop. A Mysterious Collaboration,” *The Book Collector* 54 (2004): 213–54.

⁴⁸¹ Aurélien Girard, “Teaching and Learning Arabic in Early Modern Rome: Shaping a Missionary Language,” in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton and Charles Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 189–212.

⁴⁸² Vervliet, *Palaeotypography*, 433; Girard, “Teaching and Learning,” 194.

missionary activity in the Levant, the primary objective behind the study, teaching and printing of these languages in early modern Rome generally.⁴⁸³ These characters, which Erpenius referred to as ‘*inelegantes typi Romae*’, were vastly improved upon by French typesetter Robert Granjon, who worked in Rome under both Domenico Basa (1500–1596), the director of the Stamperia Apostolica Vaticana (Apostolic Vatican Press), and Raimondi.⁴⁸⁴ The most renowned early modern press for printing in oriental languages, the Medici Oriental Press, was founded on 6 March 1584 under the patronage (and financial support) of then Cardinal Ferdinand de Medici and under the directorship of Raimondi, a professor of mathematics at the College ‘La Sapienza’ in Rome and scholar of oriental languages.⁴⁸⁵ The Medici press lost its patron in 1587, when Ferdinand returned to Florence as Grand Duke of Tuscany, but on 15 April 1596 the grand duke sold the press to Raimondi.⁴⁸⁶ The press continued to operate in Rome, reaching its most prolific period between 1590 and 1595: Raimondi published seven Arabic texts, including the *Evangelium Sanctum Domini Nostri Iesu Conscriptum a Quatuor Evangelistis Sanctis idest Matthaea, Marco, Luca, et Johanne* (1590–91).⁴⁸⁷ Savary de Brèves was aware of this edition but did not think highly of the Arabic: ‘there has been nothing translated or printed interlined [a bilingual interlined text] other than the Four Gospels, but still so poorly and so far from the sense of the Arabic that to tell you the truth what they have done is false’.⁴⁸⁸ While Raimondi and Savary de Brèves seemed to be in Rome at the same time (Raimondi died in 1614, the year the ambassador returned to Paris), evidence of contact between the two is yet to surface

⁴⁸³ Girard, “Teaching and Learning,” 189.

⁴⁸⁴ Vervliet, *Palaeotypography*, 435; Evelyn Lincoln, “Printers and Publishers in Early Modern Rome,” in *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492–1692*, edited by Pamela M. Jones et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 551–52.

⁴⁸⁵ Alberto Tinto, *La Tipografia Medicea Orientale* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 1987), 6.

⁴⁸⁶ Tinto, *Tipografia Medicea*, 53.

⁴⁸⁷ These are the gospels in Arabic: Neil Harris, “Printing the Gospels in Arabic in Rome in 1590,” in *A Concise Companion to the Study of Manuscripts, Printed Books, and the Production of Early Modern Texts: A Festschrift for Gordon Campbell*, edited by Edward Jones (London: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 135–37; Tinto, *Tipografia Medicea*, 82–83.

⁴⁸⁸ ‘... il n’y a eu rien de traduit ni imprimé interligné que les Quatre Évangiles, mais encore si mal et si éloigné du sens de l’arabesque, qu’à vous dire le vrai tout ce qu’ils ont fait est faux’: Paris, BNF, MS Dupuy 812, ff. 256r–256v.

in the archives. Regardless, a printer associated with Raimondi, Stefano Paolini, offered Savary de Brèves the technical knowledge needed to print in oriental languages.

Since at least 1584, particularly thanks to efforts of those like Granjon and Raimondi, Rome possessed the technical expertise necessary to print in these languages. Further, dating back to the 1560s under Pius IV, these initiatives received financial support from the Vatican itself, since these presses were important ‘armaments’ in expanding its ‘empire of souls’ — its missionary work. Rome thus also provided the much-needed capital for these ventures, a point to which we shall return in the next chapter.

Rome was fortuitous for another reason. The technical ability to print in oriental languages was only part of the necessary apparatus to print in these languages. A typesetter like Granjon could produce the type, but was no native speaker of Syriac or Arabic. Linguistic expertise was also needed. The papacy also facilitated the study of oriental languages, particularly through the residency of eastern Christians in Rome at ‘national’ colleges set up by Pope Gregory XIII. Part of a broader, post-Tridentine vision of unifying eastern Christians with the Roman rite, these colleges trained young clerics from churches outside the Catholic church in the Roman rite, with the expectation that they would return home to teach post-Tridentine orthodoxy in their own communities.⁴⁸⁹ Most notable of these colleges was the *Pontificio Collegio dei Maroniti*, the college of Maronites set up in 1584, the same year as the Medici press.⁴⁹⁰ The college’s students were recruited from Maronite communities in the Levant, particularly around Mount Lebanon. Located in Rome’s *Trevi rione*, the college was adjacent to San Giovanni della Ficozza, a medieval church granted to the Maronites. Today, the complex has been secularised and a restaurant (still featuring some

⁴⁸⁹ For the interest in oriental languages in early modern Rome: Aurélien Girard, “Teaching and Learning,” 189–212.

⁴⁹⁰ For the Maronite college: Aurélien Girard and Giovanni Pizzorusso, ‘The Maronite college in early modern Rome: Between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Letters’, in *College communities abroad: Education, migration and Catholicism in early modern Europe*, eds. Liam Chambers and Thomas O’Connor (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 174–197.

of the church's frescoes) called *Sacro e Profano* takes its place, but the street is named *Via dei Maroniti* (Figure 15).⁴⁹¹ These Maronite students, whose native language was Arabic and who likely also knew Syriac, not only offered an opportunity for training in the Roman rite, but supplied Arabic teaching in Rome. For example, one student, Naṣrallāh Shalaq al-'Āqūrī (Latinised as *Victorius Scialac/Acurensis*) appears on *ruoli* of the Sapienza University as professor in Arabic in 1612–1614 (Figure 16).⁴⁹² Scialac was also a key contact for Savary de Brèves, as we shall see in the next chapter. The presence of Maronites like Scialac in Rome, particularly under the papacy's auspices, meant that orientalist like Raimondi had direct access to the necessary linguistic skills.



Figure 15: Via dei Maroniti in the Trevi district of Rome.

⁴⁹¹ Today, the Pontificio Collegio Maronita is located in the Ludovisi *riione* in Rome, near the Porta Pinciani. I am grateful to the college's staff for inviting me to the college library; while their archive was not then open to the public, they advised they were considering doing this in the near future.

⁴⁹² Scialac's position is recorded in the *ruoli dei lettori* of the University of Rome for 1612 and 1614: Rome, Archivio di Stato, Cimeli 32 and 33.



Figure 16: ‘D. Victorai Acurensis Mariniti’ listed on the university’s *ruolo* for 1612.

Following the Medici press’ decline (its last publication was in 1610), no comparable project emerged in Rome until the 1620s with the establishment of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* by Gregory XV in 1622, under which the printing and teaching of oriental languages became fully institutionalised within the curial bureaucracy and directed towards missionary objectives.⁴⁹³ Still, between 1584 and 1610, Rome was extremely fertile ground for germinating the very kind of project Savary de Brèves had in mind, printing in the

⁴⁹³ For oriental languages under the *Propaganda Fide*: Girard, “Teaching and Learning,” 198–212.

languages of the manuscripts he returned with from Constantinople and the languages that had dominated his diplomatic career for the past two decades. Rome provided what neither Paris nor Constantinople could—the technical expertise to print in these languages and a college of indigenous Arabic speakers.

The Typographia Savariana

The first time ‘Typographia Savariana’ appeared on a publication was in Rome during Savary de Brèves’ embassy at the Holy See. ‘Typographia’ was the term commonly employed to indicate a publisher or printing house. Contemporaneous examples included the *Typographia Medicea Orientale*, the *Tipografia Dominici Basae*, *Typographia Plantiniana*, *Typographia Apostolica Vaticana*, and *Typographia Erpeniana*. In many of these cases, the titles refer to an individual (such as Domenico Baso or Thomas Erpenius), patron (Medici) or institution (Vatican). The printer’s name (in this case *Typographia Savariana*) was usually included in the lower half of the title page and, given the title page’s function as the ‘gateway to the book’, represented not only a way of attributing the publication to the publisher, but an opportunity for self-promotion and acclaim.⁴⁹⁴ *Typographia Savariana* thus refers to the publishing of Savary de Brèves using the characters he commissioned.

While not as well-known as the Medici press, the *Typographia Savariana* has received some attention from historians writing on early modern oriental studies. The key dedicated study remains that of Gérald Duverdier, a 1982 investigation that belongs to a broader UNESCO work on printing in Lebanon up to 1900.⁴⁹⁵ Duverdier addresses two broad

⁴⁹⁴ Lea Hagedorn, “Minerva in the Printshop: Publisher’s Advertising in Frontispieces and the Media Presence of Early Modern Printer-Publishers,” in *Gateways to the Book: Frontispieces and Title Pages in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 93.

⁴⁹⁵ Gérald Duverdier, “Du livre religieux à l’orientalisme. Gibrā’ il ās-Sahyūni et François Savary de Brèves,” in Camille Aboussouan, *Exposition le livre et le Liban jusqu’à 1900* (Paris: UNESCO, 1982). Duverdier also discusses the press in another work that examines the later printing project of Ibrahim Mūteferrika in Istanbul from 1729: Gérald Duverdier, “Savary de Brèves et Ibrahim Mūteferrika: deux drogmans culturels à l’origine de l’imprimerie turque,” *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 3 (1987), 322–59. In addition to these works, Duverdier published on earliest uses of movable type printing outside Europe, including in India and Thailand.

questions. First, he seeks to understand how someone like Savary de Brèves was able to produce what became arguably the best Arabic printing characters available in Europe at the time. After all, he was an ambassador with no experience in printing nor any previous demonstrated scholarly background as an Arabist. Duverdier also raised the question of location. Did Savary de Brèves produce the characters while ambassador in Constantinople, with ready access to speakers of Arabic, Persian and Turkish, particularly the skills of the many dragomans at the Ottoman court? Did he produce them in Rome, already a centre for oriental languages and printing? Or was it upon his return from Constantinople to Paris, a city also home to craftsmen in the art of engraving such as Garamont? Duverdier comments: ‘we still do not know where these Arabic characters [of Savary de Brèves] came from, the beauty of which has always been, and is still, admired. Three hypotheses: Constantinople, Paris, and Rome.’⁴⁹⁶ It is not entirely clear what Duverdier means when he refers to ‘characters’ here. Does he mean the type designs on paper or the actual metal type (and means of printing)? Regardless, Duverdier’s response to the latter is Rome, evidently because the press’s first two publications, the focus of the next chapter, were printed in Rome during Savary de Brèves’ posting.

Duverdier poses a second, broader question, suggested in the title of his article ‘du livre religieux à l’orientalisme’. It queries the ambassador’s motivations and objectives. Are we to understand Savary de Brèves as a ‘Christian Arabist’ aligned with missionary objectives of bringing the eastern Christians into the embrace of the post-Tridentine Roman Church? Certainly, his first two publications, a Latin–Arabic catechism and an Arabic–Latin psalter, might suggest so. Perhaps, too, we might consider his project as part of a broader crusading project designed to liberate the eastern Christians from Ottoman rule. After all,

⁴⁹⁶ Gérald Duverdier, “Du livre religieux à l’orientalisme,” 159. Duverdier explains that it was Antoine Vitré who contended the characters were produced in Constantinople, while correspondence between Erpenius and Isaac Casaubon alluded to the possibility that the characters were produced in Paris.

Savary de Brèves did later publish a treatise setting out the methods by which this could be achieved (discussed in Chapter 9). Or are we to cast him as an Arabist like Erpenius or Raimondi, with an interest in Arabic as a language relevant to biblical or scientific scholarship? Like them, he was a collector of oriental manuscripts, yet, as we saw, his collection stood apart from theirs, bringing something different to the table.

Tracing the development of the *Typographia Savariana*

We can trace the development of Savary de Brèves' printing project through his correspondence with Jacques-Auguste de Thou, who was serving on the three-member council for finances under queen regent Marie de Medicis (following Henri IV's assassination in 1610 and with Louis XIII still in minority). While in Rome, Savary de Brèves acted as negotiator between de Thou and the papal curia over the controversy involving de Thou's *Histoire Universelle*, a history of events during the religious wars of his own time starting from the Schmalkaldic War (1546–47). Although himself Catholic, de Thou's work condemned certain popes and praised Protestant leaders, a stance that attracted papal ire from its first edition in 1604.⁴⁹⁷ In 1609, Roman censors placed the *Historia* on the Index of Prohibited Books, and as ambassador in Rome from 1610, Savary de Brèves negotiated for its removal from censorship.⁴⁹⁸

While much of the earlier correspondence with de Thou focused on these protracted negotiations, something changed towards the end of 1611. A new concern entered the epistolary exchange. On 27 November 1611, Savary de Brèves approached de Thou with a new proposal, asking that it be recommended to the king:

⁴⁹⁷ Camille Caruso Weiss, "Striking a Delicate Balance: Politique Historians of Henri IV's Reign, 1589–1610," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 33, no. 2 (2007): 315; Samuel Kinser, *The Editions of Jacques-Auguste de Thou's History of His Time* (London: Springer, 1966), 9.

⁴⁹⁸ For the controversy: Caruso Weiss, "Politique Historians of Henri IV's Reign, 1589–1610," 3002–27.

I wish to discuss with you a great difficulty I have of making the Arabic and Turkish languages ... familiar among us. If the king or some other person assisted me ... with the expenses, I have with me a Turk who you know speaks these ... languages and writes marvellously ... he now knows our French language and understands Latin just as well. I could ... recover two or three others from the prisons of Malta or from those of the Grand Duke [of Tuscany]. I have ... with me two Maronite priors who lived in Mount Lebanon and by consequence know the Arabic language as their paternal tongue. They undertook ... studies in Rome at a college ... founded by the popes for this purpose [*Pontificio Collegio dei Maroniti*] ... They are learned in philosophy and theology ... I am here learning the means to print books, using the characters of these languages ... if you can encourage his Majesty to found a college of these languages at the university of Paris ... we will have communication of all the sciences of the three nations ... the Maronites are also well versed in the Chaldean language.⁴⁹⁹

Here we have a summary of Savary de Brèves' project. He had with him a Turk and two Maronites skilled in Arabic and Chaldean (as well as, in the case of the Turk, Turkish, French and Latin). He also expressed his intention to create characters for printing and proposed the establishment of a college for teaching these languages at the university of Paris. As the opening sentence indicates, he intended to render the Arabic and Turkish languages 'familiar among us', underscoring that this effort in Rome was directed toward a goal in Paris. Over the course of the next two years, right up to Savary de Brèves' departure from Rome in 1614, what starts out as a marginal topic in his correspondence to de Thou becomes a frequent focus of discussion between the two right up to the final letter in March 1614. This correspondence helps isolate the development of the *Typographia Savaraiana* to 1611–1614. Over this period, Savary de Brèves initiated the press and printed his first books in Arabic.

⁴⁹⁹ 'Je vous veux entretenir d'une enuye grande que j'ay de rendre les langues arabesque et turque ... familiares parmy nous. Sy j'estoit (?) ayde du Roy ou de quelqu'autre personne que ... faire la despens, j'ay aupres de moy un turc que vous avez cogneau parle les susdite langues, escript merueilleusement ... il scait maintenant notre langue francaise et entend aussy bien le latin. Je peux en recouvrir deux ou trois autres des prisons de Malte ou de celles de Monsieur le Grand Duc, J'ay ... chez moy deux prieurs maronites de ceux qui vivent dans le Monliban et qui par consequent scavent la langue Arabesque, langue patronelle. Ils ont fait ... estudes en cette ville dans ung college que ... les papes ont fondes a cest effect ... ils sont doctes en philosophie et theologie moyennant cela icy ... de faire un college d'ung bon nombre de fournissent que pouvoir estudie les langues ... Je suis icy d'apprendre les moiens de faire imprimer des livres, les caracteres desquelz lesdites langues se servent ... Vous pouvez induire sa Majeste a veulloir fondee ung college desdites langues a l'universite de Paris ... de l'honneur ... nous ne aurions la communicattions de toutes les sciences de leur trois nationes desquels maronites ... sont aussy fort verses en la langue Caldee. Mandez-moi la libre votre opinion, affin que je n'embarque pas plus avant ...': MS Dupuy 812, ff. 195r–196r.

Importantly, this particular letter demonstrates that very early on in the project's conception, the establishment of a college, based at the university of Paris and for studying these languages, formed its key objective. The inclusion of Turkish, like his manuscript collection in the previous chapter, is what sets his printing project apart from other efforts in Rome (including Raimondi's, which focused on Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac).

Nearly two months later, on 22 January 1612, Savary de Brèves updated de Thou, writing that 'I will wait for the expenses I have requested for the establishment of oriental languages, principally of Arabic and Chaldean', adding that 'I have three or four men with me capable of understanding these [languages] and I have made books to be printed'.⁵⁰⁰ In the same letter, we learn more of the Turk in Savary de Brèves' company. He is 'capable of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages' and has 'learned something of our French language', while he 'completely understands Italian', 'as for the German language, he understands this better than his own', together with Slavonic and Hungarian.⁵⁰¹ The ambassador writes that the Turk wished to return home but, if he could be assured a pension of two or three thousand *écus*, then he may stay.⁵⁰² He again mentioned the Maronites who had attended the 'college of their nation' in Rome, where there were 'a dozen scholars of this oriental nation'.⁵⁰³ Savary de Brèves indicated he was working on 'the Arabic, Persian and Chaldean characters so as to be able to print these three languages' as well as a dictionary that will be 'less bigger than our *calpin*'.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰⁰ 'J'attendray les dispenses de ce que je vous ay escry sur l'establissement des langues orientales et principalement de l'Arabique et de la Caldee ... J'ay trois ou quatre hommes avec moy capables de l'intelligence d'icelles et fait faire des livres pour les imprimer': MS Dupuy 812, ff. 203r–203v.

⁵⁰¹ 'J'ay pres de moy un turc ... qui est ... cappable de la langue Arabesque, Persienne et Turquesque ... et il scait assez de latin pour le faire entendre. Il a appris quelque chose de notre langue francois. Il entend tout a fait l'italienne, quant a la langue d'Allemagne, il la scait mieux que sa langue paternelle. Il parle l'esclavonie et hongresque': MS Dupuy 812, f. 207v.

⁵⁰² "Il me presse fort de le laisser retourner en son pays, mais sy l'on luy assuroit une condition honeste d'avoir trois ou quatre cens escuz de pension l'on luy pouvoit arrester": MS Dupuy 812, ff. 207v–208r.

⁵⁰³ MS Dupuy 812, f. 208r.

⁵⁰⁴ 'Depuis mon sejour en cettte ville, je travaille longuement sur des caracteres arabesques, persiens et caldees pour pouvoir faire imprimer ces trois langues': MS Dupuy 812, f. 208r.

At the end of the letter, the ambassador wrote a post-script in his own hand: ‘There is a physician of the king [Louis XIII] named Monsieur Hubert who has lived in Fairs [Fez] and Morocco who knows something in [Arabic] but very little’.⁵⁰⁵ Estienne Hubert was chair in Arabic at the Collège Royale, having indeed earlier served as a physician to Moroccan sultan, Ahmad al-Mansur.⁵⁰⁶ Evidently, Savary de Brèves thought little of Hubert’s language skills and it is perhaps no coincidence that he is critical of the status quo for the study of Arabic in Paris — and the chair of the Collège Royale — since Savary de Brèves was proposing the establishment of a new college. He was also proposing quite a different kind of scholar for appointment to Hubert’s role. Discussing the college in a subsequent letter (12 April 1612), he argued for ‘a college established in our university of Paris which can serve to render oriental languages more familiar among us’.⁵⁰⁷ In lieu of Hubert, Savary de Brèves made the case for using native speakers.

We have seen how the ambassador had first-hand experience of the value of native speakers to interpreting in Constantinople, particularly among dragomans. He was already very familiar with Maronite communities, having travelled to Tripoli in June 1605 and visited the residence of the Maronite Patriarch in Qannoubine, Joseph III El-Rizi (patriarch, 1597–1608).⁵⁰⁸ During his stay in Qannoubine, he attended a mass celebrated by the Patriarch and met two scholars:

... who had studied in Rome and served as Italian-language dragomans to the Patriarch: one was the brother of the Patriarch and Abbot of St Antoine: the other, named Georges, was simply a bishop ... a very *galant* man of thirty-two or thirty-three years, full of good letters, both sacred and secular. As well

⁵⁰⁵ ‘Il hi a un medecin du roy nomme monsieur Hubert qui a hete a fais & maroque qui set quelque chose mes bien peu. Il ma escrit estre mintenant legis en sette langue a uous dire le uray set abuser le public’: MS Dupuy 812, fol. 209v.

⁵⁰⁶ For Hubert: Robert Jones, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505–1624)* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 20–21; Gerard Wieggers, “A Life between Europe and the Maghrib: the Writings and Travels of Ahmad b. Qâsim al-Hajarî al-Andalusî,” in *The Middle East and Europe: Encounters and Exchanges*, edited by Geert Jan van Gelder and Ed de Moor (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992), 102–03.

⁵⁰⁷ ‘... un college establir dans notre universite de Paris qui puisse servir a rendre parmy nous les langues orientalles famillieres’: MS Dupuy 812, fol. 219r.

⁵⁰⁸ ‘En fin environ les onze heures, laissez tout ce qu’on peut estre, nous arrivasmes au Convent de saincte Marie, où reside le Patriarche des Maronites’: *Relation*, 46.

as Arabic and Chaldean, he also knew Latin and Italian to perfection; while in Rome, he wrote a method for the understanding of the oriental languages.⁵⁰⁹

The patriarch's brother mentioned in the above passage was likely Sarkis el-Rizzi (1572–1638), among the first students at Rome's Maronite college, returning to Lebanon in 1596. Several years later, in 1610, Sarkis set up a printing press at the Maronite monastery in Quzhaya, and printed what is considered the first book in Arabic with Syriac characters to be printed in the Levant, the Psalter of Quzhaya (Figure 17).⁵¹⁰ As for George, it is possible that this is Jirjis Mikha'il il ibn Amira (Georgius Amira; c. 1573–1644), another of the earliest students of the Maronite college who worked with Raimondi on several texts, including a Syriac grammar, a work to which Savary de Brèves possibly referred to above.⁵¹¹



Figure 17: Psalter of Quzhaya (1610).

⁵⁰⁹ 'Entre ces bons Archeveques & Eveques ... il y en avoit deux sçavans, lesquels avoient estudié à Rome, & servoient de truchemens au Patriarche, par la langue Italienne : l'un estoit frerre dudit Patriarche, & Abbé de saint Antoine : l'autre nommé Georges, estoit Evesque simplement & non Religieux, mais fort galant homme, âgé de trente deux ou trente trois ans, pleins de bonnes lettres, tant saintes qu'humaines, & qui avec les langues Arabesque & Chaldeeane, sçavoit encore le Latin, & Italien, à perfection : estant à Rome, il escrit une methode pour l'intelligence des langues Orientales': *Relation*, 50.

⁵¹⁰ Tarek Shamma and Myriam Salama-Carr, *Anthology of Arabic Discourse on Translation* (London: Routledge, 2022), 191–92. For more on the Psalter: Joseph Moukarezal, "Le Psautier syriaque-garchouni édité à Qozhaya en 1610. Enjeux historiques et presentation du livre," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph LXIII* (2010–2011): 511–65.

⁵¹¹ *Grammatica syriaca sive chaldaica, Georji Michaelis Amirae Edeniensis è Libano, Philosophi, ac Theologi, Collegij Maronitarum Alumni, in septem libros divisa* (Rome: Typographia Linguarum externarum, 1596).

Savary de Brèves spent time in several other Maronite villages, including Quzhaya itself, and the *Relation* of his travels includes many observations about their daily life, relationship with the Turks, and religious observations. So, even before his time in Rome, the ambassador was well acquainted not only with the language skills of Maronites but also, likely, the existence of the Maronite college and efforts already underway in Rome to print in Arabic, including possibly Raimondi's work.

