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## Textiles and the Portrayal of Power: Figuring European-Ottoman Relations, 16th-17th centuries

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Textiles and the Portrayal of Power: Figuring European-Ottoman Relations, 16th-17<sup>th</sup> centuries

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For sixteenth-century monarchs, portraiture was a means of demonstrating legitimacy and signaling their power. The art form allowed them to preserve themselves for posterity. How they choose to portray themselves, and with what objects, is significant to what they wanted to tell the viewer about themselves. The resulting work therefore responds to the sitter's specific historical context. Portraiture cannot be considered as merely "art," but rather as being deeply expressive of cultural and political context. Clothing in portraiture then must be carefully considered and is of crucial importance to understanding the message that the sitter wants to articulate.<sup>1</sup>

Ottoman clothing was predominantly used by European monarchs in the sixteenth-century not as a lighthearted fashion statement, but as a political message. This is captured in European portraiture, notably in Tudor England. A more profound understanding of the inclusion of Ottoman clothing and motifs in portraits can help us understand England's view of and relationship with the Ottoman Empire, as well as other European powers and their interactions with each other. During the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520-1566), the Ottomans were at the height of their power and influence. They were regarded with awe and fear by the Europeans, as they were the only Islamic power with the potential to conquer Europe. Because of this, any display of Ottoman culture, such as clothing, in portraiture was politically charged. Ottoman clothing could signal political ties, or political ties one hoped to gain. Ottoman clothes signaled a political engagement beyond Europe, possibly looking for legitimacy in a broader

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<sup>1</sup>Charlotte A. Jerousek and Sara Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East," in *Ottoman Dress and Design in the West: A Visual History of Cultural Exchange* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2019); Femke Speelberg, "Fashion and Virtue, Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution 1520-1620" *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* LXXIII, no. 2 (Fall 2015): 3-48; Susan Foister, *Holbein and England*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

political arena. For Protestant England, such a non-Catholic alliance would have been beneficial against the Catholic European powers, specifically the Papacy and Spain.<sup>2</sup>

In portraiture, Europeans are often seen wearing variations of the kaftan, a type of robe specifically originating in Islamic culture. Kaftans and the motifs that covered them were associated with the Ottoman court. High quality kaftans were made of rich silks and brocaded velvets, colored with the most coveted dyes, and woven with precious gold and silver thread to create stunning arabesque and moresque motifs, a task that required the most skilled weavers.<sup>3</sup>

Due to the high quality of materials, the need for highly skilled weavers, and the logistics required to export them, kaftans were highly valued. For Europeans, the logistics required to import kaftans from the Ottoman Empire to Europe increased their expense. Thus, kaftans and related textiles were only a luxury the extremely wealthy could afford, limiting European consumption of kaftans to mostly the monarchy. The luxury of such textiles in and of themselves visually signify extreme wealth, especially if the textiles were not just limited to clothing. Henry VIII, for instance, was able to not only afford lavish Turkish textiles for clothes, but also luxury tents for entertaining ambassadors such as the French.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Palmira Brummett, "Envisioning Ottoman Wealth: Narrating and Mapping Ottoman "Treasure" in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries" in *Oriens* 37 (2009): 107-22; Foister, *Holbein and England*; Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Eleri Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with Historic Royal Palaces, 2020); Margaret Meserve, *Empire of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); J.J. Scarisbrick, "The Royal Supremacy" in *Henry VIII*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

<sup>3</sup> Louise W. Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands, 7<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> Century*, (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2015); Sumru Belger Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold: Four centuries of Ottoman Embroidery*, (London: Merrel, 2000); Yanni Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans: Decorative Arts from the Ottoman Empire*, (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982).

<sup>4</sup> Foister, *Holbein and England*; Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Eleri Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with Historic Royal Palaces, 2020); Hedda Raindl-Kiel, "The Empire of Fabrics: The Range of Fabrics in the Gift Traffic of the Ottomans," in *Inventories of Textiles-Textiles in Inventories, Studies on Late Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture*, ed. Thomas Ertl and Barbara Karl, (Göttingen, Germany: V&R unipress GmbH, 2017), 143-64; Marika Sardar, "Silk along the Seas, Ottoman Turkey and Safavid Iran in the Global Textile Trade," in *Interwoven Globe, The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800*, ed. Amelia Peck, (New Haven: Yale University Press); Mackie, *Symbols of Power*.

The wealth signaled by the material of kaftans is one aspect of the legitimacy conferred on the wearer by the object. Various motifs, most often described as arabesques or moresques by Europeans, decorated the kaftans. The intricate motifs required great skill to design and could only be created by a true master of the craft. The motifs symbolically take on the virtue and mastery with which their creator infuses them. As I will argue, arabesques and moresques were perceived as conferring their symbolic virtue on the one who creates the motif in the textile, the one who wears the textile, and, in the context of this thesis, the one who paints the portrait.<sup>5</sup>

In the first part of this thesis, I will explore the political legitimacy conferred by kaftans by comparing a portrait of Henry VIII of England (r. 1509-1547, Fig. 1) with those of his contemporaries, François I of France (r. 1515-1547, Fig. 2) and Süleyman the Magnificent (Fig. 3). All three rulers came to power within a few years of each other and were around the same age. They were active participants in European politics, where the presentation of one's image was of the utmost importance. European monarchs could disseminate official images of themselves through gifting them to other monarchs. Hans Holbein's portrait of Henry VIII (Fig. 1) and Titian's portrait of François I (Fig. 2) were completed within a few years of each other; Süleyman's portrait (Fig. 3) was completed sometime during the sixteenth century, likely based on a model from the 1520s. In the second part of the thesis, I will examine in greater detail the use of Ottoman clothing in royal portraiture in England specifically, focusing on how Henry VIII's portrait articulated his legitimacy through Turkish motifs not only to his peers but also to his subjects. Finally, I will track how the significance of Ottoman dress—and the kaftan in particular—shifted at the end of the seventeenth century. The Ottomans maintained their high

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<sup>5</sup> Carmen C. Bambach, "Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer: 'la science del far di groppi'," *Journal of Leonardo Studies and Bibliography of Vinciana*, vol. 4 (1991): 72-98; Anna Contadini, "Threads of Ornament in the Style World of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *History of Ornament: From Global to Local*, ed. Gülru Necipoglu and Alina Payne, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2016), 290-308.

level of regard for kaftans, tracing its significance back to the origins of Islam, a connection Europeans did not share. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Europeans incorporated the kaftan into their portraits in an exoticizing—rather than legitimizing—way. This may well have been due to the recent defeats of the Ottomans by European rulers, as it became clear the Ottoman Empire no longer had the potential to conquer Europe. It could also be due to Europe's changing court culture. Considering Europe's change in relationship from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century to the kaftan and to the arabesque and moresque motifs that decorated them illuminates the complex and fluctuating relationship between England and the Ottomans.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Rifaat A. Abou-el-Haj, "The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier in Europe: 1699-1703," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89, no. 3 (1969): 467-75; G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Brummett, "Envisioning Ottoman Wealth," 107-22; Joachim Gierlichs, "Europeans in 'Turkish' Dress," in *Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Setting: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narratives*, ed. by Claudia Ulbrich and Richard Wittmann, (Würzburg: Ergon, 2015), 151-186; Peter C. Herman, "Henry VIII and the Political Imaginary of Early Tudor England," in *Royal Poetrie: Monarchic Verse and the Political Imaginary of Early Modern England*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), 15-51; Linda Komaroff, "The Art of the Art of Giving at the Islamic Courts," in *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts*. 1<sup>st</sup> ed, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011), 17-30; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, 1-31; Ali U. Peker, "A Retreating Power: the Ottoman Approach to the West in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century," (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2006) 69-86; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; William Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach," *The Journal of Modern History* 52, no. 3 (1980): 452-76; Scarisbrick, "The Royal Supremacy;" Tim Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange: Royal Give and Take," in *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts*. 1<sup>st</sup> ed, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011), 149-165; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, *The Sultan's Portrait : Picturing the House of Osman*, ed. Selmin Kangal and Priscilla Mary Işın, (Istanbul: İşbank, 2000), 96-133; Karen Watts, "Field of Cloth of Gold: Arms Armour and the Sporting Prowess of King Henry VIII and King Francis I," in *The Medieval Tournament as Spectacle: Tournaments, Jousts and Pas a' Armes, 1100-1600*, ed. Karen Watts and Alan V. Murray, (Suffolk, UK: Boydell & Brewer, 2020), 208-37.

