



1
Giovanni Mansueti
*Episodes from the Life
of Saint Mark*, detail, c. 1500
Oil on canvas, 376 × 612 cm
Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia

Orientalism and Orientalist Art

The term Orientalism has been used in art history since the early nineteenth century in association with works of art on Middle Eastern and North African subjects pioneered by French artists. The first usage of the term is generally attributed to Théophile Gautier, who travelled in and wrote about the East, as an admirer and critic of their works. In 1829 Victor Hugo in the preface to the book *Les Orientales* wrote: “In Louis XIV’s time one was a Hellenist, now one is an Orientalist...”¹ And indeed this art term actively spread in the nineteenth century and, above all, among the art critics. In discussing and assessing the contemporary definition of Orientalism we should first of all refer to *The Dictionary of Art*, which characterises Orientalism as an “art-historical term applied to a category of subject-matter referring to the depiction of the Near East by Western artists, particularly in the nineteenth century”.² Although this definition includes various parameters, it does not embrace the full range of the features of Orientalism, and additionally, it restricts the geographical location and time period.

The first evaluation and critique of the Orientalist phenomenon were presented by Edward Said in his book *Orientalism*. The summary of his study and the essence of the phenomenon can be summed up in a single phrase from the book: “The Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences”.³ As argued by Said, the imaginary Orient is more preferable “... for the European sensibility, to the real Orient”.⁴ Yet, as pointed out by Turkish writer Orhan Pamuk in his book *Istanbul. Memoirs of the City*, “... when magazines or school-books need an image of old Istanbul, they use the black-and-white engravings produced by Western travellers and artists”.⁵ Such practice had been documented already in 1578, when, as confirmed by papers of the Venetian bailo, Niccolò Barbarigo, the grand vizier Sokol-

lu Mehmed Paşa (r. 1565–79) sent a request to the Doge of Venice to prepare the set of portraits depicting the Ottoman sultans based on the images available in Venice. These paintings, shipped from Venice in 1579, helped Nakkaş Osman, the leading painter of Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–1595), to establish a classic representation of the features of each sultan.⁶

The law-governed nature of the development of Orientalism in art was predetermined historically. Although being a predominantly nineteenth-century phenomenon, it started in the time of the Renaissance and continued throughout the years, emerging in the twenty-first century seen through new forms and techniques, spanning the geographical area of the artists’ interest in Middle Eastern and North African Islamic





2
Jan Provoost
The Crucifixion, detail
1501–05
Oil on panel, 117 × 172.5 cm
Brugge, Groeningemuseum,
inv. no. 0000GRO0.1661.I

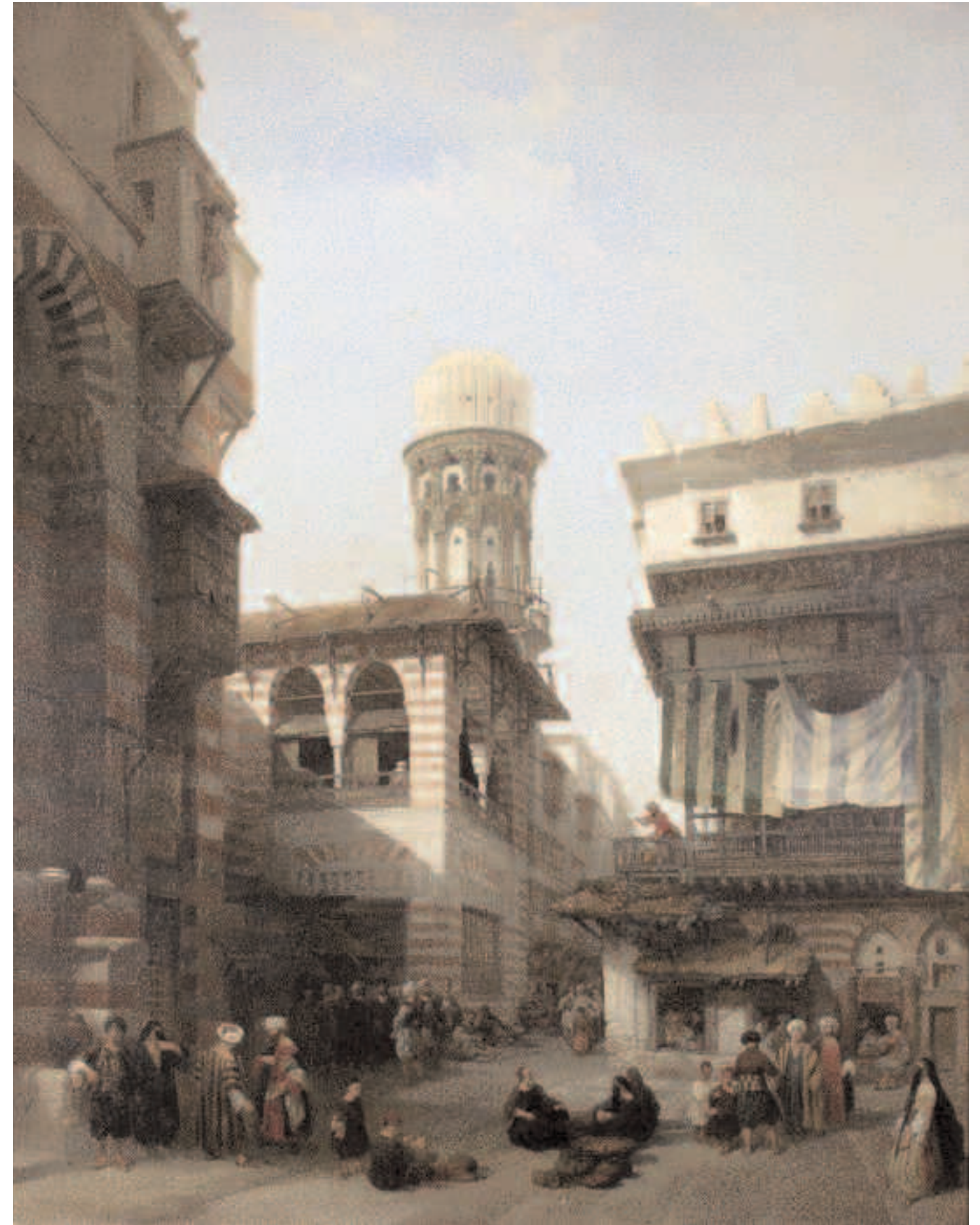
3
Carle Van Loo
*The Grand Turk giving a
concert to his mistress*, 1737
Oil on canvas, 72.5 × 91 cm
London, The Wallace
Collection



4
Eugène Delacroix
*The Battle of Giaour and
Hassan*, 1835
Oil on canvas, 73 × 61 cm
Paris, Musée du Petit Palais



5
David Roberts
*Bazaar of the coppersmiths,
Cairo*, 1842
Oil on canvas, 143 × 112 cm
Private collection





countries, however sometimes including India and occasionally China and Japan. Ary Renan – poet, painter, and engraver – wrote in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1894: “For us the term ‘Orient’ covers a vast range of countries, including a great part of Asia and the entire northern coast of Africa ... By extension, India and the Caucasus are part of the painters’ Orient”, thus conclusively defining the geographical area of the Orientalists’ interest.⁷

Orientalism appeared when West met East – when an interest in the cultures and traditions of other peoples arose. Those interreligious and international relations were partially the basis of the great period of the Renaissance. Orientalism as an art movement can not be associated with any particular European country, nor

encapsulated in any of the local “schools”, as throughout the centuries it was exercised by different Western cultures. In spite of Europe being in constant conflict with the countries of the Islamic East, trade relations were continuous and hardly ever ceased. This continuity explains the permanent interest of the West towards the Orient, which was defined by Said as “one of the deepest and most recurring images of the Other”.⁸

The definition of a true Orientalist artist echoes in Charles Baudelaire’s definitions of “an artist” and “a man of the world”, where the critic refers to the global, inner perceptiveness of the latter: “his interest is the whole world; he wants to know, understand and appreciate everything that happens on the surface of our globe”.⁹ The true Orientalist artist, who had to be “a man

6
John Frederick Lewis
The Mid-day meal, 1875
Oil on canvas, 88.3 × 114.3 cm
Private collection
© Christie’s Images, Ltd. 2005

7
Vasily Vereshchagin
The doors of Timur, 1872
Oil on canvas, 213 × 168 cm
Moscow, State Tretyakov
Gallery



8
Francesco Hayez
Flight from Chios, c. 1839
Oil on canvas, 82 × 104 cm
Doha, Orientalist Museum



N.31 CATALOGO

9
Jean-Léon Gérôme
La mosquée bleue, c. 1878
Oil on canvas, 72.4 × 102.2 cm
Shafik Gabr Collection



10
Mikhail Vruble
Eastern tale, 1886
Watercolour on paper
27.8 x 27 cm
Kiev, Museum of Russian Art



11
John Singer Sargent
*A shaded pathway in the
Orient*, 1891-95
Oil on canvas, 62 x 78.2 cm
Private collection

12
Ludwig Deutsch
The Mandolin Player, 1904
Oil on panel, 51 x 60 cm
Shafik Gabr Collection



13
Paul Signac
La Corne d'or (Constantinople), 1907
Oil on canvas, 89 × 116.3 cm
Private collection
© Christie's Images, Ltd. 2008



14
Oskar Kokoschka
Istanbul I, 1929
Oil on canvas, 80.3 × 110.8 cm
Doha, Orientalist Museum





15
Alexander Volkov
Pomegranate teahouse, 1924
Oil on canvas, 105 × 116 cm
Moscow, State Tretyakov
Gallery

of the world”, also based his creative approach on a global manner of thinking and understanding. During their travels, artists discovered different worlds, seen through diverse religions, peoples, customs and traditions, and of course through many remarkable examples of Islamic applied arts, such as ornate calligraphy, decorated metalwork, colourful ceramics, delicate glass vessels, miniature paintings, resplendent carpets and sophisticated textiles. Occasionally displayed at exhibitions in the European capitals, the works of artisans also had a major impact on artists who had never actually travelled to the Middle East or North Africa. Their paintings represent a group called “studio Orientalism”. Natural curiosity about the other world was seen through imaginary associations and knowledge based on travellers’ reports, photographs, paintings by other artists, Islamic art specimens and masterpieces of Persian and Arabic literature, which made the Orient extremely fascinating to a Western audience. Although creating imaginary representations, the contribution of such artists was significant as well. Those imaginary impressions, along with many works of professional Orientalists, helped European viewers to discover the mysterious Orient, with its bright colours, exotic incense and leisurely life, presenting the exact embodiment of the East through the prism of different techniques, styles and forms.

Edward Said stated that “all academic knowledge ... is somehow tinged and impressed with, violated by,

the gross political fact”.¹⁰ Indeed, certain very unfortunate politically-related terminology, such as tyranny, cruelty, superiority, racism, imperialism, eroticism and violence, became quite often associated with Orientalist art, continuing to fuel certain inflammatory Orientalist images of the Islamic world, influencing the true spirit of representation of the Orient. However, with reference to Orientalism, political factors were not decisive, but accompanying circumstances. Such causes as wars, political conflicts, peace treaties, trade agreements, colonial policies, or events in the fields of education and culture, directed and focussed the public interest and provided geographical access to particular countries, including artists travelling as members of diplomatic missions, making them historical art-biographers; as well as artist-participants in wars, who saw and presented a different Orient. They never were, in any sense, neutral observers, nor were they supposed to be. The obstacle of cultural misunderstanding inherent in depicting another people was overcome by virtue of the variety of their representation, expressing the individual artists’ personal visions, documenting their experiences of extraordinary meetings with inhabitants of the Other. Orientalism as a historical and cultural event has been uniting various aspects of cultural life for a number of centuries – literature, fine arts, architecture, music, philosophy – and generating an exotic image within our consciousness, one that had a right to its own existence.

¹ V. Hugo, *Les Orientales* (Paris, 1829), p. 26.

² K. Bendiner, “Orientalism”, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. by Jane Turner (London: Macmillan, 1996), Vol. XXIII, pp. 502–05.

³ E. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁵ O. Pamuk, *Istanbul. Memoirs of a City* (London: Faber and Faber, 2005), p. 40.

⁶ *The Sultan’s Portraits. Picturing the House of Osman* (Istanbul: İsbank, 2000), p. 38.

⁷ C. Peltre, *Orientalism* (Paris: Terrail/Edigroup, 2004), p. 19.

⁸ Said 2003, p. 1.

⁹ Ch. Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays* (London: Phaidon, 2006), p. 7.

¹⁰ Said 2003, p. 11.



Detail of fig. 62 (p. 78)

16
Gentile Bellini
Seated scribe, 1479–80
Gouache and pen with ink
on paper, 18.2 × 14 cm
Boston, Isabella Stewart
Gardner Museum

The history of Oriental studies in Europe goes back to the fourteenth century, when at the Fifteenth General Church Council in Vienna of 1312 Pope Clement V issued a decree establishing Chairs “in order to study the Oriental languages” for the teaching of Hebrew, Chaldee and Arabic in the universities of Rome, Paris, Bologna, Oxford and Salamanca.¹ Related to the history of fine arts, we find one of the earliest references to the European artist working in the East in Giorgio Vasari’s *Lives of the Artists*. In the life story of Fra Filippo Lippi, Vasari recounts the episode of the artist’s imprisonment by the Moors: “And going to Ancona, he was disporting himself one day with some of his friends in a boat in the sea, when they were all captured by some Moorish ships that were scouring the bay, and carried off to Barbary, where they were chained as slaves. In this condition, in much suffering, he remained for eighteen months, but being much with his master, it came into his head one day to make his portrait, and taking a piece of charcoal out of the fire, he drew him at full length on the white wall in his Moorish dress. The other slaves told his master what he had done, and he thought it was a miracle, neither drawing nor painting being known in those parts, and this was the cause of his being set free from captivity”.² The story, although based entirely on Vasari’s imagination and a fictitious novel by Matteo Bandello (active 1485–1561), signifies the high respect and esteem that Eastern rulers felt towards European artists, hence it is hardly surprising that Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–46 and 1451–81), the conqueror of Constantinople, appealed to the rulers of Rimini, Naples and Venice with requests to send a skilful artist and medalier to execute portraits of the sultan. In 1461 Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, lord of Rimini, sent medalier Matteo de’ Pasti, though the mission was unfortunately fated to be unsuccessful, since de’ Pasti was arrested as a spy by the Venetian authorities in Crete.³ The sultan’s next request for a highly regarded painter and medalier was sent to Ferrante

I, the king of Naples, and in 1467 (or in 1478, it remains unclear), Costanzo di Moysis, otherwise known as Costanzo da Ferrara, was sent to Istanbul, thus becoming the first Italian artist to go to the capital of the Empire. Among the artist’s existing works produced in Istanbul are his medals with the sultan’s portraits, depicting him as a vigorous and powerful leader.⁴ Gentile Bellini, who was sent upon the sultan’s request to the Doge of Venice, arrived in Istanbul in September 1479 and stayed there for eighteen months. Bellini’s “Ottoman” heritage is known from his portrait of the sultan (London, The National Gallery), his portrait of the seated scribe (fig. 16), his medals with the sultan’s portrait in various museums, and the series of drawings depicting picturesque figures he encountered in Turkey (London, The British Museum and Paris, Musée du Louvre). In 1504–07 Belli-





18
Andrea Mantegna
Adoration of the Magi, detail
(central panel from the
Altarpiece), c. 1466
Tempera on panel, 77 × 75 cm
Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi

left

17
Pisanello
The Tartar Warrior, detail
from the fresco *St George and
the Princess of Trebizond*
1436–38
Fresco, 223 × 620 cm (total)
Verona, Pellegrini Chapel,
Sant'Anastasia

ni also created his own vision of an Egyptian city in his painting *Saint Mark Preaching in Alexandria* (Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera), commissioned by the Scuola di San Marco in 1504. The artwork captures a moment of the preaching of Saint Mark, the founder of the Christian church in Alexandria, who was tortured and martyred there. Next to the tribune of the Saint there is a crowd of his followers, among whom Bellini depicted himself, wearing a red robe and the gold medal presented to him by Sultan Mehmed II.

Contacts between the Ottoman sultans and European artists continued: in 1504 the great Renaissance artist, engineer and scientist Leonardo da Vinci offered his services as military engineer to the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512). One of his suggested projects

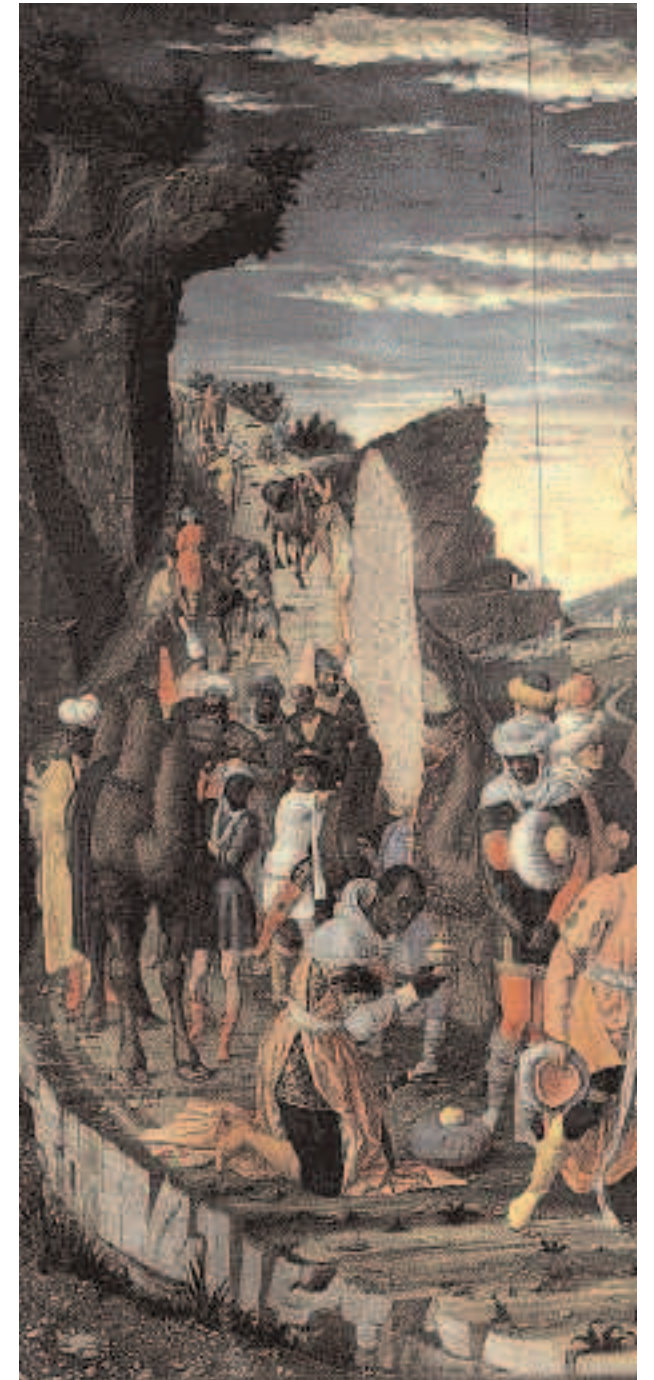
was the construction of a 350-metre bridge over the **Bosporus**. Unfortunately the project wasn't realised, meaning the bridge did not get built in Istanbul, but a replica of it was eventually constructed in Ås in Norway. It is known that the great Michelangelo Buonarroti was also approached with the same project, but due to the artist's disagreement with the pope and the opposition of certain ministers, the project was abandoned.⁵

European artists started introducing Islamic art objects and symbols into their religious narrative paintings as early as the fifteenth century. Masterpieces of Islamic applied arts depicted in the paintings – textiles, carpets, ceramics, jewellery, glass and metalwork – amaze us with their detailed and precise representation, offering visual evidence of the presence of such

objects from the Islamic world in the European markets. The richness of such exotic wares had a profound effect on Europeans, as did the accounts of travellers to far-off lands, and this was reflected in many artworks of the Renaissance masters, as for example Oriental elements in the religious cycles by Vittore Carpaccio, Pisanello (fig. 17), Vittore Belliniano, Giovanni Mansueti (fig. 1), Andrea Mantegna (fig. 18) and others.

Ottoman fabrics and weapons, ceramics and carpets, metalwork and glass were also presented in quite rare examples of Orientalist still lifes. Such compositions were often related to the art of collecting, at least in the seventeenth century. Commissioned by Prince Ferdinando de' Medici, the work by Bartolomeo Bimbi, *Trophy of Turkish Arms* (fig. 19), depicting weapons piled on an Anatolian carpet with Turkish silk fabrics thrown over them, presents his private collection of Ottoman art.

The appearance of portraiture in Orientalism was first linked with the name of Gentile Bellini, who, according to historical records, painted at least six portraits of Sultan Mehmed II (the only surviving one is in the National Portrait Gallery, London). According to Jacopo Filippo Foresti da Bergamo's *Supplementum chronicarum*, the sultan was so impressed with "... the image so similar to himself, he admired the man's powers and said that he surpassed all other painters who ever existed".⁶ Later the popularisation of this genre was associated with art patron and collector Paolo Giovio. His collection of portraits, which numbered more than four hundred artworks, included copies of Ottoman sultans' portraits, made after a set of eleven miniatures by the Turkish artist and sea-captain Haydar Reis, also known as Nigârî. The collection, which became very famous during Giovio's lifetime, was copied many times (figs. 20 and 21). It is also known that in 1552 Cosimo I de' Medici sent the painter Cristofano dell'Altissimo to Giovio's residence in Como to make copies of the portraits of important figures in the collection. The popularity of such portraits has been quite significant; for example, it has also been recorded by Vasari that around 1552 Titian executed a portrait of *Rosselana*, the favourite wife of Süleyman I (r. 1520–66).⁷ These early Orientalist portraits served as historical traces and were very often presented as a chronological record of the Islamic dynasties. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, portraiture development in Orientalism was initially based on ethnographical and cultural interests. Gradually, however, as we can see already in the nineteenth century, the psychology of the subject



portrayed and attempts to understand the inner world became more important than the representation of the exotic, allowing artists to create a gallery of characters in their natural environments. Artists concentrated their attention not only on historical *personalia*, but also on depicting simple people, demonstrating the new attitude nineteenth- and twentieth-century artists introduced to the portrait genre in Orientalism with their detailed representations of individualisation and expression of thought and feelings.

Actual travels to the Oriental world in the **sixteenth and seventeenth centuries** by artists after Gen-

tile Bellini were taking place, even if rarely. Flemish artist Jan Provoost is thought to have seen Jerusalem with his own eyes. As a member of the Order of the Jerusalem Pilgrims, he had probably visited the city before the execution of his great masterpiece, *The Crucifixion* (fig. 2), painted between 1501 and 1505. In the background on the right appears what is probably the earliest known depiction by a European artist of the Dome of the Rock. The general shape of the building, in the form of rotunda with a crescent on a long spire, closely resembles a remarkable example of tenth-century Umayyad architecture, the oldest extant Islamic building in the world. The Dutch artist, architect and engineer Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (1500–1559) accompanied Emperor Charles V during his victorious Tunisian campaign in 1535, meticulously recording its events in a series of sketches. Once back home, the artist designed the twelve tapestries of the *Conquest of Tunis*, which were woven in 1549–54 in the workshop of Willem de Pannemaker in Brussels (Palacio Real, Madrid).⁸ When displayed for the first time at Winchester on 25 July 1554 at the marriage of Philip II and Mary Tudor, the tapestries were greatly admired for their meticulous representation and grandeur.⁹

One of the most popular destinations was, of course, the world of the Ottoman Empire. European–Ottoman relations intervened throughout the centuries, combining cultural, political and economic interests. Turkey was always closest in its relations with the Western world, and this unquestionably was within the sphere of the Ottoman interest. The way these relations were reflected in art and culture, from the fifteenth century until present, demonstrates variations following political alliances, victories and defeats, diplomatic relations, commercial ventures, and art projects. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a number of artists from different countries have been recorded as accompanying official diplomatic missions to Istanbul, such as Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Nicolas de Nicolay, Melchior Lorichs and Arnould de Vuez, just to name few. Known as the father of French zoology, Pierre Gilles was sent to the East by order of Francis I and arrived in Istanbul in 1544. His systematic accounts of the city and its monuments were published after his death in 1555.

Stephan Gerlach (1546–1612), a Lutheran chaplain, accompanied the Imperial ambassador Baron David Ungnad von Sonnenegg on his journey to Istanbul in 1573–78. During his travel he recorded detailed ob-



19
Bartolomeo Bimbi
Trophy of Turkish Arms, c. 1700
Oil on canvas, 97 × 119 cm
Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi

20
Bernardino Campi (attr.)
*Portrait of Khair ed-Din
Barbarossa*, c. 1550
Oil on canvas, 99 × 76.8 cm
Doha, Orientalist Museum



N.4 CATALOGO

21
Bernardino Campi (attr.)
Portrait of Sultan Selim I, c. 1550
Oil on canvas, 99 × 76.8 cm
Doha, Orientalist Museum



N.2 CATALOGO

22
Workshop of Titian
*Portrait of Sultan Süleyman
the Magnificent*, c. 1540
Oil on canvas, 72.4 × 61 cm
Doha, Orientalist Museum



N.3 CATALOGO

23
Follower of Gentile Bellini
Portrait of Sultan Mehmed II, c. 1510
Oil on panel, 21 × 16 cm
Doha, Museum of Islamic Art



N. 1 CATALOGO

24
Jacopo Ligozzi
Turkish woman, 1580–90
Tempera on paper, 28 × 22 cm
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni
e Stampe degli Uffizi



25
Jacopo Ligozzi
Janissery, 1580–90
Tempera on paper, 28 × 22 cm
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni
e Stampe degli Uffizi



26
Jacopo Ligozzi
*A Turbanned Pasha with
an Elephant*, 1580–85
Watercolour, gouache, gold paint,
gum Arabic and burnishing;
the background coloured light blue
by a later hand, 27.8 × 22.1 cm
Doha, Orientalist Museum



N.5 CATALOGO

27
Jacopo Ligozzi
An Azappo Archer with a Cheetah
c. 1575
Brush, pen and brown ink, tempera
and gold paint, 28.4 × 22.1 cm
Los Angeles, The Getty Museum



PER FOTOLITO: NUOVA, METTERE IN PROVA
IMMAGINE 5B CATALOGO



28
Anton Hickel
Roxelane and Sultan, 1780
Oil on canvas, 184 × 88 cm
Mainz, Landesmuseum

29
Charles-Antoine Coypel
*Athalide and Roxane or
The fainting of Athalide*, 1748
Oil on canvas, 132 × 115 cm
Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts



NUOVA: METTERE IN PROVA



DECORATION DU BAL MASQUE
*Dans la grande Galerie du Chateau de Versailles à l'occasion du Mariage de LOUIS DAUPHIN DE FRANCE
Cet événement ordonné par M^{le} le Duc de Richelieu Pair de France et exécuté de Princesse-Cousillière de la Chambre de S^{te} M^{ajesté}
à la conduite par M^{le} Bonnaville lieutenant et conseiller général de Languedoc, Marie Plancher et officier de la Chambre de S^{te} M^{ajesté}*

DEFORMARE LEGGERMENTE PER RADDRIZZARE

servations of the capital everyday life in his journal, which was not published until after his death.

The commercial and cultural relations between the Ottomans and Florence's most illustrious ruling family, the Medici, resulted in a number of art ventures, one of them being a publication of the Bible in Arabic in 1590 under the patronage of Ferdinando de' Medici. The book was published in a printing house in Rome directed by Giovanni Battista Raimondi, with illustrations by Antonio Tempesta. Francesco I de' Medici is known to have been on good terms with Sultan Selim II (r. 1566–74) and Sultan Murad III. As a result of these warm relations, according to some scholars – although without sufficient evidence – a renowned Veronese artist, Jacopo Ligozzi, visited Istanbul between 1580 and 1590.¹⁰ He prepared an album of male and female figures illustrating Ottoman society (figs. 24–27). Among other artists, we can also mention the French master François Rivière (1649–1726), who lived in Ottoman Turkey and Syria, visiting Aleppo and Smyrna, between 1697 and 1699. He visualised and portrayed a fascinating and exotic world of the Ottoman court as well as manners and customs of society. Florentine artist Bartolomeo Bianchini lived and worked in Tunis from 1698 to 1700. Cornelis de Bruijn, a Dutch artist and traveller, arrived in Smyrna in July 1678, spending half a year there, then proceeding to Istanbul for another year and a half. Apart from Ottoman Turkey, the artist also travelled to Egypt, Jerusalem, Russia and the East Indies.

The Orientalist art of the eighteenth century, in Edward Said's opinion, "prepared the way for modern Orientalism".¹¹ In Western Europe that century was marked by radical changes in both political and social life. The significance of this historical period is reflected in the epithet it received, i.e. the "Age of Enlightenment". In the work *What is Enlightenment?*, written in 1784, German philosopher Immanuel Kant formulated the essence, and the purpose, of the epoch through the motto "*Sapere aude*", that is "dare to know".¹² And indeed, during the eighteenth century the very signs of the time were a rapid development of natural sciences, an increase of interest in scientific and philosophical knowledge outside cabinets and laboratories of scientists – in a word, a widely comprehensive thirst of knowledge. Adventures, travels to far off lands, aspiration to get into the "other" cultural spaces were the main characteristics of the Age of Enlightenment. So it is quite coherent that the special interest to the themes of the Islamic East arose during that time.

