

**A QUIXOTIC AUTHOR AND HIS GREAT TAXONOMY: MOURADGEA D'OHSSON  
AND HIS *TABLEAU GENERAL DE L'EMPIRE OTHOMAN***

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In an age when Europeans produced many large-scaled, taxonomic works expressive--to present-day critics--of a desire to chart and control the world, it is easy to overlook that such projects may not have been unique to Europe, or that people from afar also produced works of this kind.<sup>1</sup> Societies with highly developed literary traditions seem commonly to have had strong traditions of producing grand-scaled syntheses or taxonomic works, even if the “worlds” comprised in Chinese or Islamic works, for example, did not literally cover the globe before modern times. Moreover, such works could at times be produced by marginal individuals, who had crossed cultural frontiers to participate in these projects. Examples include pioneer translators from pre-Islamic languages into Arabic; the Chinese, Persian, and Latin authors on the Mongols; or, in the case studied here, a member of an Ottoman minority who provided eighteenth-century Europe with a major work about the Ottoman Empire. What questions does such authors’ liminality raise about the practicability of “big-picture” projects in general, about the political purposes that may have animated them, or about the personal goals of individual authors?

If the impulse to produce large-scaled syntheses, taxonomies, or encyclopedias is not Linique to any one time or place, the forms they take will still reflect local conditions and developmental trends. Michel Foucault has memorably analyzed the evolution of the European episteme from the Renaissance to the “classic” (early modern) and modern periods. While the Renaissance episteme interlaced words and things, he says, such that a treatise on serpents would range from their habits in the wild to their representations in mythology and heraldry, the episteme of the seventeenth- and eighteenth - century “classic” era introduced an increasingly analytical spirit and a desire to achieve “a universal science of order.” Thenceforth, a work on snakes would analyze and classify them as living organisms exclusively. As much as possible, the “classic” episteme aimed to express the

various fields of analysis mathematically; those that could not be so expressed were reduced to "sciences of order in the realm of words."<sup>2</sup> This was done through *taxonomy*, through the *genetic analysis* of the data of a given field, that is, their analysis in terms of "origin" or "class," and their tabular display, whether in a written description or in something like a botanical garden or cabinet of specimens. "The center of knowledge in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the *tableau*. As for the great debates that agitated opinion, they were lodged naturally in the folds of this organization."<sup>3</sup> One of the fields to which this taxonomic approach was applied was indeed natural history. However, some scholars, including the great Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778), aspired to a "universal taxonomy," an order including all aspects of nature and society.<sup>4</sup> The Napoleonic *Description de l'Egypte*, a project launched in 1798, comes to mind as an attempt to realize such an ideal in the study of a particular country.<sup>5</sup>

According to Foucault, the meaning that the European "classic" era gave to the word "history" was that of "placing... a minute scrutiny on things themselves" and faithfully transcribing those observations. (143) The first form of "history" so constituted was that of nature, precisely because the objects of study were not words, texts, or archives, but rather organisms that offered themselves mutely for classification or analysis, bearing only their names. From this resulted the display of things *en «tableau»*. Only later, once the same kind of taxonomic analysis had led to the classification of documents, the organization of archives and reorganization of libraries, would history acquire its modern meaning, biology replace natural history, and "the world" and "man" be separated, as objects of study.<sup>6</sup> The concern with origins that was both implied by one of the meanings of "genetic" classification and clearly expressed in the evolutionism of much eighteenth-century thought contributed to this change. Its wider context, however, was the replacement of the "classic" or early modern by the modern episteme, a change that Foucault dates to 1775-1825, with two phases overlapping around 1795-1800, when the proliferation of objects classified began to transform the classificatory system.<sup>7</sup>

The subject discussed here combines the themes of both the marginal author and the

taxonomic display of knowledge *en tableau*. Specifically, the purpose of the research that led to this paper was to discover how one of the largest and most valuable works on the Ottoman Empire of the late eighteenth century came into existence and how to understand its form and message. This necessitates inquiring also into the identity of the author, whose liminality is at once revealed and concealed by the name he gave for himself on the title page. The full title of the work in question translates as the “General Picture [*Tableau général*] of the Ottoman Empire, Divided into Two Parts, of Which the One Contains the Muhammadan [sic] Legislation, the Other the History of the Ottoman Empire.” The title page identifies the author as “M[onsieur] de M\*\*\*\* d’Ohsson.”<sup>8</sup>

D’Ohsson’s *Tableau général* proves to be a compilation of heterogeneous elements, resembling in that the Quixotism of his personal life. Nonetheless, it contains a wealth of neglected information, both textual and pictorial, about the Ottoman Empire of its day. The fact that the work actually does not contain a “history” in the now-usual sense of the term, whereas it does take a taxonomic approach to describing Islamic and Ottoman law and the Ottoman governmental system, marks this as a kind of “natural history” of the Ottoman Empire, albeit one lacking the interest in flora and fauna that this term ordinarily implies. The author’s roots in an Ottoman minority, his strong ties to the Ottoman Empire, France, and Sweden, and his clear intent to explain the Ottomans to the outside world imply, as well, a purpose of intercultural mediation. This led d’Ohsson to develop throughout the *Tableau général*, which he intended as part of an even larger, never-finished publishing project, a politically motivated argument. In the *Tableau*, D’Ohsson’s success in sustaining a pro-Ottoman political argument opposed to the anti-Ottoman and Russophilic views of some Enlightenment thinkers demonstrates his intention to engage the “great debates that agitated opinion,” debates that Foucault sees as having been conducted, under the “classic” episteme, in taxonomic works of this kind. Unfortunately for them, by the time d’Ohsson and his heirs finished publishing the *Tableau général*, the debate on enlightened or oriental despotism had lost its currency, and the transition to the modern episteme had eclipsed the cultural world to which such works were addressed.

### **Who was Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson?**

Out of the intricately differentiated particularisms of old-regime societies emerged individuals who were marginal indeed, but who struggled to recenter themselves in the francophone cosmopolitanism of the era and to advance by contributing to its further elaboration. One such person was Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1740-1807). He was born in the Ottoman Empire, the son of an Armenian Catholic father and a French mother, a Swedish subject, for much of his life a functionary of the Swedish Embassy in Istanbul, and the author of an immense descriptive work about the Ottoman Empire, the *Tableau général*.

Ignatius Mouradgea--he did not officially adopt the name d'Ohsson until 1787--was the son of Claire Pagy (d. 1794), who was the daughter of a French consular clerk in Izmir,<sup>9</sup> and Ohannes Mouradgea (1721-1787), who was a translator or honorary translator of the Swedish consulate there. Under the rules of the day, this made the father a virtual Swedish subject, exempted him, his sons, and two servants from certain Ottoman taxes and from Ottoman legal jurisdiction, and enabled him to engage in trade--probably how he really earned his living--at the lower rates of duty that foreigners enjoyed under the so-called "capitulations," which governed foreign trade in the Ottoman Empire. These were reasons enough to make members of Ottoman minorities, especially people of wealth, invest significant sums in translators' warrants (*berats*), in which European diplomats were thus able to conduct a regular traffic, even though the claims to exemption that the *berats* conveyed could seldom withstand a determined effort by the Ottoman authorities to go after an alleged malefactor.<sup>10</sup> Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson was born at Pera, the European part of Istanbul, in 1740 and followed his father's example by becoming a translator at the Swedish Embassy in Istanbul in 1763. He became first translator there in 1768.

As the given name Ignatius implies, the Mouradgeas were Catholic. His mother was clearly a Roman Catholic, or Latin Catholic, as they are called in the Ottoman world. The Mouradgeas, however, were not Roman Catholic, but uniates, members of the still new off-shoot of the Armenian Apostolic church that accepted papal authority. Marginalized and sometimes persecuted by the

Armenian Apostolic majority, not yet recognized as a distinct religious community by the Ottomans or even effectively supported by the papacy,<sup>11</sup> Armenian Catholics reputedly formed a vanguard of cultural revival and westernization--two ideas that could, however, also clash with each other. Ignatius Mouradgea's education in the Franciscan and Dominican schools in Istanbul made him a versatile linguist and a leading exemplar of this intellectual elitism.

As a young embassy translator, he began to occupy himself with research on Islamic history and culture. D'Ohsson's intellectual immersion in Islamic and Ottoman subjects was not unexampled among the Ottoman minorities of the period. With nationalist hostility far in the future, non-Muslim intellectuals still participated rather readily in the elaboration of the Ottoman culture with which they lived in intimate symbiosis, although not surprisingly they contributed more fully in worldly subjects, like music or history, than in others that required the deepest knowledge of Ottoman and Islamic thought.<sup>12</sup> Mouradgea was at home, then, not only in francophone Enlightenment cosmopolitanism but also in the Ottoman imperial cultural synthesis. His importance cannot begin to be assessed without recognizing that he was not a foreigner to the Ottoman cultural milieu, although he was a member of an indigenous minority; far less is he to be put on a par with European "travel-writers" who wrote about the Ottoman Empire.

If the role of embassy translator seems an obscure one, that would be a misleading impression of a man who acquired large amounts of both cultural and economic capital. In 1774 Mouradgea married Eva Coulely or Kuleliyan (1754-1782), by whom he had two daughters and one son. Eva's father, Abraham Kuleliyan, was one of the big Armenian *sarrafs* (financiers, merchant-bankers), who played a leading role in Ottoman finance between roughly 1750 and 1850, quickly making and losing huge fortunes as they did so.<sup>13</sup> Kuleliyan was also an Armenian Catholic, as the wealthy *sarrafs* tended disproportionately to be. He had lost his first fortune in 1763, when the death of his patron, Grand Vezir Mehmed Ragip Pasa, whose property was thereby forfeit to his imperial master, also brought down ruin on Ragip Pasa's three Armenian *sarrafs*, of whom only Kuleliyan escaped with this life. Kuleliyan recouped his fortune, becoming by 1774 *sarraf* to the Treasury of

the Two Holy Cities, under the official supervision of the Dar üs-Saade Agasi or “Aga of the Abode of Felicity, “ the Chief Black Eunuch of the Imperial Harem, one of the highest-ranking Ottoman functionaries. Presumably also engaging, as sarrafs normally did, in commercial ventures on his own account,<sup>14</sup> Kuleliyan thus had lucrative responsibilities in the management of the huge revenues from the charitable foundations set up to support Mecca and Medina and the Islamic pilgrimage, one of the Ottomans’ largest annual financial charges; the foundations that supported the imperial mosques of Istanbul were also part of the same operation.<sup>15</sup> The father-in-law’s official connections surely helped give Mouradgea both the entrée to the Ottoman official circles that he later knew so well and the financial backing that could alone explain the lavish scale of his later publishing project.<sup>16</sup> By 1780, Mouradgea himself was engaging in significant entrepreneurial ventures.<sup>17</sup>

Appreciated for his intelligence, Mouradgea also won honors for his official service. Sweden’s King Gustave III awarded him the title of confidant and confidential secretary in 1775, the Vasa order in 1783, and, in 1786, the right to be known by the surname d’Ohsson in honor of “an uncle” who had shown Ignatius “paternal tenderness.”<sup>18</sup> Mouradgea did not tell the king how much it had tested his linguistic ingenuity to invent this vaguely Gallo-Gothic sounding *nom à particule*--a marker of aristocratic status that no Francophone social climber could do without. The uncle had actually gone by the Turkish personal name or nickname Tosun (“young bull,” “robust young man”), and the true source of “d’Ohsson” was the Armenian patronymic Tosunyan, derived from that. Enobled in 1780 and given a Swedish knighthood in 1801, as the years went by, Mouradgea progressed, when referred to in French, from “le sieur Mouradgea” to “le chevalier de Mouradgea” and finally “le chevalier d’Ohsson,” an appellation that magically made both his ethnic and his class origins disappear. The Ottomans, in contrast, essentially never stopped calling him Muradca. One of the first places where he tried out his new appellation was, as noted, on the title page of his first volume, where he appeared as “M. de M\*\*\* d’Ohsson.”

D’Ohsson had originally planned a study of the reign of Sultan Selim II (1566-1574);<sup>19</sup> in

1764, however, while reading the books printed by the first Ottoman-language press, that of Ibrahim MiAeferrika, which had operated for a time earlier in the century, he had gotten the idea for the *Tableau général*. Swedish envoy Gustave Celsing had encouraged him in this project. A countryman of Linnaeus thus played a part in enabling d'Ohsson to carry out his great taxonomic project. The execution and the money depended on d'Ohsson.

Widowed in 1782, in 1784 d'Ohsson took a leave that he had been offered and went to Paris, where he would write and publish the *Tableau général*. Father-in-law Kuleliyan moved to France about the same time. The move entailed relocating most of the family fortunes, an oft-repeated exercise that created resentments, which later fed nationalist hostilities among Ottoman Turks and Ottoman minorities.<sup>20</sup> In this case, it turned out not to be a smart business move. Later documents refer to perhaps 200,000 livres tournois invested in shares of the Caisse d'Escompte de Paris, plus other sums invested in the "loan of the Duc d'Orleans"; it is hard to tell what was Mouradgea's and what Kuleliyan's. Leaving Paris in 1791, when the securities were too depreciated to liquidate, d'Ohsson would deposit them with two Paris banking houses; when Kuleliyan died in 1802, other heirs would try to claim the Caisse d'Escompte shares.<sup>21</sup>

D'Ohsson's years in Paris (1784-1792) are the most important for this study, but also the hardest to document consistently. Mouradgea attracted attention immediately, partly because his dress--presumably the long robe and peaked fur hat of the Ottomans' non-Muslim interpreters--and his manner were taken for "Turkish."

Although subject of the king of Sweden, [he] was born at Constantinople, has spent most\* of his life there, finds Turkish dress so convenient that he cannot make himself give it up, and has the air of a Muslim. He is highly educated, has much wit, and is a man of letters: he knows French perfectly; he claims that what has been written so far about the Ottoman Empire... is all made up. Consequently he has composed a history of that empire and especially its laws, which he is going to

finish and have printed in France.<sup>22</sup>

Over the next several years, Mouradgea worked with several collaborators to produce his great work, but parts of his activity are better documented than others. He was surely in touch with the embassy of Sweden's Paris ambassador, Erik-Magnus de Staël-Holstein (1749-1802), soon to become the husband of Germaine Necker, later famous as Madame de Staël (1766-1817).<sup>23</sup> French archival sources shed glimmers of light on Mouradgea's day-to-day dealings, which seem to have ended rather often before the courts, with landlords, workmen, and one Pierre-Jacques Thomas Subito des Perelles, who appears to have served Mouradgea in 1784--unsatisfactorily-- as a secretary or *homme d'affaires*; in July 1784, Mouradgea also paid the bookseller Prault 905 livres for works including the *Encyclopédie* and an atlas.<sup>24</sup> Mouradgea's literary activity is less well documented. He was reportedly aided by "an *abbé*" whom he had hired; he did collaborate with the well-known publicist Jacques Mallet Du Pan.<sup>25</sup> Armenian sources indicate that Mouradgea spent part of the time at the Armenian Catholic monastery of San Lazzaro in Venice and worked with Armenian collaborators there.<sup>26</sup> Mouradgea may have continued to have textual sources copied and sent to him from Istanbul.<sup>27</sup> His relations with his publisher, Firmin Didot, appear to be completely undocumented, the firm's documents having been destroyed.<sup>28</sup> In contrast, Mouradgea's relations with the engraver whose help he first sought to produce his engravings, Charles-Nicolas Cochin, are extensively documented, again largely because they ended in a court case. Both on his way to Paris in 1784 and again in 1788, Mouradgea went to Sweden, where he met with King Gustave III;<sup>29</sup> perhaps one of these trips was when he fathered the illegitimate child in the north from whom, perhaps uniquely, his descent line reportedly continues.<sup>30</sup> From Sweden, Mouradgea also wrote a letter to the Ottoman official in charge of foreign affairs about a matter that was to loom large in Mouradgea's later life, namely, the question of financial subsidies from the Ottoman Empire to Sweden, to enable the latter better to resist their common enemy, Russia. Court cases with workmen and engravers, illegitimate offspring in Scandinavia--the cosmopolitan intellectual with the taxonomic and political projects was also, indeed, a creature of will and desire. There would be

more to hear about his litigiousness, in particular.

In 1787, Mouradgea opened subscriptions for his first two volumes, published a prospectus, and also published the first volume of his elephant-folio edition.<sup>31</sup> The second volume followed in 1789. In the prospectus, he stressed his qualifications and his preparations in Istanbul. He emphasized that he relied on Ottoman rather than foreign sources; that he had had the assistance of two learned, well-regarded ulema;<sup>32</sup> that he had acquired his knowledge about the governmental system from high officials, who had aided him with "every mark of benevolence"; that he had gathered his information about the Imperial Palace and Harem from high-placed officials, from women who had been slaves there and had been freed and married to high dignitaries, or from Christian women who had access to these former slave women after they had left the palace.<sup>33</sup> After describing the contents of his work, he went on to discuss its illustrations, which he said would include "portraits" of the sultans based on albums from the palace, and engravings made in Paris by well-known engravers of the day from "a collection of pictures executed in the country by Greek and European painters."<sup>34</sup> In fact, Mouradgea never did publish the portraits of the sultans, but his published work does include many engravings based on the other pictures he mentioned. They are one of the most important parts of his work.

The publication of the first two volumes must have been one of the publishing events of the day. They were published by Pierre-François Didot "the Younger," whose editions were famous for beautiful typography.<sup>35</sup> Concluding with a reference to the fine typography, Mallet Du Pan published a laudatory writeup of the first volume in the *Mercure de France*, as others did elsewhere.<sup>36</sup> The edition occurred in two different formats. The subscription edition, announced in two volumes but completed with a third published by Mouradgea's son Constantine in 1820, was a de luxe edition, in elephant folio volumes, obviously aimed at the aristocratic clientele. The work was extravagantly illustrated, ultimately with 233 engravings, forty-one of which are full-page or larger (double-page, foldout) in the elephant-folio edition. The other edition, of octavo size and presumably destined for a bourgeois clientele, ran to seven volumes published between 1788 and

1824 and was illustrated with some of the plates that were small enough to fit into it. The de luxe edition is now very rare. Most scholars never see it and must think, as I long did, that references to a three-volume edition are mistaken. While this mistake probably makes little difference where the text is concerned, it has led to extreme neglect of the illustrations, of which hardly any are known, except for some small ones that were carried into the small-format edition.

