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The *Odalisque*

Changes in the Meaning and Reception of an Orientalising Fine Arts Theme in Europe and Hungary*

As an ethnographer carrying out field work in Transylvania (Romania), I have often come across (Turkish-Arabic) Oriental themes on wall hangings in the so-called *best room* of village homes, surprisingly even in areas – such as the villages of Kalotaszeg or Szék (*Sic*) in the Mezőség region (Transylvania Heath) – that have preserved until recently many of the traditional features of their culture. Representations of ornate seraglios, gardens of paradise with peacocks, bathing odalisques, dancing houris, and odalisques reclining on divans are equally popular in rural and urban Hungarian, Romanian and Gypsy homes. At the weekly local markets or at fairs throughout the countryside it is not difficult to get hold of first- or second-hand plush velvet hangings featuring the favourite themes of Turkish-Arabic Orientalism: Oriental beauties and Bedouin warriors on horseback, the world of harems and abductions, and lion and tiger hunting scenes. What are the roots of such depictions? What are the reasons for this continuing interest? Why are contemporary generations of former peasant communities with their own traditional culture still touched with curiosity about such themes?

In what follows, I present the process of creating visual stereotypes, and the ideas that can be evoked by them, through the concrete example of an analysis of the Western European image of the Turks in the history of art and culture. I provide an overview of the history of the iconography of the Oriental woman, and, within it, that of the *odalisque*,[1] a conventionally popular

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* Extended Version of Ágnes *Fülemile*: Az "odaliszk" – Egy orientalizáló képzőművészeti téma jelentésének és recepciójának változásai. In: Ethno-Lore. A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Néprajzi Kutatóintézetének Évkönyve 32 (2015) 69–144.

1 From the Turkish *odalik* ("chambermaid"), two, erroneous, European words have been formed: the French *odalisque* and the Italian *odalisca*. In Hungarian literature, both terms are used. Kálmán Szendy's 1833 album, featured in Colour Supplement 11, uses the word

subject in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period in European fine arts and popular culture. I will end with an exploration of the origin and role of the Oriental object-type in the late-peasant environment through the presentation of a specific ethnographic example.

Combining my interests in 15th to 19th century graphic genres and illustrated book types, as well as in ethnicity, has guided my research towards Orientalism in the fine arts. I examine the visualisation of thinking about ethnicity, the logic of visual expressions of ethnic stereotypes, and their vulgar iconography. Among other things, I am concerned with the representation schemes of the peoples of the European periphery and continents beyond Europe from the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period in the developed and dominant art centres of Western Europe – especially following the widespread use of printed graphical technologies (as communication media), which has not only standardised methods of creation and articulation, but also influenced the possibilities of reception itself. I am interested in the relationship between mental structures and vision – that is, the culturally defined way of looking at things, according to which the dominant visual language[2] of an era makes it possible to see and understand phenomena through certain visual schemas, as well as the relationships between verbal, textual and visual topoi, where an interdisciplinary approach to research (from the perspectives of history, visual anthropology and art history) promises to be an appropriate method of examination.

Eastern Themes in 16th and 17th Century Graphic Art and Painting

Interest in the East as the other is as old as the history of ancient, then medieval Christian Europe. The *them* and *us* distinction between civilised people and barbarians, and the elaboration of the discourse between the Occident and the Orient, began with the eastward expansion of early Mediterranean cultures. The interactions between the European, Near Eastern and North

odalia. In a broader, European interpretation, the word means a harem lady, lover, concubine, or female slave in the harem of the sultan or other wealthy man.

2 According to Ivan *Gaskell:* History of Images. In: New Perspectives on Historical Writing. Ed. Peter Burke. Pennsylvania 1992, 168–192, here 169, the conventional "gallery" and "human-made visual environment" of an era is a "nebulous mass of visual material" that includes, besides objects canonised by the history of art, also provincial objects and any primarily communicative media, including graphic design and photography, souvenirs and other pieces of the objective environment.

African areas of the Mediterranean, and their manifold cultural and artistic aspects, forms a long history comprising many chapters.[3] In parallel with the discovery of the contemporary world, the extension of its boundaries and the mapping of the expanding world, and in keeping with the shifting centre of geopolitical interest, the concept of the East and the focus of attention have undergone constant change.

Orientalism – European interest in Oriental themes, and the concept and artistic perception of the East – got a new impetus and was strongly influenced by the strengthening of military activity of the Turks in Europe. The seemingly unstoppable expansion of the Ottoman Empire and Islam turned the attention of Europe to the new enemy threatening its borders in the 15th and 16th centuries. The loss of sacred sites that were considered the cradle of Antiquity and of Christian culture, the fall of the Holy Land, Byzantium, Constantinople, the Greek archipelago and the Balkan monarchies, the decline of Venice, the threat to Vienna and the collapse of the Kingdom of Hungary, were all steps in the shocking and mobilising realisation of impending danger.

This period coincided with the emergence of mass social demand for printed graphics and books, and other printed information. New types of illustrated books and popular representational genres were created. The discovery of the Turkish Empire was a key aspect of the cosmographic understanding of the world. There were countless pamphlets on Turkish military events, and occasional marketplace journals – which represented the beginnings of German newspaper publishing[4] – as well as travelogues,[5] chronicles and tracts

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3 For example, the expansion of the Hellenic and Roman empires, the waves of Migration Period, the Byzantine system of relations, the Norman and Hungarian invasions, the Moorish-Arab expansion, the Crusades, the long-distance trade and slave trade networks, the flourishing of Venice and Genoa, the Eastern journeys of Dominican missionaries, the Mongolian invasion, the presence of the Cumanians and Jews in the medieval kingdom of Hungary, the relationship between the Golden Horde and the European Slavic territories, or the rise of the Ottoman-Turkish Empire, etc. The history of interactions has manifold cultural and artistic aspects, including the following (non-exhaustive) examples: ancient syncretism, Early Christian Coptic art, Early Medieval Germanic, Norman and Moorish influences in various parts of Europe including Italy, Sicily, Southern part of France and Iberia, Far Eastern cultural goods traded via the Silk Route, and the textile and arms trade with Byzantium, the Middle East, Syria and Asia Minor are all aspects of the dialogue between East and West.

4 Kálmán *Benda*: A törökkor német újságirodalma. A XV–XVII. századi német hírlapok magyar vonatkozásainak forráskritikájához. Budapest 1942.

5 One of the earliest printed, illustrated travel books, Bernhard von Breydenbach's 'Wallfahrt zum heiligen Grabe' (Mainz 1486) features a number of woodcut representations of groups of Eastern peoples. The woodcuts were produced by Erhart Reuwich. Among the illustra-

discussing the conditions and affairs of the Ottoman Empire and the lives of the sultans.[6] *(Picture 1, 2 and 3.)*

In order to understand the cognitive content evoked by the appearance of the Turks in Late Medieval Christian Europe (beyond the actual political responses), it is worth touching on some antecedents of the image of the East. In Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, the concept of the East was associated with a series of miraculous beasts.[7] When, in the 15th century, the concept of the East began to follow a Turkish pattern, the associations inherited from depictions of the East in the medieval illustrated bestiaries and mirabilia[8]

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tions are many cityscapes that are rich in detail. These portraits were included in Sebastian Münster's famous 'Cosmographia' (Basel 1544) without any alterations. Münster's book contains 26 maps and 1,200 woodcut illustrations. The popularity of the work is illustrated by the fact that it appeared in nearly 40 editions by 1628.

6 Magda *Horváth*: A török veszedelem a német közvéleményben. Budapest 1937, in her source catalogue of 1937, lists 157 items up until 1600. These include single-leaf printed sheets, periodicals, chronicles, tracts, military and ethnographic descriptions.

7 On the narrative and pictorial legacy of the representation of the "monstrum hominis", see Ágnes *Fülemile*: Imaginárius etnográfia: a "monstrum hominis" ábrázolásának narratív és képi hagyatéka, és a világ korai felfedezése. In: Folklór és vizuális kultúra. Ed. Ágnes Szemerkényi. Budapest 2007, 87–119.

8 In the 10th to the 13th centuries, several illustrated book types emerged based on the Physiologus and the Etymologia (see footnote 9): the bestiary was a "natural history" of real and miraculous animals and beings, with allegorical and moralising interpretations; while the *mirabilia* presented the wonders of the East. Their legends became part of medieval knowledge, and their symbolism was incorporated into the iconography of Christian art. In the *homines* category of the *mirabilia*, human monsters were followed by far-away peoples with strange customs. These include six-fingered people, cave dwellers, snake eaters, big-lipped people, "maritime" Ethiopians, dog-headed people, cannibals, "evil barbarians", and "honest" people with positive qualities, such as those living by the Red Sea, who offer their women to their guests, or the half-naked black people living among the burning mountains. They are aware of the land of the Amazons, Scythia, Sarmatia and the great mountain range ringing the Caspian Sea at the northernmost end of the world, with the gate of Alexander the Great, an impenetrable barrier against the "unchaste peoples", "the sons of Gog and Magog", who return with the horsemen of the Apocalypse and, according to some, are identical with the lost 10th tribe of Israel, the "red Jews". These motifs were adopted and disseminated by the popular literary works of the Middle Ages on Alexander the Great, the kingdom of Prester John, or Sir John Mandeville's travels. The influx of the Turks has been interpreted by many, including Melanchthon and other German reformers, in the context of the legend of the "Red Jews". See George Huntston *Williams*: Erasmus and the Reformers on Non-Christian Religions and Salus Extra Ecclesiam. In: Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe. Essays in Honour of E. H. Harbison. Eds. Theodore K. Rabb, Jerrold E. Seigel. Princeton 1969, 351–352. Also John W. *Bohnstedt*: The Infidel Scourge of God: The Turkish Menace as Seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era. In: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 58 (1968) 9, 1–58.

developed from the *Physiologus*[9] literature were still vivid and influential. According to this reading, the *monstruosus homines*, or semi-human monsters (which included the evil barbarians), were among the animal and human species that had their place in God's wisely created world order: their appearance was interpreted as divine admonition or punishment. On the maps of the world (*mappa mundi*), these places and peoples, as part of the existing world, were located in the hierarchical spatial order of the universe. In this world order, the places of the canonical miracles (*miraculum*) and the places of the apocryphal wonders located on the periphery of the world (*mirabilium*) coexisted in harmony. In Christian cosmology, both had their place, role, and deeper meaning.

In this context, it is no wonder that Christians regarded the barbarians at their borders with the fear of the mystical unknown. This fear and aversion was accompanied by moral contempt. Among the stereotypes used in medieval theological explanations of Islam were the topoi of the sensuality and immorality of the East, which were first set forth by Byzantine writers, and later adopted by their Western European ecclesiastical counterparts. In medieval Europe, "both Jews and Muslims were seen […] as people who privileged the carnal over the spiritual".[10] The idea of Christian asceticism stood in radical opposition to the sensual sophistication that characterised, for example, the

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[9] The Physiologus was a handbook of paradoxology that summarised the Late Antique travel and scientific traditions from the 4th century, providing a transcendental, spiritual, moralising interpretation of the miraculous phenomena that either occur in nature or are believed to be real. The Physiologus was one of the most popular and widely copied works of the Middle Ages and became a didactic tool in Christian ethical teaching. In Isidor of Seville's encyclopedia Etymologiae (from the 620s), animals with miraculous qualities, anthropomorphic figures and human monsters are systematised as symbols of certain ethical qualities in the wise order of divine creation. Book XI concerns humans and monstrous species. The latter belong in the category of portents. Through monstrous phenomena, God gives warning of imminent devastation. In the hierarchical order of the world, monsters are located between humans and animal species. Miraculous beings were believed to live in India, Ethiopia, Libya and Scythia. In the early medieval encyclopaedias that follow Isidor (e. g. *Hrabanus Maurus*: De rerum naturis, around 840), the description is accompanied by mystical commentaries. The monumental encyclopaedia of Thomas Cantimpré 'Liber de natura rerum' (1228–1244), which was copied by many (including Albertus Magnus, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, and Vincent de Beauvais), connects monstrous species with the concept of the East, as evidenced in the chapter title ('Liber de monstruosi hominibus Orientis'). Several of the 13th century handwritten encyclopaedias and natural histories were also published in print after the 1470s.

[10] Suzanne Conklin *Akbari*: Placing the Jews in Late Medieval English Literature. In: *Orientalism and the Jews*. Eds. Ivan Davidson Kalmar, Derek J. Penslar. Waltham/Mass. 2005, 32–50, here 33.

exuberant Southern Iberian Moorish urban lifestyle. In comparisons of 9th to 12th century Moorish and Spanish lifestyles, Europe falls short, its anti-Islamic accusations engendered by its own complexes.[11] Medieval legends and literature about the figure of Mohammed have further reinforced the stereotypes: the Prophet's life, as a life of physical instincts, is the antithesis of the asceticism of the Christian saints. "One may wonder whether the sexual obsession that racked this little world of celibate European intellectuals did not play some part in their horror-stricken fascination with the Islam, which they supposed to be a religion of sex, licentiousness, and exuberant savagery of animal instinct."[12]

Picture 1: Saracen Costumes and Arabic Alphabet.
Woodcut illustration by Erhart Reuwich.
Miniature from Bernhard von Breydenbach:
Peregrinationes Terram Sanctam / Wallfahrt zum Heiligen Grabe.
Mainz 1486. Indiana University Bloomington, Lilly Library

11 Róbert *Simon*: Muslims and Christians in Spain as Seen by Ibn Khaldūn. In: Id.: Islam and Otherness. Selected Essays. Szombathely 2003, 250–252.

12 Hichem *Djaït*: Europe and Islam, Cultures and Modernity. Berkeley 1985, 14.

Picture 2: 'De expugnatione Constatinopolis'.
Woodcut by Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff
from Hartmann Schedel: Liber chronicarum.
Nuremberg 1493, Folio CCLXXIII.
Indiana University Bloomington, Lilly Library

Picture 3: A German newspaper report on the atrocities committed by the Turks. Woodcut by Hans Weigel. Nuremberg, around 1530. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Inv. no. PAS II 2:4

In medieval[13] and Renaissance literature (e. g. Marlowe, Shakespeare), as well as in the fine arts, one can trace a rich seam of portrayal and symbolism in the Moorish, Jewish and Saracen, and more generally Eastern and black male. While the representation of the Eastern male had earlier relied on formal elements and attributes based on the experience of the Moor, Byzantine and Cumanian,[14] after the Turks appeared in Europe, this image was *Orientalised* according to a Turkish pattern (*Picture 4*).

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13 *Akbari*.

14 For example, the journey made by Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos between 1399 and 1402 to Rome, Paris and London to ask for assistance against the Ottoman threat inspired many of the drawings in. *Limbourg Brothers:* Trés riches Heures du duc de Berry. 1413 (Musée Condé Chantilly) of the figure of the Oriental king, such as Emperor Augustus (Folio 22), King David (Folio 45–46) and the Magi (Folio 51–52). The astronomer Ptolemy wears similar Byzantine-style Eastern clothing in the illustrations in 15th and early 16th century printed books (see e. g. *Sacrobusto*: Sphaera Mundi, 1488; *Hyginus*: Poeticon Astronomicon, 1512; Prince *D'Essling*: Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XVe siècle et du commencement du XVIe. I–VI. Florence/Paris 1907–1914, here I, 247, 250). From the Late Middle Ages, the Magi, or the Three Kings, symbolised the three parts of the world: Europe, Africa (via the Saracen Balthazar, with the moon and the stars), and Asia (via the Oriental turbaned figure of Caspar, accompanied by Eastern figures, camels and leopards), and, at the same time, the submission of secular powers to the supremacy of the church. James *Hall*: Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art. London 1974, 202. – English costume historian

With respect to depictions of Oriental males, the individual drawings and copper engravings produced from them are characterised by a draft-like freshness of approach to the study of artistic problems. The representation of the exotic features of Oriental costume (pointed headdresses, turbans,[15] rich fabrics, scarves, loose kaftans), beyond their role as attributes, may also have been popularised by the desire to achieve a more pictorial perception. The opportunity was exploited by many renowned Italian and North European Renaissance painters in scenes from the Bible, in the form of Jewish and military figures from the story of the Passion, or the journey of the Magi, for which the drawings of exotic Oriental figures provided an opportunity for exquisite sketches and studies (*Picture 5*).

One of the earliest European artists to depict Oriental figures not merely according to the existing iconographic tradition, but following his own personal impressions of the Turkish court, was the Venetian Gentille Bellini (1429?–1507). In 1479, he was sent by the court of the Republic of Venice to the court of Mehmed II (1451–1481), where a skilled portrait painter was needed.[16] Bellini spent a year at the Turkish court, where he was highly esteemed. Besides portraits,[17] he also drew and painted buildings and people in costume (*Picture 6*). The pictures he painted on returning to Italy also feature Turkish details. Bellini's monumental canvases are characterized by precise Renaissance realism. Although he painted depth according to the principles of Renaissance centralized perspective and with oil technique, the narrative character of his representations and the decorative precision of his style is akin to that of the Turkish-Persian miniature painting.

Stella Mary Newton has highlighted, however, that, due to the settling of the Cumans in Hungary in the 13th century and the role played by Cuman soldiers in the Hungarian army on European battlefields, the pointed headdress worn by the soldiers depicted tormenting Christ became widespread as an attribute of evil in 14th century Italian painting. S. M. *Newton*: Fashion in the age of Black Prince. A Study of the Years 1340–1365. London 1980, 54.

15 On the emergence of representations of the turban from the end of the 14th century and its becoming commonplace in the art of the Quattrocento as a means of Orientalising Jewish characters from the Old Testament, see Ivan Davidson *Kalmar*: In: Jesus Did Not Wear a Turban. Orientalism, the Jews, and Christian Art. In: *Orientalism and the Jews* 3–32.

16 Mehmet II's Renaissance erudition was comparable with that of his Italian contemporaries. Robert *Ousterhout*: The East, the West, and the Appropriation of the Past in Early Ottoman Architecture. In: Gesta 43 (2004) 2, 165–176, here 171–172. After his death, his successor sold the collection of his art-loving father out of religious fanaticism, thus Bellini's works were scattered or lost. Géza *Fehér*: A magyar történelem oszmán-török ábrázolásokban. Budapest 1982, 21.

17 Gentile *Bellini*: Portrait of Mehmet II. Oil on canvas. London, National Gallery, Inv. no. NG3099.

Picture 4: The Meeting of the Magi. Illuminated manuscript. Limbourg Brothers: Trés riches Heures du duc de Berry. 1413, Folio 51–52. Chantilly, Musée Condé. http:// www.christusrex.org/www2/berry/ (February 8, 2018)

Picture 5: Israhel van Meckenem (1440/1445–1503): Head of an Elderly Man with a Long Beard and Turban. Engraving, 19.5 x 12.4 cm. New York, Inv. no. 17.50.62. http://images.metmuseum.org/crdimages/dp/original/dp835365.jpg (February 8, 2018)

Picture 6: Gentile Bellini: Seated Turkish Woman.
Ink drawing, 1479–1481.
London, The British Museum, Inv. no. Pp.1.20.
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=717802&partId=1
(February 8, 2018)

Picture 7: Albrecht Dürer: The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. Woodcut, 1497–1498, 38.8 x 29.1 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. no. 19.73.209. http://images.metmuseum.org/crdimages/dp/original/dp816773.jpg (February 8, 2018)

The earliest pictorial example of the authentic representation of a Turkish woman is Bellini's monumental oil painting 'Saint Mark Preaching in Alexandria.'[18] The people listening to St. Mark are dressed in costumes such

[18] Following the death of Gentile in 1507, the painting was finished by his brother Giovanni in 1508 (Oil on canvas, 347 x 770 cm, Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera). An earlier drawing by Gentile of a Turkish woman from 1479–1481 is held by the British Museum in London (Inv.

as Bellini saw at the Turkish court. At the centre of the composition is a group of veiled Turkish women, crouching in the foreground of the picture. In the background, in the central, imaginary main square of Alexandria (the ideal city), with its Italian, Roman and Ottoman-style buildings, the orientalisation of the scene is enhanced by pictorial elements such as palm trees, camels, giraffes, and bare-chested black servants. Bellini also served as a direct source for the orientalising imagery of other contemporary artists: Pisanello, Pinturicchio, Albrecht Dürer, Hans Burgkmair, and others.

Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) is one of the most prominent northern artists to take an interest in exotic themes.[19] Two of the horsemen in his 'Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse' (woodcut, 1497/1498) wear Oriental clothing as an attribute of evil (*Picture 7*).[20]

Following their occupation of Constantinople (1453), the Turkish sultans regarded themselves as the heirs of Rome and were "planning to join East and West" by the resurrection of Rome's world empire "unified by a single faith and a single monarc".[21] Regarding themselves as the successors of Constantine the Great and Justinian the Great, sultans such as Mehmet II and Suleiman I

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no. Pp. 1.20, *Picture 6*). Giovanni Bellini's (1434/1439–1516) similarly gigantic painting about the martyrdom of San Marco in the Gallerie dell' Accademia, Venezia (Cat. 1002) was finished by his pupil Vittore Belliniano. The painting also shows some female figures in the background and several lavishly dressed Turkish men in the foreground.

19 In the British Museum (Inv. no. 1895.0915.974) there is a coloured pen and ink drawing from 1496/1497, depicting three Turkish men. The drawing was done by Dürer in Venice, probably in Bellini's workshop, copying the figures from Bellini's Procession of the True Cross in Piazza San Marco (Venezia, Gallerie dell' Accademia). Dürer remembered Bellini's son as one of the few Italian painters who welcomed him (see *Albrecht Dürer and his legacy: the graphic work of a Renaissance artist*. Ed. Giulia Bartrum. London/New Jersey 2002, no. 38). Dürer's other remarkable works on the subject are: 'Oriental Ruler Seated on His Throne' (Pen and black ink, 1495. Washington, D. C., National Gallery of Art, Inv. no. 19722.1); 'Oriental Archer' (Pen drawing with brown ink and watercolour, 1514. Milan, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Inv. no. F 264); and 'Turkish Family' (Copperplate engraving, 1496. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. no. 1984.1201.12). Caecilie *Quetsch*: Die "Entdeckung der Welt" in der deutschen Graphik der beginnenden Neuzeit. Ende 15. bis Wende 16./17. Jh. I–II. Erlangen/Nürnberg 1983, II, 129, 159.

20 Revelations 6, 1–8: "And I looked, and behold, a white horse! And its rider had a bow, and a crown was given to him, and he came out conquering, and to conquer […]. And out came another horse, bright red. Its rider was permitted to take peace from the earth, so that people should slay one another […]."

