
INTRODUCTION: Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century

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INTRODUCTION

Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century

THE RECENT HISTORIOGRAPHY of European colonialism has often postulated asymmetrical relations between Orient and Occident. The conceptual genealogies of many of the relevant studies can be traced to *Orientalism* (1978), Edward Said's contentious, magisterial, and extraordinarily influential indictment of the interrelationship between knowledge and power. The Saidian interpretive framework has been particularly fruitful in rethinking and rewriting the histories of cross-cultural encounters as they relate to the art and architecture of the modern period.¹ In *Orientalism*, however, Said makes a distinction that is key to the inspiration for this volume. Adumbrating the trajectory of European textual representations of the Orient (largely the Arab world and India), Said contrasts the eighteenth century with the centuries that preceded it: "Whereas Renaissance historians judged the Orient inflexibly as an enemy, those of the eighteenth century confronted the Orient's peculiarities with some detachment and with some attempt at dealing directly with Oriental source material, perhaps because such a technique helped a European to know himself better."² In a passage that follows several pages later, Said makes a further distinction: "Sensuality, promise, terror, sublimity, idyllic pleasure, intense energy: the Orient as a figure in the pre-Romantic, pretechnical Orientalist imagination of late-eighteenth-century Europe was really a chameleon-like quality called (adjectively) 'Oriental.' But this free-floating Orient would be severely curtailed with the advent of academic Orientalism."³ Bracketed between the enduring hostilities of the Renaissance and the rigid academic taxonomies of the nineteenth century, the eighteenth century thus appears unique as a time of flexibility, mobility, and possibility as regards European relationships with and representations of the Orient. As Oleg Grabar has suggested, "for better or worse, depending on one's ideological bent," many aspects of Europeans' perceptions "of the world and its history [were] shaped during the eighteenth century."⁴

In the three decades since its publication, *Orientalism* has sustained criticism for its reductive treatment of complex historical processes, as well as for its theoretical inconsistencies.⁵ In addition, notions of unrelenting hostility between Renaissance Europe and the Orient have been mitigated by research demonstrating the complex cultural entanglements of the Ottoman Empire and the mercantile city-states of peninsular Italy, and their mutual centrality to the phenomena comprising the Renaissance.⁶ Nevertheless, Said's emphasis on the eighteenth century as marked by a difference from the academic Orientalism of the nineteenth century bears much closer consideration than it has received to date.

If the distinction that Said makes regarding European representations of the Orient forms one axis of inquiry for this volume, the other is necessitated by the paucity of studies on the art and architecture of the eighteenth century in the artistic histories of the Middle East and South Asia, despite the period's centrality to the

development of incipient globalization (or of globalized world views).⁷ In general, analyses of the transregional cultural flows that marked the century have privileged the reception of European forms and ideas, ignoring or marginalizing the multidirectionality of exchange, preexisting or enhanced cultural flows that operated outside European parameters, and the role of major imperial and sub-imperial centers such as Istanbul or Lucknow in the dissemination and mediation of Western European forms.

By bringing together essays dedicated to different geographical regions, artistic practices, and media, the present volume seeks to draw attention to the complex transregional imbrications affected by the mobility of cultural forms during the eighteenth century. As Said's observations in *Orientalism* suggest, for much of the eighteenth century, epistemological interest in cultural difference was neither fully predicated on the "other" as one element of a binary category nor on the need for empirical data provided by European observation alone. On the contrary, the entanglements of the Orient/Occident are figured by the character of the Nabob (and the ambivalence that he aroused) or by the images of Europeans depicted *à la turque* by Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (1671–1737) and Jean-Étienne Liotard (1702–89), images that popularized modes of self-representation central to the *turqueries* and oriental masquerades of the period.⁸ The *goût turque* that characterized these extravaganzas found more static expression in eighteenth-century landscape architecture, painted interiors, furniture, decorative arts, and architecture. Representation was clearly important here as a vector for the appropriation and reception of "oriental" elements and styles and their centrality to the formation of contemporary European notions of identity.

This desire for appropriation, consumption, and knowledge of "others" was not unique to the West, nor did European notions of the East go uncontested. The "Tulip Period" (Lâle Devri) in Ottoman historiography (ca. 1703–30) is, for example, defined by openness to Europe in Ottoman administration, technology, and artistic production. In 1727, during the reign of Ahmed III, the Hungarian convert Ibrahim Müteferrikâ established a celebrated Ottoman-language printing press in Istanbul, among the products of which was the *Tarih-i Hind-i garbî* (History of the Americas) based on the sixteenth-century Italian translations of *Historia de las Indias* by the Spanish historian Francisco López de Gómara.⁹ Published in 1730, the volume included twelve woodcut prints providing imaginative visualizations of the flora and fauna of the Americas to accompany the text. While Müteferrikâ's printing press aimed to translate European works for local consumption, Ottoman intellectuals took up the pen to enlighten Europeans about the nature of the Ottoman Empire. Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman* (Panorama of the Ottoman Empire), published in two volumes in 1787 and 1790,

was the first illustrated history written by an Ottoman to be published in French and produced by French artists and artisans, some following Ottoman originals.¹⁰ For example, the possibility that Ohsson's depiction of Mecca owed something to Ottoman paintings of the holy city has been raised by several scholars. Grabar has also suggested that one of the earliest images of Mecca to appear in Europe, an engraving by the Viennese architect Fischer von Erlach (1721 and 1725), may have drawn on similar sources.¹¹

The essays comprising this volume remind us that exposure to transregional cultures and cultural forms stimulated local practices, thought, and political agendas as well as new technologies. They demonstrate that from trade to travel-book illustrations, from images of foreign landscapes to modes of dress, from practices of conspicuous collection and display to contemplation and criticism, art and architecture in the eighteenth century became not only a public phenomenon but also a cross-cultural concern. Austrian, British, Danish, Dutch, and French artists, architects, patrons, and critics all responded to the world outside Europe in the content, style, or techniques of their practices. Ottoman, Indian, Persian, and Japanese painters, authors, craftsman, and intellectuals were equally enthusiastic about both receiving and responding to the arts of Europe.

A secondary aim of the volume, therefore, is to underline the absence of a single or uniform mode of viewing, appropriating, and interacting with "others" during the eighteenth century. Instead, it tries to show how specific needs, general political conditions, and contemporary questions of commerce, creed, and technology informed the emergence of cross-cultural forms and practices.

While the majority of the articles in this volume focus on the eighteenth century proper, the first and the last bracket the century by considering the antecedents and legacies of the mutual curiosity that peaked in the 1700s around the circulation of artifacts, ideas, and individuals. The opening essay by Sanjay Subrahmanyam traces artistic interactions between India and Western Europe from the perspective of the *longue durée*, setting the scene for the essays that follow by emphasizing the reciprocal cultural interests of the Gunpowder Empires and Europe. Subrahmanyam's article considers the presence of the Jesuits in the Mughal court and the evidence that Mughal paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries offer for the reception of European (including explicitly Christian) iconographies. Unlike previous work on this topic, Subrahmanyam's essay also highlights the reception of Mughal painting in Europe during this period, drawing attention to the role of European artists in facilitating the transportation of Indian objects, jewelry, and illustrated manuscripts to the West. Many of these were then used as sources by sedentary European artists, including Rembrandt. The idiosyncratic paintings of late seventeenth-century Dutch artist Wil-

lem Schellinks (ca. 1627–78), which allude to and embrace Mughal iconographic conventions, are of particular interest, appearing to prefigure the eclecticism of many eighteenth-century European visual practices.

While Subrahmanyam's opening essay highlights the circulation of people and images between Europe and South Asia, assuming a diachronic approach to their cultural value and transformative impact, the closing article by Mercedes Volait casts a retrospective eye on eighteenth-century European conceptual and visual categories. Her essay is concerned with the representation of Egypt through the work of nineteenth-century French Orientalists. The *Description de l'Égypte* (1809) that resulted from Napoléon's colonial adventure of 1798 has long been seen as a key moment in the assertion of Enlightenment aesthetics, ideologies, and taxonomies, with its meticulous recording of the customs, manners, and monuments of Egypt.¹² Yet Volait's contribution reveals that it may have been the exceptional project of no less exceptional political and military circumstances. Volait argues that in later nineteenth-century European classifications of "Arab" art and architecture, the conceptual and visual categories constructed around the collecting strategies of eighteenth-century artists and travelers came to constitute comprehensive discourses about the East based on etic disciplinary modes lacking in any local, historical, or contextual basis. Examining the works of artist/traveler/collector Louis-François Cassas (1756–1827), whose architectural images were intended to permit formal comparisons across cultures, and Jules Bourgoin (1838–1908), the theoretician of Islamic ornament, amongst others, Volait highlights continuities between an Enlightenment propensity towards formal rationality, abstraction, and universalism, and the universalized epistemologies and comparative taxonomies that marked nineteenth-century Orientalism.

Bracketed between Subrahmanyam's discussion of transregional image flows before the eighteenth century and Volait's analysis of the debt owed by nineteenth-century Orientalist representation to Enlightenment epistemology, the articles comprising the rest of the volume explore aspects of the transregional circulation and consumption of artistic concepts, forms, images, and media in places ranging from Egypt and Turkey to India and Western Europe. While no claim is made for comprehensive coverage of the period, the essays aim to offer a new vision of the "global" eighteenth century. Among the topics discussed are an expansion in the economic base of artistic patronage through the rise of sub-imperial elites or mercantile bourgeoisies; the role of mobility in the figure of the traveler and illustrated travelogues (and the mediating role of both); the reciprocity of the cultural exchanges occasioned by these developments; the consequent embrace of iconographic and stylistic eclecticism (whether reflexively or not) as an aesthetic value; and the mirroring function of cultural forms enabled through circulation.

Mobility, Mercantile Imperialism, and Eclecticism

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of the exchanges examined in this volume is their dependence upon new patterns of mobility often associated with the emergence of what might be dubbed “mercantile imperialism.” The phenomenon was marked by the development of powerful and pioneering mercantile interests during a period when Britain, France, the Netherlands, Denmark, and even land-locked Austria competed for trading privileges (and often economic and political control) over large portions of the globe. One result was the increased mobility of specific individuals—adventurers, envoys, or merchants—who traveled between the Orient and Europe, or within both. Accounts of Europeans in the Orient have received sustained attention, but the eighteenth century also sees the appearance of both works on the Orient written by its denizens, and accounts of Europe written by Eastern visitors. The two most famous examples are Ohsson’s *Tableau général de l’Empire Ottoman* written between 1764 and 1784, and the *Travels of Dean Mahomet*, an Indian surgeon who served in the Bengal army of the East India Company before settling in the British Isles, published in 1794.

