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# Presenting the Ottomans to Europe: Mouradgea d'Ohsson and His *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*

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## 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 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul
CFA Celsing Family Papers, ECA
CP Correspondance politique, AAE
ECA Eskilstuna City Archives (Stadsarkiv)
HH Hatt-ı Hümayun, imperial rescripts, a classification in BOA
KUD Kabinettet / Utrikesdepartementet, huvudarkivet, RA
LUL Lund University Library
RA Riksarkivet, Stockholm
RLS Royal Library, Stockholm
UUL Uppsala University Library

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# Presenting the Ottomans to Europe: Mouradgea d'Ohsson and His *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*

In an age when Europeans produced many large taxonomic works expressive to present-day critics of a desire to chart and control the world, it is easy to forget that such projects may not have been unique to Europe, or that people from afar also produced such works.[1] Societies with strong literary traditions seem commonly to have produced grand syntheses or taxonomic works, even if the "worlds" charted in Chinese or Islamic works, for example, did not literally cover the globe before modern times. Moreover, many works were produced by marginal individuals, who had crossed cultural frontiers to undertake these projects. Examples include early 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 its most informative work on the Ottoman

[1]This is a revised version of a study by the same author presented at the D'Ohsson Symposium held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul in December 2001. The proceedings of that symposium have since been published with numerous illustrations in a bilingual, English and Turkish edition: *The Torch of the Empire, Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson and the Tableau Général of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century; Imparatorluğun Meşalesi, XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Genel Görünümü ve Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson*, İstanbul, YKY (Yapı ve Kredi Yayınları), 2002. This study would not have been possible without the assistance of many people, including Folke Ludwigs, Carol Adamson, Ryttmästare Fredrik von Celsing, Baron Henric Falkenberg, Baron Stig Ramel, Ambassadors Gunnar Jarring and Sture Theolin (Sweden); Kemal Beydilli and Günsel Renda (Turkey); Daniel Panzac, Frédéric Hitzel, Faruk Bilici, and Onnik Jamgocyan (France); Ernst Petritsch (Vienna), Tom Goodrich, Vassilis Lambropoulos, Claudio Fogu, Dona Straley and Patrick Visel (USA).

Empire. What questions does such authors' liminality raise about their personal trajectories and the works they produced?

If the impulse to chart whole worlds of knowledge was not unique to any one time or place, the forms such projects took still reflected the cultural setting where they originated. Western European cultures, for example, underwent major epistemic shifts from the Renaissance to the early modern and modern periods. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries an increasingly analytical spirit had emerged, and with it a desire to achieve "a universal science of order," such that the various fields of analysis would be expressed mathematically, or failing that through "sciences of order in the realm of words."[2] This was done through *taxonomy*, through the *genetic analysis* of the data of a field, that is, their analysis in terms of "origin" or "class" and their tabular display, whether in words or in an array 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." Some scholars, including Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778), aspired to a "universal taxonomy" including all aspects of nature and society.[3] This aspiration bore fruit in the *Encyclopédie*,[4] while the Napoleonic *Description de l'Egypte*, a project launched in 1798, exemplifies this approach to the study of a particular country.[5]

In this early modern episteme, it has been argued, the meaning of "history" was that of "placing ... a minute scrutiny on things themselves" and faithfully transcribing those observations. 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.

[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, 91.

[4]Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie,1775–1800*, New York, 1995.

[5]*Description de l'Egypte, ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui one été faites en Egypt pendant l'expedition de l'Armée française*, first edition, 18 vols. in 25, Paris, 1809–1828; second edition, 24 vol., Paris, 1821–29; Michael W. Albin, "Napoleon's *Description de l'Egypte*: Problems of Corporate Authorship," *Publishing History*, VIII (1980), 65–85.

Only later, once this kind of taxonomic analysis had been extended to the organization of archives and libraries, would history assume its modern meaning, biology replace natural history, and "the world" and "humankind" become separate objects of study. The change occurred with the replacement of the early modern by the modern episteme, a change that has been dated to 1775–1825, with two phases overlapping in 1795–1800, when the proliferation of objects classified began to transform the classificatory system.[6]

The subject of this study is a marginal man who sought to "pass into Christendom,"[7] win a new identity, produce just such a taxonomic display of knowledge, and "lodge" in its "folds" his own arguments about great debates of the day. The impetus for this study came from the puzzlement created by both the title of the work and the name of the author. The full title 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. de M*** d'Ohsson."[8] Whose identity was at once revealed and concealed in this way? Why did he give his book a title that turns out not exactly to match its contents?

## Who was Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson?

Ignatius Mouradgea (1740–1807)—he did not adopt the name d'Ohsson until 1786—was the son of Claire Pagy (d. 1794), the daughter of a French consular clerk in Izmir where members of the Pagy family are still in business,[9] and Ohannes Mouradgea (1721–

[6]Foucault, *Les mots et les choses*, 143–44, 225, 233, 381.

[7]ECA, CFA, vol. 12, p. 759, Mouradgea to Ulric Celsing, 25 Sept. 1782.

[8]Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l'une comprend la législation mahométane, l'autre, l'histoire de l'Empire othoman*, 3 vols. in folio, Paris, 1787–1820, also published as 7 vols. in octavo, Paris, 1788–1824. See also [Ignatius] Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman*, 7 vols. in 5, Istanbul, 2001. This edition derives from the octavo edition but has been reset; the pagination is consequently different, and there are no illustrations; a statement on the back of the flyleaf of each volume, to the effect that "the volume of plates in the original edition" has not been included in this edition is erroneous in implying that there was a separate volume of plates (personal communication from Sinan Kuneralp, 8 Feb. 2002). d'Ohsson referred at various times to publishing the engravings in a separate volume, either in the original French edition or in transla-

1787), a translator of the Swedish consulate there. Under the rules of the day, this made Ohannes a Swedish subject, exempted him and his sons from certain Ottoman taxes and 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. Such reasons led affluent members of Ottoman minorities to invest large sums in translators' warrants (*berat*s), in which European diplomats were thus able to conduct a regular traffic, even though the exemptions that the *berat*s conveyed could seldom withstand a determined pursuit by the Ottoman authorities.[10]

As the name Ignatius implies, the Mouradgeas were Catholic. His mother was presumably Roman Catholic. The Mouradgeas were members of the offshoot of the Armenian Apostolic church that accepted papal authority and that would in time—but not yet—be officially recognized as the Armenian Catholic church, not Roman Catholic, but uniate.[11] Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson was born in Istanbul, and his education in the city's Franciscan and Dominican schools made him a versatile linguist and exemplar of the intellectual elitism and westernizing tendency associated with Armenian Ca-

tions; but no such edition has come to light. The French octavo edition includes a few engravings (see below); those are not reproduced in the Istanbul re-edition of 2001.

[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; information on the present-day Pagy family by personal communication from Ambassador Selim Kuneralp, Stockholm, October 2001.

[10]Kemal Beydilli, "Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson (Muradcan Tosunyan)," *Tarih Dergisi*, 34 (1983–84), 250; 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; Ali İhsan Bağış, *Osmanlı Ticaretinde Gayrî Müslimler: Kapitulasyonlar, Avrupa Tüccarları, Beratlı Tüccarlar, Hayriye Tüccarları, 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); Riksarkivet, Stockholm (hereafter RA), Turcica 60, Mouradgea to the King, 11 Sept. 1781 (the Armenian patriarch's "fanatical fury" against Armenian Catholics).

tholics. He became a translator at the Swedish Legation in 1763, second translator in 1767, and first translator in 1768. In these capacities, he served the brothers Gustaf and Ulric Celsing, successively Swedish ministers in Istanbul from 1750 to 1780.

Alongside his duties, he studied Islamic history and culture. His immersion in Islamic and Ottoman subjects was not unexampled among Ottoman minorities of the period. With nationalist hostility far in the future, non-Muslim intellectuals still participated readily in the Ottoman culture with which they lived in symbiosis, albeit more often in fields like music or history than in ones requiring deep knowledge of Ottoman-Islamic thought.[12] Mouradgea was at home in the cosmopolitan cultures of both the francophone Enlightenment and the Ottoman imperial synthesis.

No mere embassy translator, he acquired financial as well as cultural capital. In 1774 he 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 *sarraf*s (financiers, merchant-bankers), who then played leading roles in Ottoman finance, quickly making and losing huge fortunes. Kuleliyan was also Catholic, as the wealthy *sarraf*s tended to be. He had lost his first fortune in 1763, upon the fall of his patron, Grand Vezir Mehmed Ragıp Paşa. Kuleliyan recouped his fortune, becoming by 1774 *sarraf* to the Treasury of the Two Holy Cities, officially controlled by the *Dar üs-Saade Ağası* or "Ağa of the Abode of Felicity," the Chief Black Eunuch of the Imperial Harem, one of the highest palace functionaries. While presumably also engaging like most *sarraf*s in trade, Kuleliyan thus had lucrative responsibilities in managing the huge revenues from the charitable foundations that supported Mecca, Medina, and the pilgrimage; the foundations for the imperial mosques of Istanbul were also included.[13] Kuleliyan's wealth presu-

[12]Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of the Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, New York, 1996, 94–95; Marie et Antoine Gautier, "Antoine de Murat"; Jacob Jonas Björnståhl, *Briefe aus seinem ausländischen Reisen an den königlichen Bibliothekar C. C. Gjörwell in Stockholm*, trans. Just Ernst Groskurd and Christian Heinrich Groskurd, Rostock and Leipzig, 1781, IV, 11–13, discussing Murat, his *Essai sur la Mélodie Orientale*, and his system of notation for Ottoman music.
[13]Jamgocyan, "Les Finances," 36–37, 138, 248, 285–86, 470–5l6, 523–70.

mably provided much of the financing for the lavish publication of the *Tableau*, and his official connections surely helped give Mouradgea the entrée into Ottoman official circles, which he later knew so well.[14]

By the late 1770s, Mouradgea himself was engaging in large-scale entrepreneurial ventures.[15] These ventures were not of interest to himself alone. The evidence indicates that he must have been something of an *homme d'affaires* for the Celsing brothers, of whom Ulric headed the mission in Istanbul (1770–1780), while Gustaf returned to Stockholm and served from 1774 on as head of the Council of Commerce (*Kommerskollegiet*)—a combination that would seem to have been quite profitable for all three men.[16] While they are difficult to appraise in entirety, many examples illustrate the scale of Mouradgea's ventures and those in which he assisted his superiors. In 1775, Mouradgea reported that the Ottoman Naval Arsenal had decided, on the urgings of Baron de Tott, to shift from bronze to iron cannon. Whatever the merits of this decision in terms of military technology, it was good news for Swedish iron founders, if they could supply goods that met Ottoman specifications.[17] Already in 1774, Mouradgea had reported that the Sublime Porte, in purchas-

[14]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 du Congrès International tenu à Aix-en-Provence ... 1992*, Paris, 1995, 620; Gunnar Jarring, "Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Ignatius," *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, Stockholm, 1985–87, XXV, 753–55.

[15]Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Bailo a Costantinopoli, Busta 513, pp. 176–77, 185, 186, 187, 188, Istanbul, 10 August–22 November 1780: Mouradgea chartered five Ragusan ships to transport grain, worth nearly 4,000 Venetian gold ducats, to Genoa for sale; Jamgocyan, "Les finances," 556, 644 n. 142.

[16]B. Boëthius, art. "Celsing, Gustaf," *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Stockholm, 1929, VIII, 224–225; ECA, CFA, vol. 12, U. Celsing to Mouradgea, 24 June 1783, aspects of deal he had proposed to Mouradgea for cannons from "my brother's factory."

[17]ECA, CFA vol. 22 p. 598, unsigned note in Mouradgea's handwriting, dated 4 May 1775. Cf. ECA, CFA vol. 89, 847–48, unsigned note in a different hand, dated 1 Dec. 1772, recounting activities of de Tott in training rapid-fire cannoneers at Saadabad, setting up a new foundry, and advising on improvements in fortifications on the Bosphorus. For a critical appraisal of de Tott, see Virginia Aksan, "Breaking the Spell of the Baron de Tott: Reframing the Question of Military Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1760–1830," *The International History Review*, XXIV.2 (June 2002), 253–77.

ing cannons, had asked him to make the contract in his own name; this transaction amounted to 16,000 kuruş or 19,200 Dutch florins "at the current rate in good paper."[18] In 1779, busily importing grain from Salonica for the Istanbul market and gunpowder from Holland for the Ottoman government, Mouradgea proposed to buy or engage two or three French ships "of the best that are sold every day in this port" to "put them to work in these seas ... under Swedish flag." That proposal ran afowl of Swedish maritime law, however. Referring to the Swedish firm of Tottie and Arfvedson, he added "these Swedish gentlemen will lose nothing with me."[19] Pending deals with the Ottoman Treasury for gunpowder and anchors, the latter apparently supplied by the firm in question, amounted to 138,000 kuruş as of September 1779.[20] In March 1780, Mouradgea urgently requested Ulric Celsing to find out the best factories for cannons, large nails, anchors, bullets, and other metals and naval stores, together with their "final prices," adding that "if these affairs yield any advantage, I expect to have more right to it ... than anyone."[21]

Mouradgea's and the Celsings' well-documented business ventures would provide a properly qualified economic historian with rich material for research. Even in the want of such a study, however, a number of points important for present purposes stand out. Mouradgea was experienced in large-scale entrepreneurial ventures and evidently had the wherewithal to mount them, not only as an agent for others, but also on his own account. Complete gentlemen of their era, all three men accumulated, surrounded themselves with, and in Mouradgea's case probably also traded in large quantities of luxury goods, which in due course had to be shipped to France or

[18]ECA, CFA no. 22, p. 709, unsigned, in Mouradgea's hand, to G. de Celsing, 3 Feb. 1774. Frequent references to Dutch florins (guilder) result from doing business through the Dutch banking house of Hope and Co., also relied on in paying salaries at the legation in Istanbul. On the international financial exchanges of the period, see also Edhem Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, Leiden, 1999, chs. 5–7.

[19]ECA, CFA, vol. 12, pp. 410–17, letter of 14 Aug. 1779 to Ulric Celsing; pp. 439–40, U. Celsing to Mouradgea, 22 Oct. 1779, about the legal obstacles.

[20]ECA, CFA vol. 12, Mouradgea to Ulric Celsing, 17 7bre [Septembre] 1779, p. 451.

[21]ECA, CFA vol. 12, p. 524, Mouradgea to U. Celsing, 17 March 1780.

Sweden, where the Celsing brothers' collection remains even yet in their manor house at Biby.[22] Promoting Swedish exports in the Ottoman Empire figured prominently among the interests Mouradgea shared with the Celsing brothers. His linguistic skills and ability to negotiate directly with the Ottoman treasury and admiralty were valuable assets in his commercial endeavors. However, Mouradgea also had the problem of operating in a period of exceptional fiscal difficulty for the Ottoman government.[23] Difficulties and delays in payment—constant themes of his letters—naturally resulted. Neither opposition from Ottoman guilds to imports nor Swedish goods that sometimes fell far short of specifications did anything to make his work easier.[24] Problems like these help to explain why Mouradgea talked about going to France to write his book for several years before he managed to leave. When he did leave, he still had sizable unsettled financial claims in Istanbul, which naturally proved even harder to collect from a distance.

Appreciated for his intelligence, Mouradgea won honors for his manifold services. King Gustave III gave him the title of confidant and confidential secretary in 1775 and ennobled him in 1780. In 1782, Mouradgea's role in mediating the negotiation of a Spanish-Ottoman treaty, which had important implications for the anti-Russian policy goals shared by Sweden and the Ottoman Empire, brought him rewards of unprecedented importance.[25] War was then

[22]ECA, CFA vol. 22, p. 658, report on auction of personal effects left in Istanbul by Gustaf Celsing after his departure, yielding 7486 kuruş 39 paras, one open carriage and a silver center piece remaining unsold, and p. 703, bill of lading, dated 15 Feb. 1774, bill of lading for 90 crates of goods shipped to Stockholm or ... (an alternative port) for G. de Celsing, president of the Chamber of Commerce, 15 Feb. 1774.
[23]Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge, 2000, 170–71.
[24]ECA, CFA vol. 12, p. 524, Mouradgea to U. Celsing, 17 Mar. 1780 (opposition of *nalbur*s, lit., makers of horseshoes); p. 550, Mouradgea to U. Celsing, 17 April 1780 (hostility from officers at Naval Arsenal over badly made nails and iron bars); pp. 554–57, Mouradgea to U. Celsing, 2 May 1780 (opening a shipment of nails from Tottie and Arfvedson that he was unable to defend); pp. 827, Mouradgea to U. [?] Celsing, 10. 8bre [Oct.] 1783 (badly made nails); p.610, Mouradgea to U. [?] Celsing, 16 9bre [Nov.] 1780 (nails with neither heads nor points).
[25]Andreas Bode, *Die Flottenpolitik Katharinas II und die Konflikte mit Schweden und der Türkei (1768–1792)*, Wiesbaden, 1979, 108–109; LUL, Constantine d'Ohsson mss., "Extraits Orientaux," box 2, incomplete "Note à la fin du droit public" in Mouradgea's hand recounting his past services, including the Spanish negotiation.


