INTERSECTING WORLDS:
AMBASSADORS AND PAINTERS
Ambassadors portraits and art patronage of ambassadors
from the 17th to the 19th century with works selected from
Suna and İnan Kirac Foundation Orientalist Paintings Collection

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INTERSECTING WORLDS
AMBASSADORS
AND PAINTERS

AMBASSADOR PORTRAITS AND ART
PATRONAGE OF AMBASSADORS
FROM THE 17TH TO THE 19TH CENTURY
WITH WORKS SELECTED FROM SUNA
AND İNAN KIRAÇ FOUNDATION
ORIENTALIST PAINTINGS
COLLECTION

PERA MUSEUM
FOREWORD
SUNA, İNAN AND İPEK KIRAC

FRIEND OR FOE?
THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND EUROPE, FROM MEHMED II TO WILLIAM II
PHILIP MANSEL

MUTUAL DIPLOMACY BETWEEN ISTANBUL AND LONDON: THE EMBASSIES OF SIR ROBERT AINSLIE AND YUSUF AGAH EFENDI
MEHMET ALAADDIN YALCINKAYA

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE - AMBASSADORS AND PORTRAITS
GUNSEL RENDA

ENVOYS AND THEIR PATRONAGE OF THE ARTS
ZEYNEP İNANKUR

PART I
AMBASSADOR’S PORTRAIT

PART II
AMBASSADOR’S ARTIST

ARTIST BIOGRAPHIES
Bringing together a careful selection of works from the Orientalist Painting Collection of the Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation, the "Intersecting Worlds: Ambassadors and Painters" exhibition at Pera Museum sheds light on Ottoman-European relations with paintings from the 17th to the 19th centuries.

The paintings in the exhibition constitute interesting and select examples of the art of orientalist painting that focuses on Ottoman subject matter. Another aspect of these works is that they are also highly valuable visual documents on the diplomatic relations, figures, and life of the period.

The "Intersecting Worlds: Ambassadors and Painters" exhibition offers the opportunity for those interested in art and history to embark upon a colorful journey to a time filled with wars, alliances, trade ties, and power struggles. Visitors will be able to meet ambassadors, painters, and other interesting historical characters who have been witnesses to their period.

We hope you will enjoy the exhibition and its catalogue, and express our sincere thanks to our valuable scholars and the team at Pera Museum for their contributions to this work.
Stretching from the Danube to the Red Sea, including at different times Budapest, Belgrade and Athens, as well as Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, the Ottoman Empire was an essential part of the 'system of Europe'. Istanbul was both seat of the Caliphate, and, in the medley of peoples, languages and embassies in Pera, one of the most European of capitals. The Ottoman Empire rose thanks to one European ally and fell thanks to another.

Ottoman soldiers first crossed into Europe, after 1350, as allies of either the Byzantine Emperor John Cantacuzenos or the city of Genoa. Mehmed II, the conqueror of Constantinople from the Byzantine Empire in 1453, allowed the Genoese of Galata to remain in their section of Istanbul on the Golden Horn, and was an ally of Florence. He discussed policy with, and was entertained to dinner by, Florentine merchants in Galata. After peace in 1479, Ottoman-Venetian relations became sufficiently relaxed for the Sultan to ask the Doge of Venice to find him a competent painter: hence Gentile Bellini's portrait of the Sultan, framed as a Renaissance prince, painted in Istanbul in 1480, today in the National Gallery in London. At this stage Istanbul was closer than London to the Italian Renaissance. There is no such picture of Edward IV.\(^1\)

The Ottoman Empire was closer to Europe than to Asia. The relations of the Ottoman Sultan with other Muslim monarchs such as the Shah of Persia and the Mogul emperor were frequently hostile. Although embassies were occasionally exchanged, they never attained the level of permanent representation. The Shah was hated as a Shia 'heretic', and feared as a rival for territory in the Caucasus and what is now Iraq (disputes over these frontiers frequently provoked wars long before the Iran-Iraq war in 1980).

In India the Mogul emperor, conscious of his descent from Timur, captor of the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II in 1402, challenged the Ottoman Sultan's claim to be sole Caliph and 'asylum of the universe'. Another barrier was the length of the journey - six to nine months - between Delhi and Constantinople. In contrast the journey between Venice and Constantinople took three to six weeks.

Necessity as well as communications made the Empire part of the system of Europe. The Empire ruled an area of immense strategic, economic and religious significance to European powers. It included the holy city of Jerusalem and the great ports and trading cities of the Levant such as Izmir, Beirut, Aleppo and Alexandria. Trade, diplomacy and strategy were more powerful in the chancelleries of Europe, than the urge to 'holy war'. On one occasion, in 1639, the Venetian ambassador threatened the Ottoman government with the wrath of Christendom. The Grand Vizier's deputy replied: 'You make me laugh when you try to frighten me with the forces of Christianity. It is a chimera with nothing terrible except its name.'\(^2\)

Istanbul became one of the diplomatic capitals of Europe, with Paris, Rome and Vienna. Few Ottoman embassies were sent abroad. Ottomans wanted foreigners - craftsmen, merchants, ambassadors - to come to them, not the other way around. By the mid sixteenth century, soon after their appearance in western capitals, permanent embassies had been established in Constantinople by Venice, Genoa, France, the Emperor and Poland. Only Spain retained the crusading spirit and refused to exchange embassies. Constantinople was the only Muslim capital to have permanent Christian embassies. They were built in the area then known as 'les vignes de Pera', now called Beyoglu, beyond Galata.

Istanbul became in the words of a later French diplomat, the Vicomte de Marcellus, 'a centre of minuscule and complicated

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\(^1\) Philip Mansel, Constantinople, City of the World's Desire, 1995, pp. 13, 22.

\(^2\) Philip Mansel, Constantinople, p. 191.
negotiations such as do not exist in other political head-quarters’. In 1707 the French ambassador the comte de Ferriol wrote: ‘I find myself here in the centre of the world. I have the affairs of Hungary, Persia, the Crimea, those of politics, religion, commerce and my dealings throughout this empire, in Poland, Muscovy, Italy etc.: A later visitor, William Miller, deplored: ‘in Constantinople one is never finished with a piece of business. What is simple elsewhere is complicated here.’ Pera, far more than Venice, was Europe’s window on the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim world.

A Constantinople embassy could be perilous. If the Sultan was displeased by a foreign government’s declaration of war, or evidence that it was surreptitiously helping an Ottoman enemy, its ambassador might be humiliated, insulted as an infidel dog, or imprisoned in the fortress of the Seven Towers by the Sea of Marmara. Imprisonment was the fate of Imperial ambassadors in 1541, 1596 and 1716; of French in 1616, 1658, 1659, 1660 and 1798; Venetian in 1649 and 1714; and Russian in 1768 and 1787. The ambassador could not be certain that he would emerge alive - although all did.

However most ambassadors remained unharmed. The meetings of ambassadors and Grand Viziers, in the Porte or a private kiosk, appeared to be collisions between two worlds. They wore different costumes, spoke different languages and followed different religions. In reality, through their interpreters they spoke a common language of monarchy, money and status. Both sides understood the use of position, numbers, and dress in diplomatic protocol, in order to send out messages of power and wealth.

In theory the Sultan’s guests, ambassadors received a daily living allowance from the Ottoman government, and places of honour at ceremonies such as the circumcision of imperial princes. On arrival, or on signature of a treaty, they were serenaded (usually to their dismay) by the Sultan’s band.

The ceremony of ‘kaftaining the ambassador’, before he entered the Sultan’s presence in the imperial palace, incorporated him in the dress code of the Empire - and signalled that he and his suite were guests under the Sultan’s protection. Ambassadors judged their success by the number and magnificence of the kaftans they were given. Such was the importance attributed to dress that ambassadors refused to proceed to the throne-room from the imperial divan or council-chamber, where they had breakfasted with the Grand Vizier, until a servant sent to an adjoining vestibule had reported how many kaftans awaited them. Only when they had put on kaftans over their European dress were ambassadors admitted to the Sultan’s throne room.

Ambassadors became living symbols of their country’s conjunction of interests with the Ottoman Empire. In the presence of the Sultan they retained, as an outward sign of their identity and religion, their hats - hence the Ottoman use of the word ‘hats’ as a description for Europeans.

In the seventeenth century ambassadors generally received about forty kaftans; from 1644 exceptionally important ambassadors, such as an Ambassador Extraordinary of the Holy Roman Emperor, also obtained a cloak of sable. In 1724 the French ambassador received forty-two kaftans for members of his embassy, in addition to his own, which the dragoman assured him was of richer material than those usually distributed to ambassadors, and similar to that worn by the Grand Vizier himself.

The catastrophic defeat of the Ottoman Empire in its war of 1768-1774 against Russia was reflected in its treatment of ambassadors. From 1772 every ambassador began to receive a sable cloak. In 1775 the new Russian ambassador Prince Repnin returned in triumph to Constantinople, where he had been imprisoned by the Ottoman government during the war. For himself he received a sable coat covered in brocade; for senior members of his embassy, four sable coats; for ten cavaliers accompanying his embassy, ermine coats; and for lesser officials one hundred kaftans.

Embassies were centres of information exchange, as well as occasions for displays of wealth and friendship. In the 1550s the Imperial ambassador Busbecq bought Greek manuscripts from the Sultan’s doctor Moses Harmon for the Imperial Library in Vienna. His own letters (although, like Lady Mary Wortley Montagu’s, reworked at a later date) remain a classic account of the empire at the end of the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent. Like those of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, wife of a later British ambassador, they are free of what Edward Said has called ‘the essence of Orientalism’, ‘the distance between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority’. They exaggerate the virtues of Ottoman society, in order to criticise their own, and are less

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3 Ibid, p. 199.

4 Pictures of this ceremony were frequently commissioned by ambassadors. See e.g. the pictures by Jean Baptiste Vanmour in The Sultan’s Portrait. Pictures of the House of Osman, Istanbul, 2000, pp. 414 and Serma Gerner and Zeynep Irankir, Constantinople and the Orientalists, Istanbul, 2002, pp. 65-6.
5 At the Sublime Porte: Ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire 1550-1800, London 1988, p. 53.
6 Mouradgea d’Ohsson II, p. 457.
condescending than many western accounts of western countries. Busbecq praises the discipline of the Ottoman army and its career open to the talents. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu admires the ease and elegance of Ottoman life, the practical advantages of Islam, the freedom of Muslim women and the beauty of their embroidery.

The Venetian embassy also acted as a research centre. Count Marsigli, author of the most comprehensive account in a western language of the organisation, weapons, discipline, and uniforms of the Ottoman army and navy, L’Etat Militaire de l’Empire Ottoman (2 vols. The Hague-Amsterdam 1732), had lived in the Venetian embassy in 1679-80, at a time when it was also in effect a school of Ottoman studies. His work was based on Ottoman records, which he obtained through intellectuals such as Husseyn Efendi Hezarfeyn. He also studied Ottoman geography and botany, while his host, the Ballo Donado, wrote the first study of Ottoman literature in a western language, Della Letteratura de’ Turchi (Venice 1688). 8

The Abbe Toderini was able to write another, longer history of Ottoman literature, Letteratura Turchesca (3 vols Venice 1787), with a full description of contemporary libraries, printing and music, because he lived between 1781 and 1786, at the same time as Lazzaro Spallanzani a naturalist and Tonioli a painter, alla splendida corte di S.E. Agostino Garzoni, Ballo Veneto alla Porta Ottomana. 9

FRANCE

With no European power did the Ottoman Empire have closer relations than with France. They shared a common hostility to the House of Austria. After Francois Ier King of France was captured by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V at the battle of Pavia in 1525, he sent a letter pleading for help to Suleyman the Magnificent: the Sultan’s invasion of Hungary in 1526 may have been an early response. The first permanent French ambassador, Jean de La Forest, arrived in Constantinople in 1536. Thereafter the French ambassador had precedence over others; his master, at first called ‘king of the province of France’ in Ottoman documents, was soon addressed as Padishah, ‘great emperor’ like the sultan. At the height of Austro-French hostility, in 1538 the French ambassador arranged for French ships to refit in the port of Constantinople and in 1543-4 for the Ottoman fleet to winter in Toulon. He personally instructed Ottoman artillery during the war against Persia in 1548-50, and organised joint Franco-Ottoman naval operations against Spain in the Mediterranean in 1551-5. The union of the lily and the crescent, as one French noble called it, became the only fixed point in European politics. 10

The treaty of 1604 between Henri IV and Ahmet II was the second book printed in Ottoman, in Paris in 1615, due to a cultured Ottoman-speaking French ambassador Savary de Breves, who brought back from Rome Ottoman, Arabic, Persian and Syriac printing types. The first book, printed in Rome in 1587, was a work on Euclidean principles of commerce. However Savary de Breves did occasionally advocate the destruction of the Ottoman Empire.

Francois de Gontaut-Biron, French ambassador from 1605 to 1610, described the Aga of the Janissaries as fort mon amy and corresponded with him when he was on campaign. Later French ambassadors wore Ottoman dress, speculated in the grain trade or called their son Constantine after the city where they lived.

Although the King of France, conscious of his titles of ‘Most Christian King’, ‘eldest son of the church’, fearful of the criticism of Catholic Europe, evaded the formal written alliance repeatedly requested, for three hundred years, by the Sublime Porte (the Ottoman government), he did acknowledge the alliance’s existence. The Comte de Guilleragues arrived as French ambassador in 1679, for example, with instructions to preserve what the French government called ‘the alliance which has existed for a long time between the two greatest and most powerful empires in the world’. The alliance was so resilient that it survived attacks by Algerian ships on French cargoes or Louis XIV’s despatch of French troops to Venetian armies fighting the Ottoman Empire for Crete in the 1660’s. 11 Ottoman authorities were unaware that in 1639 Louis XIII had taken the Maronite community in what are now Syria and Lebanon under French protection.

The Franco-Ottoman alliance offended zealots on both sides. Partly to defuse criticism, as early as the sixteenth century, the legend arose in Constantinople that the two dynasties were related: the mother of Mehmed II was alleged to be a daughter of a King of France. In 1724, since France had recently mediated a peace treaty between the Ottoman Empire and Russia, Franco-Ottoman relations were especially satisfactory. The Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha suggested a triple Franco-Ottoman-Russian alliance to the French ambassador, the Vicomte d’Andrezel and said: ‘that the Empire of France had for an infinite time been linked by a close friendship with the Gate of Felicity (the Otto-

8 John Stoye Marsigli’s Europe, 1994, pp. 17, 23, 64, 160.
9 Toderini, III, 212.
10 Mansel, Constantinople, pp. 191-2.
11 Mansel, Constantinople, p. 197.
man government) which was linked to Eternity...the affairs of France and our affairs are common and if there is any difference between us it is only in religion. One of our first Sultans married a princess of the royal blood of France. ‘He then gave ‘a thousand blessings’ to Louis XV, ‘wishing him a reign as long and fortunate as that of Louis XIV. ‘Thus at moments the Ottoman Empire could see itself as part of that ‘family of kings’ which was one of the forces uniting the states of Europe.12

The French embassy was also a research centre. Nicolas de Nicolay accompanied a French embassy to Istanbul in 1551. While his book Discours et Histoire Veritable des Navigations, Peregrinations et Voyages Faits en Turquie (Lyon 1567) owes much to previous travellers’ accounts, the wood-cuts with which it was illustrated were probably the first accurate visual images of Turks to reach the West. French writers like La Tournaye, Petis de la Croix, Thvenot, Piton de Tournefort, and many more, made the Ottoman Empire the subject of more books than any area of the world except Italy; certainly more than the newly discovered continent of America. Thanks to a French scholar living at the embassy in Constantinople, Antoine Galland, Parisians read translations of the Thousand and one Nights sixty years before translations of the plays of Shakespeare.

In this case Edward Said’s thesis that Orientalism was a projection of Western will ‘to govern over the Orient’ is especially misleading. For France the country which produced most books about the Ottoman Empire, founded the first chairs of Arabic and published the first Turkish dictionaries, was the power which, for reasons of realpolitik, did most to strengthen the empire.

IN accordance with France’s role as the Ottoman Empire’s most constant ally, French ambassadors also most frequently commissioned pictures of the city. The principal embassy artist was Jean-Baptiste Vanmour. Born in Valenciennes, he arrived in Constantinople in the suite of the French ambassador, the Comte de Feriol, at the age of twenty-eight in 1699 and remained there until he died in 1737. Clearly in love with the city, he wrote of his desire to m’instruire a fond de toutes les particularites qui concernent les moeurs et usages des Turcs. He was permitted to accompany different ambassadors to their official reception in Topkapi palace, and his large narrative pictures of the Sultan and the Grand Vizier and their suites, signed and dated 1711, of the reception of the French ambassador in 1724 and of the Dutch in 1727, were much admired for their vivacity and naïvety. Placid Dutchmen walk past frowning Janissaries; the French ambassador’s minuscule, but fully-wigged sons are adressed by a turbaned Grand Vizier. No other capital was so important and so colourful; no other capital inspired so many ambassadors to commission pictures of it.

In 1707 Feriol commissioned Vanmour to paint one hundred pictures of different officials and races of the city in their respective costumes. Subjects included the chief eunuch; a court messenger; the Oecumenical Patriarch; the Armenian martyr Gomidas; a Turk cutting himself to show his love for hismistress; a Jewish woman taking goods to Turkish harems; Albanians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Wallachians, Persians, Arabs. In 1714, after his return to France, Feriol helped arrange the publication of one hundred prints of these pictures: Recueil de Cent Estampes representant différentes nations du Levant tirées sur les tableaux peints d’apres nature en 1707 et 1708 par les Ordres de M de Feriol ambassadeur du Roi a la Porte (the artist’s name is omitted, so that the ambassador receives sole credit for the publication). So great was the appetite for knowledge about the Ottoman Empire that the Recueil was quickly reprinted in French, and translated into German, Italian, English and Spanish. It became the principal visual source for such artists of turqueries as Watteau, Van Loo, Guardi.13

In official recognition of Vanmour’s talents he was granted the unique, but despite his protests unpaid, post of Peintre ordinaire du Roi en Levant in 1725. After he died on 22 January 1737 the household of the French ambassador and ‘the whole French nation’ (the French merchants and scholars resident in the city) attended his funeral in the church of Saint Benoit in Galata.14

The pictures naturally stress the honours paid to the ambassador. The ambassador is shown negotiating with the Grand Vizier in one of his kiosks; crossing the second court-yard of Topkapi palace on pay day, as Janissaries throw themselves on pilav ‘like so many famished wolves’ or receiving the honour of dining with the semi-royal, absolute deputy of the Sultan, the Grand Vizier, in the Divan hall of Topkapi palace; or, accompanied by a few senior officials and wearing Ottoman robes of honour, enjoying the supreme honour, presentation to the Sultan in his throne room. ‘Embassy pictures’ do not record such humiliations, as the ambassador’s wait outside the palace while the Grand Vizier and other viziers passed before him, or his act of prostration, held by Ottoman officials, three times before the Sultan (sources differ as to whether the ambassador’s head hit the ground).

15 Domenico Sestini, Lettres...pendant le cours de ses Voyages en Italie, en Sicile et en Turquie, 3 vols. 1789, III, 131, 469.
TRADE

In addition to diplomacy, commerce linked the Ottoman Empire to Europe. The first English ambassador William Harborne arrived in 1579. He was not only a diplomat but also a merchant who imported lead, tin and cloth to Constantinople and exported wine and currents. English diplomacy was already privatised. His salary was paid by the Levant Company, which he helped found, rather than Elizabeth I.\textsuperscript{16} By the early seventeenth century French ‘Levant trade’ (i.e. trade with the Ottoman Empire), principally cloth exports, was believed to comprise half all French maritime commerce. French traders called the Levant ‘our Indies’. The Comte de Saint-Priest, ambassador from 1768 to 1784, and a future minister of Louis XVI and Louis XVIII, wrote: ‘at no time does the matter of French commerce allow the King’s ambassador to relax the constant vigilance which he must pay to it’.

POLAND

France and England were not the Ottoman Empire’s only Christian allies. In 1533 Poland and the Ottoman Empire signed a treaty of ‘perpetual friendship and alliance’. On the death of King Sigismund I in 1548, Suleyman said: ‘we were like two brothers with the old king and if it please God the Merciful we will be like father and son with this king.’\textsuperscript{17}

A Polish embassy of 300 nobles, priests, footmen, hussars, and heiduks (military footmen) in flame-coloured livery with heron plumes in their caps, arrived in Istanbul at the height of Ottoman-Polish tension, in 1677, six years before the Siege of Vienna. The horses wore silver horse-shoes, loose enough to drop off before the awe-struck crowd. The Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha commented that the embassy was too small to besiege Istanbul, but too large to kiss the threshold of the Sublime Porte. He feared that it would be soiled by the contact of so many Christian lips. The Sultan, he added, would have no difficulty in feeding 300 Poles, when he already owned 3,000 Polish galley-slaves.\textsuperscript{18}

King John Sobieski intervened to raise the Ottoman siege of Vienna


\textsuperscript{17} Mansel, Constantinople, p. 192.

\textsuperscript{18} Mansel, Constantinople, p. 195. The ostentation of the Polish ambassador’s entry continued until the end of the kingdom see Baron de Dedem de Gelder, Memoires, 1900, p. 37.
in 1683. Nevertheless the Ottoman Empire became a cultural model for Polish nobles. Partly because of shared fear of Russia, Ottoman costume inspired Polish national dress, with jewelled daggers, kaftans, fur caps and sashes. Indeed the Polish saying ‘Poland will not be free again until the Sultan’s horses are watered in the Vistula’ revealed awareness of shared Ottoman and Polish strategic interests.

In 1668 the principal reason for the Ottoman declaration of war on Russia - a crucial stage in the exposure of Ottoman weakness to its neighbours - was desire to remove Russian troops from Poland, as well as popular outrage at a massacre by Russian troops of Muslims on Ottoman territory. On 6 October, having been kept waiting half an hour, the Russian ambassador was received by the Grand Vizier with the words ‘Traitor! Perjurer!...do you not blush before God and before men at the atrocities which your compatriots are committing in a country which does not belong to you?’ The Russian ambassador was imprisoned in the Seven Towers, though later released through the intervention of the French ambassador. Indeed, since the Ottoman Empire was the only power which tried to prevent, and refused to acknowledge, the partition of Poland, it upheld the system of Europe, in which Poland had been an essential element, more actively than Britain, France or Austria.

