TURQUERIE: CULTURE IN MOTION, 1650–1750[*]

Shortly after Mass on 17 September 1719, three hundred men in janissary uniform marched through the gates of Dresden. A century earlier, the din of their drums would have caused panic in the city. Instead, as the soldiers advanced towards the palace, Italian acrobats rushed to wrap their turbans for the evening's entertainments, servants prepared coffee and arranged half-moon tables for the banquet, and artisans adjusted the ears on a wax-sculpture sultan. For Dresden's elite, the sound was cause for joy: the procession marked the marriage of Prince Friedrich August II to Maria Josepha of Austria.[1]

Focused as they have been on the politics of representation, modern scholars have rarely asked how such extraordinary performances came into being, or what sources of knowledge underlay them.[2] Yet turquerie, the pan-European interest in and emulation of Ottoman culture between 1650 and 1750, was not solely a European representation of a foreign people, but a set of responses to an increase in the movement of Ottoman goods and ideas.[3] The trajectories by which everything from coffee and

[1] D[avid] F[assmann], *Das glorwürdigste Leben und Thaten Friedrichs Augusti, des Grossen* (Hamburg, 1733), 762–800.

[2] This is especially true of the literature influenced by Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

[3] Efforts to study connections and transmission include Gülru Necipoğlu, 'Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Otto-man–Hapsburg–Papal Rivalry', *Art Bull.*, lxxi (1989); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia', *Mod. Asian Studies*, xxxi (1997); Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (London, 2000); A. G. Hopkins (ed.), *Globalization in World History* (London, 2002); Molly Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Mediterranean* (Princeton, 2010); Nebahat Avcıoğlu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation, 1728–1876* (Farnham, 2011); Tijana Krstić, *Contested*

costumes to music and manuscripts travelled from Ottoman to European lands suggest that turquerie was a dynamic and multi-actor phenomenon in which Ottomans played a key role. Ottoman objects did not travel naked: they were wrapped in layers of meaning.[4]

Even so, Ottoman culture changed as it entered European contexts.[5] Europeans responded to incoming goods and ideas in manifold and often surprising ways, assimilating them through sensory experience and imaginative identification. Ottoman culture offered an attractive vocabulary in which new conceptions of leisure, refinement and the body could be articulated. Treating turqueries as translations places them at the heart of the process whereby early modern Europeans came to understand Ottoman culture.

I

MISE EN SCÈNE

The conquest of Constantinople cemented in European minds the notion of the Ottomans as marauders of the cultural and religious legacy of the Christian East. Understood as descendants of the Scythians, Ottomans were frequently depicted by humanist historians as uncivilized and barbarous.[6] Although Renaissance Europeans often praised Ottoman power, political organization, piety and tolerance, popular fears of an invasion meant that

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(n. 3 cont.)

Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire (Palo Alto, 2011); E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca, 2011); Peter N. Miller, *Peiresc's Orient: Antiquarianism as Cultural History in the Seventeenth Century* (Farnham, 2012); David Armitage, *Foundations of Modern International Thought* (Cambridge, 2013), ch. 1; Pamela H. Smith, 'Knowledge in Motion: Following Itineraries of Matter in the Early Modern World', in Daniel T. Rodgers, Bhavani Raman and Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *Cultures in Motion* (Princeton, 2013).

[4] Our approach is indebted to Marcy Norton, 'Tasting Empire: Chocolate and the European Internalization of Mesoamerican Aesthetics', *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, cxi (2006), and Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca, 2008).

[5] We use 'Ottoman culture' as an umbrella term for goods, ideas and practices imported from the Ottoman empire to Europe in the period. While some of these were present throughout Ottoman lands, others were particular to urban centres, specific regions or the palace alone.

[6] Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 2008), chs. 1–2.

admiration was almost always accompanied by aversion.[7] In a period in which scholars focused on the region's classical legacy and the circulation of Ottoman elements was limited, European understandings of Ottoman culture remained necessarily circumscribed.[8] While the tradition of representing the Ottomans as barbarous did persist throughout 1650–1750, it competed more and more with new experiences of Ottoman culture.

Turquerie flourished once politics and trade facilitated the intensification of exchange with the Ottoman empire. Although it is likely, as many historians have claimed, that turquerie was related to the decline of anxiety about the Ottoman military threat after the failed siege of Vienna in 1683, military engagements themselves did not necessarily prevent cultural exchange: music, manuscripts and other war booty travelled to Europe with Ottoman troops.[9] In fact, the causation should be understood more broadly. For one thing, the intensification of diplomatic contact increased cultural traffic between Europeans and Ottomans. The Treaty of Karlowitz, concluded in 1699, which ended the Ottoman–Habsburg conflict, marked a new level of Ottoman integration into the European state and diplomatic system.[10] Between 1703 and 1774 the Ottomans signed sixty-eight recorded treaties with other states.[11] Not only did diplomatic encounters act as important venues of cultural display for both guest and host, but European states began educating subjects to sustain this intensified contact. Joining the older Venetian tradition of training dragomans in Istanbul, the Polish, Austrian and French states each founded their own language

[7] Lucette Valensi, *The Birth of the Despot: Venice and the Sublime Porte*, trans. Arthur Denner (Ithaca, 1993); Clarence Dana Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought and Literature, 1520–1660* (Paris, 1941); James G. Harper (ed.), *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450–1750: Visual Imagery before Orientalism* (Farnham, 2011), ch. 1. Because it was not an Ottoman self-designation, 'Turk' and its adjective 'Turkish' are used here only when describing period European perspectives or to denote period European genres, e.g. Turkish plays.

[8] Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (Basingstoke, 2007), 43–4.

[9] Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Terror and Toleration: The Habsburg Empire Confronts Islam, 1526–1850* (London, 2008).

[10] Rifaat A. Abou-el-Haj, 'The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier in Europe, 1699–1703', *Jl Amer. Oriental Soc.*, lxxxix (1969); Molly Greene, 'Islam and Europe', in Peter H. Wilson (ed.), *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 2008), 387.

[11] Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 2005), 77.

schools.[12] As governments trained diplomatic intermediaries, they multiplied the number of cultural intermediaries as well.

Moreover, increased trade between the Ottoman empire and various European states contributed to the circulation of goods and ideas. The trade agreements struck first with France and England and then with the Dutch Republic meant not only a greater flow of goods but a greater number of Europeans living in and trading with the empire in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[13] However, turquerie was not directly correlated to fluctuations in trade with the Levant: while French commerce with the eastern Mediterranean dropped precipitously around mid-century, recovering only around 1685, this had little effect on French interest in Ottoman culture, which generated some of the most famous turqueries in that period, such as Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1670) and Racine's *Bajazet* (1672).[14] Likewise, although the tradition of Turkish theatre was at its height in England during the Levant Company's golden age (1660–80) turqueries maintained their vitality and popularity even when that trade declined steadily in the first half of the eighteenth century.[15] Most objects studied here were not part of the high-volume trade with Europe, largely because they were not mass commodities in the Ottoman empire. Manuscripts, costume albums and, in the early years, even coffee entered Europe in small quantities as gifts and for personal use.

On the Ottoman side, one cause of turquerie lay in changes in the political culture and diplomacy of the empire. In the decades leading up to the age of turqueries, the Ottoman state shifted focus from expansion to the administration of already acquired territory. By the early seventeenth century, sultans had metamorphosed from warriors active on the battlefield into elegant and

[12] Fichtner, *Terror and Toleration*, 117–18; Franz Babinger, 'Die türkischen Studien in Europa bis zum Auftreten Josef von Hammer-Purgstalls', *Die Welt des Islams*, vii (1919), 113; E. Natalie Rothman, 'Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, li (2009), 775.

[13] Maurits H. van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System: Qadis, Consuls and Beraths in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, 2005), 7.

[14] Pierre Martino, *L'Orient dans la littérature française au XVIIᵉ et au XVIIIᵉ siècle* (Paris, 1906), 43–6; Molly Greene, 'Beyond the Northern Invasion: The Mediterranean in the Seventeenth Century', *Past and Present*, no. 174 (Feb. 2002), 44 n.

[15] Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (Oxford, 1935), ch. 6; Gary Stuart De Krey, *A Fractured Society: The Politics of London in the First Age of Party, 1688–1715* (Oxford, 1985), 141–2.

fine-fingered patrons of magnificence.[16] The changes in European imagery of the Ottomans, from aggressive defenders of the faith to paragons of refinement, in part paralleled changes in the self-understanding of the Ottoman ruling elite.[17] On the European side, the transformations that spread turquerie were technological and commercial advances in the production and dissemination of writings, images and goods. Turquerie was inseparable from new forms of economic and commercial organization that produced luxuries the middle classes could afford, from printed engravings to coffee cultivated by slaves in the West and East Indies.[18] Such developments, in turn, widened the audience for turqueries beyond the courtly and urban elites who had first enjoyed them.

<div align="center">II</div>

<div align="center">SOURCES AND TRANSLATIONS</div>

Images without borders

Images and written accounts of the Ottomans proliferated in Europe from 1650 to 1750.[19] Scholars have routinely taken them as only loosely related to the empire itself, parsing them

[16] Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle, 2008), ch. 2; Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York, 1993), ch. 6.

[17] Hans Georg Majer, 'New Approaches to Portraiture', in Selmin Kangal (ed.), *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, trans. Mary Priscilla Işın (Istanbul, 2000); Christine Woodhead, 'Murad III and the Historians: Representations of Ottoman Imperial Authority in Late Sixteenth-Century Historiography', in Hakan T. Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski (eds.), *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power* (Leiden, 2005).

[18] Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington, 1982); John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993); Craig Clunas, 'Modernity Global and Local: Consumption and the Rise of the West', *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, civ (1999); Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2005); Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge, 2008); Madeleine Dobie, *Trading Places: Colonization and Slavery in Eighteenth-Century French Culture* (Ithaca, 2010). On coffee, which was soon exported back to the Ottoman empire, see Robert Paris, *De 1660 à 1789: le Levant*, vol. v of Gaston Rambert (ed.), *Histoire du commerce de Marseille* (Paris, 1957), 450, 464; Edhem Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, 1999), 75–80.

[19] Babinger, 'Die türkischen Studien in Europa bis zum Auftreten Josef von Hammer-Purgstalls'; Alastair Hamilton and Francis Richard, *André du Ryer and Oriental Studies in Seventeenth-Century France: Seventeenth-Century Orientalist and Diplomat* (Oxford, 2004), ch. 2.

either for what they reveal about European conceptions of the
East, or for their implicit statements about European domestic
matters.[20] Yet the Ottoman costume album, the genre of visual art
most commonly commissioned by European travellers to the
empire, had from the beginning one foot in the Ottoman and
one in the European pictorial traditions. In Europe costume
books were already widespread by the early sixteenth century,
depicting attire and sometimes cities and customs of peoples
from Europe and the world.[21] The genre made its debut in the
Ottoman lands towards the end of the sixteenth century, its simi-
larities to native encyclopedic genres facilitating its embrace by an
Ottoman public.[22] In the hands of the growing number of
Ottoman artists producing these albums, the genre was a
unique combination of Ottoman and European artistic conven-
tions: Ottoman-style figures decontextualized and isolated on
single leaves.

These Ottoman-made images came to supplement the growing
number of publications for European audiences about the
empire. This resulted in part from changes in patronage patterns
in early seventeenth-century Istanbul. The reduction in the size of
the imperial workshop and the temporary transfer of the court to
Edirne meant that high-profile artists became free to work not
only for the ever more powerful Ottoman grandees, but for
European travellers interested in documenting Ottoman soci-
ety.[23] The Englishman Paul Rycaut's *The Present State of the*

[20] Exceptions include Babinger, 'Die türkischen Studien in Europa bis zum
Auftreten Josef von Hammer-Purgstalls'; Walter B. Denny, 'Quotations in and out
of Context: Ottoman Turkish Art and European Orientalist Painting', *Muqarnas*, x
(1993), esp. 228–9; Sonja Brentjes, 'The Interests of the Republic of Letters in the
Middle East, 1550–1700', *Science in Context*, xii (1999); Kristel Smentek, 'Looking
East: Jean-Étienne Liotard, the Turkish Painter', *Ars Orientalis*, xxxix (2010).