Just as he went to the leading publisher of the day, Mouradgea went to the leading engraver for his illustrations.<sup>37</sup> Recent studies by Christian Michel throw critical light on the work of Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715-1791) as the leading figure under whom a score of artists produced most of the engravings, until a controversy between him and Mouradgea, ending in a court case, led Cochin to withdraw.<sup>38</sup> The original paintings and drawings that had been shipped from Istanbul to serve as sources for the engravings had been prepared by J.-B. Hilaire in the case of costumes and views,<sup>39</sup> in the case of the palace by artists, often Greeks, who had worked on repairs and restorations there, and reportedly by Muslim artists in the case of scenes of mosque interiors, dervish rituals, or the Two Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. If the works of Hilaire were ready to engrave, Cochin found that many of the others needed 11 correction." "Imagine," wrote Cochin in a letter of May 1786, "pictures done in Turkey by Greek or Italian artists that lack taste or art but have a character of truth such, quite possibly, as none of our clever artists might have been able to capture." This was why Mouradgea needed Cochin; the two men had been put in touch with each other, probably early in 1785, by the Swedish painter and leading Paris portraitist Alexandre Roslin (1718-1793). At that stage, Cochin thought this would be a work in eight folio volumes with seven to eight hundred plates.<sup>40</sup>

The shifts in perspective and modulations of light and shadow that Cochin introduced added to both the quality and the cost of the engravings, becoming issues in the court case that led to his leaving the project; in the *Tableau général*, the comparison of engravings that did and did not pass through his hands proves the significance of his contribution.<sup>41</sup> However, Cochin had also been right to sense that what Europeans might find crude in some of these pictures ought not to be

sacrificed. What to European tastes were excessively high vantage points in some pictures introduced distortions of perspective by making the heads of the figures look too large and their bodies too small; yet as Cochin conceded, this defect kept the figures in the foreground from blocking those in the background in crowded scenes. What he could not know was that some of the pictures were also based on centuries-old Ottoman-Islamic pictorial traditions, the elucidation of which would add greatly to the evaluation of the engravings.<sup>42</sup>

Documents from Mouradgea's bankers in Istanbul refer to shipping pictures and record payments to Istanbul artists, including one "dervis" or "Dervis" (the term could be either a common or a proper noun) and one "Constantine," quite possibly the prominent Greek artist Constantine Kapidagli.<sup>43</sup> In 1784, for example, Constantine claimed payment for two paintings in oil on canvas, the subjects of which are identical to two of the engravings in the *Tableau*, apparently 40 kurus (piasters) for the "Tomb of M." and 200 for the "Dinner of a Minister in the Divan"--fees that would have done little to prepare Mouradgea for the charges of his Paris engravers.<sup>44</sup> The later fate of the paintings and drawings that served as sources for the engravings is largely unknown, although some have turned up in auction catalogues and private collections.<sup>45</sup>

While publishing the first two volumes of the large edition in French, d'Ohsson also sought to have the work translated into other languages. He apparently stopped in London on his way to Stockholm in 1788 to try to arrange for an English translation; Mallet Du Pan also tried to help get the prospectus published or extracted in British literary reviews.<sup>46</sup> Mouradgea sought to promote sales of the book in Venice and Istanbul.<sup>47</sup> Eventually, partial translations or extracts did appear in German, Russian, and Swedish.<sup>48</sup> A partial English translation even appeared in Philadelphia in 1788, with Masonic emblems on the title page, "printed for the Select Committee and Grand Lodge of Enquiry, " with the long title altered to indicate that the work described the "Rites and Mysteries of the Oriental Freemasons" (presumably meaning the dervis orders). The title page identified d'Ohsson himself as a member of masonic and other orders.<sup>49</sup> Gustave III, still more his brother Charles Duke of Södermanland (regent, 1792-96, and later king as Charles XIII, 1809-1818), and

many members of the aristocratic opposition that dominated the government during the regency following Gustave's assassination, were deeply involved in Freemasonry.<sup>50</sup> If d'Ohsson had masonic attachments, for which the Philadelphia titlepage so far provides unique evidence, these would have given him added ties among the Swedish elites, not to mention the Parisian intelligentsia.

One of the hardest questions to answer about d'Ohsson's project is why he did it. His statements in his prospectus or in the *Tableau général* give the Enlightenment thinker's answer, and even that only as it relates to the subject of the work. Where in this project was the marginal man of Quixotic temperament, where the creature of flesh and blood? As a half-French Armenian Catholic intellectual and an agent of probably the most Francophile monarch of the day, he presumably sought to combine service to learning, advancement of the Ottoman-French-Swedish complex of political interests on which he depended, and self-promotion as a citizen of the francophone Republic of Letters. In 1793, for example, he wrote of "sacrifices made out of my love of letters, in an enterprise that had as its object a great monarchy," meaning of course the Ottoman Empire.<sup>51</sup> Given his family and career backgrounds, he may have speculated that these "sacrifices" could turn him into something more than an embassy interpreter, as indeed they would. Used to having money, at least since his marriage, and to engaging in business ventures alongside his professional interests, he probably aimed to realize a financial success. French bankers and aristocrats had financed other major publication projects of the period on speculation.<sup>52</sup> D'Ohsson differed in combining the roles of author and financier. The capital, however, was new money, most of which he surely had not earned personally; and he was attempting to put it to work in a sophisticated environment that was still new to him.

One way to learn more about Mouradgea's intentions is thus to look at the business side of the project. It is easy to infer that the French revolution interrupted the publication of the *Tableau*. This is what the publication dates of the three folio volumes imply. However, reality was not that simple. This was a project with a long wait between investing and profiting. Cochin had estimated

maximum costs of 60,000 livres per folio volume for engraving and printing; he estimated as well that the 400 subscriptions that d'Ohsson professed to have received as of 1787, at 150 livres each, would cover this cost, leaving Mouradgea to profit from the larger number of volumes that might be sold abroad; this was not to speak of the small-format edition, which did not engage Cochin's attention. Cochin also suspected that the claim of 400 subscriptions might have been a boast (*par jactance*).<sup>53</sup> However that might be, several years had to pass between the start of engraving, in the fall of 1785, and any return on investment, the subscription not even being launched until February 1787. Initially unperturbed by Cochin's cost projections, Mouradgea raised the idea, which proved too costly even for him, of having extra-large sheets of paper manufactured so that the size of some engravings could be made even bigger than they were; and he insisted on quality engraving.

An elaborate division of labor was set up to do the work. Cochin described his role as *Directeur... [et] caissier*,<sup>54</sup> by which he apparently meant design director for the larger plates and fiscal officer at the top of a hierarchical division of labor--a method that had developed in recent Years, he said--in which tasks were divided partly by pictorial subjects and partly by phases of the engraving process, with care taken to shift labor to junior artists whose time was worth less money. Delays and disagreements could arise at any point in this system. They did at several points among the artists. Moreover, d'Ohsson engaged a new secretary in August 1785, who began to go directly, not to Cochin, but to others of the artists, particularly Francois-Denis Me, whose role seems to have resembled that of general contractor over the engravers, and also to Jean-Baptiste Tilliard (or Tilliard), who engraved the small costume prints, some of which were also used in the octavo edition.

According to Cochin, when Mouradgea was not able to bring out his first volume in 1787, as Née had led him to believe he could do, the author-investor summoned both Cochin and Née for a rageful scene that led Cochin to withdraw from the project, except for specific plates already started under his direction. Mouradgea then sued Cochin to recover advances that the latter protested he

had mostly passed on to Née, who had used most of the money to pay the engravers for work that they had done and were entitled to be paid for. Alleging as well that he had been over-charged for certain plates, Mouradgea craftily proposed submitting the matter to arbitration, as was done, before Cochin's lawyer awoke to the need to make a counter-claim over plates that had been under-charged. Cochin blamed this whole problem on Née, who had charged too much for some plates and not enough for others; but Cochin faced Mouradgea, who professed to recognize only Cochin in this case. Cochin's documentation on the case records the thousands of livres apiece that Mouradgea actually paid for a number of the finest plates in the *Tableau général*.<sup>55</sup> Losing a great deal of money in the affair, Cochin concluded that Mouradgea was initially too quick to trust, but then hearing the arguments of others, would withdraw his trust and abandon himself to all the rage of someone who felt wronged.<sup>56</sup> After that, Mouradgea went to other engravers, who produced smaller, cheaper plates. His relations with one of these, Jean-Michel Moreau "le Jeune" (1741-1814), also ended in controversy by February 1791.<sup>57</sup>

While lack of documentation so far makes it impossible to know if Mouradgea's relations with his publisher were equally stormy, his business dealings with Istanbul were more so. The key figures here were an old diplomatic colleague at the Swedish embassy, Gerhard Johan von Heidenstam, head of mission (1782-1791), and d'Ohsson's banker, Antoine de Murat, who was also an Armenian Catholic, Kulelian in-law, Swedish protégé, and titular interpreter at the embassy. D'Ohsson not only had left behind considerable money and property in Istanbul in 1784; he also had claims to fees charged for the warrants of appointment (*berat, ferman*) for the Swedish diplomatic or consular interpreters and their servants. Heidenstam owed him 19,000 kurus; and d'Ohsson maintained that the Ottoman Treasury owed him nearly 93,000 kurus, from a purchase of naval munitions from Sweden, concluded at a time when Gustave Celsing and later his brother Ulric headed the Swedish mission (thus before 1780), but with Mouradgea assuming the risk as financier.<sup>58</sup> After Mouradgea left for Paris, Antoine de Murat and other Istanbul bankers (*sarraf*) received percentage commissions for doing his business; but as functionaries of the Swedish

embassy, both Heidenstam and Murat were obligated to watch over the business interests of fellow Swedish subjects without commission or profit.<sup>59</sup> Surviving letters from Heidenstam and Murat to Mouradgea in Paris show that their working relationship got off to a cordial start, with greetings from and to family members, many references by Murat to shipping Mouradgea's pictures and other goods, advice from both men to Mouradgea about where to invest or not to invest, prophetic warnings from Heidenstam about the dangers of losing one's fortune in Paris,<sup>60</sup> along with his assurances that the Hope banking house in Amsterdam [?] had been ordered to pay Mouradgea's "semesters" on his embassy salary.<sup>61</sup> Over time, Mouradgea liquidated large quantities of goods--jewels, furs, even clothing.<sup>62</sup> Bills of exchange were dispatched in French, Italian, and Greek, denominated in various currencies. One debt was collected from the Venetian envoy (*bailo*); 5,000 kurus placed with the Mekhitarist monastery at Trieste could not be recovered.<sup>63</sup> Mouradgea appears to have carried out large-scale speculations in wax and wheat.<sup>64</sup> Progress on the payments that Mouradgea expected Heidenstam and Murat to obtain for him or make to him did occur, but slowly.

Gradually, the tone of the letters began to change. In August 1786, Heidenstam reproached "my dear Mouradgea" for being

consumed with self-conceit (*petri d'amour propre*).... You always end up quarreling with your best friends.... You tell me that your fortune is suffering (*se déange*) in Paris. But why do you stay there? It's madness, and at your age.... One does not make a fortune twice. I don't know how you have arranged things for your work, but I doubt if the Court [at Stockholm] is paying the costs. I demand daily what remains for you to receive from the Miri [Ottoman, Treasury]. But I cannot grab them by the hair.<sup>65</sup>

Mouradgea's relations with Heidenstam and Murat reached the breaking point in 1787 when Mouradgea, without giving them prior notice, drew bills of exchange amounting to over 37,000 kurus on Heidenstam and nearly 2,000 kurus on Murat.<sup>66</sup> "My dear Monsieur Mouradgea," wrote

Heidenstam some months later, "since you wish finally to declare war on me, I accept."<sup>67</sup> Murat, who professed to have handled 800,000 kurus in commercial affairs for Mouradgea over a twelve-year period, demanded arbitration.<sup>68</sup> This controversy would train on for a decade. Delving into d'Ohsson's finances thus not only sheds light on his problems in bringing out the *Tableau général* but also cautions against simplistically assuming that the French Revolution derailed an otherwise untroubled project. The revolution did make things worse. By 1791, d'Ohsson was reaching the end in Paris. In February he sent a detailed account of his claims against Heidenstam and Murat, amounting to 84,413 kurus, to Pehr Olof von Asp, who was then replacing Heidenstam as Swedish minister in Istanbul (1791-1795).<sup>69</sup> In May, Mouradgea again wrote to Asp. His elder daughter Sophie (1775-1791) had died the month before, he had lost most of his fortune, and debtors were hounding him. His only financial resources were those still left in Istanbul, which he was having a hard time recovering; otherwise, he mentioned some shares of the Caisse d'Escompte that could only be sold at great loss.

... My work has already cost me about 300,000 livres, and the returns have been of the slowest. I have sustained, here and there, irreparable losses. I have exposed my situation to the King [of Sweden], and without some help, I shall be obliged to suspend my work.<sup>70</sup>

That, indeed, is what happened. Within a few months of writing the letter just quoted, by the fall of 1791, d'Ohsson was in Vienna. Trying to relaunch his fortunes there, he published a prospectus, proposing to complete his work with a third and fourth volume, which would contain the "historical part."<sup>71</sup> Unfortunately, Vienna offered a far less receptive climate for a pro-Ottoman work than had Paris. Implausible as it seems for such a publication, there was talk of d'Ohsson's receiving a subsidy from Catherine II of Russia.<sup>72</sup> D'Ohsson also tried to keep his work on the market in London. To judge from his later correspondence, Frederick North "had charge" of all the copies of the work in London, but d'Ohsson did not know to which bookseller he had entrusted them, and a long time had passed without North's answering d'Ohsson's last letter; North was also

supposed to have brought out an English edition.<sup>73</sup>

In Vienna, however, d'Ohsson also encountered Ottoman ambassador Ebu Bekir Ratib and became one of Ratib Efendi's assistants in compiling a huge report in Ottoman Turkish. Intended to provide the Ottomans with a *tableau général* of the Austrian Empire, in its scale and manner of compilation Ratib's report shows strong resemblances to d'Ohsson's mode of operation.<sup>74</sup>

D'Ohsson won Ratib Efendi's gratitude to such a point that the latter reported to Sultan Selim III (1789-1807):

God knows, he is so zealous for the Sublime State that if I say [he is] more so than we [are], I would not be speaking falsely. The Austrians are always arguing with him about his convictions.<sup>75</sup>

At Ratib Efendi's formal audiences, d'Ohsson served as translator. If on arriving in Paris a few years earlier, he had attracted attention by continuing to wear eastern dress, here he attracted attention by again appearing in "oriental dress," presumably meaning the long robe and fur hat worn by non-Muslim interpreters in the Ottoman Empire; yet now he was bewigged, or perhaps had his hair in a pigtail, in European style.<sup>76</sup> At Vienna, Ratib Efendi solicited d'Ohsson to return to Istanbul with him and help in Ottoman reform efforts.<sup>77</sup> However, the Swedish authorities also approached d'Ohsson, offering a percentage if he would take over the negotiations on the financial subsidy that Sweden expected from the Ottoman Empire under the Treaty of Istanbul of 11 July 1789. Although enticed enough by the Ottomans' approach to draft a memorandum for the Ottomans on reform, d'Ohsson found his "amour propre"--that expression again, this time in a material sense--enticed by the Swedish invitation, and decided to return to Istanbul for that purpose.<sup>78</sup> D'Ohsson's occasional references in his dispatches to being of service to both Sweden and the Ottomans suggest that he understood his role in terms of cultural and diplomatic brokerage, and that the Swedish and Ottoman authorities saw it that way, too.<sup>79</sup>

Swedish affairs of the day require some comment here to make subsequent events understandable. Sweden had had diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire since the late

sixteenth century; their importance grew when Charles XII (r. 1697-1718) spent five years (1709-1714) in the Ottoman Empire following the Battle of Poltava.<sup>80</sup> Sweden and the Ottoman Empire had also each been allied with France since the sixteenth century. As the eighteenth century went by, the Ottoman Empire, Poland, and Sweden had come to share problems as countries confronted by the expansionist designs of more powerful neighbors, above all Russia. Sweden, which also controlled Finland and Swedish Pomerania, faced the problem of attempting to play a much larger role in European affairs than its resources could support. Internal Swedish politics exhibited high levels of conflict, especially between the aristocracy and King Gustave III (r. 1771-1792), who carried out coups in 1772 and 1789 to strengthen royal authority, consequently losing his life to aristocratic conspirators at the famous masked ball of 1792.<sup>81</sup> Throughout, the Swedish government depended heavily on foreign subsidies to implement its policies, and foreign powers intervened in Swedish politics by subsidizing opposing factions. France heavily supported Gustave III and his absolutist policies until the French Revolution.<sup>82</sup>

The Ottoman-Swedish subsidy treaty of 1789 was a product of the fact that both the Ottomans and the Swedes had gone to war with Russia, in 1787 and 1788, respectively. For the Ottomans, who were also at war with Austria, the major Ottoman-Russian issue was Russia's annexation of the Crimea (1783) and the larger picture of Russian expansionism in the Black Sea and Caucasus regions.<sup>83</sup> Gustave's motives went back to a meeting he had had with Catherine II of Russia in 1783, where he had sought to break her longstanding alliance with Denmark so that he could take Danish-ruled Norway without risking war with Russia. As an inducement to Catherine, Gustave had offered to abandon Sweden's alliance with Turkey. Infuriated at her refusal, Gustave began to contemplate war against Russia and obtained French aid in 1784 with which he modernized the Swedish navy. He attacked in 1788, rushing his naval attack on the Russian fleet, which was about to leave for the Mediterranean to fight the Ottomans, in order to get a million kunis in subsidy that the Ottomans were having held for him in Hamburg.<sup>84</sup> Despite winning Sweden's last victory of Europe-wide significance at the naval battle of Svenskund (9 July 1790) and turning the war to his advantage in

domestic politics, Gustave was soon ready to make peace with Catherine at Värälä (15 August 1790), which would permit the two monarchs to act jointly against revolutionary France. Not happy to abandon his Ottoman ally, Gustave sought in these negotiations to get Russia to accept Sweden as mediator between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, but Catherine refused. His alliance with the Ottomans once broken, Gustave went on to conclude the Russo-Swedish Treaty of Drottningholm, 19 October 1791, which aimed at defeating revolutionary France and obligated Russia to pay Sweden an annual subsidy of 300,000 rubles for eight years.<sup>85</sup>

Six months later, he was assassinated at the masked ball (16 March 1792) and his enemies took over the government. The new government formed by the aristocratic opposition, lasting from 1792 to 1796, was strongly linked to the Freemasons and sought to return to Sweden's alliance with France, violating the new alliance with Russia in the process. However, the new government was indecisive; and its aristocratic backers' enthusiasm for France's revolution faltered during the Terror. Sweden would not have another decisive regime until the murdered king's son, Gustave IV Adolf (r. 1792-1809) came of age in 1796, terminating the regency and shifting policy in a conservative, anti-French direction. By 1804, diplomatic relations had been severed between Sweden and France. During the last two years of d'Ohsson's life (1805-1807), the two countries were at war.<sup>86</sup>

If the policy of great powers was subject to sharp reversals in the revolutionary era, then, that of Sweden whiplashed even more. Whether or not he realized it, d'Ohsson returned to Istanbul to secure payments on a subsidy that the Ottomans would resist on the ground that Sweden's separate peace with Russia (Värälä, August 1790) had already violated the terms of the subsidy treaty of 1789. D'Ohsson would also rise to be head of the Swedish mission in Stockholm, but not until 1796--the very year when the anti-French policy shift in Stockholm made him the wrong man for the job.

During what proved to be the last seven years of his active career, d'Ohsson initially got a hearty reception from the Ottomans. He presented his two published volumes to the Sultan Selim III

(1789-1807), who had the captions to the engravings translated--another sign of the significance of d’Ohsson’s illustrations--and rewarded d’Ohsson with two thousand gold pieces and the good wish “May the Almighty honor the author with Islam. 11 87 D’Ohsson was asked in 1792 to submit further recommendations for military reform. About to launch an unprecedented reform program, the “New Order” (*Nizam-i Cedid*, 1793), the sultan commissioned preparatory memoranda from twenty-one high Ottoman officials, one European military officer who had helped train the Ottoman artillery, and d’Ohsson. Because d’Ohsson insisted, in his *Tableau général*, that it was a “translation” of the work most used by the Ottomans on Islamic law, Ibrahim al’-Halabi’s *Multaqà al-Abhur*, it was agreed that he should adapt his recommendations to Islamic law, presumably in order to forestall conservative opposition to their implementation. Islamic law was not a subject about which Ottoman-Muslim dignitaries were likely to consult even the best-informed non-Muslim; however, these were civil officials contemplating a reform program that would probably have been unwise to divulge to the religious authorities at the time.<sup>88</sup>

D’Ohsson also submitted detailed recommendations in 1794, based on European models, for the Ottoman Military Engineering Academy (*Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayun*). Although not its only inspiration, these recommendations were followed to considerable extent when the school was founded.<sup>89</sup> Perhaps it is not insignificant that d’Ohsson had placed his son Constantine (1779-1851) in “a cadet school” while in Vienna or that Ebu Bekir Ratib’s narrative of his embassy to Austria, a work to whose composition Mouradgea contributed importantly, went into great details about both the Austrian *Ingenieursakademie* and the *Theresianische Militdrakademie*.<sup>90</sup> The implication is clear that the sultan and other reform-minded Ottomans saw d’Ohsson as a member of their faction, as someone on whose services and knowledge of Europe they could expect to draw.