THE NETHERLANDS

The great hall of the main Dutch university, Leiden, was once decorated with a panorama of Constantinople, drawn around 1560 by Melchior Lorichs, a painter who had accompanied Busbecq’s embassy. It was a visible sign of the links between Turkey and the Netherlands, which led to the arrival in Istanbul of the first Dutch ambassador in 1612.

Showing Turkey’s constant desire for a role in Europe, official relations began in 1610 with a letter from the Kaptan Pasha, or head of the navy, inviting the States General of the Netherlands to send an ambassador to Istanbul. They shared the same enemy, crusading Spain. Moreover, the Netherlands, as the economic powerhouse of northern Europe, was a natural trading partner for the Ottoman Empire.

Capitulations granted in 1612 allowed the Dutch to trade, travel and worship freely in the empire; for years the Dutch ambassador like his English colleague would be paid by his country’s Levant company, as well as by his government. From the 1620’s Dutch merchants helped transform Izmir from a small Anatolian port into an international entrepot. European consuls in Izmir and Aleppo reproduced in miniature the commercial and cultural roles, and ceremonial visits to Ottoman authorities, of European ambassadors in Istanbul.

For a time Dutch merchants, importing fruit and wool and exporting textiles, were more important trading partners than England, Venice or France. The tulip crazes in the Netherlands in the 1630’s and the Ottoman empire a hundred years later, led to spectacular prices for tulips, and their appearance on iznik and Delft tiles and ceramics.

From 1612 to 1639 Cornelis Haga was the first Dutch ambassador lived in Istanbul, near the location of the present Dutch consulate on İstiklal Caddesi. He complained of ‘unpleasantnesses’ inflicted by Ottoman authorities, but enjoyed himself so much with local women that he was called, by his English colleague Sir Thomas Roe, ‘the shame of ambassadors’.

Unlike most European powers, the Netherlands had no desire to acquire Ottoman territory. Therefore its diplomats were trusted by the Ottoman government. More than others (except, on occasion, the French), they were used not only as sources of information about Europe – where before 1793 the Ottoman government had no diplomats of its own – but also as mediators.

Succeeding his father - who had held the same position from 1668 to 1682 - count Jacob Colyer served as Dutch ambassador in Istanbul from 1683 until his death there in 1725. Like most Dutch diplomats, he had Ottoman friends and thanks to the quantities of wine he served, and his excellent Turkish and Greek, was said to learn all the secrets of the Porte. He helped the Ottoman Empire conduct peace negotiations with the Holy Roman Empire in 1699 and with Russia in 1711.

The next Dutch ambassador Cornelis Calkoen also acted as a mediator between the Holy Roman and the Ottoman Empires, when they made peace in 1739. Calkoen assembled a collection of 65 pictures of Istanbul and its people by Jean Baptiste Vanmour. Formerly displayed in a special ‘Levant room’ in the Amsterdam city hall, they are now on display in a similar room in the Rijksmuseum.

Like the French and Venetian embassies, the Dutch embassy also acted as a haven for scholars. They included Jacobus Golius

19 mansel, Constantinople, p 202.

22 id. Constantinople, pp. 209, 217.
and Levinus Warner (Dutch ambassador in 1654-65), who began Leiden University's collection of Oriental manuscripts; and the Dutch traveller Cornelis de Bruyn, whose magnificent illustrated book Voyage au Levant, about his travels in the Ottoman Empire in 1677-82, was published in Delft in 1698.\(^{23}\)

The last time a Dutch ambassador acted as mediator between the Ottoman Empire and European powers was in 1828-9 when Count van Zuylen represented the interests of Britain, France and Russia in Istanbul while their ambassadors withdrew out of sympathy for the Greek struggle for independence. He was helped by his dragoman Gaspard de Testa, from a famous family of interpreters which had lived in Pera since before the Ottoman conquest.\(^{24}\)

**TRAVELLERS**

Travel, as well as trade, strategy and diplomacy, linked the Ottoman Empire to Europe. For some a grand tour in the Ottoman Empire was a natural continuation of a grand tour in Italy. In 1738, for example, the great artist Liotard came from Rome to Istanbul with the future Earls of Sandwich and Bessborough, and stayed for four years. Liotard painted portraits of a Grand Vizier, of ladies of Pera and of the scholar and theologian Richard Pococke. After a lengthy tour through France and Italy, Pococke visited Egypt, Syria, Cyprus and Constantinople in 1738-1740. Proof of the accessibility of the Ottoman Empire to European travellers is his apology, six years before the great Greek temples at Paestum south of Naples had been 'rediscovered', for describing 'the famous temple of Baalbek which has been so often mentioned by travellers'. He also praised the 'civility' and 'tractability' of the Turks, 'when they are well used and when they have no prospect of gaining anything by ill treatment', and the accessibility of the mosques in Istanbul.\(^{25}\)

In the absence of published Ottoman despatches, memoirs or letters there is a lack of direct evidence of Ottoman attitudes. However, most Ottoman authorities welcomed, and enjoyed entertaining, foreign travellers and merchants. Across barriers of language and religion, rank spoke to rank. In the great trading city of Aleppo, where many English gentlemen made fortunes, according to Alexander Russell author of The Natural History of Aleppo and Parts Adjacent (1756), 'the gentlemen of the British Factory' were treated by the pashas, and therefore by the peo-

\(^{23}\) It began with the Tulip, Turkey and the Netherlands in pictures, by Zeki Celikkol, Alexander de Groot, Ben J Slot, p. 75.

\(^{24}\) Mansel, Constantinople, p. 248.

\(^{25}\) Richard Pococke, A Description of the East and some other Countries, 2 vols. 1743-5, II, 126, 133.
ple, with ‘civility and respect’, ‘so that we live among them in great security in the city and can travel abroad unmolested by Arabs and Curds where the natives dare not venture’ (pp. 135-6).

Embassies in Constantinople, each of which had a staff of fifty or more, served as miniature courts, centres of news, protection and hospitality for travellers. According to William Hunter, author of Travels through France, Turkey and Hungary to Vienna in 1792, ambassadors visited each other in the evening in semi-royal state, escorted by guards, running footmen bearing flambeaux ‘and a numerous train of attendants and servants... they are particularly scrupulous in observing the forms which have been established to distinguish their different degrees of rank and precedence, and according to the number of times a bell tolls it announces an ambassador, an envoy or a charge d’affaires’. In the eighteenth century the Ottoman Empire established diplomatic relations with more European powers: the Two Sicilies in 1740; Denmark in 1756; Prussia in 1761; even Spain, in 1782.

Istanbul was such an important post that many ambassadors posted there subsequently became Foreign Ministers. They included Thugut, Thouvenel, Kuhlmann, among others. The future French Foreign Minister the Comte de Vergennes served from 1756 to 1768 as French ambassador in Istanbul. He was greeted by the Sultan, on his arrival, as representative of ‘the oldest and the most faithful ally of the Ottoman Empire’. He boasted to his Foreign Minister, since it was clearly an important part of his official duties: ‘My style of life is superior to that of any ambassador...never has the Palace been better decorated than it is. My servants are clean and numerous; I have fifty people in my household. As for my table, it is served every day and delicately for fourteen heads and every gentleman is well received there.’

**VERGENNES AND CHOOSEUL-GOUFFIER**

Vergennes, like Ferriol, both worked to strengthen the Franco-Ottoman alliance, and commissioned pictures illustrating it. His artist was Antoine de Favray, who lived and worked at the French Embassy in 1762-1771. Vergennes and his wife (a Savoyarde called Anne Viviers, previously married to a Pera merchant, who had lived publicly with the ambassador and born him two sons before their marriage) were painted in Ottoman costume by Favray in 1768, just before their return to Europe. In 1766 Vergennes had warned his government that, unless the Empire reformed itself, it would fall into ‘an abyss of misfortune, contempt and division’. In reality the French monarchy itself would soon collapse, while the Ottoman Empire survived until 1922.

The decline of the empire was reflected in the rise in the power of European ambassadors. Both the French and Austrian ambassadors were consulted by the Grand Vizier at secret night-time meetings at kiosks on the Bosporus, as well as during day-time audiences at the Sublime Porte. In 1770 the French ambassador the Comte de Saint-Priest helped to organise the defences and food supplies of Constantinople when it was under attack from Russia.

In the 1780’s, when Vergennes was Foreign Minister, the Franco-Ottoman relationship was even closer. The Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier arrived in 1784 with a train of artists, engineers, cartographers and military and naval advisers, and Louis XVI’s written promise to uphold the Ottoman Empire ‘by all the means in his power’.

Choiseul-Gouffier had written an anti-Ottoman book Voyage en Grece in 1782, with a frontispiece showing Greece in chains waiting for liberation by Russia. - His British colleague, Sir Robert Ainslie, naturally felt obliged to draw it to the attention of the Grand Vizier. In an expensive act of repentance, Choiseul-Gouffier substituted a different frontispiece, printed on the embassy press. All other copies, he claimed to the Porte, were counterfeit.

Choiseul-Gouffier corresponded with the heir to the throne, Selim Efendi, through a Fiorentine called Dr. Lorenzo: they even met in disguise outside the palace. First surgeon to the Sultan, Dr. Lorenzo kept open house every evening in Galata, and was frequently used in diplomatic negotiations. Choiseul-Gouffier also employed artists such as Louis Francois Cassas, Jean-Baptiste Hilliar and others to record the city and the empire.

**SWEDEN**

Another ally of the Ottoman Empire, in addition to France, Poland, England and the Netherlands was Sweden. After his defeat by Peter the Great at Poltava in 1709, King Charles XII took refuge at Bender in the Ottoman Empire. For six year Sweden was governed from Ottoman territory. A treaty between the Ottoman Empire and Sweden was signed in 1740. At the Swedish

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26 William Hunter, Travels through France, Turkey and Hungary to Vienna in 1792, third ed. 2 vols 1803, i, 323.
29 Dedem de Gelder, p. 56n.
ambassador’s audience in 1744, the Sultan said that ‘the King and Kingdom of Sweden’ - a phrase revealing his knowledge of the King’s limited power compared with the parliament’s - were not in his heart like other Christian princes, ‘but much more intimately.’

The most impressive single cycle of embassy pictures owes its existence to the Swedish embassy in Istanbul. Two bachelor brothers Gustaf and Ulrik Celsing, sons of an agent of Charles XII in Istanbul in 1709-1711, served in the Swedish embassy as secretaries, residents and ambassadors between 1745 and 1773 and 1756 and 1780 respectively. They both knew Ottoman and sent back to Sweden, by land and sea, 102 pictures of Istanbul, which are still in the family manor of Biby.

Among them are representations of their reception by the Sultan; portraits of different craftsmen and officers of the city; and a family tree where Ottoman Sultans are represented literally growing out of the branches of a tree. The most remarkable pictures, however, are the twenty-five panoramas of the city, the Bosphorus and the kiosks and pavilions of Sa‘adabad, one of the Sultan’s palaces up the Golden Horn. Since the pictures are unsigned, the artist has yet to be identified.

The Swedish embassy also inspired the chief literary monument to Istanbul diplomacy. Its author was an Armenian Catholic of Istanbul, born in 1740, called Mouradjea. A dragoman at the Swedish embassy from 1763 to 1782, he lived in a kiosk in the garden of the Palace de Suede. In 1780 he was ennobled by Gustavus III as Mouradjea d’Ohsson, from his Turkish sobriquet tossoin or stout. He was a historian as well as a diplomat. Gustaf Celsing, persuaded him to write a description of the empire. Tableau General de l’Empire Ottoman (3 vols Paris 1787-1820, later translated into English, German and Russian), is as useful for study of the Ottoman Empire, as the monument of the French invasion, Denon’s Description de l’Egypte, for study of Egypt. It is a survey, with 233 illustrations, of every aspect of the empire: Islam, the palace, costume, government, army, the legal system, morality, the harem.

Mouradjea d’Ohsson spent twenty-two years on research, enjoying access to government registers, and conversations with ministers, and husbands of former inmates of the harem: he later wrote that it cost him more money and effort to learn about the imperial harem, than about all the rest of the empire. He hoped both to lessen popular prejudice about the East in the West, and to bring western knowledge to the East. He called for a new Su-
leyman the Magnificent who would ‘maintain more intimate relations with the Europeans, adopt their tactics, in fact absolutely change the face of their empire.’ The book was dedicated to Gustavus III, an ally of the Ottoman Empire, and printed in Paris (where Mouradgea lived, to supervise publication, between 1784 and 1791) at the imprimerie de Monsieur, the future Louis XVIII, like most Bourbons a friend of the Ottomans. Thus the book is a monument to the triple alliance of France, Sweden and the Ottoman Empire.

In 1788-90 Sweden and the Ottoman Empire, encouraged by France, fought in alliance against Russia; the Ottoman Empire even sent Sweden a subsidy through an Armenian banker’s agent in Hamburg. However, Sweden betrayed the alliance by signing a separate treaty with Catherine II in 1790. Selim III, the first modernising Sultan and a friend of Choiseul-Gouffier, commented: ‘infidels are so unreliable.’

**THE NINETEENTH CENTURY**

During the wars of the Revolution and the Empire Britain replaced France as the principal ally of the Ottoman Empire. The two countries and Russia signed a formal treaty for alliance in January 1799 to expell the French from Egypt. 1799, rather than 1856, was the moment when the Ottoman Empire became part of the ‘Concert of Europe’. One of the Orders which Lord Nelson displayed with greatest pride was the Order of the Crescent which the Sultan had sent him in gratitude for his victory in 1798 over the French navy at the Battle of the Nile. Since the aigrette made him immediately identifiable to a French marksman at the battle of Trafalgar, his Ottoman order helped kill him.

The alliance against France between the Empire, Russia and Britain, placed the British ambassador, Lord Elgin, in a powerful position. Due to the skill of his dragoman Bartolomeo Pisani and the ‘friendship, sincerity, alliance and good will subsisting ab antquo between the Sublime and ever durable Ottoman Court and that of England and which is on the side of both those Courts manifestly increasing’, Lord Elgin obtained a firman to excavate and remove fragments from the Parthenon. Greatly exceeding its original terms, he took sculpture from any section of the Parthenon, and any building in Athens, he wished. ‘The Elgin Marbles’ arrived in London in 1806. The controversy they generated, which lasts to this day, owes its origin to an Istanbul embassy.

The Ottoman Empire had become so popular in London that even Lord Byron was a phil-Ottoman as well as a phil-Hellene, writing more poems on Turkish than on Greek subjects. The reasons were his love and knowledge of the Ottoman Empire,

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where he travelled in 1809-11 - and perhaps a desire to use the exotic East to shock and delight his readers.

On 26 December 1812 Byron wrote to his old Cambridge friend William Bankes who was setting off on his travels in the Ottoman Empire these words of advice: 'be particular about firmans - never allow yourself to be bullied - for you are better protected in Turkey than anywhere else - trust not the Greeks and take some knicknackeries for presents - watches, pistols etc etc to the Beys and pashas ...you will find swarms of English now in the Levant.'

In Childe Harold (1812), he wrote this note: 'the Ottomans with all their defects are not a people to be despised...Is a Turkish sabre inferior to a Toledo? or is a Turk worse clothed or lodged or fed or taught than a Spaniard? ...I think not...if it be difficult to pronounce what they are we can at least say what they are not: they are not treacherous, they are not cowardly, they do not burn heretics, they are not assassins, nor has an enemy advanced to their capital. They are faithful to their sultan till he becomes unfit to govern and devout to their God without an inquiry. Were they driven from St Sophia tomorrow, and the Russians or French enthroned in their stead, it would become a question whether Europe would gain by the exchange. England would certainly be the loser.'

Despite the Greek revolt of 1821, which Byron joined three year later, during the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire and the great powers of Europe continued to grow closer. For Europe, even for Russia, the Ottoman Empire was the most convenient authority to govern the ungovernable regions of the Balkans and the Middle East. For the Sultan, the great powers of Europe, and their emnassies, were a convenient source of advisers and teachers to implement the reforms which he undertook after 1827.

In February 1814 Prince Metternich, who regarded Europe as his homeland, proclaimed the guiding principle of Austrian policy, until 1918. He declared that 'the Ottoman Empire was one of the most essential counterbalances in the equilibrium of Europe...he will defend the interests of the Porte as the most direct and most precious interests of Austria itself.' For many years the Ottoman government followed Austrian advice on its internal reforms as well as its external policy. An Austrian ambassador called Count von Prokesch-Osten said that the two empires would survive together or fall together.

A famous Austrian dragoman was Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, who worked in the Austrian embassy as a sprachknabe (language student), and later as an interpreter, from 1793 to 1799 and 1802 to 1806. Often wearing Ottoman dress, he learnt Arabic, Greek, Persian and Ottoman in Istanbul, visited its monuments, and missed no chance to buy books and manuscripts for his history of the Ottoman Empire - still the best by a foreign historian.

A contemporary traveller called Colonel Rottiers wrote: 'In no place in the world, except Paris, are so many savants, artists, travellers and men of taste of every kind found together...the large receptions offer a charming mixture of the most diverse national qualities, blended with an exquisite taste and amiability. The soirees of the palais de Russie were above all magnificent; those of the ambassadors of France and England were distinguished by more taste and less richness; but the formal dinners at the Austrian embassy effaced all else.'

In 1829 when Britain and France were about to send fleets to protect the Ottoman Empire from the Russian army, the Duke of Wellington stated what most European statesmen had come to believe: 'The Ottoman Empire exists not for the benefit of the Turks but for the benefit of Christian Europe.' In 1833 and 1839-40 the powers of Europe (except France) put this belief into action. They forced the rebellious Pasha Mohammed Ali out of Syria. The Royal Navy bombarded Acre and threatened Alexandria in order to restore Syria to the Ottoman Empire. Thereafter Prussian officers served in the Ottoman army, British officers in the Ottoman navy.

In 1854-6 France, Britain and Sardinia fought the Crimean War against the Russian Empire partly to preserve the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. In 1877-8 Britain and Austria threatened an European war to prevent Russia making gains in the Balkans or entering Constantinople. The Ottoman Empire became a British cause: crowds massed in Trafalgar square shouting 'the Russians shall not have Constantinople!' So often blamed for partitioning the Ottoman Empire after 1918, Britain had sent ships and soldiers to protect it on five separate occasions: 1798-1801, 1829, 1839-40, 1854-6 and 1878.

The Ottoman Empire continued to attract European immigrants. It had long been a haven for refugees, such as Jews after their expulsion from Spain in 1492. In the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire also provided a refuge for Hungarians, Poles and Old

33 Mansel, Levant, p. 15.
34 F. de Gentz, Depeches aux Hospodars de Valachie, 3 vols 1876-7, I, 55, despatch of 5 February 1814.
35 Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, Vienna 1940, pp. 41, 44, 46-7, 133, 134, 137.
Believers fleeing oppression in the Austrian and Russian empires, as well as other Europeans in search of jobs.\textsuperscript{36} The great Turkish poet Nazım Hikmet, born in Salonica in 1902, was descended from Poles, the female poet Nigar Hanım from Hungarians.

Like Bellini (whose portrait of Mehmed II he copied for Abdulhamid II), Fausto Zonaro came from the Veneto. After his arrival in 1891, he frequently worked for ambassadors, and their families, becoming, in his own words in his memoirs, 'a friend of almost all the ambassadors'. In Portantina for example, now in the Pera museum, commemorates the marriage of the daughter of the British ambassador Sir Philip Currie. Diplomatic patronage made Zonaro as it had made Varnour, Favray and Cassas. The Italian and Russian ambassadors Count Nellidov and Count Collebiano recommended Zonaro to Abdulhamid II, who then appointed him Painter to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan in 1896.

Thanks to such patronage, and his own energy, Zonaro immersed himself in the life of the city, perhaps more than any of his predecessors. His 1400 pictures of Istanbul and its inhabitants form a unique visual record. With special permission of the Sultan, he went almost anywhere he wanted. Thus from the beginning until almost the end of the Ottoman empire – Zonaro left in March 1910 – paintings reflected its diplomatic ties to Europe.\textsuperscript{37}

After the German Emperor Wilhelml II's visits to Istanbul in 1889 and 1898, the Ottoman Empire acquired a final, fatal ally. The Berlin to Baghdad railway was one result of German-Ottoman friendship. Another was the appointment of General Liman von Sanders as commander of the First Ottoman army corps and of the straits in December 1913. The German ambassador Hans von Wangenheim, over six foot tall, with shoulders like Gibraltar, was known as the giant of the Bosphorus.

German influence at the straits through which so much Russian trade passed infuriated the Russian government. It held meetings to plan to seize the Bosphorus in February 1914; the First World War was in part a war between Russia and Germany for the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. German influence, represented by Enver Pasha, the minister of War, who had been Ottoman military attaché in Berlin, encouraged the Ottoman government to enter the war in November 1914. The capitulations were abolished to public rejoicing in September.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{36} Mansel, Constantinople, pp. 275, 283.
\textsuperscript{37} Cesare Mario Trevigne and Erol Makzume eds. Fausto Zonaro. Abdulhamid’in Hükümdarlığında Yırmı Yıllar, İstanbul 2008, passim; Italian manuscript consulted by kind permission of Erol Makzume.
INTRODUCTION

The diplomatic relationship between Britain and the Ottoman Empire has a long history. The first British Embassy in Istanbul was opened in 1583. What the British government asked of its ambassadors was the protection of British interests in the Ottoman Empire and obtainment of new ones. First among these interests was trade. At the time, trade transactions were carried out by well-organized diplomatic representations. Fully aware of this fact, Britain had set up official or honorary consulates in all the regions of the country and especially in big cities like Izmir, Aleppo, Alexandria, and Salonika, besides its embassy in Istanbul. In the diplomatic tradition of the period, the trade between Western countries and the Ottoman Empire was carried out not by state organizations but by institutions overseen by the state. The best known among these was the British Levant (Turkey) Company that belonged to the British and was active not only in trade but in politics as well. This company had such influence that the London government only determined the name of new envoys to the Ottoman Empire, and all the expenses of those envoys and consulates were met by the Levant Company.