Elisabeth Fraser’s contribution to this volume deals with the first of these works, and its lavish illustrative program, which draws attention to the Ottoman contribution to the rise in production of illustrated travel literature as the century progressed. Its author, Muradcan Tosunyan (1740–1807), an Ottoman-Armenian interpreter to the Swedish Embassy in Istanbul, traveled to Paris to publish his *oeuvre*, which he ultimately dedicated to the Swedish King Gustav III.¹³ His illustrated history of the Ottoman Empire represented a tolerant Islam in an Oriental polity that was in many ways an answer to contemporary European representations of Islam as a flawed religion. With eight hundred pages of text and 233 plates, the work was unique as a reflective history of the Ottoman self intended for the consumption of others. Fraser’s article details the painstaking production of this work, which brought together European and Ottoman elements to produce a complex culturally (and visually) heterogeneous object.

During the same period, Dean Mahomet (1759–1851), who arrived in Ireland with Captain Godfrey Evan Baker, his East India Company employer, in 1784, and married a member of the Anglo-Irish gentry soon after, published his memoir. Written for an Anglophone audience, the work adopts the epistolary form then in vogue in England, especially for travel writing.¹⁴ The *Travels* point to a burgeoning Indian diaspora in the British Isles at the end of the eighteenth century. Dean Mahomet stands at one end of the social spectrum of this diaspora. At the other are the Indian servants, slaves, and sailors whose penurious circumstances were increasingly to preoccupy the British authorities in the following century.¹⁵

If Dean Mahomet represented India to a British metropolitan audience, other more transient Indian visitors during the same period recorded their impressions of England and Ireland for the educated Persian-speaking elites of their homeland. Two Persian accounts written by Indian Muslims who visited England in the second half of the eighteenth century are known; the *Shigarf-nāma-e Vilāyat* (Wonder Book of England) of Mirza I'tisam ud Din, an envoy of the Mughal court, who traveled in England between 1766 and 1769, and the *Masīr-e Tālibī fi bilād-e afranjī* (Talib's Travels in the Land of the Franks), written by Mirza Abu Talib Khan Isfahani, an inhabitant of Lucknow and former official of the Nawabi court of Awadh (Oudh), who visited England and Ireland between 1799 and 1803. Both were translated in full or in part into English in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Abu Talib also traveled in Ireland, encountering Dean Mahomet there in 1799; the meeting features in the *Masīr-e Tālibī*, where Abu Talib informs his Indian readers of Dean Mahomet's success, his marriage to a beautiful woman of rank, and his authorship of a book outlining the customs of India.¹⁶

Recently, a third Persian travelogue has come to light, an account written by Munshi Isma'il, a Bengali secretary to a servant of the East India Company, who was in England between 1772 and 1773. Munshi Isma'il visited Bath, and the coffee houses and gardens then fashionable in London, but from the point of view of the transcultural reception of architectural forms, perhaps the most interesting part of his account is the horror inspired in him by the uniformity of contemporary Georgian domestic architecture. This related to the impossibility of distinguishing between adjacent Georgian town houses, apart from by their number-plates, which led him to avoid unaccompanied explorations of the city.¹⁷

Many of these authors (and those whom they inspired although they had never set foot in Europe) demonstrate a comparative approach to their delineation of European life and customs, including the structures of contemporary politics. They often note aspects of social organization and technological developments, including the speed with which the printing press permitted the circulation of texts free from the errors introduced through dependence on scribes.¹⁸

Interestingly, the question of gender and comparative approaches to its articulation in social organization emerge as topics in these Indo-Persian travelogues on Western Europe just as the same topic was being addressed in contemporary European accounts of the Orient. Among the latter, perhaps the most radical contemporary cross-cultural treatment of gender is found in the letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762), the wife of Edward Montagu, the English ambassador in Istanbul, for whom, by comparison with their English contemporaries, the denizens of the harem were “(perhaps) freer than any ladies in the universe.”¹⁹



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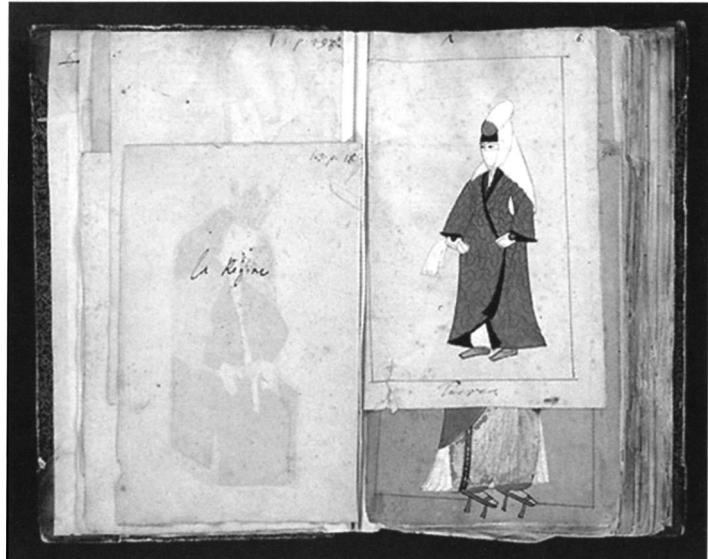
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¹
Jonathan Richardson (attrib.), *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ca. 1725.
Oil on canvas. Reproduction by kind permission of the 8th Earl of Harrowby, Sandon Hall

²
Abdülcelil Çelebi, known as Levni, *Dancing Girl*, ca. 1720.
Watercolor on paper. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H. 2164, fol. 18r.
Photograph © Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi

Published in her famous *Turkish Embassy Letters* (1763) from the Ottoman Empire, Lady Mary's critiques of the society into which she was born and her own "otherness" from it have assumed a paradigmatic status in modern scholarship.²⁰ A singular character of her time, Lady Mary was a traveler, poet, and intellectual, and *de facto* outsider in a world where learning, literature, and exploration formed the exclusive domain of men. The daughter of a nobleman, she was largely self-educated, and while in Turkey she learnt Turkish and conversed with Ottoman dignitaries, which led to the writing of her celebrated letters between 1716 and 1718.

Upon her return to England, Lady Mary added a second layer, this time pictorial, to the constitution of her phantasmagorical self (Fig. 1). In 1725 she had her portrait painted by Jonathan Richardson (1665–1745). The full-length standing figure incorporates the visual signs of her sojourn in the Ottoman Empire, indicated by her Turkish attire and the distant view of a city (possibly Constantinople, though the artist makes no particular effort to confirm it). This was not the first time a European was depicted in an oriental costume. Since the seventeenth century it had been a commonplace for noble travelers and traders in the east to show off the luxurious fabrics or goods obtained from the Ottoman sultans or the Persian shahs as a symbol of their own status and wealth. In the eighteenth century, how-



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A Turkish Lady from The Rålamb Costume Book, 17th century. Watercolor on paper. Royal Library, Stockholm, Cod.Rål. 8:o nr 10, fol.6. Photograph © Royal Library / Manuscript Department, Stockholm

ever, portraits of European noblemen and women (usually those returned from the Ottoman Empire or India) dressed *à l'orientale* became more about the constitution and representation of newly constructed identities than about the presentation of wealth and riches.²¹ As Richardson wrote in his treatise on painting, “to sit for one's picture is to have an abstract of one's life written, and published.”²²

Lady Mary's portrait exemplifies the utility of transcultural idioms and motifs in certain kinds of eighteenth-century self-representations. A substantial portion of her letters from the Ottoman Empire, written as a kind of travel narrative, was devoted to comparisons and analyses of the commensurability between the two cultures. Most interestingly, she observes and articulates the affinity between English and Ottoman culture through a series of commentaries on art. Describing her experience in a Turkish bath at Sofia she writes: “There were many (women) amongst them, as exactly proportioned as ever any goddess was drawn by the pencil of a Guido or Titian, --- and most of their skins shinningly white.... I had the wickedness enough, to wish secretly, that Mr. Gervais could have been there invisibly. I fancy it would have very much improved his art...”²³ Through the portrait that she commissioned from Richardson, Lady Mary's speculation that these Turkish ladies might be considered as art works or models before an English artist can now be brought into play by Lady Mary herself posing as a “Turk.”

This presumed “Turkishness” finds further resonances in Richardson's mode of rendering the standing figure, which recalls the *Dancing Girl* by the Ottoman painter Abdülcelil Çelebi (known as Levni, d. 1732), part of an album containing forty-two full-length portraits dating from the first decades of the eighteenth century (Fig. 2). With their innovative style, manifest in a greater animation of figures and more detailed rendition of moods and costumes than are found in earlier Ottoman art, Levni's paintings are usually considered to be the hallmark of the age of reform during the reign of Ahmed III (1703–30), the “Tulip Period,” characterized by its receptiveness to European technology and art. As Kristel Smentek's essay suggests, the presence of Levni's contemporary, the Flemish artist Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, who lived in Istanbul for thirty-eight years, may not have been inconsequential for this development.²⁴



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Johann Zoffany, *Colonel Antoine Polier, Claude Martin, John Wombwell with the Artist in the Background in Lucknow, 1786*. Oil on canvas.
Photograph © The Victoria Museum, Calcutta

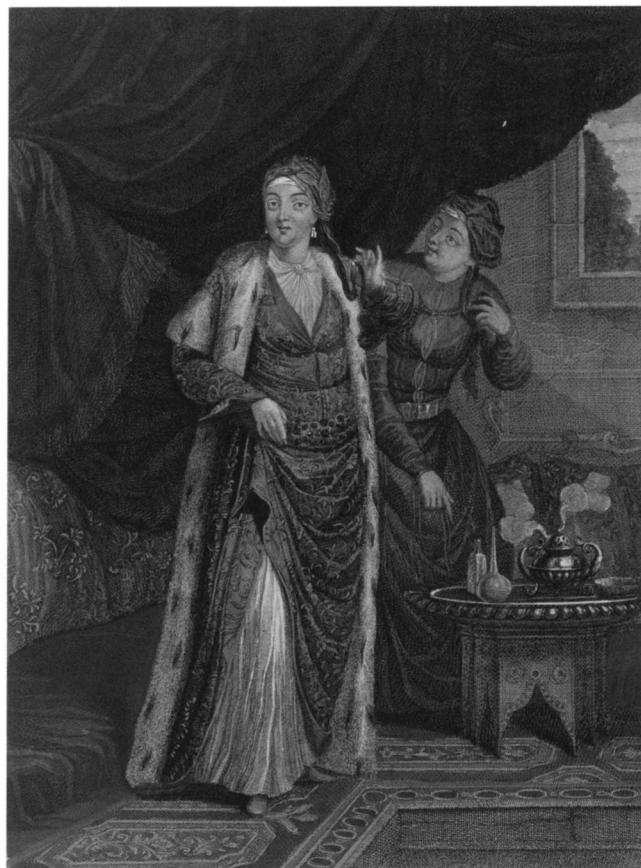
Despite the stylistic differences between Levni's and Richardson's works, there are striking resemblances in the manners in which the female figures in both paintings are rendered. That both figures are wearing Turkish dresses with décolleté necklines, pearl-strung headbands, three-band bracelets, and jewelry-encrusted belts is obvious enough. But Richardson's canvas also demonstrates a conscious appropriation of the "Oriental" *manière* as understood by European observers. The French cartographer Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville, for instance, described the Ottoman and Persian style of portraiture in 1721 as offering only profile or three-quarter profile views, without shadow, and with smooth finish and bright colors.²⁵ In this respect, Richardson's use of the forward-tilting three-quarter face, as well as the S-shaped posture pulling up a skirt, is akin to Levni's innovative style, which first appeared at the end of the seventeenth century and was later nuanced by him in the early eighteenth. Richardson's access to Turkish art has not been determined. Yet we now know that Levni's album existed in at least two further copies.²⁶ In addition, Ottoman paintings circulated in Europe either as individual pages or through a number of reproductions bound into albums, such as the Rålamb Costume Book, which travelled to Sweden with Claes Rålamb, the Swedish ambassador to the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century (Fig. 3).²⁷ By the same token Lady Mary may have acquired works by Ottoman artists that Richardson was then able to draw from, a likely possibility for an artist who himself collected oriental paintings and drew studies of Ottoman figures.²⁸

