

The First Ottoman Legation to Prussia in 1763–1764 and Its Depiction in a Costume Album from Berlin*

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“Berlin, Nov. 10.

[...]

Admet Effendi Bassa, the Grand Signior’s Internuncio, made his publick Entry Yesterday. He set out in a Coach from Weissenseé about Nine o’Clock in the Morning. Upon his Arrival at the Gates of Berlin he allighted, and entered a Tent where they presented him some Coffee. After he had drunk it, he mounted a fine Horse which was brought to him out of the King’s Stables; and moving forwards he entered from the King’s Suburbs into the Street Royal, passed over the Great Bridge by the magnificent Equestrian Statue of the Great Elector Frederick-William of Glorious Memory; thence along by the Castle, then turning to the Right through the Street called the Maisons Franches, went over the Bridge which leads to the Arsenal, and the Palace of the Prince Royal of Prussia; then crossing a third Bridge, passed along the Avenues of the Lime Trees of the New City, to the Corner of the Street called Wilhelm-Strass, which he entered turning to the Left, and kept on till he came to the Gate of the grand and noble House intended for him. Here follows the Order of his March. 1. One of the King’s Equeries on Horseback. 2. A Riding-Master, followed by two Grooms, all Three on Horseback, bringing the Led-Horses of Major de Pirch, who had conducted the Internuncio from the Frontiers. 3. Thirteen Grooms, holding the Led-Horses of the three Gentlemen of the Electoral Marche hereafter mentioned. 4. Six Helpers of the King’s Stables. 5. Two Servants of his Excellency Count Finckenstein, First Minister of State in the Department for foreign Affairs. 6. Two Trumpeters. 7. The three Gentlemen on Horseback, who were Messieurs d’Arnim, de Ludecke, and de Marschall. 8. A Captain at the Head of 50 Carabiniers on Horseback, with their Swords drawn. 9. The Master of the Horse to the Internuncio on Horseback. 10. Six Arabian Horses of very great Value, each richly caparisoned. 11. Two Huntsmen of the Grand Signior on Horseback. 12. Two Chiaoux, or Vergers, on Horseback, their Scymitars at their Sides, and holding in their Hands their Silver Verge or Staff, with a Knob on the Top. 13. The Capigilar, or Introdicator alone, on Horseback. 14. The Governor, or Intendant, with the Iman Effendi, on Horseback. 15. The Hainadar or Treasurer, with the Divan Effendi, or Secretary of the Embassy, on Horseback, with three Janizaries on each Side, on Foot. 16. A Coach with Six Horses, in which were the Internuncio’s Letter of Credence. 17. The Chiodars, or Servants. 18. Two Chatirs, or Footmen. 19. The Internuncio Admet Effendi, with two Grooms holding the Reins of the Bridle of his Horse; having on his Right Major de Pirch, and on his Left the King’s Interpreter. 20. The Internuncio’s Pages on Horseback. 21. The Musick of the Janizaries. 22. The Internuncio’s Baggage in a great Number of covered Waggon. 23. A Corporal, with his Halbert in his Hand, closed the March.”¹

* Many thanks are due to Professors Barbara Kellner-Heinkele und Claudia Ulbrich who read and helped improve an earlier draft. My thanks also to Linda Schilcher who corrected and improved my English.

¹ *London Gazette*, 22.–26.11.1763, no. 10368; with some minor differences in spelling the same description can be found in the *Lloyd’s Evening Post*, 25.–28.11.1763, no. 995 and *The St. James’s Chronicle; or, The British Evening Post*, 26.–29.11.1763, no. 427.

This long quotation gives a very detailed description of the solemn public entry of the Ottoman legation² headed by the envoy Ahmed Resmî Efendi (1694/95–1783)³ to Berlin, the capital of Prussia, on November 9th, 1763. Ahmed Resmî Efendi was the first official Ottoman representative dispatched to Prussia. His legation has to be considered within the broader context of the Seven Years War and the negotiations for an alliance between Prussia and the Ottoman Empire at that time.⁴ Therefore, it is not surprising that the presence of the Ottomans in Berlin was a spectacular event which drew far more than the attention of Berlin on-lookers. Several European newspapers reported events associated with this legation.⁵ Furthermore Ahmed Resmî Efendi and his retinue were often the subjects of contemporary drawings, paintings, engravings and etchings.⁶ One of the most popular German artists of the 18th century, the engraver Daniel Nikolaus

² This quote is evidence of how imprecise the European understanding of the Ottoman diplomatic service was. It is helpful to differentiate between a legation and an embassy in the period before the establishment of the first Ottoman permanent embassies in Europe at the end of the 18th century. As the term embassy was reserved for the mission of Ottoman diplomats of the highest rank (Turk. *büyük elçi*) only, i.e. those holding the honorary titles of *paşa* (pasha) and *Rumeli* or *Anadolu beylerbeyi* (governor of Rumelia or Anatolia) I use the term legation for diplomatic missions headed by a diplomat of secondary rank. Such missions would be headed by what I here call an “envoy” (Turk. *orta elçi*).

³ See for the biography and the bureaucratic and diplomatic career of Ahmed Resmî Efendi, Virginia Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmî Efendi, 1700–1783*, The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1995) and Kemal Beydilli, “Ahmed Resmî Efendi,” *Toplumsal Tarih* 52/4 (1998): 56–64.

⁴ On the development of Ottoman-Prussian diplomatic relations in the 18th century see, Kemal Beydilli, *Büyük Friedrich ve Osmanlılar: XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı-Prusya Münâsebetleri*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları 3318, Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları 3212 (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1985).

⁵ Not only German-language newspapers such as *Berlinische privilegierte Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* or *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten* reported the arrival of the legation, many English newspapers also provided extensive reports. The *London Gazette*, *Lloyd’s Evening Post*, and *The St. James’s Chronicle; or, The British Evening-Post* published identical descriptions of the legation’s entry to Berlin, which is, surprisingly, in some points more detailed than the one given in the German language reports. Other English newspapers publishing news on the Ottoman legation in Berlin were the *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, *Public Advertiser*, *London Evening Post*, *The London Chronicle: or, Universal Evening Post*, and the *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*. For a study analyzing news reports in the *Berlinische privilegierte Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* regarding the Ottomans in Berlin from the perspective of interculturality and as a media event, see Stephan Theilig, “Die erste osmanische Gesandtschaft in Berlin 1763/64: Interkulturalität und Medienereignis,” in *Europäische Wahrnehmungen 1650–1850: Interkulturelle Kommunikation und Medienereignisse*, ed. Joachim Eibach and Horst Carl, The formation of Europe 3 (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2008), 131–160.

⁶ Some of these pictorial representations are reprinted in Gustav Berthold Volz, “Eine türkische Gesandtschaft am Hofe Friedrichs des Großen im Winter 1763/64,” *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch* 11 (1907): 17–54 and Volkmar Enderlein, *Die erste türkische Gesandtschaft in Berlin 1763: Sonderausstellung des Islamischen Museums (2. Juli–17. August 1987)* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1987).

Chodowiecki (1726–1801), produced a set of eleven “Turkish Miniatures” which relate directly to the Ottoman legation and its stay in Berlin.⁷

The aim of this paper is to introduce the reader to a unique costume album that focused exclusively on the Ottoman legation in Berlin. I will do this in four segments. Following a brief introduction of the historical context of the legation, I will provide an analysis of the costume album to reveal its structure and themes and to make some suggestions as to its inception. Thirdly, I will discuss some aspects of the Ottoman legation system with reference to some illustrations in the album. And finally, I will illustrate the dependence of this costume album from Berlin on its two predecessors dating from the first two decades of the 18th century.

1. The Historical Context of the First Official Ottoman Legation to Prussia in 1763–1764

Unofficial Prussian-Ottoman diplomatic contacts go back to the reign of Friedrich Wilhelm I (1713–1740).⁸ But it was Friedrich II (1740–1786) who intensified these, especially during the Seven Years War when Prussia was isolated in its opposition to the triple alliance of Austria, France and Russia.⁹ At that time, Friedrich II was very much interested in an alliance with the Ottomans. The Ottoman Empire’s attacks on the Hungarian provinces of Prussia’s rival, the Austria of Empress Maria Theresa (1740–1780), would relieve Friedrich II from great difficulties and problems in this war. A victory against Austria would therefore be most likely in an alliance with the Ottomans. In order to negotiate and conclude an alliance agreement Friedrich II sent his envoy Karl Adolf von Rexin to Istanbul with valuable gifts twice, first in 1755 and later for a longer stay beginning in the summer of 1756 and lasting until 1764. Rexin was authorised to sign the expected alliance, but he was unsuccessful. In April 1763 after the death of the grand vizier Koca Mehmed Râgıb Paşa (1757–1763) the Ottoman government and Sultan Mustafa III (1757–1774)

⁷ Joachim Rees, “Türkische Miniaturen: Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki als Beobachter der Osmanischen Gesandtschaft von 1763/64,” in *Europäische Ansichten: Brandenburg-Preußen um 1800 in der Wahrnehmung europäischer Reisender und Zuwanderer*, ed. Iwan-Michelangelo D’Aprile, Aufklärung und Europa 17 (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2004), 69–100.

⁸ See Beydilli, *Büyük Friedrich ve Osmanlılar*, 1–8; Enderlein, *Die erste türkische Gesandtschaft*, 5; and Klaus Schwarz, “Brandenburg-Preussen und die Osmanen: Frühe Beziehungen in Überblick,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 9 (1989): 361–379 (p. 376).

