

FRENCH RESIDENTS IN OTTOMAN CRETE: TRADE, DIPLOMACY AND DAILY LIFE IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY*

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The paper tackles the diverse, and sometimes contradictory, facets of French presence in the Eastern Mediterranean. It takes eighteenth-century Ottoman Candia – nowadays Iraklion / Heraklion – as a case study. This choice has been driven by the opportunity of analyzing – on a small scale – different aspects of living and trading in a “secondary” Levantine *échelle* during the eighteenth century. It also provides an opportunity to unveil interactions, contacts and transfers between the different communities living on the island. The “low status” of Crete within the overall French trade network notwithstanding, the *échelle* produced six sizeable files (AN, AE, B I 341–347) preserved at the Archives Nationales de France and devoted entirely to the lives of French residents in Crete.

The paper’s main thesis is that Western presence in the Levant went well beyond merely commercial activities to encompass – even in secondary trade centers like Crete – broader personal interactions at all social levels. Trade was inextricably linked with diplomatic activity and the daily life of the merchants took them well beyond commercial affairs, into the realm of everyday encounters, engaging them in personal, and sometimes even intimate, relationships. Long-term residence, in some instances spanning throughout the whole life, fuelled tendencies towards assimilation that formed the basis of the emerging “Levantine” society. This aspects engaged European residents and local Christians, mostly Greeks and Armenians. More sporadically, however, it concerned also Jews and Muslims.¹

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¹ David Celetti, *French Residents and Ottoman Women in 18th Century Levant: Personal Relations, Social Control, and Cultural Interchange*, in *Women, Consumption and Circulation of Ideas in South-Eastern Europe: XVII–XIX Centuries*, ed. by Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, Leiden, Boston, 2017, pp. 47–64; Stefan Knost, *Les Francs à Alep, Syrie, leur statut juridique et leur interaction avec les institutions locales (XVII^e–XIX^e siècle)*, in *Gens de passage en Méditerranée de l’Antiquité à l’époque moderne. Procédures de contrôle et d’identification*, ed. by Claudia Moatti, Wolfgang Kaiser, Paris, 2007, pp. 205–218; Ian Coller, *Cosmopolitanism and Extraterritoriality: Regulating Europeans in Eighteenth Century Turkey*, in *Europa und die Türkei im 18. Jahrhundert / Europe and Turkey in the 18th Century*, ed. by Barbara Schmidt-Haberkamp, Göttingen, 2011, pp. 205–218.

The paper is divided into three parts. The first one focuses on Cretan economy and emphasizes the importance of the island's commerce with France. The following section deals with diplomatic actions and practices, stressing the role of consuls in facilitating trade and in helping their fellow countrymen in their everyday life in the *échelle*. The final part highlights certain aspects of the French residents' daily life, examining the existence, and the extent of, social contacts among communities otherwise divided by national, religious, and cultural fault lines.

A MINOR ÉCHELLE

From the perspective of French commerce, Crete constituted a minor *échelle* within a vast network of French merchant settlements in the Levant. Its trade relied almost entirely on the exports of low-value raw material – as wax or olive oil used in the booming Marseilles' soap manufactures – and the import of a vast, but modest in terms of volume, array of French products.² This picture was only partially mitigated by the role played by the island in French cabotage trade³ – the so-called *caravane(s)*.⁴

The marginal role of the Cretan trade was a consequence of the island's overall poor economic condition that limited both the supply and demand. Its potentially rich agriculture⁵ tilted heavily towards specific products⁶ – as wine, wheat and olive –, unevenly distributed on a vast, partially uncultivated territory, largely cut off from the coasts by poor land connections.⁷ This state of affairs in itself resulted from Crete's long-term adaptation to its changing position within Levantine trade. During the first centuries of Venetian rule, the island had been a major wheat producer. From the sixteenth century onwards, it developed olive plantations and vineyards, and became an important exporter of Malvasia (or Malmsey) wine.⁸ Wine and olives

² Archives Nationales de France (hereafter: AN), AE, B I 341, *Lettre de M. Delane au Conseil de la Marine*, 15 February 1716.

³ Maria Fusaro, *After Braudel: A Reassessment of Mediterranean History between the Northern Invasion and the Caravane Maritime*, in *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean. Braudel's Maritime Legacy*, ed. by Maria Fusaro, Colin Heywood, Mohamed-Salah Omri, London, New York, 2010, pp. 1–23; Daniel Panzac, *La caravane maritime. Marins européens et marchands ottomans en Méditerranée 1680–1830*, Paris, 2004, p. 230; Gilbert Buti, *Un aspect original de l'armement provençal au XVIII^e siècle: la caravane maritime*, in "Bulletin de la Société des amis du vieux Toulon et de sa région," 114, 1992, pp. 65–86.

⁴ Louis Bergasse, *Histoire du commerce de Marseille*, vol. IV, 1599–1660, Paris, 1954, pp. 91–100.

⁵ "L'île, dont le climat est fort beau, est très abondante de toute sorte de comestibles. Cette année particulièrement la récolte des grains a été fort belle et celle de l'huile et du vin donnent de grands espoirs" (AN, AE, B I 341, *M. Baume au Conseil de la Marine*, 23 June 1723).

⁶ *Ibidem*, *M. Delane au Conseil de la marine*, 15 February 1716.

⁷ This aspect was often related to poor demographic conditions, according to consul Baume's 1723 report. "Pour nous transporter à cet endroit, nous avons marché une journée et deux nuits, traversé plusieurs montagnes sur toute l'étendue de l'île, et de vastes vallées les unes très bien cultivées, les autres en friche faute de peuple pour les travailler" (*ibidem*, *M. Baume au Conseil de la Marine*, 23 June 1723).

⁸ The wine was first produced in the Greek village of Monemvasia, occupied in 1248 by the Venetians. Having tasted the local wine, the Venetians began to produce it in their possessions on

rapidly acquired commercial importance, the former taking advantage over the latter in regard to market demand and harvests' yields.⁹ This trend came to a partial halt in the first half of the seventeenth century, when political instability and fears of war led the Venetians to pressure peasants to increase their wheat output, considered a strategic crop in case of the outbreak of hostilities and disruption of commercial ties with the Ottoman lands.¹⁰ This approach led to an increase in the production of cereals in the last period of Venetian dominion, and, conversely, a stagnation in that of olives and wine. The Ottoman conquest once again reversed the situation, as olives quickly became the island's most important produce.¹¹

The eighteenth-century expansion of olive groves on the island reflected the options of domestic producers, as landowners sought to diversify land use. At the same time, it reflected the island's increasing integration into European, and particularly French, trading networks. Crete lured merchants by the prospects of acquiring cheap olive oil, perfectly matching the demands of Marseilles' booming soap industry.¹² "Depuis que la mortalité des oliviers de Provence [a réduit notre production] le commerce [des huiles d'olives] s'y est rendu très considérable et je compte que on porte de France depuis six à sept ans plus de quatre millions de piastres sévillanes ou de sequins Vénitiens qu'on a été prendre en Italie chemin faisant."¹³

Some data will help identify the problem and its magnitude. Between 1700 and 1721, the French exported an average of 92,000 *mistat* of olive oil from Crete, double the amount of wine exports. Four years later, in 1725, they sent to Marseille 200,000 *mistat* of the commodity. From the beginning of 1717, twenty to forty ships regularly loaded olive oil shipments. Between 1720 and 1741, French imports of this product increased by 50 per cent. This trend reached such a scale that, already by the early eighteenth century, Ottoman authorities stepped in to limit the exports

Crete, where it became one of the most widely exported, high-quality Levantine wines (Michela Dal Borgo, *Malvasia. The Story of a Levantine Wine in Venice*, in "Ligabue," 59, 2011, pp. 110–128; *Atti del Convegno "Venezia e le Malvasie del Mediterraneo," Venezia, 28 maggio 2015*, Venice, 2015, pp. 12–16.

⁹ Wines, in particular, were sent to Venice, to be then re-exported almost in all European countries, up to the British Islands, Germany, Poland, and Russia. But wines followed even other, less obvious, ways, as, for example, that to Chios and to the Flanders; to the Turkish areas through the emirates of Mentesh and Aydin, to Rhodes or to Northern Africa (David Jacoby, *Creta e Venezia nel contesto economico del Mediterraneo orientale sino alla metà del Quattrocento*, in *Venezia e Creta. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Iraklion-Chanià 30 settembre – 5 ottobre 1997*, ed. by Gherardo Ortalli, Venice, 1998, pp. 73–106; Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade. Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Mentesh and Aydin (1300–1415)*, Venice, 1983, pp. 3–20).