21 Pál *Fodor*: Szulejmán, a "Nagyszerű" és a "Törvényhozó". In: P. *Fodor*: Szülejmán szultántól Jókai Mórig. Tanulmányok az oszmán-török hatalom szerkezetéről és a magyar-török érintkezésekről. Budapest 2014, 14–15; Gülru *Necipoğlu*: Süleyman the Magnificient and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry. In: The Art Bulletin 71 (1989) 3, 424–425.

studied diligently in preparation for their reign, were able to read and write in several languages, and studied the literary heritage of Antiquity with respect.[22] As part of their legitimisation efforts, the Turkish sultans positioned themselves – within the metaphor of the Ancient Greek-Trojan cycle of legends that illustrated the binary opposition between West and East – by adopting the ideology of Rome and Byzantium, according to which Byzantium, as the heir to Rome, saw the Trojans as the antecedents of Rome, the mother city. In this mythological genealogy, logically stretching from Troy (Aeneas) through Rome to Byzantium, the Turks began to see themselves, anachronistically, as the descendants of the Trojans, a self-positioning also reinforced by their anti-Greek sentiments. Ten years after the siege of Constantinople, during one of his military campaigns, Mehmet diverted his army to the ruins of Troy to make a pilgrimage to the tombs of Achilles and Ajax, just as the Roman emperors had once done. His biographer ascribes the following words to him: "God has reserved for me through so long a period of years the right to avenge this city and its inhabitants. For I have subdued their enemies […] It was the Greeks […] who ravaged this place in the past, and whose descendants have now through my efforts paid the just penalty after a long period of years, for their injustices to us Asiatics at that time and so often in subsequent times."[23]

Wearing the ideological mantle of the heirs to Rome, and harbouring plans for world domination, these sultans had an astute knowledge of the contemporary world. For the operation of their empire, it was essential to know their conquered provinces and to have reliable information about places yet to be conquered. Thus they kept their eyes on events in Europe.[24]

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[22] Mehmet, as a Renaissance man, is well characterised by the fact that he commissioned the collection and translation of literature on Constantinople; his library included a copy of the Iliad; and when he visited Athens in 1458, "he came well informed about its history and was anxious to view the antiquities of the city". *Ousterhout* 170–171.

[23] *Ousterhout* 165. Ousterhout questions, with a focus on architectural history, why Mehmet went to Troy, and why the ancient past was important to the Turks. How did a people with its origins in Asia attempt to position itself in the matrix of mythical-historical-political ideology inherited from Antiquity? On the other side of the coin, the Italian humanists believed that "the Turks were descended from the Trojans, through Teucer, the mythological first king of Troy". *Ousterhout* 171.

[24] For example, Suleiman's grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha regularly collected intelligence about European monarchs and their ceremonies through his well-organised espionage system. *Necipoğlu* 411.

They were interested, among other things, in the products of Western art, and – through the services of envoys, messengers and mediators – they contacted European artists and invited them to the sultan's court.[25]

Besides Gentile Bellini, Mehmed II invited the painters Matteo de Pasti and Costanzo from Ferrara (*Picture 8*). Jacopo Sansovino, Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Luigi Caorlini later also visited Istanbul, and even the greatest artists of the day, Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo, heard the siren call to accept the patronage of Selim I (1512–1520). It is hardly surprising that so many people – painters, goldsmiths, merchants and men of the world – were attracted by the opportunity to gain experience and generous payment for serving the sultan, in a permanently international Levantine context, where, in the turbulent relationship between Venice and Constantinople, mutual observation had plenty of peaceful, rather than merely military, aspects.

Picture 8: Costanzo da Ferrara: Sultan Mehmed II. Medal, Bronze, around 1481, 12.3 cm in diameter. Inscription: SVITANVS. MOHAMETH. OTHOMANVS. TVRCORVM. IMPERATOR. Washington D. C., National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection, Inv. no. 1957.14.695.a. https://images.nga.gov/en/search/do_quick_search.html?q=%221957.14.695.a%22 (February 8, 2018)

[25] The period marked by a heightened awareness of Europe lasted more or less from Mehmet II to the mid-term of the reign of Suleiman, until the turn of the 1540s and 1550s, when the former *eclectic syncretism* was replaced by an inward turn in Suleiman's approach, lifestyle and monarchic representation. "Emphasizing the Islamic self-identity of the empire has brought about profound changes in culture" (*Fodor*: Szulejmán, 22) as well as "the canonization of the 'classical Ottoman style' in art and architecture". *Necipoğlu* 421–426.

Picture 9: Unknown Ottoman painter at the court of Mehmed II: Portrait of the Painter. Third quarter of the 15th century. Washington D. C., Freer Gallery of Art, Inv. no. F1932.28. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ottoman_Dynasty,_Portrait_of_a_Painter,_Reign_of_Mehmet_II_(1444-1481).jpg (February 8, 2018)

In the century or so referred to above – although with high points and lows, depending on the individual rulers, such as, for example, Bayezid's hostility towards the arts – European figurative representation was not exiled from the Ottoman court. Sculptures looted from or bought in Europe were exhibited in public spaces (statues taken from the Royal Palace of Buda Castle in 1526, for example, were displayed before the palace of the grand vizier Ibrahim). There is a much evidence of mutual artistic influence between the West and the East. While Oriental painters were fascinated by the realism of Western portraits, the decorative nature of Turkish-Persian miniatures influenced Gentile Bellini, who spent a longer time in Constantinople. A fine example of the combination of the two artistic visions is Bellini's magnificent portrait of a seated scribe (sometimes attributed to Costanzo da Ferrara), which was later cut out, decorated, and bound in a Persian album.[26] The image has a twin version made by a Persian artist (*Picture 9*).

[26] Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Inv. no. p15e8.

The Turkish rulers, like the European courts of the day, were interested in the portrait as an important genre for the representation of monarchs, thus they endeavoured to find good portrait painters. One example of the deep cultural relations between Venice and Constantinople is the fact that the most attractive portraits of Suleiman (1539, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), his wife Hürrem (Roxelana, Rossa) and his favourite daughter *Mihrimah*[27] (around 1555), were painted by Titian (1490–1576), who never visited Constantinople. These portraits provided the inspiration for a series of later pictures, e. g. by Tintoretto and Cristofano dell Altissimo (*Picture 10*). In Titian's interpretation, 'La Rossa Sultana' and 'Mihrimah as Saint Catherine' fit perfectly into the long line of Venetian reddish-blonde beauties, and resemble, in terms of setting and costume, the 'Venetian lady in oriental dress with apple' (Washington, D. C., National Gallery) and the Venus-like figures of 'The Portrait of Catherine Cornaro' and 'La Bella'.

The young Titian had studied under Gentile, then Giovanni Bellini, before working with Giorgione. Following Giorgone's early death in 1510, and the death of Giovanni Bellini in 1516, Titian became the uncrowned king of Venetian painting for the next 60 years. The brightest period in his artistic career coincides with the meteoric rise of Suleiman, from the 1520s.

Picture 10: Cristofano dell Altissimo (1525–1605): Cameria, daughter of the Emperor Suleiman. Oil on canvas, 1541, 98.5 x 67.8 cm. Istanbul, Pera Museum, Inv. no. 102

[27] On female members of Suleiman's family and their influence on politics, see *Fodor*: Szulejmán.

Titian also painted a series of portraits of Charles V, another ruler of a worldwide empire and the great rival of Suleiman; as well as of Francois I of France, the third major player in the great arena; along with portraits of popes and doges.

In the first half of his reign, Suleiman placed great emphasis on appearances. On the initiative of the grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha, who was well versed in the representation of power, a new style of court representation was introduced. Both externally, towards Europe, and within the empire, it was Ibrahim Pasha who orchestrated the ceremonial occasions that elevated the sultan with unimaginable pomp to inaccessible heights, such that he increasingly appeared as the enigmatic, silent and unpredictable lord of life and death before both his subjects and the foreign delegations.[28]

Suleiman's plan for world domination was communicated to Europe using European symbolism. During the second military campaign against Vienna, in 1532, he wore European-style insignia rather than the traditional Turkish trappings of power.[29] He impressed Western ambassadors with his incredible pomp, the ceremonial objects fashioned in Europe, his military parades and triumphal marches. News of such things spread rapidly in print and engravings. Suleiman was thus essentially putting the efficiency of Western European means of image production and the dissemination of news, graphics and printing, into the service of Turkish imperial propaganda.

Contemporary Western European eyewitnesses emphasised, both at the time and later, how the entire wealth of European rulers was dwarfed by the splendour they experienced at the Turkish court. For the Turkish Empire, the 15th to 17th centuries were a period of (almost) uninterrupted expansion, a golden age. The massive military, political and economic structure of the Turkish Empire incorporated the eastern part of the Mediterranean, the Balkans, a part of Hungary, North Africa and the Middle East, monopolising the commercial routes as well as land and waterways from the Far East.[30] There

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28 Ibidem, 15–16.

29 Reminiscent of the papal three-tiered crown, he ordered a four-tiered crown from Venetian goldsmiths, which was meant as an expression of the sultan's superiority to both the pope and the Holy Roman Emperor. On the making of the four-tiered crown, combined with the feather-plumed pointed helmet, and the role of the doge's son Alvise Gritti in mediating the order and designing the object together with grand vizier Ibrahim, see *Necipoğlu*. Shown in an engraving by AgostinoVeneziano, the fantastic headpiece could almost be dismissed as a figment of Orientalist imagination, but it really did exist.

30 Fernand *Braudel*: The Perspectives of the World. Civilization and Capitalism 15th–18th Century. III. London 1984, 467–484. Chapter V ('For and against Europe: The Rest of the

were no comparable powers in Eurasia, either territorially, or in terms of economic and military potential. Thus the attention that the empire attracted was no coincidence. The discovery of the radical otherness of the Ottoman Empire's culture, which stood in contrast to that of Europe, resulted in the most powerful image of the Orient to date.[31]

The earliest foreign delegations to the Ottoman Porte were established by the Italian city states that were greatly interested in Levantine commerce, in the time of Mehmed II. They were followed by the French, who were more or less (albeit unreliably) allied[32] to the Turks under Suleiman, and the diplomatic missions of the Holy Roman Empire, followed by the English at the end of the 16th century and the Dutch in the early 17th century.[33]And vice versa: not only did Western countries establish embassies in Turkey, the Turks also sent ambassadors to Western Europe.[34] As a general rule, the appointed ambassadors were accompanied by artists and scientists. Alongside their artistic and scientific duties, they were involved in providing geographic, topographic and military information (although the movements of the Habsburg diplomatic mission were restricted, and on more than one occasion its representatives held under house arrest, as their countries were at war). The very first scholars and artists who accompanied Western missions established the image of Turkish culture in their own societies for many years to come: as the re-publication, duplication and reproduction of both texts and images remained a general practice until the middle of the 19th century, these early impressions took deep root and remained influential for centuries.

From the beginning of the 16th century, many travelogues and discourses were published by European travellers based on genuine local knowledge and personal experience. In addition to Latin, the language of scholars, these works were translated into the major Western European languages and published in French, German, Italian, Dutch and English in large print runs for a growing number of educated readers.

World'), the sub-chapter 'The Turkish Empire' presents the economic potential and well-functioning economic network of the prosperous, continent-sized empire that comprised 30 kingdoms and four seas.

31 *Anadolu* (Anatolia) is a Turkish word meaning East, or Orient.

32 As result of the Peace Treaty and Capitulation of 1604 between France and the Ottoman Empire, France enjoyed numerous advantages in Levantine trade.

33 At this point, we are not dealing with the diplomatic relations between the occupied territories and the Eastern European states.

34 From 1607, the Turkish diplomatic mission in Paris contributed to the French elite's enthusiasm for exotic Turkish objects and customs.

In 1509, one of the earliest treatises on the origins of the Turkish Empire was published by the Venetian-born Theodoros Spandounes (Spandugino),[35] son of an aristocrat of Byzantine Greek origin who had fled from Constantinople. The work was also an appeal to the pope to unite the forces of Christianity against the *infidels*. Antonio Menavino, the son of a Genoese merchant, had been kidnapped at the age of 12. He was on his way to Venice with his father when their ship was attacked by pirates, who seized the child and presented him to the sultan as a slave. Menavino served as a page to Bayezid, then Selim I, for 10 years. He wrote down his experiences and observations more than three decades after his release.[36]

It was not long before the French came up with systematic descriptions of their own, recording their scholarly observations typically while in the service of the king of France, as part of a diplomatic mission. The first to journey to the East was Guillaume Postel in the 1530s, followed by Pierre Belon in 1546–1549, and Nicolas de Nicolay in 1551. Guillaume Postel was a scientist, geographer, linguist and Orientalist. Starting with 1534 he spent many years in Constantinople as an interpreter for the first French ambassador Jean de la Foret and published his observations in the work 'La République des Turcs [...]' (Poitiers 1560). The majority of the 57 copperplate engravings in the book are full-page illustrations, depicting standing figures in costume. The work generally praised the Turks. The respected humanist scholar Pierre Belon published natural and ethnographical observations from the Levant.[37]

These travellers were followed by many others at the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, enriching the available knowledge with important studies. They included the Portuguese monk Francisco Alvarez, who provided the first systematic description of Ethiopia (*General Chronica* [...]. Frankfurt 1576); the Roman nobleman Pietro della Valle (*Viaggi di Pietro Della Valle il pellegrino* [...]. Rome 1650–1658),[38] the French-

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35 'The Commentari di Theodoro Spandugino dell'origine de'principi Turchi, e de costumi di quella natione […]' was published in Italian in 1509 and in French in 1519, and in its final version in 1538.

36 Antonio *Menavino*: Trattato de costumi et vita de Turchi […]. Florence 1548. See David *Brafman*: Facing East: The Western View of Islam in Nicolas de Nicolay's 'Travels in Turkey'. In: Getty Research Journal (2009) 1, 153–160, here 160.

37 Pierre *Belon*: Les observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie et autres pays étrangèrs […]. Paris 1553, with 43 woodcut illustrations.

38 Caroline *Stone*: Pietro della Valle. Pilgrim of Curiosity. In: Saudi Aramco World 65 (2014) 1, 20.

man Jean Palerne, who travelled for one year in the East, the title of whose work recalls the tradition of pilgrimage literature (*Peregrinations du S. Jean Palerne Foresien, Secretaire de François de Valois Duc d'Anjou* [...]. Lyon 1606); the diplomat Baron Louis Deshayes de Cormenin (*Voiage de Levant fait par le commandement du Roy* [...]. Paris 1624); and other great Orientalists such as Jean de Thévenot (*Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*. Paris 1665); and the famous/infamous diamond dealer, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (*Nouvelle Relation de l'Intérieur du Sérail du Grand Seigneur*. Paris 1675).

It is also worth mentioning a few of the German travellers: Stephan Gerlach (between 1573 and 1578),[39] and the theologian Salomon Schweigger (from 1578 to 1581) served in diplomatic missions in Constantinople.[40] Leonhard Rauwolf (*Aigentliche Beschreibungen de Raiss* [...]. Lavinge 1582) was a botanist[41] and natural scientist. Michael Heberer was a Lutheran theologian, with family ties to the Melanchthon family, who spent three years as a slave on a Turkish galley.[42]

While the generation of artist Gentile Bellini had earlier been lured by the sultan to his court, the first ambassador of the Habsburg Empire (1533, Cornelis de Schepper) was accompanied to Constantinople by German and Dutch artists such as Pieter Coecke van Aelst[43] and presumably Jan Swart van Groningen[44] to Constantinople (*Picture 11*). Among the entourage of the

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39 *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch* [...]. Frankfurt am Main 1674, was published almost 100 years after Gerlach's actual journey.

40 Salomon *Schweigger*: Newe Reyßbeschreibung aus Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem [...]. Frankfurt am Main 1608. Schweiger was the first to translate the Koran into German – from Italian.

41 The botanist Rauwolf was the first European to mention coffee, following his visit to Aleppo.

42 Johann Michael *Heberer*: Aegyptiaca servitus. Heidelberg 1610. For a more comprehensive list of 16th and 17th century travellers, see Roland C. *Jennings*: Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World 1571–1640. New York/London 1993, 419–420. On German travellers see Charlotte Colding *Smith*: Images of Islam 1453–1600: Turks in Germany and Central Europe. London/New York 2014, 99–122.

43 On Van Aelst's tapestry project (as a representative of the Dermoyen tapestry manufactory in Brussels), which was never realised due to the alien nature of the genre and the sultan's lack of interest, see *Necipoğlu* 419. The plans were published by Aelst's widow in the form of a woodcut: *Les moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcs* [...]. Antwerp 1553. The long and monumental panoramic composition, printed using 14 blocks (45.5 cm x 482.5 cm), depicts the ceremonial procession of the sultan, with a view of Constantinople in the background.

44 Van Groningen's series of five woodcuts depicting Suleiman and his cortege (trumpeters, mamelukes, Suleiman with his companion, archers, and Arabs) was first published in 1526 by Willem Liefrinck in Antwerp. Jan Swart van Groningen had certainly travelled to Italy,

second Habsburg ambassador, Ogier Ghislan de Busbecq (1554–1562),[45] the artistic achievements of Melchior Lorch (*Picture 12*) should be highlighted. Although many of his drawings have been lost,[46] his cityscapes, including panoramic images of Constantinople drawn with the precision of a draughtsman, are invaluable sources for the history of architecture.[47]

Picture 11: Daniel Hopfer: Three Turkish archers. Inscription: 'Haiden, pagans'. Etching. Between 1526 and 1536 by copying the fourth page of Jan Swart van Groningen's series of five woodprints representing Suleiman's mounted escort (buglers, mameluks, Suleiman with his companion, archers and Arabs). Antwerp, Willem Liefrinck's edition, 1526

and probably visited the Ottoman Porte in the entourage of the first Habsburg imperial ambassador, from 1533. *Smith* 101.

45 His 'Turkish letters' were published in 1581, under the title 'Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasium […]', then in: *Augerii Gislenii Busbequii D. legationis Turcicae epistolae quattor* [...]. Paris 1589, 1595. Busbecq, as a naturalist and a herbalist, introduced the first tulip bulbs into the Netherlands, and the introduction of lilac may perhaps also be associated with him.

46 Lorch stayed in Constantinople between 1555 and 1559. Only a fragment of his costume drawings were published, well after his death: Melchior *Lorch*: Wolgerissene und geschnittene Figuren in Kupffer und Holz durch [...]. Hamburg 1626.

47 On Erik Fischer's five-volume monograph on Lorch, see http://www.melchiorlorck.com/?page_id=2 (February 6, 2018).

Picture 12: Melchior Lorch: View of Constantinople over the rooftops. Woodcut, 1555–1559. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:lorck_view_over_rooftops.jpg (February 10, 2018)

The successes of the Ottoman Empire, the Asian anti-Europe and counter-Christendom[48] stirred up vigorous debate among the political thinkers of the era. From the 16th century essentially until the French Revolution, the central issue in French political philosophy, and particularly in disputes on forms of government and ideal governance, was the analysis of Eastern (Persian and Ottoman) despotism. Jean Bodin (1529–1596), in 'Les Six livres de la République' (1576) – which for a long time was circulated only in secret copies in the circles of the European elite – discussed the example of the Turkish Empire, in which he had a keen interest, as part of the typology of government systems.[49] In addition to the classics, he relied on the writings and reports of travellers, scholars and diplomats, and was deeply influenced by Postel's and Belon's positive opinions about the Turkish Empire. In contrast to Nicolas de Nicolay (see below), who insisted on referring to the Turks as barbarians, and in keeping with his sources, Bodin wrote with sympathy about the establishment of the Turkish Empire, admiring the discipline and efficiency of its management of the army, administration and finances. Bodin's comparative analysis preceded by more than a century and a half the epistolary novels 'L'Espion Turc'

48 *Braudel* 467.

49 Ina Baghdiantz *McCabe*: Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism, and the Ancien Regime. Oxford/New York 2008, 58–64.

by Maran and 'Lettres Persanes' by Montesquieu (see below). However, the comparison likewise gave him an opportunity to criticise his own society, and the prevailing conditions under Francois I and Charles V.

The costume image was the typical means of visual presentation of newly encountered peoples. As mentioned above in relation to the works by Postel and Belon, publications that combined travel descriptions and academic discourse contained many illustrations, a large proportion of which were of costumes. Costume albums – with only brief captions rather than explanatory texts – were also published in significant quantities. The so-called costume book, as a new genre presenting the peoples of the world, appeared in the middle of the 16th century and rapidly became popular.[50] In these costume books, considerable attention was devoted to the peoples of the Turkish Empire.[51]

The masters of Western European graphics and printing often gave the same attention to representations of Turkish society as they did to their own. Stereotypical representations[52] of the novel costume images often defined not only the pictorial, but in some cases also the verbal, topoi of non-European peoples in the illustrations appearing in scientific, pseudo-scientific and

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50 For further details about the genre, with particular reference to Hungarian-related representations, see Ágnes *Fülemile*: Viseletábrázolások a 16–17. századi grafikában. In: Ars Hungarica 17 (1989) 1–2, 115–133; Ágnes *Fülemile*: Magyar vonatkozású viseletábrázolások a 18. századi sokszorosított grafikában. In: Népi kultúra – népi társadalom. XVII: Népi kultúra Magyarországon a 18. században. Eds. Attila Paládi-Kovács, Miklós Szilágyi. Budapest 1993, 139–164.

51 The first printed costume book was Richard *Breton*: Recuil de la diversité des habits, qui sont de present en usage, tant es pays d'Europe, Asie Affrique et isles sauvages […]. Paris 1562, with a foreword by Francois Desprez and 121 illustrations by Enea Vico. Among the schematic, decorative woodcut illustrations, seven represent a Turkish figure. The work was quickly followed by Ferdinando *Bertelli*: Omnium Feré Gentium nostræ ætatis habitus, nunquam ante hac æditi. Venice 1563, the etched pages of which are reverse copies of Vico's illustrations.