⁹ H. M. Scott, “Frederick II, the Ottoman Empire and the Origins of the Russo-Prussian Alliance of April 1764,” *European Studies Review* 7 (1977): 153–175; Rudolf Porsch, *Die Beziehungen Friedrichs des Grossen zur Türkei bis zum Beginn und während des siebenjährigen Krieges* (Marburg: Oskar Erhardt’s Buchdruckerrei, 1897); and Wilhelm Nottelbohm, “Die preussisch-türkische Defensivallianz (1763–65): Ein Beitrag zu Friedrichs des Grossen orientalischer Politik,” *Festschrift zu der zweiten Säcularfeier des Friedrichs-Werderschen Gymnasiums zu Berlin*, ed. Lehrer-Kollegium des Friedrichs-Werderschen Gymnasiums (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1881), 132–157.

decided to send Ahmed Resmî Efendi at the head of an Ottoman legation to Friedrich II. Officially the mission was sent to reciprocate the earlier gifts of Friedrich II, but secretly it was to investigate if the King was still interested in an alliance. If yes, then under what conditions, and would these conditions be compatible with Ottoman interests?¹⁰

The Ottoman legation led by Ahmed Resmî left Istanbul on 24th of July 1763 and travelling through Poland arrived in the Prussian capital on November 9th. They were received with pomp and ceremony the likes of which the Prussian population had never seen.¹¹ For most of the Prussians it was their first encounter with Ottomans. Twelve days after the arrival of the legation in Berlin on November 21st, 1763, Ahmed Resmî had his audience with Friedrich II.¹² Because it was the first Ottoman legation to Prussia and because the Prussian court had no experience receiving Ottoman envoys, protocol was imitated, using that already applied in Austria in 1755. At that time the Ottoman envoy Halil Efendi – who came to announce the enthronement of the new sultan, Osman III (1754–1757) – was formally received at the Viennese court by Emperor Franz I Stephan (1745–1765) and Maria Theresa (1740–1780).¹³

During Ahmed Resmî Efendi's long stay in Berlin – nearly six months – life was made as pleasant and interesting as possible by all concerned. Ahmed Resmî was unlikely to complain about his treatment during his stay. Among other things he had the opportunity to watch military inspections, visit industrial facilities and manufacturers, to take part in a masked ball, attend artistic performances, and visit

¹⁰ Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, "Vorbericht über Sultan Mustafa III. und Resmi Achmed Efendi," *Wesentliche Betrachtungen, oder, Geschichte des Krieges zwischen den Osmanen und Russen in den Jahren 1768 bis 1774, von Resmî Achmed Efendi, aus dem Türkischen übersetzt und durch Anmerkungen erläutert von Heinrich Friedrich von Diez* (Halle; Berlin: In Commission der Buchhandlungen des Hallischen Waisenhauses, 1813), 1-54 and Volz, "Eine türkische Gesandtschaft," 30–31.

¹¹ Heinrich von Lehndorff, Queen Elisabeth Christine's chamberlain, wrote in his diary: "On November 9th the whole city was enrapt in the entry of the Turkish legation. Such a show had never before occurred here." Cited by Karl Eduard Schmidt-Lötzen, ed., *Dreißig Jahre am Hofe Friedrichs des Großen: Aus den Tagebüchern des Reichsgrafen Ernst Ahasverus Heinrich von Lehndorff, Kammerherrn der Königin Elisabeth Christine von Preußen* (Gotha: Perthes, 1907), 465. Even the king came from Potsdam to Berlin to watch the spectacle from the palace; see Kurt Treusch von Buttler and Gustav Berthold Volz, ed., *Politische Correspondenz Friedrich's des Grossen*, vol. 23 (1763–1764) (Berlin: Verlag von Alexander Duncker, 1896), 171, footnote 2; and Volz, "Eine türkische Gesandtschaft," 37.

¹² A detailed description of the audience was printed in the newspapers. See, *Berlinische privilegierte Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, 22 Nov. 1763, no. 140; *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten*, 25 Nov. 1763, no. 187 and 26 Nov. 1763, no. 188. It is very interesting and even surprising that the English newspapers, which reported in great detail about the legation in general, published nothing about the royal audience.

¹³ In fact, the protocol used for the Ottoman legation to Vienna in 1755 was applied and not that used for a 17th century legation from Moscow, as Friedrich Nicolai mistakenly assumed, see Volz, "Eine türkische Gesandtschaft," 37, footnote 4.

churches and a school. To honour the Ottoman envoy, special festivities were organized by the nobility at court. He was received several times in private audience by Friedrich II, where the main topic of the legation came up for discussion. None the less, neither side could agree on an alliance. In the meantime, Friedrich II had entered an alliance with Catherine II of Russia (1762–1796), and this had significantly diminished the former's interest in an alliance with the Ottomans. On April 22nd, 1764, Ahmed Resmî Efendi was invited to a last audience with the king to renew his credentials. But at the beginning of May, the Ottoman envoy left Berlin with his retinue.

Upon his return to Istanbul, he presented a report of his diplomatic mission to the sultan. Several manuscript versions of this report are preserved to this day.¹⁴ Together with Ahmed Resmî's earlier report from Vienna in 1757–1758 both texts were included in full in the chronicle of Ahmed Vâsîf Efendi and printed in Istanbul in 1804.¹⁵ At the suggestion of Friedrich Nicolai, a publisher in Berlin, an anonymous interpreter – who in fact was the Viennese Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall – translated the texts into German and they were published in Berlin and Sztetin in 1809.¹⁶ A second German translation of the Berlin report was prepared by Willy Bey-Bolland and published in Istanbul in 1903.¹⁷ The original reports in Ottoman Turkish were printed again in Istanbul in 1886 by the printer Ebu'z-ziya.¹⁸ Bedriye Atsız published a translation into modern Turkish (*sadeleştirme*) in 1980.¹⁹

2. *The Costume Album from Berlin*

It was not usual for Ottoman diplomatic missions to include a painter among their accompanying staff as did contemporary European embassies in Istanbul. However, it seems that there were two exceptions in the first half of the 19th century.

¹⁴ Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman*, 223.

¹⁵ [Ahmed Vâsîf Efendi], *Mebâsîmü'l-âsâr ve Hakâikü'l-abbâr*, 2 vol. (Istanbul: Dârü't-tibâati'l-âmiri, 1219 [1804]).

¹⁶ [Ahmed Resmî Efendi], *Des Türkischen Gesandten Resmi Ahmet Efendi Gesandtschaftliche Berichte von seinen Gesandtschaften in Wien im Jahre 1757, und in Berlin im Jahre 1763. Aus dem türkischen Originale übersetzt. Mit erläuternden Anmerkungen* (Berlin; Sztetin: Friedrich Nicolai, 1809).

¹⁷ [Ahmed Resmî Efendi], "Eine Türkische Botschaft an Friedrich den Großen. Aus dem Türkischen ins Deutsche übertragen von Willi Bey-Bolland (Uebersetzer S. K. M. des Sultans)," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Exkursions-Klubs in Konstantinopel* 6 (1903): 1–40.

¹⁸ [Ahmed Resmî Efendi], *Sefâretnâme-i Ahmed Resmî: Prusya Kralı Büyük Frederik Nezdine Sefâretle Giden Giridi Ahmed Resmî Efendi'nin Takrîridir* (Istanbul: Kitâbhâne-i Ebu'z-ziya, 1303 [1886]) and [[Ahmed Resmî Efendi], *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi: Ahmed Resmî Efendi'nindir* (Istanbul: Kitâbhâne-i Ebu'z-ziya, 1304 [1886/7]).

¹⁹ Bedriye Atsız, trans. and ed., *Ahmed Resmî Efendi'nin Viyana ve Berlin Sefâretnâmeleri*, Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser 151 (Istanbul: Tercüman, 1980).

The first was the embassy of Yâsincizâde Seyyid Abdülvehhâb Efendi²⁰ in Persia in 1810. This report was written by the interpreter of the embassy, Bozoklu Osman Şâkir Efendi, who happened to be also a painter, embellishing the report with 31 of his own illustrations.²¹ The second exception was a report from the embassy of Nâmık Paşa,²² who was appointed permanent ambassador to London in 1834. Today, one illustrated embassy report/travelogue (*resimli sefâretnâme/sevâbatnâme*), which is extant in two manuscripts can be attributed to this embassy.²³

These two illustrated reports from Ottoman legations to Persia and England in the first half of the 19th century have no precedents in the 17th and 18th centuries. However, we do have visual representations of Ottoman legations and embassies by European painters and artists.²⁴ Among these is a costume album preserved in

²⁰ For a brief biography see Mehmet İpşirli, “Abdülvehhâb Efendi, Yâsincizâde,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988), 285–286.

²¹ The only surviving manuscript, probably the original from the pen of the author, is preserved in the Fatih Millet Kütüphanesi in Istanbul carrying the signature: Ali Emiri Tarih No. 822. For the embassy of Yâsincizâde Seyyid Abdülvehhâb Efendi to Persia and its report see Cahit Bilim, “Elçi, M. Seyid Abdülvahap Efendi, Yazar, Sefaret Tercümanı Bozoklu Osman Şâkir Efendi: Musavver İran Sefaretnamesi,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi (OTAM)* 13 (2002): 262–286; A. Zeki Memioğlu, “Musavver İran Sefaretnamesi: Elçi, M. Yasincizâde Seyyid Abdülvehhâb Efendi, Tercüman ve Sefaretnâme Yazarı, Bozoklu Osman Şâkir Efendi,” *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi* 17 (2001): 237–245; Filiz Güney, *XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran İlişkileri ve İran’a Giden Osmanlı Elçileri*, unpublished master’s thesis (Afyonkarahisar: Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi, 2005), 79–85; and Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, ed. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1968), 206–210.