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Part I

Portraiture in the sixteenth century was a means for monarchs to advance political goals, such as a display of power, to claim royal legitimacy, or to cultivate and maintain diplomatic ties. I will consider the portraits of Henry VIII of England (Fig. 1), François I of France (Fig. 2), and the Ottoman Empire's Süleyman the Magnificent (Fig. 3) in conjunction with the question of legitimacy. Legitimacy is the legal right to rule, a key component of which is the recognition of the right to rule by global powers, which is expressed in a ruler's ability to successfully enforce his power. As we will see, Henry VIII's portrait differs from those of François and Süleyman, especially because the English monarch is trying to claim a legitimacy that he lacks. Henry's portrait was based on the wall painting in Whitehall Palace painted by Hans Holbein. Although the mural is no longer extant, part of the cartoon survives (Fig. 4), as does a copy of the full composition. Holbein's most iconic portraits of Henry are based on this mural, including a three-quarters length portrait of Henry VIII now at the Thyssen-Bornemisza (Fig. 5), and a half-length portrait, now at the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica (Fig. 1). Holbein's copies of his own Whitehall Palace portrait as well as copies by later artists, established a prototype for representing the English king. Henry's forward-facing pose and lavish court clothes in a half-length portrait became synonymous with portraying power, as noted by Henry Peacham in his late sixteenth-century book *The Art of Drawing*.<sup>7</sup>

Traditionally, monarchs had been depicted enthroned in ceremonial robes, crowned, and holding an orb and scepter. While Holbein's portrait of Henry breaks this tradition, his is not the first. Jean Clouet portrayed François I in a half-length portrait in court clothes in the 1520, which

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<sup>7</sup> Foister, *Holbein and England*.

served as the official image of the French king. Holbein's half-length portraits were likely a response to François's official representation. I have chosen to focus my attention on Henry's portrait by Holbein from 1540 (Fig. 1), as it is the most widely disseminated image of the English king.<sup>8</sup>

François I's portrait by Titian from 1538 (Fig. 2) and Süleyman's portrait from the sixteenth century done in the style of Titian (Fig. 3) actively respond to one another and constitute a fascinating counterpoint to Holbein's portrait of Henry. In Henry's portrait, Holbein very likely drew the king from life while an artist living in Henry's court. The painters of François and Süleyman had no such opportunity. With few exceptions, European depictions of the Ottoman Sultan are based on copies of copies. The prototype images of Süleyman portray him either in a side portrait, recalling ancient Roman Emperors, or equestrian portraits, rooted in European tradition. Thus, this portrait of the Sultan cannot be taken as an accurate representation, but rather the result of Europeans creating and circulating his image.<sup>9</sup>

## Henry VIII

The Henry VIII's portrait by Hans Holbein the Younger (1540, Fig. 1) can be interpreted through the lens of Henry using the medium of portraiture to establish his power. Henry stands

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<sup>8</sup> Bernard, *The King's Reformation*; Foister, *Holbein and England*; Scarisbrick, "The Royal Supremacy."

<sup>9</sup> Foister, *Holbein and England*; The earliest known representations of Süleyman by Europeans were from 1526 by Dürer and an artist known only as "AA." Their work may have been based on an original image of the sultan that is now lost, but the accuracy of the image is unknown. The most reliable images of the Sultan by European artists are a drawing by Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502-50) which was later published based on his visit to Istanbul, where he most likely witnessed the sultan riding on horseback to Friday prayers as represented in the drawing. The second reliable image is by Melchior Lorichs, who accompanied the imperial ambassador Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq to Istanbul in 1555-59 and likely saw the sultan in person. There are only about two portraits (not including book illustrations) of Süleyman by Ottoman artists, Haydar Reis (penname Nigârî) and Nakkas Osman. The portraits and records suggest the artists drew the sultan from life, depicting him in his old age as they observed him going about his day. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, *The Sultan's Portrait*, 96-133.

facing the viewer, with his left shoulder slightly back and the painting revealing to about his upper thigh. He confronts the viewer with an authoritative gaze. His right hand stiffly holds his leather gloves at his waist while his left rigidly rests on his gold-hilted sword, one probably more for display than practical use. His body fills the frame, with his sides and head almost touching the edge of the painting. The entire painting is a lavish display of wealth, exhibited through his attire, the deep royal blue background, and the gold letters announcing his title. He wears a series of coats reminiscent of Ottoman kaftans, which build up his frame, giving him impossibly broad shoulders that seem to overwhelm the viewer with his figure. Also, one cannot help but notice the suggestively large codpiece in the fabric just below his waist.

The portrait (Fig. 1) crafts an image of Henry VIII's wealth and power, and of a king who is assured and must be taken seriously. There is no trace of his political troubles, declining health, or the recent rebellion, the Pilgrimage of Grace. The large codpiece suggests virility rather than the reality of his inability to secure the line of succession. Henry's ability to present himself in splendid clothing in portraiture and in person before embassies, as seen in historical records of events such as the Field of Cloth of Gold (1520) and the Greenwich Revels (1527), leads his audience to believe wealth and majesty of the king is reflected the state of England.<sup>10</sup>

In the decade leading up to this portrait, Henry experienced many political difficulties, most of his own making, that severely diminished his credibility both at home and abroad and left him with little sway in European political affairs. The Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, François I of France, Süleyman the Magnificent, and Pope Clement VII, the major political players of the time, continually tried to include Henry in political alliances. However, he

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<sup>10</sup> Bernard, *The King's Reformation*; Foister, *Holbein and England*; Herman, "Henry VIII and the Political Imaginary of Early Tudor England;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, 1-31; Scarisbrick, "The Royal Supremacy;" Watts, "Field of Cloth of Gold," 208-37.



repeatedly refused to enter negotiations when he could not control the diplomatic proceedings. Henry's humiliation and maltreatment of his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, and their daughter Mary, as well as his violent retaliation against those who opposed his divorce and the Royal Supremacy of the Church of England, caused outrage among the European monarchies. He executed well-known figures like Thomas Moore and Bishop John Fisher. In retaliation against Northern rebellions, the king wreaked bloody vengeance on the Pilgrimage of Grace, an uprising of peaceful subjects hoping to make appeals to their king. Such actions angered European powers, as well as those in England, increasing tensions and isolating Henry.<sup>11</sup>

Such actions provoked outside interference with Henry's reign. One example of this interference was Charles V's attempts to intervene on behalf of Princess Mary. Catherine of Aragon and Mary—respectively, the aunt and cousin of Charles—had been very popular in England and Europe, which angered Henry and interfered with his plans for divorcing Catherine. Charles V attempted to arrange various marriages for Mary to get her out of England, but because of Henry's refusal, he had no success. He even went so far as to try to smuggle her out of the country on two occasions, but both attempts were thwarted by Henry.<sup>12</sup>

Another example of foreign interference emerged in 1537, when the Papacy sent Reginald Pole to revive the Northern Rebellion, with the goal of gaining support from France and Spain to depose Henry and return England to Catholicism. Charles' actions reveal his belief that Henry was incapable of properly caring for his own daughter, while the actions of the Papacy reveal the pope's stance on Henry's lack of competence as a ruler. European powers had lost confidence in Henry's right to rule his kingdom, and no longer viewed him as legitimate.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Bernard, *The King's Reformation*; Scarisbrick, "The Royal Supremacy," 329-44.