¹⁰ Allaire Brumfield, *Agriculture and Rural Settlement in Ottoman Crete, 1669–1898: A Modern Site Survey*, in *A Historical Archeology of the Ottoman Empire: Breaking New Ground*, ed. by Uzi Baram, Lynda Carroll, New York, 2000, pp. 37–78.

¹¹ M. Abrate, *Creta colonia veneziana nei secoli XIII–XV*, in "Economia e Storia," 3, 1956, pp. 251–277; Gherardo Ortalli, *Venezia e Creta. Fortune e contraccolpi di una conquista*, in *Venezia e Creta*, ed. by Gherardo Ortalli, pp. 9–32.

¹² Jean Vidalenc, *La vie économique des départements méditerranéens pendant l'Empire*, in "Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine," 1–3, 1954, pp. 165–198.

¹³ AN, AE, B I 341, *M. Delane au Conseil de la Marine*, 15 February 1716.

as they feared shortages for domestic consumption. This concern was further exacerbated by the fact that the local soap industry began to develop on the island, with manufactures being established in Chania and Candia. In 1723, six soap factories were active on the island; by mid-century, their number increased to twelve, then to fifteen in 1783, and to eighteen in 1787. Their demand took up to fifty per cent of the olive crop in a good year, and almost all in case of bad harvests, not counting the demand of Istanbul and of other provinces. It is therefore not surprising that the authorities in Istanbul sought to limit exports. Sometimes this led to official bans, as it happened, for example, in 1716 and, again, in 1776.¹⁴

The actual effectiveness of these measures remains, however, an open question. Such attempts had to face the pressures of local producers and merchants, already tightly linked to the international market. They also sparked protests from the French traders' side, participating almost exclusively in olive oil business and able to fall back on a particularly active and influential diplomatic network. As consul Delane clearly stated, any interruption in the export of Cretan olive oil would have almost certainly put an end to French presence in the *échelle*, as merchants would not be able to find an alternative export commodity.¹⁵ Black market and official corruption provided another check on governmental efforts. All those reasons limited the effectiveness of export bans, and pushed the Ottoman leaders towards adopting more realistic, free-trade solutions, accompanied by moderate taxation.

“L’huile était ici une marchandise de contrebande [au temps de l’interdiction du commerce, mais] on en chargeait presque autant [que l’on fait aujourd’hui dans un cadre de libre échange] au moyen des présents que l’on faisait aux puissants du pays. La Porte ayant reconnu l’utilité qu’elle pouvait retirer en laissant ce négoce libre et l’impossibilité qu’il y avait d’empêcher les cours, et pressée par ailleurs par les instances des gens du pays a accordé la libre sortie de cette marchandise au moyen d’une imposition qu’elle fit en 1725 d’un droit qui s’appelle « beddat » et qui a été pendant quatre années consécutives de deux paras l’ocque.”¹⁶

On the other hand, such trends mirrored the island’s deepening dependence on international markets, which brought both opportunities, but also dangers associated with their volatile demand, as shown, for example, by the sudden decline of sales following the 1720 Marseilles’ plague.¹⁷

Oil exports greatly contributed to French trade deficit. Even counting in the wares brought by *caravanes*, the balance was structurally negative, and had to be

¹⁴ Molly Greene, *A Shared World. Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Princeton, 2000, pp. 134–139.

¹⁵ “Il faudra que la plus part de nos négociants fassent retraite si la permission de sortir les huiles ne nous est pas confirmée n’y ayant dans tout ce Royaume que très peu de soie, cives et laines qui n’occupent pas un seul petit marchand” (AN, AE, B I 341, *M. Delane au Conseil de la Marine*, 15 February 1716).

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, *M. de Monthenault au Conseil de la Marine sur le commerce du Levant*, 8 March 1725.

¹⁷ “On assure que les levées d’huiles ne seront pas si fortes cette année à cause que la grande quantité que on [avait] transporté à Marseille n’a pu être consommée pendant la contagion et il faudra donc du temps pour leur débouchement” (*ibidem*, *M. Baume au Conseil de la Marine*, 23 June 1723).

covered with bullion and coins, usually piasters, sequins, or vouchers signed in others trade centers (Table 1). Piasters were a coinage of Spanish origin, widely diffused in the Levant, and the most – if not exclusively – widely accepted in Northern Africa,¹⁸ whereas sequins were a gold Venetian coin weighing 3.5 grams of .986 gold introduced in 1284, and rapidly ascended to the second most popular currency in the Levant.¹⁹ Vouchers were common promises of payments, subscribed by merchants operating in *échelles* with trade surpluses.²⁰ Along with coins and financial assets, French traders brought to Crete a wide range of products.

Up to the beginning of the eighteenth century, Venetian luxury textiles, including brocades, gold-thread textiles, satins, watered silks, velvets, and silk velvets held an important share on the Cretan market. Subsequently, Dutch and English fabrics were marketed on the island, primarily by Armenian merchants from Smyrna. By the 1720s, *draps du Languedoc* of the *londrines secondes* type had by far overtaken any other type of cloth among Cretan imports.²¹ However, the Venetians managed to retain competitive advantage in regard to silks, as they were apparently cheaper than the French ones.²²

French merchants also sold paper, glass and iron, traditionally re-exported to Crete from Venice, fish and caviar from Istanbul, and coffee. The imports of the latter originated since the sixteenth century from Yemen and reached the Eastern Mediterranean by way of Cairo; however, during the eighteenth century, this route was gradually substituted by Central American imports, which came to take the central place in trade.²³ These major items were complemented by secondary products, such as dyestuffs and especially Caribbean coffee, which occupied an increasingly relevant place (Table 2).

If France was without doubt Crete's main commercial partner, the island was also well integrated in other Mediterranean trading networks, with ports of Egypt, as well as Istanbul and Smyrna, accounting for a sizeable share of its traffic.²⁴ Moreover, due to its geographical location at the crossroads of the South-Eastern

¹⁸ Ferréol Rebuffat, *Les piastres de la Compagnie Royale d'Afrique*, in "Cahiers de la Méditerranée," hors série, 1, 1976, pp. 21–34.

¹⁹ "Je compte que on a porté de France depuis, de six à sept ans, plus de quatre millions de livres en piastres ou en sequins Vénitiens qu'on a été prendre en Italie" (AN, AE, B I 341, *M. Delane au Conseil de la Marine*, 15 February 1716).

²⁰ Charles Carrière, *Réflexions sur le problème des monnaies et des métaux précieux en Méditerranée Orientale au XVIII^e siècle*, in "Cahiers de la Méditerranée," 1, 1976, pp. 1–20; idem, *Réflexions sur les crises commerciales au XVIII^e siècle*, in "Cahiers de la Méditerranée," 2, 1977, pp. 5–15.

²¹ AN, AE, B I 341, *M. de Monthenault au Conseil de la Marine sur le commerce du Levant*, 8 March 1725. See also Edhem Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, Leiden, Boston, 1999, pp. 37–39.

²² "Il vient, outres les balles de draps de France, des soies de Venise, de Florence et de Messine, à cause du fait qu'elles sont moins chères que celles de France" (AN, AE, B I 341, *M. de Monthenault au Conseil de la Marine sur le commerce du Levant*, 8 March 1725).

²³ M. Greene, *op. cit.*, pp. 127–128.

²⁴ AN, AE, B I 344, *Rapport sur l'économie crétoise*, 11 January 1779.

Mediterranean, the island was an almost unavoidable stopover for *caravanes* sailing between Northern Africa and the Levant to Greece and Europe. This, in turn, encouraged flourishing transit trade. On their journey north, captains sold in Crete goods brought from Barbary Coast and the Levant and bought olive oil and wheat. On their journey back, they exchanged the products of French manufactures, such as Languedoc, Yorkshire, Venetian or Leyden cloths, for oil. The island's ports became hubs where virtually all items of maritime trade in the Eastern Mediterranean could be found and traded, from cinders to goat's hairs, from gall nuts to cotton and wool, from spices to coffee, sugar, and colonials.²⁵ Along with merchandise, French ships also benefited from the existing demand for passenger transport as they could offer relatively comfortable and safe travel conditions.²⁶ "La plus part des bateaux caravaneurs viennent des ports du Grands Seigneur chargés de riz, café, lin, toilerie, poissons, sels, cuirs, planches, tabac à fumer pour compte des marchands Turcs, Arabes, Juifs, Grecs, Arméniens, lesquels pour la plupart les chargent en sortie de vins, huiles, raisins secs, fromage, miles, olives, bois à brûler, savon et autres denrées du Royaume pour le transport à Constantinople, Smyrne, Chio, Salonique, Alexandrie, Tunis et autres ports. Sans compter la quantité de puissants et autres passagers qui vont et viennent de cette île à la terre ferme et aux îles de l'Archipel [sur nos bateaux]."²⁷

The Ottomans' growing demand for French sea shipping also increased the French community's political clout on the island. The growing number of ships sailing under the French flag meant that captains and sailors added further numbers to merchants, priests and artisans traditionally residing on the island.

