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ARS ORIENTALIS VOLUME 39

GLOBALIZING CULTURES: ART AND MOBILITY
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

NEBAHAT AVCIOĞLU AND FINBARR BARRY FLOOD,
GUEST EDITORS

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J. E. Liotard
de Geneve surnomme
le Peintre Turc peint
par lui meme a
Vienne 1744

LOOKING EAST

Jean-Étienne Liotard, the Turkish Painter

1 (FACING)

Jean-Étienne Liotard, *Self-portrait*, 1744. Pastel on paper. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, 1890, no.1936. Photograph Scala/Art Resource, NY

Abstract

From 1738 to 1743, the Genevan artist Jean-Étienne Liotard lived and worked in the Ottoman Empire, first in Constantinople and later in Jassy in Moldavia. While there he adopted the Turkish attire that he continued to wear for the rest of his life and that earned him the sobriquet the “Turkish Painter” upon his return to Europe. This paper examines the impact of Liotard’s Ottoman sojourn on his art. It argues that just as the artist’s lived experience of cultural dislocation and of the ethnic and religious diversity of the Ottoman Empire inspired his questioning of European manners and dress, so too did his encounters with Turkish, Persian, and Chinese art lead him to reevaluate the artistic traditions in which he was initially trained and to forge a vaguely “Turkish” style that subtly countered prevailing Western European artistic conventions.

IN 1738, the Genevan artist Jean-Étienne Liotard (1702–89) traveled to the Ottoman Empire. This voyage was the defining moment of his career. During his five-year sojourn, primarily in Constantinople and later in the Ottoman vassal state of Moldavia, Liotard established himself as a portraitist and genre painter to the local and expatriate communities, forging connections that would serve him throughout his career. It was also in the Levant that Liotard adopted the Turkish robes and the long beard that caused a sensation on his return to Europe in 1743. He was never to set foot in the empire again, but he retained his Turkish costume and continued to style himself as “le peintre turc” (the Turkish Painter) until his death in 1789 at age 86 (Fig. 1). Looking and behaving unlike anyone else, from 1743 Liotard roamed the courts and capitals of Europe, traveling from Vienna to Paris to London to Amsterdam and back again, capturing public attention with his intriguing strangeness, and ensuring himself a highly successful career despite his lack of the traditional academic credentials.

If Liotard’s appearance was unusual, so too was his art. Eighteenth-century viewers perceived in his paintings and pastels a curious planarity and a willful rejection of the conventions of contemporary European painting—features that were both intriguing and unsettling. To his admirers, Liotard was the “painter of truth,” an unparalleled portraitist with an uncanny ability to capture a likeness and render it with startling directness.¹ Unlike his contemporaries, Liotard refused to flatter his sitters, recording instead, with minute precision, their ruddy complexions, inelegant hands, or pinching bodices. He also eschewed the painterly flourishes characteristic of the work of such rivals as the French pastellist Maurice Quentin de La Tour, producing instead seamless, smooth surfaces devoid of any authorial trace. Liotard’s scrupulous realism and meticulous finish found much

favor among the European art-buying public, but among members of the artistic establishment, particularly in France and England, his work aroused an intense antipathy. Devotees regularly praised Liotard's excellence as a pastellist, his powers of mimesis, and "the astonishing force and beauty" of his color (while consistently also remarking on his equally astonishing prices).² To his academically minded critics, however, Liotard's painstaking observation and fastidious attention to finish recalled craft rather than art; his work represented the antithesis of the effortless and "genius" that characterized the liberal artist. Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *secrétaire perpétuel* of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Paris, complained that Liotard's drawings and pastels were "sans esprit" and so heavily worked that one no longer saw the grain of the paper. He implicitly characterized Liotard's art as naive by comparing it to devotional images executed by nuns.³ The French connoisseur Pierre-Jean Mariette similarly dismissed Liotard's art as dry, labored, and lacking in inventiveness.⁴ A comment attributed to Joshua Reynolds, first president of the Royal Academy in London, was more pointed: "The only merit in Liotard's pictures is neatness, which, as a general rule, is the characteristic of a low genius, or rather no genius at all."⁵

The comments of other contemporaries, however, suggest that underlying the hostility to (but perhaps also the appreciation of) Liotard's naive or "lowbrow" art was a perception that it was vaguely non-European. Several writers, including Mariette, commented on the flatness of Liotard's figures, a flatness resulting from the artist's disavowal of conventional modeling. At mid-century the connoisseur and theorist Francesco Algarotti favorably compared Liotard's even lighting, a primary source of the sense of planarity in his work, to Chinese painting.⁶ For academicians, Chinese art was not a model to be emulated. In the 1740s the French painter François Boucher was publicly taken to task for his study of Chinese work; one critic feared that Boucher's close attention to Chinese representational modes would compromise the elegance and refinement of his art.⁷ If Asian art held particular attractions for Boucher, it did for Liotard as well, who extolled the visual qualities of Chinese painting in his *Traité des principes et des règles de la peinture* (Treatise on the Principles and Rules of Painting) published in 1781.

References to Chinese art in relation to Liotard's work prompt further speculation as to the sources of his unusual artistic style. If he was familiar with East Asian art, had he also encountered Persian or Ottoman painting? This is not a new question, and the answer remains contested. In the 1940s, writers such as Louis Hautecoeur and Arnold Neuweiler proposed that the lightening of Liotard's palette and the meticulous execution that marks his Ottoman works resulted from his exposure to Persian miniatures in Constantinople.⁸ Recent scholarship is generally more hesitant or openly skeptical. In her indispensable catalogue of Liotard's draw-



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Jean-Étienne Liotard, *Self-portrait*, 1727. Oil on canvas. Private collection. After Roethlisberger and Loche, *Liotard: catalogue, sources*, 2: fig. 20

ings, Anne de Herdt occasionally implies a relationship between Turkish miniatures (a field of study largely neglected by Hautecoeur and Neuweiler's generation) and Liotard's Ottoman work.⁹ In one entry she directly compares a drawing of a dancer by Liotard to a miniature of a Persian dancer by the Turkish artist Abdülcelil Çelebi, better known as Levni (d. 1732). However, she then denies any relation between the two by arguing that Liotard likely had no access to the Turkish artist's work.¹⁰ The authoritative catalogue raisonné of Liotard's oeuvre published in 2008 is categorical: Liotard "was not inspired by Turkish art, just as he in turn left no trace on Turkish art."¹¹

This paper revisits the debate over the role of Turkish art in Liotard's practice, and argues that the artist's experiences in the Levant and the art he may have encountered there did shape his work and his thinking about the goals of art. It starts from the observations made by Hautecoeur and others that the brilliant coloring, unified surfaces and even lighting that are characteristic of Liotard's oeuvre first emerge as distinctive stylistic features in the works he executed in the Ottoman Empire, and it pursues the lines of inquiry suggested by de Herdt. Although few of Liotard's early works are extant, those miniatures, paintings, and pastels from his pre-Ottoman period that do survive are marked by a reliance on pronounced chiaroscuro and, in the pastels and canvases, a foregrounding of facture (Fig. 2). These qualities exemplify pictorial practice in the Parisian milieu where Liotard completed his training in the 1720s, and both are precepts he would later reject in his published pronouncements and in his art. In contrast to most of his early production, in many of Liotard's Ottoman works the characteristic traits of his later

oeuvre emerge: representations are rigorously descriptive, individual strokes of the crayon or brush are often barely distinguishable, colors are more vibrant and saturated, and strong contrasts of light and shade are largely avoided. Several of Liotard's Ottoman works, particularly his genre scenes, also exhibit a flattening of space and a sense of experiment with perspectival conventions. These features of Liotard's Ottoman oeuvre suggest that he studied non-European art while in the Levant, and that he deliberately integrated some of the distinctive features of the work he encountered there into his own practice.

It is my contention that Liotard's experiences in the Levant prompted his critical engagement with French rococo conventions of picture making and with the Parisian artistic establishment in which he had initially hoped to make his career. This engagement was prompted, I propose, by the cultural dislocation of travel and by his consequent appreciation of artworks from outside the French academic canon (Ottoman, Chinese, and seventeenth-century Dutch painting, for example), and the visual truths he perceived in them.¹² In this view, just as Liotard's lived experience of the religious and ethnic diversity of the Ottoman Empire seems to have inspired his questioning of European mores and sartorial norms, so too did his encounters with Turkish, Persian, and Chinese art lead him to reevaluate the European artistic traditions in which he was schooled, and to craft a style that subtly countered contemporary academic artistic conventions.

The European–Ottoman encounter was sustained over the entire early modern period, but European interest in the Turks seems to have sharpened into fascination in the eighteenth century. From the coffee house, an import from the Ottoman Empire, to masquerades, theatrical performances, and visual representations of sultanas and seraglios, the figure of the Turk was ubiquitous in eighteenth-century European culture. This level of engagement with Turkish difference was made possible, in the conventional view, by the ebbing of the military threat that the Ottomans presented to Europe after the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, and by the much-publicized Turkish embassies to Paris in 1721 and 1742. This, however, cannot be a full explanation for the fascination exerted by Turkish society on the European imagination. Despite the Ottoman Empire's military decline, it remained a power with which European governments had to reckon. It has recently been suggested that the monarchy of Louis XV worked deliberately to improve the image of the Turk in Europe in order to legitimate and deepen France's close diplomatic ties with Constantinople.¹³ Beyond diplomacy, however, it seems that a space began to open in European elite culture in the mid-eighteenth century making it possible for Europeans to recognize and value cultural difference without assimilating it either to the category of nature (the noble savage) or to universal civilizational standards (as in Enlightenment conjectural history).¹⁴ In assessing Liotard's work, I share the

view of scholars who interpret the eighteenth century as a period defined less by the Orientalist binaries of East and West/Europe and Other than by a reciprocal cultural curiosity between Ottomans and Europeans, or between the Chinese and their European counterparts.¹⁵ Liotard represents a notable instance of this mutual cultural interest: in his reception by both locals and expatriates in the empire, in his subsequent career as a “Turkish” painter in Europe, and in his art.