If, on returning to Istanbul, the cultural disequilibrium of d’Ohsson’s personality tilted back toward the East, it only did so temporarily. The sharpest signals are vestimentary. In October 1794, D’Ohsson declined to go with the embassy interpreters to congratulate the new grand vezir, Izzet Mehmed Pasa, because “it would not be decent to acquit myself [of that duty] in *habit long*, without

moustache, and with the hair [showing]" --in other words, in European dress rather than that of the non-Muslim embassy interpreters.<sup>91</sup> When d'Ohsson did call on Izzet Mehmed Pasa shortly thereafter, the latter at first did not recognize him, because of his change of dress; but "an instant later he oriented [!] himself. " The d'Ohsson who had worn eastern dress in Paris in 1784 and a combination in Vienna around 1792 was all in European dress in Istanbul in 1794; and Ottomans who had known him in his interpreter costume before now had to "orient" themselves in relation to him.<sup>92</sup> Or so he liked to believe: Ottoman official documents of this period still ordinarily referred to him with such phrases as it your slave, Mouradgea, " as if he were not even the subject of a foreign ruler, let alone the European of his self-image.<sup>93</sup>

Officially, d'Ohsson was back to climbing the ladder in Swedish diplomatic service, and no longer as an interpreter. He became counsellor of embassy in 1792, *chargé d'affaires* and then chief of mission and minister plenipotentiary on 8 July 1795.<sup>94</sup> This trajectory suggests, incidentally, that the fashion fight was as much with his Swedish embassy colleagues as with the Ottomans; for when the other Swedish diplomats got angry with him, they still referred to him as an "interpreter," even though he held only diplomatic ranks from 1792 on. D'Ohsson also had the much greater problem of being ostracized at first by the rest of the diplomatic community, which identified him with France (a point discussed below). Yet he brought a great deal to his diplomatic role. In his dispatches, he frequently reported high Ottoman appointments with the added note that he had known the new appointee for decades. Speaking of the "ministers of the [Sublime] Porte, " he said on one occasion that "I shall continue to see them familiarly, as I now do, which gives me ... a marked advantage over all the other foreign missions." No less important were his "bonds ... of the most intimate" with Prince Morouzi, a Phenariot Greek dignitary who served for part of this period as Translator of the Imperial Divan, a critical position in a period when the senior Ottoman official in charge of foreign affairs, the *reisül-k-füttab* ("chief scribe"), still could not be expected to know a European language.<sup>95</sup> A reading of d'Ohsson's dispatches from 1795 on suggests that a probably oblivious government in Stockholm then received some of the most competent political reporting

that any European power ever got from the Ottoman capital. However, there were several issues that created ongoing trouble; one of these ended his career.

With his financial problems at the top of his personal agenda, d'Ohsson returned to Istanbul gunning for Heidenstam and Murat. So embroiled did they become that it is hard to know who was in the right, although the author of the *Tableau général* did seem better equipped to defend himself.<sup>96</sup> He had printed and circulated a lengthy memorandum to support his case in 1789; he did so again in 1793.<sup>97</sup> Both sides acted to expand the conflict beyond the original financial issues; d'Ohsson accused Murat and Heidenstam. of contributing to a rumor campaign that painted him as a Jacobin and French agent, and he retaliated by critiquing the "disorderly state" of the Swedish embassy while he had been in France. He sequestered property of first Heidenstam and later Murat.<sup>98</sup> All parties being Swedish subjects, the controversy was referred to Stockholm. A lengthy dispatch came back from Grand Chancellor Frederick Sparre in May 1794, conveying the boy-king's orders for repayment of the balance remaining on Heidenstam's debt to Mouradgea, a division between them of the contested fees from the *berats* and *fermans* of protection, and an arbitration of the remaining differences; both parties had expressed themselves in exaggerated style, but Mouradgea's points were "in general better proven."<sup>99</sup> The final arbitration, in May 1797, concluded that Heidenstam. and d'Ohsson were quits with each other.<sup>100</sup>

D'Ohsson's ragefulness was not limited to Heidenstam and Murat. He carried on a controversy with Abraham Sophialian, another Armenian Catholic financier, one of the biggest, who was also a titular Swedish embassy interpreter. Sophialian surprised onlookers by winning his case, but he had to abandon Swedish protection and revert to Ottoman subject status to do so. For a case between two Swedish subjects would have been judged by the Swedish envoy, and who was that in 1796 but d'Ohsson, who was also the other party to the case.<sup>101</sup> In 1795, d'Ohsson had also fallen out with his then superior, von Asp, to the point of writing him insulting anonymous notes. More self-possessed, Asp responded at length, soothingly acknowledging d'Ohsson's high qualifications and the importance of his mission, for which he had recommended d'Ohsson and for

which he knew d’Ohsson had “private instructions.” Yet, Asp continued, d’Ohsson had contracted the habit, before leaving for Paris in 1784, of treating Asp’s predecessor Heidenstam “like a child”; d’Ohsson also treated Asp “like an imbecile,” spoke disrespectfully of him to the Ottoman authorities, and caused daily incidents at the embassy. D’Ohsson had even pressured Asp to sign a document, which he had whipped out of his pocket one day, to get the Ottoman authorities to imprison Murat. Despite d’Ohsson’s assurances that the document would be shown only to Murat, to pressure him to come to terms, Asp later had to endure the “mortification” of finding that high Ottoman officials had learned disapprovingly of this incident and that Asp had ended up looking like “an instrument of vengeance in your hands.” Conceding that d’Ohsson had a “powerful cabale” against him, Asp found it hard to attribute the large number of d’Ohsson’s enemies to chance.<sup>102</sup> Asp was not wrong to think that d’Ohsson was reporting unfavorably on him to Stockholm and trying to get him reassigned.<sup>103</sup>

Von Asp would hardly have put up with all this, were it not for the subsidy negotiations, surely the subject of d’Ohsson’s private instructions, and presumably the motive that led the Swedish government to sanction d’Ohsson’s unique transformation from indigenous embassy interpreter into envoy of a European court. While they discussed the matter earnestly and often, and worried about what the Swedes might do if they did not subsidize them, the Ottomans were right in stating that the Swedes had violated the terms of the alliance under which they claimed the payments, even though they had received a payment in 1789.<sup>104</sup> D’Ohsson returned tirelessly to the subsidy issue, and Ottoman sources imply that he may at times have shown a bit of the tactlessness that d’Ohsson’s embassy colleagues knew so well.<sup>105</sup> D’Ohsson’s reports indicate that the Ottomans did make one payment in 1796, adding circumstantial details about how the money was turned over.<sup>106</sup> Not coincidentally, Ebu Bekir Ratib, a reform partisan whose gratitude d’Ohsson had won in Vienna, then presided over Ottoman foreign policy as *reis fil-kattab* (“chief scribe”) with Prince Morouzi as his translator. An Ottoman source confirms a payment of 500 “purses” (*kise* of 500 kurus each, making 250, 000 kurus).<sup>107</sup> Not surprisingly in view of the shift in Swedish policy

toward Russia about that time, neither Ottoman nor Swedish sources show any sign of subsidy payments after that. So much for gratification of the "amour propre," in the material sense, that had led d'Ohsson to return to Istanbul to take over the subsidy negotiations.

The issue that ended d'Ohsson's career was his liminality, which even eighteenth-century cosmopolitanism could support only under certain conditions. In the arena where he operated as both diplomat and culture-broker, he needed for the Ottoman Empire, France, and Sweden to remain allies, to the exclusion of Russia. By the time he returned to Istanbul, stability in such arrangements had become too much to expect. Having remarried with a French woman in 1789<sup>108</sup> and having lost his fortune before he left Paris, d'Ohsson returned to a situation in Istanbul where Louis XVI's last ambassador, Choiseul Gouffier, had barely left town, the Paris government was about to send out--not one representative--but several, so that they could report on one another, and the Ottoman government had still not recognized the revolutionary regime. Both the European community in general, and the French community in particular, were divided, although the diplomatic corps was solidly anti-French.<sup>109</sup> Personally identified with France despite being a victim of its revolutionary upheavals, and now working for the regency government in Sweden, d'Ohsson became known in Istanbul's diplomatic circles as the only non-French diplomat in Istanbul who took the side of the French. Recent scholarship has accepted that he did so consistently from his return to Istanbul in 1792.<sup>110</sup>

D'Ohsson's correspondence states that his contacts with French diplomats in Istanbul did not begin until the summer of 1793, when he had some secret contacts with Ambassador Marie-Louis-Henri Descorches. Descorches reported to Paris that he had "renewed old ties with Mourad-Cha" on 14 June 1793 and that d'Ohsson had demanded the deepest secrecy.<sup>111</sup> There seems to be no documentation at all, other than reports based on rumor, to connect d'Ohsson to Descorches's radical "colleagues," Hénin or Sémonville. D'Ohsson wrote that he had seen Citizen Descorches at the behest of the Ottoman authorities to urge caution and explain that the Ottomans would adhere to

their system of neutrality.<sup>112</sup> In doing that, d'Ohsson would have acted as an agent of the Ottomans, rather than the French. Again serving as a secret intermediary for the Ottomans, d'Ohsson had more contacts with the French in 1793 to help the Ottoman government procure the services of fourteen French officers as military instructors.<sup>113</sup> In August 1793, Descorches proposed to Paris to hire "Mourad-Cha" for the French embassy staff. That Descorches had this idea is not surprising, for the defection of embassy staff had left Descorches without competent interpreters. However, this does not mean that d'Ohsson himself entertained this idea; and a report drawn up in Paris in November 1793 cited the title "chevalier d'Ohsson" as grounds for exclusion.<sup>114</sup> D'Ohsson's correspondence dissociates him from an actively pro-French policy for several years following his return to Istanbul, asserting to the contrary that he suffered greatly from the outlandish rumors circulated about his alleged Jacobinism.<sup>115</sup> Having last received instructions from Gustave III,<sup>116</sup> von Asp, the Swedish minister to Istanbul, as well as other members of the Swedish mission remained so reserved that Descorches would have doubted their good will--so he reported to Paris at the end of 1794--if they had been "less estimable personally."<sup>117</sup>

Not before April of 1795, when the Stockholm government was ready to recognize the French republic, did von Asp and his staff receive instructions to collaborate with Descorches' successor, Verninac, in securing Ottoman recognition.<sup>118</sup> D'Ohsson's role at this point perhaps convinced the other diplomats in Istanbul that they had been right about him all along. With d'Ohsson's old friend from Vienna, Ebu Bekir Ratib Efendi, then in charge of foreign relations, the Ottoman authorities greatly appreciated d'Ohsson's services in this matter.<sup>119</sup> The French appreciated his help so much that they offered him a large sum. Notifying Stockholm of it, he refused their first offer of 20,000 livres, after which they raised the offer to 40,000, of which they paid 30,000 down with 10,000 to follow.<sup>120</sup> D'Ohsson obviously saw no need to make a complete secret of accepting compensation for his services from another government; to accept such compensation was not irregular by the diplomatic norms of the period. The Ottoman government, in which many officials had no salaries, ran to a great extent on fees and gifts, such as the large one that Selim III gave d'Ohsson in 1792;

thus the Ottomans had no grounds to object either. About a year later, however, the next French ambassador in Istanbul--a blustery military man, General Aubert du Bayet--did say of d'Ohsson "I believe he is a *bon français*."<sup>121</sup>

Despite the whiff of self-congratulation in that statement, the fact remained that the Swedish minister in Istanbul was not supposed to be a "good Frenchman," in whatever sense the phrase was used. At the cost of a breakdown in social relations between the French and Swedish embassies in Istanbul, d'Ohsson did weather Sweden's anti-French turn and *rapprochement* with Russia after Gustave IV Adolf came of age in 1796.<sup>122</sup> D'Ohsson did, however, have to defend himself against allegations from Stockholm that he was pro-French and not doing enough to cultivate the Russian ambassador, Kotschubey.<sup>123</sup> What d'Ohsson could not weather, given his French associations, was the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt. D'Ohsson blamed his fall on a letter, which Descorches had written him from France in the fall of 1798, and which had become known in Istanbul; there were also questions about whether d'Ohsson had or had not exerted himself to aid Frenchmen incarcerated in Istanbul in retaliation for the invasion of Egypt.<sup>124</sup> The Russian and British ambassadors had advocated d'Ohsson's replacement. Raiding the French Embassy, the Ottomans found papers proving that d'Ohsson had taken money from the French.<sup>125</sup> Presumably this would have been the payment referred to above.

For the Ottomans to discover this fact at a time when they had just been betrayed by France, their oldest European ally, must have seemed to prove everything that had been said about d'Ohsson in Istanbul since 1792. Selim III, who had received him back in Istanbul so warmly then, now approved a request for d'Ohsson's recall. Referring to d'Ohsson as an Armenian and Ottoman subject by' origin, whose appointment as Swedish ambassador had been accepted in recognition of his loyalty to the Ottoman Empire and his good offices on its behalf, the request described him as having taken the side of the French republicans from the beginning, even more than the French ambassador, and asked his replacement by a "real Swede" (*sahih İsveçlii*).<sup>126</sup>

The only interpreter recruited from the local minorities who ever rose to head a European

diplomatic mission in Istanbul, D'Ohsson also became the first ambassador in Ottoman history to be declared, in effect, *persona non grata*.<sup>127</sup> Recalled in 1799, he set out for France. A breakdown in Swedish-French relations in 1804, leading to war in 1805, added another indignity when d'Ohsson, as a Swedish subject, was forced to leave Paris. He and Madame d'Ohsson were allowed to take refuge with friends of hers who had a chateau outside Paris at Bièvres, where he died in straitened circumstances in 1807.<sup>128</sup> Perhaps reflecting the growth of nationalist exclusivism over the preceding generation, the French press--having described his French as perfect when he arrived in Paris in 1784--implied in d'Ohsson's obituary that as a foreigner, he had owed the stylistic felicity of his publications to Mallet Du Pan in the 1780s and to his wife thereafter.<sup>129</sup> Whatever Verninac had said, it seems that d'Ohsson was not a real Frenchman after all, any more than he was a real Swede. Back in Istanbul, the "real Swede" who headed the Swedish mission for many years was Mouradgea's son-in-law, Nils G. Palin (1765-1842), who had served as an embassy secretary when the former was ambassador, married his younger daughter Claire (1776-1842), and then served in Istanbul as chargé (1805-1814) and Minister Resident (1814-1824).<sup>130</sup>

During his retirement years in France, d'Ohsson petitioned First Consul Bonaparte in 1804, referring to his past services to French interests, which he noted would be documented in the dispatches of Descorches, Verninac, and Aubert Du Bayet, and seeking funding to finish publishing the *Tableau général*.<sup>131</sup> Asked to advise on what could be done for d'Ohsson, Foreign Minister Talleyrand executed a masterful bureaucratic maneuver. Identifying d'Ohsson as an Armenian whose knowledge of languages had enabled him to become an interpreter at the Swedish legation in Istanbul, Citizen Talleyrand added that d'Ohsson had achieved distinction by publishing a work "suitable to spread a new light on the manners and power of the Turks," inferred that authorship had enabled him to become Swedish charge and later minister, placidly stated that "in my department" there is no information to be found "on the services that M. Mouradgea may have rendered," and proposed that his request be referred to the minister of the interior as a matter pertaining to the arts and sciences.<sup>132</sup>

Even with financial assistance, to publish the remainder of the *Tableau général* would not have been easy, for the stocks of unsold volumes, engravings, plates, drawings, and pictures that d’Ohsson had left stored in Paris in 1791 had been damaged or dispersed during the revolution.<sup>133</sup> He did publish a derivative, incomplete work, the *Tableau historique de l’Orient*, apparently digested chiefly from the Iranian national epic, the *Shahname*, but presented as part of a vast, never-to-be-completed survey of Islamic and pre-Islamic history, from ancient Egypt and Iran to the Mongols; this was to be followed by a history of the Ottoman Empire, and then--this part being the *Tableau général*--the legislation of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>134</sup>

In the event, the completion of any such scheme remained for his son and youngest child, Abraham Constantine Mouradgea d’Ohsson (1779-1851). After his father’s death, he and his French step-mother urgently petitioned Swedish Foreign Minister Lars von Engestrém for Constantine to be assigned to Paris, so that he could finish publishing the *Tableau général*.<sup>135</sup> Constantine did briefly serve in Paris (1810-1812); he brought out the third and final volume in the folio edition of the *Tableau* in 1820; in the smaller octavo edition, the corresponding volumes, numbered five through seven, had all appeared by 1824, exactly sixty years after his father had first had the idea for this project.<sup>136</sup>

In the preface to the third folio volume, Constantine wrote that the manuscripts left behind by his father included a “History of the Ottoman Empire, from its Origins to 1774” in around twenty volumes, which, when published, would complete the *Tableau général*.<sup>137</sup> What happened to this history remains a mystery; Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall’s publication of his ten-volume history of the Ottoman Empire (1827-35) could very well have dissuaded Constantine from publishing such a work.<sup>138</sup> Yet the fate of the twenty-volume manuscript is unknown. Constantine d’Ohsson’s surviving papers, meticulously preserved, include perhaps fifty pages of rough drafts in his father’s hand, mostly on Ottoman history during his lifetime, but no more.<sup>139</sup> Himself a career diplomat who rose to be Swedish envoy in Berlin and Dresden (1834-1850), Constantine was a linguistic and intellectual polymath, best known in his intellectual role for his history of the Mongols and his

study of the Caucasus, works published in 1824 and 1828.<sup>140</sup> Were these the last phases accomplished in a grandiose project, even vaster than the *Tableau général*, that father and son had shared during their peregrinations of the 1780s and 1790s?

### **What is the *Tableau général de l’Empire Othoman*?**

The starting point for any discussion of d’Ohsson’ *Tableau* must be the relation between its title and its contents. As noted, the full title translates as the “General Picture of the Ottoman Empire, divided into two parts, of which one contains the Muhammadan legislation, the other the History of the Ottoman Empire. “ D’Ohsson clearly began publishing before he had finished writing; and he never delivered exactly what he said. The two volumes published in the 1780s cover many of the topics in Islamic law, with much other information inserted. This kind of discussion continues in the first half of volume three. Gradually, it becomes clear that he is talking about the whole field of law, including not only religious law (the *seriat*), but also the law promulgated by the state (*kanun*), custom (*adet*), and the sultan’s decree power (*örf*), but with many historical and ethnographic digressions. In the second half of the third volume, he shifts instead to what he calls an *état général* or account of the governmental system, excluding only the ulema, which he had already discussed in the second volume. Both the second and the third volumes have long indexes, as if the first two volumes and the third constituted independent works, even though this is not the case. In the English translation, the gap between title and contents is further widened by the reference to “oriental Freemasons”--presumably an attempt to explain the dervis orders. Whether or not it was supposed to become part of an ever vaster ensemble, the *Tableau général* clearly lacks the level of systematization that might reasonably have been expected in such a work. Moreover, while it is a kind of “natural history” in the form of a taxonomical tableau, with historically structured digressions about numerous topics in the taxonomy, it never gets to the “history of the Ottoman Empire” in any other sense.