From the point of view of the *Nation Française*, and particularly for the consular service, the *caravanes* constituted an essential element in the system of Cretan trade. Custom duties paid to the local diplomatic mission by French captains stopping in Crete constituted one of the most important sources of revenue, second only to money received from the Chamber of Commerce of Marseilles (Table 1).²⁸

DIPLOMACY, CONSULS, AND PASHAS

In Crete, even more than in other *échelles*, diplomacy emerged as an essential tool in securing French economic success. Olive oil, the core of the island's trade

²⁵ Michel Morineau, *Naissance d'une domination. Marchands européens. Marchands et marchés du Levant aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles*, in "Cahiers de la Méditerranée," hors série, 1, 1976, pp. 145–184.

²⁶ Daniel Penzac, *Les échanges maritimes dans l'Empire ottoman au XVIII^e siècle*, in "Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée," 39, 1985, p. 177–188.

²⁷ AN, AE, B I 341, *Liste des bâtiments caravaneurs qui ont abordé au port de Candie depuis le premier juillet 1720 jusqu'au premier août 1724*.

²⁸ Duties consisted in the "*droit d'avarie*" and the "*droit de consulat*," that were paid as a percentage of the value of the items loaded or unloaded in the *échelles* (Joseph Nicolas Guyot, *Répertoire universel et raisonné de jurisprudence civile, criminelle, canonique et bénéficiale*, Paris, 1777, vol. 4, p. 581).

with France, was, in fact, a commodity particularly vulnerable to export embargos coming from both central and local governments.²⁹ This, in turn, exposed French merchants to all sorts of *avanies*, as the island's pashas skillfully exploited their authority to extort gifts and money. In this context, establishing friendly personal relations with local authorities was of utmost importance for the individual consuls' task of protecting commerce and, at the same time, constituted an important step in the diplomats' careers. For this reason, Consul de Cresmery, in his first letter to the *Conseil de la Marine*, stressed the lavishness of the reception he was granted upon his arrival in Crete by the local pasha. The diplomat presented the festivities that took place on 15 November 1717 as a proof of good relationships he was able to establish with the local government: "Je suis enfin à La Caneée depuis le quinze du mois dernier [...]. L'entrée que l'on m'a faite à mon arrivée a été l'une des plus magnifiques que l'on ait encore vue dans ce pays en pareille occasion. Toute la Nation vint me recevoir à la Soude où je mis pied à terre et je trouvai [...] le premier écuyer du Pacha avec quatre beaux chevaux dont il y en avait deux très richement harnachés, l'un était destiné à me porter et l'autre au cas où je voulusse changer pendant la route. Les deux autres étaient pour les deux drogmans de cette échelle."³⁰

In fact, the consuls tried hard to establish friendly contacts with the pashas. The most common way was to provide them with particularly valuable gifts.³¹ Sometimes, more subtle means were resorted to, such as using the tensions between the Ottomans and the Venetians to secure their favorable attitude towards French tradesmen. Such was the case described by the consul in Candia in 1716, at the time of the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1714–1718, as he stated that "La crainte que nous donnions du secours aux Vénitiens et Maltais les obligera de nous ménager [...] ainsi nous pourrions demander bien de choses à la Porte que on ne osera pas nous refuser."³²

The attempts to gain the pasha's favors, in this case his permission to export olive oil without major restrictions, were not always as successful as expected. In June 1716, for example, Delane asked the ambassador in Constantinople to intervene with the grand vizier to obtain either the liberty of trade in Cretan oil, or, at the very least, an authorization to export what had been bought prior to the ban, as the local pasha had allowed to bring to France only a part of the purchased goods, corresponding to 2,000 quintals.³³

²⁹ The Venetians, for instance, considered French diplomatic and consular services one of the main factors behind the remarkable French commercial success (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, b. 556, fols. 89–90, 20 October 1760). Karen Barkey, *The Ottoman Empire (1299–1923): The Bureaucratization of Patrimonial Authority*, in *Empires and Bureaucracy in World History. From Late Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Peter Crooks, Timothy H. Parsons, Cambridge, 2016, pp. 102–126.

³⁰ AN, AD, B I 341, *Lettre de M. de Cresmery au Conseil de la Marine*, 12 December 1717.

³¹ Idem, AE, B I 341, *Lettre de M. Delane au Conseil de la Marine*, 15 February 1716.

³² *Ibidem*, *Lettre de M. Delane au Conseil de la Marine*, 15 February 1716.

³³ "[Le Pacha], après bien de sollicitation, a accordé [l'exportation] de 2 000 quintaux de huile, encore est-il accompagné par un commissaire rigide dépêché de près pour que on ne en charge pas une plus grosse quantité" (*ibidem*, *Lettre de M. Delane au Conseil de la Marine*, 13 June 1716).

Turning to ambassadors for help was an annoyance and a clear sign of the limits of the consuls' ability to deal effectively with the local powers. Precisely for this reason Nicolas Morel de Cresmery stressed his very good connection with the pasha, established through their frequent encounters and open discussions. In a letter to the *Conseil de la Marine*, he juxtaposed his friendship with the Ottoman official to numerous misunderstandings and tensions that characterized the tenure of his predecessor at the post and drew an explicit connection between his achievements and the steady flow of oil trade that benefited Marseilles since he had been appointed consul in Chania.³⁴

Stressing good relations with the Ottoman *élite* did not imply any appreciation for the local official. On the contrary, the provincial authorities were frequently depicted as tyrannical, corrupt and inefficient: "Les puissants qui commandent cette île sont des gens ignorants, féroces, [ce sont des] tyrans, comme Ibrahim Pacha, lequel exerce notre patience et la pousse même à bout depuis deux ans et demi qu'il est en Candie, car [...] il prétend des contributions infondées des Français et de leurs bâtiments [...]."³⁵

Apart from undue taxes, sudden levies, and other vexations, French diplomats depicted the local governors as negligent in managing even the most vital trade facilities, such as roads and ports. Such laxness was explained by the "oriental character," careless and lenient, as well as by widespread corruption, and a deeply rooted antipathy towards Westerners. "Si le chef du Gouvernement qui réside à Candie était moins opposé et antipathique à tout ce qui s'appelle Franc, il voudrait bien faire travailler à nettoyer le port [de Candie] dans lequel nos moindre bâtiments ne peuvent entrer sans risque de se perdre, surtout en hiver lors-ce-que ils entrent avec un vent fort. Je ne peux manquer de souligner la nécessité indispensable qu'il y a de creuser ce port [...]. Il est certain que tous les Turcs et autres connaissent cette vérité, mais elle ne saurait en gagner les puissants qui gouvernent à employer à cette sorte de travaux et autres de réparation de la place les vingt milles piastres annuelles que le Grand Vizir y destine, lesquelles ils mettent dans leur bourse impunément. Personne n'ose parler, le dire ni agir contre elles sous risque de être envoyé à leur examen et à leur rigoureuse justice, ainsi qu'il arrive souvent."³⁶ Once again offering money to the Ottomans was perceived by the French diplomats as the only way to break the deadlock.³⁷

However difficult the relations with the island's officials might have been, French diplomats were interested that their *échelle* was run smoothly by high-ranking

³⁴ "Je prendrai la liberté de l'informer aujourd'hui que la récolte des huiles a été très abondante cette année, ce qui attire journellement une quantité considérable de bâtiments de Marseille. Le Pacha, avec lequel je vis parfaitement, j'ai de nombreuses rencontres et je tiens un dialogue fort ouvert et franc, en accorde la sortie toutes les fois que je lui en fais demander la permission" (*ibidem*, *Lettre de M. de Cresmery au Conseil de la Marine*, 26 December 1717).