In the Ottoman Empire

According to Liotard, his voyage to the Levant was the result of a chance encounter. After failing to forge a successful career for himself in Paris, he accepted the invitation of the French ambassador to the Neapolitan court to accompany him to Italy. It was there that Liotard met William Ponsonby, the future Lord Bessborough, and John Montagu, Lord Sandwich, the two grand tourists in whose employ he was to travel to the Ottoman Empire in 1738.¹⁶ According to Sandwich, Liotard’s brief on this voyage was “to draw the dresses of every country they should go into; to take prospects of all the remarkable places which had made a figure in history; and to preserve in their memories, by the help of painting, those noble remains of antiquity which they went in quest of.”¹⁷ Whether Liotard ever drew any antiquities or ancient sites is unknown—none are extant—but several annotated and dated costume studies remain that are surely associated with his work for the two men. These are precisely detailed drawings executed in the red and black chalk technique that Liotard adapted from the example of Antoine Watteau, whose studies Liotard had seen in Paris and whose work he actively collected.¹⁸ The last of Liotard’s costume sheets is dated September 1738, around the time that the Englishmen returned to Italy. (Sandwich traveled to Egypt the following year.) Liotard, however, remained in the empire for five years, having been released from his employers’ service through the intervention of Everard Fawkener, the British ambassador to the Porte.¹⁹

Liotard appeared in Constantinople at a propitious moment. In 1737, the year prior to his arrival, the Flemish artist Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, who had been the resident Western painter to the diplomatic community for nearly thirty-eight years, had died.²⁰ In his place, Liotard became the painter of choice to European expatriates (including members of the Austrian, Dutch, English, French, Swedish, and Venetian embassies) and an active participant in their social life.²¹ As representatives of their monarchs, European ambassadors generally did not adopt local dress. Other resident Franks (Europeans) and travelers, however, like Sandwich, Ponsonby, or the archaeologist Richard Pococke did, often commissioning Liotard to record for posterity their embrace of local sartorial codes. These commissions resulted in such stunning, highly finished works as Liotard’s life-size portrait of



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Jean-Étienne Liotard, *Richard Pococke*, 1740. Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva, 1948-22. Photograph © Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva

Pococke in his Turkish traveling robes and turban from 1740 (Fig. 3), and a much smaller painting from the same period painted for the French ambassador, the marquis de Villeneuve, representing Mlle Glavani, daughter of the former French consul in the Crimea, and Mr. Levett, an English merchant in Constantinople, attired in local dress (Fig. 4).²² In the latter especially, a work measuring only 24.7 by 36.4 centimeters, all of Liotard's gifts as a miniaturist are brought to bear on his description of embroidery and inlay, metal, and fur. Both paintings are replete with carefully rendered identifiers of place—a composite view of the Golden Horn in the former and precisely delineated Turkish furnishings and instruments in the latter—and both exhibit the physiognomic exactitude that would come to characterize Liotard's portrait practice. More than mere likenesses, however, such images of cultural cross-dressing visualize the traveler or expatriate imagining identity in relation, rather than in opposition, to an other.²³ In the eighteenth century, one could be, as Liotard emphasized in his self-representation, both a Genevan and a Turk, a “peintre turc de Genève” (see Fig. 1).

Liotard's Ottoman oeuvre shows that such curiosity was bi-directional. In the empire, Turks and Moldavians sat to Liotard for portraits executed accorded to European conventions. His extant works show that his Ottoman sitters included the grand vizier, one of the most powerful men in the empire, as well as several other officials and members of the sultan's household including one “Sadig Aga,” identified by Liotard as “treasurer of the mosques,” and Ibrahim, one of the sultan's dwarves.²⁴ The artist was called to Moldavia by the reigning prince to serve as the



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 Jean-Étienne Liotard, *M. Levett and Mlle Glavani in Turkish Costume*, ca. 1740. Oil on card. Musée du Louvre, Paris, RF 1995-14. Photograph Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY

court's artist. While in Jassy, the capital, he executed portraits of his patron and various other members of the court. It was there, in emulation of the local nobility, that Liotard grew his beard.²⁵ Liotard recounted that a *defterdar* (a member of the Ottoman financial administration) requested the artist demonstrate his working methods for him, which apparently required an unfortunate model to remain motionless for two hours.²⁶ There is also evidence that local artists may have used Liotard's works as models for their own. A copy of Liotard's study of a Greek woman, Signora Maroudia, included in an album of miniatures now in the Topkapı Palace Library in Istanbul, suggests that artists working in Constantinople appreciated Liotard's costume studies. The miniature has been dated to circa 1770, a date that suggests Liotard's drawings were in circulation in the city long after the artist left.²⁷

If locals had access to Liotard's work, the artist himself would have had occasion to see illustrated Persian and Ottoman manuscripts as well as single-page miniatures produced in Constantinople for local and expatriate consumption. While de Herdt is probably correct in assuming that Liotard could not have seen Levni's *Persian Dancer*—the work was part of an album created for the sultan and would almost certainly have been inaccessible to the Genevan—Levni did produce individual costume plates for other patrons. As Gül İrepoğlu has argued, these patrons may have included Europeans living in Constantinople.²⁸ Liotard could also have seen work by Levni, his school, or by other earlier or contemporary Ottoman and Persian artists in the *murakkas* (albums of bound materials including individual miniatures from different regions and periods) of court officials. The copy after



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Jean-Étienne Liotard, *Woman Taking Tea*, 1738–42. Red and black chalk on paper. Oskar Reinhart Foundation, Winterthur.

Liotard's drawing of Signora Maroudia is included in just such an album, alongside miniatures by Levni and Abdullah Buhari, a painter active in Constantinople from circa 1735 to 1745 (thus contemporaneous with Liotard), who seems to have specialized in individual costume plates of women.²⁹ We know from the manuscript account of the scholar Marco Antonio Cazzaiti that he and Liotard visited at least one library in Constantinople in the company of Nicola Erizzo, the Venetian bailo. The library has been identified as that founded by the Grand Vizier Damad Ibrahim Paşa in 1720; Cazzaiti described it as consisting of richly bound Arab, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts.³⁰ Recent research on Ibrahim Paşa's personal collection and those of other court officials indicates that they owned numerous illustrated manuscripts and albums of images.³¹ Liotard could also have encountered miniatures in the ateliers of local artists. Later in the century, the Italian Jesuit Giambattista Toderini saw Turkish paintings in the possession of a court painter, the Ottoman Armenian Menasi. Toderini also recounted viewing numerous books filled with figures in the possession of his Turkish friends, and recalled encountering paintings by a Persian dervish in cafés and barber shops.³² Persian and Ottoman works were also available for purchase in Constantinople. In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, successive French envoys bought manuscripts, including illustrated ones, for the Royal Library in Paris. During Liotard's sojourn, the marquis de Villeneuve and his successor, the comte de Castellane, were charged with such acquisitions, and any purchases they made would have passed through the French embassy where Liotard could have seen them.³³ Judging from the manuscripts and miniatures acquired by Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, the Prussian *chargé d'affaires* at the Sublime Porte from 1786 to 1790, a wide variety of visual material was available in the city. Now in Berlin, Diez's albums show that he acquired Ottoman, Qajar, and Chinese works in Constantinople, as well as illustrated manuscripts and materials extracted from albums in the Topkapı Palace.³⁴



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Musavvir Hüseyin, *Haseki Sultan with Attendant*. Miniature from *Figures naturelles de Turquie par Raynal*, 1688. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Estampes, Od. 7, plate 20.



7

7
Musavvir Hüseyin, *Musicians*. Miniature from *Costumes turcs de la Cour et de la ville de Constantinople en 1720*, ca. 1720. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Estampes, Od. 6, plate 3.



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Musavvir Hüseyin, *Embroiderer*. Miniature from *Costumes turcs de la Cour et de la ville de Constantinople en 1720*, ca. 1720. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Estampes, Od. 6, plate 30.

Finally, the existence in European collections today of numerous costume books and individual plates by Ottoman “bazaar artists” testifies to the continuing consumption of depictions of Ottoman types by expatriates, particularly among the diplomatic communities with which Liotard was intimately associated.³⁵

Given the inaccessibility of Muslim women in the empire, representations of them in Turkish costume plates and miniatures must have been especially appealing to foreigners. Frankish men could encounter Muslim women only through images, and both Ottoman and European artists, Liotard included, were happy to supply them. Liotard’s many representations of women were necessarily staged fictions using Greek or Frankish women as his models and illustrations as sources for their poses and clothes. As scholars have noted, some of his sources were European. Drawings such as his detailed study of two women playing a game of mangala or of a servant offering tea to a seated woman (Fig. 5) are visual quotations from the most popular book of Levantine costume published in the eighteenth century: *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant*, commonly referred to as the *Recueil Ferriol*. This was a book of one hundred prints of Levantine dress etched after paintings by Vanmour. It was first published in Paris in 1714–15 on the initiative of the marquis de Ferriol, a former French ambassador to the Ottoman court, who had commissioned the paintings while in Constantinople.³⁶ The *Recueil* was useful, but one can well imagine the attractions of seemingly more authentic sources, such as miniatures by Turkish artists like Levni, Buhari, or the bazaar artists.