While we today would criticize him for being unsystematic, d’Ohsson took pains to establish

his authority, as his prospectus makes clear; and he criticized his main source, Ibrahim al-Halabi's *Multaqa*, for lack of system, using that as his excuse to rearrange its topics, which he admitted doing, and to insert heterogeneous materials, which he did not admit.<sup>141</sup>

Why did d'Ohsson give so much importance to Ibrahim al-Halabi's book? Aside from the fact that he must have studied it with his ulema friends, the best answer occurs in a passage where d'Ohsson discusses the accretion of texts used in Islamic religious studies, beginning with the Qur'an and the hadith (reports of sayings or acts of the Prophet), and continuing with layer upon layer of commentary and supercommentary (*sharh, hâshiyya, tâ'liqât*). He asserts that the *Multaqa* is the résumé of this immensity of works, and that--in a familiar phrase--"the 'gate' of independent interpretation of legal questions (*ijtihâd*) is closed": *idjtihhad capoussy capanndy* in his rendering.<sup>142</sup>

To eighteenth-century Francophone readers, who lacked access to the Arabic text and might not know that there was anything strange about including lengthy digressions on Turkish cooking, dervish orders, or Greek dances in a discussion of the shari'at, this presentation probably gave the impression that Islamic law was a comprehensive, rationally intelligible, legal system. As d'Ohsson put it in comment on the Qur'anic "obligation to avoid vice" (*al-nahy min al-munkar*), there is "nothing more sublime than the moral laws established by the ancient doctors to serve as development on the different chapters of the Qur'an.",<sup>143</sup> For Europeans of the Enlightenment, accustomed to cast critiques of their own society in terms of praise for other societies, the idea that the Ottoman Empire had a consistent, all-embracing law code placed the Ottomans on a level that the France of the 1780s could not match. Only very late in his book, in explaining that the sultan's power to punish arbitrarily was limited to his own servants, and that his will was otherwise restrained by religious law and custom, did d'Ohsson explain that Ottoman law also included "ordinances (*kanun, nizam*)" made by the sultan, as well as "its custom (*adet*) and ... the arbitrary will of the Monarch (*örf*)."<sup>144</sup>

Did d'Ohsson know enough to accomplish what he had set out to do? By today's standards,

no. His ulema friends would have found him much less systematic than Ibrahim al-Halabi and would have been shocked at his pretensions to have "translated" a work that he had manipulated so wilfully; but of course they could not read a book written in French. European philosophes might have found Islam as obscurantist as Catholicism, but they could not read books written in Arabic.

D'Ohsson was the broker between two cultures that lacked direct access to each other, and he clearly meant to give a good account of the Ottoman Empire, even while talking about some of its harsher realities. He tended to "explain things" with terms that are closer to European thought-patterns than to Islamic ones. For example, he referred to the caliph as a *pontife*, one of the pope's titles; he referred to the Prophet Muhammad as "the Arab legislator" rather than as the Messenger of God; he described Qur'anic verses as "celestial oracles"; Allah became the Creator or the Supreme Being. This is Enlightenment phraseology. Occasionally d'Ohsson was wrong about something; for example, he seemed to think that "Azam" was part of the name of Abu Hanîfa, whom he always referred to as "*Imam Azam-Ebu-Hanifé*,"<sup>145</sup> in fact, because the empire officially adhered to the Hanefi school of Islamic jurisprudence, the Ottomans referred to Abû Hanîfa as "the greatest imam" (imam-i azam), and that is what this expression means. D'Ohsson's Arabic was heavily Turkish-accented, and his Turkish also displayed some quirks. Yet we know this because he supplies many quotations from the "Cour'ann" and other sources, all in a transcription system designed to signal correct pronunciation to French-speakers. The quoted passages are usually recognizable. For example, "Fé enkéhou ma cabélékum min en-nissa, vé essna, vé sélasse vé rib-a. " which, following his translation, means "Marry the women who please you, to the number of two, three, or four."<sup>146</sup>

As much as his culture-broker role, the fact that d'Ohsson was working chiefly from a manuscript tradition helps to explain his approach. Mentioning the Ibrahim Milteferrika press, the first Ottoman language printing press, and the fifteen books and two maps that he says it had published during its period of operation earlier in the century--works that he had had trouble collecting to add to his historical manuscripts--he tells how reading these works gave him the idea

in 1764 for his work.<sup>147</sup> We get the impression that d'Ohsson must have traveled to Paris with chests containing a certain number of manuscripts and a few printed books, not to mention the pictures that served as bases for the engravings--to us today, it would have seemed like a small collection--and that his entire project depended on what he could do with those, plus his long years of experience in Istanbul. Such a starting point would help to explain a work that takes the organizational plan of the *Multaqa* but not its spirit, rearranges it at will, and inserts other material from the fetvas, especially those of Behcet Abdullah, digressions from historians like [Miineccimbasi] Ahmed Efendi, Sadeddin Efendi or Hasan Beyzade, and large amounts of descriptive material on d'Ohsson's own authority. The end result is an encyclopedic compilation that in many ways lacks the systematic quality of either Enlightenment thought or Islamic jurisprudence, where--in discussing what the seriat says about food, for example--d'Ohsson has far more to say about Ottoman foods and eating habits than about Islamic legal prescriptions concerning what is licit (*halâl*) and illicit (*harâm*).<sup>148</sup>

System or no system, most historians will find the parts based on d'Ohsson's personal experience and information- gathering the most vivid. Here one has to add the illustrations in the large-format edition, some of them double-page illustrations or foldouts. These may comprise the most valuable collection of pictorial evidence that survives from the empire in this period, and they are closely coordinated with the text. Where they display sites that still exist, their accuracy appears to be very great. The most astonishing by far is a double-page picture map of Mecca, presenting a panoramic view of the holy sites, with streams of pilgrims flowing in and out.<sup>149</sup>

Commenting on the prohibition of images in the seriat, but totally abandoning the thoughtworld of Islamic jurisprudence as he goes on to recount his own experience, d'Ohsson describes at length the difficulties he had in obtaining illustrations of official costumes and of the interiors of buildings, especially in the palace, but even more in Mecca and Medina.<sup>150</sup> Because Ottomans, except for the sultans, would not allow their portraits to be painted, even to produce the costume prints required having the costumes worn by different types of officials, dervises, and so

forth, brought to his house or that of the artist, who worked in secret. His portraits of the sultans, which the *Tableau général* says would be published in the "history," were based on originals produced in the palace by non-Muslims artists because of the prejudices of "the nation" (*la nation*) by implication d'Ohsson's term for Ottoman Muslims); the palace portraits were kept in albums, which particular circumstances--a need to rebind in one case--had allowed d'Ohsson to examine first-hand in 1778 and 1780. In 1778 he had employed several painters day and night, he said, to make exact copies, which he had had rechecked and retouched in 1780.<sup>151</sup>

To produce the more ambitious pictures, especially of places within the palace or religious sites, was far more difficult. D'Ohsson relates that in 1778, a high official who was going on Pilgrimage, took one of the best painters in Istanbul to make pictures of both Mecca and Medina. The picture of Mecca was eight feet long by four feet high; that of Medina was smaller. D'Ohsson had difficulty getting permission to have copies of the picture made by the same artist. Then, with the help of two other Muslims who had made the pilgrimage and resided in Mecca for a long time, figures were added to show the observances on the first day of the Feast of Sacrifice (*Kurban Bayram* in Turkish). This, he adds, will illustrate the difficulties that he went to for over ten years to acquire the pictures. He concludes this discussion by saying that he has made it a point never to discuss those who helped him, so as not to expose them to ridicule. As a final note about the "View of Mecca," we should note that it is found in different states in different copies of the large folio edition. In the later state of this plate, sixty-four sites have been numbered and a legend has been added below the title of the print to identify them all; the earlier state of the same plate lacks the numbers and the legend.<sup>152</sup> We have already commented on the effort required to get the pictures shipped to Paris and transformed into the engravings that appear in the book; we have at least alluded to the long Ottoman pictorial tradition that lies behind some of these representations, the picture of Mecca being perhaps the best example.<sup>153</sup>

So many things are told with pictures and so many things are pictured with words in this book, that it is hard to know how to give an idea of what is most interesting. An effort to illustrate

some of the major themes can best begin with d'Ohsson's main theme, before going on to illustrate the value of his reportage about both the life of the common people and the elites.

The central meaning that d'Ohsson found in his study of Islamic jurisprudence is that "an enlightened sultan would find, in the law itself and in the conduct of the ancient caliphs, that with which to combat prejudice, raise the Ottomans above the Centuries in which they emerged, and make them adopt the wise maxims that have contributed to the glory of so many other nations."<sup>154</sup> The early sultans supported education and were personally accomplished; but all that was lost when the princes began to be reared in the harem. "This arbitrary law of the Séail, foremost of all the ills that afflict this vast Empire, reduces all spirits to sterility, and suspends, among the Sovereigns as among the subjects, all progress in the arts and in the sciences."<sup>155</sup>

Many other problems follow from this one, d'Ohsson says: popular prejudice, lack of communication with Europeans, the slow progress of printing, neglect of translation and the study of European languages, and lack of permanent diplomatic representation. The list hints at some of the issues being discussed in elite circles as of 1784, when d'Ohsson left for Paris. The greatest vice of the administration is the uncertainty of tenure in office. Near the end of the reign of AbdWhamid I (1774-1789), there was talk of a new School of Mathematics, which was established, and various other improvements: a machine for masting ships, a new cannon foundry, a new artillery corps. These were pursued with great zeal. Great sums were spent to build new forts at the mouth of the Black Sea. Despite various failures, these efforts prove the aptitude of "the nation" (*la nation*) and the readiness of the ministers to learn, to adopt new systems.<sup>156</sup>

D'Ohsson wants the world to know that the Ottoman elites include people anxious for change. Commenting on ways in which Ottomans violated the Seriat's prohibition against music, he says that young Ottomans of high status did not hesitate to visit prominent Greek families, some of which lived absolutely European-style. Going at night so as not to be recognized, the Muslims had no scruple about drinking wine, singing at table, and forgetting the severity of their customs. Sometimes, they even danced, usually the dance known as the *georgina*, which he describes as a

kind of pantomime.<sup>157</sup> Commenting on the seriat's prohibition of images, d'Ohsson said there was no picture on public view, except the one that "Ghazy-Hassan Pascha" had. Having served in Algeria and having traveled through Spain and Italy, he had had European painters paint a picture showing the Algerians defeating the Spanish. Gazi Hasan Pasa had this picture at his country house and would invite non-Muslims and Europeans to come see it. Sultan Abdilhamid I also went to see it and on one occasion took part of his harem with him.<sup>158</sup>

If the theme of Ottoman readiness for cultural change and westernization seems like a strange one in a work presented by its author as a translation of a sixteenth-century manual of Islamic jurisprudence, perhaps we should remember that d'Ohsson had begun research for his book twenty years before he went to France. During that time, his goals may have changed--a very high probability indeed, given what we have seen of his life and personality. In any event, his presentation of Islam supports his argument about Ottoman readiness for reform by presenting Islam as precisely the kind of rational religion that Enlightenment thinkers might appreciate.

D'Ohsson's presentation of the *Multaqa* is part of this way of looking at Islam, but there is much more. For example, commenting on the principle that believing in the predictions of soothsayers is infidelity, he introduces his thirty-page digression on the history of magic and astrology by saying that "One cannot stop oneself from admiring the genius of the *Arab Legislator* (Muhammad) when he forbade, as contrary to Muslim faith, the supposed secrets of [this] art..."<sup>159</sup> Commenting on the veneration of relics-- something that philosophes could not have approved in Catholic Europe--d'Ohsson makes even this sound like part of his rational religion. He describes the relics kept at Topkapi Palace, particularly the banner and mantle of the Prophet (*sancak-i serif*, *hirka-i serif*), and the rituals associated with them, and he insists that Muslims do not attribute any miraculous power to these relics.<sup>160</sup> His voluminous account of the pilgrimage and the two Holy Cities could similarly have given European readers the feeling that they understood something of which they might hardly have heard the name before.<sup>161</sup> If this kind of cognitive mastery was, as anti-Orientalist critics tell us, a precursor of imperialist domination, at this stage it also seems an

advance over earlier ignorance and misinformation.

What d'Ohsson attempts to do for Islamic law, he also attempts to do for the Ottoman governmental structure. His description of the religious hierarchy, the palace, the scribal and military institutions deserves recognition as the most complete and authoritative for this period in any language. His attention to the history of the offices, their powers, the mode of appointment to them, their official costumes, and their incomes does indeed offer the reader a vast panorama of this complex imperial system. Here, again, he adds much that is not directly part of the picture, such as his pioneering description of the dervish orders, whose ceremonies he said he had often attended. What he writes about the dervish orders is mostly very inaccurate, a function presumably of the sources he had to draw on; however, his illustrations, most notably the set of five illustrating successive moments in the ceremony (*dhikr*) of the Rifâ'î order, are more memorable.<sup>162</sup>

One of d'Ohsson's most important interests is to describe Ottoman society. Some of his descriptions are so vivid that it is hard to understand why scholars have neglected them. Giving the *Tableau* the kind of proto-ethnographic value often associated with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's "Turkish Letters," such passages in d'Ohsson, while far more numerous, have paradoxically attracted far less scholarly notice.<sup>163</sup> A selection of examples, about both the common people and about the elite, will illustrate this point.

To his discussion of the seriat's requirements about dress for men and women, d'Ohsson adds his own description of dress.<sup>164</sup> Ordinary Muslims, he says, wear only white muslin for their turbans in Istanbul and the European provinces; in other parts of his book, d'Ohsson also gives information about the many types of turbans of the period. Muslims are also distinguished by the color of their shoes: yellow Morocco leather, except for the ulema, who wear dark blue, and certain classes of the military, who wear red boots. Muslims are always distinguished by their head-covering; they never uncover their heads; they generally have their heads shaved, except for a topknot; and they wind their turbans over a red fess--an interesting point, since the supposed introduction of the fez (sans turban) was a central, much-contested part of the "dress revolution" that followed the abolition of

the Janissaries in 1826. There is no Muslim man without a moustache, d'Ohsson says, although full beards are less common.

In commenting on preferences in fabrics and furs, major business interests of the Armenian merchant class from which d'Ohsson sprang, he says that the Ottomans have left the Qur'anic prohibition against luxury fabrics far behind. The great luxury for both sexes, he adds, is fur. How they are worn is a matter of etiquette, not fashion. Seasonal changes in the wearing of fur are dictated by the sultan. In the late season, he puts on ermine; three weeks later, miniver; then sable all winter. In the spring, he shifts back to miniver, then ermine. In the summer, it's a ferece (for ferace, a light cloak) of watered Angora wool. The changes are usually made on Fridays, when the sultan goes to mosque. He sends word to the Grand Vezir, and the word spreads from there. Women wear whatever furs they choose. All winter outfits have a double border of fur in front. In the depth of winter, all who can wear two furs or even three. D'Ohsson seconded the opinion of Ottoman economic thinkers (*des économistes nationaux*), that the costs of Russian furs and of fine Indian fabrics, especially muslin, together with the pilgrimage, caused a currency drain amounting to 20 million kurus per year, most of it in gold.<sup>165</sup> As we have seen, d'Ohsson was not above a bit of fur trading himself.

Non-Muslims have to dress quite differently, because clothing, especially headgear, is regarded as a mark of religion. In the old days, d'Ohsson says, one way to attack an official was to nail a European-style hat to his door. Non-Muslims cover their heads with a hat of black fur, the *kalpak*, although non-Muslims use different headcoverings in the Asian provinces or the Greek islands. Otherwise, non-Muslims are mainly distinguished by the color of their shoes: they wear black boots. Non-Muslim women, even if they dress like Europeans at home, dress like Muslim women when they go out. Non-Muslims attached to the service of a foreign power can wear the clothes of Muslims, including the yellow shoes; but they would never put on the turban, for that is a mark of religion. Non-Muslims under the protection of a foreign power wear a particular kind of sable cap, like that worn by the Translator of the Imperial Divan or the Princes of Wallachia and

Moldavia. There are also many regional variations, d'Ohsson adds; the fact that d'Ohsson characteristically has little to say about conditions outside Istanbul is one sign, incidentally, of the difference of genre between the *Tableau général* and the European travel writing with which it is occasionally confused. D'Ohsson concludes that this diversity in dress, which is striking everywhere, but more so in the port cities, and most of all in the capital, creates everywhere the most joyful and picturesque spectacle. However, the police are very attentive to the dress of women, and men, and especially non-Muslims.

If we had time to combine these comments on the dress of the people with d'Ohsson's detailed information on the different costumes required for all branches of the official elites, we would have a picture of incredible diversity and detail. Anyone wishing to make a historical film about the Ottoman Empire would have a hard time finding more complete information than he offers, at least for the capital city.

Turning now to the many scenes devoted to the life of the elites, it is hard to choose just one to relate. D'Ohsson describes these with the words of someone awed by their splendor and deeply sensitive to their Islamic significance. An adage of the period had it that "wealth is in India, reason in Europe, splendor in the House of Osman." Surprisingly, d'Ohsson does not seem to quote this, as other authors did; yet he clearly believed it.<sup>166</sup>

He emphasizes the high incidence of religious observance among the elites, adding that almost the only thing for which an official would be criticized was failing in this regard.<sup>167</sup> He seems to have been particularly impressed with the procession for what he calls the *taklid-séif* (*taklid-i seyf*), the Ottoman equivalent of a European coronation, when the new sultan, on the fifth day after coming to the throne, would go to the shrine at Eyyub to be girded with the sword of Osman.<sup>168</sup> "The beauty of the horses, the richness of the costumes of the officers and principally of the *Capoudjis-Baschis* [palace gatekeepers, robed in cloth of gold], the elegant uniforms of the body guards, and the splendor of the harness of all the chargers mounted by the great men of the State, form a spectacle corresponding to one's idea of oriental magnificence." The procession would pass

between two rows of Janissaries in total silence. Cheering was forbidden. But occasionally a woman would cry *ma~allah* ("may God preserve him," in this case) or pray in a low voice for the sultan's prosperity. The sultan saluted only the soldiers who lined the way, placing his right hand on his chest and turning his eyes to right and left. "The salute of the Janissaries is worth seeing: they incline their head toward their shoulder, as if to offer it to the Sovereign's sword."

Another of d'Ohsson's most memorable scenes is that of the court's observance of the birthday of the Prophet with a ceremonial performance of the *Mevlud-i Serif*, a poetical work on the nativity of the Prophet, each year on the twelfth of Rebi ül-Evvel in the Sultan Ahmed Mosque,<sup>169</sup> that mosque being chosen because the At Meydani or Hippodrome in front of it alone provided enough space for the sultan's huge procession with all its horses and for those of all the other dignitaries. The occasion was a remarkable mixture of civil and religious ritual. The sultan and the high officials would arrive separately with the officers of their households. The chief black eunuch (*kizlar agasi*), guardian of the imperial harem, would preside in his additional capacity as supervisor of the imperial foundations that supported the Two Holy Cities; the fact that d'Ohsson's father-in-law had once served as financier to this functionary may have contributed to d'Ohsson's interest in, and knowledge of, this ceremony. The special etiquette for the occasion required the officials to sit on *ihrams* (special small carpets) turned not toward the *mihrab* but towards the balcony where the sultan sat. The *nakib ül-esraf* (chief of the descendants of the Prophet) sat under a green tent. Two rows of Janissaries with their tall headdresses separated the officials from the public, as shown in one of d'Ohsson's finest full-page engravings, one of those supervised by Cochin. When the sultan entered, he would allow a brief glimpse of his turban from his balcony, and all would rise and bow deeply.