³⁵ *Ibidem*, *Lettre de M. Baume au Conseil de la Marine*, 7 December 1723.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, *Lettre de M. Baume au Conseil de la Marine*, 23 June 1722.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, *Lettre de M. Baume au Conseil de la Marine*, 7 December 1723.

individuals with clear authority. In such cases, in fact, they could better solve eventual conflicts including those with the local merchants and population. This aspect emerges quite clearly from the protest filed against French residents of Chania, accused of monopolizing the trade of imported goods, squeezing out Turkish merchants. Reporting on the events, consul Le Maire stressed that the local authorities, represented only by a *vizir à deux queues*, was too weak to respond adequately and put an end to the tumults. Thus, he asked therefore the ambassador in Constantinople to intercede and have the Porte appoint a *vizir à trois queues*, who would garner more respect among the local populace. The Ottoman ruling class was therefore at once a hindering presence, in so far that they levied *avaries*, disrupted trade to receive gifts and money, or delayed needed infrastructural intervention; on the other hand, they represented an unavoidable partner for managing sometimes violent reactions of the local population. This, in turn, might suggest all the complexity of the emerging dominant position of French tradesmen even in local markets.³⁸ “La population de cette ville a entrepris pendant le courant mois en trois différentes occasions [des actes contre] la Nation. La Nation ayant été menacée par une sédition populaire comme elle verra par les pièces ci incluses je dois représenter à Son Excellence que le Pacha qui commende en cette ville n’étant que un vizir à deux queues n’a aucun pouvoir ni autorité et que nous devons attendre qu’un faible et médiocre appuy ce qui m’a contraint de recevoir l’Aga des janissaires pour lui demander sa protection contre les insultes dont nous étions menacées. [...] La Nation se trouve plus nombreuse qu’elle ne l’était autrefois et il y aborde des [grandes] quantités de nos bâtiments chargés de denrées et autres marchandises dont plusieurs séditeux et mutins voudraient avoir l’achat et la vente au préjudice des français à qui elles sont adressées ou à qui elles appartiennent, ce qui les a porté à demander qu’aucun de nos négociants ne puissent vendre en détail des marchandises qui viennent ici.”³⁹

The consuls expressed their admiration for Turkish pomp, as in de Cresmery’s account, the necessity of building friendly relationships, as shown by Baume, and contempt for an apparently unresponsive, deeply corrupt society stressed by Le Maire. They also felt an attraction for Crete, mainly directed, however, towards its ancient Greek past. The same consul Baume, in fact, related with touching remarks the long trip he had undertaken to reach the village of Gortyna, and the visit to local ancient ruins. He saw in them the remnants of the labyrinth, itself part of a marvelous city, perfectly matching and reflecting his vision of the glorious past of Minoan Crete.⁴⁰

Along with diplomacy, the consuls organized and controlled the French residents’ daily lives. This task went well beyond economic matters, encompassing social and

³⁸ *Ibidem*, *Lettre de M. Le Maire au Marquis de Bonnal*, 25 November 1722.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ Luigi Bossi, *Quadro geografico-fisico storico-politico di tutti i paesi e popoli del mondo con carte geografiche e tavole in rame*, vol. XV, Milano, 1829, pp. 142–143; Federico Halbherr, Domenico Comparetti, *Relazione sui nuovi scavi eseguiti a Gortyna presso il Letheo*, Florence, 1887.

political arrangements as well. On the one hand, they aimed to cement unity among merchants, and, on the other, to present the French Nation as a small-scale replica of an idealized vision of France.⁴¹ According to their plans, the Turks were to witness an edifying image of the country as a well-ordered, dignified, and successful monarchy. Enhanced respect would not only encourage trade, but also ease the tensions between the Frenchmen and local population, as well as the local authorities. It would have helped, in other words, to avoid such troubles as those stirring Chania in 1722, as well as the widespread negative actions of ill-disposed pashas.

FRENCH RESIDENTS IN OTTOMAN CRETE

A document of 1712 provides us with a relatively comprehensive picture of the French Nation in early-eighteenth-century Crete, giving us information on such aspects as residence, regular or irregular sojourns on the island, function within the community, duration of stay in Crete and, in general, family status in the Levant (Table 3).

By this time, the *Nation Française* had evolved into a small community of around fifty-two residents, encompassing merchants, surgeons, artisans, people without clear profession, and a few women. Most of them (forty-seven out of fifty-two) resided in Chania. This strong concentration broadly reflected the economic and social structure of Ottoman Crete. Starting from the sixteenth century, the hinterland of Chania developed as a region of intensive olive cultivation. This trend increased even further under Ottoman rule, when olive oil became the main export commodity, with the city as its chief trading center. Moreover, Chania, which, unlike other towns, was not cut off by steep mountain ranges, provided relatively easy access to the south. Gentle slopes linked the city to the rich plain of Messara, with its extensive olive-tree cultivation. Thus, it provided clear commercial advantages, proven by the fact that it was in that city that the French established their consulate.

Only five Frenchmen resided in Rethymno. The town's favorable geographical position and rich agricultural hinterland notwithstanding, the town played no economic role to speak of. This was largely because of its extremely poor port facilities, which hindered trade, since merchants active in the region had to ship their wares to the port of Souda in the vicinity of Chania, in order to load them on seafaring ships.⁴²

Finally, no French resident was registered in Chania. This might seem surprising given the town's role as the administrative capital of the island, as well as its political and religious centre. The presence of provincial authorities attracted, apart from bureaucrats and soldiers, numerous merchants, including Greek Orthodox, Jews

⁴¹ Ian Coller, *East of Enlightenment. Regulating Cosmopolitanism between Istanbul and Paris in the Eighteenth Century*, in "Journal of World History," 21, 2010, 3, pp. 447–470.

⁴² "A Rettimo [Rethymno] nos négociants font acheter des parties considérables [d'huiles] qu'ils font transporter par les bateaux du pays au port de La Soude, où nos bâtiments vont les charger, ne pouvant aborder surtout en hiver à Rettimo, dont le port est entièrement comblé" (AN, AE, B I 341, *Commerce du Levant. Relation de M. de Monthenault au Conseil de la Marine*, 8 March 1725).

and Muslims.⁴³ The absence of French traders possibly stemmed from its political and military character, but also illustrated a tendency, quite strong among foreigners, to concentrate in the same town to establish a compact and cohesive community.

Obviously, most French residents in Crete were merchants by trade. However, they by no means represented the community's full social and professional spectrum. In fact, in Chania, sixteen residents were listed as merchants and six as *commis*, clerks working for affluent traders. If we add up both categories, it becomes clear that less than a half of all residents (47 per cent, to be precise) were actually active in commercial activities. The rest comprised clergymen, the consul's secretary, four *dragomans* (two "ordinary," coming respectively from Smyrna and Constantinople, and two locals of Jewish origin holding a *berat*), a surgeon, a baker, an innkeeper, and as much as nine coopers (three listed as masters, two as apprentices, and four as simple workers). Three residents, Jean Baptiste Careffe, Louis Allinary, and Michel Babu, are listed without indicating their profession. The first one is described as living *sans certificate* – without documents formally allowing him to reside in Crete – with his brother Pierre, a merchant and legal resident in the *échelle*. Louis Allinary, born in Marseilles, arrived in Crete with consul de Cresmery, and subsequently accompanied him in Sidon and Cairo before returning to Crete. Finally, Michel Babu, holder of a certificate of residence, was a former cook of consul de Cresmery. After the latter's departure in 1722, he worked for a time as innkeeper, and settled permanently on the island.

The much smaller number of residents in Rethymno included three merchants, Honoré Lyon, born in La Ciotat, without certificate; Jean François Toulon from Fréjus and Ambroise Carfeuil from Marseilles; a surgeon, Jean Baptiste Fabre, without certificate, and Jean Homas from Aix en Provence, baker and innkeeper without certificate.

Among residents we also find three women, all without certificate of residence. Marguerite Couture, born in Marseille, was the wife of Pierre Rainaud, who had started out as a merchant before becoming a ship captain; Benotte Faxe, also from Marseilles, lived on the island as mother-in-law of merchant Joseph Brondé; Marguerite Brouchière, in turn, was servant in the family of merchant François Bouquier.

The French Nation in Crete consisted essentially of medium-term residents, 43% of whom lived on the island for less than five years by the time of the survey; 21% had spent between six and eight years in Crete, while a mere 18% – over nine years (Graph 1). Such a timeframe was consistent with the directives of the Chamber of Trade of Marseille and the French central authorities, which limited the period of residence in the Levant as a means to keep control of traders abroad.⁴⁴ There were, however, exceptions. Jean Chiousse, merchant from Marseilles, had been living in Crete for fifteen years; he arrived there in 1710 from Constantinople,