Liotard’s encounters with Persian and Turkish painting might help to explain the vibrant colorism and the spatial ambiguities of his own Ottoman production. Neither the rich color nor the planarity, nor the blank backgrounds that characterize much of Liotard’s work in the empire, could have been derived from books like the *Recueil*. All of these features, however, are characteristic of Ottoman miniatures, especially costume plates. Two particularly fine costume books, now in Paris, exemplify qualities of Ottoman art that, I suggest, are echoed in Liotard’s production. Both have been attributed to the Ottoman painter Musavvir Hüseyin, who is credited as a formative example for Levni and other lesser-known miniaturists of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.³⁷ Liotard could not have seen

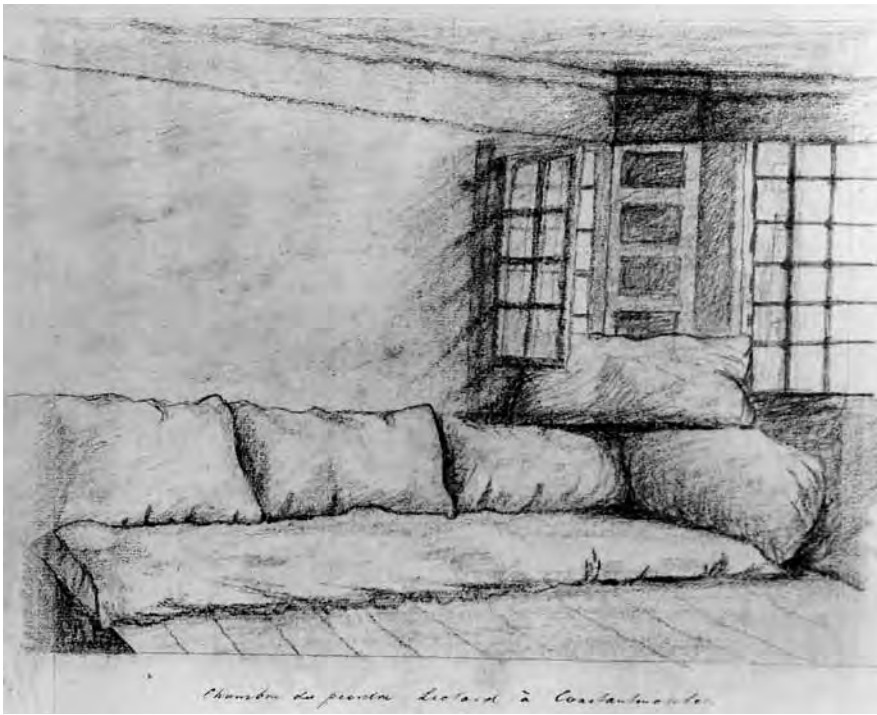


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 Jean-Étienne Liotard, *Frankish Woman and her Servant*, 1742–3. Pastel on parchment. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva, 1936–17. Photograph © Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva

either book as both were exported to Paris before his arrival, but Hüseyin's plates are indicative both of the kinds of subjects Liotard could have encountered in Ottoman painting and of the formal qualities to which he seems to have responded. Both books feature brilliantly colored plates of members of the imperial household as well as several of Turkish women playing musical instruments, drinking coffee, visiting the hammam, and working at their embroidery frames (Figs. 6, 7, 8). These are standard subjects of Ottoman costume books and of Liotard's representations of Turkish women. But in Hüseyin's works, as in Levni's and Buhari's, we also encounter sophisticated juxtapositions of unmodulated planes of color—of bright oranges, reds, pinks, and blues, for example—set against the blank expanse of the white support. Liotard's work does not directly imitate such miniatures, but his pastels of Ottoman themes suggest his receptivity to their particular beauties. Works such as the *Frankish Woman and her Servant* (Fig. 9) suggest he adapted miniaturist procedures of East and West to the larger formats and technique of the pastel medium, fusing the brilliant colorism and blank backgrounds of Ottoman costume plates with the high finish and greater reliance on shading characteristic of European enamels, the medium in which Liotard was first trained.

One of the most striking features of Liotard's Ottoman oeuvre is his representation of space. Flouting Western perspectival conventions, Liotard frequently flattens the settings of his drawings, pastels, and paintings of this period. Liotard was



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Jean-Étienne Liotard, *The Divan*.
Liotard's Bedroom in Constantinople,
 ca. 1742. Red chalk and graphite
 pencil on paper. Musée d'art et
 d'histoire, Geneva, 1934-33.
 Photograph © Musée d'art et
 d'histoire, Geneva



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Jean-Étienne Liotard, *Corfiz*
Anton, Count Ulfeld, Austrian
Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire,
 1740-41. Gouache and watercolor
 on parchment. Private collection.
 Photograph courtesy Sotheby's
 Picture Library, London

quite capable of convincingly rendering recession into depth; one need only look at his drawing of a Turkish village, for example, or of three-dimensional objects such as chairs and embroidery frames.³⁸ Yet in many of his Ottoman works, space is often indeterminate and difficult to decipher. Thus, in Liotard's study of his bedroom in Constantinople, it is difficult to read the walls as meeting at all (Fig. 10).³⁹ Indeed, it is tempting to read the working and reworking of the "corner" of the room as an attempt to flatten it, to undo or unlearn a way of seeing conditioned by Western perspectivalism. Many of his Ottoman drawings exhibit a similar refusal to clearly delineate the boundaries of pictorial space. Liotard's large expanses of blankness, for instance, confound the expectation among European viewers of an illusion of recession into depth. Corners of rooms, when they are indicated at all, are represented by a straight line or perfunctory shading (see Fig. 5), and the presumed meeting points of floors and walls are barely noted, if at all. In one particularly detailed small portrait representing Count Ulfeld, the Holy Roman Emperor's ambassador to the Porte, the viewer is led to read the box-like object, perhaps a writing desk, at bottom right as located against a wall (Fig. 11). Following the object's orthogonal lines, however, leads the eye to a wall running parallel to the picture plane. Where one would expect the side and back walls to meet, where one would expect a corner, there is none.⁴⁰ A similar ambiguity characterizes Liotard's Turkish bath scene of a woman and her servant (see Fig. 9). There the lightly drawn, receding grid of the tiled floor soon dissolves into flatness. The floor is tilted upward and there is little sense of it meeting a wall. Even more surprisingly, the vertical walls against which the basin seems to stand (if one follows the lines of the flooring) have disappeared entirely.

Comparisons with specific Ottoman miniatures highlight Liotard's experimentation with the themes and formal innovations of the images he encountered in Constantinople. Although largely European in medium and execution, Liotard's



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12
Abdullah Buhari, *Woman in the Hamman*, 1741–2. Watercolor on paper, heightened with gold. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul, YY1043. Photograph Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY



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Jean-Étienne Liotard, *Embroiderer*, 1738. Black and red chalk on paper. Musée du Louvre, Paris, RF 1370. Photograph Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY

Turkish bath scene exhibits the same planar background, unified lighting, and deployment of multiple shades of white found in Buhari's well-known *Woman in the Hamman* (Fig. 12). It also exhibits a representation of space similar, but not identical to, that in Buhari's image. There are resonances in Liotard's pastel of the tilted perspective of Buhari's floor and platform, and the more empirical (rather than mathematical) representation of the wall fountain. (For a similar use of multiple whites and tilted perspective, see Liotard's *Woman in a Turkish Interior*, Fig. 16.) In Liotard's hammam scene a tension is created by the juxtaposition of vague space with fully modeled figures. In some of Liotard's Ottoman drawings, this oscillation between planarity and illusionism is particularly acute. In *Woman Taking Tea*, the planar emphasis of the blank wall and the strict profile view of the servant are in tension with the receding volume of the sofa (see Fig. 5).⁴¹ In one of his studies of an embroiderer, the woman is conventionally modeled, but the frame on which she works is skewed and flattened (Fig. 13). This striking disregard for conventional perspective has been described as proto-modernist,⁴² but Turkish images provide a closer point of comparison. Liotard's depiction is analogous, for example, to the point of view adopted in Musavvir Hüseyin's painting of an embroiderer (see Fig. 8).⁴³ To an audience versed in European perspectival conventions, Liotard's obliquely rendered frame surely connoted difference as much as did the dress and pose of the embroiderer in the Ottoman miniature.

The “Turkish Painter”

Upon his arrival in Vienna in 1743, Liotard astutely parlayed his “Turkishness” into a stunning and almost immediate commercial success. By 1744, he was commissioned by Franz Stefan, Grand Duke of Tuscany and the future Holy Roman Emperor, to execute a likeness of himself for the gallery of celebrated artists’ self-portraits in the Uffizi in Florence (see Fig. 1).⁴⁴ By 1751, when Liotard was in Paris, he was in a position to invest substantial sums in annuities, sums that by the standards of mid-eighteenth-century incomes in France attest to the extraordinary fees he demanded for his work and the willingness of his patrons to pay them.⁴⁵ The vehemence of his academic detractors, who must have found Liotard’s command of the market galling, is in stark contrast to the appreciation of his work by the picture-buying public.