The recitation would begin with a three-part text praising the Prophet, each part sung by a high religious official. During this, *Serbet* (a fruit-flavored sweet drink), rose water, and incense would be presented to the sultan and officials. Then the *muezzins* would sing the *na't-i grif*, a hymn in praise of the Prophet. Next, fifteen other chanters (*muvegihs*) would sing a hymn. The three

reciters, one after the other, would intone the *Mewludiye*, a hymn in Turkish verse on the birth of the Prophet, during which trays would be placed before the guests containing dried sweets and serbets. When the second reciter recited the words that announced the birth of the Prophet, everyone would stand; and a ceremonial letter would be presented to the Sultan from the 5erif of Mecca announcing the successful conclusion of the pilgrimage three months earlier. The ceremony would end with a short prayer recited by all; the reciters would be given furs or caftans, and coins would be tossed to the crowd as the sultan's procession made its way back to the palace. Surely, anyone who has ever heard the *Mevlud-i Serif* performed in one of the great Istanbul mosques would give anything to have witnessed one of these occasions.

Among numerous vignettes pertaining to the private life of the sultan, d'Ohsson reports that the sultan often made outings, called *binis*, to one of his nearly eighty *kösks* outside the palace.<sup>170</sup> Usually he went by water. People would see twenty boats rowed rapidly by. In one, the *dulbend-aga*, a palace functionary in charge of the sultan's turbans, would hold an imperial turban, inclining it to one side and then the other. The two imperial *sandals* (boats) both had thirteen pairs of rowers. In the first, the sultan sat under a tent of scarlet cloth, and the Bostandji-Baschi (or head of the palace guards) held the rudder. The second imperial *sandal* carried the Sultan's imam and some other high palace officials; one of these sat at the prow carrying the sultan's ewer full of water suspended from a long baton; the sultan rode in this boat on his return. The boats of the Chief Black Eunuch and the Aga of the Privy Treasury (*Hazinedar-Aga*), the two most important officials of the Third Court and the Harem, had twelve pairs of rowers. The others had seven pairs. All the rowers were *Bostancis*, Janissaries assigned to the palace guard, except for the last six boats, which were rowed by galley slaves from the Admiralty (*Tersane*); their appearance contrasted strangely with the rest of the spectacle.

The sultan would leave for his outing around ten in the morning and return around sundown. Various spectacles would be offered for his entertainment. Sometimes, pages would pretend to fight each other with long copper tubes that had balls of wool on the end (*tomak*). Sometimes, pages

mounted on fiery chargers and divided into two teams would attack each other with javelins without metal points (*cirid*). Wrestlers (*pehlivan*), bare to the waist and oiled, would fight, and that would be followed by foot races, horse races, jumping contests, or erotic dancing by Greek boys. In a learned-looking footnote, d'Ohsson informs us that those who fought in the *cirid* contest were called *djindis* (*dindi*) and numbered about two hundred. Their two teams were called *bamyaci* and *lahanaci*, "okra-sellers" and "cabbage-sellers," or perhaps better the "okra team" and the "cabbage team"; and great animosity reigned between them. The Grand Vezir had eighty *dindis*, and each province governor had some. Throwing the *cirid*, he adds, was the young men's favorite exercise, and even high-placed individuals liked to show off their skill. Grand Vezir Izzet Mehmed Pqa, who marched in 1799 to aid Egypt after the French invasion, had lost an eye because of a *cirid* blow; this is the same man who, according to a letter quoted above, had to "orient" himself when d'Ohsson, after returning from Europe, appeared before him in European dress. D'Ohsson does not mention it and quite likely did not know it, but Sultan Selim III, under his pen-name *ilhami*, wrote a mock-heroic poem praising cabbage at the expense of okra, almost surely an illusion to these teams and their mock combat.<sup>171</sup> With this, we come to an amusing place to stop a discussion that could become a book by itself.

## Conclusion

In being both highly interesting and highly inconsistent, the *Tableau general* parallels the erratic life of its author. Catherine II of Russia was known to mock her Quixotic Swedish cousin, the king whom d'Ohsson served when he went to Paris, as "Don Gustave."<sup>172</sup> Mouradgea, and his royal master did not lack resemblances. Especially from 1789 on, the times perhaps made a certain Quixotism inevitable for rulers and diplomats of small states. Financial stringency was as much a reality and a source of conflict for the king as, after 1789, for d'Ohsson. Long before that, both men had purposefully destabilized their identities by their "Gallomania,"<sup>173</sup> by trying to resite themselves in the francophone cosmopolitanism of the Enlightenment; the uncertain status of

Armenian Catholics added to this precariousness for d'Ohsson. Both men experienced reverses in their careers. Yet both displayed significant continuities of purpose.<sup>174</sup> Erratic in both his life and his writings, d'Ohsson showed his motivation and consistency most notably in his huge investment of effort and money in the *Tableau général*, a project sustained by him and his heirs, despite discontinuities, from the time his researches began in 1764 until the last part of the work appeared sixty years later. He and perhaps also his son also seem to have regarded the *Tableau général* as part of an even grander complex, an even more unrealistic dream of which they persisted in producing parts.

What significance does d'Ohsson's masterwork possess for a later age? In some ways, for all its lack of system, d'Ohsson's work did set a new standard of accuracy. It is true that he set a pernicious precedent in trying to "explain" things by drawing facile analogies, such as that between the Muslim caliph and the Catholic pope. One of the accomplishments of the later, much-maligned discipline of academic orientalism, was to start cleaning up this kind of thing. D'Ohsson helped to set a standard for such later advances in several ways: he relied on both original sources and fifty years of direct observation in his native land, he knew the relevant languages and could render Ottoman and Arabic names and terms accurately and more or less phonetically into French, and he produced and coordinated rich funds of both pictorial and literary evidence. The value of his text is uneven. The weakness of what he writes about Islamic mysticism, as noted above, contrasts oddly with the interest of his illustrations on the subject. A great deal of expert, comparative research remains to be done to verify the accuracy of what he wrote about the inner palace and women's issues that he could know only indirectly. The same is true of some of the subjects that he did know by experience, such as some of his descriptions of social life and customs. Yet the value of his unrivaled description of the Ottoman governmental system, while it lacks the narrative interest to lend itself to recounting in a discussion like the present one, has been recognized by generations of later scholars.<sup>175</sup>

What did d'Ohsson's work mean to contemporaries? For Europeans, surely its most powerful

message was that the Ottoman Empire was not a lawless despotism, but had an intelligible legal and governmental system; that "its public and private woes" derived "neither from the Religion nor from the Law; that they derived from popular prejudices...." To correct these abuses would require "only a superior spirit, a wise, enlightened ... Sultan."<sup>176</sup> In Parisian circles, where many philosophes were paid admirers of Catherine II of Russia, to hold up the Ottoman Empire, Russia's and Austria's enemy, as potentially an enlightened despotism was to take a stand in a long-running debate about the Ottomans and the idea of despotism in general. This is what made d'Ohsson interesting to Jacques Mallet Du Pan, paid publicist for the Swedes and an acerbic critic of the Russophiles.<sup>177</sup> D'Ohsson's stand aligned him implicitly with the foreign policy of Vergennes and explicitly, in the literary politics of the day, with Claude Charles de Peyssonnel's pro-Ottoman attacks on the anti-Ottoman writings of the Baron de Tott and Constantin-François Volney.<sup>178</sup> Pre-revolutionary Parisian public opinion also favored the Ottomans, at least according to the bookseller-diarist Siméon-Prosper Hardy. He noted in 1788 that "everyone has become, so to speak, Turkish in our capital, so much do people now show interest in the cause of the Ottomans, so much do they wish them success" in their war against Russia and Austria (1787-1791)--a war coinciding, as noted, with an important Swedish-Russian war.<sup>179</sup> Unfortunately, d'Ohsson's significance for the debate on despotism has remained little appreciated in European historiography. "Rich in facts, but not very agreeable in its form, and of a magnificence of execution that placed it beyond mediocre fortunes," the work did not "gain wide distribution at the time of its publication., 180 The Revolution opened new debates of greater urgency than that on oriental despotism. Finally, the transition to the modern episteme, dated by Foucault to 1775-1825 with a major turning point around 1795-1800, had rendered works like d'Ohsson's *Tableau général* obsolete by the time the last volume was published.

To Ottoman contemporaries, d'Ohsson's work meant something different. While his research may have begun apolitically as a study of Ibrahim al-Halabi or the Ottoman chroniclers, by the time he went to Paris d'Ohsson's project had acquired political relevance as part of the attempt to

influence France in favor of the Ottoman Empire and seek aid for what would become the reforms of Selim III's New Order. As d'Ohsson put it, "an enlightened sultan would find, in the law itself" the means to "combat prejudice" and "adopt the wise maxims that have contributed to the glory of so many other nations."<sup>181</sup> The practice of rearing princes in the palace not only produces sultans unprepared to rule but also leads, d'Ohsson goes on, to many other problems: popular prejudice, lack of communication with Europeans, the slow progress of printing, neglect of translation and of the study of European languages, the lack of permanent diplomatic representation, and--worst of all--insecurity of tenure in office.<sup>182</sup> "A few young Muslims of good family," educated in Europe, would produce "a perceptible transformation (*une révolution sensible*) in letters and in public administration."<sup>183</sup> Significantly, in the part of the work published after Selim III's fall and d'Ohsson's death--both in 1807--passages evocative of this reformist agenda are harder to find. However, d'Ohsson's advocacy of it is confirmed by his role in producing another work, namely, Ebu Bekir Ratib's lengthy report on his 1792 embassy to Austria, a text that provided legitimation in advance for Selim III's New Order, partly by arguing that the Austrians had already carried out their own reform program under the very same name, "new order" (*nizam-i cedit*).<sup>184</sup>

A marginal man struggling to represent himself as a European amid the sharp discontinuities of his career and his desperate struggles over money, d'Ohsson's accomplishment as author of the *Tableau* was, then, not only to produce a great taxonomy of his own, albeit one riddled with internal incompatibilities, but through it to challenge a rival, Russophilic mode of thought that enjoyed much wider currency in the cosmopolitan francophone culture of the day. At the same time, d'Ohsson strove energetically to prepare for a major new turn in Ottoman government policy. As he did so, he documented the Ottoman state and way of life of his day more fully than any other writer. Ironically, less colossal ambitions for his publishing project would surely have brought him greater success in influencing European opinion. Yet however cruelly his life unraveled in his later years, d'Ohsson's seems like a memorable achievement for such an exotic denizen of the eighteenth-century Republic of Letters.

## NOTES

## Abbreviations Used in the Notes:

AAE Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères, Paris and Nantes  
 BKH Beskickningen i Konstantinopel Huvudserien, Istanbul Embassy Papers, RA  
 BMR Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen  
 BOA Basbakanlik Osmanli Arsivi, Istanbul  
 CP Correspondance politique, AAE  
 HH Hatt-ı Hümayun, imperial rescripts, a classification in BOA  
 RA Riksarkivet, Stockholm  
 UUL Uppsala University Library

1. This study would not have been possible without the assistance of a number of people. I am especially indebted to Carol Adamson and Folke Ludwigs (Stockholm); Kemal Beydilli (Istanbul); Onnik Jamgocyan, Faruk Bilici, and Frédéric Hitzel (France); GfInsel Renda (Ankara); Vassilis Lambropoulos (University of Michigan), Claudio Fogu, Dona Straley and Patrick Visel (Ohio State University).
2. Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses: une archéologie des sciences humaines*, Paris, 1966, 53-54; 71.
3. Foucault, *Les mots et les choses*, 86-89.
4. Foucault, *Les mots et les choses*, 91.
5. *Description de l’Egypte, ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Egypt pendant l’expédition de l’Armée française*, first edition, 17 (?) vols., Paris, 1809-1822; second edition, 24 vol., Paris, 1821-29.
6. Foucault, *Les mots et les choses*, 143-44, 381.
7. Foucault, *Les mots et les choses*, 225, 233.
8. Ignatius Mouradgea d’Ohsson, *Tableau général de l’Empire ottoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l’une comprend la législation mahométane, l’autre, l’histoire de l’Empire ottoman*, 3 vols. in elephant folio, Paris, 1787-1820, also published as 7 vols. in octavo, Paris, 1787-1824.
9. Marie et Antoine Gautier, “Antoine de Murat, drogman de Suède et musicologue (ca. 1739-1813),” Association des Anciens Elèves des Langues Orientales, *Le Bulletin*, April 1998, 90-91, citing Archives Nationales (Paris), AEB/I/1051 [?], parish register of the Latin Catholic church of Saint-Polycarpe in Izmir, record of her marriage to “Jean Mouradgea” (gallicizing his given name), and noting that she was the daughter of Gabriel Pagy, clerk at the French consular chancery in Izmir; other members of the Pagy family appear in consular or commercial roles.
10. Kemal Beydilli, “Ignatius Mouradgea d’Ohsson (Muradcan Tosunyan),” *Tarih Dergisi*, 34 (1983-84), 250 (quoting from one of Ohannes Mouradgea’s translatorship warrants [*berat*]); Onnik Jamgocyan, “Les finances de l’Empire ottoman et les financiers de Constantinople (1732-1853),” Ph.D. diss., University of Paris I (Sorbonne), 1988, 358-59, 589-603, “Le Dragomanat honoraire”; Ali Ihsan Bagis, *Osmanli Ticaretinde Gayri Müslimler: Kapitulasyonlar, Avrupa Tüccarlari, Beratli Tüccarlar, Hayriye Tüccarlari, 1750-1839*, Ankara, 1983.

11. Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1923*, London, 1983, 153-66, 178-89; Jamgocyan, "Les finances," 573-79 (Catholic-Apostolic antagonism among Armenian financiers of Istanbul); Riksarkivet, Stockholm (hereafter RA), Turcica 60, Mouradgea to the King, 11 Sept. 1781, reporting the Armenian patriarch's "fanatical fury" against Armenian Catholics during the past three years.
12. Fatma Miige Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of the Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, New York, 1996, 94-95, discussing both d'Ohsson and Dimitri Cantemir, remembered both as an authority on Ottoman music and as the author of a work on the "rise and decline" of the Ottoman Empire, originally written in Latin but first published in London in English translation in the 1730s; Marie et Antoine Gautier, "Antoine de Murat, drogman... et musicologue."
13. Jamgocyan, "Les finances," 138.
14. Jamgocyan, "Les finances," 470-516, 523-70 (the *sarrafs*' quick enrichment, high interest rates, high risks, characteristic combination of trade and finance, especially trade in jewels, furs, textiles; their dependence on high Ottoman dignitaries, whom they in turn kept in debt dependency on themselves; their vulnerability to confiscation, execution; enrichment in trade before finance, scale of trade ventures).
15. Jamgocyan, "Les Finances," 36-37, 248, 285-86; Suraiya Faroqi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans, 1517-1683*, 89, comparing the annual financial demands of the pilgrimage to those of major military campaigns.
16. Onnik Jamgocyan, "I. M. d'Ohsson, un Arménien au service de la diplomatie ottomane," in *Histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman et de la Turquie (1326-1920). Actes A Congrès International tenu à Aix-en-Provence...1992*, Paris, 1995, 620; art. "d'Ohsson, Ignatius Mouradgea," in *Biographiskt Lexikon öfver namnkunnige Svenska Man*, Uppsala, 1844, X, 206-208; Gunnar Jarring, "Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Ignatius," *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, Stockholm, 1985-87, XXV, 753-55.
17. Between August and November 1780, he chartered five Ragusan ships to transport grain with an aggregate value of 716,000 paras (nearly 18,000 Ottoman kurus, worth nearly 4,000 Venetian gold ducats at that time, from Volo or Salonika to Genoa for sale: Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Bailo a Costantinopoli, Busta 513, pp. 176-77, 185, 186, 187, 188, dated Istanbul, 10 August 1780 (one shipment) and 22 November 1780 (four shipments), reference kindly supplied by Daniel Panzac (Aix-en-Provence); Jamgocyan, "Les finances," 556, 644 n. 142 (the same transactions).
18. Uppsala University Library (hereafter UUL), Ur F 429, Mouradgea d'Ohsson to Gustaf 111, 20 Sept. 1786. As a part of his system of secret diplomacy, Gustaf III (r. 1771-1792) used such secretaries to report on and control the chiefs of the diplomatic missions: Sven Tunberg, Carl-Fredrik Palmstierna, and others, *Histoire de l'administration des affaires étrangères de Suède*, trans. Alfred Mohn, Uppsala, 1940, 347.
19. I have not found any mss. pertaining to this project; however, d'Ohsson's translation of the account of the reign of Bayezid II from an unidentified Ottoman chronicle does survive: Royal Library (Stockholm), MS D 1494, "Histoire Othomane. Livre Douzième. Bayezid II. Fils de Mohammed II." A note in Swedish, inserted at the front, identifies this as a "translation from the Turkish Annals." D'Ohsson characteristically identified his sources as "les annales de la nation," often without being more specific.

20. Beydilli, "Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson," 255; RA, Beskickningen i Konstantinopel Huvudserien (hereafter BKH, Istanbul embassy main series), II.C, Murat to Mouradgea, letter dated 9 August 1784 ("The idea that M. Coulely had to go to France instead of going to Chios as he said has produced the worst impression on everyone here. He is generally hated, detested, regarded as a traitor and rascal."), II. A, G. J. Heidenstam to Mouradgea, letter of 10 Feb. 1785, speaking of obtaining payments that Mouradgea claimed from the Ottoman government, Heidenstam mentioned "the harm that the departure of C[oulely] and other circumstances may have done you in the mind of the ministry. " I have yet to find clear evidence on the matter, but Kuleliyan may not have settled all his accounts before leaving Istanbul; Mouradgea definitely had unsettled financial business when he left.

21. Jamgocyan, "Les finances," 285-86, 415-16, quoting Archivio di Stato di Trieste, C. R. Governo 1108, minute of sequestration filed by Sérabion Couleli at the Swedish Embassy, Istanbul, 20 May 1802, on behalf of "direct heirs," citing the death of Abraham Couléli (Kuleliyan) in Istanbul, 13-14 May 1802, asserting that I. M. d'Ohsson has custody of 41 shares of the Caisse d'Escompte of 1 January 1791, of 4770 livres apiece, worth 195,570 livres in all, further alleging that when d'Ohsson left Paris on 11 August 1791 he deposited part of these shares with the Caisse d'Escompte and part of them with the Veuve Le Leu and Company banking house, and giving the present value of the shares as 225,236 kurus. Compare Archives des Affaires Etrangères (hereafter AAE, Paris), Correspondance Politique de la Turquie (hereafter CP Turquie), vol. 207, Mouradgea d'Ohsson's appeal for financial assistance to First Consul Bonaparte, 24 nivôse an 12/13 January 1804: "On leaving Paris in 1791, he [d'Ohsson] had confided his interests to a banking house (Le Leu & Co.) which, toppled during the Revolution, carried away all the fortune of the undersigned, 130 shares of the Caisse d'Escompte, several *contines* of the loan of the former duc d'Orleans, almost all the copies of a work produced in Paris and of which the printing etc. and the engravings had cost around 300 thousand L[ivres] &c. "

22. *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la république des lettres en France depuis MDCCLXII jusqu'à nos jours; ou Journal d'un observateur*, London, 1786, XXVI, 74-75. Non-Muslims were, in fact, not supposed to wear the attire of Muslims. For an eighteenth-century picture showing the outfit of an Ottoman interpreter, of necessity a non-Muslim since Ottoman Muslims had not yet begun to study European languages, see Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East: A Brief History of the Last 2,000 Years*, New York, 1995, among the illustrations following p. 212; the illustration was originally published in Octavien Dalvimart, *The Costume of Turkey*, London, 1802. Compare RA, BKH, I.A, G. J. Heidenstam to Mouradgea, 25 Sept. 1784: "Moreover what you tell me about your costume and the way people look at you in Paris well paints the city and the character of the nation. I believe, like you, that it will be better to quit it [the costume] after it has served as a sort of pass-key (passepartout)."

