

# Itemization and Visualization



# Europeans in “Turkish” Dress

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The study of “Europeans in Turkish Dress” challenges us with a subject of complexity and requires serious reflection.<sup>1</sup> It can be approached in a number of ways. Should we take those men or women so clothed as themselves the subjects of investigation? Or should we make the artists, for whose work we are grateful, our subjects? Should we approach the problems chronologically or thematically? What about the clothes themselves? They are textile artefacts worthy of study. Are the painted clothes accurate renditions, for example, of authentic Ottoman clothes, and do they include the accessories appropriate and true to particular contexts of time and place? Or should we not approach this complex history within the phenomenology of Orientalism<sup>2</sup> in its manifold “game plans”, as was the goal of the work of Nina Trauth in her *Maske und Person*?<sup>3</sup>

In this article we will approach a variety of aspects. We will consider why some European men and women of the 17–19<sup>th</sup> centuries clothed themselves *alla turca* and/or had themselves depicted so in pictures. We are, therefore, dealing with the question: Who (individually or as representatives of particular categories or groups) had themselves depicted in oriental (Turkish) dress? What were their reasons and motivations for doing so? And how did these phenomena change over time?

Let us begin our study of these complex themes with a painting. This is an oil on canvas presently found in the collections of the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha with an abbreviated title (fig. 1): *Portrait of a European Gentleman in Turkish Dress*.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This text is the revised version of a paper given at the workshop *Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narratives* in Istanbul in October 2009. The original version was composed in Doha, Qatar and during a short stay in Berlin in the summer of 2009 without the knowledge of the then just published dissertation of Nina Trauth, *Maske und Person, Orientalismus im Porträt des Barock* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009). For the carefully accomplished English translation I am grateful to Linda Schilcher, Berlin.

<sup>2</sup> The term was first introduced by Edward Said in 1978, since then it is used in various ways and still much discussed, see e.g. the revised and enlarged edition of 2010, Edward W. Said, Hans Günter Holl, *Orientalismus* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2010). See also Trauth, *Maske*, 21–24, and Tara Mayer, “Cultural Cross-Dressing: Posing and Performance,” in *Orientalist Portraits, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 22, no. 2, 281–298.

<sup>3</sup> Reviews by Christine Kruse, *Sehepunkte* (10, 2010, Nr. 5), <http://www.sehepunkte.de/2010/05/17294.html> (accessed August 6, 2012); and Michael Hüttler, *rezens.tfm* (e-Journal für wissenschaftliche Rezensionen, Institut für Theater-, Film- und Medienwissenschaft an der Universität Wien). Published November 16, 2010 (2010/2), [http://rezens.tfm.univie.ac.at/rezens.php?action=rezeension&rez\\_id=97](http://rezens.tfm.univie.ac.at/rezens.php?action=rezeension&rez_id=97) (accessed August 6, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> PA.2.1997, Iran, 1680–1690. Oil on canvas).



Fig. 1

The painting was acquired in 1997 on the international art market.<sup>5</sup> As is often the case with such acquisitions, its provenance is wholly or partially unknown and undocumented. Already the title raises three questions: Is this really a portrait? Is the (gentle)man depicted really a European? And what are we to understand by the expression “Turkish dress”?

Beginning with the last of these questions, it is clear that the designation “Turkish dress” would naturally not refer to “Turkish” in today’s meaning of the word, but to Ottoman. Or, even more generally the inference might be to terms often used such as “oriental” or “Muslim” in the sense of a cultural-geographic designation. In fact, the clothing is not Ottoman but Persian, or more precisely, a Safavid textile model. There is a top wrap or cloak of colourful flowered fabric over a blue and gold (beige) striped undergarment. The latter is buttoned together below the breast with two closely placed buttons so that the garment falls open below that point. The right side of the cloak is turned out slightly so that the inner lining, probably of fur, is visible. The collar of the cloak is also of some kind of unrecognisable animal fur.<sup>6</sup> Showing under the inner garment are pink leggings and soft green boots. The head covering is a turban of typically Safavid style as we know these from several paintings from 17–18<sup>th</sup> century Iran.<sup>7</sup>

The painting is not signed. We know nothing about either the artist or the consigner. The date of completion can only indirectly be established. Comparing style and iconography we can posit a very probable origin in the Safavid Empire sometime towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>8</sup> If we had wanted to build on the theory that this is a portrait of a particular personality rather than a genre scene, the middle aged man who is depicted in three-quarter profile with his right hand resting on a thin stick<sup>9</sup> has not been identified. However, his light skin and his considerable blond moustache would indicate that this is indeed a European. Similarly, the background of heavily ruffled curtains on the left side, the European landscape in the background, and the white dog at his master’s feet would support this supposition.

<sup>5</sup> Sotheby’s London, 15 October 1997, lot 35. For a detailed analysis of the whole group of Safavid paintings now kept in the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha, see the forthcoming article by Eleanor Sims, “Peoples from Parts Unknown: 17<sup>th</sup>-century oil painting from Safavid Persia” (paper given at the 4<sup>th</sup> Hamad bin Khalifa Symposium on Islamic Art in Doha 2011). I want to thank E. Sims who was kind enough to make her manuscript available to me.

<sup>6</sup> Compare “A gentleman in Persian dress,” formerly in the Negaristan Museum, now transferred to the Saadabad Museum of Fine Arts, Tehran; see Eleanor Sims, “Five Seventeenth-Century Persian Oil Paintings,” in *Persian and Mughal Art* (London: P. and D. Colnaghi, 1976), 221–248, no. 138.

<sup>7</sup> Layla S. Diba and Basil W. Robinson, in *Royal Persian paintings: the Qajar epoch, 1785–1925* (London: Tauris 1998), 120, no. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Compare the examples mentioned by Sims, *Persian Oil Paintings*, 221–248.

<sup>9</sup> This detail is depicted in a number of representations; see e.g. Nicolas Respaigne and Johann Paul von Kuefstein (more information below in the text).

The subject may well have belonged to a group of European travellers and internationally active business people as, for example, the French gem merchant Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689).<sup>10</sup> These had themselves depicted in oriental, or perhaps, orientalist, attire. On the one hand this would indicate their successful commercial travels and trade missions.<sup>11</sup> On the other, the pictures would demonstrate the quality of the sumptuous fabrics and clothes they brought back from distant lands. We cannot, however, totally exclude the possibility that the subject is not a European but rather a member of the ethnic group of Armenians<sup>12</sup> who were often found among those who dealt with western travellers, businessmen and diplomats during the Safavid period, and who themselves were active in foreign trade. The nearly white skin and the physiognomy of the face at first exclude this interpretation, but there were, of course, also fair-skinned men and women in Iran from the Caucasus regions.<sup>13</sup>

For the time being let us just accept that this is probably a European active in trade with Safavid Iran who has had himself depicted in oriental (here, Persian) attire while standing within a European set (curtains, painting and dog). The model for this painting may well have been the etching entitled “Persian” in the famous *Recueil Ferriol*,<sup>14</sup> about which we will talk more later.

The desire to dress oriental is only one – though not an unimportant aspect – of the larger, century-long phenomenon of variously motivated and variously intense European interest in the Orient. This interest focused especially on the Ottoman Empire, which had through wartime and peacetime very close relations with Europe, and especially with the Habsburg Empire. Following the second failed Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683 and further Ottoman defeats (Mohács in 1687 and Slankamen in 1691), the direct threat to European powers declined by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time, however, civilian interest in the power on the Bosphorus grew all the more.

<sup>10</sup> For Tavernier see the impressive oil on canvas by Nicolas de Largillière at the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Brunswick, documented in: Gereon Sievernich and Hendrik Budde (eds.), *Europa und der Orient* (Gütersloh, Munich: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1989), 821, fig. 895.

<sup>11</sup> Possibly he belonged to one of the European envoys sent to Persia as e.g. the envoy to Shah Safi in Isfahan, on which Adam Olearius participated in behalf of Friedrich III of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf in 1635.

<sup>12</sup> Besides Armenia, Georgia played an important role in the Caucasus during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, see Sims, *Persian Oil Paintings*, 221–248, and Chahyar Adle, “Peintures Géographiques et peintures orientales, Musée Géorgien d’Art Chalva Amiranachvili à Tbilissi,” *Archéologie et arts du monde iranien, de l’Inde et du Caucase d’après quelques recherches récentes de terrain, 1984–1995* (1996): 347–365.

<sup>13</sup> See e.g. Theresa Khan, a Christian Circassian princess, the later wife of Sir Anthony Sherley, who, being in the entourage of Shah Abbas, led his mission to Europe; see Sheila R. Canby, *Shah Abbas and the remaking of Iran*. (London: British Museum, 2009), 56–57.

<sup>14</sup> See Marquis Charles de Ferriol, *Recueil du Cent Estampes représentant différentes Nations Du Levant, tirées sur les Tableaux peints d’après Nature en 1707 et 1708* (Paris: LeHay & Duchange, 1714), plate no. 90.

Travellers such as pilgrims, clergymen, businessmen, but most of all diplomats to the “Sublime Porte” had written important and often very informative reports already at the end of the medieval period. Often these were replete with illustrations by artists who travelled with the Europeans.<sup>15</sup> The invention and spread of printing led to the wider distribution of these texts. Whereas at first the rulers and notables were the focus of these reports, later travellers increasingly took interest in common people, stressing the great ethnic diversity within the huge empire.