The arms of Mouradgea D'Ohsson, Riddarhuset, Stockholm.

threatening between the Ottomans and Russia over the Crimea, which Russia was in the process of annexing. Russian strategy depended on sending the Russian Baltic fleet to the Meditteranean, and the treaty contained a secret clause obligating Spain to block the fleet's passage through the Straits of Gibraltar. Receiving valuable rewards from the Ottomans, about which more below, Mouradgea now felt himself in a sure enough position to define, at least in a private letter to Ulric Celsing, aspirations about which he had previously only hinted:

> I aspire only to honorific favors, such as would be a title of nobility with a surname or change of name, since that is the usage ... and an order with a small pension.

> My desire to move to Christendom (*passer en chretienté*) makes me attach [sic] to these objects, which could one day also facilitate the advancement of my children. Everything engages me, too, to go to France as quickly as possible to put the final touches on my historical work, on my Mahometan code, on my memoirs, etc.[26]

Gustave III did gave Mouradgea the Vasa order in 1783 and authorized him in 1786 to adopt the surname d'Ohsson in honor of an uncle who had shown Ignatius "paternal tenderness."[27] Mouradgea did not tell the king what ingenuity it took to invent this vaguely Gallo-Gothic *nom à particule*. The uncle had gone by the Turkish name or nickname Tosun ("young bull," "robust young man"). "D'Ohsson" came from that, possibly via the Armenian patronymic Tosunyan. 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 appelation that magically made both his ethnic and his class origins disappear. The Ottomans, in contrast, never stopped calling him Muradca and thinking of him as one of their non-Muslim subjects. One of the first places where he showed off his new name was, as noted, the title page of his first volume.

D'Ohsson had originally planned to study the reign of Sultan Selim II (1566–1574);[28] however in 1764, while reading the books

[26]ECA, CFA vol. 12, pp. 758–59, Mouradgea to U. Celsing, 25 Sept. 1782, ellipsis and syntactical discontinuity in original. U. Celsing later responded that Mouradgea's desire for a change of name seemed to him "all the less proposable" in that the "oldest and most illustrious houses of Sweden" had retained their original names, as had half the other noble families, including the Celsings; Mouradgea replied that they disagreed, and that he had no desire to imitate the man who claimed to be the "Marquis d'Ortakeuy"—Ortaköy, lit. "middle village," being a suburb of Istanbul: ECA, CFA vol. 12, pp. 797, 819, U. Celsing to Mouradgea, 9 May 1783, and Mouradgea to U. Celsing, 25 June 1783.

[27]UUL, Ur F 429, Mouradgea d'Ohsson to Gustaf III, 20 Sept. 1786 (letter mentioning the uncle's "paternal tenderness"). See also RA, Adelsbrev 29, folder dated "nob. 1780 11/4," Diploma nobilitatis pro Secretario et Interprete Muradgea, rough draft in Latin; Sköldebrevsamlingen, Ansökningar om Adelskap, C–D), from Mouradgea in Paris, 20 Sept. 1786, requesting to use the name d'Ohsson in publishing the prospectus for his work.

[28]I have found no remains of that project; but see RLS, Ms. D1494, "Histoire Othomane. Livre Douzième. Bayezid II. Fils de Mohammed II," translation in his hand.

printed by the first Ottoman-language press, which had operated for a time earlier earlier in the century, he got the idea for the *Tableau général*. By 1777, Mouradgea reportedly had a draft Ottoman history from the origins to the mid-seventeenth century far enough along to read from it to a traveling Swedish scholar.[29] Swedish envoy Gustaf Celsing (1723–1789) encouraged him in his project, "provided him with a very expensive collection of manuscripts concerning Turkish history," and in 1786 would enlist Gustave III's aid, either to subsidize printing costs or to request free printing for d'Ohsson at the Imprimerie Royale in Paris.[30] A countryman of Linnaeus thus played a part in launching d'Ohsson's taxonomic project. As we shall see below, members of the Swedish elites had wanted such a work produced since the early eighteenth century.

Nor was it accidental that the Swedish legation in Istanbul became the center for this kind of endeavor. Describing it in 1777 as the "most enlightened" diplomatic mission in Istanbul, a scholarly Swedish visitor commented at length on Mouradgea's researches on history, those of second interpreter Antoine de Murat on Ottoman music, minister Ulric Celsing's proficiency and ability to conduct official business in Turkish, and the daily lessons that these and other members of the legation had—except in time of plague—with their Turkish tutors (*hoca*). This writer seemed surprised that Mouradgea, who spoke Turkish as his native language and also spoke it with his wife and children, took such lessons. In fact, Mouradgea's lessons were surely at a much more advanced level, including study of the Arabic and Islamic texts that became the main sources for the *Tableau général*.[31] Plague or no plague, the legation's seventy-year-old

[29]Björnståhl, *Briefe aus seinem ausländischen Reisen*, IV, 7–9.

[30]RA, Skrivelser till Kanslipresidenten, vol. E1A:22, P.M. [Pro Memoria] from Gustaf Celsing, 6 Jan. 1786, adding that Mouradgea later added to the collection of manuscripts "at no little cost" (translation by Folke Ludwigs); KUD vol. B1B: 116, Gustave III to Amb. Staël de Holstein in Paris, addendum to letter of 21 Feb. 1786.

[31]Björnståhl, *Briefe aus seinen ausländischen Reisen*, IV, 13–14, 70–72, 118–21; Beydilli, "Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson," 253 and n. 38, speculating that one of Mouradgea's tutors may have been a medrese professor, Müderris Şerifzade, who had committed a murder and had been given refuge in the Swedish legation; BOA, HH 9634, Beydilli's source (the date penciled on the back of the document, 1203/1788–89, if accurate would however mean that this incident occurred while d'Ohsson was in Paris).

Turkish secretary, Mehmed Efendi, trundled off daily to a medrese in Tophane for lessons. Even the graybeard was a student at a legation that was, from chief of mission to clerk, a center of study and research, as well as of commerce and diplomacy.

Widowed in 1782, d'Ohsson took leave in 1784 and went to Paris to write and publish.[32] Father-in-law Kuleliyan moved to France about the same time. Mouradgea's success in the Spanish negotiation of 1782 helped to position him for this move economically. For in addition to an ermine robe and jewelled snuff boxes that he received from several high Ottoman officials, he reported that he received "different concessions and generous acts," worth "more than 120 thousand *écus*," including twenty-four additional warrants (*berat*) of diplomatic protection, of the sort referred to above, for the Swedish legation. Subsequent controversy made clear that Mouradgea thought he had ongoing rights to the revenues from these berats.[33] Kuleliyan's sudden move to France entailed relocating most of the family fortunes, an exercise that caused resentment then and, repeated by many others, would later fuel nationalist hostilities among Ottoman Turks and minorities.[34] In this case, the outbreak of the French Revolution soon proved it a bad business move.[35]

Mouradgea's years in Europe (1784–1791) are critical for this study yet are hard to document, except from the Celsing papers. In Europe, he attracted attention immediately, and his reactions to his new surroundings were no less vivid. Viennese flattery quite turned his head as he passed through in May 1784:[36]

> Sir, I believe myself metamorphosed .... They take me here for the torch (*le flambeau*) of the Ottoman Empire .... The ladies tell me that I am a Pa-

[32]ECA, CFA, vol. 12, pp. 776–77, Mouradgea to U. Celsing, 25 9bre [Nov.] 1782, saying that his wife Eve had died on the 31st of the precending month, continuing with a suitable paragraph of funerary prose, and winding off with details about business.

[33]ECA, CFA vol. 12, pp. 757–58, Mouradgea to U. Celsing, 25 Sept. 1782.

[34]Beydilli, "D'Ohsson," 255; RA, BKH, II.C, Murat to Mouradgea, letter dated 9 August 1784; II.A, G. J. Heidenstam to Mouradgea, letter of 10 Feb. 1785.

[35]Jamgocyan, "Les finances," 285–86, 415–16; AAE (Paris), CP Turquie, vol. 207, Mouradgea d'Ohsson to First Consul Bonaparte, 24 nivôse an 12/13 January 1804, appealing for assistance.

[36]ECA, CFA, vol. 12, pp. 834–836, Mouradgea to U. Celsing, Vienna, 9 May 1784.

> risian in Turkish dress. *Tête à tête*, I had a conversation with [the emperor] for 5. quarters of an hour.

No less vivid was the reaction in Paris, where his manner and dress—presumably the long robe and peaked fur hat of the Ottomans' non-Muslim interpreters—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.[37]

Mouradgea had arrived in Paris on 3 June 1784, four days before Gustave III arrived for a royal visit, which gave Mouradgea a chance to meet prominent members of the royal entourage and have a private interview with the king. Ulric Celsing, by then Swedish envoy at Dresden, had already urged Mouradgea to seek the advice of French *savants*, singling out Pierre Ruffin as being "renowned for the purity of his diction" as well as for his expertise in matters Turkish, advice that Mouradgea followed.[38] Ambassador de Staël urged him, on behalf of the king, to settle in Stockholm, but Mouradgea wrote that "he feared the climate for someone who was born in the 41st degree" of north latitutde. He "took a house in the faubourg St. Hon-

[37] *Mémoires secrets pour servir á l'histoire de la république des lettres en France depuis MDCCLXII jusqu'á nos jours; ou Journal d'un observateur*, London, 1786, vol. 26, 74–75. For a picture of the outfit of an Ottoman interpreter, necessarily 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, illustrations following p. 212; see also d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, III, plates 232–233, p. 455, showing audiences of ambassadors at the palace. 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*)."

[38] ECA, CFA vol. 12, p. 832, U. Celsing to Mouradgea, 21 May 1784; vol. 12, 843, Mouradgea to U. Celsing, 23 July 1784: "Mr. Ruffin, with whom I am closely connected, does not cease to help me." See Henri Dehérain, *Orientalistes et antiquaires: la vie de Pierre Ruffin, orientaliste et diplomate, 1742–1824*, 2 vols., Paris, 1929–30.

oré overlooking the *champs elisées*" in anticipation of the arrival of his children and father-in-law, who was bringing the "42 large pictures" that were to serve as sources for the most ambitious engravings.[39] Within a year, the children were away at school, Papa Kuleliyan had moved to Marseille because of the climate, and Mouradgea—better acquainted with "the excessive costliness of everything in this immense city"—had ceded his house to the Comte de Saint-Priest, whom he had met as French ambassador in Istanbul. Mouradgea had moved to an apartment in the rue de Provence and was busy writing, working with the engravers, and having "a doctor of the Sorbonne, a man of great literature, go through [what he wrote] with pen in hand," something that Ulric Celsing had urged him to do for the "correction of the style," above all in a work where it was necessary figuratively speaking to "dress Turks *à la françoise*."[40]

Much about how Mouradgea made his way through the Parisian literary high life and low life of the day remains tantalizingly obscure. A cultural milieu in which political philosophy, libel, and pornography merged to undermine the French monarchy would have been as far from the spirit of his literary project as from that of Gustave III's attempt to introduce French-style absolutism into Sweden.[41] Mouradgea was 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).[42] French archival sources shed glim-

[39]ECA, CFA, vol. 12, 841–44, Mouradgea to Ulric Celsing, 23 July 1784. The same letter mentions that the king was very taken with Mouradgea's portraits of Ottoman sultans, which Mouradgea had with him already, and had ordered him to have them made into one large picture showing all the rulers *en arbre généalogique*. As noted below, exactly such a picture hangs in the "Turkish room" at the Celsing's manorhouse at Biby, with the conventional framed oval medaillons containing the sultans' portraits shown as if hung on a large green tree; comparable pictures are found also at the Swedish State Portrait Collection at Gripsholm Castle and at Topkapı Palace in Istanbul.

[40]ECA, CFA vol. 12, 845–46, U. Celsing to Mouradgea, 17 Apr. 1785; 854–55, Mouradgea to U. Celsing, 14 May 1785.

[41]Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime*, Cambridge, 1982, chs. 1, 6; Claude Nordmann, *Gustave III: un démocrate couronnée*, Lille, 1993; Erik Lönnroth, *Den stora rollen: Kung Gustaf III spelad av honom själv*, Stockholm, 1986.

[42]RA, BKH, I.A, Heidenstam to Mouradgea, 21 May and 25 September 1784; BKH, IV.A, Heidenstam to Mouradgea, 10 March 1786; L. Léouzon Le Duc, *Correspon-*

mers of light on Mouradgea's day-to-day dealings, which often ended in court, with landlords, workmen, and one Pierre-Jacques Thomas Subito des Perelles, who appears to have served Mouradgea unsatisfactorily as secretary in 1784, when d'Ohsson also paid the bookseller Prault 905 livres for works including the *Encyclopédie* and an atlas.[43] Mouradgea's literary activity was reportedly aided by "an *abbé*" whom he had hired. Whether the *abbé*, Subito des Perelles, and the doctor of the Sorbonne mentioned in Mouradgea's letters are the same or different remains unclear. Armenian sources indicate that Mouradgea spent time at the Armenian Catholic monastery of San Lazaro, Venice, and had collaborators there, although there is or no clear evidence of the results.[44] He had more sources copied and sent from Istanbul.[45] In 1788, he went to Sweden and met King Gustave III. His one well-known literary collaborator was publicist Jacques Mallet Du Pan, and that was an important relationship.[46]

In 1787, Mouradgea published a prospectus and opened subscriptions for his first two volumes.[47] His first folio volume also bears the date 1787; the second is dated 1789. The prospectus stressed his qualifications and preparation. It emphasized that he relied on Ottoman rather than foreign sources; had had the assistance of two well-regarded ulema; had acquired his knowledge about the governmental system from high officials, who had aided him with "every mark of benevolence"; had gathered his information about the Imperial Palace and Harem from high-placed officials,

*dance diplomatique du baron de Staël-Holstein*, Paris, 1881, 99, 127, (2 April, 17 September 1789).

[43]Archives Nationales (Paris), T/154, liasse 16, documents of roughly 1784–1786.

[44]Beydilli, "D'Ohsson," 256. The only documentary evidence from San Lazaro that I have found anywhere in d'Ohsson papers is at LUL, Constantine d'Ohsson papers, Box 4, folders marked "Dynasties de l'Orient," mss. in Italian dated in the 1780s, one or more of them by a monk at San Lazaro about the history and religion of Armenia.

[45]RA, BKH 55, IVB, Silvestre de Serpos to Mouradgea, letter of 11 March 1786.

[46]F.-T., "Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Ignace," in *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, ed. Michaud, Paris, 1843, vol. XXIX, 471; Frances Acomb, *Mallet Du Pan (1749– 1800), A Career in Political Journalism*, Durham, Duke UP, 1973.

[47]UUL, UR F429, Mouradgea to Gustave III, 20 Sept. 1786, enclosing manuscript prospectus; *L'Année Littéraire*, 5 (1787), 131–38, terms of subscription; *Ancien Moniteur* (reimpression), VI, 352 (18 Dec. 1790), 656.

from the husbands of women who had been slaves there and had been freed and married out to high dignitaries, or from Christian women who had access to these former slave women after they had left the palace.[48] He also described his illustrations, made in Paris by well-known engravers from "a collection of pictures executed in the country by Greek and European painters."[49]

For splendor of presentation, the publication of the first two folio volumes ought to have created a sensation. They were published at the Imprimerie de Monsieur, which was under official patronage of the the king's next-younger brother ("Monsieur" in official titulature, also known as the Comte de Provence, later king as Louis XVIII) and operated by Pierre-François Didot "the Younger," famous for beautiful typography.[50] As noted above, Mouradgea's patron Gustaf Celsing had petitioned Gustave III, to whom the *Tableau* is dedicated, either to subsidize the printing of that work or to request free printing at the Imprimerie Royale, partronized by Louis XVI. The result may have been publication at the press patronized by the king's brother, whose pro-Ottoman, anti-Austrian politics the book better suited. That the printing might have been done free of charge is indirectly implied by the lack of evidence of controversy over printing costs—tacit evidence that speaks loudly, given d'Ohsson's subsequent quarrels about all other money matters.[51] 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.[52]

[48]*Mercure de France*, 14 Mars 1787, supplément (follows p. 192), d'Ohsson's "Discours préliminaire," published by way of prospectus, 7–10. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, III, 312, n.

[49]*Mercure de France*, 14 Mars 1787, supplément (follows p. 192), 33–45, listing of 76 plates, some apparently not included in the final publication.

[50]Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier, eds., *Histoire de l'édition française*, Paris, 1984, II, 572; Philip Mansel, *Louis XVIII*, 24.

[51]The records of the Didot publishing house do not appear to have survived. The significance of d'Ohsson's litigiousness in this regard is that it would have left documentary traces elsewhere, had there been money matters for him to quarrel about with his printer.

