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The Irony of Imperial Decorative Styles: The Role of Diversity in the Production of Unified Cultural Identities in the Ottoman Empire and France, c. 1500–1700

Abstract:

At the height of their classical period, the Ottomans drew the regional landscape indoors, making West Asian flowers the symbols of their most coveted objects. By the mid-sixteenth century, they had synthesized a great stylistic and horticultural inheritance from across the arid Anatolian and Iranian Plateaus in the production of a new imperial identity. Ironically, this unified cultural expression benefitted from the transnational artistic exchange that took place at the *naḳḳāṣḫāne* (*kārḫāne-i naḳḳāṣān*, the imperial court workshop) in the first half of the sixteenth century following the immigration of many highly trained artisans from Iran. At almost the same time, some of the uniquely Ottoman decorative style's featured blossoms were first introduced and popularized in Northern Europe as exotic bulbs. And in a similar period of state-building a century onward, France's own proto-imperial floral decorative style emerged in the wake of 'Anti-Italianism'. Here, too, the production of knowledge required to produce luxury goods with the quality and quantity of the Italians or Ottomans was largely based on the influx of foreign actors and materials – as well as their manipulation through the state's mercantilist agenda. This essay posits court ateliers as spaces of artistic knowledge-production that depend on the exchange of cultural expertise *at the scale of the artisan* to generate new floral styles *at the scale of empire*. Thus, taking a comparative approach, it focuses on parallel patterns of development in the Ottoman Empire and France – both in terms of the formation of a unified political *entity* and the associated production of a stylistic *identity*. At the heart of this comparative analysis is what weaves the two stories together: the celebration and popularization of flowers through silk.

Keywords: Ottoman, French, early modern, state-building, imperial, silk manufacture, craft guild, foreign exchange, floral style

1. Introduction

This essay takes a bifocal look at Ottoman and French court ateliers and state-run guilds in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries as spaces of artistic knowledge-production which depended on the exchange of cultural expertise *at the scale of the artisan* to generate new floral styles *at the scale of empire*.[1] The space of this exchange is roughly encompassed

1 For the ease of this comparative study, whenever possible I will use the term "state" instead of nation, country, or empire and, by the same token, the processes of "nation-building" and "empire-building" as "state-building" when referring to developments aimed at creating a unified political identity. More important here than semantics is the similar strategies

by the Mediterranean basin, connecting Europe with Anatolia, the Levant and the rest of the Ottoman Empire stretching east toward that of the Safavids. But while significant attention has recently been given to the Mediterranean as a shared cultural space that deserves renewed study beyond the entrenched North / South divide, this essay looks at a diplomatic – at times symbolic – relationship that bridges continents and with that, returns to a more fluid understanding of Eurasia. Integral to this comparative approach is framing the Ottomans as one of the major powers in early modern Europe, along with the French, Habsburgs, and Italians. Not only did Ottoman territories extend far into Central Europe but as a vital trading partner with immense military strength, the empire also played a pivotal role in European state-building in the sixteenth century by providing a critical balance of power.[2] As the great extents of the Habsburgs' Holy Roman Empire and the political fragmentation of Italy appear to have hindered these powers from achieving a unified identity (and in the case of Italy, any meaningful expansion), this essay focuses on the Ottomans and French because of their parallel patterns of development – both in terms of the formation of a political *entity* through the centralization of the state and the associated production of a unified cultural *identity* through the decorative arts. At the center of this comparative analysis is what weaves the two stories together: the celebration and popularization of flowers through silk.[3]

This period of great imperial expansion, which led to the "discovery", or rather introduction, of exotic cultures, plants, and tastes from the Levant and beyond to Northern Europe, also spurred great stylistic innovation amongst the Ottomans and the French. Both the Ottoman classical age and French classicism emerged during intense periods of centralization in which sultans and kings exercised absolute authority even though the political, social, and economic frameworks of the two states differed as a result of varying territorial, religious, and cultural histories.[4] Most essentially, perhaps,

employed by rulers (kings, sultans, and the ruling elite) to solidify the territorial claims of a state and broadcast absolute power through the dissemination of a recognizable decorative style. However, when discussing these styles, I will emphasize their "imperial" or "proto-imperial" character in order to highlight their appearance on the international stage despite the period preceding Napoleon's French Empire. The reasons are elaborated within the introduction of this article.

2 İnalcık 2017, 13. See also Isom-Verhaaren 2011; McCabe 2008; and Necipoğlu 1989.

3 While decorative styles were certainly expressed in more than luxury textiles, I will rely on this medium to illustrate my point particularly due to the essential role of the silk trade in the formation of European state powers.

4 Halil İnalcık, among others, firmly establishes that not only for the national monarchies of the West but also in the Ottoman Empire, 'absolutism was accepted to be the ideal form of administration and the Ottoman State was considered to be an advanced example of this' (Bodin 1538 in İnalcık 2017). At the same time, K. Kivanç Karaman and Şevket Pamuk point out that 'the so-called absolutist states were not absolute at all. These regimes retained the control of expenditures, but struggled to collect taxes without such deals with local elites who controlled large segments of the economy and were able to limit the administration's access to funds' (Karaman, Pamuk 2010, 596 citing Hoffman, Norberg 1994; Hoffman, Rosenthal 1997; Van Zanden, Luiten, Prak 2006; Dincecco 2009; O'Brien, Hunt 1999).

the administrative structures of past rulers in each area were unique: Ottomans inherited Central Asian and Middle Eastern models while European states including France were built on nearly eight centuries of feudalism.[5] And yet, characterizing the Ottoman's centralization as "imperialist" and France's as "nationalist" frequently prevents their comparison.

While France's "nationalism"[6] emphasized cultural and religious cohesion in the late fifteenth century – after significant efforts in acquiring provinces in the east and south and thus securing vital shipping corridors – the state entered into growing competition with not only one but all three of the world's greatest empires over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Habsburg (Holy Roman), Ottoman, and even Safavid. In this arena, France assumed a unique position as a kingdom with growing proto-imperial tendencies, which paved the way for France's official declaration as an empire in the early nineteenth century. In fact, having already established a *colonial* empire of overseas colonies, protectorates, and mandate territories since the sixteenth century, France's "imperial" ambitions were concurrent with its status as a kingdom. And yet France was only declared an empire once this power was wielded not in the Atlantic (as a colonial empire in the New World), or even the Mediterranean (as a trade empire), but against neighboring Christian states in continental Europe.[7] In short, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France was characterized by centralization much as the period leading up to Mehmed II's conquest of Constantinople, which some scholars identify as the moment a small principality transformed into a vast empire.[8] In that sense, the late fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century define the Ottomans' 'proto-imperial era'.[9] Concomitantly, France's period of active state-building at the turn of sixteenth century relied on the previous centuries of unifying continental provinces into a kingdom as much as the Ottomans' increasing centralization depended on their supremacy over the other principalities in Anatolia in its proto-imperial era.

5 For more on institutional elements inherited by the Ottomans from the Middle Eastern and Central Asian tradition, see Karaman, Pamuk 2010, 594.

6 While the reign of Henri IV is frequently described as nationalistic – in terms of dealing with internal conflict – Cornel Zwierlein points out that written records of the French monarchy refer primarily to "la France", "l'État", and "le roi" but rarely refer to France as "nation". It appears that the more general term "state" was preferred – a good reminder that the "nation-building" was not always a self-conscious process or concept as much as viewed as an expansion of the state apparatus (Zwierlein 2016, 23).

7 France's involvement in Mediterranean commerce could actually characterize it a trade empire – even a mercantilist empire due to the nationalization of economics, which is the 'crystalization and hardening of the distinction between 'internal' and 'external'' (Zwierlein 2016, 20). Zwierlein also points out that one reason France's activities in the early modern period are not described as imperial might be a matter of historiography: '(…) in French historiography, a branch of 'imperial history' is not established at all, since the common term for the history of former transatlantic possessions is 'colonial history', in which the Mediterranean is not included, at least not for the period before 1830' (Zwierlein 2016, 4).

8 Atçıl 2017, 212.

9 Murphey 2008, 41.

Against this backdrop of state-building, a growing competition in global trade spurred both alliance and economic warfare on an unprecedented scale. There were no longer only trade routes bringing luxury goods from the East but also an Atlantic route that brought a sudden influx of bullion (silver and gold) from the New World to the West.[10] By the mid-sixteenth century, instead of the age-old imperial policy of territorial expansion, fully-fledged bureaucratic states shifted their gaze to protecting their vast economies by greatly expanding the extent of state-run manufacture and business at home and fostering strategic commercial partnerships.

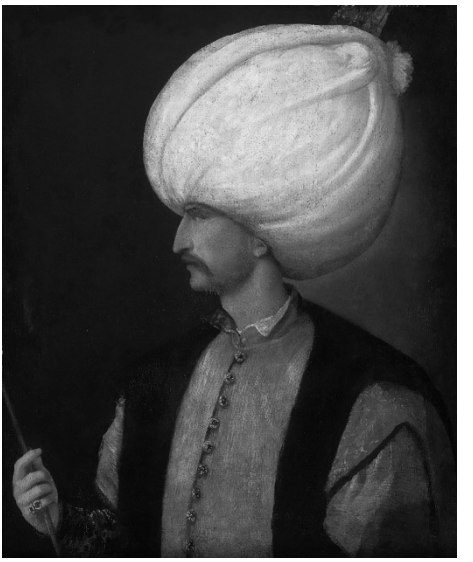
In order to highlight trends over a broad geography, this exercise addresses a rather wide timeframe within the early modern period, namely the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries, beginning roughly with the Battle of Çaldıran in 1514, which coincided with a few other noteworthy events. This battle marked the Ottoman's annexation of eastern Anatolia, putting them in an advantageous position in relation to the Safavids; shortly thereafter in 1520, Süleyman I would become the longest-ruling sultan of the Ottoman Empire; from 1515–1519 Charles V inherited several significant territories in Europe, greatly expanding Habsburg rule; likewise, in 1515, François I ascended the throne in France, at the time the most populous country in Europe.

Indeed, with the aim of taking a bifocal look at the effects of such centralized power, it is helpful to use periods of rulership in framing the view. But while I have identified a similar pattern among the Ottoman and French production of a unified political identity and its expression in a distinct imperial decorative style, the timeframe does not perfectly coincide.[11] Rather, two periods stand out, which nearly bookend the Franco-Ottoman alliance, formally established in 1536 and lasting intermittently for two-and-a-half centuries: the reigns of François I (r. 1515–1547) and Süleyman I (r. 1520–1566); and of Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715) and Ahmed III (r. 1703–1730). Although the first window was perhaps more formative for the Ottomans and the second more for the French, both mark significant waves of influence between the two: Along with the first wave, plants and decorative styles arrived on European shores from the Ottoman capital; with

10 The Ottomans relied on the influx of bullion from the West (just as India and Iran depended on the Ottomans for it) while European states, low in commodities except cloths and minerals, relied on the East for a variety of necessities as well as luxuries, repeating a pattern set over many centuries. This process had produced 'a continuous flow of silver from west to east' since the Middle Ages. In fact, apparently already in the first century A.D. Roman senators expressed concern for the eastward trajectory of bullion in exchange for the westward flow of silks played out between the Roman Empire and China (İnalcık 2017, 153; İnalcık 1994, 52; İnalcık 2011, 225).

11 It should be noted that a unified political identity refers here to the degree that a ruling dynasty is able to impose its authority over a diverse group of subjects. While in the Ottoman Empire, this means unification (and cooperation) amongst the various nations within the imperial state, in the case of the *Ancien Régime* of France, the monarchy likewise faced the assimilation or forced integration of provinces which had remained autonomous, operating as fiefdoms of noble families, or been taken under English control.

Figure 1 and Figure 2. Portraits by Titian (Tiziano Vecellio) of King François I (1538)[12] *and Sultan Süleyman I (ca. 1530),*[13] *both wearing red silk garments.*



the second wave, the baroque garden style developed in France (on the basis of these new arrivals) was imported to Ottoman soil along with a re-appreciation of the very same species through European cultivars and their representation in garden manuals, leading up to the Tulip Period under Ahmed III in Istanbul.

Ironically, the unification of political identities in both places relied on the interaction of a diverse group of people moving fluidly between various states in the rootless "realm" of extraterritoriality. But while it is by no means an unusual occurrence that the often transimperial migration of skilled foreigners, voluntary or through active recruitment, played a major role in a state's advancements in the arts, this essay focuses on two particular cases, not only because they reveal a certain pattern of events, but also because, across a great distance, they are tied to one another in a somewhat unexpected way.

1.1. Geographical Convergence

The Ottoman Empire is linked across the Mediterranean basin with northern Europe through two points of geographic convergence. The first point is marked by the Ottoman court at Istanbul, located between Edirne in Thrace and Bursa in Anatolia,

12 Musée du Louvre, Département des Peintures, Inv.-Nr. 763, MR 505. © 2012 RMN-Grand Palais (musée de Louvre) / Philippe Fuzeau.

13 Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Gemäldegalerie, Inv.-Nr. 24291. © KHM-Museumsverband.

spanning two continents, three seas, and three phytogeographic regions with distinct climates. The second point is marked by Lyon, France's economic capital from the late fifteenth century set between the political center and northern climate of Paris and the primary shipping harbors of Marseille and Toulon on the Mediterranean, which are connected by the lower Rhône River valley – once a channel of the "Mediterranean" sea millions of years ago.[14]

1.2. Franco-Ottoman Alliance

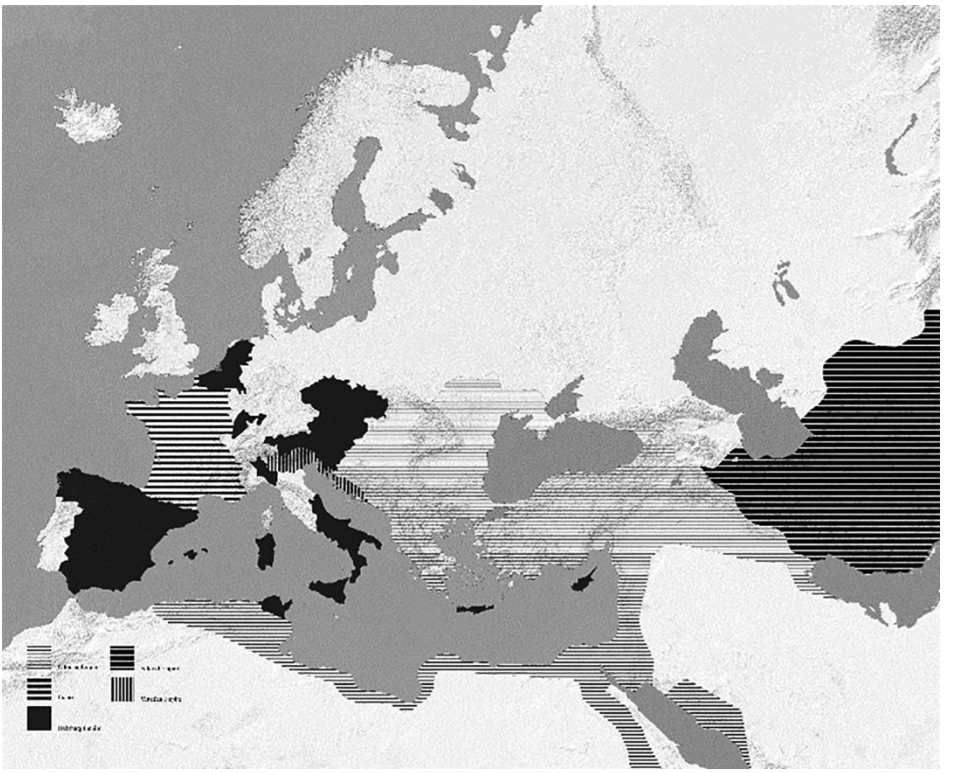
Another reason for focusing on these two cases is that the Ottomans and the French were united in alliance against common enemies, the Habsburgs and Italians, that governed nearly all of the rest of Europe and the Mediterranean basin.

And bolstered by their alliance Ottoman sultans and French kings began state-building, curating unified imperial and proto-imperial identities much before Habsburg territories or fragmented Italian states did the same.[15] In part this was achieved through authoritative leadership, which implemented a top-down regulation of trade, manufacturing, and immigration policies that incentivized immigration, whether it encouraged naturalization or enabled a system of short-term tenures for particular cosmopolitan individuals such as merchants and artisans. The artisan class thus played a critical role in diversifying the workforce and demographic makeup of centers of artistic production both informally and as part of state-run workshops, which funneled resources into producing luxury goods for the consumption of the royal court and for export, and with this elevated local "currency".