52 When drawing the never-seen peoples of never-seen lands, the majority of artists relied on second-hand information, their own imagination, and previous representational topoi. In some cases, the persistence of European pictorial clichés and their contradiction with ethnographic fidelity are striking. In Cesare *Vecellio*: De gli Habiti antichi et moderni di Diverse Parti del Mondo […]. Venice 1590, with 420 woodcut illustrations, for example, which is perhaps the most famous costume book of the era, the North American Indian *queen* is a reworking of Botticelli's Birth of Venus.The representation of American Indian and black women in illustrative graphics is from then on snared in this cliché. The standing figure of the black, Indian, *savage* woman recognisably follows some of the compositional solutions of classical Renaissance paintings. The semi-covered or uncovered body, accompanied by some exotic objects, becomes an attribute.

popular publications, often until the late-19th century.[53] (*Picture 14, Colour Supplement 11.*)

In the earliest illustrated books and albums, the presentation of the men of the militant Turkish Empire dominated[54] (sultans, soldiers, mounted spahis, janissaries, foot soldiers, gunners, officers and military musicians), but was soon followed by the discovery of Turkish women. The most influential illustrated travelogue and costume book representing the Turkish Empire was written by French geographer Nicolas de Nicolay (1517–1583). In the middle of the 16th century, Nicolay travelled throughout Europe, as well as to the Greek Islands and the Turkish Empire, serving in the armies of various countries. In 1551, Henri II ordered him to move to Constantinople with the French ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Gabriel d'Aramon, and to survey the empire. Nicolay visited the Greek islands, Malta and North Africa besides Turkey, and returned home with 800 to 900 drawings of cities, ports, castles and people. His costume drawings first appeared in 'Les quatre premiers livres des navigation et peregrinations orientales, de N. de Nicolay avec les figures au naturel [...]' (Lyons: Rouillé 1567), a work with 60 to 62 illustrations (etched by Louis Danet) that was published in several languages and ran to numerous subsequent editions. In the preface to the work, the author stresses the fact that he is presenting costumes "as well of men as women", worn by the Turks and "a diversity of nations", as well as "postures, gestures, and clothes" based on what he had "seen and observed". He provided full-page descriptions alongside the images, containing some remarkable observations. Nicolay was the starting point for visual knowledge of the Turks, and his costume book and the accompanying texts were used in several later works,[55] while his figures were copied by many graphic artists, either unchanged or

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53 On the tendency of typifying costume images, and on the question of representational authenticity, see *Fülemile*: Viseletábrázolások a 16–17. századi grafikában.

54 One of the most distinguished illustrators of the era, Abraham de Bruyn, for example, published the images of 24 peoples, including Turkish and Arab mounted warriors: A. *de Bruyn*: Diversarium Gentium Armatura equestris. Antwerp 1577, 57, etchings.

55 It was published thus a century later, as part of a volume covering several previous authors, for example in: Thomas Artus *d'Embry*: Histoire generale des Turcs, contenant l'histoire Chalcondyle traduit par Blaise de Vigenaire […] des plus histoire du serial par le Sieur Baudier. Les Figures et descriptions des principaux officiers et autres personnes de l'Empire Turc, par Nicolai […]. Paris 1662. Kálmán Szendy's album (*Picture 14*), published in 1833, shows that 250 years later Nicolay and Boissard (who copied Nicolay) were still using these early representations as a source.

with modifications, including Theodore de Bry, Abraham Bruyn, Jan Azel and others (*Picture 14*).

'Habitus Variarum Orbis Gentium Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae atque Americae Gentium Habitus' (Malines 1581) was a highly influential costume series probably compiled by the Frenchman Jean-Jacques Boissard (1528–1602). The 67 pages, in landscape orientation, contain a total of 182 costumed figures, and the drawings by the Flemish Abraham de Bruyn were etched in copper by Julius Goltzius. It was the first folio-size (23 x 30.5 cm) costume book. Much of the volume is devoted to the Turkish Empire, including Macedonia, the Greek provinces, Syria, Armenia, Persia and Egypt, where Boissard had travelled personally.[56] The costume book devotes equal space to women and men, and presents them according to subtle criteria. Bruyn directly copies the figures of Nicolay, so they appear in reverse in his book (*Picture 16*).

Picture 13: Chopines. Platformed women's shoes made of wood and covered in leather. Venice, around 1600. Their fashionableness in the 15th to 17th centuries can be attributed to Moorish influence in Spain, and to Turkish influence ("kabkab" slippers) in Italy.
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Costume Institute, Inv. no. 1973.114.a.b. Photo: Fülemile

[56] Cesare Vecellio also borrows from Boissard. Following Boissard, the first edition of C. *Vecellio*: De gli Habiti antichi et moderni di Diverse Parti del Mondo […]. Venice 1590, presented Europe, along with the Turkish Empire and Africa. The interest shown by Venice in the peoples of the world and the Turkish Empire is clearly reflected in the fact that in this city, with its bustling international trade and shipping, nine different books of costumes were published between 1558 and 1610. Bronwen *Wilson*: Foggie diverse di vestire de' Turchi: Turkish Costume Illustration and Cultural. In: Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 37 (2007) 1, 97–139; here 103, Picture 13.

Picture 14: Turkish mother in traditional costume.
Coloured copper engraving from Kálmán Szendy: Nemzetek Kép-Tára mellyen az egész föld minden ismeretes lakosai hív rajzolatokban s leiratokban terjesztetnek elő. I. Pest 1833. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Portrait Gallery, Inv. no. TKcs T 2071

Picture 15: Turkish woman. Reprint of a copperplate engraving made after the drawings of Nicolas Nicolay from Thomas Artus d'Embry: Histoire generale des Turcs [...]. Les Figures et descriptions des principaux officiers et autres personnes de l'Empire Turc, par Nicolai [...]. Paris 1662. First appeared in N. Nicolay: Les quatre premiers livres des navigation et peregrinations orientales. Lyons 1567. Indiana University, Bloomington, Lilly Library

Picture 16: Turkish women. Copperplate engraving from Jean-Jacques Boissard: Habitus Variarum Orbis Gentium. Malines 1581. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Prints and Drawings Department, Inv. no. 21.44. http://images.metmuseum.org/crdimages/dp/original/mm83232.jpg (February 10, 2018)

Picture 17: The personification of Asia from the composition featuring four figures representing the four continents (Europe, Asia, Africa and America). Coloured gilt porcelain sculpture. Meissen 1745.
Modeller: Johann Friedrich Eberlein, Johann Joachim Kändler, Peter Reinicke. Warsaw, Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie. Photo: Fülemile

The title page of Boissard's book features personifications of the four continents (Europe, Asia, Africa and America). In the foreword to the volume, the publisher Caspar Rutz stresses how the world has opened up thanks to great geographical discoveries. The allegorical figure symbolising Asia is shown wearing the headdress of a Turkish sultana and a long tunic with Amazon-style breast-plate. There is a falcon on her hand and a dromedary nearby, as the attributes of the continent (*Picture 17, 18*).

Picture 18: Title page of Jean-Jacques Boissard: Habitus Variarum Orbis Gentium. Malines 1581. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Prints and Drawings Department, Inv. no. 21.44. http://images.metmuseum.org/crdimages/dp/original/mm56592.jpg (February 10, 2018)

In the graphic output of the 17th century, alongside the more sober, informative, illustrative presentations, Oriental figures also appeared as a surreal element of allegorical representations. In the decorative parts of contemporary books and graphic publications, title pages (*Picture 19*) and the frames of scenes and portraits (*Picture 22*) are embellished with a Manneristic abundance of allegorical, mythological, emblematic and panegyric symbols. Depictions of fettered, subjugated or slaughtered Turkish soldiers became an indispensable element of triumphal allegories and apotheoses. In addition to military trophies, weapons, horses and flags, the exotically clad objectified

figures of prisoners of war symbolised the fact of victory and subjugation, or such intentions. In the opposition between West and East, Christianity and Islam, and Europe and the Turkish Empire, the old topos of the battle between Good and Evil was constantly revived.[57]

Picture 19: Theodoro de Bry's title page for J.-J. Boissard: Vitae et Icones Sultanorum Turcicorum [...]. Frankfurt 1596. Copperplate engraving. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Portrait Gallery, Inv. no. X. 862

[57] *Horváth* 15–18, 21. The stereotypical narrative clichés of German-language literature in the 16th century: "The first such epithet for the Turks [...] is the term Erbfeind [...] the primordial enemy of the Christian faith." "The sacred religion, life, the salvation of Christendom and the purity of its women and children […] are attacked by the Turk, so he is the 'Erbfeind'." "The Turks are the vilest, the most barbarous people in the world, spurning all cultures and human feeling. This is how the Germans see and characterise the Turks. Throughout their literature there is profound indignation at the immoral life of the Turks." Another epithet applied to the Turks was "Tyrannischer, blutdürstiger Bluthund" ("tyrannical, bloodthirsty bloodhounds"). Contemporary newspapers were full of the horrifying details of the atrocities committed by the Turks. "In the eyes of the French, the Turkish emperor is the Grand Turc, the great conqueror, while in German eyes he is Erbfeind and Bluthund" ("arch enemy and bloodthirsty bloodhound").

Both the systematic but stereotypical sobriety of the reported knowledge, and the bombastic allegorism[58] of the triumphal representation of the age, were ways of taking possession of the unknown, on the one hand on a rational level, and on the other hand on a symbolic-magical level (*Picture 20*).

Picture 20: The triumphal procession of Habsburg Emperor Leopold I. Allegorical commemorative print on the occasion of the liberation of Buda in 1686. Etching by Romeyn de Hooghe, 41.6 x 55.7 cm. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Portrait Gallery, Inv. no. 2822

In French and Italian Baroque drama, some of the Oriental figures of Antiquity (Cyrus, Semiramis) appeared among the classical themes, although the political plotting of the contemporary Turkish court was also depicted on stage. Literary imagination was captured most often by the story of Suleiman and Roxelana, and the tragedy of Prince Mustafa, a victim of intrigue and of his father's cruelty. Gabriel Bounin's drama 'La Soltane', which raised the question of the responsibility of Suleiman's wife, was published in 1561, just eight years after the tragic execution of Mustafa. In 1620, Prospero Bonarelli della

[58] For further information on triumphal iconography, see Werner *Weissbach*: Trionfi. Berlin 1919; Larry *Silver*: The Triumphs of Emperor Maximilian I. In: "All the World's a Stage ...". Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque. I. Triumphal Celebrations and the Rituals of Statecraft. Eds. Barbara Wisch, Susan Scott Munshower. Pennsylvania 1990, 292–331. On the genres of Baroque triumphal representation in copied graphics, see Ágnes *Fülemile*: Populáris grafika Magyarországon a 19. század második felében: emléklapok és emblematikájuk. In: Parasztkultúra, populáris kultúra és a központi irányítás. Ed. Eszter Kisbán. Budapest 1994, 215–220.

Rovere's tragedy 'Solimano' gave momentum to the Turkish motif in French classic drama (*Picture 21*). It was followed by Jean de Mairet's drama 'Le grand et dernier Solyman ou La mort de Mustapha' (1635), Charles Vion Dalibray's 'Le Soliman tragic' (1637), Jean Desmares' tragicomedy 'Roxelane' (1643), and Madeleine Scudery's novel 'Ibrahim ou L'illustre bassa'. Although these plays "contained some Asian exotic details, they had very little to do with Turkish history and authentic atmosphere".[59]

Picture 21: Jacques Callot's title page of Prospero Bonarelli: Il Solimano. Etching, 1619/1620. http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork/27402/print (February 10, 2018)

For European graphic artists, the Turkish woman was discovered through representation of the curiosity of her clothing, or through its imagination and invention. Also by Boissard, the 'Vitae et Icones Sultanorum'[60] contains the torso portraits of the most important wives of the famous sultans, as well as

[59] *Roxolana in European Literature, History and Culture*. Ed. Galina I. Yermolenko. Farnham/Burlington 2010, 34.

[60] J.-J. *Boissard*: Vitae et Icones Sultanorum Turcicorum […]. Frankfurt 1596, with etchings by Theodoro de Bry (a copy can be found in Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Gallery, Reference Library, X. 862, Inv. no. 252). Boissard was a writer, illustrator, engraver and publisher. Besides the presentation of the Turkish Empire, he was also involved in highly important books on emblems. Note that the most important early books on the discovery of the American continent and its indigenous population are related also to the name of the illustrator of the Vitae, Theodor de Bry (1528–1598).

the women's biographies (*Picture 22*).The pictorial representation of women was also motivated by an interest in their headdresses and jewellery, and the extravagance and special features of their clothing, which could be perceived in the decorative detail of their imaginary costumes.

Later, in the 17th and 18th centuries, representations of Turkish women appeared in greater number. It was two costume books, one French and one German, which, at the same time but independently from one another, created their own visual language. Both have become basic sources for the graphic representation of Turkish and exotic women in the 18th, and occasionally 19th century. (See below for a description.) It is owing to the appearance of costume books that the representation of Eastern woman in Europe became more concrete, and their visual topoi ubiquitous, as subsequent representations verifiably stem from this tradition.

Picture 22: Suleiman's wife, Rossa. Portrait in emblematic frame. Copperplate engraving from Theodoro de Bry: Boissardus: Vitae et Icones Sultanorum Turcicorum [...]. Frankfurt 1546, 205. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Portrait Gallery, Inv. no. X. 862

From this time on, Oriental women were denoted by the completeness of their unique apparel, or by some element of it, in the form of an attribute. Nudity was not part of the early representation of Turkish women (before the

end of the 18th century). Rich and exotic dress became an indispensable part of the representation of the Turkish woman – who became the archetype of the Oriental woman – eventually to be complemented by the genre-like portrayal of her environment. The inseparable and sensitive interplay of object and person, clothing and body, signified and signifier, becomes tangible from this point on in the European iconographic tradition of the depiction of the Oriental woman.

The role of clothing as an attribute is most apparent in allegorical representations, in which the four parts of the world are personified by four female figures. As on the title page in *Picture 18*, the female figures personifying the continents in a French copper engraving[61] from 1612 were: Europe, as an ornately dressed queen with a crown and orb; Asia, as a sultana in an ornate Turkish costume; Africa, as a naked Saracen woman with her lower body veiled and a magi star above her head; and America, as a Diana-like naked Amazon warrior. Thus while the African and American women were shown naked, the Asian woman was shown with the attributes of her rich Oriental costume.

The representation of clothing played an important part in the earlier portrayals of Oriental women. The most prominent types of the depiction of Eastern women, popularised via biblical and apocryphal stories and literary subjects, are: Potiphar's wife, Bathseba, Judith, Delila, Esther, the Queen of Sheba, the daughters of Lot, Salome, and Mary Magdalene.[62] In drawings of these women, the accentuated richness of clothing and jewellery has a precise meaning, and a role in their story: it is an expression of worldliness, a means of seduction, or a symbol of the woman's immoral and worldly past. Oriental elements were often included in drawings of their ornate costumes. These characters partially embodied negative attributes. Via a new connection between connotations, or through the inversion of connotations, the negative aspects of a character's inner personality have been shifted from the pictorially emphasised Oriental attribute objects to the East itself. In the final reading, moral deficiency was perceived as an Eastern quality. This underlying meaning becomes even more apparent when we consider that Oriental elements are diminished in representations of Jesus and Mary, creating a con-

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61 Pierre *Firens*: Hommage des quatre parties du monde [...]. Paris 1612, etching to commemorate the double wedding of Louis XIII to Anne of Austria, and Élisabeth of France to Felipe of Austria. In: Marianne *Grivel*: Le commerce de l'estampe à Paris au XVIIe siècle. Genéve 1986, 96, 432.

62 It is beyond the scope of this paper even to outline the rich literary and iconographic tradition related to both men and women.

scious opposition. The negative heroes are characters from the sinful world of the Old Testament, which was awaiting redemption, while Jesus and Mary represent the moral ascendancy of the New Testament. The oppositions between Old and New, Sinner and Redeemed, Foolish and Wise, the infidel East and the Christian West are reinforced by the medieval exegetist and pictorial iconographic tradition, based on typological parallels.

The figure of the richly dressed and bejewelled Eastern woman was a kind of *Venus Vulgaris*, in the sense in which the allegory of celestial and earthly love was contrasted in Renaissance paintings under the influence of Florentine humanism in the 15th century. In contrast to the ideal nude, the *Venus Coelestis*, which became the symbol of elevated, divine love, the rich garments and jewels of the *Venus Vulgaris* are symbols of secular vanity. The parallel of the clothed and naked woman in medieval typology exemplified the old and the new Eve, or the heavenly and earthly virtues of Truth and Grace. The same dichotomy can be found in the representation of Mary Magdalene. Before her conversion, the sinful, earthly woman is the figure of richly dressed profane love, while the repentant woman's nakedness, the *nuditas temporalis*, is the nakedness of the penitent, who frees herself from carnal life. The works of Titian (1485–1576), who painted the most famous allegory of the parallels between celestial and terrestrial love, contain many references to the East that bring the concept of Orientalism into the connotations of earthly love, *Venus vulgaris* and *vanitas*.[63]

The significant role of Oriental dress in terms of conveying meaning, forming character and depicting atmosphere is likewise highlighted by the fact that Eastern clothing was not only seen on biblical figures or in typifying costume pictures. The radically new quality of relationships with the East is indicated by the fact that, from the beginning of the17th century, Western European citizens and aristocrats began to have themselves depicted in Oriental costume, in keeping with the conventions of representative portraiture.[64]

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63 In Titian's 'Heavenly Love and Earthly Love' (1514, Rome, Galleria Borghese), the figure of *Earthly Love* wears pointed Turkish slippers, which can be seen peeping out from under her dress. Venus, in 'Venus and Adonis' (1553/1554, Madrid, Prado), sits on a trimmed velvet Turkish caftan. The striped scarf around the hips of the 'Penitent Magdalene' (St. Petersburg, Hermitage, 1560), the turban-like headpiece with threads of gold worn by the female figure in 'Earthly Love and Vanitas' (1514, Munich, Alte Pinakothek), and the fur-lined red velvet mantle embroidered in gold and silver draped around Venus's waist in 'Venus and the Mirror' (1555, Washington, National Gallery) are all references to the East.

64 While interest of Atlantic Europe in the East was motivated by economic gain, social prestige and curiosity, for the Hungarian, Croat, Polish, Russian and Montenegrin nobility in the

In the 17th century, after a military agreement had been reached, a new European diplomatic status quo began to emerge, of which the Ottoman Empire was an integral part. France, England and the Netherlands took a keen interest in the Turkish Empire and the Oriental question. Countries that did not have to fight for survival against the Turks began to see their great Eastern neighbour rather as a potential ally and trade partner. In the early period of colonisation,[65] the Netherlands was interested mainly in Persia; England in the Middle East and India; and the continent and France mainly in the Turkish territories of the Ottoman Empire, and later its North African colonies. Their emerging Orientalisation was thus focused on different territories in each case, and eventually they drew more heavily on the visual traditions of the everyday world of these societies.[66]

The high-quality artistic representation of the contemporary interest in the Orient is well exemplified in Dutch portraiture. The fashion for Persian Orientalisation in Dutch painting was associated with the Netherland's expansion in the Middle East in the early 17th century.[67] In portraits by Rem-

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buffer zones of Europe, it meant the need for permanent military alertness against the Turkish Empire. The strong noble consciousness that defined itself in opposition to the Turks (among others) gave rise to a noble dress code that incorporated local elements interpreted as of *ethnic* quality in these countries precisely during the 16th and 17th centuries. The 16th century is still a period of uncertain evolution and formulation, but by the 17th century a distinctive style emerges, which would remain the dominant style of the national, official representation in these countries until the end of World War II. These noble national styles appropriate and shape Oriental elements in their own image with a peculiar ambivalence: partly in opposition to the Turks, but also reflecting a kind of cultural symbiosis. In this case, the image of Turkish culture, and the characteristics and context of Orientalism, therefore differ from the Orientalism of Western Europeans.

65 The period of early colonisation – if we consider, for example, relations between the Netherlands and Persia or England and India – was still a time of exploration of local relations, adaptation, and step-by-step advancement, and for the time being economic, rather than military-political expansion, alongside the methods of exploration, systematisation, and, of course, stereotyping, which, in the best case, also involved a higher level of artistic digestion of experience. *Braudel* 484–532.

66 Gerald *Maclean*: The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire 1580–1720. New York 2004, analyses the travelogues of four English visitors to the Ottoman Empire, from about two centuries before the British Empire. Through an analysis of the writings of an organ builder (Thomas Dallam, 1599), a Protestant pastor (William Biddulph, 1609), a rich, educated gentleman (Sir Henry Blount, 1636) and a trader (Mr. T. S., 1670), the author highlights the admiration felt by Early Modern Western travellers on encountering Ottoman civilisation. At the same time, the experience of travelling provided them with an opportunity to formulate what it meant to be *English*.

67 In 1623, the Persian shah recognised the Dutch East India Company, and three years later Sultan Maso Bey personally visited the Netherlands. This gave an impetus to the fashion for

brandt[68] and his pupils, which radiate a beautiful, contemplative silence, the men are often dressed in Persian clothes. Oriental dress was intended to express a new social rank and prestige, through its links with the treasures of the East (*Picture 23*). Stadholder Frederick Henry[69] was among those who posed in this manner, for example, in Lievens's full-length portrait. In Gerrit Dou's 'Prince Rupert of the Palatinate and his Tutor', the protagonist can be similarly identified.[70] However, it is not the nature of the portraiture that is immediately striking. The exotic clothing places the characters in a remote, historically undefinable, timeless past, perhaps in biblical times, and draws attention to the philosophical depths of knowledge acquisition. In Rembrandt's and Bol's three-quarter-length portraits of elderly men wearing Persian costume, we do not know the identity of the models, nor is it important. The warm light from the dark background illuminating the dignified faces, the velvet textures, the muted harmony of the colours and the depth of characterisation embody the quintessential art of painting.

One of the most beautiful early nudes in fine art history is the work of Rembrandt.[71] Referred since the 18th century as the Negress, Rembrandt's etching is one of his lesser-known late works from 1658. Printed on golden-toned Japanese paper, the copper etching, with its painting-like quality, depicts a reclining female nude wearing a turban. The sleeping figure veiled by the warm-brown night radiates extraordinary tranquillity. Free of thematic boundaries, Rembrandt's 'Negress' is an early example of "the nude as a means in itself".[72] (*Picture 24.*)

Persian-style Orientalisation as a recurring feature in Dutch portraiture. Hermann *Goetz*: Oriental Types and Scenes in Renaissance and Baroque Painting. II. In: The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs 73 (1938) 426, 105–107, 110–112, 114–115; Hermann *Goetz*: Persians and Persian Costumes in Dutch Painting of the Seventeenth Century. In: The Art Bulletin 20 (1938) 3, 280–290, here 287.

68 Rembrandt Harmenszoon *van Rijn* (1606–1669) drew and painted a large number of male figures in Oriental costume, one of the most outstanding of which is the huge oil painting, now in New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. no. 20.155.2, which he painted at the age of 26: Man in Oriental Costume. Oil on canvas, 1632.

69 Jan *Lievens* (1607–1674): Old Man in Oriental Attire. Oil on canvas, around 1628. Potsdam: Bildergalerie, Sanssouci.

70 Gerrit *Dou* (1613–1675): Prince Rupert of the Palatinate and his Tutor. Oil on canvas, 1631. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Acc. no. 84.PA.570. The young Prince Rupert, depicted in ornate Oriental costume, was the son of Elisabeth of Bohemia and Friedrich V Elector Palatine.