[52]*Mercure de France*, CXXXIV (15 March 1788), 103–19; 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, 20, 25 n. 32 (mentioning reviews of vol. I in the *Mercure de France*, Feb. 1788, 103–19 by Mallet Du Pan, and in

The edition occurred in two different formats. Differences in type size confirm that the entire work was typeset twice.[53] 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 folio volumes for an aristocratic clientele. The folio edition was extravagantly illustrated, ultimately with 233 engravings, forty-one of which are full-page or larger (double-page, foldout).[54] The other edition, of octavo size for a bourgeois clientele, ran to seven volumes published between 1788 and 1824; the octavo volumes published through 1791 contain a few of the plates from the first folio volume, re-engraved in smaller size, often by different artists.[55]

the *Journal de Paris*, 1 April 1788, no. 92, 405–409); RLS, corresp. of C. C. Gjörwell, 103, d'Ohsson to Gjörwell, 13 June 1788, mentioning three reviews in unnamed French journals and one in Swedish in Gjörwell's "gazette litteraire"; see "Kungjörelse om: *Tableau general [sic] de l'Empire Othoman ...,"* in *Almänna Tidningar: Innehållande Svea-Rikes Annaler*, I.2 (1788), 9–13; I.3 (1788), 17–18, III.1 (1788), 1–7.

[53]The use of different type sizes in the folio edition complicates the comparison. However, measuring the principal typesize used in the text shows that in the folio edition, capitals are 4 mm high, and lower-case letters are 2 mm high; in the octavo edition, capitals are 3 mm high, and lower case letters measure about 1.8 mm high.

[54]Christian Michel, "Une entrepreise de gravure à la veille de la Revolution: Le Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman," *Nouvelles de l'estampe*, Dec. 1985, no. 84, 7, giving the number of large engravings as forty-one. Compare ECA, CFA vol. 12, p. 841–44, Mouradgea to Ulric Celsing, 23 July 1784, mentioning the expected arrival of forty-two pictures. Which of the large pictures was not used as the source for an engraving is unclear. In copies of the *Tableau* that I have seen, plate 168 (vol. III) is missing from both the list of plates (*état des planches*) at the back of the book and from the point where it should be in the book (vol. III, between pp. 166 and 167). This might be the plate in question.

[55]Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire othoman*, Paris, 7 vols. in octavo, 1788–1824. In octavo volumes I, III, IV part 2, VI, and VII, which I have been able to examine in the original, as opposed to the microfiches of the entire octavo edition, the engravings that I have found are as follows (with artists' names where given; these plates usually measure about 40 percent smaller than the corresponding folio plates):

I, titlepage (scene of Muhammad and the Kaʿba, re-engraved slightly under half-sized compared to the folio);

I, 200 ("Assomption de Mohammed," compare fol. I, opposite p. 67, pl. 2);

I, 268 ("Mehhdy," Le Barbier Ainé del[ineavit], J. J. Hubert [?] sculp[sit], compare fol. I, opposite p. 88, pl. 7, dessinée par le Barbier l'Ainé, gravé par De Longueil);

III: none.

The de luxe edition is now very rare. Most historians never see it and may think, as I long did, that references to a three-volume edition are mistaken. The printed text in the two editions appears substantially identical. Because the few engravings included in the octavo edition give but a pale idea of the total illustration program, the fact that most scholars know the work only from the more common octavo edition has, however, led to extreme neglect of the engravings.

Just as he went to the leading publisher of the day, Mouradgea went to the leading engraver, Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715–1791),[56] under whom a score of artists worked on the engravings, until a controversy over costs ended in court and led Cochin to withdraw.[57] Mouradgea's correspondence with his bankers in Istanbul, mentioning payments to local artists who produced the pictures that the Paris engravers used as sources, and the documents on the court case with Cochin would suffice for an extensive analysis, space permitting, of how the engravings in the *Tableau général* were pro-

IV, part ii: frontispiece foldout ("Musulman faisant la prière, namaz," engraved by Fossard, compare fol. I, opposite p. 165, pl. 14, with same title, engraved by Tilliard, oct. version slightly more than half as large as fol. version);

VII, pp. 301–307 (engraved "Tableau des Provinces," non-pictorial, listing Ottoman provinces, compare fol. III, p. 390).

The placement of the illustrations in the octavo edition may not have been invariable. In the set reproduced in microfiche, one finds the following:

I, opposite p. 57, "Assomption de Mohammed";

II, opposite title page, "Mehhdy"; II, opposite p. 184, "Musulman faisant la prière, Namaz" (fold-out);

III, opposite title page, "Muezzin particulier," J. Moreau le J[eu]ne del[ineavit], Le Roy sculp[sit], compare fol. I, after p. 188, pl. 18, no artists named);

IV part i, opposite title page, "Mausolée du Grand-Vezir Raghib Pascha," J. M. Moreau le Jn. del[ineavit], Le Roy sculp[si]t, compare fol. I, p. 250, pl. 24, same title, artists identified as C. N. Cochin direx[it], C. L. Lingée sculp[sit];

IV pt. ii, frontispiece, "Mosquée de Sultan-Ahmed," Hilair del., Giraud le J[eun]e Sculp., compare fol., I, after p. 284, pl. 29, same artists.

[56]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 subjects and names of artists who worked on them.

[57]Michel, "Une entreprise de gravure à la veille de la Révolution," 6–25; Michel, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin et le livre illustré au XVIII siècle*, Geneva, 1987, 381; Michel, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin et l'art des Lumières*, Rome, 1993, 106, 174–78, 441, 445.

duced, a fact that makes the lack of detailed documentation on the publicaton of the text all the more painful.

While publishing the first two volumes of the large edition in French, d'Ohsson also sought to get his work translated. He tried to arrange publicity in British periodicals and an English translation.[58] He sought to promote sales of the book in Venice and Istanbul.[59] Eventually, partial translations appeared in English, German, Russian, Swedish, and Polish.[60] The partial English translation came out 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." Possibly, dervishes had metamorphosed into freemasons while crossing the Atlantic on their flying carpets, although in fact the volume contains only as much text as the first volume of the French folio edition and never gets to the dervish orders, discussed at the end of the second folio volume. The title page identified d'Ohsson himself as a member of masonic and other orders.[61] Gustave III, still more his broth-

[58]Auguste Blondel, "Lettres inédites de Mallet Du Pan à Étienne Dumont (1787–1789)," *Revue historique*, 33 (1908), 107–108, 109, letters of 2 June and 22 April 1788; ECA, CFA, 2, pp. 72, d'Ohsson to U. Celsing, 24 June 1788, passing through London on his way to Stockholm, M. "made arrangements for an English translation."

[59]RA, BKH 64, III. Skrivelser till Mouradgea, from Giovanni de Serpos in Venice, March–May 1789; BKH 57, from Silvestre Serpos, Istanbul, 25 May 1787.

[60]RLS, some short derivative works: 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 l'Empire othoman, par M. de M*** d'Ohsson*, Stockholm, 1813. Translations of vol. I exist in Russian and German: *Polnaia kartina Ottomanskiia imperii*, 2 vols., Saint Petersburg, 1795; *Allgemeine Schilderung des ottomanischen Reiches*, trans. Christian Daniel Beck, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1788–1793. For extracts in Polish, see "Historya. Tableau Général ...," trans. W. Sękowski, *Dziennik Wileński*, I nos. 1, 3, 5 (1819), 342–68, 480–500, 609–34.

[61]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.*, no translator named, author 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.

er Duke Charles (regent 1792–96, king 1809–1818), and many members of the aristocratic opposition that dominated government during the regency following Gustave's assassination, were deeply involved in Freemasonry.[62] D'Ohsson's standing in Swedish official circles reached its zenith under the regency, and official support for him in Stockholm collapsed with it. If d'Ohsson had Masonic ties, for which the Philadelphia titlepage provides the only concrete evidence, they would have given him added bonds to the Swedish elites, not to mention the Parisian intelligentsia.

Why did d'Ohsson undertake such a vast and costly project? In the *Tableau général* he gave answers stylized in Enlightenment terms. Where in this endeavor was the marginal man bent on remaking his identity? As noted above, publishing the *Tableau* fulfilled an ambition long shared in the diplomatic milieu in which Mouradgea served, a milieu in which a work about the Ottoman legal system and the inner workings of state and society had practical professional relevance—witness the fact that Mouradgea would cipher references to things like Ottoman budget deficits in his private letters.[63] As a half-French Armenian Catholic intellectual and diplomatic agent of a Francophile monarch, he also 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 1779, he confided in a private letter that after going to France, he would not want to return to Istanbul, and "if I did, it will never be to pursue the same career."[64] Writing for public consumption in 1793, he spoke loftily of "sacrifices made out of my love of letters, in an enterprise that had as its object a great monarchy," namely the Ottoman Empire.[65] The sacrifices, however, were not meant to be disinterested. Used to engaging in business alongside his official and intellectual pursuits, he apparently aimed to turn a profit on his book. French bankers and aristocrats had financed other publication projects of the period

[62]Nordmann, *Gustave III*, ch. XII.
[63]ECA, CFA, vol. 12, pp. 404–406, Mouradgea to Ulric Celsing, 14 Aug. 1779, data on revenues, deficit, debt.
[64]ECA, CFA, vol. 12, p. 488, Mouradgea to U. Celsing, 17 Dec. 1779.
[65]RA, Turcica 103, printed "Mémoire pour M. Mouradgea d'Ohsson ...," 58.

on speculation.[66] D'Ohsson differed in being both author and financier, and for a project where the subscription price for the first two volumes was 300 livres tournois and one report estimated the costs for paper alone at a hundred thousand francs.[67]

D'Ohsson,*Tableau*, vol. III, 455, pl. 232: "Dîner d'un ministre européen avec le Grand Vézir dans la salle du Divan" (cf. note 68).

D'Ohsson sought not only monetary but also professional gains. To put it in terms of the stereotyped convention for portraying a European envoy's official audience with the Grand Vezir, d'Ohsson aimed to transform himself from the interpreter, standing by in the long gown and peaked fur hat, into the envoy, in European dress and three-cornered hat, confidently seated before the Grand Vezir.[68]

[66]Michel, "Une entreprise de gravure," 8–9.
[67]*Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'ihistoire de la République des Lettres en France, depuis M.DCC.LXII jusqu'à nos jours; ou journal d'un observateur*, London, 1789, vol. 34, 301, entry for 28 Mar. 1787.
[68]For such a picture, see d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, III, p. 455, pl. 232, "Dîner d'un ministre européen avec le Grand Vézir dans la salle du Divan," and pl. 233, "Audience d'un

This is what d' Ohsson meant when he wrote in 1779 that he would never return to Istanbul to pursue the same career. Eventually d'Ohsson succeeded in achieving this ambition, albeit precariously. The financial capital required for his Parisian speculation, however, was new money, and he was trying to put it to work in a sophisticated environment still new to him.

"Dîner d'un ministre européen ..." (detail of preceding image).

One way to learn more about d'Ohsson's intentions is thus to look at the business side of the project. It is easy to infer that the

ministre européen" (the audience with the sultan). The engraving of the dinner with the Grand Vezir in the Divan hall exactly follows a painting (water color, gouache, pen and gray ink, with predominant color tones of green, orange and yellow) in the National Museum, Stockholm: Per Bjurström, *French Drawings, Eighteenth Century*, Stockholm, 1982, no. 1060, attributed to Louis-Nicolas de l'Espinasse. As a further illustration of how familiar such images might have been to Mouradgea, as I recall the Celsing collection at Biby contains three look-alike paintings of ambassadorial audiences with the grand vezir (visited October 2001).

French revolution interrupted publication of the *Tableau*. The publication dates of the volumes imply that. Yet reality was not so simple. This project included a long wait between investment and profit. Cochin estimated maximum costs of 60,000 livres per folio volume for engraving and printing.[69] But several years had to pass between the start of engraving, in the fall of 1785, and any return on investment, the subscription not being launched until February 1787. Relations between d'Ohsson and Cochin broke down that year, ending in a trial and arbitration. Cochin's account of the case shows that Mouradgea paid up to seven or eight thousand livres apiece for a number of the largest, finest plates in the *Tableau général*.[70] Losing a lot of money in the affair, Cochin concluded that Mouradgea was initially too quick to trust, but then hearing others' arguments, would withdraw his trust and indulge all the rage of someone wronged. After Cochin, Mouradgea found engravers to produce smaller, cheaper plates but by 1791 was embroiled in controversy with one of them, Jean-Michel Moreau "le Jeune" (1741–1814).[71]

D'Ohsson's relations with colleagues in Istanbul also broke down over money. As noted, he had had to leave in 1784 without liquidating all his property; he also had uncollected claims there, old and ongoing. From Paris, he ordered large amounts of goods sold in Istanbul; many bills of exchange were dispatched. Gradually his dealings with two men, Gerhard von Heidenstam and Antoine de Murat, both functionaries of the Swedish mission and the latter also Armenian, soured.[72] The break came in 1787 when Mouradgea, without giving them prior notice, drew bills of exchange amounting to over 37,000 kuruş on Heidenstam and nearly 2,000 kuruş on Mu-

[69]BMR, cote P68, "Mémoire pour M[r] Cochin," 43–44, Cochin's side of the case.
[70]BMR, cote P68, "Mémoire," 30–33, list of engravings, naming sums Mouradgea actually paid; for example, "Vue de la Ville de la Mecque" (7,000 livres), "Diner du Grand Seigneur" (8,000), "La Mosquée de Achmet" (7,000), "La Bibliotèque Turque" (2,000), "Les Cinq Planches des Derviches" (800 each, a set of five showing the rites of the Rifai order).
[71]Ibid., p. 35; Michel, "Une entreprise de gravure," 20–21.
[72]RA, BKA 53–55, 57, correspondence of 1784–1787 among Mouradgea, Antoine de Murat, Heidenstam, Thomas and Silvestre Serpos over liquidating property that Mouradgea had left behind, recovering his claims, and dispatching bills of exchange.

rat.[73] Murat, who professed to have handled 800,000 kuruş in commercial affairs for Mouradgea over a twelve-year period, demanded arbitration.[74] That trained on for a decade, generating prodigious correspondence and lengthy printed memoranda, and eventually requiring intervention at the highest levels in Stockholm.[75]

Delving into d'Ohsson's finances not only sheds light on his problems in bringing out the *Tableau général* but also shows that the French Revolution did not derail an otherwise untroubled project. The revolution did make things worse. Already by 1788, however, d'Ohsson's letters were full of second thoughts. He needed more translations to get full advantage from his engravings.[76] It would have been better not to indulge in so much luxury in typography and engraving, but it was too late now, and sales continued slowly, although Vienna was the one large city in Europe where there was the least demand.[77] Responding to a warning from Ulric Celsing, who feared that the luxuriousness of the edition might prove ruinous for the author, d'Ohsson explained, comparing his work to Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* in a way that will merit comment below:[78]

> My first plan was to offer the work in 4to. and the prints separately in an atlas. But various ones found ways to tell me, especially the ministers at Versailles and other respectable people who insisted in determining me

[73]RA, Turcica 103, drafts dated 10 March 1789 and signed by Mouradgea d'Ohsson, four drawn on Heidenstam (8100, 17754, 6000, and 5275 kuruş), one drawn against Murat (1991 kuruş).

[74]RA, BKH 57, letters from Silvestre Serpos to Mouradgea, 1787, among them this letter from Murat to Heidenstam, 7 April 1787.

[75]RA, KUD B1B, vol. 128, to Mouradgea in Paris, March 1790, conveying the king's wish for an amiable arbitration and displeasure at publicity of print about it, also an accompanying "Protocole, Stockholm, le 27 Janvier 1790," as well as letter to d'Ohsson dated 15 June 1790 and another to Heidenstam dated 10 August 1790; UUL, F812c, von Asp papers, Chancellor Fredrik Sparre to von Asp, 2 May 1794, the king's orders for settlement of some Mouradgea-Heidenstam claims and arbitration of others; UUL, Ur F728, arbitrators' decision, date of registry 27 May 1797, together with letter of 15 June 1797 from Heidenstam.

[76]ECA, CFA vol. 2, pp. 35–36, Mouradgea to U. Celsing, 18 Feb. 1789.

[77]ECA, CFA vol. 2, 65–67, Mouradgea to U. Celsing, 27 Sept. 1788.

[78]ECA, CFA vol. 2, pp. 12–13, U. Celsing to d'Ohsson, Vienna, 22 Mar. 1788, and pp. 41–42, d'Ohsson to U. Celsing, Paris, 15 April 1788.

> for the Info[lio] with the engravings, without foregoing an edition in 8vo. for persons not in a position to buy the folios. It is indeed a bit costly, but the price is not beyond the work of the Comte de Choiseul: his voyage pittoresque de la Grece [sic] is on sale today at 7 louis d'or.