²² For a brief sketch of his biography see Abdullah Saydam, “Nâmık Paşa,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 32 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2006), 379–380; and Şehabeddin Akalın, “Mehmet Namık Paşa” *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* IV/7 (1952): 127–145. Enver Ziya Karal published the self-narrative of Nâmık Paşa, see Enver Ziya Karal, “Mehmed Namık Paşa’nın Hal Tercümesi” *Tarih Vesikaları* II/9 (1942): 220–227. For a biography, which largely relies on archival material and the political and diplomatic correspondence of Nâmık Paşa and a hymn of praise by a descendent see Ahmet Nuri Sinaplı, *Devlete, Millete Beş Padişahı Devrinde Kıymetli Hizmetlerde Bulunan Şeybiül Vüzera, Serasker Mehmet Namık Paşa* (Istanbul: Yenilik Basımevi, 1987).

²³ Both copies are preserved in the collection of Turkish manuscripts in the İstanbul Üniversitesi Merkez Kütüphanesi in Istanbul with the signatures: İÜMK, TY 5085 and İÜMK, TY 2416. So far both manuscripts are not published, but the first (İÜMK, TY 5085) was made accessible to the scientific community by Sadettin Buluç, “Türkçe Yazma İki Seyahatnâme” *IX. Türk Tarih Kongresi (Ankara, 21–25 Eylül 1981): Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, 3 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1986, 1988, 1989), 3: 1505–1516. İbrahim Şirin promised a critical edition of the embassy report, see İbrahim Şirin, *Osmanlı İmgeleminde Avrupa*, 2nd ed. (Ankara: Lotus, 2009), 245.

²⁴ The research literature has devoted far more attention to the legation of Yırmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi to France 1720–1721, even with respect to its visual representations in different artistic media. See Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*, Studies in Middle Eastern History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Gilles Veinstein, introd. and ed., *Le paradis des infidèles: relation de Yırmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed efendi, ambassadeur ottoman en France sous la Régence* (Paris: Maspero, 1981); and Beynün Akyavaş, ed., *Yırmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi’nin Fransa Sefâretnâmesi*, Türk Kültürü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları 129 (Ankara: Türk Kültürü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1993).

the manuscript collection of the Berlin State Library²⁵ (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz), and this refers precisely to the legation of Ahmed Resmî Efendi. So far this costume album has not received the attention it deserves. Volkmar Enderlein was the first to publish a short article on it in 1995 together with a reproduction of one of the plates.²⁶ More recently, a few images were used in an article about Ahmed Resmî Efendi's legation authored by Stephan Theilig.²⁷

Now, for a description: The distinctive feature of this costume album lies in the opulence and expense of its production. We have 71 plates bound in redish brown leather. But since an older pagination goes to 93²⁸ we may assume that the album originally contained even more illustrations than are preserved today. All figures in the album were produced by means of paper cutting.²⁹ The individual folios are multilayered. In most cases the first layer consists of coloured silk glued onto a base sheet. Subsequently, a specially cut paper template was laid and glued onto the silk, resulting in the completed representation of objects, people and animals. In other words, all segments of garments, headgear, horse caparisons, etc. were cut out and mounted on top of the valuable coloured silk fabric. Pleats of the fabrics and contours of the robes were marked by finely cut narrow strips of paper. The garments, gifts, and horses were designed very carefully. In some cases they were gilt. Valuable fabrics similar to those in this album also appear in the inventory list of gifts presented by the envoy to the king.³⁰ As Enderlein says, one would like to see the actual fabrics of the sultan's gifts. But we know that Friedrich II secretly

²⁵ Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SBB-PK), Libr.pict.A 151 (Prov.: Königliche Hausbibliothek).

²⁶ Volkmar Enderlein, "Das Berliner Kostümbuch von 1763," in *Im Lichte des Halbmonds: Das Abendland und der türkische Orient*, ed. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1995), 275–278.

²⁷ Theilig, "Die erste osmanische Gesandtschaft."

²⁸ The missing folios seem to have been torn or cut out. All images are framed, but their sizes vary. While the older pagination is written with a pencil at the bottom right corner of the frames, the more recent pagination – also written in pencil – is to be found in the upper right corner of the folios. A comparison of the two paginations allows the identification of the missing folios. Therefore, the following plates are missing with regard to the first data/specifications: 7, 14, 16, 20, 22, 24, 27, 37, 46, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 71, 85 and 91.

²⁹ Enderlein, "Das Berliner Kostümbuch von 1763," 278.

³⁰ For the list of the sultan's gifts which had been handed over to the king by Ahmed Resmî Efendi on November 21st, 1763, see *Berlinische privilegierte Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, 29.11.1763, no. 143 and Carl Adolf Bratter, *Die preussisch-türkische Bündnispolitik Friedrichs des Großen* (Weimar: Verlag Gustav Kiepenheuer, 1915), 128–131. On diplomatic gift-giving at the Prussian court see Jeannette Opalla [former Falcke], "Das Geschenkwesen [sic!] am friderizianischen Hof: Absicht und Botschaft," in *Friedrich300 – Colloquien, Friedrich der Große und der Hof*, URL: http://www.perspectivia.net/content/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien/friedrich-hof/Opalla_Geschenkwesen (accessed December 17, 2011) and Jeannette Falcke, *Studien zum diplomatischen Geschenkwesen am brandenburgisch-preussischen Hof im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte 31 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2006).

sold most of the gifts in February 1764 even while Ahmed Resmî Efendi was still in Berlin.³¹ Enderlein may be right when he suggests that the fabrics in the album probably came from the then-flourishing silk industry in Berlin.³² The only parts which were painted are those depicting skin, hair, or non-fabric materials. These were painted with opaque colours, then cut out and glued directly onto the folios in their appropriate positions. Thus faces and hands of the individual figures, horses, camels, and mules, the weapons, musical instruments, kitchen items, the coach of the envoy, and some other equipment are painted.

There are captions to describe each individual's function. But not a single name appears. The captions in the costume album were written in at least two different handwritings. One is very clear and resembles block letters, the second resembles the German *Kurrentschrift*. Some of the original captions have been erased and overwritten.

Now, as to provenance: A contemporary stamp designates the album as belonging to the royal library in Berlin (Königliche Haus-Bibliothek Berlin). A special note affixed to the inside of the back cover with the inscription "F. W. II. 1128a" seems to mark Friedrich Wilhelm II (1786–1797) as the owner of the album. The year 1962 inscribed with pencil on the first page over the stamp of the royal library indicates that the costume album was included in the 1962 inventory of the Berlin State Library.

Because the album contains no text in addition to the captions at the bottom of the figures it is not possible to determine exactly when, by whom or where it was produced. Enderlein assumes that the album was compiled soon after the arrival of the Ottoman legation in Berlin.³³ There is no evidence to support an assumption that Friedrich II commissioned the album. It could just as well have been a gift by a courtier. Theilig assumes the costume album was a fabric pattern album (*Stoffmusterbuch*), which was submitted to the Prussian king to demonstrate the quality of Prussian dyes and textile production.³⁴

However, a note affixed to the back cover mentioning Friedrich Wilhelm II seems to render another interpretation possible. In the last years of Friedrich II's

³¹ *Politische Correspondenz Friedrich's des Grossen*, 268, footnote 3: "On February 1 Privy Councillor Köppen was commissioned to have assessed and to sell, through the agency of effective but discrete people partially in Holland and partially in the Empire or other distant lands and for the best possible return, the items stored at the palace in Berlin which are remaining from the Turkish gifts such as caparisons, riding accoutrements, and also the silken, woollen, and camel hair fabrics, making payment to the Bank of Ephraim & Sons on behalf of his Majesty, without attracting any attention."

³² Enderlein, "Das Berliner Kostümbuch von 1763," 278.

³³ Enderlein, "Das Berliner Kostümbuch von 1763," 278. The appearance of "1763" in the title of his article is the reason why Enderlein regards 1763 as the year of production of the costume album. In contrast, Theilig commits himself to the year 1764; see Theilig, "Die erste osmanische Gesandtschaft," 156–157.

³⁴ Theilig, "Die erste osmanische Gesandtschaft," 156–157.

life, Heinrich Friedrich von Diez³⁵ (1751–1817) – a diplomat, private scholar, bibliophile, and Orientalist – was first sent as Prussian *chargé d'affaires* to Istanbul in 1784 and later appointed ambassador.³⁶ During his time in Istanbul von Diez collected Oriental manuscripts. It seems that he had a keen interest in costume albums. Upon his return in 1790 he brought his manuscript collection to Berlin. It has been discovered that among these manuscripts were a set of five folio volumes known as the “Saray Albums”³⁷ and a two-volume costume album, which was commissioned by Sultan Abdulhamid I (1774–1789) and presented to von Diez as a gift from the sultan.³⁸ A note at the beginning of this costume album reads: “These Drawings of Costumes are stated to have been executed by order of the Sultan (i.e. Abdülhamid I [d. 1789]) for General Diez, Prussian Ambassador at Constantinople in the time of Frederick II [d. 1786].”³⁹ The two volumes are composed of 225 illustrations and are now in the British Library in London. It is known that they were acquired in Berlin by a purchase in 1858.

What does von Diez have to do with the costume album from Berlin? If Friedrich Wilhelm II was indeed the first owner of the costume album, as the note affixed to the back cover seems to suggest, then perhaps von Diez commissioned the costume album after his return to Berlin in order to present it as a gift to the king, perhaps intending it as an apology for his diplomatic adversity in Istanbul. However, these assumptions form no more than a hypothesis since so far I haven’t been able to find any significant proof, which would verify them.