That Liotard achieved such prominence in eighteenth-century Europe is testament to the period’s intense interest in the Ottoman Turks and their customs. The Ottoman Empire was both a locus of European fantasy projection (as exemplified by the fascination with the harem) and, as a geographically proximate example of the global diversity of manners, a site of European recognition that it was but one society among many.⁴⁶ Liotard was well placed to cater to European curiosity about the empire both in his person and his art. He exhibited his Ottoman drawings throughout his career, showing them in public venues in Paris and London and making them available to visitors to his studio. He further capitalized on his Ottoman studies by circulating prints after them, describing the etchings in the accompanying texts as “dessiné d’après nature” (drawn from life), or in the case of a print after his portrait of the sultan’s dwarf “dessiné dans le serail” (drawn in the seraglio).⁴⁷ He also brought costumes back with him from Turkey, and numerous European sitters who never ventured East donned them for their portraits, thus memorializing their brief engagement of an other.

Liotard also brought himself. It is hard to overestimate what a strange figure he must have cut in the streets of Vienna, Paris, London, and the other European cities he visited. Where refined Western European men were clean-shaven and wore knee breeches, stockings, elegant coats, cuffs, and powdered wigs, Liotard went wigless and wore long baggy pants, a flowing caftan, outlandish hats and, most unusual of all, an increasingly long beard. In an era in which a clean-shaven face was considered a sign of civility in Western Europe, Liotard’s beard, hanging down to his waist, was shocking.⁴⁸ As the numerous images of him with it attest, the beard fascinated his European patrons. (He shaved off his beard in 1756, an event that made the London newspapers; his later self-portraits show him smooth-cheeked but in Turkish dress.) His many self-portrait miniatures and pastels suggest he had no qualms about turning himself into a curiosity for the collector’s cabinet. Artists, too, were

taken with him; there is probably no other eighteenth-century painter who was as frequently depicted by others.⁴⁹

Liotard performed his Turkishness in many ways, and he did so until the end of his life. In addition to his clothing, he used a seal whose Arabic characters spell his name. It is unclear when he began using it, but the earliest extant example is on a letter dated 1777, when Liotard was in his seventies.⁵⁰ He also behaved in ways that deliberately countered European ideas of decorum. A sketch by an unknown English artist, dated 1755, shows Liotard asleep, seated cross-legged on a cushion or on the floor, a pose in which no polite European male would have sat.⁵¹ This was as clear a marker of assumed otherness as his clothing; in the 1770s while living in Italy, the Arabist and convert to Islam, Edward Wortley Montagu (son of the more well-known traveler Lady Mary Wortley Montagu), also dressed like a Turk and reportedly received visitors sitting on the floor.⁵² In Liotard's case, his Turkishness was an astute form of marketing; it was well suited, as one commentator wrote, to succeed among the French who were easily taken in by appearances.⁵³ But it may also have been something more. It is tempting to see in Liotard's Turkish persona, and his flouting of social convention, a deliberate self-construction as an outside observer whose very presence, like the many Persian and Chinese visitors to Europe familiar from eighteenth-century fiction, held up a mirror to the arbitrariness of European mores. His communication with Jean-Jacques Rousseau is suggestive in this regard. Liotard's claims to the philosopher that he sought to "think purely, naturally and without any preconceptions," and "to think like animals do, without bad habits and preconceptions," suggest that he admired Rousseau's critique of European civilization.⁵⁴

A similar resistance to eighteenth-century Western European, and particularly French, artistic conventions subtly reveals itself in the style of Liotard's post-Ottoman works. When eighteenth-century viewers looked at pictures like Liotard's so-called *Chocolate Girl*, they saw qualities that may not be evident to us now (Fig. 14). Executed in Vienna in 1744, shortly after his return to Europe, this picture of a Viennese servant carrying a cup of chocolate and a glass of water is a masterful demonstration of the artist's fastidious pastel technique and his powers of observation. It can also be read as exemplifying the "Turkish's Painter's" "Turkish" art. The connoisseur Francesco Algarotti suggested that the *Chocolate Girl* would appeal to non-Western eyes, and as many scholars have noted, Liotard adapted the Viennese model's pose from a counterproof of the Ottoman servant in his *Woman Taking Tea* (see Fig. 5). Algarotti, who bought the pastel for the Saxon royal collection in 1745, described his purchase in a letter to Pierre-Jean Mariette in terms that capture the unusual qualities he perceived in the work: "This picture is almost without shadows on a light background ... the whole is worked in half-tones and in imperceptible



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 Jean-Étienne Liotard, *The Chocolate Girl*, 1744–5. Pastel on parchment.
 Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche
 Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, P 161.
 Photograph Bildarchiv Preussischer
 Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY

gradations of light and in admirable relief. It expresses an absolutely unmannered nature, and although completely European, it would greatly please even the Chinese, confirmed enemies, as you know, of shading. As for its extremely high finish ... it is a Holbein in pastel.”⁵⁵

The comparison to the sixteenth-century artist Hans Holbein would undoubtedly have pleased Liotard for whom intense pictorial realism and smooth finish (both defining characteristics of Holbein’s work) represented an antidote to the extravagances and artificiality he perceived in contemporary French art; he would later praise seventeenth-century Dutch painting for the same reason. Liotard began to attack rococo art in print in the 1760s. The *touche* or visible stroke, a visual flourish characteristic of much eighteenth-century art and the mode in which Liotard initially worked, was, in his later view, profoundly unnatural. He first published his thoughts on the proper processes and functions of painting in the journal the *Mercure de France* in 1762. He then developed his critique at length in his *Traité des principes et des règles de la peinture* published in 1781. “Nature has no *touches*,” he wrote, and therefore there should be none in painting.⁵⁶ To paint a portrait with them was akin to representing a sitter with the marks of smallpox when they in fact had none. To paint with *touches* was faster and thus more lucrative, but the result was antithetic to how humans actually see. Violent contrasts of light and dark

were equally contrary to nature, as was a lack of finish; excessive use of half-tones only made a painting look dirty. Painting demanded truth to vision, a painstakingly descriptive approach to nature that was characteristic of Northern European painting and best exemplified, in Liotard's view, by the Dutch painters of the seventeenth century.⁵⁷

Liotard's championing of Dutch art is not unrelated to his Levantine sojourn; it was in the Ottoman Empire that Liotard adopted the carefully descriptive mode that came to define his art and that he later equated with Dutch painting. In his drawings of the late 1730s and early 1740s, for example, one can trace a turn away from the more conventional cross-hatching of his early work towards the refined, pointillist technique, adapted from his training as a miniaturist, that gives his drawings of Ottoman subjects their uncanny realism and presence.⁵⁸ This increasing emphasis on description and the corresponding suppression of the artistic trace in his graphic work can be credited to the changes in perception (and self-perception) that accompany the traveler's acceptance of dislocation. A similar turn to the reproduction of optical experience marks the prose of one of the more famous eighteenth-century travelers to the Levant, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762), who accompanied her husband, the English ambassador, to Constantinople in 1717–18, and whose account of these years was published posthumously in 1763. As Mary Jo Kietzman has argued, Montagu's way of seeing, as expressed in the narrative style of her letters, changed as she traveled eastward and began to acknowledge, and then accept, her position as a dislocated subject. As she attempted to abandon her ethnocentric biases her text became increasingly descriptive. These descriptions wavered between rendering meaning and rendering surface, as she distanced herself, struggled to stop assimilating what she saw to her own categories and foregrounded the "objects" of her gaze.⁵⁹ It seems plausible to interpret the emphasis on surface and the seemingly unmediated reproduction of optical experience that emerges in Liotard's Ottoman work as a similar product of the foreigner's acceptance of his cultural dislocation, of his position on the margins of a culture he does not fully understand. For Liotard, as for Montagu before him, this was a position that led him to interrogate his own cultural and artistic codes. His years in the empire can be read as having altered the way he saw the world, and transformed the way he viewed European art.

The *Chocolate Girl* suggests the extent to which Liotard's experiences in the Levant prompted him to reassess rococo pictorial modes and to look at European artistic traditions in a new way. For Algarotti, Liotard's exceptionally subtle modeling in the *Chocolate Girl* was admirable and unusual. The picture was European, but at the same time, it seemed vaguely not to be, as the connoisseur's reference to Chinese painting indicates. Algarotti's comment captures the subtle play of illusion

and planarity (of the tilted floor and light, blank background) that, combined with the meticulous description of details like the creases of the servant's apron, the distorted reflection of her hand through the water glass, and the recognizable pattern of the porcelain, gives the work its impressive presence and exceptional illusionism. There is relief in the figure, but it is achieved through a conscious disavowal of strong chiaroscuro and a minimal use of shading that gives the pastel a quality akin (but not equivalent) to the shadowless styles equated by Liotard's contemporaries with non-European art. In this sense, one can interpret the uncommissioned *Chocolate Girl* as a programmatic statement of Liotard's "Turkishness," represented this time not by the artist's costume or his subject but his pictorial style.