The increase of diplomatic traffic especially in the 18th century resulted in Britain choosing its ambassadors to Istanbul more carefully. These years witnessed an increase in the influence France had in the Mediterranean. Because British military presence in the region was weakening due to French competition, the Levant trade also suffered losses. The fact that Mahmud I granted the French greater concessions in 1740 after the French envoy played a key intermediary role in the Belgrade Treaty greatly disturbed the British. On the other hand, the growing trade with the West Indies, India, and Russia, and the fact that these markets were much cheaper and less risky, resulted in Britain's neglecting the Levant trade. For this reason, the India and Muscovy Companies organizing the trade with these countries became much more important than the Levant Company. Consequently, London demanded its ambassadors to concentrate their efforts on this subject. The most important issue, however, the ambassadors had to deal with at the time was Britain's giving Russia military logistical support during the Russian-Ottoman War of 1768-1774, which allowed the Russians to burn down the Ottoman fleet at Çeşme in 1770. Even though there were no direct disagreements between the two countries, this incident caused relations to break up for a certain period. The Sublime Porte's approach to Britain and to her ambassador in Istanbul had also changed, becoming cooler and occasionally even hostile.

In the meantime, those bore the brunt of this diplomatic standoff between the two countries were Reisülküttab Abdürrazzaq Bahir Efendi, who resigned, and John Murray, the British ambassador to Istanbul, who departed from Istanbul on May 25, 1775, on the pretext of taking care of personal business. Anthony Haynes, the British consul in Izmir (1762-1794) was commissioned with British consular business. Murray, on the other hand, died in

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3 For general information on the workings of Levant Company and the salaries of Ainslie's predecessor Murray and his successor Liston, see Wood, Levant Company, s. 177-178 ve 205-228.
5 For the importance of Russia Company in British trade, see Wood, Levant Company, s. 145-147 ve 159-160.
6 A.I. Bağış, Britain and the Struggle for the Integrity of the Ottoman Empire: Sir Robert Ainslie's Embassy to Istanbul 1776-1794, Istanbul, 1984, p. 4-5.
quarantine in Venice on August 9, 1775, while on his way to London. The British government appointed Sir Robert Ainslie, a gifted diplomat, as her ambassador to Istanbul on September 15, 1775, in order to improve its relations with Turkey and overcome the coldness between the two countries.⁸

THE EMBASSY OF AINSLIE IN ISTANBUL

AINSILIE'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Sir Robert Ainslie was born to an old Scottish family in 1729/1730. His father George Ainslie worked for many years as a merchant in Bordeaux, France. While in Bordeaux, busy in commercial activities like his father, Robert Ainslie was promoted to ambassador after carrying out top-secret and very important missions in France in the name of the British government.⁹ After preparing for the journey, Ainslie departed on a ship called “Eagle” from the port of Falmouth in late June, 1776, reaching Istanbul on October 2, 1776. He contacted the Sublime Porte and was informed that he would be received on October 6, after the religious holiday. On November 30, 1776, Ainslie met the Sadrazam and presented his credential letter, and was received by Sultan Abdulhamid I on December 1, 1776.⁹ This was the beginning of Ainslie’s period, during which the strained relations between the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain would relax and improve.¹⁰

After the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, and around the time Ainslie began his service, Russia’s expansionist policies to the detriment of the Ottoman Empire were worrying European states and their envoys in Istanbul. The Sublime Porte felt directly threatened by Russia’s annexation of Crimea and the presence of Russian commercial ships in the Black Sea; these developments brought up the consideration of foreign support. Great Britain, on the other hand, did not react to Russia’s expansionist policies vis-à-vis the Ottoman Empire, for it obtained most of the wood it needed for its fleet and the raw materials that were much more profitable.¹² At this time, the greater part of the relationship between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire consisted of trade, but for Britain, trading with India had become more attractive than trading with the Ottoman Empire.

Starting off under all these adverse conditions, Ainslie’s work was of special importance to Turkish-British relations.¹³ Ainslie served for 18 years as ambassador in Istanbul, and after Stratford Canning, one of the most successful diplomats of the next century, heserved the second longest term among ambassadors to Istanbul. The London government asked him to give priority to two issues in terms of politics. The first was to make every effort to preserve peace. The second was to build good relations with the foreign diplomats in Istanbul and make sure they continue their friendly relations with Great Britain.¹⁴

As a successful diplomat, Ainslie began to improve the Turkish-British relations which had deteriorated during Murray’s Embassy because of the Russian-Ottoman war (1768-1774); he gained the confidence of the Sublime Porte, becoming its advisor on the policies the Ottoman Empire should follow against Russia.¹⁵ He was also successful in assuaging the Turks regarding their fear of the Russians reappearing in the Mediterranean with the help of the British. His policies during the Oczakow incident proved to be very good despite all the difficulties, earning him the praise of the Sublime Porte. This was the most serious crisis between Great Britain and Russia since 1720. It was also the beginning of Great Britain’s opposition to Russia’s expansionist policies vis-à-vis the Ottoman Empire, and from that point on British-Russian relations slowed down and gained a certain distrust. This incident would form the foundations of British policies in

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¹⁴ For the instructions Ainslie received from his own government on political issues, see Bağış, Ainslie’s Embassy, p. 4-5.

¹⁵ Bağış reports many examples of the Sublime Porte consulting with Ainslie regarding its problems with Russia. For the most striking of these, see Bağış, Ainslie’s Embassy, p. 5-18.
the next century regarding Russia. In addition, Ainslie also contributed to the procurement of military equipment needed by the Turks during the last Russian-Ottoman war (1787-1792) and the purchasing or warships.

Between 1776 and 1783, the first years of Ainslie's term, the trade volume between the two countries remained very low. Because Great Britain had lost a big portion of her navy in the American war, her trade in both the Mediterranean region and in the Atlantic had seriously declined. Ainslie began to work in earnest to bring the Mediterranean trade up to its earlier level. For that reason, the relations of the executives and merchants of the Levant Company and the British Ambassador were of special importance. Ainslie was on very good terms with Company executives, and he used all his political skills to meet the demands and complaints of the merchants.13

Despite the fact that the British government did not provide her ambassador in Istanbul the same means she did to her ambassadors in other capitals, Ainslie used his personal skills to improve the relations between the two countries and succeeded.14 His efforts began to bear their fruits quite soon, and Ainslie came to be regarded as the favorite ambassador in Istanbul. His success constituted the most important reference for Ottoman governments regarding later British ambassadors.

Even though Ainslie was very effective as a diplomat, this was not reflected sufficiently in trade. Levant merchants suffered big losses because Britain lost a major part of its naval force during the American war of 1776-1783. In a letter to Foreign Minister Wyndham dated February 3, 1779, Ainslie reports that trading has come to a complete standstill and that no British ship has arrived in Istanbul during the last eight months. Indeed, Great Britain's annual imports from Turkey during 1779-1862, while the American war was continued, averaged £17,333, while exports remained at £1,959. These were the lowest foreign trade figures throughout the 18th century.15 Once the American war was over, however, Levant trade began to pick up. This was in part due to Ainslie's success in getting the "misteria" tax annulled in 1784. This brought Britain on equal footing with the French, who had gained an important advantage in Levant trade by being exempted from this tax more than 40 years before. This bore results immediately and during the last decade of Ainslie's Embassy, between 1784 and 1793, the average level of imports and exports rose to £182,529 and £14,496 respectively, marking a 10-times increase in the former and a 65-times increase in the latter.20

Supremacy in the Mediterranean thus passed to the British as a result of political developments following the wars in the wake of the French revolution. The conflicts between France and Great Britain in the Mediterranean after the spring of 1793 had a deep impact on regional trade, and both countries attacked each other's trade zones.21 Naturally, Ottoman trade was also affected by these developments. These two states continued their rivalry in the Mediterranean, the Aegean, and despite strong warnings by the Supreme Porte, in Turkish waters.22 The progress of the war resulted in a 50% decrease in the Levant trade.23 Despite these negative developments, the trade between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire never completely stopped during Ainslie's Embassy, thanks to his devoting a serious portion of his time to the growth of trade. This was reflected in customs records in the following manner.24

Export-Import Values between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire, 1776-1794:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>£ Exports</th>
<th>£ Imports</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>£ Exports</th>
<th>£ Imports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>215,735</td>
<td>250,038</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td>110,303</td>
<td>121,954</td>
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<tr>
<td>1777</td>
<td>167,077</td>
<td>222,586</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>103,561</td>
<td>191,949</td>
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<tr>
<td>1778</td>
<td>50,128</td>
<td>148,919</td>
<td>1788</td>
<td>47,637</td>
<td>183,335</td>
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<tr>
<td>1779</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>1,474</td>
<td>1789</td>
<td>136,205</td>
<td>223,424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780</td>
<td>1,796</td>
<td>2,463</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>113,179</td>
<td>249,187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1781</td>
<td>1,562</td>
<td>2,180</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>189,291</td>
<td>178,388</td>
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<tr>
<td>1782</td>
<td>4,248</td>
<td>41,321</td>
<td>1792</td>
<td>273,785</td>
<td>290,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>1783</td>
<td>42,666</td>
<td>48,983</td>
<td>1793</td>
<td>45,249</td>
<td>184,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1784</td>
<td>43,052</td>
<td>75,167</td>
<td>1794</td>
<td>101,900</td>
<td>324,906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1785</td>
<td>82,449</td>
<td>146,906</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,730,052</td>
<td>2,910,361</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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17 For the instructions Ainslie received from his own government on commercial matters, see Bağış, Ainslie's Embassy, p. 3-4.
18 For a comparison of Ainslie's and Hardin's work, see Bağış, Ainslie's Embassy, p. 8-9.
19 Not only British but also French trade suffered a decrease due to the fact that the British navy was in the Mediterranean during the American war. Wood, Levant Company, p. 147.
20 For the application of the misteria tax, see Wood, Levant Company, p. 143, 150 and A. Bağış, Osmancı Ticaretinde Gayri Müstenser, Ankara, 1983, p. 15.
22 For the rivalry between Britain and France in the Mediterranean and the Aegean, Turkey's policy, and its effects on Turkish trade, see M.AIaaddin Yalanci, The First Permanent Ottoman Embassy in Europe: The Embassy of Yusuf Agah Efendi to London (1793-1797), Istanbul 2010, p. 79-104 and 123-132.
23 For further information on the effects of the British-French competition on trade, see Russell, ibid., p. 189-194.
24 This table was made by using Russell's work. Russell, ibid., p. 437-438.
The expenses of consulates and ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire ran up to £10,000 annually for the Levant Company. The fall or rise of trade had direct consequences on the ability of the Company to foot this bill. When the Company’s profits dropped drastically during the second half of the 18th century, it asked the British government for support in meeting these expenses. Starting with 1768, the government paid the Company £5,000 annually for a period of six years. There was no support in 1774, but in 1775 the £5,000 support resumed. With trade picking up the year Ainslie assumed his post, the Company was able to meet the expenses without support for three years (1776-1778). But the adverse effects of the American war forced the Company to ask for government support once again. From 1779 to the end of this war, the British government paid the Company £5,000 each year; in 1781 it paid £8,000, £4,000 in 1784, and £3,000 annually between 1785-1794. After this date, the British government was unable to continue supporting the Levant Company despite the onset of the French war and the decrease in the Levant trade. The Company tried to meet the expenses on its own after this date. The Levant Company paid Ainslie an annual salary of £1,500. This is an important figure in determining the amount of annual salaries paid to British ambassadors during this period. When Ainslie first arrived in Istanbul, 1 Sterlin Pound was about 9 piastres, and when he left in 1794, it had gone up to about 12 piastres.

Ainslie’s good relations with the Sublime Porte played a big role in strengthening the ties between the two countries. Ainslie’s diplomatic success finally bore its fruits. One of the diplomatic improvements of the New Order movement that began in late 1792 was the decision of opening permanent embassies in important European centers. In order to determine the country of the first permanent embassy and to obtain information on the procedures regarding resident embassies, the Sublime Porte contacted Ainslie directly in mid-1793, and after deciding that the first resident embassy would be opened in London, Yusufl Agâh Efendi was appointed the first permanent ambassador.

THE TERMINATION OF AINSLIE’S EMBASSY AND HIS RETURN JOURNEY

Apart from Ainslie’s role in the establishment of the first Turkish resident embassy towards the end of his term, he did not seem to have engaged in many activities. The political and military excitement the French Revolution created in Europe turned all eyes towards Western Europe. This meant a natural relaxation in the Ottoman Empire’s foreign policy after the Treaty of Sistova in 1791 and the Treaty of Jassy in 1792. The optimism brought on by the convergence of British and Ottoman policies in this period also made Ainslie’s task easier. Ainslie continued to send to his government his usual reports concerning developments in the Ottoman Empire. These reports dealt with international developments as well as internal aspects of the Ottoman Empire. What was of interest in these reports was the worrying way in which the French and their supporters were using the symbols of the French Revolution within the Ottoman Empire. The relatively relaxed mode of diplomacy in Istanbul at this time allowed Ainslie to direct his attention to the fine arts, and being interested in the Antiquity, natural history, and Eastern life, the ambassador gathered a collection of Ottoman and Byzantine artifacts and Byzantine coins. Ainslie commissioned the Italian watercolor painter Luigi Mayer and came to own a significant collection with the paintings he made; he also tried to lead a life that reflected Ottoman customs and lifestyle in Istanbul. A friend of the ambassador, Luigi Mayer came to Istanbul after 1786. In order to complete the paintings in his book, the artist travelled throughout Istanbul as well as the Mediterranean coast, the Aegean region, the Balkans, Palestine, and Egypt, making hundreds of drawings reflecting ancient cities and daily life. After returning to Istanbul, Mayer married Clara, who is thought to be the daughter of Mr. Bertold, Ainslie’s interpreter. Clara was also very interested in art, becoming her husband’s closest colleague and assistant.

On August 2, 1793, the King of Britain sent Robert Liston to Istanbul to replace Ainslie as ambassador. In March 1794, Robert

27 From Ainslie to Grenville, PRO FO 78/14 no.17, July 10, 1793 and no.18, July 25, 1793.
29 In their work depicting Istanbul at the turn of the 19th century, the Mayer couple painted views of the modernizing and changing face of the city and details from daily life. After the Meyers returned to England with Ainslie in 1794, they continued to produce watercolors on the East to be engraved, and most of these were landscapes with figures. After Luigi Mayer’s death in 1803, Clara continued to work at their house in Portman Square, London, on her paintings and on getting her works and her husband’s published.
30 This order is reported in the British sources as follows: “The King having thought proper to make some changes in his foreign missions, has judged it expedient for His Service that Mr. Liston should be appointed to be His Majesty’s Ambassador at Constantinople.” From Grenville to Ainslie, PRO FO 78/14, 2 August 1793 and M. Alaeddin Yalçınkaya, “Sir Robert Liston’un İstanbul Büyükelçiliği (1794-1795) ve Osmanlı Devleti Hakkında Görüşleri”, The Journal of Ottoman Studies-Osmanlı Araştırmaları XVIII, 1998, p. 187-216.
Liston left London with his entourage, among them Sibthorp, the ambassador's doctor, and James Dallaway, a man of the cloth. Liston reached Istanbul on May 19, 1794. On May 22, he was received by the Dragoman, who gave him flowers in the name of the Sadrazam and congratulated him. With Liston thus officially beginning his term, Ainslie’s Embassy came to an end. Liston's audience with the Sultan had to be postponed indefinitely because of the blockade of the British vessel bearing gifts by French warships at the harbor of Chios. Ainslie handed over all official papers and correspondence to Liston. He also briefed Liston on the workings of the embassy as well giving his personal opinions that would be useful to him in the future. In the meantime, Ainslie paid a visit of farewell to Sadrazam Melekh Mehmed Pasha on June 7, 1793, and left Istanbul on June 22, 1793 for London. Ainslie was awarded by the British government with an annual pension of £1,000 in return for his successful work as ambassador in Istanbul.

The records kept regarding Ainslie's preparation for the journey home provide important information on the means of transportation, routes, and the general socio-economic structure of the period. It was necessary for all carriages and provisions to be readied before leaving Istanbul. The service personnel was also an important part of the preparations. While Ainslie had travelled by sea on his way to Istanbul, he had to opt for travelling over land on his way back due to the war with the French. Liston had come to Istanbul travelling over land.

The journey of the British Ambassador Sir Robert Ainslie from Istanbul to London took place between June 22 and September 1. All of Ainslie's provisions for this trip were obtained from 11 important centers, the most important naturally being Istanbul. These are the cities where provisions have been purchased during the trip: Istanbul, Ruse, Giurgiu, Bucharest, Hermannstadt, Vienna, Nimetz, Gorkum, Rotterdam, Holland, Harwich, London.

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31 From Ainslie to Grenville, PRO FO 78/15 no: 11, May 24, 1794.
32 For Ainslie's views on this meeting and his farewell speech to the Sadrazam, see from Ainslie to Grenville, PRO FO 78/15 no: 12, June 19, 1794. See App. 1.
33 Wood and Bajis do not mention the day Ainslie left Istanbul. In one of the reports Ainslie sent to Grenville, he mentions that he left Istanbul on June 22, 1794. From Ainslie to Grenville, PRO FO 78/15, June 22, 1794; these are Ainslie's words in this document: 'account of Expenditure for Secret Services, from the 28th June 1790 - to the 22nd June 1794 - (The day of my Departure from Constantinople).
34 Bajis, Ainslie's Embassy, p. 126.
35 From Ainslie to Grenville, PRO FO 78/15 no: 11, May 24, 1794.
36 From Liston to Grenville, PRO FO 78/15 no: 11, May 24, 1794. Liston's itinerary for London-Vienna-Istanbul and Istanbul-Vienna-London was used by many legations and travelers both before and after him.
37 PRO FO 78/17, 1796, 19, 20 etc. These documents were probably written during the first months of 1795, but were placed among documents of 1796. "1795" as a note appears on the too left margin of these documents.
38 PRO FO 78/17, 1796, p. 20-21.
Because Ainslie’s commercial, political, and diplomatic performance during his 18 years of Embassy constituted a turning point in the relations of the two countries, this period in Turkish-British relations may well be called the Ainslie period.  

**YUSUF AGAÎ Efendi’s Resident Embassy in London**

**YUSUF AGAÎ Efendi’s Appointment to London as Resident Ambassador**

Selim III, who began the reforms in diplomacy, also decided to set up permanent embassies in the prominent European capitals in order to receive reliable information concerning incidents and developments taking place in the West, and to keep the Ottoman Empire as part of this group of nations. Information concerning the establishment of these embassies and their mission are given as follows in one of the sources of the period:

“It was considered compulsory for the Sublime Porte to maintain a resident ambassador in leading European countries. Ambassadors were thus sent to each of the said countries and were recalled following a three-year term to be replaced by new ones.”

These ambassadors would also have a chief secretary (şerîÊ-kâtibi), a treasurer, two Greek interpreters, Muslim and non-Muslim nobleman and servants for the embassy.

The Sublime Porte chose Britain as the location for its first permanent embassy, because of the good relations of long standing between the two countries. Even though France was also a favored country for a long time, the fact that European states were fighting against the revolutionary regime in France since 1792 caused the Sublime Porte to choose London.

Reisülkâttab (Foreign Minister) Mehmed Raşid Efendi informed Ainslie through Pisani, the embassy interpreter, that the Sublime Porte intended to send a resident ambassador to London, first on June 30, 1793, then again on July 9, 1793. As a result of these communications, Turkish and British delegations came together at the foreign ministry mansion in Bebek on July 13, 1793 to discuss political, financial, and diplomatic matters concerning the establishment of the first resident embassy. At this meeting, the necessity and importance of resident ambassadors and two-way diplomatic relations between different countries were emphasized. In addition, appointing an ambassador and his status were discussed. Ainslie also gave information on the itinerary, adding he would provide all necessary help regarding the journey.

At the end of the discussion, Selim III took Ainslie’s view into consideration, and appointed Clerk Galleons (Kalınlar katibi) Yusuf Agaî Efendi as resident ambassador to London on July 23, 1793. In his report to Lord Grenville dated July 25, 1793, Ainslie wrote that Yusuf Agaî wore the robe in the presence of the Sultan on the night following his appointment. In another report by Ainslie dated August 10, 1793, he wrote that the Sublime Porte had officially announced Yusuf Agaî’s appointment as resident ambassador to London. In the meantime, the Ottoman government gave Yusuf Agaî the official rank of Ambassador on August 6, which was the rank of the British envoy. Thus, the Sublime Porte began applying the principle of reciprocity first in the field of diplomacy.

Yusuf Agaî Efendi was born in Corinth, the capital of Corinthia, in 1744. His grandfather was named Mustafa, his father was Süleyman Penah Efendi, his older brother was Treasurer (Defterdar) Osman Efendi, and his brother-in-law was Seyyid Ali Efendi. Records mention this family as the “Morali” or “Moravylîsî” (Corinthian) family. State officials swiftly finished

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39 Bağış, Ainslie’s Embassy, p. 133-134.
41 For information on revenue, their wages and expenditures, see Name-i Hûmayun Defteri 9, varak 302, Mâliyeden Müldever Defterleri, Bab-i Defteri Başmuhašebe Kalemi (DBSM) no:6133 “İngiltere’ye elçi tayin edilen Yusuf Agaî Efendi’nin takrirlerinin sureti 1207-1217” collected writings, varak 14, 16 and 17; Ahmed Vafsi, Tarîh-i Mehasan-ı Asrî ve Hâkikât-ı Aâhârîl, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Türkçe Yazarlar No: 5578, 186; Cevdet, Tarîh VI, p. 74 and E. Z. Karal, Selim III’ün Nâbî-i Hümayunlar, Hümayûn-ı Cedid-1789-1807, Ankara, 1946, p. 176. Vafsi used the aforementioned archival material of his own period directly. Cevdet copied this information from Vafsi, and Karal took it from Cevdet, whose report of wages and expenditures is incomplete.
42 Cevdet, Tarîh VI, p. 73-74.
43 We learn this from Ainslie’s report to Foreign Minister Lord Grenville. From Ainslie to Grenville, PRO FO 78/14 no:17, July 10, 1793.
44 For meetings, minutes and the names of the members of the representatives, see BBA HH 15090A Mükâlême Marzabata 4 Zilhicce 1207. This document was published by Karal, see Karal, Selim III, II:290-298. In addition, Ainslie also provides information on this meeting. See from Ainslie to Grenville, PRO FO 78/14 no:18, July 25, 1793. Here, Ainslie gives the following important information regarding the date and place of the meeting: “My announced Conference took place the 13th Instant at Bebek, one of the Sultan’s Pleasure Houses situated on this canal...” Naff and Kuran write that these meetings were held on July 10, 1793, but the date (“4 Zilhicce 1207”) mentioned in Ainslie’s report of July 25, 1793, as well as the negotiation minutes, prove that the meeting took place on July 13, 1793. See also from Ainslie to Grenville, PRO FO 78/14 no:23; the document dated October 10, 1793 also states that the meeting was held on July 13. Ainslie briefly states; “...my Report of the Affairs at Our Conference of the Thirteenth of July...” Cevdet uses a summary of these minutes in his work. Cevdet, Tarîh VI, p. 213-215.
45 The date of Yusuf Agaî’s appointment as ambassador is given in Ainslie’s report. From Ainslie to Grenville, PRO FO 78/14 no:18, July 25, 1793.
46 From Ainslie to Grenville, PRO FO 78/14 no:18, July 25, 1793.
all preparations for the journey, the retinue, and the presents. A land journey was preferred for reasons of safety and short distance, but because there were many presents and many articles belonging to the ambassador, these were sent over sea. These articles were loaded on a Ragusan ship called Colombo Fortuna on October 11, 1793, and departed from Istanbul the next day. The names of the retinue officials (except for the servants), their duties, salaries, and expenses are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Salary 1</th>
<th>Salary 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yusuf Agâh Efendi</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmud Raif Efendi</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehmed Deriş Efendi</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehmed Tahir Efendi</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emanuel Persianî</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregorio Valeria</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yanko Savrud</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yusuf Agâh Efendi and his retinue departed from Istanbul on Monday, October 14, 1793 travelling over land. They passed through Ruse, Giurgiu, and Bucharest, and going through Transylvania they reached Austrian land; after a quarantine of nine days near Sibiu (Hermannstadt), they reached Vienna on November 24, after passing through Sibiu, Temesvar, and Budin. Sir Morton Eden, the British ambassador in Vienna, made arrangements for Yusuf Agâh Efendi and his retinue, providing accommodation and meeting other needs, and the delegation left Vienna on November 29, 1793. The remainder of the journey continued as planned by Eden, and they reached the port of Ostend on the Channel on December 13, 1793, after passing through Germany and Belgium. After procuring a ship and making a difficult crossing, they reached Dover on December 19, and then, passing through Canterbury, they arrived at London on December 21, 1793.