Further, the *Relation*'s observations about the diplomatic role played by these two 'lettered' Maronites who knew Latin and Italian, describing them specifically as 'dragomans' for the Patriarch, once again underscores the blurred line between interpreter and diplomatic agent that we encountered in Chapter 3, further evidence of the value that language knowledge presented to diplomatic work. The Patriarch had sent Sarkis back to Rome in 1610 perhaps as the first Maronite emissary to Pope Paul V.⁵¹² The report from Savary de Brèves' *Relation* indicates not only an interest in language, but an awareness of its value to diplomacy and translation between the Latin and Arabic speaking worlds. Thus, when Savary de Brèves arrived in Rome as ambassador, he was already aware of the linguistic skills and value of Maronites, especially from the perspective of translation and their role as dragomans and diplomatic agents between the Catholic See in Rome and the Maronite See in Qannoubine. Such awareness no doubt prompted his advocacy for native speakers as interpreters and translators at the royal court in France, rather than relying on appointments like Hubert. Perhaps inspired by his experience among dragomans in Constantinople, Savary de Brèves may have seen Rome as a model for diplomatic engagement with the non-Latinate world that could also be transferred to Paris. He put the case to de Thou when reiterating the

⁵¹² Moukarzel, "Le Psautier syrique-garchouni," 549. For the contact between Rome and the Maronites in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: Sam Kennerley, *Rome and the Maronites in the Renaissance and Reformation: The Formation of Religious Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (London: Routledge, 2021).

language skills of the Turk: ‘the king must have at his court people capable of foreign languages for occasions to serve as interpreters as much as to undertake translations of letters’.⁵¹³ Indeed, as we shall see, Savary de Brèves was later responsible for suggesting the first royal chair in Arabic not born in France— Gabriel Sionita (1577–1648) of Mount Lebanon.

The first work Savary de Brèves undertook as part of this printing project was an Arabic dictionary, often referred to in the correspondence as ‘un calpin Arabesque’, in reference to lexicographer Ambrogio Calepino (c. 1440–1510) and his popular *Dictionarium* (1502). As Ann Blair notes, while the ‘Calepino’ started as a Latin–Latin dictionary, it came to stand in for the entire dictionary genre during the early modern period, particularly polyglot dictionaries.⁵¹⁴ On 2 August 1612, Savary de Brèves wrote: ‘I have made progress as much as I can on an Arabic dictionary, but know that it is a language so ample and so great that it takes several years to get through’.⁵¹⁵ Later that month, he indicated that before leaving Rome he hoped ‘to have greatly advanced the translation of the *calpin Arabesque*’ but that he ‘had finished the necessary characters for printing’, promising to later send de Thou a sample demonstration.⁵¹⁶ From this evidence, it appears the first work he undertook was production of an Arabic dictionary. By this stage, too, the Arabic characters seem to have been produced, though it is not entirely certain what he means by ‘characters’ (that is, the designs or the punches/matrices/type).

It is not until 20 November 1612 that we get the clearest indication yet of his progress, writing to de Thou:

⁵¹³ ‘Il doibt avoir en sa court personnes capables des langues estrangeres pour occasions server d’interpretes tant au parler qu’a la traduction des lettres’: MS Dupuy 812, f. 219v.

⁵¹⁴ Ann M. Blair, *Too Much To Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 122.

⁵¹⁵ ‘Je faict travaille tant que je puis au dictionnaire arabesque, mais sacher que c’est une langue sy ample et sy grande qu’il fault plusieurs annees pour est venir a bout’: MS Dupuy 812, f. 233r.

⁵¹⁶ ‘J’espere avant que je partir d’Icy d’auoir fort auancé La traduction du calpin Arabesque, J’ay, de la grace de dieu, fait Achever les caractaires necessaires pour l’imprimer’: MS Dupuy 821, f. 235v.

... if their Majesties assure my return [to Paris] next spring, I will be unable to complete that which I started concerning the Arabic dictionary and the Psalms of David; they have finished the translation of these Psalms [from Arabic to Latin] ... the Arabic characters are also done and are in the hands of the *fondeur* to cast them into letters, in three or four months, all that will be done, God willing, and I have decided to undertake nothing concerning the Five ... Books of Moses [the Pentateuch], no less for the New Testament which I have not completed ...⁵¹⁷

Savary de Brèves here named four works in the production process, presumably intended for print: the Arabic dictionary, a version of the Psalms of David, a Pentateuch and a New Testament. In addition, this letter tells us two things about the Arabic characters. First, that by late November 1612 the type for *Typographia Savariana* were with a foundry in Rome for casting into metal type. Second, when Savary de Brèves mentioned in his August 1612 letter that the Arabic characters had been finished, he must be referring to the design of the typeface for later casting into metal. These letters allow us to conclude both the character designs and their production into metal type were undertaken in Rome. Duverdier's question is thereby resolved. The expertise was around Savary de Brèves in the city that not only hosted an oriental printing press, but also a college of Maronites who could work in Arabic, Latin and Italian. He later sent to de Thou several copies of the Psalms that had been translated with Arabic that he intended to print and indicated his plan to print copies for the preachers of Paris, saying that these versions are 'more beautiful and more intelligible than our own [printed in Latin]'.⁵¹⁸

By this stage, too, Savary de Brèves had discussed the possibility of the Maronites joining him on his return to Paris. In the same letter, he indicated that 'without the Maronites, I would not have known how to complete this work' and that it 'would not be easy to bring

⁵¹⁷ 'A la verite, sy leurs Majestes promettent mon retour au prochain printemps, je ne pourray pas achever ce que j'ay faict commencer touchant le calpin Arabesque et les Psaulmes de David, pour lesdits Psaumes, ilz sont finiz de traduire ... le caractere Arabesque est aussy faict et est entre les mains du fondeur pour getter les lettres dans trois ou quatre mois, tout cela sera faict, Dieu audant, et me suis resolu de ne rien entreprendre touchant les Cinques ... Livres de Moyse, ny moings du Nouveau Tetstament que je n'ay faict acheve ...': MS Dupuy 812, ff. 244r–244v.

⁵¹⁸ '...ceux qui en ont veu la traduction confessent qu'ils sont plus beaux et plus intelligibles que les notres': MS Dupuy 812, f. 245r.

them to France without granting them some good appointment'.⁵¹⁹ He concluded: 'at the end of this year, I will write to Monsieur de Villeroy for my Turk and for the Maronite', presumably to propose an arrangement for both to live in Paris and receive a pension or appointment.⁵²⁰ At the end of the year, in a letter dated 24 December 1612, we learn the name of the Turk with Savary de Brèves:

You know well the promise made to us by Monsieur de Villeroy including to give an annual pension of three or four thousand *écus* to the Turk I have with me, named Oussein de Boude, allowing to remain [in Paris] for the rest of his life in the service of our King and our kingdom with the title of interpreter of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Slavonic, Hungarian, German and other languages that God has liberally given him...⁵²¹

We learn that a pension had been arranged in a later letter (17 February 1613), when the ambassador thanks de Thou, 'You have done good work of having accorded a pension to the Turk'.⁵²² This letter tells us that the Turk, Hussein of Buda, was originally from Hungary (an Ottoman territory since the 1540s, and thus why Hussein is referred to as Turkish even though he may have been European), which explains his impressive linguistic skills that included Hungarian and Slavonic.

Ready to print

By early 1613, Savary de Brèves reached a critical milestone in his enterprise. First, he had access to the linguistic expertise of Hussein of Buda (for Arabic, Persian and Turkish, among others) and at least two Maronites (for Arabic and Chaldean). Victor Scialac, professor of Arabic at La Sapienza, was one of the Maronites. The other was Jibra'il al-

⁵¹⁹ '... sans les peres Maronites, he ne scauvois parachever cette œuvre, et malaisement les pourraige faire aller en France, sans leur donner quelque bon appointment': MS Dupuy 812, f. 244v.

⁵²⁰ 'Je escripray sur la fin de cette annee a Monsieur de Villeroy pour mon turc et pour le pere Maronite': MS Dupuy 812, ff. 245r–245v.

⁵²¹ 'Vous scavez bien la promesse que Monsieur de Villeroy vous a faicte et a moy aussy de faire donner au turc que j'ay pres de moy, Nomme Oussein de Boude une pention de 3 ou 4 milles escus par an, pour luy donner occasion de demeurer le reste de sa Vie au service du Roy et de notre patrie avec le titre de l'interprete des langues Arabesque, Persienne, Turquesque, Esclavonie, Ungoisque, Allemande, et autres que Dieu luy a liberallement apartien': MS Dupuy 812, f. 251r.

⁵²² 'Vous avez faict une bonne oeuvre d'avoir faicte accorder une pention au turc': MS Dupuy 812, f. 256v.

Sahyuni (Latinised, Gabriel Sionita), whose destiny would become inextricably interwoven with press beyond even the death of Savary de Brèves. Born in Ehden, a town on the slopes of Mount Lebanon, Sionita was sent to Rome in 1584 where he was among the first students of the Maronite college, along with Serkis, who Savary de Brèves met in Quannoubine in 1605.⁵²³ Second, Savary de Brèves had the actual technical means to print — the Arabic characters, forged in Rome. In terms of printers, we know from the title pages of the first publications that he engaged Stephanus Paulinus (Stefano Paolini), an associate of Raimondi's. Third, he had a clear objective in mind and one that was directed back to Paris. He sought to render these languages 'familiar among us', to found a college for oriental languages at the university of Paris, and engage native speakers of Arabic, Turkish and Persian as translators at the royal court. One of the underlying pleas in his correspondence relates to financing the project; people had to be paid, pensions needed to be guaranteed to achieve his ends. We have already seen how the papacy was a source of capital for enterprises to print in oriental languages; would Rome offer assistance here too? We will return to this shortly. Suffice to say, by early 1613, Savary de Brèves was ready to print.

The first publications in Rome

Savary de Brèves' printing press sought to contribute to a broader project for the study of oriental languages in Paris. Yet, to what end? The *Typographia Savariana* printed two works in Rome that might offer some clues: a Latin–Arabic edition of Cardinal Robert Bellarmine's *Doctrina Christiana* (1613) and an Arabic–Latin psalter (1614). Both texts were Arabic–Latin polyglot texts and religious in orientation. Nowhere in Savary de Brèves's initial foray into publication does Turkish feature, and yet we know he had the linguistic

⁵²³ For details on the students: Nasser Gemayel, *Les échanges culturels entre les maronites et l'Europe: du Collège Maronite de Rome (1584) au Collège de Ayn-Warqa (1789)* (Beirut: Impr. Y. et Ph. Gemayel, 1984), 98–99.

skills of Hussein (as well as his own) to print in the language. Further, both texts fit more within a missionary framework than a diplomatic one. This evangelising direction *prima facie* stands at odds with the goal of a Paris-centred study of these languages that he professed to de Thou, with its additional emphasis on Turkish, as well as the linguistic profile of his manuscript collection. Rather, it is a publishing agenda entirely aligned with the missionary focus of the papacy's oriental studies program that facilitated Savary de Brèves' publishing agenda, an agenda directed largely towards more diplomatic and oriental studies goals.

***Doctrina Christiana* (1613)**

In 1613, a year before the psalter was printed, Savary de Brèves printed his first text — a bilingual Latin–Arabic version of Bellarmine's catechism, *Doctrina Christiana*.⁵²⁴ No mention is made of this in his correspondence with de Thou. One explanation is that the ambassador was undertaking this project for a different patron: Paul V. The title page of the 1613 edition indicates the work was requested by the pope, with the printer noted as *Ex Typographia Savariana*. The title page states:

Doctrina Christiana
Illustrissimi, & Reverendissimi. D. D.
Roberti S. R. E. Card. Bellarmini,
nunc primum ex Italico idiomate
in Arabicum, iussu S.D.N. Pauli
V. Pont Max translata.

Per Victorium Scialac Accurensem, &
Gabrielem Sionitam Edeniensem, Ma
ronitas è monte Libano, Philosophie, ac
sacra Theologia professors.

The book is in octavo format and because it is a Latin–Arabic text, opens with the spine on the right. Preceded by an epistolary dedication to Paul V and a letter to the reader,

⁵²⁴ Robert Bellarmine, *Doctrina christiana* (Rome: Stefano Paulini f. Typographia Savariana, 1613).

discussed below, it comprises 171 pages. This ordering reflects the Latin-to-Arabic translation, which will be different to the ordering in the Arabic-to-Latin translation of the psalter. Apart from the arms of Paul V and Savary de Brèves, there are no illustrations. The text was translated by Maronites Victor Scialac and Gabriel Sionita.

Jesuit Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542–1620) intended the *Doctrina* as a lay version of the post-Tridentine *Catechismus Romanus*. Translated into over 60 languages, the *Doctrina* is considered the most important catechism of the post-Tridentine church.⁵²⁵ It was particularly critical as a tool in Jesuit missionary work and the church’s global expansion, used by missionaries from the Americas to Japan.⁵²⁶ Missionary activity was an active site of translation work and advances in European linguistic knowledge. Paul V was casting his eyes across the expanding European horizons, with all its promise of a renewed universal church borne amidst the increasing impossibility of such universality in Europe.⁵²⁷ His global vision is reflected in the fresco cycle he commissioned for the Sala Regia in Rome’s Quirinal Palace, a gallery (Figure 18) depicting recent visits to the Holy See from emissaries around the world, including the Kongo, Persia, and Japan, a gallery that could easily include the Maronite Sarkis.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁵ Antje Flüchter, “Translating Catechisms, Translating Cultures: An Introduction” in *Translating catechisms, Translating Cultures: The Expansion of Catholicism in the Early Modern World*, edited by Antje Flüchter and Rouven Wirbser (Brill, 2017), 20.

⁵²⁶ Flüchter, “Translating Catechisms,” 21.

⁵²⁷ Robert Bireley, “Early-Modern Catholicism as a Response to the Changing World of the Long Sixteenth Century,” *Catholic Historical Review* 95, no. 2 (April 2009): 226.

⁵²⁸ For the fresco and embassies: Opher Mansour, “Picturing Global Conversion: Art and Diplomacy at the Court of Paul V (1605–1621),” *Journal of Early Modern History* 17 (2013): 525–59; Mayu Fujikawa, “Pope Paul V’s global design: the fresco cycle in the Quirinal Palace,” *Renaissance Studies* 30, no. 2 (April 2016): 192–217.

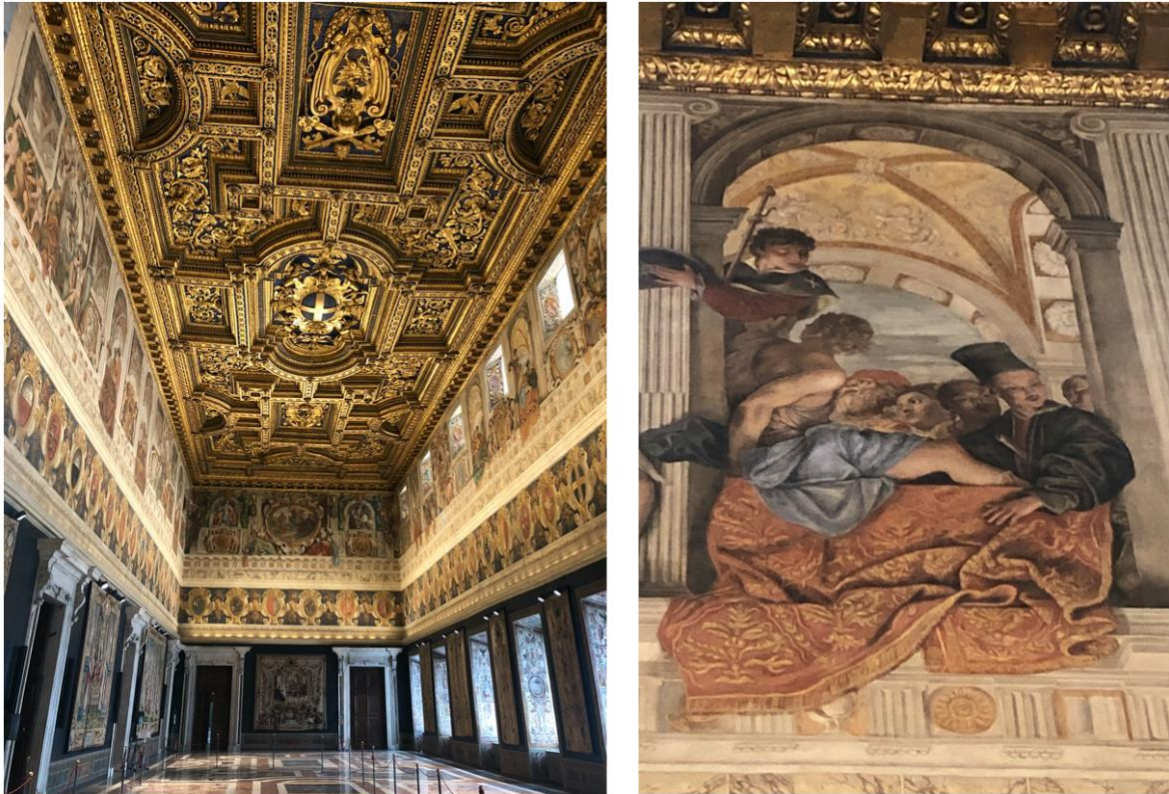


Figure 18: The Sala Regia with the gallery cycle towards the ceiling (left) and one of the gallery scenes (right).

While Savary de Brèves was in Rome, Bellarmine was at the centre of a controversy between the Holy See and the Parlement of Paris — and the Roman and Gallican churches — concerning papal temporal power. ‘After writing my other [dispatch] touching Bellarmino’s book,’ wrote papal nuncio in Paris Roberto Ulbaldini on 26 November 1610, ‘I was informed that in the Parlement [of Paris] this morning, judgement was given prohibiting the printing, sale, reading and possession of the said book under penalty of *lèse-majesté*.’⁵²⁹ The book in question was Bellarmine’s *De potestate summi Pontificis in rebus temporalibus adversus Gulielmum Barclaium* (1611), the theologian’s response to an ongoing debate with James I of England (and English scholar William Barclay) about the temporal and spiritual powers of kings and popes. Largely prompted by James I’s oath of allegiance, the debate sparked

⁵²⁹ ‘Stando sul dispaccio, e dopo haver scritta l’altra mia toccante il libro del S. Card.le Bellarmino sono stato avvisato, che nel Parlamento tenutosi questa mattina è stato per Arresto prohibito d’imprimer, vender, legger, e tenere il detto libro sotto pena di crime [*sic*] lesa M.tà’: Rome, AAV, Segreteria di Stato, Francia 54, 147r–147v.

interest elsewhere in Europe, particularly in France in the wake of Henri IV's assassination by a papalist and Jesuit.⁵³⁰

Savary de Brèves no doubt was at the centre of the controversy as much as Ubaldini. On 20 November 1610, he wrote to de Thou: 'the book of Bellarmine against Barclay has excited great commotion in Rome' and a subsequent letter makes reference to news of the Parlement's judgement.⁵³¹ Savary de Brèves had been working to remove de Thou's *Historia* from censorship, particularly topical since it was accused of questioning papal authority, an issue at the core of the Bellarmine controversy. Prior to the November 1610 letter, the ambassador was mediating between inquisitorial authorities in Rome and de Thou, negotiating revisions the latter could make in order to have his *Historia* removed from the index. Savary de Brèves cautioned de Thou against talking about the pope's attitude:

Even if we complain further about Bellarmine's latest book, we will not suppress it for that is the season we are in. If we must, reprove it gently, as others have done, without alienating the affection of His Holiness and of his holy College ... especially if Bellarmine is as committed as the others to the rumour that you instigated and encouraged the Parlement to make judgment against his book.⁵³²

On 20 February, Savary de Brèves informed de Thou: 'I will show the pope ... the letter his Majesty wrote to me as your justification, testifying that you were not in the parlement the day that the judgment was given against Bellarmine's book'.⁵³³ No further mention is made

⁵³⁰ Roberto Bellarmino, *Tractatus de postestate summi pontifices in rebus temporalibus, adversus Gulielmum Barclaium* (Coloniae Agrippinae: Sumptibus Bernardi Gualtheri, 1611). For the debate of Bellarmine's work in France: Stefania Tutino, *Empire of Souls: Robert Bellarmine and the Christian Commonwealth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 160–210.

⁵³¹ '... le livre de Cardinal Bellarmine contre Barclay a excité icy de grands remuemens ...': MS Dupuy 812, f. 154r.

⁵³² 'Je vous puis asseurer que le Pape n'est nullement espagnol et qu'il cherist aultant la France qu'autre royaume de Crestienite et quand il n'auroit aucune bonne inclination envers nous (ce que je n'ay point encores cognu) l'interrest du St siege et celuy de sa reputation l'obligent a partager esgalement ses affections et d'estre tenu pour Pere commung. De nous plaindre davantage du dernier livre de Cardinal Bellarmin nous ne le supprimerons pas pour ce là en la saison ou nous sommes il nous doibt suffire de le reprouver doucement comme les autres ont fait et ne nous pas alier l'affectioner de Sa Ste et de ce saint college ... le Cardinal Bellarmin sy estoit engage aultant que les autres le bruit qui a couru que vous estes l'auteur et celuy qui a porte la Cour de Parlement a faire l'arrest qui a este donne contre son livre pourroit bien empescher et faire que l'on ne pensera plus a vous ny a reformer votre dicte histoire en verité tout ce seroit passé avec ung peu de temps a votre contentement': MS Dupuy 812, ff. 158r–159r.

⁵³³ 'Je feray veoir au Pape et aux Principaux Cardinaux de ce college la lettre que sa M^{te} m'escrict pour votre Justification et qui tesmoigne que vous n'estiez pas au Palais le Jour que l'arrest fut donné contre le livre du Cardinal Bellarmine': MS Dupuy 812, f. 160r.

of Bellarmine's controversial work, so we might assume that the king's letter cleared de Thou of complicity in the Parlement's order. But several points here are important. First, we see Savary de Brèves' close contact with Paul V and his care to 'massage' the relationship through negotiation for possible compromises in de Thou's work. Second, the ambassador was aware of the sensitivities surrounding publications and their importance in political and diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the French kingdom, as well as the particularly delicate relationship between the two given the parlement's decision regarding Bellarmine's work. Third, extending this second point, if a publication could so threaten a diplomatic relationship, then it also had the capacity to attract papal favour.

The controversy over the Gallican church's response to Bellarmine endured beyond Savary de Brèves' term in Rome. Duverdier contends that Savary de Brèves printed Bellarmine's catechism to gain papal support for his oriental printing press, whether financial or otherwise. Duverdier does not offer evidence to support this aside from the work's dedication to the pope, but when we consider the circumstances surrounding the Bellarmine's *Doctrina Christiana*, we may well imagine that Savary de Brèves chose this publication as a 'gift' to Paul V. What better work could improve the ambassador's (and French king's) standing before this particular pope more than a Latin–Arabic bilingual edition of Bellarmine's summation of post-Tridentine catechism that could accompany Catholic missionaries heading to the Levant with the goal of bringing eastern Christians into the Roman church's doctrinal embrace? What better way to placate Paul V than to turn his attention away from wrangling with European sovereigns over political and spiritual authority by tempting him with an authority that extended beyond Europe?

The *Doctrina's* epistolary dedication to the pope presents a narrative fundamentally aligned to the pope's missionary program.

When Sieur Francis Savary de Brèves was ambassador ... in Constantinople, and now in your holy sanctity, Rome, he visited Aleppo, Tripoli, Mount Lebanon, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Memphis and other

distinguished cities of the Orient and distant. In these afflicted parts of Christendom, he met peoples forsaken in the extreme of all things, needing salvation both of the body and the soul. He was moved by the misery of so much hopelessness, but also so inflamed as to immediately consider it necessary to support and rescue them from this inhuman state. ... While there, he was ready to help in curing the illness of the body as liberally and eminently as possible: and, now, moved to heal and raise their souls a little from more serious illness, he decided to himself develop Arabic Chalcography [engraving on metal for the purposes of printing, and thus a reference to printing] devoted no less to religion and piety, than to invention, so that he could produce as many works as possible, especially in accordance with Christian pleas and precepts of scholarship, whether derived from the Latin source or produced from an Arabic source so they may be purged of their errors and flaws. ... Thus, to quickly advance such notable work, and *with his own expenses*, he saw to producing the most elegant Arabic type and characters and ordering an Arabic translation of our Roman Catechism from the Italian edition of the most Illustrious Cardinal Bellarmine, for its authority over us [emphasis added].⁵³⁴

The *Doctrina*'s dedicatory address to the pope casts Savary de Brèves as the protagonist in a narrative that hit all the right notes by representing the press as a technology for evangelising among Levantine Christians and promoting post-Tridentine orthodoxy. It opens with a broad, tantalising sweep — the Levant under rule of the Ottomans — listing all these ‘distinguished cities of the Orient’ like jewels of a necklace. It testifies to the forsaken lives of Christians living in these parts, afflicted with infirmity or disease not only of the body but also of the soul, borne out of his own journeys in the Levant. Witnessing such a hopeless vision not only moved Savary de Brèves to sorrow, but also inflamed within him a zeal to rescue and lift them from such a wretched condition. Driven by such a motivation, he created a press (*Chalcographeium*) for printing in Arabic, a project no less concerned with religion and piety than with invention. The press allows for works like the *Doctrina* to be printed in Arabic and thereby correct the errors and flaws in eastern Christian rites. Very subtly, he adds that he had

⁵³⁴ See Appendix 5 for original Latin.

undertaken this ‘at his own cost’, a hint that perhaps Savary de Brèves was not only seeking papal favour for his project, but also financial capital.