23. Mouradgea's colleague at the Istanbul embassy, G. J. Heidenstam, asked to be remembered to "Mr. le baron Stael" (RA, BKH, I.A, letters from Heidenstam. to Mouradgea, 21 May 1784, mentioning Stael, Rosenstein, and the brothers Ferber), referred to Mouradgea's having met with "the King," presumably meaning Gustave III (I. A, letter of 25 September 1784), and expressed satisfaction at news of the marriage of "Mr. l'ambr.," presumably meaning de Staël's marriage to Germaine Necker (IV.A, letters from Heidenstam to Mouradgea, 10 March 1786); a few references to Mouradgea appear in Baron de Staël's correspondence in connection with Mallet Du Pan: L. Uouzon Le Duc, *Correspondance diplomatique A baron de Staël-Holstein*, Paris, 1881, 99, 127, letters of 2 April and 17 September 1789.

24. Archives Nationales (Paris), T/154, liasse 16, documents of 1784-1786 and some undated.

25. F. -T., "Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Ignace," in *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, ed. Michaud, Paris, 1843, vol. ?, 471.
26. Beydilli, "Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson," 256.
27. RA, BKH 55, IVB, from Silvestre de Serpos to Mouradgea, letter of 11 March 1786, mentioning that for 20 or 30 kurus, he could get their mutual friend Ahmed Efendi to transcribe a work, which the latter had shown Serpos, "containing the uninterrupted series of Schehs [Seyhs] and Dervis [dervis]. " The Serpos family and d'Ohsson's banker Murat were all parts, as was d'Ohsson, of Abraham Kuleliyan's family network: Jamgocyan, "Les finances," 583-84.
28. Letter from Christian Michel, Nanterre, 25 May 1999; Michel thinks that the Didot archives were recycled for paper during World War I.
29. AAE (Paris), CP Turquie 170, from Choiseul-Gouffier, Istanbul, 20 March 1784, reporting that Mouradgea had recently left Istanbul, charged by the Grand Vezir to convey friendly assurances to the King of Sweden and seek a renewal of alliance.
30. Personal communication from Kemal Beydilli, who had corresponded with this gentleman in Finland.
31. UUL, UR F429, Mouradgea to Gustave 111, 20 Sept<sup>bre</sup> 1786, cover letter and enclosed prospectus (a manuscript copy) submitted to the king; *L'Année Littéraire*, 5 (1787), 131-38 (announcing opening of subscription for volumes I and 11 at 150 livres per volume, 180 starting in July.); *Ancien Moniteur* (reimpression), VI, 352 (18 Dec. 1790), 656, subscription for the first two volumes, again at 150 livres each, and announcing three volumes to follow at 400 livres, announcing also a lottery, in which 20 sets of the prints, "carefully illuminated," would be presented to the winners from among the subscribers.
32. Beydilli, "D'Ohsson," 253 n. 38, arguing that one of the unnamed religious functionaries may have a certain Serifzade, a medrese professor (*müderris*), who had committed murder and then taken refuge in the Swedish embassy, where the ambassador tried to protect him, and where he perhaps became d'Ohsson's collaborator.
33. *Mercure de France*, samedi 14 Mars 1787, supplément (follows p. 192), d'Ohsson's "Discours préliminaire," published here by way of prospectus, 7-10. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, III, 312, n.: he says that getting information on the harem from the husbands of women who had formerly resided in it cost him more trouble and presents than all the rest of the book.
34. *Mercure de France*, samedi 14 Mars 1787, supplément (follows p. 192), 33-45, including list of 76 plates, of which some seem, from these descriptions, not to have been included in the final publication.
35. Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier, eds., *Histoire de l'édition française*, Paris, 1984, 11, 572.
36. *Mercure de France*, CXXXIV (15 March -1788), 103-19; Michel, "Une entreprise de gravure," 20, 25 n. 32 (reviews of vol. 1).
37. André Monglond, *La France révolutionnaire et impériale: annales de bibliographie méthodique et description des livres illustrés*, I, Grenoble, 1930, cols. 1135-1143, inventory of plates in the

*Tableau*, including their subjects and the names, as found on the plates, of the artists who worked on them.

38. Christian Michel, "Une entreprise de gravure à la veille de la Révolution: Le Tableau général de l'Empire othoman," *Nouvelles de l'Estampe*, no. 84, December 1985, 6-25; Michel, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin et le livre illustré au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Geneva, 1987, 381; Michel, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin et l'art des Lumières*, Rome, 1993, 106, 174-78, 441, 445.

39. Basic information on French artists of this period can be found in Charles Du Peloux, *Répertoire biographique et bibliographique des artistes A XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle français*, 2 vols., Paris, 1930-41. I believe all the artists mentioned in the documentation pertaining to Cochin's work for Mouradgea, including Cochin, Née, Hilaire, Lingée, and Moreau le Jeune, can be found in the alphabetical listing of painters and engravers, I, 1-160. They can also be traced in the index of Michel, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin et l'art des Lumières*.

40. Michel, "Une entreprise de gravure," 9, citing Bibliotheque Municipale de Rouen hereafter BNR), cote 68 p., letter of Cochin to Descamps, 6 May 1786, and "Mémoire pour M. Cochin," p. 8, mentioning "M. Roslin Peintre du Roy"; Claude Nordmann, *Gustave III: un démocrate couronné*, Lille, 1993, 203-204 on Roslin.

41. Michel, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin et l'art des Lumières*, 445; cf. Michel, "Une entreprise de gravure," 10, for a more detailed explanation, quoted from Cochin, about the technical issues of rendering the original pictures as engravings: he thought the perspective of the pictures usually suffered from too high a point of view and that the engravers needed to modulate light and shading carefully to suggest color.

42. Personal communication from Günsel Renda, July 1998, who I hope will undertake a study of this topic.

43. RA, BKH 53, letters from A. de Murat to Mouradgea, 10 April 1784: "your painter" has turned over thirty-five small figures, including the nineteen that had to be retouched, but has not yet done anything on the "Scheikhs" or the "Dervischs"; Murat to Mouradgea, 26 April 1784: "The painter Constantine has just turned over 25 figures of Dervischs & Scheikhs"; Murat to Mouradgea, 10 May 1784, expense accounts for two collaborators, "your Dervisch" and painter Constantine, of whom the latter wanted 50 paras each for the small figures and 100 paras a day for the days he "ran for" the Dervischs and Scheikhs; Murat to Mouradgea, 10 Dec. 1784 (see next note); BKH 54, Murat to Mouradgea, 10 Feb. 1785, announcing shipment of a chest containing the two oil paintings and 71 figures painted on paper, along with large quantities of luxury goods (fine pipes, tobacco, rouge); Murat to Mouradgea, 9 April 1785: painter Constantine has not yet been able to do the portrait of the Muslim performing his ablutions (see plate 12, *Tableau général*, 1, 158). See also RA, Turcica 103, enclosure with Mouradgea to the king, 16 June 1788, listing among other debts 347 kurus "for the painter Constantine." While the identity of the Dervis whose expenses were paid remains unclear, the Constantine mentioned here may have been a known Ottoman painter of the period, Constantine Kapıdaglı, whose portrait of Selim III appears as the frontispiece in Kemal Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne, Mühendishâne Matbaası ve Kütüphanesi (1776-1826)*, Istanbul, 1995. See also Günsel Renda, "Ressam Kostantin Kapıdaglı Hakkında Yeni Görüşler," 19. *Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Sanat Ortami: HABITAT II'ye Hazırlık Sempozyumu 14-15 Mart 1996 Bildiriler*, Istanbul, 1996, 139-62; Renda, "Searching for New Media in 18th Century Ottoman Painting: Some Archival Documents as Sources," in *Festschrift für Hans Georg Majer*, in press, 1 - 10; and Renda, "Selim III's Portraits and the European Connection," *Tenth International Congress of Turkish Art*, Geneva, in press, 73-79.

44. RA, BKH 53, I. C, Murat to Mouradgea, letter of 10 X<sup>bre</sup> (December) 1784. In the *Tableau général*, these pictures correspond most closely to pl. 23, "Tombeau de Mr. le Comte de Bonneval Ahmed Pascha" (1, 250) and pl. 232, "Diner d'un ministre européen avec le Grand vésir dans la salle du Divan" (111, 454, double-page engraving); see *Tableau général*, I, unnumbered pages at end; II, vi-viii; and III, unnumbered pages at end, "États des planches. The monetary unit, which Murat abbreviates with a "p" followed by a superscripted letter, is presumably the Ottoman kurus, referred in French as the "piastre," quoted at 4.6 to the Venetian gold ducat as of 1780; see Sevket Pamuk, "Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1914," in Halil Inalcik with Donald Quataert, eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, Cambridge, 1994, 966-67.
45. Michel, "Une entreprise de gravure," 24 n. 6, 25 n. 33; *Söderberg, Slott, och Herresäten i Sverige: Södermanland*, 43, 352, 357.
46. Auguste Blondel, "Lettres inédites du Mallet Du Pan A ttienne Dumont (1787-1789), 107-108, 109, letters of 2 June and 22 April 1788, mentioning the *English Review* and the *Monthly Review* and adding that "le chevalier de Mouradgea" planned to spend two weeks in London on the way to Stockholm.
47. RA, BKH 64, III. Skrivelser till Mouradgea, letters from Giovanni de Serpos in Venice, dated March 1789 and 12 May 1789 (has received 6 copies of vol. I in folio and 60 copies of the same in octavo, printed as two volumes, mentioning prices--to him?--of "Live Torn. £50" [presumably livri tornesi for livres tournois] for the folio volume and "£14 Torni" for both the octavo volumes); BKH 57, letters from Silvestre Serpos, Istanbul, 25 May 1787 (distributing prospectus).
48. The Royal Library (Stockholm) holds some works derivative from the *Tableau général*: anon., *Underrätelser om fruntimren i Turkiet (Utdrag ur Tableau général de l'Empire othoman)*, n. p., n. d.; J. G. Bure, ed., *Fragmenter till Upplysning om Islam eller Mahometanska Religionen ur Tableau general de VEmpire othoman, par M. de M\*\*\* d'Ohsson*, Stockholm, 1813, a pamphlet in 51 pages; Russian translation of vol. I as *Polnaia kartina Ottomanskiia imperii v dvukh chastakh*, 2 vols., Saint Petersburg, 1795; German translation of vol. I as *Allgemeine Schilderung des ottomanischen Reiches*, trans. Christian Daniel Beck, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1788-1793.
49. The full title is: *Oriental Antiquities, and General View of the Othoman Customs, Laws, and Ceremonies: Exhibiting Many Curious Pieces of the Eastern Hemisphere, relative to the Christian and Jewish Dispensations; with various Rites and Mysteries of the Oriental Freemasons*. The translator is unnamed. The author is identified as "M. de M--- d'Ohsson, Knight of the Royal and Masonic Orders of Vasa--Templars--Malta--Philippine--Rosa Crucian, &c.--Secretary to the King of Sweden; formerly his Interpreter and Chargé D'affaires at the Court of Constantinople. " The Order of Vasa was royal but not Masonic; the others presumably were Masonic or had connections with Freemasonry.
50. Nordmann, *Gustave III*, ch. XII, "Le Mysticisme et la crise de conscience nordiques," 216-23.
51. RA, Turcica 103, printed "Mémoire pour M. Mouradgea d'Ohsson..., " 58.
52. Cochin, " Une entreprise de gravure," 8-9.
53. BNR, cote P68, "Mémoire pour M<sup>r</sup> Cochin," 43-44, presenting Cochin's side of his case with Mouradgea.

54. BNR, cote P68, Cochin to Descamps, letter of 6 May 1786.
55. BNR, cote P68, "Mémoire pour Mr Cochin," 30-33, list of engravings, listing sums actually paid and comparing them with the prices that should have been charged based on certain comparisons. The plates listed, and Mouradgea's actual prices for them, are: "Vue de la Ville de la Mecque" (7,000 livres), "Marche des Chameaux Sacrés" (8,000), "Diner du Grand Seigneur" (8,000), "La Mosquée de Achmet" (7,000), "La Mosquée de Sainte Sophie" (4,800), "Enterrement turc" (2,400), "Les Tombeaux des Sultanas" (4,000), "La Chapelle Sépulchrale" (4,000), "La Bibliothèque Turque" (2,000), "Les Cinq Planches des Derviches" (800 each, presumably the set of five showing stages in the rite of the Rifâ'i order).
56. Ibid., p. 35.
57. Michel, "Une entreprise de gravure," 20-21.
58. Jamgocyan, "Les finances," 559-60, describes a powder deal of 1781, in which the *reis ül-küttab* asked Pietro Zaccaria, who was actually an Armenian financier from Istanbul and a Swedish subject, to buy two thousand quintals of gunpowder for the imperial arsenal, for which Zaccaria contracted with Carlo Giera, a Genoese merchant at Leghorn. This may be the same transaction or a similar one, even though Jamgocyan does not mention d'Ohsson in this connection; the documentation of d'Ohsson's financial affairs frequently mentions "P. Zaccaria" and sometimes also "C. Giera."
59. RA, Turcica 103, privately printed "Mémoire pour M. Mouradgea d'Ohsson..., Paris, 1793, 3 (d'Ohsson's listing of the issues), 65 (the obligation of diplomats and interpreters to watch over the business of nationals without receiving commissions or profits), 67 (description of munitions deal; pages 65-67 are quoted as former Istanbul ambassador Gustave Celsing's report of 17 June 1788 on the first phase of the Mouradgea-Heidenstam controversy).
60. RA, BKH 53, I.A, letters from Heidenstam, letter of 26 April 1784.
61. RA, BKH 54, IIA, letters from Heidenstam, letters of 10 February and 25 April 1785.
62. RA, BKH 53, II.C, letters from Murat, 25 7bre (September) 1784 (impossible to sell the jewels at prices Mouradgea had set); BKH 54, 2C, letters from Murat, 9 April 1785 (some bagatelles sold, and someone wants to buy the aigrette), 25 April 1785 (10,000 Roman ecus have been offered for the two diamonds in the hands of M. Sartori, but more hoped for); BKH 54, II.B, letters from Thomas Serpos, 25 May 1785 (over 3400 kurus raised by selling jewelry; efforts to sell the furs), 10 9bre (November) 1785 (selling jewels); BKH 55, IV. B, letters from Silvestre Serpos, 25 January 1786 (efforts to sell the rest of Mouradgea's effects), 27 March 1786 (3443 kurus realized from sale of jewelry, the sable furs also sold), 10 June 1786 (Mouradgea had been mistaken about the value of some of his jewelry); BKH 55, IV.A, letters from Heidenstam, 10 November 1776 (arranging to sell a diamond ring for 10,000 kurus); BKH 57, I. B, letters from Silvestre Serpos, 11 January 1787 (the double heart in brilliants sold to "the current vezir"); BKH 57, I.B, letters from Silvestre Serpos, 10 May 1787 (clothing sold for 624 kurus).
63. RA, BKH 54, II.B, letters from Thomas Serpos, 10 9bre (November) 1785 (the Fathers of Trieste).
64. RA, BKH 54, letters from Thomas Serpos, 23 July 1785.

65. RA, BKH 55, letters from Heidenstam to Mouradgea, 15 August 1786.
66. RA, Turcica 103, drafts dated 10 March 1789 and signed by Mouradgea d'Ohsson, four drawn on Heidenstam, (8100, 17754, 600Q, and 5275 kurq), one drawn against Murat (1991 kurus).
67. RA, BKH 57, Heidenstam. to Mouradgea, 24 [28?] December 1787, long and detailed exposition of Heidenstam's point of view on their differences.
68. RA, BKH 57, letters from Silvestre Serpos to Mouradgea, 1787, among them this letter from Murat to Heidenstam, 7 April 1787.
69. UUL, F812b, von Asp papers, letter and Mémoire from Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Paris, 20 February 1791; the list still included money owed to the painter Constantine.
70. UUL, F812b, Asp papers, d'Ohsson to Asp, Paris, 10 May 1791. Sophie died on 15 April 1791: Gustaf Elgenstierna, *Svenska adelns ättartavlor*, Stockholm, 1930, V, 293. Were these shares of the Caisse d'Escompte actually d'Ohsson's, or were they those of his father-in-law Kulelian, mentioned earlier? Later in Istanbul, in requesting official permission for his sole surviving daughter, Claire, to marry Nils Palin, then a member of the Istanbul embassy staff, d'Ohsson wrote: "If my troubles in France, where my little fortune remains compromised, do not permit me to dream, especially at this moment, of any dowry whatsoever, I have the satisfaction to see that Mr. de Palin has bright prospects"; RA, Turcica 86, letter of 8 Oct. 1797.
71. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (Vienna), Schweden 72, Konv. 1792/1, Swedish envoy Nolcken to the Royal and Apostolic [Austrian] Ministry, 27 Feb. 1792, requesting support for d'Ohsson's project and enclosing a prospectus printed in Vienna for the *Tableau géométral de l'Empire ottoman*. My thanks to Ernst Petritsch for supplying me with these documents.
72. UUL, F 812b, copy of letter from Razumovski to d'Ohsson, Vienna, 18 8<sup>bre</sup> [October] 1793, expressing interest also in d'Ohsson's family and mentioning recent military successes against the French in terms indicating that he could expect d'Ohsson to share his anti-French feelings. See also UUL, F812c, von Asp papers, d'Ohsson to Asp, untitled undated memorandum beginning "C'est à regret que M. D se volt dans la dure nécessité," where toward the end d'Ohsson also professes to have turned down an overture in 1791 from Prince Potemkin.
73. UUL, F812 1, d'Ohsson to P. O. von Asp in London, letters of 10 January 1797 and 25 January 1797.
74. See Carter Vaughn Findley, "Ebu Bekir Ratib's Vienna Embassy Narrative: Discovering Austria or Propagandizing for Reform in Istanbul?" *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, LXXXV (1995), 41-80.
75. Bqbakanlik, Osmanli Arsivi, Istanbul (hereafter BOA), Hatt-1 Hiimayun (HH) 52516C, undated document from Ratib, apparently intended for Sultan Selim III. Independent confirmation of d'Ohsson's presence in Vienna in the fall 1791 comes from Royal Library (Stockholm), Ms. Ep. E 10: 1, M. d'Ohsson to Lars von Engeström, dated Vienna 15. 9bre. 1791 (November). Engeström was Swedish ambassador in Warsaw in 1791, *hovkansler* and de facto head of the Swedish foreign service from 1792 to 1798, and foreign minister from 1809 to 1824.

76. “...Mouradgea d’Ohsson, in seiner orientalischen Kleidung, aber mit europdisch frisierem Kopf und Zopf”; Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, ed. R. Bachofen von Echt, Vienna, 1940, 26.

