

Journeys Erased by Time

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JOURNEYS ERASED BY TIME

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travellers in Egypt and the Near East

Edited by
Neil Cooke

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Sources of inspiration: Jean-Baptiste Vanmour and other artist-travellers in Ottoman Lands

Janet Starkey

From the 16th to the 18th centuries many in western Europe discovered the Orient through travel accounts, paintings and, from the beginning of the 18th-century, the *Arabian Nights' Tales*. This chapter will discuss the influence of the French-Flemish painter Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (1671-1737), variously spelled Vanmor, Vanmoeur, or Van Mour, who lived in Constantinople from 1699 until his death, on travellers, artists and on drawings in later travel accounts. It will also outline various earlier artistic and influential works. Vanmour's splendid paintings illustrated everything from Ottoman court life and ambassador's audiences to everyday events and costumes in Constantinople's multi-national society, and like *Les mille et une nuit* (the *Arabian Nights' Tales*), readily served as inspiration for many Turkish and foreign travellers, painters and engravers.

Introduction

Three thoughts motivated this chapter. First, members of the Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East (ASTENE) are interested in the interrelationship of travel accounts, as well as who met whom where but have rarely ventured to explore the interconnections between artistic works and artists as travellers, especially those before the 19th-century.

Secondly, 'visuality', established through faithful imitation, clear style and pleasant images, was an important element of this travel literature. Inevitably, one of the elements in our discussion is about possible plagiarism or copying of other travel writers' texts and artistic images. This was apparent when studying artistic works portraying 'Turks' before the 18th-century, a period when the West generally feared the 'Turks', who had seized Constantinople in 1453, and besieged Vienna in 1529 and 1683. Most European descriptions of Muslims at the time were negative (Starkey 2018: 175-180), based on travel literature written by authors who had little sustained contact with Muslim communities. Richard Knolles (1545-1610) who knew no Turkish, described 'Turks' as 'the present terror of the world' (Knolles 1631:1).

Yet, there were a small number of European artists who travelled to Constantinople during the period and faithfully represented its people and thus influenced the image of the 'Turk' in western Europe – and whose works were copied and recopied. There was far more commercial and artistic interaction and travel between Italy and the Ottoman Empire than is often imagined.

Thirdly, by the 18th-century, it was fashionable in western Europe to imitate aspects of Turkish art and culture. This genre or artistic phenomenon became known as *turquerie* (Williams 2014).¹ Inspired by travellers' accounts of journeys in Ottoman lands from the 16th to the end of the 18th-century; by paintings of magnificent court scenes from the 17th-century, and by translations of *Les mille et une nuit* in the 18th-century, this artistic fashion, *turquerie*, led to the creation of a sumptuous and whimsical fantasy of Ottoman lands.

Though several artists depicted what they actually observed in the Ottoman Empire, there were a host of others who made copies, replicas, or imitations (some becoming influential Orientalist images) or were simply inspired by the original works but who never travelled out of Europe. It is the interrelationship between those artists who travelled to the Ottoman Empire and those who copied or imitated their works that is the subject of this chapter.

Early traveller-artists

From the late 17th-century, Jean-Baptiste Vanmour's works famously inspired many artists and brought to life a glorious Oriental world. As Eveline Sint Nicolaas, the acknowledged authority on Vanmour, wrote: 'Vanmour and his paintings have not only served as visual documents for Turkish customs and costumes in the Tulip Era (1718-1730), but also played an important role in the formation of a new artistic milieu in the Ottoman Empire' (Sint Nicolaas 2003:71). Many of Vanmour's paintings are now in Pera Museum, Istanbul, and others are in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. In addition, one hundred and two engravings based on Vanmour's paintings were published in *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant* (Paris, 1714-1715), during a time when there was great fascination in Europe with *Les mille et une nuits*. Vanmour's vivid representations of life in Constantinople in the early 18th-century are invaluable and established a new iconography: showing ambassadors at the Ottoman court, Ottoman officials and ordinary people, dress, views of the city, interiors and domestic scenes (Webb & Webb 2008:21). Vanmour's unique style, documentary approach and attention to detail, mean that his paintings are considered as important precursors to 19th-century Orientalist art and decorative design.

¹ The title of this chapter originally presented in Norwich as 'Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, a Painter of *Turqueries*: a source of inspiration' has now been changed so there is no confusion with Seth A. Gopin, *Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, a Painter of Turqueries*, PhD thesis (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1994).

Yet Vanmour's predecessors were not without influence on Western perceptions of the Middle East. Let us set the scene. Byzantium flourished as an administrative and trading city under the Roman Empire and after Rome fell its strong defences protected the city at least until 1204 when it was attacked by the Crusaders. From the 10th to the 12th-century, Byzantium with its reputation as a holy place and its vast collection of relics was also a great source of inspiration for works of art and artists across Europe. Artists from the Christian Orthodox city of Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire of Byzantium, were employed by the rulers of Venice to create mosaics there, including those in St Mark's church, for example. Pilgrims, soldiers, diplomats and merchants travelled to Byzantium, and the Golden Horn was thronged with ships from all over the known world (Harris 2017:6, 102-104). According to Chapter 3 of the *Book of John Mandeville*, a fictive and sometimes fantastical travel memoir and a contemporary bestseller that first circulated between 1357 and 1371: '*Constantinople est moult belle cite et moult noble et mien muree, et est la cite triangulere*. Constantinople is a beautiful city, and noble, triangular in shape, and securely walled ... There are many wonders in Constantinople, and also many holy relics worthy of veneration' (Higgins 2011:208). The capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II and his invading army in 1453 meant the end of the Byzantine Empire. European travellers were no longer primarily pilgrims *en route* to the Holy Land or visitors venerating the many relics in Constantinople but increasingly diplomats and merchants trading at the Porte.