The phenomenon to which Levni's and Richardson's art attests was by no means confined to Europe. On the contrary, recent scholarship has brought to light documentary evidence for the collection of oriental manuscripts by Europeans and their use by contemporary European artists living abroad.²⁹ For instance, the German-born Johan Zoffany's painting of Colonel Polier and his

friends at Lucknow (1786) shows the artist and his patrons surrounding an album of seventeenth-century Mughal miniatures owned by Antoine Polier, a Swiss national of French descent employed by the British East India Company (Fig. 4).³⁰ Before his arrival in India in 1765 Zoffany was given the task of copying Mughal miniatures by Empress Maria Theresa to accompany the original Mughal paintings decorating her extraordinary Millionenzimmer at Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna.³¹ In India, first under the patronage of Warren Hastings, governor-general of the East India Company, and later other European patrons, Zoffany experimented with compositional strategies and tonal conventions associated with the work of contemporary Indian artists, synthesizing British and Mughal sub-imperial traditions in a manner inflected by contemporary political concerns.³² Through such experiments, Zoffany and other artists helped internationalize a “hybrid” style defined by a *mélange* of different techniques, palettes, and pictorial conventions.

Read against this background of contemporary artistic mobility, what some scholars have identified as an “unconventional” style, or ambiguity, particularly with regard to high finish and the undefined landscape, is what gives the impression that Richardson’s portrait of Lady Mary is more than the mere fantasy of being the “other.”³³ Yet scholars have been reluctant to identify the negotiated cross-cultural elements in Richardson’s portrait of Lady Mary. Although it is true that Richardson never set foot outside Europe, art historians’ unwillingness to see the convergence of different artistic traditions persists even in works by those artists who had traveled abroad.

In her paper, Smentek demonstrates how European artists living and working in the Ottoman Empire, such as the Genevan Jean-Étienne Liotard, made their careers producing works for clients from all over Europe as well as the empire. Yet, just as the apparent adoption of Ottoman representational modes in Richardson’s portrait of Lady Mary has escaped notice, for all of Liotard’s keen interest in Ottoman culture no one directly connected his art with Ottoman painting, not even the artist himself. Although the fact that Liotard’s art reflected an emphatic synthesis of cultures was not lost on eighteenth-century viewers, it was not associated directly with Turkish painting, but with Chinese style. Smentek’s study draws our attention on the one hand to the Turkish elements of Liotard’s art, and on the other to the criticism directed against him and other artists of his time who experimented with imported art forms. Directly or indirectly, both Liotard and François Boucher, the proselytizer of the rococo and the favorite painter of Madame de Pompadour, were accused of debasing Western artistic tradition by harboring a passion for non-European art, Chinese in both cases. The inability to appreciate non-Western art was in fact driven by nationalist and academic snobbism. Writing in 1753, for



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Gérard Scotin, after Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, *La Sultane Asseki [sic], ou Sultane Reine*. Plate 3 from *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes Nations du Levant*, 1714–15. Paris: Le Hay & Duchange. Photograph © BnF

example, William Hogarth suggested that Chinese painting represented a “mean taste,” not to be admired or emulated.³⁴

Today’s scholars may not share Hogarth’s aversion to orientalizing aesthetics, but they have failed to note the Ottoman valences of Richardson’s portrait of Lady Mary, relating its “ethnographic” aspects to the impact of Jean-Baptiste Vanmour’s paintings of Turkish life and “types” rather than considering the possibility that he had direct access to Ottoman works. Vanmour served as the official artist to the French ambassador, the marquis de Ferriol, in Istanbul, in the first decade of the eighteenth century, and may have known Lady Mary personally since a Conversation Piece depicting her is attributed to him. The engraved versions of Vanmour’s paintings also had an extraordinarily wide appeal in Europe after their appearance in the *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes Nations du Levant*, published in Paris in 1714–15 (Fig. 5).³⁵ However, given Lady Mary’s critical stance on European travelers and how they represented the Ottomans, it is rather unlikely that she would have accepted to have her portrait modeled on “second-hand” depictions of the Turk.

This is not to deny that prints circulated, mediated the reception of “Oriental” forms, and generated particular perceptions of the East. However, even in the context where the impact of Vanmour’s engravings has been proven, an additional “authentic” Oriental source was often also mined to underwrite claims of accuracy. Madame de Pompadour’s Ottomanesque canvases painted by Carle van Loo (1705–65) for the Turkish room in the chateau of Bellevue (1748–51) can directly be linked to Vanmour’s *Recueil de cent estampes*, based on the shared visual program. Among the canvases was the image of a sultana being served coffee by a black



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Jacques-Firmin Beauvarlet, after Carle van Loo, *La Sultana*, undated (before 1797). Metal engraving. Photograph © Musée du Louvre, Paris, KM006528

servant, the former apparently modeled on Pompadour herself (Fig. 6).³⁶ The complexities of the mirroring effect in Pompadour's chambers are highlighted by the dual sources upon which van Loo drew: Vanmour's *Recueil de cent estampes*, and a collection of Ottoman costume albums in similar vein, bound together under the title *Costumes turcs de la cour et de la ville de Constantinople en 1720, peints en Turquie, par un artiste turc* (Fig. 7).³⁷ In this case, both European paintings of Ottoman subjects "translated" into the medium of lithography and Ottoman originals inspired by a contemporary Western interest in "types" were mined for images of a royal mistress, depicted *à la turque*, whose iconography was apparently intended to make a point about her relationship to the French king.³⁸

Eighteenth-century portraits of Europeans dressed *à l'orientale* illustrate the phenomenon that Inge Boer identifies as "cultural cross-dressing." Denoting trans-cultural modes of self-fashioning (and self-representation), the term emphasizes both the constructed nature of identity and its performative aspect as something that is fashioned dynamically and not an inherent characteristic of the biological body.³⁹ Occurring at the intersection between two or more sign systems, cultural cross-dressing is the negotiated product of circulation, both of representations and their signifying potential.⁴⁰ To be effective, it needs to distinguish the subject from her or his immediate cultural context while associating her/him with an alternative identity; as a consequence, it is often characterized by a simultaneous assertion and disavowal of alterity.⁴¹ Jean-Étienne Liotard's adoption of "Turkish" dress performed and produced the signs of a cultural cross-dressing that also characterized his renderings of European subjects in Istanbul *à la turque*. Smentek's article demonstrates how this experience transformed both him and his art. In addition to dressing like an Ottoman, he grew a long, distinctive beard, which he cut off only



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Untitled (Sultana taking coffee). Plate 4 from *Costumes turcs de la cour et de la ville de Constantinople en 1720, peints en Turquie, par un artiste turc*, before 1720. Watercolor. Photograph © BnF OD-6-4 plate 4

in 1756 on the eve of his wedding.⁴² Employed by Lady Mary Montagu's nephew John Montagu, Lord Sandwich, on his Grand Tour between 1738 and 1740, Liotard spent five years in residence in Istanbul and elsewhere in the empire. Although he did not go as far as Lady Mary's son Edward Montagu, who converted to Islam, Liotard labeled himself the "Turkish Painter" (*le peintre turc*) until the end of his life.

The appropriation of Ottoman forms by Lady Mary, Madame de Pompadour, and Liotard articulates a mode of self-representation inseparable from critiques of contemporary European society. The endeavor was part of a more widespread eighteenth-century phenomenon in which "Oriental" motifs and themes were appropriated for veiled commentaries on and critiques of social, political, and religious conditions in Europe. *The Letters of a Turkish Spy* by Giovanni Paolo Marana, published first in 1684–6 in French, is considered to have inaugurated this new genre of critical literature.⁴³ Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* (1721) and Oliver Goldsmith's *The Citizen of the World* (1765) apparently took it as a model for discussing a wide range of themes of European cultural and religious identity in relation to the Orient. This critical literature developed alongside a flourishing genre of travel accounts about the Ottoman Empire, which also provided Europeans with plots suitable for political commentary in the guise of plays and novels—such as *Mustafa: a Tragedy* (1739) by David Mallet, and *Zaire* (1732) and *La Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophet* (1741) by Voltaire.