Yusuf Agâh Efendi’s Diplomatic and Social Activities in London

After staying at the Royal Hotel in Pall-Mall, the Ottoman delegation moved into the embassy building in the Adelphi district. Yusuf Agâh enjoyed an excellent official reception by the British foreign ministry and state officials. After the customary preliminary meetings, Yusuf Agâh presented George III his letter of credence along with its French translation on January 8, 1794. On January 15, he was received by Prime Minister William Pitt. The same night, the Turkey (Levant) Company gave a dinner reception in honor of the Ottoman ambassador. On January 18, Yusuf Agâh was received by the Queen, and met with the members of the House of Lords, the Prince of Wales, the duke brothers of the King, and the chiefs of foreign missions in London. On January 28, at the dinner hosted by the Duke of Norfolk in Oxford, he met James Dallaway, the doctor and champlain among the accompany of Robert Liston, the new British ambassador to Istanbul.

The presents and embassy articles that had been sent over sea arrived in London eight months later. The public entry was

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48 Ainslie’s reports provide brief but important information about these preparations. From Mehmed Raif Efendi to Ainslie, PRO FO 78/14, October 11, 1793. See also from Ainslie to Grenville, PRO FO 78/14 no. 23, October 10, 1793 and no. 24, October 25, 1793. The preparations for Yusuf Agâh’s embassy has attracted the interest of many historians; for an analysis of archival material and research, see Yalcinkaya, The Embassy of Yusuf Agâh, p. 60-61. For detailed information on the appointment of entourage officers, see Yalcinkaya, The Embassy of Yusuf Agâh, p. 55-62.

49 The British and the Turkish sources provide detailed information on Yusuf Agâh’s journey to London. Ainslie’s despatch to Grenville, PRO FO 78/14 no. 27, 27 september 1793 ve Mahmud Raif Efendi, Jurnal du Voyage de Mahmoud Raif Efendi en Angleterre écrit par lui meme, Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi, III. Ahmed Küütüphanesi Yazzma no:3707, p. 1. Detailed information Mahmud Raif’s manuscript work and English translation of this work can be found in my above mentioned article. Also partly translation of this manuscript see, C. Pirkinci, “Bir Osmanlı Güzeli İngiliz Şeyşeli Sisternine Bakış”, Taht ve Toplum, 10, 1964, p. 65-7. Analytic study of this journey see, M. Alişanin Yalcinkaya, “Mehmed Raif Efendi as the Chief Secretary of Yusuf Agâh Efendi, The First Permanent Ottoman-Turkish Ambassador to London (1793-1797)”, OTAM 5, 1994, p. 385-434, esp. see, p. 405-409.

51 Yusuf Agâh describes the journey in detail in a letter he wrote to his close friend, the Director of the Royal Mint, Ebubekir. This letter is located at BOA CH 4714, but the document is highly damaged, and the last part is torn. For this individual, see Mustafa Necib Efendi, Tarih-i Mustafa Necib: Vaka-i Selihâye, (Istanbul, 1880), p. 37-38. Mahmud Raif, Journal, p. 2-6.

52 Eden mentions Yusuf Agâh in one of his reports. From Eden to Grenville, PRO FO 7/35 no. 22, November 26, 1793.

53 Mahmud Raif, Journal, p. 8-14 and CH 4714. Yusuf Agâh writes the following about the journey from Vienna to London: “...in fifteen days, we arrived at a city named Ostend near the ocean. After having stayed there for three days, during which time our ship was arranged, we boarded the vessel that would take us over to the island of England... On Saturday, the seventeenth day of the month Cemazievelvel – the tenth day of the Rumi month Kanunewel and beginning of Erban –with the grace of the Forty Holy Ones, we reached the city of London, where the King had organized a glorious commemorative ceremony, and we boarded an elaborate horse carriage...”

54 For Yusuf Agâh’s arrival in London and his activities during his first days as reported in Turkish and British sources, see Yalcinkaya, The Embassy of Yusuf Agâh, p. 69-74. This letter is located at the British Library, Oriental Collections, Add. 21,561. The French translation is attached. The letter of credence is one page long, written in Neshi Divani.
delayed for another six months because the King was away on vacation and in order to have a perfect organization. Yusuf Ağâh presented the letter of credentials (name-i Hümayûn) sent by the Sultan to the King at a magnificent ceremony held at St. James’s Palace on January 29, 1795, and the presents were given to the King, the royal family, Prime Minister Pitt, Foreign Minister Lord Grenville, and certain other prominent bureaucrats.\(^5\)

At the time when Yusuf Ağâh was appointed ambassador, he was already a statesman at the top of Ottoman bureaucracy. He was 50 years old, a well-rounded and powerful man who could speak Greek and a little Italian.\(^6\) Yusuf Ağâh and Mahmud Raif were good diplomats, speaking only in Turkish with British officials and other delegations, and never having an inferiority complex about it. When they were tired by a journey, they would politely and diplomatically refuse invitations, which would be appreciated by the hosts issuing the invitation. Yusuf Ağâh and his retinue were the first Turkish diplomatic mission in Britain, making them especially important, for the ambassador and his retinue were representing all Ottoman Turks with their behavior and attitudes in the eyes of the British state officials and the public.

It is evident that Yusuf Ağâh was closely observed and followed by the British press of the period in terms of his deeds and appearance. The Times, The London Gazette, and True Britton were the most prominent of these newspapers. The first two papers reported Yusuf Ağâh’s visit to St. James’s Palace to present his credential letter as, “Pall-Mall was yesterday filled with the carriages to see the Turkish ambassador go to St. James’s.”\(^7\) The Times reported Yusuf Ağâh’s first meeting with Prime Minister Pitt at 10 Downing Street on January 15, 1794. The public noted how new and adorned Yusuf Ağâh’s carriage was. He was wearing a very ornate caftan.\(^8\) In addition, after the British press and the public learned that a Turkish embassy would be opened in London, the interest in Turks and Turkish customs and traditions increased markedly.\(^9\) The Turkish habit of smoking cigarettes, pipes, and hookahs was also widely discussed. The public, and especially ladies, showed great interest in young Turkish officials and personnel.\(^10\) Turkish sherbet became the most popular drink during card games during this period. In addition, Turkish handkerchiefs were very popular among the people, for these were highly artistic and ornamented products.\(^11\)

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\(^{55}\) There have been many publications regarding the ceremony during Yusuf Ağâh’s presentation of the presents, because many researchers have taken interest in it. For an analysis of archival material and research, see Yalçınkaya, *The Embassy of Yusuf Ağâh*, p. 140-143.

\(^{56}\) For detailed information on Yusuf Ağâh, see Yalçınkaya, *The Embassy of Yusuf Ağâh*, p. 47-49.

\(^{57}\) The London Gazette, January 11, 1794 and The Times, January 13, 1794.

\(^{58}\) The Times, January 16, 1794.

\(^{59}\) The Times, September 4, 21 and 23, 1793.

\(^{60}\) The Times, December 26, 1793.

\(^{61}\) The Times, December 26, 1793 and January 4, 1794.
In the official and unofficial meetings he attended, Yusuf Agâh did not limit his areas of interest to diplomatic matters, but also had the opportunity to talk about social and cultural issues. In addition, he had frank conversations with women and befriended them. In one of these meetings a British lady remarked that in his country men were allowed to marry more than one woman, Yusuf Agâh replied in the most refined and complimentary manner: “We have only a chance to find in several women, those charms and those merits, which you possess alone.” This reply demonstrates his humorous side and his ease with women. Yusuf Agâh had a very lively social life in London. In his spare time, he made a point of going to the theater and the opera. He developed intimate friendships with the ambassadors of friendly countries in London, and they frequently visited each other. One of them was the Swedish ambassador M. de Asp, who had served in Istanbul before going to London. For this reason, Yusuf Agâh easily established a friendship with the Swedish ambassador. As a result of the closeness of the Turkish and Swedish ambassadors in London, the Swedish painter Carl Frederick von Breda, who lived in London during those years, made a portrait of Yusuf Agâh Efendi. The ambassador was also on friendly terms with the Danish ambassador Count de Wadell Jerlsberg, occasionally playing chess with him. Such meetings and games offered Yusuf Agâh the opportunity to get to know Europeans very closely and to report their coolheaded policies and way of thinking that can be seen even today.

Yusuf Agâh did not only meet European diplomats. He was also interested in the representatives of and visitors from other countries, principalities, and North African countries under Ottoman rule. For example, he contacted Tersane Emini Mehmed Hoca, who had been sent by Tunisia first to France and then to Great Britain, and helped him in diplomatic affairs.

Yusuf Agâh met James Dallaway before he went to Istanbul, and he was in contact with British diplomats appointed to or coming back from Turkey. Among them was Ambassador Robert Liston, who left Spencer Smith as charge d'affaires in Istanbul and left for London on November 4, 1795 to temporarily attend to some

62 The Times, December 17, 1794.
64 Yusuf Agâh says the following in his report regarding one of his meetings with the Swedish ambassador: "The Swedish ambassador, who had previously served at the Sublime Porte, had an audience with the King after his arrival here, and later visited us..." Yusuf Agâh Efendi, Havadisname-i İngiltere, 19b, document 35.
65 Yusuf Agâh Efendi, Havadisname-i İngiltere, 20b-21a, document 38.
personal business. After arriving in London, he contacted Yusuf Agâh in January 1796, and after giving him the letter written by the Ottoman foreign minister, they talked for a while. Liston did not, however, go back to Istanbul, but was appointed to the USA instead. The new ambassador to Istanbul was Francis Jackson, who was appointed to this post on July 23, 1796. Yusuf Agâh met with the newly appointed ambassador on September 30, 1796.

YUSUF AGÂH EFENDI'S ATTEMPTS AT COMMERCE AND AT RECRUITING SPECIALISTS

Yusuf Agâh Efendi did not only engage in political, diplomatic, and social activities, but also worked for the commercial interests of the Ottoman Empire. The war in Europe had decreased the volume of trade between Turkey and Great Britain. During Yusuf Agâh Efendi’s Embassy, between 1793 and 1797, the average value of annual imports from Great Britain was £131,000, but the five-year average (for 1787-1792) before the war had been £224,000. The average annual exports to Great Britain was £92,000, which had been £152,000 for the five-year period before the war. The war affected the ships carrying Ottoman cargo as well as the British. Yusuf Agâh Efendi made two attempts vis-à-vis the British government to protect Ottoman commercial interests. Both cases involved cargo ships being seized by the British while on their way from İzmir to the Netherlands. Yusuf Agâh Efendi twice helped in procuring the tin required by the Imperial Foundry and in renting a ship to transport it to İzmir. During his Embassy, the British press reported for the first time the arrival of Turkish sailors, as distinct from non-Muslim Ottoman sailors, arriving on the banks of the Thames, i.e., London, in January 1797.

Yusuf Agâh Efendi also made efforts in Britain to find experts and technicians needed by the Ottoman Empire for military and civilian purposes. He contacted the Swedish ambassador in London to find experts in Sweden as well. Most of the people found were French, Swedish, and British, and were sent to work in ship construction, artillery, and fortification work at fortresses along the Danube. Some of the people employed by Yusuf Agâh Efendi are as follows, grouped according to nationality.

British: Richard White, Daniel, Olaf, Cooke, Mulart, Bermond, and Kalos.

French: Comte de Buzizent, Chevaliers de Montclar, de Conesif, and Oktavin.

Swedes: A. E. Rhode (Rodé), Fredrick Ludwig Af Klintberg, Kihlberg, Schantz, Minthen (Mîhrîn), Weidenheim, Hörling, Malmen, Carstrand, Hallen, Liljegren, Löngrêm, and Elmström.

THE END OF YUSUF AGÂH EFENDI’S EMBASSY AND HIS RETURN JOURNEY

One other factor in Yusuf Agâh Efendi’s success in representing the Ottoman Empire was his friendly relationship with Lord Grenville, the British Foreign Minister. Yusuf Agâh Efendi was able to get Grenville’s help in difficult matters he could not resolve himself. The fact that the Sublime Porte chose London among all European capitals as the place for its first permanent Embassy also had a positive effect on British state officials. In his correspondence with Grenville, Yusuf Agâh addresses him as “Milor”, the French word written as it is pronounced, which corresponds to the Turkish term “Efendi”, which, in English, becomes “My Lord”. In official documents, Grenville is referred to as “Milor Grenvîl”, “our friend Milor Grenville”, and “Milor the aforementioned”.

Besides diplomatic business, Yusuf Agâh Efendi also regularly attended the weekly King's Levee and Queen's Drawing-room and also birthday ceremonies of the King and the Queen held during his Embassy. In addition, he attended the receptions hosted by the British government during the opening of the Parliament, by the foreign minister, and the mayor of London. After serving as ambassador for three years, he requested from the Sublime Porte to be replaced by a new ambassador. For various reasons, both Yusuf Agâh and the officials in his entourage longed to return to Turkey as soon as possible. The first and foremost reason was the Sublime Porte’s failure to pay the salaries and expenses of the embassy in full and on time. For that reason, the delegation was in financial difficulty for most
of the time. The second reason was homesickness and their inability to get used to London's rainy and cloudy weather.75

The Sublime Porte responded immediately to Yusuf Ağâh's request, appointing İsmail Ferhû Efendi as ambassador to London in November 1796. İsmail Ferhû left Istanbul for London on April 9, 1797. Yusuf Ağâh was informed that he could leave after İsmail Ferhû's arrival in London, and that he should train the new ambassador about the functions of the embassy and the current situation in Britain.76 Yusuf Ağâh paid a final audience of leave to the King on July 19, 1797. İsmail Ferhû arrived in London on July 23. The new ambassador presented his letter of credence to the King on July 26 and assumed his position. In the meantime, Yusuf Ağâh asked Grenville to procure a ship to take him to Ostend. Yusuf Ağâh and his retinue left London on August 1, 1797, reaching Ostend the following day. They finally reached Istanbul on September 14 or 15, 1797. As all the ambassadors before him, Yusuf Ağâh presented Selim III the letter sent by George III during a reception attended by the Sadrazam and the foreign minister, and completed his mission by giving a briefing on his Embassy. As stated by the King and government of Britain, Yusuf Ağâh was a very successful ambassador, making important contributions to the development of the relations between the two countries.77

In short, Yusuf Ağâh was an important persona for being the first and only resident ambassador who succeeded in meeting the political, diplomatic, commercial, social, and cultural expectations of the Ottoman Empire with his services. The resident ambassadors after Yusuf Ağâh were only partially able to fulfill their duties and responsibilities. Yusuf Ağâh's ambassadorial reports were collectively recorded in one register by the Sublime Porte.78 These reports were read by the Sultan in person, and there are notes in the margins indicating his wish to discuss certain matters with the authorities. This indicates that the Ottoman statesmen, first and foremost among them being the Sultan, closely followed every move of the first resident ambassador, and that the expectations regarding resident Embassies were very high indeed.

The Sublime Porte realized the benefits and importance of having the Ottoman Empire represented in London by a successful diplomat such as Yusuf Ağâh, and hastened to open new resident embassies in other important European centers such as Paris, Berlin, and Vienna without further delay. All the procedures prepared and carried out for Yusuf Ağâh's Embassy in London, such as the appointment of entourage officials, the salaries, expenditures, and other expenses of the embassy, the presents to be sent with the ambassador, and the rules of correspondence were all used as a model for the embassies to be opened in other centers.79 In addition, the book of embassy written in French by Mahmud Raif Efendi, the chief secretary of the London embassy, in the name of Yusuf Ağâh Efendi, holds an important place in the history of Turkish diplomacy and Turkish cultural history. This was the first work written in a Western language by a Turkish Ottoman statesman and diplomat.80 Mahmud Raif's other work on Ottoman institutions, written again in French, was another important work in that it showed the Ottoman high cadres the necessary reforms and introduced Ottoman institutions to a Western audience. Mahmud Raif served as foreign minister for a period of five years between 1800 and 1805. Such a long term of service was an important feat, accomplished by very few state officials.81 This indicates that the Sublime Porte attained one of its most important goals in establishing resident embassies.

As stated above, Yusuf Ağâh had to attend to many duties, services and business because he was the first

76 For İsmail Ferhû's appointment to London and a detailed analysis of relevant correspondence, see Mehmet Aliaddin Yalçınkaya, "İsmail Ferhû Efendi'nin Londra Büyükelçiliği ve Siyasi Faaliyetleri (1797-1800)", Pax-Ottoman: Studies in Memoriam Prof. Dr. Nihat Gökçen, ed. Kemal Çökek, Sota and Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Haarlem - Ankara, 2001, p. 381-407 and "The Modernisation of the Ottoman Diplomatic Representations in Europe: The Case of the Embassy of İsmail Ferhû Efendi to London (1797-1800)". A Bridge Between Cultures, Studies on Ottoman and Republican Turkey in Memory of Ali İhsan Bağış, (edited by Sinan Kuneralp), Istanbul 2006, p. 51-67. The British charges d'affaires Smith also provides information on İsmail Ferhû's appointment as ambassador. From Smith to Grenville, PRO FO 78/17 no:21 November I, 1796, HH 10823 dated Gurre-i Ca. 1211 (November 2, 1796) is also about this appointment: "...Chief of the Granary İsmail Ferhû Efendi was admitted into the sect of Hacçegân and was conferred a title, upon which he was appointed as ambassador to England...". Smith wrote a report on İsmail Ferhû's departure from Istanbul. From Smith to Grenville, PRO FO 78/18 no:6, April 10, 1797. For the Sublime Porte's orders to Yusuf Ağâh, see Yusuf Ağâh Efendi, Hâvâdisname-ı Ingilîtere, 22a, document 41.
77 Yalçınkaya, The Embassy of Yusuf Ağâh, p. 146-150.
78 Yusuf Ağâh Efendi, Hâvâdisname-ı Ingilîtere, 14b, document 6, 7 and 8. Here, document 6 is a good example on the subject: "An imperial order is prepared for you to come to Topkapı with Reis Efendi at seven o'clock today, I will be considering the documents".
79 CH 5706. Though undated, this document must be from the year 1211 (end of 1796 and beginning of 1797). Yalçınkaya, The Embassy of Yusuf Ağâh, p. 186.
80 For further information on this work and its English translation, see Yalçınkaya, Mahmud Raif, p. 422-434. For a detailed analysis of this book of embassy and others, see M.A. Yalçınkaya, "Osmancı Zihniyetindeki Doğuşim Göstergesi Olarak Sefaretnamele rin Kaynak Dağeri", O'TAM 7, 1997, p. 319-338.
resident ambassador. Naturally, he worked in coordination with the Sublime Porte, but considering the speed of mail and transportation at the time, Yusuf Agâh had to use his initiative and make urgent decisions while at the same time safeguarding the interests of the Ottoman Empire and following Ottoman and current international laws. Another thing the Sublime Porte aimed to accomplish through this embassy was to discontinue the payment of the financial support called “tayinat” given to foreign legations. Before Yusuf Agâh left for London, he was warned not to accept any financial help from the British for his journey. This was a precaution to minimize the possible reaction of foreign legations to the decision of the Sublime Porte in 1794 to end paying them “tayinat”. This attempt was partially successful.

Naturally, it was necessary to have a good team to be successful. Mahmud Raif, for example, was the ambassador’s chief advisor and assistant in all matters, directly contributing to Yusuf Agâh’s success. The book of embassy he wrote in the name of the ambassador is ample proof of this. In addition to this book of embassy, Mahmud Raif, along with his colleagues Mehmed Dervis and Mehmed Tahir, wrote a booklet each, addressed and sent to the Sultan, in demonstration of their command of their newly acquired French. In return, the Sultan had encouraged them with the award of stipends. Emmanuel Persiani, the first interpreter of the embassy, completed his training in Italy and began working at the office of the Dragoman as interpreter. Besides eastern languages like Turkish, Arabic, Persian, and Greek, Persiani knew Latin, French, Italian, and English. He was a loyal Ottoman bureaucrat the likes of whom were rarely seen at this period of Ottoman history.

CONCLUSION

Despite the fact that Ainslie began his mission on October 2, 1776, at a time when relations between the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain were strained, he was able to revive these relations with his own efforts. During this period, there was a relative improvement in the Levant Company’s trade, though not as much as desired. Nonetheless, it was thanks to Ainslie’s efforts that the “misterija” (customs tax) was annulled in 1784 and Britain attained the same level of commercial concessions as the French. In addition, he became the advisor of the Ottoman statesmen on the matter of what policies to follow with Russia. His policies were appreciated by the sublime porte during the Oczakov incident in 1791. He had earned the trust of the Ottoman statesmen, which later proved to be one of the determining factors in the choice of Great Britain for the first permanent Turkish embassy. He contributed to the establishment of this embassy by personally meeting with Reis Efendi. He left for London on June 22, 1794, and reached his destination after passing through Bucharest, Hermannstadt, Vienna, and Nimiegwen. He was a successful diplomat active not only in diplomatic affairs but also in social and cultural areas.