14 As a kind of inversion of the advantageously positioned peninsulas, the Rhône Valley acts as an entry point beginning with the river's mouth at the Gulf of Lyon and traversing the Rhône alps dividing the arid, Mediterranean climate of Southern France from the north. Despite the vast distance between Istanbul and Lyon, this route presents a much more direct connection to Northern Europe than the overland route, which crosses Eastern European provinces, some belonging to the Holy Roman Empire, others acting as vassal states of the Ottoman Empire. Though a fair amount of cloth commerce between the Ottomans and French in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries occurred via these points of convergence (Istanbul and Lyon), it should be noted that a longer look at the historical developments of both Ottoman and French silk trade and manufacture reveals certain parallels between Bursa and Lyon as [provincial] commercial centers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and Istanbul and Paris as administrative metropoles, and as such also the places in which state-controlled industry expanded most in the subsequent centuries.

15 It is in the Mediterranean context that an alliance with the Ottomans, particularly the capitulations, became a key part as a "Levant" company was almost a prerequisite for state formation. İnalcık writes: 'In mercantilist Europe, every national monarchy which aspired to expand its economic base endeavored to have first a capitulation from the Ottoman government and set up its own Levant company. The Levant trade and Levant companies became the necessary corollary for the success of European mercantilism' (İnalcık 1994, 52).

Figure 3. Map of Europe's empires in the seventeenth century, after Goffman 2002.[16]

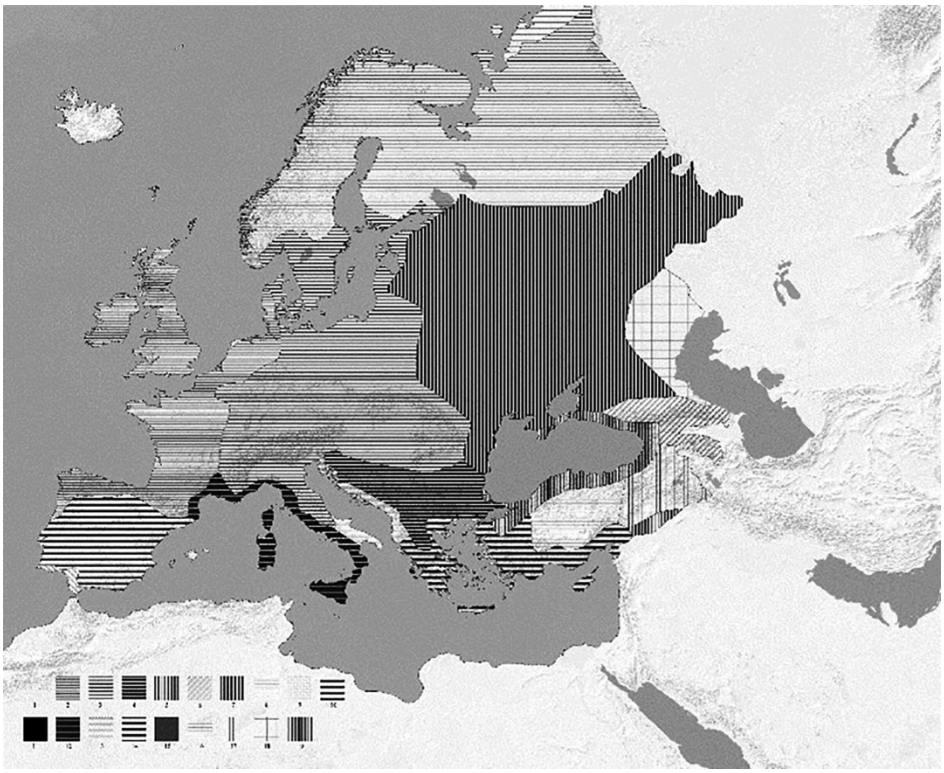


1.3. West Asian Flora

Finally, the most unexpected link between the two powers during this long alliance is that both the Ottomans and the French chose the same set of flowering species on which to build an imperial brand. Parallel developments in horticulture and visual culture at the Ottoman court in the sixteenth century and the French court in the seventeenth century, led to new floral styles, which either reflected the state's unique geographic convergence of aesthetics and flora or its significant horticultural and technological efforts in overcoming phytogeographic borders and hybridizing southern and northern European aesthetics. And so, reflecting on the resulting styles, perhaps most visible in textiles decorating the interior spaces and bodies of the nobility and elite, one is struck by their shared repertoire of floral forms across a great distance and time: an overwhelming assortment of colorful roses, tulips, and carnations. In this way, the Eurasian journey of West Asian flora forms a backbone of this comparative study,

16 Map based on Goffman, Daniel. 2002. *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Map 6. © Lara Mehling.

Figure 4. Floristic provinces in Europe and adjacent regions, after Takhtajan 1986.[17]



which is structured in three parts: First it considers artistic inheritance as it relates to centers of production and both local and foreign artisans; then it looks at prevailing trends and a growing resentment of foreign influence (and affluence); and finally, it reviews how a radical turn to local industry and centralized production led to innovation and stylistic hybridity. In order to focus on the parallel developments of the two powers, each section reflects on a certain aspect or influence as it applies to both regions before taking up another topic.

2. Diversity in the Workplace: Artistic Inheritance and Skilled Foreigners

Practically, the development of an imperial decorative style begins with the artistic inheritance of the region, the demographics of the centers of production, and the incorporation of skilled foreigners. As Christine Isom-Verhaaren points out in *Allies with the*

17 Map based on: Takhtajan, Armen. 1986. *Floristic Regions of the World.* University of California Press, Berkeley. © Lara Mehling.

Infidels, the movement of individuals between states was much more common at the time than perhaps generally thought:

> During the sixteenth century the individuals who were most often involved in cross-cultural encounters frequently interacted with different groups of people within the borders of the states in which they lived, since the populations of early modern states were not homogenous in terms of ethnicity, language, or religion. These individuals often had a great deal in common with their counterparts in other states. For them, encounters with foreign 'others' were less strange than we imagine them to have been.[18]

This group was made up primarily of merchants, artisans, diplomats, as well as 'people who lived in frontier districts […] and other state functionaries'.[19] Whether the motivation came on the part of the individual, who freely sought employment abroad, which is to say with 'rulers of states that either were not states in which they were born or were rulers with whom they did not share an ethnic or religious identity', or due to economic, religious, or ethnic limitation and oppression (resulting in a lack of opportunities at home), the impact of such short- and long-term migration was much more far-reaching than commonly acknowledged in laying the foundation for a creative synthesis of various artistic inheritances and influences. Acting at different scales, from the international to the local, diplomats, merchants, and artisans each played their part: fostering diplomatic alliances or harboring xenophobic sentiment, setting up capitulations or embargoes, building up or blocking trade networks, securing raw materials or the sales of manufactured goods, training or apprenticing a craft within a guild. While each of the various migrant groups and especially the complex and multifaceted interaction between them deserve proper attention, the focus here will remain on the artisans for their direct, hands-on involvement in artistic production.[20]

18 Isom-Verhaaren 2011, 50.

19 Isom-Verhaaren 2011, 50.

20 In many regards, merchants and artisans represented two sides of the same coin: Merchants enabled movement of *goods;* artisans of skill and labor. In the Ottoman Empire, the main difference was that artisans were subject to *ḥisba* (market regulations) – the supply of raw materials, rate of production, and price-fixing was regulated by the state – while merchants were exempt from *ḥisba*. The reason for this was a dimension of Ottoman economic policy, namely "provisionism", aimed at securing ample supplies and low costs in internal market to insure the costs of war and sultanic building projects (İnalcık 1999 [1980], IX, 1). İnalcık posits that these market regulations for customs and guild manufacture were essentially different from those of Western mercantilist states: While Ottoman regulations concentrated on the 'the fiscal interests of the state and the protection of consumers in the internal market', those of European mercantilist states 'were determined by a competitive international market'. Naturally, the differences are partially determined by a state's social structure, whether authoritarian or representative (Atçıl 2015, 289; İnalcık 1994, 44–6). Another main difference was that the manufactures in France and neighboring states not only benefitted the [centralized] state but also a rapidly growing elite mercantile class of urban merchant-entrepreneurs and manufacturers: the bourgeoisie. And yet, even here, a growing

2.1 Ottoman Empire

By the mid-sixteenth century, the Ottomans had synthesized a great stylistic and horticultural inheritance from across the arid Anatolian and Iranian Plateaus in the production of a new imperial identity. Of course, "identity" is a challenging concept among the Ottomans where socio-political, cultural, ethnic, and religious identities often did not overlap. In Isom-Verhaaren's words, 'the empire was a political entity ruled by a Muslim dynasty whose territories were in Europe, Asia, and Africa and whose subjects were Muslims, Christians, and Jews from many different ethnic groups', including Greeks, Armenians, Slavs, Arabs, Turks, and the heterogenous Levantines.[21] After capturing Constantinople, Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481) actively repopulated a dwindling city by recruiting foreign scholars, scientists, engineers, architects, artisans, artists, and poets from Iran, Azerbaijan, the Balkan peninsula, Anatolia, Morea, and Arab lands until Istanbul's population had already grown eight-fold to 400,000 inhabitants by 1520 and by the end of the sixteenth century it was the largest city in the Mediterranean basin by far.[22]

The cosmopolitan character of Istanbul was further amplified in the first half of the sixteenth century by the empire's eastern expansion under Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–1520). Beginning in 1510, Selim I waged a fervent and rather successful anti-Safavid campaign – both military and literary – against his rival Shah Ismaʿil I in Iran.[23] Selim I's

number of looms in Bursa were owned by the ruling elite and it may be observed in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, that even under the auspices of an absolute monarch, viziers, administrators, and others of the elite military class accumulated both power and wealth related to their direct involvement in domestic production and trade (İnalcık 1994, 51 citing Coleman 1969 and Viner 1969).

21 Isom-Verhaaren 2011, 53. Indeed, the "Levant" gained new significance as a unified territory encompassing the eastern Mediterranean, Balkans, and Black Sea regions under the increasingly centralized Ottoman Empire in a period lasting roughly 1450–1550 (İnalcık 1994, 52).

22 According to Leila Erder and Suraiya Faroqhi, the recruits from this period, many of whom were also merchants and artisans offered housing and shops, came primarily from Anatolia and the Morea, though Lâle Uluç, referring to the official Ottoman historian of the period Tursun Beg who mentions that architects and engineers came to Mehmed II's court from Ottoman lands (*Rūm*) as well as Arab and Persian (*ʿAcem*) lands, notes that 'scholars, poets, artists and craftsmen from Azerbaijan and Khorasan were especially welcomed in the Ottoman court, where most of the intellectuals were bilingual in Turkish and Persian in this period'. And referring to the *ehl-i ḥiref* notebooks, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı claims that 'after the battle of Otlukbeli in the middle of the fifteenth century (1473), some scientists and artists from Iran and Azerbaijan started to be brought to the center of the Ottoman Empire' (author's translation) (Erder, Faroqhi 1980, 292; Uluç 2008, 40 citing Tursun Beg; Uzunçarşılı 2003 [1986], 23).

23 Selim I cultivated relationships with foreign rulers and regional vassals, including the khans of Crimea and semi-sovereign provinces of Shirvan, Gilan, and Mazandaran (all key cities along the Caspian-Anatolian silk route) and Uzbek khans of Transoxiana with the explicit effort of forming a military alliance against the Safavids. Christopher Markiewicz makes a convincing case for how the role of literary elite émigrés (gifted scholars, poets, and

antagonism toward Shah Ismaʿil I was, of course, part of a century-long, multi-generational struggle for control of the silk trade that had already led to Timur and Bayezid I's Battle of Ankara (1402) and Uzun Hasan and Mehmed II's Battle of Otlukbeli (1473).[24] Following the defeat of Shah Ismaʿil I (r. 1501–1736) in the Battle of Çaldıran in 1514 and the capture of Tabriz along the Ottoman-Safavid border, many skilled artisans (including illuminators, paints, calligraphers, musicians, ceramicists, and weavers in particular) were brought to Istanbul to work in the Ottoman court ateliers. The Ottoman capture of Tabriz, functioning as the capital of the Safavids from 1502–1555 – and, incidentally, the main trade center of Asian goods, most importantly silk, to Europe since the thirteenth century – marked a significant triumph for the Ottoman arts.[25] The diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds of the *ehl-i ḥiref* organization (imperial craft guild) precipitated by these events are well catalogued in the annual account registers, which also reveal the various craft divisions and the number of artisans working in each. The annual account register from 1545 indicates the place of origin for 510 out of 776 employees, revealing that a staggering four-fifths of those listed are considered "foreigners" according to Ottoman definition: 153 Bosnians, 44 Austrians (*Nemçeliler*, lit. "non-Slav"), 41 "Franks"[26] (*Frenkler*), 31 Greeks (*Rūmlar*),[27] 29 Hungarians (*Macarlar*), 26 Circassians, 23 Russians, 21 Iranians, 16 Albanians,14 Croatians, 11 Moreans[28].

One of the most renowned artists from Tabriz recorded in the records of the *ehl-i ḥiref* organization is, of course, Shah Qulı (d. 1556).[29] As one of his mentions in the

secretary-stylists), primarily Persian, employed at the Ottoman court as secretaries acted as diplomatic agents. With their extensive international networks, they benefitted from a kind of extra-territoriality not dissimilar from that of skilled foreigners. (Markiewicz 2021, 30 and 41).

24 The control of this trade route from the Caspian region of Iran and across Anatolia (Tabriz-Sivas-Erzincan-Konya and finally to the ports of Antalya and Ayas on the bay of Iskenderun) was one of the main causes of the Ottoman-Safavid tensions throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For more on the rise of Bursa in the silk trade, see İnalcık 1994, 218–22 and 228.

25 Under Shah Tahmasp I (r. 1524–1576), Tabriz had become a center for the arts of the book and manuscript painting in the Safavid tradition much as Herat had been for the Timurid court. In the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries, the Safavid capital shifted from Tabriz (1501–1555) to Qazvin (1555–1597), and then Isfahan (1597–1722).

26 Europeans including Genoans, Venetians, and other Italians, Germans, French, English, and Russians.

27 Greeks from the Eastern Roman Empire and Anatolia.

28 Greeks from the Peloponnese peninsula.

29 Shah Qulı went to Amasya to work at the palace of Prince Ahmed (Şehzade Ahmet, son of Bayezid II, 1465–1513) until 1515 when he was transferred to Istanbul along with many other artists and placed in the appropriate category of painter (*ressām*) by Sultan Selim I as the first entry in an expense book (*mevācib*) from January 1526 notes (Uzunçarşılı 2003 [1986], 26 citing *Defter-i mevācib-i cemāʿat-i ehl-i ḥiref ki der vakt-i teftiş şuden fermode* organized during the time of Chief Treasurers Davud Ağa and Kâtip Hasan Efendi. Another mention of the artist in the registers as "Şahkulı-i Baġdādi" suggests that he was originally from Baghdad but trained in Tabriz).

registers as *Şahkulı-i Baġdādī* suggests, he was originally from Baghdad but trained in Tabriz. Interestingly, despite his Iranian heritage, he was placed as the *Serbölük* (head of the division) of the *Bölük-i Rūmīyān* (Anatolian "local" *rūmī* division) of the *Cemāʿat-i Naḳḳāşān* (Ottoman court designers) by 1526.[30] It is here, in the *rūmī* (or *rūmīyān*) division – as opposed to the *ʿacemīyān* division, where *ʿacemī* translates to "Persian" but in this context implied non-Ottoman or "foreign"[31]– that he trained Kara Memi (Kara Mehmed Çelebi, fl. 1545–1566).

But while many of the masters heading various court workshops had Iranian roots, as Lâle Uluç observes, it was not until the reign of Sultan Süleyman I that the work of these masters came to fruition.[32] Indeed, until the early sixteenth century, a post-Timurid decorative style had continued in the work of highly trained Iranian artisans that were brought to work in Ottoman court ateliers after the occupation of Tabriz.[33] Nevertheless, the influx of artisans from Iran greatly supplemented the sultans' steady collection of Persian manuscripts as well as the commission of works by Iranian artists working in Istanbul's *naḳḳāşḫāne,* first a scriptorium modelled after the royal *kitābḫāna* and then a painter-decorator workshop, which had infused Ottoman art with a Safavid decorative mode in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

The intercultural knowledge transfer that took place at the *naḳḳāşḫāne* led directly to the production of a decorative imperial style representing a unified Ottoman identity. By bringing back artisans from Cairo and Tabriz to work at the Ottoman court, Selim I repeated a tradition already well established by his neighbors and predecessors: Shah Tahmasp I (r. 1524–1576) had brought together artists from the Qaraqoyunlu, Aqqoyunlu, and Timurid court studios in the shaping of a new Safavid painting style; Shah Ismaʿil I had brought renowned painters from Herat to Tabriz. And before the Safavids, Timur (r. 1370–1405) had brought artisans from conquered lands to Samarqand, initiating an incredibly rich artistic tradition that reached its apex in the Ilkhanid period. Moreover, Selim I not only brought artists and artisans from newly conquered lands but also accepted certain exiled groups such as the Jews from Spain in 1492, which provided 'a forced and rapid culture transfer instead of a long social acculturation'.[34] As

30 Uzunçarşılı 2003 [1986], 26.

31 In her article on the shared Timurid heritage of later Islamic arts, Lâle Uluç cites the presence of at least one "Frank" and "Magyar" as the reason for this designation as foreign (Uluç 2008, 47). Interestingly, the Persian catch-all term for foreigners, *farangī,* is based on the association of foreignness with Europeans or "Franks". So, while the Ottomans pushed to set themselves apart from their eastern neighbors, the Safavids clearly pointed to the later influence of European art as a major turning point in the history of Persian art.