3. *The 16th Century Emergence of a New Genre: The Costume Album*

After this description of one particular costume album, I would like to raise some general questions about this genre and its origins. I must first clarify the

³⁵ About the life and work of von Diez see Johann Albrecht von Reisz, “Diez, Heinrich Friedrich v.” in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1957), 712–713; online version: www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118678469.html (accessed May 3, 2013).

³⁶ On von Diez’s diplomatic career and activities in Istanbul see Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, vol. 6, Geschichte der europäischen Staaten, ed. A. H. L. Heeren and F. A. Ukert (Gotha: Perthes, 1859), 467–493, 509–514, 518–611, 671–763. His valuable library of about 17,000 volumes and 835 manuscripts, including some priceless oriental manuscripts were bequeathed to the Royal Prussian State Library in Berlin, and is specified under the provenance “Bibliotheca Dieziana”. On his legacy in the Prussian State Library, see Curt Balcke, “Heinrich Friedrich von Diez und sein Vermächtnis in der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek,” in *Von Büchern und Bibliotheken: Ernst Kühnert als Abschiedsgabe dargebracht von seinen Freunden und Mitarbeitern*, ed. Gustav Abb (Berlin: Struppe & Winckler, 1928), 188–200.

³⁷ Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz (SBB-PK), Mss. Diez a. Fols. 70–74.

³⁸ Metin And, “I. Abdülhamit’in Prusya Elçisine Armağan Ettiği Osmanlı Kıyafetler Albümü,” in *Antik & Dekor* 19 (1993): 20–23.

³⁹ Norah M. Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts: A Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings in the British Library and British Museum* (London: British Library, 1981), 7.

role costume albums played already in the 16th century. The harbingers of costume albums were the works done by famous 16th century artists such as Bellini, Pisanello and Dürer. The Venetian artist Enea Vico was the first to produce a study of costumes in 1545. There followed a number of costume albums, and studies dealing with the “Turks” were also printed.⁴⁰ Between 1560 and 1590 ten such costume albums appeared in Europe. The first one to fully fall in this genre was that of Francois Deserpzy published in Paris in 1562. This French-language album was reprinted three times (1564, 1567 and 1570) with the stated intention of initiating its readers into the variety of attire in the world with examples from Europe, Asia, Africa and the so-called “wild islands”. One year later, in 1563, the costume album of the Venetian Ferdinando Bertelli was published in Latin, and reprinted in 1569. His son, Pietro Bertelli extended his father’s work by publishing it in a three-volume set, of which the last edition was reprinted in Padua in 1596. In 1577 two further albums were published: Hans Weigel’s *Trachtenbuch* appeared in Cologne, and the important Latin work of Abraham de Bruyn in Antwerp. But the most prominent exemplars of this genre were the two comprehensive studies published in Venice by the artist Cesare Vecellio in 1590 and 1598. The new genre was quickly established and was taken seriously, well beyond its mere entertainment aspects.⁴¹

As Ulrike Ilg has demonstrated, there were three contemporary intellectual trends within which the emergence of costume albums can be located. First of all, and this is Ilg’s opinion, there was the urge to encyclopedise grounded in the notion of organising and structuring new knowledge. But the French scholar Le Roy sees their emergence as a historiographical shift and a change of perspective away from national histories in the direction of universal history, extending the scholar’s scope from national history and culture in Europe to a trans-European geographical and cultural view. And finally, this new genre can be seen as part of the geographers’ efforts to complete an atlas of the entire world.⁴²

Such reconstructions of the inception of costume albums within contemporary intellectual movements and discourses during the second half of the 16th century are not acceptable to everyone. Rublack, for example, cannot find justification for seeing Le Roy’s views in the production of costume albums. Le Roy advocated peaceful cultural exchange as the basis of a new European self image as part of a global republic or a single civilisation.⁴³ Rublack rejects a connection to Le Roy and proposes an alternative, challenging historians to analyse costume albums as texts. Instead of searching for a basic explanation for this genre Rublack would, for

⁴⁰ Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 146.

⁴¹ Ulrike Ilg, “The Cultural Significance of Costume Albums in Sixteenth-Century Europe,” in *Clothing Culture 1350–1650*, ed. Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 29–47 (pp. 29–33) and Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 146–147.

⁴² Ilg, “The Cultural Significance,” 33–40.

⁴³ Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 148.

example, be interested to learn the way in which the creators of costume albums attempted to influence particular political and social contexts. What is interesting about costume albums is not how they are similar but how they are different. How does the presentation of attire project political and social ideals to a particular audience by means of visualised representations of clothing? Consequently, Rublack formulates her primary enquiry as follows: “Hence our primary question has to be what kind of visual acts they constituted.”⁴⁴ And finally she correctly stresses that works of this type cannot be accepted in the absence of further sources as truthful representations of what people actually wore.⁴⁵

4. *The Berlin Costume Album and its Forerunners*

Costume albums about the Ottoman Empire date from the 16th century as well. An increased interest in the Ottoman land and people, especially after the conquest of Istanbul in 1453, led to the publication of twice as many books about the Ottoman Empire as about the New World between 1480 and 1609.⁴⁶ Captivity reports and travelogues were genres which promised to provide their audiences first-hand ethnographic knowledge on the “other.” From early on, these reports were supplemented by illustrations of the “other” and his attire. Among the first travelogues of this type the report of Hans Schiltberger with its illustrative woodcuts published in Augsburg about 1476 has to be mentioned.⁴⁷ Among the sources of information about the Ottoman Empire illustrated travelogues were a popular genre in the following centuries.⁴⁸ The most remarkable of these is the publication by the Frenchman Nicolas de Nicolay which appeared in Paris in 1562 and very soon thereafter in German. This author stresses that he is reporting his very own personal observations which are reproduced in opulent illustrations.⁴⁹ The step

⁴⁴ Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 149.

⁴⁵ Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 149.

⁴⁶ Ulrike Ilg, “Die ‘Entdeckung’ der osmanischen Kultur durch Künstler und Gelehrte im 16. Jahrhundert: eine humanistische Utopie,” in *Expansionen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Renate Dürr, Gisela Engel, and Johannes Süßmann, Zeitschrift für historische Forschung, Beiheft 34 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2005), 173–196 (pp. 173–174).

⁴⁷ For the facsimile of the first print of 1476 see Elisabeth Geck, ed., *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch* (Wiesbaden: Pressler, 1969).

⁴⁸ For the genre of illustrated travelogues about the Ottoman Empire see Ulrike Ilg, “Die Türkei in der europäischen Literatur und Buchillustration des 16.–19. Jahrhunderts,” in *Der lange Weg der Türken: 1500 Jahre türkische Kultur*, ed. Johannes Kalter and Irene Schönberger (Stuttgart: Linden-Museum, 2003), 272–298; Ulrike Ilg, “‘... Ein Zeugnis nach dem Augenschein ist höher zu schätzen als zehn vom Hörensagen ...’: Text und Bild in Reiseberichten des 16. Jahrhunderts aus Amerika und dem Osmanischen Reich,” in *Text und Bild in Reiseberichten des 16. Jahrhunderts: Westliche Zeugnisse über Amerika und das Osmanische Reich*, ed. Ulrike Ilg, Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut: Studi e Ricerche 3 (Venice: Marsilio, 2008), 11–18.

⁴⁹ Ulrike Ilg, “Vom Reisebericht zum ethnographischen Kompendium: zur Rezeptionsgeschichte von Nicolas de Nicolays *Quatre premiers livres des navigations et pérégrinations orienta-*

from illustrated travelogues to costume albums on the Ottoman Empire extended into the second half of the 16th century, at a time when diplomatic contacts between the Sublime Porte and some Western European countries such as Venice, France, the Habsburg monarchy and England were intensified. At the end of the 16th century all these countries were represented diplomatically in Istanbul by an ambassador, envoy or resident. The coming and going of diplomats also allowed artists and scholars to travel to the Ottoman Empire. They did not only write down their experiences and impressions of land and people in their travelogues but painted them in pictures and drawings. This period witnessed a great interest and a rapid increase in the number of hand-painted costume albums on the Ottoman Empire, in an increasingly inter-dependent world.⁵⁰

To the European artists active in Istanbul we have to add an increasing number of Ottoman artists by the beginning of the 17th century. The latter also painted costume albums for the market. Metin And has classified these painters *çarşı ressamı*, i.e. “market painters”, and regards them as representatives of a trend in folk art.⁵¹ They have to be distinguished from Ottoman artists who worked in the court workshops. While the costume albums produced in the 16th and 17th centuries were for an almost exclusively European audience, by the 18th century, interest increased on the Ottoman market as well.⁵² Only a few of these albums have attracted the interest of researchers, and, consequently, only a small number have been printed so far.⁵³

les (1567),” in *Text und Bild in Reiseberichten des 16. Jahrhunderts: Westliche Zeugnisse über Amerika und das Osmanische Reich*, ed. Ulrike Ilg, Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut: Studi e Ricerche 3 (Venice: Marsilio, 2008), 161–192.