<sup>12</sup> Scarisbrick, "The Royal Supremacy," 329-44.

<sup>13</sup> Bernard, *The King's Reformation*; Scarisbrick, "The Royal Supremacy," 329-44.

It would seem Henry was aware of this, as on several occasions he looked to the pope to lift the excommunication. Theoretically, excommunication by the pope of a ruler could potentially lead to deposition or invasion, which terrified England and Henry himself. If Henry was assured of his power, he would have had no need of the pope's approval and would have been confident in his French allies, or even in his relations with Charles V, both of whom would have preferred Henry's leadership over war.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps the best indicator of Henry's lack of legitimacy abroad was his own insecurity regarding his image, both of his ability to rule and his physical appearance. Such insecurity can be seen even at the beginning of his rule, when he questioned the Venetian ambassador, Sabastian Giustinian, about François's appearance, being concerned François's physical virility in comparison to his own.<sup>15</sup> Young Henry tried to establish his legitimacy in chivalric and courtly love through various mediums, like lyric verse and portraiture.<sup>16</sup> Henry's attempts to use different media, written and pictorial, demonstrates his awareness of how using the arts to craft a specific image of himself could be used to advance his political goals. Henry's presentation of his body as physically strong and draped in lavish clothing conveys the strength of his kingdom and his power over it, suggesting he may have seen his physical appearance as reflective of the state of his kingdom.

Henry's use of portrait artists to craft an image of himself to gain absolute power early in his reign continued into the 1530s, when power and influence become more crucial in his quest for a divorce and the foundation of the Royal Supremacy. Henry's history of attempts at crafting a persona of himself and seeking absolute power is perhaps a result of his own insecurity about

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<sup>14</sup> Bernard, *The King's Reformation*; Scarisbrick, "The Royal Supremacy," 329-44.

<sup>15</sup> Watts, "The Field of Cloth of Gold," 208-37.

<sup>16</sup> Herman, "Henry VIII and the Political Imaginary of Early Tudor England."

how he was viewed, particularly by other European monarchs, since being unable to act effectively in European politics could have dire consequences. I would argue that his portrait is trying to convince the viewer the powerful king imagined in the portrait is the English monarch in real life, and that physical appearance can make one be perceived as legitimate. He displayed this image of legitimacy through circulating copies of his portrait to other powerful political players, as was common practice at the time, and through the reception of dignitaries, such as during the Greenwich Revels of 1527 when he entertained the French embassy in a marvelously decorated canvas tent. Such occasions would have given him an audience to ostentatiously display both the splendor of his physical appearance and the magnificence of the setting in which he entertained.<sup>17</sup>

### Süleyman the Magnificent

Süleyman the Magnificent, as he was known to Europeans, reigned during the Golden Age of the Ottoman Empire, “one of the largest, most powerful, and wealthiest in world history.” One mode of power Süleyman employed for establishing his own legitimacy was the tradition of gifting robes. The gifting of robes is a tradition originating in Islam when the Prophet Muhammad took off his robe and gave it to the poet Ka’b ibn Zahayr. Thus, Süleyman gains legitimacy by engaging with an important Islamic tradition. Equally important, the reception of robes from the Sultan was a great honor; those receiving the robes could then display their status to others which also helped the Sultan maintain loyalty in exchange. The gifting of robes also ensured that the sumptuary laws were strictly enforced. The robes were expected to be worn for ceremonies which would give the recipient the chance to display his status, including to visiting

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<sup>17</sup> Bernard, *The King’s Reformation*; Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 317-33; Foister, *Holbein and England*, 96-123; Herman, “Henry VIII and the Political Imaginary of Early Tudor England.”

dignitaries. The uniformed attire demonstrated extreme order and obedience of the subjects and ultimately the extent of the Sultan's power. As a result, visitors were reportedly intimidated by the ceremonial display. The Hapsburg ambassador, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, for instance, commented of his 1555 visit how the Ottomans looked more imposing with their long robes and the Europeans by comparison looked rather unbecoming.<sup>18</sup>

The myth of Ottoman wealth in the European imagination was cultivated by the Ottomans themselves as a means of power. When Europeans reported their experience in the Ottoman Empire, their descriptions either implicitly or explicitly compared the Ottomans to their own rulers, resulting in a less flattering view of European monarchy. Two such diplomats who visited during Süleyman's reign analyze Ottoman wealth with fear and awe in the face of the Sultan's power. Marcantonio Barbaro, the Venetian Bailo during the years 1567-1573, describes how a large part of the Sultan's wealth came from his slaves, which made him a potential threat to Europe. The Venetian bailo in 1564, Daniele Barbarigo, explicitly voices the European fear of Turkish domination: "This Gran Signore (referring to Sülyman) is most powerful because he has many countries under his control, and great obedience from the populace; and because he has enough money. These three things alone would suffice in my opinion to make him invincible".<sup>19</sup>

More secure in his political position than Henry, Süleyman is depicted in his portrait (Fig. 3) with his shoulders slightly turned, his head completely facing the left, reminiscent of the side profile portraits of Roman Emperors on coins. He is clean shaven except for a meticulously

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<sup>18</sup> Brummett, "Envisioning Ottoman Wealth;" Komaroff, "The Art of the Art of Giving at the Islamic Courts," 17-30; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange: Royal Give and Take," 149-165.

<sup>19</sup> Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq is the same ambassador mentioned in footnote 6 whom the artist Melchior Lorichs accompanied to Istanbul and painted the sultan. Brummett, "Envisioning Ottoman Wealth;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, *The Sultan's Portrait*, 96-133.

groomed handlebar mustache, which, in conjunction with his nose, eyebrows, and turned head, give him a stern look. Between his facial expression and his turned body, he presents himself as disconnected from the viewer, almost as though the viewer is not worthy of his attention. If looking at a map and considering the location of Europe in relation to Istanbul, Europe is in the leftward direction. Given this, I would suggest that Süleyman's leftward gaze is intended for Europe, confronting its rulers with his stern gaze, perhaps with the intention of eventual conquest.