[21] Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1970), ii, 90–1.

[22] Leslie Meral Schick, 'Ottoman Costume Albums in a Cross-Cultural Context',
in *Art turc: 10ᵉ Congrès international d'art turc, Genève, 17–23 septembre 1995* (Geneva,
1999); Leslie Meral Schick, 'The Place of Dress in Pre-modern Costume Albums', in
Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (eds.), *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to
Identity* (Istanbul, 2004), 93; Tülay Artan, 'Arts and Architecture', in Suraiya Faroqhi
(ed.), *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839* (Cambridge, 2006), 431.

[23] We are grateful to Tülay Artan for drawing our attention to the importance of
Mehmed IV's move to Edirne, and for her comments on this section. See Artan, 'Arts
and Architecture', 428; Banu Mahir, 'Portraits in a New Context', in Kangal (ed.),
Sultan's Portrait, 307; Tülay Artan, 'Problems Relating to the Social History Context
of the Acquisition and Possession of Books as Part of Collections of Objets d'Art in the
Eighteenth Century', in *Art turc*.

Ottoman Empire (1667) featured engravings based on two albums, one by the court painter Musavvir Hüseyin, and another by a team of Ottoman and Venetian artists working in the service of the Venetian Bailo (see Plate 1).[24] For his *History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire* (1734), Dimitrie Cantemir commissioned the court painter Abdülcelil Levni to produce a series of the sultans based upon the normally inaccessible palace collections.[25] The book boasted 'twenty-two Heads of the Turkish Emperors, engraved from Copies taken from ORIGINALS in the GRAND SEIGNOR's Palace, by the late SULTAN's Painter'.[26]

Many costume albums that found their way to Europe were hence deliberate Ottoman attempts to represent local personages to a European audience. Europeans often valued the insider's view afforded by Ottoman-made albums. As the traveller Pietro della Valle noted, local miniaturists could represent Ottoman attire and headgear with an accuracy unattainable for visitors, many of whom had only limited access to local society.[27] Yet, in preparing these works, Ottoman artists often adjusted to the expectations of their European patrons. Musavvir Hüseyin's European albums, for example, portrayed sultans more realistically and women clad more scantily than was customary in albums for native viewers.[28]

[24] For that attributed to Hüseyin, see 'Costumes turcs de la cour et de la ville de Constantinople', Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Od. 6, repr. in Süheyl Ünver, *Geçmiş Yüzyıllarda Kıyafet Resimlerimiz* [Our Costume Images from Past Centuries] (Ankara, 1958), and discussed in Majer, 'New Approaches to Portraiture', 338. The second album produced for the Venetian Bailo was partly reproduced in Franz Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuler Hof und Volksleben: Ein türkisches Miniaturenalbum aus dem 17. Jahrhundert* (Hanover, 1925), and discussed in E. Natalie Rothman, 'Visualizing a Space of Encounter: Intimacy, Alterity, and Trans-Imperial Perspective in an Ottoman–Venetian Miniature Album', *Jl Ottoman Studies*, xl (2012). Compare, for example, image 17, 'Dame, ins Bad gehend, mit Dienerin', in Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuler Hof und Volksleben*, to Paul Rycaut, 'The Habit of the Women in Constantinople', in Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire Containing the Maxims of the Turkish Politie: The Most Material Points of the Mahometan Religion, their Sects and Heresies, their Convents and Religious Votaries, their Military Discipline, with an Exact Computation of their Force both by Land and Sea* (London, 1667), 151.
[25] Majer, 'New Approaches to Portraiture', 372.
[26] Dimitrie Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire* (London, 1756), title page.
[27] Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle il pellegrino*, 3 pts in 4 vols. (Venice, 1667), i, 56–7.
[28] Hans Georg Majer, 'Individualized Sultans and Sexy Women: The Works of Musavvir Hüseyin and their East–West Context', in *Art turc*, 464.

1. Left: Musavvir Hüseyin, 'Tulbend agasi: ou, Porte-turban' (1688 or earlier). Miniature painting in the album 'Costumes turcs de la cour et de la ville de Constantinople' (1720). Image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Od. 6, M34255.

Right: 'Tulbentar Aga: or, He Who Makes the Grand Signors Turbant'. Engraving in Paul Rycaut, *History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (first pubd 1667; London, 1686), 44. Image courtesy of the University of Michigan, Special Collections Library.

2. Left and centre: Musavvir Hüseyin, 'Kazi asker: ou, President de guerre' and 'Mufti: ou, Chef de la loy' (1688 or earlier). Miniature paintings in 'Costumes turcs de la cour et de la ville de Constantinople'. Image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Od. 6, M34245, M34246.

Right: Gérard Scotin, after Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, 'Effendi: homme de Loy dans son Etude' (1712–13). Engraving in *Recueil de cent estampes representant differentes nations du Levant* (Paris, 1714), Plate 24. Image courtesy of Harvard University, Houghton Library, f HEW 13.9.8.

Not only Ottoman but also European-made costume albums originated in multiple pictorial traditions. Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, a Flemish painter who spent most of his career working for various ambassadors in Istanbul, produced the most famous of these. His images for the French ambassador, the marquis de Ferriol, engraved and bound in the hugely popular *Recueil de cent estampes representant differentes nations du Levant* (1714), have been rightly celebrated as the single most important source for European imagery of the Ottomans in this period.[29] Yet the emphasis on Vanmour as an on-site painter who delivered an unmediated image of Ottoman society, a selling point in his time and our own, has obscured an examination of his process and sources.[30] Evidence suggests that Vanmour, like other European artists,[31] had considerable contact with local artists during his thirty-year residence in Istanbul. Running a very large, semi-commercial workshop that produced a number of paintings based on a limited set of formulas, he was likely obliged to hire locally trained artists.[32] The awkward perspectival designs of some of his paintings support this thesis, suggesting the hands of individuals not trained in the European pictorial tradition.[33]

In fact, Ottoman pictorial tropes are visible in Vanmour's works. In depicting Ahmed III in the company of two attendants, for example, he was following a late sixteenth-century Ottoman convention.[34] Both the clothing and the accessories of his legal scholar (see Plate 2) and the composition and dress of his coffee drinker (fur draped over the shoulders, V-neck, belt, trousers; see

[29] Jacques Le Hay, *Recueil de cent estampes representant differentes nations du Levant, gravées sur les tableaux peints d'après nature en 1707 et 1708, par les ordres de M. de Ferriol, et mis au jour en 1712 et 1713 par les soins de M. Le Hay* (Paris, 1714); Seth Gopin, 'Dans le sillage de Vanmour' and 'Le Recueil Ferriol', both in Seth Gopin and Eveline Sint Nicolaas, *Jean Baptiste Vanmour: peintre de la Sublime Porte* (Valenciennes, 2009); Seth Gopin, 'The Influence of Jean Baptiste Vanmour', in Alessandro Bettagno (ed.), *I Guardi: vedute, capricci, feste, disegni e quadri turcheschi* (Venice, 2002).

[30] Gül İrepoğlu, 'Innovation and Change', in Kangal (ed.), *Sultan's Portrait*, 385; Günsel Renda, 'The Court and Empire Observed', in Eveline Sint Nicolaas, Duncan Bull and Günsel Renda, *The Ambassador, the Sultan, and the Artist: An Audience in Istanbul* (Amsterdam, 2003), 36. An exception is Catherine Boppe-Vigne, 'L'Influence de la miniature turque sur les œuvres de Jean-Baptiste van Mour', in Bettagno (ed.), *I Guardi*, 163–9.

[31] Rothman, 'Visualizing a Space of Encounter', 43.

[32] Duncan Bull, 'The Artist', in Sint Nicolaas, Bull and Renda, *Ambassador, the Sultan, and the Artist*, 22.

[33] *Ibid.*, 21.

[34] İrepoğlu, 'Innovation and Change', 385.

Plate 3) are strikingly similar to those depicted a few decades earlier by Hüseyin. Although Vanmour composed his paintings to make sense to a European public, adjusting the coffee drinker's headdress and moving the scholar indoors, he and Hüseyin operated within a similar pictorial repertoire.

Through a number of routes, these images made their way from Istanbul to Europe. Alongside pictures brought home as souvenirs or printed in histories and travel accounts, miniatures available in Ottoman markets entered the private collections of patrons like Cardinal Mazarin and Jean-Baptiste Colbert.[35] Hüseyin's works travelled to Europe not only through the Balkan border as war booty,[36] but as gifts from the French ambassador introducing the new sultan to Louis XIV.[37] By the end of the eighteenth century, dozens of illuminated Ottoman manuscripts enriched courtly and private collections.

Once in Europe, these images became sources for the Ottoman-inspired themes so prevalent in eighteenth-century European painting. Many artists who had never set foot in the Ottoman empire relied on Vanmour, whose influence is documented in everything from masquerade and theatre costumes to the works of Guardi and Watteau.[38] Others turned to the Hüseyin albums in the French royal collection, as Carle (Charles-André) van Loo did for his paintings for the *chambre turque* of Madame de Pompadour, the chief mistress of Louis XV. A comparison suggests that van Loo adopted the position and dress of Hüseyin's coffee drinker, as well as its red, ochre and pale blue palette.[39] So too did an anonymous painter rely

[35] Sonia Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667–1678* (Oxford, 1989), 42; Artan, 'Arts and Architecture', 432.

[36] Artan, 'Arts and Architecture', 438.

[37] Two manuscripts attributed to Hüseyin are in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Od. 6 and Od. 7. The former is dated 1720, the latter 1688. However, Süheyl Ünver speculates from internal evidence that both were in fact produced at the earlier date. The fact that these images were clearly used for Rycaut's history published in 1667, however, suggests that they may have been produced (or copied from a work produced) more than a decade earlier. See Majer, 'Individualized Sultans and Sexy Women', 466; Majer, 'New Approaches to Portraiture', 345, 369 (Plate 105); Artan, 'Arts and Architecture', 435.

[38] Gopin, 'Dans le sillage de Vanmour'; Julia Landweber, 'Celebrating Identity: Charting the History of Turkish Masquerade in Early Modern France', *Romance Studies Quart.*, xxiii (2005), 181–3.

[39] Perrin Stein, 'Exoticism as Metaphor: Turquerie in Eighteenth-Century French Art' (New York Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1997), 181–2; Perrin Stein, 'Madame de Pompadour and the Harem Imagery at Bellevue', *Gazette des beaux-arts*, cxxiii (1994).

3. Left: Musavvir Hüseyin, 'L'Asseki sultane: ou, Première femme du grand seigneur' (1688 or earlier). Miniature painting in 'Figures naturelles de Turquie' (1688). Image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Od. 7, M33283.

Right: Jean-Baptiste Haussard, after Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, 'Fille turque, prenant le caffé sur le sopha' (1712–13). Engraving in *Recueil de cent estampes representant differentes nations du Levant*, Plate 48. Image courtesy of Harvard University, Houghton Library, f HEW 13.9.8.

4. Top: Musavvir Hüseyin, '[Sultane avec ses serviteurs]' (1688 or earlier). Miniature painting in 'Costumes turcs de la cour et de la ville de Constantinople'. Image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Od. 6, M34244.

Middle: Carle van Loo, *Sultan's Wife Drinking Coffee*, pair to the painting *Sultan's Wife Embroidering*. Oil on canvas. 120 × 127 cm. Image courtesy of the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets.

Bottom: After Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, *A Sultana Taking Coffee*, eighteenth century. Oil on canvas laid down on board. 26 × 33.1 cm. Private collection.

more on Hüseyin than on Vanmour (as had been previously
assumed): the similarities in the décolleté, the fur lining, the
coffee cup and the woman's position suggest the painter must
have seen either the French royal collections or other copies of
Hüseyin's work (see Plate 4).

