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A Social History of Trans-Imperial Diplomacy in a Crisis Context: Herbert von Rathkeal's Circles of Belonging in Pera, 1779–1802

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the multiple circles of diplomatic agents and their social belonging in the context of the international crisis in late eighteenth-century Istanbul, drawing upon the private papers of the imperial *internuncio* at Pera between 1779 and 1802. The son of an Irish Jacobite supporter who became a Jesuit and then a radical reformer in Vienna, Peter Herbert von Rathkeal was also a member of the Pera society in which he was born and raised. An agent of one of the most influential trans-imperial households established in Friuli, and a member of the Austrian and British nobilities, Herbert sought to become an eminent actor of the Ottoman diplomatic scene while remaining the patron of a cosmopolitan commercial-cum-political clientele. To study Herbert's actions is to question the model of *diplomatie de type ancien* in a cross-cultural and fast-changing context of crisis. Despite the collapse of the old diplomatic order with the breakdown of the French Revolution, and despite rising tensions generated by the increasingly sensitive 'Eastern Question', this article reveals how Herbert von Rathkeal managed to maintain a certain stability in Istanbul due to the economic and social resources, which his different circles of belonging opened up for him.

KEYWORDS

Cross-cultural diplomacy;
social history; diaspora;
eighteenth century; Istanbul

1. Introduction

In his dispatch of 12 April 1782, Robert Ainslie, the British ambassador at Pera, wrote an exceptionally long profile of one of his colleagues, Baron Herbert von Rathkeal. Here, he insisted on the different social worlds within which Herbert evolved:

The Imperial Internuncio Baron Herbert Rathkeal, whom I shall have occasion to mention, was born here. His Father, a bigoted Irish Roman Catholick, emigrated to Pera, where he carried on a very trifling commerce, married a Woman of the Country of mean connection, who at his death remained unprovided for with six children. The eldest son was employed as German Interpreter, and died regretted about seven years since. One of them is now a Capuchin Monk at Triest; another engaged in the service of Poland, and, after the Treaty of Partition, passed into an Hungarian Regiment and was two years ago promoted to the Rank of Major in the Imperial Army. The present Minister intended for a Jesuit, and educated in their Convent, he had the good fortune to make himself known to Count Cobentzel at Bruxelles, who placed him with his son [nephew], the later Vice Chancellor, by whom he is highly protected. He is a man of undoubted ability deeply tinctured by education, and obsolete party attachments

with prejudices against his Majesty's Government [...]. Exclusive of great family pride a tendency to be punctilious, and to chicanery [...], Baron Herbert is certainly a man of ability [...]. Baron Herbert has engaged his Court to establish Consuls in Egypt at a time when the French and Venetians have retired their's from Grand Cairo. This fact joined to his intimate connection [...] with a certain Mr [George] Smith a free merchant in India (an intimate of the famous Bolts) [...], and with the principal Merchants, Greeks, Armenians and Jews, at Constantinople, who trade in India Commodities, whose friendship he assiduously courts: all this, my Lord, and many other facts, too long to enumerate, will I hope justify my suspicion that Baron Hebert joined France and Venice, in forwarding schemes of illicit trade with our settlements in India.¹

The history of the diplomacy of empires has focused on exceptional agents operating within and drawing connections between asymmetrical worlds, and on the referential frameworks that they mastered (or pretended to master). These 'agents of empires', as Noel Malcolm describes them, were 'genuine linguistic and cultural amphibians', or, as Natalie Rothman showcased with precision, borderland men who obtained an institutional legitimacy that acknowledged their social and linguistic competency. The foreign relations of empires were not conducted by professionals of what is today called 'diplomacy', but instead, drew upon the interested mobilization of intermediaries, brokers, 'go-betweens', merchants, spies, priests or captives, and sometimes all at the same time.² By focusing on a period of crisis and transition generally described as one that moved from a world of a 'diplomacy of *type ancien*' to so-called 'modern diplomacy', this article shows how the foreign policy of the House of Austria in Istanbul rested on trans-imperial structures that were at once both flexible and strong, bringing together actors with multiple circles of belonging. In reversing the classic perspective, we will underline that these circles of belonging did not make these actors individuals circulating between worlds, cultures or civilizations, but instead, that the foreign relations of empires rested upon profound forces of the *ancien régime* (for example, the aristocratic houses, the religious orders and the merchant families and companies). Additionally, this study gives nuances to the idea of passage from an old world to a new world by highlighting a progressive reconfiguration of resources in Istanbul on which the foreign relations of imperial powers rested.³

The 'historiographical turn' of the history of Austro-Ottoman relations at the beginning of the 1980s profoundly enriched our understanding of this trans-imperial period. This evolution was first internal to the Austrian historiographical field, which fits the long orientalist tradition, often presented as founded in 1754 by the Oriental Academy of Vienna, and the work of its students, most notably Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall. The important contributions of Habsburg historians since the end of the 1970s showed a way of going beyond the idea of a relationship that would have been marked only by war and peace. Among them, the works of Ernst Dieter Petritsch on the establishment and development of the Oriental Academy insisted upon relations characterized by an intense circulation of knowledge that cannot be reduced to discursive strategies of domination in the sense of the hypothesis established by Edward Saïd.⁴ The reception of *Orientalism* in the Austrian field of history was relatively late, occurring in the 1990s within the controversy generated by Samuel Huntington and in response to his 'clash of civilizations' paradigm.⁵ Furthermore, the opening up of the history of eighteenth-century Austro-Ottoman relations has turned an additional corner, if one considers the invitations of Robert-Tarek Fischer, Paula Sutter Fichtner or David Do Paço to take its political and commercial dimensions as a

whole into account, and therefore, to reclaim the history of Ottoman trade from the narrow focus of diaspora studies.⁶

Peter Philipp Herbert von Rathkeal belonged to these different components of the history of Austro–Ottoman relations, and some others.⁷ According to Karl A. Roeder, his mandate would have corresponded to ‘the beginning of a new era of Austrian concern with south-eastern Europe’.⁸ Indeed, from 1779, the Imperial and Royal *Internuncio* was charged with promoting the development of an Ottoman trade already prospering in Vienna and Trieste, and with supporting the commercial activity of the subjects of the emperor in the Ottoman Empire. For this, it was essential for him to work towards peace with the Mediterranean regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, in which the Emperor held the Sultan responsible for piracy. Furthermore, Herbert had to enforce the Peace of Küçük Kaynarca signed in 1774 by Russia and the Ottoman Empire, and successfully mediated this through the preceding *internuncio*, Johann-Amadeus-Franz de Paula von Thugut. The arrival of Russia in the Mediterranean, since the late 1760s and through the protection it was accorded over Crimea and Kuban in 1774 and then their annexation in 1783, pushed Joseph II (1780–1790) to seek access to the Black Sea and control of the river Danube from Vienna to its mouth. The Russo–Ottoman War of 1787–1792, which the emperor joined on Russian side, led to little except the reaffirmation by Leopold II (1790–1792) from 1790 of the necessity of peace with the Ottoman Sultan. This reaffirmation was required to guarantee the prosperity of trade and to alleviate the fiscal pressure that weighed down the Habsburg–Lorraine subjects while the alliance with France seemed increasingly fragile. In 1792, the declaration of war by the *Assemblée Nationale* against the ‘King of Bohemia and of Hungary’, Francis II (1792–1806), weakened the influence of the House of Austria – the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs, and from 1780, the Habsburgs–Lorraines, ruling over a ‘composite monarchy’ made of ‘their own inherited kingdoms and patrimonial lands’, and ‘unofficially called “Austria” after the dynasty’s core territories’⁹ – in Pera, and in 1798, Napoléon Bonaparte’s Egyptian campaign threatened the development of Trieste’s trade with the Levant. England, which progressively took control of the Persian Gulf, became Austria’s ally of preference, which permitted Austria to guarantee a new geopolitical balance between the Christian powers in the Near East with the blessing of Istanbul.¹⁰