Here we have what appears to be a clear statement of motivation — the very pious desire to rescue eastern Christians from heresy and falsehood. Yet, we know from his correspondence with de Thou that this narrative does not at all reflect the central objective of his printing press, which was directed towards Paris; the establishment of a college of oriental languages at the university of Paris and the provision of translators in languages like Arabic and Turkish to the French court. Turkish does not even rate a mention, but what place would Turkish have in missionary activity among eastern Christians anyway? Nowhere in his pitch to de Thou (a pitch he was wanting the latter to present to the crown along with requests for pensions), does Savary de Brèves refer to the salvation of the souls. This is not to say evangelising did not form part of Savary de Brèves’ vision for the press. After all, protections for missionary orders in the Levant were a central new feature of the 1604 capitulations, but clearly this was not his proposition to de Thou or Villeroy.

The 1613 edition is also prefaced by a letter to the reader, signed by Scialac and Sionata, offering further insight into intention.

We wish you to be greatly aware of two things in this edition of this Christian catechism in Arabic from Latin. The first is that you might realise the incensed and inflamed zeal of ambassador ... Sieur de Breves, who, with spirit and reason, sought to deliver the salvation of eastern Christians with all power and works. For this reason, he asked us to translate the Catechism of ... Bellarmine from Italian into Arabic so that the Consul of the French nation can instruct dignity for people living in Alexandria, the most beautiful city of all Egypt, that he might aid the extreme suffering. This end alone was sufficient to print this only in Arabic. However, since we know many men of the Latin Church and of various nations study this language greatly ... we eagerly wish to satisfy this longing. Therefore, we add a Latin translation, and included the Arabic vowels [vocalised Arabic] and added caps [diacritical marks] to

benefit anyone who, with their own intelligence, can consult the rules of Arabic grammar and make eminent progress in this language.⁵³⁵

In this passage, the dedication's narrative is reiterated, positioning Savary de Brèves and his printing project within a missionary frame. Only, in this passage, we see a more specific example of how this might work, with the French consul in Alexandria playing a role by using this edition of the *Doctrina* to help with the missionary effort. A letter from the patriarch in Alexandria in 1618 referred to copies Savary de Brèves was sending to the consul.⁵³⁶ While the consul served more than just protecting commercial interests in a city like Alexandria (for example, they were the key contact for missionaries and pilgrims travelling through the city), he hardly undertook missionary activity himself. It seems here that French diplomatic activity in Ottoman territories and the ambassador's printing project is woven into this papal missionary program. However, the striking difference in this passage is the acknowledgement that the edition was designed not only for missionary work but also as a pedagogic tool for those seeking to learn Arabic. Indeed, if the edition were solely intended for Christians in Egypt, why would a Latin translation be needed? As the letter explains, the Latin is provided, along with vocalised Arabic vowels and diacritical marks, explicitly to aid those who seek to learn Arabic. So, we see here two intended audiences — eastern Christians in Ottoman territories and those from the Latinate world who seek to learn Arabic.

The Psalter (1614)

In his correspondence to de Thou, the psalter was the primary work Savary de Brèves hoped to print before returning to Paris. The *Liber Psalmorum Davidis Regis Prophetarum*, printed just before the ambassador's departure, is a translation of an Arabic version of the

⁵³⁵ Original Latin in Appendix 6.

⁵³⁶ Émile Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique, ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au 17^e siècle*, Vol. 1 (Paris: A. Picard, 1894–1903), 324.

Psalms into Latin presented in facing columns.⁵³⁷ The translation was undertaken by Sionita and Scialac, with a further edition published in 1619. A psalter is a volume containing the psalms and, at least during this period, was attributed to king David (hence *Liber psalmorum Davidis Regis*).⁵³⁸ Within the Latin Christian tradition, psalters were popular devotional works from the medieval period into the early modern. The psalmic tradition also extended across Christian and Judaic traditions — ‘psalms could cross and re-cross confessional boundaries, tying together Christians of every denomination’ while they could also ‘define religious perspective and practice’.⁵³⁹ A psalter thus was the perfect vehicle for cross-confessional enterprises seeking to ‘define’ a post-Tridentine orthodoxy. The practice in early modern Europe of translating non-Latinate versions of the psalms into Latin was well-established by this stage. In octavo format, this work is preceded by an epistolary dedication and leads with the Arabic, reflecting the text as an Arabic-to-Latin translation. It also opens with the spine on the right side. The psalter itself covers 474 pages, with 151 psalms, followed by several *laudationes*.

Unlike the *Doctrina*, it is dedicated to Louis XIII. Similarly, however, the epistolary dedication initially frames the work within the propagation of the Catholic faith and, specifically, its contribution to the king’s glory and reputation:

When ambassador [Savary de Brèves] was in the kingdoms of the Orient, he visited these nations. Some of those he encountered were taken by errors of idolatry, others corrupted by defects of offensive heresy, others suffering with the influence of schismatic sects. Finally, there were very few who, although suppressed by great lack of works of the Catholic faith, remained dedicated to worshiping the true religion. This deteriorated state so gravely stung the soul of this Christian man, legate of the most Christian king, that it immediately inspired him to produce the healthiest cure he could for the health of such a divided Orient. For this reason, he decided there was nothing more effective to relieve these

⁵³⁷ *Liber Psalmorum Davidis Regis Prophetae ex arabico idiomate in latinum translatus* (Rome: Typographia Savariana, 1614).

⁵³⁸ Linda Phyllis Austern et al., editors, *Psalms in the Early Modern World* (London: Ashgate, 2011), 7.

⁵³⁹ Austern et al, *Psalms in the Early Modern World*, 12.

wretched people and free them from damnation and the slavery of superstition and error, transporting them to the bosom of the Church, ... and nothing would more gloriously praise you and the Gallic name, than if books about the precepts and mysteries of the Christian faith were published in their vernacular language. These books would openly distinguish the falsehood of their errors He did not cease to advance this with all study and industry. From which, it was soundly done such that ... he arranged to be copied and composed [*excudi*, suggesting ‘forge’ and thus printing] into Arabic the Catechism of the most Illustrious Cardinal Bellarmine. *For the convenience and use of European Christians*, he decided to publish an Arabic and Latin interpretation of the holy bible. And since ... the Psalms of David are certainly the epitome of both the old and new testaments, it was suitable to begin from these in the meantime with this edition of the whole work [emphasis added].⁵⁴⁰

The dedication is signed by Sionita and Scialac as the scholars responsible for the translation. The text was originally sent by Savary de Brèves to de Thou in a dispatch dated 24 December 1613 with that original handwritten dedication included in the same volume as the correspondence to de Thou.⁵⁴¹

We can make several observations from the above passage. First, it confirms that the *Doctrina* was indeed the first work produced by the Typographia Savariana, which is significant because the first text was dedicated to the pope and outside the printing program Savary de Brèves proposed to de Thou. Second, the psalter is presented as the first step towards a larger project of what appears to be a polyglot Bible, a project Sionita joined in Paris using the Typographia Savariana. As we saw in the correspondence to de Thou, he also intended to work on the Pentateuch and New Testament, suggesting that Savary de Brèves might be seeking to print a polyglot bible. This was certainly an intended, although not realised, project of the Medici Oriental Press. The Paris polyglot project under Sionita was not be completed until 1645, and not without some controversy since Richelieu temporarily

⁵⁴⁰ Original Latin in Appendix 7.

⁵⁴¹ MS Dupuy 812, f. 280r, with the handwritten copy on ff. 282r–282v.

imprisoned Sionita for not fulfilling his obligations under the project.⁵⁴² Third, although the work is dedicated to Louis XIII, rather than the pope, with the king's arms appearing on the title page, the project is still couched in a narrative very similar to that in the *Doctrina's* dedication. Savary de Brèves is once again the protagonist — having witnessed the various miseries of the soul in the Orient, he was stimulated to 'make the most healthy cure he could for the health of such a divided Orient'. The verb *excudere* is used and while this may refer to composition generally, its literal meaning — to stamp or strike out (*ex-cudere*), as if from a forge or metalwork — is crucial. It is not just the text, translation or even publication itself that is the cure. Rather, ultimately, the cure is the actual product of the metalworker's forge — the printing type. In the dedication to the *Doctrina*, it is referred to as Chalcography, referring to the craft of engraving on a copper (Gr. *χαλκός*) plate, but also used to refer to engravings on any type of metal. The press was the 'cure' for an Orient afflicted with the disease of heresy, oppression, idolatry and falsehoods. Further, it was a technological solution to the problem of faith presenting an opportunity for the spread of post-Tridentine orthodoxy through a mass produced text.

A further key difference in this dedication is its appeal to the French king's glory — to the name of the French king and kingdom and the '*Liliatum Imperium*'. It opens by reminding Louis XIII of the great deeds that returned glory and immortality to his forebears, and none more so than the 'propagation of the Catholic faith'.⁵⁴³ The dedication brings together the interests of both papacy and king, the Roman and Gallican, under this aegis of his printing press. We might well imagine that the audience for this dedication was not just the French royal court, but the papal court as well. Indeed, the publication includes an

⁵⁴² For the Paris polyglot bible: Peter N. Miller, "Making the Paris Polyglot Bible: Humanism and Orientalism in the Early Seventeenth Century," in *Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus. The European Republic of Letters in the Age of Confessionalism*, edited by Herbert Jaumann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001), 59–85.

⁵⁴³ 'Cum multa sint, Ludovici Rex Augustissime, quae Mairoum tuorum gloriam, immortalem, ac sempiternam reddant ; tum nihil aeque, ac illa, quae ad Catholicae fidei propagationem, per multiplices, ac immensos labores, ab iis gesta memorantur'.

endorsement from Bellarmine at the top of the page following the title page: ‘In hac versione Psalmorum ex Arabica lingua in Latinam, nihil inueni contra veritatem vulgatae nostrae Latinae editionis: neque contra Hebraicum, vel Graecum Textum. R. Cardinalis Bellarminus, manu propria’ (‘In this version of the Psalms from the Arabic language into Latin, I have found nothing against the truth of our commonly published Latin edition: nor against either the Hebrew or Greek Texts. Signed R. Cardinal Bellarmine’). In bringing these interests together, in harmonising the Roman and Gallican, Savary de Brèves cast his oriental printing press as a project in full concordance with his original instructions as ambassador. Moreover, in portraying Savary de Brèves as a protagonist in the Orient, it unified his time as ambassador in the Ottoman Levant with his instructions as ambassador in Rome — his entire diplomatic career as a single initiative. And, yet, in his correspondence with de Thou and his calls for the latter to make petitions to the king to support his endeavour, no mention seems to be made of the motivations expressed in these two dedications.

Finally, this dedication reiterated the *Doctrina*’s notice to readers that the psalter was designed for ‘the convenience and utility of European Christians’. How might an Arabic psalter translated into Latin be useful to European Christians? Perhaps for use in learning Arabic. This was the very audience Savary de Brèves indicated in his correspondence to de Thou. On 17 February 1613, he wrote: ‘The Psalms of David are translated and will be printed completely in the month of June. I will print up to 6,000 of them. I believe that in Italy I will sell at least 2,000. I think the same in France and the other 2,000 will be for the provinces of Europe.’⁵⁴⁴ It is clear, then, that Savary de Brèves had his eye on Europe, but to what end?

⁵⁴⁴ MS Dupuy 812, f. 255.

Rome as a preliminary step

The *Doctrina* and psalter represent the first steps for the Typographia Savariana before Savary de Brèves returned to Paris, accompanied by Sionita and another Maronite, Yūḥannā al-Maʿmadān al-Ḥaṣrūnī (John Hesronita), as well as the printer Stefanus Paulinus (Estienne Paulin in Paris). Before we turn to his printing efforts in Paris, what preliminary insights into his motivations can be drawn from these initial efforts? To answer this question, we need to follow him back to Paris to see what becomes of the ambassador and his press. However, we can make some preliminary observations from this chapter.

As we have seen, both publications claim a dual purpose. First and foremost, both are framed within a missionary context, with the printing press itself represented as a means to save eastern Christians from their wretched state of heresy, falsehoods and ignorance. Of course, this speaks to the missionary goals of a post-Tridentine church seeking to unify the eastern Christians to the Roman church. Both texts are consistent with this intention — Bellarmine's *Doctrina* was widely used for missionary purposes and psalters were key texts for cross-confessional work. They are the very kinds of texts already being printed in oriental languages in Rome, and which continue to be under the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. This connection with the church's missionary activity is not altogether new to Savary de Brèves. After all, his 1604 capitulations were the first European capitulations to include distinct protections for Latin Christian orders in Jerusalem, the very orders comprising the avant-garde of missionary work in the Levant. We saw, too, how this achievement was celebrated in eulogies for the late Henri IV, representing the king as protector of the Holy Sepulchre as a result of these capitulations. Further, the first part of the *Relation* includes extensive observations of the state of eastern Christian Levantine communities. Undoubtedly, this coupling of missionary Rome with French Mediterranean interests consistently features

in the way the Ottoman–French relationship was articulated by Savary de Brèves, even in his later writings on the Ottomans some years later (the subject of Chapter 9).

The second purpose of both editions is to aid in the learning of Arabic by Latinate Europeans. This point is explicitly made in the *Doctrina*'s note to the reader, which explains that the provision of a Latin translation, with vocalised Arabic and diacritical marks, was directed towards making the work accessible as a language-learning tool for Europeans. A catechism designed for Arabic-speaking Christians would hardly need a Latin translation. As for the psalter, this was an Arabic psalter translated into Latin. Surely only a Latin-to-Arabic psalter would suit the purposes of missionary activity. When we also consider Savary de Brèves' intentions to print thousands of copies for sale in Italy, France and elsewhere in Europe, we can only assume that the psalter was chiefly directed towards the learning of Arabic in Europe.

We can say with certainty that Rome presented the ambassador with among the best available technical and linguistic expertise for printing in oriental languages in Europe at the time. Nowhere else did this combination of specialist linguistic and artisanal knowledge coexist so optimally. He had access to native speakers of Arabic thanks to the presence of Maronite scholars since 1584, who were able to work across Arabic and Latin. While we have no evidence of contact between Raimondi and Savary de Brèves, Raimondi's former printer, Stefano Paolini, printed the two texts. We might assume Paolini provided access to the technical typesetting expertise to arrange the Arabic type required to print these works. Finally, the papal court had given patronage to similar projects for printing in oriental languages decades earlier with the Medici press and even earlier attempts. Moreover, he would have been aware of Rome as a fertile staging ground for his project years before arriving in Rome, when in Quannoubine.

Framing these first two publications in a missionary frame served two advantages. First, aligning his objectives with broader papal goals facilitated access to the very resources close to the papal court that he needed to set up the *Typographia Savariana* — the Maronite college and existing oriental language printing expertise. Further, as Duverdier notes, given that Savary de Brèves initially funded the Roman press, its earliest products might have opened up opportunities for funding from the papacy as well, although there is no evidence these works attracted any further financial support. Second, the press positioned the project within his ambassadorial brief. In the context of controversies between the Holy See and Paris, between the Roman and Gallican churches, these texts constituted a bridge that served both Savary de Brèves' ambassadorial and oriental studies interests. Recall here, too, that part of his ambassadorial instructions in Rome were to ensure France's relationship with the Ottomans as both necessary and valuable. There is an element of strategic diplomacy here that brings both his own printing project and French geopolitical interests into alignment with the church's interests. This becomes relevant in Chapter 9 when we consider a later text written by Savary de Brèves in defence of the alliance.

Chapter 8

Reimagining oriental studies and printing Turkish in Paris

Savary de Brèves returned to Paris in 1614, accompanied by the two Maronites from Rome, Gabriel Sionita and John Hesronita. Also joining him was Stefano Paolini — the printer associated with Raimondi who Savary de Brèves used in Rome — and presumably Hussein of Buda. In the case of Hussein, there are no direct sources to confirm his presence in Paris and we rely only on the note of Louis Batiffol, who writes that he was housed in the Luxembourg Palace, residence of Marie de Medici.⁵⁴⁵ Sionita and Hesronita were granted a pension on order of the king in 1615:

Today, 24 January 1615, the King being in Paris duly informed of the sufficient capacity and intelligence that Gabriel Sionita and John Hesronita of Mount Lebanon have in the knowledge of the Arabic and Turkish languages and of the service that they have lately rendered to the late King ... under the Sieur de Brèves ... on several occasions of which they offered themselves and to give them means continue in the future ... his Majesty ... has agreed and made a gift to the said Sionita and Hesronita to the sum of twelve hundred *livres tournois* of pension, which is to each of them six hundred *livres* ...⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁵ Louis Battifol, *Marie de Medici and the French Court* (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 252.

⁵⁴⁶ ‘Aujourd’hui vingt-quatrieme de Janvier mil six cens quinze, le Roy étant à Paris duement informé de la capacité suffisante et intelligence que Gabriel Sionite et Jehan Esronite du Mont Liban ont en la connoissance des langues Arabe et Turquesque, et du service qu’ils ont ce devant rendu au feu Roy soubz le Sieur de Breves ci-devant ambassadeur pour sa Majesté en Cour de Rome, en diverses occasions qui se sont offert et pour donner moyen d’iceux continuer à l’avenir et pouvoir entretenir, sa Majesté de l’avis de la Roine sa Mere a accordé et fait dont auxdits Sionite et Esronite a la somme de douze cens livres tournois de pension qui est a chacun d’eux six cens livres, veut et ordonne qu’ils en soient dorénavant payés par les Trésoriers de son épargne présens et avenir, à commencer du premier jour de Janvier dernier ...’: Paris, ACF, CXII Sionite 1, [folios not numbered].

As this grant indicates, Sionita and Hesronita received a pension of 600 *livres* each in recognition of their services. Savary de Brèves was thus successful in securing a pension for the two Maronites, who lodged at the College of Lombards. Since the fourteenth century, this university of Paris college served as a residence for Italian scholars, thus suitable to the two Maronites who, by virtue of their education in Rome, would be familiar with Italian rather than the French of their new home. Later, Sionita took up residency at what is now 23 Quai d'Anjou on the Île Saint-Louis in Paris, where today a plaque acknowledging his residency: 'En 1642, ici demeura le Sieur Gabriel Sionite Maronite du Liban, Professeur d'Arabe au Collège de France' (Figure 19). The plaque testifies to Sionita's chair in Arabic, but this was part of a much broader cultural program envisaged by Savary de Brèves.



Figure 19: Plaque acknowledging Sionita's residency at 23 Quai d'Anjou, Paris.

Curiously, the grant of pension credits Sionita and Hesronita with knowledge of Arabic *and* Turkish. Their knowledge of the latter is questionable, at least to the standard Savary de Brèves required. Sionita, for example, left his home on the remote slopes of Mount Lebanon for Rome aged just seven and it is unlikely that Turkish constituted part of a young Maronite's education at that age. Regardless, the detail is instructive since it demonstrates

that Turkish was as much a priority as Arabic for the project under which these Maronites were paid. Freed from Rome's oriental studies agenda, where printing in Turkish might have aroused troublesome suspicions, and with new funding from the crown, Savary de Brèves finally was able to start his own independent program. The first work he printed was in Turkish and a diplomatic document — a bilingual edition of the 1604 capitulations. As we will see, while Savary de Brèves' direction of the press in Rome was short-lived, the oriental studies college he envisioned was for training in the languages of the Ottoman court.

First Turkish printed in Paris

His initial publication in Paris was the first to be printed in Turkish in the city and it was none other than his chief achievement in Constantinople. Printed in 1615, it was a bilingual French–Turkish copy of the 1604 capitulations.⁵⁴⁷ The printer's note indicates that the publication was printed in Paris at the 'Imprimerie des langues Orientales, Arabique, Turquesque, Persique, & c.', the relocated *Typographia Savariana* with the same personnel as in Rome but clearly identified as a press for printing in oriental languages (specifically, Arabic, Turkish and Persian, the languages of the Ottoman court, noting that Chaldean had fallen off the list despite Savary de Brèves mentioning it in his correspondence from Rome). The printer was Stefano Paolini, at the College of Lombards in the rue des Carmes. Here we have the location of Savary de Brèves' printing efforts in Paris, the college where the Maronites resided, located on the left bank among other colleges and printing houses.

The work itself comprises 46 pages with Turkish and French printed on their own page (the former on the recto and the latter on the verso). Starting with Turkish, the printed booklet opens from left to right. There is no epistolary dedication or other prefatory matter. However,

⁵⁴⁷ *Articles du traicte fait en l'annee Mil six cens quatre, entre Henri le Grand Roy de France Et Sultan Amat Empereur des Turcs* (Paris: Imprimerie des langues Orientales, Arabique, Turquesque, Persique, & c., 1615).

the first page of the articles themselves opens with a large print of Ahmed I's *tughra* (Figures 20 and 21), which is the calligraphic seal unique to each Ottoman sultan in complex calligraphic form to prevent forgery.⁵⁴⁸ The *tughra* is explained on the page in French: 'A mark of the high family of Ottoman Monarchs, with the beauty, grandeur, and splendour of which so many countries are conquered and governed'.⁵⁴⁹ An engraving of the *tughra* from an Ottoman original would have been made, and the engraver perhaps would have relied on either the original capitulation document or a copy. The rest of the publication goes through the articles themselves, which are numbered.



Figure 20: Ahmed I's *tughra* in the 1615 printed edition of the capitulations.



Figure 21: An illuminated calligraphic copy of Ahmed I's *tughra* (Ibrahim Pasha Museum, Istanbul).

⁵⁴⁸ J. R. Osborn, "Narratives of Arabic Script: Calligraphic Design and Modern Spaces," *Design and Culture: The Journal of the Design Studies Forum* 1, no. 3 (2009): 295–96.

⁵⁴⁹ 'Marque de la haute famille des Monarques Ottomanes, avec la beauté, grandeur, & splendeur de laquelle tant de pais sont conquis & gouvernez': *Articles du traite*, n. p.

This first publication in Paris represents a departure from his initial publications in Rome. The *Doctrina* and psalter sat squarely within the framework of Arabic-language printing in Rome, namely, religious texts printed in Latin and Arabic that, at least on the surface, reflected a missionary agenda. By contrast, this first Paris publication was a wholly secular, diplomatic text printed in Turkish and French, both languages ostensibly outside the missionary genre. This shift suggests Savary de Brèves had a very different objective in mind with his printing press now that it existed independently of Rome, an agenda consistent with his correspondence to de Thou proposing a college for oriental studies. It also aligns with that other component of his project — the manuscripts — which strongly featured works in Turkish. Now working with the two Maronites in Paris (both receiving pensions from the crown), the former ambassador had the crucible of the college of oriental studies. No longer constrained by the missionary nature of Rome's oriental studies, Savary de Brèves was free to pursue his interests. The first publication he produced was in Turkish.

What was the goal of printing the 1604 articles in Turkish and French? Who was the expected audience for such a publication? Unlike the *Doctrina* and psalter, there is no epistolary dedication or any prefatory matter to guide us. Duverdier offers two explanations for this first Paris publication. The first is personal prestige.⁵⁵⁰ With his formal diplomatic career now closed after over two decades, what better testament to his achievements than to publish the chief fruits of this career — the 1604 capitulations that he negotiated — and print them in his native language and the language he had acquired through his diplomatic posting? The self-referential work is a testament to his virtuosity not only as a diplomat negotiating this treaty between two sovereigns, but also his linguistic virtuosity acquired through diplomatic service and demonstrated in this bilingual text. Duverdier considered the publication a means for Savary de Brèves to promote himself at court, important when we

⁵⁵⁰ Duverdier, "Du livre religieux à orientalisme," 168.

consider that his return to Paris was his first real exposure to the French court.⁵⁵¹ Yet, if the text were self-promotional, we might expect some attribution or prefatory remark connecting the capitulations to Savary de Brèves, which does not appear.