Genuine interest in Orientalism during that time was reflected not only in paintings, but in literature and music as well. In fact, a large number of the artworks of the Orientalist literary genre were inspired by writings of famous authors from as early as the sixteenth century: Ludovico Ariosto's *Roland*; Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great*; William Shakespeare's *Othello*, *The Moor of Venice*; Prospero Bonarelli's *Il Solimano*; Molière's *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*; the philosophic novel *Candide: Or Optimism* by Voltaire; and Jean Racine's *Bajazet*, just to name the few. The contribution of eighteenth-century literature was indeed very significant. In 1704 Antoine Galland published in France the first volume of his translation of *The Thousand and One Nights*, which finally consisted of twelve volumes with the last one published in 1717. The *Lettres Persanes* by Montesquieu, first published anonymously in 1721, relate the discussions of three Persians and their various correspondents on matters touching on gender, politics, the nature of the self, history, religion and culture. In 1740 Antoine François Prévost published his *Histoire d'une Grecque moderne*, a story of the relationship of a French nobleman with a beautiful Greek woman. This fictionalised account is based on the real story of the relationship between the Marquis de Ferriol, French ambassador to the Porte, and Mademoiselle Charlotte Aïssé, the Circassian slave he brought to Paris from Turkey. A very popular edi-



31
George Engelhardt Schröder
Mehmed Said Efendi and his Retinue, 1733 (?)
Oil on canvas, 112 × 141.5 cm
Istanbul, Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation Orientalist Painting Collection

32
School of Antoine Coypel
Louis XIV receiving the Persian Ambassador Mohammed Reza Bey in the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles, 19th February 1715, 1715
Oil on canvas, 70 × 153 cm
Versailles, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon





33
Charles Parrocel
*The entrance of the Ottoman
ambassador Mehmed Efendi to
the Tuileries Gardens on the
21st March 1721, 1723-27*
Oil on canvas, 228 x 329 cm
Versailles, Musée national des
châteaux de Versailles et de
Trianon

tion of the letters written by the wife of the British ambassador in Istanbul. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, was published after her death, in 1763. Musical creations on Oriental themes were very popular as well. Händel used the theme of Tamerlane in his opera *Tamerlano* in 1724, which was initially based on the 1711 adapted version by Francesco Gasparini. In 1782 Mozart presented his opera *The Abduction from the Seraglio* for the first time. Antonio Vivaldi's opera *Bajazet* was created in Verona in 1735 and performed during the Carnival season of that year. Charles-Simon Favart's popular play *Soliman II, ou Les trois sultanes* was performed for the first time in 1761. These and other literary and musical examples served as a generous source of inspiration for artists, who created series of paintings, based purely on their imagination and the content of their literary sources. Interest in the dreamlike land was cultivated and continued in works by nineteenth- and twentieth-century artists Edwin Lord Weeks (fig. 45), Gustave Moreau (fig. 66), Mikhail Vrubel (fig. 10), Edmonde Dulac, Léon Carré, Marc Chagall and Adrien Dauzats.

Various diplomatic contacts and political unions between Europe and the Islamic realms inevitably led to the development of closer personal relations among the powers. This resulted in a series of magnificent ambassadorial envoys sent by rulers of Islamic lands to the capitals of Europe on multipurpose missions, not least attempting an informal understanding or even alliances with European rulers. The importance of these political events is highlighted by the fact that prior to the eighteenth century they were quite rare. The Persian embassy of Mehmed Reza Bey, representative of the Safavid Persian Shah, to Louis XIV arrived to Paris in 1715 (fig. 32). The first official Ottoman envoy was sent by Sultan Ahmed III in 1721 (fig. 33). The embassy was headed by ambassador Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi (died 1732), who on his return to Istanbul wrote an account of his trip, his *sefaretnâme*, and published it under the title *The Relations*. Therein he described details of his entry into the city in March 1721 and the effect it had on Parisians: "Although I ... could not bring an equipage worthy of such an occasion, by the help of God we were nevertheless assured that no one in Paris had ever seen so superb an entry as ours".¹³ Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi's son, the ambassador Mehmed Said Efendi, was also sent to Paris in 1742 to the French king, Louis XV; the envoy of Hacı Hüseyin Efendi arrived from Tripoli to the court of Charles VII in Naples in August

1741; and the next envoy from Tripoli, headed by Mahmud Ağa, arrived in Copenhagen in May 1757.

The Ottoman ambassador, Kozbekçi Mustafa Ağa, was sent in 1727 to the king of Sweden, Frederic I. The reason for the embassy was not entirely political, but mainly financial – the collection of the debts incurred by the Swedish king, Charles XII, who took refuge in Bender after being defeated by the Russian tsar in 1709. The king stayed in a camp in Bessarabia for five years trying to gather forces for a new battle against Russia. The unsuccessful negotiations of Kozbekçi Mustafa Ağa over fifteen months were taken up again by the next embassy, headed by Mehmed Said Efendi, who was sent to Sweden in 1733 with the same purpose (fig. 31). Financial claims were left unsettled; however Sweden promised its military support in the Ottoman war with Russia.

From the 1740s Ottoman ambassadors quite regularly visited Russia on different occasions: in 1741–42 an official ratification of the 1739 peace treaty was delivered by Mehmed Emin Paşa; in 1745 Ali Ağa was sent to the Russian court with the notification of the tragic death of Russian resident Alexei A. Veshnyakov in Istanbul; ten years later, in 1755, another embassy headed by Mehmed Dervish Efendi was sent to the court of Catherine II to announce the death of Sultan Mahmud I and the accession to the throne of Sultan Osman III. Also the enthronement of the next sultan, Mustafa III, was duly announced in 1758 by the embassy headed by Shehdi Osman, who recorded his impressions in a diary, creating a detailed account of his journey under the title "Descriptions of the Embassy to Russia".¹⁴

These and many other diplomatic missions typically travelled with a grand entourage, appropriate to diplomats of mighty empires. The effects on artists of the majestic ceremonial processions – and of the luxurious and exquisite colours and patterns of the costumes, as well as of the personalities of these important diplomatic and political messengers – were reflected in the series of art works depicting different stages of these colourful exotic parades, by Carl Gustaf Pilo, Mather Brown, Charles Parrocel, Charles-Nicolas Cochin, Giuseppe Bonito, George Engelhardt Schröder, Vicente Portaña, Antoine Coypel, Gabriele Caliari, Jacques André Joseph Aved, Pierre Denis Martin, and many others.

The splendour of the diplomatic envoys, the mysterious unknown world described in the literature of the time, the beautiful musical tones – everything affected the imagination of the artists. The popularity of the



34
Carle Van Loo
*A Pasha having his mistress's
portrait painted, 1737*
Oil on canvas, 66 × 76 cm
Richmond, Virginia Museum
of Fine Arts



35
Amédée Van Loo
*The Sultana ordering tapestries
from the odalisques*, 1773
Oil on canvas, 420 × 480 cm
Nice, Musée des Beaux-Arts



36
Amédée Van Loo
*The Sultana served by
her eunuchs*, 1773
Oil on canvas, 320 × 480 cm
Nice, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Turkish vogue of *turquerie*, experienced in many different European countries, was also explained by the fact that it conjured up the frivolity of the bright, colourful, majestic world of the rococo style. Oriental themes affected fashion and even masquerade subjects: masked balls *à la turc* became very popular during the eighteenth century. In 1745, the marriage of Louis XV's son was celebrated with a masked ball held at the royal château at Versailles. Afterwards the event was named the "Yew Tree Ball" because the king and his attendants had arrived dressed as yew-tree topiarists. Cochin's engraving memorialising the celebration shows many of the attendees garbed in Turkish or Chinese costumes. Visible in the detail are six Turks with massive turbans (fig. 30). In July 1775, in order to commemorate the Russo-Turkish peace treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, which had been signed one year earlier, on 21 July 1774, Catherine II commissioned the artist Vasily Bazhenov to "recreate" in the Khodynka field in Moscow an outline of the Black Sea and Ottoman fortresses and towns

for a grand celebration. A contemporary wrote: "Khodynka Field featured a magnificent panorama: a mass of buildings, juxtaposed to form a dramatic effect of a temporary city. Every building mass was painted in its own colour, in the Turkish style, with minarets, kiosks, maypoles and represented a fortress, an island, a horde or a ship".¹⁵ Servants of the Empress during the celebration were also dressed as Turks, Albanians, Serbs or Circassians. According to a contemporary witness, this celebration was the most ambitious in the whole history of Russian festivities.

These and other celebrations reflected the taste for exoticism, a vogue that reached its peak mainly in France during the eighteenth century. It is important to note, however, that the majority of eighteenth-century Orientalist artworks were created by artists who had seldom, if ever, actually seen the Orient. Such interest in the subject of the exotic led to the permanent presence of *turquerie* paintings in expositions at the Salons since their reopening in 1737. Already in that year



Carle Van Loo exhibited his two famous paintings, *A Pasha having his mistress's portrait painted* (fig. 34) and *The Grand Turk giving a concert to his mistress* (fig. 3), returning in 1755 with the series of harem scenes executed for Madame de Pompadour (figs. 199 and 200); in the Salon of 1771 Antoine de Favray presented a painting depicting a diplomatic ceremony, *The Audience Granted by the Grand Turk to M. de Saint-Priest, Ambassador to the Turkish Court*. Favray's work was duly noted by Denis Diderot in his *Salon de 1771*: "Il y a de l'effet dans ce petit tableau, dont le principal mérite est l'exactitude; il avait d'ailleurs ses difficultés à surmonter. Au surplus, il a de la couleur. (Mauvaise composition)".¹⁶ At the 1775 Salon Amédée Van Loo exhibited a series of four tapestry cartoons, *Le Costume turc* (figs. 35 and 36); Jean-Marc Nattier showed in 1742 a *Portrait of Mademoiselle de Clermont represented as a sultana emerging from her Bath* (London, The Wallace Collection); in 1757 Claude-Joseph Vernet presented *A Turk smoking by the sea while watching the fishing* (fig. 37); and Étienne Jaurat showed a few paintings on Turkish themes in the 1759 Salon. Diderot described them as "quatre petits tableaux du meme: ce sont des Musulmans qui conversent, des Femmes du sérail qui travaillent, une Pastorale, un Jardinier avec sa Jardinière". However, his judgement was less than favourable: "C'est le coloris de Boucher sans se grâces, sans son feu, sans sa finesse. Que le costume y soit bien observé, j'y consens; mais c'est de toutes les parties de la peinture celle dont je fais le moins de cas".¹⁷

The popularity of the subject of these and many other artworks produced in the eighteenth century can be attributed to the attraction of the exotic. The reason behind their creation is a result of the abundant passion for the "exotic Eastern life", where the term "exotic" refers to the one-sided effect of understanding the subject, the content of which remains unchanged, by contrast with the term of the "Other", which involves mutual engagement and interchange.¹⁸ During the eighteenth century, such works were created within the "aesthetic climate" of Orientalism, without the artists actually travelling to Eastern lands, and the subjects of such works were stimulated and fed by the creations of other artists, by travel records and memoirs of travellers, or sometimes pure imagination. Gradually the major subject of exotic representation – harem, "became a genre in its own right",¹⁹ and illustration of this family institution became a centre of erotic pleasure in art – an erotic utopia of the imaginary



38
Étienne Jeaurat
The favourite sultana
eighteenth century
Oil on canvas, 50 × 74.5 cm
Istanbul, Suna and İnan Kırac
Foundation Orientalist
Painting Collection



39
Louis-François Lejeune
*Battle of the Pyramids on
21 July 1798*, c. 1806
Oil on canvas, 180 × 258 cm
Versailles, Musée national
des châteaux de Versailles
et de Trianon



40
Vasily Vereshchagin
They are triumphant, 1872
Oil on canvas, 195.5 × 257 cm
Moscow, State Tretyakov
Gallery

41
Nikolai Kalmikoff (also known
as Naci Kalmukoglu)
Embarking on the Bosphorus
1936
Oil on canvas, 62 × 82 cm
Doha, Orientalist Museum



N.37 CATALOGO



42
Eugène Delacroix
*Algerian women in their
apartments*, 1834
Oil on canvas, 180 × 229 cm
Paris, Musée du Louvre

East, visualised by Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier, Jean-Baptiste Pater, Jacques de Lajoue, Christophe Huet, Jean-Baptiste Leprince. The development of the subject continued throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as can be seen in the works by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, Théodore Chassériau, John Frederick Lewis, Jean Lecomte du Nouy, Jean-Léon Gérôme, Étienne Dinet, Léon Cauvy, and many others.

Along with the eighteenth-century artists who created their imaginary world of the Orient, there existed a rather large group of artists who had actually travelled to Islamic lands. A detailed account of their activities will be given in the following chapters, but it is important to note that their artworks and the evidence

from actual travellers, as information and illustrations by witnesses of the great empires, were priceless sources of genuine information, seen first of all in works by the *painters of the Bosphorus* – Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, Jean-Étienne Liotard, Antoine de Favray, Jean-François Duchateau, Antoine Ignace Melling, Francis Smith, Ferdinando Tonioli, and others – who introduced the world of the Ottomans to the European audience.

Napoleon's Egyptian campaign is generally considered as having been unsuccessful, though this would be from the political and military point of view. But from the scientific and cultural standpoint, the campaign was to have a lasting effect on history. In July 1798, along with his twenty-five thousand soldiers came nearly a



43
Edward Lear
Kasr-es-Saiyyad, c. 1870
Oil on canvas, 66.7 × 138.4 cm
Private collection
© Christie's Images, Ltd. 2007

44
John Frederick Lewis
*The Kebab Shop, Scutari,
Asia Minor, 1858*
Oil on panel, 53.3 × 78.7 cm
Doha, Orientalist Museum



45
Edwin Lord Weeks
*Interior of La Torre des
Infantas, 1881-82*

Oil on canvas laid down on
board, 81.3 × 100.3 cm
Private collection
© Christie's Images, Ltd. 2006





48
Paul Joanovitch
The Snake Charmer, 1887
Oil on canvas, 107.3 × 83.2 cm
Shafik Gabr Collection

49
Alberto Pasini
Eastern Market, 1881
Oil on canvas, 54.6 × 65.4 cm
Doha, Orientalist Museum

left

46
Georgii Gabashvili
Lab-i-Hauz in Bukhara, 1895
Oil on canvas, 88.3 × 160 cm
Private collection
© Christie's Images, Ltd. 2006

47
Eugène Girardet
The silk merchant, c. 1890
Oil on canvas, 95 × 143 cm
Private collection



N.34 CATALOGO

thousand civilians, among whom were artists and poets, botanists and zoologists, surveyors and economists. It was they who were to return to France triumphant, having discovered the Rosetta stone and collected enough information to fill the twenty-two-volume *Description de l'Égypte*, which would remain the authoritative tome on Egyptology for generations. This publication became a turning point in the attitude towards the Orient, opening wide the door for the new generation of nineteenth-century Orientalists.

Travels to Eastern lands became very popular among artists during the nineteenth century. The reasons for this popularity are plentiful, ranging from technological advancements, when steam navigation and the railroad system made travel easier, on to the expansion of European countries and their colonial and protectorate policies – which provided opportunities for travels to far-off lands. It is also obvious that these political tactics defined their artists' interests in certain territories. For example, the great interest for India among British artists derived from that country's status as a British colony. Thus British artists travelled more often to India, Egypt, the Holy Land; French artists, to Morocco and Algeria; and American and German artists, to Egypt and Palestine. Although "studio" Orientalism still existed during the nineteenth century, the majority of artists actually took numerous trips



to the Islamic lands of the Middle East and North Africa, where each of them discovered his own Orient, thus creating a gallery of captivating images, presenting his own vision.

The Orient held a fascination for European artists, offering an enormous stimulus to their creative oeuvre, and the impressions received varied greatly. W. J. Müller described himself as half-Arab, and he revelled in the bazaars and street scenes of Cairo, which he viewed as pictures out of Rembrandt.²⁰ Dehodencq, similarly, found that Morocco drove him out of his senses.²¹ Théodore Chassériau, who arrived to Constantinople in 1846, described it in a letter to his brother as a "land ... very beautiful and very new. I am living in the Thousand and One Nights".²² David Roberts was deeply impressed by ancient Egypt, which made him "overcome with melancholy reflections on the mutability of all human greatness".²³ Eugène Fromentin found the Orient to be exceptional: "even when it is very beautiful, it retains a certain modicum ... of exaggeration, of violence that renders it excessive".²⁴ Vasily Vereshchagin, an immediate participant in the Turkestan war, painted a very different world: he saw his mission as an artist and turned his attention "to a more serious task – characteristics of the barbaric, which the life style and traditions of Central Asia are still saturated with".²⁵ Although

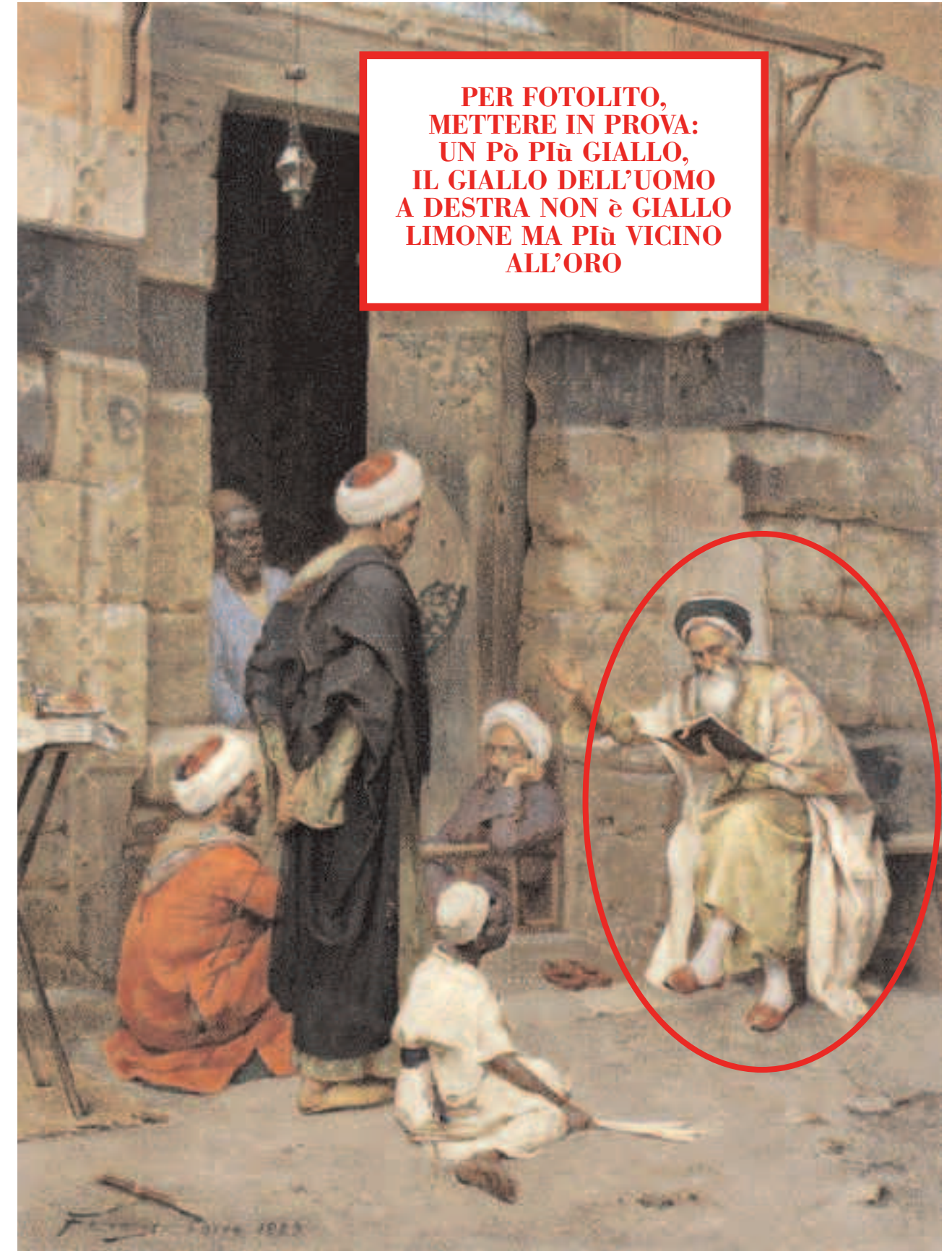


52
Arthur von Ferraris
A Reading from the Qu'ran
1889
Oil on panel, 63 × 47 cm
Private collection

left

50
Richard Zommer
Procession of Ashura, 1916
Oil on canvas, 176 × 280 cm
Private collection
Photograph Courtesy
of Sotheby's, Inc. © 2007

51
Konstantin Makovsky
*The handing over of the
Sacred Carpet in Cairo*, 1876
Oil on canvas, 214 × 315 cm
St. Petersburg, State Russian
Museum



**PER FOTOLITO,
METTERE IN PROVA:
UN Pò PIÙ GIALLO,
IL GIALLO DELL'UOMO
A DESTRA NON è GIALLO
LIMONE MA PIÙ VICINO
ALL'ORO**



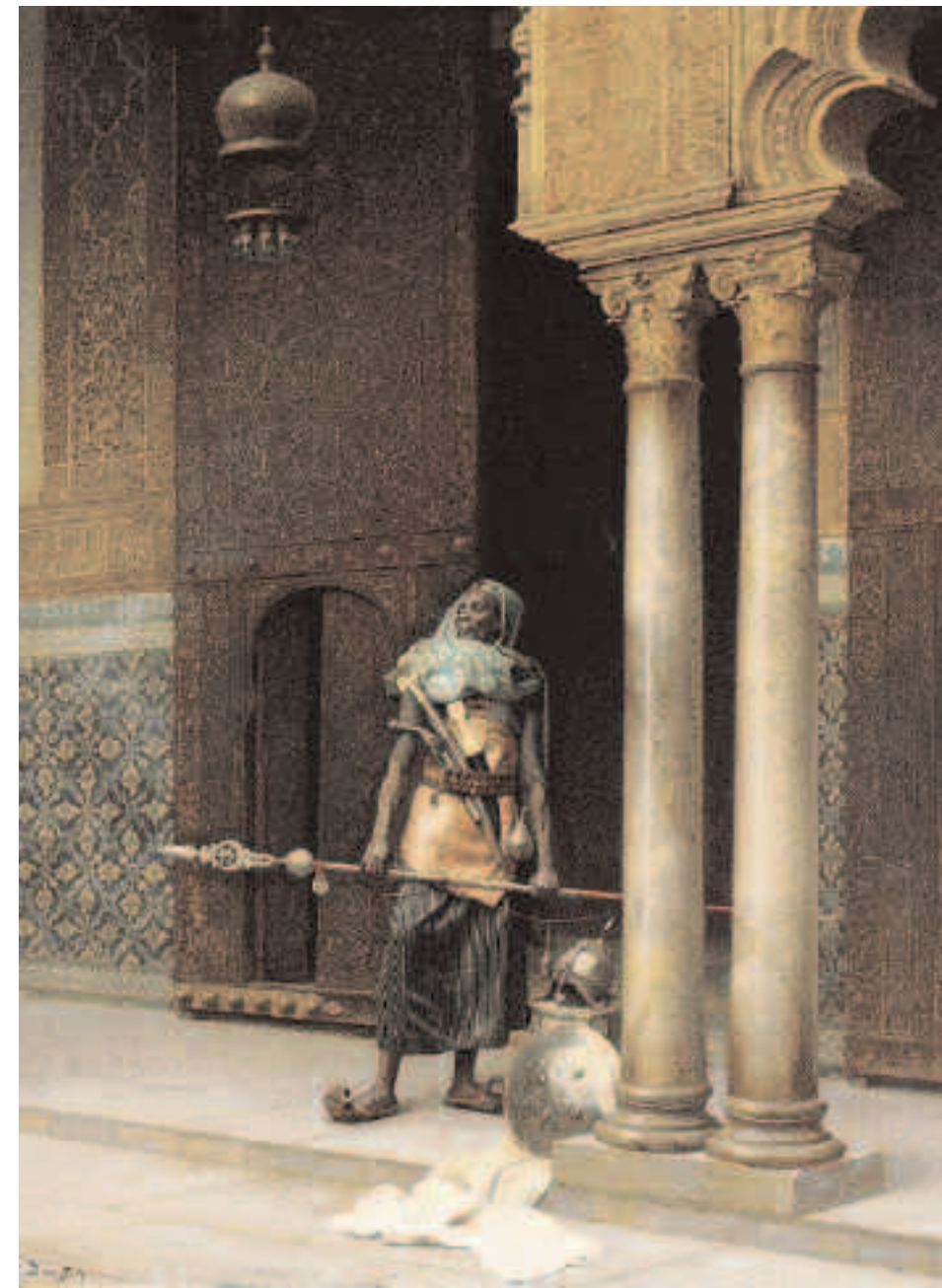
53
Jean-Léon Gérôme
The Flagmakers, c. 1860
Oil on canvas, 66 × 78.5 cm
Private collection
Photograph Courtesy
of Sotheby's, Inc. © 2005

creating a violent and cruel image, he nevertheless presented their world as it existed, among the beauty and nobility of the Timurid architecture (fig. 40).

Indeed the subject of war, which by the sixteenth century had already been recorded in the historical genre of Orientalism, was seen through subjective depictions of events, rich in historical fact, but seen from the European point of view, associated first of all with military events, such as battle scenes. One example of such an important event was the victorious battle of Vienna of 1683, recorded in numerous paintings by European artists (fig. 79). The first such paintings of the nineteenth century were dedicated mostly to Napoleon's battle in Egypt, presented by Jean-Antoine Gros, Anne-

Louis Girodet de Roussy-Trioson, Louis-François Lejeune (fig. 39), Henri Léopold Levy, and others. Commissioned by Napoleon I, Girodet's painting *The Revolt at Cairo, 21st October 1798* (Versailles, Château de Versailles) was characterised by Delacroix as "extremely vigorous, the grand manner",²⁶ thus summarising the public's general expectations in regard to getting acquainted with the world of the Other – a crescendo of interlocking bodies forming an imagery of violence and hostility.

The imaginary world of Gros and Girodet are counterpoised to the output of the true military-artists. Characterising the works of Constantine Guys, "a great traveller and cosmopolitan", critic Charles Baudelaire



54
Ludwig Deutsch
The palace guard, c. 1890
Oil on panel, 79.5 × 60.3 cm
Shafik Gabr Collection

referred to his engravings and sketches made during the Crimean War: "a considerable quantity of those drawings, hastily sketched on the spot, and thus I have been able to read, so to speak, a detailed account of the Crimean campaign which is much preferable to any other that I know".²⁷ The same Baudelaire characterised Horace Vernet as "a military historian rather than essentially a painter".²⁸ In general, such images, sometimes romantic and idealistic, sometimes idyllic and nostalgic, or cruel and violent, were important records of historical events, such as battle scenes, followed by diplomatic receptions or peace treaties.

The Orientalist landscape genre fully emerged in the nineteenth century, when artists could travel not

only to the capitals, but also to the remote areas, becoming acquainted with the ruthless and magnetising deserts and sacred lands. The series of the artworks produced demonstrate personal understanding of the countries as seen through nature, reflecting the mysterious history of Egypt, an echo of the biblical landscapes of the Levant, the glorious past of the Islamic lands, and an interpretation of the Orient through the richness of its nature. One of the central points in the artists' subjects was the desert, which was seen as ruthless and cruel, and at the same time as representing a great purifying force, an opposition to civilisation and the urban world. Mesmerising landscapes brought artists as close as possible to a vision of immortality, since the desert had the power to cover over past civilisations. As stated by Orhan Pamuk, "... the primary aim of a landscape painter is to awaken in the viewer the same feeling that the landscape evoked in the artist himself".²⁹ Hence it is not surprising that artists very often introduced an exaggerated colour palette to reinforce the dramatic beauty of Oriental landscapes.