The period of Herbert’s embassy at Pera (1779–1802) is richly documented by the private correspondence he exchanged with the Austrian chancellor of State, Johann Philipp von Cobenzl. These exchanges doubled, commented on, and sometimes adjusted Herbert’s official political correspondence between 1779 and 1792. Cobenzl also began to write his memoirs in 1805.¹¹ After the collapse of the Cobenzl ministry from 1792 to 1793, this documentation was notably completed by the private correspondence of the British *Chargé d’Affaires* John Spencer Smith, which is now divided mostly between the British Library and the Rice University Library in Houston. John Spencer Smith married the daughter of the *internuncio* a couple of months after Napoléon Bonaparte arrived in Egypt. The Spencer Smith papers in the Rice University Library also contain a collection by John Spencer Smith’s son, documenting the parallel history of the Herbert von Rathkeal and Smith families.¹² Added to this are the memoirs of the same John Spencer Smith preserved in the papers of his elder brother, William Sidney, in the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich, and the private correspondences of Cobenzl, which register his exchanges with Herbert.¹³ The memoirs of the famous orientalist and diplomat Joseph von Hammer-

Purgstall, an essential witness from this period and a protégé and agent of Herbert between 1799 and 1802, should also be mentioned here.¹⁴ If, according to John Paul Ghobrial, ‘the official dispatch is silent [...] about the intricate personal networks of sociability that connected European diplomats and merchants with Ottoman subjects in [...] Istanbul’, these perspectives permit us to partially illuminate many gray areas, notably: Herbert’s deep entrenchment in Pera; the discreet but numerous elements of his patronage within the Ottoman society; and the strong links he maintained and developed with English agents and with Austria, until his clientele network collapsed after his death in 1802.¹⁵

These elements all describe the circles of belonging in which Herbert constructed his capacity to act within the Ottoman Empire, and which enabled him to persist despite the geopolitical upheavals of the last decade of the eighteenth century.¹⁶ These circles also permitted Austria to maintain (if not to reinforce) its position in Istanbul, despite the increasing influence of Russia in the Mediterranean since the late 1760s and after 1774, which put the Austro–Ottoman territorial status quo into question; the French Revolution, which put an end to the Franco–Austrian alliance in 1792; the Egyptian campaign, which impacted the flourishing trade of Trieste in 1798; and the defeat of Napoléon Bonaparte a year later, which marked the return of England as a force in the Eastern Mediterranean. These two decades of crisis of international order in the Eastern Mediterranean challenged the influence of the ‘Imperial and Royal Internuncio’, an influence based on the different milieus from which he derived and that he was able to mobilize and to connect. Indeed, this article claims that the success of the Austrian policy was not linked to a particularly brilliant display of intercultural diplomacy that relied upon experts set on erratic paths, but rather, on diverse social worlds existing independently from the frontiers of empires. Austrian agents originated from these social worlds, and importantly, they knew how to mobilize them.¹⁷

This paper will analyze here, in succession, the circles of belonging in which Herbert operated at Pera: the Austrian diplomatic system; the Cobenzl household and German families involved in oriental affairs; the Catholic milieu of Pera; and the Jacobite diaspora. It will aim to show how and in what circumstances these circles connected, overlapped, criss-crossed, supplemented and competed with one another.

2. Loyalty and Wealth: the Austrian Diplomatic System in the Ottoman Empire

At Pera, Herbert was registered in the framework of a policy of peace, constantly reaffirmed since the Treaty of Karlowitz of 1699. This framework implemented the first steps of a reciprocal, free, secure and peaceful trade between the Ottoman states and those of the emperor, which was to be described by the 13th article of the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718.¹⁸ However, because of his family background, Herbert’s mission represented a break in the imperial diplomatic system implemented in the Ottoman Empire from the early eighteenth century by Prince Eugene de Savoy and Baron Heinrich Christoph von Penckler. Indeed, in assuming the presidency of the *Hofkriegsrat* in 1706, Prince Eugene personally received from Joseph I the responsibility of managing the diplomatic and trade affairs of the House of Austria with the Ottoman Empire. This management was marked by the willingness to adopt a certain mistrust of the Latin families of Pera, which provided foreign

ministers with dragomans and secretaries. This prompted Prince Eugene to send young German agents to the *internunciature* to learn oriental languages and to gain familiarity with the specificities of Ottoman affairs.¹⁹

Penckler's career exemplifies the different steps of implementing the new Austrian diplomatic system with the Ottoman Empire. First, having arrived in 1719, Penckler resided in Pera until 1726, when he was recalled to Vienna by Prince Eugene to serve as interpreter alongside the *Shahbender* (consul-general) of Ottoman merchants.²⁰ Due to article 6 of the 1718 Treaty of trade of Passarowitz, the Porte had decided to establish a *Shahbender* in Vienna. The description that Penckler gave of Ömer Aga (who took up the position) speaks volumes about the nature of the relations maintained by the two courts and their personal dimension:

On his return to Constantinople, in July 1720, he [Ömer Aga] worked to become the favourite of the Grand Vizier, by sending him rich gallantries from Vienna before disclosing his desires, he explained to him the extraordinary advantage that could be obtained by the establishment of a consular position in both the Imperial capital and in the principal cities of trade bordering the Hungarian frontier, in the maritime ports of Trieste, Fiume, and Naples, and on the island of Sicily [...].²¹ During a public audience of the Divan, he was named *Shahbender* on August 12, 1725 [...].

Penckler further adds:

In March 1726, he arrived in Vienna with an entourage of more than a hundred very well dressed persons of Constantinople. Among them were two wealthy Greek merchants who were to guarantee his finances; one received the vice-consulate of Sicily, and the other received that of Trieste. His interpreter was a scholar called Osman Effendi, who had passed a year in captivity in Germany, and was, as a result, capable of speaking German well and having some knowledge in writing, an aged man with a great dignity who, between 1720 and 1726, had been my teacher of oriental languages in Constantinople and with whom I continued to maintain a close relationship.²²

Austro–Ottoman relations at the beginning of the eighteenth century were already marked by a familiarity based on the knowledge the Ottomans had of Vienna (thanks to their merchants and former captives), and on the links uniting the agents of the two empires and their respective clients. In the same report, Penckler explains his closeness with the Ottoman merchants established in Vienna, who, by his own means and the direct access to Prince Eugene he offered, circumvented the authority of the consul-general. The merchants denounced the 'brutal behavior' of the *Shahbender*, as he sought to collect taxes from the Ottoman subjects in the city. Penckler defended the cause of the merchants and argued that the presence of the consul-general was an obstacle to the prosperity of trade. He obtained the recall of Ömer Aga through the extraordinary Ottoman ambassador, Mustafa Effendi, in 1732, and the abandonment of the Viennese consulate general by Istanbul.²³

The personal nature of this clientele led to fragility; the death of Prince Eugene in 1736, and the reforms that followed the Austrian War of Succession (1740–1748), resulted in a reorganization of the management of oriental affairs. This was all to the detriment of the *Hofkriegsrat*. In 1748, the affairs of Ottoman merchants were directly managed by the *Hofkammer*, the bureau in charge of the Imperial and Royal domains (*Erblände*). Between 1753 and 1755, the chancellor of State, Count Anton Wenzel von Kaunitz, integrated the Ottoman political affairs together with the regular foreign policy of the House of Austria.

The creation of the Oriental Academy in 1754 was a fundamental step in this process. It allowed the new chancellor to possess loyal servants, raised and nurtured by his hand, and who would be free from all allegiance to his predecessors.²⁴

Despite these profound reforms, Penckler remained essential to Ottoman affairs, thanks to the system he built and which he described in two voluminous reports written in 1755 following his return to Vienna. He showed the magnitude of his influence in uniting ambassadors and envoys of European powers in Pera, ministers and servants of the Divan, Ottoman merchants and dragoman families. Penckler presented himself to Kaunitz not only as the founder of the Austrian policy of influence at Pera, but again, as an essential element of a system that he had implemented and that could not survive without him.²⁵ Indeed, in 1755, Penckler moved to the service of the chancellery of State, and was repeatedly commissioned to lead extraordinary embassies to the Ottoman court between 1760 and 1766. Based in Vienna, Penckler continued to maintain an extremely active patronage with the Ottoman merchants settled in the city by housing them at his home in the portal area, by offering warehouses for their merchandise and by intervening with the imperial administration in their favor.²⁶

The arrival of Kaunitz to the affairs was nonetheless marked by a progressive renewal and the professionalization of the oriental affairs' agents, and not by a transformation of the system. The ascension of Thugut, a former student from the Academy's first cohort in 1754, and his 1770 nomination as *internuncio* marked a step in this renewal.²⁷ In 1783, the positions of 'Imperial and Royal interpreter at the frontier' were held by academicians appointed by Kaunitz. Among the oriental affairs' agents appointed in the 1760s and 1770s, and those in office in the beginning of the 1780s, the academicians formed the majority, even if they had not completely ousted the former clients of Penckler. Besides, few Perot families entered the service of the *internunciature* in 1771, thanks to the protection of their agreement with Thugut several months after his arrival. Thugut sought a compromise between the Academy's will of independence and the efficacy of Penckler's networks.²⁸

In addition, in 1779, Herbert could still underline the influence that preserved Thugut in Pera, despite his recall to Vienna in 1774:

I have, at the Chancellery, another subject named Tummerer [...]. Abusing the friendship that Baron of Thugut had shown him, he mingles all sorts of intrigue and maintains a thorough correspondence with him [...]. I warn you for that if, against my expectation, they propose to play me a few tricks from here, you will know of whence the blow would go and by which channel it would pass.²⁹

The issue for Herbert and Cobenzl was therefore identical to what Kaunitz had noted in 1753: that is, the need to replace the agents without disrupting the system.