By far the most important trade routes to Constantinople were from Venice. Coincidentally, in 1479, nine years after the first printed edition of Mandeville's travels appeared, the Venetian painter Gentile Bellini (c.1429-1507) was sent to Constantinople by the Venetian government. This was part of the peace settlement between Venice and the Turks in which the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II (1432-1481) requested an artist. As a result of his work in the Ottoman court and around the Byzantine Empire between 1479 and 1481, Bellini had great influence on Venetian painting, so he is now considered to be one of the founders of the Orientalist artistic tradition in Western painting. Though Bellini did not produce any images of Ottoman social life, only portraits of local people and their costumes, these were influential because they were often copied by other Western artists to represent Turks.

An intriguing portrait of Sultan Mehmet II (1480), now in the National Gallery, London (oil on canvas, NG3099. Layard Bequest, 1916), attributed to Bellini, was later copied by other artists in paintings and prints (Fig. 1a). For example, a second portrait of Sultan Mehmed II is a well-known manuscript illustration (Fig. 1b), attributed to the Ottoman late 15th-century court painter *nakkaş* Sinan Bey (Ágoston & Masters 2009: 266-267) or to his pupil, the miniaturist Shiblizade Ahmed (active c.1475-1500). Painted around 1480, this portrait, now in the Topkapı Museum, Istanbul, shows a profile of the Sultan wearing similar garments to those shown in Bellini's portrait. Both artists may have been taught by Bellini, though Sinan Bey also served as cultural ambassador in Venice around the same time as Bellini was living in Constantinople



FIGURE 1a. 'Sultan Mehmed II' (c.1480), attributed to Gentile Bellini. Oil on canvas. © The National Gallery, London. NG3099.



FIGURE 1b. 'Portrait of Mehmed II' (c.1480), attributed to Sinan Bey or his pupil Shiblizade Ahmed. © Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, İstanbul. Album H.2153, fol. 10r.a.

and may have been influenced by Italian artists there. Alternatively, Sinan may have been trained in portraiture by a certain 'Maestro Paolo' (Contadini & Norton 2013:11). This was possibly the Neapolitan artist and medallist, Paolo d'Antonio da Ragusa who, like his contemporaries, artist Lorenzo Costa of Ferrara (1460-1536) and the Florentine sculptor and architect, Benedetto da Majano (1448-1497), also worked in the Sultan's court in Constantinople in this period. Whatever else, Italian techniques of shading and perspective were incorporated into miniature portraiture of Mehmed II's imperial *atalier* (*nakkaşhane*).²

Part of the Open University on-line course (AA315 Renaissance Art Reconsidered), written by Paul Wood and entitled 'Art in Renaissance Venice', provides an excellent and detailed examination of the influence of the art of the Byzantine Empire in Venetian art. There was a network of interconnections and artistic influences. For example, the drawing of a 'Standing Ottoman' (Fig. 2) was produced in the workshop of Gentile Bellini in the late 15th-century and the oil painting 'La predicazione di san Marco in Alessandria' [St Mark Preaching in Alexandria] (c.1504-1507) by Gentile and Giovanni Bellini (1430-1516) contains images of several Turks (Fig. 3). In turn, Bellini

² The Ottoman art of miniature painting was called *nakış* or *tasvir*.



FIGURE 2. 'Standing Ottoman', from the workshop by Gentile Bellini, late 15th-century. Ink on paper. © DAG, Louvre, Paris.

influenced the German Renaissance painter Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) when he painted his 'Three Orientals' (c.1495) (Fig. 4), and his 'Ottoman Rider' (c.1495), both of which reflect Bellini's accurate depictions of Ottoman dress (Fig. 5).

Dürer may have visited the workshops of Gentile and his brother Giovanni Bellini when he was in Venice 1494-1495 (and again 1505-1507), a city that had strong connections with Nuremberg as well as being the gateway to the eastern Mediterranean. Dürer in turn inspired the Nuremberg printmakers, Daniel Hopfer (c.1470-1536) in his etching of Sultan Suleiman (Süleyman) the Magnificent on horseback (c.1530) (Fig. 6) entitled 'Solimanus Imperator Turcarum',³ and his son Hieronymus Hopfer (1500-1550), in his etching 'Bildnis des türkischen Kaisers Suleiman' (A Portrait of Sultan

³ Now in the V&A museum. SP.326.



FIGURE 3. 'La predicazione di san Marco in Alessandria' (1504-1507), by Gentile and Giovanni Bellini. Oil on canvas. © Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.



FIGURE 4. 'Three Orientals' (c.1496), Albrecht Dürer (but signed and dated 1514 by another hand), after Bellini. Pen and black and brown ink with watercolour on paper. © The Trustees of the British Museum, London, PD 1895-9-15-974. BMImages_00154245001.



FIGURE 5. 'Ottoman Rider' (c.1495), Albrecht Dürer. Ink and watercolour on paper. © The Albertina Museum, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung, no.3196, D 171.