32 Also, this later phase led to further immigration of artisans during the reign of Süleyman I. (Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont 1975 in Uluç 2008, 42–3).

33 The post-Timurid decorative style was based on the Turco-Iranian "international Timurid" style – characterized by scrolling and interlacing the *hayātı-rūmī* style perhaps most recognizable in the abundant turquoise-cobalt *cuerda seca* tiles – which had predominated in the region of the three great Islamic empires (Necipoğlu 1990, 136).

34 İnalcık 2017, 179. A similar gesture is seen the state governments of England and Holland in the 1560s and '70s, which protected, accepted, and offered exemptions to Flemish,

such, diversity in the workplace, as a direct consequence of war might perhaps be better framed as a kind of war booty of intellectual property, or artistic knowledge to be exact. And this booty aided the flourishing and innovation of the arts in the conqueror's capital but perhaps also the organization of the workshop itself – both in specialization of the crafts and division of certain cultural groups along ethnic, linguistic, or religious lines.[35]

Aside from this rich inheritance from West Asia, the arts were also influenced by the Italians, particularly the Venetians, in the first half of the sixteenth century. While contact as trade partners and the permanent presence of a Venetian *bailo* acting as political and foreign ambassador in Pera (Istanbul's "Frankish"[36] quarter) had been established by the middle of the fifteenth century, Italian artisans in particular benefitted from the patronage of the Ottomans during the grand viziership of Ibrahim Pasha (r. 1523–1536). Thus Venetian-Ottoman artistic exchange and communication was strong in the 1520s and '30s until Süleyman's priorities began to shift. As Necipoğlu outlines in her article on the Habsburg-Ottoman rivalry, this can be partially attributed to the close contact between Ibrahim and the Italian merchant Alvise Gritti (1480–1534), who was born in Istanbul to a powerful Italian merchant and Greek concubine, and after being educated in Italy returned to Istanbul as a merchant in his father's tracks.[37]

An important factor that promoted artistic exchange and artists' migration in the Ottoman Empire was the elevated status given to foreigners. Far from the image of struggling immigrant life, in the early sixteenth century, foreigners (both merchants and state servants, including artisans) enjoyed a fair number of exemptions and a perhaps unintended advantageous status of extra-territoriality among the Ottomans. Due to 'unusual' administrative practices of the Ottoman Empire, whereby the 'sultan employed Greeks, Slavs, Jews, and Italians as diplomats, soldiers, and administrators',[38]

German, and Portuguese (Jewish) Protestant artisans who had been made refugees by Counter-Reformation violence in southern Germany and the Low Countries in order to build up their own manufacture of the 'new draperies' and thus remain competitive in the international market. (Schneider 1978, 435).

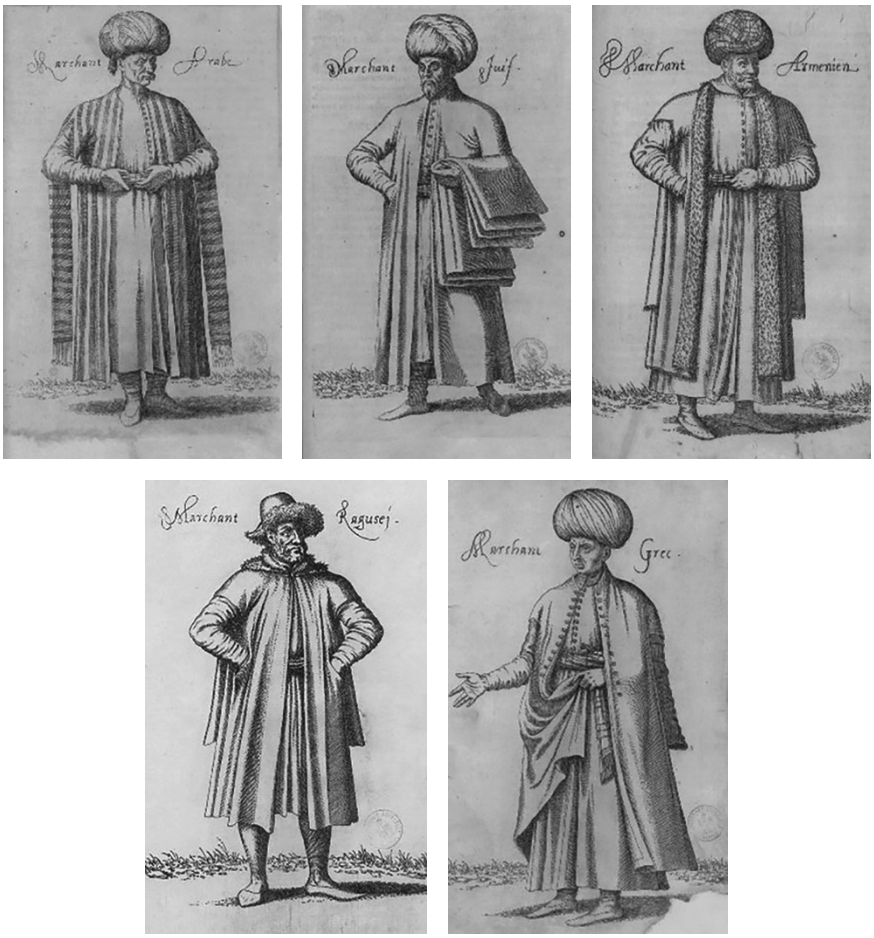
35 Rogers 1992, 228.

36 Similar to the term *ʿacemī*, or even the Persian word *farangī*, "Frankish" was used to describe "foreign" subjects from Europe more generally and often than Franks or the French.

37 Under Alvise Gritti's protection and generous patronage, a large number of Italian sculptors and painters came to Istanbul. Necipoğlu traces these developments back to Gritti's invitation to Pietro Aretino and friends in 1532 soon after 'the humanist offered his services to Ibrahim Pasha and through him to the sultan in a letter dated 2 august 1531' (Aretino 1534 in Necipoğlu 1989, 420).

38 Isom-Verhaaren 2011, 53–4. This was true even at the level of viziership, for starting with Mehmed II and lasting until the reign of Süleyman I and the rise of 'an indigenous bureaucratic class' who were 'purely Ottoman'– which is to say, educated in the Ottoman palace from an early age – viziers were typically recruited from Byzantine and Balkan noble families (Atçıl 2015, 291–3). Interesting to note, however, is that the latter "Ottoman" viziers were likewise taken from Christian families in Balkan territories, only as young boys and so the main distinction between foreign and Ottoman in this context is their forced rather

Figures 5a–5e. Etchings of Arab, Jewish, Armenian, Ragusan (from Ragusa / Dubrovnik, of Dalmatia), and Greek Merchants.[39]



once they converted to Islam, these individuals were able to enter the ruling class, non-Muslims frequently gained a high social status. That is, while "foreign" inhabitants who had remained in the city after the conquest of Constantinople automatically became

than voluntary provenance. That is, a certain level of indoctrination, patriotism, or loyalty to the Ottoman state secured their identity as "Ottoman". The "indigenous" Ottoman viziers were *kul* (slaves) recruited through the *devşirme* system, a kind of human tax paid by Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Most of these slaves became part of the Janissary corps, the invaluable foot soldiers of the Ottoman army.

39 De Nicolay, Nicolas. 1567. *Quatre premiers livres des navigations (Travels in Turkey).* Lyon: G. Rouille. Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), département Cartes et plans, GE DD-2002 (RES).

Ottoman subjects (many of these considered Levantines), those who left and later returned to work as foreigners in state service, enjoyed more than freedom of mobility under a system of extra-territoriality. Typically restricted to a short period of time (first five, later ten years) these non-Muslims, hailing from Europe or the Balkan peninsula, were able to pursue lucrative mercantile activities, often directly with the locals of their permanent residence.

What is noteworthy is that while employment in foreign states took place in both the Ottoman Empire and Northern Europe, 'The contributions of individuals whose ethnic origins were not Turkish and whose religious background was not Muslim are seen as of fundamental importance to the greatness of the empire and their identity as Ottomans is considered 'artificial'.'[40] So while Ottomans or foreigners of Christian origin such as Alvise Gritti, the 'Turkified Venetian',[41] assumed positions of authority, in contrast, 'When European rulers employed individuals who were not natives of their states in similar positions, this practice of recruiting skilled foreigners is interpreted differently, without implying the inherent inferiority of the indigenous population of the state.'[42]

2.2 France

In a similar period of cultural definition to the Ottomans' imperial identity, the influx of foreign actors and materials, particularly from the Italian states, led to the production of knowledge from which new floral styles *à la française* emerged. In considering France's stylistic inheritance in the sixteenth century, however, it is important to take a look at the shifting borders and territories in the fifteenth century and the subsequent demographics of its inhabitants. Before a significant southern orientation and the

40 Isom-Verhaaren 2011, 53. Here "artificial" is not to be read as superficial and thus of less importance. On the contrary, it seems that *choosing* allegiance is a demonstration of faith – in the Ottoman Empire as much as in Islam. Moreover, in the sixteenth-century setting of international commerce, the flag with which one's ship sailed was of more importance than one's ethnic, linguistic, or religious identity; both the opportunity and protection of mercantile activity was tied to the state. One must remember that at the time in both Europe and the Ottoman lands, most individuals, whether artisans, merchants, traders, or government officials, were subjects of the ruler. For a discussion of how mercantile communication created the ongoing question of "nations" and national attributions (of ship, cargo, and passengers), see Zwierlein 2017, 35–51.

41 Neçipoglu 1989, 404.

42 Isom-Verhaaren 2011, 53. It is interesting to note here that at the same time starting with Süleyman I, grand viziers were no longer taken from Byzantine and Balkan noble families such as under Mehmed II, and then also Bayezid and Selim I, but of *kul* or slave origin – meaning, boys recruited from Christian territories and educated in Istanbul at the palace. Atçıl, who recently published a dissertation on the vizierates of Rüstem Pasha, refers to these men (including Ibrahim, Ayas, Lütfi, Rüstem, and Sokollu Mehmed) as "indigenous viziers" because they were trained within the Ottoman imperial system. In that sense, more than anything they were politically "indigenous" and their loyalty to the Ottoman state counted more than being of Turkish origin (Atçıl 2015, 293).

strong influence of the Italian Renaissance could be felt in France, a period of regular exchange with northern countries predominated. France's eastern border with the Holy Roman Empire more or less followed the north-south running rivers Meuse, Saône, and Rhône. That is, France was not only connected to the Mediterranean Sea via the Lower Rhône Valley but also well connected to the North Sea via the Saône and Meuse. Already in use by Celtic tribes and the Romans who made Lyon the imperial city of Gaul, this navigable corridor proved a robust trade route. Until the duchy of Burgundy reverted to France in the late fifteenth century, Burgundian territories extended all the way up to the Low Countries along the fertile lowlands associated with these river valleys.[43] And because the arts flourished under Burgundian patronage, in part due to a diverse population and centers of production, including cloth, which drew artisans from various religious and cultural backgrounds, in the sixteenth century France inherited much of this creative legacy and know-how from the Low Countries through direct assimilation of these artisans – only to lose vast numbers due to religious persecution and heavy taxes a century later.[44]

France had also established significant ties with Germany and Italy, and to a lesser extent Spain, particularly for the importation of woven fabrics. While a small silk industry developed in the Loire Valley at Tours in the fifteenth century, most silk textiles were still imported from Italy up the Rhône River to its main port in Lyon, where they were traded in fairs taking the form of open-air bazaars set up by the Italians. In this way, Lyon became a European silk trade center, both mirroring and complementing the Ottoman hubs at Bursa and Aleppo in the Eastern Mediterranean just as these had served as extensions or "copies" of the emporium at Tabriz (along the important silk trade route between Sharvān, Māzandarān, and Gīlān in northwest Iran) established by the Mongols in the thirteenth century.[45] Indeed, King Louis XI (r. 1461–1483) and the

43 The "Burgundian Netherlands" refers to a territory encompassing modern-day Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and northern France. The Burgundian Netherlands lasted from the end of the fourteenth century until 1477 when the duchy of Burgundy reverted to France, following the marriage of Mary of Burgundy to the future emperor of the Holy Roman Empire Maximilian.

44 The first exodus of Huguenots (French Protestants) was in the 1570s, with the largest number resettling in the Low Countries, Switzerland, and England. Since many of these were artisans working in the textile industry, the loss of thousands of artisans led to a decline in the industry in the 1580s. For more on the effects of the Huguenot exodus and the religious wars in France, see Heller 2003, 28–50.

45 Indeed, the Rhône River played a key role in establishing Lyon as France's silk capital and it is therefore interesting to note that this route was only made truly available following the acquisition of the provinces of Provence (1482) and Dauphiné (1461) during King Louis XI's reign. Other international fairs in Europe existed already in the thirteenth century in Rome, Bruges, London, and Champagne. However, the silk sold in these cities was primarily of Italian manufacture, from Lucca in Tuscany. Before Lyon and Bursa, Tabriz had overtaken Baghdad and port-cities in the Near East as the main hub for silk exports, indeed all Asian trade, to Europe since the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century. While by the mid-fourteenth century, under the Mamluks, this international trade occurred primarily in

Consulat 'had taken measures to attract foreign artisans to Lyon to increase luxury trades and give work to the poor'.[46] In fact, Henry Heller notes that 'a contemporary estimated that as many as 12,000 Italians lived in the city. It is possible that 20 per cent of the inhabitants were Italian emigrants.'[47] Hailing primarily from Florence, Lucca, Milan, and Genoa, the continual presence of these emigrants in the city played a key role in the establishment of French manufacture. For nearly two centuries more, France would rely on their wealth, technological know-how, and international connections for export.

Only with the initiation of a domestic silk manufacture did active recruitment of Italian merchants and artists begin. Although residents of Lyon had already voiced interest in silk weaving under Louis XI, and in 1466 the first attempt was made to secure a monopoly over not just the trade but also the manufacture of silk fabrics, it was not until the 1530s and '40s after local merchants had sent a memorandum to King François I in 1528 expressing their frustrations at the fair's profits only benefiting the sources of import (Italy and Germany) and urging for a proper silk industry in Lyon, that a veritable silk-weaving community finally developed on Lyon's northern hill district of La Croix-Rousse.[48]

François I also ultimately granted Lyon a monopoly for the entire country's demand, therefore allowing Lyon to become the capital of silk in France. A significant wave of Italian immigrants thus also coincided with the subsequent period of transition from Lyon as a center of silk *trade* to one of *manufacture.* And so initially most of Lyon's weavers were Italian, weaving in an Italian style of decoration.

The support François I showed for Lyon's artisans did not so much come from a spirit of competition with Italian manufacture as a natural extension of his passionate interest in culture and arts, particularly the Italian Renaissance.[49] In this way, François I

Syria and Egypt, with the rise of the Ottomans in the fifteenth century, Europeans began flocking to Bursa. Italian, especially Genoese and Venetian, merchants as well as Iranian merchants settled in the city and facilitated direct trade. In addition to Bursa, Ottoman silk industries using raw Iranian silk emerged in Mārdīn and Diyār Bakr (part of the Bitlīs-Diyār Bakr-Mārdīn Iranian caravan route), Amasya, and Istanbul.

46 A merchant from Piedmont by the name of Etienne Turquetti became an influential figure in the velvet-makers' guild in the 1540s after tax exemptions and even exclusive right given to him in 1536 to tax artisans using the state-of-the-art machinery he had brought with him to Lyon (Pérez 2008).

47 Heller 2003, 39 citing *Lunettes de Christal par lesquelles on veoyt clairement le chemin tenu pour subiuger la France, à mesme obeisance que la Turquie pour server de contre-poison à l'Antipharmaque du chevalier Poncet* (Orleans, 1576).