Yusuf Agâh Efendi’s Embassy is of special importance because it coincided with the period of restructuring of the Ottoman Empire. During this period, the Sultan himself and Ottoman statesmen carried out a comprehensive reformation that involved diplomacy, the establishment of resident embassies, and the adoption of the rules of diplomacy based on reciprocity among the European states. Yusuf Agâh was appointed as the first resident ambassador to London in July 1793, and began his mission on December 21, 1793. The Sublime Porte attached great weight to his Embassy. After his success in London, ambassadors were appointed to the capitals of other major European countries. Even though Yusuf Agâh was a new diplomat without experience, but he was a rare one who knew how to successfully defend the new policies of the Ottoman Empire despite the black propaganda of other European countries. This Embassy convinced the Sublime Porte that the new policies it was following were in the right direction. After Yusuf Agâh handed over the mission to Ismail Ferruh Efendi at the end of July 1797, he left London and returned to Istanbul, arriving in mid-September. This was the end of an Embassy wherein he attended to diplomatic business as well as offering a wide array of services including protecting the commercial interests of the Ottoman Empire, procuring military equipment, and finding experts required by the army and the navy.

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82 For the execution of administrative work of the embassy according to British-Turkish sources and international rules of the period, see Yalçınkaya, The Embassy of Yusuf Agâh, p. 74-78.
83 Cevdet, Tarh VI, 106-107. Cevdet writes that Yusuf Agâh was warned not to receive “tayinat”: “Yusuf Agâh Efendi, who had been appointed earlier as ambassador to England by the Sublime Porte, was cautioned and commanded not to accept any offers of provisions by the British.
84 For documents giving information on the activities of young Turkish students at the embassy, see BOA AES III, 4903 and for an analysis of these documents, see Yalçınkaya, The Embassy of Yusuf Agâh, p. 146-147.
85 For detailed information on Persiani, see Yalçınkaya, The Embassy of Yusuf Agâh, p. 55-56.
Diplomatic relations with eastern and western countries were very important in Ottoman history. Especially after the 15th century, when the Ottoman Empire spread to three continents, diplomatic relations were established with the Akkoyunlus, Mamluks, Safavids, Baburids, and in Europe, Austria, Hungary, France, Great Britain, Holland, Sweden, Prussia and the states of the Italian peninsula. The location of these countries played an important role in these relations, which were shaped by wars, border conflicts, degrees of friendliness, wished-for alliances, and conditions of trade. Some countries like Russia and Austria kept long-term charges d'affaires under the title of “kapi kethüdas”. After the 18th century, many European countries had permanent ambassadors in Istanbul. The Ottomans did not send permanent ambassadors to Europe until Selim III. Legations occasionally sent to announce the enthronement of sultans, to congratulate new kings or to settle treaties after wars all returned shortly. Some envoys sent after the 18th century stayed for longer periods. Selim III began sending permanent ambassadors to major European countries to stay for a period of three years.

Sources agree that the Ottomans treated foreign ambassadors quite well. Some foreign authors even drew attention to the Quran, mentioning the verse regarding envoys. Indeed, the Quran indicates that envoys are mere transmitters and must not be treated harshly. There is an old adage of Quranic origin to the effect of “do not shoot the messenger”. There were, however, some envoys locked up in the Yedikule prisons. Especially undesired declarations of war of forming alliances with the enemy could lead to such punishments. Both Muslim and Christian envoys were received by the Sadrazam and the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire according to a certain protocol. The reception ceremony changed according to the seniority of the envoy. Many authors accompanying envoys described this protocol in detail, and painters travelling with the envoys painted these ceremonies.

Legations entering Ottoman soil were brought to the capital by a guide sent from Istanbul, all expenses paid. The envoy and his retinue were considered guests of the state until their return. For example, sources indicate that the Persian envoy who came in 1589 was daily given one hundred sheep, one hundred loaves of sugar-bread and money.

Count Leslie, the Austrian envoy who came in 1665, was given 150 piastres daily, and all the expenses of his stable were met. Until the 17th century, all European envoys were put up at the Envoy Inn in Çemberlitas. After the 17th century, envoys stayed at a place reserved for them in Galata. Short-term Muslim envoys from eastern countries were taken from Üskûdar and and put up in a mansion, then taken to Paşakapisi in the following days, and finally to the Sadrazam's mansion called the Sublime Porte, where they would be received by the Sadrazam. Until the 17th century, Sadrazams did not have a fixed office. They tended to use a mansion close to the palace as Paşakapisi (office of a pasha). On rare occasions, the short-term Christian envoys with a credential letter would be received not by the Sultan himself but by the Sadrazam, who would relay to them the Sultan's response.

The first time an envoy was officially granted audience was during the reign of Murad II, at the palace in Edirne. In his travelogue, Bertrandon de la Brocquière, who visited the Near East and Turkey between 1432 and 1433, wrote of his audience with the Sultan at the Edirne palace. He describes how the Sultan sat on the throne in the corner of the divanhanı, with the attendants of the divan located farther away and announcing the visitors, who were then served pilaf with meat. This indicates that at least small ceremonies were held in the 15th century.

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In fact, the protocol of the Ottoman state ceremonies were also applied to envoys; however, some envoys were received in other cities or during campaigns. In order to follow the envoy protocol at the palace more closely it would be necessary to study written sources and paintings that document these receptions, because most of the European envoys brought painters with them to depict these ceremonies. For example, Chalcolkondyles described the period of Murad III at the end of the 16th century in his book entitled L’histoire de la decadence de l’Empire grec et établissement de Cylyc des turcs, published in 1612, where he writes about the envoy reception at Topkapı Palace. He wrote how the envoy came to the Throne Room accompanied by kapıçibâsî, how he was taken to the throne by the grand vizier, his credential letter given to the dragoman to be translated, how the sultan gave the envoy his hand for him to kiss, and how the envoy and his legation left, walking backwards, without turning their backs to the sultan.

Baron Hans Ludwig Kuefstein, the envoy sent to Murad IV by the Austrian king Ferdinand II in 1628 as a representative of the Holy Roman Empire in order to extend the Zsitvatorok Treaty of 1606 kept a journal, and had the painters he brought with him paint his journey. From what the baron writes and the paintings of the painters, we learn that the envoy was first received by Vizier Hasan Pasha in Budapest, that when they entered Istanbul accompanied by guides a mehter band met them, and that the legation of the envoy stayed at the Elçi Hanı (Envoy Inn) in Çemberlitaş. Before the reception at the palace proper, Grand Viziers received legations at their own palaces. The envoy would then present the grand vizier the letter of credence from his king, which would be translated to Turkish, and the Sultan would then receive the envoy on the date determined. After the envoy was received by the Sadrazam at Topkapı Palace, he would be given a "hilat", which was a type of Ottoman caftan. The envoy was allowed to listen in on the divan meeting at the Divan Hall, and would sit at the Grand Vizier table during the dinner afterwards. Kazaskers of Anatolia and Rumelia always sat at separate tables. Franz Hörmann and Hans Gemminger were two painters who accompanied legations and depicted all these stages.

There are many sources and paintings that give detailed information on the envoys that came in the 17th century. For example Sir Paul Rycaut, the scribe of the Earl of Winchelsea, who was sent as envoy by King Charles II to Mehmed IV in 1661, was the consul of Izmir until 1679, and wrote in detail on the subject in his book entitled History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire. According to Rycaut, the envoy sent his first clerk to the palace of the grand vizier (paşakapısi) near Topkapı Palace the day (or the next) he arrived in Istanbul, to announce the envoy’s arrival. We know that after 1654, the office of the grand vizier was a mansion situated opposite to the Procession Kiosk (Alay Köskü). The mansion of one of the previous grand viziers had been here, and converted into Paşakapısi. Shortly thereafter, in the early 18th century, a section of the Fatma Sultan Palace by the Çağaloğlu Hamam served this purpose, but after the Patrona Halil Uprising the old location came back into use. When this building burned down in 1755, a series of other buildings were used for a while; later, the building opposite the Gülhane entrance became the grand vizier’s palace. As a result, the paintings depicting the reception of an envoy by a grand vizier show different settings through the centuries, and even though some of them are imagined, it is clear that these are different places. The scribe who arrived at the Paşakapısi would first be received by reis efendi, and offered coffee and sweets. The next day, the new envoy would be sent fruits and flowers as a welcome present, and a group of janissaries would be charged with safeguarding the envoy.

On the day of his audience, the envoy would be taken to Tophane, from there to the Sırkeci pier by the caïque sent by the çavuşbaşı, and then to Paşakapısi, escorted by a procession. The çavuşbaşı would walk along the envoy. Horses would sent for the ambassador and his retinue. The janissary guards of the ambassador would be thirty or forty sergeants, who would walk on both sides of the ambassador. The envoy would dismount his horse at Paşakapısi, where he would be met by the translator of the Divan-i Hümayun Council Chamber), and would walk through senior officers to reach the reception hall. The sadrazam would follow him in, the vizir and the members of the Divan would stand up, and the envoy would kiss the hems of their robes. The envoy would then sit on the chair in front of him, with his own dragoman and the translator of the council on his two sides. The senior officials of his legation would also be seated on chairs. Some envoys complained that the sadrazam did not show them enough respect, bringing up the height of the sadrazam’s stool. Presents would be given at the visits of envoys. The envoy would give his credential letter to the reisülküttab, the chairman of the Divan, who would then place the letter on the cushion next to the sadrazam. The sadrazam would offer coffee, sweets, and rosewater, and speak through the dragoman. After dinner, the envoy would be given a fur caftan, and similar clothing to his retinue, and would be taken to Tophane by caïque. On their way back, the legation would be

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accompanied by a mehter band. The letter brought by the envoy would be translated by the translator of the imperial council, and be received by the sultan during a ceremony at the palace, at a future date announced later. This date would always be a Tuesday that coincide with the Ulufe Divani, the day the janissaries and kapikuluses (sultan's household troops) were given their trimonthly wages. Any reception on another day would be called resm-i adi (ordinary ceremony). This must be an indicator about the Ottoman administration as well as its wealth. All these stages can be followed in paintings. The most important source regarding reception ceremonies of envoys is the paintings by Jean-Baptist Vanmour, the painter from Valenciennes who worked with many embassies in Istanbul during the first half of the 18th century. Vanmour has depicted almost all the stages of this protocol.

The envoy gets into the caïque at Tophane after a ceremony and arrives at Sirkeci. From here, he proceeds to Bab-i Hümayun, the entrance of Topkapi Palace. When he reaches Babüsselam, the envoy dismounts his horse. His swords and horses remain in the first court. The sultan never receives anyone with weapons. In 1700, the French envoy Marquis de Ferriol resisted taking off his sword and was therefore refused entry to the palace. Met by the translator of the Divan-i Hümayun, the envoy rests for a while in the watch room of the kapıci belows, while the janissaries are served pilaf and zerde in the second courtyard. Happy with the pay, the janissaries devour the meal. This ceremony was called “canak yağmasi” (bowl plunder) and was actually a sign of the empire's power and wealth. The envoy would watch this as he walked down the courtyard towards the imperial council, and the sadras would come out of the divit odası, take their seats, and inquire after the envoy's health. Usually the envoy and his retinue were allowed to attend the meeting in the Divan. Afterwards, the Sadrazam would give a dinner in the envoy's honor. Written sources indicate that the dishes were served in bone china on silver trays, and that close to fifty plates were served. The envoy is seated at the table of the sadrazam, with the dragomans and the defterdar. The kazaskers of Rumelia and Anatolia are seated at the adjacent table. Ottoman notables and the envoy's retinue occupy the remaining tables. Following the sadrazam's dinner, guests pass to a special room where the envoy is given a hihat — a silk caftan with zibeline-lining. Two days after the envoy wears the hihat, he is taken to the Throne Room by two kapıci belows. The presents of the envoy, which have arrived two days earlier, follow them into the Throne Room, where they are received by ağa in charge. Regarding the entrance into the arzodas, the French envoy Anrezel has the following to say: "There is such a ceremonial air that from Kubbealtu until the Arz Odasi, all one hears is the sound of the water from the fountain." In other words, despite

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6 Mansel, op.cit, p.200.
the short distance involved, the walk is quiet and solemn. In the presence of the sultan, the kapicibasis bow the envoy down to the ground and then straighten him up again, and the envoy's retinue repeat the gesture. The envoy then addresses through his dragoman not the sultan himself but the sadrazam, and the sultan answers him through the sadrazam. In other words, one never converses directly with the sultan. Similarly, the envoy gives his credential letter to the vizier, who passes it on to the grand vizier, who then places it on the cushion next to the sultan. This is part of the protocol. After the sultan says a few words, the envoy is allowed to leave the room. When their term is over, envoys go to Paşakâpsi to receive the letter the sultan will send to the king and to bid farewell; they visit the grand vizier and receive the letter. These receptions have been documented by many painters during the 18th century. Even painters who never visited Turkey painted these scenes based on Vanmour's paintings. Even though some details are imaginary, all of these works document the reception protocol. The Vanmour paintings in the exhibition show one such envoy reception. These paintings, probably of Francesco Gritti, the bailo of Venice in Istanbul between 1723 and 1726, being received by Ahmed III, have inspired many painters after Vanmour.

Many of the European envoys coming to the Ottoman capital have had their portraits made by resident European artists, quite often posing in Ottoman attire. For example, the Maltese knight Antoine de Favray painted the portraits of the French envoy Comte de Vergennes and his wife, both dressed in Ottoman attire.

When we look at Ottoman envoys sent to Europe and the manner in which they were received, a certain protocol also emerges. Until the 19th century, the Ottomans sent only short-term envoys to European countries.7 These envoys would visit the sultan before their departure, accompanied by the grand vizier. They would be given hilats and the credential letter to be delivered. The protocol in the country of destination depended on who issued the letter. The envoy would also receive oral instructions. The first legations were sent to France. Sultan Süleyman sent an envoy to François I in 1533 for alliances, and Murad III sent one to Henry III in 1582 to invite him to the circumcision ceremony of the Ottoman prince. Envoys were sent to Louis XIII in 1607 and Louis XIV in 1669. Osman Ağâ's visit had especially big repercussions in France.8 Another envoy was sent in 1657 after the Swedish attack on Poland. Kara Mehmed Ağâ went to Vienna in 1665, and his visit to Leopold I was of special

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7 Feik Reşid Unat, Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Seyahatnameleri, p. 14-42.
importance. Kara Mehmed Ağa stayed there for nine months, and his visit had an impact on the cultural sphere as well. The mehter band travelling with the legation gave performances. Evliya Celebi, who was also part of the legation, wrote his Seyahatname, the first book on Europe in Turkish. Most of the envoys sent to European countries would write sefaretnames (book of ambassador) and submit it to the authorities on their return. It is therefore possible to trace the European protocol in these sefaretnames. In his own sefaretname, Kara Mehmed Ağa writes that he was shown respect in general except for the quarantine, and that feasts were given in his name. All his expenses, as well as that of his retinue, were met. There were certain problems, however. Upon entering Vienna, the legation was asked to lower their flags and to keep down the sound of drums.  

The number of Ottoman envoys to Europe increased drastically with the 18th century. The visits of envoys during this century were painted by European artists. The best known among them were Yirmisekiz Mehmed Celebi sent by Ahmed III to King Louis XV of France in 1721 and Said Efendi, Mehmed Celebi’s son, sent in 1742; big ceremonies were held for both. Mehmed Efendi passed through Toulon and Bordeaux on his way to Paris, but the French imposed a quarantine on the legation for 40 days in Toulouse. Mehmed Efendi was quite offended by that. The reason for the quarantine was the fear of the plague. He writes about this reproachfully in his sefaretname. The reception ceremony of the envoy is very different from the Ottoman ceremony. Detailed information about this protocol can be obtained from Mehmed Celebi’s sefaretname as well as the paintings of French artists. Accompanied by his son Said Efendi, Mehmed Celebi and his legation were met with great ado by the French authorities, and they reached the palace by passing through the Jardin des Tuileries. The reception at the palace was magnificent. The ceremony was held in a huge hall and was very crowded, attended not only by senior officials but also by a large group of aristocrats, both men and women. Mehmed Celebi took special note of the fact that women were present at the ceremony. The reception of the envoy by the king was different, too. The Ottoman envoy was able to approach the king and present the letters of the sultan directly. The king received him standing. Marquis de Villeroi, the equivalent of the grand vizier, spoke in the name of the king.

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10 For diplomatic relations between the Ottomans and France in the 18th century and the visits of the Ottoman envoys, see F.M. Göçek, East Encounters West, France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century, New York, Oxford, 1987.
The envoy and his retinue were also invited to dinners by the Marquis de Villerol, and watched operas and ballets. They were taken around the city and had the opportunity to observe their surroundings. The balance of power was an important factor in this protocol. The French were making demands to the Ottomans, which explains the attention. Said Efendi’s visit in 1742 followed the same lines. Said Efendi writes that he even conversed with the king during dinner. The King asked him whether they could ask the sultan to send supporting troops, and Said Çelebi answered in the affirmative. The visit of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi and his son Said Efendi to France and their reception ceremonies were documented by French artists. In addition, both of them posed for numerous artists.

In 1727, Kozbekçi Mustafa Âğa was sent to Stockholm to collect the debts of the Swedish king who had taken refuge in the Ottoman Empire. The visit of the envoy accompanied by a retinue of twenty three people was documented by artists. (cat. no.) Kozbekçi Âğa was very well hosted and entertained, but he received no payment. When Kozbekçi’s demands were not met, Said Efendi went to Stockholm in 1732-33. He returned empty-handed as well, and Sweden paid its debt only at the end of the century by sending a ship. The visits by both envoys were painted in Sweden by George Engelhardt Schröder and the painters of his studio. Swedish sources indicate that Kozbekçi visited Schröder’s studio.

Ottoman envoys visited European capitals during Selim III’s reign, and their cultural and artistic involvement was very important. Yusuf Agâh Efendi, the first Ottoman envoy to London, served there between 1793 and 1997. In his sefaretname entitled Havadisname-i İngiltere (News from England) he provides detailed information on how he was received by King George III and his meetings with the king and the queen. He even observed how the presents he brought were used by the royal couple. Apparently, Yusuf Agâh Efendi closely followed artistic events during his term in London while he conducted his diplomatic relations. The Swedish artist Carl Frederik von Breda, who was in London at the time, painted a portrait of Yusuf Agâh Efendi. It was Yusuf Agâh Efendi who arranged for the printing of Sultan Selim III’s portrait in London. Selim III was aware of the printing industry in Europe and wanted to give his portraits to high bureaucrats, envoys and foreign monarchs, and he sent Yusuf Agâh Efendi a firman for the printing to be done in London. In his report dated 1795, Yusuf

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12 F.R. Unat, Osmanlı Seyirleri ve Seyahatnameleri, p. 70-73.
Agâh Efendi indicates that he received the firman dated 1209 (1794) and that he will send the portrait of the sultan with the voiode of Wallachia once the printing process is completed. Selim III's portraits reached many European monarchs in this way. For example, Muhb Efendi, the Ottoman envoy in Paris, wrote in his letter to the Sublime Porte that he had given the sultan's portrait to Napoleon.

As can be seen, the relative position of countries during certain periods and the importance of political incidents played a big role in diplomatic relations. Protocols were mutually determined on that basis. The distinguishing aspect of the envoy reception ceremonies in the Ottoman palace was the continuity of formality and of protocol in the Ottoman state organization. Just like accession ceremonies, enthronements, religious holiday receptions, and Divan-i Hümayun meetings, the envoy receptions were conducted according to a unique protocol, which was strictly obeyed. Only the most senior state officials attended foreign envoy receptions, and they lavishly entertained the envoys, giving them the hilat as a token of honor. The envoys, however, did not attend any other event apart from the official reception. These ceremonies were the symbol of the state structure and power of the Ottomans, which continued without much change until the 19th century. On the other hand, the Ottoman envoys sent to Europe observed with interest the different protocols in those countries as well as the social structure, different lifestyles, and cultural events, often depicting these in their sefaretnames. Diplomatic relations that were reflected in works of art became the mirrors reflecting history, adding color to political relations. Exhibitions of this kind demonstrate how diplomatic relations are reflected in art in both ways.

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Relation de l'Ambassade de Mehmed Effendi à la cour de France en 1721 écrite par lui-même et traduit par Jullien Galland, Constantinople-Paris, 1757


The permanent embassies of the Ottoman Empire in Europe were set up in 1534, but in fact the Western embassies in the Ottoman Empire had been set up much earlier. After Istanbul was conquered by the Ottomans in 1453 and the city became the empire's capital, Western countries felt the need to establish permanent embassies in this expanding and increasingly powerful country. Venice was the first state to send a permanent ambassador in Istanbul, followed by Poland in 1475, Russia in 1497, France in 1535, the Holy Roman Empire in 1547, Great Britain in 1583, and Holland in 1612. Foreign envoys initially took up residence in the buildings around Galata and Eminönü and the Elçi Hani (Envoy Inn) in Çemberlitaş, but in the 16th century they moved to buildings they constructed in Pera. Most of these buildings were called palaces, and the ambassadors, living here in great splendor with their extensive retinues, had to exert great skill in carrying out their missions in such a powerful empire that extended from East Europe to Southeast Asia and North Africa.

The French Ambassador Marquis de Ferriol wrote the following letter to his brother on July 25, 1707:

As I told you before, I fell at the center of the world here. I work on issues concerning Hungary, Iran, and Crimea, I am involved with politics, religion, trade, and the problems in this empire as well as those in Poland, Moskow, Italy, etc. All these constitute a bottomless pit.1

The embassies and permanent ambassadors sent by Western countries to the Ottoman Empire played an important role in visually introducing the empire to the West. From the late Middle Ages onwards, cultural affairs was among the fixed though unofficial jobs of an ambassador. The envoys in Istanbul wanted to have visual representation of the Ottoman Empire and especially the capital as they gathered information, but because they had difficulty finding local artists working in the Western style of painting, they kept European painters and draftsmen among their retinue. In these paintings commissioned, the envoys aimed to introduce the exotic world of the Ottomans to their own countries, while also hoping to immortalize the images of their official work and private life here. As a result, they commissioned paintings that showed the envoy reception ceremonies during which they were accepted by the Ottoman sultan and the grand vizier, as well as portraits depicting themselves and their wives in Ottoman attire, costume albums reflecting the social hierarchy of the empire, and city panoramas usually showing Topkapı Palace and the harbor along with life in the city. These visual documents supported the written reports of the envoys regarding the Ottoman Empire.