For the 16<sup>th</sup> century we have two important witnesses who depicted contemporary personalities, Melchior Lorichs (ca. 1527–1583)<sup>16</sup> and Nicolas de Nicolay (1517–1583).<sup>17</sup> Although Lorichs was famous mostly for his views of Constantinople/Istanbul, he also made a portrait of the ruling Sultan, Suleiman the Magnificent (or, as in Ottoman usage, Suleiman the Law Giver, or Kanuni) and also of his wife Hürrem Sultan.<sup>18</sup> In addition, we have a number of drawings of musicians and especially of harpists.<sup>19</sup> These are Orientals, or, more precisely, ladies of the Ottoman court. We know, of course, that these could also be women from the European territories of the Empire, as was Hürrem, (or Roxelane as she was known in the West) who came from a region that extends between today’s Romania and Ukraine. As far as we know, Europeans in the narrow cultural and political definition of that term were not depicted in Turkish, Ottoman or “oriental” dress by Lorichs.

Similarly Nicolas de Nicolay is not known to have produced any depictions in which a European was dressed in Turkish attire. There is an engraving of a heavily veiled lady on her way to the *hammam* (bath) in the company of a stately servant woman who is not veiled.<sup>20</sup> The lady is most likely a native. It is questionable that European women would have visited or been allowed to visit the local baths at this time, though later this was possible, as in the case of Lady Wortley Montagu. Additionally, a picture by Jean-Etienne Liotard (1702–1789) might be of a European woman at the baths.

Depictions of European women in oriental or Turkish attire are relatively rare prior to the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The “Picture of a Young Woman in Turkish Dress” preserved in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (KdZ 15237) could be of a European, that is, a non-native.

<sup>15</sup> See for example the printed travelogues of Johannes Schiltberger (1380– after 1427), Hans Dernschwam (1494–1568), Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522–1591), Stephan(us) Gerlach (1546–1612), Leonhard Rauwolff (c. 1540–1596) and Salomon Schweigger (1551–1622).

<sup>16</sup> For Lorichs see *Europa & der Orient*, 241–244, as well as Kjeld von Folsach, *The Arabian journey* (Århus: Prehistoric Museum Moesgard 1996), 31–45 (p. 36, fig. 7 (harpist)).

<sup>17</sup> For Nicolay see *Europa & der Orient*, 825, cat. 12/22; images: 307, figs.: 372–373.

<sup>18</sup> See *Dess kunstreichen weitberühmten und wolgerfahrenen Herrn Melchioris Lorichs, ... wolgerissene und geschnittene Figuren zu Ross und Fuss, sampt schönen türkischen Gebäwen und allerhand was in der Türckey zusehen...* (Hamburg: T. Gundermann, 1646).

<sup>19</sup> Folsach, *Arabian Journey*, 36, figs. 6–8.

<sup>20</sup> Semra Germaner and Zeynep Inankur, *Constantinople and the Orientalists* (Istanbul: İşbank, 2002), fig. 148.



Fig. 2

The extremely fine brush painting is the work of Jacopo Ligozzi (circa 1547–1627) completed in 1614 in Florence.<sup>21</sup> It is difficult to make a definitive identification of the female subject simply because the Ottoman Empire included sev-

<sup>21</sup> 17.5 × 14.2 cm, see *Europa & der Orient*, 637, fig. 732.

eral European ethnic groups (e.g. in the Balkans). Since the late 17<sup>th</sup> and then more so in the 18<sup>th</sup> century these appear increasingly as subjects in paintings. As evidence we have the “Greek Women of Pera” and many depictions of Armenian and Jewish women. These are usually hardly to be differentiated from western and central Europeans. If the painting by Ligozzi is really of a European woman it would then be our earliest example.

More than any other painter of that time, we are indebted to Jean Baptiste Vanmour (1671–1737) for his visualisations of contemporary Ottoman society.<sup>22</sup> Vanmour arrived in Istanbul as a member of the entourage of the French Ambassador Marquis Charles de Ferriol (1652–1718). For more than 30 years, until his death, Vanmour fulfilled his commission to depict the various inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire. In 1714 de Ferriol published a series of copperplate engravings based on Vanmour’s paintings. *The Recueil de Cent Estampes representant différentes Nations Du Levant, Gravées sur les Tableaux peints d’après Nature en 1707 et 1708*<sup>23</sup> – referred to more simply as the *Recueil Ferriol* – is hugely valuable for its record of Ottoman society (fig. 3). Its influence on the wave of orientalised European painting of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries can hardly be exaggerated. The *Recueil Ferriol* had approximately 100 engravings depicting mostly figures of the Ottoman elite beginning with the Sultan and military figures, then a variety of professional men, and continuing into the realm of ordinary people and the ethnic minorities of the Empire.

There were a number of reprints of the *Recueil Ferriol*, all of which served as models not only for paintings but also for the exquisite Meissen porcelain figures.<sup>24</sup>

A number of Vanmour’s paintings – and those of his school<sup>25</sup> – depict receptions given by the Sultan for European envoys. The latter are identifiable by their European attire. Take, for example, the audience of the French Ambassador Vicomte d’Andrezel at the court of Sultan Ahmed III (1703–1730) on October 17, 1724 (fig. 4).<sup>26</sup> The French Ambassador played an especially important role at this time due to the primacy of the French over other European powers in relations with the Ottomans. For example, he represented Europe in all religious matters be-

<sup>22</sup> Vanmour has been the topic of many publications during the last years, see e.g. Eveline Sint Nicolaas, Duncan Bull, Günsel Renda, and Gül İrepolu, *An Eyewitness of the Tulip Era* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2003); Seth Gopin, *Jean Baptiste Vanmour* (Tourgéville: Illustria, 2009); Olga Nefedova, *A Journey into the World of the Ottomans* (New York, Milan: Skira, 2009).

<sup>23</sup> There are several different editions, and a facsimile has been published by Sevket Rado in Turkey (Istanbul 1979).

<sup>24</sup> Maria Elizabeth Pape, “Die Turquerie im 18. Jahrhundert und der ‘Recueil Ferriol,’” in *Europa und der Orient*, 305–323 (p. 318).

<sup>25</sup> Vanmour’s paintings were often copied, and some are attributed either to him or his school or circle, respectively, a problem we will not focus on in this article. See Gopin, *Vanmour*, who devoted a whole chapter to this topic.

<sup>26</sup> Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux Arts, see *ibid*, 63, fig. 49.

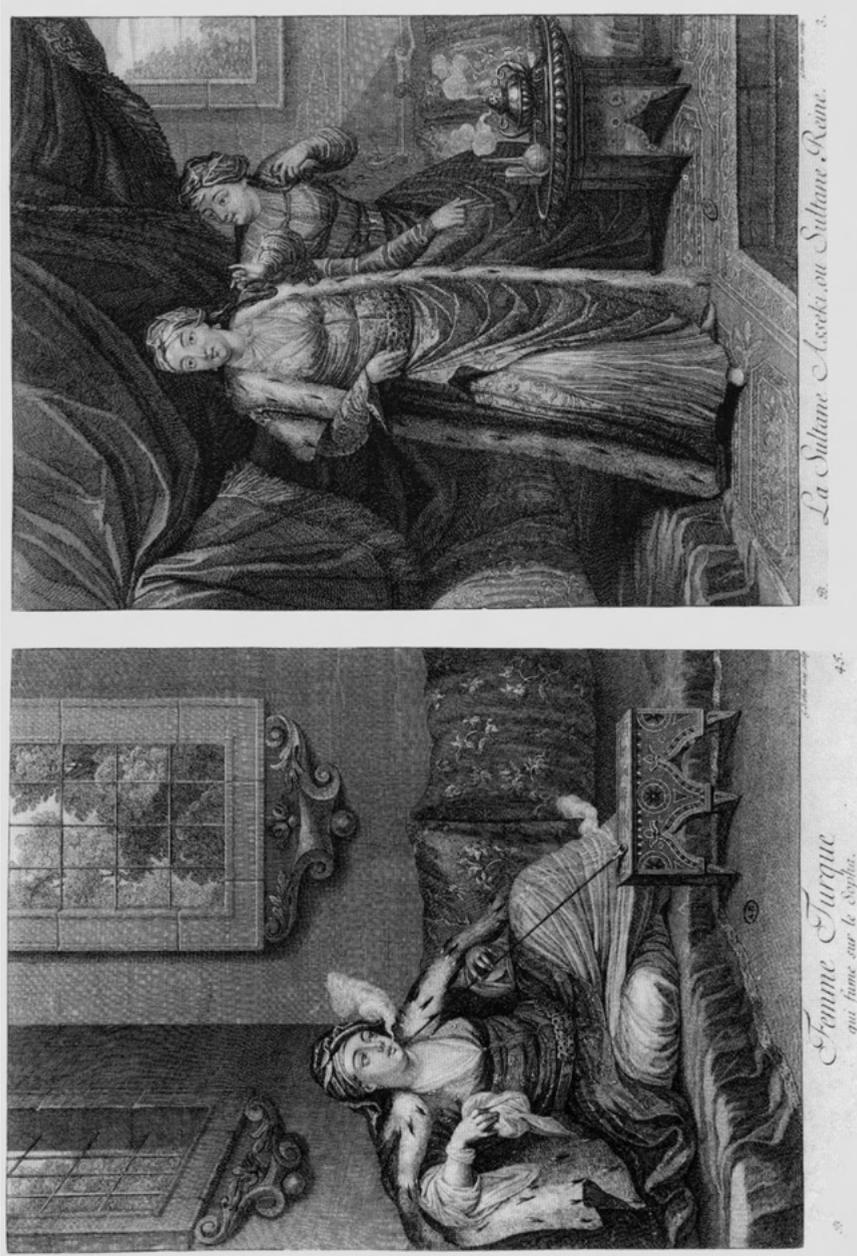


Fig. 3



Fig. 4

fore the Sublime Porte. The festive entry of the Venetian envoy (circa 1725) shows the *bailo* also in European attire and mounted on horses.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, the Ambassador of the Netherlands Cornelius Calkoen and his entourage, meeting Sultan Ahmed III on September 14, 1727, are clearly recognisable in their European robes.<sup>28</sup> There is a total of 36 pictures attributed to Vanmour from the Calkoen Collection now preserved in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.<sup>29</sup>