By March 1789, d'Ohsson calculated that if he could sell "another 100 copies, he would recover his expenses, not counting the profits that the octavo edition, the English translation, and the German edition with the atlas of engravings promise." However, that was a lot to ask. Up to that time, he had sold 300 copies of the folio edition in Paris, 25 in Strasbourg, perhaps the same in Stockholm, but only 4 in Vienna.[79] In 1791, d'Ohsson hit bottom. His elder daughter Sophie (1775–1791) died. He still claimed over 80,000 Ottoman kuruş owed him in Istanbul. Creditors were hounding him.[80] He appealed to Gustave III, proposing to publish multiple volumes beyond the first two with 350 engravings in all and pointing out that one person had so far borne all the costs. He requested financial support in the form either of a loan or a pension or a "mission to a foreign court," and he proposed to follow completion of his work by presenting to "our good and faithful Ottomans a general plan for reform in all parts of their administration."[81] Shortly after, he wrote to another diplomatic colleague:

> ... 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.[82]

So it happened. By the fall of 1791, d'Ohsson was in Vienna. Trying to relaunch his fortunes, he published a prospectus, proposing

[79]ECA, CFA vol. 2, pp. 99–101, Mouradgea to U. Celsing, 23 Mar. 1789; however, the figure for sales in Stockholm is a guess based on ECA, CFA vol. 2, p. 66, Mouradgea to U. Celsing, 27 Sept. 1788, saying that he had only sent twenty copies to Stockholm, and that they had sold in less than a week.

[80]UUL, F812b, von Asp papers, from Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Paris, 20 February 1791.

[81]RA, Skrivelser till Konungen Gustaf III, 8, undated letter from Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Paris, enclosing memorandum of 20 Jan. 1791 (quoted passages from the memorandum).

[82]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.

to complete his work with a third and fourth volume, which would contain the "historical part."[83] Unfortunately, Vienna offered a less receptive climate for a pro-Ottoman work than had Paris. Implausible as it seems for such a publication, there was talk of his receiving a subsidy from Catherine II of Russia.[84]

In Vienna, d'Ohsson also encountered Ottoman ambassador Ebu Bekir Ratib and became one of his assistants in compiling a huge report in Ottoman Turkish. Intended to provide the Ottomans with a *tableau général* of the Austrian Empire, in scale and manner of compilation Ratib Efendi's report shows strong evidences of d'Ohsson's mode of operation.[85] D'Ohsson won Ratib'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.[86]

At Ratib Efendi's formal audiences, d'Ohsson served as translator. If on arriving in Paris in 1784 he attracted attention by wearing eastern dress, here he attracted attention by appearing in "oriental dress," again presumably the long robe and fur hat of the Ottomans' non-Muslim interpreters; yet now he was bewigged, or perhaps had his hair in a pigtail, in European style.[87] At Vienna, Ratib Efendi solicited d'Ohsson to return to Istanbul with him and help in Ottoman reform efforts.[88] However, the Swedish authorities also approached d'Ohsson, offering a percentage if he would take over

[83]Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (Vienna), Schweden 72, Konv. 1792/1, Swedish envoy Nolcken to [Austrian] Ministry, 27 Feb. 1792, asks support, encloses prospectus.

[84]UUL, F 812b, Razumovski to d'Ohsson, Vienna, 18 October 1793; F812c, d'Ohsson to Asp, undated memorandum beginning "C'est à regret que M. D se voit ...": d'Ohsson professes to have turned down an overture in 1791 from Prince Potemkin.

[85]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.

[86]BOA, HH 52516C, undated, from Ratib, apparently intended for Selim III.

[87]"... Mouradgea d'Ohsson, in seiner orientalischen Kleidung, aber mit europäisch frisiertem Kopf und Zopf"; Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, ed. R. Bachofen von Echt, Vienna, 1940, 26.

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

the negotiations on the financial subsidy that Sweden expected from the Ottoman Empire under the Treaty of Istanbul of 11 July 1789. D'Ohsson did draft memoranda for the Ottomans on reform. However, he found his "amour propre" enticed by the Swedish invitation, and decided to return to Istanbul for that purpose.[89]

Returning to Istanbul in 1792, he presented his two folio volumes with the engravings to Sultan Selim III, who ordered that he receive an "extraordinary reward," two thousand gold pieces, and that d'Ohsson's promised recommendations for reform be studied and submitted to the palace. D'Ohsson declared his fidelity to the Ottoman state, offering to submit proposals on military reform and proposing to demonstrate the compatibility of such projects with Islamic law.[90] D'Ohsson also presented paintings to the sultan, including a view of Istanbul seen from the Swedish legation, and a "large genealogical tree of all the Ottoman Sultans, based on the collection that exists in the palace"; smaller copies of the tree painting were also given to high officials. The genealogical tree created a sensation at the palace, and d'Ohsson had to explain the circumstances that had enabled him to see the palace album of sultans' portraits in the 1770s and have the portraits copied, adding that he had shown his copies in Paris in 1784 to Gustave III, who suggested having them painted as if suspended on a tree.[91]

[89]UUL, F812b, d'Ohsson's enclosure in letter from Bildt to Asp, Vienna, 3 July 1792; Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 158, 189; Beydilli, "d'Ohsson, 257; Jamgocyan, "Les finances," 116–19.

[90]Beydilli, "D'Ohsson," 260–61; BOA, Cevdet Hariciye 5875, order of 27 Cemaziyülevvel 1207/10 January 1793, to pay 5,000 kuruş (equivalent to the promised 2,000 gold pieces); BOA, HH 15634, undated but referring to d'Ohsson's having gone to Paris "eight years ago," report to palace, bearing Selim III's hand-written command "let him be rewarded extraordinarily (*fevkalhad ikram oluna*), let his report [on military reform] be submitted [to the palace], and have the Reis Efendi consult him about the best way to obtain naval architects (*gemi yapar mimar mühendis*)"; HH 15370, document referring to Mouradgea as having returned to Istanbul "a few days ago" in company with two English naval officers, about whose expertise in ship design the Ottomans wished to inquire.

[91]LUL, Constantine d'Ohsson papers, "Extraits orientaux," box 2, undated "Note à la fin du droit public" in Mouradgea's hand. Similar paintings are found in Sweden in the Celsing manor house at Biby and in the State Portrait Collection at Gripsholm Castle, plus another in Istanbul in the Topkapı Palace collection; the album of sultan's portraits is also at Topkapı Palace, A.3109, portraits by Levni (c. 1680–

D'Ohsson was consulted and did submit proposals on reforms, including detailed recommendations of 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.[92] Significantly, d'Ohsson had placed his son Constantine (1779–1851) in "a cadet school" in Vienna; and 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 Militärakademie*.[93] 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.

A rumor campaign—that he was an agent of revolutionary France—preceded him to Istanbul; the rumors echoed widely in diplomatic dispatches of the period and still echo in scholarship based on them.[94] However, neither d'Ohsson's Francophilia, nor his French second wife, nor his ideal of Swedish-French-Ottoman cooperation to the exclusion of Russia made d'Ohsson a Jacobin. His correspondence indicates that he and his wife suffered greatly from the charges made against him; in Stockholm, the government supported him and ordered its envoys at other courts to lodge pro-

1732) with later additions; Julian Raby [?], ed., *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, Istanbul, 2000, 378–87, 398–99, 516–17; personal communications from Günsel Renda, 8 May 2002, and Ambassador Sture Theolin, 9 May 2002.

[92]Beydilli, Kemal Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne, Mühendishâne Matbaası ve Kütüphanesi (1776–1826)*, Istanbul, 1995, 28–33; BOA, HH 9783, "Fünun-ı Harbiye Talimhanesine dair tertib olunan layıhanın tercümesidir" ("translation of the memorandum on the School of Military Sciences"), 25 Ş[aban] 208 (for 1208, March 1794).

[93]Nils F. Holm, Gunnar Jarring, Bengt Hildebrand, "d'Ohsson, Abraham Constantin Mouradgea," in *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, Stockholm, 1945, XI, 340–41; 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.

[94]Veniamin Ciobanu, ed., *Europe and the Porte: New Documents on the Eastern Question*, 2 vols., Iaşi–Oxford–Portland, 2001, d'Ohsson's diplomatic dispatches, 1795–1797, plus annexes (II, 185–279) containing Prussian diplomatic documents on him.

tests.[95] D'Ohsson's correspondence indicates that his contacts with French diplomats in Istanbul did not begin until 1793 when, at the behest of the Ottoman authorities, he had secret meetings with French envoy Marie-Louis-Henri Descorches to explain Ottoman positions to him, the most important being that the Ottomans would "hold fast to their system of neutrality," that is, were not yet ready to recognize the French Republic. Again as secret intermediary for the Ottomans, d'Ohsson also had contacts with the French in 1793 to help the Ottomans procure the services of fourteen French officers as military instructors.[96] At the end of 1794, Descorches, who never got past referring to Mouradgea as "Mourad-Cha," reported to Paris that Swedish minister von Asp and the other members of his legation, having last received instructions from Gustave III,[97] remained so reserved that Descorches would have doubted their good will if they had been "less estimable personally."[98] Eventually, d'Ohsson mediated in the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire and France, but not before 1795, when the Stockholm government had decided to re-

[95]Sten Carlsson and Torvald Höjer, *Den Svenska Utrikespolitikens Historia*, vol. III, 1–2, *1792–1844*, Stockholm, 1954, 37, blaming the rumors of Jacobinism on Catherine II's maneuverings; RA, KUD, B1B, to d'Ohsson, 7 Feb. 1794 (the Duke Regent's support for d'Ohsson); RA, Muscovitica 625, Catherine II to the Regent, Duke Charles, 17 January 1794. D'Ohsson blamed the rumor campaign in Istanbul on the Austrian envoy there: UUL, F812b, d'Ohsson to Asp, 25 October 1793; RA, Turcica 103, d'Ohsson's memoir of 24 January 1794, addressed to "Mon Prince" (Chancellor Kaunitz in Vienna).

[96]De Marcère, *Ambassade*, I, 91, 251; II, 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 14893, 26 Safer 1208/October 1793, translation of report from Mouradgea to Translator of the Imperial Divan reporting a meeting with Descorches; HH 13031, dated in the catalogue 1206/1791–92 (Mouradgea d'Ohsson on the arrival of Swedish officers to work in shipbuilding). On the Descorches mission, see also BOA, HH 1541, 1542 A–B, 1604B, 1678, 1720, 12335, 13003, 13027, 13058, 13330.

[97]De Marcère, *Ambassade*, I, 394: von Asp so informed Descorches at some time in 1794. Gustave III was assassinated in March 1792.

[98]De Marcère, *Ambassade*, II, 55.

establish relations and sent instructions to Istanbul to collaborate in that effort.[99] The French offered d'Ohsson 40,000 livres for his services; he informed Stockholm and was answered to accept or not, as he wished.[100]

Whatever his contributions to the Ottomans and the French, officially d'Ohsson was back in Swedish service. No longer an interpreter, he had returned to Istanbul as counselor of legation and was thus climbing the Swedish diplomatic ladder. Where Swedish government interests were concerned, his return to Istanbul may have been uniquely right for the subsidy negotations. Where the peace of the Swedish legation was concerned, however, his arrival perhaps more resembled that of the wolf in the henhouse. He had lost his fortune; there is no indication that he any longer engaged in trade, which the international climate of the period would have made riskier than ever; he was still embroiled in controversies over money with people employed by or closely connected to the legation. In 1793, he took over the salary of the vacant first translatorship to add to his income, further raising tension. Lengthy royal instructions had to be issued in the spring of 1793 for the management (*police)* and finances of the legation; even these did not stop the wrangling.[101] While the 1793 instructions avoided naming names, many of the issues were "Mouradgea issues"—rights to income from sale

[99]RA, KUD, B1B vol. 153, Duke Charles to Mouradgea d'Ohsson, 7 July 1795; BOA, HH 16142C, report on three meetings of Mouradgea with Verninac, dated in catalogue 1210/1795–96.

[100]RA, Turcica 84, d'Ohsson to Chancellor, 5 Dec. 1795, reporting offer of 20,000 kuruş (40,000 livres tournois) in precious stones and requesting instructions; RA, KUD, B1B, vol.159, 5 Feb. 1796, the Duke Regent leaves it to d'Ohsson's discretion to accept the present or not.

[101]RA, KUD, B1B, vol. 140, Instructions from the King about how the Istanbul Legation is to be regulated in future, 31 May and 14 June 1793; UUL, Ur. F 812d, von Asp papers, 1795, Asp to d'Ohsson (24 November 1794); d'Ohsson to Asp (undated unsigned missive beginning "C'est à regret que M. D...."); Asp to d'Ohsson, 31 August 1794 (Asp was so fed up with all the bitterness that he he would be willing to sacrifice his personal interests to return to Stockholm except for the "major 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).

and resale of warrants (*berat*) of protection, the role of the first interpreter in relation to the others, the minister's authority over the entire chain of command, chancery business and rights to chancery fees. Naming d'Ohsson specifically in one provision, the instructions asserted that after him, no present or former first interpreter of the legation should have lasting rights or claims from that title. Ottoman documents did still commonly refer to him as "the Swedish chief translator" (*İsveç baş tercümanı*). Officially, however, having been counselor of legation since 1792, d'Ohsson was appointed chief of mission and minister plenipotentiary in 1795. He also sought to launch the career of his son Constantine, whom he got named *jeune de langue* at the legation in 1794.[102] The father preferred to rely on his son to cipher his reports to Stockholm, a practice that roused the suspicions of the secretary of legation at the time and was eventually forbidden on orders from Stockholm.[103]

Acquiring diplomatic status seemed to consummate d'Ohsson's transformation in dress and self-image. The first time he called on the grand vezir in European-style *habit long*, he reported, the latter 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 in 1792 was all in European dress in Istanbul in 1794; and Ottomans who had known him in his interpreter outfit had to "orient" themselves in relation to him.[104] Or so he liked to believe: Ottoman documents still referred to him as "your slave Mouradgea," as if he were not even the subject of a foreign ruler, let alone the European of his self-image.[105] Ottoman records suggest, too, that he did not always use the most diplomatic language in his discussions with Ottoman officials.[106] Perhaps that was because the Duke Regent in Stockholm

[102]RA, KUD, B1B vol. 146, Duke Regent to d'Ohsson, Stockholm, 7 Feb. 1794.

[103]See Folke Ludwigs, "Mouradgea's Last Years," forthcoming in volume on the d'Ohsson symposium held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, December 2001.

[104]UUL, F812c, von Asp papers, d'Ohsson to Asp, 9 Nov. 1794.

[105]For example, BOA (Istanbul), HH 16142C, heading at top of report of 1210/1795–96 on negotiations between d'Ohsson and French envoy Verninac. Ottoman documents of the 1790s show some variation in the way they refer to Mouradgea.

[106]BOA, HH13566, dated 10 Şevval with no year (the catalogue assigns the date 1208, which would make the date of the document 21 May 1794), Mouradgea tells

also thought "it was really time to talk 'man talk' (*le langage male*) to the Members of the Divan" to silence "the objections of weakness and timidity."[107]

The pressing issue was the same one that made d'Ohsson essential to the Stockholm government, namely, the subsidy negotiations, on which Sweden's ability to resist Russia depended; his Masonic ties, if any, would have further fortified his position during the regency of 1792–1796.[108] The Ottomans delayed payment, rightly noting that the Swedes had violated the terms of the alliance.[109] The

the *Reisülküttab* that his government has instructed him to get a yes or no (*la ve na'm*) answer about the subsidies and later adds that the fall of the previous reis, Raşid Efendi, has "embarrassed him" by causing him to give his government the former's reassurances on which the Ottomans have now gone back; HH13826, undated document, the Swedish envoy's "ceaseless requests" (*la yankati' takrirler*) requesting a yes or no (*la ve na'm*) about payment of the remaining balance of 2000 *kise* out of the originally promised 2,500; HH13021, dated in the cataogue 1209/1794–95, questioned about rumors of a rapprochement between Sweden and Russia, d'Ohsson responds in part that he has been waiting for over a year for a response to his requests for a subsidy payment; H16138 *Reisülküttab* to Selim III, submitting long report of 19 Cemaziyelevvel 1209/Jan. 1795 from Swedish envoy, and commenting on repeated demands for subsidy payments; HH 16142 with enclosures A–C, dated by the archivists 1210/1795–96, d'Ohsson's efforts to speed payments of the subsidy, his translation (16142A) of a document dated "last February 20th" from Swedish government to "Minister d'Asp and his Counsellor Mouradgea" referring to Mouradgea on p. 2 as "minister plenipotentiary" (*elçi-i murahhas*) for the negotiation of a new treaty and financial aid; HH14137, Rebiülevvel 1212/Sept. 1797, having returned to the matter repeatedly, Mouradgea demands a yes or no *(la ve na'm*) answer about the subsidy.

[107]RA, KUD, B1B vol. 159, to d'Ohsson, Stockholm, 12 Jan. 1796.

[108]RA, KUD, B1B vol. 139, personal letter from Duke Charles to d'Ohsson, 7 August 1792; RA, KUD, B1B vol. 153, personal letter of 17 Jan. 1795 from Duke Charles to Mouradgea d'Ohsson; RA, KUD, B1B 153, Chancellor Sparre to d'Ohsson, 20 Feb. 1795, and d'Ohsson to Sparre [?], 10 April 1795. All these letters are indicative of close, confidential relationships. As an additional sign of close ties between the Istanbul legation and the regency government in Stockholm, Count Carl Axel Löwenhielm, illegitimate son of the Regent, Duke Charles, and thus also nephew of Gustave III, was nominally attached to the Istanbul mission as *cavalier de légation*, 1792–1795, even though he spent much of his time traveling; see Carl-Fredrik Palmstierna, "Löwenhielm, Carl Axel", *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, vol. 24, Stockholm, 1982–1984, 605–609.