The second explanation Duverdier offers is commercial. With increased trade between Marseille and the Levant (and north Africa), as well as pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land, the publication might serve as a guarantee or safe-conduct document used by merchants, pilgrims and other *müste'min*. Duverdier argues the bilingual text both informed French travellers of the guarantees accorded by Ahmed I while simultaneously informing Turkish officials of the sultan's will.⁵⁵² There is certainly a precedent for similar kinds of documents in Raimondi's 1594 edition of Euclid's *Elements*, printed in Arabic. Appended to last page in the form of a colophon and printed in Turkish is a *firman* of sultan Murad III dated to 1588 permitting European merchants to sell the work and other printed books in Arabic, Persian and Turkish within the empire without confiscation or interference.⁵⁵³ Chapter 4 showed how the capitulations provided specific guarantees for French merchants and their goods from interference by local Ottoman authorities, particularly relevant to more peripheral Ottoman territories such as north Africa or the Balkans, territories necessarily frequented by European merchants that were far away from the Ottoman centre and governed by local officials perhaps less well versed in specific sultanic orders. In the case of Raimondi's text, the sultan's order travelled not only with the book merchant, but the book itself. Thus, there is certainly a precedent for printing a sultanic order as a kind of guarantee or safe-conduct against interference, a precedent Savary de Brèves may well have been aware of in Rome.

⁵⁵¹ Duverdier, "Du livre religieux à orientalisme," 169.

⁵⁵² Duverdier, "Du livre religieux à orientalisme," 169.

⁵⁵³ Geoffrey Roper, "Printed in Europe, Consumed in Ottoman Lands: European Books in the Middle East, 1514–1842," in *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe: Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption*, edited by Daniel Bellingradt et al (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 276.

We can also readily appreciate the need for such a guarantee when we look at the ambassador's own encounters in Jerusalem, Tunis and Algiers. In Chapter 5 we saw just how contested these spaces were, whether it concerned different claims to sites of religious significance (relevant to pilgrims) and political authority (relevant to the safe conduct of trade along the north African littoral). When Savary de Brèves presented himself before the various political actors in Tunis and Algiers, he carried with him orders issued by Ahmed I and insisted on their need to respect the sultan's will. Amid the volatile and mutable environment of these territories distant from the formalities of the Ottoman court, the orders bore hope of some kind of guarantee that privileges (and law) would be honoured. For a French merchant or consul in Algiers or Aleppo, a document that set out the sultan's guarantees in all the fixity of print and in Turkish could, at least in theory, offer some assurance of safe conduct. Duverdier's suggestion that this print edition of the articles had a commercial function is plausible.

However, if we do understand Savary de Brèves as seeking to establish some kind of college for the study of oriental languages, which both his correspondence to de Thou and his manuscript collection suggest, then this publication lends itself to more than just self-promotion or a commercial market. His choice of the capitulations as the first publication in Turkish perhaps had even more pragmatic motivations. Quite simply, it was an accessible text to work with — a Turkish–French translation already existed as the outcome of the negotiation process itself. While Savary de Brèves returned from Constantinople with a large corpus of Turkish manuscripts, these would have required extensive time to reproduce in print let alone to translate and print a bilingual edition. The 1604 capitulations, already a bilingual text, were ready to go and meant he could print the first product of his endeavour within a year of his return to France.

A further explanation for selecting the capitulations, and one that accords with the vision of a college for the study of oriental languages, is that it was intended as an aid in teaching and learning Turkish in Paris. The previous chapter identified the use of bilingual texts such as the *Doctrina* and psalter not only in missionary work, but also as language-learning aids. By the late sixteenth century, parallel texts were popular tools for language learning in Europe. Jason Lawrence, for example, examines the use of texts in the learning of Italian and French in sixteenth-century England, works such as John Florio's bilingual Italian language manual *First Fruites* (1578), Hollyband's *Campo di Fior* (1583), where dialogues are printed in parallel columns in four languages (Italian, Latin, French and English) and John Wolfe's 1588 trilingual edition of Baldassare Castiglione's popular *Il Cortegiano*.⁵⁵⁴ These texts commonly took the format of parallel translations on the same page, with a dividing line in the middle, or on separate (usually facing) pages as with Savary de Brèves' printed capitulations.⁵⁵⁵ By the late sixteenth century, translation was considered among the most effective strategies for teaching and learning a language, advocated in Ascham's *The Scholemaster* (1570), one of the most authoritative English works on teaching Latin at the time.⁵⁵⁶ Parallel texts, in effect, constituted an important language-learning tool alongside dictionaries and grammars.

While language instructors like Florio and Hollybrand could rely on a vast literary repertoire including works by Petrarch or Ludovico Ariosto as subjects of such parallel texts for teaching Italian or French, texts that embraced both humanist and linguistic pedagogies, what sources were available to Europeans at the time seeking to produce similar parallel texts

⁵⁵⁴ Jason Lawrence, *'Who the devil taught thee so much Italian?'* *Italian Language Learning and Literary Imitation in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 43; Guyda Armstrong, "Coding continental: information design in sixteenth-century English vernacular language manuals and translations," *Renaissance Studies* 29, no. 1 (February 2015): 78–102.

⁵⁵⁵ Rocío G. Sumillera, "Translation in Sixteenth-Century English Manuals for the Teaching of Foreign Languages," in *Literary Translation: Redrawing the Boundaries*, edited by Jean Boase-Beier et al. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 85–86.

⁵⁵⁶ Sumillera, "Translation in English Manuals," 85.

for instruction in Turkish outside Constantinople? We saw in Chapter 6 that Turkish was not highly regarded, an outlier amongst the scholarly and institutional milieu of early modern language learning, even circles interested in Arabic and Persian. As Noel Malcolm observes, Turkish was a ‘workaday tongue’ for Europeans which they developed as needed for their activities, whether as merchants, diplomats or missionaries.⁵⁵⁷ Someone like Savary de Brèves may have had in his possession a collection of literary manuscripts in Turkish, but they required some specialised translation before capable of use as language tools. Those interested in producing parallel texts for learning Turkish had to draw on their own corpus of existing materials, and diplomacy offered rich pickings of often already translated bilingual texts. Du Ryer’s Latin–Turkish dictionary (in manuscript format and not print) included a copy of a 1632 address by the French ambassador to the sultan in both French and Turkish.⁵⁵⁸ Much later, Jean-Baptiste Holdermann’s *Grammaire turque ou méthode courte & facile pour apprendre la langue turque* (1726) included the 1673 capitulations of Edirne as a reading exercise.⁵⁵⁹ It is quite possible, then, that the 1604 capitulations offered an easy, ready-to-use opportunity to produce a parallel text capable of being used in teaching Turkish in Paris.

A final explanation is simply that it was a trial — an easy means to test out the ability to print in Turkish for the first time in Paris. Regardless, both in terms of its contents and materiality, the publication brings together the threads of Savary de Brèves’ diplomatic career. Its contents are the result of his extensive experience and negotiations at the Ottoman court, with provisions that sought to extend French privileges to the farthest Ottoman perimeters in the western Mediterranean, matching the geopolitical reach contained in Henri IV’s original instructions to the ambassador. The document formed the basis of the orders he

⁵⁵⁷ Noel Malcolm, “Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg, and the Translation of the Bible into Turkish,” *Church History and Religious Culture* 87, no. 3 (2007): 361.

⁵⁵⁸ Rothman, *Dragoman Renaissance*, 160.

⁵⁵⁹ Astrid Menz, “Idioms and dialogues in Holdermann’s *Grammaire turque* (1730),” in *Spoken Ottoman in Mediator Texts*, edited by Éva Á. Csató et al. (Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz, 2016), 147–60.

presented to defend Franciscan custody over holy sites in Jerusalem, as well as orders presented before divans in Tunis and Algiers, representing both crown and sultan. The choice of publishing a bilingual text speaks to Savary de Brèves' linguistic virtuosity, bridging a linguistic divide through skills attributable to his immersion in the dragoman culture of the Ottoman court. All of this experience the publication renders with the fixity and concreteness of print, made possible by his ongoing interest in the languages of his Ottoman sojourn and his ambitious project undertaken in Rome, itself a linguistic gateway to the Mediterranean. In this sense, the 1615 print edition of the capitulations is a monument to his career within his Mediterranean world.

The capitulations represent the only publication in Turkish printed under Savary de Brèves' guidance. In 1616, his press produced a grammar of Maronite Arabic with the assistance of Sionita and Hesronita.⁵⁶⁰ The following year, radical changes at the royal court saw Marie de Medici exiled from power, along with Savary de Brèves himself, and brought his own involvement with the press to a close. We will follow these events and his ongoing interest in the Ottomans in the final chapter, but we are left with little else by way of correspondence to shed further light on his project's intentions in Paris.

The press after Savary de Brèves

Following Savary de Brèves' departure from court in 1618 and death in 1628, Sionita and Hesronita continued to publish using the *Typographia Savariana*. Before then, in 1616, the pair authored and published a grammar of Arabic used by Maronites, 'now published for the first time with the generosity of ... François Savary de Brèves'.⁵⁶¹ By this stage, Sionita was the royal professor of Arabic in Paris. A few years later, in 1619, they translated an

⁵⁶⁰ *Grammatica Arabica Maronitarum in libros quinque divisa* (Paris: Typographia Savariana, 1616).

⁵⁶¹ "Nunc primum in lucem edita, munificentia Illustriss. D. D. Francisci Savary de Breves, Regis Christianissimi à consiliis, & Serenissimi Ducis Andegavensis eiusdem Regis Christianis. fratris unici, Gubernatoris": *Grammatica arabica maronitarum*, in *libros quinque divisa* (Paris: Typographia Savariana, 1616).

abridged version of twelfth-century geographical compendium by Arab geographer at the Norman–Sicilian court, Muhammad al-Idrisi (1100–1165), *Kitab nuzhat al-mushtaq*. The work was published in Latin under the title *Geographia nubiensis* and dedicated to French statesman Guillaume du Vair (1556–1621). With Savary de Brèves no longer in the picture, the publication direction sat with Sionita.

The Paris polyglot bible was the most significant, and perhaps last, use of the press following Savary de Brèves' death, a project in which Sionita played a key role. Under the sponsorship of lawyer Gui-Michel Le Jay (1588–1674), the project sought to build on earlier attempts elsewhere to produce a multi-lingual bible, with an emphasis on oriental languages.⁵⁶² Earlier polyglot bibles included the Complutensian of 1520 (printed at Complutense University in Alcalá) and the Antwerp or Plantin Bible (1572). The idea for a French version predated LeJay's version. Savary de Brèves had written to de Thou from Rome about translating sections of the bible. With his knowledge of Arabic and Syriac, Sionita was among the team assembled by Le Jay to undertake the project, as was Antoine Vitré (1595–1674), appointed the king's printer in oriental languages in 1630 (later director of the Imprimerie royale). The Arabic type of the *Typographia Savariana* was used to print the Arabic translations within the polyglot bible. The project was printed from 1629 and completed in 1645.⁵⁶³

During this same period, the press attracted some controversy and concern, particularly on the part of Richelieu, attention that underscores the geopolitical value of printing in these languages. After Savary de Brèves' death in 1628 when the ambassador's manuscript collection and Arabic punches and matrices were to be released for sale by his estate,

⁵⁶² E. van Staaldune-Sulman, *Justifying Christian Aramaism: Editions and Latin Translations of the Targums from the Complutensian to the London Polyglot Bible (1517–1657)* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 193.

⁵⁶³ *Biblia: 1. Hebraica, 2. Samaritana, 3. Chaldaica, 4. Graeca, 5. Syriaca, 6. Latina, 7. Arabica: quibus textus originales totius scripturae sacrae, quorum pars in editione complutensi, deinde in Antverpiensi* (Paris: Antonius Vitré, 1645). See: Alastair Hamilton, "In search of the most perfect text: The early modern printed Polyglot Bibles from Alcalá (1510–1520) to Brian Walton (1654–1658)," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From 1450 to 1750*, edited by Euan Cameron (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 138–56.

Richelieu charged Vitré with their purchase on behalf of the king lest they fall into the wrong hands. Just whose hands Richelieu was concerned about is evident from a letter from Vitré to Louis XIII:

... the Cardinal, duke of Richelieu, having been advised that the Arabic, Syriac and Persian punches and matrices made by the late Sieur de Brèves ... for the honour of France and advancement of religion, together with the manuscripts that he had brought, were about to be seized by foreign Huguenots who wanted to use them to cast into the language of these people [eastern Christians] bibles and other books concerning faith and introduced by this way in these countries [in the Levant] ... the Religion of Calvin, that Your Majesty has rooted out of his estates with so much vigilance and care ...⁵⁶⁴

Richelieu was concerned the press would fall into the hands of Huguenots, offering them the ability to print Calvinist doctrine in languages like Arabic for dissemination among Christians in the east. His fears were perhaps not misplaced. Since 1620, the appointment of Cyril Lucaris (1572–1638) as Greek patriarch of Constantinople had been a focus of tense (and expensive) struggles between the Protestant and Catholic ambassadors at the Porte, with claims by the French ambassador there, Philippe Harlay de Césy, that the patriarch himself was Calvinist. “He was no sooner established, than he began to spread the regrettable doctrines of Calvin and several other heresies,” wrote Césy to Louis XIII, adding that Lucaris had invited other Protestant ambassadors ‘to a solemn feast along with the ambassadors of England and Holland’ that mocked the Catholic mass.⁵⁶⁵ Dénes Harai has calculated that the Catholic ambassadors (chiefly French and Venetians) spent over 30 million *aspres* in payments to the Ottomans as an attempt to get Lucaris out of office, while the Protestants spent over 23 million *aspres*.⁵⁶⁶ Further, in 1627, Lucaris established a press for printing in Greek in Constantinople, the first known in the city, having purchased the press in London by way of Nikodemos Netaxas and brought it to the city aboard an English Levant Company

⁵⁶⁴ MS Français 16160, ff. 141v–142r.

⁵⁶⁵ Dénes Harai, “Sold to the Highest Bidder: Catholic and Protestant Ambassadors in Rivalry over the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople (1620–1638),” *Revue d’histoire moderne & contemporaine* 58, no. 2 (2011): 21.

⁵⁶⁶ Harai, “Sold to the Highest Bidder,” 36.

vessel.⁵⁶⁷ Lucaris was also a collector of manuscripts whom Pococke visited when the latter was in Constantinople. Dutch ambassador Cornelius Haga later acquired Lucaris' library after the patriarch's eventual strangulation by Ottoman authorities in 1638.⁵⁶⁸ Given what we know of Savary de Brèves' efforts to stave off English and Dutch influence at the Ottoman court, we can appreciate the religious and geopolitical threats these events might have presented to Richelieu and his concerns over the fate of the *Typographia Savariana*.

Following Sionita's death in Paris in 1648, the punches and matrices (along with the manuscripts) fell into disuse but remained safe within Richelieu's collection. They did not resurface in any notable way until Guignes' report in the 1780s. Despite the much renewed interest in oriental studies in the France of Louis XIV — best represented by the colossal *Bibliothèque orientale* project of Barthélemy d'Herbelot, completed by Antoine Galland in 1697 — the press seems to have remained dormant. Melchisedec Thévenot mentioned Savary de Brèves' typeface in a letter dated 23 May 1669 to Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Minister of Finances under Louis XIV. In it, Thévenot requested the finance for developing new Arabic characters 'because those that Vitré kept are too big'.⁵⁶⁹ It is not until after the Revolution, at the very end of the eighteenth century, that the type resurfaced for use in quite a different geopolitical enterprise, but once again in the Mediterranean — Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in July 1798. Possibly thanks to the Guignes' recovery efforts, the director of the *Imprimerie impériale*, Jean-Joseph Marcel, packed the punches and matrices aboard a French naval ship called *Orient*. For colleagues and travelling companions on the journey, Marcel had over one hundred scholars, scientists and engineers, collectively called the 'Commission des Sciences et des Arts d'Égypte'. With them were the chiefs of the French *Armée d'Orient* and its

⁵⁶⁷ Nil Ozlem Pektas, "The First Greek Printing Press in Constantinople (1625–1628)" (PhD diss., University of London, 2014), 24.

⁵⁶⁸ The collection sunk to the bottom of the sea in the Netherlands when the cargo ship carrying it was caught up in a storm close to its destination: Ozlem Pektas, "The First Greek Printing Press," 51.

⁵⁶⁹ 'C'est au reste une nécessité de faire de nouveaux caractères, a cause que ceux que Vitré retient sont trop gros': in Trevor McClaughlin, "Une lettre de Melchisédech Thévenot," *Revue d'histoire des sciences* 27, no. 2 (April 1974): 125–26.

general, Napoleon Bonaparte. Marcel spent part of the ship's journey from Toulon to Alexandria composing the general's first proclamation to the Egyptian people, *Aux habitants du Kaire*, printed in Arabic for a local audience and using the nearly two-hundred-year-old type produced for the *Typographia Savariana*.⁵⁷⁰ Diplomat and orientalist Pierre Ruffin had also printed an Arabic copy of the revolutionary Address to the French People from the National Convention of the French Republic on 9 October 1794 using the type.⁵⁷¹

⁵⁷⁰ Wassef tells us that this proclamation was printed at sea by Marcel and that it was the first text printed in Arabic to be received in Egypt. See Amin Sami Wassef, *L'Information et La Presse Officielle en Égypte: jusqu'à la fin de l'occupation française* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1975), 26–27.

⁵⁷¹ Josée Balagna, *L'imprimerie arabe en occident (XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris: Editions Maisonneuve & Larose, 1984), 22.

Chapter 9

‘Soldier, guide and interpreter’: the diplomat’s Mediterranean vision

After returning from Rome in 1614, and while establishing his printing project in Paris, Savary de Brèves was appointed by the queen regent as governor to the king’s brother the duke of Anjou, Gaston d’Orléans, placing him at the centre of the royal court. Events in 1617–18, however, marked an unfortunate turn in Savary de Brèves’ career as a new political climate emerged in France. On 23 August 1618, Louis XIII concluded Savary de Brèves’ four-year service as governor. Despite the latter’s best efforts to convince council and king otherwise, supported by a testimony to his ambassadorship in Constantinople documented in his *Discours veritable fait par Monsieur de Brèves du proceed qui fut tenu lorsqu’il remit entre les mains du Roy, la personne de Monseigneur le Duc d’Anjou, frere unique de sa Majesté*, he was dismissed with a generous pension.⁵⁷² His dismissal was not for any neglect of his own, but due to his association with Marie de Medicis, by now exiled to Blois, pressured to resign the regency in May 1617.⁵⁷³ His replacement as governor was Monsieur de Roissy, appointed by Charles d’Albert, duc de Luynes, a king’s favourite and arguably the chief architect behind the somewhat acrimonious transfer of power that led to Marie’s

⁵⁷² For Savary de Brèves’ service as governor: *Mémoire de feu M^r le duc d’Orleans contenant ce qui s’est passé en France de plus considerable* (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1685), 3–18.

⁵⁷³ Michael Carmona, *Marie de Medicis* (Paris: Fayard, 1981), 370–71.

exile.⁵⁷⁴ Luynes appointed Roissy as a lackey to keep an eye on the king's brother. Savary de Brèves' association with the queen mother also meant he was now very much outside politically influential circles.

Another transition of power was underway, not just from queen regent to king but from one generation of political actors to another. An era was coming to a close — the political life of sixteenth-century France and the end of a generation of the Wars of Religion. In May 1617, the same month of Marie de Medici's exile, de Thou died, a trusted and once influential political contact for Savary de Brèves. Later that year, on 12 November, Villeroy died. Secretary of war and foreign affairs until his death, Villeroy was instrumental in French foreign policy during the second-half of the sixteenth century, including the development of the Ottoman–French relationship. At the helm of these changes emerged the bishop of Luçon, Armand Jean de Plessis — Richelieu. Meanwhile, in Constantinople, French ambassador Achille de Harlay de Sancy, was imprisoned by the Ottomans, along with his domestics, due to his alleged involvement in the escape of Ruthenian prince Samuel Korecki. Savary de Brèves wrote to the grand mufti, Esaad Efendi, in March 1618 requesting the ambassador's release.⁵⁷⁵ Added to this, a new voice concerning the Mediterranean and Ottomans was finding favour at the French court — it was the voice of crusade, spoken by the increasingly influential and original *éminence grise*, the Capuchin Père Joseph (1577–1638).⁵⁷⁶ Even Savary de Brèves' own writings in the period, the focus of this chapter, seemingly profess support for a crusade. What would these changes mean for France's relationship with the

⁵⁷⁴ Sharon Kettering, *Power and reputation at the court of Louis XIII: The career of Charles d'Albert, duc de Luynes (1578–1621)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 75.

⁵⁷⁵ Paris, Institut de France, MS Godefroy 516, ff. 274r–275v (a note at the end of the letter indicates that it is a copy of the original, which was written in Turkish; fol. 275v). Among other things in this letter, Savary de Brèves reminds the grand mufti of the value of friendship with the French king not only to the benefit of trade, but also to the benefit of the Ottoman state — there is no way, he argued, the unified Christian princes could pose a threat to the Ottomans without the French part of such a league. For Sancy: Emanuel Constantin Antoche, “Un ambassadeur français à la Porte ottomane: Achille de Harlay, baron de Sancy et de la Mole (1611–1619),” in *Istoria ca datorie: omagiu academicianului Ioan-Aurel Pop la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani*, edited by Ioan Bolovan et al. (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, 2015), 747–60.

⁵⁷⁶ The term *éminence grise* was originally applied to Père Joseph, otherwise known as Joseph François Leclerc de Tremblay. Michael Mould, *The Routledge Dictionary of Cultural References in Modern French* (London: Routledge, 2011), 149. Among Père Joseph's biographers is Aldous Huxley: Aldous Huxley, *Grey Eminence* (London: Penguin, 2010).

Ottomans and its expanding Mediterranean vision, at the centre of which Savary de Brèves had stood?

Within this climate in Paris, Savary de Brèves authored two works on the Ottomans which are the subject of this chapter — one strategising a military offensive against the Ottomans and another singing the virtues of alliance. For scholars, they remain contentious not only because they contradict each other, but because they seem at odds with those projects and achievements at the heart of his career — his negotiation of the capitulations and his endeavour to bring the Turkish language to Paris. This was, after all, the figure Tallemant des Réaux considered ‘*mahometan*’ for spending so long in Constantinople.

The first of these texts is the *Discours abrégé des asseurez moyens d’aneantir & ruiner la Monarchie des Princes Ottomans (Discours abrégé)*, a lengthy and detailed assessment of Ottoman military capability and a strategy for the empire’s overthrow. As we shall see, it possesses all the rhetorical characteristics we might expect from crusade plans of the period. The second is the *Discours sur l’alliance qu’a le Roy, avec le Grand Seigneur, et de l’utilité qu’elle apporte à la Chrestienté (Discours sur l’alliance)*, arguing for alliance with the Ottomans, not only for its benefit to the French kingdom but, more importantly, its service to Christendom. While these texts seem contradictory, they are meant to be read together — the *Discours sur l’alliance* opens with the following reference to the *Discours abrégé*:

After my preceding discourse showed the power and grandeur of the Ottomans, I considered it appropriate to explain the reasons obliging the King to maintain the friendship that his predecessors contracted one-hundred years ago with the Grand Seigneurs, uninterrupted, and to establish a resident ambassador at their Porte since it will be good for France and useful to all Christian Princes.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁷ ‘Après avoir faict voir, par mon precedent discours, quelle est la puissance & grandeur de la Monarchie des Princes Ottomans, j’ay creu estre à propos de faire cognoistre les raisons, qui obligent le Roy, d’entretenir l’amitié, que les Roys ses predecesseurs, ont contractée depuis cents ans en çà, avec les Grands Seigneurs, sans aucune interruption, & faire approuver la residence d’un Ambassadeur ordinaire, à leur Porte, puis qu’il y va du bien de son Estat, & d’une utilité notable à tous les Princes de la Chrestienté’: *Discours sur l’alliance*, 3.

Both texts are included in the 1628 print edition of the *Relation* discussed in Chapter 5, along with several other shorter works. However, the *Discours abbrege* and *Discours sur l'alliance* themselves originally predate this 1628 publication and despite this edition usually being the one relied on by scholars, the original date and context of their production remains uncertain, an uncertainty we shall unpack shortly.