   These already complex images were further modified as they
were incorporated into new artistic contexts. Some were dis-
tanced from their original referent. Reproduced as porcelain
statuettes, the figures from the *Recueil de cent estampes* lost both
the descriptions and the sequence that had located them within
the Ottoman social hierarchy.[40] In the case of van Loo's coffee
drinker, source images served instead not only for the reproduc-
tion of detail, but to buttress a political message. Hüseyin's ori-
ginal was not an anonymous or ideal type, but probably Gülnuş
Emetullah, the *haseki* (favourite) of Mehmed IV.[41] By having her-
self painted after the sultan's chief consort, Madame de
Pompadour designated herself as her own sovereign's favourite.
In view of her prominence in advising the king, moreover, she may
also have been using the image of the *haseki*, known in Paris and
Istanbul to possess considerable influence in state affairs, to
underline her own political role.[42]

A scholarly conversation
That Ottoman culture and politics deserved scholarly study could
not be assumed. Prior generations had focused their intellectual
energy on the classical Levant or the early Islamic past.[43] Thus,
Rycaut had to preface his Ottoman history of 1667 by arguing
that Ottoman government and customs were more than a curios-
ity and were worthy of rigorous scrutiny.[44] This coincided with
the efforts of some scholars to portray Ottomans as patrons of
scholarship and the arts, rather than as uncultivated warriors. In
1688 the Venetian dragoman Giovanni Battista Donado wrote
Della letteratura de' Turchi, a cultural history that demonstrated

[40] Edmund Braun, 'Die Vorbilder einiger "türkischer" Darstellungen im deutschen
Kunstgewerbe des XVIII. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen
Kunstsammlungen*, xxix (1908); Maria Elisabeth Pape, 'Die Turquerie in der bildenden
Kunst des 18. Jahrhunderts' (Univ. of Cologne Ph.D. thesis, 1987).

[41] Artan, 'Arts and Architecture', 435.

[42] Stein, 'Exoticism as Metaphor', 188; Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, 116–17.

[43] Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*; Cyriac of Ancona,
Later Travels, ed. and trans. Edward W. Bodnar (Cambridge, 2003).

[44] Paul Rycaut, 'The Epistle Dedicatory', in Rycaut, *Present State of the Ottoman
Empire Containing the Maxims of the Turkish Politie*.

the breadth of Ottoman pursuits from music to philosophy and poetry.[45] Soon after, Antoine Galland argued that the Ottomans had cultivated arts and sciences since the beginning of their empire, and that 'one may count the considerable number of their Poets as a sign of the delicacy of their minds'.[46] The parallel with other forms of turquerie is striking: the elevation of Ottomans to paragons of cultural refinement.

In fact, the increase in scholarly writings on Ottoman topics occurred at least in part as a direct response to more popular forms of turquerie. Donado cited as motivation for his treatise the fact that too many books had been written about the customs and costumes of the Ottomans, but none about their intellectual pursuits.[47] Similarly, Charles Fonton's 'Essay sur la musique orientale' (1751) sought to counteract the impression, conveyed by the *alla turca* fad, that all Ottoman music was 'a confusion of instruments without agreement, of voices without harmony, of movements without grace, of song without delicacy'.[48] Scholarship was not separate from or indifferent to turquerie at large: rather, it sought to comment on, modify and converse with turquerie's polite forms, and was stimulated by the circulation in European culture of so many Ottoman elements.

Yet what most distinguished scholarship in the age of turquerie from earlier intellectual production on the Ottomans was its sources. For one thing, the great rise in the number of Europeans travelling to the Ottoman empire meant a proliferation of travel literature on the region. While travel-writing was a genre with its own conventions and biases,[49] contemporary readers found

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[45] Giovanni Battista Donado, *Della letteratura de' Turchi* (Venice, 1688). On Donado, see Paolo Preto, *Venezia e i Turchi* (Florence, 1975).

[46] A[ntoine] Gal[l]and, 'Discours pour servir de préface à la Bibliothèque orientale', in Barthélemy d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale: ou, Dictionaire universel, contenant generalement tout ce qui regarde la connoissance des peuples de l'Orient* (Paris, 1697).

[47] Donado, *Della letteratura de' Turchi*, a3ʳ.

[48] C. Fonton, 'Essay sur la musique orientale comparée à la musique européene' (1751), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 4023, ed. Eckhard Neubauer as *Der Essai sur la musique orientale von Charles Fonton mit Zeichnungen von Adanson* (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), 279. Cantemir, *History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire*, Charles Henri Blainville, *Histoire générale critique et philologique de la musique* (Paris, 1767; repr. Geneva, 1972), and Giambattista Toderini, *Letteratura turchesca*, 3 vols. (Venice, 1787), made similar efforts.

[49] In our own era, early modern European travel-writing has been both credited with opening European minds to cultural diversity and criticized for its limitations. For the former viewpoint, see Paul Hazard, *La Crise de la conscience européenne*,

much to gain from this literature, and it was an indispensable source to a diverse audience encompassing polite readers, entrepreneurs, historians, biblical scholars and philosophers.[50] Concurrently, Ottoman scholarly sources were prized for the first time. Better knowledge of Ottoman Turkish and a greater number of travellers provided the foundation for this shift. As European states trained civil servants to support intensified diplomatic relations with the empire, the number of Europeans able to acquire and read native sources increased. Both Galland and Donado, as well as François Pétis de La Croix, Charles Fonton, Giambattista Toderini and Vincenzo Bratutti, all benefited from the language schools established by European states in the period. Whereas few sixteenth-century Europeans had studied Ottoman Turkish, since, unlike Arabic, it had no link to biblical Hebrew and its sacred aura, seventeenth-century scholars produced reliable dictionaries and grammars.[51] They also had more to read: while, in the sixteenth century, manuscript collections in Europe had held virtually no Turkish manuscripts, the age of turquerie

(n. 49 cont.)

1680–1715, 3 vols. (Paris, 1935), i, pt I, ch. 1. For the latter, see Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, 113–18. For a nuanced perspective, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History* (Oxford, 2005); Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400–1800* (Cambridge, 2007), ch. 8. On travel-writing, see Rouillard, *Turk in French History, Thought and Literature*, pt III, ch. 1; Michael T. Ryan, 'Assimilating New Worlds in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, xxiii (1981); Mary Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca, 1988), Epilogue; Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550–1800* (Amsterdam, 1995); Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1998); Amanda Wunder, 'Western Travelers, Eastern Antiquities, and the Image of the Turk in Early Modern Europe', *Jl Early Mod. Hist.*, vii (2003). Lady Montagu condemned travel-writers in her letter from 'Belgrade Village' (thus Montagu designates her location in the letter), 17 June 1717, repr. in *Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Robert Halsband, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1965–7), i, 367–70; as did Voltaire in *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations et sur les principaux faits de l'histoire depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Louis XIII*, 7 vols. ([Geneva], 1756), quoted by Martino, *L'Orient dans la littérature française*, 74. Baron de Tott wrote a critique of Montagu published under the title 'Observations sur les mœurs des Turcs, à l'occasion des lettres de Milady Montague', *Journal encyclopédique*, viii (15 Nov. 1765).

[50] Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 143; Anthony Grafton, *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007); Guy G. Stroumsa, *A New Science: The Discovery of Religion in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge, Mass., 2010).

[51] Hamilton and Richard, *André du Ryer and Oriental Studies in Seventeenth-Century France*, 63; Babinger, 'Die türkischen Studien in Europa bis zum Auftreten Josef von Hammer-Purgstalls', 110–26.

witnessed a surge in their acquisition.[52] The Bibliothèque du Roi in Paris, for instance, came into its first Turkish manuscripts only in 1668–9, but soon made up for lost time.[53] Likewise, interest grew in contemporary Arabic-language scholarship, the most extraordinary expression of which was Barthélemy d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale*, which drew heavily on the Ottoman scholar Katib Çelebi's seventeenth-century Arabic bibliographic work *Kashf al-Zunun*.[54]

The importance of native sources becomes especially clear in scholarly efforts to understand coffee, the drink newly imported from the Ottoman lands. Europeans turned to its place of origin for information on the nature and characteristics of the drink and the plant, and early treatises on coffee by Edward Pococke and Antoine Galland relied heavily upon works by Ottoman scholars. While Pococke's was a translation of a portion of a medical handbook by the sixteenth-century Ottoman Arab physician Da'ud al-Antaki,[55] Galland's drew primarily on a treatise on coffee by Antaki's contemporary ʿAbd al-Qadir al-Jaziri. Galland also made frequent use of the sixteenth-century Ottoman poet Beliği and the seventeenth-century historian İbrahim Peçevi.[56] These sources were not ancient or medieval, but only a generation

[52] For the example of the Bibliothèque du Roi, see Monique Cohen, 'Avant-propos', and Marie-Geneviève Guesdon, 'Arabe', both in Annie Berthier (ed.), *Manuscrits, xylographes, estampages: les collections orientales du Département des manuscrits. Guide* (Paris, 2000), 9–19, 21–4; Marie-Rose Séguy, 'Arabe: introduction historique', in Georges Vajda and Yvette Sauvan (eds.), *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes: deuxième partie. Manuscrits musulmans*, ii, *Nos. 590–1120* (Paris, 1978).

[53] Annie Berthier, 'Turc', in Berthier (ed.), *Manuscrits, xylographes, estampages*, 54–6.

[54] Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*; Katib Çelebi, *Kashf al-Zunun ʿan Asami al-Kutub wa-l-Funun* [The Clearing of Doubts in the Names of Books and Arts] (1657), ed. and trans. Gustavus Fluegel as *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum*, 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1835–58). On Herbelot, see Henry Laurens, *Aux sources de l'orientalisme: la bibliothèque orientale de Barthélemi d'Herbelot* (Paris, 1978); Nicholas Dew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France* (Oxford, 2009).

[55] Da'ud ibn ʿUmar al-Antaki, *Tadhkirat Uli al-Albab wa-l-Jamiʿ li-l-ʿAjab al-ʿUjab* [The Memorandum of the Intelligent, a Compendium of Wonders] (Beirut, 1996); Edward Pococke, *The Nature of the Drink Kauhi, or Coffe, and the Berry of Which It Is Made: Described by an Arabian Phisitian* (Oxford, 1659); Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, 2005), 23.

[56] Zayn al-Din ʿAbd al-Qadir ibn Muhammad al-Ansari al-Jaziri al-Hanbali, *ʿUmdat al-Safwa fi Hill al-Qahwa* [The Maintenance of Purity in Favour of the Legitimacy of Coffee] (Abu Dhabi, 2007); Ralph A. Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle, 1985), 131–4; Antoine Galland, *De l'origine et du progrès du café: sur un manuscript arabe de la Bibliothèque du Roy* (Caen, 1699), 16, 49.

or two old; Pococke and Galland employed current Ottoman scholarship.

Aided by a Galenic theory of medicine still shared across the Eurasian continent, scholars and advertisers enlisted the expertise of Eastern doctors to convince wary Europeans of the new drink's salubrity.[57] Even after European doctors' own studies, the Ottoman intellectual legacy held: as Jean de La Roque explained, Ottoman observations about the drink were 'much the same as have been since discover'd, and admitted by our best Physicians'.[58] Thus, although Ottoman and European physicians disagreed (even among themselves) about coffee's effects on the body, they debated analogous questions: one main shared concern, for example, was the effect of coffee on the libido.[59] In this sense, Ottomans and Europeans participated in a common scholarly discourse.[60]

Much of the material contained in travel-writings and scholarship reached a wider public through novels and plays. Writers of novels mined travel accounts and histories: while Madeleine de Scudéry, in her *Ibrahim: ou, L'Illustre Bassa* (1641), commuted the grisly death sentence of the sixteenth-century grand vizier Ibrahim Paşa into a magnanimous royal pardon, she nonetheless sought historical fidelity to the Constantinopolitan atmosphere by consulting descriptions of court ceremony.[61] Many Turkish plays can also be traced to specific travel narratives, such as Racine's dependence for *Bajazet* on the account of the

[57] Galland, *De l'origine et du progrès du café*, 36; Pococke, *Nature of the Drink Kauhi, or Coffe, and the Berry of Which It Is Made, Described by an Arabian Phisitian*; Philippe Sylvestre Dufour, *Traitez nouveaux et curieux du café, du thé et du chocolate: ouvrage également necessaire aux medecins, et à tous ceux qui aiment leur santé* (La Haye, 1685), 36.