It is clear that European, not Turkish or Oriental, attire was worn to document a claim of difference and to distinguish the Europeans from the Ottomans, as well as to establish individual rank and significance of the countries being represented.

Though this appears to be a general rule, there were exceptions. Closer research has revealed a number of these. The depiction of Siegmund<sup>30</sup> von Herberstein (1486–1566), Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein (1587–1657), Graf Walter Leslie (1606–1667), Johann Rudolph Schmid Freiherr von Schwarzenhorn (1590–1667)<sup>31</sup>, and Graf Wolfgang IV von Öttingen-Wallerstein (1626–1708) will be considered next.

<sup>27</sup> Oil on canvas; in a private collection, see Sint Nicolaas, *Eyewitness*, 30–31.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 190–195, nos. 24, 25, 26.

<sup>29</sup> See extensively *ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> There are different spellings: Instead of “Siegmund” we find also “Sigismund”.

<sup>31</sup> The dates of all four persons were taken from the Allgemeinen Deutschen Bibliographie (ADB), online: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/index.html> (accessed August 15, 2012).



Fig. 5

My discoveries began with the very unusual painting of Hieronymus Joachims (known to have been in Gemmingen, Baden-Württemberg in the 17<sup>th</sup> century) preserved at Vaduz Castle in the Collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein (Inv. no. 1007). It was on show at the pioneering Berlin exhibition “Europe and Orient” in 1988, showing Johann Rudolph Schmid Freiherr von Schwarzenhorn before the Sultan in 1651.<sup>32</sup> Johann Rudolf is sitting on a high-backed European-style chair before a table in a room that permits an expanded view into the Audience Hall of the Sultan (fig. 5).

This European is dressed in a rich oriental robe with a fur cap and leather boots. The picture depicts his 1651 reception by Mehmed IV (ruled 1648–1687). By this time, Schwarzenhorn has an astonishing career behind him. Beginning as a slave, having been taken prisoner by the Turks in Istanbul, he rose to be the Austrian Imperial envoy to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>33</sup> The clearly demonstrative assumption of oriental robes and the inclusion in the painting of oriental accessories, such as the open trunk overflowing with sumptuous silks, portrays his suc-

<sup>32</sup> Oil on copper, 67.7 × 83 cm; see *Europa & der Orient*, 799 (text), fig. 880 (p. 801).

<sup>33</sup> Information on his adventurous life is provided in the article in the ADB, online: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz78622.html> (accessed August 15, 2012).

cess story. Another painting of the same subject completed by Nikolaus van Hoy in 1660 shows Johann Rudolph Schwarzenhorn, again in oriental robes, standing proudly with his left hand on his hip,<sup>34</sup> exactly as Peter Paul Rubens (circa 1630) had depicted Nicolas de Respaigne (d. 1647) as a traveller to Jerusalem, a painting which is an icon of European art.<sup>35</sup>

Schwarzenhorn's successor in the post of Grand Ambassador of the German [Holy Roman] Emperor was at least as imposing a figure. On September 26, 1699 Graf Wolfgang IV von Öttingen-Wallerstein travelled on horseback from his garden palace in Leopoldstadt in one part of Vienna to the inner city's castle to receive his credentials as envoy to the Porte directly from the hand of the Emperor. With him was an entourage of 279, all of whom were dressed in oriental attire. The imperial court painter Frans von Stampart's (1675–1750) painting of this event became the basis of numerous engravings which were in turn often available as prints (fig. 6).

"On his head he wore a bright red velvet Turkish cap with a beautiful sable-trimmed hood over which was a large black 'Raigerbusch' which was exquisitely bejeweled with rubies and diamonds and of which the covering piece was richly embroidered with gold and a raised pattern of rare flowers in red, totally lined with the most precious sable, and the inside piece embroidered with gold thread in a floral pattern. At his sides [...] a beautiful Turkish sabre of gold bejeweled with rubies, emeralds and diamonds."<sup>36</sup>

"In addition he held a Pusican, a mace, in his right hand as was the practice in Hungary, Poland and the Tartar regions among ranking officers to symbolise their dignity."<sup>37</sup>

Why Graf Wolfgang IV chose to wear oriental robes is explained convincingly by the Abbot Simpert Niggel, the chaplain accompanying the ambassador to Istanbul. In his diary published in 1701 Simpert wrote: "In peacetime the Turks dress neither in sable nor carry sidearms [...]"<sup>38</sup> As agreed in the Peace of Karlowitz (January 25, 1699) Article 17, the envoy of the Emperor and his entourage were permitted to dress however they pleased. We have no reason to doubt the report

<sup>34</sup> Now in the Town Hall in Stein am Rhein, see Trauth, *Maske*, fig. 141 (cat. 120).

<sup>35</sup> Staatliche Museen Kassel; see <http://www.pubhist.com/work/4279/peter-paul-rubens/portrait-of-nicolas-de-respaigne> (accessed August 15, 2012).

<sup>36</sup> See Volker von Volckamer, "Graf Wolfgang IV. von Öttingen-Wallerstein (1629–1708)," in: Peter Schienerl (ed.), *Diplomaten und Westire – Krieg und Frieden im Spiegel türkischen Kunsthandwerks*. (Munich: Staatl. Museum für Völkerkunde, 1988), 9–34 (p. 18).

[“Auf dem Haupt habend eine hochroth-Sammete mit schönem Zobel gebräunte Türkische Hauben, darauff ein groß und breiter schwarzer Raigerbusch, an welchem ein sehr kostbares Kleinod mit Rubin und Diamanten besetzt, dessen Ober-Rock von einem der reichsten Goldstücken mit roth ganz rar erhoben Blumen, durch und durch aber mit dem alerkostbarsten Zobel gefüttert, und der Unter-Rock von einem geblühten Goldstück ware; Auff der Seithen ... einen schönen Türckischen Säbel von Gold, auch dick mit Rubin, Smaragd und Diamanten besetzt.”]

<sup>37</sup> *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, ed. Johann Heinrich Zedler, vol. 40, Halle, Leipzig: Johann Heinrich Zedler: 1744: 920, quoted after Volckamer, "Graf Wolfgang," 18.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, 18.



Fig. 6

that the Imperial Ambassador wished to avoid the difficulties encountered by the French Ambassador, Ferriol Marquis d'Argental, only shortly before.

In January of 1700 Ferriol was refused an audience with the Sultan because he refused to remove his dagger. Josef von Hammer-Purgstall gave a detailed report of this event in his history of the Ottoman Empire. There we find a small detail of great interest: "The Jaushbashi noticed that the Ambassador's robe was ajar due to the presence of the hidden dagger."<sup>39</sup> With that we may surmise that the Marquis did not wear European attire to the audience, as depicted in the pictures produced later by Vanmour of the audiences of the French Ambassador Vicomte d'Andrezel and the Dutch Ambassador Cornelius Calkoen in 1724 (or depicted on that date). At the very least Ferriol must have cloaked himself in the honorary Ottoman kaftan. By dressing completely *alla turca* Graf Wolfgang IV avoided the power skirmish precipitated by Ferriol. As already mentioned, Ottoman officials and notables carried no weapons in times of peace. It would, therefore, not represent a submissive act to appear before the Sultan without a weapon.

The "political masquerades of Graf Wolfgang IV zu Öttingen-Wallerstein" are given an entire chapter by Trauth. Taking the 26 surviving paintings of contemporary depictions of Europeans and Orientals found today at the Wallerstein Palace near Nördlingen,<sup>40</sup> Trauth interprets the choice of orientalisated attire by the Graf as "political mimicry. That is to say that the Graf made a demonstration of power by dressing in the attire of Europe's most powerful contender. One cannot separate mask from person in these pictures because the assumption of foreign garb is both an act of clothing and of costuming. The Graf neither identifies himself with the foreigner nor does he masquerade in these clothes."<sup>41</sup>

Elsewhere Trauth writes, "Graf Wolfgang's masquerade is a chosen tactic. He shrewdly followed the diplomatic rule to dress like the natives."<sup>42</sup> It is this second interpretation which seems to me the most convincing given the remarks of the contemporary source (Abbot Simpert Niggel).