In fact, and contrary to the commonly accepted notion (shaped by the ambassadors themselves) that diplomacy was not well paid and that the costs of diplomacy led to the appointment of wealthy men, the ambassadorship at Pera could generate an important income for those who held the position, and for their households and clientele.³⁰ This provides an explanation for the high levels of tension between Kaunitz and Cobenzl as they grappled for control of the business of oriental affairs.³¹ Herbert gave a detailed description of the embassy's budget and the income that an *internuncio* could expect in real terms. On 26 May 1781, he concluded that his different revenues amounted to 36,700

piasters per regular year. He added that, after a ten-year term, the 6000–7000 piasters he placed every year at interest would make a sum of 100,000 florins. This was, as he wrote, ‘a decent fortune for my family’.³² According to Robert Ainslie, ‘this gentleman follows the steps of his predecessor Baron Thugut, who acquired a competent fortune here, and employed it in commercial speculations’. The British ambassador in particular emphasized that Peter Tooke, an English merchant based in Istanbul, was trusted with the management of Herbert’s cash, a great part of which was employed in the Indian trade by the Red Sea.³³

The success of an *internuncio* was largely contingent on his ability to penetrate the different social worlds to which he belonged and to render them interdependent, thereby developing his patronage and sources of income. The diversity of resources available to Herbert depended on his own circles of belonging, whose entry and articulation were made through intermediaries rarely visible in the history of foreign relations. That is to say, through women. Women appear in the forefront when the family is considered as an international unit and as an actor in its own right in foreign affairs.³⁴ On 20 September 1779, Herbert gave our first glimpse of the women of his family already based at Pera. He mentioned to Cobenzl that:

My wife, appreciative of your recollection, advances happily in her pregnancy despite the strain of the travel. Everything seems to announce the happy childbirth that followed closely my arrival in Constantinople. This meeting of circumstances will make my good old mother especially happy. She sees again two sons lost to her, one an Imperial minister, the other advanced in the military service, she would meet her daughter-in-law and would assist almost immediately with the birth of a grandson. It is already celebration for me to imagine how delighted she will be, and to see me offer her in her old age the care that she gave me during my childhood.³⁵

The flexibility of the Austrian diplomatic system in the Ottoman Empire allowed Herbert to connect with the more personal circles embodied by his wife, his mother and his daughter: that is to say, the German household, the Catholic milieu of Pera and the Jacobite diaspora.

3. A German Household in Pera

The German families, and more specifically, the Cobenzl household, were the second circle in which Herbert framed his activities in the Ottoman Empire. Herbert was both the representative of the emperor and a loyal agent of Cobenzl. Ruling a department like the foreign affairs meant that a minister was able to mobilize his own economic and social resources. Furthermore, the prosperity of his household guaranteed the prosperity of the House of Austria, to which the minister and his family were associated with and benefited from.³⁶

The rise of the House of Cobenzl mirrored the rise of the Styrian branch of the House of Austria in 1618. Barons (*Freyherr*) of the Holy Roman Empire in 1588, the Cobenzls became counts (*Graf*) of the *Erblande* in 1674 and counts of the Holy Roman Empire in 1704. In the eighteenth century, their success was emblematic of the deep transformations that benefited noble families from Inner Austria – the Cobenzls were based in Laibach (Ljubljana) and in 1747 moved in Görz (Gorizia, Gorice) – from the establishment of the free port at Trieste in 1719.³⁷ The trade of Trieste with the Ottoman Empire, encouraged

by the 1718 Treaty of Passarowitz, permitted the families of Görz to have new economic and social resources, which then provided them with access to new responsibilities of government.³⁸ Furthermore, after the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), Johann Karl Philipp von Cobenzl became the governor of the Austrian Netherlands, while his younger brother Guidobald – more commonly known as Guido – managed the family's business from Görz. Guido also asked Johann Karl Philipp to supervise the education of his son Johann Philipp, who was in Brussels in 1761 with his instructor, Peter Philipp Herbert.³⁹ Herbert himself reached Vienna in 1763, and Johann Philipp followed a few years later. During the coregency (1765–1780), Peter served as an agent to Johann Philipp von Cobenzl within the Holy Roman Empire.⁴⁰ Cobenzl also made Herbert his right-hand man at the 1779 Congress of Teschen that ended the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778–1779), thus enabling him to become the vice-chancellor of State. In 1779, Cobenzl invested in the vacant positions at St. Petersburg and Istanbul by appointing his closest agents, his cousin Johann Ludwig (the son of Johann Karl Philipp) and Herbert, respectively.⁴¹

The appointment of Herbert at Pera was preceded by the formalization of his bonds with the household of Cobenzl through his marriage with Maria Anna von Collenbach some months before his departure from Vienna. The marriage had obvious consequences for Herbert's social capital, enabling him to reinforce his place within the Cobenzl household; Johann Philipp presented himself in his memoirs as 'strongly linked to the household of the Baron von Collenbach.'⁴² Indeed, Maria Anna's family had been in the service of Maria Theresa and was highly visible during the coregency (1765–1780). Maria Anna's father, Heinrich Gabriel, was the imperial minister plenipotentiary during the 1763 Peace of Hubertsburg. Afterwards, he joined the nobility of the Habsburgs' *Erblande* before becoming a baron of the Holy Roman Empire in 1771.⁴³

Herbert's marriage increased the *internuncio's* symbolic capital, as he became a nobleman of the Habsburg *Erblande* on 3 July 1779. The title of baron (*Freyherr*) was necessary to claim the diplomatic responsibilities that Cobenzl coveted for him. This marriage also allowed Cobenzl to reinforce his control over his agent from a distance. Although by 1776, Heinrich Gabriel von Collenbach was relatively elderly, Herbert still presented him as an influential person. He was at the heart of the family's correspondence network, receiving news from Pera through his daughter and from Copenhagen through his son Leonhard, the imperial ambassador's secretary in Denmark. By contrast, Herbert-Rathkeal presented his brother-in-law as his protégé, and requested that Cobenzl ensure his promotion.⁴⁴

The birth of his first daughter in 1779 was another opportunity for Herbert to consolidate his place within the Cobenzl household. On 18 November, he suggested plans for his daughter and Johann Philipp to be united in marriage. Following the polite refusal of the latter, he, however, insisted by arguing that, 'if the young Fanny, it is her name, cannot become your pupil she could, however, marry one of those who would be, and with that you would be always at hand to give her proof of your friendship.'⁴⁵ Indeed, in 1801, Fanny married Count Ernst Ludwig Franz von Attems, who was from another noble family based in Görz and closely linked with the Cobenzls.⁴⁶ In 1782, following the birth of Constance Catherine, Herbert once again proposed the same plan to Cobenzl: 'I have recommended them [Fanny and Constance] to your goodness; [...] they belong to you as well as to myself.'⁴⁷

Hence, Herbert evolved as not only an agent but also as a member of the Cobenzl household in Pera.⁴⁸ He played this role especially well among influential figures within the Ottoman Empire, such as the Cigalas of Santorin, who Cobenzl recognized as his 'cousins'.⁴⁹ When he arrived at the Chancellery of State, Johann Philipp had with him in Vienna the only son of the Cigala family as secretary; in Pera, Herbert was commissioned by Cobenzl to assure the entirety of his inheritance to Cigala. As the Ottoman law required an equal division between male and female descendants, Herbert had, therefore, to assure the celibacy of Cigala's sisters, even proposing to send the one who was considered the most attractive to Vienna under Cobenzl's protection. The Cigala inheritance – which comprised of large landholdings in Santorin, numerous commercial assets and the family's influence in the Archipelago – was seen as an essential resource for Cobenzl, who developed a productive trade of wine with the Ottoman Empire through Trieste.⁵⁰