This tradition in the Ottoman Empire goes farther back than the establishment of permanent embassies. For example, Augier Gheselin de Busbecq from Flanders was sent to Istanbul in 1552 as the envoy of the Holy Roman Empire to solve a border conflict between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Roman Empire; he brought with him Melchior Lorck, an architect, engraver, cartographer, poet from Flensburg. The artist was part of Busbecq's legation between 1556 and 1559, and painted an eleven-meter panorama of Istanbul as well as paintings depicting Süleyman the Magnificent, lady sultans, statesmen, people of the city, mosques, buildings, ceremonies, and funerals, which he then prepared for publication upon his return. This book, containing 628 paintings depicting the Ottoman Empire and published in 1626 under the title of Wolgerissen und Geschnittenen Figuren zu Roß und Fuß sampt schönen Türkischen Gebäuden und allerhand was in Türcky zu sehen constituted a model book for many years for artists who had not been to Turkey.

The letters written by the ambassador Busbecq himself during his stay in Istanbul to Nicholas Michault, the Hungarian diplomat and a personal friend and colleague of Busbecq, constitute another important source describing different aspects of the

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1 Correspondance du Marquis de Ferriol, Ambassadeur de Louis XIV à Constantinople, Anvers, J.E. Buschmann, 1870, p.390.
Ottoman Empire during Süleyman’s time. A typically erudite Renaissance man, Busbecq was also a good collector. On his return to Austria in 1592, he wrote to Michaull in a letter:

You inquire about my Greek books and mention that you have heard I brought some strange objects, among them a few rare animals. I did bring a highly domesticated mongoose... a few purebred horses... six female camels... Also carpets, Babylon-embroidered linen, swords, bows, horse trimmings, and harnesses of exquisite leather... I brought back a big collection of various coins. I plan to make a present of it to My Lord. And then there are manuscripts, enough to fill up a carriage, nay, even a ship. I sent at least 240 volumes to Venice over sea to be sent to Vienna. They will all be donated to the imperial library. Most of them are ordinary works, but some of them are of considerable value. I sought them out like gathering the last straws remaining from the harvest. A treasure I had to leave in Istanbul was a work by Dioscurides, written in uppercase letters.

Hans Ludwig Kuefstein, who in 1628 headed the legation sent by Ferdinand II, the Holy Roman Emperor, also had the artists in his retinue paint the places he saw during his stay, his reception by the sultan, and scenes from Istanbul life. These paintings were done by Franz Hermann, Hans Gemminger, and Valentin Mueller, but none of them are signed. As can be seen from the dates on some of them, these paintings were done in Austria based on drawings made on location. The bigger oil paintings were commissioned by the Kuefstein family for the “Türkensaal” hall of their Greillenstein Castle in Austria. As Eleanor Sims has pointed out, Kuefstein had explanatory legends added to these paintings that reminded him of the places where he served as ambassador, so that his guests who saw these paintings would understand what was happening in this exotic land. One of these paintings is entitled “A Scene from the Turkish Harem”, which was part of the “Intersecting Worlds: Ambassadors and Painters” exhibition. The note on the painting reads: “Since it was not customary for elite Turkish ladies to leave their houses or meet strangers, they would invite each other to their houses and entertain themselves with dance, comedy, and similar activities.” As Lady Mary Wortley Montagu writes in her book entitled The Turkish Embassy Letters, such harem visits were quite common.

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3 Apart from the ones at the Greillenstein Castle, smaller gouache paintings are exhibited at the Perchtoldsdorf Museum near Vienna, while some are in private collections.

Claes Broström Ralamb, who was sent to Istanbul as the special envoy of Karl Gustaf X, King of Sweden, exhibited the paintings he commissioned during his stay in Istanbul at his own residence upon his return, just like Kuefstein. Ralamb, who came to Istanbul in 1657 and stayed there for nine months, wrote his experiences here in detail in the journal he kept. One of the events described in his journal is the alay-i hümâyûn (royal procession) of Sultan Mehmed IV. Ralamb watched from his rented house Mehmed IV and his retinue leave for Edirne on September 24, 1657 probably on a hunting expedition, and wrote about it in his journal; he also commissioned a series of paintings depicting the procession. There are twenty paintings in the series about the procession of a total of 170 people. Marked from A to U, these paintings are at the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm, and in the white rolls of paper on the bottom part of the paintings, there are explanations in Swedish regarding the figures in the imperial procession. Quite naïve in their style, these paintings depict the clothes in great detail, and although the artist is unknown, but from the note in the account book kept by Olof Hansson, the servant of the envoy, which states that “Ditto paid the Pole who painted the Sultan’s departure for Edirne,” we know that the artist was Polish. It is impossible that such large paintings were completed during the short period Ralamb stayed in Istanbul, which probably means that the Polish artist drew sketches, and once the envoy returned to Sweden these were turned into oil paintings by local artists. One view holds that the aforementioned Polish man was Albertus Bobowski, music instructor and translator at the palace of Mehmed IV. In his journal, Ralamb frequently wrote about Bobowski, who later converted to Islam and took the name Ali Ufki Bey.  

Another visual document frequently commissioned by ambassadors is the costume albums. Nicolas de Nicolay, the chamberlain and geographer of the King of France, came to Istanbul in 1551 with the French ambassador Gabriel d’Aramon, and his book entitled Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et pérégrinations orientales is one of the primary sources of the period introducing Turkish costumes and life to Europeans. This is followed by Lorck’s album, who came to Istanbul as part of Busbecq’s retinue. Such costume albums became more common after the 16th century, and in order to meet the demand, studios were established in Istanbul, probably in Pera, where local and foreign artists worked. These albums, which introduced Ottoman society to Europe, were also sources of inspiration for many artists who had never been to Turkey. The costume album made by Lambert de Vos for the Habsburgian ambassador Karel Rijm, who lived in Istanbul between 1569 and 1574, and the costume


album entitled *Illuminiert Türk.enbuch*, commissioned by ambassador David Ungnad who followed Rijm, were noteworthy examples. Only copies of this last album is in existence today, and it presented scenes from Ottoman daily life and life at the palace, as well as portraits of sultans. Among the paintings the Swedish envoy Ralamb took back to his country was a costume album consisting of 137 miniatures he had bought or commissioned while he was in Istanbul.\(^7\)

As Philip Mansel points out, there were no big painting collections in Constantinople; traditions based on religion prohibited sultans or viziers commissioning or buying paintings, and Christian families like the Mavrocordatos or the Testas had neither the inclination nor the courage to buy paintings in Constantinople. As a result, the most beautiful paintings of Istanbul in the 17th and 18th centuries did not hang on the walls of the city itself but in the "Turkish rooms" of the Swedish mansions and Austrian or French castles that belonged to the heirs of the ambassadors.\(^8\)

A good example of this is the Bibly collection. Gustaf Celsing, who became the resident ambassador of Sweden in 1747, and Ulric Celsing, his brother who replaced him in 1770, gathered a collection of over 100 Ottoman paintings during the time they were in Istanbul. Among these were the family tree of the Ottoman dynasty, panoramas of Istanbul, costumes, Sadabad and Bosphorus palaces, and two reception ceremonies showing Gustaf Celsing and Ulric Celsing with the sultan. The artists of these paintings were the Dutch artist Jan van der Steen\(^9\) and probably the French artists Antoine de Favray and Louis-Nicolas de Lespinasse, and they are displayed at the Bibly mansion, the family house of the Celsings near Stockholm. From a note by Ulric Celsing dated October 14, 1777, in which he mentions the names Raphael\(^10\) and Bogos Tarsviri, we understand that the envoy also worked with local artists.\(^11\)

Internal strife and the deterioration of military and economic order led to the demise of Ottoman power, which alleviated the fear of the Turk in Europe, and the West came to form more relaxed relations with the East. The Ottoman Empire realized that it had fallen behind the West in many aspects, and turned its face towards Europe, which brought a new dimension to these relations. Through diplomatic, cultural, military, and commercial relations, the Ottomans learned about Western culture, and in turn, Europeans came to appreciate the qualities of the Ottomans, leading to the rise of Eastern exoticism. During this century, besides the legations to the Ottoman Empire, the Ottomans also sent long-term envoys to Europe, who were instrumental in instigating a Turquerie fashion in Europe, especially in France. This fashion led to a notable increase in the number of artists coming to Istanbul together with the foreign envoys and the number of artists working in liaison with the embassies. One of the most famous artists of this type was Jean-Baptiste Vanmour of Valenciennes. As can be surmised from his obituary that appeared in *Mercure de France*, which stated that "M. de Ferriol called him in 1699 for d'apres nature paintings,"\(^12\) the artist came to Istanbul with Marquis de Ferriol, the French envoy, and began working in his service. Upon the envoy's request, Vanmour prepared a costume album consisting of one hundred figures. Various ethnic groups, classes, and occupations of the Ottoman Empire and especially those in the capital and the palace were depicted in the album in special costumes, and most of these were painted based on the personal observations of the artist. Upon his return to Paris, Ferriol had these paintings Vanmour made between 1707 and 1708 reproduced as engravings, which were then published in 1712-1713 under the title *Receuil des cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant*. The album was a success, translated into many languages, and constituting a source of inspiration for Turquerie paintings of many artists who had never seen Turkey, such as Antoine Watteau and Giovanni Antonio Guardi, as well as porcelain figurines and Ottoman costume pictures in books published in the 18th and 19th centuries. It is highly probable that the two paintings entitled Janissary and Imam in the *Intersecting Worlds: Ambassadors and Painters* exhibition were probably the original paintings by Vanmour made for the engravings in *Receuil des cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant*.

The four envoy reception scenes, found again in this exhibition, constitute a very important theme in Ottoman history, and made Vanmour a much sought-after artist among ambassadors. After Ferriol departed from Istanbul, Vanmour remained the official artist of the French embassy and rapidly attained great fame in Istanbul, his studio turning into a meeting place of Istanbul's high society, with ambassadors frequently paying visits to see him.

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\(^7\) The album is currently at the National Library in Stockholm.


\(^9\) Francis (Francesco) Smith, a Naples-born artist who accompanied Frederick Cavelvert, the Sixth Baron of Baltimore, during his trip to the Near East and Istanbul between 1763 and 1764, writes in his letter of 1771, which is now in the archives of the Celsing family, that he will paint two landscapes for the ambassador, and continues: "I am very glad that you are corresponding with M. an der Steen, who is a very talented painter."

\(^10\) Raphael, the Armenian painter.

\(^11\) I am grateful to Anna Sophia von Celsing and her siblings for making these archives available to us during our visit to the Bibly mansion in Escholstona on December 19, 2011.

\(^12\) *Mercure de France*, juin 1737, p.1173-1175.
at work. Vanmour also made paintings depicting the French ambassadors Marquis de Bonnac and Vicomte d'Andrézel as well as the bailo of Venice, the Dutch ambassador Cornelis Calkoen, and the British ambassador Abraham Stanyan received by Sultan Ahmed III and Sadrazam Ibrahim Pasha at Topkapi Palace. A document found in the Imperial Archives at Den Haag mentions the Dutch Ambassador Calkoen presenting an artist to the palace to have him pant his reception. 14 This shows that Vanmour attended this ceremony in person. Since the protocol of envoy reception ceremonies always followed the same order, the artist used the same framework in these paintings, only renewing the legations and making minor alterations. The four paintings in this exhibition probably show Francesco Gritti, the bailo of Venice who served in Istanbul between 1723 and 1726. However, Vanmour did not paint the reception ceremony of Marquis de Ferriol, who had brought him to Istanbul. This might be due to what is known as l'affaire de l'épée. Ferriol went to Topkapi Palace on January 5, 1700, to present his credential letter to the sultan, and after having lunch with the sadrazam, he put on the hilat given but refused to take off his sword despite the fact that no one was allowed near the sultan with their weapons; as a result, the sultan, who had come all the way from Edirne for this meeting, was kept waiting, and in the end, Ferriol was refused audience and left.

Commissions by foreign envoys in Istanbul were not limited to reception ceremonies, portraits, landscapes or costume albums. For example, the French Naval Minister, who was trying to reorganize fishing services, asked envoys to send reports about fisheries in the countries they served, adding that he wanted to commission drawings to illustrate the "general treaty of fisheries". One of these envoys was the French ambassador Marquis de Bonnac. In a letter to M. de Morville dated September 25, 1723, Bonnac wrote:

Drawings such as these take up as much time as a painting. In order to make use of M. Van Mour’s extraordinary talent in depicting the poses and costumes of the Turks I thought of having them drawn not with a quill but with a brush... I commissioned him twelve of these, each with a length of twenty four thumbs commensurate with its height. All of them are about fishing, but the variety of the backgrounds of the paintings and the people will cover almost everything

that is pleasurable in the landscape of this country and give a general idea of it. In this manner, his work will not disappear as it would have with a quill. As a matter of fact, there may be some one who wants to make carpets out of these paintings in order to bring variety to the usual designs. I hope to be able to send them around April next year.\textsuperscript{15}

As Eveline Sint Nicolaas points out, this commission resulted in the French state's recognizing Vanmour's artistic talents and providing him with income for a certain period. Ambassador Bonnac proved a real patron for Vanmour, and after he returned to France he was instrumental in Vanmour's receiving the title of "The Artist of the King and the Levant", which had never been given to another French artist until then.\textsuperscript{16}

Western envoys also commissioned many panoramas depicting the natural and historic beauties of the city. View of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, by Antione de Favray, artist and Maltese Knight who came to Istanbul during Mustafa III's reign and stayed for eight years, constitutes one of the finest examples of these. The Kaptan Pasha galley, which had been hijacked by Christian pirates while docked at Kos island and taken to Malta, was returned to Istanbul in 1762 accompanied by the frigate L'Oiseau; Favray came to Istanbul on this frigate and lived here until 1771. When he arrived in Istanbul, Comtes de Vergennes did everything to make him part of his retinue, and according to Auguste Boppe who cites Mariette, he took hold of Favray and never let him go.\textsuperscript{17} Sometime after his arrival, the artist presented the ambassador, who had played an important role in the return of the Kaptan Pasha galley, a panorama of Istanbul that would remind him of the galley's arrival in Istanbul.\textsuperscript{18} Although Favray stayed at the French Embassy, he made his painting in the garden of the Russian Embassy, which had a wider panorama. As can be seen from the Istanbul panorama at the Intersecting Worlds: Ambassadors and Painters exhibition, the artist created similar paintings afterwards. Two of these were made for his friend the Maltese Knight Etienne-François Turgot. In his letters to Turgot concerning the matter, Favray described in detail the districts and important buildings seen in the painting, and made an interesting observation:

\textsuperscript{15} Boppe, 1989, p. 38-41.
\textsuperscript{17} Boppe, 1989, p. 101.
\textsuperscript{18} This painting, which was preserved by the ambassador's family for a long time, disappeared during the German occupation of WWII. Boppe, p. 303, f. 10.

52
Here one does not have the freedom to paint wherever one wants. I was able to paint a few houses by the sea only by giving money and then only for a short period; the rich are not prejudiced like common folk but are afraid that they or their own servants will rat on them. But that can never happen to one at a palace of an ambassador in Pera.19

As can be easily gathered from these words, working in connection with embassies made life much easier for artists, and thanks to the permissions obtained through these embassies, artists found the opportunity to enter prohibited places and paint them.

The ambassadors in Istanbul, influenced to a degree by the Turquerie fashion in Europe, liked to dress in Turkish costumes and have their paintings made wearing them. During his term in Istanbul, Favray made paintings of ambassador Vergennes and his wife in Ottoman costumes. The artist depicted the French ambassador with a red caftan with fur lapels, yellow shoes, a scribe kavuk on his head, a jeweled dagger in his waistband, a pipe in one hand, an onyx rosary in the other, sitting on a divan; he painted the ambassador’s wife, who was originally from Pera, in silk and wearing valuable jewels, again on a divan, with her legs akimbo.

Another interesting document regarding Favray is the letter, now among the Celsing family collection, written by John Dodsworth, the British consul in Malta, to ambassador Gustaf Celsing in December 1761. The consul asked Dodsworth to be the patron of M. Favray, the one who brought him the letter, and continued: “M. Favray is a famous artist, and a person of great talent, for whom I have utmost respect; I believe it was curiosity that brought him to Constantinople. I hope he will... be privy to the favor and goodwill of your excellency.”20 This indicates that Favray most probably worked for the Celsings as well. The similarity between some figures in the Istanbul scenes of the Bibly collection and those in Favray’s paintings is also striking.

When the French ambassador Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier came to Istanbul in 1784, the Palais de France in Beyoğlu had been completely renovated by Comte de Saint Priest, the previous ambassador. The new ambassador turned the place into a center for the arts. Auguste Boppe says the following concerning this period:

Choiseul-Gouffier, who had been avidly interested in ancient Greek civilization since his youth, made a research trip to Greece and Turkey in 1776-1777 before being appointed as ambassador to Istanbul, and he was accompanied on this journey by Jean-Baptiste Hilaire, draftsman. Afterwards, Choiseul Gouffier published a book entitled Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce (1782), which led him to being chosen to the Académie Française as well as being appointed ambassador to Istanbul; the illustrations in this book are by Hilaire. These reflect the Istanbul before the renovation attempts by Mahmoud II, and are therefore documents of great value. These detailed illustrations formed the basis of many Orientalist paintings made afterwards. Hilaire painted panoramic city landscapes, pictures depicting Ottoman life, traditions and costumes, as well as a gouache portrait of Abdüllahmi I. The artist was fond of painting landscapes together with life scenes; in his painting entitled Yeni Cami and the port of Istanbul, he makes a reference to his patron Choiseul-Gouffier by showing the ancient works collected for the ambassador being loaded onto a ship to be sent to France.

When Choiseul-Gouffier left Toulon, France on August 4, 1784 for Istanbul to assume his new post, he took with him a team of draftsmen and engravers he had assembled for the projects he had created during his travels is Greece. One member of that team was Louis-François Cassas, who stayed in Istanbul for a few weeks and then left for a trip that would last until 1796, visiting Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Cyprus, and Egypt, and that year he also went to Anatolia and the Greek Islands. After going back to France, the artist published his paintings with the financial support of the ambassador, under the title Voyage pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phénicie, de la Palestine et de la Basse-Egypte. The Acropolis of Athens and the Zeus Temple of Olympia are souvenirs of that trip. Besides these, Cassas also painted eastern costumes, landscapes, scenes from daily life, and ceremonies. His Istanbul landscapes were shown at the Paris Exhibitions of 1804 and 1814, which depict Istanbul from angles favored by Western

References:
19 Boppe, 1989, p. 112.
20 I am grateful to Anna Sophia von Celsing and her siblings for making these archives available to us during our visit to the Bibly mansion in Eskilstuna on December 19, 2011.
audiences. ‘Panorama of Sarayburnu’ is also an important work in that it documents buildings no longer in existence today.

Lady Elizabeth Craven, who came to Istanbul in 1786 and stayed at Palais de France, recounted her impressions of Choiseul-Gouffier in the following manner:

He has some artists with him, whose pencils he has employed to collect all the finest drawings coloured, of the finest ruins that exist either in Europe or Asia, where an artist could venture – Monsieur Casas, one of them, has been plundered by Arabs several times; but his beautiful and accurate drawings will gain him immortal honour. The Comte de Choiseul’s collection is, perhaps, the only thing in the world of the kind, and he means, when he returns to Paris, to have all the ruins and temples executed in plaster of Paris, or some materials which will copy the marble, in small models; to be placed in a gallery upon tables... At night when we have no visitors, and all the ambassador’s business is done, he comes into my room, followed by Mr. Casas and a few more people, with large portefeuilles full of these most beautiful drawings, and we pass three or four hours looking over them, and conversing upon topics which are my favourites. It is a singular instance of good taste in a Frenchman, to have given himself up ten years ago to the finding and collecting all that is really best worthy of record, as to the ancient architecture... when he was but two-and-twenty, taking the most perilous journeys to find out new antiquities, if I may so call them, must endear him to all lovers of the fine arts.

Edouard-Antoine de Thouvenel, also known as Comte de Lallemand, commissioned his portrait to Adolph Diedrich Kindermann a year before he came to Istanbul, which was part of the Intersecting Worlds: Ambassadors and Painters exhibition; while he was the head of the political bureau at the foreign ministry, he was sent by Napoléon III to Istanbul to counter the growing influence of Stratford Canning, the English ambassador in Istanbul, vis-à-vis the Ottomans. There are two paintings from his term in the exhibition, both by Fabius Brest. His cousin Countess Marie de Melfort, who accompanied his wife Marie Thouvenel, wrote in one of her letters that there were two talented artists in Constantinople, one of them being Mister Charles Labbé, who made beautiful paintings for the sultan, and the other Fabius Brest, a young man from Marseilles who painted the beautiful corners of Istanbul and the Bosphorus. Brest must have befriended the ambassador and his family, for he has made two watercolor paintings of both the Palais de France at Pera and the summer residence at Tarabya. In the latter, the boat with five pairs of oars is the ambassador’s boat, and on the reverse side of the painting, a note says Thouvenel and his family are in the boat.

In terms of patronage of the arts, the French ambassadors in Istanbul have led the way. Compared to the French, the British ambassadors were more interested in archaeology than painting. Lord Elgin, who served as ambassador between 1799 and 1803, dismantled many pieces of the Temple of Parthenon in Athens with the firman (written permission) of the sadrazam and took it to England, and later sold them to the British Museum. Stratford Canning, the ambassador between 1842 and 1858, was influential in the transfer of Assyrian antiquities and the reliefs and statues of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus to England, today exhibited at the British Museum. In addition to his interest in ancient works, Canning also had a Greek painter working for him, as mentioned in the memoirs of Charles Cockerell, an architect who was in Istanbul in 1810:

Mr. Canning, whose courtesy he showed at every opportunity I cannot praise too much, lent me a big collection of paintings by a local Greek of the interiors of mosques, never painted before, as well as some other quite strange buildings rendered true to their originals, leaving me greatly in his debt.

The Greek painter mentioned here has other works, made around 1809, showing Sultan Mahmud going to the Friday prayers, the interior of Hagia Sophia, Stratford Canning’s dinner with the Kaymakam, his visit to the tekke of the Rüfai dervishes, the janissaries gathered at Topkapi Palace for their pay, and greased wrestling in the palace garden. It is interesting to note that unlike customary practice, Canning employed a local painter instead of a European one.