[58] Jean de La Roque, *Voyage de l'Arabie heureuse, par l'océan Oriental, et le détroit de la mer Rouge: fait par les François pour la première fois, dans les années 1708, 1709 et 1710* (Paris, 1716), 257, trans. as *A Voyage to Arabia the Happy, by the Way of the Eastern Ocean, and the Streights of the Red-Sea: Perform'd by the French for the First Time, A.D. 1708, 1709, 1710* (London, 1726), 290.

[59] Pococke includes Antaki's claim that coffee 'asswageth lust': Pococke, *Nature of the Drink Kauhi, or Coffe, and the Berry of Which It Is Made, Described by an Arabian Phisitian*, A3ʳ. See Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 41–2. For the French debate on coffee's healing properties, see Jean Leclant, 'Le Café et les cafés à Paris, 1644–1693', *Annales*, vi (1951), 9–10. For disagreement on the Ottoman side, see Alan Mikhail, 'The Heart's Desire: Gender, Urban Space, and the Ottoman Coffee House', in Dana Sajdi (ed.), *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2007), 219–20 n.

[60] Cf. Avner Ben-Zaken, *Cross-Cultural Scientific Exchanges in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1560–1660* (Baltimore, 2010).

[61] Rouillard, *Turk in French History, Thought and Literature*, 556–71.

ambassador, the comte de Cézy. It was these plays that exposed the widest audiences to Ottoman culture: during the age of turquerie a special link formed between the Ottoman dynasty and the European dramatic stage. Of the forty English plays set in Asia or the Levant between 1660 and 1714, only two were not set in Ottoman lands; meanwhile, in France thirteen Turkish tragedies were written between 1672 and 1739.[62] Yet Turkish plays have too often been understood as timeless 'classical' abstractions of the Ottoman state. Although the plots themselves often derived from historical events during the reign of Süleyman I, many plays were written in response to contemporary international events.[63] Nor should they be considered merely as coded discussions of domestic problems. Rather, Ottoman-inspired plays offered a forum in which 'different models of empire could be explored, analyzed, appropriated or dismissed'.[64] Many plays sought to appraise seriously the Ottoman political and social order, and to bring this appraisal to broad sections of the public.

Divorcing European imagery of and scholarship on the Ottomans from its sources, and speaking only of projections of the 'Other' in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, erases a complex history of cultural translation. Behind many European artworks lay the efforts of Ottoman artists, self-consciously creating images adjusted to the preferences of their European patrons, or of Europeans like Vanmour, who worked with Ottoman painters and within Ottoman artistic conventions. Similarly, European scholars of the period relied heavily on Ottoman sources to understand Ottoman society and its exports. The point is not that turquerie was more authentic than previously thought; rather, attention to sources reveals the full complexity of these representations, which preserved some knowledge of

[62] On the number of Turkish plays in England, see Ros Ballaster, *Fabulous Orients: Fictions of the East in England, 1662–1785* (Oxford, 2005), 55; Bridget Orr, *Empire on the English Stage, 1660–1714* (Cambridge, 2001), 61. On the number of Turkish plays in France, see Martino, *L'Orient dans la littérature française*, 212. For non-Turkish Asian plays, see Elkanah Settle, *The Conquest of China, by the Tartars: A Tragedy* (London, 1676); John Dryden, *Aureng-Zebe: A Tragedy, Acted at the Royal Theatre* (London, 1676). On Turkish plays in general, see Martino, *L'Orient dans la littérature française*; Rouillard, *Turk in French History, Thought and Literature*; Marie-Louise Dufrenoy, *L'Orient romanesque en France, 1704–1789*, 3 vols. (Montreal, 1946–7; Amsterdam, 1975); Orr, *Empire on the English Stage*; Ballaster, *Fabulous Orients*.

[63] Rouillard, *Turk in French History, Thought and Literature*, pt IV, ch. 1; Orr, *Empire on the English Stage*, 131.

[64] Orr, *Empire on the English Stage*, 134.

Ottoman culture even when their meanings changed along with
their medium, language, patron and audience.

III

PRACTICES AND INSTITUTIONS IN MOTION

That coffee came to Europe from the Ottoman empire is no
secret, and the *alla turca* style in seventeenth- and eighteenth-
century European music is perhaps the best-remembered
legacy of turquerie. Yet, in both cases, insufficient attention has
been paid to the practices that accompanied these cultural
imports. Europeans undoubtedly invested coffee and music
with local meanings and rituals, but both were imported from
the Ottoman empire accompanied by ideas, instructions and
even institutions.

Coffee and its culture
The success of coffee in Europe depended heavily on Ottoman
mediation. Unlike imported luxuries such as silks and ceramics,
the bitter brown drink first seemed dreadful to most early modern
Europeans.[65] Rather, they had to be enticed to acquire a taste for
it. Many of them began to do so thanks to Ottoman diplomacy
and elite society, which had quickly made coffee a central part of
polite ceremonial since the drink's introduction into Istanbul in
the mid sixteenth century.[66] Galland, who spent years in the
Levant in French service, based much of his treatise on coffee
on his experiences in the houses of local grandees.[67] Others
were introduced to coffee when Ottoman statesmen served the
drink during their own military or diplomatic travels.[68]

The refinement of the Ottoman way of serving coffee drove
much of the European enthusiasm for the drink. Galland's de-
scription of the rituals of coffee-drinking in Istanbul spans pages,
detailing everything from the order in which guests were served
(the most important first) to the embroidery of the napkins

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[65] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 18.

[66] Dufour, *Traitez nouveaux et curieux du café, du thé et du chocolate*, 39.

[67] Galland, *De l'origine et du progrès du café*.

[68] Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant: A Breife Relation of a Iourney, Lately Performed by Master H. B. Gentleman, from England by the Way of Venice, into Dal[matia], Sclavonia, Bosnah, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes and Egypt, unto Gran Cairo*, 2nd edn (London, 1636), 27; Fichtner, *Terror and Toleration*, 92.

distributed by the serving boys (gold, silver, silk or all three).[69] The material trappings that accompanied Ottoman coffee caught many a European's eye, and Pierre de La Roque, one of the earliest to bring the drink to France, also took along '*Finjans*, or Cups of very beautiful old China; not to mention the little Muslin-Napkins, edg'd with Gold, Silver, and Silk Borders'.[70] French coffee merchants such as Philippe Sylvestre Dufour marketed the product by emphasizing its Ottoman association with honour and status: 'the Coffee drink of the Levant is one of the principal honours that Turks bestow upon one another during visits, and for this reason they endow it with the epithet of honourable'.[71] Underlying this marketing tactic was the assumption that Ottoman modes of civility were translatable to a French context, and worthy of being translated. Refined Frenchmen and women should drink coffee in the manner in which refined Ottomans did so.[72]

European writers instructed their compatriots in the correct imitation of Ottoman ceremonial.[73] Jean de Thévenot, a scholar and one of the first to bring coffee to Paris, provided a Levantine recipe for the drink, specifying everything from the ratio of powder to water, to the number of times the concoction was to come to a boil.[74] Dufour's treatise, published in 1685, devoted two chapters to coffee preparation, knowledge he had acquired from friends who had lived in the Levant. He specified not only at what time and in what kind of vessel coffee was to be served, but how it was to be sipped: 'one is not to put one's tongue in the cup, but to hold its rim between one's tongue and one's upper lip'.[75]

[69] Galland, *De l'origine et du progrès du café*, 69–74.

[70] La Roque, *Voyage de l'Arabie heureuse, par l'océan Oriental, et le détroit de la mer Rouge*, 309–10, trans., 342.

[71] Dufour, *Traitez nouveaux et curieux du café, du thé et du chocolate*, 40.

[72] *Ibid.*, 34.

[73] Nicolas Blégny, *Le Bon Usage du thé, du caffé, et du chocolat pour la preservation et pour la guérison des maladies* (Paris, 1687); Richard Bradley, *The Virtue and Use of Coffee, with Regard to the Plague and Other Infectious Distempers* (London, 1721); Jean Chardin, *Du Bon Usage du thé et des épices en Asie: réponses à Monsieur Cabart de Villarmont*, ed. Ina Baghdiantz McCabe (1680; Paris, 2002); La Roque, *Voyage de l'Arabie heureuse, par l'océan Oriental, et le détroit de la mer Rouge*, 305–6; Jean de Thévenot, *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant* (London, 1687), 32–4.

[74] Thévenot, *Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant*, 33.

[75] Dufour, *Traitez nouveaux et curieux du café, du thé et du chocolate*, 49–50, 33, 58, 60; Galland, *De l'origine et du progrès du café*, 69–74.

Europeans without access to rarefied private gatherings were introduced to coffee in its other main Ottoman setting, the coffee-house. By the time this highly visible and accessible institution had spread through the empire in the mid sixteenth century, few travellers failed to mention it.[76] For the majority of Europeans who never set foot in the Levant, migrants from the Ottoman lands brought the institution home. The first to open a coffee-house in London in 1652 was a Greek servant to a Levant Company merchant, while in 1685 the son of an Ottoman Armenian trader received the first licence to do so in Vienna.[77] In Paris, Galland and Jean de La Roque agreed, 'the Armenians began to import it, and little by little gave the drink the reputation it at present enjoys'.[78]

It is not surprising, then, that early European coffee-houses shared many features of their Ottoman relatives. Some followed the Ottoman custom of serving sherbets alongside coffee.[79] Others offered it together with another new product, tobacco, as was common in Istanbul.[80] Others still followed the Ottoman practice of combining coffee with public baths: by the early eighteenth century, nine London coffee-houses offered a 'hummum' or 'bagnio' (bath-house) experience.[81] Yet the most significant similarity was the coffee-house's role in the exchange of news and ideas. Ottoman coffee-houses were hubs of communication and the arts, offering not only a space where people of most social strata could meet and exchange information, but a

[76] Leonhard Rauwolff, *Aigentliche beschreibung der Raiß so er vor diser zeit gegen Auffgang inn die Morgenländer fürnemlich Syriam, Iudaeam, Arabiam, Mesopotamiam, Babyloniam, Assyriam, Armeniam &c. nicht ohne geringe mühe und grosse gefahr selbs volbracht* (Laugingen, 1582), 102–3; della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle il pellegrino*, i, 97–9; Thévenot, *Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant*, 33–4; Carsten Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia, and Other Countries in the East*, trans. Robert Heron (Edinburgh, 1792), i, 266–8, 279–81; Alexander Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo*, 2 vols. (London, 1756), i, 23, 119–20, 146–7, 372–3.

[77] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 94.

[78] Galland, *De l'origine et du progrès du café*, 76; La Roque, *Voyage de l'Arabie heureuse, par l'océan Oriental, et le détroit de la mer Rouge*, 308, 319–22. We are grateful to Thierry Rigogne for sharing his insight into the French coffee-house.

[79] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 115; Leclant, 'Le Café et les cafés à Paris', 7; Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak, 'Coffeehouses: Rethinking the Public and Private in Early Modern Istanbul', *Jl Urban Hist.*, xxxiii (2007), 977; Dufour, *Traitez nouveaux et curieux du café, du thé et du chocolate*, 39; Thévenot, *Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant*, 34.

[80] Leclant, 'Le Café et les cafés à Paris', 5; Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 82.