These works have received some scholarly attention in recent years, mostly within broader studies of comparable early modern writings on military campaigns against the Ottomans. Michael Heath draws on the *Discours abbrege* in his study of 'crusading commonplaces' in the works of late sixteenth-century writers François de la Noue (1531–1591) and René de Lucinge (1554–1615).⁵⁷⁸ Noel Malcolm briefly considered the *Discours abbrege* alongside other contemporaneous European writings on the strengths and weaknesses of the Ottoman empire.⁵⁷⁹ However, neither Heath nor Malcolm discussed the two works in concert, as the author intended them, and only consider the *Discours abbrege*. Niall Oddy's 2019 study is the first genuine attempt to understand the apparent contradiction, asking whether Savary de Brèves supported 'crusade or cooperation', aligning the works more within the context of Savary de Brèves' career while still comparing his works to those of la Noue and Lucinge.⁵⁸⁰ These studies position the works alongside similar contemporaneous treatises advocating military offensive against the Ottomans, although none of them entirely consider the works in the context of their production and his broader interests. While this chapter attempts to divine Savary de Brèves' intentions from this contradiction, arguing that they ultimately represent a rebuttal of crusade, we shall see how the treatises represent an entirely different vision of the Mediterranean grounded not in the

⁵⁷⁸ Michael J. Heath, *Crusading Commonplaces: La Noue, Lucinge and Rhetoric against the Turks* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1986).

⁵⁷⁹ Noel Malcolm, *Useful Enemies: Islam and the Ottoman Empire in Western Political Thought, 1450–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 229–45.

⁵⁸⁰ Niall Oddy, "Crusade or Cooperation: Savary de Brèves' treatises on the Ottoman Empire," *The Seventeenth Century* 34, no. 2 (2019): 143–57.

derivative rhetoric of someone like la Noue, but in the first-hand experience of a ‘soldier, guide and interpreter’.

Advice to a king

An enduring uncertainty about Savary de Brèves’ works is when and for whom they were written. La Noue’s essay on the Ottomans was a chapter of his *Discours politiques et militaires* (1587), an instruction manual for the *noblesse d’épée*, while Lucinge’s *De la Naissance, durée et Cheute des Estats* (1588) was a political treatise in the vein of Machiavelli or Guicciardini.⁵⁸¹ Where do Savary de Brèves’ contributions sit in this literary landscape? What do we know about why they were written? Was Savary de Brèves contributing to a broader ‘republic of letters’ discussion of the Ottomans or were the treatises more focused, directed to address activities at the French court? To answer these questions it is insufficient to consider the content of the texts alone. We need to establish clearly what we know about their production.

Most scholarly discussion relies on the easily accessible 1628 edition (packaged with the *Relation*), while acknowledging uncertainty around original date of their publication or production.⁵⁸² In his brief discussion of the texts, Duverdier does not overtly offer a date other than to estimate 1618, because it sits with another text by Savary de Brèves challenging his dismissal from service as the duke’s governor.⁵⁸³ Oddy attributes the texts to ‘the first decade of the reign of Louis XIII’ and defers to Duverdier’s approximation of 1618.⁵⁸⁴ However, later in his article, Oddy writes, ‘It is likely that the *Discours abrégé* and the *Discours sur l’alliance* were written during his next diplomatic posting when he was French

⁵⁸¹ François de la Noue, *Discours politiques et militaires* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1967); René de Lucinge, *De la naissance duree, et cheute des estats, ou sont traittees plusieurs notables questions sur l’establissement des Empires & Monarchies* (Paris: Marc Orry, 1588).

⁵⁸² Noting the existence of these printed texts in various locations in collections, Oddy relies on the 1628 reprint.

⁵⁸³ Duverdier, “Les circonstances favorables,” 177–78.

⁵⁸⁴ Oddy, “Crusade or Cooperation?,” 144–45.

ambassador to the Holy See', which means 1608–1614.⁵⁸⁵ To support this claim, Oddy shows how appeals to 'la Republique Chrestienne' and 'le bien universel de la Chrestiente' in Henri IV's correspondence with Savary de Brèves are consistent with similar references appearing in these later texts.⁵⁸⁶ On this basis, then, Oddy argues the texts were initially written in Rome (1608–14) and then printed soon after 1618.

As mentioned, the 1628 print edition of the *Relation* is a compilation of several works, produced at different times, each brought together from different sources. In order to identify the intended audience for these two texts, we need to isolate them from the 1628 version in an effort to understand when and why they were produced. The table in Appendix 8 sets out each individual item in the 1628 publication (and applies numbering for each section used in the discussion below). The 1628 *Relation* begins with the two-part travel account (1) and (2), followed by a copy of the 1604 capitulations (3) and then the *Discours abbrege* (4) and *Discours sur l'alliance* (5). Following the *Discours sur l'alliance* and before the letters from the pope (6), there is a short note:

To show further that the friendship that our Kings contracted with the Grand Seigneur is advantageous to Christianity, I thought it appropriate to append to this discourse three Briefs that the late Pope Clement VIII sent to me while I was serving the King in the Levant and three *Actes* of the *Peres Gardiens* of Jerusalem and of Constantinople [(7)], testifying how the protection of his Majesty is useful, not only to the religious orders who serve the holy places, but to all those who have the devotion to visit them, and to all Christianity.⁵⁸⁷

As the above suggests, Savary de Brèves intended the letters from Clement VIII (pontificate 1592–1605), as well as the documents from the religious fathers in Jerusalem and Galata, to

⁵⁸⁵ Oddy, "Crusade or Cooperation?," 152.

⁵⁸⁶ Oddy, "Crusade or Cooperation?," 152.

⁵⁸⁷ 'Pour faire avantage voir que l'amitié que nos Roys ont contractée avec le Grand Seigneur, est avantageuse à la Chrestienté, j'ay creu à propos d'insérer au pied de ce discours, trois Brefs que le feu Pape Clement VIII m'envoya durant que je servois le Roy en Levant, & trois Actes des Peres Gardiens de Ierusalem & de Constantinople, qui tesmoignent combien est utile la protection de sa Majesté, non seulement aux Religieux qui servent les Saincts lieux, mais à tous ceux qui ont devotion de les visister, & à toute la Chrestienté': *Discours sur l'alliance*, 11.

be appended to the two discourses and used to argue the alliance's value to Christendom.⁵⁸⁸ Thus, we know for certain that the documents (4) to (7) were intended by Savary de Brèves to sit together as a whole piece supporting the alliance, with a particular argument of the alliance's benefit to Christendom. The alliance is pitched not so much for its contribution to France but its advantage to Christendom.

This same set of documents (that is, (4) to (7)) can be found in another manuscript volume, arranged as a booklet (quarto format) in the same order but with the inclusion of the 1604 capitulations (the same version in (3)) and the *Discours veritable* (8).⁵⁸⁹ Importantly, the copy in this manuscript volume, also undated, includes a letter from Savary de Brèves addressed to Louis XIII, which neither Duverdier nor Oddy mention. This letter does not appear in the 1628 version.

SIRE, During my twenty-two-year stay at the Porte ..., serving the late King Henri le Grand ..., I had particular care to report and learn the power of this Empire and the means that the Christian Princes could take to weaken and ruin it; I have made a small summary of it which I offer to your Majesty, which will make him see the possibility of such a deed to increase his glory and domination. I will be very happy, Sire, for that which is expression by this my *relation* to be done before God disposes of me⁵⁹⁰

Again, we see reiteration of a proposal to defeat the Ottomans. While the letter is undated, still leaving us with imprecision on this front, it does tell us two things. First, the immediate audience for the two treatises was Louis XIII and Savary de Brèves uses the term '*relation*' to describe the work, suggesting a report. Second, it is unlikely the texts were written in Rome. When Henri IV was assassinated in 1610, Louis was still in minority and the queen regent was ruling on his behalf, whom Savary de Brèves advised on foreign policy matters

⁵⁸⁸ These also appear as written copies: Paris, BNF, MS Français 4769, ff. 291r–294v.

⁵⁸⁹ Paris, BNF, MS Français 20982: These texts are identical in content and order to those in the 1628 publication.

⁵⁹⁰ 'Sire, Durant vingt deux ans de sejour que j'ay fait à la Porte du grand Seigneur, pour y servir le feu Roy Henri le Grand vostre Père, j'ay eu un soin particulier de remarquer & apprendre quelle est la puissance de son Empire, & les moyens que les Princes Chrestiens pourroient tenir pour l'affoiblir & ruiner, j'en ay fait un petit abregé que j'offre à vostre Majesté, qui luy fera voir la possibilité de ce faire, & celle d'accoistre sa gloire & sa domination. Je ferois bien heureux, Sire, que ce qui est porté par cette mienne relation se peust effectuer avant que Dieu dispose de moy, pour y servir ma religion, & vostre Majesté': MS Français 20982, fol. 260r.

from Rome. When the ambassador left the city in 1614, Louis was still just twelve years old. It is not impossible for an ambassador to write a document like this for a king in minority. Indeed, the epistolary dedication to the psalms Savary de Brèves printed in Rome in 1614 was addressed to Louis. However, this present letter is quite different; it is not an epistolary dedication but a letter preceding a report. It seems more likely the letter was directed to a king in majority, which, in the case of Louis XIII, means any time from 1618.

This does not necessarily get us much further in clarifying a date, but it does help clarify audience and purpose. Did he intend the publication for a wider readership? Is Savary de Brèves himself responsible for printing these works, which would suggest engagement with a wider audience was intended? The inclusion of a letter addressed to a figure like a king or statesman does not in itself suggest the king was the sole audience and that Savary de Brèves did not intend these for wider readership. There are many examples of texts dedicated to a king or other public figure having a much wider reach. La Noue's work, relevant here because of the discussion of crusade with the Ottomans, is prefaced with a letter to Henri, then king of Navarre, from its publisher Philippe Fresne-Canaye.⁵⁹¹ However, Savary de Brèves' letter does not at all share the features of the kinds of epistolary dedications that we see in such works — in this case, the letter is very short and functional. Moreover, if Savary de Brèves is responsible for this printed compilation, and with a broader public in mind, it simply does not square with the fact that there is no other evidence of his having produced similar works or engaged in a 'republic of letters' style debate around issues concerning the Ottoman Empire.

While uncertainty concerning these works remains, the above discussion sheds a little more light on these documents to help more precisely understand Savary de Brèves'

⁵⁹¹ La Noue, *Discours politiques*, 1–8. This is the same Fresne-Canaye we encountered in Chapter 5, who had earlier visited the Ottoman court as part of the entourage of ambassador François de Noailles (1572) and was later French ambassador in Venice (appointed in 1602) while Savary de Brèves was in Constantinople (both were in regular correspondence).

intentions. To recap, we are still unable to precisely date the texts, but it is likely they were written soon after Louis XIII reached majority in 1618 and following Marie de Medici's departure from power (for whom Savary de Brèves was advisor, even after his return from Rome). In terms of genre, '*discours*' is a fairly slippery term that can refer to a wide variety of genres, from political tracts to reports from officials. Oddy tends to refer to the texts as 'treatises' and, at one stage, as a 'political tract', which seems an obvious assumption given they are printed, but one must be cautious about too casually moving between these terms. As recent scholarship in the history of early modern diplomacy has shown, diplomats often made use of print as a tool of 'soft diplomacy', such as to influence foreign opinion or leak information.⁵⁹² Similarly, documents produced by diplomats were often published by printers independent of diplomatic intentions because of the newsworthiness. Indeed, MS Français 20982 includes two such examples: a quarto booklet comprising an extract of letters by French agent in Constantinople, Petromol, in 1561 (from fol. 106r); and documents relating to the embassy of Lancosme (from fol. 196r). Neither of these was printed on the request of those diplomats. Foremost, we should consider the *Discours abbregeé* and *Discours sur l'alliance* as advice from a diplomat to his king. Given this, we must not only look at the content of these documents but also consider why he might be providing this advice to the king and the circumstances at the French court.

Advocating crusade and alliance

We turn now to consider the texts themselves. Given Oddy's extensive overview in his study, we will only briefly summarise. The *Discours abbregeé* is the lengthier and more detailed of the two texts, running to forty-seven pages, compared to the much shorter piece in support of the alliance (ten pages). It is less an exhortation to war against the Ottomans, and

⁵⁹² Helmer Helmers, "Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe," *Media History* 22, nos. 3–4 (2016): 406.

more of an assessment of Ottoman military power, the viability of such a campaign, and a proposed offensive strategy. We shall see this is an important distinction from similar contemporaneous works produced that also make the case for war.

The Discours abbrege begins with a portrait of a powerful Ottoman empire, both in terms of time (enumerating the generations of sultans who had gradually increased Ottoman dominion) and space, providing a sweeping geographic survey of the empire's vast stretch from its Adriatic tributary, Ragusa, to Georgia and the frontier with Safavid Persia, and from the lands of Arabia along to north Africa, anticipating that the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco would soon become part of the fold.⁵⁹³ Savary de Brèves then offered a detailed report of Ottoman administration, military capacity by land and sea, and sources of revenue and supplies. He also made observations about the sultan's exercise of power, hinting at a despotism with which its readers would have been familiar thanks to pre-existing literature on the theme prevalent at least since the mid-fifteenth century.⁵⁹⁴ These literary tropes surface, with references to the empire as governed by 'tyrannical customs', the 'disorder that is in their State', and a 'state ... sick and in danger of falling'. According to the text, the Ottomans held significant power but it was also beset with internal weaknesses making them vulnerable to attack.⁵⁹⁵

As for his proposed offensive campaign, there are three main frontlines. First, after assessing Ottoman naval strength as weaker, he advised that 'if Christian powers wished to unite to attack' then 'it is by sea that this power can easily be ruined and not by land'.⁵⁹⁶ Noting Venice's success against the Ottomans at Lepanto, Savary de Brèves challenged his

⁵⁹³ *Discours abbrege*, 3–4.

⁵⁹⁴ For this trope: Giuseppe Trebbi, *The idea of Ottoman despotism in the Relazioni of the Venetian ambassadors* (London: Routledge, 2021); Lucette Valensi, *The Birth of the Despot: Venice and the Sublime Porte*, translated by Arthur Denner (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009); Alain Grosrichard, *The Sultan's Court: European Fantasies of the East*, translated by Liz Heron (London: Verso, 1998).

⁵⁹⁵ *Discours abbrege*, 23–24.

⁵⁹⁶ 'Voilà l'effort qu'ils peuvent faire par mer, qui n'est pas grand, si la puissance Chrestienne se vouloit unir, pour les attaquer. C'est aussi par mer, qu l'on peut aysement ruiner ceste puissance-là, & non par terre': *Discours abbrege*, 32.

reader to imagine what could be achieved with the combined navies of the pope, France, Savoy, Tuscany, Genoa and Malta (all estimated to comprise 380 galleys and six galleasses), not to mention ‘the King of England, powerful by sea as he is’ and Spain.⁵⁹⁷ ‘If this armada, thus projected, takes place,’ he wrote, ‘it would not be destroyed other than by divine power or a storm at sea.’⁵⁹⁸ The armada would leave from Messina, on the Sicilian coast, and make its way first to Albania and then the Morea. Upon seeing such an armada, Christians living in Ottoman territories would be inspired to rebel against their Ottoman governors. This ‘fifth column’ of eastern Christians living under Ottoman rule comprised the second element in his strategy. Savary de Brèves even saw hope in winning support for members of the Turkish army who had been recruited through the *devşirme*, whereby soldiers were recruited from the young children of their Balkan subjects.⁵⁹⁹ Finally, he proposed engaging with the empire’s enemies, within and without, to put pressure on the Ottomans from multiple directions, including the Safavid Persians, the Moors in Egypt, the Maronites and Druze in Lebanon. The prerequisite for success in all of this was unity of all Christendom: ‘If the Christian princes were to resolve themselves to one general union, I assure that from the first year they will overthrow [the Ottomans] by sea and land, rendering themselves masters of all the States’.⁶⁰⁰

After concluding his plan for overthrowing the Ottomans, Savary de Brèves pivoted to his defence of the alliance in his *Discours sur l’alliance*, pitching the alliance’s utility not only to the French Crown but also to all Christendom. While the ‘first effect of this

⁵⁹⁷ ‘Outre ce nombre de galeres, le Pape en peut armer huict ou dix: La France d’ordinaire, en à douze ou quinze, & pourroit en une occasion semblable, en fournir jusques à cinquante: Savoye, cinq ou six: Toscane, dix ou douze: Genes, huict ou dix: Et Malte, six. Tout ce nombre feroit trois cents quatre vingts galeres, & six galeaces. ... Le Roy d’Angleterre, ouissant par mer comme il est, le voulant, aideroit grandement ceste entreprise ... Le Roy d’Espagne a aussi de grands & bien armez vaisseaux ronds’: *Discours abrégé*, 34–36.

⁵⁹⁸ ‘Si cest armement ainsi projecté, avoit lieu, il ne peut estre destruit, que de la puissance divine, ou de l’orage de la mer’: *Discours abrégé*, 36.

⁵⁹⁹ For the janissary corps and *devşirme*: Godfrey Goodwin, *The Janissaries* (London: Saqi Books, 1997).

⁶⁰⁰ ‘... j’asseureray bien, si les Princes Chrestiens se vouloient resoudre à une union generale, que dès la premiere année, ils le bouleverseroient par mer & par terre, & se rendroient maistres de tous ses Estats’: *Discours abrégé*, 46.

friendship’ was to respond to combined pressure on the French kingdom from Emperor Charles V and Henry VIII of England, the alliance’s main advantage was the protection to trade and religion.

In terms of trade, the *Discours sur l’alliance* sets out the alliance’s benefits to French merchants: ‘it is very well known that there are more than a thousand vessels on the coasts of Provence and Languedoc trading in the expanse of the Empire of the Turk and by this way enrich not only themselves but still more the regions of France that receive utility from them’, protections that also extend to merchants of ‘all sorts of Christian nations’ trading under the French banner (as in the 1604 capitulations).⁶⁰¹ He did not stop there. Importantly, the alliance, he argued, assures access to merchandise across the huge expanse of the Orient:

... the *universal good of Christianity*, which by this appropriates not only the goods that can be recovered in [the Ottoman Empire] but also all that grows in Asia, Africa and even the East Indies ... by the way of the Red Sea, carried to Egypt all that which Africa and the East Indies have of the best, and the Euphrates, on the other hand, full of the riches of Asia, rendering them near from Aleppo, principal city of Syria, where the French merchants and those who wish to trade under our standard, in loading their vessels and distributing them through all Europe [emphasis added].⁶⁰²

We shall consider the importance of framing this advantage by reference to ‘the universal good of Christianity’ shortly. The reference to Egypt and Aleppo as two commercial hubs to trade routes further east, either via the Red Sea or Euphrates, is particularly strategic given the presence of French consuls there. As in Chapter 5, consuls constituted key operatives in the capitulatory system’s commercial protections to merchants. Access to expansive wealth and markets in the east was assured under the capitulations even to other European

⁶⁰¹ ‘Car il est tres-notoire qu’il y a plus de mille vaisseaux en la coste de Provence, & de Languedoc, qui trafiquent dans l’estenduë de l’Empire du Turc, & par ce moyen s’enrichissent, non seulement eux-mesmes, mais encore beaucoup de contrées de la France, qui en reçoivent utilité’: *Discours sur l’alliance*, 4.

⁶⁰² ‘... mais encore pour le bien universel de la Chrestienté, laquelle par ce moyen, s’approprie non seulement les marchandises qui se peuvent recouvrer dans leur Empire, mais aussi tout ce qui croist dans l’Asie, l’Afrique, & mesmes aux Indes Orientales, que l’on trouve chez eux abondamment, par la commodité de la mer rouge, qui porte à l’Egypte, tout ce que l’Afrique et les Indes Orientales ont de meilleur : Et l’Eufrate d’autre part, chargé des richesses de l’Asie, les rends proches d’Alep, principale ville de Syrie, où les marchands François, & ceux qui veulent arborer nostre estandart, en chargent leurs vaisseaux, & les distribuent ainsi par toute l’Europe’: *Discours sur l’alliance*, 5.

merchants, as long as they conducted trade under the French banner. If we take the capitulations at face value, Savary de Brèves's proposition here is that the king was a guarantor, through the alliance, of all European trade in Ottoman dominions and beyond. It is an argument that both extends a powerful position to the crown, with European trade undertaken under its banner, while also countering criticism that the capitulations were an act of French self-interest.

The second advantage rendered by the alliance is 'the conservation of the Christian name and of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion in their country'.⁶⁰³ Under the alliance, 'the Grand Seigneur permitted six or seven monasteries in the city and suburbs of Constantinople, which are both with Cordelier monks conventuals and observants and the Jesuits, who have established their college there'.⁶⁰⁴ Indeed, intervention of French ambassadors secured the establishment or protection of several churches in Constantinople.⁶⁰⁵ In 1584, ambassador Germigny secured from Murad II the restoration of the St Benoît church in Pera to Christian brothers and, specifically, to the French king (the church still stands today alongside a French international school in the Müeyyedzade district of Beyoğlu).⁶⁰⁶ Savary de Brèves himself secured from Ahmed I the reopening of the Conventual Franciscan Church of St Francis, which had been closed by Ottoman authorities since 1583, and the renovation of the Dominican church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in 1604.⁶⁰⁷ Moreover, this is 'without taking into account an infinite number of Greek and Armenian Christians who, in

⁶⁰³ 'Mais outre ces pressantes considerations, la conservation du nom Chrestien, & de la Religion Catholique, Apostolique & Romaine dans leur pays, sera jugée tres-importante, puis que l'on en peut esperer l'augmentation par le temps, au dommage & à la ruine entiere de la secte Mahometane': *Discours sur l'alliance*, 5–6.

⁶⁰⁴ '... le Grand Seigneur permet qu'il y ayt six ou sept Monasteres dans la ville & faux bourgs de Constantinople, lesquels sont remplis, les uns de Religieux Cordeliers conventuels & observantins, les autres de Jacobins, & depuis peu, les Peres Jesuites y ont estably leur College': *Discours sur l'alliance*, 6.

⁶⁰⁵ For French diplomatic efforts to protect Latin rite churches in Istanbul: Vanessa de Obaldía, "A Legal and Historical Study of Latin Catholic Church Properties in Istanbul from the Ottoman Conquest of 1453 until 1740" (PhD diss., Aix-Marseille Université, 2018), 196–43.

⁶⁰⁶ Rome, ARSI, Gallia 101, f.7. The school is the Özel Saint Benoit Fransız Lisesi, although the site hosted a Jesuit school as early as 1583. Savary de Brèves' successor, Salagnac (d. 1610) is interred in the church. For a history: Sezim Sezer Darnault, *Latin Catholic Buildings in Istanbul: A Historical Perspective (1839–1923)* (Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 2004), 159–62.

⁶⁰⁷ De Obaldía, "Latin Catholic Church Properties," 219–20.

their most pressing needs when they feel oppressed, no longer have recourse assured and seek no other protection than the powerful name of our Kings, who put them under cover through the ministry of his Ambassadors'.⁶⁰⁸ Supporting these claims are the letters patent from fathers of the churches in Constantinople and Jerusalem that Savary de Brèves appended to the *Discours sur l'alliance*. Savary de Brèves asked: 'what advantage to the French name, what glory to the most Christian King of France to be the sole protector of the Holy Land where the Saviour of the world wished to be born and die?'⁶⁰⁹ As with the merchants, the alliance assured protection — this time to Christians in the Holy Land — and again protection under the French name. Indeed, why conquer the Ottomans or liberate the Holy Land when the Ottomans can render France protector of all Christians in the Holy Land? How much easier to gain such glory through peace and negotiation than a war that seemed all but impossible?

'Soldier, guide, and interpreter': the diplomat's rebuttal

As mentioned, studies of these texts to-date tend to compare them to similar contemporaneous works arguing for an offensive against the Ottomans, notably the works of la Noue and Lucinge, who wrote in the late 1580s. La Noue, a Huguenot captain in France's religious wars, dedicated a chapter of his *Discours politiques et militaires* to an anti-Ottoman campaign and another arguing against alliances with the Ottomans. The work was intended as an instruction manual for the *noblesse d'épée* in the context of a kingdom broken by incivility.⁶¹⁰ Lucinge was counsellor and ambassador to France for the duke of Savoy, Charles Emanuel I, to whom he dedicated his *De la Naissance, durée et Cheute des Estats*, a

⁶⁰⁸ '... sans metre en consideration un nombre infinity de Chrestiens Grecs & Armeniens, lesquels en leurs plus pressantes necessitez, lors qu'ils se sentent oppressez, n'ont recours plus assuré, & ne cherchent autre protection, que le nom puissant de nos Roys, qui les met à couvert, par le ministere de ses Ambassadeurs': *Discours sur l'alliance*, 6.