As Sarah Searight writes in her book entitled The British in the Middle East, it was only with Sir Robert Ainslie’s term in the last quarter of the eighteenth century that the British embassy began to compete with the French in commissioning paintings with

23 Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe after 1852.
24 La Baronne Durand de Fontmagne, Un Séjour a l’Ambassade de France à Constantinople, Paris: Pion-Nourit et Cie, 1902, p. 81.
Turkish subject matter. Unlike his predecessors, Ainslie easily adapted to Istanbul life. According to St. James Chronicle of December 9, 1790, he grew much attached to the lifestyle of the people, acting and dressing like a Muslim senior official at home, in his garden, and at his table, in short, becoming “as Turk as can be”. This appearance greatly pleased the local people, making him more popular than all the other Christian ambassadors. Luigi Mayer, the salaried painter of the ambassador, received his art training in Rome, painted landscapes for the king of Naples for a period, and was employed by Ainslie in 1786; in return for 50 English guineas a year, he began documenting the things that interested the ambassador. During this period, Mayer traveled throughout the Ottoman Empire and painted ruins from the antiquity, scenes from daily life, landscapes, and architecture. Mayer returned to England in 1794 with Ainslie, and published the aquatints of the watercolors he had made with Ainslie’s support in three volumes, entitled Views in Egypt, Views in Palestine, and Views in the Ottoman Empire, chiefly in Caramania. Mayer married Clara Barthold, daughter of Sir Robert Ainslie’s translator Mr. Barthold, while still in Istanbul. Clara herself was a painter, making watercolor Istanbul landscapes closely resembling those of her husband, as can be seen in her works at the Intersecting Worlds exhibition.

Another interesting work in the Intersecting Worlds: Ambassadors and Painters exhibition is the ‘Daughter of the British Ambassador Riding a Palanquin’, by Fausto Zonaro. As far as can be gathered, the artist came to know about Istanbul while he was still in Italy through the writings of Edmondo de Amicis and Théophile Gautier, and disclosed his desire to visit the city to his diplomat friends, obtaining recommendation letters from them to be taken to their colleagues in Istanbul. Zonaro left Venice for Istanbul in 1891, and shortly established his name by placing his paintings in the window of Zelig’s bookstore, the appearance of his painting entitled ‘Il Banditore’ in Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung, and the reprinting of the article in the Leipziger on his painting in full in Stamboul. The Italian ambassador Count Collobiano, Commendatore Pansa, the Russian ambassador Nellidov, the German ambassador Prince Radolin and Baron Marshall von Bieberstein, the Austrian ambassador Baron Calice, and the British Ambassador Lord Currie were among those diplomats who bought paintings from the artist. This is how Zonaro describes the making of the painting entitled ‘Daughter of the British Ambassador Riding a Palanquin’:

In the meantime, the British Embassy was getting ready for an important event. The daughter of the ambassador was to marry a diplomat and the ambassador (Currie) asked for a painting: the palanquin of the bride going to the church for the wedding. The scene would be the garden with the Golden Horn in the background. I determined the location of the composition. Two kavasses posed for me for a few days wearing costumes with purl stripes and carrying the palanquin. The ambassador wanted the painting to look like her daughter. Considering the distance and the light, and the head inside the palanquin the size of a coin, this was no easy task. I did my best.

Through the intermediation of the Russian ambassador Nellidov and the Emcee of the Palace Münir Paşa, both of whom were his close friends, Zonaro presented his painting showing the Ertuğrul Cavalcade marching over the Galata Bridge; he was given the Medjidi medal and appointed Court Painter.

In this period, we do not see artists working in the hire of embassies anymore. Improvements in transportation meant that many Western artists could easily come to Istanbul and work independently, while on the other hand photography developed to the detriment of the demand for Orientalist painting. However, the patronage of the arts by ambassadors during previous periods provided a big support for western artists both financially and morally, thus helping to document many sights and views of the Ottoman Empire that would otherwise have been forgotten. For that, we must be grateful to the artists who created these works as well as the western ambassadors who commissioned them.

27 https://www.reading.ac.uk/web/FILES/special-collections/featureegypt.pdf
30 Zonaro, 2008, p. 76.
Often used as one of the clearest indications of status and identity in Western art since Antiquity, portraits also served a similar purpose for ambassadors. Furthermore, documenting the physiognomy of ambassadors through portraiture was also regarded as a precautionary measure against espionage. Portraits were painted of European ambassadors sent to the Ottoman Empire as high-level officials that have attained great respectability; artists to which these portraits were commissioned strived to reflect not only the physiognomy of the ambassadors, but the power and authority of the state and the ruler they represented.

The Ottoman State's political, military, commercial, and cultural relations with European states gained momentum from the 18th century onwards. In turn, the visits Ottoman ambassadors paid to Western countries accelerated the spread of the Turquerie fashion of the period. While portraits of Ottoman ambassadors painted by renowned artists of the countries to which they were assigned served to honor the Ottoman Sultan and his representative, they also nurtured the West's penchant for exoticism. There is no doubt that the ever-changing trends, fashions, as well as the purpose of diplomatic visits and political relations were reflected in the portraits. For example, while Kozbekçi Mustafa Ağa, who was sent to Sweden to collect debts, is portrayed standing alike a western emperor, Yusuf Agâh Efendi, who left for England in the late 18th century as the first permanent ambassador of the Ottoman Porte, is depicted entirely in an eastern pose with the rosary beads he holds in his hand against a western background. When French Ambassador Comte de Vergennes commissioned portraits of himself and his wife in Ottoman attire per the Turquerie fashion, he was depicted in an eastern pose, thereby clearly emphasizing that he served as ambassador in Istanbul.

Paintings depicting the audience of European ambassadors at the Ottoman court constitute a special group of works that not only demonstrate a diplomatic event and reflect court traditions and officials in a range of attires, but they also act as portraits of foremost individuals, such as the sultan and the grand vizier. Borne directly out of and as a consequence of the realm of ambassadorial service, the best-known examples of this genre have been executed by Jean-Baptiste Vanmour.
The series of paintings depicting the audience ceremonies of European ambassadors hold a unique place among the works of Jean-Baptiste Vanmour of Valenciennes, who lived in Istanbul from 1699 until his death in 1737. Depicting, in sequence, the audience ceremony of a Venetian balio at the Topkapı Palace, this particular series of four paintings is distinct from its counterparts and is of particular importance as it includes a painting that portrays the ambassadorial procession traversing the city, as well as two paintings that bear the signature of the artist. Dressed in clothes unique to Venetian bailies, the ambassador in the paintings is presumably Francesco Gritti, who served in Istanbul between 1723 and 1726.

The welcoming of Venetian bailies to Ottoman lands would begin with the arrival of the ambassadorial delegation in Gökçeada; the number of ships present in the welcoming ceremony was of considerable importance. Francesco Gritti was greeted with two galleys and the firing of fifteen salvos. After being offered a selection of treats, the balio and his retinue, dressed in official attire, would enter the city with a procession attended by the public. The audience of the ambassadors at the Palace often coincided with the day of ulule, on which the Janissaries received their pay every three months; as the ambassadorial procession passed through the second courtyard of Topkapı Palace, they would observe the Janissaries, who, having received their pay, would scramble for the plates of food on the ground. Known as çanak yağması, this event was a demonstration of the army’s strength and the soldiers’ allegiance to the sultan in power. Later joining the dinner held by the grand vizier in Kubbealtı, where the Divan-ı Hümayun (Imperial Council of State) meetings took place, the ambassador, flanked by his two dragomans, would be seated at the grand vizier’s table. Once the ambassador and his retinue were dressed in special kaftans known as hilat, they would be taken to the sultan’s audience at Throne Room. A vizier would receive the ambassador’s letter of credentials and the grand vizier would place it on the cushion next to the sultan. Following speeches of mutual good will, the ambassador would bow before the sultan and, walking backwards, leave the Throne Room.
THE AMBASSADORIAL PROCESSION
JEAN-BAPTISTE VANmour
OIL ON CANVAS
88.5 x 120.5 cm., (1725 ?)
THE AMBASSADORIAL DELEGATION PASSING THROUGH THE SECOND COURTYARD OF TOPKAPI PALACE
JEAN-BAPTISTE VANMOUR
OIL ON CANVAS
90 x 121 cm., (1725 ?)
DINNER AT THE PALACE IN HONOUR OF AN AMBASSADOR

JEAN-BAPTISTE VANMOUR

OIL ON CANVAS

90 x 121 cm, (1725 ?)
SULTAN AHMED III RECEIVING
A EUROPEAN AMBASSADOR
JEAN-BAPTISTE VANMOUR
OIL ON CANVAS
90 x 121 cm., (1725 ?)
When Karl XII of Sweden was defeated by Tsar Peter the Great of Russia in 1709, he fled to the Ottoman Empire and settled in Bender with his entourage for five years. During this long stay, all his expenses were covered from the Ottoman budget; he was put on a salary and given loans. When Grand Vizier Damat Ibrahim Paşa undertook the financial restructuring of the Ottoman State in 1727, he sent Kozbекчи Mustafa Ağ a to Stockholm with a retinue of twenty-three people to settle Sweden’s debts. Greeted with much enthusiasm and ostentatious ceremonies, the envoy and his legation stayed at the extant Insenstiernska House in Sweden. At the end of the fifteen month stay, which was no doubt further prolonged by unfavorable weather conditions, Kozbекчи Mustafa Ağ a returned to Istanbul empty handed despite the promises and expressions of good will.

In November 1732, seasoned Ottoman diplomat Mehmed Said Efendi set out for the same mission. Mehmed Said Efendi had visited Paris with his father Yirmisekiz Mehmed Celebi; he was well versed in European politics and was recognized for his involvement in the establishment of the first printing house in the Ottoman Empire. Reaching Stockholm with his legation of forty-three in May 1733, Mehmed Said Efendi conveyed, in his Sefaretname (literally, book of embassy mission), the grand ceremonies held in his honor, the meetings on the settlement of debts, his observations on Stockholm and Sweden, as well as the information he collected. Apart from the Sefaretname, another important source on this visit is the letter the Ottoman ambassador wrote to Comtesse Hedwig de la Gardie in French. Although Mehmed Said Efendi failed to collect the debt—which at the time was calculated as 25,000 kurus— and received a letter of guarantee instead, he did observe a potential alliance between Russia and Sweden—a possibility that troubled the Ottomans. In the ensuing years, the debt in question was settled once Sweden gave the Ottoman State a war ship and guns in parallel with the developments regarding a commercial treaty between the two countries.

Kozbекчи Mustafa Ağ a, Mehmed Said Efendi, and their respective legations were the subjects of monumentally sized portraits painted by Schröder, artist to King Fredrik I. Several elements, such as the figures representing the legations of the ambassadors, are repeated in the paintings. Furthermore, smaller replicas of these compositions were executed by artists of the Schröder School.
KOZBEKÇİ MUSTAFA AĞA
AND HIS RETINUE

GEORGE ENGELHARDT
SCHRÖDER

OIL ON CANVAS
227 x 140 cm., (1727-1728 ?)
MEHMED SAİD EFENDİ
AND HIS RETINE
GEORGE ENGELHARDT
SCHRÖDER
OIL ON CANVAS
113 x 142 cm., (1733 ?)
KOZBEKCİ MUSTAFA ĀĞA
UNKNOWN PAINTER
(FROM GEORGE ENGELHARDT SCHRÖDER)
OIL ON CANVAS
39 x 45 cm., (18th century, after 1727)
MEHMET SAİD EFENDİ
UNKNOWN PAINTER
(FROM GEORGE ENGELHARDT SCHRÖDER)
OIL ON CANVAS
45 x 38 cm, (18th century)
Having been appointed to various posts in Portugal and Spain, French diplomat Charles Gravier, Comte de Vergennes (1719–1787) arrived in Istanbul in 1755 as minister plenipotentiary and was soon made full ambassador, a post he held until he was recalled to France in 1768. During his mission, the role of France in the Ottoman State’s trade with the west increased; just as France had intended, the same year Gravier left Istanbul, the Ottomans reentered war with the increasingly strengthening Imperial Russia. A French military officer of Hungarian origin in the retinue of Vergennes, Baron de Tott contributed towards the renewal of the Ottoman army. Partly due to his diplomatic achievements in Sweden after he left Istanbul, Comte de Vergennes was appointed as foreign minister during the reign of King Louis XVI. He played an instrumental role in the American War of Independence with his policies in favor of the liberation process. Without seeking the King Louis the XVIII’s consent, Gravier had married Anette de Viviers (1730–1798), the widow of a merchant from Pera, after he lived with her for several years and fathered two children out of wedlock. This marriage is cited among the reasons that prompted Gravier’s recall to France.

Comte de Vergennes had taken French artist Antoine de Favray in his retinue upon the latter’s arrival in Istanbul in 1762; when he left Istanbul, he entrusted de Favray to the new French ambassador Saint Priest. Before he arrived in Istanbul, de Favray, a Knight himself, was recognized for his portraits of the Grand Master and knights of the Order of St. John in Malta, as well as his depictions of Maltese women. Hijacked to Malta by mutinying Christian slaves, the Kapitan Paşa galley was bought by France upon the advice of Vergennes, who kept his country’s relations with the Ottoman Empire in regard, and was returned to the Ottomans. De Favray arrived in Istanbul aboard this vessel, painted an Istanbul panorama to commemorate this event, as well as the ambassador’s audience with Sultan Osman III. He was commissioned to make portraits of Comte and Comtesse de Vergennes - the ambassador’s new wife - in Turkish attire shortly before Gravier left Istanbul. The paintings stand out with the meticulous attention to detail in clothes and accessories.

During the nine years he spent in Istanbul, de Favray first lived at the French Palace and later at the Russian Palace, executed portraits of individuals in the embassy circles, and painted genre scenes of Levantine women, as well as Istanbul panoramas from the hills of Pera.
PORTRAIT OF CHARLES GRAVIER
COUNT OF VERGENNES
AND FRENCH AMBASSADOR,
IN TURKISH ATTIRE
ANTOINE DE FAVRAY
OIL ON CANVAS
141.5 x 113 cm., (1766)
PORTRAIT OF COUNTESS OF VERGENNES IN TURKISH ATTIRE

ANTOINE DE FAVRAY

OIL ON CANVAS

129 x 96 cm., (1768)
During the meeting held in 1793 at the seaside mansion of the reisülkiättab (chief scribe) in Bebek, a decision was made to establish the first permanent embassy of the Ottoman State in England for the “necessary implementation of the ambassadorial system as per the European standards.” Consequently, the Morean scribe of the navy Yusuf Ağâh Efendi was appointed as the first ambassador. As soon as Sir Robert Ainslie, the British ambassador to Istanbul, arranged the details of the journey, the delegation left for London in October 1793. Passing through Austria, Germany, and Belgium, the delegation arrived at the Port of Ostend, crossed the English Channel in stormy weather, and set foot in England by way of sea. Upon reaching Dover, salvo fires and a military band welcomed the delegation.

In a letter he wrote to Foreign Minister Lord Grenville, General Smith, who was among the group that greeted the delegation, described Yusuf Ağâh Efendi as an “amiable and respectable old man,” sirkâtibi (secretary) Mahmud Raif Efendi as “young and sensible,” and chief translator Emanuel Persiani “appears to have some share of cleverness”. Arriving in London nearly two months after leaving Istanbul, the delegation first stayed at the Royal Hotel in Pall Mall and later settled into the residence they picked out on Adams Street in Adelphi, along the Thames. Every week on Wednesdays, they would join King George III’s audience held for high-level officials and ambassadors; on Thursdays, they would participate in the functions Queen Charlotte organized where women and members of the royal family were also present. However, due to the eight-month delay in the arrival of the gifts and letters of credentials shipped from Istanbul, and in the absence of the King in London, they were able to present their letters of credence and officially assume their duties fourteen months after their arrival. The audience was coincided with the opening of the Parliament on 29 January 1795 and thus took place amidst a grand procession of more than twenty horse carriages and two hundred guards. The gifts, including guns encrusted with precious stones, Arabian horses with gold tackles, and silk fabrics that Sultan Selim III had sent were presented to the King, the Queen, the Prince of Wales, The Duke of Portland, and the Foreign Minister. Often in attendance at the banquets participated by high-level bureaucrats in London, Yusuf Ağâh Efendi had a monumentally-sized portrait made by Swedish artist Carl Fredrik von Breda, who was known for the portraits he painted at his studio on St. James Street.

Yusuf Ağâh Efendi’s ambassadorial mission ended in July 1797. The Havadisname (collection of news) he prepared, as well as the detailed report Mahmud Raif Efendi wrote in French not only include political events, but also offer numerous observations on British economy and social life, the structure of the Parliament, the working of the political system, palace customs, the city of London, universities, and factories.
YUSUF AGĂH EFENDİ
CARL FREDRIK VON BREDA
OIL ON CANVAS
240 x 148 cm., (1894-1896)
Paintings by artists under the patronage of western ambassadors mainly carried weight as visual documents at times, whereas in other instances, they were appreciated as works that commemorated this prestigious service, popularizing and transmitting the name of each ambassador from one country or generation to the next. It is possible to assume that the Ottoman scenes Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein—the Holy Roman Empire’s ambassador to the Ottoman Porte—commissioned were documentation-oriented works when they were initially executed. On the other hand, Recueil Ferriot, the book of engravings that Marquis Charles de Ferriot had published based on the paintings of Jean-Baptiste Vanmour had a considerable impact; not only did the book immortalize the ambassador’s legacy, but it influenced other artists with the subsequent editions released in different countries at different times.

As of the 18th century, western artists living in İstanbul became an indispensable part of the European way of social life developed around the embassies in Pera. Conceived as a “suburb of Paris,” this western setting provided painters with a milieu from which they received commissions that enabled them to meet their social needs and thus sustained their life in İstanbul. The interest ambassadors such as Choiseul-Gouffier and Robert Ainslie had in the archaeology and picturesque views of Antiquity during the second half of that century, as well as the paintings they commissioned and books they published in line with their world view reflecting the ideology of the Enlightenment, appear to be competing with one another as the harbingers of 19th-century Romanticism.

By the 19th century, western ambassadors assumed the role of patrons for Orientalist painters in İstanbul, such as Fabius Brest or Fausto Zonaro, who ventured out towards the exotic East independently of a diplomatic entourage. Similar, for example, to his painting that depicts British ambassador Sir Philip W. Currie’s daughter in a palanquin to be used on her wedding ceremony, Zonaro received commissions from ambassadors and ambassadorial circles prior to becoming Abdülhamid II’s court painter, and he was introduced to the Ottoman Palace by way of Russian ambassador Aleksandr Nelidov.
In 1628, Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II sent Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein as ambassador to Istanbul. There is no doubt that the most important works von Kuefstein left behind after having spent nearly a year in the city, were a series of paintings he commissioned. In 1627, the two empires had agreed to extend -for another twenty years- the truce made in 1606. A year later, a decision was made to exchange ambassadors to cement the agreement. Hence, as Sultan Murad IV sent Recep Pasha to Vienna, von Kuefstein left his pregnant wife behind and headed for Istanbul. Born during his term in Istanbul, his daughter was duly named Constantina.

Apart from the exchange ceremony of ambassadors held at the border point near the Danube and audience scenes with the sultan, the grand vizier, and a vizier, the paintings von Kuefstein commissioned also include depictions of the ambassadorial delegation's entrance to Istanbul, Harmani Han -where the delegation was accommodated during the journey-, views of Atmeydani and Sultanahmed Mosque, figurative works depicting various Ottoman types of people, as well as a series of genre scenes including funerary and wedding processions, and a street view with shops. In his notes, von Kuefstein makes no mention of having included a painter in his retinue; however, a document declaring the names of delegation members reveals two painters named Franz Hermann and Hans Gemminger, as well as Valentin Mueller, who appears to be Hermann's apprentice. Based on observations, the notes taken, and older visual sources, the works are assumed to have been painted in Vienna. Executed in gouache between 1628 and 1629, the series must have served as source material for subsequent large oil paintings. Painted in meticulous detail, the majority of the works include explanatory texts. Serving as an important document due to the date it bears, this particular work portraying the Ottoman harem includes the following explanation: "As it is not customary for distinguished Turkish ladies to leave the house or meet strangers, they invite each other to their homes and amuse themselves with dance, comedy and similar forms of entertainment." Designed in two sections, the lower portion of the composition is dedicated to the welcoming of guests and dancing, whereas the upper portion depicts women with headdresses and embroidered kerchiefs, dancing in the company of a group of musicians playing rebab, tambourine, and santur.
A SCENE FROM THE TURKISH HAREM
FRANZ HERMANN
HANS GEMMINGER
VALENTIN MUELLER
OIL ON CANVAS
130 x 193.5 cm., (1654)
During a visit to Paris in 1699, Jean-Baptiste Vanmour caught the attention of Marquis Charles de Ferriol, who was appointed to Istanbul as the King's special ambassador, and thus accompanied the latter to the Ottoman capital the same year in his retinue. Generally known as an unsuccessful ambassador disregardful of diplomatic protocol to the extent that he was denied entry to the Palace as he refused to surrender his sword before having an audience with the sultan, Ferriol is best recognized today as Vanmour's patron. Ferriol commissioned paintings of Ottoman officials and figures of various peoples (communities) to Vanmour, who wrote that he wanted to "learn everything about the customs and traditions of the Turks." The album of a hundred illustrations the ambassador commissioned upon his return to Paris in 1711 was based on the engravings executed from these works and was published by an engineer named Jacques Le Hay. Briefly known as Recueil Ferriol, the album was printed three times between 1712 and 1715. While there are minor differences between the three editions, they all include, in hierarchical order, Ottoman figures in different attires; sheet music for Sama (whirling of Sufi dervishes), as well as genre scenes like one depicting a funeral and the other depicting whirling dervishes are also added to the albums. Although the foreword notes that Ferriol's engravings are prepared "for mere personal satisfaction," in the announcement published in Mercure de France on Vanmour's death in 1737, the wide influence of the work in France and other European countries is indicated as evidence of the ambassador's "high appreciation of art" and the artist's mastery. According to the foreword, the album, which reflects "the best images of Ottoman society," set a precedent for numerous artists in subsequent periods with respect to Ottoman types and costumes.