[81] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 115. For the Ottoman empire, see Özkoçak, 'Coffeehouses', 967.

broad range of activities from musical and puppet performances to storytelling and poetry recitation.[82] European observers often noticed (even exaggerated) this intellectual and cultural aspect of the coffee-house. Carsten Niebuhr called coffee-houses 'theatres for the exercise of profane eloquence', places where scholars recited stories and read books aloud.[83] Galland explained that 'they were initially frequented by men of letters, who went to while away a few hours with their friends'. There 'one read a book or even . . . recited the newest Poems, which one examined approvingly, or sometimes criticized heatedly'.[84]

Similar activities could be observed in contemporary English, French and German coffee-houses: patrons circulated manuscripts, held lessons and read news aloud.[85] Indeed, period accounts of coffee-houses as places 'either to transact Affairs, or enjoy Conversation', or 'to which most scholars retire and spend much of the day in hearing and speaking of news, [and] in speaking vily [sic] of their superiors', seem to have applied as well to the Ottoman as to the English case.[86] Given European awareness of the literary functions of the Ottoman coffee-house, it is likely that the institution's importance as a place of intellectual exchange was not invented so much as adapted by Europeans. English and French coffee-houses were not carbon copies of Ottoman ones. They differed not only in their interior furnishings and menus (few Ottoman coffee-houses served alcohol), but in their meanings: as Brian Cowan has shown, the intellectual culture of the English coffee-house developed in relation to specific local changes in conceptions of erudition and

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[82] Ahmet Yaşar, 'The Coffeehouses in Early Modern Istanbul' (Boğaziçi Univ. MA dissertation, 2003); Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, 101–8; Uğur Kömeçoğlu, '*Homo Ludens* ve *Homo Sapiens* Arasında Kamusallık ve Toplumsallık: Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri' ['Publicness and Sociability between *Homo Ludens* and *Homo Sapiens*: Ottoman Coffee-Houses'], in Ahmet Yaşar (ed.), *Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri: Mekân, Sosyalleşme, İktidar* [Ottoman Coffee-Houses: Space, Socialization, Power] (Istanbul, 2009).

[83] Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia and Other Countries in the East*, 266–7; La Roque, *Voyage de l'Arabie heureuse, par l'océan Oriental, et le détroit de la mer Rouge*, 295.

[84] Galland, *De l'origine et du progrès du café*, 52.

[85] Michael Schaich, 'The Public Sphere', in Wilson (ed.), *Companion to Eighteenth Century Europe*, 127; Leclant, 'Le Café et les cafés à Paris', 8; Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 83, 87.

[86] *Spectator*, xlix (26 Apr. 1711), and Anthony Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632–1695, Described by Himself*, ed. Andrew Clark, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1891–1900), ii, 300, both quoted in Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 86, 92.

sociability.[87] Yet, when viewed transregionally, it is hard to dissociate European ways of drinking coffee, both in private and in public, from those of the Ottomans who introduced the drink.

The Mehter *on the march*

Ottoman music was conveyed to Europe by the musicians of the Ottoman military band, called the *mehter*.[88] An impressive ensemble, the *mehter* featured up to fifty musicians playing numerous wind instruments and, unlike contemporary European bands, a wide array of percussion instruments.[89] Staffed by janissaries specially trained in the Ottoman palace, the band fulfilled an important role in both war and peace: in battle it boosted morale and intimidated the enemy;[90] in peacetime it was integral to Ottoman public relations, accompanying the sultan during journeys, processions and the reception of envoys.[91]

During the many military and diplomatic engagements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Ottoman *mehter* bands had plenty of chances to impress European audiences. For residents of the contested lands on the Ottoman–Habsburg border, music was part of the terror of Ottoman warfare.[92] Villages spared Ottoman guns experienced Ottoman drums: on its way to the second siege of Vienna in 1683, for example, the *mehter* performed in the towns through which the army passed.[93] Yet Ottomans also introduced Europeans to their musical repertoire through diplomatic channels, in their own lands and abroad.[94]

[87] Mikhail, 'Heart's Desire', 143–52; Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 80; Leclant, 'Le Café et les cafés à Paris', 7.

[88] We should like to thank Ralf Jäger for his insightful comments on this section of the article.

[89] Michael Pirker, 'Janissary Music (Turkish Music)', *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>; Eric Rice, 'Representations of Janissary Music (*Mehter*) as Musical Exoticism in Western Compositions, 1670–1824', *Jl Musicological Research*, xix (1999), 47.

[90] Walter Feldman, *Music of the Ottoman Court: Makam, Composition and the Early Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire* (Berlin, 1996), 78; Pirker, 'Janissary Music (Turkish Music)'.

[91] Blount, *Voyage into the Levant*, 26; Feldman, *Music of the Ottoman Court*, 65; Karl Signell, 'Mozart and the Mehter', *Consort (Annual Jl Dolmetsch Foundation)*, xxiv (1967), 314.

[92] Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 2nd edn, 4 vols. (Pest, 1834–6), iii, 540.

[93] *Ibid.*, 730.

[94] Ralf Jäger, 'Janitscharenmusik: Orientalisches Rhythmusinstrumentarium in europäischen Musikfunktionen', in Boje E. Hans Schmuhl (ed.), *Perkussionsinstrumente in der Kunstmusik vom 16. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts: XXXV. Wissenschaftliche Arbeitstagung und 28. Musikinstrumentenbau-Symposium, Michaelstein, 4. bis 7.*

During Mehmed IV's embassy to Vienna in 1665, crowds lined up to watch as his emissary Kara Mehmed Paşa paraded through the city with his *mehter*. The same band performed daily during the emissary's divan.[95]

Europeans absorbed and reproduced this double role of the *mehter* as both ceremonial and military. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, central European electors and aristocrats appeared at carnivals, as well as weddings, coronations and baptisms, dressed as Ottomans and accompanied by 'Turkish' soldiers and the musicians with which these soldiers were so strongly associated.[96] When in 1613 Prince August of Saxony dressed as a sultan in a procession honouring the future elector's baptism, the 'Turkish' musicians that accompanied him served (as did his beard and turban) to underline his stature and pomp.[97] By incorporating the *mehter* into such festivities, European elites used it in the way that their Ottoman contemporaries did.

Even as European elites adopted the *mehter*'s ceremonial function, their armies started to employ its instruments and techniques, particularly in percussion. Whereas European military ensembles had previously consisted primarily of wind instruments, from the fifteenth century Hungarian and German regiments adopted large Ottoman kettledrums.[98] Through these early adopters, drums passed to the rest of Europe in the sixteenth

(n. 94 cont.)
Oktober 2007 (Augsburg, 2010), 490; Edmund A. Bowles, 'The Impact of Turkish Military Bands on European Court Festivals in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Early Music*, xxxiv (2006), 536–9; Miriam Whaples, 'Exoticism in Dramatic Music, 1600–1800' (Indiana Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1958), 66–89.

[95] Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 578–80.

[96] Though these 'Turkish' soldiers were, for the most part, Europeans dressed up as Turks, in the case of the wedding festivities of 1719 the king arrived with four Ottoman-born *huissiers*: Elisabeth Mikosch, 'Ein Serail für die Hochzeit des Prinzen: Turquerien bei den Hochzeitsfeierlichkeiten in Dresden im Jahre 1719', in Claudia Schnitzer (ed.), *Im Lichte des Halbmonds: Das Abendland und der türkische Orient* (Dresden, 1995), 236. See also Bowles, 'Impact of Turkish Military Bands on European Court Festivals in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', 540.

[97] Bowles, 'Impact of Turkish Military Bands on European Court Festivals in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', 541–3, 545.

[98] Henry George Farmer, 'Turkish Influence in Military Music', *Jl Soc. Army Hist. Research*, xxiv (1946), 178–9; Henry George Farmer, 'Oriental Influences on Occidental Military Music', *Islamic Culture*, xv (1941), 239; James Blades and Edmund A. Bowles, 'Timpani', *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

and seventeenth centuries, often as spoils of war.[99] Other percussion instruments followed, and by the 1770s most European military bands featured kettledrums, bass drums, cymbals, tambourines and so-called Turkish crescents (also known as jingling Johnnies).[100] Regiments also took up aspects of the instruments' usage in the *mehter*: kettledrums, for example, maintained their communicative role and their frequent pairing with trumpets.[101]

In the late seventeenth century, European art music began to assimilate the sound made familiar by Ottoman armies and diplomats (and their European successors). Although the orchestral engagement with Ottoman music, as many scholars have argued, was stylized or even parodic, this was likely due to the way in which this music travelled. Ottoman music had almost always moved with Ottoman musicians 'on tour'; since in the empire the tradition was transmitted orally, there was virtually no sheet music from which it could be studied (attempts to notate it were met with consternation by Europeans unfamiliar with Ottoman musical principles).[102] As a result, European composers had little choice but to approximate Ottoman sounds. The most common way to do so was with the heavy use of percussion; kettledrums and cymbals made their orchestral debut around 1670.[103] Other *alla turca* signatures included quick shifts between major and minor modes, monophonic melodies, irregular meter, fast ornamental patterns, subdivisions of the basic beat and rondeau-like forms.[104] Even if scholars have often seen the jarring effect produced by these sounds as the expression of a European sense of superiority,[105] it is worth realizing that in emphasizing these

[99] Farmer, 'Oriental Influences on Occidental Military Music', 239; Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Music*, 59, 61.

[100] Rice, 'Representations of Janissary Music (*Mehter*) as Musical Exoticism in Western Compositions', 64; Farmer, 'Oriental Influences on Occidental Military Music', 239.

[101] Blades and Bowles, 'Timpani'.

[102] Cem Behar, 'Transmission musicale et mémoire textuelle dans la musique classique ottomane/turque', *Revue du monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, lxxv–lxxvi (1995).

[103] Margaret Ross Griffel, ' "Turkish" Opera from Mozart to Cornelius' (Columbia Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1975), 90; Blade and Bowles, 'Timpani'.

[104] Rice, 'Representations of Janissary Music (*Mehter*) as Musical Exoticism in Western Compositions', 51, 67; Mary Hunter, 'The *Alla Turca* Style in the Late Eighteenth Century: Race and Gender in the Symphony and the Seraglio', in Jonathan Bellman (ed.), *The Exotic in Western Music* (Boston, 1998), 46–7.

[105] Hunter, '*Alla Turca* Style in the Late Eighteenth Century', 50–2; Derek B. Scott, 'Orientalism and Musical Style', *Musical Quart.*, lxxxii (1998), 329; David Korevaar,

aspects European composers were producing precisely the effect that the Ottomans sought to elicit with their military music. Although *alla turca* music was in large part interpretative, it functioned within the parameters set by Ottoman musical practice.

Coffee and music suggest the importance of processes of transmission for the consumption of Ottoman culture in Europe. In the case of coffee, not merely a good but an institution and a set of customs were transferred from one region to another. The same is true of Ottoman music: not only did Europeans adopt Ottoman instruments, they approximated their use in the dual ceremonial and military role. In both cases, this result had everything to do with the agents of transmission. European consumption of coffee relied on intermediaries who interpreted and marketed the product and instructed neophytes about its meanings. In the case of music, it was the transmission by individuals rather than by written sources that left space for creativity in the European adoption of this Ottoman form.

IV

LUXURY, LOVE AND LIBERATION

Why did European men and women so enthusiastically demand so many forms of Ottoman culture? What did they obtain from their participation in turquerie? To explain demand one must investigate the uses and functions of turqueries. Yet here we quickly reach the limit of semiotic approaches, which mine turqueries for a literal statement or message, or read them as a coded meditation on the national self. Rather, what is most in need of reconstruction is the set of cultural possibilities the phenomenon afforded its participants. The success of turquerie lay in its function as a liberating cultural vocabulary. Through Ottoman decoration and dress, Europeans could explore ways of being that were not so readily available in their own culture. Turquerie invoked the foreign to refashion the domestic. The common set of themes that links turquerie across genres and media concerns elite behaviour, and especially romance and luxury. Because of the later history of European visions of

(n. 105 cont.)
'Exoticism Assimilated: "Turkish" Elements in Mozart's Sonata, K. 331 and Beethoven's "Waldstein" Sonata, Op. 531', *Jl Musicological Research*, xxi (2002), 225.