71 New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Havemeyer Collection, Inv. no. 1929/29.107.28.

72 Kenneth *Clark*: The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form. Princeton 1972, 368.

Picture 23: Ferdinand Bol: Portrait of a Man in Oriental Attire. Oil painting, detail, 1665, 131 x 101 cm. Milwaukee/Wisconsin, Milwaukee Art Museum, Inv. no. m.1972.51. Photo: Fülemile

Picture 24: Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn: 'Negress'. Mixed technique on Japanese paper, 1658. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Havemeyer Collection, Inv. no. 1929/29.107.28. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/29.107.28/ (February 10, 2018)

The Image of the Turks in the 18th Century

In the 18th century, interest in Turkish culture became keener than ever, although its focus changed. This change in attitude is exemplified by the success of the first spy novel in world literature, 'Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy',[73] which was published in many editions and translated into several languages. Published in 1683 under the titles 'L'Esploratore turco' and 'L'Espion du Grand-Seigneur', the epistolary novel, comprising the fictitious letters sent by Mahmut from Paris to Constantinople, was written by the Genovese political refugee Giovanni Paolo Marana, who lived at the court of Louis XIV. The protagonist narrates events from the perspective of an observant and furtive spy, recounts anecdotes about the French elite, disputes on political and religious issues, and pens satires of contemporary Western European society with the intellectual liberty of an outsider, drawing contrasts with Turkish society.[74] The subject matter of 'L'Espion Turc' was indeed timely, as in 1683, the year of the siege of Vienna, nothing could have attracted greater interest than the appearance of a new genre with a Turkish theme.

The brilliant military achievements of the Habsburgs and their international allies, the gradual liberation of the territory of Buda and Hungary, and the cementing of the new Balkan status quo brought relief to the German-speaking part of Western Europe. The triumphant allies revelled in the euphoria of victory. From Vienna to Karlsruhe and Dresden, treasuries were filled with trophies looted from the Turks. The grandiose celebrations of the rulers of the Baroque Age were immortalised for contemporaries and posterity using the exuberant media of triumphal allegory.

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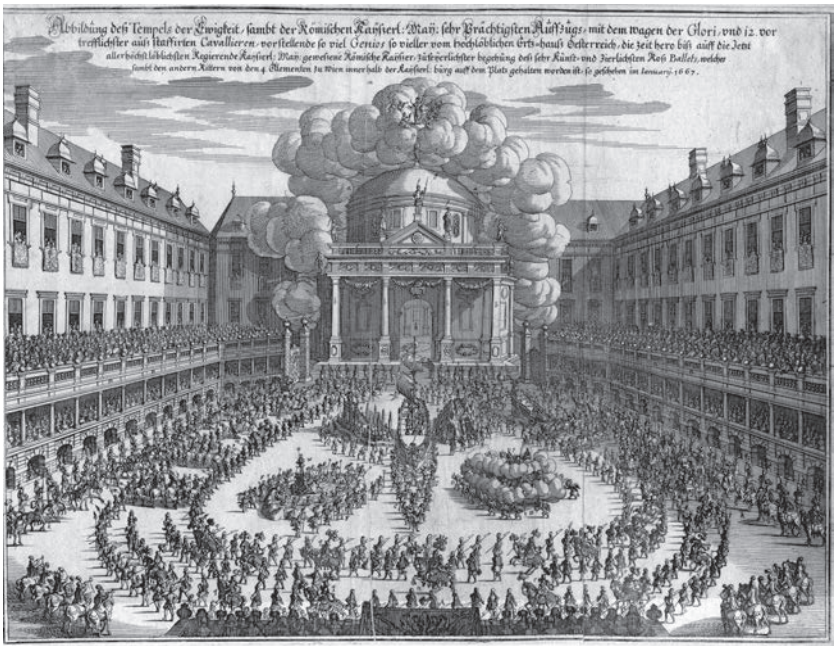
73 In later editions, it appeared under the title 'L'Espion Turc Dans Les Cours Des Princes Chrétiens, Ou Lettres Et Mémoires D'Un Envoyé Secret de La Porte Dans Les Cours de L'Europe […]'. The first volume contained 102 letters, while the other seven volumes, the authorship of which is contested, contained further 542 letters.

74 Aleksandra *Porada*: Giovanni Paolo Marana's Turkish Spy and the Police of Louis XIV: the Fear of Being Secretly Observed by Trained Agents in Early Modern Europe. In: Altre Modernità 11 (2014) 96–110.



Picture 25: A memorial print commemorating the carousel in Vienna's Hofburg in 1667. Copperplate engraving. Participants in the equestrian ballet personified the four elements in allegorical costumes. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Portrait Gallery, Inv. no. 58.2534

In the theatricality of the royal and aristocratic courts of the era, the triumphal processions of the past were tamed into spectacular, playful festivities for court entertainment. Court life was enlivened by theatrical performances, along with themed costume parades, quadrilles and caroussel games (costumed, allegorical equestrian games), masked balls,[75] and peasant weddings. Vast fortunes were spent on extravagant ceremonies that were preceded by professional planning and costume design, and the preparations required an army of specialists.[76] Oriental – that is, Turkish – costumes were an indispen-

[75] On the cultural and dress history of masquerades, see Aileen *Ribeiro*: The Dress Worn at Masquerades in England, 1730 to 1790, and its Relation to Fancy Dress in Portraiture. New York/London 1984.

[76] On the professional background of the organisation of Baroque court festivals, see Claudia *Schnitzer*: Höfische Maskeraden. Funktion und Ausstattung von Verkleidungsdivertissements an deutschen Höfen der Frühen Neuzeit. Tübingen 1999. In 2014, thanks to Claudia

sable element of the quadrille games, in which the four points of the compass, the four continents or the four elements were personified. Oriental (Turkish, Greek, Persian) costumes were particularly popular in the masquerades. (Liotard, Mary Theresa's favourite artist, painted the queen in Turkish costume.[77])

Schnitzer's curatorial work, Dresden's Staatliche Kunstsammlungen hosted a temporary exhibition on the month-long court festival held by Elector of Saxony Augustus II the Strong to celebrate the marriage of his son Frederick Augustus and Maria Josepha in 1719. For the exhibition catalogue see Claudia *Schnitzer*: Constellatio Felix. Die Planetenfeste Augusts des Starken anlässlich der Vermählung seines Sohnes Friedrich August mit der Kaisertochter Maria Josepha 1719 in Dresden. Dresden 2014. Augustus gave expression to his euphoric joy at his aspirations to power through this favourable marriage via a series of grandiose celebrations under the motto *Constellatio Felix*. On September 17, the Turkish feast was part of the garden festivities on the theme of the planets, the central motif of which was the crescent moon. Drawings were produced (by Carl Heinrich Jacob Fehling), capturing the parade of the janissaries, the banquet in the Turkish Palace built by August the Strong, and the target shooting by torchlight in the Turkish garden. The interest shown by Augustus the Strong and his predecessors in *turquerie* laid the foundation for the largest Turkish collection outside Turkey, which is now hosted by Grünes Gewölbe's 'Türckische Cammer'. Augustus the Strong enjoyed wearing original items of Turkish clothing. His adjutant, Johann Georg Spiegel, often travelled to Constantinople to carry out assignments and procure precious objects. Augustus ordered Arab horses and camels for his festivities. Arab horses were traditionally included among the gifts sent by the Turkish sultan and delivered by diplomats to European rulers.

77 Liotard's picture is in a private collection. Martin van Meytens' 'Maria Theresia im Kostüm einer Türkischen Haremsdame' repeats the composition of Liotard. (The oil painting from 1743/1744 is now in Wien, Schönbrunn.) On October 3, 1743, a 'Türkisches Fest' masquerade was held in Schönbrunn, for which Maria Theresa probably wore a Turkish costume. Ernst *Wangermann*: Maria Theresa: a Reforming Monarchy. In: The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage, and Loyalty 1400–1800. Ed. Arthur G. Dickens. London 1977, 283–303, here 286, mentions that Maria Theresa was fond of dancing and permitted the organisation of masquerades, which had been forbidden in her father's time. In 1717, Lady Mary Wortley Montague wrote in a letter that at the Viennese court "masking" was "never permitted during a war with the Turks" in carnival season (L. M. W. *Montague*: Letters of the Right Honorauble Lady Mary Wortley Montague Written during her Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa [...]. I-III. London 1763, 108, Letter XX, Vienna, January 1, 1717). Earlier masquerades were highly fashionable at the Viennese court. E. g. in 1698, a contemporary eyewitness gave an account of a masquerade, held in honour of Tsar Peter the Great. At the *tavern*-themed masquerade "the Emperor personated the landlord and the Empress the landlady of the tavern", while the tsar was dressed as a Frisian peasant. "The other masks appeared in the dress of the different European and Eastern nations; or as gypsies, gardeners, shepherds, peasants of different countries, quacks, brigands, waiters, etc." Karl Eduard *Vehse*: Memoirs of the Court, Aristocracy and Diplomacy of Austria. II. London 1856, 67.

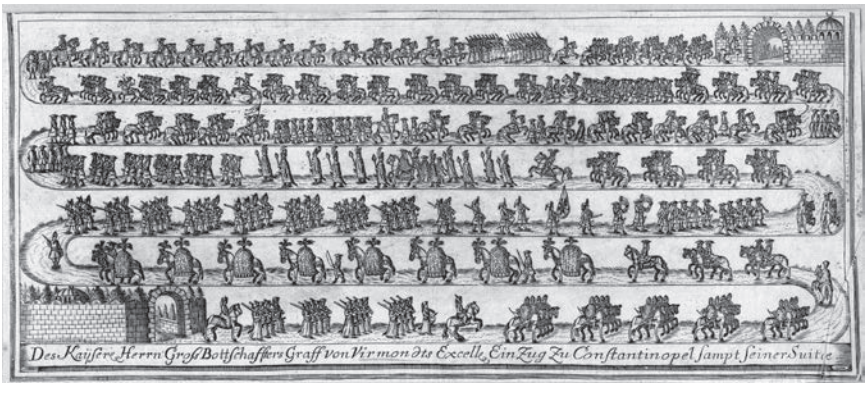
Picture 26: Court-painter before 1707: Louis William, Margrave of Baden-Baden (also known as Turkenlouis), in Turkish costume. Watercolour, tempera and parchment, 35 x 26.8 cm. Rastatt (bei Karlsruhe), Schloss Favorite. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Badischer_Hofmaler_001.jpg (February 10, 2018)

Participants at the much-loved 'Ball of Nations' typically wore regional costumes from the royal provinces, Hungarian and Polish hussar uniforms, as well as Turkish and other exotic dress (*Picture 26*). Schnitzer emphasises that the wearing of ethnic and exotic clothing was not necessarily a sign of respect. On the contrary – albeit unspoken – such costumes were an expression of ownership, subjection and disdain, remaining in line with the allegorical interpretations of the former triumphal trophies. The custom of dressing royal children in the style of the enemy in wartime has the same roots.[78] In the intimate life of the royal and aristocratic courts, the freedom to dress in costume allowed for playfulness and comfort, while, at the same time, the associated rules and symbols created an additional dividing line between external reality and the closed, internal world of the court.[79] As the political and military weakening of the Ottoman Empire became increasingly apparent, it was less and less regarded as a bestial enemy. Western ambassadors to Constantinople

[78] Ágnes *Fülemile*: Királyok nemzeti viseletben. Példák a nemzeti elemek megjelenésére a 19. századi európai udvari öltözködésben. In: Népi kultúra – népi társadalom. XIX: Társadalomnéprejzi tanulmányok. Eds. Attila Paládi-Kovács, Miklós Szilágyi. Budapest 1998, 91–110, here 95.

[79] *Schnitzer* 36.

came and went, while Western aristocrats began to indulge in the upper-class fashion for making tours in the Turkish Empire, Asia Minor and Persia. The entourage accompanying the incoming ambassadors was always a great attraction, and often recorded in commemorative prints (*Picture 27*).



Picture 27: Imperial Ambassador Count Damian Hugo von Virmont's ceremonial entry into Constantinople, 1719. Copperplate engraving. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Portrait Gallery, Inv. no. 4552b

Diplomats and aristocrats were also accompanied by artists. The audience scene became a common genre of sketching diplomatic events, where European ambassadors to the Sublime Porte were depicted during their inauguration. The most prominent artist specialising in this genre was the Flemish Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (1671–1737). When Louis XIV sent Marquis Charles de Ferriol D'Argental as ambassador of France to Constantinople in 1699, Ferriol took with him the then unknown painter Vanmour to document his diplomatic mission, and the habits and costumes of the Turkish court. The painter remained in Constantinople after the ambassador's return, and lived there for 38 years until his death. The 100 pictures he made for Ferriol between 1708 and 1709 became Vanmour's most well-known works.[80] It was

[80] In addition to his works for Ferriol, Vanmour painted hundreds of oil paintings for others. These included the 70 oil paintings commissioned by Dutch Ambassador Cornelis Calkoen, who was accredited to the Ottoman Porte between 1726 and 1744. In addition to formal court scenes, he also painted intimate genre themes such as the first day at school, Turkish, Greek and Armenian weddings, etc. These paintings can be seen in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. The paintings commissioned by Calkoen were shown at the exhibition 'The Ambassador, the Sultan and the Artist' at the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum (July 3 to October 26, 2003) and at the Topkapi Sarayi Museum (December 15, 2003 to April 15, 2004). Eveline *Sint Nicolaas* – Duncan *Bull* – Günsel *Renda*: The ambassador, the sultan and the artist:

Ferriol's idea to have Vanmour's pictures etched on copperplates by local masters in Paris, and to publish them in book form with his own foreword. The work (M. de *Ferriol*: Recueil de cent estampes representent Differentes Nations du Levant […]. Paris: Chez Bason 1714) ran to many editions and was translated into several languages, including English, German, Spanish and Italian. It was probably due to Ferriol's vanity that Vanmour's name is not emphasized in the album. A provincial craftsman rather than a great artist, Vanmour's work has been preserved from oblivion by continuing curiosity in the subjects he painted. A comparison of his paintings and the series of copperplate etchings suggests that some of the Parisian engravers were better artists than he was. However, Vanmour is the first Orientalist painter, in the sense that his paintings were the source of a new wave of Orientalisation in the 18th century. Among the 100 costume pictures in the album, there are 62 representations of Turks, 10 Greeks, six Africans, four Armenians, three Jews, three Romanians, two Tartars, two Persians, two Albanians, two Indians, two French and two Hungarians.

The most impressive pages in the album are those depicting Turkish women in the interior of the seraglio,[81] casually smoking or playing music as they lie on the sofa (*Picture 28, 29*). These internal spaces with their distinctive windows and garden views, and the large pillows and low couches are all characteristic elements of the Oriental interior. It is here that the representation of the exotic Oriental woman, or *odalisque*, has its roots in terms of composition. Vanmour's figures were copied or used by many, from similar costume picture books to high-end artistic creations (e. g. Boucher, the Guardi brothers, Hogarth and Ingres). The *Recuil* became the main source for the 18th century fashion for *turqoiserie*, an indispensable handbook for porcelain sculptors, painters and costume designers. The odalisques in the harem, the bathing figures and Saracen servants to be found in the album were the forerunners of the Orientalising art of the 19th century, including the works of Ingres. This work was essentially the most cited visual knowledge of Turks in that era.

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an audience in Istanbul. Amsterdam 2003. Apart from the pictures in the Rijskmuseum, Vanmour's paintings are often to be found in private collections and at art sales. On June 17, 2004, for example, Christie's auctioned (SALE 1380, LOT 71) the large oil painting 'A Turkish Hunting Party with Sultan Ahmed III' (151 x 225.5 cm). The sultan and his entourage are resting in the open, entertained by white and black dancers and musicians. The spectators include a lady in European dress.

[81] A seraglio is a palace complex with a closed harem for women and children.

Picture 28: Turkish woman smoking on a sofa. Scotin's copperplate engraving after J.-B. Vanmour. In: M. de Ferriol: Recueil de cent estampes [...]. Paris 1714. Budapest, National Széchenyi Library, Apponyi H. 2808

Picture 29: Turkish woman playing the tchegour. Scotin's copperplate engraving after J.-B. Vanmour. M. de Ferriol: Recueil de cent estampes [...]. Paris 1714. Budapest, National Széchenyi Library, Apponyi H. 2808

Another influential series during the period was created by Dutch master Caspar Luyken (1672–1708).[82] His work 'Neu-eröffnete Welt-Galleria […]' (Nuremberg 1703), which was published during the reign of Emperor Leopold I, followed the concept of imperial court preacher Abraham a Sancta Clara, and featured a foreword by him. The 100 copperplate engravings were made by Christoph Weigel, after Caspar Luyken.[83] In his preface, Santa Clara, a theologian notorious for his fanaticism and intolerance, is outspoken in his criticism of those who wear the clothes of other peoples, and emphasises that the book contributes to an understanding of the differences between peoples and social classes. Luyken's beautiful etchings, however, contain no trace of bias, stereotyping or mockery. Whether empresses or Moravian peasant women, German burghers or African natives, his figures are all drawn with equal empathy. In the series, the Turkish Empire is represented on 22 pages, including Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Tartar and Persian figures. The five pages representing Turkish women include the empress, a dancer, a woman at home, a woman on her way to the baths, and a woman in the street. The last two pages show characters in street clothes with veiled faces, while the other three pages show them without veils. Luyken's series was also copied by many, although it was mainly influential in German-speaking countries.[84] (*Picture 30, 31.*)

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82 Caspar Luyken and his father Jan were renowned illustrators in Amsterdam, one of the major centres of contemporary book publishing. The father and son produced one of the most famous emblem book about crafts: Jan *Luyken* – Caspar *Luyken*: Het Menselyk Bedryf. Vertoond in 100 verbeeldingen [...]. Amsterdam 1694. They also produced Bible and emblem illustrations, and thousands of other images.

83 In 1699, Luyken travelled to Nürnberg, where for six years, in collaboration with the famous publisher Christoph Weigel, he published several illustrated books. An incomplete, bound copy of the above series can be found in Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Portrait Gallery, Inv. no. TKcs 164. On the themes of the series, see also: *Fülemile*: Magyar vonatkozású viseletábrázolások, 141.

84 By way of example, we include the themes of an 18th century costume book compiled from earlier works, which has been fully preserved in Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Gallery (Reference Library, 165 VII. 554): *Neu-eröffnetes Amphitetraum* [...] *Aller Nationen* [...]. Ed. Johann Michael Funcken. Erfurth 1723. The book is divided into four volumes: I. Europe, II. Africa, III. America, and IV. Amphitetrum Turcicum. The four-volume work features 153 costumes from the Turkish Empire, as a continent-sized territory. Some of the depictions are based on the Luyken-Weigel series. However, instead of the delicate, original etchings, Funcken's replicas are sketchy and badly drawn woodcuts.

Picture 30: C. Luyken: 'Eine Tanzende Türkin'. Copperplate engraving from Abraham a Sancta Clara: Neu-eröffnete Weltgalleria [...]. Nuremberg 1703. The complete book with unnumbered pages.
Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Portrait Gallery, Inv. no. 164

Picture 31: C. Luyken: 'Eine Türkin ins Bad gehend'. Copperplate engraving from Abraham a Sancta Clara: Neu-eröffnete Weltgalleria [...]. Nuremberg 1703. The complete book with unnumbered pages. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Portrait Gallery, Inv. no. 164

When creating theatrical sceneries, props and stage costumes, the series of prints referred to above, and the related Orientalising costume designs, tended to dominate.

During the 16th to 18th centuries, alongside the printed costume books, many series of watercolour paintings were produced, surprisingly also in regions that boasted advanced printing and engraving techniques. These watercolour albums were unique, and the representations they contained were more detailed and authentic than the replicated series. They were typically owned by rulers, high-ranking aristocrats, wealthy patrician families, and university professors. These manuscript series satisfied the demand for luxury and often changed hands in the form of representational diplomatic gifts. Although it is impossible to be sure of its origins, it may well be that the Turkish-themed costume album that is part of the collection of the Hungarian high aristocrat Esterhazy's in Tata, served similar purposes. Produced by an Italian artist, the first volume of a sophisticated, gold-plated album presenting the court of Abdul Hamid (1774–1789) in 86 pages has survived from the second half of the 18th century.[85] (*Colour Supplement 5, 6, 7, 8.*)

Following the Medieval and Renaissance depictions of the East as an attribute of evil, and the Mannerist and Baroque views of the East, based on battle scenes and triumphal representations, as the bestial arch enemy, a new tamed and increasingly erotic image of the Orient began to emerge in the 18th century. The new image of the Turks emphasised curiosity, and evinced a special interest in male-female relations, polygamy and the harems. In 18th century Europe, polygamy was no longer regarded as an example of abhorrent immorality, but rather as an entertaining and frivolous concept. Readers of contemporary popular literature wanted an insight into the sensual, titillating and scandalous world of the harem. At the same time, writers began to try to make their work appealing to their new female readership. With the feminization of act of reading, it is no surprise, then, that the reading woman herself as a theme, appear as part of playful and intimate scenes in popular French etchings. One such etching was 'The reading woman' (*La liseuse*)[86] by N. Ponce, after Ch. Eisen, from around 1770, where the beautiful woman, like some Venus, reclines with erotic abandon half naked on a sofa, surrounded

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[85] Mónika *Kövesdi*: III–2 Ismeretlen olasz művész, Sultana (katalógustétel). In: Györgyi *Imreh*: A modell. Női akt a 19. századi magyar művészetben. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában, 2004. október 14. – 2005. február 6. Budapest 2005, 241–242.

[86] Louis *Réau*: La gravure d'illustration en France au XVIIIe siècle. Paris/Bruxelles 1928, 37.

by all the typical accessories of Titian's classical nude tradition. The picture is accompanied by a stanza from Joannes Secundus' 'Hymn to the Kiss':

"Touch but the lips, and you dispense /
The brisk alarm thro' ev'ry sense: /
Come, hover round my tuneful lyre, /
And ev'ry swelling note inspire; /
So shall the warmth my strains express /
Thy rapture-giving pow'r confess."
(Translated by George Ogle)

The 'Arabian Nights' appeared in French translation in 1704, hugely popularising romances set in an Eastern context, as audiences became bored with Greek and Roman classical heroism. Several dramas by Voltaire (1694–1773) were set in an exotic context: 'Zaire' in the Holy Land[87] – (*Picture 32*) –, 'Mahomet ou le fanatisme' in Arabia, 'Les Guébres' in India, 'Alzire' in America, and 'L'Orphelin de la Chine' in China. Even the greatest writers had recourse to eroticism, and even pornography. The erotic novel 'Les bijoux indiscrets' by Diderot (1713–1784), and 'Le sopha' by Crebillon Fils (1707–1777) both have an Oriental setting. Oriental themes and costumes also became popular on the stage, as the fashion of *Alla Turca*[88] hit the musical and operatic theatres.[89]

[87] Although the story takes place during the Crusades, the play openly contrasts Turkish customs with Christian ones. For the first performance at the Comedie-Francaise in 1732, the costumes were made *à la turque*. Dady *Hawkins*: International Dictionary of Theatre Plays. I. Chicago 1992, 929. The popularity of the theme is clearly demonstrated by the fact that Johann Michael Haydn (1737–1806) composed Incidental Music to Voltaire's 'Zaire' in 1777.