Suleiman the Magnificent) – the images having similar faces – probably date from soon after Suleiman's Siege of Vienna in 1529. There is no evidence that either Dürer or the Hopfers visited Constantinople (Merriman 1944, 2013 e-book).

However, Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502-1550) was in Constantinople 1533-1534 and created an album of woodcuts, *Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz* (*Customs and Fashions of the Turks*) (Fig. 7), while on a trade mission from Brussels to Constantinople. Subsequent artists made liberal use of these woodcuts.

Inspired by van Aelst, the Flemish painter Hans Eworth (c.1520-1574), painted his now famous 'Suleiman the Magnificent on horseback' (Fig. 8a) at a time when Elizabeth I was seeking closer commercial ties with the Ottoman Empire – but van Aelst was living in Southwark at the time and probably never went to Constantinople! In turn, the image of 'Suleiman the Magnificent' (Fig. 8b) in the famous *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603) written by Richard Knolles (1545-1610) was possibly based on Eworth's painting. Knolles, considered an important historical authority on the Middle East, never visited Constantinople either.

FIGURE 6. Engraving of 'Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent', Hieronymus Hopfer [IH] (1500–1563), (Augsburg, c.1530), based on a profile drawing by Albrecht Dürer. Ex-collection Chevalier Joseph-Guillaume-Jean Camberlyn (L. 514). (Sold by Sotheby's 24 April 2011).



FIGURE 7. 'Süleyman the Magnificent processing through the Hippodrome with Hagia Sophia in the background', Pieter Coecke van Aelst, from his *Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz* (Customs and Fashions of the Turks). © Metropolitan Museum, New York. 28.85.5.



FIGURE 8a. 'Suleiman the Magnificent on horseback', by Hans Eworth (1520-1574). Oil on panel. © Collection of Sammlung des Earl of Yarborough, Habrough.



FIGURE 8b. 'Solyman the Magnificent' from the 4th edition of Richard Knolles *Generall Historie of the Turkes*, London, Adam Islip (1631), p. 566. This engraving could have been based on Eworth's painting.

By the 1550s, two European ambassadors had a major impact on representations of the Ottoman Empire. The first was Gabriel de Luetz, Baron et Seigneur d'Aramon et de Vallabregues (d.1553), also known as Gabriel d'Aramon. He served as Ambassador to the Sublime Porte from 1546 to 1553 representing the French kings Francis I (1494-1547) and Henry II (1519-1559) (Fig. 9). The second was Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522-1592) (Fig. 10), Hapsburg ambassador in Constantinople in 1554 and again from 1556 to 1562 and author of a famous travel account (1589), published in English in 1927 as his *Turkish Letters* (Oxford, Clarendon Press).



FIGURE 9. 'Portrait of ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, Gabriel de Luetz d Aramont' (1541-1542), by Titian (d.1576). Oil on canvas. © Sforza Castle Pinacoteca, Milan.

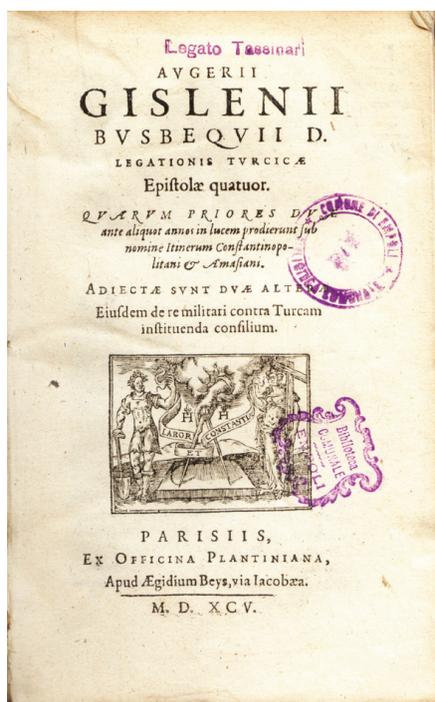


FIGURE 10. Cover page of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq's *Legationis Turcicae Epistolae quatuor*, published in Paris and Frankfurt (1595).

horses and camels, architecture, civil costume, Sultans and Sultanas, tradespeople, mosques, and city panoramas. Among its intended audience, as stated on the title page, were painters, engravers, artists of all types, and art lovers. Lorck received a travel stipend from Christian III (1503-1559), king of Denmark and Norway and eventually became royal painter for King Frederick II (1534-1588) (Rogerson 2005; Fischer 2009; Westbrook and Van Meeuwen 2017: 192-220).

The French artist and geographer, Nicolas de Nicolay (1517-1583), should also be included in the same group of influential artist-travellers who visited the Ottoman Empire. In 1551 Nicolay was ordered to Constantinople to join the French Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Gabriel de Luetz, to carry out a comprehensive survey of local customs and dress. His observations and precise depictions with de Nicolay's original sixty costume plates were published in Lyon in 1567 under the title: *Les Quatre Premiers Livres des navigations et peregrinations Orientales* and reprinted in Antwerp 1576-1577 with a new title *Discovrs et histoire veritable des navigations, peregrinations et voyages, faicts en la Tvrqvie*. It was translated widely. A coloured version appeared in an Italian edition in 1577.