The nineteenth-century Orientalist genre paintings started with the works of Eugène Delacroix. His Orientalism introduced new concepts and images, as seen in his painting *Algerian women in their apartments* (fig. 42), exhibited for the first time at the Salon of 1834, which is not merely a masterpiece of Orientalism. The impression it had on art critic Théophile Gautier is reflected in his words: "The rich generosity of the brocades, the white limpidity of the pearls, the silvery brightness and warm pallor of the skin tones, the grace and fancifulness of the arrangement are not inferior to the most luminous canvases of Veronese".³⁰ This artistic creation reveals to the European viewer the mysterious East, encapsulating its bright colours, exotic incenses and leisurely style of life, becoming one of the most highly defined and precise embodiments of the real East. Delacroix's masterworks and the image he created influenced many artists throughout the nineteenth century, as very often they saw the Orient through his eyes. Describing the natives he met during his travels, Delacroix noted that "in many ways they are closer to nature than we – their clothes, for instance and the shape of their shoes. Hence there is beauty in everything they do"³¹, characterising the essence of artists' particular interest in daily life scenes, which presented to the viewers' judgement an Orient in full celebration: colourful and noisy, in quite sunny and hot afternoons, with people wearing colourful costumes of



55
Rudolph Ernst
The harem, nineteenth century
Oil on panel, 61 × 49.5 cm
Photograph Courtesy
Mathaf Gallery, London



56
Rudolf Weisse
Le marchand de Curiosités
nineteenth century
Oil on panel, 41 × 32.5 cm
Shafik Gabr Collection

57
Gustav Bauernfeind
A street scene, Damascus, 1888-89
Oil on panel, 51.4 x 68 cm
Shafik Gabr Collection



58
Germain-Fabius Brest
Mosque in Trabzon, 1870
Oil on canvas, 112.5 x 166.6 cm
Doha, Orientalist Museum



59
Walter Gould
The public scribe, 1869
Oil on canvas, 108.9 × 138.4 cm
Private collection
Photograph Courtesy
of Sotheby's, Inc. © 2008



**PER FOTOLITO, METTERE IN PROVA:
C'È PIÙ LUCE NEL DIPINTO, IL SOLE È PIÙ BRILLANTE**



61
Étienne Alphonse Dinet
Night Dance, 1891
Oil on canvas, 57.3 × 72.4 cm
Shafik Gabr Collection

left

60
Ludwig Deutsch
*Procession of Al Mihmal
in Cairo*, 1909
Oil on canvas, 284 × 294 cm
Private collection



silks and cottons and various fabrics, all dyed in different colours, the varieties of the shapes of pots and metalwork; everyday subjects in which even gloomy scenes become bright events owing to their vivid and intense colours. This is not an imaginary exotic world, but rather the elements of everyday life around the markets of Istanbul and Cairo, the tea-houses of Morocco and Algeria, the quiet courtyards of dwellings, where people kept busy with conversation, smoking *narghiles*, playing chess or backgammon, bargaining, teaching the young – as seen through the eyes of Eugène Fromentin, John Frederick Lewis (figs. 6 and 44), Georgii Gabashvili (fig. 46), Eugène Girardet (fig. 47), Paul Joanovitch (fig. 48), Alberto Pasini (fig. 49), and many others. There was also another area of the everyday that was handled by the artists with genuine respect – that of concerns related to faith, such as religious processions, like that of the Ashura (fig. 50), scenes in the mosques, the ceremony of the handing over of the Sacred Carpet (fig. 51), the carefully attentive process of reading from the Qur'an (fig. 52) –

all these introduced the world of a faith unknown to European religion.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, contemporary with such masters, there was a group of artists whose style was based on particular attention to detail and the photographic accuracy of the image, demonstrating the ability to combine artefacts, textiles, colours, tiles and architectural elements. The best known among these was Jean-Léon Gérôme. In the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1868, critic Émile Galichon referred to Gérôme as an artist-ethnographer and called his works “gifts of observation”.³² With his tendency to linearity and clarity of form, Gérôme made documentary realism a norm in Orientalist works of the second half of the nineteenth century. It was Gérôme who was responsible to the greatest degree for the distribution of Oriental imagery among the general public. In the second half of the nineteenth century he was undoubtedly one of the best known of European artists. Vasily Vereshchagin, Gérôme's student at the *École des Beaux-Arts* from 1864 to 1866, wrote in his letter to

62
Frederick Arthur Bridgman
Preparation for the Wedding,
Algiers, c. 1900
Oil on canvas, 73.5 × 59.7 cm
Shafik Gabr Collection



63
Kuzma Petrov-Vodkin
Chaikhana in Samarkand, 1921
Oil on canvas, 51.5 × 62.5 cm
Private collection
Photograph Courtesy
of Sotheby's, Inc. © 1998





64
Wassily Kandinsky
Arabian Graveyard, 1909
Oil on cardboard, 71.5 × 98 cm
Hamburger Kunsthalle

65
Henri Matisse
Odalisque with a Turkish Chair, 1928
Oil on canvas, 60 × 73 cm
Paris, Musée National d'Art Moderne



66
Gustave Moreau
Rêve d'Orient or La Péri, c. 1881
Watercolour and gouache on paper, 24.9 × 17 cm
Private collection
© Christie's Images, Ltd. 2008





67
Alexander Volkov
Caravan. Desert before a sand storm, 1922-23
Plywood, canvas, oil, tempera,
varnish, 106 × 142 cm
Moscow, State Museum
of Oriental Arts



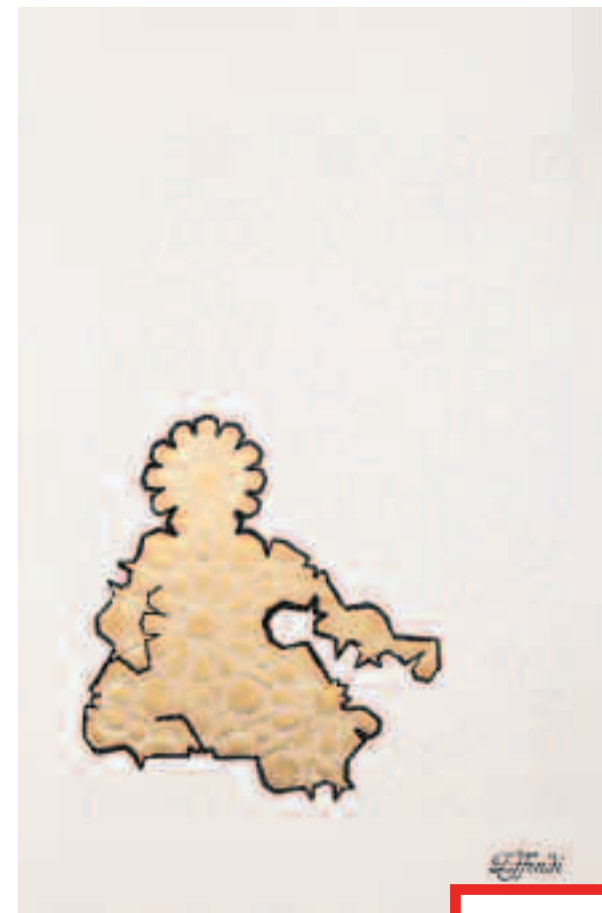
68
Sergei Shutov
Abacus, 2001
Installation, Russian Pavilion,
49th Venice Biennale

right
69
Vanessa Hodgkinson
Effendi, 2006
Pencil and gold paper
on cardboard, 51 x 32.5 cm
Private collection

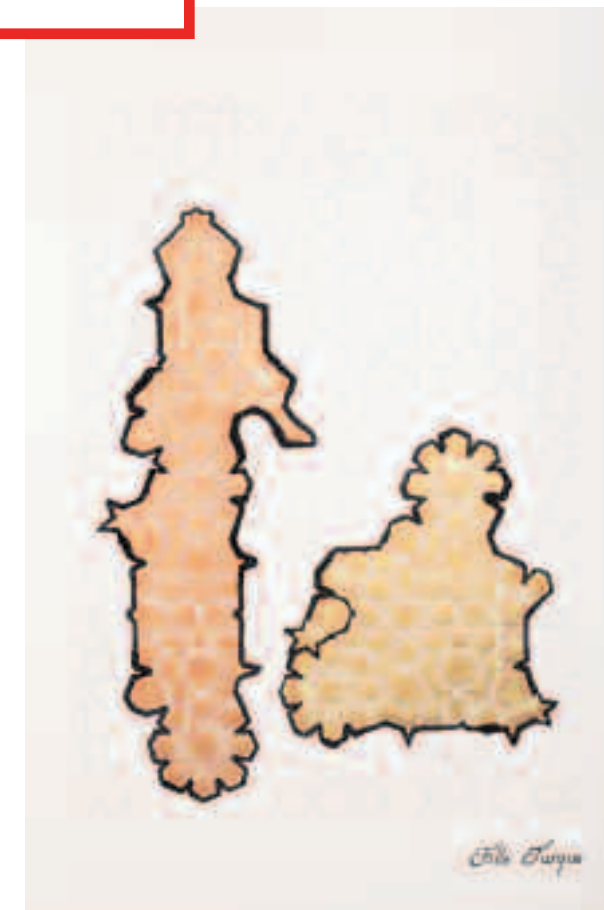
70
Vanessa Hodgkinson
Le Grand Seigneur, 2006
Pencil, gold, silver and
bronze paper on cardboard
51 x 32.5 cm
Private collection

71
Vanessa Hodgkinson
*Le Sultane Asseki,
ou Sultane Reine*, 2006
Pencil, gold and bronze paper
on cardboard, 51 x 32.5 cm
Private collection

72
Vanessa Hodgkinson
Fille Turque, 2006
Pencil, gold and bronze paper
on cardboard, 51 x 32.5 cm
Private collection



N.38 CATALOGO



73
Susan Crile
Oil Fires Reflected, 1991
Pastel and charcoal on paper
96.5 x 127 cm
Private collection



74
Fernando Botero
Abu Chraib 67, 2005
Oil on canvas, 43 x 35 cm
New York, Marlborough
Gallery



the critic Stasov that Gérôme “if not the first, then undoubtedly, is one of the greatest artists of our time”.³³ Many artists followed in the footsteps of Gérôme’s technique. Such “accuracy”, as was introduced in their paintings, was very important for “ethnographic-Orientalist” works, as certain carelessness with details, and sometimes even negligence in knowledge and understanding of local traditions and customs, by certain European artists led to the creation of paintings found offensive to some Eastern viewers.

Gérôme’s talent fully emerged in his masterpiece *La mosquée bleue* (fig. 9), with his rendering of the different textures and surfaces of the shining glazes of polychrome ceramic tiles, the lace-like carved white marble of the *minbars*, or the brightly coloured clothing of people praying. His painting amazes with its shades and especially with its variety of blues and light-blues, the principal colours of *iznik* tiles. Gérôme’s paradigm of academic realism in Orientalism inspired many artists such as Ludwig Deutsch (figs. 12 and 54) and Rudolph Ernst (fig. 55), Gustav Bauernfeind (fig. 57) and Walter Gould (fig. 59), Rudolf Weisse (fig. 56) and many others.

The Orientalist works of the twentieth century were seen through the prism of new subjects and techniques. The Orient remained a source of inspiration lending itself to various kinds of artistic experimentation. Ethnographic trials were abandoned in favour of new quests. As critic Jean Alazard pointed out, “it was the Impressionists who reacted against cliché with a return to the traditions of Delacroix”³⁴ – the concept clearly seen in the works by Renoir created during and after the artist’s travel to Algeria. Already in Ludwig Deutsch’s *Procession of Al Mihmal in Cairo* (fig. 60) painted in 1909, we can see a master of ethnographic Orientalism working in a new technique influenced by Post-Impressionism, in the new style which characterised his late period: the looser and more spontaneous feel rendered by a more painterly approach to the subject. Employing visual strategies and characteristics of Impressionists, artists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as John Singer Sargent (fig. 11), Albert Besnard, Frederick Arthur Bridgman (fig. 62), Jacques Majorelle and Étienne Alphonse Dinet (fig. 61), introduced the powerful new concept of the presentation of Islamic lands, thereby increasing the variety of the visual repertoire, as did also the mystic symbolists, such as Lucien Levy-Dhurmer and Gustave Moreau (fig. 66), who concentrated on a spir-

itual vision of an imaginary world, represented as fantastic, jewelled surfaces of a dreamlike world, through the vibrant luminosity of the Oriental light.

A new impetus to the movement came from another generation of artists, who created highly colourful decorative genre paintings. Works by Wassily Kandinsky (fig. 64), Paul Klee, Henri Matisse (fig. 65), Leon Cauvy, Andre Sureda, Charles Dufresne, Kuzma Petrov-Vodkin (fig. 63) and Alexander Volkov (figs. 15 and 67), are symptomatic of the art world's new interest in adopting fresh twentieth-century styles, introducing the Orient as seen through a somewhat Primitivist manner, combined with Fauvist colours and Cubism, with its poetry of pure geometry and light, which led Orientalism even further, creating a stylistic bridge between the mainstream of Orientalism and Abstractionism.

The Orientalist art of the last quarter of the twentieth century and the early twenty-first century brought a new future for art, in the form of critical dialogue linked directly with political events. A number of artists lead us into the heart of the darkest sites of the Gulf War. The power of these works lies in forcing spectators to look at images they wouldn't like to see, to face what is depicted as the bold reality of the political momentum. Susan Crile presented images of the aftermath of the Gulf War during her ten-day journey to the war zone in 1991; her impressions of scarifying brutality were realised in an apocalyptic series titled "The Fires of War" (fig. 73). The cataclysmic detonation of over six hundred oil wells in Kuwait, one of the greatest ecological disasters ever, was described by the artist as a place where "day was night, the ground alive with burning embers, oil rained from the sky" and represented in her series of works, through the images of red-coloured, barren, dazed and meaningless landscapes. Then, the war again, and this time the unbearable disgust disclosed to the whole world by images of the Abu Ghraib hell, which also found its reflection in the 2005 series by Susan Crile, *Abu Ghraib – Abuse of Power*. The horrors of Abu Ghraib would seem to be an unlikely choice of subject for Fernando Botero, the Latin American artist renowned for his colourful, folksy paintings depicting famously rotund figures. In 2004 and 2005, however, the artist created another series of some fifty canvases approaching the subject of Abu Ghraib directly, seen through disturbing images of human failure (fig. 74).

The variety of contemporary Orientalist works is, of course, not limited only to historical paintings of the

aftermaths of wars. Other artworks created during the last quarter of the twentieth century, and nowadays, appeared after a long break, which symbolically can be called "a dead season". "The period between seasons – that is the dead season – it is a time to re-evaluate your priorities, rediscover the meaning of things, and improve yourself", noted Russian artist Alexander Yakut, who presented his new project *The Moon and the Stars* in 2004. The artistic creations are exploring the subject of the mysterious East as seen by the artist through the subject of the interaction of the main symbols of the Eurasian cultural space, combining traditional elements with contemporary vision, and exploiting photography as a means of self-expression and fulfilment. The installation project *Abacus* (fig. 68) was presented by Sergei Shutov for the first time in 2001 at the Russian Pavilion of the Venice Biennale. Seeing Russia as a mixture of nations inhabiting the gigantic territory between Europe and Asia, the artist explores and reveals inter-cultural multidimensional relations, connecting all humanity in harmony.

In the works of the representative of the new generation of neo-Orientalist artists, Vanessa Hodgkinson, we see a combination of the best in her blending of the traditions of Islamic art's non-representational aspects, seen through the geometry and art of eighteenth-century Flemish artist Vanmour, representing new forms positioned somewhere between the abstract and the figurative, and seeking out a certain instinctive beauty, but never underestimating the potential for political investigation just below the surface (figs. 69–72). In combining what seems to be uncombinable, Vanessa Hodgkinson presents a collection of figurative images, recreating the Ottoman hierarchical system and reinforcing its meaning with alchemical symbolism through the range of the metals used: gold, silver, bronze. Simultaneously, the images produce a new historical understanding of eighteenth-century artworks, as well as defining infinite possibilities of discovering new meanings in Orientalist art. Very indicative in the given context are her words written in a letter to the author in June 2008: "As I see it, Orientalism continues to be a historical notion, and by that I don't necessarily mean one set in the nineteenth century, but one that still lingers somewhere between 1978 when Edward Said wrote his seminal text and the first Gulf War. In the first decade of the twenty-first century the trend of globalisation in the art world, as well as the current political climate, has brought contemporary Arab and Islamic

art into a new arena and given it some much needed attention. Artists both residing in the Middle East and diaspora communities produce fascinating and vital images of questioning identity and a sense of belonging. Alongside this art we also find a plethora of museums and collections worldwide giving their Islamic art collections a makeover, and using these traditional art objects as an important diplomatic tool in the understanding of Islam as something more than the media images fed to us on a daily basis, portraying violence and radicalisation as the 'norm' of the 'Orient'.

"But what does it mean for an artist to engage with all of this visual information and make new work about the Middle East without being either of Arab and/or Muslim origin? What can be the relationship between the traditional aesthetic values of Islamic art

and those of contemporary art, and can they be brought together? And if so, by whom?"

"As an artist living in London and travelling a great deal in the Middle East, my work aims to engage head-on with my own relationship with Arab and Muslim culture, as it exists around me in the everyday as well as abroad. I believe that Said's Orientalism still exists today, that in watching CNN or the BBC news, documentaries, reading newspaper articles, visiting museums and galleries, each of us still has the potential to create his or her own 'imaginary Orient'. It has never been so easy. And yet perhaps now what we need to do is to re-evaluate our relationships with the Muslim and Arab worlds, not just at a 'safe' distance, but to be truly involved, questioning and finding new answers in words and in images".³⁵

¹ S. Auroux, *History of the Language Sciences* (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2001), p. 1185.

² G. Vasari, *Stories of the Italian Artists* (London: Duffield & Co., 1908), p. 97.

³ *The Sultan's Portraits. Picturing the House of Osman* (Istanbul: İşbank, 2000), p. 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁵ J. Brotton, *The Renaissance Bazaar. From the Silk Road to Michelangelo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 204.

⁶ C. Campbell and A. Chong, *Bellini and the East* (London: National Gallery Company, 2005), p. 108.

⁷ Titien. *Le pouvoir en face* (Milan: Skira, 2006), p. 210.

⁸ B. Frieder, *Chivalry and the Perfect Prince: Tournaments, Art, And Armor at the Spanish Habsburg Court* (Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press,

2008), p. 80.

⁹ L. Campbell, M. Falomir and others, *Renaissance Faces* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 124.

¹⁰ *From the Medicis to the Savoiias. Ottoman Splendour in Florentine Collections* (Istanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2003), p. 27.

¹¹ E. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p. 118.

¹² I. Kant, *An Answer to the Question: "What is Enlightenment?"* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p. 1.

¹³ P. Lunde, "A Turk at Versailles", in *Saudi Aramco World*, Vol. 44, no. 6, 1993.

¹⁴ *Iz vlecheniya is opisaniya posolstva v Rossiu Shehdi Osmana v 1758*, *Vostochnye istochniki po istorii maradov yugo-vostochnoi i zentralnoi Evropy* (Moscow, 1974), Vol. 3.

¹⁵ A. N. Spashansky, "Turezky

stil' v ruskom iskusstve vtoroi poloviny vosemnadzatogo veka (Gatchina skvos stoletiya, 2009).
¹⁶ *Oeuvres complètes de Diderot* (Paris, 1876), p. 487.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

¹⁸ P. Mason, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic* (London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1998).

¹⁹ S. Guégan, V. Pomarède and L.-A. Prat, *Théodore Chassériau: The Unknown Romantic* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), p. 282.

²⁰ F. Greenacre and Sh. Stoddard, *W. J. Müller 1812–1845* (Bristol, Terrail, 2004), p. 11.

²¹ L. Thornton, *Orientalists: Painter-Travellers 1828–1908* (Paris, 1983), p. 104.

²² Guégan, Pomarède and Prat 2002, p. 274.

²³ L. Thornton, *Travellers Beyond the Grand Tour* (London: The Fine Art Society, 1980), p. 24.

²⁴ R. Benjamin, *Orientalism – Delacroix to Klee* (Sydney: The Art Gallery of New South Wales, 2003), p. 12.

²⁵ V. V. Vereshchagin, *Izbrannye pisma* (Moscow: Izobrazitelnoe iskusstvo, 1982), p. 30.

²⁶ *The Journal of Eugène Delacroix* (London: Phaidon, 2004), p. 30.

²⁷ Ch. Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays* (London: Phaidon, 2006), p. 6.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁹ O. Pamuk, *Istanbul. Memoirs of a City* (London: Faber and Faber, 2005), p. 84.

³⁰ C. Peltre, *Orientalism* (Paris: Terrail, 2004), p. 94.

³¹ *The Journal of Eugène Delacroix* 2004, p. 56.

³² Peltre 2004, p. 113.

³³ Vereshchagin 1982, p. 39.

³⁴ Peltre 2004, p. 217.

³⁵ Vanessa Hodgkinson, in her letter to Olga Nefedova, 25 June 2008.



Vanmour: The Early Years

Jean-Baptiste Vanmour was born in Valenciennes (Flanders) on 9 January 1671 into the family of Simon Vanmour (b. 1650) and Marie Lebrun.¹ The Vanmour family tradition prepared Jean-Baptiste for being an artist, which was quite common for that time. Apart from its financial benefits, allowing control of the local art market, it supported a high-quality education and the continuity of family art traditions from generation to generation. From such practices, artistic dynasties with many branches emerged, and among the most well-known are the families of Breughel, Teniers, Van Kessel, Van Balen and Francken. The Vanmour family was no exception: the father of the artist, Simon Vanmour, was an *écrivain*, or master cabinet maker. One of his brothers, Simon-Pierre, was trained by his father and followed in his footsteps. Another brother, Louis, was a sculptor.² His father and younger brothers also belonged to the Guild of St. Luke, the city guild for painters and other artists.

No art works by Vanmour from his Valenciennes period are known to have survived; nothing is known of his early training and little of his early years in his native town. The story of his early years is based mainly on the only known document of significance, a record of the court case proceedings in 1690 between Jean-Baptiste Vanmour and representatives of the Guild of St. Luke of Valenciennes. The guild, which had the power of regulating and defining types of trade within the city, accused the artist of selling his works directly to the public while not being a guild member, and this also led to the confiscation of Vanmour's artwork. The court case was probably one of the reasons for Vanmour's leaving his native city and his subsequent travel to Istanbul.

For the details of Vanmour's life in Istanbul we can refer to the only existing sources, a few letters of French ambassadors from Istanbul to Paris, where the name of the artist is mentioned, and a few letters from the artist himself. His life remains a mystery. There

aren't any portraits that have been positively identified as representing Vanmour.

Information of the artist's departure to Istanbul as a member of the diplomatic embassy of Charles de Ferriol was mentioned for the first time in Vanmour's obituary in the newspaper *Mercure de France* in June 1737: "M. de Ferriol l'y avoir attiré en 1699 pour lui faire pindre d'après nature..."³ This is the only published document stating the possible date of Vanmour's departure to Istanbul: 1699. It is impossible to say, however, whether this information is based on actual documents, or on general assumption, since 1699 was the year of de Ferriol's appointment as an ambassador. Reference to the Valenciennes population censuses of 1688, 1693, and 1699 shows that in the first two lists, the name of Jean-Baptiste Vanmour is still present, and in the 1699 list, it is already absent, probably indicating his departure from his native town.⁴

As we have no direct knowledge of Vanmour's early years, we can only infer from the artworks of his Istanbul period what may probably have been the nature of his previous training. The artist was born in Valenciennes when the territory of his native city was still a part of the Spanish Southern Netherlands, also known as Flanders, which in 1678 was annexed by France. This event had rather small impact on the art of Valenciennes, which most likely was under the strong influence of traditions of the Flemish School. Born to a family of artists, Vanmour most likely learned his earliest drawing skills from his father, with his further training possibly also taking place in his native city. His father and brothers were members of the Guild of St. Luke, and it is logical to assume that Vanmour was trained by one of the members of the guild, with intentions that he would eventually become a guild member as well. Seventeenth-century artists, as well as faience-makers, printers, bookbinders, glassmakers, embroiderers, art-dealers and sculptors generally worked

Detail of fig. 138 (p. 136)



75
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
*Greek men and women
dancing the khorra*
Oil on canvas, 44.5 × 58 cm
SK-A-2009. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum

under the regulations of an organisation called the Guild of St. Luke. Its major purpose was to control and regulate the commerce of artists and artisans, and to take charge of the education of young artists. Commercial activities of local art markets controlled by the guild were protected from external artistic production by the imposition of fines. Any young painter who wished to become accepted as a member of the Guild of St. Luke had to undergo a period of apprenticeship that lasted from four to six years with a recognised master painter of the guild. After six years of training he could try applying for membership in the guild by submitting a painting, called a masterpiece. If approved, he began paying his dues and was allowed to paint, to sign, and to sell his own work, and even take on apprentices of his own. If Vanmour's chosen career was to become an artist, we can assume that he indeed was trained under one of the local masters, but for unknown reasons, he failed to produce "a masterpiece". Among the prospects of possible teachers of Vanmour are Jacques-Albert Gérin (c. 1640–1702), the president of the Guild of St. Luke of Valenciennes, or Antoine Duquesne (1650–1705), who was an artist living in Valenciennes,

at the same parish of St. Géri, where the Vanmour family lived. Duquesne was also a relative of Vanmour's mother, née Marie Lebrun.⁵

The year 1690 marked a significant, although troublesome, event in Vanmour's life – a lawsuit between the Guild of St. Luke and Vanmour. The case was filed on 22 December 1690. According to the text of the lawsuit, "Vanmour was working illegally – painting independently in the city – having broken Article 31 of their chapter. A painting was confiscated and given to the chapel and Vanmour was fined twelve livres tournois".⁶ Such legal action against an artist was not unusual for that time. After 1650 the number of Flemish artists who belonged to the Guild of St. Luke gradually decreased. While the first half of the seventeenth century saw the production of paintings rise, subsequently, as a result of the wars, it nearly ceased. Such events eventually led to the decline of the art market and an absence of orders, since art works were not considered one of life's primary necessities. A considerable number of artists declared bankruptcy and went to seek their fortunes in France or other nearby countries, searching for new employment, or carried out private orders from outside of the guild.⁷ Thus, the pro-

tection and patronage of Marquis de Ferriol was a decisive factor in the career and future of the young artist. The text of the lawsuit stated that Vanmour had no right to carry out private orders in Valenciennes, as he was not a member of the Guild of St. Luke. In order to protect his legal interests, Vanmour employed a lawyer, Bernard de Nimay. The outcome of this legal action is not known. It is however known that Vanmour continued to live in Valenciennes until at least 1693, when his name was listed in the population census for the last time. Considering the legitimacy of the claim, the artist most probably lost the case and was compelled to pay a certain sum in the form of indemnification. This assumption is supported by a very important document discovered in Valenciennes by Seth Gopin, dated 1701–02.⁸ It is the guild's annual report, containing a list of artists obliged to make payments in connection with legal cases or other violations. Next to the name of Vanmour, the sum due of two livres tournois is mentioned. However, the date of the document contradicts the statement by the June 1737 *Mercure de France*, according to which Vanmour was in Istanbul by 1699. If we are to accept

the date given by the newspaper, it might be also suggested that Vanmour had not paid (or hadn't completely paid) the amount due, and his brother Louis, who was accepted to the guild during 1700–01, was compelled to complete the payment for his brother.

It is not known where Vanmour went from Valenciennes, nor for how long (or whether) he lived in Paris before departing to Istanbul. It is indeed very possible that he sojourned in Paris, as many artists seeking better fortune and employment passed from Antwerp through Valenciennes to the capital, where a very large Flemish art community existed. The grounds for his trip are unknown, and the event of the lawsuit was just one of the possible reasons. The date of his trip also remains a mystery. As mentioned earlier, the date of 1699 given by the *Mercure de France* contradicts the guild document dated 1702 mentioning Vanmour as one of its debtors. If he was indeed in Istanbul in 1699, then his artistic activities over a period of nearly eight years remain unknown, as there aren't any works known from his early Istanbul period. This would be very uncommon for a professional

76
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
A women's banquet
Oil on canvas, 45 × 58.5 cm
SK-A-2004. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum



painter. The political situation in Istanbul also suggests the artist's arrival at a later point, as the year 1699 was still turbulent, with the outcome of war and peace still undetermined. Sultan Ahmed III came into power in 1703, and the court of the Ottomans settled in the new capital Istanbul, moving from Adrianople (Edirne) only after that time.⁹ It is most probable that Vanmour arrived in Istanbul in 1703–04, when he was indeed commissioned by Marquis de Ferriol to produce a series of paintings depicting the costumes and peoples of the Levant. The only confirmed information however is that Vanmour was in Istanbul at the latest by 1707, the year when – according to the list of titles of the de Ferriol engravings, published for the first time in 1712–13 – a series of paintings portraying representatives of the multinational diaspora of Istanbul were ordered: “M. De Ferriol, Ambassadeur du Roy à Constantinople, employa en 1707 & 1708 Van Mour habile Peintre Flamand, à peindre d'après nature tous ce que representent les estampes annoncées dans ce titre”.¹⁰

* * *

Many aspects of Vanmour's style and manner, as well as his small-scale paintings, were related stylistically to the seventeenth-century Flemish School of art, associated with the tradition of Antwerp cabinet-size genre paintings. Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville, in his study *Abrégé*, published as a second edition in Paris in 1762, in describing genre paintings used the terms “village weddings, smoke dens and kitchen scenes”, borrowing from the description of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish genre paintings.¹¹ Indeed among the most popular subjects addressed by artists were festivities, debaucheries and celebrations, as seen in taverns, village fairs, interiors of houses and inns, or elegant company scenes. Blending the style and subject matter of the Flemish School with the flavour of local accessories, Vanmour created series of paintings depicting the realities of Ottoman society as seen through the eyes of a European artist.

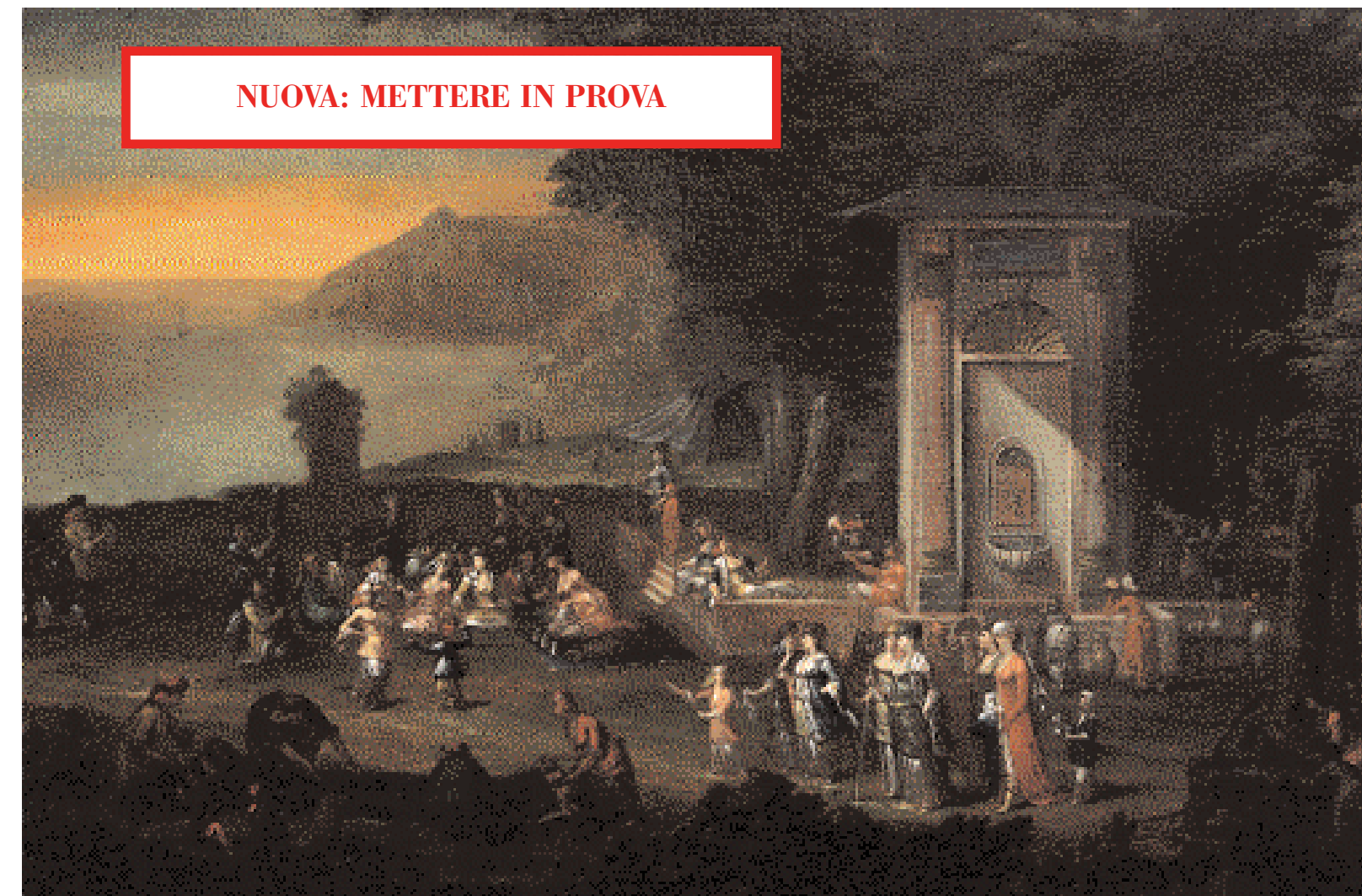
The association of Vanmour's works with eighteenth-century French art, and the reference to the subject of *fête champêtres* popular in French paintings, also has a certain relevance. The explanation for this phenomenon is not in Vanmour's attempts to copy French artists, but in the history of eighteenth-century French genre painting, when pictures representing scenes and events of daily life became rather popular. Philibert Louis Debucourt, the French painter and printmaker, defined

French genre painting as “peintre en petit dans le genre des Flamands”.¹² The necessity for French artists to follow the styles and artistic traditions of Dutch and Flemish masters was caused by the absence of their own school of genre art, since throughout the eighteenth century, at least, French art theoreticians and critics did not recognise subjects from everyday life as a distinct category within the hierarchy of genres. Thus, Dutch and Flemish works became the standard that the French masters followed. Indicative in the given context is a comment of antiquary Edme-François Gersaint, for whom in 1721 Jean-Antoine Watteau created his well-known work *Gersaint's Shoptsign* (Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Potsdam). In the auction catalogue of 1744 for the Quentin de Lorangere collection he wrote: “The Flemish school is very much in fashion here and is universally pleasing”.¹³

The iconographic and typological approach of Flemish seventeenth-century art can be found in the creations of Vanmour. His artworks, as also Flemish cabinet-size genre paintings, can be described as colourful small-scale paintings containing small figures and characterised by a rich variety of decorative settings, all kinds of colourful expressive details, a richness of bright palettes enriched with colourful nuances, emanating a general sensation of cosiness, affinity and unification among characters in the landscapes or in the interiors. The small sizes of the paintings – of the so-called “cabinet size” – were phenomenally popular during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as this kind of production had the intention of enriching the market with relatively inexpensive works, affordable in Antwerp and other cities to burghers with sufficient income. Their prosperity allowed them to spend their surplus on furnishings for their homes, including pictures. This led to a great demand for paintings at low prices. Since they were to be hung in the rooms of ordinary Dutch houses, most of them were small. Among artists who worked in this style were master landscape artist Jan Brueghel I, also known as “Velvet Brueghel”; Hendrick van Balen I, master of religious, mythological and allegorical themes; France Franken II, the best known representative of the family of Flemish painters, creating pictures on religious, historical, mythological and everyday subjects; Adriaen Brouwer; Joos van Craesbeeck; and, of course, David Teniers II.

