

TÜLAY ARTAN

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN PRINCESSES AS COLLECTORS

Chinese and European Porcelains in the Topkapı Palace Museum

Abstract

Ceramic collecting by women has been interpreted as a form of social competition and conspicuous consumption. But collecting differs from conspicuous consumption, which involves purchasing goods or services not because they are needed, but because there is status and prestige in being seen to have them, and even in wasting them. Collecting, in contrast, implies conservation and augmentation, the preservation of history, aesthetic or scholarly interest, love of beauty, a form of play, different varieties of fetishism, the excitement of the hunt, investment, and even support of a particular industry or artist.

None of these motives, however, readily explains the activities of Ottoman collector-princesses in the eighteenth century—which are all the more mysterious because these women remain relatively anonymous as individuals. It is not easy for us to elucidate the reasons (other than conspicuous consumption) for their amassing of porcelain, and of European porcelain in particular. Could the collection and display of ceramics have been a way of actively creating meanings for themselves and others? Do the collecting habits of these princesses shed some light on their personalities and aspirations? By focusing on two among them I will argue that collecting European rather than Chinese porcelain did signify a notable change of attitude on the part of Ottoman royal women during a period of more widespread social and political reform.

IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY Ottoman capital, artists of unprecedented originality and self-expressiveness seem to have enjoyed an increasing degree of freedom from the creative restrictions of court patronage.¹ Conventionally, artists' independence from formal canons of taste has been construed as having "reflected, as well as contributed to, the creation in a few Ottomans of a mental attitude with a 'modernist' tendency, i.e., one open to change and one individualistic in temperament."² At the same time, an exceptional receptiveness to foreign artists in Istanbul, and especially to European painters and architects, has been regarded as having provided new models.³ The political and cultural outlook of this period's patrons of art has also been seen as reflecting modernity and reform.

Cross-Currents of "Modernity" in 18th-Century Istanbul

"Modern" has generally described a state of affairs characterized by innovation, experimentation, and certain kinds of distancing from the past. The word "modern," implying the present or existing state in opposition to the past of a tradition, finds an equivalent in a variety of terms the Ottomans used over the centuries, ranging from Arabic constructs such as *fî-zemânî* to *'asr-ı hâzır*, *muassır* and *'asrî*. The Persian

word *nev*, meaning mostly “new,” “fresh,” and “novel,” was virtually synonymous, and was widely used to indicate all things contemporary or characteristic of the present moment in time. While the Arabic words or phrases seem to define “modern” mostly with negative connotations, in Ottoman usage the Persian word was given a positive emphasis by reference to anything “current,” “contemporary,” “up-to-date,” “new-fangled” or “fashionable.” Hence the term *tarz-ı nev* is generally used to signify any “new style” in artistic creation. *Cedîd*, an Arabic word which means literally “new,” also refers to a strong and conscious break with tradition. It is not necessarily negative, but neutral, and it may also be positive, at least for some. Likewise, *mücedded* (a derivative of *tecdîd*, “a refreshing”), which means “renewed,” seems to be neutral, but the term for the person behind the action, *müceddid*, has slightly more complicated connotations. First, it denotes a renewer or reformer who makes something new (*cedîd*). Secondly, it makes reference to a particular Islamic reformer, Ahmed Sirhindî (d. 1624), *müceddid-i elf-i sâni* (Renewer of the second [Islamic] millennium). From the early seventeenth century *nizâm-ı cedîd* was used for a new order as opposed to the ancient one, *nizâm-ı kâdim*. In the early eighteenth century, while the term “new order” was promoted by Müteferrikâ İbrahim Efendi, the mastermind behind the first Ottoman printing press in Istanbul, a new era was conventionally defined by *nev-zuhûr* or *nev-icâd*, “goods and deeds.”

Just what these connoted was (and is) a matter of divergent and highly opinionated interpretations. Towards the end of the century, the title *Nizâm-ı Cedîd* was applied to a series of military and political reforms carried out by Selim III (r. 1789–1807) and hence also to a political statement. The term later came to refer to the regular troops established under the reform program. Many other terms were used in this period and later to label the reforms. *Teceddüdâd* means renewal, new life, rebirth, a new start, regeneration, recovery, reawakening, resurgence, revitalization, renaissance, and revival; and while a *teceddüd* is a modernist, a *teceddüdçü* is an Islamic renewer, like *müceddid*. There was, however, no translation for or parallel to the word “modernization,” which came to describe the swift rise in Europe and America of powerful tendencies towards advancement in technology and science, as well as the development of nation-states, democratic political systems, and the expansion of capitalist modes of production. Associated with modernization, of course, are not only the values of humanism and enlightenment, but also those of colonialism and European imperialism. “Westernization,” on the other hand, was widely employed in the form of the word *garplılaşıma*, but only towards the end of the nineteenth century.

The liberals around Selim III have been portrayed as united, and have thereby been counterposed to another unified group of anti-reformists or conservatives behind (or identified with) the May 1807 rebellion.⁴ In reality, however, the com-

position of the period's elite was quite convoluted, and the reformers' multiple identities and therefore shifting political alliances and allegiances are difficult to pinpoint.⁵ Following the enthronement of Selim III, distinctive groups among the Sufi orders, most notably the Mevlevîs and the Nakşibendî-Müceddidîs, came forth as allies of the sultan and pro-reform supporters of the New Order. Nevertheless, differences between the two Sufi groups, if not among their followers, were (and are) quite marked. Among other things, the Mevlevîs seem to have fostered or facilitated artists' independence from the court, and also to have encouraged the efflorescence of novel forms of artistic expression in poetry, painting, and music. This appears to have permitted a more liberated poetics, the mixing and mingling of artists and patrons of various faiths and backgrounds, and experimentation with unconventional subject matter. In contrast, the teachings of the Nakşibendî-Müceddidîs were part and parcel of a growing tendency towards the strengthening of Sunni Islamic orthodoxy in Istanbul. Nakşibendî-Müceddidîs had adopted fundamentalist tenets and turned belief in a reformed, purified Islam into political policy.⁶ There has been no comprehensive study of their ways of artistic self-expression as a whole. Still, some of them did produce a distinctive genre of poetry, which is marked not by counterposing Sirhindî's *vahdet-i şühûd* teachings to Ibn-i Arabî's *vahdet-i vücûd*, but by an eclectic and equidistant openness to both principles.⁷ This was a fresh attitude, and in general they blended with the rest of the Istanbul elite.

The reformers' circumspect if not totally reluctant advocacy of modernity extended to economic restructuring. It involved trade liberalization, espousal of the free market, and opening up to the outside world. However, such changes remained largely haphazard and piecemeal. Often, these conspicuous consumers of foreign goods also turned out to be zealous supporters of fiscalism and provisionism. This was true of liberals as well as fundamentalists. Likewise, although they admired and approved of the European way of life, and imitated it in every possible way in the privacy of their sumptuous palaces—which flaunted luxury imports and even opera stages—their cultural and artistic inclinations elude easy categorization. Some of these daring and libertine artists or connoisseurs, including those who most enjoyed European things, might well have been conservative Muslims. The picture is further complicated by the personal idiosyncrasies of prominent individuals, more frequently encountered than before in this stressful and volatile atmosphere. This was a time when many parties and individuals were caught in two (if not more) distinct and antithetical relationships with modernity, involving both conflict and compromise.

We also have to consider the paradoxical attitude of at least some members of the royal family to modernity and reform. This study is, at least in part, a reflection on the contested identity of the era's Ottoman princesses, the sisters and nieces of



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 Scroll fragment, Akkoyunlu-Tabriz, late 15th century. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul, H. 2153. After Rogers, Çağman and Tanındı, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, 118–19, ill. 79.

The miniature shows blue-and-white porcelains in the process of being transported, perhaps in a wedding procession, as part of the bride's trousseau, or in a commercial convoy traveling around the oases of Turfan.

Selim III. They, too, were caught between self and family, mercantilism and the free market, tradition and modernity. Emerging from their husbands' domain into an ostentatious lifestyle in their new, stylish waterfront palaces, these women appear as patrons who acquired and hoarded European goods with great avidity. One of them, Hadice Sultan the Younger, was ultimately made into a scapegoat because of her role in promoting familiarity with, understanding of, and approval for Western forms and norms. This brought her a negative, disturbing public identity, to the point where she was singled out by conservatives as a surrogate target for critics of the regime.

The Topkapı Collection of European Porcelains

Ottoman royalty, unlike their counterparts in Europe, had continuous access to Chinese porcelains from the mid-fifteenth century onward (Fig. 1).⁸ From the ninth century, Chinese porcelain had been transported westward via the Silk Road, and Middle Eastern courts, fascinated with the celadons and blue-and-whites, remained insatiable customers. Official documents show that, from the early sixteenth century, an amazing collection of Chinese blue-and-whites, celadons and enamels, to be complemented in the later seventeenth century by equally spectacular Japanese ware, was being amassed in the Topkapı Palace (Fig. 2).⁹ Subsequently, when European hard porcelain began to be produced first in Saxony, and then in many other places in the early eighteenth century, Ottoman royalty were among its early customers. Today, the Topkapı Palace Museum holds well over 10,000 pieces of Chinese (the third biggest collection in the world) and Japanese porcelain, as well as about 5,000 European pieces.¹⁰

Holdings acquired by two princesses in particular, Hadice Sultan the Elder (1658–1743), and her grand-niece Hadice Sultan the Younger (1768–1822), seem to have formed the basis for the riches in the imperial vaults. In addition to a large



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Blue-and-white porcelain ewer, China, early 15th century. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, 14/1410. After *İstanbul'daki Çin Hazinesi* (Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2001), 95.

number of Chinese porcelains that she was given as part of her trousseau in 1675, the elder Hadice continued to collect on her own, and when she died in 1743 her collection comprised no fewer than 2,365 Chinese and twelve European pieces.¹¹ All were immediately sent to the Topkapı Palace. The younger Hadice, in contrast, developed a personal taste for porcelain from Saxony, Vienna, and France. When she died in 1822, hundreds of precisely identified pieces and sets of European porcelain were transferred to the Palace Treasury. Only four Chinese porcelain jars were amongst her collection.¹²

As indicated by the foregoing, porcelains often entered the palace cellars by way of the estates of the deceased, and were then sometimes (re)circulated as gifts among members of the royal family or leading dignitaries. According to a sample of the registers in which royal and other elite estates were recorded, the number of Chinese porcelain pieces entering the Topkapı Palace collections in the eighteenth century was 16,566—compared with 400 in the sixteenth, 3,645 in the seventeenth, and only five in the nineteenth century.¹³ In the meantime, the numbers of European porcelains coming to the palace were also substantial.¹⁴

Clearly, something quite striking was going on in the eighteenth century—but just what was it? Let me note, first, that most of the Chinese pieces incorporated into the Topkapı Palace collections in the eighteenth century were not current but came from earlier periods of acquisition. In contrast, European porcelains were being purchased on a massive scale for the first time. Second, at a time when European porcelain manufacture was coming into its own, the Ottomans tried to introduce pottery production in Istanbul. This was initiated in 1719 by the ambitious and innovative grand vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa (in office 1718–30), and appears to have targeted a revival of İznik ware. But İbrahim Paşa was not only trying to shore up the Porte's crisis-ridden finances. He was also keeping an eye on all contemporary European advances. His broader vision may have extended to promoting an Ottoman speculative market in tulips,¹⁵ based on what he had learnt from the South Sea Bubble, as well as relocating some old industries and creating new ones in imitation of European courts' patronage.

Although it eventually failed in the 1730s,¹⁶ İbrahim's attempt at establishing pottery production in Istanbul coincided with signs of a change in Ottoman taste over the first half of the eighteenth century. It is through this change of taste—from Oriental celadons, blue-and-whites, or polychrome porcelains from the fifteenth century onwards, to European porcelains (most notably Meissen, Vienna, Vincennes, Limoges, Paris, and Sèvres), which became available in the Ottoman luxury market as early as the 1730s—that I propose to address the craze for porcelain among the Ottoman princesses. In the process, I will also touch upon notions of collecting and assembling, as opposed to conspicuous consumption, in the Ottoman context.

1. Saksonyakâri: Meissen or Saxony Experiments in imitating Chinese porcelain, known as “white gold,” had begun in Europe under Francesco de’ Medici in the sixteenth century. After Louis XIV had been forced to order the French court silver to be melted down in order to finance the Wars of the Spanish Succession, a new wave of experimentation was launched in an effort to replace all the silverware that had perished in the process. But success in this regard fell to another patron of the arts, Prince Friedrich Augustus I, Elector of Saxony (1694–1733), who also became King Augustus II of Poland (1697–1704 and 1709–33).¹⁷ Friedrich established the Saxon capital of Dresden as a major cultural center and amassed an impressive art collection. In 1709, hard-paste porcelain production began in the city. The following year production was transferred to nearby Meissen—to a plant called the *Königliche* (and later, *Staatliche*) *Porzellan Manufaktur Meissen*. Around the same time, manufactories in Höchst, Berlin, Frankthal, and Nymphenburg also began producing porcelain.