The upper third of the canvas is taken up largely by Süleyman's enormous white turban, which stands out against the charcoal-colored background. He wears what looks to be at least four kaftans. The top kaftan looks to be of fur, but the artist has spent little time rendering this. The next kaftan is a brilliant crimson, possibly of silk, given the apparent silver sheen of the material. It has a collar fastened up to the sultan's throat, with frontal closures of knotted gold and a dark center gem down the front. On his left shoulder, peeking out beneath the fur, is another kaftan, also of crimson, but due to its rendering it seems to be a different material than the silk kaftan: perhaps it is a brocaded velvet, figured with a delicate, gold thread. The artist paints more a suggestion of the fabric's pattern rather than a fully rendered motif, but it seems to be of extremely high quality, given how fine and delicate the line weight of the motif is. His right sleeve, just visible at the bottom left corner of the painting, suggests that he is wearing a fourth kaftan of gold, maybe gold brocaded velvet. The background has no patterning, and instead is hazy and dark, giving an imposing feeling. The portrait is surprising, as one would expect a grandiose display of wealth from such a powerful ruler, particularly in his attire. The kaftans are

undoubtedly luxurious textiles, yet they are not meant to overwhelm the viewer as they lack excessive amounts of gold and other precious materials.<sup>20</sup>

Süleyman was typically represented by Europeans in either a side portrait, alluding to the ancient Roman Emperors, or in an equestrian portrait, a pose popular for portraying European monarchs. The portrait under consideration here is likely part of this European copying and circulating of the sultan's image. The kaftans he wears in this portrait engage him with the Turkish culture of the honor of robes, of which the Europeans were aware, since ambassadors and monarchs alike had received such gifts from the sultan. The tradition of wearing of kaftans in this portrait is at once familiar and foreign. The garment perhaps no longer quite carries the religious and cultural significance the Ottomans associated with it, but the visual beauty and lavish materials required to make it still convey power, wealth, and by extension legitimacy.<sup>21</sup>

Süleyman is not portrayed in a fanciful or fantastical way. The visual tropes characteristic of "exotic" Turkish portraits, which include stereotypical Turkish props and setting, from about seventeenth century and forward, are not present. Süleyman is not draped in luxury items for the viewer to ogle over. It is as if this European depiction of Süleyman is the fulfilment of the Ottoman fabrication of their power in the European imagination. Süleyman is presented in a visual language that equates him with the rest of Europe's great princes. It situates him as a

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<sup>20</sup> Brummett, "Envisioning Ottoman Wealth;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Foister, *Holbein and England*, 96-123; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Komaroff, "The Art of the Art of Giving at the Islamic Courts," 17-30; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, *The Sultan's Portrait*, 96-133; Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange: Royal Give and Take," 149-165.

<sup>21</sup> Brummett, "Envisioning Ottoman Wealth;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Foister, *Holbein and England*, 96-123; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Komaroff, "The Art of the Art of Giving at the Islamic Courts," 17-30; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, *The Sultan's Portrait*, 96-133; Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange: Royal Give and Take," 149-165.

great, powerful ruler to be reckoned with, one who could easily compete with and possibly conquer Europe.<sup>22</sup>

The portrait is intended for European eyes, not Ottoman, as it was created by Europeans for Europeans. It is notable then, that Süleyman is portrayed in a side portrait, which visually equates him with the ancient Roman emperors. The Ottoman capital, Istanbul, was what was left of the former Roman Empire. By portraying him in a Roman style, the painting acknowledges Süleyman as the heir of the Roman Empire, a claim that angered Europeans, especially humanists.<sup>23</sup>

This European depiction of Süleyman suggests characteristics of a sultan not concerned with making extravagant displays of wealth to exhibit his power. This image of Süleyman demonstrates his power through the imposing background and oversized white turban. Süleyman appears confident about his position and does not need to “prove” himself to European powers. It suggests he is not afraid to engage with Europe, indeed, Süleyman, had conquered Hungary after defeating King Louis II at Mohács in 1526.<sup>24</sup>

## François

Like Süleyman, François was never faced with a revolt from his subjects, as Henry was. While he did make a habit of extorting his citizens, despite their grumbling, he still wielded enough power to keep them in check and obtain what he wanted from them, indicating his

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<sup>22</sup> Gierlichs, “Europeans in ‘Turkish’ Dress,” 151-185; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, *The Sultan's Portrait*, 96-133.

<sup>23</sup> Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, *The Sultan's Portrait*, 96-133.

<sup>24</sup> Brummett, “Envisioning Ottoman Wealth;” Jerousek and Catterall, “The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;” Foister, *Holbein and England*, 96-123; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Komaroff, “The Art of the Art of Giving at the Islamic Courts,” 17-30; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, *The Sultan's Portrait*, 96-133; Stanley, “Ottoman Gift Exchange: Royal Give and Take,” 149-165.

legitimacy in their view. He also continued the French monarchical tradition of a nomadic life, constantly moving throughout the country, which often meant he was connecting directly with subjects. His ability to maintain legitimacy with his citizens allowed him to remain in control of his kingdom, sustaining his legitimacy on the European stage.<sup>25</sup>

Despite later reneging on treaties, François was more successful at managing his political alliances than Henry, who often burned bridges, as evident in François' efforts to remain loyal to his friendship with the English king. Henry convinced François to pressure the pope into annulling Henry's marriage to Catherine of Aragon through a marriage alliance between François's second son, Henry II, and Catherine de Medici, a relative of the Medici pope, Clement VII. François agreed out of a desire to help his friend, and Henry had agreed to personally attend the meeting with the pope with François. François maintained his word, prostrating himself before the pope and putting aside his own political agenda of securing a larger dowry for his son Henry's marriage. Henry repaid François by sending a bishop to deliver an egregiously insulting message to the pope instead. This incident demonstrated François's willingness to negotiate with other rulers and maintain friendship, and glaringly reveals Henry's unreliability. Despite not having the desired outcome due to Henry's destructive actions, François managed to convince the pope to extend the deadline to excommunicate Henry by a month, indicating François's legitimacy in the eyes of the Papacy and as a king worth negotiating with.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> R.J. Knecht, "Francis and Paris," (Wiley: 1981); R. Knecht, *Renaissance warrior and patron: the reign of Francis I*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

<sup>26</sup> Bernard, *The King's Reformation*; Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 317-33; R.J. Knecht, "Francis and Paris," (Wiley: 1981); R. Knecht, *Renaissance warrior and patron: the reign of Francis I*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).



In his portrait by Titian (Fig. 2), François I stands with his shoulders slightly tilted to the right but still leaves his body relatively open, with his left arm hanging at his side and his right hand holding something about the belt, possibly a sword hilt, though it is hard to distinguish. His head is turned to the right. He has a full beard and strands of hair come down on his forehead from underneath his black, fur-trimmed hat. He is smiling, the corners of his eyes slightly crinkled as though looking at someone or something the viewer cannot see. He wears a series of layered coats, reminiscent of Ottoman style. He wears a heavy, possibly fur, coat with a pale mauve coat underneath. This coat has a slight sheen, indicating it might be silk. It is puffed along the sleeves with slits revealing a white undershirt. The body of the coat also reveals this white shirt, as well as at the collar. He wears a pendant on a thin gold chain that falls about mid chest. The image on the pendant is not fully defined but suggests a draped gold figure on a dark background. In the left side of the background, there is a rectangle of a different wall, possibly of a fern-green velvet with a slight suggestion of pattern. The rest of the background is a solid dark color, but it lacks the imposing nature of Süleyman's portrait. Overall, François seems relaxed and approachable with his casual stance, warm smile, and preference for simpler attire as opposed to over-the-top luxury. This is furthered by the fact that François is not taking up the full painting, with ample space above his head and shoulders. His left shoulder leaves a good space between body and painting edge. The dark coat fades into the dark background to make him look slimmer, rather than imposing. The eye is drawn to François's face due to the artist's careful rendering and attention to facial expression, suggesting the focus of the painting is his face and what it suggests about his personality, rather than his material wealth.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Brummett, "Envisioning Ottoman Wealth;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Foister, *Holbein and England*, 96-123; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, 1-31; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, *The Sultan's Portrait*, 96-133.