Both de Luetz and Ghiselin de Busbecq inspired and encouraged other scholars, travel writers and artists. The artists included the Danish-German artist Melchior Lorck (1526/7-1583) from Flensburg who served under Ambassador Busbecq in the embassy to Constantinople, of the German king, Ferdinand (who became Holy Roman Emperor from 1556). Lorck probably arrived in Constantinople in 1555 and departed 1559-1560 (Fischer 2009:I: 91-106; Westbrook and Van Meeuwen 2017: 194) and was probably a spy (Figs 11, 12). His book of woodcuts made between 1573 and 1583 was published in 1626 and provides a unique illustrative record of 16th-century Constantinople. His subjects included the Suleiman Mosque, dedicated to the Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1494-1566, sultan of the Ottoman Empire 1520-1566), and consecrated during Lorck's residence. Other subjects include archers, weaponry,

Gabriel de Luetz not only patronised de Nicolay but also several other distinguished French scholar-travellers. These included the well-travelled scientist and diplomat, Jean de Monluc (d.1579), who was there in 1545; and linguist, travel writer and bibliophile Guillaume Postel (1510-1581), who had previously acted from 1536 as an official interpreter at the French embassy of Jean de La Forêt (d.1537), the first official French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire in Constantinople, serving from 1534 to 1537. Others were Pierre Belon du Mans (1517-1564), physician and botanist who travelled extensively throughout the Ottoman Empire between 1546 and 1549; topographer Pierre Gilles d'Albi, Petrus Gyllius (1490-1555), who was in Constantinople from 1544 to 1547 as he was sent by the King Francis I of France to find ancient manuscripts; and the pioneer of Byzantine studies, cosmographer and traveller in the Empire 1549 to 1554, André Thévet, who later returned to France to publish his *Cosmography of the Levant* (Lyon, 1556).

Jean-Baptiste Vanmour

This small handful of artists outlined above, between the 1480s and 1550s, appear to have focused on limited themes: the royal court, royal processions, topographical vistas of Constantinople, historical and ethnographic scenes, and on small individual portraits that served to demonstrate the diversity of cosmopolitan Ottoman life. It was the same themes that were to be the focus of the glorious art of the French-Flemish painter Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, for he painted Ottomans from all levels of society from the Sultan himself to the humble beggar; 'court officials in ostentatious outfits, soldiers of every rank, bashful and seductive women, all manner of merchants' (Irepoglu 2016: 302), and people from the many different ethnic groups of the Empire. His stay in Constantinople was during the period now known as the *lale devri*, or 'Tulip Era' (1718-1730) when Turkish culture blossomed under Sultan Ahmed III (1673-1736) and the Ottoman Empire was openly receptive to Western influences (Sint Nicolaas et al. 2003). Indeed, his work reflected the 'exotic, mysterious, colourful, eerie and rich country and its people' (Irepoglu 2016: 301-302).

Jean-Baptiste Vanmour was born in Valenciennes, Flanders, in 1671. Nothing is known about his early career, though catalogues in the Pera Museum suggest he was a student of Jacques-Albert Gérin (1673-1722), who also taught Antoine Watteau (1684-1721). Vanmour lived in Constantinople from 1699 where he painted a uniquely detailed record of the city. As Philip Mansel wrote in his review of a book by Sint Nicolaas et al. (2003), 'Few painters have left such a complete record of Istanbul' (Mansel 2003/4). In 1725 Vanmour was honoured by Louis XV, who bestowed on him a title especially invented for him, 'Peintre ordinaire du Roy en Levant', an honour that sadly came without a stipend. He probably never left Constantinople and died there in 1737.

Vanmour's most influential patron in Constantinople was comte Charles de Ferriol (1652-1722), marquis d'Argental, who was Ambassador from the Court of



FIGURE 13a. 'Ahmed III, Sultan of the Turks' (1673-1736), by Jean- Baptiste Vanmour c.1727-1730. Oil on canvas. © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. SK-A-2013.

Versailles to the Sublime Porte for King Louis XIV (1638-1715) from 1692 to 1711, during the rule of Sultan Ahmed III (1673-1736), who reigned from 1703 to 1730 (Fig. 13a-c). Vanmour first met Ferriol in Paris and became part of his entourage in the Sublime Porte from 1699 as Ferriol's official artist. There Vanmour was commissioned by Ferriol to paint a hundred pictures to record dress, manners and customs of different communities and officials in Constantinople from around the Ottoman Empire (Rodenbeck 2001: 70-71; Mansel 2003). As a result, Vanmour's many commissions included portraits of diplomats and their families, grand viziers and commemorative paintings of the Sultan's court.

The Recueil Ferriol

After Vanmour's patron, Ambassador Ferriol, returned to France, Ferriol and Jacques de La Haye (c.1645-c.1713), ingénieur du Roi, published a famous series of engravings, *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant* (Paris:



FIGURE 13b. 'In ceremonial dress, accompanied by two guards and a servant taking care of his horse', by Simonneau. A hand-coloured engraving. The first image in Vanmour's from *Recueil des Etampes* (1715). Published with permission from the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Le Hay and Dechange, 1714-1715), in a volume also known as the *Recueil Ferriol* (Album Ferriol). The *Recueil Ferriol* had a considerable impact: not only did the book immortalise the ambassador's legacy, but it influenced other artists and did much to establish Vanmour's reputation (Fig. 13b).