The earliest Meissen ware had quite a limited colour range. A new type, in which bright colours were mixed with the earlier earth colours, was introduced after the 1720s. Vases and pitchers, and dinner, coffee, or tea sets produced in this period reflected East Asian tastes and artistry, for patrons at the time mostly desired underglaze-blue pieces with chinoiserie decoration. Some of the first Meissen porcelains also copied the Kaikemon ware of late-seventeenth-century Japan, which did not make use of underglaze blue in the best-quality products.¹⁸ The synthesis of the porcelain body, the glazing, the composition of the underglaze blue, and the implementation of the firing process remained an unpredictable procedure in which four hard-to-control factors had to be coordinated. Hence, only in the early 1730s did it become possible to call the Meissen dishes “beautiful and agreeable.”¹⁹ By 1732–4, Ottoman merchants had already begun to place huge orders for coffee-cups. In 1732, one Manasses Athanas commissioned 2,000 dozen coffee-cups (without handles and saucers) from the Meissen factory (i.e., 24,000 pieces). This was the first commission that the Meissen manufactory had received from Ottoman dealers, and it agreed to produce 43,200 pieces annually in the future. Two years later, a new order was placed, perhaps by the same merchant, for a total of 36,000 cups.²⁰ Significantly, some fine examples of such early Meissen ware are to be found in the Topkapı Palace collections, including coffee-cups without handles.²¹ Several such cups, albeit mostly from the last quarter of the century, have also survived in the Dresden collections (Fig. 3).²² More coffee-cups from this period in the Chinese Imari style, with red, purple, and green tones added, are also to be found in private collections in Turkey today.²³

Perhaps the most sensational pieces in the Topkapı collection are two bowls painted by two celebrated Meissen artists. One of these bowls, decorated with Chi-



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Coffee-cup, inscribed “*hâsa-Allah, içene âfiyet olsun*” (God forbid! May it do you [drinker] good!), Meissen, dated 1756–7. Porzellansammlungen, Dresden, 1975. After Loesch, “Zum Einfluß der Türkenmode auf das Meißner Porzellan,” 333 (cat. no. 433).

nese medallions in which a port city, ships, and European men and women are shown, is a fine example of a very popular painting style—that of Johann Gregorius Herold/Höroid (1696–1775); the other blue-ground chinoiserie bowl is by David Köhler (d. 1723).²⁴ The former bears the “whip” modification of the Meissen brandmark, indicating that it was specifically made for Ottoman customers.²⁵

While the desire for replicas of East Asian ware was initially overwhelming, the Meissen artists soon developed their own inimitable style—a style that reflected the ornateness of baroque drama. After 1737, rococo patterns were preferred. Topographical scenes and floral motifs adapted from contemporary botanical studies, as well as, occasionally, figure studies drawn from *commedia dell'arte*, were employed for decorative purposes. There are a few such bowls datable to 1730–40 in the Topkapı Palace collections,²⁶ while a delightful polychrome ewer and washbasin set made for the Ottoman market in the 1740s or 1750s survives in the collection of the manufactory in Dresden. It is decorated with roses, carnations, and tulips, some in relief (Fig. 4).²⁷ The same form (but with different decorative programs) was later to be used in the Vienna manufactory, too.

Also from this period are figurines based on depictions of Ottoman men and women in early eighteenth-century engravings. These were once quite fashionable Meissen products although today only a few can be found at the Topkapı Palace, their main market being non-Ottoman. Among prints in the Meissen archives (acquired for the use of painters for their designs) are four hand-coloured sheets of Ottoman figures based on well-known sources—such as the engravings of the Flemish artist Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (1671–1737), who worked in the retinue of European ambassadors in Istanbul from 1699 until his death.²⁸ Thus a sultan’s guard (*solakbaşı*) and a bandit (*heyduk*) after Vanmour were painted on a teapot of ca. 1723–6, attributed to Herold.²⁹ Like many figurines dated to the 1750s or after,³⁰ these oriental figures stand in striking contrast to the classical motifs, inspired by the archaeological excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum, which were reworked in the neoclassical style that came to be preferred at Meissen.

After Count Camilio Marcolini took over at the Meissen factory in 1774, special workshops catering to the Ottoman demand were set up, and new models and a distinctive repertoire were established. The factory instituted several studios in the



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Polychrome ewer-and-washbasin set, Meissen, 1740s–50s.

Porzellansammlungen, Dresden, PE. 3619a-c. After Loesch, “Zum Einfluß der Türkenmode auf das Meißner Porzellan,” 344 (cat. no. 456).

The water poured from the ewer drains through a strainer in the middle of the basin. When not in use, the ewer sits in the center of the basin. A bar of soap could also be placed there.

vicinity of Meissen as well as at Regensburg for the sole purpose of such decorative work, and kept Ottoman enthusiasts satisfied as far as politics allowed.³¹ Heavily gilded covered dishes, decorated with bouquets of flowers set within enveloping foliage, are a type of Meissen ware that avoided figural representation. A fish-scale surface pattern was also used together with floral decorations. The knobs on the lids were always in the form of citrus fruits, and lemons in particular.

Istanbul was now in want of cups with handles as part of coffee or tea services. In the Topkapı Palace collections, there is a tea set for three people from the Marcolini Period (1774–1805), consisting of an oval tray, three cups with handles, their saucers and spoons, a milk pot with lid, a coffee pot with lid, a sugar bowl with lid, two confectionary bowls with lids, a tea pot, a rosewater flask, and an incense burner (Fig. 5).³² From the same period there is also a complete coffee set for one, comprising a cup and its saucer, a milk pot and a coffee pot (both with lids), and a lidded sugar bowl, all set on an oval tray (Fig. 6).³³ A late eighteenth-century small oval box in the Kaikemon style with a dog figurine on the lid is another, surprising find in the Palace collections (Fig. 7).³⁴ This box, too, bears the “whip” brandmark. These pieces are complemented by more lidded boxes, bowls, and dishes in Turkish private collections. One of the porcelain designs the Ottomans favoured in the Marcolini Period features a red (or green or yellow) spiral alternating with a floral band on a white ground. A lidded dish with this pattern in the Sadberk Hanım Museum, Istanbul, bearing a lemon-shaped knob (Fig. 8),³⁵ matches another lidded dish (or box) in Dresden.³⁶ Yet another lidded dish in the same Istanbul collection, covered with pink rosebuds, gilded leaves and green triple dots, also has an ornamental lemon-shaped knob (Fig. 9).³⁷ Among the figurines of the period in the Topkapı Palace collection are some by artists such as Johann Friedrich Eberlein (1695–1749), Peter Reinicke (1711–68), and Johann Peter Melchior (1742–1825, *Modellmeister* at Hochst).³⁸

2. Beç İşi or Beçkârî: Vienna The Vienna manufactory, founded in 1718 by a Dutchman by the name of Claudius Innocentius Du Paquier and employing masters of the craft attracted there from Meissen, quickly grew into a fashionable center. Subsequently, a connection between Ottoman markets and Austrian porcelain

manufacturers was secured through the Ostender Kompanie (Eastern Trade Company) in Vienna. A few examples of early Vienna ware, especially made to suit Ottoman taste, survive in the Topkapı Palace collections—although we do not know just when and how they arrived. A table decoration and two ewer-and-dish sets are dated to the 1730s and therefore strikingly early (Fig. 10).³⁹ More Vienna ware from the first half of the eighteenth century has been located in private collections in Istanbul.

In 1744 Empress Maria Theresa of Austria acquired Du Paquier's struggling manufactory and turned it into the Kaiserliche Fabrik. Under her patronage the business acquired greater stability. Eventually, there would be twenty more factories or decorating studios in Vienna. Designs were developed independent of Meissen production and the quality of painting was very fine. Several artists, most notably Georg Stöckel, Josef Schindele and Andreas Hagel, have been identified as having produced the decorations of cups exported to the Ottoman capital between 1762 and 1784.⁴⁰ The third period of Viennese porcelain production is known as the Sorgenthal Period (1784–1805), after a director of the factory, Conrad Sörgal von Sorgenthal. Many examples of Vienna ware in Istanbul collections are from this period. Amongst numerous lidded bowls, decorated with floral cartouches and lemon-shaped ornamental knobs, a particularly charming example is a pair of lidded jars with flowers in relief (Fig. 11).⁴¹ The fish-scale pattern used together with floral decorations and citrus-fruit knobs on the lids was also adapted to Vienna ware (Figs. 12 and 13).⁴²

This porcelain trade was heavily affected by the Russo-Ottoman war of 1787–92. As Austria backed Russia, Ottoman imports from Vienna declined by as much as one-fifth, and customers were (re)directed to Meissen. Count Marcolini, the director of the Meissen factory, capitalized on this, taking a special interest in the Ottoman market (as well as the Russian market) in an attempt to reverse his factory's declining financial fortunes. Sorgenthal also looked for a way round such obstacles. Hence the gifts made to Ottoman royalty and other dignitaries by the Vienna factory (Fig. 14).⁴³ A discount on production targeted for the Ottoman market was instrumental in putting trade back on track, and until the mid-nineteenth century the Ottomans kept buying from both Meissen and Vienna. However, Vienna's quality gradually deteriorated, and following the death of Sorgenthal in 1805, its exports to the Ottoman capital became more and more poorly designed, gilded and decorated.⁴⁴

3. Fransızkârî: Parisian or French At the beginning of the eighteenth century, after a long period of experiment, the French, too, finally succeeded in making soft porcelain, and in 1738 production began at an old chateau in Vincennes near Paris. Initially imitating Japanese ware, then producing Meissen-like porce-

lain, the factory did not offer anything for sale until 1754. Designated as the royal factory (Manufacture Royale de Porcelaines de France), Vincennes came to obtain monopoly privileges, so that polychrome porcelain production was banned for all other parties.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the precariousness of the financial situation finally led to the king becoming the sole owner of the factory in 1759, at the behest of Madame de Pompadour, and his monopoly and profits were secured by a succession of laws excluding others from certain kinds of porcelain manufacture over the next thirty years. As the king's exclusive rights covered particular techniques, including gilded porcelain, coloured flowers, and sculpture, Vincennes ware came to be identified with a number of trademark colours. These included a distinctive dark blue (also called Mazarin Blue, discovered in 1749), a turquoise blue (1752), a powder blue that imitated Chinese ware (1753), yellow (1753), and apple/pea green (1756), as well as motifs comprising medallions of pink ground framed with gilt decoration in relief, known as Pompadour Rose (1757–64). Every year the king arranged for a sale at Versailles, where his courtiers and Parisians purchased and collected large quantities of porcelain, including table services, tea sets, and decorative items such as sets of vases and matching candelabra.⁴⁶ In 1756 production was relocated to Sèvres—near Madame de Pompadour's mansion at Bellevue, between Paris and Versailles. At that time the dark, underglaze blue was abandoned as a result of the discovery of a brighter overglaze blue. While the latter became the most favored hue at Sèvres and came to be called Royal Blue (1760), reddish brown and black were also much used in the 1770s. As for the decorative program, ribbons (1757), partridge eyes (1760), fish-scales, and crocodile-skin patterns (1762), pebbles (1768), curves, and pendants (1780) became the preferred motifs on a background of porphyry and marble patterns (1793).⁴⁷ What would come to be known as Sèvres porcelain characterized the French court taste of the period. Ottoman exposure to French porcelain was minimal until the 1770s.

The Seven Years War (1756–63) pushed Sèvres porcelain to the foreground while Meissen production declined. Also around this time, porcelain production in France spread to new localities. In 1769, the raw materials for producing hard porcelain were located in Saint-Yrieix in the Limousin region, and the ensuing new production line was called Limoges after the locality that supplied them. In 1771 a new factory for producing hard porcelain was established at Limoges itself, and the next year experimentation with hard porcelain production also succeeded at Sèvres. In 1784 Louis XVI annexed Limoges to Sèvres, but this arrangement failed and Limoges production came to an end in 1796. Over the period 1770–1870, some thirty factories and four or five workshops, all located to the northeast of Paris, and employing nearly 4,000 artists and craftsmen, kept producing porcelain known as “Porcelaine de Paris.”⁴⁸ In the Parisian ateliers, porcelains intended for the Ottoman



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Tea set, Meissen, Marcolini Period (1774–1805). Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, 26/4559, 26/4560, 26/4561, 26/4562, 26/4563, 26/4564, 26/4565, 26/4568, 26/4598). After *Osmanlı Sarayında Avrupa Porselenleri*, 34–5.