We can support this view with the fact that ambassadors and envoys of various states and empires dressed themselves and behaved variously according to their political and geographic situations. This notion is further supported by yet another engraving. The predecessor of Graf Wolfgang was Graf Walter Leslie, who was awarded the "Order of the Golden Fleece" for his services connected to the Peace of Vasvar. An engraving<sup>43</sup> shows this Graf with his Order and wearing oriental robes (fig. 7).

<sup>39</sup> Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte Des Osmanischen Reiches* (Pesth: Hartleben, 1834–35), vol. 4, 24–25.

<sup>40</sup> Trauth, *Maske*, 237–278; for a complete list see 321–327 (appendix 3).

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 278.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 252.

<sup>43</sup> Possibly based on a drawing by Franz Steinpichler from Graz, see *Ibid.*, 263–264, fig. 135 (cat. 378).

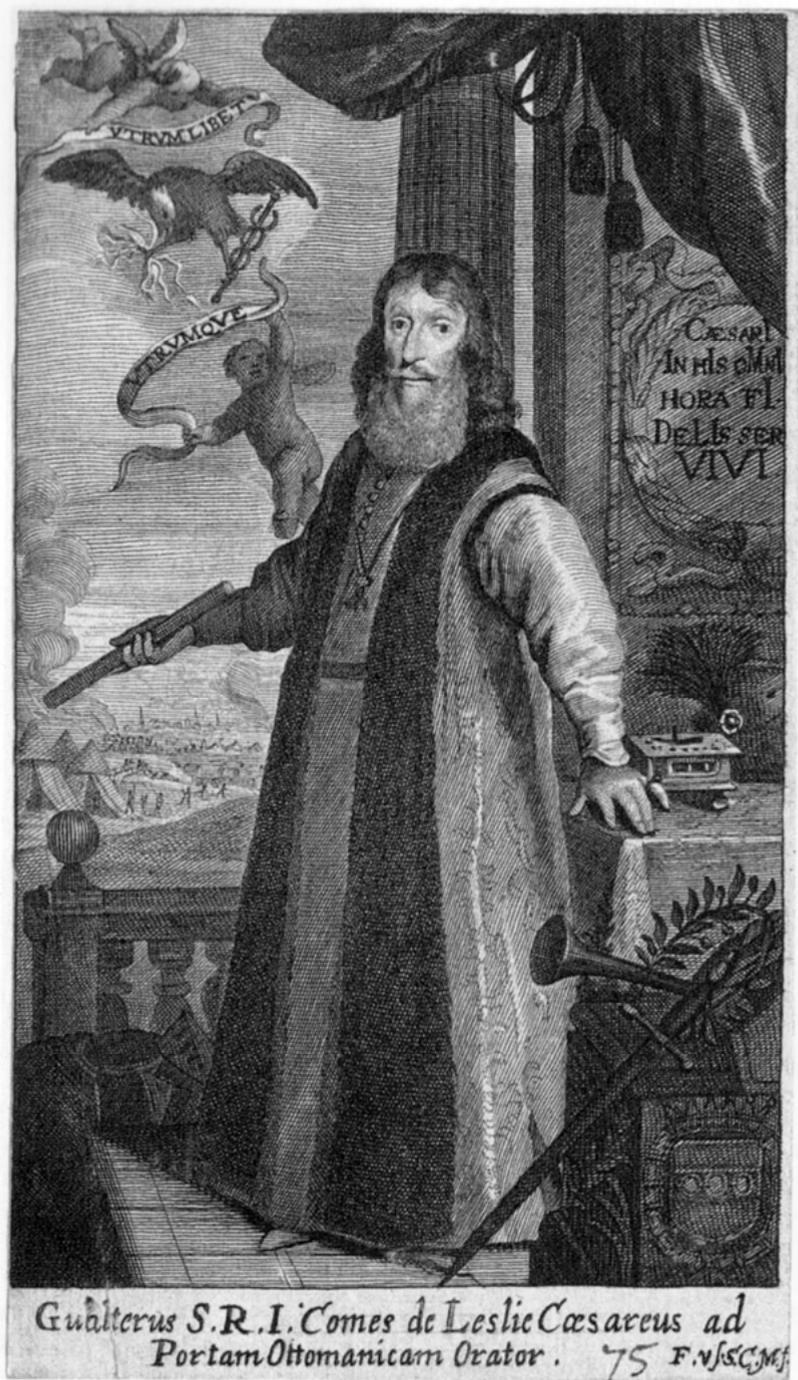


Fig. 7

Even though the illustration is hardly a detailed record of a contemporary Ottoman *kaftan*, it is none the less clear that oriental, not European, attire is intended.

The tradition of dressing in the attire of the power to which one was sent, as here to the Ottomans, began with Siegmund von Herberstein (1486–1566) who had been sent on a number of missions and demonstrated great diplomatic finesse on behalf of the German Emperor. His successful mission to Sultan Suleyman (ruled 1520–1566) in the Ottoman camp at Buda in 1541 resulted in a cease-fire and an agreement that held back the Ottomans from a further push to the West. On this occasion he was presented with a robe of honor by the Ottomans and is depicted in this *kaftan* in a woodcut in his *Gratae Posteritati* (fig. 8).<sup>44</sup>

It seems this diplomat did not find it appropriate to wear or be depicted in the accompanying turban, at least not while on this mission.

By contrast, a painting in the Museum of Ptuj (Pettau), Slovenia, by an 18<sup>th</sup> century Austrian artist shows Siegmund von Herberstein with a long beard and dressed in the magnificent *kaftan* presented him by the Sultan and a turban with agraffe lying on the nearby sideboard.<sup>45</sup> As this painting was destined for the Hrastovec palace, which was not open to everyone, this clearly orientalist representation could have been a portrait meant only for private viewing, whereas the illustrated edition of the *Gratae Posteritati* would have been public and therefore something like an official depiction.

We can summarize the following about diplomatic attire:

It seems that west European envoys, that is, the French and the Dutch ambassadors, appeared before the Sultan in European clothing,<sup>46</sup> while envoys and especially the great ambassadors of the Holy Roman Empire coming on behalf of the German Emperor carried out their missions to the Ottoman court and negotiated treaties attired in oriental or orientalist robes.

This tradition begins with Sigismund von Herberstein in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and is continued by Johann von Schwarzenhorn, Graf Walter Leslie and lastly Graf Wolfgang IV von Öttingen-Wallerstein. The last was an envoy to the Ottomans at a time (1699–1700) when Ottoman power had peaked. There

<sup>44</sup> Colour image in Linda Komaroff, *Gifts of the Sultan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 21, fig. 8, cat. 233, p. 294 (with full details).

<sup>45</sup> Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj. *Begegnung zwischen Orient und Okzident* (Landesmuseum Ptuj: 1992), 121, no. 4.6 (with color image); Sakıp Sabancı Museum. *Image of the Turks in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Europe* (Istanbul: Mas Matbaacılık A.S., 2005), 166–167 with large color image. An old black & white image can be found in *wiki commons: Digital Archive of Slovenia*, without any reference regarding the whereabouts of the painting.

<sup>46</sup> Here we have to take into consideration that all surviving paintings (Vanmour or his school/circle) date from the 1720s, i.e. they were commissioned later than the Habsburgian examples and after the peace of Karlowitz (1699). The audience with the Sultan of Marquis Ferriol took place at the same time as that of Graf Wolfgang IV von Öttingen-Wallerstein, and according to the historian Hammer-Purgstall (see above) the French ambassador had worn a *kaftan* over his European cloths.



Fig. 8

are no depictions of Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein (1628–1629 as envoy in Constantinople) in oriental robes. The depictions surviving show him in the uniform of an Upper Austrian Landeshauptmann,<sup>47</sup> a title which was given him only after he returned from his mission. None the less his descendant Johann Paul von Kuefstein (1673–1719), who took part in the mission of the Grand Ambassador Graf Wolfgang IV von Öttingen-Wallerstein, had himself depicted dressed in Turkish clothes (fig. 9).<sup>48</sup>

Both Grand Ambassadors Hans Ludwig von Kufstein and Graf Wolfgang IV von Öttingen-Wallerstein commissioned depictions of so-called *Türkenzimmer* (Turkish salons) with considerable ensembles of Europeans dressed in oriental clothing and depictions of the ruling Sultan as well as the Valide Sultan (the Sultan's mother). The ensemble of paintings at Schloss Öttingen-Wallerstein was first studied in depth by N. Trauth, who combined this research with studies of the pictures in Schloss Greillenstein in Waldviertel and those at the Museum in Ptuj (Pettau), Slovenia.<sup>49</sup> The pictures in the Wurmberg Collection in Ptuj (Pettau) – for which the latest research considers Johann Josef von Herberstein (1630–1692) to have been the commissioner<sup>50</sup> – have already formed the core of two large exhibitions (1992, 2005).<sup>51</sup> Despite preliminary studies, the Turkish salon at Schloss Greillenstein has yet to receive a thorough investigation addressing the appropriate art history themes.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> See his half-length portrait (a copper engraving by Elias Wideman) in Karl Teply, *Die kaiserliche Großbotschaft an Sultan IV. 1628. Des Freiherrn Hans Ludwig von Kuefsteins Fahrt zur Hohen Pforte* (Vienna: Verlag A. Schendl n.d. [1976]), frontispiece.