Much of this literature also draws upon and assumes broader developments in the representation and consumption of the "Orient," including the experience of diplomatic visits of Ottoman or Persian officials to Europe.⁴⁴ Some of it acknowledges that literature was not the only domain of Enlightenment cultural rhetoric: art and architecture also articulated some of the most radical views on royal pre-

rogative, religious tolerance, and later, in the nineteenth century, on class politics.⁴⁵ In Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*, Rica, one of the Persian visitors to Paris, finds himself caught within the resulting networks of representation and viewing:

If I was at a show, I would see a hundred lorgnettes focused on my face straight away. In a word, never was a man seen as much as I was. It made me smile sometimes, to hear people who had hardly even been out of their rooms saying to each other: "You've got to admit, he really does look Persian." It was incredible: I found portraits of me everywhere; I saw multiples of myself in every shop and on every mantelpiece, so greatly did people fear that they had not had a good enough look at me.⁴⁶

The interest aroused by foreigners is confirmed by the accounts of eighteenth-century Indian and Middle Eastern visitors to European capitals.⁴⁷ Similarly the consumption of these "others" through representation is attested by the production of porcelain figurines of exotic types, both sultans and slaves, and the Chinese, Egyptian and Indian scenes by European artists that were soon to be transferred to English and French tableware and wallpaper.⁴⁸

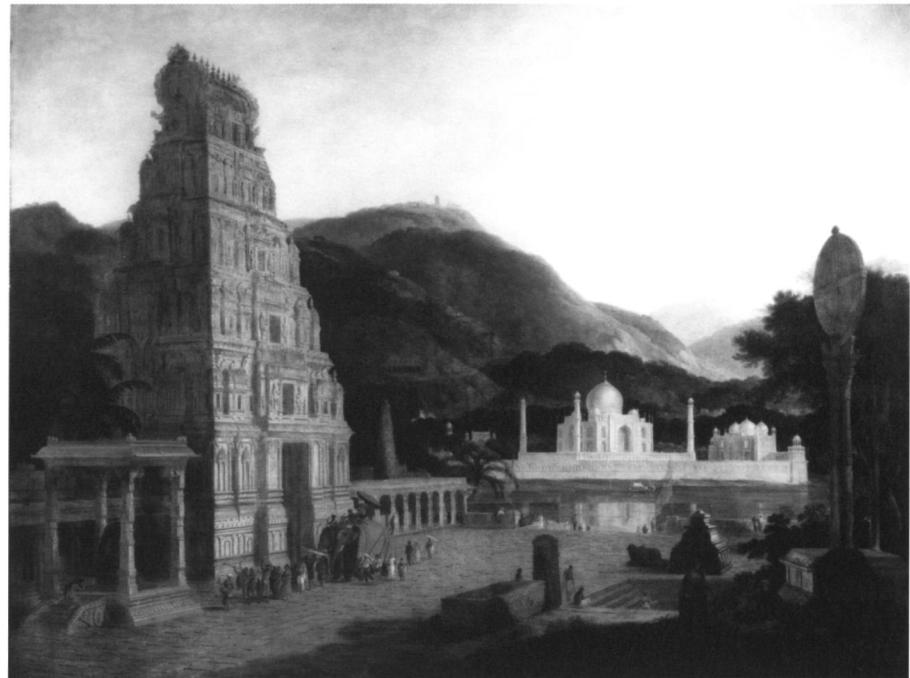
Highlighting the ubiquity of Oriental images in early eighteenth-century Europe, the passage from *Lettres persanes* just cited also illustrates the close relationship between the desire for empirical knowledge, new technologies of representation and reproduction, and the burgeoning of a mercantile spirit among the European bourgeoisie. The vicarious participation in the experience of the Orient enabled by consumption is parodied in another passage from *Lettres persanes*, in which the first-hand knowledge of Isfahan communicated by Rica, Montesquieu's Persian native, is contradicted by a Parisian who, having never seen Isfahan, is sure of his own knowledge, for it is derived from the accounts of the French travelers Sir John Chardin and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier.⁴⁹ Chardin was particularly praised as "the eminent traveler and expert on Islamic matters," becoming the first French traveler to be knighted and being made a member of the Royal Society in 1682.⁵⁰ The invocation of his expertise illustrates how travel and travel literature played an increasingly prominent role in facilitating the vicarious (if selective) consumption of far distant regions.

Contemporary patterns of consumption are also illustrated by the activities of the diplomatic missions that provided models for Montesquieu's Persians. After the momentous mission of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi, the Ottoman envoy to France in 1721, Ottoman ambassadors in France, Sweden, Austria, and Germany were actively involved in the modalities of cultural exchange.⁵¹ Mehmed Efendi's four-and-a-half-month stay in France resulted in the collection of architectural

books, plans, and views of various French palaces, as well as in an extensive commentary on French civilization, which was also intended to be illustrated. Although it was not uncommon for ambassadors to provide accounts of their visits and share them with their foreign counterparts, Mehmed Efendi's was unprecedented for it was translated into French and published immediately after it was written, appearing in several editions in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁵² In 1742, Mehmed Said Effendi, the second Ottoman envoy, had his full-length portrait painted by Jacques Aved in Paris and displayed at the Salon du Louvre in the same year. He was not the first or the last Ottoman official to be depicted by a European artist: Ottoman sultans and dignitaries had been portrayed by foreigners from life and/or imagination since the fifteenth century. While in the Ottoman Empire, Liotard made pastel portraits of the Grand vizier Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha and other officials in 1742. Nor was Mehmed Said Efendi the first Ottoman to be portrayed while in Europe. His father Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi's engraved half-length portrait also exists. Yet the life-size, standing figure of the ambassador in full public view marks a striking departure from the earlier representations of the Turk.⁵³

These sorts of phenomena, where the denizens of the East were active agents of transculturation, must be understood as an integral part of diplomatic strategies associated with contemporary processes of “globalization.” In her contribution to this volume, Tülay Artan demonstrates how the Ottoman princess Hadice Sultan the Younger's commissions of European porcelain differed greatly from earlier palace acquisitions of Chinese ceramics. As Artan demonstrates, Hadice (1768–1822) mobilized the Ottoman ambassadors in Europe not only to collect porcelain but also to commission works that would reflect her taste and patronage. In this way, she participated in contemporary patterns of imperial consumption, which included Madame de Pompadour's chambers at Bellevue, and Catherine II of Russia's commission of a dinner set from Josiah Wedgwood in England, the famous Green Frog Service bearing her coat of arms.

The career trajectory of Dean Mahomet, the Indian author of the *Travels of Dean Mahomet*, illustrates how similar patterns of Oriental/Occidental consumption prevailed even outside courtly circles. In addition to his authorial talents, Dean Mahomet proved to be a skillful entrepreneur, who opened the Hindostanee Coffee House after moving to London in 1810. Catering to the Nabobs lately returned from India, the coffee house served Indian cuisine and water-pipes in an “Oriental” ambience conjured by bamboo chairs and painted Indian landscapes.⁵⁴ Adorned with Oriental artifacts and images, Dean Mahomet's coffee house reminds us that the consumption of artistic forms and idioms is inseparable from the global circulation of cultural forms more generally. Among the relevant examples are baths, modes of dress, and even foodstuffs—the much-criticized “Curries and Peelaws”



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Thomas Daniell, *Large Composition of Architecture*, 1799. Oil on canvas, commissioned for the interior of Thomas Hope's Indian Room. Private collection. Photograph courtesy of Eyre and Hobhouse Ltd., London

favored by the families of those newly returned from India.⁵⁵ Few of the Indian mistresses and wives of East India Company employees, the *bibis*, made it to England: nevertheless the entanglements between Indian and European cultural forms were highlighted in Britain itself by the new styles of dress and constructing the body, and new culinary traditions introduced by the daughters, sisters and wives of the Nabobs.⁵⁶

Following the failure of the Hindostanee Coffee House in 1812, Dean Mahomet moved to the fashionable resort of Brighton and reinvented himself as a shampooing surgeon, opening a bath that eventually enjoyed the patronage of the English monarchs George IV and William IV. In his enterprise, Dean Mahomet drew heavily upon his Indian identity for marketing purposes, adopting Mughal court dress when he appeared in public. The image of India was also central to the creation of an authentically Indian ambience; the walls of the anterooms to the baths were painted with landscapes occupied by temples populated by Indians in native dress, camels, Islamic funerary monuments, and musicians.⁵⁷ The eclectic balance between "Hindu" (or Gentoo) and "Muslim" elements recalls the *Large Composition of Architecture representing some of the most celebrated Hindoo and Moorish Buildings in India*, painted by Thomas Daniell in 1799 for the Indian Room of the collector and author Thomas Hope, in the decoration of which Greek, Egyptian, Turkish, and Indian motifs were synthesized. Daniell's painting depicting the *gopuram* (monumental gateway) of a southern Indian temple adjacent to the Taj Mahal (Fig. 8) was one of four that hung in the room, three Indian scenes and one view of the Roman Forum.⁵⁸ The eclecticism that characterizes these images anticipates the reordering of the Orient through representation that became the hallmark of nineteenth-century Orientalist painting.

While imported paintings and even, more rarely, artifacts, might provide British artists and architects with models,⁵⁹ in most cases it was the work of British artists themselves that proved decisive. William Hodges (active in India between 1780

and 1783) and Thomas and William Daniell (in India between 1786 and 1793) provided the British public with its first extensive corpus of Indian landscapes executed by professional artists.⁶⁰ These artists located their endeavors to bring home images of India within broader projects of exploration and discovery, most obviously those of the geographers, naturalists, and philologists then gathering data and materials from the new worlds that were opening to European eyes.⁶¹

The utility of these “Oriental” images to a burgeoning eclecticism is prefigured in an address delivered to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1785, in which the celebrated Orientalist William Jones expressed the hope that the Indian monuments then being studied by British scholars would “furnish our architects with new ideas of beauty and sublimity,” an undertaking whose dependence upon the “correct delineations” shortly to be produced by British artists underlined the mediating role of these artists and their works in the dissemination of architectural forms.⁶² Jones’s sentiments echo those of Sir Joshua Reynolds in his opening lecture delivered at the Royal Academy in 1778: “The mind is but a barren soil; a soil which is soon exhausted, and will produce no crop, or only one, unless it be continually fertilized and enriched with foreign matter.”⁶³ While Reynolds was thinking of Classical antiquity, his cultural appeal to cross-fertilization was in line with the general momentum of the time. In a speech delivered to the Academy a decade later, Reynolds referred obliquely to the work of William Hodges: “The Barbarick splendour of those Asiatick Buildings, which are now publishing by a member of this Academy, may possibly … furnish an Architect, not with models to copy, but with hints of composition and general effect, which would not otherwise have occurred.”⁶⁴

The role of contemporary depictions of far-distant lands as vectors of architectural form is illustrated by Thomas Daniell’s involvement with Sezincote House in Gloucestershire, built between 1805 and 1817 (Fig. 9). Designed by Samuel Pepys Cockerell for his brother, the Nabob Sir Charles Cockerell, who had lived for many years in Bengal, the house, its landscape setting, temples, and grottoes were shaped by the architect’s desire to reproduce “authentic” forms with which the Indian drawings and sketches of Daniell had acquainted him.⁶⁵ Thomas Daniell was not only hired as a consultant on the project that his images had informed (thus fulfilling the hopes of Hastings and Reynolds that images of India might inspire British architects), but went on to create seven large oil paintings of Sezincote, which were exhibited at the Royal Academy.⁶⁶ There could be little better illustration of the inherently self-referential character of eighteenth-century “Oriental” representation, or of the visual artifact’s ability to effect the cognitive assimilation and aesthetic appropriation of the East by the West.⁶⁷

As this suggests, the popular aesthetic consumerism of eighteenth-century landscape painting and its domesticating conventions provided the cognitive fil-

ters through which the visual experience of the East was strained.⁶⁸ The “oriental” images of European artists appeared to offer immediate access to knowledge about distant lands, but their reception in eighteenth-century Europe was sometimes characterized by ambivalence. In contemporary caricatures, this ambivalence is articulated around parodies of the optical devices deployed to imbue the representation of geographically and temporally distant scenes with the authority of scientific objectivity.⁶⁹