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Coffee set, Meissen, Marcolini Period (1774–1805). Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, 26/4621, 26/4622, 26/4623, 26/4624, 26/4625. After *Osmanlı Sarayında Avrupa Porselenleri*, 38.

market included wide-lipped *aşure* and *salep* pitchers, deep dishes, table clocks, and vases decorated by Orientalist painters. In the wake of the French Revolution, soft porcelain production was totally abandoned at Sèvres in the early 1800s, and all such stocks were sold off. During this process, undecorated pieces from the warehouse were appropriated by outside decorators; painted in the old way, these “imitations” were sold to some European courts and today can be located in certain private as well as museum collections, including the Topkapı Palace.⁴⁹ Porcelains produced in Vincennes–Sèvres were known in the Ottoman capital as *Fransızkârî Saksonya*, and Limoges or Paris ware as *Fransızkârî* or *Pariskârî*. An 1816 vase from the Restoration Period (1814–24) is the earliest Sèvres piece in the Topkapı collection.⁵⁰

The wars of the second half of the eighteenth century not only interrupted the European porcelain trade. They also spelled ruin for Ottoman finances. As a final blow to the economy, trade with France, the Ottomans’ main commercial partner, collapsed as the latter struggled with the 1789 revolution, and importing Vincennes, Limoges, Sèvres, or Paris ware became ever more difficult for porcelain enthusiasts in Istanbul.⁵¹ The Ottoman ambassador to France between 1797 and 1802, Moralı Esseyid Ali Efendi, did not go beyond noting that there were numerous porcelain manufacturers (*fağfûr kârhâneleri*) in Paris.⁵² His successor Mehmed Said Halet Efendi, however, was preoccupied with porcelain purchases during his four years



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Box in the Kaikemon style, Meissen, Marcolini Period (1774–1805). Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul. After Sonat, “European Porcelains,” 429.

in Paris (1802–6). The ambassador complained repeatedly about the recurring requests for porcelain that he received from grandees and friends in Istanbul.⁵³

Ottoman Royal Women’s New Way of Life

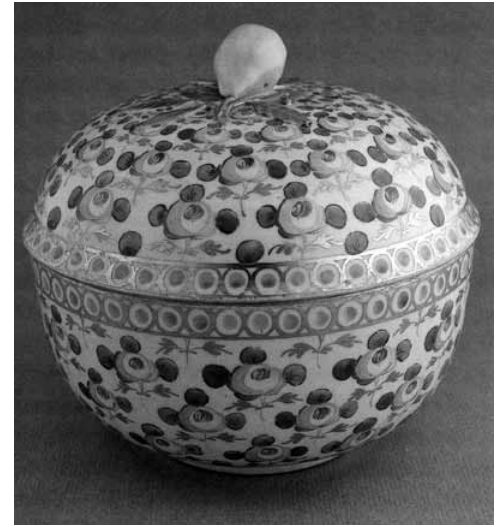
Although the ways in which Ottoman royalty engaged with the luxury markets of the eighteenth century are still unclear, about the phenomenon itself there can hardly be any question.⁵⁴ Hard porcelain produced early in the eighteenth century in Meissen, Vienna, and Paris, as well as in numerous other European centers, appears to have seduced the increasingly free-spirited Ottoman princesses of the time, for “porcelain was the art most truly and spontaneously expressive of the spirit of the eighteenth century, with its craving for novelty and its love of luxury.”⁵⁵ These Ottoman princesses were becoming more and more independent not just of “traditions” but also of their husbands, and this was reflected in the way in which their own waterfront palaces came to dwarf those of their spouses along the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn.⁵⁶ Earlier, under the absolute rule of the sultans, it had been the splendour of the (one and only) imperial palace that was symbolically most important in publicly displaying and celebrating their dynastic power, and thus legitimating their governance. But soon after the court returned from its prolonged stay in Edirne in 1703, it became a major prerogative of the sultans’ nieces and daughters to build their palaces on the waterfront, along the shores of the capital. Princesses were delegated to put on view the presence and power of the dynasty, in a project to reinscribe the House of Osman into the urban space of the imperial city. Furthermore, through the staging of frequent royal marriages, public displays of bridal gifts and trousseaus in successive processions became commonplace in the life of Istanbulites, which in turn triggered a general interest in amassing luxury objects.

As Ottoman princesses thereby emerged as ambitious patrons of palatial architecture, they had to find new ways to fill and decorate their palaces. At a time when the Ottoman authorities’ attempts to revive Iznik pottery in Istanbul were coming to a decisive end, these royal ladies were swiftly adapting their tastes to the gilt and shine, the “beautiful and agreeable” colors and decorations of European porcelain. This was even before European-style cabinets, wardrobes, tables, and armchairs



8

8
Lidded dish, Meissen, Marcolini
Period (1774–1805). Sadberk Hanım
Museum, Istanbul, HK 198-3261
A-B. After *Sadberk Hanım Museum*,
145.



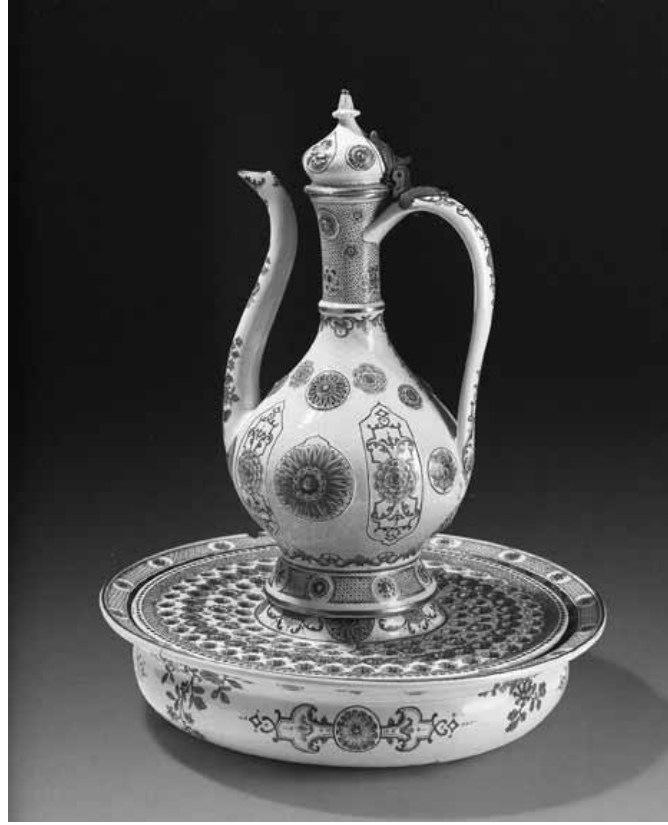
9

9
Lidded dish, Meissen, Marcolini
Period (1774–1805). Sadberk Hanım
Museum, Istanbul, HK 194-3257
A-B. After *Sadberk Hanım Museum*,
144.

came to crowd their halls. Moreover, in this period their interest in Chinese or Japanese porcelain was minuscule— next to nothing. Possibly this demonstrates that they were disassociating themselves from things past, as well as from other new elites in Istanbul. For the latter, as for commoners, Oriental porcelain, which was becoming more and more readily available on the market, remained most desirable.⁵⁷

Caught between the tides was Hadice Sultan the Elder. In contrast to her sisters and many of her nieces (namely the daughters of Mustafa II and Ahmed III), Hadice the Elder appears to have been a dedicated collector of Oriental ware. Studies of the Topkapı Palace collections of Chinese porcelains and celadons point to a big jump in numbers between 1725 and 1750 (as compared with 1675–1725 or 1750–75).⁵⁸ It has been suggested that the totals for this twenty-five year period and the decade following it were swollen by the incorporation of two massive collections. One of these belonged to Hadice Sultan the Elder, who died in 1743, whereupon (as already mentioned) her probate inventory turned out to comprise no fewer than sixty-two celadons, 2,303 Chinese porcelains, and twelve European porcelains, adding up to a total of 2,377 pieces.⁵⁹ When she married in 1675, she had only 311 porcelains and celadons (268 plain and forty-three bejewelled) in her trousseau.⁶⁰ Her kitchen accounts, too, record massive displays of “table” pomp and circumstance.⁶¹ Indeed, Hadice Sultan is known to have repeatedly fêted her brothers, Mustafa II and Ahmed III, in her palaces. On the eve of the events that led to the disastrous revolt of 1730, she was holding a banquet for the sultan and the grand vizier, as well as a crowd of high-ranking dignitaries, at her Üsküdar palace on the Bosphorus.⁶² She has, in fact, been blamed for preventing the grand vizier from moving on to Istanbul that night in order to take immediate action against the rebels.⁶³ Was she secretly a member of the opposition party, or was this an error of judgment on her part? In any case, it led to her brother Ahmed III’s dethronement.

When Hadice the Elder died in 1743 she was in her nineties. She could not possibly have been as ambitious and motivated a collector as she had once been. Nevertheless, she had managed to acquire a dozen pieces of European porcelain during the first ten years of their appearance in Ottoman lands. As a true collector, she must have retained the drive to hunt for the most recent diplomatic gifts presented to the new sultan, her nephew Mahmud I (r. 1730–54).



10

10

Ewer-and-basin set, Vienna, ca. 1735. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, 26/4939, 26/4938. After Sonat, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi'ndeki Osmanlı Zevkiyle Yapılmış Avrupa Porselenleri," 46-7.

In Europe, meanwhile, a number of contemporary royal women were involved in the growth of porcelain manufacture not only as consumers and collectors who made large purchases, but also (as in the case of Madame de Pompadour mentioned above) as motivated patrons of arts and industry.⁶⁴ Their impact ranged from initiating the establishment of manufactories to supporting innovation and production. They included Empress Maria Theresa of Austria (r. 1745-65) and Maria Amalia Cristina, the Queen Consort of Spain and Naples (r. 1738-60),⁶⁵ who set up a manufactory in the palace grounds of Capodimonte near Naples. Although it was active for only sixteen years, some of the finest figure models in soft-paste porcelain were produced there. The "Porcelain Room" made for the queen at the royal villa at Portici between 1757 and 1759 is one of the great feats of craftwork in this medium. Of two Russian empresses, Elisabeth (r. 1741-62), daughter of Peter the Great, supported the first manufactory at St Petersburg by employing artists from Meissen; and Catherine II the Great (r. 1762-96)⁶⁶ gave considerable state subsidies to the "Imperial Factory," in recognition for which her portraits decorated many of its products. Queen Juliane Marie of Denmark (r. 1752-66)⁶⁷ was the principal shareholder and supporter of the Royal Danish Porcelain Manufactory founded in 1775. In 1762, Queen Charlotte of England (r. 1761-1818) was presented with a porcelain breakfast and candle set by Josiah Wedgwood, after ten years in preparation. "In 1765 she ordered 'a complete set of tea things', a coffee service for twelve including candle sticks and fruit baskets which were decorated with modelled flowers in green and gold."⁶⁸ Royal ladies' influence was also felt indirectly. One of the most splendid pieces of Meissen chinoiserie painted by the eminent artist Herold in the 1730s is a cup bearing the monogram of Queen Sophia Dorothea of Prussia—

presumably commissioned by the Elector of Saxony to be presented during his formal visit to her court. The recipient herself is represented in the scenes on the cup.⁶⁹ As European porcelain became popular by the mid-eighteenth century and “china fever” reached its climax, methods of display also developed in European mansions and palaces—to the point of initiating new architectural schemes.

A Shift in Taste and Behavior: From One Hadice to Another

Hadice Sultan the Younger was another late eighteenth-century princess who, together with her half-sisters Şah (1761–1802) and Beyhan (1765–1825), as well as her nieces Esma the Younger (1778–1848) and Hibetullah (1789–1841), was extremely enthusiastic about novelty in architecture and interior design. They all invested huge sums in the construction and furnishing of their palaces, and ultimately died bankrupt. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, although each princess led her own separate life, their numerous waterfront palaces along the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus were of equal grandeur and similar taste, and taken together diverged largely from other, more conventional forms. We can speculate that, as well as personal wealth, their architectural commissions were intended to demonstrate an appreciation for technological and aesthetical advancements, including the fashionably “modern” European styles of the era such as Neoclassicism or the French Empire style.