Vanmour also chose the cabinet size for his artworks, depicting graceful, rather slender figures, elongated in shape with sharply defined outlines. Adher-

77
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
Outdoor party in Constantinople,
detail
Oil on canvas, 90 × 120 cm
Gros & Delettrez, Paris





ing to traditional subjects popular among Flemish masters, he executed a series of paintings which, by analogy, reflected scenes and subjects of the daily life of Istanbul's multinational society. The historical picture became the depiction of ambassadors' receptions by the Ottoman sultan, or testimonial paintings of the 1730s revolt; elegant company scenes symbolising love and sensuality – images of gracefully-dressed groups of Turks gallantly walking in a garden or drinking coffee; country dances – the dances of Greeks and Armenians; scenes in taverns – the gatherings of Greek seamen. Vanmour's art belongs to the traditions of the Flemish School and reveals his indebtedness to the lessons of his teachers.

At the same time Vanmour's genre works demonstrate the artist's knowledge of the eighteenth-century French painting tradition known as *fête galante* or *fête champêtre*, related to depictions of the leisurely outdoor party in an imaginary, paradisiacal setting. Examples of such genre paintings might have been brought by foreign travellers to Istanbul in the form of engravings, and such correspondence can also be explained by the common art heritage of France and Flanders and by the influence of Flemish art on French genre paintings. However for Vanmour's contemporaries he was always a representative of the Flemish School of art. He was mentioned as "Van Mour the Flemish artist" (*Van-Mour Peintre Flammand*) in his most popular product, the edition of the de Ferriol engravings; and he was mentioned as "the Flemish artist" (*d'un peintre flamand*) in the obituary in *Mercur de France* in June 1737.

Pierre Jean Mariett, author of many articles on the fine arts, which were published posthumously in 1858–59 under the title *Abeceario de P. J. Mariette et autres notes inédites de cet amateur sur les arts et les artistes*, provided a brief characterisation of Vanmour's art, with the notice that his "works are more curious for the things he presents than for the manner in which they are painted".¹⁴ Indeed, the value of his works is not so much in their style and manner as in their historical importance. As artist-biographer of the Ottoman Empire of the eighteenth century, Jean-Baptiste Vanmour left a very important legacy – pictorial evidence that can be considered as historical illustrations of all aspects of eighteenth-century Ottoman life, from diplomatic ceremonies in the Ottoman court to everyday events of Istanbul's multinational society – which shaped the image of the Ottoman world for centuries.

Early Depictions of the Ottoman Capital

Around the turn of the eighteenth century, a new stage was set for the history of the foreign policy of the Ottoman Empire. The transformation started as early as 1683, when the combined armies of King Jan III Sobieski of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and of Charles V, Duke of Lorraine, defeated the Ottoman army, which was commanded by Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Paşa. The crucial event – the Battle of Vienna – took place on 11 and 12 September 1683, ending a two-month siege of the city by the Turks. The battle marked the turning point in the three-hundred-year struggle between the forces of Central European kingdoms and the Ottoman Empire, and had far-reaching consequences. During the decades following the battle, the Hapsburgs of Austria and their allies gradually occupied and dominated southern Hungary and Transylvania. The "Holy League" of Austria, Poland and Venice was established against the Turks, and Austria and France also signed a peace treaty, valid for twenty years, after which the allied forces began their campaign. The final victory of the war, the battle of Zenta in 1697, was followed by the Treaty of Karlovitz in 1699, which, with the exception of a small region, freed all of Hungary from Turkish occupation. The events of 1683–98 finally put an end to the threat of military invasion by the Ottoman army.

Such considerable political and territorial changes demanded a new approach by the Ottomans and better understanding of international politics. Their strategy of aggression was gradually replaced by tactics of flexibility; in their desire to reach objectives they played on contradictions between the European powers. The first half of the eighteenth century is considered as being the first stage of the modernisation of the Ottoman Empire, of their new political and cultural relations with Europe. The early period of the eighteenth century, that is the reign of Sultan Ahmed III, was called *Lâle Devri* or the Tulip Era, as a reference to the passion for tulips among Turks. This poetic name also reflects the general mode for the poetry, literature, and art of those years, as well as the relatively open attitude towards the West, defining a new phase of relations between Europe and the Ottoman Empire based on attempts to understand each other's cultures and traditions and to benefit reciprocally from advances in technology, economy, art and politics.

Tulips were considered a symbol of wealth and prestige. Europeans who visited Turkey admired the country's paradisiacal gardens, unlike any they had seen



79
Franz Geffels
Battle of Vienna 1683, 1688
Oil on canvas, 184 x 272 cm
Wien Museum

80
Anonymous Venetian
*The reception of the Venetian
ambassadors in Damascus, 1511*
Oil on canvas, 175 × 201 cm
Paris, Musée du Louvre





81
Unknown artist, Venetian school
*The reception of Venetian
delegation in the Topkapı
Palace, c. 1500*
Oil on canvas, 147 × 198 cm
Jerusalem, L. A. Mayer Museum
for Islamic Art

in their homelands. It is widely believed that the envoy of ambassador Ogier Ghislen de Busbecq (1522–1591) was the first to have brought tulip bulbs to Vienna, in 1554. In his memoirs the ambassador described his first acquaintance with this unusual flower: “We stayed one day in Adrianople and then set out on the last stage of our journey to Constantinople, which was now close at hand. As we passed through this district we everywhere came across quantities of flowers – narcissi, hyacinths and tulipans, as the Turks call them¹⁵ ... The tulip has little or no scent, but it is admired for its beauty and the variety of its colours”.¹⁶

By the time of Vanmour’s arrival to Istanbul the embassies of France, Holland, England, Venice and Austria had already been established. In addition to their embassies at the capital of the Ottoman Empire, some European countries also had councils in the country’s main ports. The history of diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire and Europe dates back to the fifteenth century, when in the process of the Ottoman Empire’s growth, many European sovereigns began to show increasing interest in friendly relations with it. Istanbul often accepted foreign embassies and missions. By the mid-sixteenth century permanent embassies had been established in Is-

tanbul by the kings of France and Poland, the Holy Roman Emperor, and the states of Genoa and Venice. Their prime interest, along with political aims, was to support the merchants residing in the Empire. Members of those consulates were also the first true sources of information on Ottoman politics and culture, having a major impact on the establishing of a positive image for the Empire. Many visitors to the Ottoman Empire left written testimonies of what they saw, and these were frequently published in illustrated editions. Such visitors also returned with examples of Ottoman art – rugs, textiles, ceramics, metalwork – leading to the development of a genuine interest in the world of the Ottomans, as well as a fashion and taste for Turkish design and decorative arts.

The development of the ambassadorial subject in art reflects the particular interest Europe expressed in the knowledge and understanding of such a different and controversial society. Such interest of course had political as well as artistic reasons. The event of a reception by the sultan of the Ottoman Empire was considered to be a statement of a particular interest in a country, based on political, economical, military, or other reasons. Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, certainly, was not the first artist to arrive as a member of a diplomatic



82
Melchior Lorichs
Sultan Süleiman I, c. 1559
Engraving, 43.3 × 31.3 cm

ing the sultan riding through the Hippodrome.¹⁹ Nicolas de Nicolay (1517–1583) arrived to Istanbul with the French embassy of Gabriel d’Aramon in 1551. Based on rich pictorial material, the artist published a description of Turkish costumes, *Les navigations peregri-nations et voyages, faits en la Turquie*, which was first published in Lyon in 1567. The engravings illustrating the book were as comprehensive as had ever been pro-

83
Pieter Coecke van Aelst
*Sultan Süleiman I with his
retinue riding to the Friday
prayer, 1553*
Woodcut, 31.9 × 45.9 cm
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



duced at that time, and are, perhaps, among the first authentic images to be available in Europe of life in a country of the East. His images, based on personal observation, had a great impact for several centuries on the European visual conception of “the Turk”. Melchior Lorichs (1526/27–after 1588) travelled to Istanbul in 1555 with Ogier Ghislen de Busbecq, the ambassador of Ferdinand I of Austria.²⁰ He returned to Vienna with sketches of architectures and monuments as well as a variety of Turkish figure studies, the woodcuts of which were published in a book in 1619. Among his works produced in Turkey are the famous portrait of the aged Sultan Süleymen I, painted by Lorichs from life, as well as the famous twelve-metre panorama of Istanbul seen from the north across the waterway known as the Golden Horn. The Venetian bailo Niccolò Barbarigo (1534–1579) also had an unknown young painter from Verona in his service, and among the known commissions of the bailo was a portrait of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa, then the grand vizier, and the sultan.²¹ In 1568 Balthasar Jenichen (fl. 1563–92), engraver and publisher, published a print depicting Sultan Selim II on horseback, basing the image on a now-lost painting by the artist Rochus von Cziwen, who presumably had been accompanying an Austrian Hapsburg embassy in 1568. A book of costumes, showing illustrations of the elaborate and distinctive Ottoman dress, was produced in 1574 by a painter working for Lambert de Vos, an ambassador of the Hapsburgs. It shows the ceremonial procession of the sultan, in strict hierarchical order, stylised into a manifestation of the glamour and glory of the reign of



84
 Hieronymus Joachims
 German ambassador Freiherr
 von Schwarzenhorn's
 appearance to the presence
 of Sultan Mehmet IV, 1651
 Oil on canvas, 67.7 × 83 cm
 Sammlungen des Fürsten
 von und zu Liechtenstein,
 Vaduz-Wien

mission. One of the earliest examples of such a reception was recorded in 1511, a depiction of the arrival of a Venetian delegation in the anonymous painting *The Reception of the Venetian Ambassadors in Damascus* (fig. 80), representing the reception of Consul Nicolò Malipiero or, as some scholars suggest, Pietro Zen.¹⁷ The theme of the painting has no direct connection with the receptions at the Ottoman court; however it is interesting that in the seventeenth century, this painting was identified as *Reception of the Venetian Ambassador at the Court of Mehmed II in Constantinople*.¹⁸ The accurate details of the Mamluk city and the authenticity of architectural elements such as the Great Mosque of Damascus nonetheless confirm the contemporary reading of the place and date. The reception of another Venetian embassy already in Istanbul is depicted in the painting *The reception of Venetian delegation in the Topkapı Palace* (fig. 81), executed by an unknown Venetian artist in the mid-sixteenth century. The precision of the architectural details suggests the artist's presence in Istanbul, as a probable witness to the reception of the two Venetian delegates, who were received in the Second Court at Topkapı Palace. **The reasons for recording the presence of Venetian diplomatic envoys at the Ottoman court already in the sixteenth century are quite prosaic: the Signoria's ambassadors were in Istanbul at a time when this practice was still not common among European rulers. Hence Venetians held an important place within the Ottoman government, not only having the closer relations with them than with any other State in Europe until the very end of the Ancient Republic, at the end of the eighteenth century, but also providing the Ottomans with useful, although subjective, information on other European politics.**

The list of names of the artists who are known to have accompanied official diplomatic missions to the Ottoman Empire opens with Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502–1550). Some scholars believe that he departed with the embassy of Cornelis de Schepper, the first Hapsburg ambassador to the Sublime Porte in May 1533. Van Aelst visited Istanbul with the aim of selling tapestries made by the Van der Moyer factory in Brussels to the imperial court. He failed to sell any tapestries, although he did produce a number of drawings, including a view of the city of Istanbul and a series of costume studies recording things he had actually seen. The drawings were published in 1553, after the artist's death, as a series of woodcuts, including the famous *Sultan Süleiman I with his retinue riding to the Friday prayer* (fig. 83), depict-



87
 Pierre Paul Sevin
Jan Grinski's Diplomatic Mission to Istanbul, Dinner in honour of the Polish Mission, 1679
 Gouache with gold leaf on paper, 29.9 x 44.7 cm
 Cracow, Czartoryski Museum

88
 Pierre Paul Sevin
Jan Grinski's Diplomatic Mission to Istanbul, Audience of the Polish Envoy with the Sultan Machmed, 1679
 Gouache with gold leaf on paper, 30 x 44.5 cm
 Cracow, Czartoryski Museum

left

85
 Franz Hörmann, Hans Gemminger and Valentin Mueller
The Sultan Receives the Ambassador Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein on 3 December 1628, c. 1654
 Gouache on parchment, 26.4 x 39.3 cm
 Perchtoldsdorf Museum

86
 Unknown artist
Mehmed the Hunter's Imperial Procession, 1657
 Oil on canvas, 122 x 203 cm
 Stockholm, Nordiska Museet



Süleyman I. In 1599 British artist Rowland Buckett (c. 1570/1–1639) was accompanying the delegation of Thomas Dallam (c. 1575–c. 1630), a skilled musician and a manufacturer of organ pipes, who was in charge of production, delivery and assembly in the Topkapı Palace of a clockwork musical organ – gift of the Queen Elizabeth to the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603). While in Istanbul, Buckett was also commissioned by the British ambassador Henry Lello (amb. 1597–1607) to paint a portrait of Queen Elizabeth to be given as a gift to the sultan’s mother.²² **French artist Simon Vouet (c. 1590–1649) accompanied the embassy of Harlay, Baron de Sancy, to Istanbul in 1612. It was recorded that he painted a portrait of Sultan Ahmed I and most probably was present at the sultan’s audience, together with the ambassador.**²³ The embassy of Hans Ludwig Baron von Kuefstein (1582–1656), ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire to the Sublime Porte from 1628 to 1629, resulted in a series of drawings by artists Franz Hörmann, Hans Gemminger and Valentin Mueller, executed upon the ambassador’s return to Vienna around 1654. Among them are the depiction of the ambassador’s reception by the grand vizier and the sultan, *The Sultan Receives the Ambassador Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein on 3 December 1628* (fig. 85). George de la Chapelle, the French artist accompanying the



French ambassador Jean de la Haye in 1641, published a book in 1648 containing portraits of Ottoman sultans, scenery, and detailed costumes of women in the Ottoman Empire, which inspired several European artists. The details of the grand procession of Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648–87) as he was departing for Edirne on a hunting expedition in 1657, a unique cultural testimony and visual record, were captured by an unknown artist commissioned by the Swedish ambassador, Claes Rålamb (1622–1698)²⁴ (fig. 86). In 1670 the embassy of Charles-Marie-François Olier, Marquis d’Angervillers et de Nointel (c. 1635–1685), “extravagant, eccentric, magnificent, and altogether picturesque...”,²⁵ arrived in Istanbul. His retinue included a few Flemish artists, among whom were Rombaud Faïd’herbe, who executed a portrait of Mehmed IV that was sent as a present to Louis XIV in 1673; Jacques Carrey (1649–1726); and Arnould de Vuez (1644–1720), who was obliged to take refuge in Istanbul after a duel in Paris, officially accompanying the Marquis de Nointel.

Jean-Baptiste Vanmour in Istanbul

In order to establish a chronological sequence of the events of Vanmour’s life in Istanbul we shall refer to the few facts and dates that are available. At the same time, in order to establish a more harmonious and pos-



89
François Chereau l’Ancien
after Hyacinthe Rigaud
Jean-Baptiste-Louis Picon,
seigneur d’Andrezel, Conseiller
du Roi, Secrétaire du Cabinet
du Roi et des Commandements
du Dauphin, Ambassadeur près
de la Porte Ottomane, 1719
Engraving, 39.4 × 28.7 cm
Versailles, Musée national
des châteaux de Versailles
et de Trianon

90
Godfrey Kneller
Abraham Stanyan, 1710–11
Oil on canvas, 91.4 × 71.1 cm
London, The National Portrait
Gallery, NPG 3226

91
*Portrait of Jean-Louis d’Usson
Marquis de Bonnac*
From *Mémoire historique sur
l’ambassade de France à
Constantinople par le Marquis
de Bonnac*; publié avec un
précis de ses négociations
à la Porte ottomane par
M. Charles Schefer...
(Paris: E. Leroux, 1894)
University Library of Trier



92
Jean-Marc Nattier
*Portrait du marquis de
Villeneuve*
Oil on canvas
Paris, Mobilier national



itive picture of society in Istanbul during Vanmour’s time, we shall consider in parallel various travel diaries of ambassadors, merchants’ letters and embassy chronicles. The earliest known works of the artist – single figure costume portraits – were executed in 1707–08 by commission from de Ferriol. The dates of a few of his later artworks can be linked to historic personalities, dates of ambassador’s receptions, or the dates of other significant historical events, such as the Patrona Halil Revolt of 1730. Hardly any of the events of Vanmour’s life in Istanbul can be established with certainty. A general outline begins to take shape as we refer to the letters of French ambassadors who have mentioned the artist’s name. There are also two letters by the artist himself, which help us to understand his situation and life in the country. The earliest known document is dated 25 September 1723,²⁶ a letter from Jean-Louis d’Usson Marquis de Bonnac, the French ambassador to Istanbul from 1716 to 1724, to Charles Jean-Baptiste Fleuriau, Comte de Morville, who was the head of the Ministry of Marine until 16 August 1723, and then was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. In his letter, de Bonnac informs the minister that the series of paintings by Vanmour representing ways of fishing in the Bosphorus were ordered for de Morville’s cabinet. Probably as a result of this successful commission, as well as a personal recommendation from de Bonnac, Vanmour received the official title *peintre du Roi en Lev-*

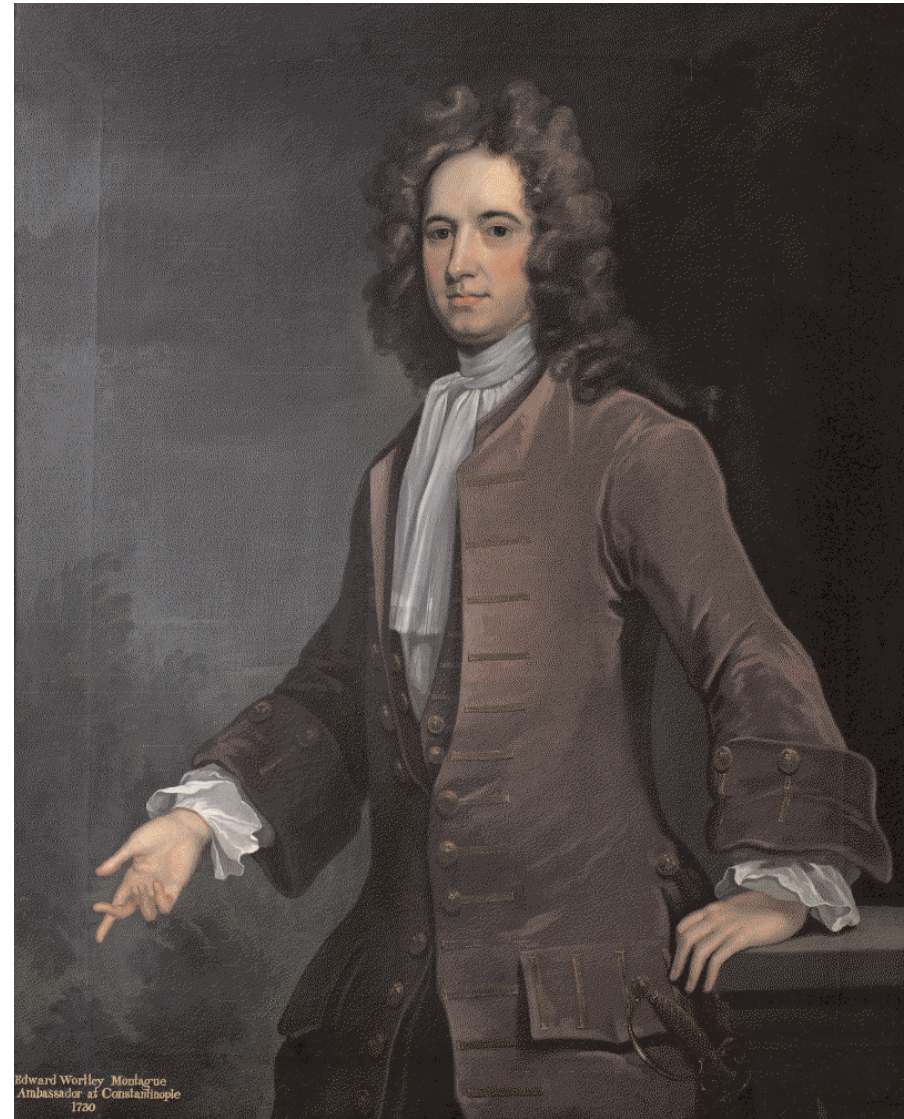
ant (“his majesty’s artist in the territory of the Levant”) on 27 November 1725.²⁷ There are no official documents to support this historical fact, although from this date on, in the correspondence between the French embassy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France, Vanmour was always mentioned with this title. In another letter presumably from Vanmour dated 28 February 1728 to an unconfirmed recipient, the artist thanks the correspondent (probably the Comte de Morville or Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, Comte de Maurepas, who was Minister of Marine at that time) for his assistance in procuring for the artist the title *peintre du Roi en Levant*. He also mentioned a painting depicting the port of Istanbul, which was sent as a gift to the addressee.²⁸

Another letter mentioning the name of Vanmour was written by the French ambassador Louis-Sauveur Renaud, Marquis de Villeneuve, in 1730. The ambassador commissioned the artist to execute a series of decorative panels for the embassy and the church on the occasion of the celebrations for the birth of the dauphin of France, the son of Louis XV, on 4 September 1729. In the letter dated 15 January 1730, the ambassador informed addressee, that Vanmour was being commissioned to produce a number of paintings and decorations for the official reception commemorating this important event. Marquis de Villeneuve also asked for an increase in the artist’s salary, referring to his long and fruitful work for the French embassy.²⁹ Vanmour’s letter with the same

93
Jonathan Richardson (attrib.)
*Lady Mary Wortley Montagu
in Turkish dress with page*
c. 1725
Oil on canvas, 239 × 144.8 cm
Private collection



94
John Vanderbank
*Edward Wortley Montagu
(1678–1761), 1730*
Oil on canvas, 124 × 99 cm
London, Government Art
Collection



95
Jean-Étienne Liotard
Portrait of Cornelis Calkoen
1738–42
Pastel, 63 × 51 cm
Rijswijk, ICN Collection

96
Unknown artist
*View of Istanbul from the
Dutch Embassy in Pera, first
half of the eighteenth century*
Oil on canvas, 142 × 214 cm
SK-A-4084. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum

request followed on 14 February 1730.³⁰ These are the last known documents related to Vanmour's life.

The total number of Vanmour's known works exceeds fifty-five. The largest collection of his works is in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. The collection was put together by the Dutch ambassador Cornelis Calkoen, who for a number of years was a patron and a commissioner of the artist. Understanding the importance of his collection and the high historical value of the paintings, Calkoen gave a series of thirty-two paintings as a gift to the Directorate of Levantine Trade. He bequeathed the rest of his paintings to his nephew, Abraham Calkoen. In 1817 those artworks, totalling thirty-six, were donated to the Directorate of Levantine Trade by the ambassador's descendants, thus reuniting the whole collection, which in 1902 found its place in the Rijksmuseum.³¹ Two more paintings by Vanmour, depicting the reception ceremony of the French ambassador, the Vicomte d'Andrezel, are in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Bordeaux. Seven paintings, including the complete cycle of the Venetian ambassador, presumably bailo Francesco Gritti, are part of the Suna and İnan Kiraç Foundation Orientalist Painting Collection in Istanbul. The rest of his paintings are in the hands of private collectors.

The collection of twelve drawings attributed to Vanmour at the Kupferstichkabinett der Akademie der



bildenden Künste in Vienna allows us more detailed insight into his working techniques and methods. The majority of the subjects of the drawings correspond with those of the paintings in the Rijksmuseum. Being the only examples, however, of Vanmour's graphic technique,



it does not allow us to make a final conclusion about whether the drawings were made by the artist or are actually copies after his works in the Calkoen collection.

We do not know of any extant paintings from the artist's early pre-Istanbul period. The attribution of the known paintings is also challenging and contradictory. The problem of attribution is complicated by the fact that a very small number of the artist's works were actually signed. There are six signed paintings known so far,³² representing four different styles of the artist's signature: "J. B. Vanmour pinxit", on the portrait of Patrona Halil, the leader of the rebellion (fig. 129); "Vanmour pinxit", on the two paintings of the Venetian ambassadorial cycle (figs. 140 and 143); "J. B. V.", on the painting of an unknown dignitary (fig. 130);³³ and "J. B. Vanmoor pinxit, Constantinople 1725", on the paintings *Sultan Ahmed III receiving the French ambassador de Bonnac* and *Outdoor party in Constantinople* (figs. 134 and 77).³⁴

The classification of Vanmour's works is based on traditional categorisation of the art genres, as well as on placing art works within their original cultural and historical contexts. Seventeenth-century paintings were divided roughly into five categories: literary subjects, including those from the Bible, history, mythology, and allegories; landscapes, including seascapes and a variety of marine paintings; still lifes; genre paintings; and portraits. The classification of Vanmour's existing artworks, as well as of those mentioned in the historical archival documents, is narrowed down to the five traditional categories: mythology; landscapes; genre paintings; history; and portraits.

Vanmour: Landscapes and Mythology

While there are no known landscapes by Vanmour extant, the existence of such works in Vanmour's oeuvre is confirmed, first of all, by the information mentioned in de Bonnac's letter dated 25 September 1723. The ambassador stated that he "has ordered from him [Vanmour] twelve [paintings], from 20 to 24 pouces in length and a proportional height. They will be on fishing subjects, both with a variety of backgrounds and people, so that they will show the idea that everything in this country is pleasant as far as landscapes are concerned".³⁵ The series representing fishing scenes in Istanbul were presumably made for the minister de Morville and then sent to France. The series of drawings were initially executed in ink. In his letter, de Bonnac suggested they also be finished in oil as a se-



PER FOTOLITO, METTERE IN PROVA: MENO BLU, MENO VERDE

ries of cartoons for a subsequent tapestry weaving. As there is no direct evidence that the project was ever implemented, it must have remained only as the suggestion in de Bonnac's letter. A painting by German artist Johann Christian Vollerdt (1708–1769), *The water reservoirs, known as the Bends, in the Forest of Belgrade near Istanbul* (fig. 97) was executed after 1744. With reference to this artwork we should make remark of a very important document discovered in the archives of the Rijksmuseum by Eveline Sint Nicolaas, a description in French dated 10 June 1817 of the thirty-six paintings donated to the Directorate of Levantine Trade by the descendants of ambassador Cornelis Calkoen.³⁶ Under "item VI" it mentions the original painting by Vanmour depicting the water reservoir (present location unknown), and under "item IX", mention is made of "a copy of nr. VI: done by Vollerdt, in Dresden".³⁷ Indeed, during his years as ambassador in Dresden, Calkoen commissioned sixty-two paintings of Vollerdt, one of them being a depiction of his summer home in the Forest of Belgrade to the north of Istanbul. The only surviving copy gives us a very general idea of the method of Vanmour's landscape technique.

The existence of Vanmour's works on mythological subjects is known only from the letter of the French ambassador, the Marquis de Villeneuve. The commission was related to the celebrations for the birth of the heir to the French crown, *le Grand Dauphin*, son of Louis XV,

97
Johann Christian Vollerdt
after Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
*The water reservoirs, known
as the Bends, in the Forest
of Belgrade near Istanbul*
after 1744
Oil on canvas, 60.5 x 75 cm
SK-A-2008. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum

on 4 September 1729. The mythological genre, including paintings of stories from Greek mythology, scenes derived from Roman history, and moral or political allegories inspired by classical philosophy, has always played an important role in creating a political image on the occasion of public ceremonies, the birth of the Dauphin being the most important. The significance of the event is also illustrated by the efforts made by the French ambassador in decorating the premises of the embassy in Istanbul, as well as the organisation of a celebration ceremony. In his book *Une ambassade française en Orient sous Louis XV: la mission du marquis de Villeneuve 1728–41* Albert Vandal recalled that during the celebration in Istanbul, in January 1730, among the main decorations of the embassy were large decorative panels placed outside the building and lit up.³⁸ Probably these are the works of Vanmour, mentioned in the ambassador's letter dated 15 January 1730. De Villeneuve wrote that Vanmour was appointed to head the arrangements and decorations for the celebration.³⁹ Among the paintings executed by the artist there were allegorical scenes. The subject of one of the paintings is known to us from its description by one of the monks of the Church of St. Louis in Istanbul, as "a gardener crowned with laurels, who is carefully watering a young lily. Around him are the tools necessary to cultivate the earth, and the words below read, *Rigar – Apollo*".⁴⁰ Another work was described by de Villeneuve as a painting of "a life size Fame, suspended in the sky, blowing a Trumpet which is decorated with *fleurs-de-lys*. Held in the other hand is the shield of the *Monseigneur le Dauphin* with the words around the painting 'Now is the birth, time to rejoice'."⁴¹ The subjects of these paintings demonstrate Vanmour's professionalism and knowledge in the treatment of mythological subjects. This also developed from his training and education in the bases of Flemish art, as in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands political allegory had a tradition reaching back to the late Middle Ages.