[109]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

state of Ottoman finances in the 1790s would have made Swedish demands for subsidies extremely difficult to meet, even if Sweden had been faithful to the alliance.[110] Still, the sense of urgency in Stockholm was acute: "the dangers that menace Sweden are too immense, and our need for pecuniary resources is more than pressing, beyond what you can imagine"; even prompt action would leave the government "on pins and needles" (*sur les épines*) for months.[111]

D'Ohsson returned tirelessly to the subject and did get one payment of 250,000 Ottoman kuruş in April 1796, at a time when his friend from Vienna, Ebu Bekir Ratib, was in charge of Ottoman foreign affairs as Chief Scribe (*reisülküttab*).[112] Given the Swedes' past non-compliance with the terms of the subsidy treaty, the payment seems surprising. However, Ratib Efendi had also been in office when relations with France were restored; he had long been identified with Selim III's French policy, about which more below; and he had reason to think that the historical alignment of France, Sweden, and the Ottoman Empire against Russia was coming back into effect.[113] The news that d'Ohsson received from Stockholm

Swedish subsidy issue, those in the 58000-range being the ones on the negotiation of the subsidy treaty.

[110]Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, 170.

[111]RA, KUD, B1B vol. 153, Stockholm, 17 Jan. 1795, Duke Charles to Minister von Asp. See also RA, KUD, B1B vol. 153, Stockholm, to d'Ohsson, 11 and 25 Dec. 1795, extremely urgent messages about need for assistance against Russia.

[112]BOA, HH 13566; RA, Turcica 85, d'Ohsson to Chancellor, 22 Mar. 1796, secret negotiation with Ratib Efendi in the harem at his house; Turcica 85, 25 April 1796, describing how the payments have begun; Turcica 85, 10 May 1796, d'Ohsson to Chancellor; Turcica 87, memo from d'Ohsson, 25 May 1798. Compare Karl Åmark, *Sveriges Statsfinanser, 1719–1809*, I–III, Stockholm, 1961, 593, showing Turkish subsidies received in 1790, 1791, and 1795 (an error for 1796).

[113]BOA, HH 16142C, "Translation of report of three confidential conversations between the Swedish chief translator [sic] your slave Mouradgea and French envoy Verninac," 1210/1795–96, stating exactly this view as part of what passed between Mouradgea and Verninac, and concluding with observations about how Mouradgea had "done his duty without failing in the slightest in answering Verninac's points and causing the Ottoman views to prevail" (*Mouradgea kulları ferize-i zimmetini ifa'da zerre mikdarı kusur etmeyüp mümeyileyhin cemi-i iradat ve müşkilatine kavi mübaheseleriyle cevab ve Devlet-i kavi-i şevketin mülahazat-i seniyesini tasvib-ü-tasdik* ....). Ebu Bekir Ratib was *reisülküttab* from May 1795 to August 1796 (İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, Istanbul, 1961, IV, 642) The likelihood that he wrote these lines, or that they at least reflect his point of view, is very high.

would have given both of them to believe that Sweden had made a draft secret alliance with France and was on the verge of war with Russia.[114]

Before the first subsidy payments even reached Swedish coffers in July, however, everything came unstuck. The Directory in Paris rejected the draft for a Franco-Ottoman treaty; the Stockholm government grew dissatisfied with French policy; and a Russian-Swedish rapprochement began. The Ottomans again had cause to blame Sweden for abandoning them immediately after receiving a subsidy, just as had happened in 1790.[115] Not surprisingly, Ratib Efendi fell in August 1796. Ratib's fall was bad for d'Ohsson's influence in Istanbul,[116] and the end of the regency at the majority of Gustave IV

[114]RA, KUD, B1B vol. 159, to d'Ohsson, Stockholm, 4 Mar. 1796, informing him of a draft secret treaty between Sweden and France, concluded the preceding September, and urging him to inform the Ottomans of it to encourage them to "fulfill their engagements to Sweden"; also cipher to d'Ohsson, 5 April 1796: "Very well, Sir, the die is cast, and we are on the eve of war with Russia .... Our cause is just, and our hope is in the Almighty .... I leave to your wisdom ... to make known the true state of our relations to the Ottoman Porte."

[115]RA, KUD, B1B vol. 159, to d'Ohsson, 27 May 1796 (reasons for policy shift), 22 July 1796 (receipt of first two subsidy payments in Hamburg). 12 Aug. 1796 (the king's visit to St. Petersburg); RA, Turcica 85, from d'Ohsson, 20 Apr. 1796, rumors of Swedish rapprochement and royal marriage already circulating in Istanbul; AAE (Nantes), Constantinople, série B, Correspondance politique, supplément 4 (register 178), dispatches from Verninac, Istanbul, 1 Germinal–1 Fructidor an IV (21 Mar.–18 Aug. 1796).

[116]Turcica 85, Legation Secretary J. D. Åkerblad to Chancery Councillor Rosenhane, 10 Nov. 1796: "At my arrival, when Mr. Mouradgea still was thought to have some influence at the Porte, he often had to experience mortifications as an Armenian and a subject of the Ottoman Porte, which did not fail to have an unpleasant effect both upon the business and the prestige of the mission. See how he now is treated, since his friends are out of the game, and he is blamed for schemes which, true or not, make him quite contemptible at the Porte." Åkerblad likewise acknowledged "Mouradgea's skill as a dragoman," but doubted "that he has the capacity required for a chief of mission in such a delicate place as this ...."(Turcica 86, Åkerblad to Rosenhane, 10 April 1797, translations by Folke Ludwigs). As secretary of legation, Johan David Åkerblad (1763–1819) was on very bad terms with his chief of mission, d'Ohsson, who managed to get him removed; see RA, Turcica 85, from d'Ohsson, 10 Sept. 1796; Turcica 86, from d'Ohsson, 10 Jan. 1797, specific accusations aginst Åkerblad; KUD, B1B vol. 163, Chancellor Fredrik Sparre to d'Ohsson, 9 March 1797, announcing Nils Palin's appointment to succeed Åkerblad, "who should not delay his departure ... so as to leave a climate that has been harmful to

Adolf on 1 November 1796 was bad for d'Ohsson's influence in Stockholm. With no more subsidy payments in prospect, so much for the "amour propre," in the material sense, that had led d'Ohsson to return to Istanbul to take over the negotiations. For whatever reasons, probably including Ottoman views of either Swedish policy or of him as an Ottoman Armenian, d'Ohsson was not even able to have his official audiences with the grand vezir and the sultan until December 1796.[117] He held on in Istanbul, trying as late as 1798 to keep the subsidy issue alive.[118] Finally, the French invasion of Egypt also provoked a visceral Ottoman reaction against everything "French," and that led to demands for his recall and replacement by a "real Swede."[119]

Ironically for him, then, d'Ohsson had barely completed his metamorphosis from interpreter to envoy before shifts in political and diplomatic alignments made him the wrong man for his post.[120]

both his health and his humor." Åkerblad was apparently more interested in the study of ancient languages than in diplomatic work in any event; see Bengt Julius Peterson, "Swedish Travellers in Egypt during the Period 1700–1850," *Opuscula Atheniensia*, 7 (1967), 12; C. Callmer, "Johan David Åkerblad, ett bidrag till hans biografi," in *Lychnos* 1952.

[117]RA, KUD, B1B vol. 159, 18 Nov. 1796, Gustaf Adolph's first communication to d'Ohsson, an order to obtain his audience and explain the reason for the delays; AAE (Nantes), CP, supplément 4 (register 178), Verninac to Committee of Public Safety, 9 Vendémiaire An 5/31 Sept. 1796); RA, Turcica 85, from d'Ohsson, 26 Dec. 1796, reporting that his audience occurred on the 22d.

[118]RA, Turcica 87, from d'Ohsson, 10 and 25 May 1798.

[119]Beydilli, "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 add a lot to understanding of this episode to know more about its groundings in Ottoman factional politics at the time. Compare RA, KUD B1B vol. 171, to Mouradgea d'Ohsson, 22 Feb. 1799, informing him that complaints about him have been received from the Ottomans and from other allies and that he is to be relieved; Turcica 87, from d'Ohsson, 27 April 1799, his reaction to the news.

[120]As minister in Istanbul, D'Ohsson might not have lasted as long as he did, if the Stockholm government had had a consistent Ottoman policy after 1796. In the original, handwritten index to the correspondence addressed from Stockholm to the Istanbul legation, the entries, which are kept in the same format and handwriting, fill three pages each for 1796 and 1797, one-half page for 1798, and two-thirds of a page for 1799: RA, KUD, Huvudarkivet C1A: 8, 1796–1800, index entries for correspondence addressed to Constantinople. Speaking impressionistically, one can say that d'Ohsson's reports for the same years may fall off in volume but not in the

Returning to France in 1799, d'Ohsson died there in reduced circumstances, although on a Swedish pension, in 1807.[121] In Istanbul, the "real Swede" who headed the Swedish mission for many years was Mouradgea's son-in-law, Nils G. Palin (1765–1842). Having first come to Istanbul as secretary of legation when Mouradgea was minister, he married the latter's younger daughter Claire (1776–1861) and served in Istanbul as chargé d'affaires (1805–1814) and minister resident (1814–1824).[122] D'Ohsson's legacy was also carried forward by his son Constantine. In addition to serving as his father's literary executor, Constantine was both a career diplomat, who rose to be Swedish envoy in Berlin and Dresden (1834–1850), and a

same proportion as the documents addressed to him; RA, Turcica, 84–87. See also Sören Tommos, *The Diplomatica Collection in the Swedish National Archives*, Stockholm, 1980, 155; The National Archives of Finland, Norway, and Sweden, *Sources of the History of North Africa, Asia and Oceania in Finland, Norway, and Sweden*, Munich–New York–London, 1981, 128.

[121]RA, Diplomattraktamenten M 6506, vol. 16, royal letter of 29 Mar. 1805, ending d'Ohsson's salary of 2,500 Rix-dollars *Hamburger banco*, which had been paid to him since 1800, and replacing it with a pension of 1,000; Archives Nationales, M.C., Et. XV, 1. 1206, Inventaire après décès de Ignace Mouradgea d'Ohsson du 4 février 1808, personal effects, including 8 volumes on Ottoman history and 4 volumes in Turkish, evaluated at 20 francs; one portfolio containing 220 painted and colored engravings and another containing 284 painted engravings of Turkish costumes at 250 francs. A separate list of effects found at the house of M. Rougement included three gray canvas rolls containing paintings on canvas that had been used to make engravings, five wooden chests containing 187 plates (*planches*, presumably engravings), a packet containing several engraved copper plates, a small pine chest containing 8 portraits of Ottoman sultans or princes, all of these items appraised as incomplete works at 3000 francs. The documents indicate that Mme. d'Ohsson's property and her husbands were separate under the terms of their marriage contract, although she had claims of 13,000 francs or so against his estate. Otherwise, his heirs were his surviving children, the Swedish diplomat Abraham Constantine de Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1779–1851) and Claire Lucie Palin (1776–1861).

[122]RA, KUD, B1B vol. 163, Chancellor Fredrik Sparre to d'Ohsson, 9 Mar. 1797, extremely cordial message, praising Palin in terms that hint at anticipation of his later marriage with d'Ohsson's daughter; one more example of the intimate kind of communication that d'Ohsson enjoyed with powerful figures under the Regency. Eight months later, Gustave IV Adolph gave his assent to Palin's marriage to Claire Palin (RA, KUD, B1B vol. 163, to d'Ohsson, 24 Nov. 1797). Data on Palin's later career from message of 27 October 1998 from Ambassador Erik Cornell, former Swedish Minister in Ankara.

linguistic and intellectual polymath, best known for his history of the Mongols and his study of the Caucasus, works published in 1824 and 1828.[123] Constantine married but had no children; as a result, Mouradgea's direct descendants are those of Claire and Nils Palin.

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

To assess a work of such magnitude, it may be useful to consider its contents, the author's methods, his sources, and some examples of the way he presented his material.

The starting point for discussing d'Ohsson' *Tableau* must be the mismatch between its contents and its title, "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." He clearly began publishing before he had finished writing, and he never delivered exactly what he said. The volumes predating the French Revolution cover many topics in Islamic law, with much other information inserted. This kind of discussion continues in the first half of the third folio volume. Gradually, it becomes clear that he is talking about the whole field of Ottoman law, including not only Islamic law as such (the *şeriat*), but also the law promulgated by the state (*kanun*), custom (*adet*), and the sultan's decree power (*örf*), with many historical and ethnographic digressions. In the second half of the third volume, he shifts to an *état général* or account of the governmental system, but excluding the ulema, whom he had already discussed in the second volume. Both the second and the third folio volumes have long indexes, as if the first two volumes and the third constituted independent works, although this is not the case. In the octavo edition, indexes appear at the end of volumes three and four, published in 1790 and 1791. Volumes five through seven of the octavo edition, published 1824–1827, contain

[123]Abraham Constantine Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Histoire des mongols, depuis Tschinguiz-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 Biografiskt Lexikon*, XI, 340–45.

the same material as the third folio volume of 1820, with an index at the end of the seventh octavo volume. The fact that octavo volumes three and four have indexes but no tables of contents complicates comparison between the folio and octavo editions. Although both editions appear to contain the same text in different type sizes, the publishing process shows clear signs of disorder after 1789.

Substantively, too, a number of factors give the impression that the *Tableau général* lacks the systematization that might reasonably have been expected in such a work. In the English translation, the reference in the title to "oriental Freemasons" compounds the confusion, although that was presumably an attempt to explain the dervish orders. Whatever the edition, while the *Tableau général* is a kind of taxonomical "natural history" with some historically structured digressions, it never gets to the "history of the Ottoman Empire" in any other sense. This is extremely puzzling. Even if the concepts of history and natural history had not yet become fully differentiated, as noted above a Swedish visitor to Istanbul had already reported in 1777 that "Mouradgea had a history of about 400 years ready."[124] Mouradgea d'Ohsson's son, Constantine, in the preface he published in the third folio volume in 1820, said that his father's manuscripts included a "History of the Ottoman Empire, from its Origins to 1774" in around twenty volumes, which when published would complete the *Tableau général*. So, indeed, it would have. By the time Constantine began publishing the same material in octavo form in 1824, however, he had backed away from what he wrote in 1820, but he explained only ambiguously.[125]

> As for the history of the Ottoman Empire, originally intended to form the second part of this grand work, it is doubtless regrettable that it was not completed by the author, who had already extracted from the *Ottoman annals* the principal materials of this history.

Had Mouradgea left an unfinished history, or had he already "extracted" too much from his historical material in completing his earlier volumes? Or had something else happened? Constantine might have gotten wind of Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's *Geschichte des os-*

[124]Björnståhl, *Briefe aus seinem ausländischen Reisen*, IV, 8: "Also hat Hr. Muradgea itzt [jetzt] etwa eine Geschichte von 400 Jahren fertig ...."
[125]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, octavo ed., Paris, 1824, V, 2–3.

*manischen Reiches*, which began to appear in 1827.[126] Constantine d'Ohsson's carefully preserved papers contain no more than a few fragments in his father's hand that could be identified with the manuscript for any comparable work.[127]

Looking past the title and the problem of the missing history of the Ottoman Empire, an examination of the tables of contents of the volumes makes possible a more precise appraisal of what the *Tableau* does contain and also discloses key points about the author's method. In the aggregate, about five-sixths of the work has to do with "law," or more aptly religious subjects, and one-fifth contains the account of the Ottoman administrative system. The "legal" section begins with an introduction explaining basic concepts and topics. Following this comes not *sharia* law proper, but an account of Islamic dogma in fifty-eight articles, based on a work by 'Umar al-Nasafi.[128] The discussion of sharia law, based on d'Ohsson's main source, Ibrahim al-Halabi's *Multaqa al-Abhur*, then begins with a "part" on ritual (*Partie rituelle*), divided into five books on ritual cleanliness and the "five pillars" or obligatory acts of worship.[129] After the "part" on ritual, d'Ohsson includes another on "morals" (*Partie morale*) containing "books" on food and drink, dress, occupations, and "moral virtues," including the prohibitions of music and images and the sanctity of oaths. The "legal"—or more aptly religious— part of the work concludes with a section on "the Muhammadan Hierarchy," subdivided into discussions of the *ulema* and the dervishes. D'Ohsson's treatment of religious topics—dogma, sharia

[126]Joseph von Hammer [Hammer-Purgstall from 1835 on], *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, 10 vols., Pest, 1827–1835.

[127]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, III, 1–2; RA, Constantine d'Ohsson papers, E3522, E3526; LUL, Constantine d'Ohsson Mss., "Extraits orientaux," boxes 2 and 4.