Despite this ambivalence, the aspiration towards documentary precision, and the perceived “universality of a European episteme” that underlies it,⁷⁰ is related to a contentious issue concerning the extent and nature of the epistemological ruptures wrought by the advent of European rule (in its mercantile or political forms) over large parts of the Orient in the later eighteenth century. Assumptions regarding the totality of the rupture occasioned by these developments have recently been challenged by scholars who have sought to highlight the role of indigenous scribes and scholars in the European documentary enterprise of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, not only as translators but also as agents in the formation of epistemological frameworks informed by skills acquired in the service of pre-colonial rulers.⁷¹ In addition, as the articles in this volume suggest, the *habitus* of some European artists or patrons engaged in the representation of India or the Ottoman Empire to European audiences was sometimes informed by the conventions of both European and Mughal or Ottoman imperial or sub-imperial painting.⁷²

These entanglements, which were reflected in other aspects of contemporary cultural life, sometimes attracted criticism. Angst about the remarkable permeability and porosity of English and Indian elite culture in the late eighteenth century peaked around the ambiguous relationship between the state and *de facto* mercantile governance of the East India Company, coming to a head between 1788 and 1795 in the celebrated impeachment proceedings against Warren Hastings, the former governor-general of the Company.⁷³ In India, the backlash was manifest in the attempt to regulate the relationships between Indians and Europeans and the self-representations of the latter. During the governor-generalship of Lord Cornwallis (1786–93), for example, legislation was passed to prohibit the public wearing of Indian dress by employees of the East India Company.⁷⁴

Despite these concerns, the reception of “Oriental” forms in Britain continued unabated. In their designs for the Brighton Pavilion (1808), the royal architects Humphrey Repton and John Nash drew upon the Daniells’ Indian scenes, declaring Thomas Daniell’s *Oriental Scenery* (1795–1808) depicting Mughal architecture in serene landscapes as “a new source of richness and variety” in contrast to other styles that were also available but considered inappropriate for the purpose. By contrast, Repton asserted that “the Turkish was objectionable as being a corruption of



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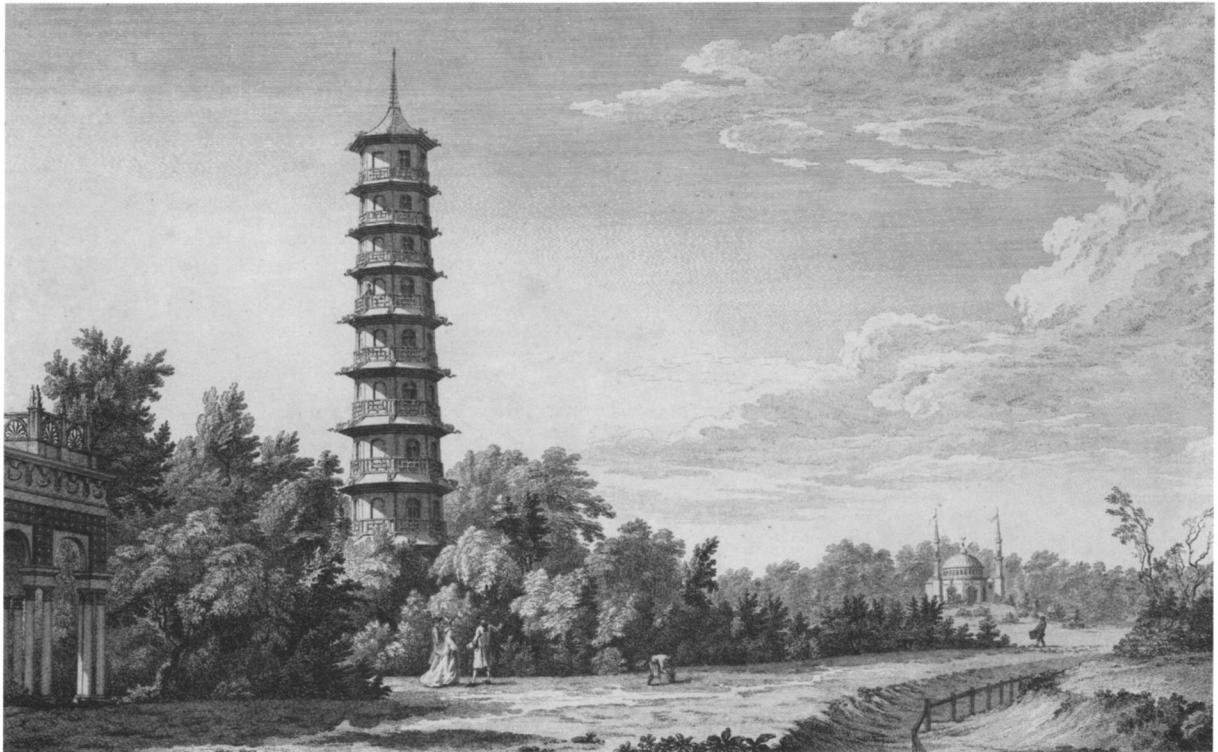
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Samuel Pepys Cockerell, Sezincote House, Gloucestershire, 1805–17.
Photograph courtesy of Edward Peake

the Grecian; the Moorish as a bad model of the Gothic; the Egyptian as too cumbersome for the character of a villa; the Chinese as too light and trifling for the outside, however it might be applied to the interior.” Displaying a promiscuous understanding of Hindustani architecture, he drew instead upon the architecture of “Hindustan, Gentoo, Chinese, or Turkish; which latter is a mixture of the other three.”⁷⁵

Similarly, the hostility of some eighteenth-century observers to Oriental, especially Chinese sources (as expressed by Hogarth, see above), did little to impede their appropriation. William Chambers, later professor of architecture at the Royal Academy, travelled to the Far East in the 1740s and wrote about the Chinese manner of gardening with a view to introducing it into Britain. In the 1772 extended version of his *Designs of Chinese Buildings* (1757) he staged an attack on the contemporary practices of landscape architecture:

There are indeed very few [gardens] in our part of the globe wherein nature has been improved to the best advantage, or art employed with the greatest judgement. The gardens of Italy, France, Germany, Spain, and of all the other countries where the antient style still prevails, are in general mere cities of verdure; ... In England, where this antient style is held in detestation, and where, in opposition to the rest of Europe, a new manner is universally adopted, in which no appearance of art is tolerated, our gardens differ very little from common fields.⁷⁶

Chambers’ criticism not only glorified oriental manners of gardening, but also contributed to the already highly politicized practice of landscape architecture. Kew Gardens, where he was employed as a young architect in 1749, had become



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E. Rooker, after Wm. Marlow, *A view of the wilderness, with the Alhambra, the Pagoda and the Mosque*. Folio 127 from Sir William Chambers, *Plans, elevations, sections, and perspective views of the gardens and buildings at Kew, in Surry: the seat of Her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales*. London: J. Haberkorn, 1763. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

a key locus of the British imperial vision by 1762. There, Chambers designed and built oriental-style buildings including a “Pagoda,” a “Turkish Mosque” and an “Alhambra Temple” alongside the Classical and Gothic temples (Fig. 10).

It was not a coincidence that the “Mosque” appeared in an imperial garden. Ottoman architecture had already been embraced in Europe as a mark of imperial prowess for the first time in France in the late 1730s. Stanislas Leszczynski, the deposed king of Poland who later became the father-in-law to Louis XV, commissioned kiosks, the smallest residential pavilion-type structure of the Ottoman palace, at Lunéville in his newly acquired Duchy of Lorrain and Bar.⁷⁷ Despite its humble status as a garden structure, William Chambers’s “Turkish Mosque” of 1762 not only marked the coronation of George III, but also came at a momentous time. Just a few years before the appearance of the Kew mosque, the radical Swiss thinker, Claude Adrien Helvétius, staged an attack on European hypocrisy towards religious tolerance by drawing a distinction between the Ottomans and the French.⁷⁸ His *De l'esprit*, a polemic against Montesquieu’s *De l'esprit des lois*, published in 1758, contained a long footnote that concluded: “we see churches in Constantinople but there are no mosques in Paris.”⁷⁹ Although the construction of a functioning mosque was still too far from both the needs and the possibilities of the age, the “Mosque” at Kew helped pave the way towards envisioning a multidenominational British Empire.⁸⁰

Stanislas’s kiosks and Chambers’s mosque had a wide appeal in Europe associated with the new fashion for the *jardin-anglais*, which provided another platform for the circulation of Eastern images and forms. Work on Frederick the Great’s famous Chinese tea house at Sans Souci in Potsdam began in 1755 after Stanislas had presented him with a copy of the *Recueil des plans, élévations, et coupes tant géométrales qu'en perspective des châteaux, jardins, et dépendances que le Roy de Pologne*

occupe en Lorraine (1750–53). A similar trajectory of knowledge and ideas—a second-hand exoticism as it were—also took place with regards to Kew and its “Mosque.” Inspired in part by Kew, in 1777 the last of the Holy Roman Emperors, Karl Theodor, erected a mosque at Schloss Schwetzingen in Germany that also incorporated features derived from the two new imperial mosques of Istanbul, the Nuruosmaniye (Fig. 11) and the Laleli, built between 1755 and 1763.⁸¹

The appropriation of these imperial forms in the orientalizing architecture of Europe allows us to address an imbalance in the framing of the eighteenth century in which the receptivity of Eastern elites to European cultural forms is represented as the paradigm, despite the reciprocal nature of contemporary architectural exchange. The phenomenon is perhaps best illustrated by *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response*, a work by the Princeton Islamicist and White House advisor Bernard Lewis, which purports to explain why Middle Eastern civilizations lag behind the West. Discussing the Nuruosmaniye Mosque, Lewis notes its “Italian Baroque” exterior decoration, concluding that, “When a foreign influence appears in something as central to a culture as an imperial foundation and a cathedral-mosque, there is clearly some faltering of cultural self-confidence.”⁸² This evaluation not only ignores the contemporary receptivity to Ottoman and Indian forms in the imperial courts of Europe, but simultaneously privileges the “European” features of the mosque as more noteworthy or significant than any other while reading them as signs of a decline given a negative psychological gloss. Its emphasis on an authenticity anterior to contact with European culture is common to discussions of “Europeanizing” elements in the art and architecture of eighteenth-century Iran and India.⁸³

Recent research on the Nuruosmaniye mosque has demonstrated a significant difference in the contemporary accounts written by its Ottoman viewers and users (who recognized its new style, *nev-tarz*, and celebrated its aesthetic values without emphasizing its Europeanizing elements in particular) and Western European visitors, who, like Lewis, emphasized a derivative relationship to European models.⁸⁴ This new style is characterized by what Shirine Hamadeh has dubbed a *décloisonnement*, “an opening up between different cultural traditions and practices” and “a peculiar flexibility in the reception and interpretation of new forms, tastes, and aesthetics, be they foreign to imperial culture or to the Ottoman tradition at large” that marked not only architecture, but also literature, music, painting, and contemporary sartorial codes.⁸⁵ These forms were not confined to those then in vogue in Europe (most obviously those associated with the contemporary rococo style),⁸⁶ but also included Persian and late Mughal models.⁸⁷