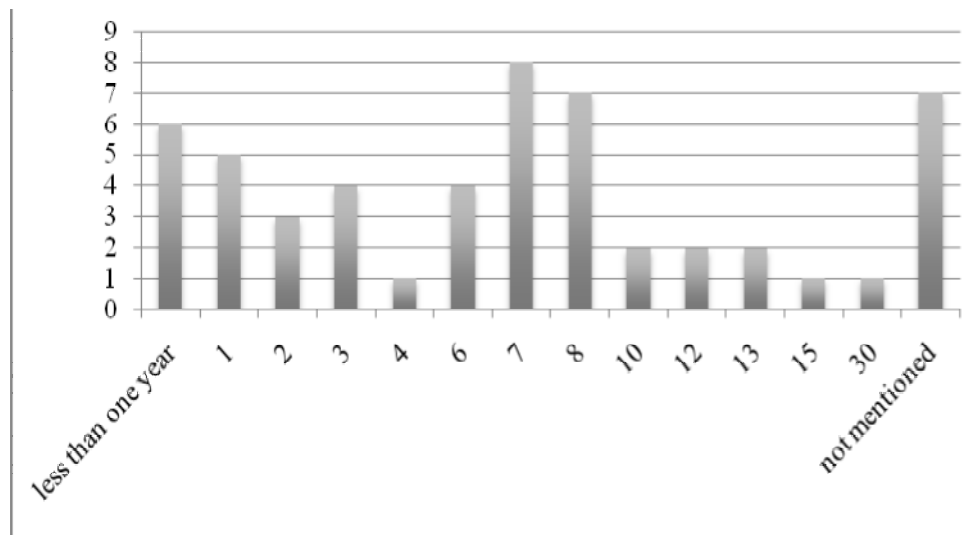
⁴³ M. Greene, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁴⁴ Even if the legal limitation to ten years of residence was actually set by law only in 1731, the Chamber of Trade tended however to keep the Frenchmen's sojourn abroad to short periods coherent with the needs of average trade practices (D. Celetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–64).

where he had been a clerk to merchant Ramuzat. Chiousse also set up his own business in the Ottoman capital and subsequently moved to Acre. Another interesting case is that of the master cooper Antoine Floquin, who, by the age of eighty, had spend thirty years in Chania. Moreover, many traders resided in other *échelles* before coming to Crete. Joseph Brondé, for example, had worked in Smyrna and Salonica. Jean François Delialbiey had lived thirteen years in Acre, helping his father run the business. Antoine Besson, merchant from Marseilles, had lived six years in Constantinople and Smyrna; Julien Ambroise had been in Athens and Corone.

Graph 1

French Merchants' Period of Residence in Crete in the Survey of 1725



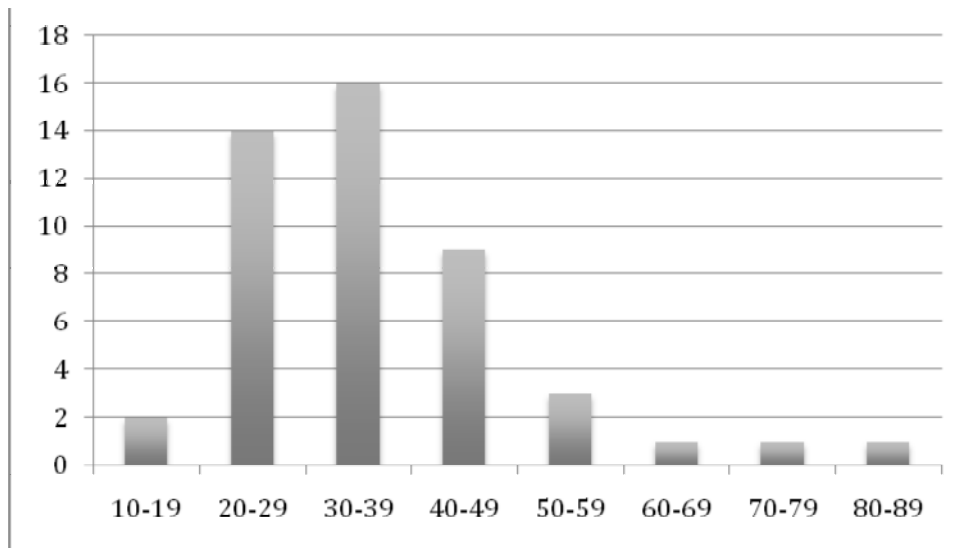
Source: AN, AE, B I 341, *État de tous les Français qui résident présentement à la Canée et Retimno*, 8 March 1725.

Surprisingly enough, the consuls were well aware that a significant part of French residents (42 per cent) lived in the *échelle* illegally, that is without a proper certificate, whereas *only* 52 per cent held documents allowing them to reside and trade there. A tiny group of six per cent secured a certificate, but only following their arrival in Crete, proving that they had come illegally to the island. This picture contrasts with the strict rules that French authorities tried to impose on residents in the Levant, which required both a passport and formal permission to sail to the *échelles*. This casts doubt on the effectiveness of control the consuls were expected to exercise and their ability to put the rules into practice. As we examine our sources more closely, we see a more complex picture that, to an extent, qualifies this conclusion. Four cases of illegal residence concerned women, who, theoretically, could reside in the Levant only as merchants' wives. Fourteen illegal

residents were artisans, servants or surgeons, while one was a person without any stated profession. Thus, only three merchants resided in the *échelle* without a passport. The French administrative machine in Crete, therefore, appears to have been able to keep an eye on the traders themselves, but not so much on the “marginal” members of the French Nation, artisans and women. It is also interesting to note that, even upon having discovered undocumented residents, the consuls took no immediate action, which stands in stark contrast with the formal demands of the ambassadors, who insisted on strict application of the rules.⁴⁵

As is usual for a population composed predominantly of merchants, and for early modern demographic and social models, most residents were aged between 20 and 49 years, younger and older representing marginal exceptions (Graph 2). Two young men were nineteen, but only one, Antoine Béaumont from Cassis in Southern France, was a merchant and had been evidently sent to the Levant to learn the trade, whereas Antoine Daillot, born in the *Archipel*, was a cutter.

Graph 2
Age of the Residents

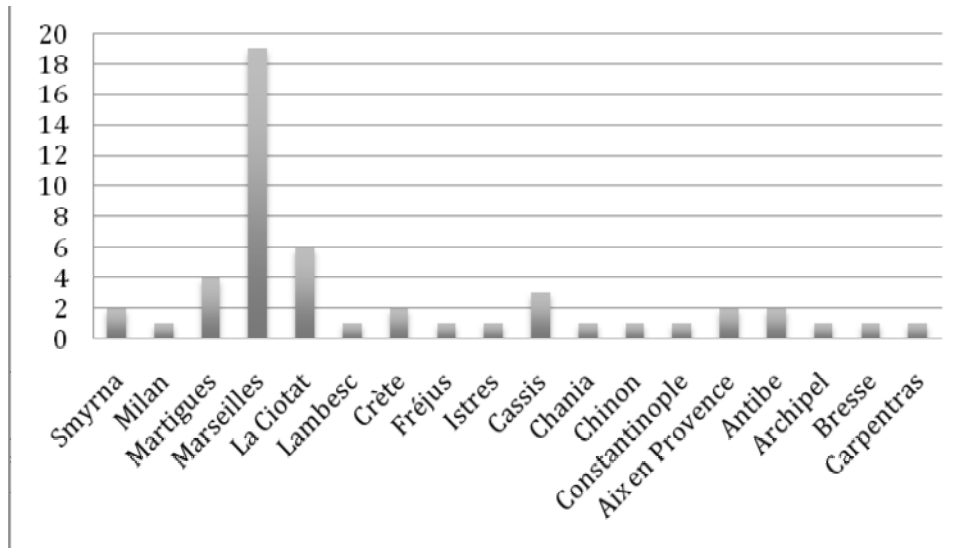


Source: AN, AE, B I 341, *État de tous les Français qui résident présentement à la Canée et Retimno*, 8 March 1725.

Elderly residents were also an exception. One merchant, Antoine Besson from Marseilles, was 53 years old, and another, Honoré Lyon from La Ciotat, was at the age of 70, but resided in Rethymno without permission. The other cases concern a woman, a surgeon and a baker (Graph 2).

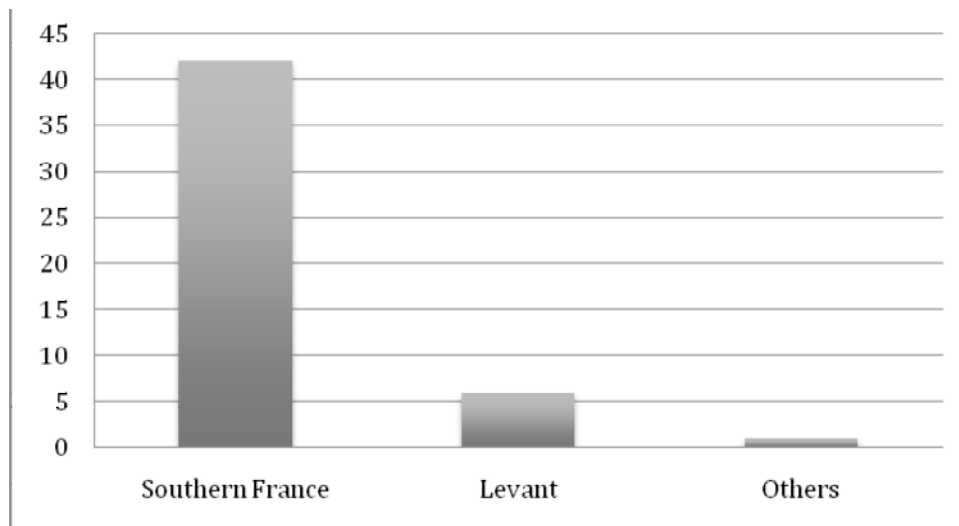
⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 47–64.