The *Recueil Ferriol* was published under the name of Jacques Le Hay (and sometimes under the names Marquis Charles de Ferriol, Le Hay and/or Jean Baptiste van Mour). Part II, containing the explanation of the plates plus two extra plates of Turkish ceremonies (the dance of the Derwishes and a Turkish funeral), appeared in 1715. The latter text was written by the French artist Élisabeth-Sophie Chéron (1648-1711) and edited by the French engraver Laurent Cars (1699-1771), who had bought the plates.

A second edition of both parts, with engraved letterpress in which the preface has been changed, and with an added leaf 'Anecdotes de l'Ambassade de M. De



FIGURE 13C. 'Ahmed III proclaimed Sultan', from Aubry de La Motraye's *Voyages* (1727), p.334.

Ferriol', appeared with the imprint 'L. Cars À Paris chez Basan Graveur' and the date 1714, so is listed with Charles de Ferriol as *Commanditaire du contenu* (content sponsor). It also appeared, perhaps incorrectly, under the authorship of Antoine de Ferriol, the Count of Pont-de-Veyle. It was rapidly translated into German and printed in Nuremberg (Le Hay 1719-1721) and pirated into Spanish and Italian. It was translated into Turkish and published under Vanmour's name only in 1980.

The glorious engravings in *Recueil Ferriol*, a hundred plates all hand coloured, were made by a large group of engravers after Ferriol returned to Paris in 1711, and were based on tableaux made on location in Turkey in 1707 and 1708 by Vanmour. The French engravers of plates in *Recueil Ferriol* included some of the best of their time, notably Gérard Scotin, Senior (1643-1715) and

Claude Du Bosc (1684-1745?), Philippe Simonneau (1685-c.1753) (Fig. 13b), Gérard Jean-Baptiste Scotin I (1671-1716), Jean-Baptiste Haussard (1679 or 1680-1749), Bernard Baron (1696?-1762), Jacques de Franssières, Pierre de Massart, 'dit Rochefort' (c.1673-1728), and France's most celebrated engraver, Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Elder (1688-1754): most of whom had never visited the Ottoman Empire.

The *Recueil Ferriol* begins with a portrait of the Sultan, shows a range of Ottoman officials and is followed by a wide range of people in regional costumes. Vanmour's intention was, on behalf of his patrons, to flatter and boost the image of Ottoman institutions; its courts, the attending ambassadors, and the cosmopolitan and multicultural nature of the Ottoman Empire.

In the *Recueil Ferriol*, two unnumbered engraved plates and plate No.100 are folded, double-sized, pages. They depict a Turkish wedding, a Turkish funeral and dancing dervishes. As Hunt, Jacob and Mijnhardt (2010: 142-146) compare and describe, the engraving by Jean-Baptiste Scotin (1678-1733) entitled 'Les Dervichs dans leur



FIGURE 14a. 'Les derviches dans leur temple du Péra', a chevant de tourner, the final print in the *Recueil des Etampes*, p. 248. Published with permission from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Temple du Péra, achevant de tourner' (Dervishes in their Temple of Pera, ending their whirling) was published as an unnumbered final print in *Recueil Ferriol* (Fig. 14a), Wearing tall cylindrical hats, their gracefully outstretched arms and tilted heads show them transported into an intensive and ecstatic stage of altered consciousness. Time and again this image was copied, imitated and reproduced by other artists (Fig. 14b).⁴ It was copied, for example, by the Dutch engraver, Jacob Folkema (1692-1767) after an intaglio engraving ('au burin') of 'The dance of the Whirling Dervishes' (1732), drawn and engraved by the renowned French engraver Bernard Picart (1673-1733), entitled 'le danse des dervis' which was published (1737: vii, 227) by Jean Frédéric Bernard (d.1752) after Picart's death. This volume is now considered to be one of the masterpieces of the French Enlightenment.

⁴ Copies of Vanmour's 'Whirling Dervishes' include a pen-and ink drawing now in the V&A; another by Samuel Read, RcWS, c.1854; a third by Jules Gaildrau, 1840s-1870s.



FIGURE 14b. 'Whirling Dervishes', by Vanmour. Oil on canvas.
© Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. SK-A-4081.

Recueil Ferriol was an instant success and the plates remained the standard pattern book for future depictions of *turquerie*, or fashionable exoticism, by Turkish and foreign artists, travel writers and publishers. The engravings were reused by Aubry de la Motraye (1727), Thomas Jefferys (1757) and Teodoro Viero (1783). They also served as models for the ceramic Turkish figures made at Meissen in the first part of the 18th-century; and were used by the eminent Édouard Charton (1807-1890), to illustrate serialised travel accounts in *Le Tour du Monde*, a weekly journal published from 1860 to 1914.

Vanmour's paintings inspired his fellow student, the celebrated French painter Antoine Watteau (1684-1721); the French Rococo painter François Boucher (1703-1770); and even Antonio Guardi (1699-1760) and his younger brother Francesco Guardi (1712-1793), who painted several Turkish-inspired interiors as easel pictures for private decorations. Boucher's paintings copied from those of Vanmour appeared in *Moeurs et usages des Turcs* by Jean-Antoine Guer (1713-1764). Guer never travelled to the Ottoman Empire himself, but composed this work by borrowing texts, and illustrations from works by Pierre Belon du Mans, J.J. Grelot, O.G. Busbecq, P. Ricaut, Benoît de Maillet, J. Pitton de Tournefort, J. Tavernier, J. Thévenot and other travel writers. Intertextuality writ large.