It is understood that Hadice the Younger took a personal interest in all details of palatial decoration—quite like Madame de Pompadour, who is known to have supervised the colours of her walls, the paintings on her ceilings, her tapestries, mirrors, furniture, draperies and ornaments, and even the design of her cutlery;⁷⁰ she is also said to have had the gift of inspiring artists to work at their best for her and to respond to her tastes. Hadice, for her part, had the architect-cum-designer Antoine-Ignace Melling (1763–1831) working for her in the 1790s.⁷¹ Melling, born in Karlsruhe to a family of artists from Lorraine, lived in Istanbul for eighteen years between 1784 and 1802.⁷² The multi-talented artist caught the attention of the princess while working for Friedrich Hübsch, the Danish *chargé d'affaires*.⁷³

Hadice was married in 1786 and, in accordance with royal custom, was allocated an imperial palace in 1791.⁷⁴ The reconstruction of her Neşedâbâd Palace at Deftardarburnu (on the European shores of the Bosphorus) took three years, and was completed in 1794. Unfortunately, the building surveys and inspection inventories which usually accompanied such grand projects have not survived in this particular case. This is curious, because there are extensive accounts of earlier phases of construction and restoration at Neşedâbâd. Moreover, all her household accounts are missing, as a result of which we have no direct evidence for her purchases, gifts, or allocations throughout her entire married life. Hadice’s private affairs are known

to us only through circumstantial evidence, deriving from Melling's contribution to the Neşedâbâd project.⁷⁵ The surviving collection of letters (in some thirty folios) exchanged between the patron and her architect is unique in the Ottoman context, and quite revealing in many respects.⁷⁶

The letters testify not only to Hadice's insatiable interest in the decoration of her palace(s), but also to her drive and desire to be in command at all times.⁷⁷ A few letters concerning some chairs, perhaps (imitations of) French imports in the Louis XV or Louis XVI style, are a case in point. At the time chairs and armchairs were a novelty in Ottoman interiors. When those initially delivered by Melling did not suit her taste, she made it clear that she wanted gilded ones. On another occasion, only an hour after writing a letter to Melling at six o'clock in the morning to inquire about the delivery of some other chair(s), she wrote yet another letter to repeat that she wanted it (them) as soon as possible.⁷⁸ It must have been her taste, and her genuine support for novelty, liberalism, and reform, that made her impatient about decorating her new waterfront palace in French Empire style—which was a political statement on its own. Ottoman reformers had started turning to France in marked fashion from the 1770s onward, and this trend had peaked under Selim III, so that in the 1790s Istanbul was host to an unprecedented number of French engineers, architects, and military officers.

Melling was employed not only to design the gardens and parts of Hadice's palace. On her repeated orders, he appears also to have designed her dresses, belts, and shawls; and to have created decorative installations for her palace grounds during religious *bayrams*. He designed a knife and a comb embellished with jewels to be presented by the princess to an unidentified gentleman. At the same time, he was instrumental in procuring pearls and precious stones, textiles and laces, trimmings, and mosquito nets, as well as in overseeing the production of small spreads (to be placed under table-trays), comb cases, *kavuk* covers, and napkins. He was an intermediary between the princess and "European" merchants, for example, obtaining at the princess's request six of "those" clocks, and four *arşun* [68 centimeters] of "this" kind of (imported) broadcloth. He also purchased silver chests-of-drawers, chairs, gilded armchairs (see above), and chandeliers on her behalf, as well as a marble (perhaps alabaster or agate) flower pot which could also be used as a lantern. It is interesting that there is no mention of him, not even as an architect, in any other Ottoman source, given that he had also undertaken the rebuilding of various sections of the imperial summer residence at Beşiktaş. Even more frustratingly, there is no mention of European porcelain among the purchases he was ordered to make for Hadice Sultan. After all, Friedrich Hübsch, with whom Melling had been previously affiliated, was a merchant and banker running the Galata-based trading firm of Hübsch and Timoni.⁷⁹



11

11

Lidded jar, Vienna, second half of the 18th century. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, 16/769. After Sonat, “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi’ndeki Osmanlı Zevkiyle Yapılmış Avrupa Porselenleri,” 50–51.

For visual evidence of this new aestheticized life, we may turn to European engravings or oil paintings—including Melling’s own arresting panoramas and interiors in his *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives de Bosphore* (1819). But neither in his textual nor in his visual accounts is there any indication whatsoever of a preoccupation with displaying the imports or collectibles that he himself had procured for the princess. Thus, in the end, it is Ottoman royal ladies’ probate registers, especially from the last quarter of the eighteenth into the early nineteenth century, that best reflect their overwhelming interest in collecting European porcelains.

Like her peers, Hadice the Younger died in debt.⁸⁰ Immediately after she passed away on July 17, 1822, her belongings were confiscated and sold at auction.⁸¹ Her probate inventories included more than five hundred pieces of European porcelain, which appear to have been kept in three different parts of her palace. (We have no clue whatsoever as to how many pieces of porcelain she might have acquired as bridal gifts, though her trousseau in 1786 is likely to have included earlier pieces returned to the Treasury from the estates of deceased royal women and dignitaries.) When every single item had been counted, thirty-nine plates, eight tureens, one dish, twenty-seven bowls, three coffee-cups, thirteen jugs, three inkpots, one salt-cellar, sixteen trays, one water-pipe, and one broken ewer-and-basin set were identified as Meissen porcelain. One hundred and forty-eight plates, eight tureens, ten dishes, fourteen bowls, twenty-eight jars, and one teapot were listed as Viennese. Finally, thirty-four plates, two bowls, seven jugs, one teapot, six coffee-cups with handles, three saucers, and two ewers were all recorded as French porcelain. None were described as extraordinary, novel, unique, exotic, rare, new, or old, but all were carefully and quite confidently identified by scribes, possibly trained and educated to read the trademarks, as *Saksonya*, *Beçkârî*, *Fransızkârî*, or *Pariskârî*. Even Meissen imitations of Vincennes–Sèvres workshop products were distinguished as *Fransızkârî Saksonya*. Her crystal wares, too, were identified as *Saksonya* or *İngilizkârî*, that is to say Bohemian or English.

The Enigma of Hadice the Younger: Consumer or Collector?

At this point there arises a key question: What was the main motive for such massive accumulations of European porcelain? That they represented a new taste seems beyond doubt. But was this new taste intended to be displayed relatively publicly or privately? Did Hadice acquire all these complete table sets and individual items in order to satisfy herself, and perhaps also to show them off at small, intimate gatherings? Or were they actually intended for use at grander affairs attended by male company from beyond the family—as at state banquets? And if this were the case, could it be that Hadice the Younger was thereby adopting a subtle political stance?

Let us first review the evidence for the second scenario. The discovery of new tastes and the adopting of new manners—all reflected in a proliferation of table sets, dessert sets, tea sets and coffee sets—were part and parcel of a new kind of life to which this princess in particular, and probably others, aspired. The emphasis on sets might be taken as pointing towards actual use, by large numbers of people, and therefore also to practical consumption over collecting as a motive for Hadice's acquisitions.⁸² Since at least the 1720s, the Ottoman court had known that their whole approach to eating was different from the Europeans.⁸³ Ottomans, elite or commoners alike, did not have special dining halls; they ate very quickly and in complete silence; numerous small courses were served in deep dishes or large plates from which individual spooned their own helpings; there were no table cloths, knives, forks, plates, glasses, or salt cellars. The very act of acquiring European-style table services would seem to indicate that all this was changing. The most notable difference between Ottoman and European dining habits, however, was the absence of women at any public, collective meal. Could it be that in the era of Selim, or at least in the context of Selim's special relationship with his sister, there was a significant change in this last regard?

Selim III is known to have paid frequent visits to his sisters and half-sisters, which became all the more regular during Ramadan. He visited Hadice repeatedly for *iftar* banquets, and even had apartments reserved for overnight stays at Defterdarburnu. We have no account of any other guests Hadice might have entertained in her brother's honour, or of what was served at these banquets, but there can be hardly any doubt that her best porcelain would have been used. And at least some of these dinners might not have been secluded affairs. The architectural layout of Neşedâbâd Palace suggests that one of its spacious halls was reserved for gathering over food.⁸⁴ This in itself hints at a departure from the custom of men gathering around trays placed on low stands to eat in groups. But beyond this, we are in no position to say how much further "Westernization" might have been taken—whether this "dining hall" was lit with large crystal chandeliers and decorated by family portraits as was European practice, or whether a long stationary table might

have been placed along its central axis.⁸⁵ European furniture was finding its way even into the elite brothels of Istanbul in the 1790s,⁸⁶ and certainly furnished some parts of Hadice's palace. It is tempting to imagine reformers and anti-reformers alike, seated on gilded Louis XVI chairs, being served in the best European china. Even the type of food served might have helped reinforce a reformist message to guests.⁸⁷ For all this, it is not necessary to speculate further about Hadice's (or other women's) actual presence at the table. Even if she herself were invisible, she would, in effect, be represented by her entire palace, from its neoclassical architecture to its decoration and furnishings—and ultimately by her china. It could all have been read as a message to the effect that change there had to be, and she was there to support Selim III and his reforms to the utmost.

The foregoing might sound plausible, but while it is not contradicted neither is it supported by any concrete evidence. We must turn to the first scenario, which suggests that Hadice was a collector. One of the two probate inventories drawn up in 1822 is a list of contents of a treasury or a safe—or, perhaps, a special room where rare and curious things were kept.⁸⁸ It turns out to be a list of objects that were sold after Hadice's death. What is striking is that many of the fragile objects listed in this inventory were in boxes (*kutu*), baskets (*sepet*), or casks (*fuçu*), or on large circular trays (*tabla*). In addition to the aforementioned porcelains and crystal wares, their contents were listed as small wares (*hurdavat*), costumes, jars of *confiture*, copper ware, crystal chandeliers, and diverse other items. Unlike the other inventory, this list also includes pieces of furniture such as cabinets (*dolab*), chests (*sanduk*), or chests of drawers (*çekmece*). Altogether, the list suggests a whole roomful of curiosities, objects which were not in daily use but had been amassed for the purposes of building a collection kept hidden from most eyes.

All things considered, does Hadice the Younger appear as no more than a consumer, or does she qualify as a collector? Are the sheer number, variety, and quality of the objects she owned—which required such effort and riches to acquire, as well as the care and knowledge that went into their classification and protection—enough to identify Hadice as a collector, and of European porcelain in particular? I would argue that the answer has to be positive. First and foremost, Hadice's porcelain collection was quantitatively significant by any standards. While the estates of her peers held tens of mirrors of varying sizes, clocks of different kinds, quantities of chandeliers or furniture, and hundreds of curtains, items of bedding, or table services,⁸⁹ Hadice appears to have owned only half the amount of such goods, but several times more porcelain.⁹⁰ Secondly, to a greater degree than her peers, her intent seems to have been to use her wealth and power to demonstrate her access to a modern style of living and Western achievements. Thirdly, the desire for control, the patience, the competitiveness, and the excitement of the hunt embodied in the



12

12
Small lidded bowl, Vienna, dated 1799. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, 26/4752. After Sonat, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi'ndeki Osmanlı Zevkiyle Yapılmış Avrupa Porselenleri," 54.



13

13
Set composed of a mug, a lidded jug and two plates, Vienna, dated 1785. Sadberk Hanım Museum, Istanbul, HK 243-3306, Env. HK 216-3279 A-B. After *Sadberk Hanım Museum*, 145.

furnishing of her palace(s) and in her correspondence with Melling all point to a particular, peculiar personality. Fourthly, her porcelains (and crystal glass) were kept in containers, in a special room, in a cabinet of curiosities. And lastly, she was one of a few Ottoman princesses who wanted to find a way to dissociate herself from the rest of the wealthy through her collecting tastes. The mass production of porcelain which began in Meissen and Vienna in the early eighteenth century, while catering to larger, privileged populations in Europe, may also have been a factor in fashioning the identity of a new elite in Istanbul. Collecting it certainly entailed competition and rivalry—even among the royal ladies whose belief system had long required them to find identity and meaning in their lives through pious deeds. Thus, collecting porcelain can be seen as an aspect of their quest for an independent, opinionated, confident, worldly, and modern identity.

It has been argued that in Western literary texts portraying both women and china, we see "how the female as an object of male desire became, over the course of the long eighteenth century, the female as desiring subject."⁹¹ Here "china is less the marker for woman's status as object," but "more the indicator of an ideological struggle to shape woman's situation as a desiring subject within a particular domestic economy."⁹² For Hadice, "modern" and "Western" were synonymous, and seemed to signify or to facilitate, more than anything else, her empowerment as a woman, a princess, to take responsibility in state affairs. Her presence in dining halls and at dinner tables would have been a public and revolutionary event in itself. Although we may never know whether she attended such dinners or not, it is more likely that she collected European luxuries to display them at private parties. Nevertheless, as a typical princess of the eighteenth century, with personal revenues and palaces of her own, the radical and insurgent in Hadice the Younger, matched with her innate curiosity, may have been attracted by the difficulties and risks of Western commerce and it was this that nurtured her desire to collect.

Hadice's attitude towards material riches differed from that of her sisters and nieces in several ways. The most revealing evidence in support of her disposition to modern lifestyles is her employment of Antoine-Ignace Melling and her effort to communicate with him in person. She had, after all, not only had her palace remodelled with some architectural features overtly alluding to European forms, but had also amassed significant numbers of certain kinds of expensive and hard-

to-find goods from leading European centers of production in order to decorate the interior—all through his mediation. At the time of her death, two decades after his departure, not only porcelain and crystal ware, but also numbers of chandeliers, delicate and breakable, were still being kept in their boxes in a special room (see above). Even if not all had been purchased by Melling himself, such luxuries were certainly introduced by him into the palace he had been busy refurbishing for ten years.