Although Vanmour was under the patronage of French ambassadors during the time he spent in Istanbul, he also painted works for other European ambassadors, such as the Dutch ambassador Cornelis Calkoen. When French ambassador Jean-Louis d'Usson, Marquis de Bonnac was recalled in 1725, Vanmour painted for him a series of works on fishery, and, in turn, was awarded the unprecedented title of peintre ordinaire du Roi en Levant (King's painter in the Levant). Nevertheless, despite Vanmour's objections, he was not put on a salary. Vanmour was highly popular among Europeans living in Istanbul at the time, such as people from embassy circles and travelers and is thus presumed to have set up a studio of local painters to meet this high demand. It is also assumed that the studio painters, who reproduced his works, continued to execute paintings after Vanmour's death. The works by Vanmour—or the Vanmour school—that Westerners took back led to the spread of the fashion of Turkish lifestyle; artists such as Antonio Guardi and Etienne Jeaurat produced their own turqueries based on these works.
IMAM

JEAN-BAPTISTE VANMOUR (?)

OIL ON CANVAS

33 x 25 cm.

(first half of the 18th century)
JANISSARY
JEAN BAPTISTE VANMOUR (?)
OIL ON CANVAS
34,5 x 27 cm, (1704 ?)
THE CONVERSATION
THE VANMOUR SCHOOL
OIL ON CANVAS
44 x 62 cm.
(first half of the 19th century)
THE AMBASSADORIAL PROCESSION
UNKNOWN PAINTER
OIL ON CANVAS
126.5 x 239.5 cm.,
(18th century)
PANORAMA OF İSTANBUL

ANTOINE DE FAVRAY

OIL ON CANVAS

100 x 213 cm. (1773)
As the last French ambassador to Istanbul before the Revolution, Comte Marie-Gabriel-Florent-Auguste de Choiseul-Gouffier is recognized in history for his dedication to the Ancient Greek ideal, as well as his passion for cities and ruins of Antiquity. Prior to his appointment as ambassador, Choiseul-Gouffier embarked upon a voyage across the Aegean in 1776 with a group of artists and scientists that included French painter Jean-Baptiste Hilaire. Hilaire drew the majority of the scenes printed as engravings in Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage-Pittoresque de la Grèce*, first published in 1782, which was released after this journey.

Once Choiseul-Gouffier was appointed as ambassador in 1784, in addition to Hilaire he brought French draughtsman and watercolorist Cassas to Istanbul in his retinue. Over the period of a year, Cassas journeyed across Anatolia, the Aegean, Cyprus, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, depicting the places he visited and later spent nearly another year in Istanbul. The nearly three hundred compositions he produced, which include Istanbul views, as well as ancient cities and monuments, were published as engravings in Choiseul-Gouffier's books entitled, *Voyage en Syrie*, *de la Phœnicie, de la Palestine, et la Basse Aegypte* and *Voyage-Pittoresque de la Grèce*. Choiseul-Gouffier visited the Acropolis in Athens, which Cassas had illustrated, and shipped the various ancient reliefs and sculptures he collected with the help of the French consul Louis François Sébastien Fauvel from Istanbul to France, as depicted in Hilaire's work. Refusing to support the new regime established after the French Revolution in 1789, Choiseul-Gouffier did not return to Paris despite being recalled and fled to Russia in 1792. He served as Director of the Academy of Arts and Imperial Public Library under the auspices of Empress Catherine the Great until he returned to Paris in 1802.

The compositions of the painters in Choiseul-Gouffier's retinue, as well as the engraving books he published contributed significantly towards the development of Neoclassicism.
VIEW OF SULTANAHMET MOSQUE FROM KADIKÖY POINT
LOUIS-FRANÇOIS CASSAS
WATERCOLOR ON PAPER
67 x 101 cm.
(1787-1827)
ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS AND
OLIMPAN ZEUS TEMPLE
LOIS-FRANÇOIS CASSAS
WATERCOLOR ON PAPER
67 x 103 cm.
(1787 - 1827)
YENİ CAMİ AND THE PORT OF İSTANBUL
JEAN-BAPTISTE HILAIRE (HILAIRE)
WATERCOLOR ON PAPER
40.5 x 57.5 cm.
(1789)
After he was made knight in England, Scottish Sir Robert Ainslie, 1st Baronet was appointed to Istanbul as ambassador, whereupon he departed from England in May 1776 and reached Istanbul in October. Having served as ambassador until 1792, Sir Ainslie endeavored to increase trade between the two countries and ameliorate the relations that had gone sour during the Russo-Ottoman War. Known for his passion for Antiquity, numismatics, natural history, and the lifestyle of the East, the ambassador created an important collection with the Ottoman and Byzantine works and coins he collected, as well as the paintings he commissioned to artist Luigi Mayer in his retinue. Sir Ainslie strived to live in Istanbul in a manner that reflected Ottoman traditions and lifestyle.

A friend of the ambassador, Germany-born watercolorist Luigi Mayer is known to have arrived in Istanbul after 1786. In order to create the illustrations to be published in Views in Egypt, Views in Palestine, Views in the Ottoman Empire in London as of 1801, he traveled across the Mediterranean coast, Anatolia, the Aegean, the Balkans, and Egypt and executed hundreds of compositions reflecting ancient cities and genre scenes. Upon his return to Istanbul, Mayer married Clara, who is presumably the daughter of Sir Ainslie's dragoman Mr. Barthold. Having taken a close interest in painting, Clara thus became her husband's collaborator and assistant. In their works depicting the final days of 18th century Istanbul, Clara and Luigi Mayer portrayed the picturesque views of the increasingly modernizing and changing city, as well as details from daily life. Even after they returned to England in 1794, the Mayers continued to produce Eastern-oriented watercolors to be engraved. Although they mostly executed landscapes with figures, in 1799, Luigi Mayer painted a portrait of his wife dressed in Turkish attire. Following Luigi Mayer's death in 1803, Clara resumed painting at their house in London's Portman Square and endeavored to publish their works.
VEDUTA DEL CANALE DI GOSPOLI CON LE SECONDE FORTEZZE
ÇANAKKALE- CAPE ABYDOS
ENTRANCE TO THE BOSPHORUS
CLARA BARTHOLOM MEYER
WATERCOLOR ON PAPER
43.5 X 57.5 cm.,
(late 16th century)
VEDUTA DEL CANALE DI COSPOLI ESA DAL VILGIO DI TERAPIA IN...

VIEW OF THE BOSPHORUS AS SEEN FROM TARABYA UNTIL THE ENTRANCE OF THE BLACK SEA

CLAARA BARTHOLD MAYER

OIL ON CANVAS

46.5 x 68 cm.,
(end of 18th century)
THE SULTAN'S PROCESSION ABOARD THE IMPERIAL CAİQUE IN FRONT OF THE IMPERIAL NAVAL ARSENAL IN THE GOLDEN HORN

CLARA BARTHOLD MAYER

WATERCOLOR ON PAPER

51.5 x 69.5 cm., (late 18th century)
Mentre passa il gran sigre con il suo seguito ordinario.
THE SULTAN’S IMPERIAL CAÎQUE
OF THE SHORES OF ÜSKÜDAR

CLAARA BARTHOLD MAYER
WATERCOLOR ON PAPER
47 x 65.5 cm.
(late 18th century)
VIEW OF THE BOSPHORUS AS SEEN FROM HÜNKÄR İŞKELESİ

CLARA BARTHOLD MAYER

WATERCOLOR ON PAPER
51.5 x 70 cm.
(late 18th century)
VIEW OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND EYÜP AS SEEN FROM OKMEYDANI

LUIGI MAYER

WATERCOLOR AND GOUACHE ON PAPER

50.5 x 88.5 cm.

(late 18th century)
VEDUTA DELLA CITTÀ DI COSTANTINOPOLI CON I SUOI SOBORghi PRI...
VIEW OF CONSTANTINOPLE AS SEEN FROM BULGURLU ON THE SLOPES OF ÜSKÜDAR

CLARA BARTHOLD MAYER

WATERCOLOR ON PAPER

42.5 x 57 cm.,
(late 18th century)
VEDUTA DELLA CITTA', E PORTO DI COSTANTINOPOLE PRES
VIEW OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND PORT AS SEEN FROM THE MAIDEN'S TOWER

CLARA BARTHOLD MAYER

WATERCOLOR ON PAPER

42.5 x 57.5 cm.

(late 18th century)
VIEW OF THE BOSPHORUS ENTRANCE (ÜSKÜDAR - SARAYBURNU) AS SEEN FROM DOLMABAHÇE

CLARA BARTHOLD MAYER
WATERCOLOR ON PAPER
52.5 x 71.5 cm.,
(late 18th century)
III, TRA LA PUNTA DEL SERRAGLIO E SCUTARI PRESA DA DULMA-BACGE
VEDUTA DEL CANALE DI COSTANTINOPOLI
VIEW OF THE BOSPHORUS
AS SEEN FROM THE SLOPES
BEYLERBEYİ

CLARA BARTHOLD MAYER

WATERCOLOR ON PAPER
43.5 x 57.5 cm.,
(late 18th century)
French diplomat Edouard Antoine de Thouvenel began his political career in 1850 as the political bureau chief of the foreign ministry and served in Spain, Paris, Brussels, and Athens before he was appointed to Istanbul as ambassador in June of 1855. The son of one of Napoléon I’s generals, the ambassador left his infant son and sick wife behind and arrived in Istanbul on one of the most heated days of the Crimean War. The same year on December 23rd, following a grand procession from the French Palace in Pera to Çırağan Palace, Thouvenel, who served as ambassador until he was recalled in 1860, presented the medal of the Légion d’Honneur to Sultan Abdülmecid on behalf of Napoléon III. The ambassador implemented a policy in support of the reforms and modernization attempts of the Ottoman State and played an instrumental role in the issuing of the İsalat Fermanı (the Rescript of Reforms) on 28 February 1856.

A year before his arrival in Turkey, a portrait of Thouvenel in official attire was painted by portraitist Adolph Diedrich Kindermann, a diplomat who had earlier served as the German consul in Paris. Thouvenel’s wife Marie and cousin Marie de Melfort arrived in Istanbul a year after the ambassador did. The letters these two young women wrote—separately—to the ambassador’s sister Henriette constitute intriguing documents that shed light to the life in foreign embassies and their circles in Istanbul. Thouvenel commissioned paintings of the French Palace in Pera and the Summer Palace in Tarabya to French artist Germain Fabius Brest, who visited Istanbul for the second time in 1855, presumably lived in the city for three or four years, and was renowned for his Istanbul paintings after he returned to Paris. A note on the reverse side of the paintings depicting the Summer Palace in Tarabya indicates that the ambassador and his family are portrayed aboard the ornate caïque in the foreground. Referring to the said palace as “the most beautiful mansion in the world” in a letter he once wrote, the ambassador also took pride of the palace’s “magnificent” garden. While the ambassador’s wife did not much enjoy the Palace at Pera due to the muddy and crowded streets, Thouvenel was much impressed by the tall ceilings and spacious halls of the building, which he described as the “consummate imperial palace.”
THE FRENCH PALACE IN PERA
GERMAIN FABIUS BREST
WATERCOLOR ON PAPER
27.5 x 45.5 cm.,
(1855-1859)
THE FRENCH PALACE IN TARABYA
GERMAIN FABIUS BREST
WATERCOLOR ON PAPER
27.5 x 45.5 cm.
(1855-1859)
PORTRAIT OF ANTOINE EDOUARD THOUVENEL FRENCH CONSUL AMBASSADOR IN ISTANBUL
ADOLPH DIEDRICH KINDERMANN
OIL ON CANVAS
99 x 79.5 cm, (1854)
THE DAUGHTER OF THE ENGLISH AMBASSADOR RIDING IN A PALANQUIN

FAUSTO ZONARO

OIL ON CANVAS

49 x 77 cm., (1896)
CARL FREDERIK VON BREDA  
(STOCKHOLM, 16 AUGUST 1759 - STOCKHOLM, 1 DECEMBER 1818)

Von Breda received his art education in his native city of Stockholm under portrait painter of the court Loren Pasch, the Younger at the Swedish Royal Academy of Fine Arts (Kungliga Akademi för de Fria Konsterna), where he remained from the end of 1771 until 1787. Even in his early years, the artist had grown an interest in portraits and historic themes. After having won his first medal in 1780, nineteen of his works were included in the Academy's first exhibition and the young artist was awarded a gold medal. During this period, von Breda painted the portraits of King Gustav III and other members of the court. In the summer of 1787, he traveled to London with the intention of moving on to Italy. In the interim, he worked under Sir Joshua Reynolds, leading British portrait painter and then-president of the Royal Academy. After having settled in London, von Breda opened a studio on St. James Street and quickly attained fame as a portrait painter. The artist, whose works were included in the exhibitions of the British Royal Academy of Arts every year, returned to Sweden in 1796. Von Breda began working as a professor at the Academy in Stockholm; after portraying the coronation of Gustav IV in 1800, he was officially appointed as the court painter. Today, his works are preserved in the collections of many institutions including the National Portrait Gallery in London and Nationalmuseum in Stockholm.

GERMAIN FABIUS BREST  
(MARSEILLE, 31 JULY 1823 - MARSEILLE, NOVEMBER 1900)

A student of Émile Loubon at the Marseille Academy of Fine Arts, the French painter improved his art by taking lessons from Troyon. He displayed his works at the Paris Salon from 1851 to 1896. He traveled to Istanbul twice, in 1847 and in late 1855. It is assumed that he lived there for three or four years during his second visit. He also traveled to Trabzon in the July and August of 1858. He exhibited his Istanbul-themed paintings at the Paris Salon as of 1857. His Istanbul paintings in the 1861 Salon in particular generated interest and his work entitled, “Hippodrome” was bought by the French government. Apart from depictions of Istanbul, his works also portray Venice and the south of France.

LOUIS-FRANÇOIS CASSAS  
(AZAY LA FERRON, 3 JUNE 1756 - VERSAILLES, 1 NOVEMBER 1827)

Having received his art education at the Rohan-Chabot Academy, the French draughtsman and watercolor painter was the student of Joseph-Marie Vien and Jean-Baptiste Le Prince. Apart from his travels to the Netherlands, Germany, and Great Britain in the early years of his art career, he also toured and painted works in Italy under the patronage of the Duke of Rohan-Chabot. In October 1784, he arrived in Istanbul in the retinue of French Ambassador Count Choiseul-Gouffier and after spending a few weeks in the city, he traveled across Anatolia, the Aegean islands, Cyprus, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. He returned to Istanbul in January 1786 and made drawings of the city until returning to his country in February 1787. During his sojourn, he also visited Bursa and Troy. The nearly three hundred compositions Cassas produced after his travels were later published as engravings in Choiseul-Gouffier’s books entitled Voyage en Syrie and Voyage-Pittoresque de la Grèce. After living in Rome between 1787 and 1792, the artist returned to Paris and taught drawing at the Imperial Gobelins Manufactory until his death.

Having been awarded the Saint-Louis and Légion d'Honneur decorations, Cassas' drawings depicting ancient monuments were used as models at École des Beaux-Arts de Paris and contributed towards the development of Neoclassicism.
ANTOINE DE FAVRAY  
(BAGNOLET, 1706 – MALTA, 1791)  
Having received his art education from Jean-François de Troy at the French Academy in Rome, the French artist completed his training in 1744 and traveled to Malta to spend a few months there upon the invitation of several Knights of Malta he met in Rome. Favray was highly popular in Malta and was initiated into Knighthood in the Order of Malta in 1751. He continued to practice art during his stay there and produced works for churches. He also painted portraits of the Grand Master and knights of the Order of Saint Jean, as well as Maltese women. Becoming a member of the Academy in 1762, Favray traveled to Istanbul the same year, where he would live for nine years, to produce paintings on Turks and Turkey. During the terms of Ambassadors M. de Vergennes and Saint Priest, he lived in the French and Russian Palaces in Istanbul under their patronage until his return to Malta at the age of sixty-five. Among the works of Favray are portraits of people from foreign embassies, audience ceremonies, genre paintings of particularly Greek or Levantine women, as well as panoramic Istanbul views from the hills of Pera. After leaving Istanbul, Favray made a name for himself in European art circles.

FRANZ HERMANN, HANS GEMMINGER, VALENTIN MUELLER  
A document pertaining to the visit of Austrian ambassador Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein’s visit to Istanbul in 1628–29 mentions the names of these three Austrian artists. Among the works that have survived to date from Kuefstein’s visit are ambassador audience ceremonies and paintings depicting the Ottoman way of life. It is presumed that the artists chosen to depict this visit were Hermann and Gemminger, and that Mueller was their apprentice.

JEAN-BAPTISTE HILAIRE [HILAIRE]  
(AUDUN-LE-TICHE, 1753 – PARIS, AFTER 1822)  
A student of Jean-Baptiste Leprince, the French artist mainly worked on figurative landscapes, portraits, figures depicting locals, and genre scenes. Better known for his drawings and watercolor paintings, Hilair’s works are marked by the influence of his master. In 1776, Hilair accompanied French Ambassador Count Choiseul-Gouffier during his travels across the Aegean. The majority of the depictions published as engravings in Voyagé Pittoresque de la Grèce first published in 1782 belong to Hilair. When Choiseul-Gouffier was appointed as ambassador to Istanbul in 1784, Hilair was by his side once again. A considerable number of engravings from the Swedish Representation Istanbul Office translator and King Gustav III’s private secretary Ignatius Mouradja d’Ohsson’s Tableau Général de l’Empire Othoman are based on Hilair’s works. Hilair participated in Salon de la Correspondance with Salon de la Jeunesse and a landscape depicting eastern figure among architectural ruins in 1780 and 1782, respectively.

ADOLPH DIEDRICH KINDERMANN  
(LÜBECK, 1823 – HAMBURG, 1892)  
Kindermann is a German artist whose works mainly focus on genre scenes and portraits. After receiving his early training from Peter Wilhelm Christian Stolle, he attended the Academy of Dresden in 1843 and studied under Julius Hübner and Edward Bendemann. He was exiled for participating in the May riots of 1849 in Dresden and continued to live in Paris as a portrait painter until 1853. Upon returning to his native land, he lived in Lübeck and Hamburg, became engaged in photography as well, and displayed his works in Munich, Hannover, and Hamburg. Today, his works are included in the collections of Kunsthalle and the History Museum (Historische Museen Hamburg) in Hamburg.

LUIGI MAYER  
(GERMANY, 1755 – LONDON, 1803)  
Known to have been trained in Rome, the Germany-born watercolor painter Luigi Mayer was a close friend of British Ambassador Robert Ainslie and worked under his patronage. After having completed a number of landscape commissions for the King of Naples, he arrived in Istanbul in 1789 and continued to work under the patronage of the Ambassador. A significant majority of his works depicting Istanbul, Anatolia, the Balkans, and Egypt are included in the books published in 1801 and entitled, Views in Egypt, Views in Palestine, and Views in the Ottoman Empire. Mayer married Clara, presumably the daughter of a certain Mr. Barthold, who worked as a translator at the British Embassy; upon their union, his wife became his closest assistant. After moving to England alongside Robert Ainslie in 1794, the couple continued to paint and publish their works. The majority of the artist’s works preserved in the collection of Ambassador Ainslie was later added to the British Museum Collection.

CLARA BARTHOLD MAYER  
She is presumably the daughter of a certain Mr. Barthold, who worked as a translator under British Ambassador Sir Robert Ainslie. Upon marrying the Ambassador’s artist Luigi Mayer, she became his closest confidante and assistant and produced copies of his works from time to time. Clara Mayer
moved to London with her husband in 1794. Her works, which are often dominated by scenes of Istanbul and surroundings, are signed as Clara Barthold or Clara Mayer. A portion of her works were made into engravings by J. W. Edy in 1794 and published in London. Upon her husband's passing, the artist continued to paint at their home at Portman Square and endeavored to publish both her husband's works and her own.

GEORGE ENGLERHARDT SCHRÖDER (1684 STOCKHOLM – 1750)
This Swedish artist was a student of David von Krafft and developed his artistic capabilities in various European cities. He was in Venice from 1710 to 1715 and in London between 1718 and 1725. It is known that he also travelled to Brunswick, Rome and Munich. Schröder was painter for the court of Sweden and while he worked primarily in the field of portraiture; he also produced paintings depicting mythological events, scenes from daily life and scenery.

JEAN-BAPTISTE VANMOUR (VALENCIENNES, 1671 – ISTANBUL, 1737)
It is presumed that the French artist of Flemish origin studied under Jacques-Albert Gerin, who was also the master of Antoine Watteau. During his visit to Paris in 1699, he caught the attention of Marquis de Ferriol, who was appointed to Istanbul as Ambassador, and accompanied him to the Ottoman capital in his retinue. There, he painted figures of Ottoman officials and locals of different nationalities for de Ferriol. A group of such paintings he painted in 1707-08 were prepared for print as an album and were published in 1714 under the title, Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant. The album served as a model to many other artists in the ensuing years for their own depictions of Ottoman figures. Upon Marquis de Ferriol’s return to Paris, Vanmour worked under the patronage of many French ambassadors, including Comte des Alleurs, Marquis de Bonac, Vicomte d’Andrezel, and Marquis de Villeneuve. Apart from those of Marquis de Bonac and Vicomte d’Andrezel, he also depicted the audience ceremonies of the Venetian Balio Francesco Gritti, Dutch Ambassador Cornelis Calkoen, and British Ambassador Abraham Stanyan at the Topkapi Palace. Audience ceremonies of ambassadors aside, his works include genre scenes, costume depictions, and views of Istanbul. Furthermore, Vanmour also portrayed the leaders of the Patrona Halil Rebellion that broke out during his stay in Istanbul. It is presumed that Vanmour established a studio of local artists in Istanbul, who painted a number of his works, and that the studio continued to produce works for some time after his death.

FAUSTO ZONARO (PADUA, 1854 – SAN REMO, 1929)
An artist of Italian origin, this court painter of Sultan Abdülhamid II’s reign began his art education in 1870, continued his profession in Italy and Paris, followed his future wife Elisa to Istanbul in 1891, and married her the following year. During his early years in Istanbul, Zonaro sold his works and gave painting lessons at a bookstore. Over time, the artist attained fame among embassy and court circles. Due to his painting entitled, The Procession of the Erteğrul Cavalcade across Galata Bridge, which he presented to the Palace upon the suggestion of Russian Ambassador Nelidov, Sultan Abdülhamid II appointed Zonaro as the official court painter. Relieved of his duties in 1909, the year Abdülhamid II was dethroned, Zonaro left Istanbul with his family in 1910, spent the rest of his life in San Remo, and continued painting landscapes, portraits, and genre scenes.