Moreover, from Pera, Herbert used the Oriental Academy of Vienna to extend both his influence and that of the Cobenzl household on the German Levantine families. The case of the young Thomas Chabert is an exemplar study. On 22 July 1779, Herbert reported to his patron that the French ambassador, François-Emmanuel Guignard de Saint Priest, was to bring 'a German cousin of his wife [Wilhelmina von Ludorf] named Mr. [Thomas] Chabert' to the service of Maria Theresa and into the Oriental Academy. Thomas Chabert was the son of the influential Antoine Chabert, interpreter of oriental languages for the French ambassador to Naples. Wilhelmina's father had been the ambassador of Naples at Pera, where he married Antoine's sister.⁵¹ Herbert naturally supported this claim, asking Cobenzl to mention in the dispatches that it was at his solicitation that this grace was granted. He added:

I will not fail to offer Mr. St. Priest to send his cousin to Germany escorted by my brother on his way back to Vienna. He is happy to have this means to oblige the Ambassador of France, who gained great ascendancy in Turkey.⁵²

More broadly, Herbert and Cobenzl had more systematically tried to place their own clients in the Academy. Already by 1776, the young Baron von Schönberg, originally from Görz, was accepted there. During the year of 1780, the Oriental Academy recruitment was carried out, first of all, within the Cobenzl household in Inner Austria and in Pera. In his memoirs, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall from Graz described the recruitment process with even more precision⁵³:

[In 1788] my father presented me in Vienna to the vice-chancellor, Count Philipp Cobenzl, and to Baron van Swieten, in the hands of whom were placed the conducting of my studies, and then the Councillor Jenisch as referent of the Oriental Academy, followed by the Abbot Hoeck, the director and professor of the preparatory school. I was obliged to bow before all those lords whose favor or disfavor had a hand on my destiny.⁵⁴

Furthermore, Hammer-Purgstall emphasized the internal tensions within the Academy's administration between the Kaunitz's clients, like the director Abbot Hoeck, and the Cobenzl's clients, like Abbot Buja, a native from Görz 'who spoke better Turkish than Hoeck'. According to Hammer-Purgstall, this competition was both social and intellectual, 'because his mind and his capacities surpass those of the Director, he [Buja] was an object of jealousy for Hoeck'.⁵⁵

The criticism of the competence of the Oriental Academy's oldest members expressed by Hammer-Purgstall contributed to the legitimization of the authority of the Cobenzl

household, which offered to renew its staff with competent teachers and promising students. The criticism was not foreign to Herbert either, who wrote to Cobenzl on 23 July 1785 with even greater force, stating that as everything will rest upon the study attendants at the Academy, he does not wish to have Hoeck nor any other current member of staff there. 'I will not accept them even if they are given to me', he wrote, arguing that his 'unwavering maxim being to seek men for employment and not employment for men.'⁵⁶ According to him, 'the students lose precious time, and they leave without being strong in either studies or in languages'. Instead, he suggested a selection of the best applicants, and after a simple test of their aptitude for oriental languages, to send them to Pera to study these languages. 'It is the means by which I believe not to spend money on people incapable of making good results', as he emphasized and even underlined.⁵⁷

Such a reform meant no more and no less than a purge of the Academy, and to pass Herbert's patronage of the chancellery of State to the *internunciature*, which Cobenzl could not have envisioned. Six years after assuming office, Herbert said again that it was impossible for him to have complete freedom, and he stressed the still important influence of Kaunitz's clients, notably that of Ignaz Lorenz von Stürmer, who was placed by Kaunitz at the *internunciature* as interpreter to the secretary of legation, Bartholomeo de Testa, before the arrival of Herbert. In 1791, Stürmer indeed became the secretary and interpreter of oriental languages at the court in Vienna, and he was then able to exercise upon the Academy the competing influence of Cobenzl and Herbert.⁵⁸

4. Roots and Blood: the Perot Catholic Milieu

The second woman mentioned by Herbert in this correspondence with Cobenzl was Francesca Scanderbeg, his 'good old mother', who Robert Ainslie had described as 'a Woman of the Country of mean connection'. Francesca was the key to the third circle of belonging in which Herbert operated at Pera, a circle made up of the old Christian families of the suburb and members from religious orders. Both groups were connected with the Habsburg monarchy. The Pera Catholic circle partially overlapped with and largely completed the German circle. They allowed Herbert to use his family resources from the Ottoman Empire in the diplomatic negotiation and in the management of the oriental branch of the Cobenzl clientele.

Francesca Scanderbeg was indeed influential in Pera. Herbert described his mother as always present 'at my table and in my society', and stressed that this was quite unusual for an ambassador.⁵⁹ Francesca's influence was reflected by her children's achievements, a typical success story of a Christian family from the Bosphorus. Herbert has mentioned his younger brother Jack (or Johann), who was in the service of the Imperial and Royal O'Donnell regiment, stationed in Galicia, and who assured his safety on his voyage to Pera as a major of the imperial army. The Oriental Academy archives mention another brother, Thomas, who was a member of the first cohort of students in 1754, notably with Thugut. The same year, Thomas, Peter and Jack's father, was described by the Austrian administration as 'an Irish noble who lived and died outside his homelands a result of his Catholic religion'.⁶⁰ In 1760, Thomas died in Pera, in the service of Penckler. Peter also mentions a sister, who he does not name but whose role appears to have been similar to that of his mother's. Peter's sister was the wife of Emmanuel Isidore von Tassara, the imperial resident in Pera between the departure of Thugut and the appointment of Herbert. Tassara,

whom Herbert mentioned as 'my businessman', remained in the *internunciature* until 1783, when Cobenzl asked him to return to Vienna to act as interpreter during the visit of the Moroccan ambassador. In 1784, he was then sent to Tangier as secretary of the legation, and this way, strengthened the influence of the *internuncio* from one side of the Mediterranean to the other.⁶¹

Francesca belonged de facto to the nobility of Pera, with her marriage to John Herbert of Rathkeal, Earl of Pembroke, her claim to Albanian noble ancestry, and her sons' positions and titles. This nobility was largely made up of the embassy staff, ennobled servants of Christian powers and an ancient nobility of Italian or Byzantine origin who were able to maintain their status and rank under the Ottoman rule.⁶² Francesca also appears to have been the protector of Latin families in Pera. For example, in 1780, Herbert did not limit his introduction of Chabert to the Oriental Academy, but he also supported the request of the nephew of his secretary of the legation, Batholomeo de Testa. This was less about the young Testa and Chabert learning oriental languages in Vienna, and more about them formally entering the protection of the vice-chancellor of State.⁶³ Herbert reveals the influence of his mother again, when he suggested that Cobenzl turn to the first dragoman of Poland, Giovanni Pangali, who came from a Latin family of Chios. On 2 May 1780, Herbert specified that 'as this man is a relative to me through my mother, I have granted him the protection he solicited, and I will use him for other minor affairs'.⁶⁴

The connection between the Herberts and Austria was made in Pera after the death of John. It came about due to the protection Francesca Scanderbeg obtained from the Jesuits, who were hosted in the *internunciature* but first arrived in Pera in 1583.⁶⁵ The protection of the Jesuits meant the protection of Penckler, who was the 'strong man' of the moment. Herbert was indeed first located by the Jesuit scholar commissioned by Kaunitz to set up the Oriental Academy, Father Joseph Franz, and he joined the Society of Jesus in 1750. Then, in 1756, Herbert was sent to teach in Trieste before being called to Vienna in 1757. He became the Oriental Academy's prefect of studies under Father Franz's direction.⁶⁶ Moreover, the Jesuits were a bridge between Pera and the Cobenzls. The premature death of Thomas in 1760 was accompanied by the sudden departure of Peter from the Society of Jesus. Again, Peter passed to the service of the Cobenzl household through a reforming Jesuit, Father Anton Meack, acting as intermediary. Cobenzl wrote that he was 'sometimes appointed regent of college, between others of the seminary of Görz, where he was connected with my father, after having been previously connected with my aunt Countess of Stürghk in Graz'. There, Cobenzl continues:

Herbert [...] confided to Father Meack that he strongly sought to leave the Society [...]. He spoke to my aunt and to my father, and [...], that they promised to recommend it to my uncle [Johann Karl Philipp von Cobenzl], not doubting that he will find the means to procure him bread. In this hope, Herbert did not postpone for a moment to leave the habit of St Ignatius, and having gone to Görz, he came with my father to Salzburg to spend time in our company in Brussels. During this journey, we bound the most intimate and close friendship which remained unalterable and manifested itself in all the occasions of our life until the hour of his death.⁶⁷

The family, the household and the clientele would not be limited to links based on shared interests. These links rested on an intellectual accord that generated affection between the agent and the patron, and that constantly testifies to the Cobenzl–Herbet correspondence between 1779 and 1792. This gives meaning to how the common interests of the

group members were expressed, guaranteed the loyalty of each one and built bridges between social worlds – as it was here between the Jesuits, the aristocrats, the servants of the State and the Latin families from Pera.⁶⁸

Intellectual accord, common interest and family worked perfectly well together, as Herbert stated when he again exposed Cobenzl to the project of his daughters' marriages in 1782:

I intend that the eldest be your wife, and the younger [...] [the wife of] cousin Cigala. You would thus all be my son-in-law [...]. Cigala would without a doubt oblige me to what I am doing to strengthen between you two the links of kinship and to multiply the traits of resemblance.⁶⁹

This plan expressed, first and foremost, the synergy of interests between the German families involved in Habsburg–Lorraine foreign affairs and the Catholic families from the Ottoman Empire, who could also claim legacy, titles or positions in European Christian-ruled states, just like the Cigalas did.⁷⁰ As paradoxical as it may seem, Catholicism was a way of bonding with a section of the Ottoman society. The Latin families of the Archipelago were connected to those of Pera, and for diplomats, they represented a very influential group of interest. Herbert's plan thus drew together the German nobility, the oriental diplomatic milieu and the Levantine commercial networks.

Besides, since 1699 and in the name of the emperor, the *internuncio* competed with the French ambassador as the official protector of the Catholics of the Ottoman Empire.⁷¹ This protection was reflected in Herbert's patronage of the St. Mary Draperis parish, one of Latin parishes in Pera. The Franciscan church was rebuilt in 1769, and it concentrated the religious sociability of Catholic diplomats, and the influential and wealthy Levantine families who already benefited from the French protection. The Fontons, the Pisanis or the Testas founded the reconstruction of the church, and their memorial headstones are still standing at St. Mary Draperis. The Austrian secretary of legation, Bartolomeo de Testa, married Thérèse Fonton there in 1761. Their children Henri, Maria Anna and Elizabeth were baptized at St. Mary Draperis in 1763, 1764 and 1769, respectively, just like all the children of Peter Philipp Herbert von Rathkeal and Maria-Anna von Collenbach. In 1798, their daughter Constance was married at St. Mary Draperis, where her father had been buried in 1802. St. Mary Draperis was also where the former students of the Oriental Academy, who served Herbert at Pera, institutionalized their bonds with the local society through their marriages with the daughters of local families. The Pisanis, a family closely connected to the Testas and at the service of the British ambassador, were particularly prolific in this regard. Joseph Anton von Raab, Andreas von Stöckl and Franz von Klezzl married three Pisani sisters in 1794, 1800 and 1801, respectively, with Herbert as the witness. The Pisanis were not only linked to the Testas by blood, but they were also on the service of Russia, with whom Austria made an alliance with in 1780 and which was slightly reinforced during the War of the First Coalition (1792–1798).⁷² The history of St. Mary Draperis reflects the history of the French Revolutionary Wars. St. Mary Draperis was the keystone of the Austrian diplomatic influence in Pera, and a social matrix.

However, some of these Perot families (like the Testas) held a pivotal position in the organization of Austrian diplomatic clientele, and they had their own agendas. For example, in 1762, the French ambassador count, Charles Gravier de Vergennes, was a witness at the marriage of Lucia Testa and the imperial interpreter, Gaspar Mormmartz. Six years

later, Charles Gravier married Anne Vivier, the widow of François Testa. Among François' siblings, Bartolomeo was Thugut and Herbert's secretary, and Giacomo served the United Provinces as a dragoman. Far from remaining passive under the patronage of the *internuntio*, if the children of Bartolomeo all remained loyal to the House of Austria, they were also able to diversify their allegiances between the different Austrian ministerial clans to secure their position. The ascension of Ignaz Lorenz von Stürmer within oriental affairs was, for example, in part due to his 1786 marriage to Bartolomeo's daughter, Elisabeth, at St. Mary Draperis. This union allowed Stürmer to count on the resources of the Testa and Fonton families and the milieu of Pera, just as Penckler, Thugut and Hebert had all done before him. In this way, Stürmer recovered some of the servants from the French embassy at Pera. These included Charles Testa, who, after having refused to swear an oath of loyalty to the *République* in 1792, emigrated and was placed under the protection of Austria.⁷³ In order to secure this, Charles married Maria Sophia Fonton, the granddaughter of Gaspar Mormmarz, who served Prince Eugene and Penckler as an interpreter of oriental languages. Mormmarz was himself linked to the Testa family through his 1743 marriage with Bartholomeo's sister. Charles Testa's marriage operated within a very traditional diplomatic network framed by the dragoman families, allowing him to engineer the transfer of his loyalty from France to Austria.⁷⁴

Despite Prince Eugene's original expectations, the Austrian diplomatic system in the Ottoman Empire had to adapt to the social reality of Pera at the end of the eighteenth century. Within this, involving the Latin families in foreign affairs was vital to the Austrian influence in Istanbul. The Perot background of Herbert also explained why he stayed in office after Cobenzl progressively fell into disgrace during 1790–1793. No other agent, not even his competitor Stürmer, could count on comparable resources in Pera to serve the interests of Francis II. Nevertheless, the Cobenzl's disgrace pushed Herbert into becoming an active member of a final Catholic circle of belonging.

5. A Back-Up Option: The Jacobite Diaspora

Herbert's fourth circle of belonging was the Jacobite diaspora. This circle allowed him to face the reconfiguration of the European geopolitical order following the severing of diplomatic ties between France and its partners in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Jacobite diaspora is particularly notable in how it allowed the *internuntio* to closely involve Britain, especially its merchants and soldiers, in the management of Austrian affairs in the Ottoman Empire and Egypt. The trade of Trieste (and by then, the wealth of the Inner Austrian noble families) partially depended upon this scenario.

First, in Dublin on 22 June 1781 and by the Ulster King of Arms of All Ireland, the Papist Act of 1778 permitted Herbert to bear the title of Earl of Pembroke that his father lost when he fled England with James II. Herbert was thus acknowledged as a proper subject of Georges III.⁷⁵ This reconfiguration was actually part of an even more discreet diaspora dynamic with which Herbert's family was associated. For example, the service of Jack with the O'Donnell regiment had been already evident. For Count Charles O'Donnell, Jack embodied the patronage exercised by his family (who left Ireland in 1690 after the Battle of the Boyne) on the descendants of the Jacobites and their supporters in central Europe. It allowed O'Donnell to consolidate an anchorage in the Ottoman world that he had from his mother, who was the daughter of Prince Radu Cantacuzène of Wallachia.⁷⁶ Even the

protection of the Cobenzls may have links with the Jacobite community. Indeed, Guido was 'a captain serving in Ogilvy's Regiment', a Scottish Catholic regiment that had fought in the imperial army since the mid-seventeenth century, after they left Britain during the Third English Civil War (1649–1651).⁷⁷

The *internuncio* was keen to develop his connections with the English milieu as well as with the Catholic diaspora. Robert Ainslie even hoped to take advantage of Herbert's British background when he first wrote to the British ambassador at Vienna, Robert Murray Keith, on 3 July 1779: 'if you are acquainted with him, I beg you will mention me as a Person perfectly disposed to live with him in the best harmony, and to cultivate his friendship'. Indeed, on 26 June and on 21 August 1780, he could evoke Herbert as 'my friend the Imperial internuncio'.⁷⁸ On 16 September of the same year, Ainslie provided Keith with clear evidence of this friendship:

I was extremely happy on this occasion [a plague epidemic] to shew my particular regard, & to render all the services in my power to the Imperial Minister, whose distress was truly deplorable not only from the disorder's being in the Family three days before he knew of it, but also on account of the severe weather, in which he was obliged to remove his lady to an open country house where there was not even a bed to lie upon. As the malady has not yet spread among the rest of the Family, I am in hopes they will be more fortunate than myself.⁷⁹