48 T. 1929, 61.

49 Another event that demonstrates the high value that artisans played in France during the reign of François I is the wintering of Ottoman troops in Toulon in 1543. A letter from the French court sent to Louis Adhémar, Comte of Grignan and Governor of Provence, dated September 8, 1543 requests that Toulon's inhabitants evacuate the city in order to accommodate Barbarossa's fleet wintering at the harbor. However, on September 25, François de

generously welcomed skilled foreigners even to his court, particularly Italian painters and Flemish weavers, to decorate his palace in a unified decorative theme.[50] In 1543, the same year that Ottoman troops wintered in Toulon under French protection and provisions, François I founded a tapestry workshop at Fontainebleau under the direction of Salomon de Herbaines which preceded the *Manufactures royales des tapisseries* in Paris by more than a century. And although outright imitation of Turkish carpets did not occur until the first half of the seventeenth century under Henri IV and Louis XIII,[51] foreign artists systematically replaced "national" artists in an effort to innovate established subjects and styles: '*Le roi voulut avoir sous la main des ouvriers qui fussent directement soumis aux ordres des artistes étrangers que partout il avail substitués aux artistes nationaux*.'[52]

When François I's successor, King Henri III, wanted to then capitalize on Lyon's monopoly by instituting a royal guild, the Consulat of Lyon resisted state-run control and by 1554 succeeded in dissolving the guild (*métier juré*) in favor of free trade (*métier libre*).[53] But despite differences in opinion about the organization of these silk workers, there was still consent about one thing: the recruitment of Italians. Of course, not only Italian artisans but also merchants and bankers immigrated. And so already mid-century, a large number of merchants and artisans, primarily from Piedmont, Savoy and Lombardy, had come to Lyon. In fact, Lyon had become one of the most diverse,

Bourbon, Comte d'Enghien, amended the command, giving permission only to heads of households and artisans to remain in the city (Isom-Verhaaren 2011, 133 note 72).

50 The new workshop allowed the weavers to work directly on site and so, too, to create tapestries which would suit the palace's abundant Renaissance paintings. François I had attracted many Italian artists and humanists to the court, including the likes of Leonardo da Vinci and Serlio. Da Vinci is thought to have possibly been the king's architect as he spent his final years in the Loire Valley under the patronage of François I, who greatly admired him. And Sebastiano Serlio, an Italian architect who built the Château d'Ancy-le-Franc and is thought to have worked on the Château at Fontainebleau, as well as introduce Italian parterre models to French gardening through his *Regole generali di architetura*, or *Quarto libro* (1537). For more on the work of the artists of the School of Fontainebleau, see Herbet 1937; Cole 1939 and Zerner 1969.

51 The first carpets made of fine, close woolen pile in imitation of Turkish ones were produced during Henri IV's reign. The Savonnerie carpet factory began flourishing on the outskirts of Paris in the 1670s once the importation of Turkish and Persian carpets was prohibited.

52 Anonymous 1861, 44. Moreover, at this time the decorative mode of the palace, both interior and exterior, was overwhelmingly established by a select few architects such as Sebastiano Serlio and Philibert De L'Orme, both of whom served as primary architect for Fontainebleau and Château d'Ancy and Saint-Maur, respectively, including the garden parterres, while also acting as first directors of François I's establishment at Fontainebleau.

53 Liliane Pérez also notes that only four of the sixty-eight guilds in Lyon were *métiers jurés*: barbers, locksmiths, apothecaries, and goldsmiths. (Pérez 2008, 247). However, Audrey Millet maintains that during the *Ancien Régime* corporations imposed rules on most occupations. Nevertheless, draughtsmen (*dessinateurs*), working in a variety of sectors, were also allowed to continue to work freely (i.e. sell without formal permissions by a guild or trade group). Millet 2017, 2 citing Hanne, Judde de Larivière 2010; Sewell 1980; and Thillay 2002.

cosmopolitan cities in Europe: 'Lyon's polyglot population of 60,000–70,000, which included more or less permanently resident Swiss, German, Flemish, English, Portuguese, Spanish, and especially Italian merchants and bankers, made it one of the great centers of urban life on the European continent.'[54]

With the departure of thousands of Huguenot artisans and the subsequent depression of the textile industry in the 1580s, 'the Crown itself fostered the migration of skilled Italian craftsmen into France and accepted the formation of many new guilds or corporate organizations, which were then consolidated under the executive order of the state.'[55] King Henri III (r. 1574–1589) lowered taxes and instituted further 'measures to protect domestic production against foreign competition. But it was also decided to foster more than ever the immigration to France of foreign workers. Italians, it was stipulated, were to be especially encouraged as they had knowledge of the latest techniques.'[56] Indeed, much of the focus of sixteenth-century kings on developing a strong textile industry in France – and with it, secure French manufacturing – appears nearly inextricable from the search for a unified political identity leading up to the fiercely "national" (or increasingly centralized) reign of Henry IV and the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV in the seventeenth century.[57]

Just as many skilled foreigners living and working in Istanbul in the service of the sultan chose to convert to Islam in order to prove loyalty and join the ranks of the ruling class, many foreign immigrants in France – Italians, Spaniards, Greeks, and Croats – became Frenchman to permanently serve the Crown whether as diplomats, administrators, soldiers, or artisans.[58] It is interesting to note in this context that religion became more of a unifying element in the vast Ottoman Empire comprising multiple nations, while citizenship (as opposed to, indeed often in opposition to, nationality) took priority in the smaller European "nations" or states.[59] Indeed, the French Crown would occasionally use naturalization as an incentive to attract skilled foreigners. Nevertheless, the opposite was also true: just as skilled foreigners working in the Ottoman Empire, particularly those of Christian origin, benefited from a kind of extra-territorial exclusion, most Italian immigrants waived their right to naturalization because they

54 Heller 2003, 39 and 29.

55 Heller 2003, 190.

56 Heller 2003, 190. A second wave of artisan immigration occurred during the reign of Louis XIV in the seventeenth century when Protestant artisans specializing in dyeing techniques from the Low Countries and Germany were 'lured back' following the religious wars by monetary incentives and the promise of religious freedom offered by the Crown under finance minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert (Schneider 1978, 435).

57 The use of the term "national" here refers to extant literature on this episode of France's history. For more on the transition from free trade to a highly regulated, protectionist "nationalism", see Heller 2003, 147.

58 Isom-Verhaaren 2011, 53.

59 While many Christians converted to Islam in order to participate in administrative positions, Christians as well as Jews were granted religious freedom. By contrast, the ongoing religious wars in Europe led to mass emigration.

did not see this "reward" as purely advantageous.[60] Both the French and the Italians understood that naturalization indicated permanent residency and that this was the ultimate proof of one's commitment to the state. Only naturalized citizens could pass on their property to subsequent generations.[61] Refusing this right was thus a clear demonstration of loyalty toward one's religious or cultural background instead of the state, and a clear choice to remain semi-autonomous, prioritizing profit over power, or freedom over security and mobility over permanent migration.

While this international community of cosmopolitan individuals moved fluidly between states on mercantile, scholarly, or diplomatic ventures both in France and the Ottoman Empire, what sets these two developments apart from one another, however, is – as Isom-Verhaaren points out – the attitudes toward and implications of employing skilled foreigners in these two contexts: the status foreigners of Christian origins who converted to Islam enjoyed at the Ottoman court implies an inferiority of the local population while the employment of immigrants (often recruits) in France appears to emphasize skill and technique over the inherent social value of the "other" in comparison to the local population.[62] Nevertheless, French silk weavers in Lyon suffered from being reduced to manual laborers in the face of the growing wealth and power of Italian merchants-cum-financiers. From the perspective of state rulers, however, this international community of skilled foreigners was viewed as a common currency in the global market, and their recruitment – much like the acquisition of foreign assets – viewed as security against foreign competition. As such, the success of an industry internationally relied on the importation of skill with which to infuse production locally, making artistic knowledge production not only the result but also the motive for exchange.

3. Unified Identities: Cultural Exchange and Rejection

Imperial decorative styles are shaped by more than how a particular region's artistic inheritance is taken up and adapted through the shifting territories of state, and how skilled foreigners further diffuse artistic styles and techniques from broader geographies. A state's greatest importer and source of prevailing and stylistic trends, its dominant rivals, and the resulting protectionist legislation pave the path for a shift toward domestic production.

In the age of imperial expansion, foreign objects and materials imported from and associated with areas of imperial interest and conquest gained the highest status as luxury goods. Thus, unsurprisingly, trends in interior decoration, fashion, and lifestyle came from the places of greatest exchange and contact. And the mobility of artisans and exchange of artistic knowledge especially common in the first half of the sixteenth century both followed and perpetrated these trends in design and decorative tastes. While the Ottoman Empire and France had sought to strengthen their manufactures

60 Heller 2003, 34.
61 Isom-Verhaaren 2011, 59.
62 Isom-Verhaaren 2011, 53.

by attracting artistic knowledge from foreign states (whether by forcing their relocation from neighboring (often rival) states or recently assimilated nations at the fringes of imperial boundaries or else by incentivizing immigration), they gradually began viewing places of cultural influence as political rivals to their own artistic sovereignty and fiscal autonomy. This shift in attitude appears to have typically occurred just as a certain level of the particularly artform or craft was reached "locally" or, more specifically, proper training of local subjects was secured.

A growing artistic sovereignty and self-consciousness led to local resentment of foreign control and cultural rejection. Gradually, states imposed economic policies aimed at limiting the importation of foreign goods and eventually also at restricting the participation of foreign artisans, thus negatively impacting both key players in the trade of luxury goods, merchants, and artisans. And while these economic policies are not referred to unilaterally as mercantilist, they are characterized by protectionism.[63]

3.1 *Ottoman Empire*

For the Ottoman Empire at this time, the most desirable goods came firstly from Iran and secondly from Italy. Subsequently, these states were also best represented amongst foreign merchants in Ottoman cities – and in the case of Iran, this included the representation amongst artisans.[64] The cities that played the largest role in the import or trade of goods specific to these two places became centers of artistic knowledge transfer and oftentimes innovative manufacture: For goods coming overland from the Safavids,

63 Atçıl argues that, in fact, Ottoman provisionism (built on a long Middle Eastern tradition of first and foremost protecting the consumer and securing the internal market) did not occlude a mercantilism as an economic policy (Atçıl 2015, 289). For a detailed description of the three pillars of Ottoman economic policy (fiscalism, provisionism, and traditionalism), see Faroqhi 2009 and Genç 1994. Scholars have alluded to the Ottoman Empire's economic policy in the mid-sixteenth century as somewhat akin to the mercantilism of Western nations yet with ample precautions and careful distinctions. In fact, referring directly to the work of political and social historians Mehmet Genç and Şevket Pamuk, Atçıl notes that 'one of the dominant perspectives found in the historiography is the idea that a mercantilist outlook did not exist among Ottoman policy makers' (Atçıl 2015, 289). Reviewing scholarship from the 1980s to today, there seems to be growing recognition that the policies need perhaps be revisited and these dominant perspectives revised. Even the preeminent expert on the Ottoman Empire, Halil İnalcık, changed his position over time. Compare İnalcık 1969 and İnalcık 1994 (in which he acknowledges Jan van Klaveren's use of the term "pseudo-mercantilism") and İnalcık 2017, especially 50 and 153, in which he clarifies that the Ottomans were bullionists, just one step away from becoming mercantilists.

64 In the main trade centers of western Anatolia, Genoese merchants were most prevalent. Gradually, Venetians and then Florentines also had a large presence in Ottoman cities. Around the middle of the sixteenth century, the number of Venetians decreased as the numbers of Muslim and Jewish merchants increased, likely as a result of Rüstem Pasha's policy of protecting local "Ottoman" merchants. For clarification on this label, see note 34.

this was Bursa; for goods coming oversea from the Italian states, particularly Venice, it was the port towns of Izmir and Istanbul (the permanent presence of Europeans in these towns evident in the naming of the "Rue des Francs" in Izmir and "Frankish" quarter in Istanbul at the time).[65] As Faroqhi and Erder recognize in their research on Anatolian urban networks, Bursa represented more than the end of the overland caravan route from Iran that brought raw silk to the Ottoman Empire: it was, incidentally, also where the raw silk was finished in Ottoman manufactures.[66]

Communication with Italy and Ottoman patronage of Italian, particularly Venetian, artists was particularly strong in the 1520s and early '30s under the viziership of Ibrahim Pasha and declined only after the Ottoman Emnpire's second failed siege on Vienna in 1532.[67] With the support of the sultan's chief treasurer Defterdar Iskender Çelebi, and through his well-established contact to Alvise Gritti and other local Italians, Ibrahim had invested large sums from the state treasury on commissioning expensive gifts from Venetian and other Italian artisans for the sultan. Most iconic – and perhaps most detrimental – of these gifts was a lavish golden helmet to be worn by Süleyman I during his second siege on Vienna. [68] The siege, though unsuccessful, nevertheless allowed the sultan to outperform his greatest rival, King Charles V, in a symbolic conquest of Rome – seen as necessary to reuniting the great Roman and Byzantine empires and so also the key to attaining universal sovereignty. But in light of the subsequent proliferation of images depicting the sultan wearing the helmet-crown, it might also be true that Süleyman I succeeded in at least one of his goals, namely making a lasting impression of extraordinary opulence and grandeur through a partial adoption of European styles and referential cues entirely foreign to Ottoman eyes yet legible to a western audience. Having garnered Europe's attention, it seems, the sultan could finally put forth his own cultural image, for "as the ideal of creating a universal *imperium* became a distant dream around the middle of his reign, the previous international cultural orientation was replaced by a more 'national' one".[69] And so, marked by the execution of the Grand Vizier in 1536, the sultan made a sharp turn away from material wealth – at least acquisitions from abroad. Investing instead in domestic arts, it was in the 1540s and '50s that the iconic decorative style known as *quatre fleurs* or Kara Memi style – a signature of the Ottoman golden age – emerged.

65 Gottman 2016, 43; Necipoğlu 1989, 404.

66 Erder and Faroqhi 1980, 282. The production of silk fabrics in Bursa and that of ceramic tiles in Iznik also represented an alternative model to the imperial guilds operating in Istanbul. For more on how the interaction between the two systems led to the innovation in styles such as Iznik tiles in the 1540s and '50s, see Necipoğlu 1990.

67 Necipoğlu 1989, 421–2. For a detailed account of the impact of Ibrahim Pasha's and then Rüstem Pasha's economic policies on the Ottoman arts, see also Necipoğlu 1992.

68 As Necipoğlu's analysis makes clear, the multi-tiered helmet-crown borrows its iconography from the golden helmets used alongside gold brocade canopy in the coronation of Charles V as Holy Roman Empire in 1529 and his subsequent procession alongside Pope Clement VII in 1530. For an in-depth telling and analysis of this episode, see Necipoğlu 1989, 420.