⁶⁰⁹ '... quel avantage au nom François, quelle gloire au Roy de France tres-Chrestien, d'estre seil protecteyr du saint lieu où le Sauveur du monde a voulu naistre & mourir': *Discours sur l'alliance*, 8.

⁶¹⁰ J. J. Supple, "François de la Noue and the education of the French 'noblesse d'épée'," *French Studies* XXXVI, no. 7 (1982): 270.

three-part essay on how the Ottoman empire rose to prominence and how its inevitable fall could be undertaken.⁶¹¹ Unlike Savary de Brèves, neither man had stepped foot on Ottoman territory.

Yet, the content of their texts share much with Savary de Brèves' *Discours abrégé*, as observed by Heath, Malcolm and Oddy. Oddy identifies key similarities between the texts — they foreground their arguments with the Ottoman political threat, quantify Ottoman military and political strength, and, in the case of Lucinge, argue for a naval armada against the Ottomans. Savary de Brèves even made specific reference to la Noue, something that Oddy overlooks in his analysis:

In his book, Monsieur de la Noue spoke of how to attack and beat the Turk, and what was required to drive and deploy the Christian army —the quantity of cavalry and foot soldiers that he judged necessary.

I would add nothing to that except to redouble the number he recommended ...⁶¹²

Savary de Brèves continued, arguing that, unlike la Noue, he believed the most effective strike would be made by sea. Quite clearly, then, Savary de Brèves was very consciously and deliberately referencing these earlier works. As Oddy notes, Savary de Brèves's *Discours abrégé* deploys rhetorical devices shared by 'crusading commonplaces', to use Heath's term — the looming Ottoman threat, observations about Ottoman despotism and political weakness, the union of Christian princes. For all intents and purposes, Savary de Brèves crafted a crusade plan that consciously stood alongside la Noue's by following the discursive conventions and arguments employed by the latter.

Savary de Brèves' argument also shared a common call for a union of Christian princes as an essential precursor to a successful campaign. Not only was this a feature of la Noue's

⁶¹¹ Louis-Georges Tin, "Mouvements, remuements, renversements la pensée politique de René de Lucinge," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 61, no. 1 (1999): 41. For Lucinge: Olivier Zegna Rata, *René de Lucinge: entre l'écriture et l'histoire* (Geneva : Librairie Droz, 1993).

⁶¹² 'Monsieur de la Nouë [*sic*], dans son livre, parle des moyens d'attaquer & battre le Turc, & de ceux qu'il faudroit tenir, pour conduire & disposer l'armée Chrestienne, de la quantité d'hommes de cheval 7 de pied, qu'il juge necessaire. Je n'en adjousteray rien à cela, sinon que si le nombre duquel il faict mention, peut estre redoublé, qu'il sera tousjours plus à propos...': *Discours abrégé*, 39.

plan, but the unity of Christian princes against the common ‘Saracen’ enemy was a longstanding component in crusade rhetoric.⁶¹³ The notion of crusade redressing division in Christendom dates to the Middle Ages, as well as connecting to prophetic and providential hopes for a *renovatio mundi*.⁶¹⁴ In the period of la Noue and Savary de Brèves, the hope of reconstituting a universal or unified Christendom was as important — both figures lived in France and western Christendom in the throes of religious conflict, and la Noue himself, a Huguenot captain who fought in France’s religious wars, was on these frontlines. Savary de Brèves’ appeal to a Christian union was the deployment (once again) of a longstanding commonplace or rhetorical device applied to contemporary events. Yet, he fell short of the pathos and exhortative voice of la Noue and Lucinge. Savary de Brèves, a man whose accomplishments were achieved at the Ottoman court and not the battlefields of religious wars back home, seemed little interested in the union of Christendom as an end in itself. His text is much more pragmatic.

Savary de Brèves was also less optimistic about the success of such a union of princes, noting that if his plan were successfully carried out by such a union, there remained the task of sharing the conquered territories, a task that risked conflict between these princes. His final paragraph concludes:

I have not wished ... to speak of the ways that must be taken to unify all these powers. I leave that to the judgment of those with more knowledge of the kind necessary to achieve it, than me, who will always serve in a similar occasion as *a soldier, guide, and interpreter, having learnt, during my long stay among the Ottomans, their language, and the ways of their country* [emphasis added].⁶¹⁵

⁶¹³ Norman Housley, “Gathering and using information at the fifteenth-century Church councils: the example of crusade,” *Journal of Medieval History* 46, no. 2 (2020): 205.

⁶¹⁴ Mayte Green-Mercado, “Mediterranean Apocalypticism: An Introduction,” in *Early Modern Prophecies in Transnational, National and Regional Contexts*, edited by Lionel Laborie and Ariel Hessayon (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 5–6.

⁶¹⁵ ‘Je n’ay point voulu, en ce discours, parler des moyens qu’il faudroit tenir, pour unir toutes ces puissances, je laisseray cela au jugement de ceux qui ont plus de cognoissance de la sorte qu’il s’y faudroit conduire, que moy, qui serviray tousjours en une occasion semblable, de soldat, de guide, & d’interprete, ayant appris, durant le long sejour que j’ay faict parmy eux, leur langue & les chemins de leur pays’: *Discours sur l’alliance*, 47.

This final statement of the *Discours abrégé* is perhaps its most distinctive part. Unlike la Noue and Lucinge, Savary de Brèves spent nearly two decades within the Ottoman Empire, earning him a comparably unique perspective and familiarity with Ottoman political life, language and culture — a knowledge valuable to the king. La Noue had not stepped further east than Geneva, so could only rely on the rhetorical strategies of genre and perhaps sources such as Fresne-Canaye (whose own work on the Ottomans, based on his short stay in Constantinople attached de Noailles' embassy in 1572, included an assessment of Ottoman military strength). Savary de Brèves reminds his reader that his advice reflects the experience of someone who worked at the heart of the Ottoman court. This appeal to knowledge based on experience is further underscored by his reluctance to advise on the possibility and means of achieving a unified Christian force, which he leaves 'to the judgment of those who have more knowledge of the kind that is necessary to achieve it'.

All he could do was act as 'soldier, guide and interpreter'. Oddy refers to this phrase as a 'Gallic shrug', but there is much more going on here. Savary de Brèves asserted a claim about the superiority of his own authority on the Ottomans, drawn from experience in Constantinople, and he made that claim to the reader at the very point before he launched into a defence of the alliance. It is here that he asserts his superior credibility.

Savary de Brèves did not abandon the idea of the 'universal wellbeing of Christendom' because it becomes the centrepiece of his argument for the alliance. The full title of the piece is *Discours sur l'alliance qu'a le Roy, avec le Grand Seigneur, & de l'utilité qu'elle apporte à la Chrestienté* — in other words, an argument for the alliance based on its advantage to Christendom — the capitulations were not only advantageous to France but also, importantly, to Christianity. In our earlier analysis, we saw that the *Discours sur l'alliance* presented two key benefits deriving from the capitulations — protection of trade and protection of the church in Ottoman territories — as not only delivering benefit to the French king, but for 'le

bien universel de la Chrestienté'. This is supported with testimonial evidence from senior clerical figures in Constantinople and Jerusalem (the appended letters) attesting to how Savary de Brèves' residency in Constantinople and the capitulations helped protect the Church in the east. His defence of the alliance is couched in relation to Christendom as a whole. The alliance (and, thus, diplomacy) is presented as an alternative to the same end. It was a plan for achieving the universal good of Christendom through diplomatic means (ambassadors, consuls, capitulations, though still exploitative) rather than conquest and war. Moreover, it was to be achieved through diplomacy informed by experience — a knowledge of Ottoman culture, state and language gained not through the exhortative rhetoric of someone like la Noue, but through the humble experience of a 'soldier, guide and interpreter', the latter role all the more important when we consider Savary de Brèves' own insistence on the importance of skilled interpreters at the royal court.

In this sense, the second text is an important rebuttal of an international relations grounded in the worldview of crusade, instead recognising the Ottoman Empire as a legitimate political entity and the geopolitical reality (contrasted to the lengthier, more elaborate fantasy of crusade). While the considerable length of the *Discours abrégé* might suggest a greater support for this strategy on the part of its author, its ambitiousness is undercut by the simplicity of the *Discours sur l'alliance*, the propositions of which required nothing more than the status quo — that is, continuation of diplomacy and the capitulations. There was, of course, another geopolitics at play because by this time the English and Dutch had cemented comparable diplomatic relations with the Ottomans. Early seventeenth-century Mediterranean geopolitics cut against the grain of La Noue, Lucinge and the *Discours abrégé*. The contradiction between these two texts is important because it represents a broader fundamental shift in international relations underway in the seventeenth century with respect to the Ottomans, and, as a diplomat, Savary de Brèves is the kind of actor who was at

the fault-lines of that shift. This conclusion seems most consistent with his career-long efforts to build a cooperative relationship with the Ottoman state.

But why might he write a rebuttal to crusade? Why the need to make the case for the alliance's usefulness to Christianity? Both la Noue and Lucinge were participating in broader literary endeavours — la Noue's assessment of the Ottomans sat within a broader manual for the instruction of young nobles, while Lucinge was writing history as advice on statehood. They were works seeking to address broader concerns of statecraft. Savary de Brèves certainly had oriental studies endeavours, but his works were not intended to contribute to the same statecraft and morality concerns that guided La Noue and Lucinge. We cannot even be sure that he was responsible for them being printed — the only indication of their origin is a letter preceding them addressed to the king. As a diplomat, Savary de Brèves brought a very different set of concerns to these questions, informed by an intimate, specialist knowledge of the Ottomans unmatched by La Noue or Lucinge and directed towards the strategic, pragmatic ends to which a diplomat is focused. Once again, we find ourselves in this position of Savary de Brèves setting himself apart from these people. If the two texts were written in the years around 1618, as Duverdier and Oddy suggest, then those questions become all the more important because the drums of crusade were certainly playing at the French court.

A crusade project at Louis XIII's court

In early seventeenth-century France, crusade found its voice in two figures: a cleric and a duke aspiring for a renewed Byzantine throne. The first was the capuchin, Père Joseph. Born in 1577 of a noble family, François Leclerc du Tremblay, later known as Père Joseph, received a classical education before choosing a devout life and entering the Capuchin order

in 1599.⁶¹⁶ From his early years in the order, he nurtured ambitions for confessional unity in Christendom, writing several devotional works from 1604 to 1614.⁶¹⁷ For his biographer, Benoist Pierre, the Capuchin considered the order ‘la fine fleur de l’Eglise militante’.⁶¹⁸ In 1611, Père Joseph first approached Richelieu, then bishop, to aid his spiritual project — the two men, both of noble birth who chose a religious life, shared similar backgrounds.⁶¹⁹ Then, in 1616, a crucial moment opened when he was asked to represent the papal nuncio at the Conference of Loudun, which ended the conflict between the queen regent’s favourite, Concino Concini, and Henri II de Condé.⁶²⁰ When sent to Rome on the first diplomatic mission from Louis XIII to Paul V in 1616, Père Joseph used the opportunity to seek papal endorsement for his project against the Ottomans, seeing the project as an opportunity to divert divisions within the Christian west towards a common goal and against a common enemy, similar to the hopes of La Noue and Lucinge.⁶²¹ He sought to renew the *Respublica christiana*, with the French king taking a central place. During his eight-month stay at the Holy See, he actively lobbied representatives of Christian princes in support of his project. Returning from Rome with papal sanction, the Capuchin penned several works on the theme of war against the Ottomans, including a later epic poem, *Turciade*, written between 1617 and 1624, years crucial to our present concerns.⁶²² He wrote two further epic poems addressed to the two sovereigns he considered best placed to lead such a project against the

⁶¹⁶ For Père Joseph’s background: Benoist Pierre, *Le Père Joseph: l’eminence grise de Richelieu* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2007), Chapters 1–2.

⁶¹⁷ For his spiritual writings: Paris, BNF, MS Français 19344.

⁶¹⁸ Pierre, *Père Joseph*, 124.

⁶¹⁹ The Capuchin sought support for the *Calvariennes*, a Benedictine monastic order originally founded by Antoinette d’Orléans-Longueville with his support: Pierre, *Père Joseph*, 130.

⁶²⁰ Benoist Pierre writes that Loudun ‘would be decisive for [Père Joseph’s] political future ... permitting him to become the agent and principal counsellor to the “l’homme rouge” [Richelieu], after which he was called back to state affairs’: Benoist Pierre, “Le père Joseph, l’empire Ottoman et la Méditerranée au début du XVII^e siècle,” *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 71 (2005): 2.

⁶²¹ Pierre, “Père Joseph,” 2.

⁶²² *Les dispositions contre le Turc; L’instruction pour les Princes; L’ouverture de l’intérêt de tous les Princes pour les engager à l’entreprise contre le Turc; L’Etat déplorable de la Chrétienté, comme il faut relever; Moyens pour tenir la Chrétienté en repos et spécialement la France; and Divers traités touchant la Milice Chrétienne, de son établissement et les moyens pour subsistence*. Dedicated to pope Urban VIII, his *Turciade* comprised more than 4,600 verses in Latin.

Turks: Louis XIII (*Complainte de la pauvre Grèce au Roy Louis Le Juste et aux François et autres Chrestiens touchés du zèle de l'honneur divin tels que sont spécialement les Chevaliers du nouvel ordre de la Milice Chrestienne*) and Phillip III (*Vol d'esprit dans la course des voyages pour le service de la Grece et de la Terre Sainte*).⁶²³ These works share many of the 'crusade commonplaces' we see in the works of La Noue and Lucinge — Ottoman despotism, alliances with eastern Christian communities and even Safavid Persia.

In Loudun, Père Joseph also met the second figure in this crusade project: Charles de Gonzague, duke of Nevers and a descendent of the former Byzantine imperial Palaiologos family through his grandmother, Margaret Palaiologa de Montferrat (1510–1566). Since 1602, when Charles fought alongside imperial forces and was wounded in a campaign against the Ottomans at Buda, the duke had become something of an exponent of crusade in Europe.⁶²⁴ In 1609, after Greek clerics approached him urging military intervention against the Ottomans, Charles set about organising a Christian militia and lobbying Christian princes for their own support, whether in terms of men, ships or finances.⁶²⁵ No doubt Père Joseph was taken in with the duke when they both met at Loudun in 1616. As a man of the sword, Charles was the very figure the cleric needed to materialise his crusade dreams, possessing the men, the ships and the funds. The two men agreed on the creation of a new order, both religious and militant, under the name 'Milice chrétienne des chevaliers de Jésus-Christ pour sa gloire, la paix et la libération des chrétiens de l'oppression des infidels' (la Milice chrétienne).⁶²⁶ Père Joseph integrated the order into the plans he presented to the pope, as

⁶²³ Pierre, "Père Joseph," 5.

⁶²⁴ In 1601, the duke of Mercœur joined the call to support imperial forces against the Ottomans in Hungary. Despite defeating Ottoman forces at the siege of Székesfehérvár, the duke died on his return journey to France the following year and was replaced by Charles: Jacques Humbert, "Charles de Nevers et la Milice chrétienne, 1598–1625," *Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire*, no. 68 (1987): 85. Charles' project against the Ottomans was borne in an imperial, rather than Gallican, context. Brian Sandberg, "Going Off to the War in Hungary: French Nobles and Crusading Culture in the Sixteenth Century," *The Hungarian Historical Review* 4, no. 2 (2015): 346–83.

⁶²⁵ In 1611, Charles had sent some of his men on a reconnaissance mission in the Morea to survey the principal fortresses, passages and supplies available in the region: Humbert, "Charles de Nevers," 86–87.

⁶²⁶ For the *milice chrétienne*: Claude Grimmer, "La fondation de Charleville en la souveraineté d'Arches Fer de lance d'une Europe chrétienne (1606–1626)," in *Une piété lotharingienne. Foi publique, foi intériorisée (XII^e–XVII^e siècles)*, edited by Catherine Guyon et al (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2022), 63–79.

well as Louis and Philip. The order offered potential to finally realise a unified offensive against the Ottomans. While plans for such an offensive came close to fruition, they were ultimately dashed by the resumption of conflict in Europe that led to the Thirty Years War and, in the case of Richelieu, events at Valtellina in the 1620s.

The efforts of Père Joseph and Charles meant talk of crusade against the Ottomans was alive at the French court from at least 1616, suggesting a possible context for Savary de Brèves' two texts. Is this why we see Savary de Brèves writing of crusade and reinforcing the value of cooperation with the Ottomans? It is here that Tallemant des Réaux comes to our aid. In his biographic profile on Père Joseph in the *Historiettes*, Tallemant wrote: 'He always had great plans in mind; for a time he preached only crusade. [Gonzaga], M. de Breves, Madame de Rohan and he regularly discussed the whole Turkish state'.⁶²⁷ As Tallemant's observation suggests, Savary de Brèves was in the thick of this conversation about crusade at the French court, which is an important context for understanding why he undertook to produce commentaries on crusade as a proposition, while also defending the alliance that formed the foundation of his diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire.

Instructee becomes instructor

How, then, are we to understand these two texts not only in relation to similar works by la Noue and Lucinge, but also as a window into Savary de Brèves' own attitude to the Ottomans at the end of his career? How do they sit within his achievements and projects that were intimately tied with the Ottoman Empire?

Our analysis shows that his proposal for a military offensive against the Ottomans contained within the *Discours abrégé* was largely derivative, deploying many of the rhetorical tropes and strategies present in the earlier works by la Noue and Lucinge. His

⁶²⁷ *Historiettes*, 10.

references to the empire's territorial grandeur, his quantification and assessment of Ottoman military strength, his reflections of inherent weaknesses and despotism in the Ottoman state, his insistence on a large, unified Christian force as a pre-requisite for success, and even elements of the offensive strategy itself are all hallmarks shared by those earlier writings. Savary de Brèves even referenced la Noue when doubling his estimation of the forces needed for a successful campaign. However, he stopped short of these two writers in one important respect — his account lacks the exhortation and pathos evident in the accounts of la Noue and Lucinge. While the latter two saw in such an enterprise the opportunity to unify Christendom, Savary de Brèves recognised this goal to be outside the scope of his experience, even more subtly doubting the possibility of such a venture to deliver peace to Christian Europe.

Further, when we read the *Discours abregé* together with the *Discours sur l'alliance*, as was intended, then what we see is a rebuttal of a campaign against the Ottomans and an argument for peace, diplomacy and engagement, framed less in terms of its advantage to France but its universal benefit to Christendom. In a sense, the alliance is pitched in the same terms as the arguments la Noue and Lucinge made for crusade — the universal good of Christendom. Is this how Savary de Brèves ultimately understood the alliance's end-game? Years later, in 1624, he penned another defence of the alliance, also addressed to Louis, only in this case he defended the alliance chiefly as a defensive necessity against the Spanish, also citing the strategic value of an ambassador in Constantinople.⁶²⁸ Here, too, he reminded the king of his own advantage as an ambassador skilled in the Turkish language: 'While I was in Constantinople, experienced and liked by all the grandees of this Porte, having some usage of the language of the country, I represented with efficacy the wrongs that they [the Spanish]

⁶²⁸ Paris, BNF, MS Français 18075, ff. VIr-5v.

did to the reputation of their Prince [the sultan]'.⁶²⁹ Unsurprisingly, this defence of the alliance coincides with the growing possibility of France once again being drawn into conflict with the Spanish during the early period of the Thirty Years War. As Lucien Bély observes, faced with an ambitious Spain, France had to 'remain on its toes' in the years around 1624.⁶³⁰ It shows that we should be careful about divining any definitive attitude held by Savary de Brèves, instead seeing these sources more as pragmatic arguments that may have responded to specific priorities (whether the threat of crusade-talk or Spanish ambition) but ultimately stood by the importance of alliance. Indeed, we have seen this pragmatism from Savary de Brèves in his defence of the printing press in Rome along missionary lines less as some revelation about his intentions and more a pragmatic pitch.

Beyond this question about whether Savary de Brèves supported 'crusade or cooperation', to use Oddy's framing, these two documents are useful not only because of their defence of the alliance, but because they defend an entire approach to the Ottomans, diplomacy and the world outside Europe. Savary de Brèves distinguishes himself from those like la Noue and Lucinge as a 'soldier, guide and interpreter', a person with experience of Ottoman language and culture, having spent many years living in Constantinople, travelling the empire's Mediterranean reaches, and keeping company with its political actors, whether grand viziers, rebel janissary captains, or corsairs. While there is undoubtedly an element of self-promotion amongst all this, setting himself apart as a valuable specialist, it is an insistence on the value of an active engagement with, and knowledge of, Ottoman culture that is a consistent thread throughout his career, whether in his own language learning, his insistence on native speakers of Arabic and Turkish as interpreters at the royal court, the establishment of a press for printing a language very few of his peers held an interest in, or

⁶²⁹ 'En ce temps j'estois a Constantinople prattic et aymé de tous les grands de cette porte, Ayant quelque usage dela langue et du pais je representay avec efficace le tort qu'ilz feroient a la reputation de leur Prince': MS Français 18075, f. 3r.

⁶³⁰ Lucien Bély, "France and the Thirty Years' War," in *The Ashgate Companion to the Thirty Years War*, edited by Olaf Asbach et al. (London: Routledge, 2014), 88.

the training of protégé Du Ryer in these languages. These two works represent a departure from the likes of la Noue and Lucinge not simply for their arguments about crusade or alliance. Unlike them, Savary de Brèves could present himself as a soldier, a guide and an interpreter, and given his incredible interest in language the importance of the latter cannot be understated.

Conclusion

The career of Savary de Brèves represents a watershed moment in France's diplomatic relationship with the Ottomans and the early modern Mediterranean more generally not only through the in-roads of the 1604 capitulations but equally through shaping diplomatic practices to respond to the advantages and challenges he experienced through his lengthy residency in the Ottoman Empire, which has few precedents among his predecessors but also among his European contemporaries. Previous studies of Savary de Brèves certainly attest to his influence and impact on isolated fields such as the capitulations, oriental studies and Ottoman–French relations more broadly. In the only complete study of Savary de Brèves to date, Isabelle Petitclerc provides a valuable assessment of the ambassador's diplomatic career in Constantinople and what she refers to as his 'intellectual' project, the *Typographia Savariana*. She concludes that while his diplomatic career represented 'a golden age' in Ottoman–French relations — sustaining the alliance at a particularly vulnerable period for the French crown and maintaining French primacy at the Ottoman court — it also represented a transitory moment, dependent on the talents of this individual. As for his oriental studies project, which Petitclerc rightly observes reflected the unique length of his stay in Constantinople and subsequent affinity with Ottoman culture, she considers that this constituted a 'humanist' or intellectual project of curiosity that ultimately proved

unsuccessful. Petitclerc's study leaves us with an individual measured by his achievements and failures, but still disconnected from the worlds that he inhabited —dragoman communities in Pera, Ottoman tribunals in Istanbul, Maronites enclaves in Qannoubine and Rome, governors' courts and rebel ships in the Ottoman fringes of Tunis and Algiers, printers' houses in Rome, and merchant companies in Marseille, not to mention the networks of his contemporaries who were involved in oriental studies, diplomacy and language-learning across Europe.

Further, when we consider Savary de Brèves' oriental studies project as an extension of his diplomacy, rather than separate, we can then consider this moment around 1600 in a new way. Indeed, Savary de Brèves recognised his own multi-faceted persona when he addressed himself to Louis XIII as his 'soldier, guide and interpreter' years after his diplomatic career ended. Trends in diplomatic history since Petitclerc's study, particularly recent developments opened up by New Diplomatic History, have extended our investigations beyond the diplomatic archive, revealing an ambassador such as Savary de Brèves in the context of his daily activities and demands, and not just as an intermediary between sovereigns. The present study has highlighted the central role language played in his duties as an ambassador. The Ottoman court not only attached strategic value to linguistic knowledge within an increasingly competitive environment between European diplomatic and commercial interests, but also provided a rich multi-lingual translation culture in which Savary de Brèves envisioned an opportunity to recreate the advantages of this kind of culture in France. By aiming to establish a college of oriental studies in Paris, he strove to support France's geopolitical ambitions and relations. Considered in this light, his oriental studies project — the manuscript collection, the *Typographia Savariana*, the appointment of native speakers of Arabic and Turkish to pensioned positions at the French court, and the apprenticeship of Du Ryer — sits squarely within his practice of diplomacy.