Vanmour: Genre Paintings

Genre paintings held a special place in Vanmour's oeuvre. Such artworks were executed under individual orders and requested particular attention by the master. Nearly all his known genre paintings were commissioned by Cornelis Calkoen. They are a mirror of everyday life in Ottoman society, traditionally closed and inaccessible to European travellers.

The Arabic word *harem* means "a sacred place, prohibited to enter", applied to the area of the house oc-

cupied by women. It is most unlikely that Vanmour would ever have had access to the private quarters of the Ottoman houses. However, the carefully studied subjects of his paintings and the accuracy of Vanmour's representations suggest that they were undoubtedly based on personal observations of traditions, probably in the houses of non-Muslims, Greeks and Armenians, whose life style was very similar to that of the Ottomans. The families of Greeks or Armenians were also socially more open to foreigners. Another possible source of information might have been Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, wife of the British ambassador. Being one of Vanmour's clients, she could have told him details of Ottoman harem life. It is known that Lady Mary, along with her close friend, Madeleine Françoise d'Usson de Bonnac, the wife of the French ambassador, visited a few harems and described them in her diary. Her observations of the household of the wife of the grand vizier Arnand Halit Paşa, "a very good woman, nearly fifty years old" – where Lady Mary was "surprised to observe so little magnificence", although the decor paid full respect to the modesty and devotion of the masters of the house – differs from the impressions left after visiting the house of the "second officer of the Empire", the *kâhya's* lady Fatma Hamm. The richly decorated harem with its garden full of exotic flowers, jewellery and gold accessories impressed Lady Mary, but not as much as did the beauty of the lady of the house, as she stated "I never saw anything so gloriously beautiful".⁴² Women's leisure time in the Ottoman society was spent indoors in company with other women, in houses sitting on sofas, occupying themselves by telling stories and exchanging news, playing games or embroidering, visiting new mothers or future brides, friends and relations, or Turkish baths, the *hamams*. The ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor, Ogier de Busbecq, who was sent to Istanbul in 1554, noted in his memoirs the importance of family values to the Turks: "The Turks set greater store than any other nation on the chastity of their wives. Hence they keep them shut up at home, and so hide them that they hardly see the light of day. If they are obliged to go out, they send them forth so covered and wrapped up that they seem to passers-by to be mere ghosts and spectres. They themselves can look upon mankind through their linen or silken veils, but no part of their persons is exposed to man's gaze".⁴³ In the indoor scenes illustrated by Vanmour, not only are the architectural details rendered accurately, but also details of costumes, furnishings and objects used in the daily household.

98
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
Women's party at Hunkiar
Iskéléci on the Bosphorus
Oil on canvas, 78 × 101 cm
SK-A-2007. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum



99
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
Women watching an
apparition in the sky
Oil on canvas, 44 × 58 cm
SK-A-2006. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum



100
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
*Wedding procession
on the Bosphorus*
Oil on canvas, 56 × 90 cm
SK-A-2000. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum

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101
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
The first school-day
Oil on canvas, 38.5 × 53 cm
SK-A-2005. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum

His equally delicately painted outdoor scenes also impress us with his knowledge of Ottoman domestic life. In spite of restrictions, outdoor entertainment for women, such as promenades and picnics on the Golden Horn, the Bosphorus, and in the Forest of Belgrade on the outskirts, were quite common pastimes in Ottoman society. As described by Lady Mary, a group of ladies would “choose out a green spot where the shade is very thick and there they spread a carpet on which they sit drinking their coffee and generally attended by some slave with a fine voice, or that plays on some instrument”.⁴⁴ Although the outdoor life was more limited for women, weddings were a series of occasions bringing them together to rejoice, with meals, visits, music and celebrations. The procession of taking the bride to the groom’s house – painted in a scene by Vanmour (fig. 100) – was altogether a very important event: the bride was carried in a covered canopy, accompanied by parents, relatives, neighbours and friends; the procession was headed by musicians and the *imam*, the religious leader performing the wedding.

The painting *The first school-day* (fig. 101) tells us of another important event in a woman’s life: the first day a mother takes her daughter to school to learn

embroidering. Girls were traditionally prepared for their lives as wives and mothers, learning sewing, meal preparation and how to manage a household. In the illustration, the procession is led by a man carrying a weaving loom, accompanied by young people singing. All the women in the painting, including the little girls, are covered. As Lady Mary Montagu observed in her notes: “no woman, of what rank so ever being permitted to go in the streets without two muslins, one that covers her face all but her eyes and another that hides the whole dress of her head, and hangs half way down her back and their shapes are also wholly concealed by a thing they call a *ferace* which no woman of any sort appears without”.⁴⁵

The leisure activities of the female non-Muslim residents of Istanbul were very similar to those of the ladies of the Ottomans. Their favourite pastimes were limited, as well, to indoor activities. Vanmour painted a few illustrations of the most important events, such as Armenian and Greek weddings (figs. 102 and 104).

Among Vanmour’s works are two representations of the life of the dervishes of the mystic Mevlevi Order (figs. 107 and 108). The order was established by Sultan Veled, son of the thirteenth-century Islamic

102
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
Armenian wedding procession
Oil on canvas, 44.5 × 58.5 cm
SK-A-2001. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum



103
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
A mixed Armenian card-party
Oil on canvas, 44.5 × 58.5 cm
SK-A-2010. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum





104
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
*A Greek bride on her
wedding-day*
Oil on canvas, 55.5 × 90 cm
SK-A-2002. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum

105
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
Women Drinking Coffee, first
half of the eighteenth century
Oil on canvas, 37 × 59 cm
Istanbul, Suna and Inan Kiraç
Foundation Orientalist
Painting Collection



106
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
The lying-in chamber
Oil on canvas, 55.5 × 90 cm
SK-A-2003. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum





107
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
*Whirling dervishes at the
Galata Mevlevihane in Pera*
Oil on canvas, 76 × 101 cm
SK-A-4081. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum

108
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
Dervishes at table
Oil on canvas, 33 × 43 cm
SK-A-1999. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum



philosopher Celaleddin Rumi. One of the foremost of the Sunni mystical orders, the Mevlevi take the starting point of their philosophy as the union between God and the universe. Another important feature of the Mevlevi order is its devotion to music and the establishment of that as a central part of their religious practice. It is said that at gatherings Celaleddin Rumi recited poetry and engaged in the whirling dance known as the *sema*, where dervishes reached a spinning intensity through rotating. In one of Vanmour's paintings, we can see the depiction of one of the most interesting ceremonies of whirling dervishes (fig. 107).

Vanmour: Portraits

The organisation and structure of the Ottoman state, with its court members and functionaries, the different religious sects and different professions in the Ottoman Empire, and especially their attire, had attracted foreign artists since the sixteenth century. Costume books, which generously illustrated the Ottoman society, were among the most interesting documents, showing the encounter of the different social groups, presenting the subjects in their elaborate and distinctive dress. Among such costume books was Vanmour's most famous series of portraits of Istanbul residents, which were executed in a series of engravings entitled *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant, tirées sur les Tableaux peints d'après Nature, en 1707 et 1708, par les Ordres de M. de Ferriol Ambassadeur du Roi à la Porte*, published in 1712–13 after the works commissioned by the French ambassador, Marquis de Ferriol. This project was a collaboration between the series editor Jacques le Hay and the publisher Gaspard Duchange. This edition was very successful; a second one followed in 1714, then a third in two variations, coloured and black-and-white, in 1715. A team of at least nine engravers worked on this edition, including Gérard-Jean-Baptiste Scotin, who executed the majority of the prints, his son Gérard-Jean-Baptiste Scotin, Jean-Baptiste Haussard, Philippe Simonneau, Bernard Baron, Jacques de Franssières, Pierre de Rochefort, Claude du Bosc and Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Elder (figs. 109–116). The popularity of the series exceeded all expectations. The importance of the series lies in its ethnographical as well as its historical aspects, as portraits recording the images of the ruler, the nobility, and citizens of Istanbul. It shows the court of the sultan in strict hierarchical order, starting with the sultan himself, the ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries, men and women of the bourgeoisie, members of

the lower classes, and inhabitants of the different provinces. The extremely colourful edition not only provides insight into the traditional costumes and fashions of the Ottoman Empire, but also into the hierarchical structures of a community and society that greatly influenced the Western world. Among the images of the servants of the sultan were many court positions unknown to Europeans, such as the *silahdar ağa*, the chief sword-bearers to the sultan; the *kapicibaşı*, the chief doorkeeper; the *çavuş ağa*, the chief commander of the imperial messengers, and others.⁴⁶ The second part of the edition represents the members of Istanbul's multinational society, whose ethnic structure varied greatly. The majority of the city population were Turks, then Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Albanians, Serbians, Georgians, Persians and Arabs, mostly Egyptians and Syrians. The European community was very well represented also, including Italians, French, Dutch and British, which were commonly called *francs*. Vanmour paid particular attention to every detail, showing the differences between the costumes of Muslim and non-Muslim residents, and between those of the different ranks of court officials, the decorative details of the costumes, accessories and fabrics. Through publication of the engravings a genuine knowledge of Ottoman society spread all over Europe, shaping the image of the East and of Eastern people for a long time.

The original single figure paintings for the Marquis de Ferriol edition were executed by Vanmour in Istanbul in 1707–08. Most probably these paintings were the result of collaboration between two or even more artists, possibly Vanmour's students or assistants. Such portraits were very popular among foreign diplomats and travellers; among the known existing artworks are those that were brought back by Cornelis Calkoen. Even after the death of Vanmour, his followers continued to paint examples for foreign travellers. The difference however between Vanmour's delicate technique and theirs is obvious: Vanmour's knowledge of painting and modelling techniques, chiaroscuro and perspective differs from that seen in the rudimentary works of his followers. None of the works made for de Ferriol have survived. There are only a few single figure portraits that can be attributed to Vanmour. Among them are *The Kadi askeri*, one of the two *kazasker*, supreme military judges (fig. 127), *The Müftü or Şeyhülislam*, head of religious affairs (fig. 126), *Woman at her embroidery frame* (fig. 117), *Imam* (fig. 118), *Janissary* (fig. 119) and *Jewish woman* (fig. 120).

In addition to the single figure costume portraits,



109
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour,
engraver Philippe Simonneau
*Le Grand Seigneur en habit
de Cérémonie le jour du
Beiram*, c. 1712
Plate 1
Etching and stipple
Private collection



110
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour,
engraver Gérard Scotin
*La sultane asseki, ou sultane
reine*, c. 1712
Plate 3
Etching and stipple
Private collection

111
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour,
engraver Gérard Scotin
*Le kishlar-agassi, chef
des eunuques noirs*, c. 1712
Plate 4
Etching and stipple
Private collection

112
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour,
engraver Gérard Scotin
*Effendi, homme de loi dans
son étude*, c. 1712
Plate 24
Etching and stipple
Private collection

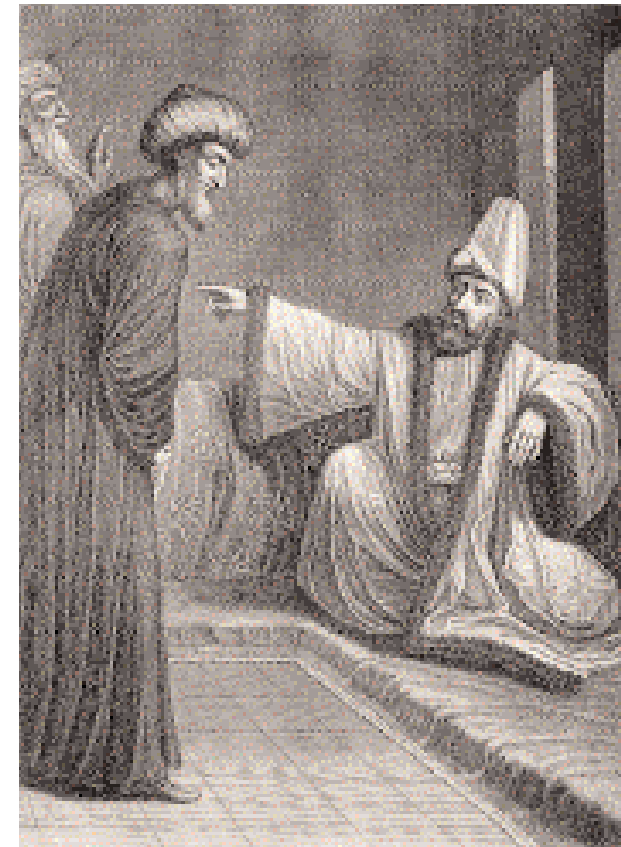


113
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour,
engraver Gérard Scotin
*Le jannissaire-ağa, ou
commandant des jannissaires*
c. 1712
Plate 29
Etching and stipple
Private collection

114
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour,
engraver Gérard Scotin
*Amant turc qui se perce le bras
devant sa maîtresse pour
preuve de son amour*, c. 1712
Plate 43
Etching and stipple
Private collection

115
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour,
engraver Philippe Simonneau
*Femme turque filant au
tandour*, c. 1712
Plate 47
Etching and stipple
Private collection

116
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour,
engraver Jean-Baptiste
Haussard
*Dergoumidas, prestre Arménien
condamné par le Grand Visir
Ali Pacha, mourut martyr
le 5e. Novembre 1707*, c. 1712
Plate 85
Etching and stipple
Private collection





117
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
*Woman at her embroidery
frame*
Oil on canvas, 33.5 × 26.5 cm
SK-A-2042. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum

118
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (?)
Imam, first half of the
eighteenth century
Oil on canvas, 34 × 26 cm
Istanbul, Suna and İnan
Kıraç Foundation Orientalist
Painting Collection

119
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (?)
Janissary, 1704 (?)
Oil on canvas, 34 × 26 cm
Istanbul, Suna and İnan Kıraç
Foundation Orientalist
Painting Collection

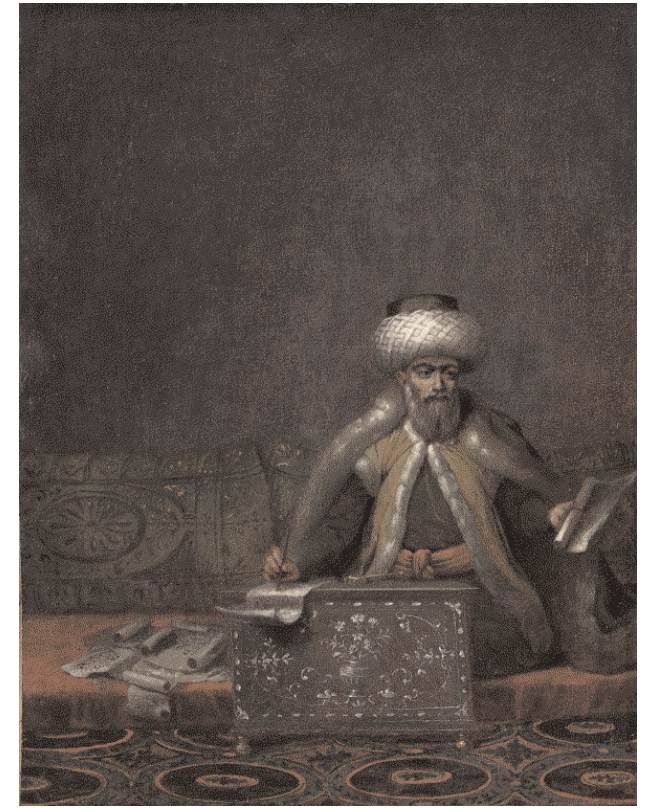
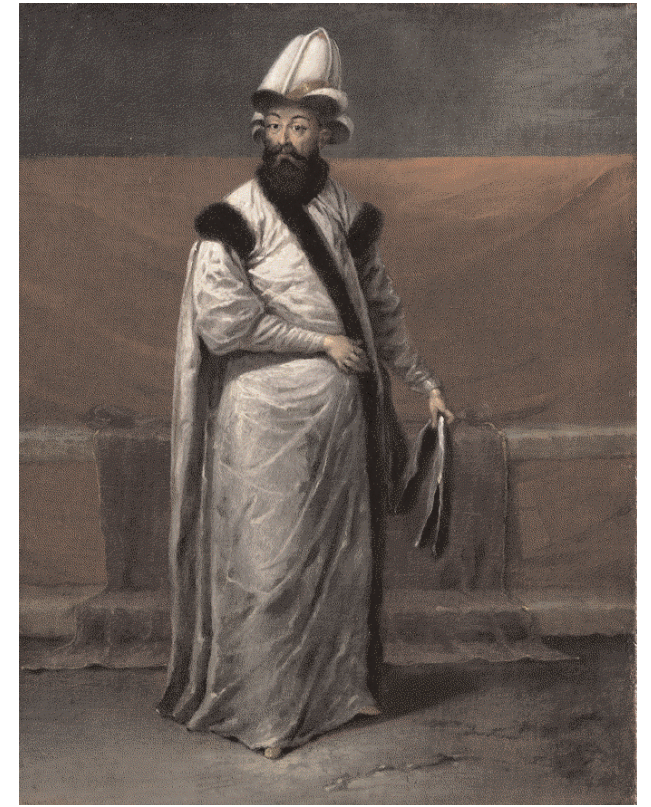
120
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
and workshop
Jewish woman
Oil on canvas, 38 × 29 cm
Private collection

121
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
Sultan Ahmed III (or possibly
Sultan Mahmud I?)
Oil on canvas, 33.5 × 26.5 cm
SK-A-2014. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum

122
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
*The grand vizier Nevşehirli
Damat İbrahim Paşa*
Oil on canvas, 33.5 × 26 cm
SK-A-2017. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum

123
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
Mehmed Kâhya, adjutant
to the Ağa
Oil on canvas, 34.5 × 27.5 cm
SK-A-2026. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum

124
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
*The reis efendi or Reisü'l
küttab*, head of the chancery
Oil on canvas, 34.5 × 27 cm
SK-A-2024. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum



Vanmour executed a few images of historical *personalia*. Among them were Ottoman high officials, as well as foreign residents of Istanbul. Vanmour painted two portraits of the reigning sultan, Ahmed III, and his grand vizier, whom he must have seen while attending the ambassadors' receptions or on other occasions, like the procession to the mosque for Friday prayers. Of the two portraits of the sultan, the earlier one depicts the ruler as a younger person, while the second painting is the only depiction of the sultan with grey hair, the *Portrait of Sultan Ahmed III* (fig. 121), representing the ruler standing next to a column with a vague architectural composition in the background. The sultan is painted in a fur-trimmed coat and a turban decorated with a jewelled aigrette and holding a ceremonial mace in his hand. Although the sultan did not pose for the portrait, Vanmour saw him on several occasions, hence the depiction suggests the accuracy of the sultan's features.

Another important equestrian portrait of Ahmed III, attributed to Vanmour, is in the Uppsala University Art Collection (fig. 125). It comes from the collection of artworks purchased by the order of King Charles XII by a Swedish officer, Cornelius Loos in 1710–11. In 1709, being defeated by the Russian Tzar Peter I at the Battle of Poltava, the Swedish king found refuge in a small (then Turkish) town of Bender, where he had to stay until 1713. In his memoirs, the secretary of the Austrian embassy,

Johann Michael von Talmann, referred to the king's life and condition in the town: "Nevertheless, according to the reports of some recently arrived visitors from Bender the Swedish king has completely recovered from his injuries, and can again ride and hunt and engage in other sports. But probably because of his current situation he is in a great melancholy, as does not know how he will find a way out of the Turkish maze, the entrance to which Turkey has left open, but the exit from which is easily allowed only for a very few".⁴⁷ Being forced into exile and having the luxury of much free time, the king turned his interest to the history and historical monuments and charged few of his officers, Captain Cornelius Loos, Captain Conrad Sparre and Lieutenant Hans Gylenskiep, to travel to Jerusalem, Egypt and Istanbul to explore and collect ethnographic material and historical documents. The officers reached Istanbul in February 1710 and probably there and then acquired few artworks by Vanmour, which are currently part of the Uppsala University Collection. In 1713 the artworks miraculously survived a major siege fire in the king's residence in Bender, as a result of an attack by a Turkish garrison, followed after a disagreement between the sultan and the king. One of the survived paintings is the sultan's equestrian portrait. In this grand multi-figured composition the ruler is depicted accompanied by his foot guards solaks. Ahmed III, sitting on a gold-embroidered

125
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
Sultan Ahmed III, c. 1710
Oil on canvas, 52 × 42 cm
Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek

126
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
The Müftü or Şeyhülislam, head of religious affairs
Oil on canvas, 34 × 26 cm
SK-A-2023. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



127
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
The Kadi askeri, one of the two kazasker, supreme military judges
Oil on canvas, 34 × 27 cm
SK-A-2022. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

128
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
Sultan Ahmed III
Oil on canvas, 33.5 × 26.5 cm
SK-A-2013. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

horse-cloth, wearing a majestic medallion-shaped diamond aigrette and in furred green ceremonial caftan with diamond frogging, is probably riding to a Friday praying ceremony. Skilfully combining soft effects and warm tones, the artist succeeded in creating a very attractive composition, an ensemble of elegant figures dressed in colorful clothes of bright shades, wrapped in soft, undulating folds of fabric and wearing broad hats with plumes, accompanying a mighty ruler of a great empire.

The grand vizier Damat İbrahim Paşa was painted by the artist on several occasions, being present during the receptions as well as the processions. However there is only one full standing portrait of the vizier (fig. 122), and one full-length portrait of his son-in-law Kethüda Mehmed Paşa (fig. 123). The 1817 inventory list describes him as Mehmed Kâhya, or *kethüda*, who during the revolt was strangled, along with his father-in-law İbrahim Paşa.⁴⁸ According to the same inventory, the portrait of the *reis efendi*, or great chancellor of the Empire (fig. 124), represents a real person that occupied this post in 1727.⁴⁹ Since European ambas-

sadors had to deal with him quite a bit, Vanmour could have known the chancellor in person.

Another important and historically significant painting is the portrait of the leader of the rebellion, Patrona Halil, most probably painted in 1730 (fig. 129). Patrona Halil is shown with a sword in his hand leading the rebels. The two figures on the left are most probably the two other rebels, Muslu Beşe, the fruit seller, and Ali, the coffee seller. In the background we can notice the corpses on a cart possibly belonging to the grand vizier, his son-in-law, and other ministers.

The two portraits of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, one of the most remarkable women of her time, were probably painted by Vanmour between 1716 and 1718. She arrived in Istanbul with her husband, the British ambassador then, Edward Wortley Montagu. Unlike her husband, whose diplomatic career wasn't very successful, Lady Mary left a very important legacy – her knowledge of Ottoman society, in the form of the letters written during her travels. The letters were published in 1763 from an unauthorised copy and received wide acclaim

**WAITING IMAGE FROM PAOLA.
PAINTING FROM SWEEDEN**





129
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
Patrona Halil, leader of the rebellion against Ahmed III, 28 September 1730
Oil on canvas, 120 × 90 cm
SK-A-4082. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

130
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
Unknown nobleman in the garden, c. 1730
Oil on canvas, 41 × 29.5 cm
Doha, Orientalist Museum

131
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
A Woman from the Palace
Oil on canvas, 47 × 33.5 cm
SK-A-2041. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

bottom

133
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (attr.)
Lady Mary Wortley Montagu with her son, Edward Wortley Montagu, and attendance c. 1717
Oil on canvas, 69.3 × 90.9 cm
NPG 3924. Purchased, 1958
© National Portrait Gallery, London

132
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
Portrait of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 1716–18
Oil on canvas, 33 × 25.5 cm
Courtesy of Sotheby's Picture Library



throughout Europe. Later editions of her letters, sanctioned by her family, added selections from her personal letters as well as most of her poetry. Vanmour executed two portraits of Lady Mary, the first, a full length depiction of the lady in the garden (fig. 132), and the second, with her son Edward and some servants (fig. 133). Both paintings show the ambassador's wife attired in a Turkish-style dress and fur-trimmed coat, wearing luxurious jewellery, the fashion she would bring back with her to Europe, and which later would develop into a passion for Ottoman clothing.

A portrait by Vanmour of an unknown woman suggests a depiction of a historical figure, a portrait from life (fig. 131). The portrait is quite large compared to the other works by Vanmour. This painting from the collection of the Rijksmuseum was the property of relatives of Cornelis Calkoen until 1817. The size of the portrait and its importance to Calkoen, who kept it in his possession until his death, allows us to suggest a possible identity for the subject. The ambassador remained a lifelong bachelor, but there were references to his relationship with a freed slave known as Beyaz Gül – White Rose.⁵⁰ The *Portrait of an Unknown Levantine Woman* by Jean-Étienne Liotard (Rijswijk, ICN Collection), which belonged to Calkoen as well, although damaged, resembles a similar woman, also dressed in luxurious Ottoman clothes, with an ermine-lined *kaftan*. The woman

in Vanmour's painting is also wearing dark-coloured shoes, which indicates her being a non-Muslim, a probable reference to the freed slave Beyaz Gül.⁵¹

Another important full-length portrait, signed by the artist, which was formerly in the collection of François Charles-Roux, the French ambassador to Istanbul, was sold at the Ader-Tajan autumn sale in 1994. The artwork was listed in the sale catalogue under the title *Personnage turc dans son jardin* (fig. 130).⁵² The unknown man, cool and contained, stands proudly in front of a distant landscape. The fine ethnic Ottoman costume, direct gaze and proud bearing characterise the painting as the portrait of a particular person because of its emphasis on individualism. The three-quarter turn of the body with arms positioned behind advantageously shows the details of his luxurious dress and belt encrusted with jewels, as well as the jewelled dagger. Taking into consideration such elements as accuracy of the work, the detailed features of the subject portrayed, the beautiful landscape and, of course, the signature, we come to a coherent conclusion that this is a commissioned portrait. Who is this mysterious man hiding his identity behind that roguish look, looking at us with the feeling of superiority? Can it be

Marquis de Ferriol in Turkish dress? If so, it would make the portrait his only attempt to commemorate the ambassador's mission to Istanbul, since Vanmour failed to paint the reception series of de Ferriol, as the ambassador was never received by the sultan during the ten years he spent in Istanbul. The reason was quite scandalous – de Ferriol refused to enter the throne room unarmed, an indispensable condition of reception protocol. In spite of his reprehensible behaviour, de Ferriol loved Turkey. It is known that he wore an Ottoman costume in the embassy. Can it be a portrait of some other member of the diplomatic missions in Istanbul, as being brought back to Europe it would have introduced the exotic world of the Ottomans to the inquisitive European society? Or can it be a portrait of an Ottoman court dignitary, even though there is no evidence of the artist receiving orders from members of Ottoman court? The earlier-mentioned portraits of *Mehmed Kâhya*, *adjutant to the Ağa*; *The grand vizier Nevşehirli Damat İbrahim Paşa*; and the portrait of *Sultan Ahmed III* were not commissioned by the persons portrayed, although the likenesses suggest that the artist undoubtedly could see the sultan and dignitaries on the occasions of ambassadors' receptions. Newly dis-



134
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
*Sultan Ahmed III receiving
the French ambassador
de Bonnac, 1724-25*
Oil on canvas, 90 × 122 cm
Gros & Delettrez, Paris

135
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
*The French Ambassador
d'Andrezel entertained to
a Meal in the Divân, 1724*
Oil on canvas, 90 × 121.5 cm
Bordeaux, Musée des
Beaux-Arts



136
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
*Reception of ambassador
d'Andrezel by Sultan Ahmed III
1724*
Oil on canvas, 90 × 121.5 cm
Bordeaux, Musée des
Beaux-Arts





137
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
Dinner given by the grand vizier in honour of Ambassador Cornelis Calkoen on 14 September 1727
Oil on canvas, 90 × 120 cm
SK-A-4077. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

138
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
Ambassador Cornelis Calkoen at audience with Sultan Ahmed III on 14 September 1727
Oil on canvas, 90 × 121 cm
SK-A-4078. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



overleaf

139
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
Ambassador Cornelis Calkoen and his entourage crossing the second courtyard of Topkapı palace during "çanak yağması" on 14 September 1727
Oil on canvas, 91.5 × 125 cm
SK-A-4076. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

covered information suggests that the identity of the person portrayed may have been Francis Levett (c. 1700–1764), a British merchant in Istanbul who was working for the Radcliffe family. Levett was an apprentice of Radcliffe around 1711, presumably after his father's death. He came to Istanbul around 1718 and after spending thirty-one years there went back in 1749.⁵³ Levett adopted the dress and lifestyle of a wealthy Turk, which helped him a lot in socialising with the Ottoman officials, and this also benefited his business. **Levett was also received in diplomatic circles, and his name was mentioned in the diaries of Samuel Medley, butler to Lord Kinnoull, the British Ambassador to Istanbul from 1729 to 1735. Medley stated that "Mr Levit" was one of the usual invitees for traditional Sunday dinners with the ambassador.**⁵⁴ It is known that Levett was acquainted with Jean-Étienne Liotard, who executed a few portraits of the merchant in 1740, including the famous *Portrait of Mr. Levett and Mlle Hélène Glavani* (fig. 159). The merchant is painted in Turkish attire with a long pipe called the *çubuk*. This element might bear not only a decorative purpose, but also a reference to the family business of the Levetts, since his father, as well as Levett himself, were famous tobacco merchants. The *çubuk*, depicted on the portrait by Vanmour leaning against the column might be as well a reference to the tobacco trade and the connection of this with the portrait subject. A certain similarity can be found in the facial features of the subject portrayed and Levett on the portrait by Liotard, for example his distinctive, droopy moustache and concave eyes. The freer style of hand and the brighter local colours – which allow us to compare Vanmour's portrait to his later works, such as the portrait of Patrona Halil – allow us to date it around the 1730s, when Levett was around thirty. According to the Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Francis Levett died on 26 February 1764 at the Nethersole house in the Parish of Wimplingswold (the present spelling is Womenswold), which at that time belonged to John Winchester, a surgeon of London.⁵⁵

Vanmour: Historical Paintings

The early period of Vanmour's life in Istanbul is associated with commissions from the French ambassadors, first of all from the Marquis de Ferriol. De Ferriol's diplomatic career wasn't very successful, as it could be suggested, although he had a long-term relation with the Ottoman court. His first trip to Istanbul took place in 1692, when the Marquis was introduced to the grand vizier by the French ambassador, Pierre-Antoine Cas-

tagneres, Marquis de Chateauneuf, who sought de Ferriol's assistance and participation in the Ottoman campaigns within the context of the Franco-Ottoman alliance. De Ferriol returned to Istanbul again in 1693, 1694 and 1696 and was then dealing directly with the grand vizier, participating in the final battles for Ottoman Hungary. Upon his return to France in August 1698, de Ferriol was appointed ambassador, replacing Chateauneuf, and departing to the capital of the Ottoman Empire in July 1699.⁵⁶ The Marquis was never received by the sultan, as a result of a diplomatic accident that became known as *l'affaire de l'épée*. De Ferriol refused to enter the throne room unarmed, even though this was a mandatory rule of diplomatic protocol. The ceremony took place on 5 January 1700. After the dinner given by the grand vizier in honour of the ambassador, de Ferriol put on a *kaftan*, given to him as a present, but refused to abandon his sword. His argument with the grand vizier and the *dragoman* (interpreter) lasted for an hour. All the while the sultan, who had come from Edirne especially for this ceremony, was waiting in the throne room. At the end of the argument the chief eunuch ordered the ambassador to leave the palace.⁵⁷ As a result of this and other accidents, the grand vizier eventually requested Louis XIV to send the ambassador back to France, as was done in 1710.