We do not know if Vanmour ventured outside Constantinople to visit Aleppo or other cities around the Ottoman Empire, but his images certainly influenced those illustrating later travel accounts of their visits. Several engraved plates in the *Natural History of Aleppo* (1756; new edition 1794) by Alexander Russell were by botanical artist-engraver, John Miller (Johann Frederick Müller) (1715-1792), who arrived in London from Nuremberg in 1744. As described in Starkey (2018a: 135–138), they included the famous ‘Turkish lady of condition in the proper dress of Aleppo. She is represented as sitting carelessly on a *divan* smoking a pipe and her servant presenting a dish of coffee in the usual manner.’⁵ It is unlikely that Miller visited Aleppo. Instead he was inspired by or copied Plates 45 and 48 in the *Recueil Ferriol*. One can imagine Alexander and Miller pouring over the album and absorbing and discussing elements of its engravings that could be incorporated in Miller’s illustrations. Plate XVI ‘Women of Aleppo’ drawn and engraved by Miller in the *Natural History of Aleppo* shows many similarities to ‘Femme Turque qui fume sur le sofa’ (Plate 45 in *Recueil Ferriol*), an engraving made by G. Scotin, Senior, after Vanmour, of an Ottoman lady seated on a sofa, smoking a pipe. In 1776 Carsten Niebuhr, who described the various editions of the *Recueil Ferriol*, noted (Niebuhr 1776: Part I, 127) that the engravings therein had faithfully portrayed local dress at the time. However, Niebuhr appeared slightly surprised to discover that rather than replicate the originals precisely, Miller had adjusted elements of dress for the *Natural History of Aleppo*.

There were further thematic interconnections between the engravings in the *Recueil Ferriol* and Vanmour’s later paintings, for example, ‘Fille turque prenent le caffe sur le sofa’, plate No.48, (Turkish Girl Drinking Coffee on the Divan), inspired ‘Enjoying Coffee’ by an unknown early 18th-century French painter, that is now in the Pera Museum. This image is similar to Vanmour’s ‘Women drinking coffee’, also in the same museum.⁶ This image in *Aleppo* was then adapted, back to front, to illustrate a condensed version of *Aleppo* in John Barrow’s *A new geographical dictionary* (1759), with the title ‘Young Lady of Aleppo smoaking [sic] tobacco, and her servant bringing her a dish of coffee.’ The original engraving, stipple and etching is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (SP.291:19). The *Recueil Ferriol* was also the inspiration for a drawing-master of considerable celebrity and a gold medallist of the Royal Academy, probably Daniel Valentine Riviere (1780-1854), of a mix media portrait of ‘Phanariot Greek Ladies of Pera’ (c.1840), that [?] is now in Pera Museum.

Vanmour’s later commissions

After Ferriol returned to France in 1711, while Vanmour remained in Constantinople where he was commissioned by various ambassadors, including those from Austria,

⁵ Cf. Vanmour’s ‘Women drinking coffee’, Pera Museum. PM_GAP_PC.028

⁶ According to the catalogues in Pera Museum, the necklace and ornate headdresses were copied from *Reisen van Cornelis de Bruyn* first published in 1698 by Cornelis de Bruyn, a Dutch traveller and painter (www.peramuseum.org/Artwork/Enjoying-Coffee/204/15).



FIGURE 14c. 'Whirling Dervishes', by Vanmour. Oil on canvas.
© Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. SK-A-4081.

Venice, France and the Dutch Republic. Some original paintings by Vanmour are held by the Pera Museum in Istanbul, including 'Dinner at the Palace in Honour of an Ambassador,' 'The Ambassadorial Procession' in the Pera Museum, also known as 'The Welcoming of Venetian Balios⁷ to Ottoman Lands' probably depicts Francesco Gritti, the Venetian ambassador who served in Constantinople between 1723 and 1726. Vanmour undertook commissions for Viscount d'Andrezel, Ferriol's successor as French ambassador; and the Dutch Republic, to paint portraits of local people and everyday scenes, the cultural sophistication of the Ottoman courts, and the ceremonial life in the European embassies. Some of the themes are repeated in several paintings in his *oeuvre* for he appeared to have stock figures and settings that he reused in different works.

Other paintings and engravings attributed to Vanmour are in private hands for there was a long tradition of ambassadors, Austrian, Venetian, French and Dutch, to the Ottoman court commissioning artists to record their missions. His many oil on canvas paintings include 'Whirling Dervishes' (SK-A-4081, Figure 14c), 'The

⁷ *Balio*: a diplomat, usually from a patrician family, who oversaw the affairs of the Venetians in Constantinople

Grand Vizier Crossing the Atmeydani (Horse Square)' (SK-A-1998) and 'An Armenian Wedding' procession making its way to the church (SK-A-2001), the last two of which are now in the Rijksmuseum.