The period coincides with the proliferation of *turqueries* in the European courts, a coincidence that calls into question the equation between transculturation and



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Nuruosmaniye Mosque, Istanbul,
1748–55. Photograph © Cemal
Emden

decline while highlighting discrepant readings of the reception of European forms in the Orient by comparison with the orientalizing tendencies of contemporary European elites. This discrepancy in perspective reminds us that although Europe has usually been seen as central to the history of global circulations in the eighteenth century, the mercantile cosmopolitanism fostered by burgeoning European adventurism found its counterpart in the imperial cosmopolitanism of the Ottoman Empire or contemporary Indian regional courts. Consequently, there were numerous trajectories to which Europe was irrelevant. Cases in point include the importation of Chinese ceramics to Ottoman Turkey, the incorporation of elements inspired by the Mughal and Safavid architecture of India and Iran alongside those of European inspiration in the architecture of eighteenth-century Istanbul, or the contemporary reception of Ottoman architectural forms in Syria, Yemen, and Egypt.⁸⁸

The reception of Ottoman imperial forms outside the capital could be marked by an eclecticism of another sort, in which contemporary Ottoman styles were inflected by regional architectural traditions and political agendas. A *sabil-kuttab* (fountain/library/school complex) founded by Sultan Mahmud I in Cairo in 1750, one of very few imperial projects undertaken in the city during the eighteenth century, is a case in point. The *sabil-kuttab* demonstrates the importation (or imposition) of Istanbuli modes and materials (some of them the products of artisans drafted in from the Ottoman capital), but also the integration of elements derived from a local neo-Mamluk style. This was characterized by a selective revival and reinvestment of modes of decoration associated with the patronage of the Mamluk

sultans, who ruled over Egypt in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, profiting from long-distance trade with Europe, Turkey, and India. The neo-Mamluk revival can be associated with the patronage of 'Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda (1715–76), an officer in the Janissary corps and remnant of the old Mamluk order displaced by the Ottoman conquest in 1517. 'Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda embarked on an ambitious program of architectural patronage, which included the restoration of venerable mosques and shrines and the construction of thirty new monuments, among them mosques, *sabils*, *khanqahs* (Sufi lodges), and bridges.⁸⁹

A second example of Ottoman imperial patronage in Cairo, the *sabil-kuttab* of Sultan Mustafa III (1758–60), underlines the role of Istanbul as a nexus for the mediation of European forms, idioms, and materials. The rich decoration of the building's interior included more than two thousand six hundred Dutch blue-and-white tiles (probably from Rotterdam), apparently forwarded from Istanbul for the project, whether or not they had originally been acquired for it. The use of Dutch tiles reflects a shift in taste at the Ottoman court around 1750, an engagement with contemporary European modes of interior decoration apparently informed by the circulation of both publications and Ottoman subjects.⁹⁰

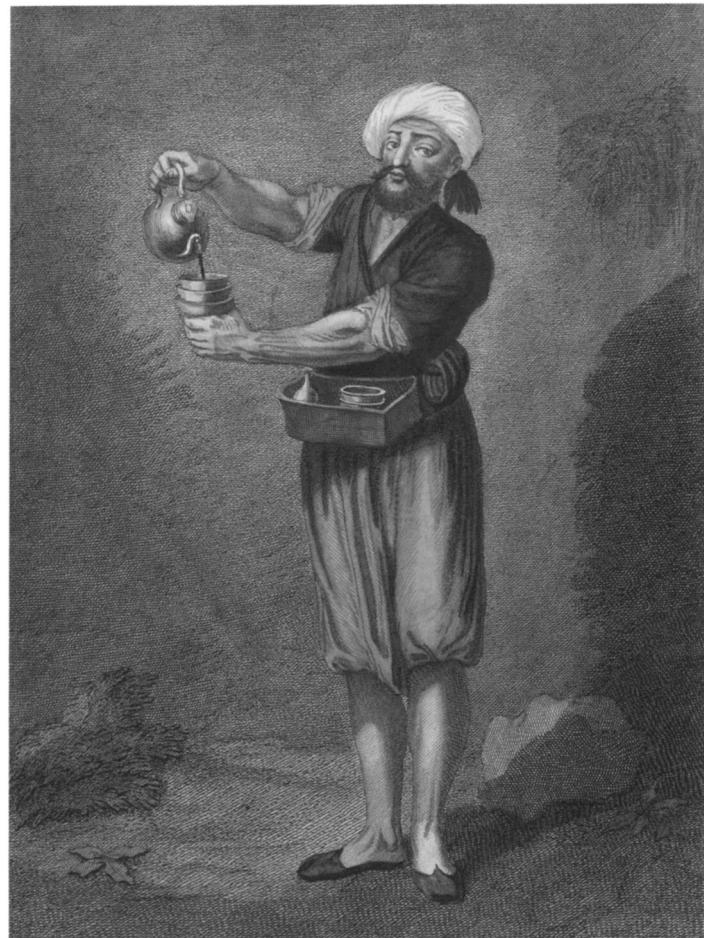
If the Ottomans could act as mediators of Dutch style in the eastern Mediterranean, in regions further east during the same period, Dutch traders sometimes actively promoted the circulation of images and media that owed little to European traditions. In their contribution to this volume, for example, Anton Schweizer and Avinoam Shalem draw attention to an astonishing eighteenth-century Japanese lacquer plaque depicting the Haram at Mecca, the holiest city in Islam, commissioned by the Dutch, possibly for presentation to the Muslim sultan of Djakarta. The plaque is one of a number of objects that have been identified as belonging to Baron van Reede (1757–1802), the chief merchant and representative of the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (Dutch East Indies Company), at Dejima on the southern Japanese island of Kyushu. Made by Japanese craftsman but based on a Dutch representation of the Masjid al-Haram found in *De Religione Mohammedica* by Hadrianus Relandus, published in Utrecht in 1705, the plaque illustrates the mediating potential of transcultural objects and their value to the “global” ambitions of contemporary mercantile imperialism. Its purpose may have been two-fold: the cultivation of local artisans, techniques, and culture to gain trading privileges in regions such as Japan normally kept off-limits to European merchants, and the negotiation of similar privileges with the Muslim rulers of the regions that today comprise Indonesia.

Chanchal Dadlani's article brings to light another example of European artistic patronage in Asia, in this case an impressive and neglected album of Mughal architectural depictions entitled *Palais Indiens*, which includes images of forts,

mosques, mausolea, and palaces. The album was commissioned by Jean-Baptiste Gentil (1726–99), a French military officer serving for the Compagnie des Indes Orientales (French East India Company), but produced by Mughal artists at the court of the Nawab Shuja‘ al-Daula (r. 1753–75) in the Awadhi capital of Faizabad. Through a close examination of the album and its relationship to Mughal imperial manuscripts, Dadlani argues that the heterogeneous character of the album reflects both the artistic milieu of Faizabad at the time and the Awadhi sense of history, which Gentil saw himself to be a part of by virtue of his marriage to a woman of Mughal descent.

The artistic patronage of the Dutch in Japan and of the French in India, and the florescence of the neo-Mamluk style in Cairo around the middle of the eighteenth century, share a common basis in contemporary global economics. This facilitated not only the mobility of artistic concepts, forms, media, and techniques, but also an expansion in the economic base of contemporary artistic patronage. Between 1740 and 1770, for example, Cairo enjoyed a period of prosperity and demographic growth, a development directly linked to the economic benefits that the Janissaries (including ‘Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda) derived from the international coffee trade and their control over the Red Sea routes that it plied.⁹¹

Perhaps nothing highlights the intersecting networks of eighteenth-century cultural and mercantile exchange better than the burgeoning of this coffee culture in the Middle East and Europe through the course of the century.⁹² During the apogee of the coffee boom between 1670 and 1770, the European coffee trade was mediated by Istanbul (Fig. 12) and Cairo, which bought half the coffee crop from Yemen for distribution to both Istanbul and Europe, and in which more than sixty coffee caravanserais existed.⁹³ During the same period, Dutch coffee merchants maintained emporia at Mocha on the Red Sea coast of Yemen. The economic ramifications of this trade profoundly influenced both the circulation of cultural forms and their potential to circulate. Indeed, the case of coffee might be seen as paradigmatic of the eighteenth-century mobility that the essays in this volume highlight. The culture of coffee constituted a *lingua franca*, a nexus between entrepreneurs in Europe (including the Indian immigrant, Dean Mahomet), Montesquieu’s Persians, Dutch and Ottoman merchants, Egyptian Janissaries, Yemeni growers, and consumers scattered from Cork to Isfahan.⁹⁴ Coffee culture was notable not only as a nexus between consumer desires, mercantile ambitions, and specific forms of architecture or architectural patronage, but also for its role in enhancing and promoting certain sorts of sociability and social discourse that were intrinsic to the emergence of what Habermas famously identified as the public sphere, a development crucial to the articulation of modernity itself.⁹⁵ This is not to attribute the emergence of European modernity to the circulation and availability of Eastern



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Gérard Scotin, after Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, *Vendeur de café*. Plate 56 from *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes Nations du Levant*, 1714–15. Paris: Le Hay & Duchange. Photograph © BnF

commodities, but to point out what is rarely acknowledged: although modernity is often seen both as an idiosyncratically European phenomenon and as *sui generis*, many of its characteristic features are neither unique to Europe, nor inseparable from more extensive (and not always peaceful) histories of transregional contact and circulation.⁹⁶

Conclusion

In many ways, the eighteenth century can be considered a turning point in the history of encounters between Europe, the Islamic world, and South and East Asia, characterized both by the popularization of the “Orient” in European art and literature, and of the “Occident” in Ottoman, Iranian, Indian, and Chinese elite cultures. The circulation of images was integral to this process. Like Montesquieu’s fictive Persians (themselves inspired by contemporary Eastern visitors to Paris) and the “Indian” images that served as models for the Orientalizing architecture of the British elite, much of the Oriental and Occidental imagery of the period entailed a double mirroring: a self reflected in an Oriental/Occidental mirror that was itself a construction, a frame within which to articulate critiques of self or other.⁹⁷ Nonetheless, the slippage between projection and reflection should not obscure the period’s centrality to the later emergence of disciplinary modes of Orientalist representation. As Said suggested, despite differences from the rigidities of nineteenth-century Orientalist representation, the eighteenth century laid the ground

for their advent. In his analysis, Said identifies four elements in eighteenth-century European representations of the Orient that he sees as essential to the subsequent intellectual and institutional development of modern Orientalism: expansion (mercantile, military, and scientific), comparison, sympathetic identification, and classification.⁹⁸ The paradoxical quality that Said's diachronic analysis brings to light—flexible engagement as a prelude to rigid taxonomy—is central to the essays that follow.