Unfortunately, we are not in a position to understand fully Hadice's methods of acquiring luxury porcelain and crystal ware, even though we can identify at least one group of her creditors or purveyors, who, when she died, each came forth to demand his share from her steward.⁹³ These were merchants or dealers themselves, or connected to the likes of Manasses Athanes (see above), who placed orders with the Meissen factory in the 1730s. However, although her taste and knowledge of, or her desire for European porcelain cannot be documented (even) from the letters she exchanged with Melling, it is this correspondence which shows how aggressive and pushy she could be when she set her mind to possess something. Collection-building is often an outlet for focusing emotions (such as envy, frustration, despair, success, triumph, or a compulsion to consume), and may turn into a quest for self-completion.

In this regard, it is important to note the many other princesses who had nothing to do with collecting.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, as quite a few of Hadice's aunts, half-sisters, cousins, or nieces also acquired European porcelains, albeit in a smaller way, it is possible to hypothesize that some royal women in Istanbul were using their collectibles as a form of competitive connoisseurship. Even if these ladies were not yet genuine collectors who possessed Hadice's kind of scavenging instinct, competition and rivalry must have motivated them to continue to collect despite all the difficulties of long-distance trade. Naturally not all would have shared Hadice's political agenda, but they still sought to make their acquisitions not just larger, or better, but also (more) complete—perhaps by acquiring a complete set of porcelain, or several such sets. This might also explain their lack of interest in Oriental antiquities or contemporary polychromed wares, which did not come in “sets.”

The concept of a whole table service with matching components was still novel in the 1730s, and the first dinner service to be made in porcelain was ordered from Meissen in late 1731. Earlier, Du Paquier had produced a partial dinner service, possibly composed exclusively of tureens, in the mid-1720s; between 1736 and 1740 he made another service—composed primarily of tureens and wine coolers that Emperor Charles VI gave to the Russian empress Anna Ivanova.⁹⁵ But by the 1800s numerous sets were in the market, and the competition for a complete one was fierce. It seems that Hadice and other collector princesses would have had to com-

pete for a complete dinner service not only amongst themselves, but also with some of the most resourceful European royal or aristocratic ladies of the time.⁹⁶ As the majority of her porcelains were recorded as single pieces at the time of her death, we are not in a position to estimate how many complete services she possessed.⁹⁷

If Beyhan was pious and Esma notorious, perhaps Hadice the Younger was not only competitive but also ambitious. Palmira Fontes de Costa states that “Such an absorption ... is seen in many cultures as a source of danger for the soul and, as such, the object of extreme distrust.” In early eighteenth-century London, “The desire for novelties was understood as a stimulus to trade, and objects of curiosity were treated as luxury items. The commercial society that produced such items was often perceived as morally ambiguous and this affected the evolution of curiosity. In Britain, authors such as David Hume and Adam Smith were at the forefront of utilitarian attempts to dissociate luxury from this negative connotation and to view it positively as an element of a civilized society.”⁹⁸

Making a Statement through Taste and Knowledge

One of the three engravings that Melling included in his *Voyage pittoresque* to illustrate the Neşedâbâd Palace shows a ceremonial reception hall during a visit by Hadice the Younger’s half-sister Beyhan Sultan. No furniture of the kind that Melling was providing her is visible. Two rows of ladies-in-waiting are lined up in twos, and another twosome are waiting to serve coffee, sweet drinks, *confitures*, and desserts.

On such occasions, as with other imported objects, European porcelains would have acquired additional meanings. Hadice’s tastes would have been up for judgment. She might also have regarded this as an opportunity to demonstrate her connoisseurship, her expert knowledge of the trademarks, the materials used, the artists, designs, or colour schemes. Also under scrutiny would be her acquaintance with the centers of industry and the arts in major European cities, her awareness of technological, social, institutional, and aesthetic advances in the West, and her appreciation of different styles and standards of life. She is likely to have acquainted herself with such matters through the testimony of numerous Ottoman travelers and bureaucrats who, upon Selim III’s initiative, were moving in and around Europe, and buying porcelain wherever possible. Perhaps female eye-witnesses of European civilization were also present at her receptions. Then museums and private collections, operas and theatres, as well as the academies and manufactories that they might have visited, could have been the topic of table talk. Unlike the Oriental china acquired by Hadice the Elder, which was treated by Ottoman royalty as any inherited collection of fine tableware, preserved, venerated, and used as a fitting adjunct of their status, European porcelain called forth “more than plain won-

derment at or respect for the distant civilization that produced it.”⁹⁹

Details such as trademarks, decorative schemes, or artists—the kind of specifics that art historians would look at today in order to qualify any group of objects as a collection—could have been provided through commercial intermediaries as well; but only if Hadice were actually concerned with acquiring this kind of expertise. Both the steward of her household, a high-ranking bureaucrat appointed by the government to oversee the princess’s finances, and the chief purveyor (who acted as a middle-man between Hadice, her steward, and outside merchants), would be chief among her sources of information. Until 1800 the latter position was filled by Melling, who was also instrumental in developing contacts and arranging visits by members of European envoys’ households to the Neşedâbâd Palace. A letter from Hadice mentions the visit of an ambassador’s wife,¹⁰⁰ while the text of the *Voyage pittoresque*, two thirds of which is based on Melling’s own account, describes the visit of Count de Ludolf (the ambassador of the King of the Two Sicilies) and his family. In return for Hadice’s gifts of cashmere shawls, embroidered Indian textiles, candies, and perfumes, the ambassador is said to have presented her with porcelain vases (perhaps from the Capodimonte factory near Naples) as well as precious stones. During this visit, while Mademoiselle Amoureux, the daughter of the former French consul in Izmir, played the harp and two other young girls danced, not only the princess but the sultan, too, accompanied by Melling, were looking on—the last two from behind the curtains.¹⁰¹

What was the idea behind such visits? Was it no more than curiosity—an opportunity to peek into the personal world of the other? Or was there a more calculated expectation of a two-way flow of information and ideas? Hadice could keep up with European fashions and ways of life, while the word about her and her riches would also spread; the modern patroness, distinguished for her refined taste and up-to-date knowledge of foreign things, would be known to all. This recognition is what some collectors crave, risking the criticism, suspicion, and mere jealousy of those who come to view their collections.

A Scapegoat?

Melling himself remarked that Selim III genuinely cared for Hadice. He noted in the *Voyage pittoresque* that the sultan shared with her his detailed plans to familiarize the “devout and unbending” Muslims with European arts and civilization.¹⁰² Hadice Sultan appears to have adopted Selim III’s ideas and preferences as her own. Given the clash between reformists and conservatives in court circles at the time, however, her disposition towards things novel and foreign could have been regarded as overly transgressive. We do know that numerous rumors about her spread, including one alleging an intimate relationship between her and Melling,

and that from 1796 to 1800 Selim III distanced himself from Hadice.¹⁰³ In 1800 Melling was apparently forced to quit Hadice's service, and in mid-1802 he left Istanbul for good. Whether the reason for his departure was the strained political atmosphere in Istanbul or in post-revolutionary France, or private difficulties between him and his patroness, we may never discover. It is clear, however, that immediately afterwards, the sultan resumed his visits to his half-sister.

Antagonism between the reformists backing Selim III and the conservative "party" in opposition was quite severe at the time. Later, with an agenda of promoting the new mercantilist policies in general and opposing luxury imports in particular, the bureaucratic elite of the nineteenth century turned to blaming the female desire to acquire and to collect for the court's wasteful extravagance.¹⁰⁴ The very same polemic had been voiced by Ottoman critics of the import trade throughout the eighteenth century. Mehmed Atâullah Efendi, a disciple of the renowned Nakşî-Müceddidi scholar Tokadî Mustafa Efendi, was appointed as the Şeyhülislâm in November 1806 and blamed Selim III for his sisters' taste for European imports. The ideological backgrounds of these critics, their stand *vis-à-vis* the Mevlevî and Nakşibendî-Müceddidi coalition, and their associations with other orders and social groups have yet to be explored. However, there are interesting leads.

A member of the Ottoman bureaucratic elite, Moravî Süleyman Penâh Efendi (d. 1785), wrote in a treatise that the Ottomans' craving for Western or Eastern goods was rooted in the false belief that these were of better quality; their disposition to foreign goods was motivated by conspicuous consumption and the temptation of luxury; and that because of their ill habits, and under the "new circumstances" (namely, customs regulations, monopolies, and protective tariffs), Ottoman currency was bound to flow out. In his opinion, local/national products were not of poor quality, and there was all the necessary potential for manufacturing in equal quality, quantity, and variety in the Ottoman realm. Penâh Efendi, who arrived at these conclusions on the basis of his observations of textile and porcelain imports,¹⁰⁵ also noted a growing interest in luxury consumption in a certain wealthy social group.¹⁰⁶ Later, Mehmed Said Halet Efendi (see above), writing from Paris as Ottoman ambassador to France, compared the outlook of the French economy with the Ottoman situation. He claimed that if, by some unexpected turn of events, five factories producing snuff, paper, broadcloth, crystalware, and porcelain were to be established, there would be no grounds for any unfavourable criticism of the Ottomans, for it was (basically) these five items that the French exported.¹⁰⁷ At the time of Halet Efendi's report, Süleyman Penâh Efendi's son Yusuf Ağâh Efendi was serving as the deputy to the grand vizier, and was also a minister of the interior. He was appointed three times to this post over the period 1799–1806, having served in London as the first permanent Ottoman ambassador in Europe between



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Ewer-and-basin set, Vienna, dated [17]93. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, 16/1193, 16/1194. After Sonat, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi'ndeki Osmanlı Zevkiyle Yapılmış Avrupa Porselenleri," 48–9.

1793 and 1797. Then he became steward to one of Hadice's nieces, Hibetullah Sultan, who was notorious for her excesses.¹⁰⁸ Both Mehmed Said Halet Efendi and Yusuf Ağâh Efendi belonged to the reform party under Selim III: while the former has been identified as a prominent Nakşi-Müceddidî, Yusuf Ağâh Efendi is known for his patronage of a Kadirî convent at Üsküdar.¹⁰⁹

Hadice inhabited a world in which complex personalities such as these, with first-hand experience of European novelties and standing for change and modernization, could also promote a pure society of believers, the *ʿasr-ı saâdet*, the felicitous age of the Prophet Muhammad. The *Vasiyetnâme* (or *Risâle-i Birgivi*) by Imam Birgivi, a sixteenth-century scholar renowned for his polemical writings on purging religion of all "blameworthy innovations" and accretions, was recommended to the Nizâm-i Cedid soldiers and regularly published by the Mühendishane printing house after 1803.¹¹⁰ Annotated copies of this and the *Şerh-i Âmentü*, also attributed to him, were widely circulated among the Selimian elite; the latter, annotated by Kadızade Ahmed bin Mehmed Emin, was dedicated to Hadice Sultan in 1804.¹¹¹ It was in this rather radical (puritan) atmosphere that rationalist currents, including new positions on diplomacy, economics, and trade in the Ottoman Empire, were beginning to emerge.

At this point it should be noted that a discourse about European women's alleged craze for oriental china translates perfectly into the Ottoman context.

Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, for example, has written that in England “like other imported commodities—silk, tea, and cotton—china drew the female consumer into a national debate about the debilitating effects of a home economy indebted to foreign trade.” Quoting Louis Landa, she goes on to say that the mercantilist economic thought of the period often assumed that “the importation of luxuries [was] not economically desirable, the logic being that imported luxuries have an adverse effect on the balance of trade.” Because women were stereotypically identified as the principal consumers of such imported products, they most often bore the brunt of a mercantilist polemic.¹¹² Furthermore, contemporary literature in the West took fine china or porcelain as emblematic of women and their weaknesses. The image of china often functioned as a marker of female superficiality and shallowness, or of a potential for female depravity expressed through an unwarranted attraction to things that were new, beautiful, expensive, sensual and sumptuous.

Proceeding from the observation that (in the West) “femininity is an ongoing historical construction, one subject to changing economic interests and pressures,” recent studies on consumption have demonstrated the presence of varying agendas in the historical construction of women as consumers. Thus over most of the eighteenth century it was “mercantile capitalism which had indulged, even sanctioned, a ‘feminine’ appreciation of imported commodities like china when such an appreciation promoted mercantile interests.”¹¹³ Critics of a formalistic approach point to how eighteenth-century discourses have attributed “mercantile capitalism itself, with all of its attractions, as well as its ambiguous consequences” to women, “whose marginality allows them to serve, in the writings of celebrants and satirists alike, as a perfect proxy or scapegoat.”¹¹⁴ Against this, a new critical approach insists that the construction of women as consumers of imported luxuries is not a fixed historical reality but an ideological process. In support of this analysis it may be said that in the Ottoman world, in the absence of mercantilist ideological fuss, (a) men were no less inclined to “acquire” china than women, as a study of the probate inventories reveals; and (b) such male consumerism was not stigmatized as effeminate.¹¹⁵

A comparison of how Hadice and her sisters were portrayed in contemporary Istanbul-based European accounts with the satirical portrait of a female china-lover in English literature in the same period may be quite illuminating.¹¹⁶ In Susan Ferrier’s *Marriage* (1818), a certain Lady Juliana, whose husband is on the verge of financial ruin, inspects various bibelots brought by a china merchant to her drawing room in London. Also presented for her consideration is “an amazing delicate article, in the way of a jewel: a frog of Turkish agate for burning pastilles in.” This, she is told, is especially valuable “for it was the favourite toy of one of the sultanas, till she grew devout and gave up perfumes.” Kowaleski-Wallace, remarking that “Lady Juliana’s enthusiasm for these items associates her with Oriental aestheticism: she

now appreciates the very trinkets that tired the sultana,” shows how Lady Juliana stands out as a sardonic portrait of her self-gratifying class.¹¹⁷ There could hardly be any more stereotypical condemnation of “decadent” Oriental aesthetics, or of the “perversity” of Lady Juliana’s tastes. If its message were to be translated into the Ottoman realm, Hadice’s tastes and inclination to Western aesthetics would also be portrayed as disrespectful, corrupt, and immoral. It, too, would have served to shift blame for imperial excesses or bankruptcy onto the shoulders of royal women.