69 Necipoğlu 1989, 424.

The result of these shifting priorities and subsequent foreign policies? A new grand vizier with a radically different approach was installed. Following a pattern already established by the rather short vizierships of Ayas Pasha and Lütfi Pasha, in the mid-1540s, Rüstem Pasha (r. 1544–1553; 1555–1561) eliminated the large-scale importation of Persian and Italian silks and velvets established under Ibrahim Pasha.[70] He redirected funds toward expanding state-run design workshops with a somewhat mercantilist approach[71] – at the clear expense of other powers, namely the Italians.[72] Rüstem's economic policy was a direct response to the successful production and export of luxury textiles by both of the Ottomans' strongest trading partners: Italians and Safavids. As Italians were the primary consumers of raw silk at the time and Safavids at the time the main producers, the Ottomans set taxes on cocoons and undyed silk thread which passed through Bursa on the Eurasian trade route from Iran to Europe. Geared toward the accumulation of wealth and concentration of state power, Rüstem's strategy led to a sharp rise in production at the imperial textile workshops in Istanbul.[73] This growth was reflected in the number of artisans assigned to the textile workshop, which in the span of thirty years, between 1526 and 1557, increased five-fold. And as the *ehl-i ḥiref* organization grew, so did its specialization, visible first in the *naḳḳāşḫāne*.[74] Around mid-century, Rüstem also split the artisans of the *ehl-i ḥiref* into two groups: local (*rūmī*) and the foreign (*ʿacemī*), emphasizing the expansion of an Ottoman artistic consciousness.[75] But perhaps the most decisive action undertaken by Rüstem within the textile

70 Necipoğlu 1989, 417; Fleischer 1992 in Atçil 2015, 283.

71 See note 58 for clarification on the use of the term "mercantilist" in the Ottoman context.

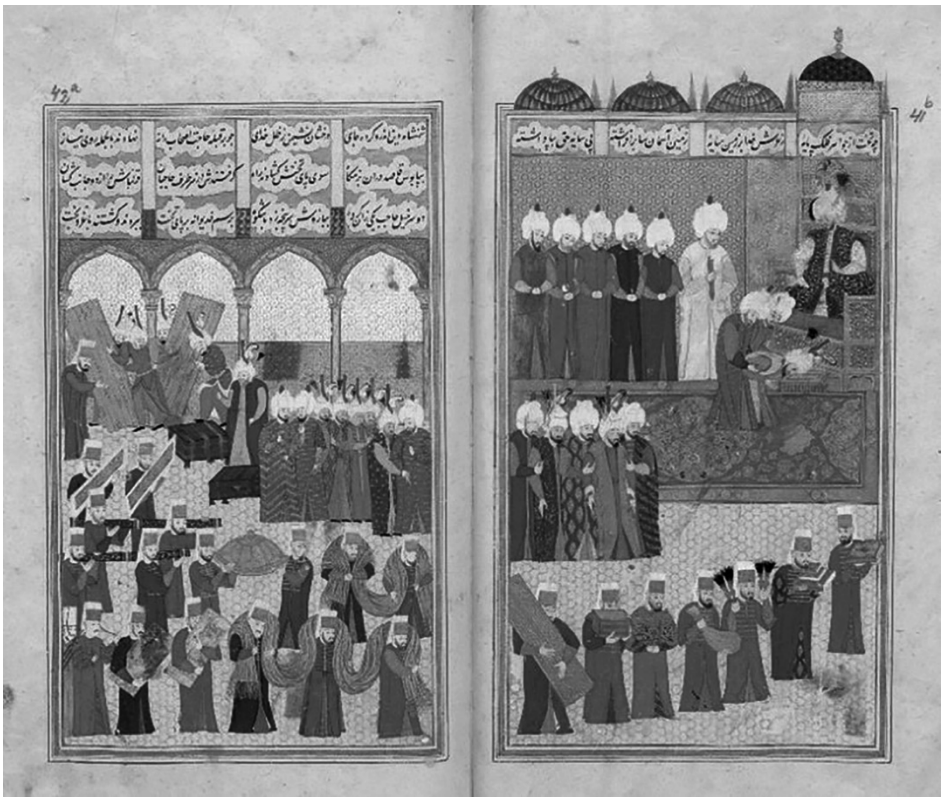
72 Rüstem's trade policy concentrated on the strict control of trade routes, the regulation of commodity exchange, and the active support of the Ottoman Muslim mercantile class. As a consequence, the profits of foreign merchants declined (Atçıl 2015, 269 and 284–6).

73 It may be that despite favoring imports over exports, the protectionist consequences of provisionism may in fact have prepared the ground for (or at least made palatable) more aggressive economic policies in moments of fierce competition with rival states (Atasoy et al 2001, 169; Atçıl 2015, 256–7). For more detailed analyses on the history of Ottoman economic policy, see Genç 2000 and Pamuk 2007.

74 But the contrasting guild systems of Bursa and Istanbul also led to specialization in certain weaving techniques and thus also occasionally the separation of artistic skill. When notices were sent to Bursa and Bilecilik in 1574 announcing the immediate prohibition of *serāser* weaving outside the court workshop, one of the perhaps unintended consequences was the departure of velvet weavers from the palace. Around same time, the palace workshop saw a significant rise in *serāser* weavers. As these evacuated their positions in Bursa for Istanbul, new positions were created for velvet. Subsequently Bursa weavers specialized in *ḳadife* (velvet) and *çatma* (voided silk velvet) while Istanbul weavers produced the most *kemḫā* (silk brocade, lampas) and *serāser* (metal-ground silks) (Hitzel 2008, 20–2).

75 "Local" should be understood here as "Ottoman" because it was made up of *devşirme* recruits, young boys from Rūm (primarily Anatolia and former Byzantine territories including the Balkans), often Christian, educated by the state in the capital 'locally'. By contrast, the foreign designation refers to non-*devşirme* artisans (those trained elsewhere) who came to the capital by other means (Necipoğlu 1992, 204–5). For an elaboration on the identity of the Ottoman "indigenous" bureaucratic class, see Atçıl 2015, 292. For the "artificial"

Figure 6. Shah Tahmasp I's accession gifts including silk carpets being displayed before Sultan Murad III in 1576.[76]



sector was, in fact, the introduction of local sericulture. For to become truly competitive in silk, globally, the Ottomans had to secure raw silk domestically. By closing the industrial loop, the Ottomans finally rejected the cultures that had once brought them the greatest stylistic inheritance. And so, beyond the impact of Rüstem Pasha's economic policies and the expansion of state-run silk manufactures, it was, perhaps, his 'overall 'Ottomanization' of imperial art and symbolism' which produced a generation of "Ottoman" artists (via the *kul* system) who would be largely responsible for developing the

nature of the Ottoman label, see Isom-Verhaaren 2011, 53. It is curious that Ibrahim Pasha had sent young apprentices – thought to have been "foreign", from Hungary – to Bursa to learn the trade from master weavers as early as 1530, preceding Rüstem Pasha's tenure as grand vizier by more than a decade. While it is certainly not clear, it is tempting to interpret that these apprentices may have been intended to become part of the "indigenous" or *rūmī* Ottoman division in the imperial workshop in Istanbul (Hitzel 2008, 22).

76 Lokman, Seyyid. 1581. *Şehinşehnāme*. Vol. 1. Istanbul. Istanbul University Library, MS. F. 1404, fols. 41b–42a. © Istanbul University Library.

new style, and which elevated Muslim merchants who delivered the Ottoman brand internationally.[77]

Before turning to France, it is worth taking a brief moment to contextualize the emergence of these protectionist attitudes within the formation of the Franco-Ottoman alliance, which would last intermittently for two-and-a-half centuries. François I's request for help from the Ottomans in 1526 while he was a prisoner of Charles V followed somewhat of a tradition amongst European rulers.[78] Although France had already been granted certain privileges in 1517, which were renewed in 1528 after a secret alliance between François I and Süleyman I had already been initiated (in 1526), the Franco-Ottoman alliance was formalized in 1536, perhaps after Süleyman I had accepted the Ottomans' defeat against the Habsburgs in Vienna (1529) and with it his motivation for the strategic connection to Venice began to fade. Incidentally, the alliance's official establishment cementing Süleyman's warming relations to France coincides with the execution of his once favorite vizier, Ibrahim Pasha – as if to illustrate his shifting allegiance from one that favored Italians to one that increasingly privileged the French. In fact, the first official French Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1534 to 1537, Jean de La Forêt drafted capitulations modeled after Ottoman commercial treaties with Venice and Genoa, which created a French monopoly on the import of Ottoman goods to the European market – a very welcome gesture for the French in light of the ongoing Italian wars.[79] While the alliance was primarily formed against their common Habsburg rival, it likewise proved beneficial to both the Ottomans and French state-building efforts in the subsequent century by circumventing a likewise shared commercial partner, namely the Italians.[80] In this way, France became to the other Christian powers in Europe a "middle man" much as the Ottomans had been to the Safavids in the silk trade before eclipsing them in the equation.[81] Moreover, in a period when France was still establishing its own silk industry, this privileged status

77 Atasoy et al 2001, 171.

78 Including the pope, Naples, Venice, and Milan (Heller 2003, 27– 8).

79 Through this unique status, France also had the privilege of opening a permanent post in the Ottoman Empire, even before the Venetians. And, shortly thereafter, 'the first official Ottoman envoy from the sultan arrived in Marseilles to join the French court in Chatelleraut', approximately seventy kilometers south of Tours, thus reciprocating the French post in Istanbul (McCabe 2008, 37–8).

80 Though it is important to distinguish between the Ottoman-Venetian connection and the French ties to other Italian states, primarily Florence.

81 Suraiya Faroqhi makes a convincing argument for the necessary review of Ottoman commercial relations in terms of the *mühimme* registers, which might elucidate the particulars of Ottoman "state trade" and its role in capital formation. She notes that, 'it is remarkable that this type of exchange has not been more intensively discussed in overall evaluations of Ottoman commerce' and draws a comparison to a similar institution in seventeenth-century Iran, which clearly formulates the monopolization of silk exports and led Europeans into a form of 'nationalized peddling trade' (Faroqhi 1980, 80 citing İnalcık 1969 and Steensgaard 1973). For more on the *mühimme* registers and the *ḫāṣṣa tüccārları* functioning as state merchant or trader and the possible establishment monopolies, see Rogers 1984.

provided the French with ample exposure to weaving techniques, styles, and patterns from further East. The capitulations negotiated between the French and Ottomans in 1581, which continued to favor French kings over other Christian monarchs, also coincides with the flight of the Italians from France – as if they had come to the same point where the Ottomans had been at the beginning of the century, namely seeking to end the reliance on Italian goods. Self-reliance required achieving more than a position as "middle man"; state-building meant investing in a domestic industry. And so, the French-Ottoman alliance enabled, at least in part, both states' economic, and by extension cultural, "individuation" as first the Ottomans and later the French rejected Italian manufacture. Gradually, over the course of little more than a century, Ottoman and French political unity, individually, and their alliance together resulted in the end of Italian cloth manufacture by the eighteenth century.

3.2 *France*

Just as Rüstem Pasha had advised Süleyman I to cease the excessive consumption of Italian luxury textiles, Antoine Du Pinet (1510–1584), French humanist and staunch Protestant, viewed doing business with Germans as productive but with Italians as superfluous and destructive to the state.[82] Heller reminds us that 'Henri III saw fit to aggregate extraordinarily large resources [about one-third of the state budget] to the court', comprised at times of upwards of 6000 servants including courtiers, officials, artists, musicians, and soldiers.[83] As a result, just as Süleyman I had readily imported Italian silks and other luxury goods for his palace's interior renovations in the 1520s, 'the [French] court's fashions and patterns of consumption consequently had enormous effects on the developments of the Parisian and French economy as a whole.'[84]

82 Identifying Du Pinet as Protestant is relevant against the backdrop of a growing resentment of the Roman Catholic dynasty amongst the Protestant populace, which would lead to the War of Religions. Indeed, under the regency of the Catholic Queen Mother Catherine de' Medici (r. 1560–1563) and the reign of her son Henri III, during which she had considerable influence, the court tolerated Italian supremacy and even acted as patron to Italian courtiers often in a conflict of interest with the Crown's subjects. Rather ironically, the Crown had actually ensured their continued wealth and power over the French against the native merchants and artisan's desires. As such, with the death of Catherine de' Medici in 1589 and the assassination of Henri III that ensued, the Italians finally lost the protection they had enjoyed under their rule (Heller 2003, 31). Interesting to note is that the Ottomans indirectly supported the rise of Protestantism in Europe due to the pressure they put on the Habsburgs. Equally, while not exactly advertising his admiration of the Ottomans, Martin Luther held in high regard the Ottomans' position in international affairs and recognized that Protestantism spread quickest in the European territories under Ottoman control due to their policy on the freedom of worship. İnalcık 2017, 207, 222, and 224.

83 Heller 2003, 188.

84 Heller 2003, 188. Charles Woolsey Cole also states that the establishment of local carpet industry in France, for example, relied nearly entirely on the court's own consumption. (Cole 1939, 287–90).

Reacting to the king's ongoing political "courtship" with Italian financiers, Du Pinet's 1564 persuasive publication *La conformité des églises réformées de France,* aimed to seed reform in Lyon, captured a growing sentiment, for the silk industry had gradually settled into an economic structure that disproportionately benefited Italian workers. By 1569, three quarters of the imports were controlled by a small group of primarily Italian merchants.[85] This new elite class of financiers controlled the bulk of international trade through a small number of trading houses while the French primarily worked as artisans or merchants in domestic trade. As such, somewhat inevitably, economic conflict arose between the two in Lyon in the 1540s. Finally, 'anti-Italian xenophobia reached a climax on a national level at the Catholic dominated Estates-General of Blois' in 1576 where the Lyonnais voiced protectionist views, which would become the foundation of the bill of grievances of the third estate.[86]

Aware, however, of their great artistic contribution to French culture, local Italians drafted a rebuttal in response to limits set on Italian control by the bill of grievances reached in 1576. They drew on ancient and contemporary references including Athens, Carthage, and Rome as well as the Venetian and Ottoman empires to demonstrate the critical role that foreigners played in building empire. For, as Heller writes, 'foreigners provide the kingdom with resources and talents it would not have otherwise. In the contemporary world, the prosperity and power of Venice and the Ottoman Empire is based on the welcome they give to foreigners.'[87] In their statement, the Italians made clear that France was indebted to Italians for its arts just as 'the Greeks learned astrology from Egypt' and 'the Romans acquired armor from the Etruscans'.[88] But their defense was in vain and their eventual departure toward the end of sixteenth century, understood locally as a French overthrow of the elite Italian financiers, spurred only further xenophobic portrayal of Italians "pillaging" France to a degree worse than the Turks had their Christian enemies. In fact, the opening lines of an anonymous French pamphlet published in 1589 with the name '*Discours de la fuyte des impositeurs italiens et des regretz qu'ilz font de quicter la France, et de leur route vers les pays de Barbarie*', estimates the Italians' influence more destructive and egregious than any Muslim sectarian against a Christian nation: '*Les sectaires mahometans ne se montrèrent jamais en si grand' contumelie ny outrage contre la nation des chrestiens, ny si temeraires, que se sont monstrez parmy la France en plusieurs malignes actes ces barbares Italiens*.'[89] Indeed, the pamphleteer not only likens Italian violence to Muslim behavior generally but also pictures them as finding refuge amongst the Ottomans ('*[ils] delibèrent se retirer en Turquie*'), as the only place willing to take up such profane Christians. Important to note, however, is that the sentiment expressed in this pamphlet indirectly toward the Ottomans does not necessarily accurately reflect a nationwide

85 Heller demonstrates that of 532 merchants total recorded that year, '74 per cent of such imports were in the hands of only thirty-three merchants. Of these the top twenty-four were Italian' (Heller 2003, 40 citing Gascon 1971, 359).
86 Heller 2003, 137 and 148–9.
87 Heller 2003, 154.
88 Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF). MS Fr. 3179, fol. 168 in Heller 2003, 154.
89 Anonymous 1857, 261–8.

attitude towards them. Isom-Verhaaren clarifies that much of the negative portrayal of the Ottomans resulted not from the French but from Habsburg propaganda.[90] In that sense, it appears that this Parisian publication borrowed an established trope from France's neighboring territory: The French demonized Italians as the Habsburgs had the Turks, pitting their greatest rival against a familiar evil.

The French expulsion of the Italians at the end of the sixteenth century did not, however, signify the end of France's strategic recruitment of skilled foreigners. For the creation of a French "imperial" decorative style took still more time and specialized skill before reaching its height at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Like for the Ottomans, who had relied on the Safavids, the French silk industry still relied on imports of raw silk and skilled workers specializing in dyeing from Italy and beyond. It would not be until local sericulture was achieved and the large-scale silk production and dyeing reached a satisfactory level that true innovation could occur – and a recognizable French visual idiom and palette emerged.