The essays, in various ways, examine the existence of one culture in another as indicative of a dialogical co-existence, in which forms and practices with diverse geographic origins meet and can, therefore, be grasped simultaneously.⁹⁹ They are concerned with the questions of why and with what practical consequences “East” and “West” turned to each other for cultural inspiration during this period. The aim is not to propose an all-encompassing theory of culture contact. Rather, the hope is to draw attention to the intensity and multi-directionality of “global” cultural flows during the eighteenth century, to the ways in which their complexities destabilize any simple dichotomous model of cultural exchange, and to their difference from (and legacy to) those that marked the nineteenth century.

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NOTES

- 1 The literature is extensive, but notable amongst it are Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Thomas Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Zeynep Celik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002); Roger Benjamin, *Orientalist Aesthetics: Art, Colonialism, and French North Africa, 1880–1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Mary Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders: The Harem in Ottoman and Orientalist Art and Travel Literature* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007).
- 2 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978), 117.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 118–19.
- 4 Oleg Grabar, “A Preliminary Note on Two 18th Century Representations of Mekka and Medina,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001): 268–74.
- 5 John MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); Robert Irwin, *Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and its Discontents* (London: Overlook Hardcover, 2006); Daniel Martin Varisco, *Reading Orientalism: Said and the Unsaid* (Seattle: University of Seattle Press, 2007). Many of these ripostes to Said fail to distinguish between intention and reception, a distinction crucial to understanding the politics of the visual in the era of European colonialism.
- 6 Linda Klinger and Julian Raby, “Barbarossa and Sinan: A Portrait of Two Ottoman Corsairs from the Collection of Paolo Giovio,” in *Venezia e l'Oriente Vicino*, Atti del primo congresso internazionale sull'arte Islamica, 9–12 dicembre 1986 (Venice: Università Ca' Foscari, 1989); Gülrü Necipoğlu, “Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry,” *Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3 (1989): 401–27; Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000); Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100–1500* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000); Rosamund Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). See, more recently, Stefano Carboni and Jean-Claude Hocquet, eds., *Venice and the Islamic World 828–1797* (New Haven and New York: Yale University Press, 2007).
- 7 See, for example, Shirine Hamadeh's comments on eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture as falling “between the cracks of sixteenth-century classicism and nineteenth-century modernization”: *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2007), 4. A rising interest in this period is reflected in some recent exhibitions and publications, among them Layla S. Diba, “Persian Painting in the Eighteenth Century: Tradition and Transmission,” *Muqarnas* 6 (1989): 147–60; Ülkü Ü. Bates, *Re-orientations: Islamic Art and the West in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (New York: Bertha & Karl Leubsdorf Art Gallery, Hunter College, 2008).
- 8 Philip Lawson and Jim Phillips, “Our Execrable Banditti: Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain,” *Albion* 16, no. 3 (1984): 225–41;

August Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: ACR Édition, 1989); Maria Elisabeth Pope, “Turquerie im 18. Jahrhundert und der ‘Receuil Ferriol,’” in *Europa und der Orient 800–1900*, ed. Gereon Sievernich and Hendrick Budde (Berlin: Bertelsmann Lexikon, 1989), 305–19; David Solkin, “Mortimer’s Banditti and the Anxieties of Empire,” in *Art and the British Empire*, ed. Tim Barringer, Geoff Quilley, and Douglas Fordham (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 120–38.

9 For a detailed account of the book see Thomas D. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Americana* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990).

10 Carter V. Findley, “Presenting the Ottomans to Europe: Mouradgea d’Ohsson and the *Tableau général de l’empire ottoman*,” Gunner Jarring lecture delivered to the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2002, text available at <http://www.srii.org/admin/filer/FINDLEY.pdf>. See also Sture Theolin et al., *The Torch of the Empire: Ignatius Mouradgea d’Ohsson and the Tableau Général of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Kültür, 2002).

11 Grabar, “A Preliminary Note,” 272.

12 Abbé Le Mascrier’s *Description de l’Égypte* (1735) preceded Napoléon’s project by several decades, but in terms of its ambition and scope, belonged to a different era. On the Napoleonic *Description* and its relationship to Enlightenment epistemology see Anne Godlewska, “Map, Text, and Image. The Mentality of Enlightened Conquerors: A New Look at the *Description de l’Égypte*,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, n.s. 20 (1995): 5–28.

13 After the publication of the first two volumes, Tosunyan received the Order of the Vasa, an order reconstituted by Gustav, and took the name Ignatius Mouradgea d’Ohsson.

14 For an analysis of the text see Michael H. Fisher, “Representations of India, the English East Indian Company, and Self by an Eighteenth-Century Indian Emigrant to Britain,” *Modern Asian Studies* 32, no. 4 (1998): 891–911.

15 Saloni Mathur, *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 59–61.

16 Michael H. Fisher, *The First Indian Author in English: Dean Mahomed (1759–1851) in India, Ireland, and England* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 240.

17 For an account of all three Persian travelogues see Simon Digby, “An Eighteenth-Century Narrative of a Journey from Bengal to England: Munshī Ismā’īl’s New History,” in *Urdu and Muslim South Asia: Studies in Honour of Ralph Russell*, ed. Christopher Shackle (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1989), 48–65, esp. 57. Interestingly, an Ottoman visitor to the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London also experienced a similar kind of disorientation. See Anon., *Seyahatname-i Londra* (Istanbul: 1851), 9.

18 Juan R.I. Cole, “Invisible Occidentalism: Eighteenth-Century Indo-Persian Constructions of the West,” *Iranian Studies* 25, nos. 3–4 (1992): 3–16, esp. 11.

19 Ibid., 12–13. Joan Delplato, “An English ‘Feminist’ in the Turkish Harem: A Portrait of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu,” in *Eighteenth-Century Women and the Arts*, ed. Frederick M. Keener and Susan E. Lorsch (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 163–78.

20 The literature on Lady Mary is vast. For information on her life and writings, see Isobel Grundy, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: Comet of the Enlightenment* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

21 Tillmann W. Nechtman, “Nabobinas: Luxury, Gender, and the Sexual Politics of British Imperialism in India in the Late Eighteenth Century,” *Journal of Women’s History* 18, no. 4 (2006), 11. See also Nebahat Avcioğlu, “Stanislas en Grand Seigneur, ou le Turban et la Couronne,” *Turqueries et autres chinoiseries: L’Exotisme en Lorraine au XVIII^e siècle*, exhibition catalogue (Lunéville: Château de Lunéville, 2009), 20–26.

22 Jonathan Richardson, *The Works* (London: T. Davies, 1773), 7.

23 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M--y W--y M---e: written during her travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, ... A new edition. The four volumes complete in one* (London: printed for the bookseller, 1794), 18.

24 Güл İrepoğlu, *Levni, Nakis, Siir, Renk* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1999). Also published as *Levni: Painting, Poetry, Colour* (Istanbul: Society of Friends of Topkapi Palace Museum, 1999).

25 Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d’Anville, “Mémoires où il est question de la peinture des Turcs & des Persans, de la façon dont les Turcs meublent leurs apartemens, & principalement de la richesse des apartemens du Sérail du grand-seigneur,” *Mercure de France* (April 1721): 27–8. For the full French citation, see Kristel Smentek’s essay in this volume, note 71. We thank Kristel Smentek for bringing this reference to our attention.

26 Banu Mahir, *Osmanlı Minyatür Sanatı* (Istanbul: Kabalcı Yayınevi, 2004), 76–82.

27 Karin Adahl, ed., *The Sultan’s Procession: The Swedish Embassy to Sultan Mehmed*

IV in 1657–1658 and the Ralamb Paintings (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute, 2007).

28 Natasha Eaton, “Nostalgia for the Exotic: Creating an Imperial Art in London, 1750–1793,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 39, no. 2 (2006): 250 n. 72. See Richardson’s drawing “Three Figures in a Turkish Coffee House”, Victoria and Albert Museum, Prints & Drawings Study Room, level D, case 87, shelf SC, box 32.

29 Mildred Archer, “The British as Collectors and Patrons in India, 1760–1830,” in *Treasures from India: The Clive Collection at Powis Castle* (London: The National Trust, 1987), 9–17. See also Natasha Eaton, “Johann Zoffany in India,” in *The History of British Art*, 3 vols., ed. David Bindman (London and New Haven: Tate and Yale Center for British Art), 2008, vol. 2, 118–21.

30 On Polier see Muzaffar Alam and Seema Alavi, *A European Experience of the Mughal Orient: The Ijaz-i-arsalani (Persian Letters 1773–1779) of Antoine-Louis Henri Polier* (New Delhi, 2001).

31 Ebba Koch, “The ‘Moghuleries’ of the *Millionenzimmer*, Schönbrunn Palace, Vienna,” in *Arts of Mughal India: Studies in Honour of Robert Skelton*, ed. Rosemary Crill, Susan Stronge, and Andrew Topsfield (London: Victoria & Albert Museum; Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing Pvt Ltd, 2004), 152–67.

32 Natasha Eaton, “The Art of Colonial Despotism: Portraits, Politics, and Empire in South India, 1750–1795,” *Cultural Critique* 70 (2008), 63–93. For the general background see Jamal Malik, *Perspectives of Mutual Encounter in South Asian History, 1760–1860* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

33 Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Paul Mellon Center for Studies in British Art, 1993), 146.

34 William Hogarth, *The analysis of beauty. Written with a view of fixing the fluctuating ideas of taste* (London: J. Reeves, 1753), 45.

35 *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes Nations du Levant tirées sur les Tableaux peints d'après Nature en 1707 et 1708 par les Ordres de M. de Ferriol,... et gravées en 1712 et 1713 par les soins de M. Le Hay. Explication des cent estampes... Paris, 1714–15, rapportant principalement aux moeurs et costumes de Turquie ont été gravées d'après les tableaux de Jean-Baptiste Van Mour, peintre ordinaire du Roi au Levant* (Paris: Le Hay and Duchange, 1714–15). See also Eveline Sint Nicolaas et al., *Jean-Baptiste Vanmour: An Eyewitness of the Tulip Era* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2003).

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37 Ibid., 34–7; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, Od 6 4o.

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40 Boer, “This is not the Orient,” 213.

41 See Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 86, 90.

42 Anon., “Liottard,” *Magasin Pittoresque* 14 (March, 1846), 89.

43 P. Nicklas, “Letters of the Self: Otherness and Epistolary Writing in Giovanni Paolo Marana’s (1642–93) *Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy*,” in *Narrative Strategies in Early English Fiction*, ed. W. Görtschacher and H. Klein (Salzburg and Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 353–65. See also Joseph Tucker, “The Turkish Spy and its French Background,” in *Revue de Littérature Comparée* 32 (1958), 79; Ahmad Gunny, *Images of Islam in Eighteenth-Century Writings* (London: Grey Seal, 1996), 106–29.

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46 Charles Louis de Secondat Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*, translated by C. J. Betts, (New York: Penguin Classics, 1993), Letter 30, 83.