Eastern sensuality and decadence, interpreting the themes of luxury and romance requires some delicacy. One must be careful not to mistake the meanings of cultural activities of the earlier period that superficially resemble those of the later one. In the turqueries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the predominant conception of Ottoman culture was not the salacious and morally bankrupt Orient of Delacroix's *La Mort de Sardanapale*.

Much of the appeal of turqueries lay in their making luxury permissible by recasting it as a form of culture. Luxury was by no means unproblematic for early modern European audiences. Although expensive consumer goods had been a constant feature of elite lifestyles, at an ideological level the classical–republican and Christian condemnations of luxury and ostentation exerted a powerful influence, forcing elites to struggle with sumptuary laws and to reconceive their possessions as 'objects of virtue'.[106] Turquerie helped to circumvent this common critique by dressing up luxury in foreign garb.

Splendour and magnificence pervaded European visions of Ottoman culture in this period, including those enacted on the stage. Although, especially in the eighteenth century, plays often expressed unease about Ottoman indulgence in luxury, they regularly took advantage of the visual excitement produced by Ottoman fabrics, jewels and furniture.[107] Indeed, the visual dimension was central to the experience of attending a Turkish-themed entertainment, and likely a prime motivation for commissioning these pieces. The French merchant and voyager Laurent d'Arvieux, who travelled extensively in the Ottoman empire, wrote of *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* that 'his Majesty ordered me to join Messieurs Molière and Lulli in composing a theatrical play in which one could include something of the dress and the manners of the Turks'.[108] That stage sets were more than details for audiences is suggested by the response of one

[106] J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, 1975); Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York, 1987), ch. 5; Christopher Berry, *The Idea of Luxury: A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge, 1994); Luke Syson and Dora Thornton, *Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaissance Italy* (London, 2001).

[107] Ballaster, *Fabulous Orients*, 274.

[108] Laurent d'Arvieux, *Mémoires du chevalier d'Arvieux*, ed. Jean Baptiste Labat, 6 vols. (Paris, 1735), iv, 252.

operagoer at Davenant's *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656): emulating the character Roxelana, she decorated herself in oriental costume and jewels for the benefit of her lover.[109]

The new Ottoman-inspired decor that first emerged in France and then spread to the rest of Europe introduced luxury into European homes. The sofa, a new sybaritic commodity whose arrival was met with the criticism of moralists, is one such example.[110] In spite of the Arabic derivation of the new word, which first appeared in its modern Western sense in a European dictionary in 1694,[111] it is difficult to prove that the sofa itself, created in France at the end of the seventeenth century, is a translation of an Ottoman piece of furniture, because we lack any French seventeenth-century images of a Turkish sofa or divan.[112] But the names given in the mid eighteenth century to the new pieces — *ottomane*, *lit à la turque*, *lit à la sultane*, *sultane*, *lit en ottomane*, *siège* and *fauteuil à la turque* — which featured rounded backs, scrolled armrests and baldachins, associated the Ottomans with these new trappings of luxurious leisure (see Plate 5).[113] Manufacturers gave Turkish names to enhance the appeal of their new products, which they sought to present as the accessories of a lifestyle of sophisticated ease. This furniture was often brought together with other 'oriental' decorative elements, including Turkish portraits, to create whole Ottoman-inspired

[109] Ballaster, *Fabulous Orients*, 64–5.

[110] Joan DeJean, *The Age of Comfort: When Paris Discovered Casual — and the Modern Home Began* (New York, 2009).

[111] The term was already in use in English in 1625 to describe an Ottoman sitting area: 'A *Sofa* spread with very sumptuous Carpets of Gold, and of Crimson Velvet embroydered with very costly Pearles, upon which the *Grand Signior* sitteth': Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes: in Five Bookes*, 4 vols. (London, 1625), ii, 1581. Jacobus Golius' *Lexicon arabico-latinum: contextum ex probatioribus orientis lexicographis* (Amsterdam, 1653) defines the Arabic word as 'Scamnum discubitorium ante domum' ('a bench in front of a house for reclining'). In the 1690s the word was applied to a European piece of furniture, for instance by Monsieur [François] de Callières, *Des mots à la mode* (Geneva, 1692), 168: 'une espèce de lit de repos à la manière des Turcs' ('a sort of day bed in the manner of the Turks'), quoted in Julia Landweber, 'French Delight in Turkey' (Rutgers Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 2001), 281. Likewise the 1694 edition of *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*: 'On appelle aussi, *Sofa*, Une espece de lit de repos à deux dossiers, dont on se sert depuis peu en France' ('One also calls *Sofa* a sort of day-bed with a double back that has recently come into use in France').

[112] Joan DeJean, personal communication.

[113] For descriptions and illustrations of these pieces, see Nicole de Reyniès, *Le Mobilier domestique: vocabulaire typologique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1987), i, 48, 55, 198, 236–7, 252–3; DeJean, *Age of Comfort*.

interiors, like Madame de Pompadour's *chambre turque*.[114] These interior environments, designed with deliberation in the Rococo period, stood in great contrast to the sparer aesthetic of the preceding century. The vogue for Ottoman objects coincided with, and may have supported, the effort to configure shopping as a genteel and socially acceptable leisure activity, as in Watteau's *L'Enseigne de Gersaint* (1720), in which ladies and gentlemen show off their taste by admiring the paintings and bibelots on display at Gersaint's shop.[115]

Luxurious clothing likewise drew inspiration from Ottoman models. As French ladies soon found out, it was difficult to recline comfortably on a padded sofa in a corset.[116] It is therefore not surprising that the burgeoning fashion for *déshabillé* — informal but luxurious dress closely associated with Asian, and especially Ottoman, attire — increasingly came to accompany the new interiors. Historians now recognize that Europeans dressed as locals and adopted their customs in the late eighteenth-century Indian subcontinent.[117] Much less widely known is that, from the later seventeenth century, Europeans who had never been abroad began to attire themselves as foreign peoples, and especially as Ottomans, in their own homes. Ottoman dress began to appear in a type of portrait in which sitters are portrayed in elegant house clothes, more loose-fitting than constraining court attire.[118] Since the fifteenth century, European clothing had been cut more closely to the body than any Asian dress,[119] and in early modern Europe Muslim women's dress was seen as liberating, not constraining. Moreover, the informality of *déshabillé* was meant to be luxurious; and here the Ottoman influence served equally well. European 'Turkish' dress consisted of sumptuous

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[114] Stein, 'Madame de Pompadour and the Harem Imagery at Bellevue'.

[115] Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris* (London, 1996), 66.

[116] DeJean, *Age of Comfort*, 124.

[117] William Dalrymple, *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century India* (London, 2002); Maya Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire: Conquest and Collecting on the Eastern Frontiers of the British Empire* (New York, 2005).

[118] Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe, 1715–1789*, 2nd edn (New Haven, 2002); Madeleine Delpierre, *Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, 1997), 67–8.

[119] Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, 2010), 16–21, esp. 19.

fabrics, most often a tunic with short oversleeves and fur trim, an elaborate belt and a turban or aigrette (see Plate 6). Ottoman fashions offered women an alternative style of magnificence and leisure, one that freed them from physical constraints.

Dressing *alla turca* fulfilled yet another function in the context of a masquerade. The cultural meaning of the masquerade differs greatly from those of both earlier and later instances of European cross-cultural dressing.[120] Unlike the stage plays' already interpreted vision of Ottoman culture, the masquerade afforded an experience that participants themselves could manipulate. The masked ball was a distinctively eighteenth-century cultural practice, different from its precedents in Renaissance courtly entertainments.[121] The masque, a staged representation of power, had lacked the unscripted, unstaged quality of the masquerade, whose participants could choose their own costumes and whose actions were not prescribed. The masquerade is therefore more accurately associated with the playful inversions of carnival.[122] Masquerades, Terry Castle has suggested, offered the pleasure of trying on another identity, affording 'an almost erotic commingling with the alien' (see Plate 6).[123] The masquerade often drew on foreign costumes, not just Ottoman, but Persian and even Chinese: in the words of an early commentator, 'By the vast Variety of Dresses (many of them very rich) you would fancy it a Congress of the principal Persons of all the World, as Turks, Italians, Indians, Polanders, Spaniards,

[120] Aileen Ribeiro, *The Dress Worn at Masquerades in England, 1730 to 1790, and its Relation to Fancy Dress in Portraiture* (New York, 1984), 218.

[121] Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (Stanford, 1986); Whaples, 'Exoticism in Dramatic Music'; Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, 2004), 157–65; Landweber, 'Celebrating Identity'; Guy Lethiec, 'Le Turc en Italie: divertissements nobiliaires à la Renaissance', in Lucien Bély (ed.), *Turcs et turqueries, XVI–XVIIIᵉ siècles* (Paris, 2009); Samuel C. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1937), ch. 10; Bowles, 'Impact of Turkish Military Bands on European Court Festivals in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries'. On masques, see Claudia Schnitzer, *Höfische Maskeraden: Funktion und Ausstattung von Verkleidungsdivertissements an deutschen Höfen der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 1999); Meg Twycross and Sarah Carpenter, *Masks and Masking in Medieval and Early Tudor England* (Aldershot, 2002).

[122] Ribeiro, *Dress Worn at Masquerades in England*, p. ii; Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization*, 11–14.

[123] Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization*, 4.
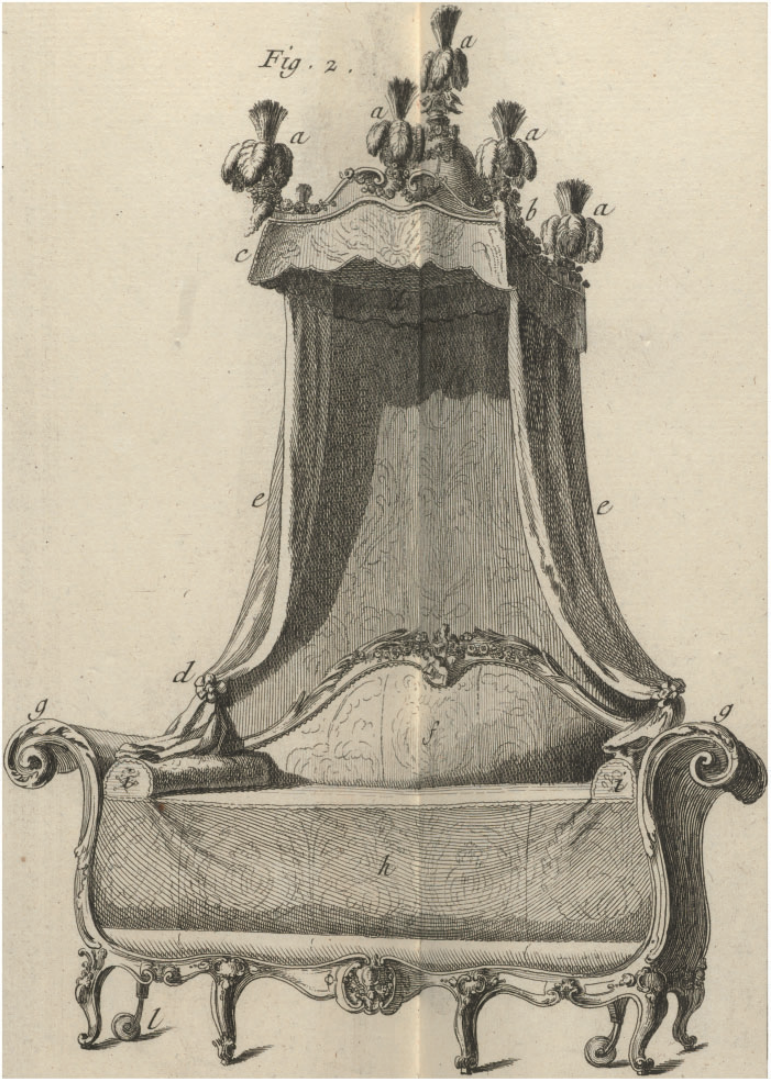
5. 'Lit à la turque'. Engraving from *Encyclopédie: ou, Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des metiers, par une Société de Gens de lettres*, 28 vols. (Paris, 1751–72), xxvi, 12:1 ('Tapissier', Plate 5, fig. 2). Harvard University, Houghton Library, f FP7.En190, Plates v. 9.