[128]Carl Johan Tornberg, *Codices Orientales Bibliothecae Regiae Universitatis Lundensis, Supplementa*, Lund, 1853, 9–10, ms. 64 (donated by Constantine d'Ohsson), Abu Hafs ibn 'Umar ibn Muhammad al-Nasafi, *'Aqa'id al-Islam*; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, Leiden, 1943, 2d ed., I, 548–50.

[129]There is not a separate book on the profession of faith (*shahada*), which is the first of the five pillars; d'Ohsson points out that he has already treated it in his discussion of dogma, adding that al-Halabi also does not include a separate section for the profession of faith; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 141; Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al-Halabi, *Multaqa al-Abhur*, 2 vols. in 1, Beirut, 1989, I, 11–236; Mevkufati, *Şerh ül-Mevkufati*, Istanbul, 1302/1884–1885, 8–211.

law, the ulema, and the dervishes—completes the part of the work published through 1791.

The part of the work published posthumously by d'Ohsson's son Constantine divides into the remainder of the presentation of law and the account of the Ottoman governmental system, excluding the previously discussed hierarchy of ulema. Here, the legal part is presented as five "codes," a term that few scholars would consider applicable to sharia law,[130] but that d'Ohsson uses to designate rubrics under which he groups related provisions —political, military, civil, judicial, and penal. The "political code" groups issues pertaining to rulership and sovereignty, while the "military code" discusses topics such as the rules of war, booty, captives, rebels, and tributary subjects. His "civil code" includes books on marriage, divorce, child custody, estates, slavery, commerce, and "diverse laws pertaining to persons and property." His "judicial code" pertains to judgeship and court procedure. The "penal code" discusses the punishments defined in sharia law (*hudud*), those imposed on the ruler's authority (*ta'zir, te'dib*), and reparations in cases of injury. Only after this does the reader come to the account of the Ottoman governmental system. This is divided into nine "books" of unequal length pertaining to the palace, the "Grand Vezir and His Department," the system of "annual appointments" to high offices, the Divan, finance, provincial administration, the land forces, the navy, and diplomatic relations with foreign powers.

As one plunges into reading the book, the schematic clarity of the table of contents becomes difficult to keep in mind. In the part of the work published by 1791, the usual reason for this is the frequency of "commentaries," "variants," and "observations," inserted into the text. The "commentaries"—introduced with an initial letter "C."—appear to be explanations or commentaries found in d'Ohsson's sources and are usually brief. So are the "variants"—introduced with an initial "V." These consist of divergent legal rulings by

[130]Compare Stephen Humphreys, *Between Memory and Desire: The Middle East in a Troubled Age*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1999, 233. "the Sharia is not a fixed code but a vast, amorphous, ever-changing record of debate"; Humphreys makes this point a number of times.

different authorities.[131] The "observations," on the other hand, are more like the "digressions" (*istitrad*) found in Ottoman chronicles, are by d'Ohsson, and may go on for many pages. Always about the subject to which they are appended, in spirit they may stray very far from the way that subject is treated in Islamic law. For example, his main account of charitable foundations and mosques is followed by three "observations" on those subjects, amounting to 37 pages in the large edition and 120 pages in the small edition.[132] That is nothing, one is tempted to say: the "observations" on the pilgrimage expand to a cyclopean 54 pages in the large edition and 174 in the small edition.[133] Since the "observations" contain some of the most vivid material in the *Tableau général*, including ethnographic passages based on d'Ohsson's personal experience, they tend to obscure the larger picture. It would take constant reference to the table of contents to perceive where such passages fit into the overall plan, or even to maintain faith in the existence of such a plan. The "observations" also contain a lot of material that is drawn from Ottoman chronicles, and they are often chronologically structured. Perhaps this is a clue as to where the makings of d'Ohsson's promised "history" ended up.

Critical to d'Ohsson's presentation of his work is the use he makes of *his* main source, Ibrahim al-Halabi's *Multaqa al-Abhur*. Why did d'Ohsson single out the *Multaqa* for special emphasis, professing even to give a "perfectly exact" translation of it?[134] He must have studied it with his ulema friends, and it was a major reference work for the Hanefi school of jurisprudence, to which the Ottomans officially adhered. While criticizing the *Multaqa* for "lack of method" and taking that as pretext to rearrange its topics and presumably also to insert the heterogeneous material in the "observations," d'Ohsson described this as "almost the only book of jurisprudence observed in the Empire."[135] In another passage where he discusses the

[131]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 22, 141–42.
[132]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I (fol.), 283–320; II (oct.), 447–567 or 568.
[133]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, II (fol.), 44–98; III (oct.), 139–313. Calculating from the figures in this and the preceding note, it appears that the average page in the small edition contains 31 percent of the page in folio.
[134]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 142.
[135]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 8 (comments on al-Halabi); Al-Halabi, *Multaqa al-Abhur*; Mehmed Mevkufati, Şerh el-Mevkufati, 2 vols., Istanbul, 1302/1884–85, Ottoman

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, d'Ohsson offers a fuller explanation. He describes the *Multaqa* as the résumé of this immensity of works, adding—in a familiar phrase—that "the 'gate' of independent interpretation of legal questions (*ictihad*) is closed."[136] To eighteenth-century Francophone readers, who lacked access to the Arabic text and might not know that there was anything strange about inserting lengthy "observations" on Turkish cooking, sufi orders, or Greek dances into a discussion of Islamic law, d'Ohsson thus presented the sharia as a comprehensive, rationally intelligible, legal system. For European readers of the 1780s, accustomed to couch critiques of their own societies in praise for others, 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—at least if those readers accepted d'Ohsson's argument. Only 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, "custom (*adet*) and ... the Monarch's arbitrary will *(örf)*."[137]

To some degree, then, d'Ohsson took advantage of his position as broker between two cultures that lacked direct access to each other. His ulema friends might have found him unsystematic compared to al-Halabi and might have been shocked at his claims to have "translated" a work that he had manipulated rather wilfully in the process; but of course they could not read a book in French. European philosophes might have found Islam as obscurantist as Catholicism, but they could not read books in Arabic. Yet d'Ohsson did bring extensive expertise to his task, and he clearly meant to give a

commentary and translation, written around 1640. D'Ohsson's own manuscript was of Mevkufati's commentary (LUL, mss. LXV–LXVI as described in Carl Johan Tornberg, *Codices Orientales Bibliothecae Regiae Universitatis Lundensis. Supplementa*, Lund, 1853, 10.

[136]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 106, *idjtihad capoussy capanndy* in his Turkish transcription.

[137]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, III, 335.

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 than to Islamic thinking. He referred to the caliph as a *pontife*, one of the pope's titles; to explain the spiritual functions of the sultan-caliph he borrowed the phrase "the two swords" from the lexicon of medieval Christian thought about spiritual and temporal power; he referred to the Prophet Muhammad as "the Arab legislator" rather than as the Messenger of God;[138] 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.[139] D'Ohsson's Arabic, too, was heavily Turkish-accented and occasionally erroneous; his Turkish also had a few quirks. Yet we know this because he supplied many quotations from the "Cour'ann" and other sources, all in a transcription designed to signal correct pronunciation to French-speakers; and the quoted passages are usually recognizable.[140]

Ultimately most telling for verifying d'Ohsson's representation of Islamic law is the comparison between what he wrote and what he found in his sources. Abdeljelil Temimi undertakes such a comparison more extensively in recent studies; therefore, it may suffice here to illustrate by briefly comparing d'Ohsson's presentation with corresponding passages in the *Multaqa* and in Mevkufati's Ottoman

[138]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 18–19.

[139]For example, he seemed to think that "Azam" was part of the name of Abu Hanifa, whom he always referred to as "Imam *Azam-Ebu-Hanifé*": D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, II, 284 and elsewhere. In fact, because the Ottomans officially adhered to the Hanefi school of Islamic jurisprudence, they referred to Abu Hanifa as "the greatest imam" (*imam-ı azam*), and that is what this expression means. d'Ohsson's description of the "roots" *usul*) of the law also refers to Qur'an, hadith, ijma`, and qiyas as "four books," whereas the first is a book, the second has been compiled in various books, and the third and fourth are perhaps better described as practices; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 2–3.

[140]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" (D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, III, 56); the passage quoted paraphrases Qur'ân IV.3. Elsewhere, d'Ohsson renders the phrase *la ilaha illa'llah* ("there is no god but God") as *la ilahy ill'allah*, turning the accusative of absolute negation into a genitive; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, II, 299, 300.

commentary on it.[141] The Mevkufati commentary is particularly important. D'Ohsson's manuscription collection contained a copy of it, the commentary was thus presumably what he had to work with in Paris, and it may have been through the commentary that he had studied the *Multaqa* to begin with. Mevkufati's commentary in general takes the form of presenting a clause from the Arabic text of the *Multaqa*, translating and commenting on that clause in Ottoman Turkish, repeating this procedure with the next clause, and so on. Comparing the discussion of beverages in these three works shows that d'Ohsson worked from Mevkufati's text and that he translated, condensed, and rearranged.[142] Introducing his presentation with the statement that "wine, and in general all liquors that can intoxicate, are forbidden absolutely to the faithful," he also elided the discussion of both the different types of intoxicants, some of which would not have been familiar to European readers, and of the aspects of the fermentation process that caused their prohibition. He translated several of the Qur'an verses that are quoted in the original, giving transcriptions of the Arabic in his footnotes; however, he rearranged the quoted passages and omitted some found in the original. More or less what d'Ohsson did to the *Multaqa* overall in rearranging its provisions into "codes" he did to this section by translating accurately, abridging, and rearranging to convey the main thrust of the original.

This is to speak of a subject that is readily found in the tables of contents of both d'Ohsson and al-Halabi. In some cases, d'Ohsson's major rubrics do not appear as such in al-Halabi; the opposite is also true. D'Ohsson's "Religious Code, Book Three," entitled "On Labor (*Kessb*)," combines two folio pages based on religious texts with eight substantial "observations," which shift the emphasis to the current state of arts and occupations among the Ottomans. Among the major rubrics in al-Halabi, the most nearly analogous to-

[141]Abdeljelil Temimi, "Le 'Musulmanisme' et l'Etat dans l'ouvrage du diplomate Suèdois d'Ohsson," forthcoming in proceedings of the d'Ohsson symposium held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul in December 2001.

[142]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, II, 104–105; Mevkufati, *Şerh ül-Mevkufati*, II, 222–26; Ibrahim al-Halabi, *Multaqa al-Abhur*, II, 261–64.

pics are ones in commercial law—sales, partnerships, and the like—and are organized and treated quite differently, without reference to the current state of arts and crafts in any particular time or place.[143]

The fact that d'Ohsson worked chiefly from a manuscript tradition helps to explain his approach. It should be noted particularly that in addition to his quotations in Arabic from the Qur'an and legal texts, d'Ohsson cites only Ottoman sources, although he often refers to them vaguely with expressions like *les annales de la nation*. To my knowledge, d'Ohsson cites no European author whatsoever in the *Tableau*, although his sources did include European-language manuscript documents, as will be noted below. Mentioning the first Ottoman-language printing press and the fifteen books and two maps that he says it had published earlier in the century—works that he had trouble collecting to add to his historical manuscripts—he tells how reading these works gave him the idea in 1764 for his work.[144] His son Constantine later donated nineteen Turkish, Arabic, and Persian manuscripts to the Lund University Library, including the Qur'an, Mevkufati's Ottoman commentary on the *Multaqa al-Abhur*, several historical works and collections of religio-legal rulings (*fetva*), all of which served as sources for the *Tableau général,* and some other manuscripts on unrelated subjects. This is the small collection of a wealthy collector.[145] Constantine also donated 22 books printed "in the Orient," including the ones referred to above, and 270 other printed books; most of the "oriental" printed books could have served as sources for his father, but most by far of the others could not.[146]

[143]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, II, 162–80; compare Ibrahim al-Halabi, *Multaqa*, II, 5–51 (*Kitab al-buyu'*) and following "books"; Mevkufati, *Şerh*, II, 2–44.

[144]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, Hacci Halife's [Katib Çelebi]'s *Cihan-numa*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, is a geographical work and contains maps.

[145]D'Ohsson had received the start of his collection as a gift from Gustaf Celsing, Swedish minister in Istanbul, 1750-1770; RA, Skrivelser till Kanslipresidenten, vol. E1A:22, P.M. [Pro Memoria] from Gustaf Celsing, 6 Jan. 1786.

[146]Tornberg, *Codices Orientales, Supplementa*, preface and page 1–12 (mss. LI–LXIX). The most valuable mss. are probably a seventeenth-century copy, illustrated with forty-six miniatures, of the Persian epic, Firdawsi's *Shah-name* (ms. LIV), and another illustrated ms. of Khwandamir, *Khulasat al-Akhbar fi Bayan Ahwal al-Akhyar* (ms. LVII); LUL, Arkiv E II: 3, Accessionsjournal, entries for 27 July 1850 (lists of the

On this evidence, Mouradgea d'Ohsson's project depended primarily on what he could do with less than a score each of Ottoman printed books and manuscripts, plus his long years of experience in Istanbul. To this source-base must be added the sizable collection of manuscripts and memoranda on various aspects of the Ottoman governmental system, some in d'Ohsson's hand, surviving in Swedish collections, particularly the family archives of d'Ohsson's diplomatic patrons, Gustaf and Ulric Celsing.[147] D'Ohsson produced some of these memoranda, but so did others. The same traveler who described the Swedish legation as a virtual seminar specifically mentioned that Antoine de Murat, author of an important treatise on Ottoman music and later also one of Mouradgea's antagonists in struggles over money, was working on an account of the offices that made up the Ottoman chancery, information much harder to come by in Istanbul than in European capitals with their published state calendars.[148] This concentration of manuscript sources in Swedish collections will merit further comment in the conclusion, below.

All together, Mouradgea's textual sources might explain a work that takes the *Multaqa* as its main reference, rearranges and abridges its contents, prefaces it with 'Umar al-Nasafi's dogmatics, follows it

manuscripts and of the books printed in the "Orient"); LUL, Arkiv E VI: 2 (the 270 other printed books).

[147]The post of Swedish minister in Istanbul was held by Gustaf Celsing (1750–1770), then by Ulric Celsing (1770–1780; Sweden, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Utrikesdepartementets Kalender 1990*); ECA, CFA, vol. 8, for example, pages 68–78 ("De la Porte"), 79–124 ("Du Gouvernement de l'Empire Ottoman"), 131–46 ("Des Finances"), 147–67 ("Des mœurs et du Caractere des Turcs en general"), 168–213 ("Du Militair" [sic]), 214–96 ("Des Ulemas et de la Justice distributive"), 297–420 (an early eighteenth-century description of the "Seray" in Swedish), 423–74 (continuation of the same, incomplete), 551 ("Abrégé genealogique de la Maison Ottomane."), 552–56 ("Liste des Grands Vizirs ..."), 570–583 (two chronological accounts of Ottoman sultans), 584–85 ("Marche du Sultan Moustapha du Sérail à Eyub"), 594–608 ("Relation de la Mort de S[ultan] Mahmoud ... 1754"), 613–726 ("Traduction du Canon de Sultan Suleiman II ...."); vol. 9, 79 ("Etat présent de la Marine ottoman, 6 May 1779"), 80 ("Les principaux officiers subordonnes au Reis Effendy"), 159–330 ("Memoire sur la petite Tatarie, par Peyssonel 1756"), 565–85 ("Defterdarie"), 642–849 (another description in Swedish of the "Seray," early eighteenth century), 908–966 ("Arbre genealogique ... de la Maison de Guiray regnante sur la Crimée; tirés des Annales Othomanes.").

[148]Björnståhl, *Briefe aus seinen ausländischen Reisen*, IV, 70–71.

with accounts of the ulema, the dervishes, and ends with an extended survey of the Ottoman governmental system, the sources for which are usually less clearly identifiable than those for the discussion of religious topics. Along the way, d'Ohsson inserts material from the fetvas, digressions from the Ottoman chronicles, and large amounts of descriptive material on his own authority. The result is an encyclopedic compilation that seems at times to lack the systematic spirit of either Enlightenment thought or Islamic jurisprudence, where—in discussing what Islamic law says about food, for example—d'Ohsson had more to say about Ottoman cuisine and eating habits than about Islamic legal prescriptions on the licit and illicit. In introducing those very "observations," he offers a statement on method that is indicative of his purpose: "the *philosophe* ... knows that in all things the bringing together of particular facts leads to the recognition of general principles, and it is by this method especially that the historian makes it possible to appreciate more accurately the character and mores of nations."[149]

To a very great extent, d'Ohsson's sources were also visual, and the way he acquired, produced, and discussed his illustrations figures centrally in his mode of operation. Along with the books and manuscripts that he took with him to Paris to write, he had to have a collection of pictures that could serve as sources for the artists in Paris who would produce the engraved illustration for his book. The best proof of the extent to which the illustrations not only served as sources for the *Tableau* but in some sense even governed the writing process is perhaps the section on the dervishes at the end of the second folio volume. This section is profusely illustrated with both small "costume prints" showing individual dervishes of different orders and types and large engravings, including one each showing the rites of the Mevlevi and Kadiri orders and a remarkable set of five showing successive stages in the rites of the Rifai order.[150]

[149]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, II, 106–113.