- ⁵⁰ For the early period of the newly-emerging genre of costume albums dealing with the Ottoman Empire and one of its earliest examples, the Bremen Album from 1574, painted by Lambert de Vos, and its relation to other costume albums, see Rudolf H. W. Stichel, “Das Bremer Album und seine Stellung innerhalb der orientalischen Trachtenbücher,” in *Das Kostümbuch des Lambert de Vos: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Ms. or. 9 aus dem Besitz der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen*, vol. 2: *Kommentarband*, ed. Hans-Albrecht Koch (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1991), 31–54.
- ⁵¹ For the emergence of *çarşı ressamı* and the costume albums of the 17th century see Metin And, “17. Yüzyıl Türk Çarşı Ressamları ve Resimlerinin Belgesel Önemi,” in *9. Milletlerarası Türk Sanatları Kongresi – 9th International Congress of Turkish Art*, 3 vols. (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1995), 1: 153–162; Günsel Renda, “17. Yüzyıldan Bir Grup Kıyafet Albümü,” *17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kültür ve Sanatı: 19–20 Mart 1998, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, Sanat Tarihi Derneği Yayınları 4 (İstanbul: Sanat Tarihi Derneği, 1998), 153–178; and Nermin Sinemoğlu, “Onyedinci Yüzyılın İlk Çeyreğine Tarihlenen Bir Osmanlı Kıyafet Albümü,” in *Aslanapa Armağanı*, ed. Selçuk Mülayım, Zeki Sönmez, and Ara Altun (İstanbul: Bağlam 1996), 169–182.
- ⁵² Leslie Meral Schick, “Meraklı Avrupalılar İçin Bir Başvuru Kaynağı: Osmanlı Kıyafet Albümleri,” *Toplumsal Tarih* 116 (2003): 84–89 (p. 89).
- ⁵³ For one printed example of paintings and costume albums from the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries each representing a solemn procession of an Ottoman sultan or the Ottoman Empire in general see Hans-Albrecht Koch, ed., *Das Kostümbuch des Lambert de Vos: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Ms. or. 9 aus dem Besitz der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen*, vol. 1: *Faksimileband*, vol. 2: *Kommentarband* (Graz:

These primarily hand-paintedd costume albums have been supplemented over time by printed albums. It is very interesting and not surprising to see that the Berlin costume album was modelled on a printed French album. This is a collection of engravings published by the former French ambassador to Istanbul Marquis Charles de Ferriol (1637–1722).⁵⁴ He commissioned the Flemish painter Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (1671–1737)⁵⁵ to draw a series of paintings illustrating Ottoman court life including the sultan, his retinue and the harem, different administrative and military personnel, clergymen and religious practices, inhabitants of Istanbul, the islands and some landscapes, and different Ottoman provinces in North Africa, Arabia, Anatolia, and the Balkans. Vanmour completed his collection of paintings between 1707 and 1708. They were based on his own observations locally in Istanbul. After his return to Paris de Ferriol published together with Le Hay the *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant*, Paris, 1714⁵⁶ as a collection of engravings based on the paintings of Vanmour. The *Recueil Ferriol* was an instant success with further editions and reproductions subsequently published in European languages.⁵⁷ The first German edition of the *Recueil Ferriol* was printed in Nuremberg in two parts 1719⁵⁸ and 1721⁵⁹ by the German engraver and

Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1990–1991); Karin Ådahl, ed., *The Sultan's Procession: The Swedish Embassy to Sultan Mehmed IV in 1657–1658 and the Rålamb Paintings* (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2006); Klaus Tuchelt (introd. and ed.), *Türkische Gewänder und osmanische Gesellschaft im achtzehnten Jahrhundert: Facsimile-Ausgabe des Codex "Les portraits des différens habillemens qui sont en usage à Constantinople et dans tout la Turquie" aus dem Besitz des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes in Istanbul* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1966); and İlhami Turan, ed., *Osmanlı Kıyafetleri: Fenerci Mehmed Albümü, Aslı Rahmi M. Koç Özel Kitaplığında Bulunan Fenerci Mehmed Tarafından Resimlendirilmiş Osmanlı Kıyafetleri Albümünün Tıpkı Basımıdır – Ottoman Costume Album: Fenerci Mehmed, a Facsimile Edition of Osmanlı Kıyafetleri by Fenerci Mehmed, the Original of Which is in the Private Collection of Rahmi M. Koç* (Istanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 1986).

⁵⁴ For Marquis Charles de Ferriol see the article by Christine Vogel in this volume.

⁵⁵ Olga Nefedova, *A Journey into the World of the Ottomans: The Art of Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (1671–1737)* (Milan: Skira, 2009).

⁵⁶ Charles de Ferriol, *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 et gravées en 1712. et 1713. par les soins de M. Le Hay* (Paris: Le Hay, 1714). (here: *Recueil Ferriol*)

⁵⁷ Maria Elisabeth Pape, "Turquerie im 18. Jahrhundert und der 'Recueil Ferriol,'" in *Europa und der Orient 800–1900*, ed. Gereon Sieverich and Hendrik Budde (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1989), 305–323 (p. 309).

⁵⁸ Charles de Ferriol, *Wahreste und neueste Abbildung Des Türkischen Hofes, welche nach denen Gemälden, so der königliche französische Ambassadeur Monsr. de Ferriol Zeit seiner Gesandtschaft in Constantinopel im Jahr 1707. und 1708. Durch einen geschickten Maler nach den Leben hat verfertigen lassen, In fünfzig Kupfer-Blatten gebracht worden: Nebst einer aus dem Französischen ins Teutsche übersetzten Beschreibung* (Nuremberg: Christoph Weigel, 1719).

⁵⁹ Charles de Ferriol, *Der wahrest und neuesten Abbildung Des Türkischen Hofes, Fortsetzung, worinnen die übrige dem königlichen französischen Ambassadeur Herrn de Ferriol, Zeit seiner Gesandtschaft in Constantinopel im Jahr 1707 und 1708, von einem geschickten Maler nach dem Leben verfertigte Gemälde, mit einem beglaubten Zusatz, In sechs und fünfzig Kupfer-Blatten gebracht*

publisher Christoph Weigel. Actually, it was not a simple reproduction of the *Recueil Ferriol* but included new engravings made by Weigel himself with significant variation from the original. Two abridged editions were printed in 1723⁶⁰ and later again in 1789.⁶¹ The *Recueil Ferriol* quickly became the primary source of *turqueries* in the arts of the 18th century throughout Europe. Pape emphasizes this point when she wrote: “This work was to be the most enduring and significant source for the variety of representations of Turkish themes throughout the 18th, and even into the 19th century.”⁶²

Because of its expense it seems the French original was addressed to a smaller and more select audience, while the modestly-produced German edition of 1719 has to be seen as a more popular edition. As for Turkey, it was only relatively later, in the late 1970s, that a greater interest in the *Recueil Ferriol* was observable. The publisher Şevket Rado first edited a facsimile of the French original in 1979⁶³ and then printed a Turkish edition in 1980.⁶⁴

Because the *Recueil Ferriol* was widely available and well known throughout Europe, we may presume that the anonymous artist of the Berlin costume album apparently knew it very well and in particular its German edition. A brief look at the three collections – the French original *Recueil Ferriol*, its German edition, and the Berlin costume album – would be sufficient to see the similarities. The first thing one notices is that most of the figures represented in the German edition of the *Recueil Ferriol* are engraved in mirror image to the French original. And just this mirror image posture of the figures is also observable in the Berlin costume

worden: Nebst einer aus den bewährtesten lateinisch- und französischen Scribenten verfassten Beschreibung (Nuremberg: Christoph Weigel, 1721).

- ⁶⁰ Charles de Ferriol, *Wahreste und neueste Abbildung Des Türckischen Hofes, welche nach denen Gemälden, so der Königliche Französische Ambassadeur, Monsr. de Ferriol, Zeit seiner Gesandtschaft in Constantinopel im Jahr 1707 und 1708 durch einen geschickten Maler nach dem Leben hat verfertigen lassen, In fünf und sechzig Kupfer-Blatten gebracht worden: Nebst einer aus dem Französischen ins Teutsche übersetzten Beschreibung* (Nuremberg: Christoph Weigel, 1723).
- ⁶¹ Charles de Ferriol, *Abbildung des türkischen Hofes: Aus dem Französischen übersezt, Mit 77 Kupfern, Nach den Gemälden welche Herr von Ferriol [...] durch den geschickten niederländischen Maler van Mour nach der Natur hat malen und in vielen Kupferplatten stechen lassen, Neue und verbesserte Auflage* (Nuremberg: Christoph Weigel und Adam Gottlieb Schneider, 1789).
- ⁶² Pape, “Turquerie im 18. Jahrhundert,” 308. For the *Recueil Ferriol* see also Silke Förschler, *Bilder des Harem: Medienwandel und kultureller Austausch* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 2010), 45–56 and Silke Förschler, “Zirkulation und Differenzierung von Motiven des kulturell Anderen: Kostümporraits in europäischen Reiseberichten und in der osmanischen Miniaturmalerei,” in *Europa und die Türkei im 18. Jahrhundert/Europe and Turkey in the 18th Century*, ed. Barbara Schmidt-Haberkamp (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2011), 343–362.
- ⁶³ Jean Baptiste van Mour, *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, et gravées en 1712 et 1713 par les soins de Mr. Le Hay* [1714 Paris Baskısından Tıpkıbasımdır] (Istanbul: Yayın-Matbaacılık, 1979).
- ⁶⁴ Jean Baptiste van Mour, *On Sekizinci Yüzyılın Başında Osmanlı Kıyafetleri: Fransız Büyüelçisi Marquis de Ferriol’un Hollandalı Ressam Van Mour’a Yaptırdığı 100 Resim İle Türklere Ait Bazı Törenler ve Açıklamalar*, ed. Şevket Rado (Istanbul: Yayın-Matbaacılık, 1980).

album. From this we can conclude that the direct model of the Berlin costume album is not the *Recueil Ferriol* but its German edition.⁶⁵

While the original paintings of Vanmour and the engravings of the *Recueil Ferriol* always have the same background scene (see figs. 1, 4, and 7) – they are further located in spaces with architecture and interiors that are entirely absent in the depictions of the German edition⁶⁶ (see figs. 2, 5, and 8 and compare with figs. 3, 6, and 9).⁶⁷ In both cases only the ground under the feet of the figures is indicated. However, the technique applied in the Berlin costume album would have made it very difficult to set up a background.