For Süleyman and François, there is no need for overt displays of wealth and power as their legitimacy was not in question. They were recognized by global powers as having the right to rule their respective kingdoms, as seen in their ability to maintain their domains and engagement with the political landscape. Both rulers followed ruling traditions within their realms that allowed them a strong foundation of legitimacy with their subjects. Henry VIII, on the other hand, rejected the checks on his power put in place by English government tradition. He made the radical move of the Royal Supremacy which shook the foundations of English society and caused fear and uncertainty. The Royal Supremacy alienated global powerhouses and the civil unrest in England gave them cause for concern, as seen by Charles V and the Papacy's attempts to interfere with English sovereignty.<sup>28</sup>

In Figure 6, I have placed Henry VIII, Süleyman, and François's portraits on a map of sixteenth-century Europe that corresponds to the location of their respective realms. Both François and Süleyman face each other and toward the rest of Europe, suggesting a willingness to engage. It suggests they acknowledge each other's right to rule their respective realm and respect for one another. Such respect and willingness to collaborate can be seen by their political alliance, which allowed the French trading precedence in the Sublime Port. Henry's forward stance, however, isolates him from the rest of Continental Europe and its political happenings. His stance is that of one who is confrontational and demanding. His stance is a symbolic representation of his political engagement with the rest of Europe, which often resulted in the king's attempts at political sabotage. If these portraits reflect these rulers' legitimacy, then so do

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<sup>28</sup> Bernard, *The King's Reformation*; Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 317-33; R.J. Knecht, "Francis and Paris;" Knecht, *Renaissance warrior and patron*; Brummett, "Envisioning Ottoman Wealth;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Foister, *Holbein and England*, 96-123; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Mackie, *Symbols of Powe*, 29-278; Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, 1-31; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, *The Sultan's Portrait*, 96-133.

they reflect their abilities to act effectively in the political sphere. While François and Sülyman remain engaged with Europe, Henry remains on the outskirts.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Bernard, *The King's Reformation*; Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 317-33; R.J. Knecht, "Francis and Paris;" Brummett, "Envisioning Ottoman Wealth;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Foister, *Holbein and England*, 96-123; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, 1-31; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, *The Sultan's Portrait*, 96-133.

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## Part II

As discussed in part I, the wearing of kaftans was a means of displaying one's legitimacy, however, the motifs decorating the kaftans also held great significance. "Arabesques" and "moresques" are intricate, scrolling vegetal motifs inspired by Islamic art. They form symmetrical repeating patterns that give the impression of being able to be repeated into infinity. Beginning in the early sixteenth-century in Europe, these terms were generally applied to a wide range of motifs. In an Ottoman context, however, more specific terms were used to describe motifs under the umbrella term arabesque. As arabesque and moresque motifs required great skill to create, they were associated with virtuosity in a European context. As defined in this thesis, "virtue" and "virtuosity" mean intellectual genius and great moral character. Both intellectual genius and great moral character are intertwined. The ability to successfully render arabesques and moresques could be understood to reflect the creator's character, hence, if one could create one of these motifs, then the creator was of moral goodness and a genius. As I will argue, when arabesques and moresques were worn in portraiture, their virtuosity was symbolically reflected in both the artist and the person in the painting wearing the motifs.<sup>30</sup>

Arabesque and moresque designs were widely circulated and gained popularity in European decorative design after Tagliente published his pattern book *Esempio di raccammi* in 1527 (Fig. 7-10). Prior to Tagliente's publication, Leonardo da Vinci turned drawing arabesque motifs into a science and a way to push the limits of a draughtsman's skill. The freehand drawing of such motifs was a test of the creator's virtuosity and genius. This meaning carried over into

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<sup>30</sup> Bambach, "Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer;" Speelberg, "Fashion and Virtue, Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution 1520-1620;"

Tudor portraiture, where the artist could display his skill by painting the Turkish robes his subjects wore. Thus, arabesques functioned to connect the sitter to the Ottoman Empire and as an expression of the virtuosity of both artist and sitter. Hans Holbein the Younger was the virtuoso of arabesque designs in England, his talents best displayed in his portraits of King Henry VIII, as well as his designs for goldsmith objects. By considering Tudor portraiture before and after Holbein, we can understand Holbein's influence in establishing the arabesque as virtuous within English artistic culture and the meanings such designs bestow on the one wearing them.<sup>31</sup>

In his portrait of the English monarch from 1540, Holbein portrays Henry VIII (fig. 1) as facing the viewer, displaying his rich robes and impressive figure. He wears a series of layered coats, the white undershirt pulled up through the openings in his red and gold robe. This next coat is covered in arabesques, with jeweled closures down the front. Over this, is another gold coat with delicate oval motifs, padded to give the appearance of a bigger and more impressive frame for the sitter. The outfit is finally finished with a fur overcoat. The careful layering of coats and frontal closures follows the typical Ottoman dress and particularly resembles a 1579 portrait of Bayazid II. A portrait of Henry VIII's daughter, Queen Elizabeth I (Fig. 11), from ca. 1575 follows a similar style of dress with the padded shoulders and frontal closures. Charlotte Jirousek, who specializes in Turkish dress, has researched the adoption of Ottoman dress by the Tudor monarchy and how their portraits reflect their desire to form an alliance with the Ottomans. I will expand upon the presence of Ottoman dress in Tudor portraiture, particularly by

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<sup>31</sup> Bambach, "Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer;" Contadini, "Threads of Ornament in the Style World;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Foister, *Holbein and England*, 96-123; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, 1-31; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Raindl-Kiel, "The Empire of Fabrics;" Sardar, "Silk along the Seas;" Speelberg, "Fashion and Virtue, Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution 1520-1620;" Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*.

looking at the textiles with arabesques in these portraits, connecting them to the larger circulation of such motifs in Europe and their symbolization of virtuosity.<sup>32</sup>

In his pattern book *Esempio di raccammi* (1527) Tagliente (Fig. 7-10) includes designs that could be used as boarders, possibly for a garment of some sort. His designs are filled with scrolling lines varying in line weight, often with delicate curves gradually ending in vegetal forms. The designs are masterfully constructed with an overall symmetrical composition; each diamond or circle in the motif being placed with extreme precision. Tagliente's mastery of arabesque designs became achievable for the common craftsman or women through the publication of his pattern book. The user was to be able to accomplish such complex motifs through methods of tracing and pouncing without years of practicing freehand drafting. Embroidery pattern books were extremely relevant to craftsmen who were creating work for the bourgeoisie. The patterns allowed craftsmen to keep up with fashion trends without needing the drafting skills of Tagliente to satisfy their customers. The patterns lend themselves to various mediums and the popularity of arabesque and moresque designs is apparent in the analysis of works of the period.<sup>33</sup>

The application of arabesque and moresque designs in different mediums are in conversation with Tagliente's pattern book as he intended. The spread of his ideas is evident in the creation of the *Saint-Porchaire* wares made in France. In his research on the *Saint-Porchaire* ewer in the Royal Museum of Scotland, Howard Coutts connects the decorative motifs of the ewer to the motifs in fashion in Europe at the time of its creation, including artists such as

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<sup>32</sup> Bambach, "Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer;" Contadini, "Threads of Ornament in the Style World;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Foister, *Holbein and England*, 96-123; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, 1-31; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Raindl-Kiel, "The Empire of Fabrics;" Sardar, "Silk along the Seas;" Speelberg, "Fashion and Virtue, Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution 1520-1620;" Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*.