[150]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, II, 294–316 and plates 109–137, including plates showing the rites of the Kadiris (pl. 127), Rifais (in five successive "scenes," plates 128– 32), and Mevlevis (pl. 133). Plate 102 is a two-page *arbre généalogique*, showing spiritual genealogy (*silsile*) of Abdi Efendi, şeyh of the Cemali order (d. Istanbul, 1783), going back to Prophet Muhammad.

Comparing d'Ohsson's illustrations with his text suggests that he had gone to Paris with good pictures of dervishes but no good textual source on mysticism, at least none that survives among the manuscripts and early Ottoman printed books that Constantine d'Ohsson donated to Lund University Library.[151] D'Ohsson's correspondence with his banker in Istanbul does include a reference to paying a man in 1786 to copy a manuscript about the subject to send to d'Ohsson in Paris.[152] The copied manuscript, which does not appear to have survived, contained the spiritual genealogy of a recent şeyh, which appears in the folio edition as plate 102, a two-page engraved "arbre généalogique." Otherwise, d'Ohsson's account of mysticism primarily conveys his own observations gained by attending the rites of different orders. This is among the best of his ethnographic writing, complemented in this case by transcriptions of some of the prayers and recitations included in the rituals. In particular, his written account of the rites of the Rifai order is as remarkable as the five engraved "scenes" from the ritual.

Closely coordinated with the text, large parts of which are built around them, the engravings in the folio edition make up perhaps the most valuable collection of pictorial evidence that survives from the empire in this period. Where they display sites that still exist, their accuracy appears great. Commenting on the Islamic prohibition of images but totally abandoning the thoughtworld of Islamic jurisprudence in one of his "observations," d'Ohsson described at length the difficulty he had in obtaining illustrations of official costumes and of the interiors of buildings, especially the palace and sacred sites.[153] Because Ottomans, other than sultans, would not allow

[151]LUL, Arkiv E II, nr. 3, Accessionsjournal, 1/5/1850–19/8/1856, entries of 27 July 1850, "Gåfva af ... Baron C. d'Ohsson, Orientaliska Manuskripter" and "I Orienten tryckte böcker" and "Förteckningar over Friherre Constantine d'Ohssons böcker och handskrifter, 1850."

[152]RA, BKH 55, IVB, from Silvestre de Serpos to Mouradgea, letter of 11 March 1786, mentioning that for 20 or 30 kuruş, he could get their mutual friend Ahmed Efendi to transcribe a work, which the latter had shown Serpos, "containing the uninterrupted series of Schehs [şeyhs] and Dervis [derviş]," which sounds like a reference to the kind of spiritual genealogy of masters and disciples referred to above. 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.

[153]d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, II, 236–45.

their portraits to be painted, even to produce the costume prints required having the costumes of different types of officials and dervishes brought to an artist working in secret.

To produce the most ambitious picture was far harder. D'Ohsson relates that in 1778, a high official going on Pilgrimage took one of the best painters in Istanbul to make pictures of the Holy Cities. 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 had long resided in Mecca, figures were added to show the observances on the first day of the Feast of Sacrifice (*Kurban Bayram* in Turkish). He concludes that he made it a point never to discuss those who helped him, so as not to expose them to ridicule. Only in one of his private letters did he identify the Ottoman for whom the original of this painting was made as "Yazıcı Efendi, the former *sürre emini*," the official in charge of transporting the treasure sent to the Holy Cities each year with the pilgrimage caravan.[154] Günsel Renda's identification of the artist shows that he might have faced worse than ridicule had his identity been disclosed; for comparison with other scenes of the Holy Cities reveals the artist to have been Konstantin Kapıdağlı, a Greek Orthodox Christian as well as a leading court painter of the time. Considering that non-Muslims were forbidden to enter the Holy Cities at all, the artist must have done so disguised as a pilgrim and protected by his powerful patron. In the folio edition, the engraving of this "View of Mecca" is found in different states in different copies. 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.[155] In addition to the effort required to produce d'Ohsson's pictures in Istanbul and have them engraved in Paris,

[154]ECA, CFA vol. XII, p. 462, Mouradgea to Ulric Celsing, 4 Oct. 1779.

[155]Observation based on comparison of copies of folio edition in RLS (presented by d'Ohsson to Gustave III, lacks the numbered sites), and Princeton Theological Seminary Library and Library of Turkish Historical Society (Ankara, both having the numbered sites); cf. Michel ("Une entreprise de gravure," 17).

note should also be taken that a long Ottoman pictorial tradition lay behind some of these images, most notably the picture of Mecca.[156]

To appreciate d'Ohsson's text, the best starting point is the arguments, squarely addressed to "great debates" then agitating opinion, that he imposed on his study of Islamic law. One argument, addressed to Enlightenment Europe, was 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 whch they emerged, and make them adopt the wise maxims that have contributed to the glory of so many other nations." Artfully tying the argument to the subject at hand—to morals and gender relations at the conclusion of his section on ritual obligations, or to the need to avoid the extremes of fanaticism and irreligion at the end of his account of mysticism—he returned to this argument repeatedly.[157] 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 *Sérail*, 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." Many other problems followed from this one. As he listed them, d'Ohsson took up the debates then agitating Ottoman reformers: popular prejudice, lack of communication with Europeans, the slow progress of print-

[156]Based on comparison with other known works, Günsel Renda identifies Konstantin Kapıdağlı as the artist on whose work d'Ohsson's engravings of Mecca and Medina are based. See also Günsel Renda, "Sources for Illustrations in d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman*," forthcoming with proceedings of d'Ohsson symposium held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, December 2001; Renda, "A Manuscript of Art and Poetry: Divan-i İlhami," in *Cultural Horizons: A Festschrift in Honor of Talat S. Halman*, ed. Jayne L. Warner, Syracuse, 2001, 247–59. As paintings in books or on tiles, scenes of Mecca and Medina were common in Ottoman art. The compendia of prayers known as *Dala'il al-Khayrat* often contained views of Mecca and Medina: see M. Uğur Derman, Kıymet Giray, and Fulya Bodur Eruz, *Sabancı Koleksiyonu*, Istanbul, 1995, 40–41. For a view of Mecca painted on tiles, see Walter Denny, "Ceramics," in *Turkish Art*, ed. Esin Atıl, Washington and New York, 1980, 274–75. Uppsala University Library holds an oil painting of Mecca and the Ka'ba, from the collection of orientalist Michael Eneman (1676–1714; postcard supplied by Tom Goodrich).

[157]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 220–21; II, 250–51.

ing, neglect of translation and study of European languages, lack of permanent diplomatic representation, and—the greatest vice of the administration—uncertainty of tenure in office. Near the end of the reign of Abdülhamid I (1774–1789), such improvements as a new School of Mathematics and a new artillery corps were introduced. Despite some failures, these efforts proved the aptitude of "the nation" (*la nation*, in eighteenth-century terms, the elites) and the ministers' readiness to learn, to adopt new systems.[158]

D'Ohsson wanted the world to know that the Ottoman elites included people anxious for change. 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, d'Ohsson must have redefined his intellectual goals during the twenty-odd years between starting his research and publishing in France, much as he wished to redefine his identity. His presentation of Islam supports his argument about Ottoman readiness for reform by presenting Islam as precisely the kind of rational religion that some Enlightenment thinkers might appreciate.

D'Ohsson's presentation of the *Multaqa* is part of this way of looking at Islam, but there was more. For example, commenting on the veneration of relics—something philosophes could not have approved in Catholic Europe—he made even that sound like part of his rational religion. He described the relics kept at Topkapı Palace, particularly the banner and mantle of the Prophet, and the rituals associated with them, insisting that Muslims did not attribute any miraculous power to those relics.[159] His long account of the pilgrimage could similarly have given European readers the feeling that they understood something of which they might hardly have heard the name before.[160] If this kind of cognitive mastery was, as anti-Orientalist critics tell us, a precursor of imperialist domination, was it not also an advance over earlier ignorance and misinformation?

[158]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 294–95. On the equation in eighteenth-century France of the "nation" (*la nation*) with the elite, as opposed to the people (*le peuple*), see Gregory Jusdanis, *The Necessary Nation*, Princeton, 2001, 22.
[159]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 261–68. These relics are still kept at Topkapı Palace; as one enters, they are in a pavilion at the left rear corner of the Third Court.
[160]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, II, 19–98.

What d'Ohsson attempted to do for Islamic law, he also attempted to do for the Ottoman governmental structure. His description of the religious hierarchy, the palace, the scribal and military institutions remains the most complete and accurate 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. Based on his experience more than on his Ottoman manuscripts, this part of the *Tableau général* is more systematic than his discussion of law. The only work that can compare with it is Joseph von Hammer's two-volume study of the Ottoman administrative system (1815), which this part of the *Tableau* resembles to a degree that merits study.[161]

One of d'Ohsson's keenest interests was to describe Ottoman society. His vivid "observations" have the ethnographic value often associated with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's "Turkish Letters." Yet such passages in d'Ohsson, while far more numerous, have so far attracted no notice, probably because they are all digressions from the main topics of a work whose title would not lead anyone to expect their presence.[162] In addition to daily life in different social strata, d'Ohsson emphasized the religious observance of the elites, adding that almost the only thing for which an official would be criticized was failing in this regard.[163] Then he described scenes of Islamic and court ceremonial knowledgeably, in the words of someone awed by their splendor and Islamic significance. Below, to illustrate the vividness of d'Ohsson's descriptions, I shall analyze his accounts of two court functions: the ceremonial recitation of the *Mevlud-i Şerif* on the birthday of the prophet, and one of the sultan's

[161]Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, 2 vols., Vienna, 1815.
[162]Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762), *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, edited by Robert Halsband, Oxford, 1965, vol. I, pp. 293–427, 455–59, 464–65.
[163]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 191–212.

outings with his pages.[164] Both are vivid examples of how text and pictures work together in the *Tableau général*.

All the more in that d'Ohsson sought to convey information of practical value for statecraft and diplomacy, a work of such range raises challenging questions about accuracy and how to assess it. Answering these questions could fill many scholarly lifetimes, but fortunately helpful indicators are available to shorten that task. In his study of d'Ohsson's representations of Islam and of the *Multaqa* of Ibrahim al-Halabi, Abdeljelil Temimi offers the following assessment:[165]

> Compared with the writings of other western authors on the Muslim religion, [d'Ohsson] must be considered as one of the best western *initiateurs* of Islam until the end of the Enlightenment; his ... is the work that has best translated and comprehended the Muslim religion; moreover no gratuitous commentary, unfounded or injurious, stains the work.

As noted above, d'Ohsson's account of religious subjects includes not only dogmatics and jurisprudence, but also the ulema and the dervişes. In the latter, his account of the rites of the Rifais combines words and images in a way that would appear to rank him as a knowledgeable precursor of present-day ethnographic observers of Islamic mystical orders. A recent scholar of the Ottoman sharia courts has also characterized d'Ohsson as "among the most knowledgeable and perceptive of non-Ottoman [sic] observers of Ottoman justice."[166] His best-known error is probably the idea that the Ottomans acquired the caliphate from the Abbasid shadow-caliphs

[164]Carter Vaughn Findley, "Writer and Subject, Self and Other: Mouradgea d'Ohsson and His *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman*," forthcoming in proceedings of the Symposium on d'Ohsson held at the Swedish Research Institute, Istanbul, December 2001; Findley, "Mouradgea d'Ohsson and His *Tableau général de L'Empire othoman*: Redefining the Self by Defining the Other," in Sölvi Sogner, *Making Sense of Global History: The Nineteenth International Congress of the Historical Sciences Oslo 2000 Commemorative Volume*, ed. Sölvi Sogner, Oslo, 2001, 169–88.

[165]Temimi, "Le 'musulmanisme' et l'Etat ottoman dans l'ouvrage du diplomate suédois d'Ohsson" (note 141, *supra*).

[166]Boğaç Alaeddin Ergene, "Local Court, Community and Justice in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 2001, 80 n. 18, 199 n. 10, 255 n. 35.

when Selim I conquered Egypt in 1517.[167] D'Ohsson also made other factual errors about early Ottoman history, as he was almost bound to do, given the imperfect state in which the Ottoman chronicle tradition was then known. In this particular instance, his idea about the Ottomans and the caliphate may reflect the recent invocation of the idea in the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774), in which case his statement may accurately reflect—if not events of 1517—then ideas circulating in Ottoman circles in the 1770s and 1780s.

While five-sixths of the *Tableau* has to do with religious subjects, roughly one-sixth has to do with the description of the Ottoman governmental system. On that basis, the Ottoman government of the late eighteenth century forms the second-largest subject on which d'Ohsson's accuracy and reliability has to be tested. My own researches on administrative reform are what first drew me to d'Ohsson in the late 1960s. At the time, I was also reading Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı's account of the Ottoman central administration. I noticed that he used d'Ohsson as his major source on the eighteenth century without disagreeing with him. The fact that a scholar who had spent a long life among Ottoman books and manuscripts

[167]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 77. The only relevant source among d'Ohsson's surviving manuscripts is the Ahmed Nedim translation of the history of Müneccimbaşı Ahmed, usually referred to in Ottoman as the *Sahaif ül-Ahbar*; Tornberg, *Codices Orientales, Supplementa*, 6–7; Müneccimbaşı [Ahmed], *Sahaif ül-Ahbar*, trans. Ahmed Nedim, Istanbul, 1285/1868–69, II, 203 (the last caliph was taken by Selim I upon the conquest of Egypt in 1517, imprisoned for three years at the fortress of the Seven Towers in Istanbul and then sent back to Egypt with a small pension, which was also continued for his three sons, after which "their [the Abbasids'] affairs are unknown and they mixed with the rest of the people"), III, 567–68 (Selim I's triumphal entry into Cairo, with no mention of the Abbasids). It is probably no accident that d'Ohsson voiced this idea in the years immediately after the loss of the Crimea and the caliphate clause of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774) gave the idea of the caliphate new currency in Ottoman circles. The idea may also be associated with the idea that the collection of relics of the Prophet and his companions, which is housed in Topkapı Palace and was an important focus of Ottoman court ritual, was also acquired from the Abbasids of Cairo by Selim I; see d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 87, 263. Halil İnalcık, in *Cambridge History of Islam*, ed., P. M. Holt et al., Cambridge, 1970, I, 320 cites d'Ohsson as the earliest source for the idea of an Ottoman caliphate extending back to 1517; T. W. Arnold, art. "Halife," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, V, 151–52; Şinasi Altundağ, art. "Selim I," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, X, 429–30.

would use d'Ohsson as if he was a source of comparable authority encouraged me to take d'Ohsson seriously. A detailed study of the footnote references to d'Ohsson in all four of Uzunçarşılı's works on institutional history would thus provide another ready way to gauge d'Ohsson's accuracy. In the footnote citations to d'Ohsson in Uzunçarşılı's work on the imperial palace, for example, out of a total of 96 notes that I have found, 89 cite d'Ohsson without disagreement and the other 7 find some disagreement. In two cases, the disagreement is about a date; in another, it is to point out that three gates at Topkapı Palace (the *Bab-ı hümayun*, *Orta kapı*, and *Bab ül-saade*) are in fact not exactly on a line.[168] Uzunçarşılı also relied extensively on d'Ohsson's engravings as a source of illustrations.

An evaluative point of particular interest concerns d'Ohsson's accounts of groups and settings to which he could not have direct access. Examples include the Two Holy Cities, discussed above, and more generally Muslim women and the inner part (*Enderun*) of the imperial palace. To some extent, these two subjects go together in d'Ohsson because much of his discussion of women pertains to those of the imperial palace and the dynasty. The salience of gender issues in Islamic law means, however, that there are also many passages about women's status in Islamic law, and sometimes d'Ohsson amplifies these with memorable "observations." His account of bathing customs, and of the women's *hamam* in particular, forms one of his most memorable ethnographic tableaux and the subject of one of his most memorable engravings. It is true that d'Ohsson could not have direct access to Ottoman Muslim women, as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu did, although the women of his family could. Even Lady Mary could not have access to the inner part of the palace.

[168]İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı*, Ankara, 1945, the notes where Uzunçarşılı disagrees on some point are 22 n. 3 (the gates of Topkapı Palace are not in a straight line), 56 n. 1, 151 n. 1, 162 n. 2, 305 n. 5 (a date), 312 n. 3, 356 n. 1 (a date); almost all of these references refer to vol. 7 of the octavo edition of d'Ohsson's *Tableau général*. See also Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilaâtından Kapukulu Ocakları*, 2 vols., Ankara, 1943–44 and subsequent reprintings; *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı*, Ankara, 1948; *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, Ankara, 1965.

D'Ohsson,*Tableau*, vol. I, 161, pl. 13: "Bain public des femmes" (detail).