The publication of the *Recueil Ferriol* made Vanmour's name in Europe and meant that European visitors to Constantinople were eager to purchase paintings from him (Sint Nicolaas 2003: 29). Thus, Vanmour was patronised by art collector Cornelis Calkoen (1696-1764), ambassador of the Dutch Republic in Constantinople from 1727 to 1744 and commissioned to produce more works. Calkoen, educated in Leiden, and from a wealthy family who traded in the Levant, was an important Dutch diplomat, who went on to negotiate a peace treaty between the Sultan and the Russian Tsarina Anna I in 1737. He subsequently served in Dresden, Saxony and Poland. Calkoen's virtually intact collection of sixty-five paintings was bequeathed to Amsterdam and held by the Dutch Royal Collections and the Directie der Levantse Handel en Navigatie in de Middellandse Zee until they were given to the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam in 1902 (Rijksmuseum 1978). Many of these paintings were included in an exhibition held there entitled 'The Ambassador, the Sultan & the Artist. An Audience in Istanbul (1727-1744)', and later exhibited at the Topkapı Sarayı Museum in 2003.

An oil on canvas painting by Vanmour, now in the Rijksmuseum (SK-A-4076: Sint Nicolaas 2013: 24-25), shows the Dutch ambassador, Cornelis Calkoen, presenting his credentials to Sultan Ahmed III in the Divan and throne room at the Topkapı Palace in Constantinople on 14 September 1727 (Fig. 15a). Like many of Vanmour's images, it provides a wonderful picture of the Ottoman court in the early 18th-century. This, too, has been copied widely, for example by Frenchman Antoine de Favray (1706-1792) who painted the 'Audience of Charles Gravier Comte de Vergennes with the Sultan Osman III in Constantinople' (1755). Favrey moved to Constantinople and stayed there for nine years painting numerous genre scenes of everyday Turkish life. Another 'in the style of Vanmour' was an oil painting on canvas entitled 'Reception of the Polish ambassador by the Sultan', painted by the Polish artist Lucjan Wędrychowski (1854-1934) and now in the Academy of Fine Arts, Krakow (Fig. 15b) (Khroundina 2014). This late-19th-century image bears striking similarities to Vanmour's 'Sultan Ahmed III receiving a European Ambassador' (c.1720) (Fig. 15c) in the collection of Pera Museum.

Other patrons included William Sherard (1659-1728), the consul at Smyrna for the East India Company from 1708 to 1715, who amassed a fortune there and went on to donate his extensive botanical collections to the University of Oxford (Starkey 2018b: 125). Amongst paintings believed to have been commissioned by Sherard (Boppe 1989: 18-19), was 'A Turkish hunting party with Ahmed III and his retinue watching a band of musicians and dancers in a wooded landscape' (Fig. 16). This painting sold at Christie's on 17 June 2004 to a private collector.

Vanmour also painted various other travellers and European diplomats, including two portraits of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), the wife of



FIGURE 15a. *Ambassador Cornelis Calkoen at his Audience with Sultan Ahmed III, Vanmour (1720-1730)*. Oil on canvas. © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. SK-A-4078.



FIGURE 15b. *'Polish delegation with the Sultan / Audience of the Polish envoy with the Turkish Sultan'*, by Lucyan Wendrychowski (Wędrychowski?). Oil on canvas. Museum of the Jan Matejko Academy of Fine Arts, Kraków. M 1118.



FIGURE 15c. 'Sultan Ahmed III receiving a European Ambassador',
© Pera Museum, Istanbul. PM GAP PC.036.



FIGURE 16. 'A Turkish hunting party with Ahmed III and his retinue watching a band of musicians and dancers in a wooded landscape', attributed to Vanmour.



FIGURE 17. 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu with her son, Edward Wortley Montagu, and attendants' (c.1717) attributed to Jean-Baptiste Vanmour. © National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 3924).

Sir Edward Wortley Montagu (1678-1761), British Ambassador to the Porte from 1716 to 1718. In the National Portrait Gallery in London (NPG 3924) is a portrait entitled 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu with her son, Edward Wortley Montagu Jr., and attendants' (c.1717) (Fig. 17), which is attributed to Jean-Baptiste Vanmour. The aristocratic letter-writer, Lady Montagu, commissioned the portrait soon after she arrived in Constantinople. In Letter 29, written from Adrianople on 1 April 1718, she described her attire in the portrait in great detail: 'The first piece of my dress is a pair of drawers, very full, that reach to my shoes and conceal the legs more modestly than your petticoats. They are of a thin rose colour damask brocaded with silver flowers, my shoes of white kid leather...' (Wortley Montagu 1764: 97-98).

Inspiration, copies and reproductions

Vanmour's paintings became the source of inspiration for many artists. In Pera, he established a studio or *atelier*, a workshop where he would have employed local painters to help to produce his works and probably continue his work after his death. Thus, it is probably impossible to identify which paintings are completely his own, especially as he tended to use stock elements and *motifs* in his paintings.

For example, an oil on canvas painting entitled 'The Conversation', from of a four-part series in Pera Museum has been attributed to 'The Vanmour School' and dated to the first-half of the 18th-century (www.peramuseum.org/Artwork/The-Conversation/99/15). It is similar to an authenticated Vanmour painting, now in the Rijksmuseum collection, in which the figures are depicted playing cards. However, recent scientific analysis of brushstroke techniques, differences in the styles of the figures and other details indicate it was not painted by Vanmour himself.