<sup>33</sup> Bambach, "Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer;" Contadini, "Threads of Ornament in the Style World;"

Holbein and Tagliente. He suggests the circulation of embroidery patterns influenced craftsmen. Elena Ivanova makes a similar assessment of the *Saint-Porchaire* wares and the design motifs' connection to Tagliente's embroidery pattern book. Besides painting portraits, Holbein drafted designs for goldsmith work, such as jewelry and other objects. Three surviving designs include a table fountain, cup, and clocksalt. Like the *Saint-Porchaire* wares, these drawings depict objects draped in arabesques. Holbein makes the arabesques his own, though, by including figures entwined with the arabesques. He follows da Vinci's drafting methods, drawing only half of the design, so the paper can be folded in half and pricked and pounced to get a symmetrically mirror image of the objects. The usage of arabesque and moresque motifs in the work of Leonardo da Vinci and Tagliente, the French artisans of the *Saint-Porchaire* wares, and Holbein suggests the widespread popularity of the motifs as the artists are from different regions of Europe. The application of arabesques and moresques on objects of great value suggests a high regard for the motifs. The motifs themselves conversely confer value onto the objects they decorate due to their inherent association with virtue.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Bambach, "Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer;" Contadini, "Threads of Ornament in the Style World;" Howard Coutts, "The "Saint-Porchaire" Ewer in the Royal Museum of Scotland," *Studies in the History of Art*, no. 52 (1996): 52-65; Foister, *Holbein and England*, 137-47; Elena Ivanova, "The Origin and Ornamentation of "Saint-Porchaire" Ware from the Hermitage Collection," *Studies in the History of Art*, no. 52 (1996): 66-77; "Virtue" derives from *vertu* in Old French and *virtus* in Latin. *Virtus* meant "valor, merit, and moral perfection," with *vir* being the Latin word for "man." From "virtue" comes the words "virtuosity," "virtuoso," and "virtuous." "Virtuosity" is used to describe one with great musical or artistic skill while "virtuoso" is used as a noun, meaning someone who is great musical or artistic skill. "Virtuoso" derives from early seventeenth century Italian, literally meaning "learned" and "skillful" and from the Latin word *virtuosus*. "Virtuous," used as an adjective, means "having or showing high moral standards," or, in an archaic form, "chaste," especially in relation to woman. "Virtuous" derives from the Old French word *vertuous* and the late Latin word *virtuosus*, from *virtus*. The etymology and various forms of "virtue" carry a history of the connection between morality and skill. There is also the sense of the word being gendered. The Latin word *vir* (man) is the root of the forms of "virtue" discussed above, and points to the centrality of man in relations to the meanings of "virtue;" "Virtue," "virtuosity," "virtuoso," "virtuous," In *Oxford Dictionary of English*, ed. Angus Stevenson, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). [https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.lib.uconn.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199571123.001.0001/m\\_en\\_gb0930230](https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.lib.uconn.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199571123.001.0001/m_en_gb0930230).

Leonardo da Vinci and Tagliente turned the creation of *groppi moreschi* (moresques) designs into a science. For da Vinci, creating *groppi moreschi*, or moresques, was not only a test of his skills as a draftsman, but also a deeply intellectual pursuit. Accomplishing the creation of such designs displayed his virtue and virtuosity. He is someone considered to be a virtuoso, and, using him as a case study, reveals the connection of the meaning of virtue between great skill and intellect, high moral goodness, and being a man. The practice of creating arabesques and moresques is also a demonstration of manliness, and the motifs themselves embody these meanings.<sup>35</sup>

Despite connections to manliness and its root word, “virtue” also carries the meaning of “chastity,” a word specifically associated with women. In his pattern book, Tagliente specifically addresses woman, and suggests his designs could be copied by them to be used in their embroidery or other craft work. Tagliente and other popular pattern books reinforced the association of the replication of *groppi moreschi* with virtue and purity in relation to woman. Unlike, da Vinci though, women were expected to copy Tagliente’s designs from his pattern book using various tracing and transfer methods. This renders the ability to draw unnecessary in the completion of moresques. While arabesques and moresques still symbolize moral goodness, they no longer symbolize great skill or intellect, something that seems to only be reserved for men like da Vinci or Tagliente.<sup>36</sup>

Hans Holbein the Younger, being a great virtuoso of arabesque and moresque designs, pushes da Vinci’s work further by transforming two dimensional motifs into fully rendered

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<sup>35</sup> Bambach, “Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer;” Contadini, “Threads of Ornament in the Style World;” Foister, *Holbein and England*, 137-47; Spielberg, “Fashion and Virtue, Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution 1520-1620;” “virtue,” “virtuosity,” “virtuoso,” “virtuous,” In *Oxford Dictionary of English*.

<sup>36</sup> Bambach, “Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer;” Contadini, “Threads of Ornament in the Style World;” Foister, *Holbein and England*, 137-47; Spielberg, “Fashion and Virtue, Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution 1520-1620;” “virtue,” “virtuosity,” “virtuoso,” “virtuous,” In *Oxford Dictionary of English*.



drawings or paintings imagining these motifs as different materials and objects, such as textiles and metal. He considers how the motif would exist as a part of an object, how the motifs would respond to light, and how they could be different textures. Analyzing Tudor portraits before and after Holbein shows his influence in the development and symbolism of arabesques and moresques. The success (or lack of success) of Tudor portraitists in creating arabesques and moresques also has consequences in reflecting their sitters moral and intellectual character.<sup>37</sup>

In ca. 1535-40, two portraits of Henry VIII (Figs. 12 and 13) were produced by unknown artists around the time Holbein was working for the king (*Jewelry Book* was produced between 1532-1543, Fig. 14, the cartoon of Henry VIII and Henry VII was about 1536-7, Fig. 4, and Holbein's portraits of Henry were in 1537, Fig. 5, and 1540, Fig. 1). Both portraits seem to try to portray Henry VIII in Ottoman kaftans, however, their results are vastly different from Holbein. In the first portrait (Fig. 12), Henry is portrayed from about the mid-chest up, with most of his arms and shoulders outside the view of the frame, lacking the powerful stance of Holbein's portrait. Henry's hands rest obscured at the bottom of the painting, again in contrast to Holbein's portrait where Henry's hands take on a prominent role in contributing to his appearance of power. He wears a white undershirt with a brownish gold coat over top with a bit of the undershirt pulled through openings on the chest and sleeve cuffs. The final coat is of fur. Unlike Holbein's portrait with small puffs of undershirt pulled through the outer coat, this portrait has rather large slits and lacks the depth of those rendered by Holbein. The front of Henry's chest is rendered flat rather than a natural curve of the body. This is emphasized by the arabesque-like design along the border of Henry's coat and collar. The designs do not sit like designs woven in fabric worn by a body, but like paint on a flat surface. The design resembles motifs like the work

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<sup>37</sup> Foister, *Holbein and England*, 96-123; "virtue," "virtuosity," "virtuoso," "virtuous," In *Oxford Dictionary of English*.