[88] *Alla Turca*: a high-tempo European musical piece written in the style of Turkish janissary military bands. Several great European composers wrote Turkish-style music, including Mozart, Haydn, Gluck, Rossini and Beethoven. In 1699, when Austria and the Ottoman Porte signed the Treaty of Karlowitz, the Turkish delegation brought a janissary band with other performers to Vienna, that played for a long time. This event heightened European interest in Turkish music. In the 1720s, the Polish and Russian, followed by the Prussian and Austrian courts received a complete band from the Ottoman Porte, which was followed by a number of other European countries embracing the fashion for the janissary band in the 1770s. Eventually, rather than importing genuine Turkish musicians, Turkish musical instruments were distributed to black-skinned musicians dressed in Oriental clothes. See Henry George *Farmer*: Military Music. The World of Music XII. New York 1950.

[89] The first opera by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791), 'Zaide' (1779) had a Turkish theme, and was followed by the Abduction from the 'Seraglio' (which had its premiere in 1782). Although Mozart did not complete the work, in 'Zaide' he created an original, Orientalising musical language. The protagonist, a female Western slave in the court of

Picture 32: Louise Élisabeth Vigée le Brun: Giuseppina Grassini in the role of Zaïre, in Peter von Winter's opera. Oil on canvas, 1805, 133 x 99 cm. Courted by Napoleon while performing in France, Grassini was a celebrated opera singer. In two of Le Brun's three portraits of her, the primadonna is posing in Oriental costume. Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Giuseppina_Grassini_by_Louise_%C3%89lisabeth_Vig%C3%A9e_Le_Brun_2.jpg (February 11, 2018)

In any case, Orientalisation no longer meant merely the depiction of Oriental themes, or their theatrical visualisation, but also a more general phenomenon: new opportunities and forms of expression in the fields of fashion, social prestige and entertainment. For example, coffee culture was greatly enhanced by the Parisian home of the Turkish envoy Müteferrika Süleyman Ağa (1669), from where news of the coffee ceremonies organised for distinguished guests

Suleiman, is in love with a European slave. They escape and are captured, although Suleiman ultimately releases them so that they can return home to spread the word that there is a fair legal system in the East. (Research into Orientalism also saw a revival in the history of both music and musical theatre. See, for instance, Matthew William *Head*: Orientalism, masquerade and Mozart's Turkish music. London 2000.)

spread rapidly.[90] As part of the fashion for *turqoiserie*, the popularity of wearing Turkish clothes, sitting on carpets and cushions, drinking coffee and sherbet, smoking and taking snuff began to spread at this time (*Picture 37, Colour Supplement 3*). The Turkish technique for making knotted-pile carpets was successfully adopted in France from 1608.[91] From 1628 onwards, the Savonnerie manufactory in Chaillot became the centre of production for elegant decorative carpets, based on Turkish models but with specifically French designs.[92] Savonnerie carpets counted among the most prestigious diplomatic gifts. The French silk industry, which aimed to eliminate imports of luxury Oriental silks, also began to flourish in this era.[93]

Despite the constraints of convention, certain private events belonging to the sphere of intimacy were made public in 18th century society. The wearing of lighter *negligées* at home was accepted as part of the *levée*, or morning audience, during which guests were greeted in the bedroom. Rather than uncomfortable, poorly tailored formal clothes, men were happy to wear loose-fitting caftan-style dressing gowns, or *banyan*s, which were made from Oriental silk and brocade, along with Oriental head coverings and slippers. Men and women who imitated Turkish fashions imagined themselves in the role of despots and odalisques. Wearing Oriental garments had an aristocratic elegance.[94] (*Picture 33, 34.*)

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90 The first French coffeehouse in Paris, the Café Procope, opened in 1686. The Italians, the English and the Dutch were ahead of the French in this respect: in Venice, for example, the first coffeehouse opened in 1645, in the north German ports in the 1670s, and in Vienna in 1683.

91 Pierre Dupont and his assistant, Simon Lourdet, introduced the technique on their return from the Levant. P. *Dupont*: La Stromatourgie, ou Traité de la Fabrication des tapis de Turquie. Paris 1632.

92 The monopoly on the products of the manufactory, which worked primarily for the Louvre, was held by the crown for almost 150 years. From the middle of the 18th century, another tapestry manufactory was founded in Aubusson (France).

93 Promoted by Colbert, silk weaving flourished in Lyons between 1620 and 1685 – until the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes – after which the recovery in the 18th century was brought to an end by the French Revolution.

94 On Orientalisation in the history of European clothing and fashion see the exhibition catalogue of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Costume Institute: Richard *Martin* – Harold *Koda*: Orientalism. Visions of the East in Western Dress. New York 1994. The fashion for Orientalisation was undeniably boosted by such extravagant and aristocratic models as Madame de Pompadour, mistress of Louis XV. Her boudoir was decorated in 1747 with Carle van Loo's large-scale genre paintings, which she commissioned, depicting her as a sultana in the seraglio (Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs).

Picture 33: Turkish women's caftan. Patterned silk and cotton, late 18th, early 19th century. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. no. c.i.55.74. Photo: Fülemile

Picture 34: German gentleman in costume. Woodcut from Johann Michael Funcken: Neu-eröffnetes Amphitheatrum […]. Erfurth 1723. The man is dressed in domestic negligé (an Oriental robe, known as a banyan and a smoking cap). He is holding a love letter, and his wigs and formal clothes can be seen hanging up behind him. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Portrait Gallery, Reference Library, Inv. no. 165. VII. 554

Picture 35: J.-É. Liotard: Portrait of Maria Adelaide of France in Turkish-style clothes. Oil on canvas, 1753, 57 x 48 cm. Florence, Uffizi. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jean_Etienne_L%C3%ACotard_-_Ritratto_di_Maria_Adelaide_di_Francia_vestita_alla_turca_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg (February 11, 2018)

As part of this social role playing, Persian and Turkish clothing, either with the appearance of originality, or decorative, costume-like and artistic, is still often to be seen worn by both women and men alike in 18th century portraits. In representative portraits of illustrious men, these exotic garments serve as an expression of social rank. Well-travelled men of the world, or members of the economic and diplomatic colony, made reference in this way to their relationship with the East. A good example of this is the impressive portrait of the French ambassador Charles Gravier Vergennes (1754–1768), produced by French painter Antoine de Favray, who spent nine years in Constantinople (*Colour Supplement 1*). Because of their picturesque quality, women also increasingly began to wear Eastern outfits. Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725–1805), for example, painted a portrait of the celebrated Parisian ballet dancer Marie-Madeline Guimard in 1790, in which the dancer is wearing a turban, loose Turkish trousers, and a fur-edged blue silk caftan, following the Orientalising *robe à la turque* fashion of the day (*Colour Supplement 2*).

The Swiss Jean-Etienne Liotard (1702–1789), who first studied as a miniaturist, later became famous for his brilliant pastel technique. He spent four years (1738–1742) in Constantinople, where he painted portraits of members of the British colony. He grew a beard and wore Turkish clothing, and as a result was known by many simply as the Turkish painter. On his return home, he was in great demand among the aristocrats of Europe. His genre paintings often feature Eastern figures and interiors. He also painted many of his European models in Turkish dress. In his portrait of Marie Adelaide (*Picture 35*), Liotard depicts the girl lost in a book as she rests in the corner of a green couch, totally at ease and at home. The details of her clothing and the texture of the materials are filled with life. The unique, down-to-earth realism of Liotard's pictures of intimate silence have no equivalent, either in the 18th century or in the history of Orientalising painting.

Representative portrait painting in the 18th century included a more intimate type, the so-called elegiac or poetic portrait. The aristocrats and celebrated beauties of the age had themselves painted in casually elegant poses, in mysteriously revealing, antique-style veils, wearing bucolic or Orientalising costumes, in parks, on balconies, among classical ruins, or before serpentine draperies, accompanied by the dramatic lights of a stormy sky. Orientalising women's clothing had a picturesque ideal type that is similar in French and English portraiture. It was characterised by turban-like headdresses made from lightweight, translucent, long silk scarves; and loose silk or velvet robes worn over fine tulle under garments, with scarf belts tied around the chest, giving a drapery-like appearance and creating a vivid, picturesque effect with a monochromatic splash of colour. Among the English painters, Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792) preferred to dress his aristocratic models in Oriental costume – which he also wore himself. Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun (1755–1842), a popular French portraitist in European aristocratic circles, also liked to paint her distinguished models in Oriental costume. In her half- or three-quarter-length portraits, the Oriental atmosphere is further emphasised by the large velvet cushion used as an armrest, where her subjects could rest their arms with casual elegance.[95]

[95] Some of the portraits by Vigée Le Brun showing Orientalising clothing, from the exhibition catalogue for the first retrospective, Le Brun exhibition at the Kimbell Art Museum. For the digital version of the catalogue, see http://www.batguano.com/kamvlbcatalog.html (February 7, 2018): 'Duchesse D'Orleans'. 1789 (Catalogue no. 28); 'Countess Skavronskaya'. 1790 (Catalogue no. 30); 'Princess Galitzyna'. 1797 (Catalogue no. 48).

The Rococo-style *fête galante* painter Jean-Honore Fragonard (1732–1806) also painted the idealised image of a Turkish sultana.[96] These artists are mentioned as a group only because of the similarity of their painted subjects, although there are immense differences between Liotard's timeless enamel-glazed realism, Reynolds' coolly elegant mannerism, Le Brun's feminine affectation, and the decorative character of Fragonard's porcelain figure-like idyllic doll-princess.

In the Rococo art of the 18th century, woman as the object of playful erotic imagination becomes more evident and complex than ever before. The connecting of female eroticism and the exoticism of the East is far more recognisable in the literature of the 18th century than in the fine arts. It is here that we find the apparently missing link between the costume-wearing Oriental woman and the Oriental nude. Earlier visualisations of Oriental women featured clothing as an indispensable attribute. The literary imagination of the 18th century gave birth to frivolous, erotic connotations, an underlying conceptual domain that made way for the appearance of nudity in place of the earlier iconographic tradition of the clothed woman, and the creation of the Oriental nude, opening up a new chapter in the representation of the Oriental woman in the Romanticism of the 19th century.

François Boucher (1703–1770), his master Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684–1721), and his pupil Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806), were the great revivalists of Rococo nude painting. In his warm-toned red-and-white chalk drawings, Boucher masterfully captures the vision of moving, twisting bodies. His delicate sensuality and intimacy, as he experiments with the composition of the nude in his drawings, is matched by neither the Romantic nor the academic nudes, and will only be seen again in Degas' drawings in the late 19th century. Although Boucher often painted his nudes as part of a theme from Antiquity, in some of his paintings he no longer used the legitimising veil of mythological camouflage. He was the first to paint a nude with an Orientalising title. There are two compositional versions of his nude odalisques. The brunette odalisque lies on her stomach, her shirt pulled up to her waist and her legs revealingly apart.[97] (*Picture 36.)* The blonde odalisque lies on a greenish-yellow couch, her body unclothed, displaying a charmingly curious playfulness, with an unconsciously inviting gesture. The red rose beside her

[96] J.-H. *Fragonard*: Sultane sur une ottomane. Between 1772 and 1776. Indiana, Ball State University Museum of Art, Inv. no. BSU 1995.035.127.

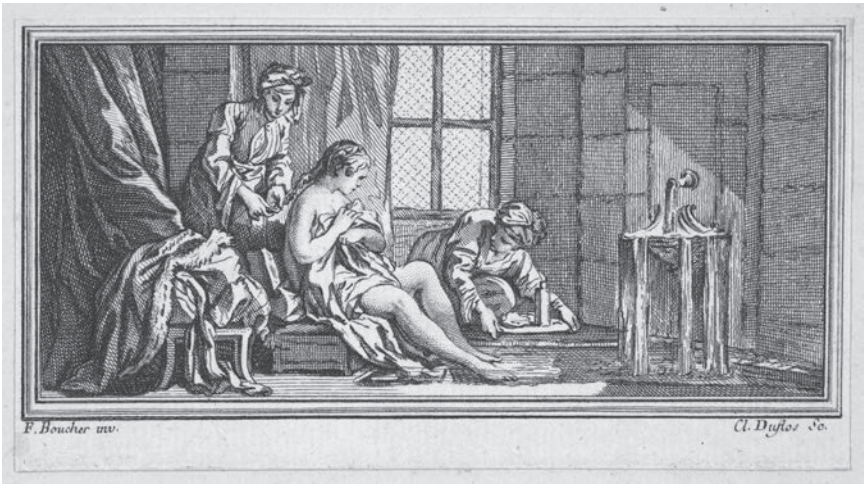
[97] F. *Boucher*: Odalisque. 1745 and 1753. Paris, Louvre.

is an attribute of Venus.[98] In the blonde and brown-haired odalisque variants we find scarcely any Eastern references: here, the relationship between the erotic nude and the odalisque (as the archetypical Eastern woman) is short-circuited. Boucher is not only creating the type of Rococo nude, but is also associating this type of nude with the notion of the East.

Picture 36: F. Boucher: Brown-haired odalisque. Oil on canvas, 1740–1749, 53.5 x 64.5 cm. Paris, Louvre. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fran%c3%A7ois_Boucher_015.jpg (February 10, 2018)

Picture 37: Snuff box in the shape of a Turkish head. Porcelain and copper, Bilston (England) 1765–1770. Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum. Photo: Fülemile

[98] F. *Boucher*: Resting Girl (Louise O'Murphy). 1751. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum; Reclining Girl. 1752. Munich, Alte Pinakothek.



Picture 38: Sultana at her toilet. Drawing by F. Boucher. Copperplate etching by Augustine Duflos le Jeune. 7.1 x 13.2 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. no. 53.600.1117(2). http://images.metmuseum.org/crdimages/dp/original/dp826110.jpg (February 10, 2018)

In the 18th century, therefore, *turqoiserie* (just like *chinoiserie*) was merely a game. A delightful, decorative formality that was only skin deep. (*Picture 37, 38*, *Colour Supplement 3, 4*). The game was also fun, glamorous and exciting, when it combined the fashion for *turqoiserie* with the rediscovery of the nude. The Rococo turqoiserie nude has no more substance, and is no more serious, than a soap bubble. In the meantime, in antithesis to this insubstantiality, another approach was emerging from the philosophy of the Enlightenment – the more sincere demand for the discernment of reality that was not biased, but that looked for and respected values in others. This approach led to the discovery of the image of the goodness and wisdom of the East. It paved the way for Sarastro's Oriental symbolism in the philosophical world of Mozart's opera, and the same applies to the patriarchal wisdom of "God has made the Orient!"[99] in the poems of Goethe's Pre-Romantic 'West Eastern Divan'.

The 18th century also offered different ways of exploring womanhood. This age was also the century of women's emancipation, at least in terms of the ethereal intellectualism of the salons of the ancien régime. Not even the

[99] 'Talismans'. Translated by John Whaley. In: Johann Wolfgang *von Goethe*: Poems of the West and the East: West-Eastern Divan. Issue 68 of Germanic Studies in America. Ed. Joachim Whaley. Bern [a. o.] 1998, 15.

French philosopher Montesquieu (1689–1755) could resist the temptation of the frivolous, erotic literary fashion of the day, although he chose to represent the quest for the individual freedom of a woman of intelligence and will through the character of an Oriental woman. He wrote his most famous and most read work, 'Persian Letters' (1721), under a pseudonym. The fiction that imitates the technique of the quest for truth in contemporary travel literature is, of course, more than a merely voyeuristic treatment of the physical and spiritual manifestations of lust, sadistic punishment and female exploitation. Montesquieu represents the differences between the two societies and legal systems through the eyes of two Persian noblemen travelling to Paris, and includes a criticism of Western society. At the end of the novel, in the final letter, the favourite wife, who was secretly in love with another person for whom she committed suicide, writes to her master: "How could you suppose me so credulous as to believe that the sole purpose for my existence was to adore your caprices? That while you refused yourself nothing, you had the right to frustrate every desire of mine? No: I may have lived in servitude, but I have always been free […] and my spirit has always remained independent."[100] The heroine's words are an expression of the moral contempt of the European Enlightenment towards the tyrannical oppression of an unjust legal and social system.

The 18th century provided an opportunity to acquire and show off erudition not only to the famous *cortigiani* and mistresses. The celebrated stars of witty social entertainment were aristocratic women. The letters written by Lady Mary Wortley Montague (daughter of the Duke of Kingston, 1689–1762) from the Sublime Porte were not part of some fictitious epistolary novel.[101] This wife of a British diplomat, who was sent to Constantinople in 1716, is filled with curiosity to find out as much as possible about the real world of the East and of Oriental women. She learned Turkish and began to wear Turkish clothes, along with her son, who later became a traveller in the East.[102] Lady Montague was the first European woman not only to gain access to the highest circles of Turkish society and to the harems (to meet the sultana

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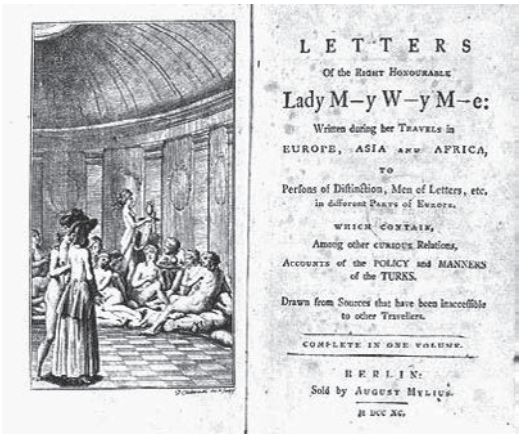
100 Charles de Secondat *Montesquieu*: Persian Letters. Oxford/New York 2008, 213.

101 The author did not intend the letters to be published. They were organised into a volume and published in Paris after her death. *Montague*.

102 The portrait of the mother and her infant son in Turkish dress with Turkish servants, with a view of Constantinople in the background, was also painted by the above-mentioned Jean Baptiste Vanmour in 1717. London, National Portrait Gallery, Inv. no. NPG 3924.

in 1718),[103] but also to chronicle with empathy the bright and shadowy aspects of the life of Oriental women. Her image of the East is no longer Orientalising fiction, but a social description of almost ethnographical precision.[104] (*Picture 39.*)


LETTERS
Of the Right Honourable
Lady M–y W–y M–e:
Written during her Travels in
EUROPE, ASIA and AFRICA,
TO
Persons of Distinction, Men of Letters, etc.
in different Parts of Europe.
WHICH CONTAIN,
Among other curious Relations,
Accounts of the POLICY and MANNERS
of the TURKS.
Drawn from Sources that have been inaccessible
to other Travellers.
COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME.
BERLIN:
Sold by August Mylius.
M DCC XC.

Picture 39: Daniel Chodowiecki (1726–1801):
Title page for the 1790 edition of Lady Mary Wortley Montague's Letters.
Depicting the author's visit to the Turkish baths in Sofia.
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Inv. no. Ui 6281

The social vision of Lady Montague's letters and Montesquieu's novel – at the very same time as the emergence of the topos of the Oriental woman as an exploited, erotic commodity that could easily be turned into pornography and manipulated into kitsch – reveals a more elevated intellectualism, the emblematic formulation of which will also be a characteristic feature of the age of Romanticism. The chained and objectified woman on the slave market is elevated from her humiliation by the preservation of her immanent inner

[103] From the description of the encounter it appears that Lady Montague was fascinated by this pomp, which was unimaginable even in the European royal courts. The author happily dwells on the detailed descriptions of dresses, materials, jewellery and objects. Wherever she goes, she pays close attention to clothing and characterises it with witty criticism, revealing the paramount importance of dress in the hierarchical society of her age. From this perspective, it is perhaps easier to understand that, for a perception and representation of the East, curiosity about the material environment, and above all dress, is key for the European viewer.

[104] Lady Montague's enlightenment is clearly characterised by the fact that, on witnessing the Turkish practice of smallpox inoculation, she was among the first to promote the practice in England.

freedom. Thus, in the 19th century, the image of the bound Eastern woman not only provided scope for the Victorian perversity of voluptuous voyeurism, but also became the emblematic formulation of personal liberty and the abolition of slavery, as demanded by the modern world.

19th Century Orientalism

The playful boudoir intimacy of the 18th century Rococo added new stereotypes to the concept of Orientalism. In terms of Europe's interest in the Orient, there was much that appeared undifferentiated from the colourful world of the multinational Turkish Empire. The peoples and lands that had been subjugated by the Turkish Empire, and that had partially adopted Turkish culture, were regarded as part of the empire. Thus Greeks, Jews, Persians, Circassians, Albanians, Mamluks, Egyptians and Moroccans were all part of a stereotypical, generic image of the East.

In 18th century characterology, it is not only militancy and bloodthirstiness that are mentioned among the characteristic features of the Turkish people: other degrading, but substantially more every day, stereotypes also appear on the list, including laziness, stupidity and disingenuity.[105] These stereotypes then survived well into the 19th century.

Climatic determinism – the idea that climate affects the habits, social institutions, government systems, thinking, psyche, character and morality of the peoples of a particular region – can be traced back to Antiquity (Aristotle). It appears in the arguments of medieval theologians and Islamic scholars (Ibn Khaldun), travel literature, the works of the humanists and Enlightenment thinkers (e. g. Jean Bodin and Montesquieu),[106] through 19th century scientific and pseudo-scientific, popular interpretations, to the arguments of colonial ideology.

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[105] See, for example, the large oil painting (Völkertafel, 104 x 126 cm, Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde), painted by an unknown Styrian master on the basis of popular graphic images, which summarizes the common stereotypes of European peoples, including the Turks and Greeks, in pictorial table format. For an English translation of the text: *Kurtze Beschreibung der In Europa befintlichen Völckern Und Ihren Aigenschafften.* http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1587308&viewType=detailView (March 3, 2018). The painting is not the only one of its kind: a further six versions are known in other Austrian collections.

[106] Michael *Curtis*: Orientalism and Islam. European Thinkers on Oriental Despotism in the Middle East and India. New York 2009, 72–102; *Djaït* 21–29.