47 Digby, “An Eighteenth-Century Narrative,” 61.

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17th to Early 18th Century Istanbul and Isfahan, and as seen from Paris and London," *European Journal of Sociology* 45, no. 1 (2004): 25.

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51 *Le paradis des infidels: relation de Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi, ambassadeur ottoman en France sous la Régence*, trans J.-C. Galland, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: F. Maspero, 1981); Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore*.

52 Göcek, *East Encounters West*, 17.

53 *Topkapi à Versailles: trésors de la Cour ottomane*, exhibition catalogue (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1999), 328–9. For Liotard's portraits see Anne de Herdt, *Dessins de Liotard, suivi du catalogue de l'œuvre dessiné* (Geneva: Musée d'art et d'histoire; Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992), cat. no. 61.

54 Fisher, *The First Indian Author in English*, 257.

55 Nechtmann, "Nabobinas," 9.

56 Ann Laura Stoler, "Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Gender, Race, and Morality in Colonial Asia," in *Feminism and History*, ed. Joan Wallach Scott (New York, 1996), 220–25.

57 Fisher *The First Indian Author in English*, 273, 281, 294.

58 Archer, *Early Views of India*, 227; Patrick Conner, *Oriental Architecture in the West* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979), 119–20; Patrick Conner, "Thomas Hope's 'Composition Picture,' *Burlington Magazine* 124, no. 951 (June 1982): 362–6; G. H. R. Tillotson, "The Indian Picturesque: Images of India in British Landscape Painting, 1780–1880," in *The Raj: India and the British 1600–1947*, ed. C. A. Bayly (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 1990), 145–6.

59 Nicholas Cooper, "Indian Architecture in England, 1780–1830," *Apollo* 92 (August, 1970): 127–8.

60 This was in addition to works executed for Europeans resident in India. In 1788, no fewer than fifteen British artists were documented as living there, while another fourteen had been resident in the preceding two decades: Sir William Foster, "British Artists in India 1760–1820," *The Nineteenth Volume of the Walpole Society* (1930–31): 1–88; Pauline Rohatgi and Pheroza Godrej, *Under the Indian Sun: British Landscape Artists* (Bombay: Marg Publications, ca. 1995).

61 M. Archer and R. Lightbown, *India Observed: India As Viewed by British Artists 1760–1860* (London, 1982), 7; Tillotson, "The Indian Picturesque," 146; Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765–1843* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 40.

62 Cooper, "Indian Architecture in England," 127.

63 Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Seven discourses delivered in the Royal Academy by the President* (London: T. Cadell, 1778), 211. See also Michael Darby, *The Islamic Perspective: An Aspect of British Architecture and Design in the 19th Century* (London: Leighton House Gallery, 1983), 17.

64 Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, ed. Robert R. Wark (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London, 1975), Discourse 13, 242.

65 Archer, *Early Views*, 230–31; Conner, *Oriental Architecture*, 120; Raymond Head, *The Indian Style* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1986), 14, 38–43.

66 Cooper, "Indian Architecture," 126–7.

67 P. J. Marshall, "Taming the Exotic: The British in India in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, ed. G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, ca. 1990), 47, 53, 62; Nicholas B. Dirks, "Guiltless Spoliations: Picturesque Beauty, Colonial Knowledge, and Colin Mackenzie's Survey of India," in *Perceptions of South Asia's Visual Past*, ed. Catherine B. Asher and Thomas R. Metcalf (New Delhi: Oxford & IBP, 1994), 217; Tillotson, "Indian Picturesque," 146–7. The phenomenon is related to the domestication of Indian culture in eighteenth-century Anglo-Indian homes, to which visual representation was central: Richard Leppert, "Music, Domestic Life, and Cultural Chauvinism: Images of British Subjects at Home in India," in *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance, and Reception*, ed. Richard Leppert and Susan McClary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 94–5.

68 John Whale, "Romantics, Explorers, and Picturesque Travellers," in *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770*, ed. Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 191.

69 Tensions between the perceived aesthetic and documentary value of the image were often framed in terms of a dialectical opposition between artistic translation and transcription: Finbarr Barry Flood, "Correct Delineations and Promiscuous Outlines: Envisioning India at the Trial of Warren Hastings," *Art History* 29, no. 1 (2006): 63–6.

70 Jenny Sharpe, "The Violence of Light in the Land of Desire; or, How William Jones Discovered India," *boundary 2*, 20 (Spring, 1993): 35.

71 For differing perspectives see Nicholas Dirks, "Colonial Histories and Native Informants: Biography of an Archive," in *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia*,

ed. Carol Appadurai Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 279–313; and Phillip Wagoner, “Precolonial Intellectuals and the Production of Colonial Knowledge,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, no. 4 (2003): 783–814.

72 See Natasha Eaton, “Hodges’s Visual Genealogy for Colonial India, 1780–95,” in *William Hodges 1744–1797: The Art of Exploration*, ed. Geoff Quilley and John Bonehill (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for National Maritime Museum, Greenwich and Yale Center for British Art, 2004), 39, fig. 14; Archer and Lightbown, *India Observed*, 21.

73 Siraj Ahmed, “The Theater of the Civilized Self: Edmund Burke and the East India Trials,” *Representations* 78 (Spring, 2002): 28–55; Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006); Flood, “Promiscuous Outlines.”

74 Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power*, 117, 120, 136.

75 Quoted in Edward Malins, “Indian Influences on English Houses and Gardens at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century,” *Garden History* 8, no. 1 (Spring, 1980), 50; Conner, *Oriental Architecture*, 136; Fisher, *The First Indian Author*, 271; Archer, *Early Views*, 232–3.

76 Sir William Chambers, *A dissertation on oriental gardening. By Sir William Chambers, ... To which is added, An heroic epistle, in answer to Sir William Chambers*, 11th ed. (London: W. Griffin, 1773), vii–ix.

77 For a detailed discussion of these buildings see Nebahat Avcioğlu, “A Palace of One’s Own: Stanislas I’s Kiosks and the Idea of Self-Representation,” *Art Bulletin* 85 (2003): 662–84.

78 His book, which was seen as a malicious attack on the Church and the European states, was condemned and burned as soon as it appeared in France. Despite censorship, the English translation had “sold far more copies than any translation” of other radical French books in the 1750s: David Wootton, “Helvétius: From Radical Enlightenment to Revolution,” *Political Theory* 28, no. 3 (2000): 316.

79 Claude Adrien Helvétius, *De l'esprit* (Paris, 1759), 114.

80 Although there were a number of Muslim captives, travelers, or household servants living in Western Europe, they did not constitute a distinct religious community. In addition, since Islam does not dictate a particular place or shape of a building for worship, these Muslims could pray anywhere. See Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); idem, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York and Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, ca. 1999).

81 For a discussion of the “Turkish Mosque” at Kew Gardens see Nebahat Avcioğlu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation 1728–1876* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, forthcoming).

82 Bernard Lewis, *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response* (London: Phoenix, 2002), 137, 148–9. See also Edward Said’s response: “Impossible Histories: Why the Many Islams Cannot be Simplified,” *Harper’s Magazine*, July 1, 2002.

83 Finbarr Barry Flood, “From the Prophet to Postmodernism? New World Orders and the End of Islamic Art,” in *Making Art History: A Changing Discipline and its Institutions*, ed. Elizabeth C. Mansfield (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 35–8.

84 Shirine Hamadeh, “Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the ‘Inevitable’ Question of Westernization,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (March, 2004): 36–8.

85 Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, 236.

86 Günsel Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı 1700–1850* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1977); idem, “Europe and the Ottomans,” in *Europa und die Kunst des Islam. 15. Bis 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Oleg Grabar and Elisabeth Liskar (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf, 1985), 15–19.

87 Noted in Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, 236, although the subject merits more extensive treatment than it receives there.

88 See, for example, Annie-Christine Daskalakis Mathews, “A Room of ‘Splendor and Generosity’ from Ottoman Damascus,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 32 (1997): 111–39; Nancy Um, “Eighteenth-Century Patronage in Sanaa: Building for the New Capital in the Second Century of the Qasimi Imamate,” *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 34 (2004): 361–75.

89 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, “The ‘Abd al-Rahmān Katkhudā Style in 18th Century Cairo,” *Annales Islamologiques* 26 (1992): 117–26. For the *sabil-kuttab* of Mahmud I, see the forthcoming article by the same author.

90 Hans Theunissen, “Dutch Tiles in 18th-Century Ottoman Baroque-Rococo Interiors: The Sabil-Kuttab of Sultan Mustafa III in Cairo,” *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* 9, no. 3 (2006): 1–38, esp. 32.

91 André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1973), 307–73, especially 330–35.

92 Nancy Um, *The Merchant Houses of Mocha: Trade and Architecture in an*

Indian Ocean Port (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009).

93 André Raymond, *Le Caire des Janissaires: L'apogée de la ville ottoman sous 'Abd al-Rahman Katkhudâ* (Paris: CNRS, 1995), 55–8.

94 Ralph S. Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985); Arjomand, “Coffeehouses, Guilds, and Oriental Despotism,” 31.

95 Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989); Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press; Chesham, Combined Academic, 2004), 84.

96 Edward Said, “The Politics of Knowledge,” *Raritan* (Summer 1991): 21; Andreas Huyssen, “Geographies of Modernism in a Globalizing World,” *New German Critique* 34, no. 1, 100 (Winter 2007): 192. In related vein see Jonathan Hay, “The Diachronics of Early Qing Visual and Material Culture,” in *The Qing Formation in World-Historical Time*, ed. Lynn A. Struve (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2004), 303–34.

97 Thierry Hentsch, *Imagining the Orient*, trans. from the French by Fred A. Reed (Montreal: Black Rose, 1992; first published 1987), 113; Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006), 134–55; Greg M. Thomas, “Yuanming Yuan/Versailles: Intercultural Interactions between Chinese and European Palace Cultures,” *Art History* 32, no. 1 (2009): 115–43.

98 Said, *Orientalism*, 116–21, esp. 120–21.

99 The term “contact zone,” coined by Mary Louise Pratt and defined as “social spaces

where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power—such as colonialism and slavery or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today,” also provides a possible model for analyzing cultural encounters: Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 6–7. Transculturation, Pratt suggests, is a feature of the contact zone. Pratt does not define this term, which is borrowed from the anthropologist Fernando Ortiz’s work on the sugar and tobacco cultures of post-colonial Cuba. Although Ortiz clearly saw transculturation as a unidirectional process that entailed an initial loss (a “deculturation” that prepares the ground for “neoculturation”), thanks largely to Pratt’s work the term has gained currency as denoting the multidirectional nature of exchange: Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint, Tobacco and Sugar*, trans. from the Spanish by Harriet de Onís (Durham, N.C., and London: Duke University Press, 1995), 102–3. For the application of “transculturation” to cross-cultural aspects of early modern and European art see Mary D. Sheriff’s introduction to *Cultural Contact and the Making of European Art since the Age of Exploration* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).