<sup>48</sup> Two portraits survived: a half-length portrait (by F. van Stampert) at Schloss Wallerstein and an (anonymous) full portrait at Schloss Greillenstein; see Trauth, *Maske*, 242, figs. 122, 123 (only as a small black & white figure).

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 237–278, 321–327 (Appendix 3).

<sup>50</sup> See Maximilian Grothaus, "Die Turquerie von Pettau/ Ptuj, ihre graphischen Vorbilder und ihre kulturhistorische Bedeutung," *Begegnung zwischen Orient und Okzident*, ed. Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj (Landesmuseum Ptuj, 1992), 74–78.

<sup>51</sup> On the paintings from the estate of the Herberstein family (from Schloss Wurmberg/Vurbeck), today kept in the Ptuj museum, see at length Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj, *Begegnung* and Sakıp Sabancı Museum, *Image*.

<sup>52</sup> See Teply, *Großbotschaft*; Maximilian Grothaus, "Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein und die Kaiserliche Großbotschaft an die Hohe Pforte im Jahre 1628," *Kamptal Studien* 2–3 (1982–1983): 145–174, pls. 18–22; and Eleanor Sims, "Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein's Turkish Figures," *At the Sublime Porte. Ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire (1550–1800)* (London: Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, 1988), 20–40. The author had the opportunity for a short visit to Schloss Greillenstein in April 2012, where several paintings are still kept in the *Türkensaal* (short note in Trauth, *Maske*, 249). The author would like to express his gratitude to Elisabeth von Kuefstein, who takes care of the castle and the collection, for her kindness of allowing access and providing useful information as well as visual material. Further research on the important ensemble is planned by the author.



Fig. 9

The highly complex thematic around the “Turkish collections” – as Trauth has called them – found in numerous European palaces<sup>53</sup> cannot be explained here, as much as that is begging attention. It is to be noted, however, that it is possible that not all envoys or ambassadors who commissioned paintings with Ottoman themes, received these as gifts or, perhaps, even collected such also had themselves depicted in oriental garb. In many cases at least, such depictions are not preserved. With the exception of Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein this could also apply to Claes Bronson Ralamb, the Swedish King Carl X Gustaf’s ambassador to Istanbul in 1657.<sup>54</sup> The two paintings preserved of him – a bust and a full figure portrait seated – show him in rich European clothes.<sup>55</sup> There are no depictions of him in “Turkish” robes.<sup>56</sup>

Moreover, not just men such as diplomats had themselves depicted in oriental robes. We also find examples of European women from elevated social circles depicted *alla turca*.

On one of the many paintings by Jean Baptiste Vanmour preserved today in the Rijksmuseum (SK-A-2041) in Amsterdam we find a young woman in oriental robes. She has been identified as the “Valide Sultan, Haseki Sultan, Kadinefendi” or the “Sultan’s Daughter”.<sup>57</sup> This is, however, far more likely a European woman in Oriental, i.e. Turkish dress of the time because Vanmour painted a series of prominent European personalities. Take, for example, his painting of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1688–1762), the wife of the British Ambassador, Edward Wortley Montagu. The painting was finished in 1717–1718 and hangs today in the National Portrait Gallery in London. It shows Lady Montagu together with her 5-year old son and two other persons (fig. 10).<sup>58</sup>

Her *Letters from Turkey* give us the most vivid descriptions of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In one of these, a letter to her sister Lady Mar dated April 1, 1717, Lady Montagu gives us a wonderful description of the Turkish clothes she has acquired.

<sup>53</sup> E.g. Johann Matthias von der Schulenburg, who commissioned genre scenes by Antonio and Francesco Guardi in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the Swedish ambassadors Ulric und Gustaf Celsing, who built a collection at Schloss Biby near Stockholm. See Trauth, *Maske*, 247, footnote 35 (with references).

<sup>54</sup> He kept diaries during his travel and stay, which had been published later, see in detail Karin Adahl, *The Sultan’s procession* (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2006).

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, figs. p. 8, p. 30.

<sup>56</sup> Trauth, *Maske* (334, cat. 21) mentions a portrait (subsequently added to the list) in which he is in Oriental dress, the quoted source [Karin Adahl, *Minnet av Konstantinopel: den osmansk-turkiska 1700 – talssamlingen på Biby* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2003), 67] has not been available to me.

<sup>57</sup> Sint Nicolaas, *Eye-witness*, 160–161. In Gopin, *Vanmour*, 184, fig. 206, it is named “Portrait d’une femme, peut-etre Beyaz Gül (Rose Blanche).”

<sup>58</sup> Illustrated e.g. in Auguste Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: ACR, 1989), 33; Gopin, *Vanmour*, 185, fig. 207.

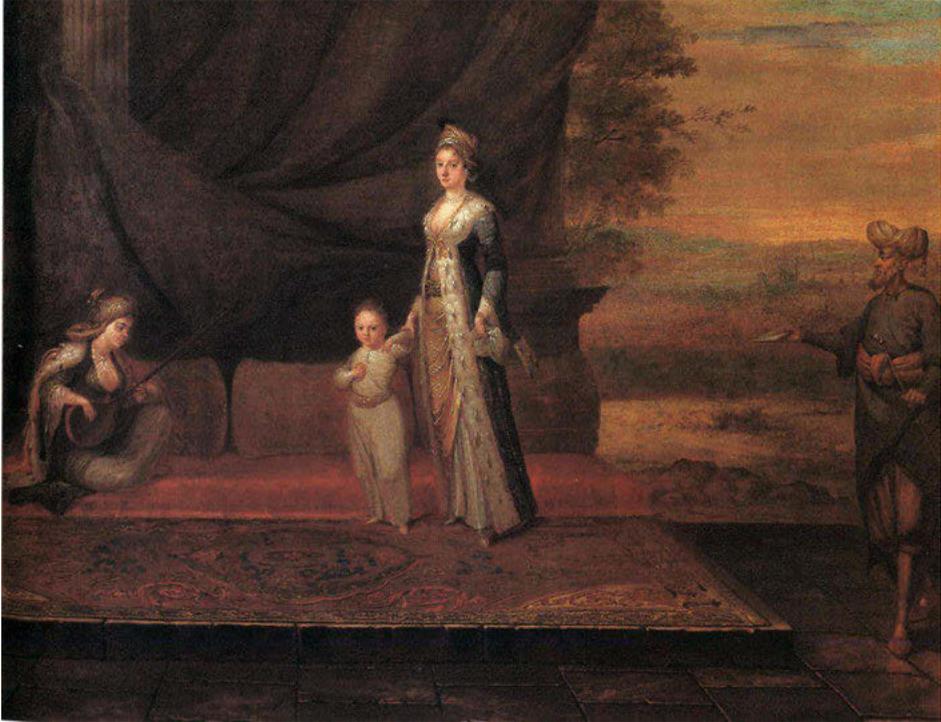


Fig. 10

“The first part of my dress is a pair of drawers, very full that reach to my shoes, and conceal the legs more modestly than your petticoats. They are of a thin rose-coloured damask, brocaded with silver flowers. My shoes are of white kid leather, embroidered with gold. Over this hangs my smock, of a fine white silk gauze, edged with embroidery. This smock has wide sleeves hanging half way down the arm, and is closed at the neck with a diamond button; but the shape and colour of the bosom is very well to be distinguished through it. – The antery is a waistcoat, made close to the shape, of white and gold damask, with very long sleeves falling back, and fringed with deep gold fringe, and should have diamond or pearl buttons. My caftan, of the same stuff with my drawers, is a robe exactly fitted to my shape, and reaching to my feet, with very long strait falling sleeves. Over this is my girdle, of about four fingers broad, which, all that can afford it, have entirely of diamonds or other precious stones; those who will not be at that expence, have it of exquisite embroidery on sattin; but it must be fastened before with a clasp of diamonds. – The curdee is a loose robe they throw off, or put on, according to the weather, being of a rich brocade (mine is green and gold) either lined with ermine or sables; the sleeves reach very little below the shoulders. The head dress is composed of a cap, called talpock, which is, in winter, of fine velvet embroidered with pearls or diamonds, and in summer, of a light shining silver stuff. This is fixed on one side of the head, hanging a little way down with a gold tassel, and bound on, either with a circle of diamonds (as I have seen several) or a rich embroidered handkerchief. On the other side of the head, the hair is laid flat; and here the ladies are at liberty to shew their fancies; some putting flowers, others a plume of heron’s feathers, and, in short, what they please; but the most general fashion is a large bouquet of jewels, made like natural flow-

ers; that is, the buds, of pearl; the roses, of different coloured rubies: the jessamines, of diamonds; the jonquils, of topazes, & c. so well set and enamelled, 'tis hard to imagine any thing of that kind so beautiful."<sup>59</sup>