While Algarotti enthused over the *Chocolate Girl*, others were less charitable towards the two-dimensionality they perceived in Liotard's works. The abbé Jean-Bernard Le Blanc, a contemporary writer on the arts, spluttered with rage when he saw Liotard's self-portrait in the Uffizi in 1751 (see Fig. 1). In a letter to Quentin de La Tour, he belittled Liotard as a *chianlit*, a derogatory reference to Liotard's "carnavalesque" masquerading both as a Turk and as an important artist.⁶⁰ The abbé went on to forcefully disparage Liotard's pastel: "I was very scandalized to see the portrait of the *chianlit*, who calls himself the Turkish painter. It is the worst he has ever made; it is *plat, plat, plat*, three times *plat* and of everything that has ever existed the most *plat*."⁶¹ Read figuratively, *plat* can be interpreted as "dull," and compared with the coloristic, virtuoso flourishes of La Tour, the pastel no doubt appeared to Le Blanc as painstakingly craftsmanlike, and hence dull, in its execution and in its muted color.⁶² (Liotard's palette here is exceptionally restricted in comparison with his other post-Ottoman works, including his other self-portraits. One wonders if he deemed such subdued color as more appropriate for the Uffizi gallery.) Comments by Liotard's contemporaries, however, also authorize a reading of *plat* in its more literal sense of flat. After remarking on the "gingerbread coloring" of Liotard's works, Mariette observed that his heads seemed "without roundness."⁶³ A seeming lack of volume is perceptible in several of the artist's figures. A striking example is his pastel portrait from 1760 of Isaac-Louis de Thellusson, a prominent Genevan (Fig. 15). Here Liotard's even lighting flattens the sitter's face while at the same time it highlights the magnificent blue of his silk attire. A thin edge of shading along the side of the sitter's face differentiates his head from the light background. This quasi-outline heightens the effect of planarity in the work, and the result is a head that can appear lacking in mass when compared with the portraiture of Liotard's French and English contemporaries. His Uffizi self-portrait, by contrast, is among the more conventionally modeled of his portrait heads. Nevertheless, as in the *Chocolate Girl*, there is an oscillation between relief and planarity, between the flatness of the picture plane emphasized by the artist's prominent signature and the



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Jean-Étienne Liotard, *Isaac-Louis de Thellusson*, 1760. Pastel on parchment. Oskar Reinhart Foundation, Winterthur.

coming into illusion of his carefully modeled face and fur hat and the fading back into two-dimensionality of his comparatively incorporeal body.⁶⁴

The planarity some of Liotard's contemporaries perceived in his work was the result of the subtle, careful modeling techniques the artist described at length in his *Traité*. A passage in the same text suggests that his approach to illusionism, and the light and color from which it was conjured, was stimulated by his appreciation of the art of other cultures. While Liotard derided the "pockmarked" portraits by Rembrandt, a seventeenth-century Dutch artist who did not work in a Northern descriptive mode, he praised the visual pleasures of Chinese paintings.⁶⁵ (By these Liotard presumably meant those on porcelain and in Chinese woodcuts and export watercolors.) Chinese paintings are admirable, Liotard wrote, because they are "smooth, clean, neat," and this "makes us find them agreeable even though," as he went on to claim, "they are made by peoples without a smattering of art."⁶⁶ The passage follows immediately after Liotard's invocation of the work of Jan van Huysum, the seventeenth-century Dutch still-life painter whose work he held up as a model of perfection. While apparently unwilling to grant Chinese painters parity with their European confreres, he extolled their art, like Van Huysum's, as exemplifying qualities instinctively appreciated by the *ignorant*, Liotard's idiosyncratic term for untrained viewers. Uncorrupted by a blind adherence to European artistic conven-

tions, the *ignorant*'s response to an artwork was spontaneous and natural; in the context of Liotard's pointed rejection of artistic authority, the untutored viewer rather than the academician or connoisseur was a more honest guide to what was truthful in art. In this sense the lack of art in Chinese painting was the point, for it was its artlessness, its lack of visible brushstrokes, its even lighting, and brilliant colors, to which the *ignorant* instinctively responded.⁶⁷ The positive response of the *ignorant* to Chinese art suggests that truth in painting—to the nature of vision and the outward appearance of things—although abandoned by Liotard's European contemporaries, could be found in the works of non-European artists. In their art, then, lay a potential corrective to the problems of contemporary European painting.

An equivalence between Chinese and Turkish art forms was a given for some eighteenth-century European writers. China and Turkey were often conflated in traveler's accounts of Turkish architecture as they were in descriptions of Chinese buildings.⁶⁸ Although suggestive of an exoticist melding of different societies, such remarks suggest that eighteenth-century viewers perceived a stylistic affinity between the two cultures, and a sense of the possibility of a movement between them, that is lost to us now but may have been operative in Liotard's evocation of Chinese art.⁶⁹ A similar conflation occurs in Liotard's art. A pastel of his wife, Marie Fargues, in Turkish costume, executed circa 1756–8, features the oblique view, the blank background, and the robes, cushions, and carpets that are a staple of Liotard's Turkish-themed portraits (Fig. 16).⁷⁰ But it also includes a Chinese porcelain vase with brilliantly colored figures in the right foreground, an inclusion that contributes an additional signifier of otherness to the pastel while also alluding to the multiple potential sources of Liotard's art.

If Turkish images provided rich subject matter, like Chinese art, their bold coloring and relative planarity might also have offered a different model for painting, one that the artist incorporated into the diverse mix of pictorial traditions that informed his art. Liotard's smoothly executed expanses of vibrant color, the fluctuation between two- and three-dimensionality in some of his works, and the frequent delineation of form, as in the faces of his sitters, through dark contours set against a light background (see Fig. 15) might well have struck some viewers, as Algarotti's comments attest, as wholly European and yet vaguely other. Such a perception could have been reinforced by Liotard's preference for profile or three-quarter views. Along with inconsistent perspective, European commentators singled out the prevalence of these poses in Turkish and Persian miniatures as a defining feature of their authors' inability to model or draw "correctly"; at the same time, such writers marveled at the brilliance and durability of the colors in Persian and Ottoman paintings.⁷¹ Viewers may have perceived some of the same features in Liotard's work, a recognition encouraged by the "Turkishness" of the artist himself.

Liotard's engagement with the art of other societies was more subtle than his engagement with European traditions of picture making, and I am far from claiming that the art he may have seen in the Levant was the only determining element in his mature style and thinking. The striking diversity of Liotard's oeuvre resulted as much from his lifelong experimentation with media and technique and his adaptation of representational conventions to suit the exigencies of specific commissions and sitters as it did from his encounter with non-European art.⁷² However, it may well have been the visual pleasures of Ottoman or Persian or Chinese art that first prompted him to transpose some of the qualities of the miniature technique in which he was initially trained—vibrant color, unified surfaces, and detailed observation—to large-scale works, and upon his return from the empire, to look to Northern European descriptive pictorial traditions rather than academically sanctioned models for inspiration and for the justification of his own art. In this sense, we can read the dislocations of travel as having led Liotard to aspire to see “purely, naturally and without preconceptions,” as he wrote to Rousseau. In 1752, the French architect and academician, Pierre de Vigny, who had traveled to Constantinople in the early 1720s, articulated a similar sense of beauty as relative.⁷³ In his remarkable “Dissertation sur l'architecture,” Vigny extolled the qualities of Ottoman, Chinese, and Gothic architecture, arguing that it was the servitude of French architects to the authority of the antique and the academic canon—a servitude he explicitly related to their failure to travel—that prevented the French from appreciating the splendors of buildings from other cultures and time periods and learning from their examples. Vigny's further claim that the *parterre* (the public standing in the pits of theatres and thus the holders of the cheapest tickets) was a better judge of architecture than the experts is analogous to Liotard's invocation of the *ignorart*.⁷⁴

Perhaps, too, the receptivity of some of Liotard's many European patrons to his art extended beyond the pleasures of masquerade or the capturing of a likeness to his very style of painting. It is possible that, allied to the frisson of being painted by a “Turk” was the pleasure of being represented in a vaguely “Turkish” idiom, whether one was in costume or not. Like his desired construction of a hybrid subjectivity, Liotard's work attests to the potential heterogeneity of eighteenth-century artistic forms; it speaks to the possibility of multilateral processes of artistic exchange. The claim that European artists drew upon Asian, Indian, and Ottoman models to create hybrid, or transcultural, works is unproblematic to historians of eighteenth-century European textiles and decorative arts. Porcelain, for example, was an utterly transcultural form.⁷⁵ Among historians of European painting there is more resistance to such a view, and indeed it would be difficult to name another artist quite like Liotard. Painting was the most heavily policed of the eighteenth-century visual arts. Its



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Jean-Étienne Liotard, *Woman in a Turkish Interior*, 1756–8. Pastel on vellum. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, SK-A-240.

norms were shaped by powerful academic structures, and it was probably Liotard's exclusion from such institutional settings that permitted him to preserve the openness that gives his art its transcultural dimension. Released from these strictures and altered by the experience of travel, Liotard was free to do what artists working in other branches of the visual arts did as a matter of course, and his enormous commercial success speaks to the enthusiastic response of a European public.