of Tagliente (Fig. 8 and 10) but are rather clumsy in comparison. The arches of the scrolling forms are quite irregular and face different directions with no particular pattern. Their spacing across the band does not follow the geometric proportions of Tagliente and the attempted vegetal forms along the scrolling forms is random and lacks Tagliente's delicate hand. The inclusion of the design is perhaps an attempt to keep up with the contemporary fashion and Henry's Turkish tastes. The poor execution of the design and decisions to confine it to such a limited part of the portrait opposed to incorporating it into the entire coat, suggests a lack of mastery, and hence, virtuosity on the part of the artist.<sup>38</sup>

In the second portrait (Fig. 13), Henry VIII wears a similar style of dress with the white undershirt poking through the red coat and a fur overcoat but wears an additional black coat in between the fur and red coat. The black coat covers up the artist's handling of the undershirt pulled through the red coat, which quite frankly looks like squiggly lines of shaving cream. The artist of this portrait, however, cleverly paints the arabesque designs as less of a focal point and more of a suggestion of those designs rather than agonizing over the detailing. By placing the designs in the gold silk, the loose rendition of the motif can be viewed as a shiny surface reflecting light and obstructing the viewer from seeing the motifs in their entirety. Limiting the rendition of the silk to thin slits contributes to the success of the designs as it would be more difficult to paint them over a larger surface area as well as the need to curve the motif with the curve of the body. The result is a more convincing rendition of fabric woven with arabesque designs when compared to the previous portrait.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Bambach, "Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer;" Bernard, *The King's Reformation*; Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 317-33; Contadini, "Threads of Ornament in the Style World;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Foister, *Holbein and England*; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, 1-31; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Speelberg, "Fashion and Virtue, Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution 1520-1620."

<sup>39</sup> Bambach, "Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer;" Bernard, *The King's Reformation*; Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 317-33; Contadini, "Threads of Ornament in the Style World;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for

Hans Holbein, like Tagliente, was quite the ‘virtuoso’ of arabesque and moresque designs, as apparent in both Henry VIII’s portraits (Figs. 1, 4, and 5) and his *Jewelry Book* designs (Fig. 14). In Henry VIII’s portrait (fig. 1), Holbein incorporates five different arabesque designs: the gold overcoat, the gold chain across Henry’s shoulders, the frontal closures, the top of the red coat, and finally below the belt. This is significantly more ambitious than the motifs in the first two portraits of the king. Holbein makes arabesque and moresque designs a science, painting them with extreme precision and geometric proportion, both in the overall design motif and in the individual curves and leaves.<sup>40</sup>

Holbein demonstrates his mastery of not only the intricate designs themselves, but the application of such designs, especially in comparison to the two portraits of Henry VIII discussed above (Figs. 12 and 13). Unlike Henry’s other portraits, Holbein paints the king in clothing that is covered with arabesques. He masterfully distinguishes the textile of each piece of clothing, the smooth, delicate, silk gold overcoat against the stiff metallic red coat, creating a tactile visual experience. Both articles of clothing display different motifs which are rendered as part of the weave of each fabric. The motifs do not sit like stiff designs on a board but are painted as if they were folds in fabric, responding to light and shadow, especially in the gold overcoat. In the red coat, Holbein maintains precise geometric patterns while also creating the illusion of fabric pulled over Henry’s large frame. For instance, the vegetal designs just below

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the East;” Foister, *Holbein and England*; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, 1-31; Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands*,” Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Speelberg, “Fashion and Virtue, Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution 1520-1620.”

<sup>40</sup> Bambach, “Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer;” Bernard, *The King’s Reformation*; Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 317-33; Contadini, “Threads of Ornament in the Style World;” Jerousek and Catterall, “The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;” Foister, *Holbein and England*; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, 1-31; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Speelberg, “Fashion and Virtue, Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution 1520-1620.”

Henry's collar responds to the perspective of Henry's slightly off-center pose, with his left shoulder slightly turned away from the viewer. Lower near his midsection to the right of the frontal closures, the motif curves just slightly with the curve of Henry's stomach. And finally, below his belt the motifs work to convey the pleats and gradually become wider farther down the waist. In all three examples, Holbein does not compromise the geometrical proportions and symmetry of the motifs. Holbein had also completed a portrait of Henry VIII a few years earlier in ca. 1537 (Fig. 5) and a cartoon of the king with his late father, King Henry VII, ca. 1536-7 (Fig. 4). Both works exhibit Henry VIII's preference for Turkish dress and Holbein's skills as an artist in the overall paintings and his arabesque designs.<sup>41</sup>

In another display of his virtuosity, Holbein incorporates arabesques into his *Jewelry Book* (Fig. 14), specifically in his ink and pen drawings of pendants. Through his application of delicate vegetal forms, Holbein transforms ink drawings into something that visually feels like metal worked into a piece of jewelry. When compared to Tagliente's pattern books (Figs. 7-10), Holbein's *Jewelry Book* is almost like a fulfilment of what one can do with arabesque designs once they have mastered them. By making arabesque designs achievable to craftsmen through copying, Tagliente arguably made the virtuosity of completing such designs of less value. But, by the application of the mastery of arabesque designs, Holbein does attain virtuosity that one could not achieve through mere copying.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Bambach, "Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer;" Bernard, *The King's Reformation*; Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 317-33; Contadini, "Threads of Ornament in the Style World;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Foister, *Holbein and England*; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, 1-31; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Speelberg, "Fashion and Virtue, Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution 1520-1620."

<sup>42</sup> Bambach, "Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer;" Contadini, "Threads of Ornament in the Style World;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Foister, *Holbein and England*; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, 1-31; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands*; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Speelberg, "Fashion and Virtue, Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution 1520-1620."

Elements of Turkish costume and arabesque motifs in aristocratic and royal portraiture are quite prevalent leading up to Elizabeth I's reign. Unlike Henry VIII's portraits from ca. 1535-40, the application of arabesques in textiles becomes more 'virtuous' and tactile, perhaps influenced by Holbein. Seven years after Henry VIII's portrait by Holbein from 1540 (and just after Henry's death), an artist known only as "Master John" painted a portrait of King Edward VI (Fig. 15) that most certainly recalls Holbein's work of Henry VIII. Holbein's ca. 1536-7 cartoon of Henry VIII (Fig. 4), which seems to draw on Holbein's ca. 1537 portrait of Henry (Fig. 5), is probably the model for Edward VI's portrait. Edward stands with his body slightly turned, with his left foot forward, and his arms posed at his waist with his elbows out, forming a strong triangular shape like in his father's portraits. Edward wears a layering of coats with frontal closures, again mimicking his father. Perhaps by mimicking the dress and pose of Holbein's portraits of Henry VIII, Edward is trying to compare himself to his father. Edward would have been about ten years old at the time his portrait was painted. Through an official royal portrait, Edward may have been trying to signal his capability to be a strong, assertive king, despite his young age. Such a message would have been important for English people as well as England's image among global powers.<sup>43</sup>

Unlike Henry's ca. 1535-40 portraits by unknown artists (Figs. 12 and 13), "Master John" has mastered arabesque designs, able to create variations of motifs, such as the boarder of the red coat is a thin, linear, scrolling motif in contrast to the vegetal and diamond motifs of the white coat. He has maintained the geometric proportions of the designs throughout the painting, the consistency of which suggests his skill as a draughtsman. He does not seem to have the same

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<sup>43</sup> Bambach, "Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer;" Contadini, "Threads of Ornament in the Style World;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Foister, *Holbein and England*; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, 1-31; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Speelberg, "Fashion and Virtue, Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution 1520-1620."