Most Ottoman princesses who received Chinese or European porcelain as gifts normally used, or broke, or otherwise dispensed with them. Both Hadices seem to have collected in order to distinguish themselves (and their privileged status) from the rest. At the same time, it seems that their desires were not quite controllable, so that in the end both were turned into scapegoats by critics of the elite to which they belonged. Ottoman princesses of the late eighteenth century were avid consumers, conspicuous and necessary displayers of mercantile riches. They were displaying something that was very different from the outmoded form of corrupt dynastic privilege. However, viewed in a historical context, both Hadices, like some of their aunts, sisters, and nieces, appear as political types but not as independent agents. If not their desires, then at least their new way of fashioning themselves, and hence their public appearances and mobility, were under control.¹¹⁸

It is Hadice’s genuine love for European porcelain which reflects, perhaps more than anything else, her outstanding position among the staunchest supporters of liberal reforms. Although the motives, purpose, or modalities of collecting are not always clear, there is a case to be made to the effect that Ottoman princesses of the later eighteenth century acquired porcelains, and particularly European porcelains, in huge quantities not just for practical uses—and even beyond the limits of conspicuous consumption. Upon closer examination, Hadice the Younger appears to have engaged in an early quest for a woman’s identity during the formative dawn of Ottoman modernity. Her pursuit involved not only the acquisition of scarce Meissen or Vienna or French porcelains, but also their display at stately banquets which she aspired to host in the otherwise exclusively male circles of her royal half-brother.

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NOTES

This study is part of a larger exploration, extending from “The Luxury Trades and the Ottoman Elite’s Acquisition of European Porcelain,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (forthcoming) to “Ottoman Ways of Collecting and Displaying,” *Muqarnas* (forthcoming). The Topkapı Palace Museum’s collection of European porcelains remained closed to researchers throughout the period in which this study was in progress.

- 1 Tülay Artan, “A Composite Universe: Arts and Society in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century,” in *Ottoman Empire & European Theatre: From the Beginnings to 1800*. Vol. 1, *The Age of Sultan Selim III and Mozart (1756–1808)*, ed. M. Hüttler and H. E. Weidinger (Vienna: Don Juan Archiv, forthcoming).
- 2 George W. Gawrych, “Şeyh Galib and Selim III: Mevlevîsm and the Nizam-i Cedid,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 4 (1987): 96–101.
- 3 For visual arts and artists in this period, see numerous studies by Günsel Renda.
- 4 While the Mevlevî connection to the reform party, even if it did not include all Mevlevîs, is obvious, the Bektashi-Janisary identification of the anti-reformist group is reductionist and therefore misleading: Uriel Heyd, “The Ottoman Ulema and Westernization in the time of Selim III and Mahmud II,” *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 9 (1961): 63–96; Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol.1 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 273–4. For a select group who were asked to present their criticisms of the state in writing, see Ergin Çağman, *III. Selim’e Sunulan Islahat Lâyhaları* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2010).
- 5 Identity is a complex and provocative concept. “In common sense language,” says Hall, “identification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation.” See Stuart Hall, “Introduction: Who Needs Identity,” in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1996), 1–17. For more on identity see also Paul Du Gay, Jessica Evans, and Peter Redman, *Identity: A Reader* (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000). For a recent study of the complex picture of identities in the period in question, see A. Yıldız, “Vaka-yı Selimiye or the Selimiye Incident: A Study of the May 1807 Rebellion” (Ph.D. dissertation, Sabancı University, 2007).
- 6 As their name implies, the Müceddidîs were Renewers—but in a religious and conservative sense. As the newly rising branch of the Nakşibendîs, who advised “strict adherence to the sharia and the tenets of Sunni-Orthodox Islam which would produce a regeneration of the Muslim community and the state,” they seem to have been motivated to support Selim’s modernization reforms. See Butrus Abu-Manneh, *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century (1826–1876)* (Istanbul: ISIS Publications, 2001), 12, 43.
- 7 For Sirhindî’s parting of the ways with Ibn Arabî, see Muhammed Abdul Haq Ansari, *Sufism and Shari’ah: A Study of Ahmad Sirhindî’s Effort to Reform Sufism* (London: The Islamic Foundation, 1986). For the exemplary poetry of Neccâr-zâde Mustafa Rıza (1679–1746), see Halil İbrahim Şimşek, “Mesnevîhân Bir Nakşbendiyye-Müceddidiyye Şeyhi: Neccâr-zâde Mustafa Rıza’nın Hayatı ve Tasavvufî Görüşleri,” *Tasavvuf: İlmî ve*

- Akademik Araştırma Dergisi* 6/14 (2005): 159–78.
- 8 In contrast, before the Portuguese expansion of the early sixteenth century, porcelain was very rare in Europe. The great bulk of the Oriental merchandise which reached Europe before 1500 was purchased from Muslim traders in Egypt or the Levant. While a few pieces were brought to Europe by travellers, most of them arrived as diplomatic gifts. See David Whitehouse, “Chinese Porcelain in Medieval Europe,” *Medieval Archaeology* 16 (1972): 63–78. For missions engaged in “tribute and trade” between China and its neighbours, see Michael Rogers, Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 118–19, ills. 79 and 80.
 - 9 Besides trading and diplomatic exchanges, looting of defeated cities was another way to obtain Chinese porcelain, but there are no complete Inner Treasury records of the porcelains seized in Safavid Persia or Mamluk Egypt between 1514 and 1680. For a complete analysis of the collection see R. Krahl, in collaboration with N. Erbahar, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Palace Museum Istanbul: A Complete Catalogue*, ed. John Ayers, 3 vols. (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet Publications, 1986). Also Takatoshi Misugu, *Chinese Porcelain Collections in the Near East: Topkapı and Ardebil* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1981).
 - 10 In the latter part of the nineteenth century the accumulated material and artistic wealth of the Ottomans was partially transferred to a new generation of palaces on the Bosphorus. As the court moved out of the Topkapı Palace the European porcelain reserve of the Treasury moved with them. Abdülhamid II, who played a crucial role in this transfer, also initiated the establishment of a museum at the Yıldız Palace. The decision to display Chinese porcelains was taken in 1909—shortly before Abdülhamid II’s final deposition. Curiously, it was Ernst Zimmermann, the director of the Staatliche Porzellansammlung in Dresden, who was invited in 1910, and again in 1925 and 1927, to prepare this Chinese collection for exhibition, and also to introduce to the public the European porcelain collection of the Topkapı Palace. For studies of the collection by Zimmermann, see “Die Porzellanschätze des kaiserlichen Schatzhauses und des Museums zu Konstantinopel,” *Cicerone* 3 (1911): 496–503; idem, *Altchinesische Porzellane im Alten Serai. Meisterwerke der Türkischen Museen zu Konstantinopel*, Bd. II (Berlin/Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1930). Pazi identified the European porcelain in the Topkapı collections as the products of German (Meissen, Berlin, Fürstenberg, Höchst, Nymphenburg, Limbach, Volkstedt, Tettau), Austrian (Vienna), French (Sèvres, Limoges, Paris), Russian, Italian, and Dutch factories: Mukaddes Pazi, “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesinde Avrupa Porselenleri Koleksiyonu,” in *Kemal Çiğâ Armağan* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yayınları, 1984), 166.
 - 11 Julian Raby and Ünsal Yücel, “Chinese Porcelain at the Ottoman Court,” in Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Palace*, 1:27–54 (esp. 35, 37, 47).
 - 12 Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (hereafter TSMA), E. 8990/1; E. 8990/2 (3 Za 1237/1822); D. 7205 (1237/1822).
 - 13 Raby and Yücel, “Chinese Porcelain at the Ottoman Court.”
 - 14 Ibid.
 - 15 Tülay Artan, “The South Sea Bubble and Ottoman Speculators in the Tulip Market”, paper presented at Huizinga Instituut (Amsterdam), PhD Course, *Istanbul, City of Contrasts. Cultural Transfer Between Europe and Turkey*, Istanbul, May 31–June 5, 2010.
 - 16 Zeki Sönmez, “Türk Çiniciliğinde Tekfur Sarayı İmalatı Çiniler”, in *Osmanlı’da Çini Seramik Öyküsü*, ed. Ara Altun (Istanbul: IMKB Yayınları, 1997), 215–21; F. Yenişehirlioğlu, “Istanbul Tekfur Sarayı Osmanlı Çini Fırınları ve Eyüp Çömlekçiler Mahallesi Yüzey Araştırmaları,” *XII. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı, 30 Mayıs–03 Haziran 1994* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1995), 535–66.
 - 17 For his artistic patronage, see Geza Von Habsburg, *Princely Treasures* (New York: Vendome Press, 1997), 179–98.
 - 18 Jessie McNab Dennis, “J. G. Herold and Company: The Art of Meissen Chinoiserie,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., 22, no. 1 (Summer 1963): 10–21; Oliver Impey, “Export Art of the Edo Period and Its Influence on European Art,” *Modern Asian Studies* 18, no. 4, *Special Issue: Edo Culture and Its Modern Legacy* (1984): 685–97.
 - 19 Anette Loesch, “Böttger Stoneware and Böttger Porcelain,” in *The Glory of Baroque Dresden: The State Art Collections Dresden* (Jackson, Miss.: The Mississippi Commission for International Cultural Exchange, 2004), 199.
 - 20 For “Türkenkoppchen,” see Anette Loesch, “Zum Einfluß der Türkenmode auf das Meißner Porzellan,” in *Im Lichte des Halbmonds. Das Abendland und der türkische Orient* (Leipzig: Peter Lang, 1995), 272–4, cat. nos. 426–35, 332–34; eadem, “Böttger Stoneware and Böttger Porcelain,” 201. See also Klaus-Peter Arnold and Verena Diefenbach, eds., *Meissener Blaumalerei aus drei Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1989), 170f (cat. nos. 99f), 214 (cat. no. 129). For early Ottoman orders, see Ernst Zimmermann, “Die Anfänge der Blaumalerei im