After de Ferriol's departure in 1711 Vanmour remained the official artist of the French embassy. In place of de Ferriol, an experienced diplomat, Pierre Puchot, Comte des Alleurs, was appointed. He was replaced in 1716 by Jean-Louis d'Usson, Marquis de Bonnac. So far there is only one known painting by Vanmour depicting **probably the farewell reception** of de Bonnac by the sultan (fig. 134), which took place on 14 October 1724.⁵⁸

A very interesting group of paintings from a private collection, dated around 1718–19, depicts the reception of the British ambassador Abraham Stanyan (c. 1669–1732). They represent two subjects from the series – a dinner given by the grand vizier and the presentation of the ambassador to the sultan. The attribution of the first painting to the hand of Vanmour is doubtful; the work was executed most probably by one of his assistants. But the painting representing the reception of the ambassador by the sultan was most probably executed by the master himself. There are no official records indicating Vanmour's engagements with ambassador Stanyan. But their connections are most probable, since the British ambassador, who arrived to Istanbul in 1717, stayed there for a very long time, un-

til 1729, being subsequently replaced by George Hay, Earl of Kinnoull.

In 1724 Vicomte d'Andrezel, a former secretary to the son of Louis XIV, the *Grand Dauphin*, with little diplomatic experience was appointed ambassador to Istanbul. During the reception ceremony, which took place on 10 October 1724, d'Andrezel was accompanied to this audience not only by his staff and servants, but also by over one hundred merchants of "the French nations of Constantinople" and by "four of the best looking *enfants de langue* who study in the Capuchins' College in the Palace"⁵⁹ – interpreters sent by the French government to learn Oriental languages in order to replace local *dragomans*, who were not sufficiently loyal to France. Two paintings executed for the ambassador by Vanmour depict two stages of the reception, the dinner given by the grand vizier and the reception of the sultan (figs. 135 and 136). There is a third painting, very often attributed to Vanmour, the *Presentation of the Children of the Vicomte d'Andrezel French Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, to the Grand Vizier, 10 October 1724* (private collection), however this attribution is doubtful – the presentation of the ambassador's sons is shown in the *Divân* in Topkapı Palace, although in fact it took place in the grand vizier's palace below Topkapı; the scale of the figures is distorted, some officials are represented who are not mentioned in the ambassador's account, and some who are mentioned are not shown. The embassy of d'Andrezel was very short-lived, as the ambassador died in Istanbul in 1727, three years after he arrived.

The embassy of Louis-Sauveur Renaud, Marquis de Villeneuve, lasted for twelve years, from 1728 to 1740. His commission to Vanmour was related to the celebrations for the birth of the heir to the French crown, the *Grand Dauphin*, son of Louis XV, on 4 September 1729, when the artist was put in charge of the decoration of the premises of the embassy in Istanbul for the official ceremony.

The Dutch ambassador Cornelis Calkoen arrived to Istanbul in May 1727, his first post. Calkoen's previous experience afforded him knowledge of trade flow to and from the Levant, as well as administration, as he had studied law at Leiden. The ceremony for the presentation of the ambassador's credentials took place on 14 September 1727. Vanmour dedicated three paintings to this important event: *Ambassador Cornelis Calkoen and his entourage crossing the second courtyard of Topkapı palace during "çanak yağması" on 14 September*





140
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
The Ambassadors' Procession
1725 (?)
Oil on canvas, 88.5 × 120.5 cm
Istanbul, Suna and İnan Kiraç
Foundation Orientalist
Painting Collection

141
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
*Dinner in the Palace in Honour
of an Ambassador*, 1725 (?)
Oil on canvas, 90 × 121 cm
Istanbul, Suna and İnan Kiraç
Foundation Orientalist
Painting Collection



142
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
*The Ambassadors' Delegation
Passing through the Second
Courtyard of the Topkapı
Palace*, 1725 (?)
Oil on canvas, 90 × 121 cm
Istanbul, Suna and İnan Kiraç
Foundation Orientalist
Painting Collection

143
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
*Sultan Ahmed III Receiving a
European Ambassador*, 1725 (?)
Oil on canvas, 90 × 121 cm
Istanbul, Suna and İnan Kiraç
Foundation Orientalist
Painting Collection



144
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
The procession of the sultan
Oil on canvas, 76 × 150 cm
ACR Editions



145
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
The procession of the grand vizier
Oil on canvas, 76 × 150 cm
ACR Editions



146
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
Ahmet III and his retinue
Oil on canvas, 61.6 × 81 cm
Private collection
© Christie's Images, Ltd. 1998



147
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
The grand vizier crossing the Atmeidan (Hippodrome) with the Blue Mosque on the left
Oil on canvas, 61 × 84.5 cm
SK-A-1998. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



148
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
The Procession of the Sultan
Oil on canvas, 114.5 × 194.5 cm
Private collection



1727 (fig. 139); *Dinner given by the grand vizier in honour of Ambassador Cornelis Calkoen on 14 September 1727* (fig. 137); and *Ambassador Cornelis Calkoen at audience with Sultan Ahmed III on 14 September 1727* (fig. 138). Calkoen's post lasted until April 1744; the ambassador brought back the largest collection of Vanmour's works from Istanbul. We also have, from a letter by Calkoen, a very noteworthy piece of information, a reference to a painter whom the ambassador included in the delegation so that he could draw and paint the audience.⁶⁰ This is significant evidence that Vanmour was present at least once during a reception ceremony.

The paintings for the Venetian embassy of the bailo Francesco Gritti are part of the Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation Orientalist Painting Collection in Istanbul. Bailo Gritti worked in Turkey from 1723 to 1726. His series of paintings, executed by Vanmour around 1725, is the largest, representing the four stages of the reception: *The Ambassadorial Procession* (fig. 140); *The Ambassadorial Delegation Passing through the Second Courtyard of the Topkapı Palace* (fig. 142); *Dinner in the Palace in Honour of an Ambassador* (fig. 141); and *Sultan Ahmet III Receiving a European Ambassador* (fig. 143).

* * *

The series of Vanmour's paintings depicting the different stages of an ambassadorial reception established an iconographic typology for the depiction of receptions held by the Ottoman sultan. Certain similarities with the earlier works of other artists can be explained by the stability of the reception protocol. The reception ceremony in the Ottoman state was strictly regulated by rules of protocol, and these remained unchanged from the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries. These strictly-structured ceremonies did not leave much space for the imagination of the artists depicting it, and hence Vanmour proceeded with a similar concept of representation, only varying the depiction of the ambassador's dress and decorative elements. This approach explains the similarities in the ambassadorial cycles of Vanmour.

In diplomatic circles, the Ottoman Empire was often referred to as the "Sublime Porte" or the "Porte", from the French translation of the Turkish term *Bâb-ı âli* ("great gate"), referring to the Grand Palace Gate of the imperial Topkapı Palace where the sultan greeted foreign ambassadors. Legally the sultan represented an absolute power in the Ottoman Empire, and Topkapı Palace was the official seat of the government. However since the sixteenth century, it was the *Divân-ı Hümayûn*, or the

Imperial Council headed by the grand vizier, that carried out the administrative functions, being responsible for the day-to-day administration of the Empire. The members of the central administration were grand vizier and other viziers, supreme military judges (*kazasker*), the chief treasurer (*defterdar efendi*), and others. The grand vizier represented the highest power on behalf of the sultan, and decisions on major political issues were made in his residence. Religious matters were in hands of the *Şeyhülislam*, the chief religious authority of the Empire.

The official day of the reception would be indicated to the ambassador by the grand vizier. This date would always coincide with the day when the janissaries, members of the sultan's military elite corps, received their pay. Since this event took place only a few times per year, ambassadors would have to wait for months before being given an audience. On the day of the reception, the ambassador and his retinue would proceed by early morning to Topkapı Palace on horseback with a military escort made up of janissaries, accompanied by the commander of the detachment detailed to accompany the foreign ambassadors. This would be the subject of the first painting in the ambassadorial cycle depicted by Vanmour. There is only one example of such a painting by Vanmour now existing, *The Ambassadorial Procession* (fig. 140), presumably depicting the Venetian bailo Francesco Gritti, who served in Istanbul between 1723–26.

The sultan's residence was the political and administrative centre of the Empire. The tendency towards the centralisation of power led to the establishment of all the main legal and government offices on the territory of the residence or close to it. In the first courtyard of the palace were the offices of the finance departments, the archives, the mint house and the arsenal. In the second courtyard were the council chamber (*Divân-ı Hümayûn*), the secretary of the sultan and the treasury. In the third courtyard were the personal residence of the sultan, the harem and his personal treasury. Close to the palace were the barracks of the janissaries, where usually ten to twelve thousand soldiers lived.

After proceeding through the first, outer gate of Topkapı Palace (*Bâb-ı Hümayûn*), the procession would reach the *Bâb-ü's-selam* (or the Gate of Salutation). There the ambassador and his retinue would disarm, leaving their swords before entering the next courtyard, where the diplomats would become witnesses of the ceremony of the janissaries' payment distribution and eating, called the *çanak yağması*. The word *janissary* derives from the Ottoman Turkish *yeniçeri*, meaning "new soldier". This

force, forming the sultan's household troops and bodyguards, was established in the fourteenth century and was abolished as a result of the revolt only in 1826 by the Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808–39). The janissaries became the first Ottoman standing army and were significant in a number of ways: they wore uniforms, were paid in cash quarterly, and received certain privileges and benefits; they also marched to distinctive music, the *mehter*, comparable to a modern marching band. A defence force of janissaries, having the sultan as their supreme commander and led by their supreme *ağa*, was a distinctive element in the Ottoman power structure, setting the janissaries apart from most other soldiers of the time.

European travellers were very impressed by the janissaries and left many descriptions, mostly characterising them as a symbol of threat and power. One of the earliest references was given by Ogier de Busbecq: "At Buda I first came across the Janissaries, which is the name they give to their footguards ... They wear robes reaching to their ankles and on their heads a covering consisting of the sleeve of a cloak (for this is the account which they give of its origin), part of which contains the head, while the rest hangs down behind and flaps against the neck. On their foreheads rises an oblong silver cone, gilded and studded with stones of no great value. These Janissaries generally visited me in pairs, and, on being admitted to my dining-room, saluted me with an obeisance and then hastened, almost at a run, towards me and took hold of my garment or hand as though they would kiss it, and offered me a bunch of hyacinths or narcissi. They would then rush back again to the door at almost the same speed, taking care not to turn their backs upon me; for this, according to their ideas, is unbecoming. At the door they would take up their stand silent and respectful, their hands crossed on their breasts and their eyes fixed upon the ground ... Really, if I had not been told that they were Janissaries, I could well have believed that they were a kind of Turkish monk or the members of some kind of sacred association; yet these were the famous Janissaries who carry such terror wherever they go".⁶¹

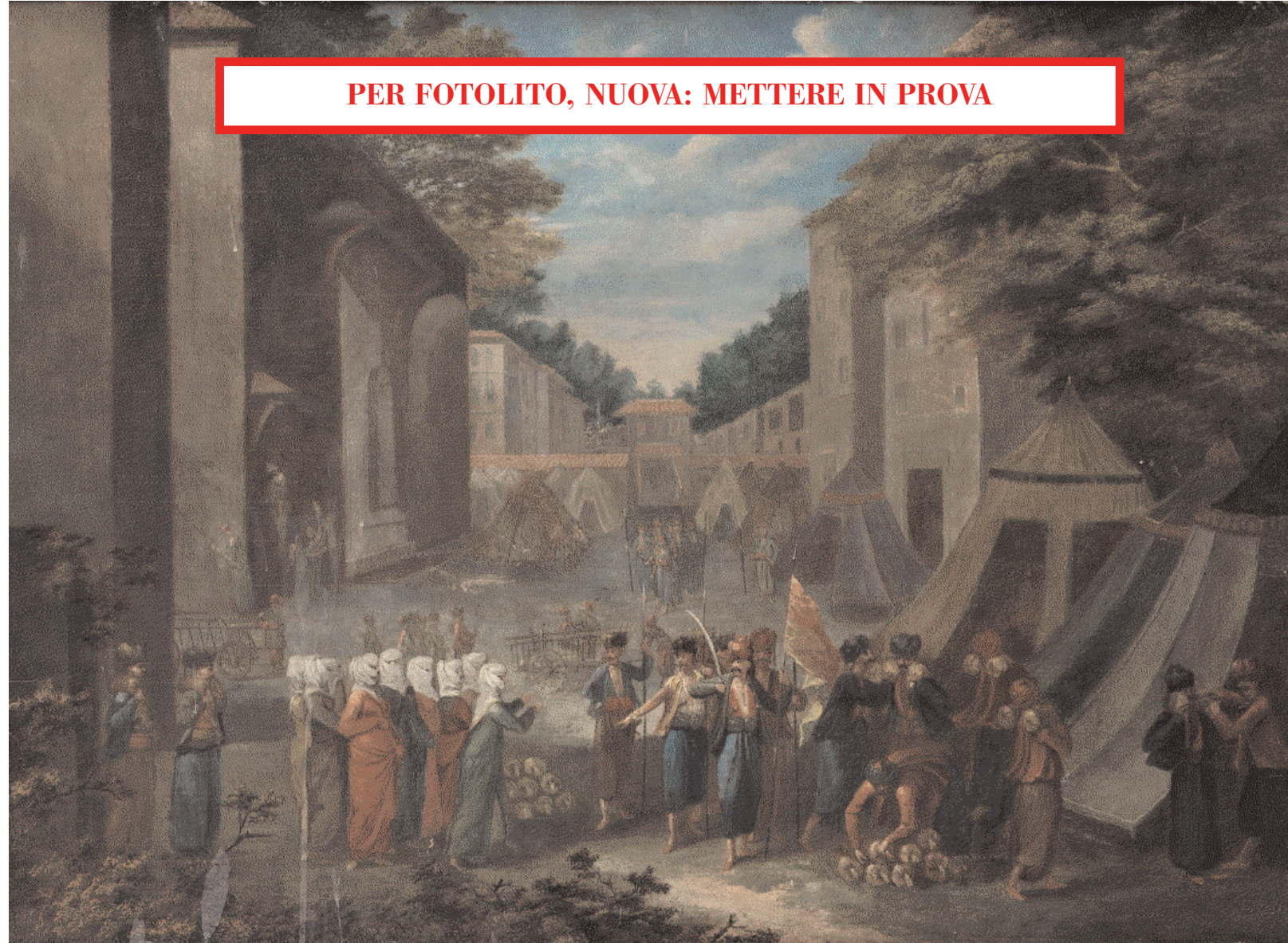
During the diplomatic ceremonies, the discipline of the janissaries, the representatives of the strongest military power in the Empire, wasn't left unnoticed by the foreign visitors. "The most remarkable body of men were several thousand Janissaries, who stood in a long line apart from the rest and so motionless that, as they were at some distance from me, I was for a while doubtful whether they were living men or statues, until, being ad-

vised to follow the usual custom of saluting them, I saw them all bow their heads and answer to my salutation", wrote Ogier de Busbecq.⁶² The main reason for arranging a diplomatic reception to coincide with the janissaries' payment day was to impress the ambassador with the display of military pomp and majesty. As reported by the Austrian ambassador Baron Vratislav in 1591: "... may even the Janissaries, although furious and licentious people in war, here observed greater obedience towards their commander than boys towards their preceptor, standing as quiet as if they had been hewn out of marble".⁶³ William Sandys, the secretary of George Hay, Earl of Kinroull who was appointed ambassador to the Sublime Porte in 1729, witnessed this event and recorded in his diary: "At the entering of the Gate wee saw about 4,000 janissaries who run with great rapidity to take the Pillow that was prepared for them, on the Left hand were the Grand Signiors led Horses ranged in order to the Number of fifty CHECK PLEASE".⁶⁴ There are two paintings on the subject by Vanmour, in which he depicted the Venetian bailo Francesco Gritti, *The Ambassadorial Delegation Passing through the Second Courtyard of the Topkapı Palace* (fig. 142), and the Dutch ambassador Cornelis Calkoen, *Ambassador Cornelis Calkoen and his entourage crossing the second courtyard of Topkapı palace during "çanak yağması" on 14 September 1727* (fig. 139). The ambassadors are depicted advancing with their suites through the yard, where the janissaries are receiving their food, accompanied by the *çavuş ağa*, the master of ceremonies, and the *kapıcıbaşı*, the chief gatekeeper.

After passing the second courtyard, the ambassador's delegation would then arrive to the council chamber (the *Divân-ı Hümayûn*, or the Imperial Council) where the dinner on behalf of the sultan would be served. In meeting the principal members of the Ottoman court, an ambassador then would see all the luxury and glory of the Ottoman court, which Ogier de Busbecq, who saw the court during the reception at the Amasya, where Sultan Süleyman I was then residing, characterised as "the immense crowd of turbaned heads, wrapped in countless folds of whitest silk, and bright raiment of every kind and hue, and everywhere the brilliance of gold, silver, purple, silk, and satin ... A more beautiful spectacle was never presented to my gaze".⁶⁵

In the wall of the Imperial Council chamber there was a hidden window through which the sultan could observe the presentation ceremony and dinner while remaining unseen. The window was called the "window of justice", and the foreign dignitaries were usually aware

149
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
and his studio
*Courtyard of the Seraglio
during the rebellion of Halil
Patrona*, c. 1730
Oil on canvas, 62 × 87 cm
ACR Editions



150
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
*The execution of the rebel
Halil Patrona and his principal
followers*

Oil on canvas, 75 × 101 cm
SK-A-2012. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum



of the sultan’s possible “presence”. In 1657 the Swedish ambassador wrote in his notes: “Throughout all dinner there was a full silence, has not been said any word, distributed any sound. It was known that the Sultan observed from the alcove”.⁶⁶ Vanmour’s contemporary William Sandys, Earl of Kinnoull’s secretary, recorded that during their dinner reception, which took place on 9 June 1734, “five tables were Spred, at first were the vizir and the Ambassador. At the Second the Captain Pashaw entertain’d Lord Dupplin and Captain Vincent. The Vizirs de Voute entertain’d the Secretary and several of the British Merchants. No body Dinned at the Kadileskers nor Defterdars Tables. The Dinner was Short but they Serv’d a great number of Dishes which were taken away almost as Soon as they were Set on the Table. After Dinner they brought Water and perfumes again to his excellency”.⁶⁷ There are three paintings by Vanmour representing this ceremony: *Dinner in the Palace in Honour of an Ambassador* (fig. 141), depicting the Venetian bailo Francesco Gritti; *The French Ambassador d’Andrezel entertained to a Meal in the Divân* (fig. 135); and *Dinner given by the grand vizier in honour of Ambassador Cornelis Calkoen on 14 September 1727* (fig. 137). The ambassadors are depicted sitting on stools, facing the grand vizier, surrounded by the embassy *dragomans* and members of the embassy. The two supreme judges (*kazashers*) are depicted eating alone, for as servants of Islamic law they were forbidden to eat at the same table with Christians.

After the dinner, the ambassadors were admitted to the adjoining room where they would be given fur-lined robes (*kaftans*). This part of the ceremony was extremely important, as the number and quality of the *kaftans* bore a political message, in that they were considered to be robes of honour and were signs of favour in the Ottoman court. The information on the number of *kaftans* received was included in the ambassadors’ correspondence as a sign of the embassy’s success. Already in 1570 the head of the Russian envoy to the court of Selim II Ivan Novosiltsev received six brocade and velvet *kaftans*, along with gold coins, which he called *osmanki* – what was duly noted in his diary. It is interesting that the Chaush who delivered *kaftans* to the ambassador, clearly indicated that the Ottoman dresses had to be worn during the reception with the sultan.⁶⁸ It is known that ambassadors would examine the gifts prior to proceeding to the actual meeting with the sultan, and would express their disapproval if the number was felt to be insufficient. In a letter dated 26 January 1710, the secretary of the Austrian embassy, Johann Michael von

Talmann, described an incident that took place during the reception of the Russian ambassador Count Piotr Tolstoy. The ceremony took place on 3 (14) January 1710, when Sultan Ahmed III delivered the ratification confirming the agreement of Istanbul of 3 July 1700: “... This audience with the Muscovites took place according to the ordinary protocol, intended for the ambassadors of the Christian empires. But the Moscow ambassador demanded special arrangements equal to the ceremonies of the ambassadors of His Highness, according to which they are the only ones allowed to wear fur-lined *kaftans*; instead of the simple *kaftan* which was given to him he demanded a fur-lined one, not accepting being dressed in an un-lined one, which led to a great argument, delaying the ceremony for one hour”.⁶⁹ Documents show that during the seventeenth century, the number of *kaftans* received varied depending upon the changing political situation. At the beginning of the century, the French ambassadors usually received twenty-four *kaftans*, the British, sixteen, and Venetian and Dutch, twelve.⁷⁰ During the reception, Ambassador d’Andrezel received more and richer *kaftans* than his predecessor, which was duly noted in his report: “The Dragoman of the Porte had orders to point out to me that the *kaftan* was of richer material than those usually distributed to ambassadors...”.⁷¹ The Earl of Kinnoull received thirty *caftans* from the grand vizier and “several” from the sultan.⁷² By the end of the century, in accordance with the political situation, the number of *kaftans* bestowed increased extensively. During the reception on 28 November 1775, the Russian ambassador, Prince Reprine, received more than one hundred *kaftans*: “... the ambassador was given a brocade sable fur coat, which he put on without getting up from his chair; coats were given to the charges d’affaires M. Peterson, to the embassy Marshal M. Bulgakov, and to two secretaries – sable trimmed fearmought coats; ten embassy cavaliers received ermine camelot coats; one hundred *kaftans* were distributed among the embassy suite”.⁷³

After receiving the *kaftans*, the ambassadors would proceed through the *Bâb-ü’s-saade* (the Gate of Felicity) to the throne room (*Arz Odası*) to be received by the sultan. The ambassador would enter with his gifts to be presented to the sultan. Descriptions of the *Arz Odası* have been given by a few eyewitnesses, among whom was the French ambassador d’Andrezel: “The room of the Grand Seigneur is very dark but very gilded, and decorated with carpets of a material embroidered with gold, on which you walk. He was on a throne approached by three steps.

The throne was like a state bed with golden columns”.⁷⁴ His description is similar to the one given by the Swedish ambassador of Charles V, who mentioned that the sultan was “seated on a slightly elevated throne completely covered with gold cloth, replete and strewn with numerous precious stones and there were on all sides many cushions of inestimable value; the walls of the chamber were covered with mosaic works sprangled with azure and gold”.⁷⁵ In 1799 Lady Elgin, the wife of the British ambassador, described the hall as “... a small room and dark, but of all the magnificent places in the world I suppose it was the first”.⁷⁶ The letter containing the ambassador’s credentials would be passed to the *dragoman* and then passed from one official to another, to be placed on the pillow next to the sultan. The grand vizier would respond on behalf of the sultan and this would end the ceremony.⁷⁷ The speech of the grand vizier would be in Ottoman and a special interpreter *dragoman* would act as a translator. This title was transferred as a part of family inheritance since the seventeenth century, and by the eighteenth the position of the *dragoman* was hereditary among very few Turkish families, mostly of Greek origin, who monopolized this position at the court. During the eighteenth century only one European ambassador, the Dutch representative Jacob Colyer, could speak Ottoman and Greek – which at the time was exceptional. Thus, the services of a *dragoman* were not just important, but the only possible link between European ambassadors and the Ottoman court. However, extra activities of *dragomans* as secret agents for the benefits of European embassies undermined their credibility and in 1821 a special department was established to train interpreters from Muslims only.⁷⁸ The subject of this ceremony, being most popular, was depicted by Vanmour at least four times: *Sultan Ahmed III receiving the French Ambassador de Bonnac* (fig. 134); *Sultan Ahmed III Receiving a European Ambassador*, presumably Venetian bailo Francesco Gritti (fig. 143); *The Presentation of Abraham Stanyan, British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte to Sultan Ahmed III* (private collection); *Reception of Ambassador d’Andrezel by Sultan Ahmed III* (fig. 136); and *Ambassador Cornelis Calkoen at audience with Sultan Ahmed III on 14 September 1727* (fig. 138).

A few works by Vanmour are dedicated to one of the most impressive events of everyday life in Ottoman society – the ceremony of the sultan’s procession to the mosque on Friday at prayer time. Each Friday the sultan would ride out in procession through the streets of Istanbul accompanied by his escort of foot guards. He at-

tended Friday prayers at the Imperial Mosque, the day that the *hutbe*, or sermon, was preached. Being an eyewitness of the procession, Lady Mary described it in detail in her letters, and to her trustworthy comments we should refer: “I went yesterday with the French Ambassador to see the Grand Signor in his passage to the mosque. He was preceded by a numerous guard of Janissaries with vast white feathers on their heads, as also by the *sipahis* and *bostcis* (these are foot and horse guards) and the royal gardeners, which are a very considerable body of men, dressed in different habits of fine lively colours so that, at a distance, they appeared like a parterre of tulips. After them the Aga of the Janissaries in a robe of purple velvet lined with silver tissue, his horse led by two slaves richly dressed. Next to him the Kilar Aga ... in a deep yellow cloth ... lined with sables and last his sublimity himself, in green lined with the fur of a black Muscovite fox ... mounted on a fine horse with furniture embroidered with jewels. Six more horses richly furnished were led after him and two of his principal courtiers bore one his gold and the other his silver coffee pot, on a staff. Another carried a silver stool on his head for him to sit on ... The Sultan appeared to us a handsome man of about forty, with a very graceful air but with something severe in his countenance, his eyes very full and black”.⁷⁹ Vanmour executed at least five paintings depicting the procession, three of them headed by the sultan and two by the grand vizier (figs. 144–148).

In September 1730, provoked by the luxury and cosmopolitanism of the court, as well as by the rise in prices and the loss of territory to Persia, former naval soldier Patrona Halil led a mob in revolt. Russian diplomat Ivan Nepluev in his report “A description of a revolt, which happened in Constantinople in a month of September in 1730”, dated 1 October 1730, as an immediate whiteness described the events of that days in details. According to him the reasons of the uprising were popular discontent with the new taxes, introduced by the grand vizier, as well as military setbacks of the Ottoman army in Persia.⁸⁰ The leader of the revolt according to Nepluev “one janissary, originally Albanese Potron-Alia, the day before agreed with one janissary from Erzurum Miriali and few others, numbered up to twenty, and in the hour of ten, after performing a pray in a mosque, went to the bazaar and raised a green flag, calling for “true magomettans to unite with them against the unfair ministerial rule”, gathering around themselves up to fifty people”.⁸¹ The rebels were soon joined by some janissaries,

as well as certain members of the law and religious authorities. On 28 September the uprising broke out in the bazaar, and on 29 September the crowd succeeded in forcing their way into the palace, strangling the grand vizier and his two aids Kaimmakam Tevkii Mustafa Paşa and Kethüda Mehmed Paşa. The sultan had to abdicate to save his life, and was replaced by his nephew Mahmud I (r. 1730–54).

Despite the apparent immediate success of the rebels, their relations with the ruling elite became increasingly worse and worse. Partially, according to Nepluev, because of their unacceptable behavior and interference in political decisions, demanding high-level positions for themselves and other rebels. As Nepluev wrote Patrona Halil and other rebels “were sitting in the presence of vizier and were demanding a treatment as if they were first class paşas”.⁸² Hence instead of receptions and Ottoman dignitaries, Vanmour painted pictures of massacres and of the leader of the mob, Patrona Halil (fig. 129). Through his life in Istanbul Vanmour seems to have witnessed the different stages of this event, as he portrayed Halil and the other rebels. One of the paintings depicts the women of the harem who came to collect the bodies of their husbands (fig. 149). Another shows the conclusive tragic event of the revolt, the execution of the rebels. Being unaware of the sultan’s plans, Patrona Halil and the rebels attended a meeting with the new sultan and the grand vizier, and were easily executed in the third courtyard of the palace. Vanmour’s painting depicts this exact episode showing the grand vizier Silahdar Mehmed Paşa standing at the gate of the *Divân* chamber with the Khan of Crimea (fig. 150).

Russian resident Nepluev described this tragic event in his report in details: “Next day morning, i. e. 14 November, they gathered at Porte, where they were kindly received by the vizier and others. After that all went to the Sultan’s court and gathered in *Divân* to talk about various issues. Then the Khan, the vizier, the mufti, Muçum Abdullag Paşa and the Captain Paşa Yanun Gauge went as usual to the Sultan to convey the agreement of the Council in order to get his resolution. However everything had been already prepared, i. e. in the sultan’s court there were Bostancı and Haseki up to 1000 people fully armed. Also Captain Paşa, on the morning before the Council, arranged two or three hundred armed marines to be brought through the other court gates to await there for his order. And as mentioned above, the gathered ministers took the Sultan’s permission and executed the intended task. And thus Captain Paşa Yanun Gauge came

out to the rebels, and meanwhile the order had come to shut the gates, and announced to Patrona Ali, Janissaries-aga and Muslu that for their services the Sultan declares them first class paşas and sends one to Sofia, another – to Nisa, and the third to another place. In order to ensure their acceptance and obedience the Sultan wants them to accept in his presence sable fur coats, and that was the Sultans will, which they eagerly accepted. Then Yanun Gauge ordered kapıdgi-bachi to lead the rebels by the arms to the Sultan, and the sable fur coats to be carried after them, and himself also followed them. And they were brought in front of the Sultan and bowed to him as usual, and the Sultan withdrew to another chamber, ordering to proceed as intended. Then Yanun Gauge took out his dagger and stabbed Patrona Aliya, who was still bowing in front of the Sultan, with his own hand. And Janissaries-aga and Muslu were killed by others, who wounded them many times. And then they also killed Patron Aliya. Then Yanun Gauge came out and announces to Serdengeçti-aga (which was up to 24 people) to approach the Sultan’s quarters to receive kaftans as awards of their merits. Then they felt the threat and knew their death was coming and their kaftans would have bloodstains, and retreated to the gates, which were shut. An armed Bostancı, by order Yanun Gauge, killed up to sixteen people and beat some of their servants. And eight people Serdengeçti-aga were captured alive, although they defended themselves, but their strength was weak”.⁸³

The paintings depicting the events of the revolt are the last known from the artworks of Vanmour. The artist died on 22 January 1737, as was duly noted by the French newspaper *Mercure de France*: “M. l’ambassadeur de France envoya toute sa maison à son convoi funèbre, où toute la nation française assista”, stating that on the day of the funeral, 22 January 1737, many members of the French embassy and French community visited the ceremony in the Jesuit church in Galata, one of the central areas of Istanbul.⁸⁴

¹ A. Boppe, “Jean-Baptiste Van Mour – peintre ordinaire du Roi en Levant”, in *Revue de Paris*, July–August 1903, p. 591.