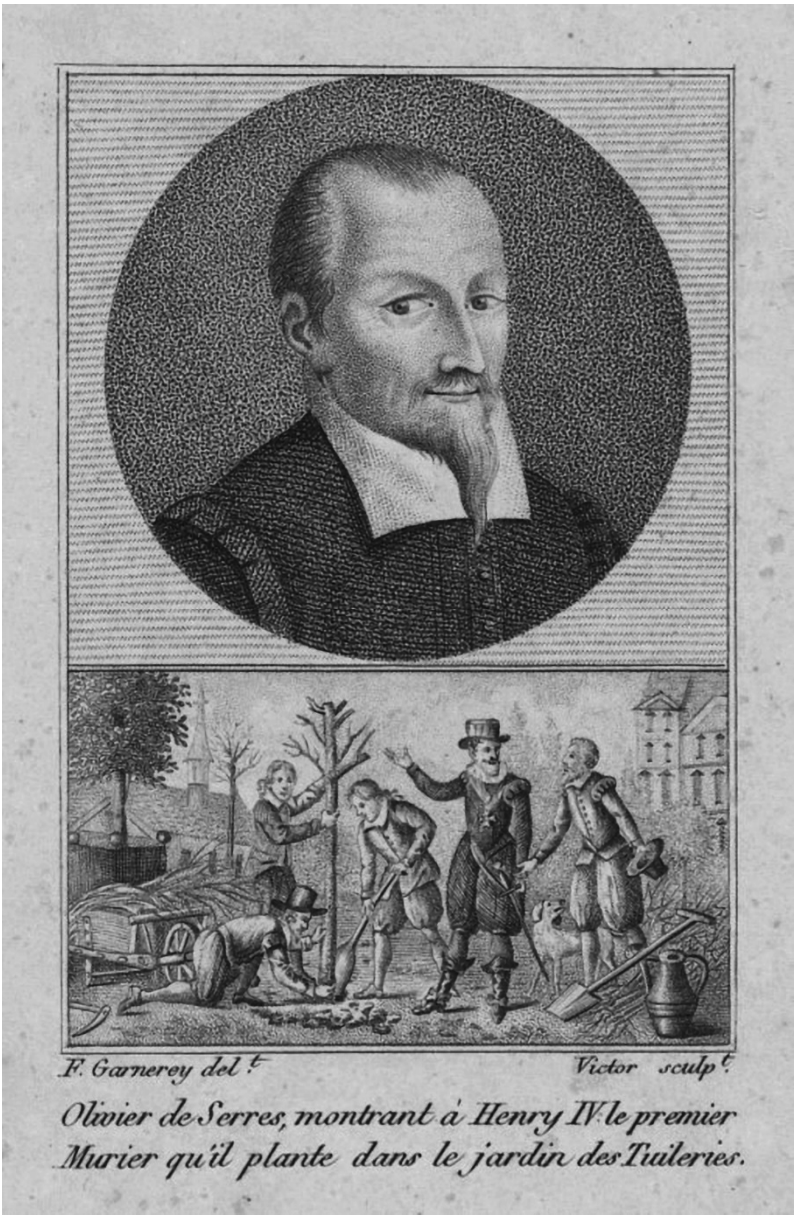
These milestones were achieved largely by the efforts of two finance ministers: Controller-Generals Barthélemy de Laffemas (1545–1612, appointed 1602) and Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683, served 1661–1683). As such, Laffemas and Colbert frame two important periods in the development of France's silk industry: First, building up domestic sericulture and second, establishing a robust dyeing and weaving industry organized into guilds and monopolies under strict state control. Both finance ministers' protectionist views grew into a mercantilist approach to controlling the state's economy. Through domestic initiatives and protectionist degrees (primarily in the form of import bans and taxes), these two periods saw the most aggressive strategies for developing French manufacturing and thus also establishing French political dominance in Europe.

Perhaps taking a cue from the Ottomans who had sought silk independence from the Safavids, in order to limit reliance on other states for the import of raw silk, de Laffemas, also the Henri IV's (r. 1589–1610) tailor and *valet de chambre*, advised the king to invest in domestic sericulture. Together with the well-known father of modern agronomy Olivier de Serres (1539–1619) he set out on a propaganda campaign to encourage the large-scale cultivation of silkworms through the plantation of mulberry trees for the benefits of the French people, particularly aimed at the working class.[91]

90 Isom-Verhaaren demonstrates that French communities in close contact with the Ottomans, such as the inhabitants of Toulon during the wintering of Barbarossa's fleet in 1543–1544, displayed a much more tolerant and positive perception of these Muslim foreigners. Isom-Verhaaren 2011, 133.

91 In *Théâtre d'agriculture*, Olivier de Serres writes: '*L'affection que je porte au public, m'a ja fait adresser le discours particulier de ceste nourriture à Messieurs de l'Hotel-de-Ville a Paris, à ce que leurs peuples fussent incités par là, à tirer des entrailles de leur terre le thresh de Soie que y est caché, par ce moien mettant en evidence des millions d'or y croupissant; & par telle richesse, a cheuer de décorer leur ville du dernier de ses ornements, abondante au reste en toute sorte de biens…*' (De Serres 1600, 455–95). See also the pamphlet Henri IV commissioned de Serres to write: Olivier de Serres, *La cueillette de la soye par la nourriture des vers qui la font* (Paris, 1599).

Figure 7. Portrait of Olivier de Serres and his planting demonstration for Henri IV of the first mulberry tree in the Jardin des Tuileries.[92]



92 Victor (engraving) after Jean François Garnerey, ca. 1800–1899, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1910-6203.

De Serres had already experimented with growing mulberry trees at the Pradel Estate and published a brief history and manual on silk-farming within his *Théâtre d'agriculture* published in 1600, in which he traced the introduction of sericulture in France to mulberry trees and cocoons brought from Naples to Dauphiné, the region connecting Lyon with the Mediterranean, at Allan near Montélimar in the Rhône Valley. With Henri IV's support, they succeeded in bringing sericulture further north, planting 20,000 trees at the Jardin des Tuileries and 10,000 at Saint-Germain-en-Laye – initiating a "mulberry mania" in France.[93]

Then, in a seemingly never-ending cycle of protectionist measures from one woven material to another – wool, silk, cotton – French mercantilism finally reached its height in the seventeenth century with the economic policies of Louis XIV's finance minister Colbert (so much so that it is frequently referred to as Colbertism). For a similar pattern of events unfolded nearly a century after the overthrow of the Italian financiers in Lyon and the joint effort in becoming self-sufficient in silk manufacture, once French silk-weaving was well established yet no longer competitive on an international market due to the widespread importation of printed cottons. Similar to the ban on the import of woolen goods from Spain and Flanders in 1539, Colbert desperately sought to overturn the balance of import / export dominant in the sixteenth century by prohibiting the importation of all foreign manufactures save raw materials still necessary for Lyon's silk industry.[94] This resulted in a second wave of foreign influence, particularly from 1665 to 1683. While Italians had been recruited for their skill in silk weaving, France's manufactures sought to attract Flemish artisans known for their skill in dying.

Once again state-run guilds played a key role in achieving lightfast color, only this time Colbert separated the dyers' guild into two sections, 'one for fast colors, and one less prestigious for fugitive colors. The state permitted only the former to dye cloth for export, and it was this category that needed an infusion of foreign skills.'[95] That is,

93 Clerget 1929, 71.

94 This second wave of protectionism beginning in the late seventeenth century and continuing into the eighteenth century until 1757 took place once a French silk-industry had been fully established but once again threatened by increased importation of textiles – this time from an expanded geography and materiality through the rise in popularity and production of cheaper cottons further east. Following protests against massive imports of cheaper textiles produced abroad from 1660–1680s, Lyon silk manufacturers began producing their own imitations of foreign cottons and silk until they were prohibited from making imitations of banned Indian textiles (1686–1757). It began with a ban of chintz imports in 1686 and resulted in an eighty-year period of prohibitions that included the importation of foreign tapestries immediately following Colbert's successful transformation of the tapestry atelier at Gobelins into a state establishment. Other strategies to protect French industry included a tax on foreign silk entering Lyon (1711); a tax on silk brocades entering the city after foreign woven fabrics became cheaper compared with French ones by avoiding tax (1716); more design regulations and an early version of a copyright; and strict rules against the emigration of workers.

95 Schneider 1978, 434 citing Cole 1939, 205.

Figure 8a and 8b. Peasant laborers, mostly women, harvesting mulberry leaves and tending to silkworms in the cultivation room[96] *and The Reeling of Silk, Plate 6 from "The Introduction of the Silkworm"* [Vermis Sericus].[97]

96 Karel van Mallery, after Jan van der Straet (Stradanus), Antwerp, ca. 1595. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-22.705.

97 Karel van Mallery, after Jan van der Straet (Stradanus), Antwerp, ca. 1595. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, Accession Nr. 24.63.492. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

higher quality goods still relied heavily on skilled foreigners, for which the Crown gladly granted religious freedom and monetary incentives. In this way, Colbert sought to 're-recruit' many of the Protestant artisans specialized in dyeing techniques, which had fled north a century earlier, particularly to the Low Countries and Switzerland. Colbert's arguments to the king for the recruitment of dyers built on the developments of his predecessors in the sixteenth century: 'If the manufacture of silk, wool, and thread is that which serves to sustain and make commerce pay, dyeing, which gives them a beautiful variety of colors such as are found in nature, is the soul without which the body would have but little life.'[98] Notable is that, somewhat reminiscent of Rüstem Pasha's separation of the imperial artisans into local and foreign sections in the middle of the sixteenth century, once the infusion of technical know-how had penetrated the lower ranks of French manufacture, the guilds once again excluded Protestants and foreigners in 1744, this time entirely, because of the threat to local design.[99] It is likely no coincidence that this exclusion coincides with the peak of Naturalism, the signature French style in silk weaving.

4. Imperial Decorative Styles: State-Run Industry and Innovation

The investment in local industry and state-controlled artistic workshops and craft guilds both within the Ottoman Empire and France yielded significant stylistic and technological innovation, which each state's elite avidly used as fuel for the production of a unified cultural identity. By converting regional workshops to state establishments, Colbert achieved what Rüstem had done before him: a quick escalation and growth of the workshop by recruiting skilled foreigners as masters to train entire local teams, which would then produce an "army" of future local artisans bearing the fruit of a new imperial decorative style.

As the organization of craft guilds and state-owned manufactures evolved over time, so, too, did the various systems of patronage and employment, and the trade. Consequently, differentiating between the roles of the artist, artisan, and designer not only poses significant challenges linguistically or culturally, but also both historically. This is especially true of the early modern period, from the Renaissance to the emergence (also, disparagingly the distinction) of the Fine Arts and mass production in the early phase of industrialization. Those who translated natural forms into motifs within Lyon's *Grande fabrique de soie* (silk guild) were no longer considered painters or artists but rather factory draughtsmen (*dessinateur de fabrique*) and treated in technical literature of the eighteenth century as workers rather than artists since the 'routine, repetitive character of their acts is perceived to be at odds with the painter's inspired spontaneity'

98 Schneider 1978, 434 citing Beer 1960, 21.

99 Initially, the working tenures of migrant artisans (Protestants and foreigners) had only been restricted to three months in order to provide valuable information on manufactures of other states.

yet 'compatible with standardization and mass production'.[100] Still, one might say that these draughtsmen – as painters before them – working within France's state-run manufactures (Gobelins, Savonnerie, Sèvres, etc.) producing luxury goods were somewhat analogous to the *naḳḳāş* (painter-decorators) within the Ottoman *naḳḳāşḫāne*. They were not limited to a single materiality; rather their activities were characterized by versatility and involvement in a range of sectors.[101] That is, 'while all factory draughtsmen drew, meaning that they created decorations and patterns, the label referred to individuals with a varied range of trajectories and experiences.'[102] As in the *ehl-i ḥiref* organization and especially the Ottoman Chancery, where an artist's specialization as scribe, calligrapher, or illuminator was less exclusive, 'in practice, both in the archives of the Sèvres factory and in deeds drawn up by a notary, the use of a more specific label indicates either a specialization or the draughtsman in question's current activity.'[103] Nevertheless, as silk manufacturing became more mechanized and styles evolved, weaving required more expertise. Specialized silk-designers (*naḳşbendler*) appeared in the imperial craft guild in the late 1550s at the height of the new style; in Lyon, factory draughtsmen within the *Grande fabrique de soie* became known as *peintres "fleuristes"* at the peak of French Naturalism.[104]

4.1 Ottoman Empire

Already in the 1530s and '40s, the impact of the artisans who had immigrated from Tabriz and been integrated into the *ehl-i ḥiref* organization began to reveal itself. Tiles made for the new pavilion at Topkapı in 1526–1529 by Iranian ceramicists and painters still perpetuated designs of scrolling leaves, abstract floral forms, and animals in blue tones against a white ground revealing the persistent popularity of Timurid influence. But little later Shah Qulı began innovating the decorative repertoire from his training in Tabriz; familiar motifs reappeared slightly altered according to individual skill. Particularly skilled at *kālem-i sīyahı* (pen and ink) drawing, Shah Qulı would redefine these inherited motifs toward a new, recognizably Ottoman *saz* style featuring elegant, serrated leaves in the 1540s.[105] By mid-century, a new generation of master artisans, who had served as *devşirme* apprentices und the foreign masters, took over and the effects of multicultural inheritance made itself visible in new, innovative forms within various mediums:

100 Millet 2017, 22.
101 In Lyon, this could mean working in China, lace, silk, and *Indienne* cottons; in Istanbul, likewise working in ceramics and silk (and velvet) but also decorative interior painting, possibly even metal, and the arts of the book, including leather bindings and manuscript illumination (Millet 2017, 15).
102 Morvan-Becker 2010 in Millet 2017, 2.
103 For the Ottoman context, see Rogers 1992, 228 and 235; for the French, see Millet 2017, 16.
104 By the early nineteenth century, the École des Beaux-Arts in Lyon offered a "*classe de la fleur*" aimed at teaching flower painting for textile decoration.
105 Uluç 2008, 46.

Architect	Ceramicist	Painter-Decorator	Silk-Weaver / Designer
Alaüddin / ʿAcem ʿAlisi 'Persian Ali'	Habib Tabrīzī	Shah Qulı	Rüstem Rus? (1526)[106]
Sinan (by 1538)	Usta ʿAli (by 1527/8)	Kara Memi (by 1552)	Iskender Ermeni / Ahmed Trabzon? (by 1545)[107]

The old masters from Iran were gradually replaced by local artisans, thus formalizing and expanding the separation between the *rūmī* and *ʿacemī* divisions of the guilds. While the splitting of the guild in the second half of the sixteenth century did not signify an anti-Persian sentiment per se, it did foster local innovation – perhaps in part by generating a '*rūmī* anxiety of *ʿacemī* influence'.[108] And so, the rise of a new local generation of master artisans likewise signified the Empire's definitive shift away from Persianate and toward Ottoman design.

Shah Qulı, who had been the head of the *rūmī* division of painter-decorators until 1552 despite his background, was succeeded by his apprentice Kara Memi, considered a local Ottoman, presumably a Turk.[109] Kara Memi's decorative repertoire diverged

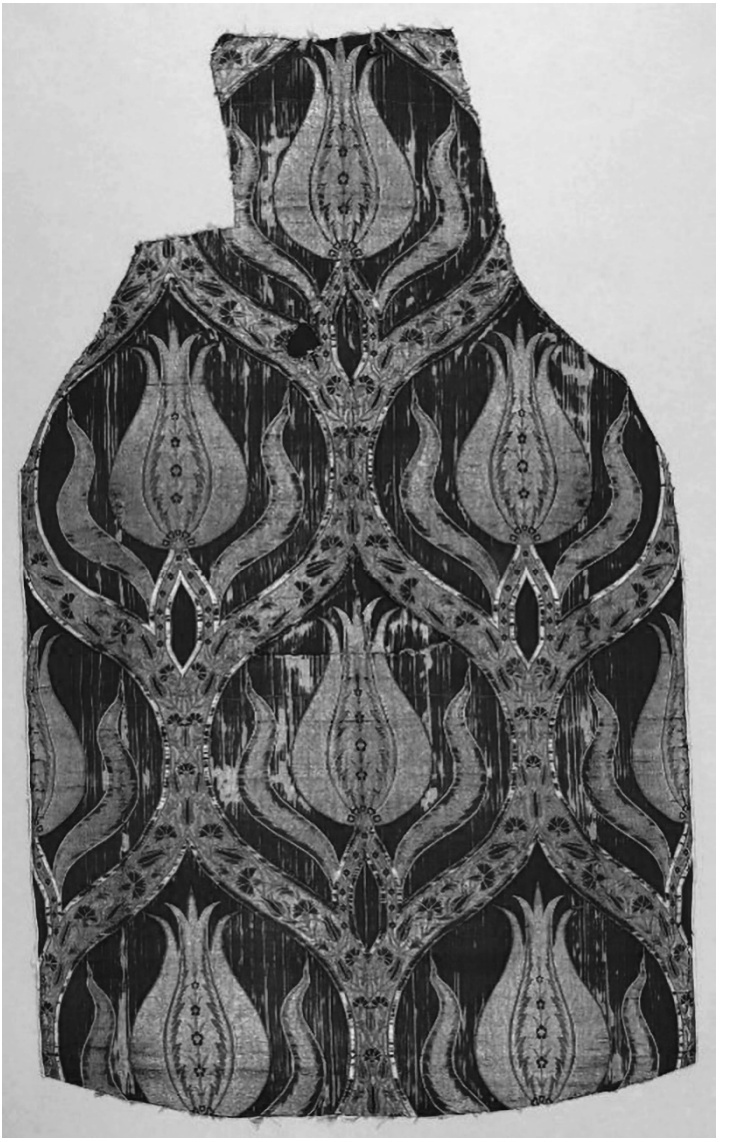
106 Rüstem Rus, along with two of the other four master weavers listed within the *Cemāʾat-i kemḫā-bafān* in the 1526 register, was brought to Istanbul from Tabriz by Selim I as war booty in 1522–1523 together with the other painters, ceramicists, and other artisans. Rüstem Rus apparently worked in the Safavid court and was lauded as an outstanding student of a certain Shah Ali. Most of the apprentices, however, were Christian recruits (*devşirme*) from European parts of the Empire. By 1557–1558, only some of the 35 *kemḫā* master-artisans came from Safavid court workshop while 45 apprentices came from European parts including Bosnia, Russia, Hungary, Circassia, Transylvania and the Morea, as well as Kastamonu and Tokat in Anatolia (TSMA, D. 9612 in Atasoy et al 2001).