- Meissener Porzellan,” in *Mitteilungen aus den Sächsischen Kunstsammlungen* 2 (1911), 72–81 (80, ill. 3); idem, “Deutsches Exportporzellan des 18. Jahrhunderts für die Türkei” in *Belvedere. Monatschrift für Sammler und Kunstfreunde* 9/10, no.54 (1926): 193–98.
- 21 Göksel Sonat, “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi’ndeki Osmanlı Zevkiyle Yapılmış Avrupa Porselenleri,” in *Osmanlı Sarayında Avrupa Porselenleri* (Istanbul: SUSSM Yayınları, 2005), 14.
- 22 Loesch, “Zum Einfluß der Türkenmode auf das Meißner Porzellan,” 272–4, 333 (cat. no. 433). Amongst the later ware, two coffee-cups (one of which remained undecorated) and three Chinese-style blue-and-white cups are also exemplary: *ibid.*, 273 (cat. nos. 434 and 435) and 332–33 (cat. nos. 426–32). See also Bearb. Von Rainer Rückert, *Meissener Porzellan 1710–1810* (Bayerisches Nationalmuseum: München, 1966), 144 (no. 711); Hermann Jedding, *Meissener Porzellan des 18. Jahrhunderts in Hamburger Privatbesitz*. (Museum für Kunst and Gewerbe: Hamburg, 1982), 141 (no. 134); *The Constance I. And Ralph H. Wark collection of Meissen Porcelain* (Cummer Gallery of Art: Jacksonville, 1984), 220 (nos. 496, 497).
- 23 *Sadberk Hanım Müzesi* (Istanbul: SHM Yayınları, 1995), 118–19 (HK 208–3271, HK 209–3272, HK 232–3295).
- 24 Pazi, “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesinde Avrupa Porselenleri Koleksiyonu,” 166.
- 25 Early Saxony wares were stamped with the initials AR (*Augustus Rex*) and KPM (Koenigliche Porzellan Manufaktur), MPM (Meissen Porzellan Manufaktur), or KPF (Koenigliche Porzellan Fabrik). Around 1723 Meissen ware was stamped with Chinese symbols. From 1725 until 1730 the KPM stamp was used together with two crossed swords, after which, variations of the crossed swords became the symbol of Meissen ware. Concern that this symbol would not be tolerated in the Islamic world caused the manufacturers to invent another one, a snake around a scepter, or a whip, to be used on products to be exported to the Ottomans. Although this practice was limited to a short period (1721–3), it is still noteworthy evidence of the extent of Ottoman demand. Until the late nineteenth century, “Türkenkop-pchen” were often not stamped at all unless with Chinese symbols.
- 26 Pazi, “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesinde Avrupa Porselenleri Koleksiyonu,” 166 and 173 (Ill. 5).
- 27 “Zum Einfluß der Türkenmode auf das Meißner Porzellan,” 344 (cat. no. 456).
- 28 Eveline Sint Nicolaas, et al., *An Eyewitness of the Tulip Era: Jean-Baptiste Vanmour* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2003); Olga Nefedova, *A Journey into the World of the Ottomans: The Art of Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (1671–1737)* (Milano: Skira, 2009).
- 29 Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, “Graphic Sources for Meissen Porcelain: Origins of the Print Collection in the Meissen Archives,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 31 (1996): 105–07, figs. 22, 23, 24.
- 30 For Meissen-branded porcelain Janissary figurines (1730–40), see Göksel Sonat, “European Porcelains,” in *Topkapı Palace* (Istanbul: Akbank, 2000), 431. For figurines based on the drawings of Jean-Baptiste Vanmour and William Hogarth (1697–1764), see *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant* (Paris, 1714–15) and Aubrey de la Motraye, *Travels Through Europe, Asia and into Parts of Africa II* (London, 1723). For more figurines, see Loesch, “Zum Einfluß der Türkenmode auf das Meißner Porzellan,” 274, cat. nos. 363, 366–71, 377, 379–82, and pp. 311–18; *Türkei. Abend-land begegnet Morgenland* 16.-18. Jahrhundert. *Eine Ausstellung im Rahmen der Internationalen Tage Ingelheim* (Essen: Verlag Hermann Schmidt Mainz), 1992, 152–53, cat. nos. 112–21, 125, pp. 190–97.
- 31 The Russo-Ottoman war of 1768–1774 caused a serious crisis in east-central Europe and in the Balkans as Prussia and Austria backed Russia throughout.
- 32 *Osmanlı Sarayında Avrupa Porselenleri*, 34–5.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 38.
- 34 Sonat, “European Porcelains,” 429.
- 35 HK 198-3261 A-B, originally part of the ambitious private collection of Hüseyin Kocabaş : *Sadberk Hanım Museum*, 145.
- 36 Loesch, “Zum Einfluß der Türkenmode auf das Meißner Porzellan,” 343, cat. no. 452. For a lidded jug in yellow, see cat. no. 453.
- 37 HK 194-3257 A-B: *Sadberk Hanım Museum*, 144.
- 38 Pazi, “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesinde Avrupa Porselenleri Koleksiyonu,” 166.
- 39 *Ibid.*, ill. 2 (ca. 1730); Sonat, “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi’ndeki Osmanlı Zevkiyle Yapılmış Avrupa Porselenleri,” 46–47 (ca. 1735).
- 40 Sonat, “European Porcelains,” 421; eadem, “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi’ndeki Osmanlı Zevkiyle Yapılmış Avrupa Porselenleri,” 16.
- 41 TSM, 16/769: Sonat, “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi’ndeki Osmanlı Zevkiyle Yapılmış Avrupa Porselenleri,” 50–51.
- 42 TSM, 26/4752: Sonat, “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi’ndeki Osmanlı Zevkiyle Yapılmış Avrupa Porselenleri,” 54–5. *Sadberk Hanım Museum*, HK 243-3306, HK 216-3279 A-B; *Sadberk Hanım Museum*, 145. A very similar lidded dish, albeit on a plain yellow background, is TSM, 16/682 (1798).
- 43 For a saucer and a coffee-cup with the names of the Ottoman ambassador to Vienna in 1791, Ratib Ebubekir Efendi, and his wife Refika Hanım, inscribed in gold, see *Bir Reformcu, Şair ve Müzisyen :*

- Sultan III. Selim Han* (Istanbul: IBB Kültür A.Ş., 2008), 128–9. See also a ewer-and-basin set dated 1793 (TSM, 16/1193, 16/ 1194) and two jars dated 1795 (TSM, 16/718, 16/717): Sonat, “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi’ndeki Osmanlı Zevkiyle Yapılmış Avrupa Porselenleri,” 48–9 and 52–3 respectively.
- 44 See, for example, a lidded bowl (made 1805–27), decorated with a cityscape and a sea battle, with a paddle-wheel steamer carrying a red Ottoman flag on a white background, with a pink rose for a handle, in the Sadberk Hanım Museum, HK 213-3276 A-B: *Sadberk Hanım Museum*, 143.
- 45 When the company was reformed and shares redistributed, the king owned a third of the shares and most of the other shareholders were from the circle of Madame de Pompadour: Svend Eriksen and Geoffrey De Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain, Vincennes and Sèvres 1740–1800* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), 35–6; after Moira Vincentelli, *Women and Ceramics: Gendered Vessels* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 167. Following the French Revolution, the Assembly of 1790 nationalized the factory.
- 46 Vincentelli, *Women and Ceramics*, 168–9.
- 47 Eriksen and De Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain, Vincennes and Sèvres 1740–1800*, 37.
- 48 Emmanuel Cooper, “European Porcelain: Germany, France, Italy, and Spain, Scandinavia, the Low Countries and Russia, Britain and Ireland,” in *The Thousand Years of Pottery* (London: The British Museum Press, 2000) (1972, 1981, 1988), 166–70.
- 49 On this see Pazi, “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesinde Avrupa Porselenleri Koleksiyonu,” 169.
- 50 Signed by Gilbert Drouet, a flower painter: Pazi, “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesinde Avrupa Porselenleri Koleksiyonu,” 170, ill. 1.
- 51 For the grandvizier’s and the Reisülküt-tab’s orders of bowls, plates and textiles in 1803, see Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (hereafter BOA), 4 *Numaralı Hatt-ı Hümayun Kataloğu*, 5808/0.
- 52 Millet Kütüphanesi, Raşid Efendi nr. 630/5, 113b. See also Maurice Herbette, *Une Ambassade Turque sous le Directoire* (Paris: Librairie Académique Didier, 1902); Erol Üyepazarcı, trans., *Fransâda İlk Daimi Türk Elçisi “Moralî Esseyit Ali Efendi” (1797–1802)* (Istanbul: Pera, 1997), 64.
- 53 Enver Ziya Karal, *Halet Efendinin Paris Büyük Elçiliği (1802–1806)* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1940), 25–26. I was able to locate the two documents in question: BOA, HAT 140 [5808/O] (29/Z/1217); and HAT 139 [5744] (05/S/1219) .
- 54 See Michael Rogers, “Ottoman Luxury Trades and Their Regulation,” in *Osmanische Studien zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte. In Memoriam Vanco Boskov*, ed. H. G. Mayer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986), 135–55; Ethem Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 1999); N. Elibol, “XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı-Avusturya Ticareti” (Ph.D. dissertation, Marmara University, 2003); idem, “XVIII. Yüzyılda Avusturya Topraklarında Faaliyet Gösteren Osmanlı Tüccarları,” *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 15 (2004): 62–7; idem, “XVI–XVII. Yüzyıllarda Avusturya’nın Doğu Ticareti” (forthcoming); idem, “XVI–XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Rumeli ve Orta Avrupa Toprakları Arasındaki Ticaret Faaliyetleriyle İlgili Bazı Tespitler,” (forthcoming); A. Mesut Küçükkalay and Numan Elibol, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna Avrupa’dan Karayolu ile Yapılan İhracatın Değerlendirilmesi, 1795–1809,” *Anadolu Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 4, no. 1 (2004): 29–54; A. Mesut Küçükkalay, “İzmir Efrencü Gümrüğü Mukataasına Ait 1802–1805 Tarihli 15 Adet Defterin Analizi,” *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 16 (Güz 2004): 215–23; idem, “İzmir Efrencü Gümrüğü’ne Ait Bir İrad Defteri’nin Analizi ve Ticaret İlişkin Sonuçlar (1797–1799),” *Belleter* 70, no. 257 (2006): 265–88. See also a recent collection of articles, *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Gilles Veinstein (Paris, Louvain and Dudley, Mass.: Collection Turcica, 2008).
- 55 C. Louise Avery, “European Ceramics Given by R. Thornton Wilson,” *The Metropolitan Museum Art Bulletin*, n.s., 15, no. 9 (May 1957): 192.
- 56 For the new kind of life these princesses pursued, see Tülay Artan, “Early 20th Century Maps and 18th–19th Century Court Records: Sources for a Combined Reconstruction of Urban Continuity on the Bosphorus,” Proceedings of the symposium “La città Islamica attraverso i catasti. Strumenti per la ricostruzione del processo tipologica,” 5–7 July 1991 in *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Center* 13–14/1993 (1996): 96–111; eadem, “Eyüp’ün bir Diğer Çehresi: Sayfiye ve Sahilsaraylar,” in *Eyüp: Dün / Bugün Sempozyumu Bildirileri 11–12 Aralık 1993* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994); “Boğaziçi’nin Çehresini Değiştiren Soylu Kadınlar ve Sultanefendi Sarayları,” *İstanbul Dergisi* 3 (Oct. 1992) (republished in English as “Noble Women Who Changed the Face of the Bosphorus and the Palaces of the Sultanas,” *Biannual Istanbul* 1 (Jan. 1993): 87–97; eadem, “A Triple Wedding Procession of 1724: Urban Festival or Court Ritual?,” in *Royal Courts and Households*, ed. Tülay Artan, Jeroen Duindam and Metin Kunt, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, forthcoming).

- 57 By contrast, porcelain produced in Meissen, Vienna, or Paris was desired by the educated and wealthy consumers in Europe who sought a fine but affordable range of tablewares. They preferred decorative schemes which represented their contemporary interests rather than those associated with the court culture, which were the most rare and costly. Thus, the traditional role of displaying and representing was now shared by the emerging classes, the new bourgeoisie. See Sarah Richards, "A True Siberia: Art in Service to Commerce in the Dresden Academy and the Meissen Drawing School, 1764–1836," *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 2 (1998): 112; Gunther Sterba, *Meissen Domestic Porcelain* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1991), 48.
- 58 Raby and Yücel, "Chinese Porcelain at the Ottoman Court".
- 59 The other collection was that of Esad Paşa, Governor of Sivas, whose six celadon and 3,098 Chinese porcelain pieces were appropriated by the state in 1759 from his three palaces in Syria. In 1684 the state acquired 417 pieces from Muazzez Sultan, wife of Süleyman II, and after the death of Gevherhan Sultan, daughter of Sultan Ibrahim in 1696, 244 pieces were returned to the treasury. See Raby and Yücel, "Chinese Porcelain at the Ottoman Court."
- 60 See A. Göksel, "The 'Surname' of Abdi As a Sample of Old Turkish Prose" (MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 1975), 97 (49b).
- 61 All the surviving kitchen records of Hadice Sultan are dated 1743, ending two months before her death. See in particular BOA, D. HSK 25713 (1155); D. HSK 25714 (1155).
- 62 Vak'anüvis Subhî Mehmed Efendi, *Subhî Tarihi. Sâmi ve Şâkir Tarihleri ile Birlikte (İnceleme ve Karşılaştırmalı Metin)*, ed. M. Aydın (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2008), 23 (6b).
- 63 *Relation des deux rebellions arrivées à Constantinople en 1730 et 1731 dans la déposition d'Achmet III et l'élévation au trône de Mahomet V, composé sur des mémoires originaux reçus de Constantinople* (Le Haye, 1737), 16–17. After Münir Aktepe, *Patrona İsyanı (1730)* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1958), 139.
- 64 Vincentelli, *Women and Ceramics*, 164–5.
- 65 Neé princess of Saxony (granddaughter of Augustus III), she was married to Charles III of Spain (r. 1759–88), originally of Bourbon, and then the King of the Two Sicilies. Vincentelli, *Women and Ceramics*, 164.
- 66 A German princess (néé Sophia Augusta Frederica) who became the Empress of Russia after 1762 as wife of Peter III of Holstein-Gottorp. Vincentelli, *Women and Ceramics*, 165.
- 67 Married to King Frederick V (r. 1746–66). Vincentelli, *Women and Ceramics*, 165.
- 68 Neé Duchess Sophia Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, wife of George III (r. 1760–1820). Vincentelli, *Women and Ceramics*, 170.
- 69 McNab, "J. G. Herold and Company," 15.
- 70 Janine Terrasson, *Madame de Pompadour et la création de la "Porcelaine de France"* (Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1969), 30.
- 71 Hadice's relationship with Melling recalls that of Madame de Pompadour and her dealer. "She acquired vast numbers of small art works many of which were purchased through the dealer Lazare Duvaux and were recorded in his books. At times she would send lists of orders on a weekly basis or even more frequently. Porcelain was among her most common purchases, but often combined with ormolu to add to its effect": Vincentelli, *Women and Ceramics*, 167.
- 72 Accounts of Europeans in Istanbul at the time include (sometimes conflicting) references to Melling's professional association with the royal ladies: A. Castellan, *Lettres sur la Morée, l'Hellespont et Constantinople*, Tome II (Paris, 1820), Lettre xxxviii; J. C. Hobhouse, *A Journey Through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople 1809–1810* (London, 1813), 863; J.-E. Beauvoisins, *Notice sur la cour du Grand-Seigneur, son serail, son harem, la famille du sang imperiale, sa maison militaire, etc* (Paris, 1809 [1807]).
- 73 Cornelis Boschma and Jacques Perot, *Antoine-Ignace Melling (1763–1831): Artiste-Voyageur* (Paris: Musée Carnavalet, 1991); Cornelis Boschma and Zwolle Waanders, *Antoine-Ignace Melling, Lettres de Hollande et des villes anséatiques: La correspondance d'un artiste-voyageur avec sa famille à Paris en 1812* (Paris: Fondation Custodia, 1997).
- 74 BOA, HH 57452 (1205).
- 75 Antoine-Ignace Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives de Bosphore. D'après les dessins de M. Melling* (Paris, 1819).
- 76 Frederic Hitzel, "Correspondence Between Antoine-Ignace Melling (1763–1801) and Hatice Sultan", in *Proceedings of the International Congress on Learning and Education in the Ottoman World 2* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2002), 221–5.
- 77 Jacques Perot, Frederic Hitzel, and Robert Anhegger, *Hatice Sultan ile Melling Kalfa. Mektuplar* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001).
- 78 "I don't want the [arm]chair(s). I did not like it. I want gilded chairs. I want them as soon as they arrive": Perot, Hitzel, and Anhegger, *Hatice Sultan ile Melling Kalfa*, 53 (Letter 20) and 38–39 (Letters 6 and 7). For a few examples of these armchairs, see C. Cimilli, "III. Selim Döneminde