² S. Gopin, *Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, a painter of turqueries*, Ph.D. dissertation (New Brunswick: Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 1994), pp. 40–41. According to the archival records the family of Vanmour consisted of five members: born to parents Simon and Marie Vanmour were the artist himself, his two brothers Simon Pierre and Louis, and two sisters.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 56. *Mercure de France*, June 1737, pp. 1173–75.

⁴ Gopin 1994, p. 37.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁷ H. Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture 1585–1700* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 10.

⁸ Gopin 1994, pp. 52–54.

⁹ I am grateful to Esin Atil for this observation.

¹⁰ *Le journal des sçavans*, Paris, 1714, p. 193.

¹¹ A. J. Dezallier d’Argenville, *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres avec ... quelques réflexions sur leurs caractères, et la manière de connaître les desseins des grands maîtres* (Paris, 1745). Quoted in C. B. Bailey, Ph. Conisbee and Th. Gaeltgens, *The Age of Watteau, Chardin and Fragonard* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹³ E. F. Gersaint, *Catalogue raisonné des diverses curiosités du cabinet de feu M. Quentin de Lorange* (Paris, 1744), p. 5. Quoted in Bailey, Conisbee and Gaeltgens 2003, p. 81.

¹⁴ P. J. Mariette, *Abecedario de P. J. Mariette et autres notes inédites de cet amateur sur les arts et les artistes* (Paris, 1858–59), p. 389. “... ses tableaux sont plus curieux par les choses qu’ils représentent que par la manière dont ils sont exécutés...”.

¹⁵ In his recent article “Do Not Blame the Ambassador” (*Aramco*, no. 38), Charles Newton suggested that de Busbecq’s understanding of the flower name was a result of misunderstanding between himself and his interpreter. The name of the flower in Turkish is *lâle*, and the ambassador most probably referred to the word *tül bend lâlesi*, meaning a specific kind of tulip.

¹⁶ G. O. de Busbecq, *Turkish Letters* (London: Eland, 2005), p. 16.

¹⁷ *Venice and the Islamic World 828–1797* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 84.

¹⁸ J. Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode* (London: Sothe-

by’s, Islamic Art Publications, 1982), p. 62.

¹⁹ *The Sultan’s Portrait – Picturing the House of Osman* (Istanbul: İşbank, 2000), p. 102

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 103

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

²² G. MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580–1720* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), p. 10.

²³ M. Bryan, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers: Biographical and Critical* (Nabu Press, 2010), p. 886.

²⁴ K. Adahl, *Painting commissioned by the 17th century Swedish Ambassador Claes Rålamb. Mehmed the Hunter’s Imperial Procession* (Istanbul: Pera Müzesi, 2006).

²⁵ G. F. Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople. A Record of Sir John Finch’s Embassy* (London, 1920), p. 69.

²⁶ Boppe 1903, p. 603.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 607.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 608.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 609.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 610.

³¹ E. Sint Nicolaas, D. Bull, G. Renda and G. İrepoğlu, *An Eye-witness of the Tulip Era. Jean-Baptiste Vanmour* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2003), p. 103

³² *Ibid.*, p. 140. A portrait of Ambassador Cornelis Calkoen in the Rijksmuseum collection was previously attributed to Vanmour, partially based on the appearance of the artist’s signature. However, recent restoration has revealed that the signature was added later.

³³ Sold at the Ader-Tajan sale, 25 October 1994, lot 377.

³⁴ Both paintings were sold in Gros & Delettrez, Paris, 17–18 December 2001, lot 385 and lot 386.

³⁵ Boppe 1903, p. 603. Translated in Gopin 1994, p. 261.

³⁶ Sint Nicolaas, Bull, Renda and İrepoğlu 2003, p. 103.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

³⁸ A. Vandal, *Une ambassade française en Orient sous Louis XIV: la mission du marquis de Villeneuve 1728–41* (Paris, 1887), p. 115.

³⁹ Boppe 1903, p. 609.

⁴⁰ Gopin 1994, p. 130.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁴² Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters* (London: Virago, 2006), p. 89.

⁴³ de Busbecq 2005, p. 80.

⁴⁴ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu 2006, p. 73.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁴⁶ The spelling of the titles of the members of the eighteenth century Ottoman court were taken from the book by Esin Atil *Levni and the Surname: The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival* (APA Tasarım

Yayincilikve Baskı Hiz A.S. Levni, 2000).

⁴⁷ S. Shutov and M. Oreskhova, *Turziya nakanune i posle politavskoi bitvy* (Moscow, 1971), p. 60.

⁴⁸ Sint Nicolaas, Bull, Renda and İrepoğlu 2003, p. 114.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁵⁰ *The Ambassador, the Sultan and the Artist. An Audience in Istanbul*, exhibition catalogue (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2003), p. 15.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57. According to Günsel Renda, “Moslem women wore yellow shoes while non-Muslim had to wear black or dark colors”.

⁵² Ader-Tajan, *Collections Françaises Charles-Roux Ambassadeur de France Appartenant à Madame Edmonde Charles-Roux Defferre*, 25 October 1994, lot 377.

⁵³ R. Davis, *The Emergences of International Business 1200–1800* (London: Routledge, 1999), Vol. VI, p. 80.

⁵⁴ N. and C. Webb, *The Earl and his Butler in Constantinople* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009), p. 162

⁵⁵ This information was kindly provided by Michael Carter from the Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone.

⁵⁶ Ch. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Derniers portraits littéraires* (Didier, 1858), p. 131.

⁵⁷ Ph. Mansel, *Constantinople. City of the World’s Desire, 1453–1924* (London: John Murray, 1995), p. 199.

⁵⁸ Gros & Delettrez, Paris, 18 December 2001, lot 385.

⁵⁹ *At the Sublime Porte. Ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire 1550–1800*, exhibition catalogue (London: Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox, 1988), p. 51. “Relation de l’audience que j’ai eue du Grand Vizir Ibrahim Pacha genre du Grand Seigneur, le mardy 10 octobre 1724; dans son a palais de Constantinople”, by the Vicomte d’Andrezel.

⁶⁰ Renda and İrepoğlu 2003, p. 16.

⁶¹ de Busbecq 2005, p. 6.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁶³ Mansel 1995, p. 65.

⁶⁴ *At the Sublime Porte* 1988, p. 53.

⁶⁵ Webb 2009, p. 40.

⁶⁶ D. Bantush-Kamensky, *Biografia rossiskih generalissimusov i general-feldmarshalov* (Moscow: Kultura, 1990).

⁶⁷ *At the Sublime Porte* 1988, p. 49.

⁶⁸ Mansel 1995, p. 63.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ The information on the details of the ceremony was kindly provided by Günsel Renda, whose advises and comments were extremely important for this publication.

⁷¹ Mansel 1995, p. 65.

⁷² Lady Mary Wortley Montagu 2006, p. 67.

⁷³ “Opisanie o bunte sluchivshemsya v Konstantinopole v mesyaze sentyabre 1730 godu (Prilizhenie k sekretnoi shifrovannoï relyazii rezidenta Ivana Neplueva ot Tzar Grada ot 1 oktyabrya 1730 goda, N° 21)” in *Archeografichesky ezhegodnik*, 1960 (Moscow, 1962).

⁷⁴ *At the Sublime Porte* 1988, p. 49.

⁷⁵ Mansel 1995, p. 63.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ The information on the details of the ceremony was kindly provided by Günsel Renda,

⁷⁸ Mansel 1995, p. 65.

⁷⁹ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu 2006, p. 67.

⁸⁰ “Opisanie o bunte...” 1962.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 333.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

⁸⁴ Boppe 1903, p. 610.



Detail of fig. 152 (p. 168)

Istanbul: Artists and World of the Ottomans during the Eighteenth Century

“I dare to add, Sir, that no other painter before me has worked with such care in this style and I find myself alone in this land ...”, wrote Vanmour in his letter in 1730 to an unknown correspondent of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.¹ Though not wishing to diminish the artist’s significant contribution, we should note that this information is not entirely correct, as there were other artists, although not so well skilled and professionally trained, working in Istanbul at the beginning of the eighteenth century. First of all we should refer to the local artists who worked in Vanmour’s workshop, executing numerous single figure costume studies for the market, after Vanmour’s originals (figs. 151–154). The production of the portraits continued after Vanmour’s death, as such portraits were very popular among foreign travellers, who were very eager to purchase souvenirs of their journey. The subject of the ambassadorial reception also could not escape their attention. And the artwork, presumably depicting ambassador Cornelis Calkoen, *The grand vizier receives European ambassadors in his konak or yalı* (fig. 155) by a local artist had been executed already during the 1740s. The style of the work and the lack of knowledge of painting technique and of rules of perspective suggest that this was done by a local painter, probably a Greek or Armenian. The variety of subjects regarding the ambassadorial reception that had been introduced by Vanmour became limited to only two after his death – the reception by the sultan in the throne room (*Arz Odası*) and the reception by the grand vizier in his *yalı*. Among the works by unknown local painters are such paintings as *The Reception of the Swedish Ambassador Gustaf Celsing by the Grand Vizier*; *The Reception of the Swedish Ambassador Gustaf Celsing by the Sultan*; *The Reception of the Swedish Ambassador Ulric Celsing by the Grand Vizier*; *The Reception of the Swedish Ambassador Ulric Celsing by the Sultan* (all four in the Biby Castle Collection, Sweden); two paintings depicting ambassador’s receptions by the sultan and the grand vizier, *European Noblemen at*

the Turkish Court (figs. 156 and 157); *The Reception of the Russian Ambassador Prince Reprine 28 November 1775* (Moscow, Historical Museum); *The Reception of the Ambassador Frederik Gijbbrecht van Dedem by the Sultan* (Edwina van Heek Foundation); and others. In these cases, it is most unlikely that the artist was present during the actual reception, though at the same time his presence was actually not necessary at all. The iconographic type that was developing over the centuries, due first of all to the permanency of the reception protocol, had been perfected by Vanmour, and other artists had only to follow his example. Judging from the variety of the existing paintings, it is obvious that interest in ambassadorial subjects in art never ceased and that such works were regularly produced.

The first European artist to arrive in Istanbul after the death of Vanmour was Jean-Étienne Liotard (1702–1789), who came to the capital of the Ottomans in 1738 with Sir William Ponsonby, Second Earl of Bessborough. His trip, previously planned as short, lasted until 1742, since Liotard chose not to continue travelling with his companions, who afterwards left to Egypt. The very different world, with its rich exotic culture and the ethnic variety of the local population, stimulated the artist’s interest. Liotard adopted the local dress and customs and called himself “the Turkish painter”. He executed a number of drawings with red and black chalk, depicting locals wearing traditional dress, as well as portraits of local foreigners and diplomats, such as the British merchant Francis Levett (fig. 159); the Austrian ambassador Anton Corfiz, Count Ulfeld; archaeologist Richard Pococke; Gaspard de Péleran, the French consul in Smyrne, and his wife; Comte Charles-Alexandre de Bonneval (known as Ahmet Paşa); and others.

In 1741–42 the Venetian ambassador Andrea Erizzo commissioned a series of watercolours depicting views of Istanbul. The artworks were executed by his military attaché Giovanni Francesco Rossini (1688–1764).

151
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
and workshop
A çuhadar, ambassadorial servant
Oil on canvas, 39.5 × 30 cm
SK-A-2032. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum



152
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
and workshop
*A çavus, member of the corps
of imperial messengers*
Oil on canvas, 39 × 51 cm
SK-A-2029. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum



153
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
and workshop
An Albanian shepherd
Oil on canvas, 39 × 31 cm
SK-A-2040. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum



154
Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
and workshop
*The Kizlar Agasi, chief
of the black eunuchs*
Oil on canvas, 39.5 × 31 cm
SK-A-2019. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum



155
Workshop of Jean-Baptiste
Vanmour
*The grand vizier receives
European ambassadors in his
konak or yalı*, c. 1737
Oil on canvas, 92.5 × 129.5 cm
SK-A-4079. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum



156
Unknown artist
*European Noblemen
at the Turkish Court*
mid-eighteenth century
Oil on canvas, 78.5 × 97.5 cm
Courtesy of Sotheby's
Picture Library



157
Unknown artist
*European Noblemen
at the Turkish Court*
mid-eighteenth century
Oil on canvas, 78.5 × 97.5 cm
Courtesy of Sotheby's
Picture Library



158
Unknown artist, English school
View of Istanbul
early eighteenth century
Oil on canvas, 204 × 443 cm
Doha, Orientalist Museum

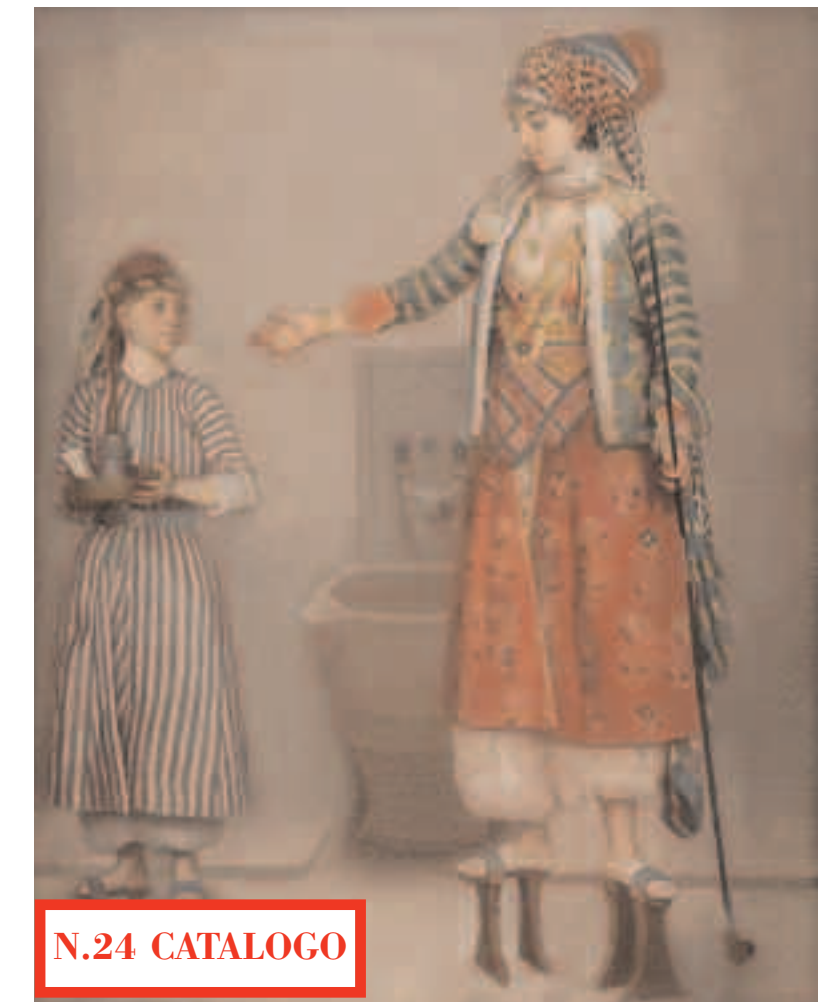
N. 8 CATALOGO





159
Jean-Étienne Liotard
*Portrait of Francis Levett and
Hélène Glavani*, c. 1740
Oil on board, 24.7 × 36.4 cm
Paris, Musée du Louvre

160
Jean-Étienne Liotard
*A Lady in Turkish Costume
with her Servant at the
Hamam*, c. 1742–43
Pastel on paper laid down on
canvas, 70.9 × 56 cm
Doha, Orientalist Museum



N.24 CATALOGO

Colonel Rossini depicted the Ottoman capital from the upper part of Pera, producing one of the earliest precise topographical records of Istanbul. Rossini wasn't the only military representative of Italy with artistic skills. Giuseppe Manzoni, a young Italian naval cadet, arrived to Istanbul in 1796. Among his works is a quite elaborate panorama of the city with a rich and extremely detailed depiction of every major mosque and monument.

French artist Antoine de Favray (1706–1791) came to Istanbul in 1762 and worked until 1771 for the French ambassadors, the Comte de Vergennes and the Comte de Saint-Priest. Among his paintings are two portraits of the ambassador de Vergennes and his wife (figs. 161 and 162). It is also known that the artist produced a painting of an ambassadorial subject, known only by a drawing study traditionally attributed to de Favray, *Farewell Audience of French Ambassador Charles Gravier (1717–87), Comte de Vergennes, with Sultan Mustafa III (1717–74) in Constantinople on 17th December 1768* (fig. 165). The drawing depicts not the ceremony of the presentation of credentials, but the farewell reception. Another painting, *Reception of the Comte de Saint-Priest by the Sultan on 28 November 1768*, was exhibited in the Paris Salon of 1771, and the description of the painting took an entire page of the catalogue. In 1768 the Comte de Saint-Priest was appointed ambassador to Istanbul, where he stayed, with a short break, until 1785. There are two paintings in the collections of the châteaux of Versailles and Trianon by Francesco Giuseppe Casanova (1727–1802): *Audience Given in Constantinople by the Grand Vizier Aimali Carac for François-Emmanuel Guignard (1735–1821) Comte de Saint-Priest, 18th March 1779* (fig. 163) and *Prince Pierre Reprine being freed from the prison of the Seven Towers in the presence of Comte de Saint-Priest on 25th September 1773* (fig. 164). Boppe mentions in his book that the paintings were executed as copies after the works of de Favray, as Francesco Giuseppe Casanova has never been to Istanbul.² The subject of the last painting brings to our attention a very interesting historical fact, namely, that foreign diplomats were imprisoned, although very rarely, in the Yedikule Fortress – the Castle of the Seven Towers. The citadel, which was built between 1453 and 1455, served as a treasury and a prison, and among the prisoners, there were even foreign ambassadors. Prince Piotr Reprine (1744–1775), depicted in Casanova's paintings, was captured during a military operation against the Turks along with a few other Russian officers. “The advantage gained by our counterparty is not changing anything in our situation”, wrote

Colonel Rossini depicted the Ottoman capital from the upper part of Pera, producing one of the earliest precise topographical records of Istanbul. Rossini wasn't the only military representative of Italy with artistic skills. Giuseppe Manzoni, a young Italian naval cadet, arrived to Istanbul in 1796. Among his works is a quite elaborate panorama of the city with a rich and extremely detailed depiction of every major mosque and monument.



161
Antoine de Favray
*Portrait of Charles Gravier
Count of Vergennes and French
Ambassador, in Turkish Attire*
1766
Oil on canvas, 141 × 113 cm
Istanbul, Suna and İnan Kıraç
Foundation Orientalist
Painting Collection



162
Antoine de Favray
*Portrait of the Countess
of Vergennes in Turkish Attire*
1766
Oil on canvas, 129 × 96 cm
Istanbul, Suna and İnan Kıraç
Foundation Orientalist
Painting Collection

right

163
Francesco Giuseppe Casanova
*Audience Given in
Constantinople by the Grand
Vizier Aimali Carac for
François-Emmanuel Guignard
(1735–1821) Comte de
Saint-Priest, 18th March 1779*
Oil on canvas, 151 × 230 cm
Versailles, Musée national
des châteaux de Versailles
et de Trianon

164
Francesco Giuseppe Casanova
*Prince Pierre Reprine being
freed from the prison of the
Seven Towers in the presence
of Comte de Saint-Priest
on 25th September 1773*
Oil on canvas, 151 × 230 cm
Versailles, Musée national
des châteaux de Versailles
et de Trianon



165
Antoine de Favray (attr.)
*Farewell Audience of French
Ambassador Charles Gravier
(1717–87), Comte de Vergennes,
with Sultan Mustafa III
(1717–74) in Constantinople
on 17th December 1768*
Gouache on paper, 35 × 49 cm
Private collection



166
Robert Pranker
after Francis Smith
*The Grand Signior giving
Audience to the English
Ambassador, c. 1764*

(published 1769)
Engraving, 39.2 × 48 cm
NPG D18007
© National Portrait Gallery,
London



167
Robert Pranker
after Francis Smith
*The Grand Vizier giving
Audience to the English
Ambassador, 1769*
Engraving, 39.8 × 47.6 cm
London, the British Museum



Prince Rumyantzev to Catherine II, “and even the loss of such an insignificant number of staff wouldn’t matter, if among them there wasn’t a persona of Prince Repnine, as such noble prisoner has never been previously captured by the Turks, and such event grieves me immensely as I am personally feeling the loss being in good relations with the family”.³ The prisoners were taken to the Castle of Seven Towers and freed on 25 September 1773 with the assistance of the French ambassador, the Comte de Saint-Priest, who in 1779 was awarded by Catherine II with the Order of St. Andrew, the higher decoration in the Russian Empire. It should be mentioned that Prince Piotr Reprine was the brother of Prince Nicolai Reprine, Russian ambassador to Istanbul in 1775.⁴

English painter Francis Smith (fl. 1763–1780) accompanied Frederick Calvert, seventh Lord Baltimore, on a visit to the East, arriving in 1763 in Istanbul, where the artist stayed until 1768. Smith’s works, the engravings *The Grand Seignior giving Audience to the English Ambassador* (fig. 166) and *The Grand Vizier giving Audience to the English Ambassador* (fig. 167), were published in London in 1769. The ambassador depicted is presumably John Murray, who arrived in Istanbul on 26 November 1765. The drawing *Farewell Audience of French Ambassador Charles Gravier (1717–87), Comte de Vergennes, with Sultan Mustafa III (1717–74) in Constantinople on 17th December 1768*, usually attributed to Antoine de Favray (fig. 165), closely resembles the engravings of Pranker, calling into question its attribution to de Favray. Three paintings attributed to Francis Smith are in the collection of the Yale Centre for British Art: *The Grand Vizier giving Audience to the English Ambassador*; *Kisler Ağa, Chief of the Black Eunuchs and First Keeper of the Seraglio* (fig. 169); and *A Turkish Lady going with her slave to the Bath* (fig. 168). Based on these single figure paintings, as well as on the works from the de Ferriol edition, Venetian Teodoro Viero (1740–1819), editor, engraver and miniature painter, published a book in 1783–85, *Raccolta di 120 stampe, che rappresentano figure ed abiti di varie nazioni...*, depicting regional costumes of America, Africa and Asia.⁵ Among other known works of Smith is his panoramic view of Istanbul and its environs, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in London in 1770.

A very impressive collection of Ottoman subject pictures belongs to the Celsing family. The Celsing brothers, Gustaf (1723–1789) and Ulric (1731–1805), served as representatives of the Swedish crown in Istanbul during the second half of the eighteenth century. They

brought with them a very large collection of artworks, which are now displayed in the family castle of Biby; among them are impressive panoramas of Istanbul, the Bosphorus, and the Golden Horn, presumably painted by Jan van der Steen (d. 1784). The Celsing brothers were also engaged with Ignatius Mouradzea d’Ohsson (1740–1807) in the initial preparations for a grand illustrative work, published in three volumes in 1787–1820, *Tableau général de l’Empire ottoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l’une comprend la législation mohamétane, l’autre, l’histoire de l’Empire ottoman*.⁶ D’Ohsson was an Ottoman Armenian who served as a translator in the Swedish legation in Istanbul from 1763. After collecting a good deal of material for the publication, d’Ohsson left for Paris. It is known that for his work he took there at least forty-two large pictures to serve as sources for the engravings for his edition.⁷ Some of them were based on drawings by Jean-Baptiste Hilaire, who was working in Istanbul for the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier. In Paris some of the images were re-drawn by Jean-Jacques-François LeBarbier (1738–1826). Until 1787, the leading engraver of that time, Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715–1791), supervised the production of the first volumes. D’Ohsson’s remarkable work, generously illustrated, is a collection of information on the imperial palace and harem, the legislation system of the Ottoman Empire, as well as its customs and history.

The tradition of the patronage of European ambassadors continued during the entire eighteenth century. Ferdinando Tonioli (ac. 1774–1789) came to Istanbul in 1774 with the bailo of Venice, Girolamo Zulian, an experienced diplomat, famous collector, and art patron. French artist Jean-François Duchateau, supported by the diplomatic circles, was active in Istanbul between 1775 and 1796. He painted a few portraits of Sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1807; one of them, executed in 1792, is kept in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul), the portrait of Sultan Abdülhamid I (private collection), the portrait of dragoman Pierre Jamjoglu (Camcioglu; 1787, private collection), as well as the portrait of the dragoman of the Polish king Stanislaus Augustus Poniatovsky Lukasz Crutta and his wife (figs. 174 and 175). Luigi Mayer (1755–1803) found employment in about 1786 with the British ambassador to Istanbul, Sir Robert Ainslie. Upon returning to England in 1794 his watercolours depicting the manners and customs of the inhabitants of Egypt, Syria, Turkey and Greece were published, sponsored by Sir Ainslie, as a series of aquatints: *Views in Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia*.

168
Francis Smith
A Turkish Lady going with her slave to the Bath, c. 1763
Oil on canvas, 54.6 × 38.7 cm
New Haven, Yale Center for British Art



169
Francis Smith
Kisler Ağa, Chief of the Black Eunuchs and First Keeper of the Seraglio, c. 1763
Oil on canvas, 54.6 × 38.7 cm
New Haven, Yale Center for British Art



170
Jan van der Steen
*View of Constantinople and
the Seraglio from the Swedish
embassy in Pera*
Oil on canvas, 91.6 × 218.3 cm
SK-A-2056. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum





172
Ferdinando Tonioli
*Portrait of the grand vizier
Youssouf*, c. 1789
Oil on canvas, 37.5 × 27 cm
Versailles, Musée national
des châteaux de Versailles
et de Trianon

173
Ferdinando Tonioli
Sultan Abdülhamid I, c. 1789
Oil on canvas, 36 × 26 cm
Versailles, Musée national
des châteaux de Versailles
et de Trianon

174
Jean-François Duchateau
*Portrait of Lukasz Crutta
(1727–1812), Dragoman
Working for the Polish King
Stanislaus Augustus*, c. 1780
Oil on canvas, 28.7 × 20.9 cm
Warsaw, Zamek Królewski,
inv. no. ZKW/721

175
Jean-François Duchateau
*Portrait of Maria Catzifilis de
Christophori, his Wife*, c. 1780
Oil on canvas, 28.8 × 20.8 cm
Warsaw, Zamek Królewski,
inv. no. ZKW/722

left

171
D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, Vol. III,
p. 455, Plate 232: *Dinner
d'un ministre européen avec
le Grand Vézir dans la salle
du Divan*



PER FOTOLITO: NUOVE, METTERE IN PROVA



176
Gavryila Sergeev
View of Constantinople (View to Bosphorus and the City from the Scutari Side), c.1793
Gouache and watercolour
41 x 69 cm
Uglich, History and Fine Art Museum, no. 18653

177
Vasilii Petrov (after Gavryila Sergeev)
View of Constantinople (Golden Horn), c.1795
Gouache and watercolour
42 x 70 cm
Uglich, History and Fine Art Museum, no. 1872

178
Gavryila Sergeev
View of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, c.1793
Gouache and watercolour
51.4 x 36.4 cm
Uglich, History and Fine Art Museum, no. 15452



PER FOTOLITO: NUOVE DA METTERE IN PROVA



179
Luigi Mayer
*The Mosque of Sultan Achmet
at Constantinople, 1810*
Plate 2 from *Views in the
Ottoman Dominions*, published
by Robert Bowyer in 1810
Aquatint
Private collection





180
Luigi Mayer
View of Constantinople, 1810
Plate 1 from *Views in the
Ottoman Dominions*, published
by Robert Bowyer in 1810
Aquatint
Private collection

181
Michel-François Préaulx
*Vue d'un cimetière Turc,
à Constantinople*, 1814
Watercolour, 23 x 39.4 cm
Private collection
© Christie's Images, Ltd. 2004



182
Jean Michel Moreau
*Reception of the ambassador
Choiseul by the Grand Turc*
Paris, Musée du Louvre,
Département des Arts
graphiques



183
Antoine-Laurent Castellan
*Reception of General Aubert-
Dubayet by the Grand Vizier of
the Sultan in Constantinople*,
1796-97
Gouache on paper





184
Jean-Baptiste Hilaire
Harem Scene, end of
the eighteenth century
Ink and gouache
33.6 × 44.8 cm
Paris, Musée du Louvre,
Département des Arts
graphiques

185
Jean-Baptiste Hilaire
Promenade, 1797
Ink and watercolour
35 × 46 cm
Paris, Musée du Louvre,
Département des Arts
graphiques

right

186
Jean-Baptiste Hilaire
*Portrait of Sultan Abd-ul
Hamid I standing in front of a
golden throne, a domed palace
in the distance*, 1788
Black chalk, watercolour and
bodycolour, 68.5 × 50.5 cm
Private collection
© Christie's Images, Ltd. 2008



187
Louis-François Cassas
View of Constantinople
1787–1827
Watercolour, pen and India
ink, 66 × 102 cm
Istanbul, Suna and İnan Kıraç
Foundation Orientalist
Painting Collection





N.30 + 29 CATALOGO



188
Antoine-Ignace Melling
View of the First Interior Court of the Serail in Constantinople
c. 1810
Watercolour and ink
heightened with white
gouache, 39 x 70 cm
Doha, Orientalist Museum

189
Antoine-Ignace Melling
Inside the Harem of the Sultan
c. 1810
Watercolour and ink
heightened with white
gouache, 40.6 x 65.4 cm
Doha, Orientalist Museum

The Russian military officer, topographer and artist Gavryila Sergeev (1765–1816), accompanying the embassy of Prince Kutuzov, arrived in 1793 in Istanbul, where he executed a series of watercolours depicting views of Turkey and Egypt (figs. 176–178).⁸ Watercolours were kept in Kutuzov's family house in St. Petersburg for many years, until they were transferred to the Shishkino estate near Uglich, later becoming a part of the Uglich Museum. Sergeev's illustrations were also used for the 1804 edition of *Reise der russisch Kaiserlichen ausserordentlichen Gesandtschaft an die Ottomanische Pforte im Jahre 1793*.