A few years ago a small painting was found in a Parisian art gallery which has been attributed to Vanmour.<sup>60</sup> We cannot be sure that this is also a depiction of Lady Montagu. The subject is very similar to the Lady Montagu in the Amsterdam portrait. Additionally there is a small oil painting by Vanmour still in private hands which depicts Lady Montagu in the same clothes and in the same pose as in the painting in the National Gallery.<sup>61</sup> Lady Montagu was painted by others of that era. Jonathan Richardson (1665–1745)<sup>62</sup> and Charles Jarvis (1675–1739)<sup>63</sup>, for example, depict her in oriental or mixed European and oriental clothes. Not long ago a picture of "Lady Montagu in Ottoman Dress" turned up on the art market in which she is depicted in her youth in a blue dress decorated with stars and crescent moons.<sup>64</sup> If the description/attribution is accurate this would be a new variant on the oriental theme: The lady is here not in a full body portrait and is significantly younger than she appears on the other paintings, yet her clothes are even more oriental. She was already 29 in 1717 when first arriving in the orient.<sup>65</sup>

Subsequent to the impact of Lady Montagu and Vanmour's paintings, it was increasingly fashionable to have oneself depicted in Turkish clothes. There are many paintings to prove this. The most important representative of this trend is the Genevan artist Jean-Etienne Liotard (1702–1789) who painted numerous European personalities this way. Liotard spent a number of years in Istanbul (1738–1742) where he was introduced into its cosmopolitan society by M. Levett. Soon he had a number of commissions.<sup>66</sup> The picture "M. Levett and Mlle. Glavany on the Diwan" hangs today in the Louvre. M. Levett is in Turkish robes with a turban and a long-stemmed pipe while Hélène Glavany, daughter of the former French Consul in Crimea, is depicted in the clothes of a Tartar woman and playing a stringed instrument (fig. 11).<sup>67</sup>

<sup>59</sup> "Letter XXIX, To the Countess of --," see <http://andromeda.rutgers.edu/~jlynch/Texts/montagu-letters.html> (accessed August 15, 2012).

<sup>60</sup> 33 × 25.5 cm, Gallery Eric Grünberg, Fine Arts; see Patricia Rochard, *Türkei* (Mainz: Schmidt, 1992), 161, fig. 90. Trauth, *Maske*, 388, cat. 406 gives (after Sotheby's) different measurements: 32.5 × 26.0 cm.

<sup>61</sup> Trauth, *Maske*, 388, cat. 408; Nefedova, *Journey*, 152, fig. 37a (private collection, not kept in the Orientalist Museum, Doha).

<sup>62</sup> *Europa & der Orient*, 312, fig. 380.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 815, cat.12/4, fig. 890.

<sup>64</sup> 72.2 × 63 cm: English School, Sotheby's London, Arts of the Islamic World, October 5, 2011, lot 157.

<sup>65</sup> The painting deserves a serious investigation, all the more so with respect to the "Ottoman" dress.

<sup>66</sup> Gérard-Georges Lemaire, *Orientalismus* (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), 68.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 68–69.



Fig. 11

The most well-known and certainly the most mature of Liotard's paintings is "A young reader in oriental garb," which he began in 1738 and of which he eventually finished three versions. At the same time he painted "A young woman with a tamburine, dressed according to Turkish custom." The well-known painting of Lady Mary Gunning, Countess of Coventry was painted in Paris in 1750.<sup>68</sup> Though, it should be noted, that the latest research holds that this is in fact a portrait of his wife, Marie Liotard.<sup>69</sup>

Liotard himself let his beard grow long and groomed it in the oriental way. He himself wore only Turkish clothes. One cannot determine, however, if he had truly embraced an oriental identity or if his attire was part of his public relations strategy.<sup>70</sup> It is true that Liotard continued to dress so when he returned to Europe, and he was quickly dubbed *le peintre turc*, and thus becoming himself a "brand". A self-portrait painted in Vienna in 1744 (fig. 12) – when he was presented to Empress Maria Theresia – depicts him with a long beard and not necessarily Turkish but

<sup>68</sup> Also of this painting several versions exist, among others in the Musée d'art et d'Histoire in Geneva, Lemaire, *Orientalismus*, 70–71.

<sup>69</sup> See Ducan Bull and Thomas Macsotay Bunt, *Jean-Etienne Liotard* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002) and Trauth, *Maske*, 283, color plate 22, cat. 250.

<sup>70</sup> Trauth, *Maske*, 46 sees this more as a clever strategy.



Fig. 12

certainly oriental attire.<sup>71</sup> He is wearing a brown jacket over a plain, light-colored shirt and has a large fur cap on his head. The entire outfit reminds us more of a religious figure, perhaps a Persian mystic (*darwish*).

Liotard's paintings were in great demand. He received commissions from all over Europe. His subjects were often posed in the genuine Ottoman clothes which he brought along with him, a ploy that must have contributed to his success. Several portraits of famous persons painted by Liotard are preserved. Among these is one of William Ponsonby,<sup>72</sup> his patron who had brought him to Istanbul. Also John Montagu, the Earl of Sandwich,<sup>73</sup> Mary Gunnings, the Countess of Coventry,<sup>74</sup> and the Empress Maria Theresia with her daughter<sup>75</sup> were all painted by Liotard.

Though most of his paintings are of rulers, aristocrats or persons in the diplomatic service, in the case of Richard Pococke, whom Liotard met in Istanbul, we have a portrait subject who was a theologian and archaeologist.<sup>76</sup> Pococke went to Egypt in 1737 and stayed there five years. His traveller's report was published in London in 1743 as *A Description of the East and Some other Countries. I: Observations on Egypt*. Today we have both a large (202.5 × 134 cm) portrait in oil of Pococke found in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva<sup>77</sup>, and also a small sketch of the same (fig. 13)<sup>78</sup>

Charles André van Loo (1705–1765)<sup>79</sup>, a contemporary of Liotard, was also greatly influential in spreading the “Turkish fashion” wave in Europe, especially in France. In our context his painting entitled *Sultane* is very likely a depiction of Madame de Pompadour, reclining while a dark-skinned servant offers her a cup of coffee.<sup>80</sup> Van Loo was an artist who knew perfectly well how to conform to contemporary tastes. The two paintings he exhibited in the Paris Academy after 1737 – *Le concert du Grande Sultan* and *Le Pacha faisant peindre sa maîtresse* – are still moderate in their “Turkishness”. In the *Concert* massive columns form a European framework around this mixed Turkish-European scene. The carpet, the clothes of the male figures depicted in highly decorative turbans and kaftans and of the females with either turbans or feathers are all Turkish.<sup>81</sup> None the less his

<sup>71</sup> Lemaire, *Orientalismus*, 72. See also Bull, *Liotard*, 9 (reproduction in different colors).

<sup>72</sup> Trauth, *Maske*, 63, fig. 23.

<sup>73</sup> Private collection, see *Europa & der Orient*, 316, fig. 384.

<sup>74</sup> Most probably this is a portrait of Marie Liotard (see footnote 67).

<sup>75</sup> Etching, 30.6 × 23.7 cm, 1745, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (HB 129 [6], p.12), *Europa & der Orient*, 819, cat. 12/8 (fig. 387).

<sup>76</sup> I will deal with the social diversity of Europeans depicted in oriental dress at the end of this article.

<sup>77</sup> Anne de Herdt, *Dessins de Liotard* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992), 79. Illustrated also in *Europa & der Orient*, 318, fig. 386.

<sup>78</sup> The drawing (21.2 × 13.1 cm) is kept in the Louvre, see Herdt, *Liotard*, 77.

<sup>79</sup> Different spellings exist: e.g. “Carle Vanloo.”

<sup>80</sup> See *Europa & der Orient*, 311, fig. 379 (here only “a Sultana”); see also Trauth, *Maske*, 51–54.

<sup>81</sup> Pape, *Turquerie*, 311.

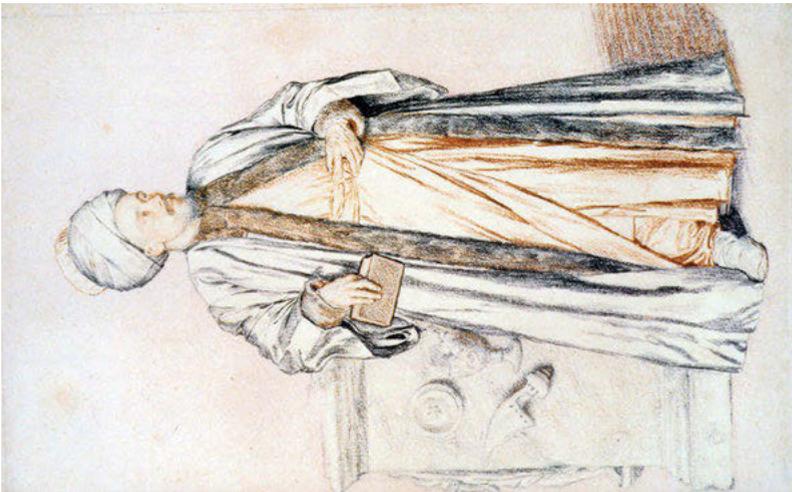


Fig. 13

paintings do not intend to inform us of what was typically Turkish but rather their exoticness and otherness are both intentional and a means for distancing the subjects from the depicted objects. One can interpret these paintings as allegories of music and painting.<sup>82</sup>