- Topkapı Saray Hareminded Mobilya,” *Antik Dekor* 112 (April–May 2009), 82–91. In her probate inventory there are a few dozen gilded chairs (*iskemle* and *sandalye*): TSMA, E. 8990/1.
- 79 He was simultaneously the envoy of Denmark and Saxony. Together with his eldest son, who was ambitious, pro-French, and indiscreet, to the point of spreading rumors among the embassies, Hübsch served Sultan Selim and had access to other highly placed Ottomans: Alexander H. De Groot, “Dragomans’ Careers: The Change and Status in Some Families Connected with the British and Dutch Embassies at Istanbul, 1785–1829,” in *Friends and Rivals in the East: Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Levant from the Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*, ed. Alastair Hamilton, Alexander H. De Groot, and Maurits H. Van den Boogfert (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000), 238–9.
- 80 After M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları* (Ankara: TTK, 1986), 105: TSMA, D.10610 (1237/1822).
- 81 For Hadice’s probate inventories, see TSMA, E. 8990/1 (1237); sale on July 22, 1822: E. 8990/2 (3 Za 1237); sale of items that were no longer usable and listed with the estates of others: D. 7205 (1237). The money raised at auction came to a total of 104,038,5 *guruş*, but her standing debt to a number of her creditors was finally paid by Mahmud II on September 10, 1822: TSMA, E.6124 (25 Zilhicce 1237).
- 82 In several other probate inventories of the period, European porcelain is sorted according to its primary colors, indicating originally complete services.
- 83 See F. Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 37–44.
- 84 For a reconstruction of the palace, see Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Boğaziçi Yalıları. Rumeli Yakası I* (Istanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 1993), 76–7.
- 85 In fact, in one register there were twenty-nine chandeliers and in another sixteen, which had not been unboxed, suggesting that they were not meant to be used but to be kept as collectibles. The unprecedented number of portraits of Mustafa III and Selim III, oil paintings in rather unusual dimensions, suggests that they were gifts from the sultans in question to the royal ladies and were meant to be hung on walls. One such portrait was returned to the Topkapı Palace after the death of Şah Sultan: *Bir Reformcu, Şair ve Müzisyen*, 104–5.
- 86 For a 1793 *Bahnâme* (Book of Pornography) illustrating European furniture in an Istanbul brothel, see Christie’s, London, June 18, 1998, lot 189. The illustrations are extraordinarily novel and detailed and the luxurious brothel in question appears strikingly *à la mode*, its decor relating to palace interiors.
- 87 Özge Samancı, “Culinary Consumption Patterns of the Ottoman Elite during the First Half of the 19th century,” in *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House, Food and Shelter in the Ottoman Material Culture*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph Neumann (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag Würzburg, 2003), 161–84. For a list of foodstuffs allocated to Hadice from the imperial kitchens, see BOA, KK 7253, 55a (7 Muharrem 1201).
- 88 TSMA, E. 8990/2 (3 Za 1237).
- 89 For Esma’s and Beyhan’s estates, see TSMA, D. 413 (1264), D. 2656 (1264/1848) and D. 2646 (1240/1824) respectively.
- 90 For dragoman, diplomat and writer Ignatius Mouradgea d’Ohsson’s account of Western furniture such as chests, console-tables, lustres, chandeliers and tables in use in imperial palaces, see F. M. Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 40.
- 91 Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 54. See also Beth Kowaleski-Wallace, “Women, China and Consumer Culture in Eighteenth-Century England,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 2 (1996): 153–67.
- 92 Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects*, 54.
- 93 TSMA, D. 10610 (1237/1822). In contrast, numerous household accounts of Şah, Beyhan, Hibetullah, and Esma do survive.
- 94 Schnapper, arguing against the systematic and uncritical application of the interpretation that all princely acts, including accumulating or collecting art and curiosities, celebrate glory and power as well as decorating life and household, proposes to study the meaning of princely collections in the framework of dynasties and territorial units, to examine the realities of specific cases, and to recognize the importance of different conditions and the temperaments of each collector: Antoine Schnapper, “The King of France as Collector in the Seventeenth Century,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 1. *The Evidence of Art: Images and Meaning in History* (Summer, 1986): 187–8.
- 95 Jeffrey Munger, “German and Austrian Porcelain in the Eighteenth Century,” *Heilbrun Timeline of Art History* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003).
- 96 Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). For banquet scenes and table settings from

- seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European palaces, see Stefan Bursche, *Tafelzier des Barock* (Munich: Editions Schneider, 1974); Philippe Perrot, *Le Luxe: Une richesse entre faste et confort, XVIIIe-XIXe siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 1995); Lorenz Seelig, “Drinking Vessels and Display Platters for Courtly Tables and Buffets,” “Late Baroque Wall-Mounted Buffets in Berlin and Dresden,” and “The Eighteenth-Century Dinner Service,” in *Silver and Gold: Courtly Spendour from Augsburg* (Munich: Prestel Publications, 1995), 15–21, 31–38, 43–49; and Daniel Roche, *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 54–78.
- 97 As a matter of fact, Hadice’s porcelains that were put up for auction were not complete table sets, or even tea or coffee sets. It is a pity that no record of her bridal gifts and trousseau of 1786, repeatedly mentioned in a general way in documents pertaining to her marriage, has so far been located.
- 98 Palmira Fontes da Costa, “The Culture of Curiosity at the Royal Society in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 56 (2002): 147. On the relationship between luxury and curiosity see also Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. Harold Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Hutchinson, 1982); Christopher J. Berry, *The Idea of Luxury: A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- 99 John Ayers, “Introduction,” in Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Palace*, 1:16.
- 100 Perot, Hitzel, and Anhegger, *Hatice Sultan ile Melling Kalfa*, 47.
- 101 Melling, *Voyage pittoresque*.
- 102 Ibid.
- 103 Melling himself mentions Baş Ağa’s opposition to his activities. Selim III’s estrangement is gleaned from a daily journal: Sema Arıkan, III. *Selim’in Sırkatibi Ahmet Efendi Tarafından Tutulan Rûznâme* (Ankara: TTK, 1993).
- 104 A misogynist statesman, historian, and legislator, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa (1822–1895) was foremost in castigating Ottoman princesses for conspicuous consumption and for the collapse of the Treasury: *Tezâkir* 13–20 (Ankara: TTK, 1986). For a study of a spendthrift princess, uncritically reflecting Ahmed Cevdet’s views, see Ali Akyıldız, *Mümin ve Müsrif Bir Padişah Kızı. Refia Sultan* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998). Ironically, both of Ahmed Cevdet’s daughters, Fatma Aliye (Topuz) (1862–1936) and Emine Semiye (1864–1944), rose to fame as writers and novelists, and are counted among the first Ottoman feminists.
- 105 Millet Kütüphanesi Ali Emiri 677/1737: Aziz Berker, “Mora İhtilâli Tarihçesi veya Penah Efendi Mecmuası,” *Tarih Vesikaları* 2, nos. 7–12 (1942–3): 63–80, 153–60, 228–40, 309–20, 385–400, 473–80. He claimed that porcelain (*fincan* and *tabak*) produced in Austria was no longer as good as it had been. (This observation in the early 1770s is noteworthy as a realistic appraisal of the declining quality of Vienna ware.) If Kütahya production had been subsidized and supported by other means at the disposal of the state, he argued, ceramics of superior quality could have been produced. He asserted that these could even have equaled those of India, because Kütahya raw materials were superior to those of Austria and India: *ibid.*, 399–400, 478.
- 106 He focused especially on those capable and desirous of spending considerable sums on luxury furs and textiles: *ibid.*, 475. See also Yavuz Cezar, “Osmanlı Aydını Süleyman Penah Efendi’nin Sosyal, Ekonomik ve Mali Konulardaki Görüş ve Önerileri,” *Toplum ve Bilim* 42 (Summer 1988): 116.
- 107 Karal, *Halet Efendinin Paris Büyük Elçiliği*, 33.
- 108 Meanwhile Yusuf Ağa (better known as Valide Sultan Kethüdası) served Esmâ Sultan the Younger, for whom see Tülay Artan, “Periods and Problems of Ottoman (Women’s) Patronage on the Via Egnatia,” in *Via Egnatia Under Ottoman Rule, 1380–1699* (Rethymnon: University of Crete Publications, 1996), 19–43.
- 109 Abu-Manneh, *Studies on Islam*, 11; Mehmed A. Yalçınkaya, *The First Permanent Ottoman Embassy in Europe: The Embassy of Yusuf Aghah Efendi to London (1793–1797)* (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 2010).
- 110 Despite his Sufi background, Imam Birgivi (d. 1573) appears in modern literature as a sharia-minded anti-Sufi. Curiously, he is either seen as having a long-lasting influence on those who resisted Ottoman modernization, or as foreshadowing trends which are characteristic of modernity in religion: Rudolph Peters, “Religious Attitudes Towards Modernization in the Ottoman Empire: A Nineteenth Century Pious Text on Steamships, Factories and the Telegraph,” *Welt Des Islams* 26 (1986): 76–105; Gottfried Hagen, “Afterword,” in Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 215–56.
- 111 Kemal Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishane-Mühendishane Matbaası ve Kütüphanesi (1776–1826)* (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1995), 145, 255–56. For a critic of the state recommending *Risale-i Birgivi* to the soldiers, see Çağman, III. *Selim’e Sunulan İslahat Lâyihaları*, 49.

- 112 E. Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects*, 58.
- 113 *Ibid.*, 67.
- 114 *Ibid.*, 53. See also Laura Brown, *Ends of Empire: Women and Ideology in Early Eighteenth-Century English Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).
- 115 On the other hand, in the light of studies by Shamma and Weatherill, Kowaleski-Wallace argued that “it may well be the case that men collected china, while women actually used it on a wider scale”: Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects*, 57–8. See also Lorna Weatherill, “A Possession of One’s Own: Women and Consumer Behaviour in England, 1660–1740,” *Journal of British Studies* 25 (1986): 131–56; eadem, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1770* (Cambridge, 1988); Carole Shamma, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- 116 For such rumours involving Esma the Elder, see *Memoirs of Baron de Tott, Containing the State of the Turkish Empire and the Crimea, during the Late War with Russia. With Numerous Anecdotes, Facts, and Observations, on the Manners and customs of the Turks and Tartars* (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, Pater-Noster Row, 1785). Esma Sultan the Younger was another princess who was much gossiped about: see Adolphus Slade, *Turkey and the Turks and a Cruise in the Black Sea* (New York, 1854), 548. See also Artan, “Periods and Problems of Ottoman (Women’s) Patronage on the Via Egnatia,” 38–42.
- 117 Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects*, 65–8.
- 118 Tülay Artan, “Forms and Forums of Expression : İstanbul and Beyond, 1600–1800,” in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London and New York: Routledge, 2011).