Nearly all costume albums dealing with the Ottoman Empire share some common characteristics. Their illustrations depict costumes of the Ottoman court, janissaries, clerics, people of various social classes, inhabitants of Anatolia and the provinces, representatives of minorities, such as Greeks, Armenians and Jews, as well as genre scenes, monuments, and characteristic objects.⁶⁸ Certainly it wouldn't be wrong to claim that the costume albums of the Ottoman Empire were intended as representations of the Ottoman world as a whole. Their focus was always on the sultan and his court. It is here that the Berlin album can be differentiated from earlier albums. It was intended to depict only a limited subject matter, namely those groups of people who were related and meaningful in the context of an Ottoman legation. The album took not the sultan but his envoy and the highest Ottoman representative abroad and his retinue for its central subject matter. The following goes further in presenting the Berlin album and in probing its history.

5. *The Berlin Costume Album in Historical Context*

As Enderlein pointed out this costume album depicts a particular historical event.⁶⁹ The contemporary newspaper reports of the Ottoman legation's procession to its audience with Friedrich II could well inspire visual depictions. A significant indication is provided in the image that appears on Plate 11 with its caption,

⁶⁵ The German edition of Weigel was used as a reference for the manufacture of porcelain figures at the Veildorf monastery in Thuringia and in Ansbach. See Pape, "Turquerie im 18. Jahrhundert," 319 and Anette Loesch, "Zum Einfluß der Türkenmode auf das Meißner Porzellan," in *Im Lichte des Halbmonds: Das Abendland und der türkische Orient*, ed. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1995), 272–274 (p. 274).

⁶⁶ In the German edition of 1719, there are some exceptions to this rule (plates 10, 11, 12, 26, and 42), where the figures are placed in front of the same background scenes as in the *Recueil Ferriol*. See for example figs. 7 and 8.

⁶⁷ Here I would like to thank the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz for permission to use and publish some images from the Berlin costume album.

⁶⁸ Tadeusz Majda, "The Râlab Album of Turkish Costumes," in *The Sultan's Procession: The Swedish Embassy to Sultan Mehmed IV in 1657–1658 and the Râlab Paintings*, ed. Karin Ådahl (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2006), 197–265 (p. 197).

⁶⁹ Enderlein, "Das Berliner Kostümbuch von 1763," 276.

“*The Turkish Legation Secretary with the Treaty of Peace*”⁷⁰ in which the secretary of the legation (*divan efendisi*) holds the imperial letter of the sultan in his outstretched hands at the height of his head.⁷¹ According to a contemporary account in the *Berlinische privilegierte Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, “the mounted Divan Efendi, or Legation Secretary, carried the letter of the sultan to his royal majesty in his hands.”⁷²

The order of the images in the costume album does not correspond exactly to the order of the historic event as it was described in the newspapers, but one cannot fail to see correlations. The costume album opens with a mounted trumpeter on the first plate with a caption that translates: “Turkish Trumpeter riding in Front”. According to the order of plates in the album, the trumpeter was followed by an adjutant (plate 2) and a number of officers (plates 2–8) carrying banners (plates 3–4) and horsetails (plates 5–6) and then came some noblemen (plates 7–8).

Only two non-Muslims are represented in the album. These are recognisable by their black headgear. The first is the interpreter of the legation. He is the only figure to be illustrated twice in the costume album. Plate 9 – with a caption that translates: “The Turkish Legation Interpreter” – shows him on horseback, while as “The Turkish Interpreter” in plate 10 he is depicted on foot. From the newspapers we know that the name of Ahmed Resmî Efendi’s interpreter in Berlin was Salomon Commandi, who was a merchant of Jewish background.⁷³

The second Non-Muslim in the costume album appears on plate 52 captioned, “A Turkish Merchant and Persian Jew.” This indicates that merchants travelled to Europe in the retinues of Ottoman legations. Plate 54, captioned “A Turkish Carpet Merchant”, further supports this assumption while at the same time indicating that the trade in oriental carpets was important at this time in Europe.

⁷⁰ Although the caption mentions a peace treaty transported by the secretary of the legation, it should not be taken literally, because it was indeed only the missive of the sultan. As we already know both sides could not agree on an alliance. Perhaps the unknown artist anticipated the conclusion of a treaty, or maybe he is referring to the trade agreement between the Ottoman Empire and Prussia concluded in 1761.

⁷¹ Plate 11 of the costume album is reproduced in the article by Enderlein; see Enderlein, “Das Berliner Kostümbuch von 1763,” 277. Suraiya Faroqhi reproduced it again in one of her publications, see Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*, The Library of Ottoman Studies 7 (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 190.

⁷² *Berlinische privilegierte Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, 22.11.1763, No. 140. Nearly the same description is published in *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten*, 25.11.1763, no. 187: “[D]er Divan Effendi, oder der Gesandtschafts=Secretair zu Pferde, welcher in der Hand das Schreiben des Groß=Sultans hielte.”

⁷³ *London Evening Post*, 22.–24.12.1763, no. 5638: “They write from Berlin, that the Jew Merchant Salomon Commandi, Interpreter to the Turkish Ambassador Achmet Effendi, set out from thence the 13th instant for Holland, and is expected here in town.” See also *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten*, 16.12.1763, Nr. 199: “[...] [D]er Kaufmann Salomon Commandi, Dolmetscher bey dem Türkischen Gesandten, Achmet Effendi, ist nach Holland abgereist.”



Fig. 1: Le Moufti, ou Chef de la Loy. Plate 20 of *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant*, 1714.



Fig. 2: Moufti: Das Oberhaupt der Türkischen Religion. Plate 20 of *Wabreste und neueste Abbildung Des Türkischen Hofes*, 1719.



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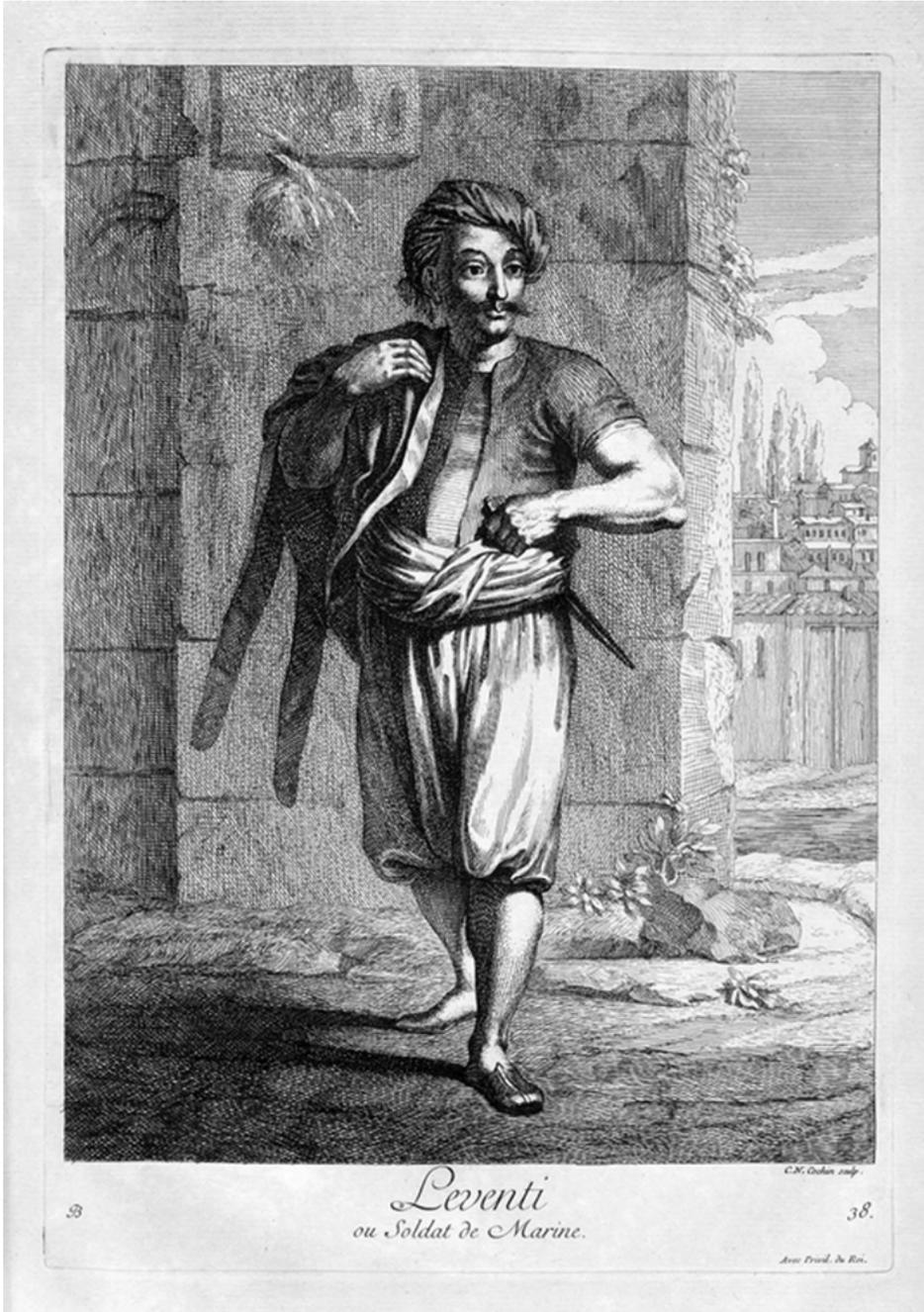