Aristocratic children from the princely courts of Europe were also painted wearing oriental and Turkish garb, etc. For this we can give in evidence two paintings: the portrait of Emich Carl Fürst zu Leiningen and that of prince Maximilian, who later became the King of Bavaria. Both paintings are by the Mannheim painter Johann-Peter Hoffmeister (1740–1772). The *Portrait of Prince Max in Turkish Attire* is a copy of a picture by Johann-Christian von Mannlich (1741–1822) who accompanied his patron and commissioner Herzog Christian IV von Pfalz-Zweibrücken to Paris. There he met Charles van Loo (1705–1765) and must have seen the painting van Loo was painting for the Turkish Salon of the Marquise de Pompadour in the Schloss Bellevue which is today preserved in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg (see above the reference to the *Sultane*). The robes in this painting are for the most part European, as were most in all the paintings so far mentioned. Only the “Pumphosen” are possibly oriental. The painting would then become “Turkish” by the addition of the “Moor” [black slave] and accessories such as the turban.<sup>83</sup> Three years later (1767) the portrait of Emich Carl Fürst zu Leiningen presents him in a far more Oriental(ised), richly detailed robe, though the background was by contrast mainly neglected.<sup>84</sup>

Yet another category of subjects is a series of persons from European princely and ruling families who were in direct contact with the Ottomans by virtue of military conflicts. Some of these had themselves depicted in Turkish robes (or what one thought that to be), others, however, did not. Beginning with Markgraf Ludwig von Baden (1655–1707) whose fame was based in the many battles in which he participated at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and who acquired the nickname of “Türken Ludwig” [Turkish Louis] in German (and European) history. At the battle of Slankamen near Belgrad in 1691, he captured valuable trophies which came to be known as the Turkish Plunder, kept at first in the Residence Palace in Rastatt, but later under his successor Markgraf August Georg, was included in the “Türkische Kammer”.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 311.

<sup>83</sup> Rochard, *Türkei*, 177, cat. 100.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, 176, cat. 99.

<sup>85</sup> This collection is very well published; see Ernst Petrasch, Reinhard Sängler, Eva Zimmermann, and Hans Georg Majer, *Die Karlsruher Türkenbeute* (Munich: Hirmer, 1990). Based on this catalog, a website also provides substantial information concerning the “Türkische Kammer,” see <http://www.tuerkenbeute.de/> (accessed August 6, 2012).

The small portrait is part of a series which originally included 70 costume depictions by a Baden Court painter, probably Ludwig Ivenet, painted in the first quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>86</sup>

The highly-detailed robe and the turban and crescent sword – bearing resemblance to authentic Ottoman clothing – stand in marked contrast to the sketchy background scenery.

However, we also know of two other significant European heroes of “Turkish Wars” not depicted in Turkish or oriental garb. The Polish King Jan III Sobieski (1629–1696) and the Kurfürst Maximilian II Emanuel of Bavaria (1672–1736).<sup>87</sup> Jan Sobieski was the hero of the battle before Vienna in 1683 in which the Ottoman Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha was defeated and the siege ended. Max Emanuel was the victor of the battle at Mohács in 1687. Both of these military commanders, we are told, spent the night following the battle in the tents of the conquered Ottoman Vizier.<sup>88</sup> To achieve more telling conclusions, however, more study need be done on the depictions of these and other Turk-fighters. We can study, for example, paintings of Prince Eugen of Savoy (1663–1736) or Karl V Leopold of Lothringen. It would also be of great value to study the paintings made in eastern and southeastern Europe, for example, those of Polish aristocrats who were veterans of wars against the Ottomans.<sup>89</sup>

Preserved today in the Albertina in Vienna is Liotard’s etching of “Empress Maria Theresia and her daughter Marianne in Turkish attire” made in 1745 (fig. 14).<sup>90</sup>

Liotard, who we have already discussed above, was then on a visit to Vienna in an era when the Ottoman threat was no longer real and the Habsburgs were at the zenith of their power. To represent oneself *alla turca* could not have meant anything more than a fashion statement for Maria Theresia.

Finally, a portrait photograph taken in 1917 of the German Kaiser Wilhelm II dressed in Turkish uniform and decorated with the *Nisban İmtiyaz* medal could be our end point in this part of the study.<sup>91</sup> The photograph is posed before the Merasim Köşkü and the Kaiser is in the kind of uniform which, since the Ottoman military reforms of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, now resembled European uniforms. Here we see that the one-time enemy and rival has become an ally of the ambitious

<sup>86</sup> *Europa & der Orient*, 818–819 (cat. 12/9). Of Ludwig Ivenet no dates are known (see also Trauth, *Maske*, 348).

<sup>87</sup> The visual material has been checked only on a cursory basis, i.e. the selection is neither representative nor complete.

<sup>88</sup> Gudrun Gorka-Reimus, *Der Traum vom Orient* (Potsdam: Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten, 2005), 27.

<sup>89</sup> Polish-Ottoman relations with respect to dress might well be mentioned in Walter Leitsch and Stanislaw Trawkowski, *Polen und Österreich im 17. Jabrbundert*, (Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), but this publication has not yet been available to the author.

<sup>90</sup> *Europa & der Orient*, 818, cat. 12/8, fig. 387 (p. 319).

<sup>91</sup> Gorka-Reimus, *Traum*, 12.



Fig. 14

German Empire. Already the military mission of Heinrich von Moltke in the 1830s had started this reverse trend.

It is clear that European rulers and aristocrats have often posed in oriental attire for sketches, illustrations and portraits. This was frequent and applied in a variety of contexts. By contrast we have relatively few examples of European commoners similarly depicted. Large representational oil paintings would, of

course, require considerable financial resources. But there is another factor, that of the sumptuary regulations which held sway and did not crumble until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. People of lower social strata were held to clothe themselves as was appropriate to their social position.

The exceptions were wealthy businessmen and those merchants who had come into money and position, as the above-mentioned diamond merchant Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689). Also among these few exceptions was the English journalist and publicist James Silk Buckingham (1786–1855). He had himself and his wife Elizabeth painted in Arab garb by Henry William Pickersgill. Buckingham is wearing the robe in which he (without his wife) had that year travelled through Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia.<sup>92</sup> His observations and experiences were later published in his travel diary.<sup>93</sup>

We have already mentioned the archaeologist Richard Pococke and his portrait by Liotard. Perhaps the most interesting exception, however, is that of a hotel owner in Istanbul. A lithograph by Joseph Nash (1809–1878)<sup>94</sup> based on a draft by David Wilkie (1785–1841)<sup>95</sup> is entitled “Madame Josafina, landlady of the Hotel Constantinople”. This is one of the very few persons of the middle class<sup>96</sup> who was, as in previous centuries only aristocrats had been, portrayed in Turkish clothes (fig. 15).

But this picture had a totally different motivation. While rulers, aristocrats and diplomats were spurred to pose in oriental garb to display Turkish fashion, perform a “political masquerade”, or demonstrate their diplomatic skills, Madame Josefina had probably lived for decades in Istanbul and had adjusted to her environment: her oriental attire is her very own usual clothing.

Finally, let us go back to the pastel by Jean-Etienne Liotard (1702–1789) painted in 1742–1743, the one mentioned above in connection with the etching by N. De Nicolay. Here we see a young woman with a servant (or, perhaps a child) in the baths. The clothing is typical, including the stilted clogs (Kothurne) (fig. 16).<sup>97</sup> This “Turkish woman with servant” could well be a native or a European woman of the middle class who, as with “Madame Josefine”, had lived in

<sup>92</sup> *Europa & der Orient*, 823–824, cat. 12/20.

<sup>93</sup> This travelogue could provide interesting information concerning “dress in self narratives”, see *ibid*, 483, cat. 1/202.

<sup>94</sup> Regarding Joseph Nash only very little information is available; see *Sir David Wilkie's sketches in Turkey, Syria & Egypt, 1840 & 1841* (London: Graves & Warmsley, 1843); online: <http://edocs.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/volltexte/2009/13227/> (accessed August 6, 2012).

<sup>95</sup> See Briony Lewellyn, “David Wilkie and John Frederick Lewis in Constantinople, 1840: An Artistic Dialogue,” *Burlington Magazine* 145, no. 1206 (2003): 624–631, 630, fig. 9. For David Wilkie see National Galleries of Scotland; Scottish National Portrait Gallery. *Visions of the Ottoman Empire* (Edinburgh: Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, 1994), 28–30.

<sup>96</sup> If one of the numerous Greek or Armenian ladies of Istanbul had been depicted, the additional information “in Turkish dress” would not make much sense.

<sup>97</sup> Geneva, Musée d'Art et Histoire; see *Europa & der Orient*, 317, fig. 385.