107 Iskender Ermeni and Ahmed Trabzon both appear in the 1526 list of *kemḫā*-weavers (*Cemāʾat-i kemḫā-bafān*) as apprentices (TSMA D. 9612 in Uzunçarşılı 2003 [1986], 56–7). In the 1545 register they are listed in the second and third position and called *sīmkeş* (metal-thread embroiderer) and *nakşbend* (textile-designer), respectively. TSMA D. 9706/4 in Yaman 2008, 25. Two other names from the 1526 register also appear in 1545: Ca'fer Çerkes, listed last in 1526 but as second *nakşbend* in 1545, and Mahmud Bosna who was first listed as a gold-worker / jeweler and later as a *nakşbend* amongst other crafts, possibly indicating the ubiquity of the name itself.

108 Necipoğlu 1990 and Atasoy et al 2001 in Necipoğlu 2016, 143.

109 While Kara Memi's origins are not known, Süheyl Ünver speculates in his biography of the artist from 1951, that his nickname "Kara Memi" derived from Kara Mehmet, might reveal his roots for the name had multiple variations in different Ottoman territories (i.e. Mehmed in Rūm and Memo in Anatolia). It is in Manisa, Ünver reveals, that "Memi" was used: '*Rumelide halk dilinde Mehmed, Memiştir. Anadolunun Şark Vilâyetlerinde Memo derler. Manisa taraflarında Memi deniyor*' (Ünver 1951, 5). Interestingly, Manisa is also where many of the

Figure 9. Silk, metal-wrapped thread lampas (kemḫā) *with large tulip motif set in ogival pattern, textile fragment from Bursa, Ottoman Turkey, sixteenth century.*[110]



flowering bulbs came from which decorated Topkapı's court gardens and other gardens along the Bosphorus.

110 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Accession Nr. 52.20.19. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

even more from the broadly Timurid style. What came to be known in art historical discourse as the Kara Memi or *quatre fleurs* style marks the sudden appearance of more naturalistically rendered flowers, particularly four recurring species: the rose, tulip, carnation, and hyacinth.

While its visual language likely originated in Kara Memi's book illuminations, it is most recognizable as a fully established style in Iznik tiles and silk brocades, though it appeared in nearly all media around the same time. It is here that another recognizable feature of the style reveals itself: the relatively new and dominant presence of the color red. Notable is that the style's flower assortment reflects trends in garden culture: the red ground of Ottoman velvets and silks produced in the Golden Age emulate the popular plantings of single-species, red palace courtyards, both botanically and figurally.[111]

It is still to some degree uncertain how exactly decorative patterns were translated from one material to another and who was responsible for this process.[112] Certainly, the works of Shah Qulı and Kara Memi became references for a range of designs; their details codified as motifs in less figural and more purely ornamental compositions. There is no indication, however, that as draughtsman and illuminator they provided weavers with stencils, patterns, or designs.[113] Silk-weaving required technical expertise and the adaptation of a design from paper to silk by a skilled master. It seems that following a significant rise in *kemḫā*-weavers at the Istanbul workshop in the 1540s and '50s, the specialized role of textile-designer (*nakşbendler*) – responsible for making colored models, programming the looms, and weaving[114] – emerged and likely played an

111 In Ottoman gardens, flowers were frequently planted in fields of a single kind, rather than a diverse assortment. An account record from 1564 lists expenditures for Süleyman's "carnation courtyard". Calling the gardens and terraces used for the display of a single flower by that species' name was a common practice, perhaps even beyond the Ottoman world, as is also exemplified by the many mentions of "tulip garden" (*lālezar*) and "rose garden" (*gülistān*) (Evyapan 1999, 8; TSM AD 5120 as cited in Atasoy 2007, 67).

112 Scholars are equally divided on how the new floral style was disseminated from the capital to the provinces, across the Empire and internationally. Most have noted on the origin in the court atelier, which is thought to have set fashions which then entered the commercial market via Bursa. Others have clarified that there is no proof that, for example, designs were made at court and sent to Bursa as palace orders. Still others speculate if the 'free' laborers in Bursa, with the freedom to experiment and produce woven designs in a range of qualities, may perhaps have played a part in the innovation of designs just as factory draughtsmen within a less formalized corporation (*métier libre*) in Lyon in the seventeenth-century could take on commissions freely. Moreover, it is possible that painter-decorators and illustrators associated with the imperial workshops such as Kara Memi may have also taken commissions from outside the palace (Atasoy et al 2001, especially 171; Phillips 2014, 160; Krody, Denny 2012, 29; Rogers 1992, 234–5).

113 Rogers 1986, 143–5.

114 Öz 1950 in Atasoy et al 2001, 170. It is no coincidence that *nakşbendler* were first recorded among the specialized *kemḫā*-weavers who were intimately associated with trending styles as they were also the first of the craft guilds to adapt advances in illumination from within the imperial *nakḳāşḫāne* (Atasoy et al 2001, 171).

Figure 10. Ottoman voided velvet yastık *(cushion), cover with large, stylized tulips, rosebuds, and pomegranates, Ottoman Turkey, sixteenth or seventeenth century.*[115]

instrumental part in the appearance of the new floral style. An annotated mid-century plan of the imperial textile workshop in Istanbul includes designated spaces for *nakşbendler* and the *ehl-i ḥiref* register from 1557–1558 makes the first mention of not

115 Victoria and Albert Museum. Accession Nr. 101-1878. Photo © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

only *kemḫā*-weavers but also *kemḫā*-designers (*naḳşbendān-i ḫāṣṣa* and *naḳşbendān-i kemḫā-bāfān*).[116]

While the classical Ottoman style persisted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, scholars agree that the quality of luxury silk textiles displaying Kara Memi's unique set of naturalistic flowers gradually decreased. French demand for Ottoman raw silk had begun to slow in the early eighteenth century as France increased local production, possibly resulting in an increase in silk cloth weaving in Bursa in the late eighteenth century due to limited exports.[117] Reviewing the patterns of woven Ottoman textiles produced in the eighteenth century, it appears that over time the Ottoman imperial decorative style, became, in a way, systematized. There is less innovation and experimentation as well as an increased simplification of floral forms. This is likely also due to the slowing of imperial patronage of the arts, particularly in periods of financial crisis (as in the late seventeenth century following nearly five decades of continuous warfare with either the Habsburgs or Safavids) and a growing commercial market for a larger range of quality and cost. Others maintain that the 'rigid regulatory regime imposed upon the crafts prevented urban industries from developing'.[118] Nevertheless, Ottoman raw silk production and weaving continued to be a mainstay of its economy, though lighter and more cost-effective materials such as cotton and woolens also became increasingly popular.

Reminiscent of the opulent reign of Süleyman I during the viziership of Ibrahim Pasha, the arts flourished under the patronage of Sultan Ahmed III and his grand vizier and son-in-law [Nevşehirli Damat] Ibrahim Pasha (r. 1718–1730) during a period which came to be known as *Lāle Devri,* the Tulip Period. Proponents of peace and investing resources locally in the arts and culture of the Ottoman capital, Ahmed III and Ibrahim cultivated good relations with France against the new common enemies, Russia and Austria.[119] The cultural and artistic exchange between France and the Ottoman Empire reached new proportions, infusing Ottoman palace and garden architecture as well as floriculture with French styles as well as French architecture and fashion with Ottoman

116 Topkapı Palace Archives (TSMA) E. 6342 in Necipoğlu 1992, 199–201; TSMA D. 9612 in Atasoy et al 2001, 168–70.

117 Çizakça 1980, 149.

118 İnalcık 2017, 22. Through court monopolies, stamps, and fixed prices, the Ottomans had sought to ensure the high value of silk fabrics on the open market, from which the court benefitted when selling surplus output. Though silk-workers in Bursa may have benefitted from commercial freedom, they also occasionally suffered from royal decrees. Over the course of the sixteenth century, the craft guilds saw the increasingly heavy hand of state. Whenever the rarity – and with that the status – of precious silks worn by palace officials and others of the elite class were threatened, the court implemented monopolies or new regulations. One way of doing this was instituting a new *damga* (stamp) used by palace officials to stamp the approved fabrics. In 1564 a *damga* limiting pure silk fabrics containing gold thread was introduced (Atasoy et al 2001, 171).

119 Ahmed III also sent Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi Efendi (ca. 1670–1732), known simply as Mehmed Efendi as Ottoman ambassador to France under Louis XV in 1720, signaling the establishment of the first permanent Ottoman post abroad.

tastes.[120] Notable here is the continued or renewed emphasis on flowers, namely tulips, carnations, hyacinths, and roses, but also narcissus, cyclamen, anemones and other flowering bulbs from West Asia, which still marked 'the floral style as the ultimate Ottoman brand'.[121] Represented in an increasingly naturalistic manner, these flowers inspired a new literary genre of *Şükūfenāme* (flower treatises)[122] amongst the Ottomans largely modeled on the tradition of European florilegia, which became wildly popular in the seventeenth century as a way of documenting the exotic flora 'discovered' in Ottoman gardens. *Çiçek risaleler*, the Ottoman version of flower paintings, likely emerged in connection with an Ottoman practice of flower-growing competitions, in which a committee known as *Ser Şükūfeciyān Ḥāṣṣa* (Chief of the Sovereign's florists) evaluates the quality (beauty) of flowers such as tulips according to established standards. According to Süheyl Ünver, it was only once a flower had received a prize that its name (often given by the grower's name) was officially recognized, documented, and published, thus requiring a realistic rendering.[123] Two of the most well-known eighteenth-century artists redefining the new Ottoman floral style are Ali Üsküdari and Abdullah Buhari. This new style quickly redefined the decorative language of Ottoman interiors, in which painted wall panels displayed landscape vignettes (typically Ottoman gardens with baroque flower parterres) or flower vases and fruit bowls, such as in Ahmed III's Fruit Room at the Topkapı palace.

4.2 France

In the same way that the Ottoman Empire turned inward upon itself by the middle of the sixteenth century,[124] the French monarchy made an intentional shift toward domestic

120 The emphasis here is not on the overwhelming influence of European (particularly French) art and culture on the Ottoman arts but rather on a reciprocal process based on the rich and enduring exchange of Ottoman and French traveling diplomats and artists, and the luxury goods and skills they carried. Particularly in the Tulip Period, also called the revitalization period due to renewed imperial patronage of the arts under Ahmed III, ambassadorial visits often took the form of elaborate events including tours of the latest manufactures, balls, and other festivities once again becoming 'a significant aspect of governance and the projection of royal power' (Krody, Denny 2012, 28). For more details on Ottoman-French artistic exchange in this period, see İnalcık 2017, especially 239–42; Hamadeh 2004, Hamadeh 2008; Martin, Weiss 2013; Kisluk-Grosheide, Rondot 2018.

121 Krody, Denny 2012, 28.

122 Süheyl Ünver writes that in total, about a dozen flower treatises (*Şükūfenāme*) were written (or preserved in Turkish libraries) with multiple copies from the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries.

123 Ünver 1971, 275. For more on the history of tulip growing in Turkey, see Atasoy 2002.

124 This way of describing the beginning of the Classical Age of the Ottoman Empire marked by Kara Memi, Sinan, and other artists and designers, is used by Gülru Necipoğlu in various publications including Necipoğlu 1989, 425 and in Necipoğlu 2000, 32 where she describes it as an 'inward cultural turn involving the conscious rejection of foreign visual elements'. In an interview with *Tarih*, she states: 'As for intentional cosmopolitanism, although I do

Figure 11. Interior of a Parisian milliner's shop selling silk garments, engraving by J. Lepautre after J. Bérain.[125]

affairs and a more "national" agenda beginning with the reign of Henri IV.[126] In the wake of cultural rejection fueled by the religious wars and anti-Italian attitudes, the French state gradually began cultivating a collective identity – or a 'sense of national unity from shared

see a turning inwards around the mid-sixteenth century, cosmopolitanism never stops; it continues throughout the Ottoman centuries all the way to the modern era, but the mode in which it is expressed changes in each context' (Tongo 2009, 14).

125 Printed in issue Extraordinaire, Mercure Galant, March 1678. © Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (56).

126 "National" is the term Heller uses to describe the period of centralization in France, particularly during the reign of Henri IV. Heller writes: 'Henri IV ascended the throne as the most self-consciously national monarch France had ever seen. No king until then had insisted on the national character of his rule to the extent of Henri IV. Moreover, this was no mere propaganda campaign from on high. It was a posture that struck a real chord, especially in the hearts of the urban and rural elites of the kingdom. It reflected the triumph of a new collective sense of national identity, particularly in the upper reaches of the French public opinion' (Heller 2003, 206).

enmity' by amplifying otherness.[127] In Heller's words, 'internal cohesion based on a royal nationalism entailed the simultaneous rejection of foreign so-called others'.[128] As this rejection signaled the expulsion of foreign silk workers and financiers and strict restrictions on immigration throughout the sixteenth century, one of the principle ways this newfound cultural identity manifested itself was through silk. It was, after all, during the reigns of Henri IV and Louis XIII that great efforts were made to establish local sericulture and expand French silk manufactures – much to the dismay of Italian, Flemish, Turkish, and Iranian sources. Colbert's tenure in the second half of the seventeenth century solidified the grounds for the full-scale, state-run silk industry with international appeal; even before Naturalism, the signature style of Lyonnais silk reached maturity in the eighteenth century, French designs dominated the European market.

France's path to silken success mirrors that of the Ottoman Empire a century earlier. Just as at the beginning of Süleyman I's reign the finest silk textiles had come from abroad, whether Italy or Safavid Iran, the most luxurious fabrics still came to France from Italy when Louis XIV ascended the throne. Through similar economic policies – whether bullionism or mercantilism – Rüstem and Colbert helped turn the tide of international markets.[129] By the end of Süleyman I and Louis XIV's reigns both states reached the height of their domestic production – and with it, the branding of an imperial decorative style. At the Ottoman court, the quality, color, and pattern of a state official's kaftan reflected his piety, social status, and favor with the sultan. Likewise, 'the nobles who thronged the court of 'Le Roi Soleil' might ruin themselves in their eagerness each to outshine his neighbor by the splendor of his costumes […].'[130] Even Bavarian princes elect eagerly acquired French silk for their wardrobe.[131] Paris finally outshone Florence as Europe's fashion capital.

While a "French" style is harder to typify in the seventeenth century since silks still retained much of the Italian style despite displaying a distinct color palette, 'by degrees the Italian mode of ornament was modified, while a distinct French style developed an imposing formal style suitable to the pompous grandeur of Louis XIV. Large fruits, flowers, and architectural motifs'.[132] Like the Ottoman decorative style, this new French style, which would come to be known as Naturalism, naturalistically represented the treasures of the state: exotic flowers and fruits, and the construction of extensive palace estates with formal *jardins à la française*. Most of the exotic flowers featured – save, perhaps, for the North American sunflower – were, in fact, not very recently acquired species

127 Yardeni 1971 in Heller 2003, 206.
128 Heller 2003, 206.
129 Cf. note 58.
130 T. 1929, 62.
131 Ferreira et al mention records of bundles of textiles to be sent to Bavaria from 1674–1689. Ferreira, Oliver, Rosati and Thépaut-Cabasset 2016, 23–4.
132 T. 1929, 62. It may also be noted here that bowls of heaped fruit, flower vases, and architectural scenes (or landscapes, featuring pavilions, terraces, and flower parterres in a baroque style) also featured prominently at the Topkapı Palace and in mansions along the Bosphorus and Sea in the eighteenth century, perhaps best exemplified by Ahmed III's "Fruit Room" and the apartment of the Valide Sultan in the Harem, both at Topkapı.