Many examples from medical and geographical scientific works that reflect the psychologising stereotyping of national character can be quoted from the early 19th century. The following lines are quoted from a study published in the 1817 edition of 'Tudományos Gyűjtemény': "Ignorance is associated with feebleness, as it degrades the Soul and makes it crawl. […] The Greeks and Romans in later times became ignorant, and for the same reasons became small spirited, lecherous and feeble in the eyes of the world. The same can be said of other Oriental Peoples […] He who does not think, wants to feel […] But can one be permanently stimulated by physical pleasures? […] Those intervals, therefore, that separate one such feeling from another, for the Ignorant and Feeble, are filled with Boredom. Thus, in order to cut short their boredom, they stimulate themselves by seeking pleasure." The pursuit of pleasure is the sole occupation of the "dull and lazy". Love "makes them soft and effeminate. – Heaven made Women the stewards and distributors of the most pleasurable pleasures […]".[107] The text above was not the only such article to appear in the journal. Another author quotes a certain "Schaw, English Doctor": "The Moors, like many of the Oriental Nationalities, were born to be slaves and are the enemies of all work from which they are unable to obtain instant benefit."[108] This has become a general stereotype in terms of Eastern nations. Bertalan Szemere wrote in the following way about his experiences in the East: "I would go to the coffeehouses, and, after removing my slippers according to the custom, I would sit cross-legged on the reed carpet, and, while quietly sipping my sugarless coffee, the most aromatic and flavoursome in the world, I learned to smoke the nargile, which is no easy task for a foreigner. Just like the Muslims, I would sit motionless for three or four hours at a time, in wordless silence, musing, like them, and enjoying the delights of soft idleness […]."[109] Everything that stimulated and pampered the senses – bodily temptations, baths, lazing, smoking, luxurious surroundings, colours and

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[107] *M. J.*: A' Tudatlanságról, és annak természetes következéseiről. In: Tudományos Gyűjtemény 4 (1817) 92–95, here 93. 'Tudományos Gyűjtemény' (1817–1841) was the first scientific journal in Hungary published monthly in Pest.

[108] Pál *Tóth*: Mi az oka, hogy némely Nemzetek a Tudományokban és Szép Mesterségekben más Nemzetek felett felyebb emelkedtenek? In: Tudományos Gyűjtemény 9 (1818) 2, 1–27, here 25.

[109] Bertalan *Szemere*: Utazás Keleten a világosi napok után. Budapest 1999, 37. The author, Bertalan Szemere (1812–1869) was a Hungarian nobleman, writer, lawyer, liberal politician who was one of the main leaders of the 1848/1849 Hungarian revolution and war of independence against the Habsburg rule. After the armistice he emigrated via Greece to Turkey and later to Paris.

jewels, music, dance, scents and narcotics – was adopted into the inventory of literature and the fine arts for the portrayal of the Orient.

Contemporary historical events also repeatedly drew the attention of the European great powers, which harboured aspirations to divide up the region, towards the sick man of Europe – the Ottoman Empire in the throes of death. The first move was Napoleon's Egyptian campaign (1798–1801). Its impacts, as in the case of so many other large-scale political events, were immediately felt in the decorative arts and fashion of the Empire. Various types of artistic turban became highly fashionable among women in the 1810s, and again in the mid-1830s. In the Orientalisation of fashion, the evocative names[110] did not reflect any sophistication in geographical terms, the ethnic objects were easily interchangeable, and might be Indian, Egyptian, Greek, Turkish or Persian, as long as they made a generic reference to the Orient (*Picture 40*).

The most sought-after items from the East were cashmere shawls from India, which were an indispensable item of women's clothing in the first half of the 19th century. The costly original patterned woven and sewn cashmere scarves were often copied in Europe by French, English and Polish textile manufacturers. Their prestige was not only due to their significant monetary value. The cashmere shawls could be worn in hundreds of ways, with a casual elegance that required aristocratic discernment, as they were seen as an expression of charm, style and social class.[111] In contemporary portraits, it features as a *draperie mouillée* among the picturesque accessories of beautiful women (*Colour Supplement 9*).

[110] In the 1780s, for example, the fashionable women's dress known as the 'Circassian' was named after the most beautiful women in the sultan's harem according to the Parisian fashion magazine 'Galleries des Modes' (Aileen *Ribeiro*: Dress in Eighteenth Century Europe. New Haven/London 2002, 270). In the description of the fashion image shown in *Picture 40*, the term 'Circassian' appears again in 1795.

[111] Ágnes *Fülemile*: A kasmír sál a 19. századi európai divatban. In: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság Évkönyve. 14: Tanulmányok Szentimrei Judit 85. születésnapjára. Eds. Klára Gazda, Tekla Tötszegi. Kolozsvár 2006, 43–61.

Picture 40: Fashion image. Heideloff's Gallery of Fashion II, April 1, 1795. The description of daytime dress highlights elements of Oriental fashion, such as turbans with ostrich feathers, "Polonaise of scarlet velvet with Circassian sleeves, and full sleeves of striped silk gauze". Original description: http://world4.eu/morning-dresses-april-1795/ (February 10, 2018)

The European public was also often concerned about the bloody events that took place during the uprisings against the Turks that flared up at various points in the Balkans during the century. Many of the members of the European elite and the art world demonstrated their sympathy for the heroic Greek War of Independence (1821–1829) by wearing Greek clothing. (This is also traceable in portrait painting.) In the case of Lord Byron, who took up arms to fight for Greek independence, the wearing of Greek clothing was not merely a pose, but the symbolic advertising of an ideal.

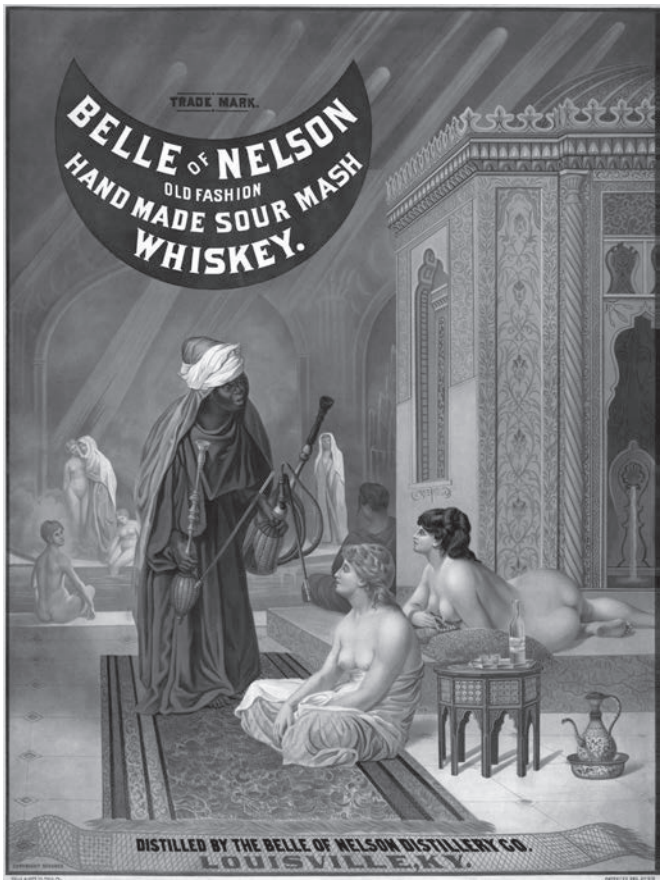
During the course of the century, not only the Egyptian question, but also the occupation of Algier in 1830, drew attention to North Africa and the Arab world. The 1850s and 1860s both saw their own wave of Orientalism. *Alla Turca* fashion was given new impetus with the Crimean War (1854–1855) and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, an impetus that lasted until the end of the 1870s, when the Berlin Congress (1878) brought an end to Turkish control over the Balkans (*Picture 43, 44*).

Picture 41: French calico with an Oriental scene. Mid-19th century. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. no. 2009.323.31. http://images.metmuseum.org/crdimages/es/original/sF2009_323_31_img1.jpg (February 10, 2018)

Picture 42: 'Odalisque'. Advertisement 'World's smokers series'. Allen & Ginter cigarettes, Richmond/Virginia. Coloured lithograph, 1888. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. no. 63.350.202.33.45. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/420471 (February 15, 2018)

Picture 43: Empress Eugénie, wife of Napoleon III, dressed as an odalisque. From Pierre-Louis Pierson: Albumen silver print with applied oil paint, 1861–1865. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. no. 2005.100.410(4). http://images.metmuseum.org/crdimages/ph/original/dp221425.jpg (February 10, 2018)

Picture 44: Silk ball slippers with pointed toes and Turkish-style embroidery. Around 1870. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Costume Institute, Inv. no. 1973.260.4.ab. Photo: Fülemile



Picture 45: 'Belle of Nelson'. Whiskey advertisement. Published by Wells & Hope, Louisville/Kentucky, 1878. The composition was based on the paintings of Jean-Léon Gerome (1824–1904) depicting scenes from the baths. Beautiful naked white women, a black eunuch, a hookah and a bottle of whiskey on the carved table rather than coffee. Washington, D. C., Library of Congress. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Belle_of_Nelson_Whiskey_poster.jpg (February 11, 2018)

In 1851, at the Great Exhibition in London's Crystal Palace, the individual exhibitors included India, Africa, the West Indies, Ceylon, Persia, Greece, Egypt and Turkey. From then on, large industrial and world exhibitions (e. g. in 1855, 1867 in Paris, 1862 in London) showed an increasing interest in Oriental objects. The European textile industry also attempted to keep pace with rising demand (*Picture 41*).

As tourism became more widespread, they were happy to popularise their products using early postcards and advertisements featuring images of exotic Oriental women (*Picture 42, 45*).

The fashion for Orientalisation in photography can be traced until the 1890s, as photographers took over the task of capturing costume portraits and *tableaux vivant*s from the painters of portraits. In addition to portraits, they offered their customers some rather more profane compositions. Professional and amateur photographers happily arranged studio scenes featuring clothed and naked odalisques lying on sofas, and dancing houris. There is an obvious underlying connection between these early photographs and the compositional archetypes of paintings and graphic representations (*Colour Supplement 12*).

From the beginning of the 19th century, the re-discovery of the East witnessed a stronger wave than ever before in Western European painting. Romanticism, with its search for the exotic, its attraction for unique, remote locations and pictorial subjects, and its longing for the golden age of the past, seemed to find in the Orient whatever it had been looking for so desperately. "You must flee; the East will right you, / Patriarchs' pure air delight you; / […] There I'll penetrate most surely / To the origin of nations […] / With the herdsmen I go questing, / In oasis-freshness resting […]." These lines from Goethe's 1819 poem 'Hegira'[112] could be programmatic slogans for pictorial Orientalism.

Orientalism cannot be classified under a single style or school. From the Classicism of Ingres to the Romanticism of Delacroix, through Gérome's polished academic Naturalism and Leighton's pre-Raphaelite Mannerism, to Renoir's Impressionist handling of colour, there is a vast kaleidoscope of painters representing different trends. (The rethinking of the Oriental experience would also be reflected in the decorative aspirations of the Secessionists and other aesthetic movements in the late 19th century.)

Orientalising painting[113] satisfied 19th centuryaudiences' desire for curiosity, thrill, subdued eroticism and verbosity. Popular masculine subjects included *Bashi-Bazouk* mercenaries and Nubian palace guards, rich Moorish interiors, slave markets, street and bazaar scenes with merchants and crafts-

[112] Translated by Edward Dowden. In: *Goethe* 433.

[113] Although traditional art historical writing has long ignored most Orientalist painting as a false art, increasing attention has recently been given to research and art trade in this area.

men, and tiger hunts. However, the imagination of painters and audiences alike was captured by the new visual experience of deserts and oases.

Nevertheless, in the invention of the exotic East, the fantasy of women played a central role. Romantic writers and painters portrayed women as irrational, sensual beauties, driven exclusively by the feeling of love. Beginning with the work of Ingres and Delacroix, the most popular theme in Orientalising painting was the figure of the odalisque in the harem. Odalisques were typically portrayed as nudes, or different stages of undress; alone or with companions – in the company of black servants, eunuchs, dancers, musicians and other members of the harem – as elements in generic harem and bath scenes, in rich Eastern interiors, reclining on comfortable sofas and surrounded by exotic accessories (*Picture 45*).

In European painting, the women of the harem are European beauties with alabaster white skin. This is not entirely contrary to the reality, as the most beautiful flowers of the harems come from the Balkans, Greece, the Black Sea and the Caucasian region.[114] During his journey to the East, on a sea voyage with the pasha of Viddin, Bertalan Szemere had an opportunity to see one of the women's faces: "[...] her veil slipped, so despite ourselves we were able to see her white face, as pale as the moon, the result of seclusion in the harem and frequent hot baths, her blood-red lips, rainbow-shaped eyebrows and large black eyes […]."[115] The inaccessibility of this pale beauty to European eyes, and her isolation, heightened the interest in her feminine vulnerability. The idea of European women as the victims of Oriental despotic lust, awaiting liberation by European men, further accentuated the erotic charge of such interest. Thus, alongside characters suggestive of sensual pleasure, the victimised odalisque figure, exposed to men's tyranny, also emerges.

Convectional 19th century depictions of odalisques can be classified according to certain major, easily distinguishable thematic and compositional types: 1. variants of odalisques lying on sofas; 2. dancing odalisques; 3. bathing odalisques; 4. odalisques playing musical instruments; 5. odalisques smoking hookahs; 6. street girls; and 7. slaves victimised by authoritarian masculine society. In the case of the last two categories, the colourful commotion of city streets or bazaars can often be seen in the background. In relation to the victimised odalisques, voyeuristic themes depicting vulnerable women exposed to hungry, curious gazes on the slave market appeared from

[114] Walther *Wiebke*: Woman in Islam. Leipzig 1981, 70.

[115] *Szemere* 43.

the 1870s and 1880s. The photo-realistic details of the Eastern setting often enhance the discomfiting, shocking impact of such scenes. The essential quality of the chained or bound nude is her passivity, which further emphasises the sadistic nature of the scene. The marble-white figure of the chained slave woman brings to mind the classical nude Andromeda, chained to a rock.

One of the most famous chained odalisques of the time was in fact a Classicist statue, 'The Greek Slave' by the American Hiram Powers. The sculpture had a huge impact: it drew an audience a 100,000 visitors in America, and in London it was one of the main attractions at the Great Exhibition in 1851.[116] The work was politicised, becoming a symbol of the abolition of slavery, which understandably touched the contemporary American and British public. As one contemporary put it: "It represents a being superior to suffering, and raised above degradation, by inward purity and force of character. Thus The Greek Slave is an emblem of the trial to which all humanity is subject, and may be regarded as a type of resignation, uncompromising virtue, or sublime patience."[117] (The otherwise rather average Classicist statue successfully recreated the association between concept of Modern Greece and the Greeks of Antiquity.)

Another great sensation at the London exhibition, however, was a show by Eastern dancers, which appealed to the audience's thirst for the exotic.

Many of the 19th century Orientalist painters made personal pilgrimages to the East. They typically went on shorter or longer study trips, although some made life-changing decisions: having decided that the Eastern lifestyle was more appealing, they settled there (e. g. John Frederick Lewis 1805–1876), converted to Islam (Etienne Dinet 1861–1929), dressed in Oriental clothes and spent years of wandering in search of the deeper meaning of life (James Tissot 1836–1902).There are countless Orientalist painters in French art, while Belgium, England, the USA, the German-speaking countries, Swit-

[116] Powers himself interpreted the message of his work as follows: "The Slave has been taken from one of the Greek Islands by the Turks […]. Her father and mother, and perhaps all her kindred, have been destroyed by her foes, and she alone preserved as a treasure too valuable to be thrown away. She is now among barbarian strangers, […] exposed to the gaze of the people she abhors, and awaits her fate […] tempered indeed by the support of her reliance upon the goodness of God." For the quotation, see: http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/utc/sentimnt/grslvhp.html (February 7, 2018).

[117] Ibidem.

zerland, Italy, Spain and Russia are not far behind in terms of their artistic admiration of the East.[118]

Of course, the artistic quality of the end results varied. On the one hand, there was a great deal of superficial pretentiousness, attention to appearances, immersion in the naturalistic representation of decorative detail, and in sincere choice of themes. This is the direction that would eventually lead to the mass production of the most shallow, pretentious and tasteless odalisque and harem paintings, right up to the later branches of academic painting that flirt with symbolism.[119] The entirely insubstantial, mannered formalism approaches the boundaries of the kitsch.[120]

On the other hand, genuine experience of the true Orient continued, not only out of desire for knowledge, but also stemming from a worldview that sought new values (*Colour Supplement 10*). Travelling to the East, apart from being more fashionable than ever, meant, for many, a profound exploration of the East, carried out with a positivist methodology and scientific humility, and the birth of the Oriental Sciences (*Colour Supplement 12*).[121] The 19th century brought with it not only looting, from a position of great power – which began with Napoleon's Egyptian campaign –but also the intellectual altruism of an understanding of the East, which characterised the German, Austrian or Hungarian scholars (e. g. Ignatius Goldziher, Ármin Vámbéry), who had no political interest in the East.[122]

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118 Useful repositories of 19th century Orientalist paintings can be found on the following websites: Rick *Finck*: Orientalist Art of the Nineteenth Century. European Painters in the Middle East. http://www.orientalistart.net/index.html (February 7, 2018); Lauret *Hervé*: Les Peintres Orientalistes. http://orientaliste.free.fr/ (February 7, 2018).

119 On 19th century academic pseudo-art as "the antithesis of genuine art", see Lajos *Németh*: A művészet sorsfordulója. Budapest 1999, 37–46.

120 The thematic and imaginary banality that is still present to this day in Orientalising kitsch objects and souvenirs, including the visual world of the shops and commercial websites that serve the increasingly popular belly-dancing schools, has its origins here.

121 In 1869, János Xantus travelled to the Far East as part of an Austro-Hungarian expedition financed by the Minister of Culture József Eötvös. In addition to his memoirs, he collected around a hundred thousand objects that form the basis of the natural and ethnographical collections in the Hungarian National Museum. Mária *Ferenczy*: Xántus János. In: *Imreh* 248–253.

122 This is a Western product, as even acknowledged by Edward Said: "[...] the German Orient was almost exclusively a scholarly, or at least a classical, Orient: it was made the subject of lyrics, fantasies, and even novels, but it was never actual, the way Egypt and Syria were actual" for English or French interests. Edward W. *Said*: Orientalism. New York 1979, 18–19. Said's seminal work interprets Orientalism as the intellectual product of the colonising British and French Empires, which created the tools for the occupation of the East, and Western supremacy over it. After Said, in the significant quantity of literature on Orientalism, which

The revelatory exploration of the genuine East led to the emergence of a more honest trend in Orientalist painting – typified by Carl Haag (1820–1915), the American Frederick Arthur Bridgman (1847–1928), or Károly Libay and Antal Ligeti in Hungary. These artists, by stepping beyond the clichés of pictorial conventions, discovered simple people, streets, Mediterranean gardens, landscapes, the desert, and all the potential of Oriental plein-air painting. The best mediums for travelogues were watercolours and pastels, which made possible the swift recording of fresh impressions and light-saturated colours. Erotic beauties and fearsome warriors were no longer the most typical subjects of Oriental portraits. They had given way to intimate representations of the soft, feminine inner beauty of Eastern women. These women are once again clothed, mothers and children, young and old. And alongside the vacuous and hypocritical conventional Turkish-Arab Orientalism, the hitherto neglected children of the desert, the Bedouins, Berbers and Oulad-Nail tribe, were now discovered. They represent a counterpoint, albeit a romantic one, since these nomadic desert wanderers were surrounded by the mythical innocence of a Golden Age that had never existed. The poetic artistry of their tribal simplicity was opposed to the almost unbearably corrupt Ottomanized artfulness created by the image industry of the West. (It is ultimately the same old formula: when people get tired of what is well known and well worn, they look for something fresh, new and innocent that has the appearance of antiquity.)

The Wave of Oriental Fashion in the Age of Romanticism in Hungary

In the 1840s, pictures of Oriental subjects appeared in Hungarian art exhibitions, although most of them came from abroad. At the same time, some domestic Hungarian painters began to take an interest in the fashionable theme. E. g. the Austrian Friedrich von Amerling's Hungarian pupil Albert Tikos exhibited his 'Odalisque'[123] in 1844 in Pest, while Vilmos Beck's 'Odalisca' was

became fashionable in all areas of aesthetics and the social sciences, a condemnatory tone, and certain "recommended" terms that are repeated ad nauseam ("imagination", "vision", "fantasy", "imperialist politics of power", etc.), became inevitable.

[123] Károly *Lyka*: A táblabíró világ művészete. Magyar művészet 1800–1850. Budapest 1981, 154, 398.

painted in 1847.[124] The oeuvre of Austrian Johann Ender, who greatly influenced Miklós Barabás (the important portrait painter of Hungarian Romanticism), includes the painting 'Greek Girl',[125] which has connections to a specific travel experience of Hungarian relevance. The painter had accompanied the young Count István Széchenyi on his journey to the East.[126] (The travel paintings of Johann Ender and his twin brother, Thomas,[127] are characterised by objective, empathetic, understated and subtle realism.) Ideal portraits, similar to Ender's 'Greek Girl', were extremely popular among Viennese audiences.

Jakab Marastoni (1804–1860), the founder of the first painting school in Pest, painted his 'Greek Woman' in 1845.[128] The painting is not only the essentially mediocre Marastoni's most successful work, but is essentially the first Orientalising nude in the history of Hungarian art.[129] The half-length

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124 Katalin *Kissné Sinkó*: Orientalizáló életképek. In: *Művészet Magyarországon 1830–1870. I–II.* Eds. Júlia Szabó, György F. Széphelyi. Budapest 1981, I, 98–107, 100, mentions the titles of several Orientalist paintings on the basis of the exhibition catalogues of the Pesti Műegylet from the 1840s.

125 Johann *Ender*: Greek Girl. Oil on canvas, 1821. Budapest, Art Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

126 In 1818–1919, Count István Széchenyi (1791–1860) undertook a longer trip in the company of Johann Ender (1793–1854) to Turkey, Italy, Sicily, Malta and Greece. Some of the fine watercolours made during the journey were given by the Széchenyi family to the Art Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, see: *Johann Nepomuk Ender (1793–1854), Thomas Ender (1793–1875). Emlékkiállítás*. Ed. Gábor György Papp. Budapest 2001, Catalogue 5 a–g.

127 In 1817, Thomas Ender accompanied Leopoldine, the daughter of Emperor Francis, and her husband, the heir to the Portuguese throne, on their Brazilian tour.