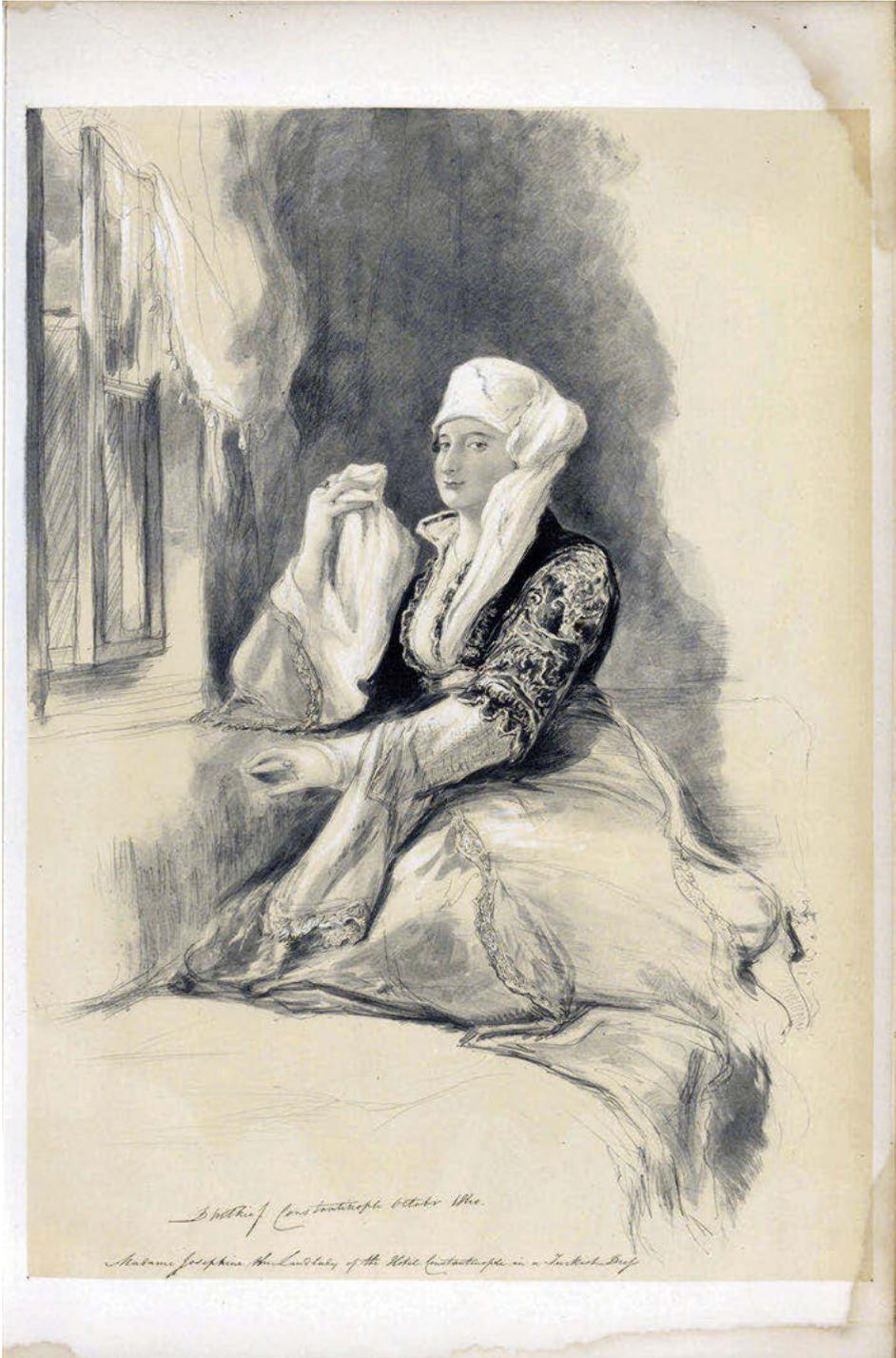


Fig. 15



Fig. 16

the city on the Bosphorus for some time. I think that the fact that a second nearly identical version of this scene exists in the Doha collection<sup>98</sup> supports the latter identification. In addition there is in Paris a chalk sketch by Liotard (circa 1738–1742) of a young woman in oriental attire and stilted clogs<sup>99</sup> who could well be a European, and then there is an oil painting, “Portrait einer türkischen Dame” in a private Turkish collection which is similar but with a native woman.<sup>100</sup> There clearly needs to be a systematic investigation of personalities of the upper middle classes depicted in drawings and paintings before any conclusions about these can be drawn.

### *Summary & outlook*

The reasons why Europeans had themselves portrayed in Turkish (i.e. Ottoman) attire – or what was thought to be Turkish attire – are clearly manifold. Motivations are linked with the period and the profession and social position of the one to be portrayed. The clothing of diplomats reflected the relationships between political entities in their time. This is why the French and Austrian envoys chose to wear European clothes and Ottoman robes respectively. The fascination of the European upper classes with Turkish fashion gains momentum only after the Turks are no longer a threat to Vienna at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. While at first the diplomats had practical reasons to wear Ottoman robes and to have themselves depicted so, as the sworn enemy’s power faded in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and the direct threat to the Habsburg Empire waned, the “Turquerie” fashion spread from its centre in France to ever wider circles of the European upper classes.

Nina Trauth’s theory as set out in her work *Maske und Person* (2009) proposes that persons of the upper classes in western and central Europe of the 18<sup>th</sup> century who dressed *alla turca* and had themselves so depicted in a number of media, including oil paintings, engravings, etc. are to be viewed and understood in the terminology of the theatre. This approach has brought new light and convincing results within the Orientalism discourse. But due to its theoretically-burdened perception of works of art this approach neglects the importance of broader art history themes and textile analyses.

<sup>98</sup> Orientalist Museum, OM 726; pastel on paper, laid down on canvas, 70.9 × 56 cm; see Nefedova, *Journey*, 54–55, no. 9 (colour plate).

<sup>99</sup> Musée du Louvre, 20.5 × 13.5 cm; Illustrated in *ibid*, 54.

<sup>100</sup> Istanbul Koç Holding A.S., 189 × 102 cm, 17<sup>th</sup> (?) century; see *Europa & der Orient*, 309 (cat. 12/14), fig. 376. See also a very similar “Portrait einer Dame in türkischer Kleidung” attributed to Vamour or his circle (200 × 100 cm) in a private collection, maybe a young lady from a wealthy Venetian or Greek trader family; Museum für Kunsthandwerk, *Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit* (Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1985), 237, cat. 4/14, color plate p. 17.

It will be necessary in the future to draw on Trauth’s insights and the large catalogue of more than 500 works of art<sup>101</sup> that she has assembled to continue with systematic studies of selected works, concentrating on the identity of the clothing itself and its authenticity as depicted.

The scale of this undertaking suggests that we need to categorise the textiles into three main groups:

1. An orientalised scene. Here the textiles are largely European, but the persons or scenes depicted are intended to appear oriental. A European person could be depicted as an oriental in a scene including a “moor” or other oriental-looking persons. There could be oriental props, scenery and even make-up, but the textiles used are largely of European origin and provide little interest for the scholar of Ottoman/Turkish attire.
2. A mixed scene in which both cultural regions are represented, be it by persons, scenery, props, and/or clothing, with considerable variations of authenticity in the textiles depicted. We have described a number of examples from this category in this study and attempted to analyse their composition, intention and authenticity.
3. Authentic Ottoman depictions. Here the depictions are of authentic Ottoman/Turkish/oriental attire. They show contemporary depictions of the clothing that natives of this region actually wore. An example of this category of art would be the *Receuil Ferriol* which played a significant role in our study here. The historian has a reasonable expectation that the attire can be identified in cultural, geographic and social space and time and that these analyses will be valid contributions to the broader discourses of art and cultural history.

It has become evident in our study that it will be essential to differentiate Ottoman/Turkish fashion geographically. This avenue of study is now opening as work is done in former Ottoman provinces and neighbouring lands (the Black Sea and Balkans, the Arab lands, Poland<sup>102</sup>, and Italy). Western European research is sometimes limited by its ignorance of the languages of these regions. But, recently, there have been exciting exhibitions in Ptuj (1992) and Istanbul (2005) in which materials from Slovenia and Croatia have received expert attention. These are hopeful signs.

There is little doubt that the “Orientalism discourse” will also develop further. A recent contribution is the article entitled “Cultural Cross-Dressing: Posing and Per-

<sup>101</sup> In the last years many new art works appeared in the international art market, which need to be included, i.e. since her publication in 2009 presumably some dozen new paintings, engravings, colour drawings etc. have to be added to her list. The best way to overcome this problem would be an updatable database accessible online.

<sup>102</sup> As an example for a Polish nobleman dressed at least partly Orientalised, see the painting of Stanislaus Teczynski (before 1635) by Tomaso Dolabella in the collection of the Wawel in Krakau, see Jerzy Szablowski, *Kunstschätze des Königsschlusses Wawel* (Warsaw: Arkady, 1994), 109 (colour plate).

formance in *Orientalist Portraits*” by Tara Mayer<sup>103</sup>. Analysing several portraits of Europeans with Indian sub-continent connections during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the study demonstrates the importance of analysing portraiture as an act of public performance.<sup>104</sup> Mayer argues that “a more nuanced and historicised reading reveals that the wearing of exotic dress in European portraiture cannot be universally interpreted as either an attempt to manage the Orient or an indication that the sitter had ‘gone-native’.[...] This move away from traditional, monolithic binaries of East versus West affords us a more subtle lens [... and] the superimposing of post-modern, Saidian-style power dynamics on the incentives of individuals operating in the past can confuse our ability to understand their possibly varied and complex motivations.”<sup>105</sup>

With this last statement we can only register our enthusiastic agreement.

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<sup>103</sup> Mayer, *Cross Cultural Dressing*, 281–298.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid*, 281.

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