Broadly speaking, in his official correspondence, Ainslie highlighted the links that Herbert developed with some British merchants, especially Peter Tooke, agent of the Levant and of the East India Company at Istanbul. This connection with British merchants was first made with an eye to developing the influence and prosperity of the Cobenzl household. In 1780, Tooke was introduced to Cobenzl as 'a lovely man highly aware of the Levantine trade' and who was involved in the wine business, which Cobenzl was particularly interested in. Herbert also mentioned the letters of naturalization that Tooke received from Thugut in 1779, which entitled him to conveniently trade with Trieste and to connect Trieste with the East India trade through British commercial activity in the Levant. Herbert also suggested delivering letters of naturalization to more influential British merchants involved in the Red Sea trade, and he specifically mentioned George Baldwin, the British consul in Cairo, William Bolts and Thomas Ryan, one of his agents in Bengal. Tooke, 'a very worthy man, and apart from his mercantile impulsions, a valuable and loyal subject', as Ainslie mentioned it, closely lived within the society of European ambassadors.⁸⁰ On 11 November 1780, Ainslie also wrote to Keith that:

As I have a sincere regard and particular friendship to Mister Tooke, you cannot, my Dear Sir Robert, oblige me more sensibly than by patronizing him, and exerting your influence on his behalf, should it be wanted to facilitate a plan, equally beneficial to the revenue of the Court where you reside, and which in my opinion merits their attention, and countenance.⁸¹

Tooke's private commercial activity at Istanbul combined the British and Austrian interests, and despite the Franco–Austrian alliance, it informally and progressively drew the two empires closer together. In addition, when the war broke down between France and Austria in 1792, all the conditions to preserve the Eastern Mediterranean stability and secure the economic interests of the empires and the business of their agents had already been met in Istanbul.

It is quite logical, then, that Tooke introduced John Spencer Smith, a new young English diplomat, to Herbert that same year. The appointment of Smith as the British

chargé d'affaires at Pera in 1795, and then his nomination as minister plenipotentiary in 1797, provided Herbert with an occasion to respond to the diplomatic alliance brokered between France and Austria in 1792 and intended to officially resume the Austro–British alliance broken by Kaunitz in 1756. John Spencer Smith was himself a member of an English Catholic family, which had remained loyal to the Crown.⁸² The marriage of Constance with John Spencer Smith on 11 September 1798, at St. Mary Draperis, formalized the social return of Herbert von Rathkeal in the United Kingdom and simultaneously opened up the Pera resources to the new British agent in the Ottoman Empire.

This marriage also connected Herbert with a British family that was becoming increasingly influential in the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, with his brother William Sidney, John Spencer Smith embodied the new British policy in the Eastern Mediterranean.⁸³ In 1793, William Sidney Smith travelled across the Ottoman Empire to recruit seamen to serve under his command and protect the interests of the British trade in the Mediterranean, which could be affected by the French Revolution. The same year, he burned part of the French fleet down in Toulon before surrounding the city. For this achievement, he was properly integrated into the navy, and in July 1798, he was formally appointed as the special agent of the British fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean. The support of the Smith family was, for Herbert, a major asset while Bonaparte threatened the commercial interests of both England and Austria with his landing in Egypt in July 1798.

The marriage between the Herbert and the Smith families was also founded on a common Irish background. Established first in Cahirmochill in Wales, John Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke, moved in to the county of Limerick – where the town of Rathkeale is located – in 1552, and received lands and title from Mary Tudor as a reward for his religious and political loyalty. As for him, Charles Douglas, a brother of John Spencer and William Sidney, was responsible for representing George III in the affairs of Ireland while maintaining close links with John Spencer, who was Queen Charlotte's page from 1779 to 1784. In 1802, only a few months after the death of Herbert, Charles Douglas sent John Spencer a copy of the manuscript contents of a family Bible that mentioned the sepulchres of their ancestors Edward Smith and Elizabeth Douglas, who had been interred in Galway between 1733 and 1738. It was clearly a way for the Smiths to reaffirm their belonging to Ireland, despite the recent loss of the Earl of Pembroke.⁸⁴

The activation of a diaspora bond constituted by the marriage of Constance was also a response to a political crisis. It took place only a few weeks after the arrival of Bonaparte in Egypt and was clearly dictated by the urgency of the geopolitical situation. The personal interests of the agents in the service of the prince enabled them to take (if not to anticipate) political action insofar as it was in their personal interests to defend it and retain the benefits they derived from it.⁸⁵ Here, the diaspora became a funnel of the empires' foreign policies, and it was in its midst when the Orient organized 'the forces of counter-revolution'.

In 1802, after Peter Herbert's death, the *Gentleman's Magazine* publicly acknowledged his successful symbolical return to the British fold. He was mentioned as:

[A] gentleman not less distinguished by his diplomatic talent than by his social virtues, has an additional title to our regret, as being descended from a British stock of noble illustrious parentage, an origin and connexion he was proud to acknowledge and to justify by an almost patriotic attachment to our common country and countrymen, cemented still farther by the marriage of his second daughter, Miss Constance Herbert, to our last worthy and most

respected chief in the Levant, John Spencer Smith [...], and by devoting his eldest son Baron Henry Herbert to sight our battles under the conduct of Sir Sidney Smith, with whom he served as midshipman of *Le Tigre* during his late command.⁸⁶

Between 1798 and 1802, the different circles of belonging in which Herbert operated were still connected and overlapping, if imperfectly. This was embodied by the informal role played by Hammer in Pera.⁸⁷ Despite reasonable expectations after his training at the Oriental Academy, in 1792, Hammer did not obtain authorization to join Herbert in Pera from Thugut (who succeeded Cobenzl in the Austrian foreign affairs). Nevertheless, he remained close to Cobenzl's protégés, and served Johann Ludwig von Cobenzl after his return from St. Petersburg to Vienna in 1795. Hammer took part in the negotiation of the Austro–Russo–British alliance, and in 1797, he joined Johann Ludwig von Cobenzl during the negotiation of the Treaty of Peace of Campo Formio. In 1799, and with the support of Thomas Chabert and Leonhard Collenbach, he eventually obtained the authorization to leave Vienna. This was only a few months before Johann Ludwig von Cobenzl replaced Thugut as Head of the Austrian foreign affairs.⁸⁸

In Pera, the arrival of Hammer reactivated the Cobenzl system (slightly modified by Johann Ludwig), and the more pressing need to involve Russia and Britain. Hammer circulated between the *internunciature* and the Russian and English embassies. Living at the *internunciature*, and on the recommendation of Leonhard von Collenbach, he soon obtained the confidence of the latter niece, Constance, and the protection of John Spencer Smith, who recommended him to his brother William Sidney. Under the command of William Sidney Smith, and notably in the company of Heinrich Constantin Herbert von Rathkeal (Peter's son, as mentioned by *Gentleman's Magazine*), Hammer sailed on William Sidney Smith's ship *Le Tigre*. Under the command of William Sidney, Heinrich took part in the 1799 Acre resistance against the French, resulting in Napoleon leaving Egypt. It was again on *Le Tigre* that Hammer was given the opportunity to travel to Egypt with Heinrich Constantin Herbert. From Egypt, and still aboard British vessels, Hammer sailed to England and reached Oxford in 1800 with the authorization granted by John Spencer Smith to consult the oriental manuscripts.⁸⁹

However, the death of Herbert in 1802 led to the brutal and almost complete collapse of the clientele he built up, leaving his former protégés with a total lack of security. Hammer immediately suffered the consequences, with the 1802 appointment of Stürmer as the new *internuncio*, and with this, the revenge of the academicians who remained loyal to Thugut. He stated:

I thanked [him for] the patronage and the protection that the internuncio provided me and Baron Herbert-Rathkeal for having sent me to Egypt and permitted me to stay with Sir Smith as long as he might have had the need. This favour was the worst recommendation that could be made to Stürmer who was in a knife fight with him.⁹⁰

Hammer was gradually dismissed from political responsibilities. He devoted himself to writing his *History of the Ottoman Empire*, drawing upon materials collected at the chancellery of State, during his travels in the Ottoman Empire with Sidney Spencer Smith and Heinrich Constantin Herbert von Rathkeal, and in Oxford.⁹¹ Hammer could no longer even rely upon the protection of the Cobenzls, whose family line ended after the successive deaths of Johann Ludwig and Johann Philipp in 1805 and 1810 respectively, and with no male heir.