128 The Italian-born painter moved from Vienna to Pozsony in 1834, and then to Pest in 1836. In 1846, he opened a private school, the First Hungarian Painting Academy. The activities of the *welfare association* that was established by prominent personalities to support the academy also contributed to the painter's reputation. Marastoni also played an active role in the organisation of exhibitions. In 1846, he was made an honorary citizen of Pest (*Lyka* 129–131, 394). His painting 'Greek Woman' (Oil on canvas, 77 x 61.5 cm. Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery, Inv. no. 2726) was purchased by the "welfare association" for the National Museum's Palatine Joseph Gallery. The painter made several copies of this successful composition.

129 The white-skinned, dark-haired woman in the picture sits with comfortable ease in a velvet armchair, gazing out from the picture with a mysterious smile. Her expression is delightfully inviting. Her blouse, which is loosely held by a cord, has slipped from her round shoulder. The light, translucent muslin material reveals her breasts. Around her upper body she wears a patterned Indian cashmere shawl lowered to her arms. Around her right wrist is a string of pearls, her red fez has a golden tassel, and she wears gold earrings. Her braided hair, her smooth, soft skin, the dull gold shimmer of the tassel, the fine white muslin, and the pink of the skin beneath all have a realistic texture. The intimate representation and its delicate eroticism captivate the viewer. For more on the actual painting Ágnes *Fülemile*: Gondolatok

idealised portrait of beautiful women, such as that of Marastoni, was one of the most popular picture types in the Biedermeier era. Provincial masters also responded to public demand. Ede Spiro in Pozsony (*Bratislava*), for example, "learned from those who had travelled greatly in Italy, that such ‚images of beauty' as the ‚spinning woman', ‚praying woman', or ‚Eastern woman' always had their own charm among the viewing public."[130] One of his works, which he exhibited in 1835 in Vienna, showing "a Greek girl as she watches the outcome of the battle" is a "certain amalgamation of the image of beauty with history".[131]

In his study on Hungarian Romantic Orientalist literature, Géza Staud discusses interest in Greek subjects. In the world of literature, Greek themes "become entirely different in the light of Romanticism from the Greek subjects of Classicism. Byron's vision of the Greeks infiltrated Hungarian literature. For Byron, just like for some Hungarian writers, the desire for liberty was the emotional cord that attached them to Greece (see for example Garay's 'Háremi hölgy' [*Lady in the Harem*]; Fáy: 'A szulióták' [*The Suliots*]; Jókai's novel 'A janicsárok végnapjai' [*The doom of janissaries*] in 1854, etc.). In addition, the interest in the picturesque found a subject for Greek themes because the Romantic public saw in the Greeks the colourfully clothed, imaginative, hot-blooded people of the East".[132]

Interest in the exoticism of the East appeared in contemporary Hungarian literature, which was influenced by the significant Romantic Orientalising German literature. One of the channels of German Orientalism was the German theatre in Pest, where many plays were produced with Oriental themes.[133] One Oriental-themed play by Schikaneder that was adapted for the Hungarian stage included Turkish-style music that was popularised through the influence of Mozart. In the journal 'Honművész',[134] Gábor Mátray published a piano transcript of the 'Song of the Turkish Sultan Mohamed II', which had allegedly been forwarded to Pest by the Turkish ambassador. (The transcript suggests the influence of Mozart's 'Rondo alla Turca'.) In the same year, he also released the piano work 'Varázshangok a Serailból' (*Magical*

az orientalizmusról Marastoni Jakab Görög nő című képe kapcsán. In: Művészettörténeti Értesítő 54 (2005) 1–2, 109–124.

130 *Lyka* 148.

131 Ibidem.

132 Géza *Staud*: Az orientalizmus a magyar romantikában. Budapest 1999, 24.

133 Ibidem, 19.

134 *Honművész* 1835, no. 64.

sounds from the serail).[135] The ballet 'Lázadás a Serailban' (*Rebellion in the serail*), by choreographer and composer Adolf Ellenbogen, was first performed in 1840 in Pest.[136]

Eastern subjects featured not only in high literature and art, but also in the popular novels, periodicals and almanacs of the era. Although not from Hungarian sources, the visual world of ethnic curiosities entered the public consciousness through these almanac illustrations.[137]

Openness towards a theme in the context of a particular era is best indicated by its use as a trade-sign, as happened on the streets of Pest. In the 1830s and 1840s, Laccataris Dömötör (1798–1864) painted signboards in the commercial center of the town that included 'The King of Greece and The Emperor of Turkey' for traders on Váci Street, and a picture of the 'Greek King Otto'[138] for the Greek-born tailor Ottó Lapedato on Nagyhíd Street.[139] Laccataris's signboard was doubtless inspired by one of the etched portraits of Otto wearing Greek costume around the time of his coronation in 1935. Women from the rich Greek merchant families in Hungary also proudly combined the *tepelika* (*toque*),[140] with their European clothes, and the Greek-born Hungarian artist Laccataris must have seen many examples.

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[135] *Honművész* 1835, no. 556; Dénes *Tóth*: A magyar népszínmű zenei kialakulása. Budapest 1953, 21. It should be mentioned that, like Turkish melodies, Scottish, Swedish, Cossack and Chinese melodies were also considered exotic curiosities, as were the musical borrowings from Hungarian nationalities, such as the Wallachian, Slovak, Serbian or Swabian tunes on the musical stages of the era.

[136] *Tóth* 31.

[137] The demand for the exotic among the contemporary Hungarian public is exemplified by the earlier mentioned Kálmán Szendy's 1833 colour album (*Picture 14*, *Colour Supplement 11*). The master adopted figures from the costume books of the 16th to 18th centuries almost without alteration, drawing them in the alluring style of contemporary fashion images.

[138] The Bavarian Prince Otto von Wittelsbach was invited to become the first ruler of the Modern Greek monarchy after the country's liberation from Turkish rule. He reigned as Otto I between 1832 and 1862. Building on contemporary folk and urban patrician traditions, he introduced a Modern Greek-style royal household, and enjoyed posing in Greek outfits. Combining Greek and Ottoman elements with European style, the so-called Amalia dress was invented for Otto's wife, Queen Amalia and her companions at the Modern Greek court. The headpiece was a fez adorned with a tassel, similar to those seen on the paintings of Marastoni and Borsos. The Amalia dress became the representative dress for the new Greek national middle class, and was intended as an expression of Modern Greek national consciousness.

[139] *Lyka* 368.

[140] A reference to the Greek national Amalia outfit. The so-called *kalpaki* (*toque*) was a small, round, tasselled headpiece, topped with a silver or gold filigree disc.

In keeping with international trends, the wearing of Oriental garments became fashionable in Hungary, too. The *fez* was an international item of Ottoman merchandise that was worn throughout the Turkish Empire. As a smoking cap, it also became a common item of European men's clothing in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was especially popular among Hungarian noblemen who travelled in the East. In the pictures recording Iván Forray's journey to the East,[141] Counts Iván Forray and Artur Batthyány are dressed in loose kaftans, Turkish slippers and fezzes, at a 'Maltese boarding house'. In the room, the accessories of European artistic travellers (straw hats) are found among Oriental objects: large cashmere shawls, Oriental tasselled toques, weapons and ceramics (*Colour Supplement 10*). We also know that Count Edmund Zichy, who took part in Forray's expedition, was also happy to wear Eastern dress, as illustrated by the portrait by József Borsos.[142] To commemorate the 1842 journey, Borsos painted the count in the clothes he wore to the garden party given by Solyman Pasha.[143] The casualness of Oriental clothing was one of its most remarkable qualities for contemporary Hungarian aristocrats. Bertalan Szemere, who fled to Turkey following Hungary's surrender in the war of independence, wrote in his travel journal, from which we have already quoted above: "[…] this Oriental race, which is dressed fantastically like the flowers of the fields and the birds of the sky, fascinated me, and throwing away my top hat and ridiculous tails, I began to dress in their fashion after just three days, choosing those colours that I felt best matched my character. I chose a violet-coloured dolman to go with my sky-blue ›dimije‹, wound a green belt around my waist, turned my fez into a turban by covering it with snow-white muslin, and wrapped a black cloak round my shoulders, with long silk tassels – that, for me, is the colour of sorrow, and my heart is at present filled with sorrow, thus I clothe my body in it."[144] It is as if the black cloak described by Szemere

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141 Counts Iván Forray, Artúr Batthyány and Edmund Zichy made a longer tour in the Mediterranean Sea and the Turkish Empire in 1842. The painter Josef Heicke (1811–1861), who accompanied them, later produced lithographs of his own and Forray's drawings. After the early death of Iván Forray(1819–1852), his mother published the travel album in memory of her son. Iván *Forray:* Utazási album. Pest 1859.

142 József *Borsos* (1821–1883): Lebanon Emir. 1843. Private ownership. In: *Művészet Magyarországon 1830–1870* II, Catalogue no. 239.

143 Wearing the same costume, he appeared as the Turkish pasha in a *tableau vivant* at the Austrian Embassy in Dresden in 1857. Júlia P. *Szabó*: A XIX. század festészete Magyarországon. Budapest 1985, 147; *Sinkó* 102–103 discusses how the identity of Zichy Edmund's family determined the count's attraction to the Oriental *environment*.

144 *Szemere* 37.

were illustrated by the fashion image created in 1843 by Ádám Kostyál, the famous tailor and chief costume maker at the National Theatre. Kostyál's fashion design was not his own invention, but was copied from a genuine item of Turkish mantle along with Greek styled tasselled cap *kapáki* (*Picture 46*).

Picture 46: Fashion advertisement of Ádám Kostyál, tailor in Pest. Published in the magazine 'Regélő' in 1843. Coloured lithograph by Vidéky after the drawing of Heinrich. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Portrait Gallery, Inv. no. TKcs 61.310

The Oriental garments and objects evoke the world of gentlemen's salons: the social bonds of male society, as they retreat to smoke or exchange manly anecdotes, and the concept of casualness, refer to the more intimate inner world of masculinity. In Henrik Weber's double portrait of 'The composer Mihály Mosonyi and his wife',[145] the husband wears a brocade dressing gown, and a wedding ring on the hand that rests on his collar. In this exceptionally intimate picture, which expresses the close affinity and love between the couple, the gown is the symbol of the male sphere and masculine private life.

[145] Henrik *Weber* (1818–1866): The composer Mihály Mosonyi and his wife. Oil on canvas, 1840s. Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery, Inv. no. 5181.

Upper-class Hungarian Women's fashion underwent waves of (Greek- and Turkish-style) Orientalisation, as evidenced by contemporary fashion images and portraits. The 'Portrait of a Woman in Velvet Pelisse'[146] by József Borsos features a fez transformed into a fashion accessory. The low-cut silk-satin dress, the white velvet pelisse trimmed with fur and the jewellery suggest an outfit designed for a ball. The fez introduces the idea of playful Orientalism and costumed role play into the composition. The model in Miklós Barabás's painting 'Woman in striped dress'[147] wears a green and white dress with a red, green and white striped fez, decorated with a tassel in the same colours. Not only does the outfit refer to the national colours, but, with its striped fabric and style of head covering, also makes a reference to the East. In another portrait by Barabás,[148] the unknown woman wears a dress with Greek references. Painted at the end of the 1850s, Soma Orlai Petrich's 'Sappho'[149] wears a contemporary Greek folk-style costume, rather than the garments of Antiquity. The low-cut blouse is reminiscent of that worn by Marastoni's Greek woman (although the fabric is less revealing), while the shape of the sleeves corresponds exactly to the sleeves of the dress decorated by twisted red braid and Greek-style tassel worn by Barabas's model. The face and character of this idealised portrait of Sappho doubtless immortalise the protagonist and stage costume in Grillparzer's opera 'Sappho', following its premiere in Pest. It is no coincidence that Greek references become more frequent in Hungarian fashion in the 1840s and 1850s around and after the 1848/1849 liberty war against the Habsburgs. The desire for freedom was expressed through the subtle symbolism of clothing. In the history of dress during this period, numerous examples of the manifestation of national identity and political symbol-communication can be quoted in regions both close by and far away.[150]

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146 József *Borsos*: Portrait of a Woman in Velvet Pelisse. Early 1850s. Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery, Inv. no. 7449 (In: *Szabó* no. 105).

147 Miklós *Barabás* (1810–1898): Woman in striped dress. Watercolour on paper, 1844. Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery.

148 Miklós *Barabás*: Portrait of a Woman. 1840. Budapest, Art Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (In: *Szabó* no. 100).

149 Soma *Orlai Petrich* (1822–1880): Sappho. 1850s. Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery, Inv. no. 2740 (In: *Szabó* no. 165).

150 See e. g. Ágnes *Fülemile*: Creation of National Image: Trends of Court Dress in East Central Europe in the 19th Century. In: Ethnic Communities, Ethnic Studies, Ethnic Costumes Today. Ed. János Kodolányi. Budapest 1999, 169–181; *Kleider machen Politik: Zur Repräsentation von Nationalstaat und Politik durch Kleidung vom 18. bis zum 20 Jahrhundert*. Hgg. Siegfried Müller, Michael Reinbold. Oldenburg 2002.

Despite the above-mentioned society fashion, Oriental themes and even more so representations of odalisques are few and far between in 19th century Hungarian painting. Apart from Marastoni's 'Greek Woman' and the 'Arab Girl'[151] by Ágost Canzi, a follower of Ingres, there are no remarkable exotic nudes to be found in the 1840s. The bending figure of the barely adolescent girl in Ágost Canzi's painting, chastely covering her lower body with a blanket, is without any trace of eroticism, as she rests with natural unselfconscious before the stage-like setting of palm trees. The few Turkish female figures from this period are also free of eroticism. Although the narrative illustration depicting Forray's encounter with the daughters of the pasha[152] features many of the commonplaces of Western Orientalisation (black slave, a woman playing a long-necked lute, pipe smoking, a rich Eastern interior, subservient female attention to the men), the representation is nevertheless free from eroticism and is an expression of the respect with which Forray, Zichy, Szemere and other Hungarian travellers regarded the women of the Turkish world.

The *odalisques* in Hungarian art appear among the decorative elements of historical paintings, primarily perhaps in connection to the theme of a late 13th century king Ladislas IV, known as the Cuman. This is hardly surprising: it would be difficult to find a more Orientalist subject in Hungarian cultural history, than on his mother's side half Cuman ruler, who had Cuman concubines and was killed by his own Cuman soldiers. The lithograph by József Marastoni (the son of Jakab Marastoni) depicts Ladislas in his court, with semi-naked figures of Cumanian ladies of pleasure at the foot of his throne.[153] The body language of the woman who kneel at the king's feet suggests submission or begging for mercy, in a manner typical of Western Orientalising paintings depicting female defencelessness. Ferenc Paczka's 'Emese', the bejewelled, fleeing/dancing semi-naked wife of Attila, who dies on his marriage bed, is also an Oriental odalisque (*Picture 47*). The tapestry hanging in the tent, the carpet, and the objects actually copied from the famous archaeological gold treasure of Nagyszentmiklós are all accessories that evoke an Oriental atmosphere (*Picture 47*). The bayadére in the background of Ber-

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151 Ágost *Canzi* (1808–1866): Arab Girl. Oil on canvas, 1845. Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery, Inv. no. 9744.

152 Josef *Heicke* (1811–1861): An evening in Damascus with Count Edmund Zichy. After Iván Forray's drawing. Watercolour, 1849. Private ownership. In: *Művészet Magyarországon 1830–1870* II, Catalogue, no. 245.

153 József *Marastoni* (1834–1895): The Court of Ladislaus IV the Cuman. Lithograph, 1862. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Gallery.

talan Székely's painting Ladislas V and Ulrik Czillei[154] is also an Oriental belly dancer. (Károly Lotz likewise painted his adopted daughter Kornélia on a fan in Turkish costume among Oriental objects. Another of his paintings features a tambourine, the indispensable attribute of depictions of Oriental dancers, next to a reclining nude.[155] Because of their sketch-like, picturesque execution and unusual composition, these latter watercolours do not belong among the conventional odalisque representations.)

Picture 47: Ferenc Paczka (1856–1925): Death of Attila. Oil on canvas, 1884, 600 x 475 cm. Krasznahorka (Krásna Hôrka), Andrássy Gallery; Rozsnyó (Rosenau, Rožňava), The Mining Museum

In the 19th century Hungarian social context, the focus of Romanticism and the target of the quest for Exotic was different from the Western European ones. The complex process in which many coexisting factors led to the creation by the Hungarians of their own 19th century, romantic national self-image, and their positioning of themselves between the East and the West evoked different nostalgias among the Hungarian nobility, intelligentsia and art world than existed in the West.[156] On the one hand, the desire to belong to the West was stronger than ever. For Hungarian aristocrats, travelling to the

[154] Bertalan *Székely* (1835–1910): Ladislas V and Ulrik Czillei. Oil on canvas, 1869/1870. Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery, Inv. no. 2796.

[155] Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery, Inv. no. 409–1905 and 5196–1954.

[156] Pál *Fodor*: Magyarország Kelet és Nyugat között. In: *Fodor*: Szülejmán szultántól Jókai Mórig, 410–426; Tamás *Hofer*: Construction of the "Folk Cultural Heritage" in Hungary and Rival Versions of National Identity. In: Ethnologia Europaea 21 (1991) 2, 145–170.

cultured, democratic West, and for Hungarian artists the experience of Italy and visits to the great workshops of the academic tradition, represented the equivalent revelationary inspiration and great adventure as the exploration of their own remote colonial empire was for Western Europeans. On the other hand, the self-concept of the Hungarians as People of the East, the quest for the roots of origin, was also a decisive factor that oriented the perception of the East. Due to the supposed Asian roots of the Hungarian conquerors, in the creation of the romantic Hungarian national identity and culture great emphasis was given to the Central Asian, Hun-Turk-Iranian, relations of the Steppes, their scientific exploration and artistic representation, and the creation of a reflective visual language.

The fashionable 18th century turqoiserie of the West, followed by the West's 19th century Orientalism, had no powerful echo in Hungary, because crucial historical Hungarian experiences of the Turks were quite other than, for example, the light-hearted and superficial impressions of the French, whose flirting with the Turks was a reflection of their position of power. Hungarians had various ways of looking at the Turks, and nostalgia was definitely not one of them. On the one hand, the Turkish figure in the turbulent battle scenes of 19th century Hungarian romantic historical painting, despite the academic Oriental details, evoke the vision of the enemy, and the heroically superhuman struggles of the past, saying more about Hungarian historical consciousness than their vision of the East. On the other hand, during the 150-year-long occupation under the Ottoman Empire, Greek and Armenian merchants brought many Turkish products into Hungary and Transylvania, and in the course of their daily contacts, the Hungarians became familiar with many things that were considered a curiosity in the West. (Knowledge and goods were shared e. g. from cooking techniques, to smoking and boot making, while noble women learned the art of embroidery from Turkish sewing women.) Military personnel in the border regions of southern Hungary looked more Turkish than the Turks, while Turks were stationed across the border until as late as the last quarter of the 19th century. The material aspects of the Turkish environment thus felt familiar, rather than innovative. Even the image of the Turks themselves became less deterrent, after Turkey took in waves of Hungarian exiles after failed attempts of anti-Habsburg liberty movements.[157]

[157] Such as Count Imre Thököly (exile in Izmit 1699–1705), Prince Ferenc Rákóczi (1717–1735 in Gallipoli and Tekirdağ [*Rodostó*]) or Count Gyula Andrássy and several other military

The object of the Hungarians' nostalgic quest – despite the many Hungarian travellers to the Orient – was thus not primarily the Ottoman East. Although beautiful travel sketches and landscapes were still produced, in comparison with the hundreds of Oriental painters in France, England and Germany it can be said that in Hungary there was scarcely any echo of the fashionable academic Orientalist painting of the West.

In the absence of a colonial empire, the discovery of the other took place within the borders of the multi-ethnic kingdom. The greatest nostalgia among Hungarian intellectuals and artists at the end of the century was experienced through the discovery of the peasantry,[158] which was regarded as the fountain of time, the wellspring of the coveted ancient past, the myth of the rural golden age. For artists, the other *Other* discovered within the borders of the multi-ethnic kingdom, besides the peasantry, were the Gypsies, the popular depiction of whom emerged, on the one hand, from the representational traditions of costume books, and, on the other hand, from the visual approach of the Austrian Biedermeier style. In the 1860s, the Romantic vision of the French Theodore Valerio then endowed them with beauty, magnificence, respect and spiritual glamour, which raised the Gypsy musicians and shepherds of the Hungarian plain to heroic heights.

This remains true, even if, by the end of the 19th century, Hungary boasted academically trained and internationally acclaimed Orientalist painters with excellent technical skills, who are still recognised today as Orientalist painters in the art trade *(Picture 48)*. Ferenc Eisenhut (1857–1903) studied in Budapest and Munich before settling in Munich. Gyula Tornai (1861–1928) studied in Budapest, Vienna and Munich, travelled widely in Morocco, India, China and Japan, and in 1900 was awarded a bronze medal at the Paris World Expo. Arthur Ferraris (1856–1936) was awarded gold medal at the Salon de Paris in 1889. Pál Joanovics (1859–1957), who had Serbian roots, became popular for his genre paintings of the Turkish world of the Balkans. Ágoston Schoefft (1809–1888) moved to the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Lahore. Rudolf Swoboda (1859–1914) travelled widely in Egypt and India and became court painter to Queen Victoria in London between 1885 and 1892. The themes favoured by Eisenhut and Tornai (their countless odalisques), their com-

leaders and soldiers of the revolutionary army, who had been sentenced to death for their part in the 1848/1849 war of independence against Austria.

158 This involved not only the Hungarian peasantry, but also the peasantry of various other nationalities. In this respect, consider, for example, Miklós Barabás' beautiful Transylvanian Romanian-themed paintings and drawings.

positional approach, their realism and attention to the tiniest details of the Eastern environment, and the atmosphere they evoke were fully aligned with the mainstream of international academic Orientalist painting of the era. Eisenhut is the better painter of the two, although his subjects sometimes verge on the sadistic. Tornai's subject matter, like his style, is more trivial. Several of the artists mentioned above exhibited their works in Budapest's art exhibitions, yet the fact remains that their work was intended primarily for Western markets, and was thus uprooted from the Hungarian soil, as these artists have little to do with the domestic development of Hungarian artistic life.

In summary, it can be said that international Orientalism in Hungary was essentially aligned with the academic style of Munich and Vienna,[159] and with German bourgeois tastes at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Picture 48: F. Eisenhut: The Disgraced.
Published as a black-and-white illustration in the German journal 'Die Gartenlaube' in 1889 by Ernst Keil, Leipzig.
https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/In_Ungnade (March 3, 2018)

[159] The image of the Orient in Viennese artistic life differed from the English, French and Belgian image of the East. Austrian artists began only in the last decades of the 19th century to look for sensationalist themes in line with international academic Orientalism. See, for example, the works by Leopold Karl Müller, Otto Pilny, Ernst Rudolph, Ludwig Deutsch and Hans Zatzka. Until then, for Austrian artists, the Exotic was represented by the Eastern half of the Habsburg Empire: the genre scenes of Hungarian folk life, the shepherds of the Hungarian *puszta* and the Gypsies.