Furthermore, Vanmour would have known Abdulcelil Levnî or Abdulcelil Çelebi (d.1732), the most prominent Ottoman court painter and miniaturist under Sultans Mustafa II and Ahmed III and they may have influenced each other. Certainly, Levnî painted draped curtains in much the same way as artists in the Vanmour school (Firat 2015, chapter 4) and Vanmour may well have appreciated the fine details of Levnî's miniature portraiture. Levnî himself had trained in the official workshop (*nakkaşhane*), possibly under Musavvir Hüseyin, an eminent miniaturist. Like Vanmour, Levnî and his assistants also painted court scenes, street parades and festivals including *Surname-i Vehbi* in 1720. Both were in a position to observe court life, observed details meticulously and were vibrantly aware of the importance of their cultural contexts (Sint Nicolaas 2003: 84–89).

Vanmour's work was not just copied by great painters. Joseph Gabriel Monnier of Courtois (1745-1818), of Bourg-en-Bresse, a French soldier of the Revolution and the Empire, studied engineering, and 2 May 1784 was sent to Constantinople with a government mission, during the time of Sultan Abdul-Hamid. There he compiled *Recueil de costumes et vêtements de l'Empire ottoman au 18e siècle* in 1786, comprising 152 drawings, now held in Bourg-en-Bresse Museum (Ms 63-65). He returned to France in 1788. His simple drawings echo Vanmour's *Recueil Ferriol*. They are both also part of a far earlier album tradition dating back, at least, to the late 16th-century, and one in which the albums produced tended to share the same iconographic template and were sometimes restyled with miniatures by Ottoman artists. Travellers such as Peter Mundy (c.1596-c.1667) were known to commission these costume albums with their 'encoding of social, religious and ethnic hierarchies' and with an established order of images (Kynan-Wilson 2017). With over two hundred examples, ranging from manuscripts to collections of loose miniatures still surviving from the 1550s to the 1900s, such albums became personalised guidebooks or souvenirs for European travellers.

Other artists arrived in Constantinople after Vanmour's death, notably the self-publicist and eccentric Swiss, Jean-Etienne Liotard (1702-1789), 'the Turkish painter' who did much to promote 18th-century *Turqueries à la mode*. Possibly first intending to update the *Recueil Ferriol*, Liotard developed Vanmour's format of the illustration of local subjects but also took pride in scrupulously portraying his sitters with all their eccentricities. Liotard stayed in Constantinople from 1738 to 1742 but was to become an internationally renowned artist of pastel portraits, whose works include a 'Portrait of Richard Pococke' (1704-1765), the well-known Irish travel



FIGURE 18. 'Portrait of Richard Pococke', by Jean-Etienne Liotard. Oil on canvas. © Les Musées d'art et d'histoire de Genève.

writer, painted about 1738 or 1739 (Fig. 18). Also a traveller, Liotard accompanied a delegation led by the Anglo-Irish peer, Lord Duncannon, William Ponsonby (1659-1724), to Constantinople. Duncannon and Liotard had joined John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich (1718-1792), the first cousin twice removed of Edward Wortley Montagu Jr., on a journey around Greece and Turkey. John Montagu's account was posthumously published in 1799 by John Cooke (1738-1823), his chaplain and one of the Chaplains of Greenwich Hospital.

Conclusions

First, in 'Fine Art', plagiarism is the act of reproducing the work of another artist or artists and claiming it as your own original work. As we have seen in this chapter,

there are many shades: copies, replicas, imitations and stylistic plagiarism, and painting as part of a school that surrounded or inspired an artist. But where do you draw the line about 'borrowing' a visual concept when it comes to illustrations in travel accounts? What should be acceptable practice changes over time.

Vanmour created a magical mythical world, an exotic Orient, from the royal court to everyday events that must all have inspired many to travel in Ottoman lands. The *Recueil Ferriol* was published during the period in which Antoine Galland (1646-1715) published his translations of the *Les mille et une nuit* (*The Arabian Nights' Tales*). Vanmour's seemingly authentic glimpse of Ottoman life, as in his 'A Turkish Hunting Party with Sultan Ahmed III,' for example, was further illuminated in popular literature for Western consumption by *Les mille et une nuit* and travel accounts. The *Recueil Ferriol* contains paintings of everyday life as viewed through an Orientalist prism; the other, the *Les mille et une nuits*, portrays a fantastic world of magic, demons and myths in print. Both portray unimaginable sumptuousness and Ottoman beauties; they both provide apparently realistic tableaux and much scene setting of an exotic other world – the one rationalising the other. As Marina Warner in *Stranger Magic* wrote: 'The effect is rationalising, the stories wild implausibilities and dislocations of scale are tamed and ordered in well-furnished images in order to seem plausible and real' (Warner 2012: 175).

Gopin (1994) has argued that the *Recueil Ferriol*, without being salacious itself, later influenced the aesthetics of 19th-century European Orientalist art, which portrayed the Orient as colourful, exotic and sensational. As Philip Mansel observed: 'the best Orientalists mirror a specific time and place' (2009). As this chapter has outlined, there were complex interconnections between European and Ottoman art: just as their travellers, artists, diplomats and merchants intermingled in Constantinople for centuries. A favourite at the Sultan's Court, and in European diplomatic circles, Vanmour's images were also copied by other artists and used to illustrate many later travel accounts. Perhaps it is only when travel accounts and artistic images by those who actually travelled in the region can be studied beside each other with great care and in meticulous detail, that we can really begin to understand what life was like in 18th-century Ottoman lands.

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