Gaetano Mercati accompanied Sir Robert Liston, British ambassador in 1793–96. Reveley Willey (d. 1799) accompanied Sir Richard Worsley.

In 1796 a group of French architects, engineers, cannon founders and artists was commissioned by Sultan Selim III to supply military and naval installations for the Ottoman forces. Among the artists was Michel-François Préaulx (active 1787–1827), who executed topographical drawings. It is known that he was still residing in Istanbul in 1827. Among his most prominent published works are *Constantinople et le Bosphore de Thrace pendant les années 1812–1814 et pendant l'année 1826*, issued in Paris in 1828 and *Atlas des promenades pittoresques dans Constantinople et sur les rives du Bosphore*.

The list of other artists who arrived to Istanbul during the eighteenth century includes Armand-Charles Caraffe (1762–1822), who resided in Egypt and Turkey in 1788–89; Antoine-Laurent Castellan (1772–1838), who spent a few months in Istanbul in 1797. In 1776 and 1784, the French ambassador Comte Marie-Gabriel-Florent de Choiseul-Gouffier invited a few artists to accompany him on his trip to Greece and Asia Minor – Louis-François Cassas (1756–1827), Louis-François-Sebastien Fauvel (1753–1838) and Jean-Baptiste Hilaire (1753–1822). Cassas's works in various parts of the Near East was sponsored by the Comte, resulting in a monumental set of 180

views of Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine and Lower Egypt, published in 1799. Jean-Baptiste Hilaire was the principal illustrator of *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* by French ambassador Comte Choiseul-Gouffier and *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman* by Mouradgea d'Ohsson. Cassas published several large volumes of engravings after sketches made on his travels in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Cyprus and Egypt between 1784 and 1797. The results of his trips were published in *Le voyage de Syrie*.

The last great eighteenth-century embassy artist came from Baden. Antoine-Ignace Melling (1763–1831), who arrived in Istanbul in 1785 in the suite of the Russian ambassador, Count Bulgakov, subsequently worked for the British and Dutch ambassadors. Thereafter Melling's most famous art patron was Hatice Sultan, the favourite sister of the reforming Sultan Selim III. The artist left Istanbul in 1802 with a series of drawings depicting numerous views of the Ottoman Empire, which were later published with the support of the French government as *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore* in 1819. This series of the artist's impressions has passed the test of time, as even now they are considered masterpieces of observation. Praised by Turkish writer Orhan Pamuk as the “most nuanced and convincing” artist, Melling recorded everyday events of society, including the sultan's processions, Turkish weddings, and accurate representations of the palace interiors.⁹ In his memoirs Pamuk referred to the artist's ability to reverse the mutability of life with everlasting, nostalgic moments from what, for Melling, must have been an alien world, nonetheless encapsulating from them precise, priceless memories of history: “At times when I was most desperate to believe in a glorious past ... I found Melling's engravings consoling. But even as I allow myself to be transported, I am aware that part of what makes Melling's paintings so beautiful is the sad knowledge that what they depict no longer exists”.¹⁰

¹ A. Boppe, “Jean-Baptiste Van Mour – peintre ordinaire du Roi en Levant”, in *Revue de Paris*, July–August 1903, pp. 609–10.
² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

³ S. Soloviev, *Istoriya Rossii s drevneishih vremen* (Moscow, 1993), Vol. 29

⁴ This information was kindly provided by Prince Michel Repnine.

⁵ *Raccolta di 120 stampe, che*

rappresentano figure ed abiti di varie nazioni... pubblicati da Teodoro Viero, Venezia, 1783–90, 3 Vols.

⁶ I. M. 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* (Paris, 1787–1820).

⁷ C. V. Findley, *Presenting the Ottomans to Europe: Mouradgea*

d'Ohsson and his Tableau général de l'Empire othoman (Stockholm: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2002), p. 14.

⁸ This new information became available after the exhibition of the funds of the Uglich Museum, *In the Name of Catherine the Great: Unique watercolours Depicting Views of the Ottoman Empire from the Collection of Prince Kutuzov*, which took

place in the historical Museum in Rubynsk. I would like to thank Svetlana Kisteneva, curator of the Uglich Museum, for providing information and for our very interesting discussions on the subject.

⁹ O. Pamuk, *Istanbul. Memoirs of a City* (London: Faber and Faber, 2005), p. 55.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*



Detail of fig. 195 (p. 209)

The Influence of Jean-Baptiste Vanmour's Art on the Works of European Artists

The publication of the series of engravings *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant* had a major impact on eighteenth-century European art, first of all owing to the quality of its genuinely executed images, and also because of the number of reprints and copies produced in other countries. Artists were constantly returning to this genuine source on the everyday subjects and costumes of Ottoman society. Along with the artists, European porcelain factories turned to the images of the Ottoman world, creating a gallery of miniature figurines representing the peoples of the Levant. Naturally the first porcelain factory to produce the Turkish-style images was the Meissen factory. In 1731 the remarkable artist Johann Joachim Kändler (1706–1775) joined the factory as head sculptor. For the next forty-four years Kändler's artistic genius, versatility and imagination brought the factory world renown. The sculptor introduced new modelling and decorative techniques, which became the Meissen trademark for a long time, shaping European taste and style in porcelain for centuries. He was assisted by three of the most distinguished pottery sculptors of the Rococo period – J. F. Eberlein, F. E. Meyer, and P. Reinicke – and scarcely a palace in Europe did not contain its own Meissen figurines, dinner sets, vases, or other works of the Kändler period. Among his best-known works are the series of figurines depicting the people of the Levant, created in the 1740s. For the information on the costumes' authenticity Kändler turned to the German edition of the de Ferriol engravings printed in 1719 in Nuremberg by Johann Christoph Weigel. He worked in collaboration with another sculptor, Peter Reinicke, producing such figurines as a sultan, a sultana, a young Turk, a Hungarian man, a Hungarian lady, a Bulgarian man, a Bulgarian lady, a Tartar, and others, which set an example, as very soon the models of the Meissen factory were followed by other European porce-

lain factories. In 1754–61 the Samuel Gilbody porcelain factory in Liverpool produced a number of figurines as copies of Meissen creations. In 1765–70 the sculptor Gaspero Bruschi of the Italian factory Doccia borrowed images from the de Ferriol edition for the creation of figural candlesticks executed in a flamboyant Rococo style as an Oriental lady and an Oriental man. In 1769–71 one of the Thuringian porcelain factories, Kloster-Veilsdorf, presented a series of figurines, "People of the Levant", modelled by Friedrich Wilhelm Eugen Döll. A sculptor of the Fürstenberg porcelain factory, Anton Carl Luplau, also modelled a few figurines in 1773–74, in particular, a sultan and sultana, based on the engravings from the de Ferriol series. In 1787 the Copenhagen Royal Factory also executed few multifigured compositions based on the Marquis de Ferriol engravings.

Apart from the porcelain, the images of the engravings served as a very important and reliable source for the illustration of travel books containing descriptions of the Ottoman Empire, its traditions, customs, costumes and people. Well-known French engraver Bernard Picart (1673–1733) generously used the engravings of the de Ferriol edition for the illustrations of one of the eight volumes in his edition of the major project entitled *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde (1723–1743)*, published in Amsterdam from 1723 to 1743.¹ The volume on Mohammedanism was illustrated with twenty-six engravings; almost half of them were taken from Vanmour's imagery (fig. 194). Picart omitted the name and initials of Vanmour, stating only his own initials, "B. Picart sculp", and the initials of his assistant engravers.

Jean-Antoine Guer (1713–1764), a historian of animal psychology, commissioned François Boucher (1703–1770) to execute a number of illustrations for his study of the customs and traditions of Turks, *Moeurs et usages des turcs, leur religion, leur gou-*

190
After François Boucher
engraver Claude Augustin
Duflos for the book of
Jean Antoine Guer *Moeurs
et usages des Turcs*, Vol. 2
Le Chef des Eunuques noir, 1747
ULB Bonn, Ln 690



191
After François Boucher
engraver Claude Augustin
Duflos for the book of
Jean Antoine Guer *Moeurs
et usages des Turcs*, Vol. 2
Moufti, 1747
ULB Bonn, Ln 690



192
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
engraver Gérard Scotin
*Tchelebi, jeune seigneur
turc*, c. 1712
Plate 40
Etching and stipple
Private collection



193
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
engraver Gérard Scotin
*Le moufti, ou chef de
la loy*, c. 1712
Plate 20
Etching and stipple
Private collection

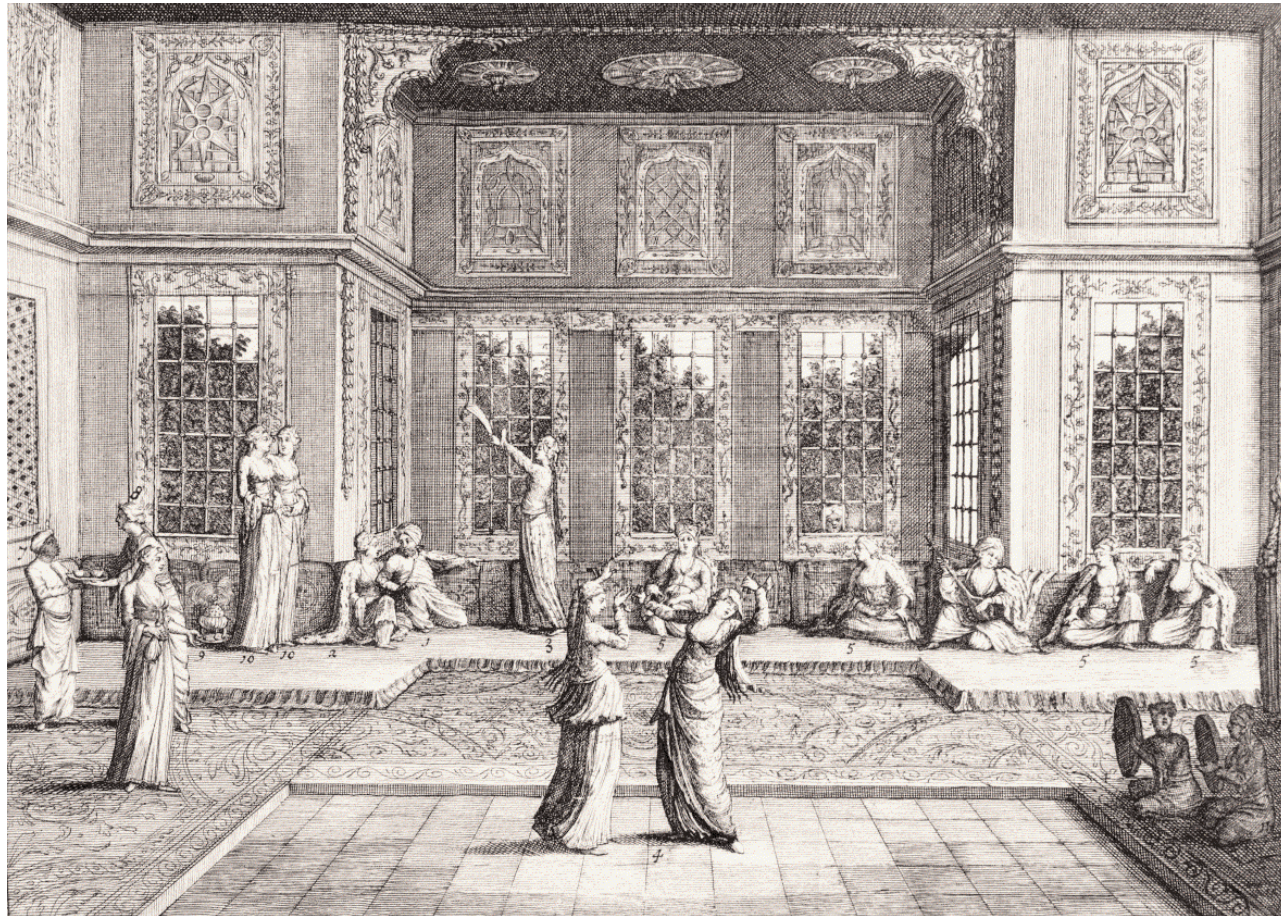


194
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
publisher Bernard Picart
engraver Jacob Folkema
Whirling dervishes, 1731
Etching and stipple
Private collection



195
Jean Barbault
A Creek Sultana, 1748
Oil on canvas, 66 × 49 cm
Paris, Musée du Louvre





196
William Hogarth
Women dancing in the Harem
1723–24
Engraving
From Aubry de La Motraye
*Travels through Europe
Asia and into Part of Africa*
London 1723–24

197
William Hogarth
Sultan Ahmed III, 1723–24
Engraving
From Aubry de La Motraye
*Travels through Europe
Asia and into Part of Africa*
London 1723–24
Wien, Gesellschaft der
Musikfreunde – Archiv,
Bibliothek, Sammlungen
Signatur Bi 1259/g

198
William Hogarth
*Procession through the
Hippodrome, 1723–24*
Engraving
From Aubry de La Motraye
*Travels through Europe
Asia and into Part of Africa*
London 1723–24
Wien, Gesellschaft der
Musikfreunde – Archiv,
Bibliothek, Sammlungen
Signatur Bi 1259/e



vernement civil, militaire et politique avec un abrégé de l'histoire ottomane, which were engraved by Claude Augustin Duflos (1700–1786) and published in two volumes in Paris in 1746–47.² Unlike Picart, Boucher was not blindly copying the engravings, but expanding and increasing the dynamics of the composition of the images, adding decorative elements and extra details to the costumes (figs. 190 and 191).

On 20 February 1748 a masquerade was staged in Rome for the annual Carnival by the students of the Académie Française. The theme of the masquerade, “*Caravan du Sultan à la Mecque*”, was inspired by the accounts of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca and the caravan of gifts sent by the Ottoman sultan. An eyewitness of the ceremony, the French ambassador, noted that “more than forty different costumes were exhibited, representing every Eastern country as well as the principal personages at the Court of the Grand Seigneur”.³ Obviously the costumes’ designer artist Joseph Marie Vien (1716–1809) had never witnessed such a procession in reality; however, he turned to one of the very few trustworthy sources – the engravings after Vanmour’s series of costumes. The designs of Vien’s costumes were later published in the edition *Car-*

avan du Sultan à la Mecque Mascarade Turque.⁴ Jean Barbault (1718–1762), who was also working in the Académie Française in Rome, painted a few images related to Oriental personages; one of them, *A Greek Sultana* (fig. 195), closely resembles the engraving no. 69 *Novi, ou fille grecque dans la ceremonie du mariage* (fig. 210) from Marquis de Ferriol’s edition.

The French traveller François Aubry de La Motraye (1674–1743), who set off from Paris in 1696 and travelled for twenty-six years, came to Istanbul in 1699. Upon his return he wrote a book, which was published in two volumes in London in 1723, *Travels through Europe Asia and into Part of Africa with Proper Cuts and Maps. Containing a Great Variety of Geographical, Topographical and Political Observations on those Parts of the World; especially on Italy, Turkey, Greece, Crim and Noghiaian Tartaries, Circassia, Sweden, and Lapland. A curious Collection of Things particularly Rare, both in Nature and Antiquity; such as Remains of Ancient Cities and Colonies, Inscriptions, Idols, Medals, Minerals, etc.*⁵ A fascinating travel account through parts of Europe (particularly Scandinavia), Asia (particularly the Middle East), and Africa, it includes accounts of the histories and situations of the regions he visited, illustrated

with numerous engraved plates and maps. The plates were all engraved in England, and among them are works by William Hogarth (1697–1764). These plates represent the artist’s first major commission as a printmaker, and they certainly helped Hogarth establish himself in London as a more than capable craftsman. The source of Hogarth’s information was first of all the engravings of the de Ferriol edition, including the single figure portraits *Sultan Ahmed III* (fig. 197) as well as *Women dancing in the Harem* (fig. 196) and *Procession through the Hippodrome* (fig. 198). Other works suggest Hogarth’s knowledge of Vanmour’s actual paintings, which La Motraye could have brought with him from Turkey.

A very interesting story links the name of Vanmour with that of one of the most famous and influential women of her time – Madame de Pompadour. The château of Bellevue was built over the years 1748–51 as a residence and social base for Madame de Pompadour, the favourite of Louis XV. Contemporary French artists received numerous commissions and orders for the art objects intended for the decoration of the palace interiors. Among the most unusual and interesting of the decorative schemes was the one

199
Carle Van Loo
Sultana Drinking Coffee
(*Madame de Pompadour*
as a *Sultana*), c. 1754
Oil on canvas, 120 × 127 cm
Inv. no. GE-7489
St. Petersburg, The State
Hermitage Museum



200
Carle Van Loo
Sultana at tapestry, c. 1754
Oil on canvas, 120 × 127 cm
Inv. no. GE-7490
St. Petersburg, The State
Hermitage Museum





201
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
engraver Jean-Baptiste
Haussard
*Fille turque prenant le caffè
sur le sofa*, c. 1712
Plate 48
Etching and stipple
Private collection



202
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
engraver Gérard Scotin
*Femme turque qui fume
sur le sofa*, c. 1712
Plate 45
Etching and stipple
Private collection



203
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
engraver Claude Du Bosc
Fille turque qui brode, c. 1712
Plate 52
Etching and stipple
Private collection



204
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
engraver Gérard Scotin
*Fille turque jouant du
tehegour*, c. 1712
Plate 51
Etching and stipple
Private collection

used for Madame de Pompadour's bedroom, known as the *chamber à la turque*. The exotic approach was seen not only in the painting program, but also in the furniture and applied arts decorative elements. The central elements of the room's decoration were three paintings commissioned from Carle Van Loo (1705–1765), depicting the various female inhabitants and activities of a Turkish seraglio. A beautiful woman depicted as a sultana is presumably Madame de Pompadour herself. Two paintings, *Sultana Drinking Coffee* (fig. 199) and *Sultana at tapestry* (fig. 200), were hung over doors. The third, smaller canvas, *An Odalisque Playing a Stringed Instrument*, hung above a mirror between the two windows.⁶ For the iconographic source the artist turned to the only available genuine and reputable information source of that time, the series of engravings after the works of Jean-Baptiste Vanmour from the Marquis de Ferriol edition, which was known to be owned also by Madame de Pompadour.⁷ And indeed the subject of the painting *Sultana Drinking Coffee* presents an elegantly dressed sultana being served a coffee by her servant. The figure in the painting is depicted indoors, sitting on low sofas draped in richly decorated fabrics. Its composition and decorative elements resemble engravings no. 48, *Fille turque prenant le caffè sur le sofa* (fig. 201), and no. 45, *Femme turque qui fume sur le sofa* (fig. 202); and the subject of the painting *Sultana at tapestry*, engraving no. 52, *Fille turque qui brode* (fig. 203). The subject of the third painting, *An Odalisque Playing a Stringed Instrument*, was taken directly from engraving no. 51, *Fille turque jouant du tehegour* (fig. 204). The desire to depict herself as a sultana might be related to Pompadour's status in the royal court of Louis XV. Although her role as a favourite ceased, Madame Pompadour's influence was even stronger, and she presumably associated herself with the sultana of the royal harem, the most powerful and influential woman of the Ottoman court.

Madame's commission story received a continuation after her death. In 1777 a series of cartoons for the tapestries *Le Costume turc* were executed by Charles Amedée Van Loo (1718–1790), Carle Van Loo's nephew (figs. 35 and 36). It was believed for a very long time that the tapestries were commissioned by the king's new favourite Madame du Barry, as a retaliatory gesture on the order of Madame de Pompadour and her inherited title of a Sultana of the King's harem. However, art historian Stein Perrin proved that

the royal order was received during the life of Madame de Pompadour, but for various reasons, its implementation was postponed until 1777.⁸ By that time, King Louis XV had died, and Madame du Barry was in exile.

Francesco and Giovanni Antonio Guardi created a series of Turkish subject paintings including more than forty works between 1741 and 1743. These artworks, the scenes of court life in Istanbul, were painted for Marshal Johannes Matthias von der Schulenburg (1661–1747) (fig. 207). Schulenburg became field marshal and commander-in-chief of the forces of the Venetian Republic in 1715; after successfully defeating the Turks at Corfu in 1715 and 1716, he became a hero to the Venetians, who erected a commemorative statue in his honour. While living in Venice, Schulenburg became a keen collector and important patron of many artists, and first of all of the Guardi brothers. The team of these artists, according to the inventory lists prepared in 1741 and 1746, created for the marshal more than 789 paintings and drawings. Among them over 40 paintings illustrating Turkish life were created by one of the Guardi brothers, either Giovanni Antonio or Francesco. The subject and figures in the majority of the paintings were based on images by Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, in particular borrowing figures and motifs directly from the engravings of the de Ferriol edition. The subjects and figures of the illustrated Guardi paintings *Odalisques playing a Mangala Game in the Harem* (fig. 205) and *The Favourite Greek in the Harem* (fig. 206) are based directly on the source of Vanmour's designs – engravings no. 53, *Filles turques qui jouent au Mangala* (fig. 208), no. 68, *Dame grecque dans son appartement* (fig. 209), no. 69, *Novi, ou fille grecque dans la cérémonie du mariage* (fig. 210), and no. 65, *Femme juive, courtière qui porte ses marchandises aux jeunes dames turques qui ne peuvent sortir* (fig. 211). Introducing new decorative elements to meet the requirements of the exotic and theatrical scenes presented in the paintings, Guardi added floral patterns, draped curtains, and bright carpets and textiles.

Based on their subject source, the Turkish paintings by Guardi can be divided into three groups: paintings whose subjects were based directly on de Ferriol's edition of engravings; paintings where the subject was based entirely on the artist's imagination; and paintings made as copies after Vanmour's works. And while the situation with the first two groups is clear, the existence of the third group of paintings is very signifi-



205
Giovanni Antonio or
Francesco Guardi
*Odalisques playing a Mangala
Game in the Harem*, 1742–43
Oil on canvas, 46 × 64 cm
Düsseldorf, Gemäldegalerie

206
Giovanni Antonio or
Francesco Guardi
*The Favourite Greek in
the Harem*, 1742–43
Oil on canvas, 46.5 × 64 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza
Collections

207
Giovanni Antonio Guardi
*Portrait of Field Marshal
Count Johannes Matthias von
der Schulenburg (1661–1747)*
c. 1740
Oil on canvas, 66 × 50.5 cm
Courtesy of Sotheby's
Picture Library



208
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
engraver unknown
*Filles turques qui jouent au
mangala*, c. 1712
Plate 53
Etching and stipple
Private collection

209
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
engraver Gérard Scotin
*Dame grecque dans son
appartement*, c. 1712
Plate 68
Etching and stipple
Private collection

210
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
engraver Gérard Scotin
*Novi, ou fille grecque dans la
cérémonie du mariage*, c. 1712
Plate 69
Etching and stipple
Private collection

211
After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
engraver Philippe Simonneau
*Femme juive, courtière qui
porte ses marchandises aux
jeunes dames turques qui
ne peuvent sortir*, c. 1712
Plate 65
Etching and stipple
Private collection



212
Giovanni Antonio Guardi
and workshop
*Audience of a European
Ambassador with the Sultan*
Oil on canvas, 97.5 × 131 cm
London, Government Art
Collection



213
Giovanni Antonio Guardi
and workshop
*Audience of a European
Ambassador with Grand Vizir*
Oil on canvas, 97.5 × 130.5 cm
London, Government Art
Collection





cant and deserves our particular attention. Numbering around seven, they are all based on existing paintings from the collection of the ambassador Cornelis Calkoen. It is doubtful that Guardi could actually have seen Vanmour's paintings, since he never travelled to Turkey. The study of the provenance of the majority of the paintings associated with Vanmour and related to the Guardi series reveals that they originated from the Donà family. One of the family members, Giovanni Battista Donà, was appointed in 1742–45 as Venetian bailo to the Ottoman court. In that same year Giovanni Antonio Guardi received a commission from the Donà family in Venice and worked in their household.⁹ In 1742 the Dutch ambassador Cornelis Calkoen was still in Istanbul, as he left only in April 1744, and bailo Donà, who arrived to the capital on 28 August 1742, could have seen Vanmour's paintings in the Calkoen collection.¹⁰ It is possible that the bailo brought with him to Istanbul an artist recommended by Giovanni Antonio Guardi who painted those copies of the Calkoen paintings, which were later brought back to Venice, and now are sometimes mistakenly attributed to Vanmour. This supposition is also related to the existence of the four paintings in the Residence of the British Ambassador in Ankara, acquired by the British Government in 1958 (figs. 212–215). The set, attributed to the studio of Guardi, depicts different stages of the ambassador's reception by the sultan and the grand vizier – the ambassador being received by the grand vizier in his *yali*, the procession through the second court, the dinner with the grand vizier, and the reception of the sultan. The subjects of all the paintings can be found in the Calkoen collection. Even though being associated with the Wortley Montagu family and being in their possession, they nevertheless can not represent a reception of the British ambassador Edward Wortley Montagu, because they were created at least twenty years after his mission. However, because of the established connection with the Montagu family, it has been suggested that the paintings were acquired by Lady Mary Montagu, who lived in Venice in 1739–40 and again from 1759–61.¹¹ The paintings, after being brought back by the bailo Donà, could have attracted Lady Montagu's attention as a reminder of the remarkable time she spent in the Ottoman Empire.

It is clear that Vanmour's art had a significant influence on eighteenth-century artists, and this effect lasted well into the nineteenth century, as can be seen



215
Giovanni Antonio Guardi
and workshop
*European Ambassador
in Second Court of Topkapı
Palace*
Oil on canvas, 97.5 × 130.5 cm
London, Government Art
Collection



216
Unknown artist, French school
Enjoying coffee, first half of
the eighteenth century
Oil on canvas, 112 × 101.5 cm
Istanbul, Suna and İnan Kiraç
Foundation Orientalist
Painting Collection

in the works of Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres (1780–1867). He turned to the art of Vanmour looking for authentic images of the Ottoman court and subjects for his most famous Orientalist works. Already in 1828 he relied on Vanmour's engravings in creating *A Small Bather. Interior of the Harem* (Paris, Musée du Louvre). While the front figure is a reduced version of *La Baigneuse de Valpinçon* (Paris, Musée du Louvre), the background of the painting presents a copy of Vanmour's engraving no. 49, *Fille turque à qui l'on tresse les cheveux au bain*. The apotheosis of Ingres's Orientalist oeuvre is undoubtedly his masterpiece *The Turkish Bath* (Paris, Musée du Louvre). The idea of the subject emerged from the description of a visit to the bath by Lady Mary Montagu, given in one of her letters: "The next room is a very large one paved with marble, and all round it raised two sofas of marble one above another. There were four fountains of cold water in this room, falling first into marble basins, and then running on the floor in little channels made for that purpose, which carried the streams into the next room, something less than this, with the same sort of marble sofas, but so hot with streams of sulphur proceeding from the baths joining to it, 'twas impossible to stay there with one's clothes on ... I believe, in the whole, there were two hundred women ... The first sofas were covered with cushions and rich carpets, on which sat the ladies, and on the second their slaves behind them, but without any distinction of rank by their dress, all being in the state of nature, that is, in plain English, stark

naked, without any beauty or defect concealed. Yet there was not the least wanton smile or immodest gesture amongst them. They walked and moved with the same majestic grace which Milton describes of our general mother. There were many amongst them as exactly proportioned as ever any goddess was drawn by the pencil of Guido or Titian, and most of their skins shiningly white, only adorned by their beautiful hair divided into many tresses, hanging on their shoulders, braided either with pearl or ribbon, perfectly representing the figures of the Graces".¹² Ingres's painting *The Turkish Bath*, which visualises the text of Lady Montagu, was created in 1862. One of the studies of a woman for *The Turkish Bath* (Mouneuban, Musée Ingres) leaves no doubt that Ingres turned to the edition of Marquis de Ferriol engravings, particularly to engraving no. 46, *Femme turque qui repose sur le sofa sortant du bain*.

The examination of the life and works of Vanmour, as well as the analysis of his heritage and the influence of his art on the works of later artists, demonstrates his classical sense and perseverance in combining the traditions of European art with local subjects, which drew upon European influences for the formulation of interest in the world of the Turks. The developments he promoted in establishing and structuring the imagery of the Ottoman court members and their diplomatic procedures led to becoming one of the recurring concerns of his followers. His influence was more fertile and continues more in shaping and introducing the imagery of the Ottoman Empire to the

¹ B. Picart, *Cérémonies et costumes religieuses de tous les peuples idolâtres ... représentées par des figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picart, avec une explication historique et quelques dissertations curieuses* (Amsterdam: J. F. Bernard, 1723).

² J.-A. M. Guer, *Mœurs et usages des turcs, leur religion, leur gouvernement civil, militaire et politique avec un abrégé de l'histoire ottomane*, 2 Vols. (Paris: Coustelier, 1746–47).

³ C. Newton, *Images of the Ottoman Empire* (London: V&A Publications, 2007), p. 117.

⁴ J. Vien, *Caravane du Sultan à*

la Mecque (Paris, 1748).

⁵ A. de La Motraye, *Travels through Europe Asia and into Part of Africa with Proper Cuts and Maps. Containing a Great Variety of Geographical, Topographical and Political Observations on those Parts of the World; especially on Italy, Turkey, Greece, Crim and Noghian Tartaries, Circassia, Sweden, and Lapland. A curious Collection of Things particularly Rare, both in Nature and Antiquity; such as Remains of Ancient Cities and Colonies, Inscriptions, Idols, Medals, Minerals, etc.* (London, 1723).

⁶ P. Stein, "Madame de Pompadour and the Harem Imagery at Bellevue", in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 123, January 1994, p. 31.

⁷ P. Stein, "Amedée Van Loo's Costume turc: The French Sultana", in *Art Bulletin*, Vol. LXXVIII, September 1996, p. 33.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁹ S. A. Gopin, "The Influence of Jean-Baptiste Vanmour", in *I Guardi. Vedute, capricci, feste, disegni e "quadri turcheschi"*, exhibition catalogue, ed. by A. Bettagno (Venice: Marsilio, 2002), p. 160.

¹⁰ "Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Laänder

seit dem Westfälischen Frieden (1648)", by the International Committee of Historical Sciences. Oldenburg i. O., G. Stalling, 1936, p. 417.

¹¹ M. Beal, "Scenes of Embassy Receptions at the Sublime Porte: the British Government Art Collection Paintings and Others", in *I Guardi* 2002, pp. 205–08.

¹² Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters* (London: Virago, 2006), pp. 58–59.