A useful comparison here is Savary de Brèves' predecessor, Gabriel d'Aramon. Scholars have long considered his embassy at Constantinople in the 1540s most noteworthy since it included a set of scholars, or knowledge specialists: Pierre Belon (naturalist), Nicolas de Nicolay (cartographer), Pierre Gilles (naturalist), André Thevet (cosmographer) and, of course, Guillaume Postel, who became a specialist in Arabic and attempted to create his own precursors to the *Typographia Savariana* through woodblocks. It is a scene reminiscent of the Commission des Sciences et des Arts among which Jean-Joseph Marcel travelled with centuries later aboard the *Orient*, destined for Egypt. Artists also travelled among diplomatic entourages, or within diplomatic contexts, including Gentile Bellini (1479–1481) in the context of Ottoman–Venetian diplomacy in 1479–81, Pieter Coecke van Aelst (in 1533) as part of the imperial embassy of Cornelis de Schepper, and, much later, Jean Baptiste Vanmour (1671–1737), who produced a significant corpus of visual material documenting the Ottoman court. Recent studies have examined Coecke and Bellini (and their work) as artists and diplomatic agents.⁶³¹ D'Aramon's entourage constituted an attempt to collect knowledge about the Ottomans and their territories that supported and informed French geopolitical interests.

Decades later, Savary de Brèves did not travel with an entourage comparable to d'Aramon. Indeed, his diplomatic appointment was unexpected and circumstantial. Yet, his extended stay in Constantinople, particularly before his appointment as ambassador, afforded him the opportunity to develop a specialist knowledge of the Ottomans that he continued to rely on following his return to France (Henri IV recommended his knowledge to the pope and Richelieu drew on his advice even in the 1620s), a rare form of *savoir* that came to define

⁶³¹ David Young Kim, "Gentile in Red," *I Tatti studies* 18, no. 1 (2015): 157–58; Tatiana Sizonenko, "Artists as Agents: Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation between Venice and Constantinople: The Case of Gentile Bellini, 1479–1481," (PhD diss., University of California, 2013); Talitha Maria G. Schepers, "Art and Diplomacy: Pieter Coecke van Aelst's 1533 Journey to Constantinople," in *Diplomatic Cultures at the Ottoman Court, c. 1500–1630*, edited by Tracey A. Sowerby and Christopher Markiewicz (New York: Routledge, 2021), 86–108.

Savary de Brèves. Further, he was able to bring Postel's tentative steps in language knowledge and printing to fruition in Paris, but through the language of the Ottoman court itself and, thereby, diplomacy. Savary de Brèves thus represents not only continuity with these earlier embassies, which have attracted much of the scholarly focus on Ottoman–French relations in the period, but also a new milestone. That the *Typographia Savariana* and its brand of oriental studies in Paris largely ceased following Savary de Brèves' dismissal from court in 1618, is comparatively unsurprising. Postel's efforts in the 1550s dissipated due to financial problems (with his manuscript collection ending up in the Vatican Library) and even Raimondi's press suffered a similar fate in the 1600s, and yet their projects are no less significant. After all, the examples of Postel, Raimondi and Savary de Brèves each indicate a pattern — the constraints of financial and institutional support. In the French context, substantial patronage for such efforts would not come until the 1660s, with the establishment of the *jeunes de langue* by Colbert, which provided the very agents (Pétis de la Croix and Armain) whose names leave their traces of the manuscripts Savary de Brèves produced.

We are now in a better position to understand Savary de Brèves' contribution to the Ottoman–French relationship and how he stands as a bridge between its early incarnation under d'Aramon and the France of Louis XIV. Of course, his significant achievement was the capitulations he negotiated in 1604. These were the product of someone deeply embedded in the Ottoman world, advocating through its legal and administrative systems, influencing official appointments to the empire's fringe territories to which he travelled, and reshaping the French consular network in the Mediterranean under the aegis of a better defined resident ambassador. His knowledge of Turkish was instrumental in this process, helping him to reimagine French diplomatic practice that manifested in a compilation of legal precedents in Turkish for future use by the embassy, becoming the first French ambassador at the Porte with command of the language and organising an apprenticeship in Turkish for at least one

key French subject, André Du Ryer. He transported this vision to Paris, establishing the first significant collection of Turkish manuscripts in France (and an important foundation for the Bibliothèque nationale de France's oriental holdings today), inviting interpreters like Sionita and Hussein of Buda to Paris in order to strengthen the French crown's diplomatic practice vis-à-vis the Ottomans, and providing the crown with the means to print in the languages of the Ottoman court.

This study has also shown that Savary de Brèves offers us new ways to think about four broader intersections in his life: French geopolitics in the early modern Mediterranean, the role of language and language-learning in such geopolitics, the scope of what we consider oriental studies, and how we understand the early modern resident ambassador.

France and the early modern Mediterranean

With the establishment of formal Ottoman–French relations in the 1530s, the French crown had not only a permanent ambassador in Constantinople but a permanent foothold from which to define and coordinate a foreign policy that was Mediterranean in orientation. Scholars such as Christine Isom-Verhaaren have well documented the early stages of the Ottoman–French relationship in the sixteenth-century particularly the d'Aramon embassy and contributions by associated figures like Guillaume Postel and Nicolas de Nicolay. The embassy would continue in a similar vein towards the end of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, facilitating the work of orientalists such as Antoine Galland and immense artistic documentation of the Ottoman court by Jean-Baptiste Vanmour. This present study shows that the decades around 1600, particularly coinciding with Savary de Brèves' term as ambassador, represent a maturation (the capitulations, improvements on Postel's initial foray into Arabic type, the resident embassy in Constantinople) and point of

departure (a strategic embeddedness in the Ottoman world) for France's Mediterranean interests despite the lack of scholarship to-date. It does so in three key respects.

First, we saw an attempt to articulate, shape and enforce French predominance in the Mediterranean no longer simply directed towards defensively counteracting Habsburg threats closer to home, but proactively seeking to establish the Mediterranean as a sphere of French influence. It was a vision that compassed the Mediterranean from Levantine shores in the east to the western Mediterranean, with a particular focus on north African ports Algiers and Tunis which, unlike in the 1530s, were at least nominally under the authority of the sultan in Istanbul. This strategic vision is mapped out in Henri IV's instructions to Savary de Brèves in 1592 and effected through the 1604 capitulations, which included the first provision in French (and European) capitulations for protections of the Holy Land and the strongest protections yet specifically addressed to the governing class in the remote ports of north Africa that represented such significant threats to French commercial shipping. The increased presence of English and Dutch interests in the Ottoman Mediterranean presented a potent threat that made the definition of French Mediterranean interests even more vital, a threat that Richelieu, too, anticipated in the 1620s. Implementing this vision demanded not only efforts through capitulations but an engagement with Ottoman legal and administrative mechanisms, and even attempts to influence the appointment of governors in Tunis and Algiers. It was also a strategic vision as much commercial as political, with the capitulations bringing the French consular offices stretched across Ottoman mercantile centres under the authority of ambassador and crown. By the end of Savary de Brèves' term as ambassador in 1606, French Mediterranean policy had come a long way from the defensive alliance that first initiated Jean de la Forêt's embassy in 1535. There is no better way to understand this than by comparing the instructions Henri IV gave to Savary de Brèves in 1592, couching the Ottoman–French relationship within the frame of Spanish hegemony, with Savary de Brèves'

writings on crusade and alliance towards the end of his life that propose the Mediterranean (and further engagement with the Ottomans) as an opportunity for growth.

Second, this study demonstrates how the Ottomans, and the broader Mediterranean, were entangled in French political struggles of the late sixteenth century, including its religious wars. The narrative in Henri's instructions to Savary de Brèves illustrates how the Ottomans could be considered as integral stakeholders not only in Mediterranean affairs but civil divisions closer to home. Indeed, Savary de Brèves' own appointment as ambassador was a circumstance of Lancois's refusal to acknowledge Henri as rightful king and allegations of cooperation with Spain, which saw him imprisoned, with Henri's support, by the sultan. This opens opportunities for future studies to the wider context of the French religious wars to include how these were understood from the Ottoman perspective.

Finally, we must also remember how France's geopolitical vision also incorporated the Levant and, specifically, the Holy Land. The coupling of French Mediterranean interests with papal missionary objectives in the region is a recurring theme throughout the course of Savary de Brèves' work. As mentioned, the French capitulations were the first to explicitly gain protections relating to missionary activity in the Holy Land and constituted a key place in eulogising Henri IV in the Roman orbit. Similarly, in Rome, French Mediterranean interests (as well as Savary de Brèves' own oriental studies project) were attached to assurances aligned with the Holy See's own missionary interests in the Mediterranean. Further, years after his ambassadorships, Savary de Brèves seemed to refute the concept of holy league against the Ottomans with a unified Christendom and protection of the Holy Land assured not through conquest but diplomacy and engagement with the Ottomans. It represents an important, more pragmatic, shift in an approach to the Mediterranean (and Ottomans) grounded less in the holy leagues so characteristic of the sixteenth century and

more in the capitulatory and diplomatic framework that had started to shape an alternative, potentially more realistic, solution to generations of conflict on land and sea.

Language

The Turkish language stood at the centre of Savary de Brèves' life from his time in Constantinople until his final years, when he commended himself to Louis XIII as his 'soldier, guide and interpreter'. Apart from his contributions as an ambassador, his printing press for Arabic, Persian and Turkish remains his most renowned achievement. This study represents the first attempt to explain why these languages, and particularly Turkish, formed such an integral part of his professional and personal projects. He stood apart from others among his early modern European contemporaries interested in oriental languages in two crucial respects. First, unlike contemporaries like Erpenius, Peiresc or Scaliger, he was an ambassador rather than a scholar or Arabist, which directed his priorities and language interest towards diplomatic ends. Second, he had a particularly strong interest in Turkish, uncommon amongst orientalist at the time, who were more interested in the classical and biblical Arabic than the 'barbarous tongue' of the Ottomans.

Savary de Brèves' project shows how diplomacy was an important site of language practice and learning. We saw how strongly language and linguistic skill featured in popular commentaries on the role of ambassadors at the time, whether Hotman, Gentili or Maggi. Indeed, words were the arms and galleys given by sovereigns to their ambassadors in a theatre of foreign relations quite different to, though as important as, war. But what was an ambassador to do with words at the Ottoman court where the Latinate universality assumed by Gentili had no place? Savary de Brèves had to innovate, finding in Constantinople a rich dragomanate culture to draw on. There were two options available to him. First, the interpreters and translators that had, by then, become an institution at the Ottoman court and

Pera community, as we saw how the Olivieri family had served French ambassadors prior to, and during, his term. Yet reliance on interpreters in the sensitive task of diplomacy was not without its own challenges — much like the use of mercenaries on the battlefield, the loyalty of dragomans came at a cost. The other option was for French subjects, loyal to the crown, to be trained in Turkish *in situ*, and while the French operated nothing comparable to the Venetian *giovani di lingua*, the Pera community of dragomans provided both the inspiration and translation-rich environment within which Savary de Brèves could not only imagine a concept of training a diplomatic corp in Turkish, but undertake this training himself.

It was in Constantinople that he developed perhaps his first lexicographic tool to assist in learning Turkish — a word list notebook or dictionary featuring translations of words from Turkish and Persian into (predominantly) French, MS Persan 208. If language acquisition was coterminous with geopolitical ambitions, if France's Mediterranean geopolitical vision needed to be supported by specialist language knowledge to help achieve that reach, and if words were the arms of diplomacy, then lexicographic works such as dictionaries and grammars were instrumental in achieving these geopolitical goals. Savary de Brèves' knowledge of Turkish empowered him to more effectively leverage Ottoman legal and administrative mechanisms against English and Dutch encroachment on French interests. His Turkish-language compendium of Ottoman *fetvas* and administrative orders (MS Turc 130) is testament to an immersive, cross-cultural diplomatic practice made possible by his early experience amongst the dragoman communities in Constantinople.

Perhaps no place better represents this relationship between geopolitics and language than Rome, which by the time of Savary de Brèves' arrival in 1608 was a comparable centre of language learning, with one important distinction — print. Since at least the 1580s, the papacy had sponsored initiatives for the study and printing of oriental languages in Rome, whether the collage of Maronites or Medici Oriental Press, largely in service of its own

geopolitical interests — missionary activity in the Levant. Although papal projects focused chiefly on the languages of eastern Christians rather than Turkish, Savary de Brèves found in Rome an ideal combination of linguistic skills, technical resources, and potential patronage to realise a project to not only print in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, but lay the foundations of an oriental studies college on his return to Paris.

It would take nearly two centuries for us to see his printing press used as a vehicle for geopolitical ambition, even empire, when the type that he developed was used aboard the *Orient* to print *Aux habitans du Kaire*, a pamphlet addressed to the Egyptian people ahead of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798.⁶³² Our examination of the centrality of language to Savary de Brèves' career, a centrality he absolutely attached to his service to the crown (not only as soldier and guide, but as interpreter), highlights the importance of language in advancing geopolitical objectives in the global early modern. Moreover, it opens up new opportunities to reconsider the place of works like dictionaries and grammars in empire-building and geopolitics more generally.

Oriental studies in early modern Europe

We have seen how Savary de Brèves' printing press formed part of a larger project to establish a college of oriental studies in Paris. While historians such as Duverdiere arrived at similar conclusions, this study has shed new light on Savary de Brèves intentions by positioning them within the broader context of his diplomatic experience in Constantinople and enduring interest in the Ottoman–French relationship. Not only did he return to Paris in 1614 with the means to print in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, but with two Maronites who were secured pensions from the king for translation services, a Turk named Hussein of Buda

⁶³² For a translation of the proclamation into French: Jean-Joseph Marcel, *Égypte depuis la conquête des Arabes jusqu'à la domination française* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, Éditeurs, 1848), 33–34.

(potentially also in receipt of a royal pension), a printer formerly associated with the Medici Oriental Press, and over 100 manuscript volumes with a majority in Turkish.

As a case study, this project also demands that we rethink the traditional frames through which oriental studies in early modern Europe are considered. While the past two decades of scholarship have seen a renewed interest in histories of oriental studies during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, much of this has focused on centres like Leiden, Oxford and Paris, where the interest in languages of the Ottoman Empire chiefly focused on were Arabic and biblical languages such as Hebrew or Syriac, and were generally guided by scholarly (including biblical studies), missionary or philological interests. Savary de Brèves himself was critical of the limitations of European-trained Arabists in Paris, criticising the skills of then royal chair in Arabic Étienne Hubert and advocating for native speakers to hold such an office, advocacy that met with success given Sionita's appointment to the role soon after 1614. Historians, notably Peter Miller, Jan Loop and Alastair Hamilton, have certainly considered the role of non-scholars such as merchants and diplomats in oriental studies. Savary de Brèves constituted a point of departure still because he himself was not just a mediator in these networks but had himself his own oriental studies vision independent of patronage. It was a vision deeply rooted in the pragmatic needs of diplomacy.

As a result, the study of oriental studies has been quite narrow and tended to exclude other actors and agents. Rothman's recent study, *The Dragoman Renaissance*, represents a valuable and welcome departure from this tendency, examining the crucial role played by dragomans in an oriental studies that was more Ottomanist than Arabist. Similarly, Savary de Brèves' intentions with the oriental studies college not only proposed Turkish as a language focus, but his intentions too were not necessarily guided by the same interests as Erpenius, Postel, Scaliger or even Raimondi. His concerns were fundamentally more pragmatic and those of the diplomat — again, the first text he prints in Turkish is a product of diplomacy,

specifically geared towards training diplomatic agents in the languages of the Ottoman court in recognition of the strategic value such language skills offered to the French crown.

Moreover, it was diplomacy that made this possible — his long sojourn in Constantinople and his exposure to an already rich culture of practical translation. Just as Rothman asks us to reconsider the field of early modern oriental studies by examining the work of dragomans in Istanbul, so too there is a story to be told about the role of diplomatic agents in the trajectories of oriental studies from the sixteenth century into the seventeenth century.

Diplomacy in the global early modern

This study also offers new insights into diplomacy beyond its influence in shaping oriental studies during the period. The emergence of new diplomatic history has seen a shift of attention towards agents on the edges of the diplomatic world such as merchants, missionaries and consuls as the focus. This present study returns the focus back to the ambassador and his archive less from the perspective of political history but to understand the diplomat at work. While studies of diplomacy in early modern Europe continue to retain a focus on Europe's society of princes as the theatre of diplomacy, such as Catherine Fletcher's recent *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome*, this present study looks to the Mediterranean, with its more complex cross-cultural and multi-lingual characteristics, to open new perspectives on diplomacy and diplomatic practice in the period.⁶³³ We have seen already how the particular linguistic challenges presented to European diplomats at the Ottoman court necessitated new models for thinking about a diplomat's practice and training, some of which, such as the Venetian *giovani di lingua*, drew inspiration from Ottoman institutions.

⁶³³ Catherine Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome: The Rise of the Resident Ambassador* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

If the 'resident ambassador' is the very hallmark of a 'modern' diplomacy, as even contemporary scholars of diplomacy such as Fletcher and Black contend, then our examination of Savary de Brèves' diplomacy in Constantinople challenges us to consider how this residency was shaped and concretised by the ambassadors themselves, and even working with Ottoman instruments like the capitulations and *fetvas* to define the outlines of diplomatic residency in a place like Constantinople. This was particularly the case for the French consular network across the Ottoman Mediterranean, which had traditionally been more aligned with the mercantile community locally or in Marseille, under the authority of the ambassador in Constantinople and, thus, the crown. For example, we saw how disputes involving consuls in centres like Aleppo or Alexandria were to be referred for determination at the Porte rather than by local governors or qadis. This referral to the Porte reflects an attempted incorporation of that quasi-diplomatic consular network under the rubric of the ambassador, highlighting how the shape and definition of diplomatic offices such as the resident ambassador and consuls was shaped by the practices and efforts of diplomats themselves, and using a very different set of legal and administrative instruments.

Savary de Brèves' recourse to Ottoman legal instruments and processes to reconstitute the relationship between consuls and crown (via ambassador) is a further example of how the Mediterranean context offers new insights into the early modern ambassador. We saw how his posting at the Ottoman court necessitated his involvement not only in negotiations at court, but also engaging Ottoman courts and administration even to the point where, from Constantinople, he was able to influence the appointment and dismissal of governors in Tunis and Algiers, far off from the Ottoman centre. Further, where we consider the early modern ambassador as representative of his sovereign, in places like Jerusalem, Tunis and Algiers, Savary de Brèves held a kind of double representation, not only representing the French crown but the will and authority of the sultan. That ambiguity or double representation itself

is a product of a cross-cultural Mediterranean context that saw Savary de Brèves working not only across cultures but also authorities.

Future trajectories

Since the earlier studies of Savary de Brèves in the 1980s, scholarship in the histories of fields such as diplomacy, oriental studies and the early modern Mediterranean has afforded the opportunity to revisit his story. An objective of the present study was to retrieve Savary de Brèves from the footnotes of scholarship since the 1980s and return him the centre of a complete study. In doing so, this study opens up opportunities for further exciting and much-needed investigation to help better understand the threads discussed in this conclusion.

First, the manuscript collection of Savary de Brèves demands a dedicated study by a specialist in early modern Ottoman Turkish and Persian. At a preliminary level, further work is needed to identify his collection as now dispersed within the oriental collection at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Such a project would help give a clearer picture of the contents of what was one of the most important oriental manuscript collections in early seventeenth-century France, particularly given its significant Turkish composition and one acquired by a diplomat for his own oriental studies project. As seen, following Savary de Brèves' death, the collection was acquired by Richelieu before eventually finding its way into the broader national library collection via the Sorbonne. Such a study would also contribute to a history of the library's own oriental manuscript collection.

Second, MS Persan 208, the word list or dictionary attributed to Savary de Brèves, constitutes a source demanding further research. Such a study would best be served by examining similar sources produced by European diplomatic and associated agents within the Ottoman context and beyond, such as those dictionaries attributed to Gaulmin and Galland. There are many questions here around how (and by whom) these texts were produced and

used, as well as their greater lifespan and use once incorporated into collections like the Bibliothèque Royale (where, in the case of MS Persan 208, they were curated by figures like Armain and Pétis La Croix, themselves students and instructors in Turkish). Rothman's work on the production of similar tools within Istanbul's dragomanate presents an excellent lead in this direction.

These two areas for further research point to the potential for a broader study on the role of diplomats and diplomacy in oriental studies, the study of oriental languages, and the acquisition of oriental manuscripts. Along with missionaries and merchants, diplomatic agents were the key figures whose mobility connected them to centres of knowledge, whether markets or courts, that not only made this specialist knowledge possible but also necessary to fulfil their functions. What happens when we consider diplomatic agents not only as intermediaries between nodes of knowledge transfer but also end-points? There is, thus, an opportunity to look at similar practices among other ambassadors and consuls at the time, particularly the English and Dutch since our own brief survey of practices hinted at figures like Werner and Pococke shifting in this direction.

Of course, another group that remained crucially important to the development of oriental studies in this period were learned Maronites. The limitations of this dissertation precluded us from further investigation of Gabriel Sionita's story, which certainly warrants further examination. A comprehensive study of the Maronite contribution, comparable to Rothman's study of Istanbulite dragomans, remains to be written. In 2019, the Pontificio Collegio Maronita's archive remained closed to researchers, with the college undecided about its future accessibility. Such an archive represents an excellent resource to document and understand the transnational contribution made by Maronites, connections between Rome and the Maronite See in Lebanon, as well as other centres across Europe.

Finally, while perhaps ambitious, a more complete history of the French embassy and diplomatic relationship with the Ottomans would be welcome. This present study has attempted to produce a study that fills an important gap in that history — between the early foundations of the relationship and its operations during the reign of Louis XIV. In 2017, Michael Talbot published a study on British-Ottoman relations from 1661 to 1807, charting the embassy's evolution and the transformation of relations between the two powers over that time.⁶³⁴ Given France's ongoing interests in the Mediterranean, as well as the importance of the French capitulations themselves as a template going into the seventeenth century, such a study would offer insights into diplomatic practice in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as the shape of French interests in the region across this period. Such a study would address what is otherwise a patchwork of scholarship.

Final reflections

We opened our investigation with four different stories about Savary de Brèves, each presenting different, at times seemingly contradictory, portraits of a life. This thesis has presented the first complete study that attempts to resolve these contradictions, a study that brings together Savary de Brèves as diplomat and as orientalist, fixed firmly within the Mediterranean world he made the centre of his own life. While this study has delineated the shape of his career and achievements, its goal has been to shine light on his connections the networks and practices in which he operated rather than to isolate him in a gilded frame.

⁶³⁴ Michael Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations, 1661-1807: Commerce and Diplomatic Practice in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Appendix 1

List of French ambassadors to Constantinople, 1535–1796

Please note that the list below does not include special envoys or agents.

Years	Ambassador
1535–1537	Jean de la Forêt
1538–1541	Antoine de Rincon
1541–1547	Antoine Escalin des Eymars (Captaine Polin)
1547–1553	Gabriel d’Aramon
1553–1556	Michel de Codignac
1556–1566	Jean Cavenac de la Vigne
1566–1571	Guillaume de Grandchamp de Gantrie
1571–1575	François de Noailles
1575–1579	Gilles de Noailles
1579–1585	Jacques de Germiny
1585–1589	Jacques Savary de Lancosme
1589–1607	François Savary de Brèves
1607–1611	Jean-François Gontaut-Biron, baron de Salagnac
1611–1620	Achille de Harlay, baron de Sancy
1620–1631	Philippe de Harlay, comte de Césy
1631–1639	Henri de Gournay, comte de Marcheville
1639–1665	Jean de la Haye
1665–1670	Denis de la Haye
1670–1679	Charles-François Olier, Marquis de Nointel
1679–1686	Gabriel-Joseph le Vergne, comte de Guilleragues
1686–1689	Pierre de Girardin, seigneur de Vaubreuil
1689–1692	Pierre-Antoine Castagneres, marquis de Chateauneuf
1692–1711	Charles de Ferriol
1711–1716	Pierre Puchot
1716–1724	Jean-Louis de Usson, marquis de Bonnac
1724–1728	Jean-Baptiste Louis Picon
1728–1741	Louis-Sauveur marquis de Villeneuve
1741–1747	Michel-Ange Castellane
1747–1755	Roland Puchot, comte des Alleurs
1755–1768	Charles Gravier, comte de Vergennes
1768–1784	François-Emmanuel Guignard, comte de Saint-Priest
1784–1792	Marie-Gabriel-Florent-Auguste Choiseul-Gouffier
1792–1796	Charles-Louis Huguet

Source: Ambassade de France en Turquie: tr.ambafrance.org/Ambassadeurs-de-France-depuis-1525 (accessed 15 June 2022).