Nonetheless, Hammer mentioned in his *Memoirs* the closeness he preserved in Vienna with Constance Herbert von Rathkeal, for whom he wrote a funeral oration in 1829. This text, first printed in German in Vienna, was translated and published in French in Caen (an old Jacobite refuge) by Guillaume-Stanislas Trébutien, an orientalist and member of the Academy of Caen, of which John Spencer Smith became the perpetual secretary.⁹² William Sidney and John Spencer Smith had attended the Military Academy of Caen in 1792, before they went to serve in the Eastern Mediterranean. John Spencer returned to Caen after 1807 and a short parliamentary and diplomatic career. The network Herbert created in Pera survived only within the circle of an intimate, learned and orientalist friendship, built on the networks woven by the Jacobite diaspora, that remained in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁹³

Relying on the common interests of the Perot, the German and the British agents in preserving the Levantine and East Indian trade (and thereby securing their own incomes and resources), the Jacobite diaspora was an element of stability in the Eastern Mediterranean, which partially absorbed the tremors of the French Revolution. The diaspora allowed the Austro–Ottoman relationship to survive, and also included (at least until 1802) England as a partner in securing the imperial resources in the area. The activation of the Jacobite diaspora also corresponded to a period of geopolitical crisis and political indecision. It reveals the ability of empires to display flexibility and to rely on their agents' networks, as long as the interests of the agents met with those of the princes they served. Crisis did not force empires to bridge, but rather, to use the social worlds, which existed independently of empires and which became trans-imperial by circumstance.

6. Conclusion

Focusing on the reorganization of the geopolitical order in the Eastern Mediterranean during the last two decades of the eighteenth century, this paper emphasises that early modern diplomacy relied, until late, on the personal economic and social resources of political agents. Throughout his mission in Istanbul, Peter Herbert von Rathkeal belonged to different social circles. He was at the same time the agent of the House of Austria, of the Cobenzl household and of his own different families. A member of the Pera Latin community through the parish of Saint Mary Draperis, of the German and the British gentries and of the European diplomatic milieu, Herbert held a strategic social position for ensuring the good conduct of the imperial diplomacy, the prosperity of the Cobenzl family and his social standing. From this case study, the diplomacy of empires cannot anymore be seen as the business of cross-cultural brokers. On the contrary, it relied on socioeconomic structures like noble families, trading companies or confessional and learned networks that existed independently of the imperial borders they crossed. While these structures could connect, criss-cross, imperfectly overlap or compete and be conflicting, from the perspective of political agents related to them, they were resources that supported their diplomatic action and indeed ensured their value as diplomatic agents. As a social history and, more broadly, a global microhistory, this study calls for reconsidering our traditional perception of an early modern diplomacy that would be the genesis of the state-to-state present relationship. Instead of reinforcing the bias forged by national perspectives on history, the framework of this paper suggests that it is more fruitful to analyze agglomerates of relational groups, more or less institutionally recognized, and directly or indirectly

concerned by the wealth of a reigning family and its household, as well as by that of its agents and clients. Doing this implies both keeping an open conception of diplomacy and examining more closely the private papers of diplomatic agents even though they might sometimes only be found in archival records that remain unfamiliar to diplomatic historians, such as private collections, notarial records and book of accounts, or even parish records. This also calls for keeping an open mind to linguistically, methodologically and disciplinarily diverse historical research that would surely contribute to a better understanding of early modern diplomacy.

Notes

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 20. Renate Zedinger, 'Vom "Sprachknaben" zum Internuntius Freiherr Heinrich Christoph von Penckler (1700-1774) im diplomatischen Dienst an der Hohen Pforte' in Ulrijs Tischler-Hofer and Renate Zedinger (eds), *Kuppeln - Korn - Kanonen: Unerkannte und Unbekannte Spuren in Südosteuropa von der Aufklärung bis in die Gegenwart* (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2010), 215–42.
 21. Between 1714 and 1734, the Kingdom of Naples was ruled by the Habsburgs of Austria.
 22. Heidrun Wurm, 'Entstehung und Aufhebung des Osmanischen General konsulats in Wien (1726–1732)', *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, xlii (1992), 161–8.
 23. *Ibid.*, 170–8.
 24. Do Paço, *L'Orient à Vienne*, 27–30; Karl A. Roider, 'The Oriental Academy in the Theresienzeit', *Topic*, xxxiv (1980), 19–28.
 25. Türkei V, 16.
 26. Do Paço, *L'Orient à Vienne*, 169–72.
 27. Karl A. Roider, *Baron Thugut and Austria's Response to the French Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).
 28. [Österreichische Staatsarchiv, Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Staatskanzley] O[rientalische] A[kademie], 56, fo. 29r–33v.
 29. Herbert Cobenzl, 3 Oct. 1779, Türkei V, 18, fo. 24r–24v.
 30. Jeremy Black, *British Diplomats and Diplomacy, 1688–1800* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2001), 35–42; Helen Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power: The Material World of the Stuart Diplomat 1660–1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations*, 71–104.
 31. During the same period, the Venetian embassy was quite lucrative as well, see Anton Dedem van de Gelder, *Un Général Hollandais sous le Premier Empire: Mémoires du Général Baron de Dedem de Gelder 1774–1825* (Paris: Plon, 1900), 23–4.

32. Herbert to Cobenzl, 26 May 1781, Türkei V, 18, fo. 163r-163v.
33. Ainslie to Hillsborough, 12 April 1782, FO 78/3, fo. 82v.
34. Christopher H. Johnson, David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher, and Francesca Trivellato (eds), *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond. Experiences since the Middle Ages* (New York/Oxford: Bergham, 2011); Glenda Sluga and Carolyn James (eds), *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500* (London/New York: Routledge, 2016). See also Jennifer Mori, *The Culture of Diplomacy. Britain in Europe, c. 1750–1830* (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 2010).
35. Herbert to Cobenzl, 20 Sep. 1779, Türkei V, 18, fo. 20r.
36. Petr Mat' a and Thomas Winkelbauer (eds), *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1620 bis 1740: Leistungen und Grenzen des Absolutismusparadigmas* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006).
37. See 'Constitutivi didiritti di Carattere Feudale e Patrimoniale Della Famiglia Cobenzl' in Archivio di Stato di Gorizia, Archivio Coronini-Cronberg, Archivio Cobenzl 229/587; *Cobenzl und seine Memoiren*, 61–4; Silvano Cavazza, 'La Relazione delle cose di Moscovia di Giovanni Cobenzl', *Quaderni Giuliani di Storia*, xxxiv (2013/1), 53–98.
38. Marco Dogo, 'Merchants Between Two Empires: The Ottoman Colonies of Trieste in the XVIIIth Century', *Etudes Balkaniques*, iii-iv (1997), 85–96.
39. *Cobenzl und seine Memoiren*, 71–3.
40. GK, 444-1, C.
41. Herbert to Cobenzl, 12 Aug. 1779, Türkei V, 18, fol. 8v-10r. See also Hans Schlitter (ed), *Kaunitz, Philipp Cobenzl und Spielmann. Ihr Briefwechsel (1779–1792)* (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1899), 3–4.
42. *Cobenzl und seine Memoiren*, 109–10.
43. Anton Victor Felgel, 'Collenbach, Heinrich Gabriel Freiherr von', *ADB*, iv (1876), 405; OeStA, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Reichsadelsakten, 68, fasc. 36–7.
44. Cobenzl to Herbert, 4 Aug. 1779, Türkei V, 18, fo. 2r; Herbert to Cobenzl, 3 Oct. 1779, *ibid.*, fo. 23r; Cobenzl to Herbert, 22 Oct. 1779, *ibid.*, fo. 21v; Herbert to Cobenzl, 17 Jan. 1780, *ibid.*, fo. 44r.
45. Herbert to Cobenzl, 17 Nov. 1779, *ibid.*, fo. 29v and 33r.
46. The Bishop of Görz, Charles Micheal von Attems, even installed the Bishopric seat with the Cobenzl Palace; Ignaz von Schönfeld, *Adelsschematismus des Österreichischen Kaiserstaates*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Carl Schaumburg, 1825), 47–8.
47. Herbert to Cobenzl, 11 March 1782, *ibid.*, fo. 225r.
48. Cobenzl to Herbert, 4 Aug. 1779, Türkei V, 18, fo. 2r.
49. Domenico Montuoro, 'I Cigala, una Famiglia Feudale tra Genova, Sicilia, Turchia et Calabria', *Mediterranea Ricerche Storiche*, xvi (2009), 276–302.
50. Herbert to (exceptionally Johan Ludwig) Cobenzl, 17 Nov. 1779, Türkei V, 18, fo. 30r; Cobenzl to Herbert, 21 March 1780, *ibid.*, fo. 59v; Herbert to Cobenzl, 3 March 1780, *ibid.*, fo. 63v-64r; Herbert to Cobenzl, 2 June 1780, *ibid.*, fo. 92v; Herbert to Cobenzl, 17 Aug. 1780, *ibid.*, fo. 108r-109v; Herbert to Cobenzl, 2 Sep. 1780, *ibid.*, fo. 113r-113v; Cobenzl to Herbert, 6 Feb. 1781, *ibid.*, fo. 142v; Herbert to Cobenzl, 16 March 1781, *ibid.*, fo. 149r; Herbert to Cobenzl, 22 June 1781, *ibid.*, fo. 165v; Herbert to Cobenzl, 11 June 1781, *ibid.*, fo. 169r; Herbert to Cobenzl, 22 Feb. 1782, *ibid.*, fo. 202v.
51. Ainslie to Hillsborough, 1 Dec. 1780, FO 78/1, fol. 233r; Marie de Testa and Antoine Gautier, *Drogmans et Diplomates Européens Auprès de la Porte Ottomane* (Istanbul: Isis, 2003).
52. Herbert to Cobenzl, 22 July 1779, Türkei V, 18, fo. 6r/v.
53. [Constant von Wurzbach], *B[iographisches] L[exikon des] K[aisertums] Ö[sterreich]*, vol. 7 (1861), 266–7.
54. Hammer, *Erinnerungen*, 20.
55. *ibid.*, 23.
56. Herbert to Cobenzl, 23 July 1785, Türkei V, 19, fo. 691v-699r.
57. *ibid.*, fol. 668v-691r, text underlined by Herbert.
58. OA, 56, fo. 27–30, 75–6; Hanns Schiltter, 'Stürmer, Ignaz Lorenz Freiherr von', *ABD*, xxxvii (1894), 49.
59. Herbert to Cobenzl, 25 April 1782, Türkei V, 18, fo. 231v. On the diplomatic sociability in Pera, Eric Dursteler, 'A Continual Tavern in My House: Food and Diplomacy in Early Modern