77. UUL, F812b, Asp papers, d’Ohsson to Asp, 13 [16?, 18?] May 1792.

78. UUL, F812b, d’Ohsson’s enclosure in letter from chargé Bildt, Vienna, 3 July 1792, to Asp; Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 158, 189; Beydilli, “Ignatius Mouradgea d’Ohsson, 257: d’Ohsson had already taken part in a successful Swedish effort to obtain an Ottoman subsidy in 1788, just as Gustave III went to war with Russia (discussed below in text), and the effort helped prepare for the Ottoman-Swedish subsidy treaty of 1789: Jamgocyan, “Les finances,” 116-19.

79. D’Ohsson had played this kind of mediator role already before he went to Paris: AAE (Paris), CP Turquie 169, from St-Priest, Istanbul, 9 X<sup>bre</sup> (December) 1783. Compare RA, Turcica 84, d’Ohsson to Duke Regent (“this destiny places me so as to be of use to Sweden and at the same time to the Porte”). However foreign to modern diplomacy the idea of serving two governments may be, the use of confidential go-betweens was not foreign to Ottoman practice: Jamgocyan, “Les finances,” 568-70, 602 (Armenian financiers in this role); Carter Vaughn Findley, “Sir James W. Redhouse (1811-1892): The Making of a Perfect Orientalist?” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XCIX, no. 4 (1979), 573-600 (Ottoman authorities and British ambassador use Redhouse, then in Ottoman service, as confidential medium of communication, c. 1840).

80. Walter Björkman, “Die Beziehungen zwischen Schweden und der Tiirkei, *Orientalia Suecana*, IX (1960), 138-145.

8 1. Nordmann, *Gustave III*, ch. III, “ Le coup d’état de 1772, “ ch. X, “ L’Acte d’union et de sûreté”

82. Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 20 (in the parliamentary election of 1769, Russia had bought the “Cap” faction and France had bought the “Hat” faction), 24 (corruption was out of bounds), 34 (French subsidies under the treaty of 1764), 42 (Vergennes, then French ambassador to Stockholm, financially backed Gustave III’s 1772 coup to strengthen royal authority), 128 (renewal of the Franco-Swedish subsidy treaty, 2 December 1778), 143 (Sweden’s new war fleet of 1778 was built with French money), 149 (Russia and Denmark subsidize the anti-royalist parliamentary faction), 162 (Gustave III goes to war against Russia in 1788 seeing himself as the savior of the Ottoman Empire, among other things), 189 (Gustave relies on a Genoese loan and on a subsidy treaty concluded with the Ottomans in Istanbul, 11 July 1789, in resuming his war against Russia), 228 (Sweden had received 38 million livres tournois in regular subsidies from France between 1772 and 1784), 233 (Sweden and Russia hasten to make peace with each other at Vdrdd, 15 August 1790, so that they can combine against revolutionary France), 235 (Empress Catherine II’s real motive was only to separate Sweden from its Ottoman ally).

83. Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807*, Cambridge, 1971, 21-27.

84. Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 163-64. If Gustave had not rushed his naval attack, the Russian fleet would have left the Baltic, and he would not have been able to fight it. Cf. Jamgocyan, “Les finances,” 295-98, 541-42.

85. Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 234.

86. Stig Ramel, communication of 2 December 1998; H. Arnold Barton, *Scandinavia in the Revolutionary Era, 1760-1815*, Minneapolis, 1986, 204-206, 215-19, 231-36, 265-71.
87. Beydilli, "D'Ohsson," 261, describing the amount of the gift as far greater than the annual salary of many important officials.
88. Shaw, *Between Old and New*, 91-93; Beydilli, "Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, 257-59, 299-308; BOA, HH 15634, report of Grand Vezir Melek Mehmed Pasa (d'Ohsson was to report on how to overcome obstacles to the reforms from the viewpoint of religious law and on military reorganization; the date 1211, penciled onto this document, equals 1796-1797 and is wrong: the statement in the text, that d'Ohsson had gone to Europe eight years before, places the correct date at the time of his return to Istanbul in 1792).
89. Beydilli, *Mühendishâne*, 28-33; BOA, HH 9783, "Fünun-i Harbiye Talimhanesine dair tertib olunan layihanin tercümesidir" ("translation of the memorandum on the School of Military Sciences"), 25 S[aban] 208 (for 1208, =March 1794).
90. Nils F. Holm, Gunnar Jarring, Bengt Hildebrand, "d'Ohsson, Abraham Constantin Mouradgea, " in *Svenskt Biografisk Lexikon*, Stockholm, 1945, XI, 340-41 (Constantine's schooling began in a pension in France, continued at a "cadet school" (kadettskola) in Vienna, concluded in Istanbul, Probably in the Catholic schools where his father had studied; he went to university in Uppsala); Carter V. Findley, "Ebu Bekir Ratib's Vienna Embassy Narrative: Discovering Austria or Propagandizing for Reform in Austria, " *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 85 (1995), 48-49, 53-55.
91. UUL, F812c, von Asp papers, d'Ohsson to Asp, 21 October 1794.
92. UUL, F812c, von Asp papers, d'Ohsson to Asp, 9 Nov. 1794.
93. For example, BOA (Istanbul), HH 16142C, heading at top of report of 1210/1795-96 on confidential negotiations between d'Ohsson and the French envoy Verninac. Ottoman documents of the 1790s show some variation in the way they refer to Mouradgea.
94. Gunnar Jarring, art. "Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Ignatius, " *Svenskt Biografisk Lexikon*, XXV, 753-54.
95. RA, Turcica 84, report from Mouradgea d'Ohsson, 24 June 1795 on familiar access to ministers; d'Ohsson to Duke Regent, 10 September 1795 on Prince Morouzi. D'Ohsson never identifies Morouzi more fully. The Translators of the Imperial Divan between 1792 and 1799, all members of the Istanbul Greek elite, were: Alexander Constantine Mourouzis (1790-1792), George Constantine Mourouzis (1792-1794), Alexander Kallimachis (1794-1795), George Constantine Mourouzis (1795-1796), and Constantine Alexander Ypsilantis (1796-1799; information supplied by Socrates Petmezas, communication of 1 October 1999, citing A. E. Vakalopoulos, *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous*, Athens, 1975, XI, 119).
96. Marie et Antoine Gautier, "Antoine de Murat," 81-90, take the side of Murat and also cite Frederik G. van Dedem, *Mémoires du général baron de Dedem de Gelder*, Paris, 1900, 38-39, one contemporary source that defends Heidenstam against Mouradgea d'Ohsson.
97. RA, Turcica 103, "Mémoire pour M. de Mouradgea d'Ohsson...., " privately printed, Paris, 1789 (64 pages), plus another "Mémoire pour M. Mouradgea d'Ohsson...., 1793 (77 pages).

98. Marie et Antoine Gautier, "Antoine de Murat," 82-83: d'Ohsson had Murat's house entered and papers and property removed, 4 February 1793; Murat tried to renounce Swedish protection, 24 February 1793; Swedish envoy von Asp resisted this effort. As to the allegations of disorder at the Swedish embassy while d'Ohsson was in Paris, by the end of 1784, tensions between the Ottoman authorities and Heidenstam over Murat's performance as interpreter had reached the point of a break in communications: AAE (Paris), CP Turquie 172, Choiseul-Gouffier to Vergennes, 26 Jan. 1785.
99. Uppsala, F812c, von Asp papers, Grand Chancellor Frederick Sparre to von Asp, 2 May 1794. Not only did each embassy interpreter or honorary interpreter buy a warrant called a *berat to attest to his status*; each such interpreter was also entitled to have two "servants whose warrants also purchased, were called *fennans*."
100. UUL, Ur F728, Heidenstam-Mouradgea d'Ohsson controversy, arbitrators' decision, date of registry 27 May 1797, together with letter of 15 June 1797 to "Monsieur le baron" from Heidenstam.
101. Jamgocyan, "Les finances," 295-97, 431-32 nn. 172-173, 540-42 (Sophialian's vast commercial interests), 592 (cases between *berat*-holders of the same power decided by the ambassador).
102. UUL, Ur. F 812d, von Asp papers, 1795, Asp to d'Ohsson (24 November 1794); d'Ohsson to Asp (undated unsigned missive beginning "Cest a regret que M. D "); Asp to d'Ohsson (31 August 1794, saying that Asp was so fed up with all the bitterness he would be willing to sacrifice his personal interests to return to Stockholm except for the "ma or affair" (the subsidy negotiations); d'Ohsson to Asp, unsigned (10 August 1795); Asp to d'Ohsson, 14 [?] August 1795 (26 pages, containing a later marginal addition saying that Asp did not know when he wrote this that d'Ohsson was intriguing against him in Stockholm).
103. RA, Turcica 84, dispatches of 29 May 1795, 24 June 1795.
104. BOA, HH 7768, 8640, 9354, 9773, 12278, 12321, 12335, 12344, 12387, 12404, 12454, 12964, 13074, 13576, 13826, 13978, 14137A, 15972, 16093, 16138, 16142, 16142A, 58563, 58568, 58571-58577 inclusive, 58583: documents pertaining to the Swedish subsidy issue, those in the 58000-range being the ones on the negotiation of the subsidy treaty.
105. Beydilli, "D'Ohsson," 222-83; BOA, HH 13566, Mouradgea demands a yes-or-no answer (dated 1208/1793-94 in the catalogue); 13826, in response to Swedish envoy's pressure for answer, decision to play for time while trying not to alienate the Swedes (undated but appears continuous with preceding item); 16138, Swedish envoy presents a new request, mentioning repeated rejections in the past (1209/1794-95).
106. RA, Turcica 85, d'Ohsson to Riks Cantzler, 25 April 1796: "Finally, the payments have begun. They are made in gold; it's Celebi Efendi, second Treasurer, who made them himself. He has the money brought into his office and turns it over to Testa [the Swedish embassy translator] with the most minute precautions. These are rolls of 3 or 4,000 Ducats, that Testa puts in his pocket, operation to undertake 2 or three times a week. " Compare Turcica 85, 10 May 1796, 10 May 1796, d'Ohsson to Riks Cantzler, announcing the first [sic] payment of 250,000 piasters [kuruf], with further details about buying bills of exchange in different currencies; Turcica 87, memo from

d'Ohsson, 25 May 1798, mentioning a "first payment" of 500 purses (250,000 kurus), followed by a suspension.

107. BOA, HH 13566, dated 28 Sevval, with the year 1208/1793-94 given in the catalogue; this must be the same payment that d'Ohsson dates to 1796. This document refers to a prior payment of 2,000 purses; presumably that would be the 1,000,000 kurus that Gustave III went to war in 1788 in order to get.

108. Gunnar Jarring, art. "Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Ignatius," *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, XXV, 754: d'Ohsson's second wife was Amelie Baillard de Vaubicourt (1770-c. 1830).

109. Marie- Louis-Henri Descorches (1749-183 ), the former marquis de Sainte-Croix, who became the first real ambassador of the revolutionary government (1793-95), had to contend with two other French "diplomats," Sémonville and Hénin, who figured more as Jacobin agitators and informers, despite the fact that official foreign policy, to the extent that there was such a thing, was not to invite trouble by exporting the revolution: E. de Marcère, *Une ambassade à Constantinople: La politique orientale de la Nvolution française*, Paris, 1927, 1, 11, 18, 34-44, 46-59, 213, 232 ("Pitiless at home, the men of the Terror recommended moderation abroad"). Compare Frazee, Catholics and Sultans, 164-66, impact of French Revolution on Catholics in Istanbul.

110. Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807*, Cambridge, MA, 1971, 194-97; Beydilli, "D'Ohsson," 283-95; Jamgocyan, "I. M. d'Ohsson," 7; Onnik Jamgocyan, "La révolution française vue et vécue de Constantinople (1789-1795)," *Annales historiques de la révolution Française*, no. 282, Oct. -Dec. 1990, 463-64, stating--on the strength of a Venetian diplomatic report--that d'Ohsson returned to Istanbul with the "mission" from the French of having the revolutionary envoy, de Sémonville, recognized. The rumor campaign against d'Ohsson in the Istanbul diplomatic community of the early and mid-1790s suggests caution in interpreting reports that may repeat rumor as fact.

111. AAE (Paris), CP Turquie 185, Descorches to Foreign Minister, 8 August 1793; Descorches had reached Istanbul about 8 June. His inability to spell d'Ohsson's name is one sign that he did not know him well and must not have been used to seeing documents with his signature.

112. D'Ohsson added that he himself had started false reports about the meeting by leading two friends to understand confidentially that he had seen Descorches, an old friend from Paris (*cet ancien ami*), not once but five times but for personal reasons only; d'Ohsson added that he had been the first to laugh at the credulity with which these reports were swallowed: see UUL, F812b, d'Ohsson to von Asp, 24 Pre (October) 1793. Cf. de Marcère, *Une ambassade*, 1, 84.

113. De Marcère, *Ambassade*, 1, 91, 251; 11, 29 (mentioning that Selim III frequently consulted d'Ohsson, summer 1793); AAE (Paris), CP Turquie, vol. 184, document of 10 May 1793 from Florenville, a French merchant who also served as an intermediary in this affair, and CP Turquie 185, Descorches to Foreign Minister, 8 August 1793, noting the "very secret mediation of Mourad-Cha" in this matter. Compare BOA, HH 13031, dated in the catalogue 1206/1791-92 (Mouradgea d'Ohsson on the arrival-of Swedish officers to work in shipbuilding).

114. AAE (Paris), CP Turquie 188, report from Descorches, 8 August 1793; de Marcère, *Ambassade*, 1, 191, citing a ministerial report of 19 Nov. 1793, objecting to d'Ohsson's title); UUL., F812C, von Asp papers, unsigned undated memorandum from d'Ohsson to Asp beginning "C'est à regret que M. D. se voit dans la dure nécessité," referring toward the end to his scruples in moments when Descorches was allegedly disposed to be prodigal with large sums.

115. D'Ohsson complained bitterly of being labeled as pro-Jacobin by the diplomatic corps in Istanbul. Noting that he had argued against the Jacobins in Paris and naming the Austrian envoy, Baron Herbert, as the moving spirit behind this opposition in Istanbul, d'Ohsson prepared a long memorandum to send to Prince Wenzel Anton Kaunitz, chancellor in Vienna: UUL, F812b, d'Ohsson to von Asp, 25 October 1793; RA, Turcica 103, d'Ohsson's memoir of 24 January 1794, addressed to "Mon Prince," in which d'Ohsson complains of rumors about his alleged Jacobinism ("J'ai frondé le Jacobinisme au milieu de Paris:--je l'ai frondé au milieu de Cons[tantino]ple...") and admits to having seen Descorches four or five times in Istanbul; d'Ohsson also accused Baron Herbert of supporting his Swedish debtors in Istanbul (Murat and Heidenstam) and even of having Madame d'Ohsson denied access -to a gallery in the church of Saint Mary, which was under Austrian protection, "a gallery open to almost all the families of Pera"; d'Ohsson also complained that rumors had been circulating for months that he was a paid secret agent of France and Poland, that he was in secret correspondence with them, that he had millions at his disposal, that he went about town in disguise, and that papers of his had been found in the correspondence of the French revolutionary diplomats, de Sémonville and Hénin. For his part, Hénin denounced d'Ohsson to Paris for being corrupt and taking money "from all hands" (de Marcère, *Ambassade*, I, 266, report of Pluviôse an II/Jan.-Feb. 1794. Compare AAE (Paris), CP Turquie 191, Verninac [Descorches' successor in Istanbul] to the Committee of Public Safety, undated report from the end of the year 3 (1796) on Mouradgea d'Ohsson, stating that he had seconded Citizen Descorches "with all his power, " and that "his efforts on behalf of France had closed the doors of all the embassies to him and his wife; several courts had even demanded his disgrace from the Duke Regent" in Stockholm. De Sémonville and Hénin were busy denouncing everybody to the Committee of Public Safety in Paris, where Descorches was seen as benefiting from Robespierre's protection until the latter's fall on 9 Thermidor (27 July 1794) opened the way for Descorches's recall: de Marcère, *Ambassade*, II, 64. For a sample of Baron Herbert's denunciations of the Jacobins see de Marcère, *Ambassade*, I, 62. For d'Ohsson's accusations that Heidenstam helped launch the rumors of Jacobinism see RA, Turcica 84, Mouradgea d'Ohsson to "Monseigneur," 24 March 1795.

116. De Marcère, *Ambassade*, I, 394: von Asp so informed Descorches at some time in 1794.

117. De Marcère, *Ambassade*, II, 55.

118. De Marcère, *Ambassade*, II, 128, letter from de Staël, Swedish ambassador in Paris, to Verninac, informing him that Asp would work with him for the interests of France, 13 Germinal an 111/2 April 1795; AAE (Nantes), Constantinople, série B, Correspondance politique, supplément, 4 (registre 178): Verninac to Committee of Public Safety, Péra, 9. floréal Year 3 [28 April 1795]: "M. Mouradgea, who is very much in the confidence of those who direct [Ottoman] affairs.... and M. d'Asp, the Swedish envoy, have received from the -Duke Regent [in Stockholm] the order to render all the good offices that I may ask of them. This prince has announced to them that he is about to recognize the Republic, and they have so informed the Porte." Verninac announced the recognition of the French Republic in Istanbul in a report of I Prairial year 4 [20 May 1796], adding that he had been aided in this by Mouradgea and by Prince Mourouzi, the Translator of the Imperial Divan (*Tercüman-i Divan-i Hümayun*).

119. BOA, HH 16142C, 1210/1795-96, translation of report on three confidential meetings between d'Ohsson and Verninac, especially comments about d'Ohsson at the end: "your slave Muradca performed his duty faultlessly" and so on. Ebu Bekir Ratib was reis ül-küttab from Zilkade 1209/May 1795 until Safer 1211 /August 1796 (Ismail Hami Danismend, *Izahli Osmanli Tarihi Kronolojisi*, Istanbul, 1961, IV, 642).

120. AAE (Nantes), Constantinople, sous-série B, Correspondance Politique, supplément 4 (registre 178), Verninac to Committee of Public Safety, no. 25, 6 frimaire an IV [26 November 1795], pp. 305-306; AAE (Paris), CP Turquie, 191, Verninac's "Rapport fait au Comité de Salut-Public, sur Mr. Mouradgea d'Ohsson...", "undated (the date "an 3 fin" was added later), and CP Turquie, Verninac to Committee of Public Safety, 1 Nivose An 4e, Mouradgea's refusal of the first offer; RA, Turcica 84, d'Ohsson to Riks Cantzler, 5 Dec. 1795, reporting an offer of 20,000 kurus (equal to 40,000 Livres at the time) in precious stones and requesting instructions; de Marcère, *Ambassade*, 11, 175-76 (mentioning 10,000 kurus or 20,000 livres tournois).