Graph 3
City of Origin of French Residents in Chania and Rethymno



Source: AN, AE, B I 341, *État de tous les Français qui résident présentement à la Canée et Retimno*, 8 March 1725.

Graph 4
Region of Origin of French Residents in Chania and Rethymno



Source: AN, AE, B I 341, *État de tous les Français qui résident présentement à la Canée et Retimno*, 8 March 1725.

Most residents were born in Marseilles, or, more generally, in Southern France. A remarkable number of seven people – four *dragomans*, a merchant and two coopers – were actually from the Levant (Graphs 3 and 4).

Finally, the list provides us with a range of personal information. We know that the first *dragoman* was partly paid by the consulate and partly from a tariff imposed on each French ship dropping anchor in Chania, whereas the second one was entirely on the payroll of the French Nation (Table 1). This divergence with regard to the sources of revenue might reflect the interpreters' different positions in terms of their importance and responsibilities, given that the ship tariff could yield higher return than salaries did.

The oldest merchant of the French Nation, Honoré Lyon from La Ciotat, who resided in Rethymno without authorization, served for many years as vice-consul under de Cresmery and Le Maire, levying consular tariffs on ships anchoring in that port, after having “navigated most of his life and commanded numerous ships.” Trading, shipping and vice-consular functions emerge here as interconnected professions or, at least, as options available in different periods of one's career and life.

Surgeon Jean Baptiste Fabre was the son of a Frenchman and a Greek woman, which shows that long-term residents were keen to form personal and intimate bonds with the local population; in fact, inter-communal marriages were quite common in this period. All the other residents, with the exception of the first *dragoman*, Jacques Gerbaud, the innkeeper, and Bathélemy Floquin, a cutter born on the island, were, on the contrary, married to French women, who had joined their husbands in the *échelles* with their children.

CONCLUSIONS

Crete, which has generally been considered a “secondary *échelle*,” due to its marginal position in the French trade system in the Levant and the humble status of its main export – olive oil –, emerges as a relevant trade center. First of all, the island's olive oil acquired in the early eighteenth century a vital importance, as it fed Marseilles' booming soap manufacture and offered the perfect substitute for falling domestic production. Olive oil trade expanded and exports to Marseilles reached such a level that they molded commercial relationship between France and Crete, leaving their mark on the transformations of the island's economy. The low level of the Cretan demand did not allow French merchants to balance exports and imports, and deficits became a structural feature of this sector of Levantine trade. Piasters and Venetian sequins flowed into the island, and bills were issued in other *échelles* that had French export surpluses. Cabotage, the so-called *caravanes*, played a role in mitigating otherwise ever-growing deficit, mirroring at the same time the vitality, and complexity, of French economic presence in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The island hosted a small French community. Consular activity was, however, intense and showed all the aspects of the French diplomatic strategies in the Levant. It also shed light into the multifaceted relations that linked consuls, merchants, and

local powers into a single complex net. Without diplomatic support, olive oil trade was in constant danger of interruptions and merchants were exposed to the whims of the pashas. The consuls' ability to build good relations and effective networks with the local leading classes was a prerequisite of stable and profitable trade. This was achieved by merging different and somewhat contrasting strategies, as gift-giving, threats, developing friendly relations, which, in any case, never blurred an overall negative image of the Ottoman officials as corrupt, lax, and inefficient.

Though small, the French community in Crete presents a complete picture of the questions, problems, and contradictions touching foreigners' presence in the early modern Levant. Closed in itself by rigid rules, controlled by the attentive eye of the consul, they should have offered the image of unity, order, and discipline. Concentrated in work and business, French merchants were supposed to avoid any personal contact with local residents, the official *dragomans* serving as language and cultural intermediaries. Reality offered a much more complex, and varied picture, where mixed marriages, long-term and irregular residence were so diffused to enclose almost half of the French people living in Crete. This, in turn, suggests that immaterial circulations were as relevant as the material ones.

Table 1

Outcome and Income of the Consulate in Chania in the First Quarter of 1723

Date	Outcome	Piastres	Income	Piastres	
Janvier	1	Pour solde du dernier quartier de l'année passée suivant le compte rendu donné par le Sr François Portal	747.14	Du Capitaine Saper pour le droit d'avarie sur sa tartane chargé d'huile pour France	30
	16	Payé au capitaine Laugier pour la nourriture de 10 matelots disgraciés pendant trois jours les ayant amené de Château Rouge en cette ville d'après le mandat n. 1	560	Du capitaine François Pauquet pour le droit de demie avarie sur sa tartane partie vide	15
	16	Payements divers aux capitaines pour 28 coups de perrier ⁴⁶ et 2 coups de canon que on tira de l'ordre de Monsieur le consul pour la confirmation du Pacha de cette ville d'après le mandat n. 2	3	Du capitaine Georges Moulet pour le droit de demi avarie sur sa tartane partie vide	15
	16	Payé au sieur Fonton second Drogman pour le louage de 5 montures pour le service de la Nation suivant le mandat de M. le consul n. 3	1.1	Du capitaine Laugier pour l'avarie sur sa pinque arrivée chargée de bled à la Soude et destinée à Retimo	35

⁴⁶ Little bronze gun firing one pound balls (Moritz Meyer, *Manuel historique de la technologie des armes à feu*, Paris, 1837, vol. II, p. 75).

	31	Pour perte faite sur 107 sequins ayant été obligé de les recevoir de Ismail Cheleby	1.14	Du capitaine Jean Roux pour le droit d'avarie de sa barque nolisé en caravane	35
	31	Payé au chapelain Père Montans pour les cierges donnés la fête de la purification suivant les usages sur le mandat n. 4	15.3	Du capitaine Bruny pour le droit d'avarie de sa pinque chargé d'huile pour la France	35
	31	Valeur d'une lettre de change que les députés de Constantinople nous ont tiré provenant de la répartition que son Excellence a faite sur chaque échelle celle-ci ayant été fixée à 300 piastres suivant l'ordonnance de Monsieur l'Ambassadeur et les lettres des S. Députés.	300	Du capitaine Pierre Fabre pour le droit d'avarie de sa tartane nolisée en caravane	30
Février	9	Pour une lettre envoyée au Pacha de Rettimo au sujet d'un miroir présenté au Janissaire Aga sur le mandat 5	16	Du capitaine Couture pour le droit de demie avarie de sa barque partie pour Candie	17.2
	15	Pour les deux pics de draps d'Angleterre présentés au Pacha en cadeau suivant le mandat de M. le consul 6	9	Du capitaine Ricord pour le droit d'avarie de sa pinque chargé d'huile pour la France	35
	sd			Du capitaine d'Estienne pour le droit de avarie de sa pinque chargée d'huile pour la France	20
	sd			Du capitaine Mousiston pour le droit d'avarie de sa tartane partie vide	15
	sd			Du capitaine Tourrand pour le droit d'avarie de sa tartane	18
	sd			Du capitaine Louis Icard pour le droit d'avarie de son pinque chargé d'huiles pour la France	35
	sd			Du capitaine Pauquet pour le droit d'avarie de sa tartane	15
	sd			Du capitaine Guizard pour le droit d'avarie de sa tartane chargée d'huiles pour la France	30
	sd			Du capitaine Lampré pour le droit d'avarie de son pinque réglée à pro rata de son nolis	19
	sd			Du capitaine Reybard pour le droit de demie avarie de son bateau parti vide	20
	sd			Du capitaine Robin pour la demi avarie de son bateau à la Soude	20

	sd			Du capitaine Jullier pour le droit d'avarie de sa tartane chargé d'huile pour la France	25
	sd			Du capitaine Reynaud pour le droit d'avarie de sa barque partie vide	17
	sd			Du capitaine Eymin pour le droit d'avarie de son pinque de relâche à la Soude	17
	sd			Reçu du capitaine Manuel pour le droit d'avarie de son pinque parti vide	17
	sd			Du capitaine Georges Moules pour le droit d'avarie de sa tartane nolisée en caravane	30
	sd			Du capitaine Barthélémy pour le reste de l'avarie de sa barque chargée d'huile	26
Mars		Payé au S. Fonton second drogman pour diverses montures d'après mandat 7	2	Du capitaine Bertrand pour le droit d'avarie de son vaisseau à pro rata des marchandises qu'il a chargées dans cette ville	25
		Pour diverses effets eu de la Reine d'Hongrie, entre autres prunes et confitures par la suite données aux puissants du pays suivant le mandat numéro huit	140	Du capitaine Jacques Beaumont pour le droit d'avarie de son vaisseau	22.2
		Payé au S. Fonton pour ce premier quartier pour ses appointements suivant le mandat 10 relatif au louage de sa maison	56	Du capitaine Jean Rous pour le droit d'avarie de sa barque	35
		Compté à Aly Pacha Janissaire de la nation pour le premier quartier de ses appointements sur le mandat 11	15	Du capitaine Jean Langles pour le reste du droit d'avarie de son vaisseau l'Irondelle	34
		Pour trois boustes [enveloppes] d'étoffe de soie pour y mettre les lettres que le Pacha a écrit à Constantinople	1.1	Du capitaine Ronne pour le droit de demi avarie de son vaisseau à la Soude	22.2
		Pour change de ce premier quartier sur les piastres 747.12 que la Nation devait pour son dernier quartier de l'année passée à raison de 1 pour cent l'année.	28		
		Pour change de trois mois sur les piastres 560 que j'ai passées au crédit du consulat ainsi que je l'ai expliqué ci-dessus à raison de 1 pour cent l'année	21		