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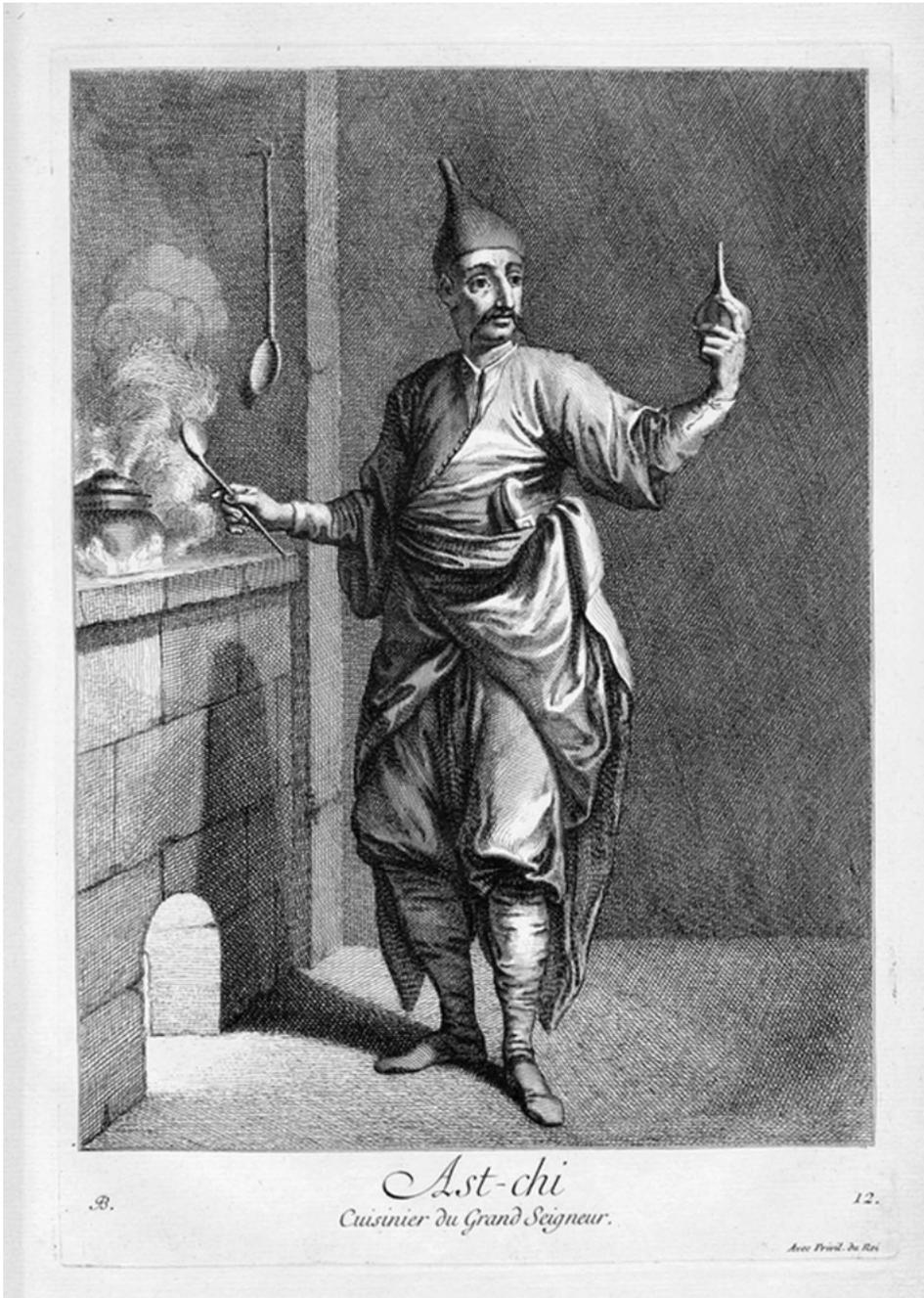


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Following plate 11, which shows the above-mentioned legation secretary on horseback with the letter of the sultan in his hands, two marshals are represented on plates 12 and 13. The second marshal on plate 13, captioned “The Turkish Ambassador’s Daughter’s Husband as Marshal”. The Ottoman envoy was indeed accompanied by the young Ahmed Azmî, who is considered to have been a relative of Ahmed Resmî Efendi.⁷⁴ This special information is, in fact, the reason why Enderlein assumes that this costume album deals with the Ottoman legation of Ahmed Resmî Efendi to Berlin in 1763–1764.⁷⁵

In other costume albums about the Ottoman Empire the sultan would have been in the centre, but in the Berlin costume album the envoy is the main attraction (see plate 14: “The Turkish High Ambassador”). The anonymous artist of the costume album has portrayed him handsomely as an elderly man with a white beard. We know that Ahmed Resmî was in fact nearly 70 years old when he led the legation to Berlin. Again, this gives us another indication that the album deals with this particular event. The envoy is placed frontally as a full body figure in the picture. The spatial location is indicated by a few strokes representing grass. A massive turban with an egret covers his head. In his right hand he holds a feather fan and his left hand grasps his belt to which a dagger is attached. The hem of his blue robe is folded back and tucked into his belt. To his full grey pants he wears golden-yellow shoes. His red caftan is embellished with ermine fur around the edges.

Only two plates give reference to religion. On plate 17 “A Turkish Cleric” can be seen. He carries an open book in his left hand, while his right hand is raised in a gesture of preaching or teaching. In Ferriol’s *Recueil* a similar illustration carries the title “The Mufti or Chief of Jurisprudence”. In the Berlin album the picture no longer has a background and the title is so altered that one should rather see in this figure a prayer leader (*imam*). Here we see a parallel phenomenon to the treatment of the head of the legation. In the *Recueil Ferriol* the sultan is central, but here the envoy is substituted for the sultan. Similarly the figure of a Mufti is down-graded to a lower-ranking cleric. In fact, the black cloak here reminds us more of a Christian rather than a Muslim cleric, for whom green was employed in other costume albums. The only other reference to religion is found on plate 55: “A Turk goes to Pray”.

As already mentioned, two of the presents the Ottoman sultan sent to Friedrich II, a horse (plate 18: “Turkish Gift of a Horse”) and a tent (plate 46: “Turk-

⁷⁴ Aksan contradicts herself when she mentions Ahmed Azmî at one point in her work (pp. 27–28) as belonging to the family of Mustafa Efendi and son-in-law of Ahmed Resmî Efendi. At another point (pp. 70 and 87) she writes that he is the brother-in law of Ahmed Resmî Efendi; see Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman*, 27–28, 70, and 87. Şirin has pointed to the confusion in Aksan’s work but he himself could not clarify the relationship, see Şirin, *Osmanlı İnceleminde Avrupa*, 194. There is a good deal of confusion on this matter in the literature, but this is not the place to pursue this point.

⁷⁵ Enderlein, “Das Berliner Kostümbuch von 1763,” 276.

ish Gift of a Tent”) are illustrated in the album. Plate 19 depicts “A Turk carrying the Drinking Gear for the Kaiser’s Gift Horse” and plate 20 depicts “The Turkish Ambassador’s Mount”. Ottoman horses including their valuable accoutrements as well as elaborately decorated Ottoman tents are found among almost all Ottoman diplomatic gifts to European courts.⁷⁶

The next depictions include a Turkish officer (plate 15), two noblemen (plates 16 and 21), a page (plate 22), a guard of the envoy (plate 23), and a *bajduk* (plate 24), which probably refers to a mercenary infantry soldier. One of the largest groups illustrated in the costume album are ten musicians of the janissary band (*mehterhâne*)⁷⁷ (plates 1, 26–33, 48) together with their head, the *mehter başı* (plate 25). While the first trumpeter (plate 1) rides a horse and leads the procession, the drummer (plate 48) rides on a camel, and the rest of the musicians (plates 26–33) are on foot. In most cases Ottoman legations and especially important embassies had a *mehterhâne* with them.⁷⁸ On his mission to Vienna in 1757–1758 Ahmed Resmî Efendi had no *mehterhâne* with him. This earlier mission was smaller in comparison to that sent to Berlin, by exactly the number of persons composing the janissary band. In the Habsburg context it was often a matter of dispute if the procession to Vienna should be with or without music and flying flags. It

⁷⁶ On Ottoman diplomatic gift exchange see Hedda Reindl-Kiel, “Der Duft der Macht: Osmanen, islamische Tradition, muslimische Mächte und der Westen im Spiegel diplomatischer Geschenke,” *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Kunde des Morgenlandes* 95 (2005): 195–258 and Hedda Reindl-Kiel, “Ottoman-European Cultural Exchange: East is East and West is West, and Sometimes the Twain Did Meet. Diplomatic Gift Exchange in the Ottoman Empire,” in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West*, vol. 2, ed. Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki and Rhoads Murphey, Library of Ottoman Studies 6 (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 113–123. For the presentation of horses and horse trading regulations in the Ottoman Empire see Hedda Reindl-Kiel, “No Horses for the Enemy: Ottoman Trade Regulations and Horse Gifting,” in *Pferde in Asien: Geschichte, Handel und Kultur/Horses in Asia: History, Trade, and Culture*, ed. Bert G. Fragner, Ralph Kauz, Roderich Ptak and Angela Schottenhammer, Veröffentlichungen zur Iranistik 46 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 43–49.