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NOTES

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- 1 "Le virtuosissime Liotard ... est le Peintre de la vérité." The author went on to claim, no doubt on Liotard's authority, that the latter's talents were such that "à Venise et à Milan la plupart des femmes de moyenne beauté trembloient de se laisser peindre par lui." Pierre Paul Clément, letter CVII, Paris, 1 Sept. 1752, in *Les cinq années littéraires ou lettres de M. Clément sur les ouvrages de littérature qui ont paru dans les années 1748–1752* (Berlin, 1756; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1967), 339 and 339, note b.
- 2 Matthew Pilkington, *The Gentleman's and Connoisseur's Dictionary of Painters* (London, 1798), 367. Pilkington's book was first published in 1770.
- 3 Cochin also chauvinistically accounted for Liotard's fame in England and Germany (his successes in France were conveniently overlooked) as the consequence of the unrefined taste that reigned in those regions. "Peut-être ces manières à la glace, pesantes & sans esprit, trouveroient-elles des approbateurs en Allemagne & en Angleterre, où l'on ne donne un prix considérable des desseins qu'autant qu'ils sont finis comme des ouvrages de Religieuses, qu'à force de travailler on n'y apperçoit plus le grain du papier, & qu'ils sont surchargés d'une infinité de petites hachures dans les sens possibles. N'a-t-on pas vu en Allemagne les desseins & les pastels de Liotard avoir du succès? Et ne voyons-nous pas en Angleterre admirer des Dessinateurs de cette espèce?" Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *Lettres à un jeune artiste peintre* (Paris, 1774), 75–6.
- 4 Pierre-Jean Mariette, *Abecedario de Pierre-Jean Mariette et autres notes inédites de cet amateur sur les arts et les artistes*, ed. P. de Chennevières and A. de Montaiglon (Paris: J.-B. Dumoulin, 1851–60), 3:206.
- 5 Reynolds went on to describe Liotard's work as "just what ladies do when they paint for their amusement." James Northcote, *Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (London: Henry Colbourn, 1819), 60–61. Reynolds's comment was apparently made in 1753 while Liotard was in London.
- 6 Francesco Algarotti, *Opere* (Cremona, 1781), 7:28.
- 7 "Craignent donc que l'étude habituelle du goût Chinois, qui paroît être la passion favorite de M. Boucher, n'altère enfin le grace de ses contours. Ils n'auroient plus la même douceur, s'il continuoit à dessiner des figures de ce genre." Charles Léoffrey de Saint-Yves, *Observations sur les Arts, et sur quelques morceaux de Peinture & de Sculpture, exposées au Louvre en 1748* (Leiden [1748]), 28. On Boucher's studies after Chinese prints, see Perrin Stein, "Boucher's Chinoiseries: Some New Sources," *Burlington Magazine* 138 (1996): 598–604.
- 8 Arnold Neuweiler, *La peinture à Genève de 1700 à 1900* (Geneva: A. Jullien, 1945), 16–17; Louis Hautecoeur, "Jean-Étienne Liotard (1702–1789): Portrait de Richard Pockocke," *Bericht der Gottfried Keller Stiftung* (1948–9): 35. See also Auguste Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: ACR, 1989), 56. Writing in 1956, François Fosca noted similar

- transformations in Liotard's style but was unwilling to account for them: "[Liotard] change radicalement de manière. Plus de ces touches qui font vibrer le ton, plus rien de ce métier libre: un dessin serré, précis, des teintes unies, fondues, un rendu infiniment plus rigoureux de la lumière. Que s'est-il passé dans son esprit? ... Il me paraît impossible que le problème puisse être résolu, et il faut se résigner à ne rien savoir des raisons de cette métamorphose." François Fosca, *La vie, les voyages et les oeuvres de Jean-Étienne Liotard, Citoyen de Genève, dit Le Peintre Turc* (Lausanne and Paris: Bibliothèque des arts, 1956), 14.
- 9 A similar relationship is suggested by Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, "Jean-Étienne Liotard's Envelopes of Self," in *Cultures of Forgery: Making Nations, Making Selves*, ed. Judith Ryan and Alfred Thomas (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 137.
- 10 Anne de Herdt, *Dessins de Liotard, suivi du catalogue de l'oeuvre dessiné* (Geneva: Musée d'art et d'histoire; Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992), cat. no. 40.
- 11 Marcel Roethlisberger and Renée Loche with Bodo Hofstetter and Hans Boeckh, *Liotard: catalogue, sources, et correspondance* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 2008), 1:22. See also Renée Loche and Marcel Roethlisberger, *L'opera completa di Liotard* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1978), 6; and Andreas Holleczek, *Jean-Étienne Liotard: Erkenntnisvermögen und künstlerischer Anspruch* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2002), 200 n. 177.
- 12 My use of the concept of cultural dislocation is indebted to Mary D. Sheriff, "The Dislocations of Jean-Étienne Liotard, Called the Turkish Painter," in *Cultural Contact and the Making of European Art*, ed. Mary Sheriff (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, forthcoming), and Mary Jo Kietzman, "Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters* and Cultural Dislocation," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 38 (1998): 537–51. My thanks to Sheriff for sharing her article with me before its publication.
- 13 Thomas Kaiser, "The Evil Empire? The Debate on Turkish Despotism in Eighteenth-Century French Political Culture," *Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 1 (March 2000): 6–34.
- 14 See Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire* (Princeton, N.J., and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003).
- 15 See, among others, Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Lajer-Burcharth, "Jean-Étienne Liotard," 127–43; Nebahat Avcioğlu, "A Palace of One's Own: Stanislas I's Kiosks and the Idea of Self-Representation," *Art Bulletin* 85 (2003): 662–84; and Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2007). See also Eric R. Dursteler's account of Ottoman–Venetian relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).
- 16 The source is an autobiography dictated by the artist to his son: Louis Gielly, "La biographie de Jean-Étienne Liotard écrite par son fils," *Genava* 13 (1935): 191–200 (for this passage see 195). On the Ottoman grand tour in the eighteenth century, see Philip Mansel, "The Grand Tour in the Ottoman Empire, 1699–1826," in *Unfolding the Orient: Travellers in Egypt and the Near East*, ed. Paul Starkey and Janet Starkey (Reading, UK: Ithaca, 2001), 41–64.
- 17 John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich, *A voyage performed by the late Earl of Sandwich round the Mediterranean in the years 1738 and 1739. Written by himself ... To which are prefixed, memoirs of the noble author's life*, ed. John Cooke (London, 1799), iii.
- 18 Liotard also etched one of Watteau's works in 1731. See Roethlisberger and Loche, *Liotard: catalogue, sources*, 1:239, and 1:154 for drawings and paintings by Watteau in Liotard's collection.
- 19 Gielly, "La biographie," 195. Other members of the party included James Nelthorpe, John Mackye, and a Mr. Fröhlich, governor to Lord Sandwich. All of the travellers, including Ponsonby and Sandwich, were founders of the short-lived Divan club (1744–6) in London. Membership was restricted to those who had traveled to the Levant. A Vizier and Reis Effendi (secretary) presided over each meeting; the "Al-Koran" was the group's minute book, and its official toast was "the Harem," suggesting the club was as much (or more) ludic in purpose as it was scholarly. The archaeologist Richard Pococke who met Liotard in Constantinople was also a founder. Everard Fawkener became a member when he returned to London. See Rachel Finnegan, "The Divan Club, 1744–46," *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* 9 (2006): 1–86.
- 20 On Vanmour see Eveline Sint Nicolaas et al., *Jean-Baptiste Vanmour: An Eyewitness of the Tulip Era* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2003), with further bibliography.
- 21 See, for instance, his drawings of picnics and Turkish musicians in concert, in de Herdt, *Dessins de Liotard*, cat. nos. 51, 52. The latter is very likely to depict an event in a European embassy. For a vivid account of social life in the ambit of the European embassies, see Nigel Webb and Caroline Webb, *The Earl and his Butler in Constantinople: Introducing the Diary of Mr. Samuel Medley, Butler, 1733–1736* (Oakham, UK: Legini, 2006). See also

- James Caulfeild Charlemont, *The Travels of Lord Charlemont in Greece & Turkey, 1749*, ed. W. B. Stanford and E. J. Finopoulos (London: Trigraph, 1984), esp. 204–5.
- 22 Michael McCarthy, “The Dullest Man that ever Travelled’?: A Re-Assessment of Richard Pococke and of his Portrait by J.-E. Liotard,” *Apollo* 143 (May 1996): 25–9; Marie-Catherine Sahut, “M. Levett et Melle Héléne Glavany en costume turc,” in *Musée du Louvre, Nouvelles acquisitions du département des peintures 1991–1995* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1996), 240–45.
- 23 Lajer-Burcharth, “Jean-Étienne Liotard,” 130, 132. See also Inge E. Boer, “This is Not the Orient: Theory and Postcolonial Practice,” in *The Point of Theory: Practices of Cultural Analysis*, ed. Mieke Bal and Inge E. Boer (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994), 214–15. For Pococke’s vivid account of his experience of wearing Turkish robes and especially of growing a beard, see McCarthy, “The Dullest Man.” On the street Frankish men adopted Muslim dress but wore wigs and tricorne hats to distinguish them from Ottoman subjects. Liotard wore this hybrid costume in Constantinople, as presumably did many of his male Frankish sitters. None of them, however, chose to be immortalized in it. Gielly, “La biographie,” 196. A Frankish merchant is depicted in hybrid Turkish-Frankish dress in *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant* (Paris, 1714–15), plate 61.
- 24 Gielly, “La biographie,” 196. The pastel portrait of a grand vizier is in the National Gallery, London. See also the drawing of a second grand vizier (there were two successive holders of this office during Liotard’s stay in Constantinople) in de Herdt, *Dessins de Liotard*, cat. no. 61, with further discussion of the London pastel. For Liotard’s study of “Sadig Aga,” see de Herdt, *Dessins de Liotard*, 280, no. 55, for Ibrahim, see cat. no. 62, and for other extant drawings of Ottoman officials see cat. nos. 36, 53, and 60.
- 25 Gielly, “La biographie,” 196; Remus Niculescu, “Jean-Étienne Liotard à Jassy, 1742–1743,” *Genava* 30 (1982): 127–66.
- 26 Gielly, “La biographie,” 196.
- 27 Album H. 2143. See Ivan Stchoukine, *La peinture turque d’après les manuscrits illustrés* (Paris: Geuthner, 1966–71), 2:136 and plate XCVI. For Liotard’s drawing see de Herdt, *Dessins de Liotard*, cat. no. 10. It is equally possible, however, that the miniature in Istanbul is by Liotard himself. If so, its presence in the album is further testament to local interest in his work.
- 28 Gül İrepoğlu, *Levni: Painting, Poetry, Colour* (Istanbul: Society of Friends of Topkapı Palace Museum, 1999), 144, 171. Also published as *Levni, Nakis, Siir, Renk* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1999).
- 29 Album H. 2143. Levni’s miniature in this album is illustrated in İrepoğlu, *Levni*, 144; for Buhari’s plates in this album see Deniz Erudman-Çalis, ed., *Tulips, Kaftans and Levni: Imperial Ottoman Costumes and Miniature Albums from Topkapı Palace in Istanbul* (Frankfurt: Museum für Angewandte Kunst; Munich: Hirmer, 2008), 116–19. For further illustrations of Buhari’s miniatures see Banu Mahir, “Abdullah Buhari’nin minyatürlerinde 18. Yüzyılı Osmanlı Kadın Modası,” *P: Sanat, kültür, antika* 12 (1998–9), 70–82. See also Nancy Micklewright, “Musicians and Dancing Girls’: Images of Women in Ottoman Miniature Painting,” in *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Madeline C. Zilfi (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 153–68.
- 30 Niculescu, “Jean-Étienne Liotard,” 128, 156, n. 26. On libraries and collections of books and illustrated manuscripts owned by members of the Ottoman court, see Tülay Artan, “Problems Relating to the Social History Context of the Acquisition and Possession of Books as Part of Collections of Objets d’Art in the 18th Century,” in *Art turc/Turkish Art: 10th International Congress of Turkish Art, Geneva, 17–23 September 1995* (Geneva: Fondation Max Van Berchem, 1999), 87–92.
- 31 Artan, “Problems,” 90.
- 32 Giambattista Toderini, *De la littérature des Turcs* (Paris, 1789), 3:51–2 n. 2, 54, 58. According to Toderini, Menasi was the son of the painter Refail.
- 33 The Orientalist Antoine Galland made numerous purchases of manuscripts, including illustrated ones, in Constantinople in the 1670s, as did such successors as François Sevin in 1729–30. After the conclusion of the latter mission, French ambassadors were charged with making acquisitions. See Antoine Galland, *Voyage à Constantinople (1672–3)*, ed. Charles Schefer (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larosse, 2002); Francis Richard, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*. Vol. 1, *Ancien fonds* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1989); and Henri Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902). See also Tülay Artan, “Arts and Architecture,” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*. Vol. 3, *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 433–5.
- 34 David J. Roxburgh, “Heinrich Friedrich von Diez and his Eponymous Albums: Mss. Diez A. Fols. 70–74,” *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 112–36.
- 35 Metin And coined the term “bazaar artists” in 1985. For an account in English,