		Pour mes attributions de ce premier quartier	8		
				Au total	752
Au total			1859	Piastres dont la Nation reste débitrice pour dans ce premier quartier	1107.39

Source: AN, AE, B I 341, 8 April 1723, *Compte rendu par le sieur Honoré Germain de la Nation de cette ville de La Canée des sommes que il a exigées et payées pour le consulat pendant le premier quartier 1723.*

Table 2
French Trade in Crete (1720–1725)

Imports from Marseilles					Exports to Marseilles				
French products									
Prove-nance	Quantity	Merchan-dize	Value	Unit	Prove-nance	Quantity	Merchan-dize	Value	Unit
Marseille	12 balles et demie	Londrines Secondes	15300	Piastres	La Canée	537298 mistaches	huile	130433	Piastres
Marseille	1 ballot	serges impériales	175	Piastres	La Canée	6279 oques	cire	5808	Piastres
Marseille	2 caisses	bonnet	320	Piastres	La Canée	345 oques	soie	1897	Piastres
Marseille	1 balle	peigne	480	Piastres					
Marseille	1 balle	ciseaux	50	Piastres					
Marseille	2 caisses	indigo	700	Piastres					
French re-exports									
Marseille		piastres Sévillanes, sequins zinzertis, pistoles d'Espagne	34378	Piastres					
Alexandrie		Sequins	55880	Piastres					
Livourne		piastres sévillanes	50400						
Constantinople		sequins Vénitiens	50000						
Smirne		sequins Vénitiens	80000						
Malte		sequins Vénitiens	5277						
Marseille		lettres de change sur	54377						

		Constantinople							
Marseille		lettres de change sur Smyrne	37690						
Marseille		lettres de change sur Alep	4000						
Marseille	4 balles	Poivre	500						
Marseille	une churle	Cannelle	200						
Marseille	2 barils	Girofle	300						
Marseille	2 barils	Muscade	300						

Source: AN, AE, B I 341, *Lettre de M. de Monthenault au Conseil de la Marine sur le commerce du Levant*, 8 March 1725.

Table 3

A – French Residents in Chania (1725)

Name	Age	Function	Certificate / Appointment	Arrival Date	Spouse	Others
Révérénd Charles d'Henvin		Supérieur de la mission des Capucins de cette ville et Chapelain, curé de la Nation française		1712		
Frère Felix de l'État de Milan		Religieux				
Joseph Ennemard d'Aix en Provence	36	Chancelier par brevet du 13 mai et 1 ^{er} aout 1720		1713		
Jean Antoine Suzibée de Smirne	31	Premier Drogman	Lettre de Monseigneur le Marquis de Bonnal 1 octobre 1716	12 avril 1717	Marinette Pocary de la Sude depuis 1721	130 piastres de appointement payées par le Consulat et 3 piastres d'ancrage pour chaque bâtiment qui mouille en ce port

Charles Fonton de Constantinople	22	Second Drogman de cette échelle	Patente de Monsieur le Marquis de Bonnal 8 juillet 1722	1722		200 piastres d'appointement qui lui sont payées par la Nation avec la nourriture et le logement n'étant pas marié
Moïse et Raphaël Bonfils, frères juifs		Drogman à <i>barats</i>	Patente de M. le Marquis de Bonnal du 25 octobre 1719			
Honoré Colom Chau de Marseille	36		Sans certificat. M. de Cresmery dont il était domestique l'a établi dans l'échelle		Marié à Magdalaine Merille fille du feu François de Fallon, sans enfants	
Joseph Brondé de Marseille	36	Marchand actuellement député	Certificat du 11 avril 1715 pour résider en cette échelle	31 mars 1721	Marié depuis deux ans à la Demoiselle Anne Fase de Marseille, sans enfants	Il a résidé en qualité de marchand à Smirne et Salonique
Maximin Brondé frère jumeau et associé de Joseph de Marseille	36	Marchand	Certificat du 16 juin 1717	1 ^{er} aout 1717	Marié à la Demoiselle Jeanne Rozé Vachier de Marseille venue en cette ville avec son fils Jean Jacques le 4 novembre 1721 munie de un certificat du 25 septembre 1721 ayant encore un autre enfant agé de 8 mois	
François Portal de Martigues	33	Marchand	Certificat du 8 juillet 1717	17 aout 1717		
Pierre Careffe de Marseille	42	Marchand	Certificat du 21 octobre 1717	18 février 1718		Il a résidé dans l'échelle en 1709 et 1710
François Bouquier de Martigues	35	Marchand	Certificat du 22 juin 1719	septembre 1719	Marié à la Demoiselle Catherine di Broglia de la ville d'Aix munie de un certificat du 14	

					novembre 1721 résident dans cette échelle depuis le 13 février 1722 sans enfants	
Balthazar Rostan D'Antibe	32	Marchand	Certificat du 12 avril 1717	septembre 1717		
Jean Rostan frère du S. Balthazar	37	Marchand	Certificat 14 juillet 1724	octobre 1724		
Gaspar Masson	45	Marchand	Certificat du 10 novembre 1719	juillet 1722		
Benoît Arnaud de La Ciotat	40	Marchand	Certificat 29 janvier 1711	mars 1711 – mai 1718 à La Canée puis à Candie jusqu'en 1719, puis en France et revenu le 6 février 1722		
Noel Justinien Remuzat de Marseille	27	Marchand	Certificat du 17 juillet 1717	mai 1717, avec des intervalles pour des voyages en France à Marseille, auparavant résident à Constanti- nople environ 7 ans		
Joseph Hiacinte Remuzat, frère de Noel	26	Marchand	Certificat du 26 juillet 1724			Il doit passer à Seyde
Jena Chiousse de Marseille	42	Marchand	Certificat 14 février 1710	mai 1710		Avant 1710 résident à Constantinople 11 ans en qualité de

						commis du S. Remuzat puis de marchand associé avec le S. Lamer et ensuite deux ans à Acre en la meme qualité de marchand
Jean François Delialbiey	40	Marchand	Certificat du 11 février 1700 pour se rendre à l'échelle de Acre			Le certificat fut délivré pour aller à l'échelle de Acre où le feu père se trouvait. Il passa ensuite à Rome où il resta 3 ans marchand. Il revint à Acre prendre la place de son père il y demeura 13 ans après quoi il passe à l'échelle où il se trouve depuis 13 mois
Antoine Besson de Marseille	53	Marchand	Certificat du 6 novembre 1710 pour résider à l'échelle de Constantinople			Il est resté six ans à Constantinople puis à Smire jusque au mois du aout dernier quand il est passé en cette échelle
François Utre	22	Marchand	Certificat du 4 novembre 1723	30 octobre 1723		
Pierre Guerin de Smirne	22	Marchand				Fils de Antoine Guerin, marchand résident à Smirne, il réside dans cette échelle depuis environ trois ans n'ayant aucun certificat à la Chambre de Commerce
Ambroise Jullien de Marseille	39	Commis du S. Careffe	Certificat du 17 juin 1713		Catherine Rose Goujon de Marseille, marié depuis le mois de Juillet 1722	Avant 1713 il est à Athène en qualité de marchand et ensuite il a fait fonction de vice consul à Corron pendant deux ans