Appendix 2

Catalogue of Savary de Brèves' manuscript collection: Vitré list

Below is a reproduction of the list of titles in Savary de Brèves' oriental manuscript collection as recorded by Antoine Vitré in 1640. The list appears in a printed booklet inserted into a manuscript volume (Paris, BNF, MS Français 15528, ff. 220r–221v).

Catalogue des manuscrits que Vitré a achetez par commandement du feu Roy, en l'inventaire de Monsieur de Breves, avec les Caracteres que ledit Sieur de Breves avoit avoir fait faire pendant son Ambassade de Constantinople & qui furent mis par ordre de S. M. dans la Bibliotheque du Cardinal de Richelieu

Le grand Kamous, ou Thresor de la langue Arabique, en 2. volumes, en Arabe.

Exposition des diverses Sentences, en Arabe.

L'Histoire des Ottomans en 2 volumes, en Turc.

La Vie des Saints, en Turc.

Introduction à la Jurisprudence, en Turc.

Traitté des mœurs, de la façon de vivre, et des vestemens des Turcs, avec les raisons des ceremonies de leur Religion, en Turc.

Droit Civil des Turcs, en Arabe.

Instruction pour les Juges, en Arabe.

L'Histoire des rebellions qui on esté faites contre Mahomet, en Turc.

Expositions de plusieurs passages difficiles de l'Alcoran, en Turc.

La Grammaire nommée Kafïa, avec une exposition fort ample, en Arabe.

L'Histoire de Hassan & Hossain, deux grands Capitaines, tous deux neveux de Mahomet, en Turc.

Traitté de la manière de faire des Contracts, en Arabe.

Traitté de la Jurisprudence, en Arabe.

Instruction aux Rois & aux Princes, & à toutes sortes de personnes constituées en autorité, en Turc.

Institutes du Droit des Turcs, & autres peuples sujets du Grand-Seigneur, en Arabe.

La Vie, les faits & les gestes de Mahomet, en Turc.

La Vie d'Alexandre le Grand, en Turc.

Les œuvres du Golestan fameux Poëte de Perse, en Persan.

L'introduction au Droit Civil, en Arabe.

Instruction des Princes, en Turc.

Histoire de Tamerlan, en Persan.

Les œuvres d'Almotannabi, tres-celebre Poëte Arabe, en Arabe.

Traitté du Mariage, & du partage des heritages entre des personnes mariees.

Commentaires sur quelques Chapitres de l'Alcoran, en Persan.

Un livre de Droit, en Turc.

Les œuvres de Golestan, en Persan.

La manière d'interpreter les Songes, en Turc.

Dispute des Loix & de la Religion, en Turc.

Fables de Caraman, en Turc.

De la dignité de l'homme, en Turc.

Les fondemens de la Loy des Turcs, en Turc.

Traitez sur les Loix des Turcs, en Arabe.

Traitté des Guerres par Caraman, en Turc.

Exercices de l'Ame devote, pour chacun jour de la Semaine, en Turc.

Histoire d'Hali, en Turc.

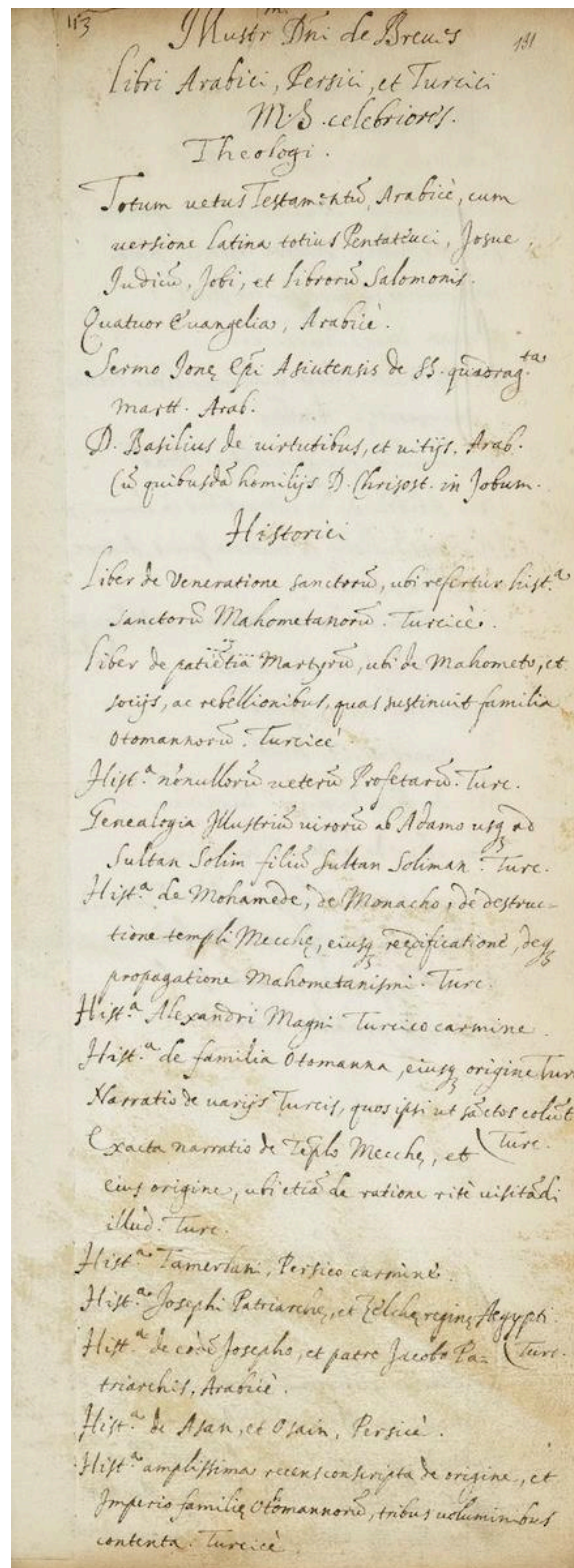
Plusieurs Fables, en Turc.
 Un autre Recueil des Fables, en Turc.
 Histoire des Roys de Perse, en Turc.
 Mille fables pour s'entretenir mille nuits, en Turc.
 Grammaire Arabe avec l'exposition en 2 volumes, en Arabe.
 Dictionnaire Persan, en Turc.
 Les Amours d'un Roy de Perse, en Tartare.
 Recueil des Poësies, en Arabe & en Turc.
 Les Vies & Les Vertus des grands Poëtes Turcs, en Turc.
 Traitté de la bonne avanture, en Arabe.
 Le Secretaire Turc, ou la manière de bien escrire des Lettres, selon la condition
 de ceux à qui on veut escrire.
 Le Droit Civil, en Arabe.
 Les Vies de quelques Saints Turcs, en Turc.
 Commentaire sur l'invocation de Dieu qui est au commencement de l'Alcoran.
 Commentaires sur l'exposition de quelques Loix, en Turc.
 Discours de moralité & de pieté, en Turc.
 Exposition de quelques passages de l'Alcoran, en Turc.
 Contes facetieux, en Turc.
 Recueil de diverses Poësies, en Turc.
 Commentaires sur quelques Loix du Droit Civil des Turcs, en Arabe.
 Recueil de Lettres missives, en Turc.
 Abregé du Droit Civil, en Arabe.
 Vies, faits & gestes de Mahomet, en Turc.
 Ismaël du Droit Civil, en Arabe.
 Un autre livre sur le Droit Civil, en Turc.
 Un livre de Poësie intitulé, Les dix Oiseaux, en Turc.
 Petit dictionnaire en Vers, pour l'usage des enfans, en Persan & en Turc.
 Merveilles du monde, en Turc.
 Une Grammaire de Kaphia, imprimée.
 Livre de Poësie, en Persan.
 Traitté de l'Eloquence, en Arabe.
 Canon de l'Empire des Turcs, en Turc.
 Le Riche & le Pauvre, en Turc.
 Recueil de diverses Poësies.
 Discours Moraux, en Persan.
 Direction à la Vie devote, en Turc.
 Documens de la Religion des Turcs, en Turc.
 Philosophie Morale, en Persan.
 Poëte Turc.
 De la maissance de Mahoment.
 Commencemens & progrès de l'Empire des Otthomans, en Turc.
 Histoires de plusieurs Rois & Princes, en Turc.
 Discours Philosophiques & moraux, en Arabe.
 Petit volume de Poësie, en Turc.
 La Civilité pour les Enfans, en Turc.
 Un troisieme Goulestan, en Persan.
 Quatre Chapitres particuliers de l'Alcoran.
 Histoire de Joseph & ses amours avec la femme de Putiphar, en Turc.
 Traitté de la Loy, en Arabe.
 Un quatrieme Gulistan, en Persan.
 De la dignité des villes de la Mecque, de Medine & de Hierusalem, en Turc.

Histoire d'un des principaux Poètes Persans.
Les louanges des Justes, en Persan.
Le mespris du monde, en Turc.
Un recueil de Poésies, en Turc.
Points de Religion & Cas de conscience, en Turc.
De la bonne & mauvaise aventure, en Turc.
Dialogue en Turc.
Catechisme des Turcs, en Turc.
Livre pour tirer au fort dans l'Alcoran, & apprendre ce qui doit arriver, en
Turc.
Cinq petits volumes de Prières, en Turc.
La manière de gagner les Pardons en faisant le voyage de la Mecque.
Cinq ou six petits Livrets reliez en papier seulement.

Appendix 3:

Catalogue of Savary de Brèves' manuscript collection: Dupuy list

Below is a copy of the list of titles in Savary de Brèves' oriental manuscript collection that appears in: Paris, BNF, MS Dupuy 673, ff. 131r-132v).



Legista.

Statuta Legis, in uniuersa fidei dogmata, Autore
Abdo-luahab. Arabicè.

Ceremoniæ sacre Turcarum. Arab.

Lemma lucida, in uniuersâ Jurisprudentiâ. Arab.

Vincet Iudiciu, Autore Casrou, Arab.

Comentaria in Jurisprudentiâ. Arab.

Columna iuris. Turcicè.

Expositio literalis in legē; inscribitur Pretiose
margarite. Arabicè.

Directoriu ad Jurisprudentiâ, Arab.

Liber Abibechir de contractibus in comuni. Arab.

Solutiones dubioru in materia Juris, Autore Mo-
hyedin, Arab.

Serag Ormuoi, de Matrimonio, et Hereditate.
Italiat, de Jure. Turcicè. Arab.

Compendiu iuris, Arab.

Decisiones iuris, Arab.

Liber de fide Turcica. Turcicè.

Liber alius de eodem. Turcicè.

Disputationes in legē, et fidem. Turcicè.

Expositio in Jurisprudentiâ. Arabicè.

Alia idē Expositio de eodē. Arab.

Canones Imperiales. Turcicè.

Alcoran.

Alcoranus diligentissimi, et luculentissimi exa-
ratus.

Comentariu celeberrimi Autoris Abilhasan Albi-
thau in Alcoranu. Arabicè.

Expositio in parte eiusdē Alcorani. Persicè.

Expositio in itij eiusdē Alcorani. Arabicè.

Expositio nonnullorū Alcorani locorū. Arab.

^{Alcorani}
 Expositiones alie, ^{ad} fidei documentis, Turcicè.
 Fragmenta aliquot Alcorani.

Grammatici.

Varie uariorū authorū Grammaticæ Arabicæ,
 et Persicæ.

Comentaria in Casiam.

Rhetorica, Arabicæ.

Pœta

Motanabbi, pœta celeberrimus, Arabicæ.

Volucri carminū Arabicorū, eū expositione
 Arabica.

Zulistan, Persicæ.

Pœsis in Pœtas Turc.

Amores regis cuiusdā Persarū, Tartaricæ.

Duo libri in bonos mores, Persicæ.

Amores diuitis, et pauperis, Turcicæ.

De mundi contemptu, Persicæ.

Laudationes Justorū, Persicæ.

Varij libri carminū profanorū, Turcicæ, et Persicæ.

Dictionaria.

Samus, seu amplissimū totius Arabicæ lingue
 Vocabulariū.

Acteri, eū uersione Latina, et Italica quæ gla-
 rimas selectas uoces, præsertim themata com-
 plectens.

Dictionariū copiosissimū trilinguarū Arabicæ,
 Persicæ, et Turcicæ eū expositione Latina.

Dictionariū Arabicoturcicū, carmine.

Dictionariū aliud Arabicoturcicū.

Proverbia

Centū sententiæ Adl. Arabica et turcica lingua,

caractere pulcherrimo, et suavitissimo.
 Variæ sententiæ tum seriæ tum iocose à diuersis
 authoribus selectæ. Arabice.
 Tum sex uariis fabularis libri Arabice, et
 Turcice.

Appendix 4:

Extract from the *Histoire Universelle de Jacques-Auguste de Thou*

Below is an extract from Jacques-Auguste de Thou's *Histoire Universelle* describing the duke of Nevers entry into Rome in 1608. This is the original French; my English translation appears in Chapter 8.

‘... le 26 de Novembre, il sortit de la ville dans un carosse fermé avec le marquis de Breves, & se retira au Palais de Leon Strozzi, à un mille de Rome. ... Six Trompettes & cent Chevaux-légers du Pape ouvroient la marche ; venir ensuite le bagage de l’Ambassadeur porté par trente-quatre mulets couverts d’étoffes de soye brochées d’or ; leurs fers étoient d’argent ... Tous les Cardinaux paroisoient ensuite montés sur des mules couvertes de pourpette, suivis de cent Suisses de la garde du Pape, de douze Tambours à cheval, & de quatre Trompettes. Après eux marchoient les douze gardes de l’Ambassadeur, & autant de Pages, avec cent trente Gentilshommes François, qui s’étoient mis à Marseille à sa suite. Derrière [sic] eux venoit le frere de sa Sainteté, devant qui deux Suisses portoient deux grandes épées. Enfin l’Ambassadeur paroisoit, monté sur un cheval de prix, précédé du grand Ecuyer du Pape, & de deux Maures, qui menaient deux chevaux blancs. L’Ambassadeur avoit à ses côtés les Patriarches de Jerusalem & d’Alexandrie. Le marquis de Breves marchoit après, au milieu de plusieurs Archevêques ...’

Source: *Histoire Universelle de Jacques-Auguste de Thou. Depuis 1543 jusqu’en 1607, Tome Quinzième* (London, 1734), 27–28.

Appendix 5

Dedicatory epistle, *Doctrina Christiana* (1613) [Original Latin]

Below is an extract from the dedicatory epistle in the 1613 edition of the *Doctrina Christiana* printed by the Typographia Savariana in Rome. My translation appears in Chapter 8.

‘Quo tempore, Beatiss. Pater, Excellentiss. D. Franciscus Savary de Breves Constantinopoli, ut nunc Romae apud Sanctitatem Tuam facit, Regis Christianissimi Oratorem agebat, cum Aleppum, Tripolim, Montem Libanum, Ierosolymas, Alexandriam, Memphim, aliasque Orientis praecipuas urbes, regionesque ex itinere perlustraret, in calamitas, peneque deploratas illarum partium Christianorum gentes incidit, quarum extrema rerum omnium, tam quae ad corporis victum, quam quae ad animae salutem necessariae sunt, inopiam adeo miserabiliter motus, simulque incensus est, ut continuo de illis e tam immani utriusque necessitatis statu sublevandis, eripiendisque serio cogitarit. Et sane quidem, quod in curandis corporum incommodis, dum illic esset, perquam liberaliter, egregieque praestitit: ita nunc ad sanandos, penitusque tollendos animorum paulo graviores morbos, Chalcographeium Arabicum, non religioso minus, ac pio, quam liberali invento, sibi instituendum putavit, quo quam fieri poterit plurima, maximeque accomodata de Christianis placitis, & praeceptionibus literarum monumenta, vel e Latino fonte derivata, vel ex ipso Arabico deprompta sermone, suis ab erroribus, vitiisque purgata cuderentur. ... Ergo ille, ut ad opus tam insigne strenue aggrediretur, cum impensis propriis elegantissimos Arabici idiomatis typos & characteres fieri curasset, nobis Catechismi Romani ex Illustriss. Card. Bellarmini Italica editione, Arabicam interpretationem pro sua in nos auctoritate demandavit.’

Source: Robert Bellarmine, *Doctrina Christiana* (Rome: Typographia Savariana, 1613).

Appendix 6:
Letter to Readers, *Doctrina Christiana* (1613) [Original Latin]

Below is an extract from the beginning of the letter to readers in the 1613 edition of the *Doctrina Christiana* printed by the Typographia Savariana in Rome. The translation appears in Chapter 7.

‘Duo sunt in hac editione Catechismi Latino Arabici, Christiane Lector, quorum te admodum conscium esse volumus. Primum est, ut Excellentiss. D. de Breves apud Paulum V. Pont. Max. Christianiss. Regis Oratoris, incensum, & inflammatum studium agnoscas, quo in salute Orientalium Christianorum omni ope procuranda sane quam animose fertur. Hoc enim ille consilio Catechismum hunc ex Illustriss. D. Card. Bellarmini Italico, Arabice a nobis verti curaverat, ut Alexandrinis potissimum, quorum in urbe totius Aegypti longe pulcherrima dignitatem Consulatus nationis Gallicane curat exerceri, extreme laborantibus succureret. Quare si satis ad hoc superq. fuisset Arabicis solum typis illum excudere. Verum cum sciremus quamplurimos ex Latina Ecclesia variarum nationum homines maxime huic linguae studere, que sine dubio vel inter primas annumeranda est, desiderio illorum satisfactum impense voluimus. Ergo Latinam interpretationem adiunximus, Arabicis litteris vocalium notas, & apices appinximus, quorum beneficio vel quisque suoapte ingenio Grammaticae Arabicae regulas consulere, & egregios in hac lingua progressus facere possit. Alterum est, nos aliquantulum modum pertractandae Christianae Doctrinae immutasse, ut nostratium commodis magis serviremus. Quibus etiam methodus docendi, explicandique fuit attemperanda : ac propterea quaedam addita sunt, quae harum Nationum errores, vel haereses plenius refellerent, & locorum mores, ac vivendi consuetudines propius attingerent. Quae tamen omnia permittendibus Illustrissimis Cardd. Bellarmino, & de la Rochefoucault facta sunt; ...’

Source: Robert Bellarmine, *Doctrina Christiana* (Rome: Typographia Savariana, 1613).

Appendix 7:
Dedication, *Liber Psalmorum Davidis Regis et Prophetæ* (1614)
[Original Latin]

Below is an extract from the beginning of the letter to readers in the 1614 psalter printed by the Typographia Savariana in Rome and discussed in Chapter 7.

‘Etenim dum in Oriente Regius quoque Legatus existeret, nationesque illas perlustraret, alias quidem ex illis offendit cœcis idololatriæ erroribus captas, alias tetra hæreseos labe infectas, alias fœda schismatis contagione laborantes, pauculas demum, easque summa rerum inopia oppressas Catholicæ fidei, veroque religionis cultui addictas. Quæ profecto res, Christiani hominis, Christianissimique Regis Legati animum adeo graviter pupugit, ut confestim in animum induxerit suum, Orientalium tam desperatæ salutis, quam posset, saluberrimam facere medicinam. Quamobrem apud se statuit, ad opitulandum miseris illis gentibus nihil efficacius, & ad eas ex impio superstitionis, errorisque mancipio liberandas, ac deinceps ad Ecclesiæ gremium traducendas, præstantius, vel denique ad tui, Gallicique nominis prædicationem gloriosius fore nihil, quam si de fidei Christianæ preceptis, atque mysteriis, libri quamplurimi vernaculis illarum linguis excuderentur, quibus errorum suorum falsitatem aperte dignoscerent, agnitamque detesterentur, ac penitus eiurarent. Ergo rem magno animo aggressus, omnibus eo pertinentibus sedulo comparatis, ac in primis illarum sermonis, atque rerum scientiæ peritis hominibus advocatis, nullis neque sumptibus, neque laboribus parcendo, eam omni studio, & industria promovere non cessat. Ex quo sane factum est, ut quemadmodum non ita pridem Catechismum Illustris Cardinalis Bellarmini in gratiam illarum gentium in Arabicum sermonem transferri curavit, & excudi; ita nunc ad Europæorum Christianorum commodum, & utilitatem, sacrorum Bibliorum Arabicam & Latinam interpretationem promulgare decreverit. Et quoniam in corpore Biblico, Psalmi Davidici sunt quaedam velut epitome veteris, ac novi testamenti, operis totius editionem ab illis interim placuit auspiciari, donec alii utriusque sacri instrumenti libri, quorum translationem iam nunc maxima ex parte perfecimus, pari felicitate absolueruntur.’

Source: *Liber Psalmorum Davidis Regis et Prophetæ ex Arabico Idiomate in Latinum translatus* (Rome: Typographia Savariana, 1614).

Appendix 8

Contents of Savary de Brèves' 1628 print edition of the *Relation*.

The table below sets of the contents of the 1628 edition of Savary de Brèves' *Relation*, which includes copies of the *Discours abrégé* and *Discours sur l'alliance*, which are the subject of Chapter 9. Each section has been numbered (in parentheses) to assist the discussion in that chapter.

Text	Description
(1) <i>Premiere partie des voyages de Monsieur de Breves qui contient la Grece Terre-sainte, & l'Aegypte</i>	The first part of the <i>Relation</i> , the account of his travels through the Ottoman Mediterranean.
(2) <i>Seconde partie desdits voyages, contenant son depart d'Aegypte, ses negotiations à Tunis & Arger, & son retour en France</i>	The second part of the <i>Relation</i> .
(3) <i>Traicté fait l'an 1604 entre le Roy Henri le Grand, & Sultan Amat Empereur des Turcs, par l'entremise dudit Sieur de Breves : avec quelques observations sur ledit Traicté</i>	A copy of the 1604 capitulations. It includes some 'notes sur quelques Articles du precedent Traicté'.
(4) <i>Discours abrégé des assurez moyens d'aneantir & ruiner la Monarchie des Princes Ottomans. Faict par Monsieur de Breves.</i>	The text proposing a means to defeat the Ottomans.
(5) <i>Discours sur 'alliance ce qu'a le Roy, avec le Grand Seigneur, et de l'utilité qu'elle apporte à la Chrestienté. Faict par Monsieur de Breves.</i>	The text in support of the French alliance with the Ottomans.
(6) Three letters to Savary de Brèves from Clement VIII.	The first two (16 April 1603 and 10 May 1603) were written by cardinal Silvio Antoniano (1540–1603) and the third (30 August 1603) by Vestrius Barbianus (the papal secretary).
(7) Three documents (patents) from religious orders in Constantinople and the Holy Land.	The first is written by Franciscus Manerba in Jerusalem (16 May 1602); the second, is signed by the Catholic clergy in Galata (22 December 1604); and the third is from Cesario de Trino in Jerusalem (8 September 1604). The letters all acknowledge the efforts of Savary de Brèves to protect practice of the Latin rite in Constantinople and the Holy Land.

<p><i>(8) Discours veritable, fait par Monsieur de Breves, du procedé tenu lors qu'il remit entre les mains du Roy, la personne de Monsieur le Duc d'Anjou, frere unique de sa Majesté</i></p>	<p>This text recounts proceedings before members of the council and the king himself, following Savary de Brèves' dismissal as tutor to Gaston d'Orleans. A central part of the case he puts forward is his service in Constantinople on behalf of the king, arguing that someone who had such a record ought not to be dismissed in such a way.</p> <p>The text is followed by a series of extracts from letters acknowledging specifics of the ambassador's service in Constantinople and Rome from Henri IV and queen regent Marie de Medici.</p>
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Cimeli 33

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MS Français 16171

MS Français 17833

MS Français 18075

MS Français 19029

MS Français 19344

MS Français 20122

MS Français 20982

MS Français 24215

MS Français 32520

Greek

MS Grec 139

Persian

MS supplément Persan 1

MS supplément Persan 2

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