- Constantinople' in Machtelt Israëls and Louis A. Waldman (eds), *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 166–71.
60. AO, 55, fo. 48r.
 61. Green to Keith, 3 Sep. 1779, B[ritish] L[ibrary, Manuscripts, Hardwicke papers, vol. CLXIX], Add Ms 35517, fo. 1v; Cobenzl to Herbert, 22 Oct. 1779, Türkei V, 18, fo. 21r; Herbert to Cobenzl, 3 Oct. 1779, *ibid.*, fo. 22v; Herbert to Cobenzl, 17 Nov. 1779, *ibid.*, fo. 30v; Herbert to Cobenzl, 17 Nov. 1779, *ibid.*, fo. 33r-34v; Cobenzl to Herbert, 6 Dec. 1779, *ibid.*, fo. 36v-37r; Herbert to Cobenzl, 3 Dec. 1779, *ibid.*, fo. 41v; Herbert to Cobenzl, 3 Dec. 1780, *ibid.*, fo. 51r; Herbert to Cobenzl, 3 March 1780, *ibid.*, fo. 66v-67r; Cobenzl to Herbert, 21 March 1780, *ibid.*, fo. 69v; Herbert to Cobenzl, 2 June 1780, *ibid.*, fo. 92r; Herbert to Cobenzl, 17 June 1780, *ibid.*, fo. 97v-98r; Ainslie to Hillsborough, 16 Sep. 1780, FO 78/1, fo. 193r.
 62. Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Lebenswelten und Identitäten einer Ethnokonfessionellen Gruppe im Osmanischen Reich im 'langen 19. Jahrhundert'* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2005), 127–41.
 63. OA, 56, fo. 75r-76v and 215r-216v; Cobenzl to Herbert, 4 Feb. 1780, Türkei V, 18, fo. 56r.
 64. Herbert to Cobenzl, 2 May 1780, *ibid.*, fo. 83r.
 65. Laura Elizabeth Binz, 'Latin Missionaries and Catholics in Constantinople 1650–1760: Between Local Religious Culture and Confessional Determination' (Ph.D. dissertation, Florence: European University Institute, 2013), 49.
 66. BLKÖ, vol. 4 (1858), 342–3; Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, 'Rathkeal', 210–1.
 67. *Ibid.*, 72–3.
 68. Thiessen, *Diplomatie und Patronage*, 382–6.
 69. Herbert to Cobenzl, 11 March 1782, Türkei V, 18, fo. 225r.
 70. Tobias P. Graf, 'Of Half-Lives to Double-Lives: "Renegades" in the Ottoman Empire and their Pre-Conversion Ties, ca. 1580–1610', in Pascal Firges, Tobias Graf, Christian Roth, and Gülay Tulasoglu (eds), *Well-Connected Domains. Towards an Entangled Ottoman History* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014), 131–49.
 71. See Pascal Firges' contribution in the present journal issue.
 72. Testa and Gautier, *Drogmans et Diplomats*; Binz, 'Latin Missionaries and Catholics in Constantinople', 153–86; Antoine Gautier, 'Un Diplomate Russe à Constantinople, Paul Pisani (1783–1873)', *Le Bulletin de L'Association des Anciens Elèves, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales*, vi (2004), 11–30.
 73. Firges, *French Revolutionaries in the Ottoman Empire*.
 74. Do Paço, *L'Orient à Vienne*, 25–7; Testa and Gautier, *Drogmans et Diplomates*, 146, 383. See also the 'Dragoman Renaissance Research Platform': <https://dragomans.digitalscholarship.utoronto.ca>.
 75. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1802, 1012.
 76. BLKÖ, vol. 21 ([Vienna, Kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei,] 1870), 2–6.
 77. *Cobenzl und Seine Memoiren*, 61; David Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences and Impressions of Central Europe, c.1560–1688* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 109–10.
 78. Ainslie to Keith, 3 July 1779, BL, Add Ms 3517, fo. 1v-2r; Ainslie to Keith, 26 June 1780, *ibid.*, Add Ms 35518, fo. 82v; Ainslie to Keith, 21 Aug. 1780, *ibid.*, Add Mas 35519, 173r.
 79. Ainslie to Keith, 16 Sep. 1780, BL, Add Ms 35519, fo. 238v.
 80. Herbert to Cobenzl, 1 Dec. 1780, Türkei V, 18, fo. 134r; Herbert to Cobenzl, 16 Dec. 1780, *ibid.*, fo. 136v; Herbert to Cobenzl, 11 June 1781, *ibid.*, fo. 169r; Cobenzl to Herbert, 19 May 1781, *ibid.*, fo. 158v; Ainslie to Hillsborough, 12 April 1782, FO, 78/3, f. 84r; Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations*.
 81. Ainslie to Keith, 11 Nov. 1780, BL, Add Ms 35520, fo. 56r.
 82. J. M. Collinge, 'Smith, John Spencer (1769–1845)' in R. Thorne (ed), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790–1820* (London: Boydell & Brewer, 1986), 196–7.
 83. CLA, SMT, 1–19.
 84. WRC, MS 267, 1/5; CLA, SMT, 21.
 85. Thiessen, *Diplomatie und Patronage*; Yaycioglu, *Partners of the Empire*.
 86. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1802, 1012.
 87. The name 'Hammer-Purgstall' could be used only after 1835, when Joseph became *Freyherr* of the *Erblande*.

88. OA 56, fo. 68r-71v; Hammer, *Erinnerungen*, 24, 28–9, 33, 35, 36; BLKÖ, vol. 2 (1857), 390–1.
89. Hammer, *Erinnerungen*, 34–118; A.-G. Ballin, 'Notice Biographique sur feu M. J. Spencer Smith', *Revue de Rouen et de Normandie*, xiii (1845), 143–52.
90. Hammer, *Erinnerungen*, 127.
91. Fichtner, *Terror and Toleration*, 130–44.
92. Guillaume-Stanislas Trébutien, *Notice Nécrologique Extraite du Journal de Caen et de la Normandie du 3 Décembre 1829* (Caen: Chalopin, 1829).
93. Ballin, 'Notice Biographique'.