François Marin de La Ciotat	29	Commis du S. Guerin	Certificat du 11 février	Depuis environs 3 ans		
Jean Abeile de Martigues	23	Commis du S. Bouquier	Certificat du 23 février 1722	30 mars 1722		
Antoine Beaumont de Cassis	19	Commis du S. Brondé	Certificat du 24 aout 1724	21 juillet dernier		Il a résidé dans cette échelle encore deux ans auparavant
François Vian de La Ciotat	26	Commis du S. Balthazar Rostan	Sans aucun certificat de la Chambre	Depuis deux ans		
François Chiousse de Marseille	29	Commis	Certificat du 9 aout 1719 pour aller résider à Constantinople			Frère de Jean Chiousse il est venu dans cette échelle le mois de juillet dernier pour être commis du frère
Jean Baptiste Careffe	37		Il réside sans aucun certificat de la Chambre	mai 1718		Frère de Pierre, il réside avec son frère
Louis Allinary de Marseille	66		Certificat du 18 novembre 1717	1717		Il est arrivé en 1717, il est allé ensuite à Seyde et au Caire avec M. de Cresmery, il est revenu au mois d'aout dernier
Marguerite Couture de Marseille	41				Epouse de Pierre Rainaud qui résida à Candie en qualité de marchand muni du certificat du 21 mai 1711 et commandant à présent un bâtiment	Elle est venu s'établir depuis quatre mois dans cette ville sans aucun certificat
Benotte Faxte de Marseille	60		Sans certificat	14 octobre 1718		Elle vit auprès de la famille Brondé, sa fille étant la femme du S. Joseph Brondé
Marguerite Brouchière	30		Sans certificat	mai 1725		Servante du S. Bouquier
Pierre Daumier de La Ciotat	50	Chirurgien de la Nation	Sans certificat		Anne Arnaud de La Ciotat, son épouse depuis le	

					30 novembre 1710, qui réside à l'échelle, avec leur trois garçons	
Joseph Vert de Lambex	50	Boulangier de la Nation	Sans certificat	30 novembre 1718	Marié à Demoiselle Floquin, un garçon	Auparavant y est resté 24 ans en tant que boulangier
Jacques Gerbaud de Carpentras	39	Aubergiste de la Nation, boulangier	Sans certificat	Depuis 4 mois	Marié depuis environs deux ans avec la nommée Ranoussa, grecque de Rettimo n'ayant pas d'enfants	Auparavant il a résidé à Rettino dix ans
Michel Babu de Chinon en Touraine	36		Certificat du 28 mai 1720	1718		Il est venu avec M. de Cresmery dont il était cuisinier il a ensuite tenu l'auberge de la nation qu'il a quitté depuis 4 mois. Il a un garçon avec lui de environ 6 ans
Louis et Joseph Boyer frères de Marseille		Maitres tonneliers	Sans certificat	Depuis 10 ans		
Antoine Floquin de Bresse	80	Maitre tonnelier	Certificat du 9 novembre 1706	Depuis 30 ans		
Charles Fauron de La Ciotat	40	Maitre tonnelier	Certificat 11 mars 1717	8 mai 1717		Un garçon de quatre ans, son père et un de ses frères se trouvent avec lui sans certificat
Joseph Fauchier	25	Garçon tonnelier du S. Fauron	Sans certificat	Depuis 7 ans		
Barthélemy Floquin natif de cette ville, fils du S. Antoine	23	Tonnelier	Sans certificat		Marié depuis un an et demi avec Catherine Exlauch, grecque de la Soude ayant un enfant de neuf mois	
Antoine Dailot de l'archipel, fils du feu Antoine de Cassis	19	Tonnelier	Sans certificat	Depuis 5 ans		Associé avec le S. Barthélémy Floquin

François Jaume de Martigues	28	Tonnelier	Certificat du 28 juin dernier			
Gaspard Colla d'Istres	23	Garçon tonnelier	Sans certificat	Depuis 7 ans		
Jean Durand de Marseille	33	Tonnelier	Sans certificat	Depuis six mois		Il a résidé auparavant à Candie onze ans

B – French Residents in Rethymno (1725)

Name	Age	Function	Certificate / Appointment	Arrival Date	Spouse	Others
Honoré Lyon de La Ciotat	70	Marchand	Sans certificat de la Chambre	1712		Fait la première fonction de vice consul résident depuis plusieurs années à Rettimo. M. Delaunay, de Cresmery et Lemaire l'ont établi successivement vice Consul et l'ont chargé du soin d'exiger les droits de l'échelle sur les batiments français qui chargent pour la marchandise ou pour la caravane. Il est considéré sur le pays. Il a navigué la plus grande partie de sa vie ayant commandé plusieurs batiments.
Jean François Toulon de la diocèse du Fréjus	45	Marchand	Certificat du 7 mai 1722	Mois d'octobre dernier	Rosolée Faure de La Ciotat munie de un certificat du mois de mars 1723	
Ambroise Carfeuil de Marseille	34		Certificat de l'année 1717	Depuis deux mois	Marié depuis 8 ou 10 mois avec Thérèse Faxé de Marseille soeur de	Avant de résider à Rettimo il a résidé pendant huit ans à Candie avec son

					la femme du S. Joseph Brondé. M. Lemaire mon prédécesseur la fit embarquer pour la France lors de son départ pour Seide, d'ordre de M. le comte de Maurepas à la réquisition des M. de la Chambre de Commerce sur ce que elle était venue en ce pays sans leurs aveu, avec une permission de M. Le Bailly due Langeron et la mère, qui était grièvement malade est restée à La Cane	père que y était boulanger et qui y est mort.
Jean Baptiste Fabre de Crète	42	Chirurgien	Sans certificat		Marié avec une grecque	Fils du nommé Antoine Fabre aussi chirurgien et d'une femme du pays
Jean Homas, d'un village proche d'Aix en Provence	22	Boulangier et aubergiste	Sans certificat			

Source: AN, AE, B I 341, *État de tous les Français qui résident présentement à la Canée et Retimno*, 8 March 1725.

APPENDIX

1. Consuls in Chania

The consular post was created in 1676 and remained in function until 1791. In 1764 it was transformed into a vice-consulate, absorbing the vice-consulate of Candia, which was re-established in 1772. The consul was supported by a vice-consul and a clerk from 1776.

Léon Delane (appointed in 1708)
 Nicolas Morel de Cresmery (appointed in 1717)
 Benoit Le Maire (appointed in 1722)
 Jean Jacques de Monthenault (appointed in 1724)
 Joseph Martin (appointed in 1730)
 Léon Delane (appointed in 1732)
 Nicolas Dez (appointed in 1735)
 Pierre-Étienne Robeau de Valnay (appointed in 1737)
 Gaspard David Magy (appointed in 1746)
 Claude Charles de Peyssonnel (appointed in 1757)
 Joseph Amoureux (appointed in 1765)
 Pierre-Jean Reybaud (*deputé de la Nation* 1772)
 Théodore Cavelier (appointed in 1773)
 François-Alexandre d'André (appointed in 1775)
 Jean Baptiste Michel Guyot de Kersey (appointed in 1779)
 Joseph-Claude de Pellegrin (appointed in 1781)
 Natal-Henri Mure d'Azir (appointed in 1787)

2. Vice-consuls of Candia (Heraklion)

Jean Baptiste Dubois (1711–1716)
 Antoine-Gabriel Durant (appointed in 1718)
 Jean Baptiste Baume (appointed in 1720)
 Antoine Maltor (appointed in 1735)
 Henri de Costa (appointed in 1740)
 Gaspard-David Magy (appointed in 1741)
 Jean-Louis de Clairambault (appointed in 1746)
 Jean-François du Teil (appointed in 1750)
 Melchior de Vaugrigneuse (appointed in 1767)
 Charles-Hyppolyte de Laidet (appointed in 1779)

From 1787 there is a vacancy until 1790, when Dutrouy is appointed, but does not reach his post.

3. Vice-consuls of Rettimo (Rethymno)

The vice-consulate of Rettimo was created at the end of the 17th century and suppressed in 1734. It was managed by merchants who had no diplomatic license (*brevet diplomatique*). These were:

Honoré Lyon (1725–1728)
 Gaspard Masson (1726–1728)
 Roch Bellon (1728–1734)

FRENCH RESIDENTS IN OTTOMAN CRETE: TRADE, DIPLOMACY AND
DAILY LIFE IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Abstract

Crete has been widely considered as a secondary trade centre by the French primary sources themselves. A deeper analysis of the files preserved at the Archives Nationales de France specifically concerned with the island's trade and diplomatic relations with France reveals, however, quite another picture. The increasing olive oil exports to Marseille – an essential raw material for the booming southern France soap industry –, the strategic position of its harbors both for military and commercial endeavors, as well as the vibrant diplomatic activity of the consuls based in Crete, made the island one of the most relevant pivots of 18th-century French presence in the South-Eastern Mediterranean. These aspects not only shed new light on the French-Cretan economic relations, but also allow us to uncover the tight interconnections between trade and diplomacy, the complex daily life of French residents united under the *Nation Française*, as well as the multifaceted relations among ethnic and religious communities living on the island.

Keywords: Mediterranean economic history; Mediterranean trade; French history; Ottoman history; diplomatic history; cultural history