To learn about the *Enderun* and imperial harem, d'Ohsson recounts the lengths he went to gather information from non-Muslim women who had access to the palace and from the husbands of women who had formerly been in the imperial harem and had been married out.[169] A century after d'Ohsson, Ali Rıza Bey compiled his extensive accounts of palace life similarly but with one less remove in the sense that his own mother and wife had both formerly served in the imperial harem and, through what they had personally observed or had heard from older palace women, could convey information about the century between the reigns of Mustafa III (1757–1774) and Abdülaziz (1861–1876).[170] Given the gender-based differences in literacy and literary production, historians should not dismiss male authors about Muslim Ottoman women but had just as well be glad that some literary men took an interest in such subjects. The accounts they wrote are, in either d'Ohsson's or Ali Rıza's case,

[169]D'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, III, 312, n. 1, "It is through the husbands of these former slave women that one can be informed about the particularities concerning the imperial harem. This matter has cost the author more trouble and presents than the collection of all the materials required for the rest of this work."

[170]Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, *Eski Zamanlarda İstanbul Hayatı*, ed. Ali Şükrü Çoruk, Istanbul, 2001, 291.

Detail of contemporary painting used as model of the engraving shown in the preceding image (private collection).

far livelier than most of the archival documents that otherwise form our main sources. The facts that d'Ohsson worked closely with one of the leading artists employed in decorating the inner parts of the palace, that d'Ohsson's father-in-law had served as the financier to the Treasurer of the Two Holy Cities, which was under the supervision of the Chief Black Eunuch (*Darüssaade ağası, Kızlar ağası*), who was not only the supervisor of the foundations supporting the Two Holy Cities but more importantly the chief guardian of the imperial harem, is also extremely significant. D'Ohsson's accounts of the palace women tell nothing about their thoughts or feelings, but do describe some of their activities, movements, and the conditions of their seclusion. These are exactly the kinds of things that the eunuchs of the imperial harem would have been in position to observe; they would also have had the task of escorting workmen and artists in and out, Konstantin Kapıdağlı included, and making sure they did not come in contact with the ladies of the harem.

Tests of accuracy are, however, but a dry-bones way to appreciate a *Tableau général* that could be described as containing many vivid tableaus. It would take a long book to do justice to very many of

these; however two scenes of court life, one religious and ther other worldly, may suffice to give an idea of what they are like.

Fusing civil and religious ritual, the court annually celebrated the birthday of the Prophet with a ceremonial performance of the *Mevlud-i Şerif*, a nativity ode, in the Sultan Ahmed Mosque.[171] That mosque was chosen because only the At Meydanı or Hippodrome in front of it provided enough parking space for all the sultan's and high dignitaries' horses and men. First, the Chief Black Eunuch, guardian of the imperial harem, arrived in grandest pomp, for he hosted the occasion in his additional capacity as supervisor of the imperial foundations that supported the Two Holy Cities (this was the functionary whom d'Ohsson's father-in-law had served as financier). Then, the sultan and the high officials arrived separately with their household officers. The officials in attendance sat on individual small carpets turned towards the sultan's balcony. The *nakib ül-eşraf* (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 the magnificent double-page engraving with foldout at the top, one of the costliest 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 began with a three-part text praising the Prophet, each part sung by a high religious official. During this, şerbet (a fruit-flavored sweet drink), rose water, and incense would be presented to the sultan and officials. Then the *muezzin*s would sing the *na't-i şerif*, a hymn in praise of the Prophet. Next, fifteen other chanters would sing a hymn. The three reciters, one after the other, would intone the *Mevludiye*, in Turkish verse, on the birth of the Prophet; as they did, trays would be placed before the guests containing dried sweets and şerbets. 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 Şerif 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 receive furs or caftans, and coins would be

[171]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 253–58.

tossed to the crowd as the sultan's procession made its way back to the palace. Anyone who has ever heard the *Mevlud-i Şerif* performed in one of the great Istanbul mosques can begin to imagine why d'Ohsson found this ceremony awe-inspiring.

D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, vol. III, 332, pl. 171: "Exercice de Djirid."

Among less solemn court functions, d'Ohsson also recounts one pertaining to the private life of the sultan. The sultan, he said, often made outings, called *binişs*, to one of his nearly eighty *köşk*s outside the palace.[172] Usually he went by water. People would see twenty boats rowed rapidly by. In one, the *dulbend-ağa*, 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 *sandal*s (boats) both had thirteen pairs of rowers. In the first, the sultan sat under a tent of scarlet cloth, and the Bostancı-Başı (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 Ağa of the Privy Treasury (*Hazinedar-Ağa*), 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 *Bostancı*s, Janissaries assigned to the palace

[172]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, III, 332–33.

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.

Painting (dated 1788) serving as model of the engraving reproduced in the preceding image (private collection).

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 *djindi*s (*cündi*) and numbered about two hundred. Their two teams were called *bamyacı* and *lahanacı*, "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 *cündi*s, 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

"Exercice de Djirid" (detail).

Vezir İzzet Mehmed Paşa, who marched in 1799 to aid Egypt after the French invasion, had lost an eye because of a *cirid* blow. D'Ohsson does not mention it and quite likely did not know it, but Sultan Selim III, under his pen-name İlhamî, wrote a mock-heroic poem praising cabbage at the expense of okra, almost surely an illusion to these teams and their sport.[173] One of d'Ohsson's fine large engrav-

[173]Rüstü Şardağ, *Şair Sultanlar*, Ankara, 1982, 258, reference supplied by Günsel Renda:

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

ings shows such a *cirid* contest before the sultan, with one of the contestants being knocked off his horse at the center of the picture.

The unfortunate resemblance between d'Ohsson's later career and the unhorsing of the javelin contestant in the picture provides a pretext to conclude a discussion that could readily turn into a book in its own right.

**Conclusion**

D'Ohsson's work failed to produce its intended impact and has been little used except as a primary source by Ottoman historians. The epistemic change that left his work outdated by the time his son published the last part had a lot to do with this. D'Ohsson had greater things in mind. Personal advancement aside, as a writer he attempted significant interventions in the cultural politics of four different cultural contexts: Sweden, France, the wider Francophone Republic of Letters, and the Ottoman Empire.

In Sweden, the aspiration to produce something like a *tableau général* of the Ottoman Empire, in text and pictures, went back to the time of Charles XII's stay in the Ottoman Empire (1709–1714) following the Battle of Poltava and had become a long-shared goal among the Swedish elites, including the above-mentioned Gustaf Celsing's father, also named Gustaf (1679–1743). While King Charles was at Bender, the elder Celsing, in Istanbul serving as secretary of legation and studying Turkish, played a sometimes dramatic role, which eventually became the stuff of fiction, in official relations between the king and the Ottoman court.[174] A sense of common political interests among countries threatened by Russian expansion sustained exceptional Swedish commitment to study of the Ottomans. Numerous manuscripts in different European languages and in different Swedish collections survive as evidence of ongoing

[174]G. Jacobson, "Celsing, Gustaf," *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, Stockholm, 1929, VIII, 213–214; R[agnhild] M. Hatton, *Charles XII of Sweden*, New York, 1968, 315 n., 352; Otto Haintz, *König Karl XII. von Schweden*, Berlin, 1958, II, 19, 124, 138; Verner von Heidenstam, *The Charles Men*, trans. Charles Wharton Stork, New York, 1920, 22–36, originally published as *Karolinerna*, Stockholm, 1897–98, a fictionalized account of an incident in which Celsing disguised himself as a Turk to present a petition to the sultan.

attempts to carry out a large-scale descriptive and analytical work about the Ottoman Empire. This is notably true of the Celsing family archives, in which, as time went by, documents and memoirs of this type began increasingly to resemble parts of Mouradgea's work and, in some cases, to be in his handwriting.[175] The brothers Gustaf and Ulric Celsing, who served successively as Swedish ministers in Istanbul from 1750 to 1780, also both studied Ottoman Turkish and related subjects and fostered a studious climate at the legation, as earlier noted.[176] The intertextual relationship between Mouradgea's book and its manuscript and pictorial precursors is thus widely ramified. Yet to the author must go the credit: Mouradgea wrote the great book on the Ottoman Empire, provided much if not all of the financing for its publication on grand scale, and made sure that it was illustrated with engravings unexcelled for both number and quality.

At the same time, d'Ohsson also appealed to France to renew the historic Ottoman-French alliance. Philip Mansel has shown how clearly the publication of d'Ohsson's *Tableau général* fitted into the cultural politics of the pro-Ottoman faction at Versailles, identified with Louis XVI's younger brother, Monsieur, the Comte de Provence. He later became king as Louis XVIII (1814–1824), and it is probably no coincidence that publication of the *Tableau* was begun

[175]H. E. Bring, "Hans Perman Olivecrona och hans dagboksfragment från Konstantinopel 1709," *Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok 1913*, 324, mentioning that Gustaf Celsing (1679–1743) together with Sten Arfwidsson (Sture) and the royal secretary Hans Perman (Olivecrona) had prepared a project for a large-scale work about the Ottoman Empire; this document, in Latin, survives in the Benzelius papers, now in the Linköping City Library, KH 15. Relevant mss. from the Celsing family papers, now in the Eskilstuna City Archives, have been cited above in discussing d'Ohsson's sources. Earlier pictorial projects include the work of Cornelius Loos: Alfred Westholm, *Cornelius Loos: Teckningar från en expedition till Främre Orienten 1710–1711*, Stockholm, 1985. Just as cognitive mapping projects on other subjects, like that of Linnaeus on botany, may have stimulated the desire to write such a book, pictorial projects on unrelated subjects may have stimulated the desire to record the Ottoman Empire in pictures; here Erich Dahlbergh's *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* (Stockholm, 1717) comes to mind. See also Hatton, *Charles XII of Sweden*, 314–19.

[176]ECA, CFA vol. 17, includes part of the Meniński dictionary of Ottoman Turkish as well as numerous exercises in Ottoman and Arabic; Björnståhl, *Briefe aus seinem ausländischen Reisen*, IV, 14, 120–21.

at the Imprimerie de Monsieur in 1787 and was completed during his reign by Firmin Didot, a later member of the family that had operated the earlier establishment. Equally identified with the pro-Ottoman faction of the 1780s was the Comte de Vergennes, former ambassador in Istanbul and then at the head of French foreign relations, the affinity of whose views with d'Ohsson's arguments will be noted below. The opposing, pro-Austrian faction was identified with the Choiseul family and with Queen Marie-Antoinette.[177]

Especially persuasive is Philip Mansel's argument, reinforced by the physical comparison of these two works, that d'Ohsson's *Tableau général* was intended as a "pro-Islamic counter blast" to the *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* of Choiseul-Gouffier, who—despite his appointment as the last pre-revolutionary French ambassador in Istanbul—was an enthusiast for philhellenism and partition of the Ottoman Empire. A good counter-blast requires artillery of like bore and range: not only did d'Ohsson's folio edition come out in the same size and format as Choiseul's work, but as Mansel adds, the illustration on d'Ohsson's title page is a visual riposte to Choiseul's title page. His illustration shows Greece as a woman in chains; d'Ohsson's shows Muhammad as lawgiver, although in an implausibly leafy setting with the Ka`ba in the background, surmounted by idols not yet overturned. Here, then, is the reason why the one obviously inauthentic illustration in d'Ohsson's work is right on the title page. Far from being barbarians to whom the motherland of philosophers had somehow fallen thrall, the Ottomans ruled a law-bound polity that compared favorably with leading states of the day.[178]

In addition to addressing cultural issues important in French court circles, d'Ohsson also sounded notes of wide resonance to the Francophone Republic of Letters. Addressing the debate about en-

[177]Philip Mansel, "The *Tableau général* as Symbol of the Franco-Ottoman, Franco-Swedish, and Swedish-Ottoman Alliances," forthcoming with proceedings of the Symposium on d'Ohsson held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, December 2001; see also his *Louis XVIII*, chs. 1–3.

[178]A letter that d'Ohsson wrote to Ulric Celsing in 1788 confirms that the decision to publish simultaneously in two formats had been urged on him by "the ministers at Versailles and other respectable people" and implies, by comparing the two works in price, that Choiseul's work did indeed influence this decision. ECA, CFA 2, d'Ohsson to Ulric Celsing, Paris, 15 April 1788.

lightened despotism and offering a definitive answer to the old question of how the Ottoman Empire ought to be regarded in that context, his vast account of Ottoman law challenged any idea that the empire was a lawless polity. Whatever its "public and private woes," to correct them would require "only a superior spirit, a wise, enlightened ... Sultan."[179] Compared to other *ancien régime* polities, the Ottomans' problems were not even the worst:[180]

> one must carefully distinguish the sluggishness that the sovereign's imbecility, the ministers' incapacity, and the government's inveterate abuses can cause in any state ... from the absolute impotence to which the Ottoman Empire seems ... much less susceptible than the Christian states, enervated by luxury, frivolity, over-taxation, and the crushing burden of public debt.

A minority position among Paris intellectuals at the time, d'Ohsson's pro-Ottomanism, aside from its resonance with the historical Ottoman-French alliance and the pro-Ottoman faction at court, aligned him with Jacques Mallet Du Pan[181] and with Claude Charles de Peysonnel's attacks on the anti-Ottoman writings of the Baron de Tott and Constantin-François Volney.[182] Parisian public opinion, too, favored the Ottomans during their war against Russia and Austria (1787–1791). Yet d'Ohsson's position on despotism went unnoticed in Europe and has remained so.[183] Opinion was soon absorbed by a revolution that destroyed the market for d'Ohsson's de luxe edition, denied to the French monarchy the law-abiding and

[179]*Mercure de France*, 14 Mars 1787, supplément, 29–30, d'Ohsson's "Discours préliminaire, servant de Prospectus."

[180]ECA, CFA, vol. 12, p. 598, Ulric [?] Celsing to Mouradgea, c. Aug. 1780.

[181]Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 161; L. Léouzon Le Duc, *Correspondance diplomatique*, 98–99, 126–27; Frances Acomb, *Mallet Du Pan (1749–1800), A Career in Political Journalism*, Durham, 1973, 180–82; Blondel, "Lettres inédites de Mallet Du Pan à Étienne Dumont," 108, letter of 2 June 1787.

[182]RLS, Abraham C. M. d'Ohsson Mss., M[ouradge]a d'Ohsson" to "Monsieur," Paris, 15 November 1788, critiquing de Tott and Volney and endorsing de Peysonnel.

[183]For example, Thomas E. Kaiser, "The Debate on Turkish Despotism in Eighteenth-Century French Political Culture," *Journal of Modern History*, 72.1 (2000), 6–34, does not mention d'Ohsson at all; on pro-Ottoman feeling in Paris in 1788 during the Ottomans' war of 1787–1791 with Russia and Austria, Kaiser cites Siméon-Prosper Hardy, *Journal*, Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), Ms. Fr. 6686, fol. 403.

sacral quality he still saw in the Ottoman one, and opened new debates more urgent than the old one on despotism.

To Ottoman contemporaries, d'Ohsson's work meant something different. While his research may have begun apolitically, by the time he went to Paris it had acquired political salience 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. In the years immediately preceding his accession in 1789, as is well known, the Ottoman prince was indirectly in contact with the French court for this purpose.[184] Documentary evidence of d'Ohsson's participation in Selim's pre-accession diplomacy is lacking; yet d'Ohsson's writings show that the ills he expected his "enlightened sultan" to overcome were precisely those then targeted by Ottoman reformers. They, moreover, would become the new elite who would help this sultan produce a *révolution* in a different, older sense: "a few young Muslims of good family," educated in Europe, would produce "an appreciable transformation (*une révolution sensible*) in letters and in public administration."[185] Applying the term *révolution* in the same sense in the instructions issued to Choiseul-Gouffier as ambassador to Istanbul, Vergennes in 1784 had urged Choiseul to work in Istanbul for many of the same reforms that d'Ohsson advocated in his book.[186] D'Ohsson's subsequent assistance in Vienna to Ebu Bekir Ratib, who had earlier aided Selim in his pre-accession contacts with Versailles, and to other Ottoman reformers in Istanbul proves his fidelity to this line of thought and its Ottoman proponents. Selim III did not fail to show due appreciation when d'Ohsson returned to Istanbul in 1792; we can only imagine Selim's disappointment when he asked for d'Ohsson's recall in 1798.

[184]Salih Munir, "Louis XVI et le Sultan Sélim III," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, 26 (1912), 516–48; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarsılı, "Üçüncü Sultan Selim'in Veliaht iken Fransa Kralı ve Başvekili ile Muhaberesine âit Vesika Suretleri," *Belleten*, 2 (1938), 217–46; Tahsin Öz, "Fransa Kıralı Louis XVI'nin Selim III'e nâmesi," *Tarih Vesikaları*, I.3 (1941), 198–202; Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789–1807*, Cambridge, 1971, 13–17.

[185]D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, I, 220–21, 294–95.

[186]AAE (Paris), CP supplément 20, de Vergennes to Choiseul-Gouffier, Versailles, 2 June 1784, 200a–239a, applying the term *révolution* to specific policies on 217b ("... donner le mouvement à la revolution ....") and to the hopes entertained about prince Selim on 234a ("ce Prince qui pourroit bien amener une revolution").