The Emergence of Oriental Themes in Popular Culture in Hungary

At the end of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, interest in Oriental themes reached the middle classes, following the example of the elite, and even between the two World Wars there were painters (such as Antal Péczely 1891–1960, *Colour Supplement 14*) who had fair and profitable careers producing works with Oriental subjects. This is evidenced by the recent art trade. The antiques market naturally relies significantly on the material heritage of the storm-tossed historical middle class. Auction houses often have more refined Orientalist paintings on offer, while Oriental themes are also common among the lower-quality stock of antique dealers and flea markets. Paintings of Oriental harem women can inevitably be found among the art works offered at the largest country fair in Transylvania, held each year in the second week of October in Feketető (*Negreni*; *Picture 49*, *Colour Supplement 13*).

Picture 49: Picture for sale at the Feketető Fair in Transylvania in 2009. Framed Austrian oil print from the early 20th century. The kitsch bathing scene by Austrian painter Hans Zatzka (1859–1945) features dancing odalisques, flying pigeons and falling rose petals. Photo: Fülemile

The vulgarised topoi of 19th century Romantic and academic painting found receptive soil in the bourgeois and petit bourgeois taste of the era in its provincial interpretation. In the middle-class salons of the intellectuals turned gentry, alongside the family furniture could be found paintings by lesser

known or unknown painters, who reworked the popular subjects of the age of national Romanticism. Images of carts drawn by shying horses in the stormy landscapes of the Great Plains, brooding horse herders on horseback, sorrowful shepherds resting on their crooks, idyllic village houses, barefoot gypsy fiddlers, Alpine scenery, cows in the morning mist, together with hunting scenes, ancestral portraits, Biedermeier salon interiors, pseudo-Rococo boudoir scenes, and Orientalist slave fairs or harem scenes. This is the visual environment that would have been encountered by peasant girls, women and artisans, who worked for middle-class families, and this is the taste that left its traces in the kitsch that subsequently found its way into the interiors of the urbanised rich peasantry and the small-town petit bourgeoisie at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries and first part of the 20th century.

What captures the imagination of wealthier peasants in pictorial representations (besides traditional religious representations and the patriotic images of national heroes) is not themselves – that is, the romanticised idyll of the countryside and the peasantry that the middle class regarded with nostalgia. Thus we do not encounter subjects of the Romantic peasant genre, but rather the sweet idylls of petit bourgeois sentimentality, or image types that answer to Romanticism's longing for the exotic (roaring stags, swans, Spanish dancers, beautiful nudes reclining like Venus in translucent tulle).[160]

Alongside printed, framed pictures (engravings, lithographs, coloured oil prints), the wall hangings that also found their way into peasant dwellings are something of a cuckoo's egg, an incongruous inorganic element of bourgeois origin. (Kitchen wall hangings are very common, reflecting the impact of popular culture between the two world wars. They are usually made from white calico and embroidered with simple stitches in blue or red thread. They are typically decorated with emblematic pictorial symbols and sentimental messages, reflecting the dream world of the bourgeois idyll, which is radically different from the lifestyle of the costumed peasant women.) Besides these, there are the *plush moquette* or *plush velvet* tapestries, which also feature figurative representations of bourgeois origin.

The term *plush velvet*, or *mockado* is still commonly used in the antiques trade. (In Transylvania, the term *moketta* is used.) Mockado refers to a mate-

[160] Although in the course of our ethnographic collections we came across more examples of rococo kitsch in the more civic, small-town or peasant-bourgeois context of Transdanubia in Western Hungary, Orientalising kitsch was more common in the Transylvanian peasant interiors.

rial made from wool or cotton that is silkened using a special process, and into which patterns are either printed or woven. Some mockado objects were produced at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, and used as wall hangings and tablecloths, and for furniture upholstery. The name of these large tapestries, made from short-napped velvet-imitation fabric, which were used to cover the wall behind a bed or a couch, dates back to olden times.[161] (*Picture 50.*)

Picture 50: Moquette wall hanging depicting an Oriental abduction scene. From the website of an online second-hand trader. http://www.vatera.hu/listings/index.php?q=mokett&c=0&warn=1 (March 3, 2018)

[161] The terms moquette, mockett, mockado, moucade, muckadowe, mockader, mackado, mouquade and so on have been used by French, Dutch, English and French weavers since the 16th century, referring to imitation silk velvet made from woollen fibres. A fine woollen thread was used to create the cut velvet surface, while the base fabric could be any combination of wool, linen and silk. The resulting textile, with its silken velvet effect, was used for carpeting and soft furnishings, and also for clothing. Designs were sometimes printed on it, to imitate the more expensive pressed Utrecht velvets. From 1571, Walloon and French Huguenot weavers fleeing from Flanders to England introduced mockado weaving to Norwich. Eric *Kerridge*: Textile Manufactures in Early Modern England. Manchester 1988, 63, 68, 69, 81, 88. In 1741, the technique was patented in England, and designated as of French origin. Nancy *Cox* – Karin *Dannehl*: Dictionary of Traded Goods and Commodities 1550–1820. Wolverhampton 2007. Eventually, the term was used for velvet carpets made from wool on wide looms, and finally for any cheaper, patterned wall hangings and carpets produced in factories on an industrial scale. Lexicon heading "moquette carpet" in Peter *Stone*: Oriental Rugs: An Illustrated Lexicon of Motifs, Materials, and Origins. Singapore 2013, 192.

A variety of patterned wall hangings emerged from the late 19th century, which, like outsized colour prints or paintings, expanded the most popular, almost kitsch, compositions of the trivial pictorial conventions of contemporary academism, and moulded them into popular image types.

Following their success on the market at the turn of the 19th century, mockado wall protectors are still being produced, and, although their social and geographical markets have changed, their representational schemes have remained the same, with their repetitions of 100-year-old clichés. With the decline in Western and Central European middle class demand, the object became fashionable among the petit bourgeoisies and the rural bourgeoisie, and then among the urbanised peasants, while geographically shifting eastwards and southwards to those South East European territories where images of the Turks were still familiar.

It is quite another question, that would go beyond the framework of the current study, to consider, in the complex relationship between the West and the East, how and why the production centres in Turkey and North Africa today adopt and promote the stereotypical clichés of a romanticised, fantasized and stereotypical image of the Orient, which was essentially created by Western European Orientalism, and how it affects their own self-image.

The 'Libyan Wall Hanging' in Szék

Located seven kilometres from Szamosújvár (*Gherla*) in the North Transylvanian Heath, the mobile, market-oriented economic mentality and industriousness of the inhabitants of Hungarian Reformed Presbyterian community of Szék are reflected in both male and female employment. The men learn various construction-related skills at home from childhood, then as they grow up they work with members of the family and friends in small commuting brigades. They take on well-paid jobs in Romania and Hungary, and, since the 1970s, further afield (for example, they worked on the construction of the Olympic Village in Munich). The girls and women also make a significant contribution to family finances. In the last 100 to 120 years, women have typically worked for middle-class families in Szamosújvár and Kolozsvár (*Cluj*), and in the last 30 to 35 years in Budapest, or have been involved in selling folk art items. Coming and going, mobility, and life away from the family were thus typical not only of the menfolk: the women, too, had to adapt to

this double life. (Long-distance parenting requires the greater involvement of grandparents in the family division of labour.)

The strong identity of the closed community, which was discovered with the emergence of the dance-house movement and the complex universe of its archaic cultural traditions, were a revelation in the 1970s. The need for the expression of social prestige, and the accumulation and demonstrative presentation of tangible goods, were driving forces behind both the strong traditionalism and the changing fashions in the late-rural community, which was prospering economically as a result of its own work ethic. This endeavour anachronistically preserves many of the traditional aspects of their lives, and is manifested, for example, in construction fashions, which change about every 20 to 25 years, domestic interiors, dowries, and the ostentatious extravagance of weddings and gifts.

Oriental-themed tapestries first appeared in the village in 1975/1976. At that time, men from Szék were typically working for one or two years for state-owned Romanian construction companies in Libya. A company based in Szatmárnémeti (*Satu Mare*) attracted many excellent construction workers and market-savvy men with its good earning opportunities. The Libyan project lasted for about a decade, more or less between 1975 and 1985, and some men spent several employment cycles away from their families. On their return home, to supplement their wages, they traded certain sought-after commodities. This was how tapestries imported from Libya were first introduced in the village, where they soon became popular. Prices were quite high: one piece cost as much as half a month's or a month's salary. In around 1976, Libyan wall hangings not only appeared in domestic interiors, but were also typically included as part of a girl's dowry (*Colour Supplement 15, 16*). A parent who was willing to spend a month's salary on a valuable headscarf, was also ready to part with a similar amount for a new wall hanging. I spoke to someone who was born in 1960 and married in 1977, who still wears traditional dress even in Budapest, where she works as a domestic cleaner. She recalled having two good-quality Libyan wall hangings that were purchased by her parents from a relative working in Libya. One featured a garden with a peacock, and the other the abduction of a girl. The design was woven, and the material was a dense, thick plush velvet with silken threads. Later, in 1982, they acquired two further rugs, which were bought by her husband who was working in the Danube delta as a tipper-truck driver for a transport company based in Szamosújvár. Between 1978 and 1983, her husband was working for

two to three months at home, then for two to three months in the Danube delta, for the same salary as he received when at home. Many of the men worked in this way until 1990, the change in regime. As they found it difficult to make ends meet from their salaries, they would take food from home, or food would be sent to them. Men working in the Danube delta frequented the port of Consțanta on their days off, where, at the weekend markets, it was possible to buy goods imported via the Black Sea, including Turkish plush velvet carpets. It was here that her husband purchased the two wall hangings mentioned above, one featuring a dancing odalisque in the seraglio, and the other one featuring two lions. Although the Turkish wall hangings were of poorer quality than the Libyan ones, they are also referred to as Libyan wall hangings. Among the four designs, her favourites are the peacock and the abduction scene, which are also the most popular among other inhabitants of Szék.

In the 1970s and 1980s, when a girl from a wealthier family got married, she would be given a Szék-style room furnished with traditional objects, plus a modern living-room furniture (with wall units, sofa, armchairs and coffee table) and a kitchen furniture (kitchen cabinets, table, chairs and woodbox). The Libyan wall hanging belonged with the modern living-room furniture, rather than in the Szék-style room. In terms of colours, the favourites were strong red, ruby and burgundy, and not greatly variegated or gaudy. Thus, the typical and popular dominant deep red colours found in the Szék traditional costume and best rooms were repeated in the colours used in the living-room wall hangings and machine-woven Persian carpets. The Libyan wall hanging remained part of the customary dowry for about 15 years before it began to go out of fashion. However, the women I talked to took hers down from her wall only in 2005. She packed it away carefully and still looks after it, rather than selling it, as many others did, on the local market or at the Feketető Fair, where the formerly popular wall hangings are still in demand among Romanian and Gypsy buyers.

Members of her parents' generation, who were born in the 1930s and who introduced the fashion for wall hangings in the 1970s, still love and use them to this day. Their living-room décor has remained more traditional than that of their children. Alongside the blue-painted walls, peasant furniture, home-painted picture frames, homespun fabrics and earthenware crockery, to this day the peacock-design tapestries are still part of the domestic décor and are still admired and enjoyed (*Colour Supplement 15*). In the same period, plush

bedspreads were brought from Hungary, featuring floral or geometric designs, but not as thick as the wall hangings.

In Szék, the term *moquette* (*moketta*) is well known and widely used. It refers to the poor-quality, cheaper plush wall hangings and carpets that have printed rather than woven designs. These were mostly purchased from Gypsy pedlars. She remembers that some wall hangings, featuring stags, for example, were made from thinner material, but these were not thought of very highly and were typically used by elderly people in the kitchen or outdoor kitchen, and relatively quickly wore out and lost their colour.

The higher-quality wall hangings referred to as Libyan by the inhabitants of Szék, are also to be found in and around the Kalotaszeg region west of Kolozsvár (*Colour Supplement 16*), while we came across some of the cheaper tapestries, known as *moketta*, in poorer Romanian peasant households.

It is worth recalling that among the various Oriental themes, it was two particular designs that especially captured the imagination of the people of Szék: the peacock and the abduction (or elopement) of the maid. These were valued the most highly, and, where tapestries are still used for decoration today, they feature these themes.

The significance of the peacock in the imagination and artistic life of the Hungarian peasantry requires little explanation: it has a special significance not only in song lyrics, but also in textiles, as a motif in embroidery and lace making. The symbolism of the peacock motif would require a far-reaching cultural-historical analysis, that is beyond the scope of the present work. It should nevertheless be mentioned that the girl guarding the peacock features in one of the earliest recorded medieval Hungarian ballads, in which the peacock is a symbol of purity and virginity.[162] The peacock in the lyrics of the Midsummer *couple-pairing* songs is a symbol of eternal love.[163] Among late medieval weavers, the peacock, or a pair of peacocks facing each other, are common designs, and the motif appears on embroidered bed linen in the 16th century. Influenced by the textiles of the nobility, and the guild of textile designers, peacock motifs began to appear on peasant textiles from the 18th century, and primarily, because of its love-related symbolism, on textiles included in a bride's dowry. It is therefore no surprise that in Szék, where peacocks already featured on embroidered textiles and pieces of lace, the peacock

[162] Lajos *Vargyas*: A magyar népballada és Európa. II. Budapest 1976, 595–598, no. 93.
[163] Béla *Vikár*: A szentiváni ének. In: Magyar Nyelvőr 30 (1901) 498–499.

design was later regarded as familiar and popular when it appeared on wall hangings imported from the East.

Scenes of elopements, and images of couples escaping at a gallop on horseback were also familiar. The image of two lovers on a galloping horse was a favourite subject of 19th century romantic and historical painting. A horseman spurring his horse to jump, with his sweetheart in the saddle, is a frequent theme in popular artworks. One of the most popular compositions in historical paintings was the portrayal of the escape and suicide of 'Dobozi and his wife',[164] which combined the dramatic depiction of the bond between the couple with the idea of national resistance, all packaged in the politically acceptable cloak of anti-Turkish sentiment. The first issue of Károly Kisfaludy's journal 'Aurora' presented an illustrated version of the story in 1822.

Kisfaludy's illustration was engraved in copper by German masters and published in the journal.[165] Károly Kisfaludy's 1830 painting of King Ladislas's rescue of a young girl from the oriental enemy in the battle of Cserhalom depicts a similar subject, reusing the compositional type from the iconography for the medieval legend of Saint Ladislas, the 11th century hero knight-king, which was given a new lease of life in the Dobozi theme. The theme was further popularised by the paintings Bertalan Székely (1861) and Viktor Madarász (1868) in the period of national mourning that followed the defeat of the 1848/1849 war of liberation. The depiction of Dobozi and his wife was also popularised in mass reproductions.

The 19th century popularity of gallant abduction/elopement scenes must therefore have touched the mobile peasant communities that were exposed to middle-class influences, such as the women and men of Szék, who worked

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164 Set in the time of the Battle of Mohács (1526), the story of Mihály Dobozi and his wife Ilona Farmos appeared in the Istvánffy Chronicle, the chronicle of István Brodarics, and the legend of Antal Verancsics on the Battle of Marót. It was recounted by others, including, in the Hungarian Reform Era, in rhyming verse in a ballad by Ferenc Kölcsey (1821) and a tale by Sándor Kisfaludy (1822). Zoltán *Hermann*: "Magyarentod". Adalékok a Dobozy-témához. In: Margonauták. Írások Margócsy István 60. születésnapjára. Eds. Rumen István Csörsz [a. o.]. Budapest 2009, 208–219; Gyula *Viszota*: Dobozy Mihály és hitvese történetének költői feldolgozásai. Első közlemény. In: Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények 1 (1903) 50–58.

165 Etchings by Martin Schärmer; Josef Axmann; Johann Blaschke. The representation later inspired works such as a painting by an unknown artist (Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences Art Collection) and a painting by Demeter Laccataris, which was published as an etching in a newspaper in Pozsony in 1835 (Fillértár 2 [1835] II, no. 44, quoted by Júlia *Papp*: "Ti vagytok a 'Polgári erény' s nemzetiség védangyali…" In: A zsoltártól a rózsaszín regényig. Fejezetek a magyar női művelődés történetéből. Ed. Júlia Papp. Budapest 2014, 140–161.

for urban and middle-class families or as commuting construction workers, which would explain the appeal of the images they came across in certain middle-class households.

While all the Oriental themes imported from elsewhere found acceptance for a certain time, it was only those representations that they considered closest to them, and that they had come across earlier, in other contexts, that struck a more sensitive chord in them.

Summary

Above, we have reviewed the main features of the historical interest shown in the Turkish people and their culture by European fine arts. Attention to Eastern themes was strongly embodied by interest in the Turks, which created the most powerful representational concept that Western Europe had ever forged of an Oriental people. We have paid particular attention above to the changes in stereotypical representations of Turkish women, and to the iconographic tradition that crystallised in the figure of the *odalisque*. The popularisation of certain representational types of Orientalism in the fine arts can be traced from the elite, through the middle classes, to the lower strata of society, following the trickle down logic of cultural contacts. The paper ends with a concrete ethnographical description of one stage in a socially perceptible and spatially and temporally localisable process – in connection with the example of the Transylvanian village of Szék.

Colour Supplement

1. A. de Favray: Portrait of Charles Gravier Count of Vergennes and French Ambassador to Constantinople, in Turkish Attire. Oil on canvas, 1766, 141 x 113 cm. Istanbul, Pera Museum, Inv. no. PM GAP PC.042

2. J.-B. Greuze: Portrait of Mademoiselle Guimard in Turkish dress. Around 1790, 116.8 x 90.8 cm. Los Angeles, County Museum. http://collections.lacma.org/node/229299 (February 11, 2018)

3. Turkish couple having coffee. Porcelain sculpture.
Nymphenburg, Porcelain Manufactory, around 1775–1780, 22.9 x 21 cm.
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. no. 1974.356.528
http://images.metmuseum.org/crdimages/es/original/dp155352.jpg
(February 11, 2018).
The Turkish influence on the spread of coffee drinking and smoking
is clearly illustrated by the porcelain sculpture.
There is a coffee set and pipe on the Turkish couple's table

4. F. Boucher: Pasha in his harem.
Pen, ink, brush, grey wash, watercolour, 1735–1739.
Vienna, Albertina.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Francois_Boucher_-_The_Pasha_in_His_Harem,_c._1735-1739_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg (February 11, 2018)

5. Female musician playing the ney *flute.*
Sketch from the watercolour and gilt 86-page album 'Costumi turchi' representing the court of the Turkish sultan Abdul Hamid (1774–1789).
Unknown Italian master, third quarter of the 18th century.
Featuring the ex libris of Count Miklós Esterházy.
Tata, Kuny Domokos Museum, Reg. no. 67.8.1.

6. A food server in the seraglio.
Sketch from the watercolour and gilt 86-page album 'Costumi turchi' representing the court of the Turkish sultan Abdul Hamid (1774–1789).
Unknown Italian master, third quarter of the 18th century.
Featuring the ex libris of Count Miklós Esterházy.
Tata, Kuny Domokos Museum, Reg. no. 67.8.1.

7. 'Kafez Basi', the coffee servant of the grand vizier.
Sketch from the watercolour and gilt 86-page album 'Costumi turchi'
representing the court of the Turkish sultan Abdul Hamid (1774–1789).
Unknown Italian master, third quarter of the 18th century.
Featuring the ex libris of Count Miklós Esterházy.
Tata, Kuny Domokos Museum, Reg. no. 67.8.1.

8. 'Kemane' violinist.
Sketch from the watercolour and gilt 86-page album 'Costumi turchi' representing the court of the Turkish sultan Abdul Hamid (1774–1789).
Unknown Italian master, third quarter of the 18th century.
Featuring the ex libris of Count Miklós Esterházy.
Tata, Kuny Domokos Museum, Reg. no. 67.8.1.

9. Unknown painter: Miniature portrait of wife of Hieronimus Colloredo-Mansfeld, general of the Habsburg emporial army, née Wilhelmine Waldstein Wartenberg (1775–1849). Aquarelle on paper glued on tin-plate, beginning of 1800's in the time of Napoleonic wars, 11,9 x 10,0 cm. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Portrait Gallery, Inv. no. TKcs 12/1950 Rajz

10. 'A máltai veszteglő-intézet' (Maltese boarding house).
A lithograph version of watercolour by Count Iván Forray (1819–1852)
by Joseph Heicke (1811–1861).
Count Forray is in the company of Count Edmund Zichy during their 1842 trip in the Mediterranean and the Turkish Empire. After the early death of Forray, his mother published the travel album in memory of her son.
Iván Forray: Utazási album. Pest 1859.
Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Portrait Gallery,
Inv. no. TKcs 58 1471

11. Turkish figures with 'Odalia'. Coloured copper engraving from Kálmán Szendy: Nemzetek Kép-Tára mellyen az egész föld minden ismeretes lakosai hív rajzolatokban s leiratokban terjesztetnek elő. I. Pest 1833. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Portrait Gallery, Inv. no. TKcs T 2071. The source for the figure 'Odalia' was T. Bensley for William Miller: The Costume of Turkey. London 1802 and Louis Dupré: Voyage à Athènes at à Constantinople […] Paris 1825

12. Reclining odalisque.
Coloured postcard from Alexandria.
Collection of János Xantus.
Budapest, Museum of Ethnography, Photograph Collection,
Inv. no. F 694.
The touristic postcard was purchased and brought home
by Xantus from his 1869 scientific expedition to the East.
The image is a photographer's atelier scene with the typical
composition of reclining nude

13. Odalisque with her servant.
Oil painting for sale at the Feketető Fair in 2009.
Kitsch, by a provincial painter. Photo: Fülemile.
The late-Renaissance composition of reclining Venus
(reclining nude with servant in the foreground and landscape
in the background with deep perspective)
was reinterpreted and orientalised by 19th century painters
(e. g. Ingres, Chasseriau, Bridgman).
The unknown provincial painter's kitschy picture,
a distant paraphrase of the 19th century compositions of great masters,
uses all the clichéd props of the oriental environment

14. Antal Péczely (1891–1960): Odalisque.
Oil on canvas, second part of 1930s.
Budapest, from a middle class family's private collection.
Photo: Fülemile

15. 'Libyan wall hanging' in the living room of an elderly couple.
Szék (Transylvania, Romania), 2012.
Photo: Fülemile

16. Wall hanging with harem scene, in a family living room.
Zsobok (Jebucu), Kalotaszeg region (Transylvania, Romania), 2005.
Photo: Fülemile