6. Martin van Meytens, *Portrait of Maria Theresia in Turkish Dress and Mask* (*c*.1744).
Oil on canvas. Photo by Fritz Simak. © Schloß Schönbrunn Kultur- und
Betriebesges.m.b.H.

Venetians &c'.[124] The collective outcome of this was 'a utopian projection: the masquerade's visionary "Congress of Nations" — the image of global conviviality — was indisputably a thing of fleeting, hallucinatory beauty'.[125] The masquerade, popular because it permitted behaviours otherwise considered untoward, also expressed a collective longing for unity in diversity.

Just as Ottoman-style clothing liberated women's bodies, turquerie likewise made eroticism more permissible. Michel Baudier's account published in 1624 gave currency to many popular notions about the sexual practices of the sultan and his concubines.[126] Ottoman costume had erotic associations, but these too were rendered much more acceptable by being 'culturalized'.[127] Boucher's odalisque, for example, would have been scandalous had she been seen as a French girl, an eighteenth-century *Olympia*, but the nudity of a foreigner could be understood as culture rather than licentiousness.

Yet turquerie also allowed men and women to consider gender politics. As is known, Turkish-themed theatre, fiction and painting most often centred on the topos of the harem or seraglio.[128] In the seventeenth century, the Ottoman imperial harem was the site of variations on a particular set of plots and intrigues.[129] Though often enlisted to represent the moral corruption of its unfree inhabitants, in many instances the harem served to explore a central theme of tragedy: conflict between the personal and the political. In European eyes 'a place where so many rivals are enclosed together' was most of all simply an irresistible dramatic device.[130] Ottoman femininity offered opportunities not only to playwrights like Racine, but to European women

[124] *Weekly Journal*, 15 Feb. 1718, quoted in Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization*, 25.

[125] Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization*, 61–2.

[126] Michel Baudier, *Histoire générale du serrail et de la cour du grand seigneur, empereur des Turcs: ensemble l'histoire de la cour du roy de la Chine* (Paris, 1624). See also Rouillard, *Turk in French History, Thought and Literature*, 253.

[127] Ribeiro, *Dress Worn at Masquerades in England*, 234–5.

[128] Alain Grosrichard, *The Sultan's Court: European Fantasies of the East*, trans. Liz Heron, intro. Mladen Dolar (New York, 1998), first pubd as *Structure du sérail: la fiction du despotisme asiatique dans l'Occident classique* (Paris, 1979); Ruth Yeazell, *Harems of the Mind: Passages of Western Art and Literature* (New Haven, 2000).

[129] Rouillard, *Turk in French History, Thought and Literature*, pt IV, ch. 1.

[130] Racine, *Bajazet* (1672), in *Œuvres complètes de Racine*, ed. Raymond Picard, 2 vols. (Paris, 1950), i, 549.

themselves. The commercial character of many turqueries might lead one to see women as victims of the eighteenth-century version of Zola's *Au bonheur des dames* (1883), the novel in which Parisian women are enslaved by an astute merchant who masters the seductions of fine textiles and oriental carpets.[131] Yet they were also empowered patrons and interpreters. Many women wrote Turkish-themed stories and even dramas, to the point that oriental melodramas became, in the words of one literary historian, 'something of a specialty among women dramatists'.[132] Women often found their own voices via identification with Asian women.[133] Through the harem, European women imagined an alternative social order, one in which their gender wielded significant (albeit indirect) political influence.[134] Even women who did not write fashioned their identities through turquerie by patronizing Turkish-themed commissions, as in the cases of Pompadour and Madame du Barry.[135]

Yet love, not just eros, was the common denominator of how the 'Turks' were understood across media and genres. From 1670, the year of Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, Ottoman characters appeared in comedy as well as tragedy, in addition to operas and ballets. All of these understandings can be summarized by the motto *Amor vincit omnia*. The idea that love conquers all, that the amorous passion is common to people in all climates, is both a playful conceit and a claim about the universality of human psychology. As one novella put it, 'A Turk, whatever one may claim in Paris, is a man like another'.[136] The *ballet des nations* tradition staged the Turks as one among several nations coping with the trials and pleasures of love, as in Campra's *L'Europe galante* (1697). Rameau developed this genre with his *Les Indes galantes* (1735), whose Turkish segment, 'Le Turc généreux', combines a captivity narrative with the topos of the amorous Turk. Yet even as the common humanity of Europeans and Ottomans was recognized,

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[131] Émile Zola, *Au bonheur des dames* (Paris, 1883).

[132] Orr, *Empire on the English Stage*, 87.

[133] Ballaster, *Fabulous Orients*, 89.

[134] Peirce, *Imperial Harem*; Orr, *Empire on the English Stage*, 62.

[135] Stein, 'Exoticism as Metaphor', chs. 7 and 9.

[136] Claude Godard d'Aucour, *Mémoires turcs: ou, Histoire galante de deux Turcs, pendant leur séjour en France* (Constantinople [Amsterdam], 1758), 3.

the notion of 'Turkey' as the particular homeland of love remained popular, as in these verses by La Fontaine:

> The pains of love are the most severe.
> . . . .
> The exception is love in Turkish land,
> In the seraglios of those happy pashas,
> From which cruelty was always banned
> Where sweetness lies wrapped in sashes,
> Pleasures are found on a damask bed
> . . . .
> All is gallantry, gentleness and cheer.[137]

Such a rosy picture, which describes romantic happiness by evoking the sensual pleasure of delicate luxuries, especially fabrics, was strengthened by several other notions circulating in Europe, for instance the Muslim conception of paradise that inspired Addison to write of a spring garden: 'When I considered the Fragrancy of the Walks and Bowers, with the choirs of birds that sung upon the Trees, and the loose Tribe of People that walked under their Shades, I could not but look upon the Place as a kind of *Mahometan* Paradise'.[138] Addison's words suggest how what caused consternation to Christian theologians — the Qur'an's representation of paradise as a place of sensual, indeed carnal, pleasures — could delight the imagination of European gentlepeople.[139]

La Fontaine's verse shows how the ideas associated with turquerie could support and reinforce one another: Ottoman luxury was made honourable because it was associated with honourable Ottoman love. Yet what the stanza also suggests is the need to differentiate between turqueries and later depictions of Ottoman luxury and love. The turqueries served not to establish European superiority over Ottomans, as later representations would; on the contrary, Turkish associations served to legitimize objects or practices frowned upon locally. Turquerie gained its power from a deep admiration for the Ottoman elite:

> Thus you see, Sir, these people are not so unpolished as we represent them. 'Tis true their Magnificence is of a different taste from ours, and

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[137] Jean de La Fontaine, 'Ballade XII: sur le mal d'amour' (n.d.), in *Œuvres de J. de La Fontaine*, ed. Henri Regnier, 11 vols. (Paris, 1883–92), ix, 40–1, quoted in Martino, *L'Orient dans la littérature française*, 73.

[138] Joseph Addison, *Spectator*, ccclxxxiii (20 May 1712).

[139] Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1960); Thomas E. Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560* (Philadelphia, 2007).

perhaps of a better. I am allmost of opinion they have a right notion of Life; while they consume it in Music, Gardens, Wine, and delicate eating, while we are tormenting our brains with some Scheme of Politics or studying some Science to which we can never attain . . . . Considering what short liv'd, weak Animals Men are, is there any study so beneficial as the study of present pleasure?[140]

In these words, Lady Montagu represented Ottoman luxury not as a decadent pastime but as a conscious lifestyle choice to prioritize hedonism in the face of existential truths. When viewed in the larger context of turquerie, the literary association of the Ottomans with luxury no longer appears primarily as a form of European condescension, but rather as part of a broad admiration for Ottoman behaviours and goods.

A further use of Ottoman culture was its ability to reconcile two poles of the culture war between Ancients and Moderns. The Ottomans seemed to sit ambiguously between the two, offering some advantages of each. Learned publications like Joseph Pitton de Tournefort's *Relation d'un voyage du Levant* (1717) and Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* (1782–1822) combined attention to both ancient and modern architecture and customs.[141] Educated Europeans perceived a variety of analogies and distinctions between customs of the ancient and modern Near East. For instance, some saw traces of the musical traditions of the Greeks in those of the Ottomans.[142] Studying Ottoman music was therefore a way to recover the classical past: to, as Toderini wrote, 'enlighten the obscure history of ancient music in Greek and Latin authors'.[143] After Edward Said, this complex of perceptions has been rather summarily reduced to the notion that Europeans perceived non-Europeans as primitive, antiquated, medieval. Yet in a culture that valued antiquity so highly, to be perceived as classical was not necessarily to be condemned.

[140] Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, letter, 19 May 1718, repr. in *Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Halsband, i, 414–15.

[141] M. Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant* (Paris, 1717); [Marie-Gabriel-Florent-Auguste Choiseul-Gouffier], *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1782–1822); Chantal Grell, 'Les Ambiguités du philhellénisme: l'ambassade du comte de Choiseul-Gouffier auprès de la Sublime Porte, 1784–1792', *Dix-Huitième Siècle*, xxvii (1995); Frédéric Barbier, *Le Rêve grec de Monsieur de Choiseul: les voyages d'un Européen des lumières* (Paris, 2010).

[142] Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia and Other Countries in the East*, 133; Blainville, *Histoire générale critique et philologique de la musique*, 57; Toderini, *Letteratura turchesca*, i, 228.

[143] Toderini, *Letteratura turchesca*, i, 245.

   The Ottomans' geographical remove could be a resource for
European playwrights, Racine explained. Distance in space func-
tioned analogously to temporal distance, removing tragic charac-
ters from the everyday: 'One's respect for the heroes grows in
proportion to their distance from us: *major e longinquo reverentia*.
The distance of the countries compensates somehow for the too
great proximity in time'.[144] Geographical remove functioned
analogously to temporal remove: though contemporary, the
Ottomans possessed the dignity of the ancients in European eyes.

   Just as the *fêtes galantes* of Watteau seemed to combine the clas-
sical pastoral ideal with modern manners, the Ottomans offered
the possibility of having it both ways, via the vocabulary of a
powerful and distinctive contemporary culture whose meanings,
in contrast to those of the ancients, were not already so strongly
determined. Visiting Stanislas's Ottoman kiosk at Lunéville,
Voltaire praised the 'magnificent salon' where 'ancient and
modern taste were united without harming one another'.[145] As
Nebahat Avcıoğlu has argued, Europeans' 'choice of the
Ottoman model was naturally not random, in that it provided
an equally sophisticated culture of power as well as a clear demar-
cation from symbolic systems too close to home'.[146] Whether as
valorization of luxury and eros, liberation of the body, self-fash-
ioning or commingling of ancient and modern, turquerie
afforded Europeans new cultural possibilities of self-expression
and self-understanding.