121. AAE (Nantes), Ambassade de Constantinople, sous-série B., CP, supplément no. 8, (registre 182), No. 9, Péra, 19. Brumaire An 5° [9 November 1796], Aubert du Bayet to Charles Delacroix, Ministre des Relations Extérieures: "...Mouradgea d'Ohsson, the Swedish chargé d'affaires, is a good Frenchman at heart; he would like to live in Paris. His wife, an excellent patriot, born at Versailles, only breathes for her return to France. Documentary references to Madame d'Ohsson are extremely sparse, although d'Ohsson reported at one point that Verninac would occasionally spend the evening "chez Madame d'Ohsson" as a way for them to talk without attracting notice (RA, Turcica 84, d'Ohsson to the Duke Regent, 29 May 1795); no doubt she played a part in her husband's socialization with other diplomats as well. Rumor aside, evidence on d'Ohsson's politics is also sparse; but see AAE (Paris), CP Turquie 197, chargé Carra St. Cyr to Foreign Minister, 20 vent6se an VI/10 March 1798, reporting that he has appealed to the Austrian envoy to improve his relations with d'Ohsson, the Swedish envoy, who "has received very bad treatment for the sole, well known... reason that he was suspected in 1792 of being a partisan, and even secret agent, of the Committee of Public Safety; I observe in passing... that since my arrival here, ... d'Ohsson has not ceased giving proof that these suspicions were founded on the reality of his inclination in favor of the Republican principles of the French. "

122. De Marcère, *Ambassade*, II, 285. Commenting on how a Swedish-Russian rapprochement would jeopardize d'Ohsson's position, Verninac wrote that "His position is really worrisome. If his Court has really changed, he will surely be sacrificed to Russia, which detests him, and then he would have neither fortune nor position" (AAE [Nantes], Constantinople, s6rie B, CP, supplément, 4, register 178, Verninac to Committee of Public Safety, le 1er Jour Compl[6mentaire] de Fan 4 [September? 1795]. "Nothing could be more cruel than the uncertainty in which we still are about the situation in the North" (RA, Turcica 85, d'Ohsson to Stockholm, 5 July 1796).

123. RA, Turcica 86, d'Ohsson to Riks Cantzler, 9 May 1797: d'Ohsson professed to have formed a "real esteem" for Kotschubey, who had taken an interest in the *Tableau général de l'Orient* (discussed below) on which d'Ohsson was then working.

124. The letter from Descorches and d'Ohsson's response are found in de Marcère, *Ambassade*, II, 336-40, and in RA, Turcica 87, copies enclosed in d'Ohsson to the King, 24 November 1798; cf. RA, Turcica 87, d'Ohsson to King, 27 (?) April 1799 (Descorches was imprudent in writing to him; d'Ohsson refused French chargé Ruffin's request to take in French people or goods; British envoy Sidney Smith spread false reports about d'Ohsson's relations with the French); AAE (Paris), CP Turquie 207, vol. 255-256, d'Ohsson to Général Premier Consul (Bonaparte), Paris, 15 January 1804 (blaming his fall on Descorches's letter and on his own efforts to help the French in Istanbul); Henry Dehérain, *Orientalistes et Antiquaires. La vie de Pierre Ruffin, Orientaliste et Diplomate, 1742-1824*, Paris, 1929, I, 146-216. Ottoman diplomatic practice was only beginning to assimilate European norms of reciprocal diplomacy. This is one of the last occasions, perhaps the last, on which the personnel of a European embassy in Istanbul were imprisoned upon the outbreak of war with the government that the embassy represented. French citizens in general were interned at the French embassy. In recounting the imprisonment of the French, Dehérain does not mention

d'Ohsson, although he does mention efforts of the Dutch, Spanish, Prussian, and Danish envoys to assist.

125. Beydilli, "Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson," 292, 310-311, citing BOA, HH 7696.

126. Beydilli, "Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson," 292-93, 313-14; the Ottoman request for his recall (BOA, HH 7766) noted his long residence in Paris, stated that he had his money there, and accused him of behaving in ways inappropriate for an ambassador. It would surely add a lot to understanding of this episode to elucidate its groundings in Ottoman factional politics at the time.

127. Beydilli, "Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson," 293.

128. Archives départementales, Essonne, acte de décès, dated 28 Aug. 1807; M. [sic], "Nécrologie," *Lepubliciste*, 15 September 1807, 3-4; F. T., "Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Ignace," in *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, ed. Michaud, vol. ?, 473; H. Arnold Barton, *Scandinavia in the Revolutionary Era*, 266-71.

129. M., "Nécrologie," *Lepubliciste*, 15 September 1807, 4; F-T., "Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Ignace," in Michaud, *Bibliographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, 472.

130. Message of 27 October 1998 from Erik Cornell, former Swedish ambassador in Ankara.

131. AAE (Paris), CP Turquie 207, fol. 255-56, d'Ohsson to Général Premier Consul (Bonaparte), 15 January 1804; fol. 313-314, request for funding to finish publishing the *Tableau*.

132. AAE (Paris), CP Turquie 207, foreign minister's report to First Consul, pluviôse 12/February 1804. Of all the documents I have seen on d'Ohsson, this assessment by Talleyrand is unique in surmising a causal connection between d'Ohsson's publication of the *Tableau général* and his rise from Armenian interpreter to Swedish envoy.

133. M., "Nécrologie," *Lepubliciste*, 15 September 1807, 3; F. T., "Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Ignace," in *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, ed. Michaud, vol. ?, 472.

134. Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau historique de l'Orient*, 2 vols, Paris, year XII-1804, I, xi, 1; RA, Turcica 86, d'Ohsson to Riks Cantzler, 9 May 1797 (d'Ohsson was working on this book in Istanbul; his son Constantine, then eighteen, was still living with him, was helping him with embassy business, and might also have participated in this project.)

135. Royal Library (Stockholm), MS. Ep. E 10: 7, correspondence of Count Lars von Engeström [foreign minister, 1809-1824], letters from C[onstantin] d'Ohsson to "Monseigneur" requesting a posting to Paris, 10 July 1809, and from A[mélie] d'Ohsson concerning publication of the manuscript and arrears in payment of her widow's pension, 22 July 1809, 9 January 1810, 17 January 1812, 12 7<sup>bis</sup> [Septembre] 1812; MS. Ep E 10: 16, letter from C. d'Ohsson to L. von Engeström, Fredricshald, 24 Oct. 1814, conveying among other things the Prince Royal's wish for an increase in Mme. d'Ohsson's pension (UUL., F849f, another copy of the same letter); MS. Ep E 10: 18, letters C. d'Ohsson to L. von Engeström, 29 December 1816 [?] and 15 February 1821, presenting copies of the *Tableau général*, presumably of the first two folio volumes only on the former occasion, and of the third on the latter (and with an additional copy for the king).

136. The small format edition is now sometimes described as having 7 volumes in 8." There only seven. Presumably, now that scholars and librarians have lost the habit of describing books in terms

of page-size as folio, quarto, and octavo, misreadings of old-style bibliographical references to 7 volumes in 8<sup>o</sup>" have been misread to mean 7 volumes published as 8," rather than "7 volumes in octavo format." Only the latter description is correct.

137. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, III, 1-2. Cf. M., "N6crologie," *Lepubliciste*, 15 September 1807, 4, speaks of d'Ohsson's having left behind a manuscript history of the Ottoman Empire down to 1758; F. -T., "Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Ignace," in *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, ed. Michaud, vol. 472, echoes the "N6crologie" on this point.

138. Joseph von Hammer (later von Hammer-Purgstall), *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches, Grossentheils aus bisher unbenutzten Handschriften und Archiven*, 10 vols., Pest, 1827-35, later also translated into French; von Hammer also took 1774 as his cutoff date.

139. RA, Constantine d'Ohsson papers, E3522, E3526.

140. Abraham Constantine Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Histoire des mongols, depuis Tschinguis-Khan jusqu'à Timour-Lane*, 2 vols., Paris, 1824, and *Des peuples du Caucase et des pays au nord de la Mer noire et de la Mer Caspienne, dans le dixième siècle, ou voyage d'Abou-el-Cassim*, 2 vols., Paris, 1828; see Nils F. Holm, Gunnar Jarring, and Bengt Hildebrand, art. "d'Ohsson, Abraham Constantin Mouradgea," in *Svenskt Biografisk Lexikon*, XI, 340-45.

141. Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al-Halabi, *Multaqà al-Abhur*, 2 vols. in 1, Beirut, 1989; Mehmed Mevkufati, *Serh el-Mevkufati*, 2 vols., Istanbul, 1302/1884-85, Ottoman commentary and translation, written around 1640. D'Ohsson and his ulema friends may well have used a manuscript of Mevkufati, a possibility sometimes cited to argue that d'Ohsson would not or could not have used Arabic texts. However, he quotes enough Arabic passages, in a recognizable transcription, to undermine such arguments.

142. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 106.

143. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, II, 247.

144. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, III, 335.

145. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, II, 284 and elsewhere.

146. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, III, 56, from the section on marriage (interpretation of accents unclear from my photocopy). The passage quoted is a paraphrase of Qur'an IV. 3, which could be rendered in a modern transliteration as "Fâ-'nkihû mâ tâbaa min al-nisâ' i mathnà wa thulâtha wa rubâ'a."

147. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 301. William J. Watson, "Ibrahim Müteferrika and Turkish Incunabula," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 88 (1968), 435-41 mentions seventeen books and no maps, although one of the books Hcci Halife [Katib Çelebi]'s *Cihannuma*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, is a geographical work and contains maps.

148. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, II, 99-113.

149. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, II, plate 45 (follows p. 56), discussed on pp. 244-245.

150. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, II, 236-45.

151. D’Ohsson, *Tableau général*, II, 241-43; in 1778, he had examined the album together with French ambassador de Saint-Priest and Swedish envoy Ulric Celsing. The Celsing family collection at Biby manor in Sweden includes a painting in which medallion portraits of the Ottoman sultans, based on the kind of Ottoman prototypes found in surviving palace albums and extending through Abdülhamid I (1774-1789), are displayed as if suspended on a tree; see Söderberg et al., *Slott och Herresatten i Sverige, Södermanland*, 42; Günsel Renda, “Isveç’teki Biby Satosu’nda yasayan 18. yüzyıl Osmanlı dünyası: Celsing Koleksiyonu”, *Art Dekor*, February 1995, 78-84.

152. I have examined the examples of the three-volume folio edition in the Royal Library (Stockholm), the Princeton Theological Seminary Library, and the Library of the Turkish Historical Society (Ankara). In the Princeton Theological Seminary copy, and I believe also the Turkish Historical Society copy, plate 45 (*Tableau général*, II, following p. 56) bears the title “Vue de la Mecque, “ with the sixty-four numbered sites and their legend below that, and the mention of two artists: “L’Espinasse del[ineavit]” and “Berthault Sculp[sit], “ apparently meaning that L’Espinasse prepared a drawing that Berthault engraved on copper for this plate. In the Royal Library set, which appears to be the set presented by d’Ohsson to Gustave III, the same plate is titled simply “La Mecque, “ the sixty-four numbers and the legend are missing, and only one artist’s name is mentioned: “Berthault Sculp[sit]. The Stockholm example is thus presumably an earlier state of the same plate. Most of the sixty-four sites have to do with the pilgrimage in one way or another. Michel (“Une entreprise de gravure,” 17) reproduces L’Espinasse’s drawing, adding that there was originally an even larger plate for this illustration, but that it became one of those contested in the controversy with Cochin, and was later redone in smaller format for publication.

153. As book illustrations or as pictures painted on tiles, scenes of Mecca and Medina were common in Ottoman art. The compendia of prayers known as *Dala’il al-Hayrat* often contained views of Mecca and Medina; a pair of these views are reproduced in M. Ugur Derman, Kıymet Giray, and Fulya Bodur Erüz, *Sabancı Koleksiyonu*, Istanbul, 1995, 40-41. For a view of Mecca painted on tiles and including a few labeled sites, see Walter Denny, “Ceramics,” in *Turkish Art*, ed. Esin Atil, Washington and New York, 1980, 274-75. The Uppsala University Library holds an oil painting of Mecca and the Kaaba, acquired from the collection of the orientalist Michael Eneman (1676-1714; color postcard supplied by Tom Goodrich).

154. D’Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 220-21.

155. D’Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 294.

156. D’Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 295.

157. D’Ohsson, *Tableau*, II, 236.

158. D’Ohsson, *Tableau*, II, 238.

159. D’Ohsson, *Tableau*, 109-110.

160. D’Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 261-68. Visitors to Topkapi Palace still see these relics; as one enters, they are in a pavilion at the left rear corner of the Third Court.

161. D’Ohsson, *Tableau*, II, 19-98.

162. D’Ohsson, *Tableau*, II, 294-316, mentioning his own attendance at the zikir on p. 313.

163. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), *The Complete Letters of Lady Maty Wortley Montagu*, edited by Robert Halsband, Oxford, 1965, vol. 1, pp. 293-427, 455-59, 464-65.

164. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, 11, 135-49.

165. D'Ohsson, *Tableau gM&al*, 111, 372.

166. "Mal be-Hindistan, akil be-Frengistan, hasmet be-Âl-i Osman," quoted by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, Henri Dehérain, *Orientalistes et antiquaires: La Vie de Pierre Ruffin, orientaliste et diplomate, 1742-1824*, Paris, 1929-30, 1, 87 (Ruffin's French paraphrase of this saying).

167. D'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, I, 191-212.

168. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, III, 326-27.

169. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 253-58.

170. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, III, 332-33.

171. Rfistil ~ardag, ~air *Sultanlar*, Ankara, 1982, 258, reference supplied by Giinsel Renda:

Mevsim-i dey'de çıkar meydana çün er lahana,  
Havf etmez berdden çün merd-i server lahana.  
Gürz-i Keykavûs'a benzer gerçi sekl-ü-heybeti,  
Can verir insana çün berk-i gûl-i ter lahana.  
Bamya gibi dizilmez, yüz bini bir risteye.  
Sanki arslandır ki gerdûneyle gezer lahana.  
Ansiz olmazmis, bilindi; hiç bir zevk-ü-sürûr.  
Sohbet-i helva olur mu, olmasa ger lahana.  
Yazsa İlhamî sezadır her ne denli medhini.  
Lahana'cim, lahana'cim, lahana'cim lahana!

172. Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 62 (Catherine's reaction to Gustave's coup of 1772, dubbing "that king there" ("ce roi-là") as despotic as "the Sultan my neighbor"), 140 (she refers to "Don Gustave" in a letter to Frederick Melchior von Grimm, 29 Sept. 1783), 153 (Catherine refers to meeting "frère Gu" at the Fredrikshamn conference, 1783), 155 (sarcastic letter from Catherine to Gustave, 17 March 1784), 161 ("Falstaff," May 1. 788), 163 (she refers to him as "Don Quichotte," June 1788), 171 (she refers to Gustave as "Falstaff" and a "scoundrel"); 235 and 264 (Louis XV was the only contemporary sovereign who did respect Gustave III).

173. Nordmann, *Gustave III*, ch. II, "Un prince francisé," 36 ("cette gallomanie," not unique to Gustave, but which he shared with Frederick the Great and most other princes of the period).

174. Nordmann, *Gustave III*, "Epilogue," 263-70, on Gustave's legacy.

175. For example, among the first generation of Turkish historians who published archivally based research, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı published several standard institutional histories: *Osmanlı Devleti Teskilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları*, Ankara, 1943, on the military establishment; *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teskilâtı*, Ankara, 1948, on the central administration and navy; *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teskilâtı*, Ankara 1965, on the ulema. One of the things that first drew my attention to d'Ohsson was the extent to which Uzunçarşılı cited the *Tableau général* as a source

for his own work. Uzunçarsili's scholarship falls short of contemporary standards in many ways; however, he also cites large volumes of Ottoman manuscript and archival sources, and it is hardly likely that he would have relied heavily on d'Ohsson if he had found him inaccurate.

176. *Mercur de France*, samedi 14 Mars 1787, supplément, 29-30, d'Ohsson's "Discours préliminaire, servant de Prospectus."

177. Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 161 (Mallet Du Pan received from Sweden's Paris ambassador Erik-Magnus de Staël-Holstein 3,000 livres for writing *Du péril et de la balance politique de l'Europe*, which was published in several languages; L. Léouzon Le Duc, *Correspondance diplomatique du Baron de Staël-Holstein*, Paris, 1881, 98-99 (letter of 2 April 1789, Mouradgea helped arrange things with Mallet Du Pan), 126-27 (letter of 17 September 1789, discussing the payment of 3,000 livres and Mouradgea's role); Frances Acomb, *Mallet Du Pan (1749-1800), A Career in Political Journalism*, Durham, Duke UP, 1973, 180-82; Blondel, "Lettres inédites de Mallet Du Pan à Étienne Dumont (1787-1789)," 108, letter of 2 June 1787, speaking of d'Ohsson's *Tableau général*: "This work faces another snare: the Paris philosophes find it very legitimate that an empress who has deified Voltaire and who does not believe in the Divine might take over the Ottoman Empire, where they don't read the encyclopedia. They flatter themselves that under the gentle influence of Catherine II, Greece will resume its prosperity and that they can go there to form philosophical circles; they are convinced that rich intellectuals have the right to chase away the impolite and barbaric Turks and that the land should belong to whoever pensions [them] best. Based on this opinion, they describe the future work of M[onsieur] de Mouradgea without knowing it yet...."

178. Royal Library (Stockholm), Autografsaml. Abraham C. M. d'Ohsson, letter from "M[ouradge]a d'Ohsson" to "Monsieur," Paris, 15 November 1788: "...The events of this campaign have surprised people (*les esprits*) all the more in that, all forewarned by the false pictures that a B[ar]on de Tott and a Volney have ... presented to the public, one would have thought the Ottoman Empire on the brink of total collapse. You are not unaware ... that the refutation of these two works has been made by M[onsieu]r de Peysonnel. This is a man that I knew in the past in the Levant, very learned, very zealous for the Ottomans, and very much attached to Sweden. I have the pleasure to see him here often. We have the same outlook, and it has been a real pleasure for me to second him behind the scenes in the moves needed to combat the assertions of Volney and the B[ar]on de Tott with force. The works ... of M[onsieu]r de Peysonnel have had the most favorable reception throughout France. As they pertain to a Nation that it is no doubt in the interest of the King [of Sweden] to know, he takes the liberty of presenting a copy to His Majesty. The packet ... contains a second copy for Count Oxenstierna and a third for you.... [De Peysonnel's] latest work against Volney has assured him the benevolence of the Ministry here, which has promised him the first vacant post abroad. As he knows the Ottomans thoroughly, it is to be hoped that they will send him to Con[stantino]ple...." Relevant works of the authors named are as follows: Constantin-François Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte pendant les années 1783, 1784, & 1785*, 2 vols., Paris, 1787; Volney, *Considérations sur la guerre actuelle des Turcs*, London, 1788; Baron de Tott, *Mémoires du baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tartares*, London, 1788; Claude Charles de Peysonnel, *Lettre de M. Peysonnel contenant quelques observations relatives aux mémoires qui ont paru sous le nom de Baron de Tott*, Amsterdam, 1785; de Peysonnel, *Examen A livre intitulé "Considérations sur la guerre actuelle des Turcs" par M. de Volney*, Amsterdam, 1788; de Peysonnel, *Situation politique de la France et ses rapports actuels avec toutes les puissances de l'Europe*, 2 vols., Neufchâtel and Paris, 1789.

179. Thomas E. Kaiser, "Constructing Turkish Despotism in Eighteenth-Century French Political Culture," *Journal of Modern History*, forthcoming, citing Siméon-Prospér Hardy, *Journal*, BN Ms. Fr. 6686, fol. 403. See also Lucette Valensi, *The Birth of the Despot: Venice and the Sublime Porte*,

trans. Arthur Denner, Ithaca, 1993; and Tracy, "[article on oriental despotism]," *Journal of Early Modern History*, forthcoming.

180. F. -T., "Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Ignace," in *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, ed. Michaud, vol. ?, 472.

181. D'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, I, 220-21.

182. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 294.

183. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 295,

184. Findley, "Ebu Bekir Ratib's Vienna Embassy Narrative," 50-51, 54. This was another taxonomic compilation, whose vast scale blunted its impact and has so far kept it from being printed.