- see And, "Bazaar Painters," *Istanbul* (Jan. 1993): 75–81. For lists of extant costume books see Nurhan Atasoy, "The Birth of Costume Books and the Fenerci Mehmed Album," in *Osmanlı kıyafetleri: Fenerci Mehmed Albümü*, ed. İlhami Turan (Istanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 1986), 15–30; and Hans-Albrecht Koch, ed., *Das Kostümbuch des Lambert de Vos, Kommentarband* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1991), 48–54. See also Tadeusz Majda, "The Râlab Album of Turkish Costume," in Karin Adahl et al., *The Sultan's Procession: The Swedish Embassy to Sultan Mehmed IV in 1657–1658* (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2006), 196–265; Bronwen Wilson, "Foggie diverse di vestire de' Turchi: Turkish Costume Illustration and Cultural Translation," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 37 (Winter 2007): 97–139; and Leslie Meral Schick, "Ottoman Costume Books in a Cross-Cultural Context," in *Art turc/Turkish Art*, 625–8. A small painting in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter BnF), Estampes, Od 1, fol., vol. 1, is suggestive of other works produced by local artists for foreigners. A French inscription identifies it as a representation of a celebration given for the sultan's mother in the presence of Mme de Girardin, the wife of the French ambassador to Constantinople from 1686 to 1689, who also commissioned the work.
- 36 De Herdt, *Dessins de Liotard*, cat. no. 41 has pointed out the affinity between Liotard's drawing of women playing mangala and the corresponding plate in the *Recueil Ferriol*. The drawing of the servant offering coffee is similarly reminiscent of plate 48 in the same publication. For Liotard's drawing, see de Herdt, *Dessins de Liotard*, cat. no. 44. The resemblance between Vanmour's images and those in Turkish costume books suggest he, too, consulted them. Perrin Stein, "Amédée Van Loo's *Costume turc: The French Sultana*," *Art Bulletin* 78 (1996): 427 n. 52. Liotard may also have encountered Vanmour's work in the collection of Cornelis Calkoen, a patron of the Genevan and Dutch ambassador to the Porte during Liotard's stay in the empire. On Calkoen and his collection, see Sint Nicolaas et al, *Jean-Baptiste Vanmour*.
- 37 *Figures naturelles de Turquie par Raynal*, BnF, Estampes, Od. 7 (4o); *Costumes turcs de la Cour et de la ville de Constantinople, peints en Turquie, par un artiste turc*, BnF, Estampes, Od. 6 (4o). The former is inscribed with the date 1688 and the latter with the date 1720. Both inscriptions are in European hands. Hans Georg Majer, "Gold, Silber und Farbe: Mussavir Hüseyin, ein Meister der osmanischen Miniaturmalerei des späten 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic Life/Studien zu Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im osmanischen Reich*, ed. Raoul Motika (Heidelberg: Heidelberg Orientverlag, 1999), 9–42, esp. 26–9. On the use of the *Costumes turcs* by the French artist Carle Van Loo, see Perrin Stein, "Madame de Pompadour and the Harem Imagery at Bellevue," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 123 (Jan. 1994): 30–44.
- 38 De Herdt, *Dessins de Liotard*, cat. nos. 35, 25, 27.
- 39 De Herdt, *Dessins de Liotard*, cat. no. 66.
- 40 De Herdt, *Dessins de Liotard*, cat. no. 59; Roethlisberger and Loche, *Liotard: catalogue, sources*, 1:283–5. The attribution of this work to Liotard has been contested in the past; its spatial ambiguities are an argument in favor of his authorship.
- 41 The "resolutely planar emphasis" of this drawing has been described by Lajer-Burcharth, "Jean-Étienne Liotard," 134.
- 42 De Herdt, *Dessins de Liotard*, cat. no. 26.
- 43 Although I am focusing on Ottoman costume plates, Liotard could have encountered similar representations of space and of three-dimensional objects in illustrated literary manuscripts of the period. See, for instance, the plates in a copy of Atayi's *Hamse*, dated 1721 and now in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. See Günsel Renda, "An Illustrated Eighteenth-Century *Hamse* in the Walters Art Gallery," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 39 (1981): 15–32 and fig. 14, for an example of an interior view that resonates with Liotard's representations of walls and corners in his Ottoman drawings.
- 44 For further discussion of this portrait, see Sheriff, "Dislocations," forthcoming, and Marianne Kooos, "La jouissance du détail: Liotards Bartlocke," *Kritische Berichte* 36 (2008): 19–27.
- 45 Liotard's high prices were a constant in comments about him. Clément described them as extravagant, and Horace Walpole characterized Liotard as "avaricious beyond imagination." Clément, letter XXI, Paris, 30 Nov. 1748, in *Les cinq années*, 118; Horace Walpole to Horace Mann, 4 March 1753, in *The Correspondence and Journals of Horace Walpole*, ed. W. S. Lewis (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937–83), 20:362. Liotard's Parisian financial contracts are discussed in François Marandet, "The Formative Years of Jean-Étienne Liotard," *Burlington Magazine* 145 (2003): 299.
- 46 The empire thus provided what G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter have posited of Enlightenment exoticism in general: "an equally potent focus for vicarious identity—as well as vicarious entertainment." See G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter, "Introduction: Approaching Enlightenment Exoticism," in *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, ed. G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Manchester and New York:

- Manchester University Press, 1990), 12–13.
- 47 These prints are catalogued in E. Humbert, A. Revilliod and J. W. R. Tilanus, *La vie et les œuvres de Jean Étienne Liotard (1702–1789): étude biographique et iconographique* (Amsterdam: C. M. van Gogh, 1897), 196–200.
- 48 On Liotard's beard, see Koos, "Jouissance"; and Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, "Liotard's Bart: Transkulturelle Maskeraden der Männlichkeit," in *Männlichkeit im Blick. Visuelle Inszenierungen in der Kunst der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Mechthild Fend and Marianne Koos (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004), 161–80.
- 49 To my knowledge, Liotard was the only European visual artist to be the subject of an eighteenth-century porcelain figurine. Such immortalization is a sure measure of his celebrity. See Walter Staehelin, "J. E. Liotard 'Peintre Turc' als Zürcher Porzellanfigur," *Keramik-Freunde der Schweiz Mitteilungsblatt*, no. 46 (April 1959): 26–27; and Roethlisberger and Loche, *Liotard: catalogue, sources*, 2:703.
- 50 Andreas Holleczeck, "Il faut, coûte que coûte, être un peu charlatan: Jean-Étienne Liotard et son public," in *L'art et les normes sociales au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Thomas W. Gaehtgens et al. (Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2001): 276 n. 4; and Fosca, *La vie, les voyages*, 186 n. 29.
- 51 The drawing is in the Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais, Paris. See Roethlisberger and Loche, *Liotard: catalogue, sources*, 2:701, repr. If no polite European would have sat cross-legged on the floor in Western Europe, this was not the case when they were in, or at least represented in, the empire. See, for instance, Liotard's drawing of the French consul in Smyrna (Izmir), Gaspard de Péleran, reclining on cushions (discussed in Lajer-Burcharth, "Jean-Étienne Liotard," 132), and Antoine de Favray's portraits of the French ambassador to the Porte from 1754 to 1768, Charles Gravier de Vergennes and his wife. Painted in 1766, the portrait of Vergennes is a rare representation of a diplomat in Turkish costume. He is also seated cross-legged on cushions and his wife is similarly attired and posed. See Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore*, 102–3; and Stephen Degiorgio, *Antoine Favray (1706–1798): A French Artist in Rome, Malta and Constantinople* (Valletta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2004), 109.
- 52 John Rodenbeck, "Dressing Native," in *Unfolding the Orient*, 71.
- 53 According to the *Correspondance littéraire*, which discussed the artist in 1747: "Le long séjour qu'il a fait à Constantinople et la commodité qu'il a trouvée dans l'habillement turc le lui ont fait conserver à Paris, aussi bien que leur longue barbe; peut-être a-t-il dessein de s'attirer de la considération par cette singularité autant que par son talent, et cette idée n'est pas si dépourvue de sens pour en imposer à une nation qui s'attache beaucoup à l'extérieur," cited in Roethlisberger and Loche, *Liotard: catalogue, sources*, 1:92.
- 54 "Le plus grand de mes plaisirs est de chercher à penser purement, naturellement et sans aucun préjugé ... je cherche à penser comme les animaux qui n'ont ni mauvaises habitudes, ni préjugés." Jean-Étienne Liotard to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Geneva, 2 September 1765, in *Correspondance complète de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, ed. R. A. Leigh (Geneva: Institut et musée Voltaire, 1965–95), 26:283–4.
- 55 "E' questa pittura quasi senz'ombra in un campo chiaro ... tutta lavorata di mezza tinte, e di perdimenti di lume insensibili, e di un ammirabile rilievo. Ella esprime una natura per niun conto manierata; e tutto che pittura Europea, piacerebbe sommamente a' Cinesi medesimi nimici giurati come ella sa, dell'ombrare. Quanto all'estrema finitezza del lavoro ... ella è un Olbenio in pastello." Francesco Algarotti to Pierre-Jean Mariette, 13 Feb. 1751, in Algarotti, *Opere* 7:28.
- 56 "La nature n'a point de touches": J-E. L[iotard], "Explication des différens jugemens sur la peinture," *Mercur de France* (Nov. 1762): 172–90 (179 for this quote). Christian Michel, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin et l'art des lumières* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1993), 277, was the first to recognize Liotard's authorship of this article.
- 57 Jean-Étienne Liotard, *Traité des principes et des règles de la peinture* (Geneva, 1781; reprint, Geneva: P. Cailler, 1945), especially 81–101.
- 58 Lajer-Burcharth, "Jean-Etienne Liotard," 136–7.
- 59 Kietzman, "Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters*," 541–3. See also Srinivas Aravamudam, "Lady Mary in the *Hamam*," in Aravamudam, *Tropicopolitans: Colonialism and Agency, 1688–1804* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 159–89. For a different, but complementary, interpretation of Liotard's Ottoman drawings see Holleczeck, *Jean-Étienne Liotard*, 68–90, who argues that they are the product of the artist's subscription to a British empiricist ideal of the traveler as an unbiased witness and documenter, an ideal that Liotard then carried into his post-Ottoman work.
- 60 Sheriff, "Dislocations," forthcoming.
- 61 "J'ai été très scandalisé de trouver le portrait du Chianlit, qui s'y est dit lui-même surnommé le peintre Turc. Encore est-ce le plus mauvais qu'il ait fait; il est plat, plat, plat, trois fois plat et de tout ce qui a jamais existé de plus plat." Abbé Le Blanc to Maurice Quentin de La Tour, Florence, 8 April 1751, reprinted in

- Hélène Monod-Cassidy, *Un voyageur-philosophe au XVIIIe siècle: L'abbé Jean-Bernard Le Blanc* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941), 401.
- 62 Alistair Laing has translated *plat* as dull; see Laing, "Geneva and Paris: Liotard," *Burlington Magazine* 134 (1992): 749.
- 63 "La couleur tiroit presque toujours sur celle du pain d'épice ... ses têtes parurent plates et sans rondeur": Mariette, *Abecedario*, 3:206. The term "gingerbread" is a curious one. Mariette may simply be referring to oddities he perceived in Liotard's simulation of fleshtones, but the term was also used by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, for instance, to describe the face, "ce visage de pain d'épice," of a man variously identified as a Moor and an African. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Confessions*, quoted and discussed in Bart Moore-Gilbert, "Western Autobiography and Colonial Discourse: The Case of Rousseau's 'Orientalism,'" *Social Identities* 11 (July 2005): 305 and 313 n. 2.
- 64 Although not as prominent as his signature in his *Uffizi* self-portrait, the placement of Liotard's signature and date in the upper left of Thellusson's portrait has a similar effect; it draws attention to the planarity of the picture surface and in so doing, creates a tension between illusionism and the flat surface on which it appears.
- 65 For a discussion of Liotard's response to Rembrandt see Marianne Koos, "'Malerie ohne Pockenspuren.' Oberfläche im Werk von Jean-Étienne Liotard," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 70 (2007): 545–72.
- 66 "Ce qui donne aux peintures chinoises l'agrément que nous leur trouvons, c'est d'être unies, propres, nettes, quoique faites par des peuples qui n'ont aucune teinture de l'art." Liotard, *Traité*, 112–13. See also Louise Lippincott, "Liotard's China Painting," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 13 (1985): 128.
- 67 Liotard, *Traité*, 97. Although the term *ignorant* first appeared in his 1781 treatise, Liotard had been publicizing the value of the *ignorant* or untutored viewer in journal articles since the late 1740s. (One wonders if his evocative term was the happy result of a typographical error.) The *ignorant* is invoked as a positive force in Clément's letters on Liotard (which almost certainly were based on Liotard's own comments), and in Liotard's article in the *Mercure de France* in 1762. For this more genteel journal, the word *particulier* was substituted for *ignorant*. See Clément, letter XXI, Paris, 30 Nov. 1748, and letter LXXXIII, London, 1 Sept. 1751, in *Les cinq années*, 119–20 and 130; and L[iotard], "Explication." Liotard's invocation of the *ignorant* draws on earlier theorizations of the truthfulness of the unbiased (because untutored) viewer, notably by Jean-Baptiste Du Bos in his *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture* (1719), but also from within the French academy itself. For the deployment of the figure of the *ignorant* in French art criticism of the period, see Bernadette Fort, "Voice of the Public: The Carnivalization of Salon Art in Pre-Revolutionary Pamphlets," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22 (1989): 368–94, esp. 390–93.
- 68 For eighteenth-century accounts of Turkish architecture in relation to Chinese buildings, see Avcioglu, "A Palace of One's Own," 670. For an eighteenth-century example of Chinese architecture described using Turkish terms, see the Jesuit missionary Louis Lecomte's description of a reception room in a Chinese house as a *divan*. Louis Lecomte, *Un Jésuite à Pékin: Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine, 1687–1692*, ed. Frédérique Touboul-Bouyeure (Paris: Phébus, 1990), 198.
- 69 Avcioglu, "A Palace of One's Own," 670. Marcel Roethlisberger suggests that Liotard may have seen Chinese painting in Constantinople, and that the artist supplied Algarotti with the idea of comparing the *Chocolate Girl* to Chinese art: Marcel Roethlisberger, "La Chocolatière de Jean-Etienne Liotard," *Genava* 50 (2002): 321; and Roethlisberger and Loche, *Liotard: catalogue, sources*, 1:324.
- 70 For the identification of the sitter as Liotard's wife see Duncan Bull, "Princess, Countess, Lover or Wife? Liotard's 'Lady on a Sofa,'" *Burlington Magazine* 150 (Sept. 2008): 592–602.
- 71 "Leurs portraits ne sont que de profil ou de trois quarts, n'entendant point la distribution des ombres, pour former un visage en plein ... leur pinceau est délicat, leurs couleurs vives & long-tems éclatantes ... la perspective y seroit moins ignorée s'ils étudioient ceux d'entr'eux qui en ont écrit": Bourguignon d'Anville, "Mémoires où il est question de la peinture des Turcs & des Persans, de la façon dont les Turcs meublent leurs apartemens, & principalement de la richesse des apartemens du Sérail du grand-seigneur," *Mercure de France* (April 1721): 27–8.
- 72 See, for example, the discussion of Liotard's adoption of the conventions of court portraiture for his representations of royal sitters in Roethlisberger and Loche, *Liotard: catalogue, sources*, 1:301.
- 73 Wolfgang Herrmann, *Laugier and Eighteenth-Century French Theory* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1962), 87.
- 74 Pierre de Vigny, "Dissertation sur l'architecture," *Journal oeconomicque* (March 1752): 68–107, esp. 79–80, 98–9, 100–101 (on the *parterre*, see 100). On Vigny, see Michel Gallet, "L'architecte Pierre de Vigny, 1690–1772: ses construc-

tions, son esthétique,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 82 (1973): 263–86, and Herrmann, *Laugier*, 64–5, 84–7.

- 75 See, for example, Robert Finlay, “The Pilgrim Art: The Culture of Porcelain in World History,” *Journal of World History* 9, no. 2 (1998): 141–87. Architectural historians, too, have addressed the presence of the foreign in eighteenth-century European architectural debates and designs. See, among others, Avcioglu, “A Palace of One’s Own,” Robin Middleton, “Boullée and the Exotic,” *AA Files* 19 (Spring 1990): 35–49; and Joseph Rykwert, *The First Moderns: The Architects of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 1980), 54–79.