V

THE END OF THE AFFAIR

The turqueries of 1650–1750 should be considered a distinct
period of European engagement with Ottoman culture. It is an
age insufficiently represented in our current macro-histories of
intercultural encounter. This shortcoming derives in part from
certain ideological assumptions underlying the study of cultural
exchange: while the traffic from the West to the Ottoman empire
is a traditional subject of study, the reverse has been seen as

[144] Racine, *Bajazet*, in *Œuvres completes de Racine*, ed. Picard, i, 548.
[145] Letter to Président Hénault, Feb. 1748, quoted in Martino, *L'Orient dans la
littérature française*, 345. On this passage, see Avcıoğlu, *Turquerie and the Politics of
Representation*, 74.
[146] Avcıoğlu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation*, 15.

lacking in world-historical import because of the ultimate global predominance of Western culture.[147] Turqueries have fallen into the historiographical gap between historical moments easier to identify: the pre-modern long-distance trade of 'charismatic' luxury goods sometimes described as 'archaic globalization', and the later imperial global structures of the nineteenth century.[148] Yet turqueries provide a unique possibility for studying how ideas and cultural practices travelled at a time characterized by the greater circulation of goods and individuals and a Mediterranean balance of power more equal than it would become.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the nature of European engagement with Ottoman culture had changed. Fundamental upheavals in the political and economic relations between Europe and the empire — the Ottoman humiliation at Russian hands in 1774, the invasion of Egypt in 1798 and the growing unevenness in the Ottoman–European balance of trade — caused a clear shift in the perception and reality of the empire's status vis-à-vis the European states. The Ottomans' waning political clout encouraged the perception that luxury corrupted power as well as morals. In France earlier anxieties about luxury reached new heights after French defeat in the Seven Years War.[149] Some of this reinterpretation had occurred during the age of turquerie itself: English plays after 1688 frequently staged the Ottomans no longer as heroic but as captive to their luxury and sensuality.[150] Montesquieu's blistering interpretation of the Ottoman empire as a despotism in *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748) represents a turning point, given the huge influence of that work.[151] If negative tropes

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[147] For example, Ahmed Refik Altınay, *Lâle Devri, 1718–1730* [The Tulip Age, 1718–1730] (Istanbul, 1932); Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London, 1961); Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Princeton, 1962); Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal, 1964); Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1987). In this sense, Ottoman historiography has lagged behind scholarship on medieval Islam, early modern China and South Asia, which has increasingly focused on cultural exchange in the other direction.

[148] C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford, 2004), ch. 1.

[149] Stein, 'Exoticism as Metaphor', 255, 258–60; Berry, *Idea of Luxury*.

[150] Orr, *Empire on the English Stage*, 86.

[151] Franco Venturi, 'Oriental Despotism', *Jl Hist. Ideas*, xxiv (1963); Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Oriental Despotism and European Orientalism: Botero to Montesquieu', *Jl Early Mod. Hist.*, ix (2005).

about barbarous or despotic Turks had existed alongside the tur-
queries, eventually they came to predominate.

Certain imports, like coffee and percussive music, were grad-
ually dissociated from their ethno-cultural connotations.[152] As
coffee-houses became integral parts of European social and pol-
itical life, their association with the foreign was forgotten. By the
time Jürgen Habermas made the coffee-house a centrepiece of the
European public sphere, he could neglect its Ottoman roots
entirely.[153] The visual arts, by contrast, rendered the Ottoman
more foreign: whereas Vanmour and van Loo had presented
women of imitable elegance and refinement, the depictions of
nude slaves of the sultan that came to dominate the genre
established an almost insuperable distance between Ottoman
and European societies.[154] Through both processes, assimilation
and distinction, a cultural distance that had seemed bridgeable
came to seem less so.

Engagement with the Ottoman empire also changed as the
genres that had supported it transformed. As scholarship
became increasingly professionalized, travel-writing began to
emphasize subjective experience over objective reportage, as in
Chateaubriand's seminal Romantic account of his Levantine
travels in 1806.[155] The production of knowledge was no longer
a primary goal of travel-writing. In music Rossini's *Maometto II*
(1820) was the last of the Turkish-themed operas that had begun
with Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes* (1656); no longer would the
Ottomans inspire European librettists.[156] Of various potential
death certificates for turquerie, none is more unambiguous
than the condemnation of Ottoman cultural vitality in Owen
Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* (1856), in which the Ottomans
are judged derivative of earlier Islamic cultures and utterly

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[152] Julia Landweber, 'Domesticating the "Queen of Beans": How Old Regime
France Learned to Love Coffee', *World History Bull.*, xxvi (2010); Rice,
'Representations of Janissary Music (*Mehter*) as Musical Exoticism in Western
Compositions'; Korevaar, 'Exoticism Assimilated', esp. 225–7.

[153] Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer
Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Neuwied, 1962).

[154] Stein, 'Exoticism as Metaphor', ch. 8.

[155] François René, vicomte de Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem* (Paris,
1811).

[156] We owe this observation to Larry Wolff.

devoid of originality.[157] The empire no longer possessed anything deemed worthy of imitation.

VI

CONCLUSION

During the age of turquerie a common set of courtly values and customs enabled an extensive cultural transfer across the Eurasian continent. Though polemical appraisals of the Ottomans persisted, shared intellectual traditions, rituals of sociability and appreciation of material culture allowed Europeans to accept a number of goods, images, sounds and practices, actively and self-consciously emulating their Ottoman neighbours. Though the creative output inspired by this transfer outran mere imitation and led to inventive cultural performances like the masquerade, it relied fundamentally upon a European sense of the translatability of Ottoman culture, and of the desirability of its translation.

Recent revisions of the Ottoman 'Tulip Era', 1718–30, support this interpretation from the Ottoman side. Whereas scholars once viewed the translation of European books, the influence of European arts and architecture, and the introduction of the printing press as precocious Westernization, the phenomenon is now seen as an expression of pan-Eurasian elite culture.[158] Taken together, turqueries and the Tulip Era suggest a period of intense exchange of writings, arts and luxuries in the context of burgeoning commercialization: Ottomans and Europeans were shared participants in new forms of consumption and sociability.[159]

It might be objected that turquerie was no different from other fashions for Asian cultures of the period, most prominently

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[157] Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament: Illustrated by Examples from Various Styles of Ornament* (London, 1856), ch. 9.

[158] Hamadeh, *City's Pleasures*, 236; Ariel Salzmann, 'The Age of Tulips: Confluence and Conflict in Early Modern Consumer Culture, 1550–1730', in Donald Quataert (ed.), *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922: An Introduction* (Albany, 2000). For arguments for shared cultural features across Europe and the Ottoman empire in an earlier period, see Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of the Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham, NC, 2005); Linda T. Darling, 'Political Change and Political Discourse in the Early Modern Mediterranean World', *Jl Interdisciplinary Hist.*, xxxviii (2008).

[159] Bayly calls these 'sociability revolutions': Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, 54.

chinoiserie. Indeed, chinoiserie shared features of turquerie: both involved the importation of foreign goods and their modes of consumption and emphasized the civility of the source culture.[160] And both were commercial and artistic phenomena directed particularly at women and their leisure activities. Yet despite this overlap, turquerie was distinct. Chinoiserie was most widely manifested as a decorative style, whereas turquerie provided the subject matter of paintings, tapestries, plays, operas and novels.[161] This dissimilarity derives from the differences in European personal and cultural relations with China and with the Ottoman empire. The geographical distance crossed by Chinese goods did not always correlate to the crossing of an equal cultural distance.[162] By contrast, the Ottomans were known more intimately and from an earlier time. Turquerie was not one of many expressions of purported 'exoticism', but rather a cultural phenomenon with its own specific content.[163]

Future research may disaggregate the picture drawn here, tracing the pan-European highways and byways of an intercultural encounter that surely differed in Paris, Edinburgh, Venice and

[160] Chinoiserie is an important topic in its own right: see William W. Appleton, *A Cycle of Cathay: The Chinese Vogue in England during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York, 1951); Hugh Honour, *Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay* (London, 1961); Oliver Impey, *Chinoiserie: The Impact of Oriental Styles on Western Art and Decoration* (London, 1977); Madeleine Jarry, *Chinoiserie: Chinese Influence on European Decorative Art, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. G. Mangold-Vine (New York, 1981); Dawn Jacobson, *Chinoiserie* (London, 1993); Katie Scott, 'Playing Games with Otherness: Watteau's Chinese Cabinet at the Château de la Muette', *Jl Warburg and Courtauld Insts.*, lxvi (2003). On China in European thought at this time, see Virgile Pinot, *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France, 1640–1740* (Paris, 1932); [René] Étiemble, *L'Europe chinoise*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1988–9).

[161] The hybrid Sino-European style was invented by Watteau in 1719: see Scott, 'Playing Games with Otherness'; Honour, *Chinoiserie*, 88–9. On the distinction from turquerie, see Stein, 'Exoticism as Metaphor', 275.

[162] For instance, while the instruments are accurately portrayed in Houël's *Suite de figures chinoises* after Boucher, the figures hold them incorrectly. The sale catalogue of Boucher's possessions reveals that he owned Chinese musical instruments (lots 982–91), but he evidently had never seen them in use: Pierre Remy, *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, desseins, estampes, bronzes, terres cuites, laques . . . et autres curiosités qui composent le cabinet de feu M. Boucher* (Paris, 1771); Pierrette Jean-Richard, *L'Œuvre gravé de François Boucher dans la Collection Edmond de Rothschild* (Paris, 1978), nos. 1082–8. We owe this insight to Perrin Stein and are grateful to Kenneth Moore for his expert analysis of these images. See also Perrin Stein, 'Les Chinoiseries de Boucher et leurs sources: l'art de l'appropriation', in Georges Brunel (ed.), *Pagodes et dragons: exotisme et fantaisie dans l'Europe rococo, 1720–1770* (Paris, 2007).

[163] G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (eds.), *Exoticism in the Enlightenment* (Manchester, 1990).

Vienna.[164] Certain forms of Venetian turquerie, for instance, seem to have been as much an import from Paris as from Istanbul.[165] England and France have been studied significantly more than the Holy Roman Empire and the Iberian peninsula, and there is much that we still do not know. Moreover, what remains to be done is the integrative study of both sympathetic and prejudicial responses to the Ottomans.[166] The ultimate goal is not to accentuate the positive, but rather to understand the process of European response in its full and contradictory breadth.

The study of turquerie sheds new light on the dynamics of cultural transmission. For one thing, it shows that the notion of a distinct 'contact zone' creates a false opposition between geographic areas in which cultural contact was possible and ones in which it was not.[167] Sustained by a wide range of intermediaries, both Ottoman and European, engagement with Ottoman culture extended well beyond border regions. The history of goods, moreover, cannot be understood without examining the ideas that accompanied them. There can be no purely material history of objects: goods, practices and ideas were inextricably linked. Even as they translated and thereby transformed Ottoman cultural forms, turqueries retained the indelible imprint of their sources. They formed a set of experiences — intellectual, affective and bodily — through which Europeans came to know Ottoman culture. Though harder to retrieve, this experiential knowledge ought to be taken as seriously as anything in a travel account or a treatise. Moreover, turquerie shows that the movement of culture is neither reducible to economic or political causes nor strictly subordinate to discourses of invidious discrimination. Such explanations fail to account for the sheer variety and creativity of European responses to Ottoman culture. Considered as a whole,

[164] Further research could also place Euro-Ottoman exchange in a broader Eurasian context. The Ottoman miniature tradition, for example, was itself greatly influenced by Persian art, while goods like coffee travelled not only westwards, but eastwards too. Rudi Matthee, 'Coffee in Safavid Iran: Commerce and Consumption', *Jl Econ. and Social Hist. of the Orient*, xxxvii (1994); Gagan D. S. Sood, 'Circulation and Exchange in Islamicate Eurasia: A Regional Approach to the Early Modern World', *Past and Present*, no. 212 (Aug. 2011).

[165] Preto, *Venezia e i Turchi*.

[166] Francesca Trivellato, 'Renaissance Italy and the Muslim Mediterranean in Recent Historical Work', *Jl Mod. Hist.*, lxxxii (2010), 152–3.

[167] For the first use of this term, see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Studies in Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York, 1992).

the study of turquerie proves that histories of transmission are not just amusing curiosities in the background of an object or idea's 'adult' social life; they are all-important genealogies of culture.

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