⁷⁷ Walter Feldman, “Mehter,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 1007–1008; Nuri Özcan, “Mehter,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 28 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2003), 545–549, T. Nejat Eralp, “Tarihi, Teşkilatı, Teşrifatı ile Osmanlı Mehteri ve Günümüze Yansımaları,” in *Osmanlı Dünyasında Bilim ve Eğitim: Milletlerarası Kongresi Tebliğleri*, ed. Hidayet Yavuz Nuhoğlu (Istanbul: İslâm Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi IRCICA, 2001), 293–318; and Fırat Boztaş, *Onaltıncı Yüzyılın Sonuna Kadar Osmanlı Devleti’nde Tabl ve Alem Mehterleri Teşkilatı*, unpublished master’s thesis (Istanbul: Istanbul University, 2009).

⁷⁸ For the Janissary band and its influence on Austrian and European music culture, see Memo G. Schachiner, *Janitscharenkapelle und Europa: Quellen und Dokumente zu den Janitscharen und ihrer Musikkapelle im kaiserlichen Österreich*, rev. 1st ed. (Vienna: MC Publ., 2007); Memo G. Schachiner, *Janitschareninstrumente und Europa: Quellen und Dokumente zu den Musikinstrumenten der Janitscharen im kaiserlichen Österreich*, rev. 1st ed. (Vienna: MC Publ., 2007); Ralf Martin Jäger, “Janitscharenmusik in Österreich 1640–1740,” in *Wege der Bläsermusik im südöstlichen Europa*, ed. Friedhelm Brusniak and Klaus-Peter Koch, Arolser Beiträge zur Musikforschung 10 (Sinzig: Studio-Verlag, 2004), 13–36; and Michael Pirker, *Bilddokumente zum Einfluss der Janitscharenmusik auf die österreichische Militärmusik*, unpublished PhD thesis (Vienna: University of Vienna, 1986).

seems this was not disputed in the case of Berlin. Incidentally, the population of Berlin would often have the opportunity to listen to Ottoman military music, though not everyone at the Prussian court was excited by the janissary musicians, as the diary entries of Heinrich von Lehndorff, the chamberlain of Queen Elisabeth Christine of Prussia, show.⁷⁹

The Berlin album includes depictions of more military personnel. There were two captains (plates 34 and 35), two archers (plates 36 and 37), a sentinel (plate 38), and two janissaries (plates 39 and 40). Plates 42–44 depict Turkish jugglers and wrestlers. Plate 42 depicts three figures together, an exception in the album. In addition to the aforementioned horses, which are abundantly represented, camels (plates 45–48) and mules (plates 49–50) also appear primarily as carriers of luggage and household utensils, plates, etc.

The only image that is composed over several pages is the coach of the envoy with its six white horses (plate 51). Because this image is too large it had to be folded into two halves. In contrast to all other plates in the Berlin costume album the caption is not placed at the bottom but near the upper edge. In the description of the public entry a coach with six horses is mentioned as carrying the credentials of the envoy.⁸⁰

It is not surprising that in the retinue of an Ottoman legation or embassy the kitchen staff comprised a relatively large group of people. They are represented in the Berlin costume album on 11 plates (56–59 and 64–70). Worth mentioning is the coffee maker (plate 58) and the coffee servant of the envoy (plate 57). Ottoman legations and embassies played a very significant role in the history of coffee in early modern Europe. All guests received by the Ottomans were entertained with coffee and sweets. The influence of Ottoman embassies in the proliferation of coffee drinking in court societies in Europe should not be underestimated. In addition to coffee, sherbet, a cold soft drink was also offered. Plate 59 depicts the sherbet servant. According to remarks of Friedrich II made in derision, eating dates became fashionable in Berlin in connection with the Ottoman legation.⁸¹ Plate 68 depicts a Turkish date seller holding a plate with a cup full of dates in his right hand. His slightly darker skin probably indicates a connection to those regions of the Ottoman Empire where this fruit came from, namely northern Africa or the Arabian Peninsula. Plate 60 shows a barber and plate 61 a physician. It is interesting to observe that Ferriol's model for a cook appears here as a doctor. Again we are confronted with the opportunistic adaptation of a figure which was originally

⁷⁹ Schmidt-Lötzen, ed., *Dreißig Jahre am Hofe Friedrichs des Großen*, 465. A similar aversion to janissary music is also voiced by Baron von Schlabrendorff, see Volz, "Eine türkische Gesandtschaft," 34.

⁸⁰ See the quotation at the beginning of this article from the *London Gazette*, 22–26 Nov. 1763, no. 10368.

⁸¹ *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand*, vol. 26: *Correspondance de Frédéric II, roi de Prusse*, vol. 11. (Berlin: Decker, 1855), 337, *Politische Correspondenz Friedrich's des Grossen*, 197, and Volz, "Eine türkische Gesandtschaft," 40.

drawn from Ottoman society whereby it loses any real-life connection it may have had within the Ottoman system by illustrating a completely different figure in the legation.

Nearly all costume albums about the Ottoman Empire have a number of illustrations of women coming from different ethnic, religious and social groups. But an Ottoman woman would not have been present in an Ottoman legation. So far I have not encountered mention of the presence of any Ottoman women in my sources. But apparently the anonymous artist did not want to finish his masterpiece without a representation of at least one woman. And at the same time, to be consistent with the tradition of costume albums dealing with the Ottoman Empire, he added to this unique work of art an illustration of a Turkish woman (plate 71).

In the case of the Berlin costume album the artist endeavoured to translate the broad ‘language’ of the *Recueil Ferriol* which described the Ottoman Empire as a whole into the narrower ‘language’ of an Ottoman legation. The figures in the costume album had to undergo a translation process, being renamed to give them meaningful functions in the context of an Ottoman legation. As with the renaming, figures 1–9 clearly illustrate the dependence of the Berlin costume album on its forerunners – the *Recueil Ferriol* and the latter’s German edition.

6. Conclusion

In one of his personal letters to his brother Heinrich, Friedrich II remarks ironically that with the arrival of the Ottomans in Berlin some of his subjects – he calls them “these coxcombs” – began to wear turbans and eat dates. He prophesied that soon those who were rich enough would begin to maintain harems.⁸² An increasing interest in Ottoman fabrics and textiles was observable in Berlin at that time as a result of the presence of the Ottoman legation. The *Turquerie* or *Turkomania* or *Türkenmode*, which appeared in some parts of Europe – Paris⁸³ and Dresden⁸⁴ for example – at the end of the 17th, but especially in the 18th century, reached Berlin with only slight delay. Just as the Ottoman legations to France in 1669, 1721 and 1742 triggered a *Turquerie* there,⁸⁵ so did the first Ottoman lega-

⁸² *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand*, 337, 339 and *Politische Correspondenz Friedrich’s des Grossen*, 197.

⁸³ Hélène Desmet-Grégoire, *Le divan magique: L’Orient turc en France au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Sycomore, 1980) and Göçek, *East Encounters West*.

⁸⁴ Holger Schuckelt, “Spektakel alla turca: Die Türkenmode in Sachsen unter August dem Starken,” in *Die Türkische Cammer: Sammlung orientalischer Kunst in der kurfürstlich-sächsischen Rüstkammer Dresden*, by Holger Schuckelt (Dresden: Sandstein-Verlag, 2010), 226–319; Elisabeth Mikosch, “Ein Serail für die Hochzeit des Prinzen: Turquerien bei den Hochzeitsfeierlichkeiten in Dresden im Jahre 1719,” in *Im Lichte des Halbmonds*, 235–243; Friedrich Reichel, “Die Türkenmode und ihr Einfluß auf die sächsische Kunst,” in *Im Lichte des Halbmonds*, 263–271; and Loesch, “Zum Einfluß der Türkenmode.”

⁸⁵ Pape, “Turquerie im 18. Jahrhundert,” 306: “[...] [T]ürkische Gesandtschaften kamen nach Frankreich (1721 und 1742), die ihrerseits großen unmittelbaren Einfluss auf die Vorstel-

tion to Berlin in 1763–1764. The Berlin costume album should therefore be seen not only as a document representing a prominent historical event in Prussian-Ottoman relations but also in the context of the emergence of *Türkenmode* in Berlin during the second half of the 18th century.

The costume album from Berlin was not an astoundingly original work. It followed an established tradition of depicting people from foreign lands. The artist, who unfortunately remains anonymous, had an earlier work to guide him. Some of the *Recueil Ferriol* sketches were cribbed but then cleverly adapted to new purposes by means of re-naming and the addition of captions. Whereas the *Recueil Ferriol* attempted to depict Ottoman society broadly, the Berlin album tied its sketches to a specific historical event. It cannot be entirely excluded that the artist of the Berlin album, using the ample descriptions of the Ottoman legation in the contemporary newspapers, created new sketches particularly appropriate to this legation. It is here that the Berlin album takes on special significance. Its exquisite technique and use of materials is remarkable. It is neither a book of sketches nor one of engravings, but a creation utilizing the actual sumptuous textiles of the time, an especially appropriate expression of the way in which Turkish attire was understood in 18th century Europe. We can say in conclusion that it is an artistic masterpiece of transcultural hybrid origins.

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lungen von den Türken hatten und die eigentliche ‘Türkenmode’ erst auslösten.” [“Turkish legations came to France in 1721 and 1742 having a great and direct influence on the image of Turks and giving rise to the first wave of Turkish-influence on fashions.”] We note that Pape does not mention the legation of Süleyman Ağa to France in 1669.

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