Figure 12. Silk panel in Naturalistic style designed by Jean Revel, Lyon, ca. 1735.[133]

but rather the proud products of intensive local cultivation: roses, carnations, and ranunculus with ever more petals; tulips with larger, more rounded petals, thicker stalks and wild colors, blotches, and stripes. However, through nearly a century of growing and breeding and the simultaneous honing of the perfect flower picture in new forms of art,

133 Victoria & Albert Museum, Textiles and Fashion Collection, T.187-1922. Photo © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

namely the very first Northern European still life paintings (ca. 1600) known simply as *Blumenbilder,* the flowers had been made their own. And so, too, a uniquely European vision (and version) of these flowers, quickly giving new currency to the best flower painters whose expertise became instrumental in attaining a suitable style for the proto-imperial state.[134]

French Naturalism reached its height in the 1730s when floral designs become closely associated with the innovative work of the Lyon-based designer-entrepreneur Jean Revel (1684–1751).[135] By that time, a distinction between lesser and higher art forms had been firmly established and with it, the role of the painters working in the textile sector reduced to *dessinateur de fabrique.*[136] Similar to Kara Memi's training as a painter-decorator in the *naḳḳāşḫāne,* Revel apprenticed in the painting and royal tapestry workshops of Paris, as was routine for aspiring designers from Lyon until the city opened its own public school of design in 1756. He became, like his father Gabriel Revel, a decorative artist. Moreover, Revel innovated floral representation in "silk painting" – as the weaving of naturalistic flower branches and sprigs was affectionately called – through the development of the *points rentrés* technique of shading. By interlocking two different shades at the edge of a woven motif, rather than having them meet in a hard line, the *points rentrés* technique created a three-dimensional and thus more lifelike effect. In this way, the technique became both a technological as well as an artistic innovation as much as those employing the technique were both technicians (as weavers) and artists (as flower painters). Yet, it seems, capitalizing upon his entrepreneurial success, Revel soon rose from

134 This lends perspective to the important role played by Le Brun and his contemporaries, classically trained painters working for the court as *peintre du roi* in first translating precious plant material into evocative renderings of sprigs, bouquets, and garlands, and second, these images into complex designs for the loom. In fact, Jean Revel's father Gabriel Revel was a painter working under the patronage of Charles Le Brun for the royal court, possibly at Versailles or Gobelins as that is the district where Jean and his siblings were baptized. Then, when his father established himself in Dijon while remaining a *peintre du roi*, he was likely trained directly in his father's studio before he or his brother registered as a master in Lyon's painters' guild. For more details on Jean Revel's life, see Millet 2017. See also Faroqhi's discussion of the situation in Dijon (Faroqhi 2009, particularly 211–2).

135 Since Peter K. Thornton's article "Jean Revel, dessinateur de la grande fabrique", Jean Revel's role in the development of the *points rentrés* technique and subsequent authorship of French Naturalism has been put in question. In her 1995 article, Lesley Miller established that Revel was likely more of a businessman and entrepreneur than an artist or designer. Nonetheless, his name remains associated with this artistic innovation, which was nonetheless also visible in the work of his contemporaries such as Jacques Pernetti and Nicolas Joubert de l'Hiberderie (Miller 1995, 79–96). Even so, l'Hiberderie credits Revel's extraordinary skill as a draughtsman with the *points rentrés* technique (De l'Hiberderie 1765, xj–xij). Earlier, designers such as Monlong, Deschamps and Barnier were experimenting with more naturalistic representation. (Miller 2012). For the article that prompted the revision noted above, see Thornton 1960.

136 This separation was largely instigated (or formalized) by André Félibien who lectured on the academic hierarchy of the arts to the *Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* in 1667 (Millet 2017, 4).

the ranks of artisan to become a wealthy merchant involved in Lyon silk manufacture and, as such, part of the burgeoning commercial bourgeoisie. In certain respects, this new role recalls Rüstem Pasha's in terms of advertising his "own" work. Revel wears his own silks in his famous portrait painted by Donat Nonnotte in 1748; Rüstem, who owned looms in Bursa, wore the silk products of his own business from time to time. And so, it seems, the role of the master artist (as classical Renaissance painter at the court of François I) was eclipsed by the merchant-entrepreneur as *dessinateurs de fabrique* became categorized workmen under the aegis of the merchant-entrepreneur or manufacturer.

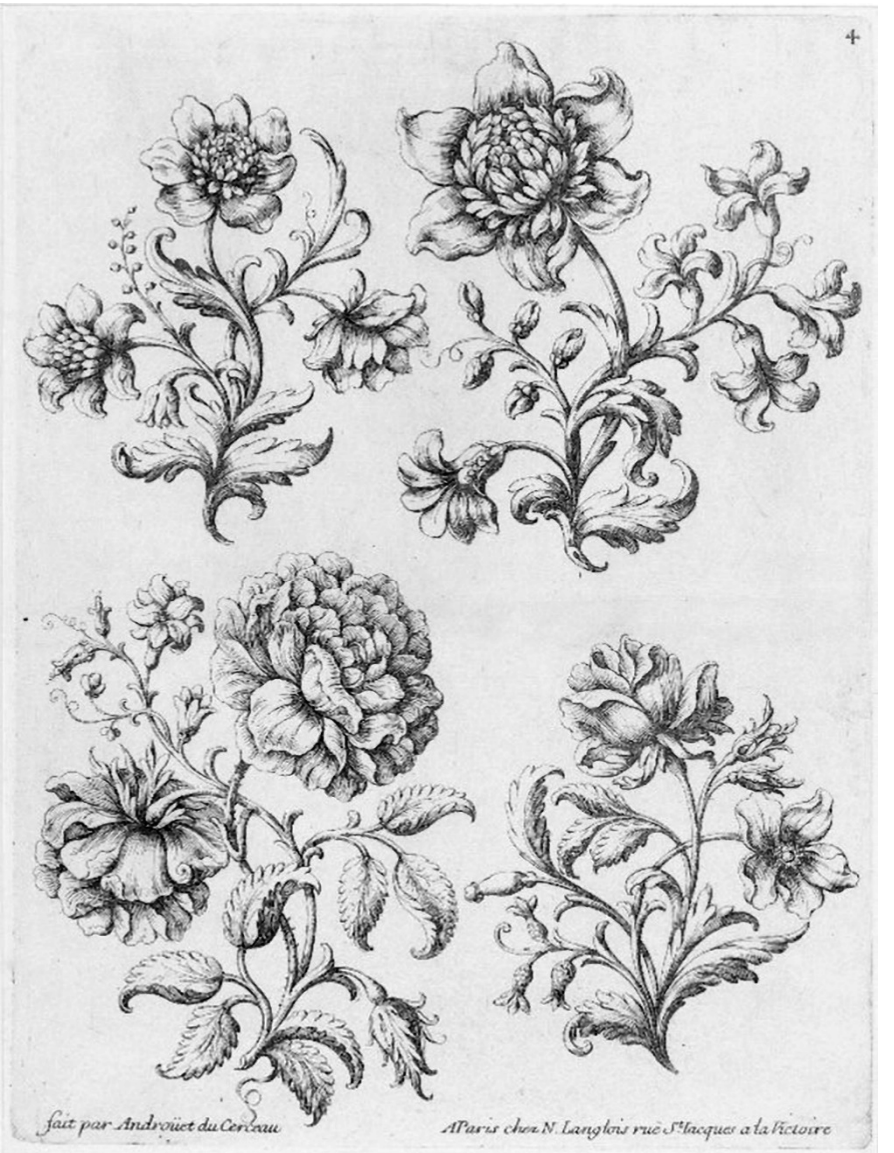
Nevertheless, as trained painter-decorators, both Jean Revel and Kara Memi are credited with developing not just an innovative decorative repertoire of motifs but also a new style of representation based on the careful observation of plants. In the case of Revel, it is clear that he would have gained exposure to live models in Parisian gardens such as the *Jardin des Plantes* (opened to the public in 1640) which had served as places of artistic training since the beginning of Louis XIV's reign.[137] Unsurprisingly, when silk designers and manufacturers in Lyon demanded their own design school a century later, the petition stipulated the installment of a flower garden for studying live specimen as models.[138] Rather astoundingly, the French fashioned their design repertoire of state-run textiles on the very same species a century after the Ottoman golden age. Indeed, just as the Ottomans had chosen their most celebrated flowers growing in their inner courtyard gardens as imperial emblems, the French based their burgeoning floral style on the most popular flowers with which the *Curieux fleuristes* had filled their cabinets and published catalogs full of illustrations – only here they were not a reflection of the native landscape but rather a rare plant collection. In fact, the use of *exotic* models proved instrumental to France's *local* production.

However, instead of reproducing the finished product, as arguably many Italian silk manufacturers had also done in regard to Ottoman motifs, they borrowed the source material itself: West Asian flora cultivated and claimed by the Ottomans long ago. Approaching the same brightly colored botanical models – by now blossoming in court gardens *à la française* across Europe – in a new painterly style, French designers such as Revel achieved the allure of the exotic East without compromising the state's "national agenda", leading to the emergence of a uniquely French style in the eighteenth century.

137 Of course, even this was preceded by many other examples, most notably the university garden at Leiden flocked by the *curieux fleuristes* and the Jardin du Roi on Île de la cité looked after by Jean Robin, the flowers of which served as models for Pierre Vallet's florilegium gifted to the king and Catherine de' Medici to use in her embroideries.

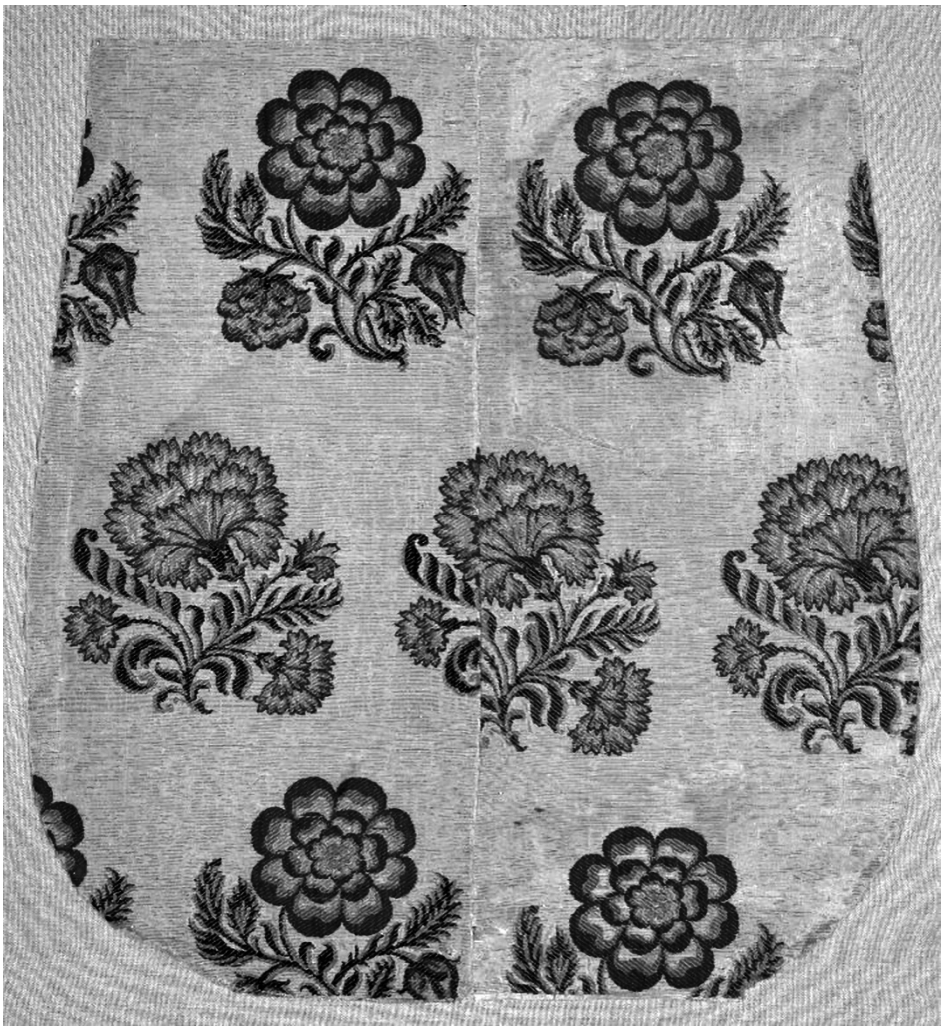
138 Upon the establishment of the flower garden in the heart of the silk quarter, on the slopes of the Croix-Rousse hill, Lyon's design school offered a course focused on "*la fleur dans le jardin*". By 1814 the "*Salon des fleurs*" was opened within the Palais Saint Pierre, close to the garden. It was intended for the study of models in close to the garden. ('*Les folles années de la soie*' 1975 and T. 1929, 63). See also Williams 1999 [1970].

Figure 13. Bouquets propres pour les Estofes de Tours, *a sketch of anemone and rose* 'bouquets' *(sprigs) for textile designers in Tours, by Paul Androuet du Cerceau, Paris, ca. 1670–1685.*[139]



139 Victoria & Albert Museum, Prints and Drawings Collection, E.5604-1908. Photo © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Figure 14. Brocaded silk with alternating rows of red roses and pink carnations, intended for a seat cover, possibly based on a design by Paul Androuet du Cerceau, ca. 1680.[140]



5. Conclusion

While innovations resulting in imperial or proto-imperial styles in the Ottoman Empire and France did not exactly coincide, both developed floral styles based on West Asian flora. In fact, the shifted timeframe reflects the advancements required in France to

140 Victoria & Albert Museum, Textiles and Fashion Collection, 452-1896. Photo © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

achieve the same effect, both in horticulture and visual culture.[141] After considerable efforts in acclimatizing West Asian flora – including not only the most popular spring flowers but also the mulberry tree to a wet Northern European climate –, in the same way that the Ottomans had synthesized artistic legacies inherited by the Timurids and those introduced by Italians in the creation of a distinctive *Ottoman* imperial decorative style, the French synthesized the practice of floral illustrations in the Low Countries and Germany with the technical know-how of silk manufacture brought to Lyon by the Italians in the production of a uniquely *French* style.

The interaction of a diverse group of artisans led to the interaction of artistic techniques and visual aesthetics leading to the emergence of new styles. Or, put differently, the small-scale interaction that takes place in an atelier between individuals (such as artisans from the Low Countries in Lyon and Paris and Italian artisans in both Lyon and Istanbul) is reflected at the larger scale in the interaction of states – and the further development of artistic and architectural styles. But the desire, whether self-consciously or not, to break away from prevailing or inherited styles actually has a fragmentizing effect on social relations (between states), while – ironically – the production of new imperial styles grows out of a clear synthesis of artistic knowledge learned from these very interactions. In this way, while social relations may have led to a productive cultural pluralism at the small scale, large-scale social interactions were in many ways damaged in the process of state-building. And yet, in the case of the Ottoman Empire and France, an interimperial alliance proved both strategic, from a political and economic standpoint, as well as tremendously productive in terms of both visual culture and horticulture. One reason for these divergent outcomes is likely the relative proximity and accompanied threat of a territorial neighbor: The Habsburgs were more likely to attempt an alliance with the Safavids; the French with the Ottomans, both skipping the adjacent neighbor in favor of a more distant partnership through a shared enemy (located in between). Only the Venetians, the most powerful Christian power in the Mediterranean at the time, and other fragmentized states of the Italian peninsula were viewed by these imperial powers alternatively as a valuable trading partner, financier, and final frontier in attaining universal sovereignty.

If 'the Ottomans were the first to shatter the cosmopolitan cultural unity and relatively homogeneous visual culture of the fifteenth century Islamic world',[142] then similarly, with their bright and lively naturalistic compositions inspired by exotic flora, the French were the first to break away from the dominant western Mediterranean stylistic

141 A closer look at Northern European Renaissance embroideries reveals that many of the flowering plants brought from the Ottoman Empire to Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century appeared soon after in embroideries, particularly the work of queens and princesses. At the time, embroidery was not only considered a high form of art but the handwork allowed for considerably more fluidity than local weaving technology when representing organic forms.

142 Necipoğlu 1990, 158.

Figure 15. Piece of brocade with carnation-rose-tulip pattern, eighteenth century.[143]

hegemony of sixteenth-century Christian world, perpetuated through Italy's long-standing status as Europe's silk capital.[144] It is as if the cultural diversity required to

143 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Textiles and Fashion Arts, Denman Waldo Ross Collection, 96.399. Photograph © 2022 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Piece of brocade. French, 18th century.
Brocade; overall: 67.3 x 28.5 cm (26 1/2 x 11 1/4 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Denman Waldo Ross Collection; 96.399

144 Here I am claiming that the silk-weaving manufactures of Italy together with Spain and Portugal from the Western Mediterranean formed a stylistic unit in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In particular, velvet brocades share a repertoire of motifs and consistent color palette during this period, which in itself share much with the visual language of Ottoman luxury textiles at this time. crimson and gold, silk velvet brocades featuring stylized fruits and flowers as well as more traditional pomegranate, palmette, and lotus motifs.

innovate imperial floral styles (emblematic of territory) reflected the floristic diversity of the state's terrain – either endemic and naturally occurring, or collected and cultivated.

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