level of virtuosity as Holbein, though, for he is not fully able to create the illusion of the arabesque woven into textiles the way Holbein was able to. The motif on the sleeve of Edward's right arm sits more as a design on a flat surface rather than woven cloth wrapped around an arm. "Master John" is more successful in his rendering of the motifs on either side of the frontal closures which do curve with the young king's body. The same "Master John" who had painted King Edward's portrait in 1547 had also painted Mary I in 1544 (Fig. 16) in a velvet gown with a pomegranate motif, although without the same level of virtuosity as his 1547 portrait.<sup>44</sup>

Artist Hans Eworth appears to have followed in the footsteps of Holbein in his application of arabesque motifs in his portraits of Queen Mary I (1554, Fig. 17) and Mary Fitzalan, Duchess of Norfolk (1565, Fig. 18). In each of their respective portraits, both women wear gowns with wide sleeves that reveal rich textiles of intricate arabesques. Mary I's sleeves are a stiff, metallic vegetal designs. Mary Fitzalan's sleeves are wrapped in a gold velvet with rich pomegranate arabesques of red and green; her undergarment has the appearance of metal worked into intricate chain designs. Like Holbein, Eworth masters the creation of intricate arabesque designs, precise and consistently symmetrical, that are then painted to create the illusion of woven textiles. The visual experience of these textiles is very tactile, as one could imagine reaching out and touching the soft velvets of Mary Fitzalan's sleeve or the rougher weave of Mary I's gown.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Bambach, "Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer;" Bernard, *The King's Reformation*; Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 317-33; Contadini, "Threads of Ornament in the Style World;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Foister, *Holbein and England*; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, 1-31; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Speelberg, "Fashion and Virtue, Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution 1520-1620."

<sup>45</sup> This same Hans Eworth did a painting of Süleyman the Magnificent on horseback in 1549, which is considered quite unusual. The patron of this work is unknown but the painting is likely based off of Coecke van Aelst's drawings of the sultan from his trip to Istanbul (see footnote 6); Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, *The Sultan's Portrait*, 96-133; Bambach, "Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer;" Bernard, *The King's Reformation*; Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 317-33; Contadini, "Threads of Ornament in the Style World;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Foister, *Holbein and England*; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, 1-31; Mackie,

The comparison of a portrait of Queen Elizabeth (1564, Fig. 19) and a *Portrait of a Young Woman* (1567, Fig. 20) further supports a possible trend for a virtuosity in painting Turkish dress. In Elizabeth's portrait, she wears padded sleeves and a slimming waistline, giving her a more triangular, masculine shape. Her undershirt is pulled through in little tufts of fabric along her arms, much like her father's portraits. Her overcoat reveals vegetal motifs in her gown. The *Portrait of a Young Woman* (Fig. 20) follows a similar format of a layered outfit, with the white undershirt pulled through openings on the sleeves and visible under the parting of the shirt. The sleeves, boarder of the skirt, and bodice with frontal closures are covered in gold arabesque designs giving the distinct appearance of gold embroidery.<sup>46</sup>

As discussed earlier, Holbein's reapplication of arabesque designs earns him the virtuosity of the task that is diminished when one merely copies the designs of Tagliente. Two paintings completed between 1590s (Fig. 21) and early 1600s (Fig. 22) more directly copy the work of Holbein than the examples presented. If copying the arabesques of Tagliente decreases one's virtuosity, does copying the work of Holbein have the same effect? Does, perhaps, Holbein's influence on artists mean these artists cannot attain the same level of virtuosity as Holbein?

In *An Allegory of the Tudor Succession: The Family of Henry VIII* ca. 1590 (Fig. 21), the figures of Henry VIII and his children seem to be copies of individual portraits completed during their respective reigns. The Tudors stand in a throne room with Henry VIII seated on a throne in

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*Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Speelberg, "Fashion and Virtue, Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution 1520-1620."

<sup>46</sup> Bambach, "Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer;" Bernard, *The King's Reformation*; Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 317-33; Contadini, "Threads of Ornament in the Style World;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Foister, *Holbein and England*; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, 1-31; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Speelberg, "Fashion and Virtue, Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution 1520-1620."

the center of the composition. Arabesques border the back wall, the screen behind Henry, and the throne on which Henry is seated. All three arabesque are distinct motifs and skillfully executed, both geometrically and visually tactile. However, all three motifs are on flat vertical surfaces where things like perspective and flowing fabric are not necessary. The artist somewhat reveals the limits on his ability to apply arabesques through closer analysis of the rest of the painting. The design of the carpet on which the Tudors stand is itself impressive, however, the perspective of the carpet covering the dais is visually confusing. The artist only darkens the value of the part of the carpet that is not on top of the dais. He does not indicate any possible folds in the carpet or shift the motif in the carpet to indicate the draping effect (recall how Holbein considered the perspective of the motifs in Henry VIII's portrait from 1540, Fig. 1). The attire of Henry VIII, Mary I, and Elizabeth I both offered the artist another possible opportunity to display his ability to apply arabesques in fabric, but like in the carpet, he passes. In Henry's clothing specifically, he had the opportunity to compare his skill to that of Holbein as the artist's figure of Henry VIII is a replication of the 1540 portrait by Holbein (Fig. 1). Instead, he uses gold to create the suggestion of a patterned material.<sup>47</sup>

A portrait of Henry VIII completed between 1597-1618 (Fig. 22), clearly references Holbein's portrait (1540, Fig. 1). The artist cropped Henry's portrait to his upper chest, losing the commanding presence from Holbein's portrait. Because of this, the viewer has a closer view of Henry's gold undercoat with its arabesques. The white undershirt pulled through the gold kaftan seems to have morphed into the motifs of the gold kaftan, taking on a flat, greyish

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<sup>47</sup> Bambach, "Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer;" Bernard, *The King's Reformation*; Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 317-33; Contadini, "Threads of Ornament in the Style World;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Foister, *Holbein and England*; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, 1-31; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Speelberg, "Fashion and Virtue, Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution 1520-1620."



appearance, unlike Holbein's crisp, white puffs of fabric. The arabesques are symmetrical and carefully constructed but are a simplified version of the arabesques in Holbein's portrait. They lack the vegetal, leaf forms on the oval loops, which gave the Holbein's portrait a sense of grandeur. In between the individual loop motifs, the artist has opted for a simple round shape with little foliage around it instead of the elaborate chain-diamond motif of Holbein. The arabesques sit rather flat, making Henry look like he does not have a stomach or a solid bodily form. While probably not his intention, the artist does not achieve the same level of virtuosity as Holbein due to his simplification of the composition and, more importantly, copies Holbein's portrait opposed to reapplying skills (although arguably, the artist was commissioned to paint the portrait as it is from a series of portraits of past English monarchs).<sup>48</sup>

Perhaps the virtuosity and power of Henry VIII's portrait influenced both artists and patrons to try to replicate their own image of virtuosity. Hans Eworth and the unknown artists discussed above applied the skills of rendering arabesques in Turkish clothing to their own compositions and, though most likely inspired by Holbein, do not copy him, and therefore achieve their own level of virtuosity. Like users of Tagliente's pattern book, the artists of *An Allegory of Tudor Succession* and Henry VIII's portrait from ca. 1590 do not achieve virtuosity. Tagliente's pattern book allowed the user exact replication of designs through pricking and pouncing, allowing them feigned virtuosity. The artists of *An Allegory of Tudor Succession* and Henry VIII's portrait cannot use such methods of copying. Thus, copying does require great skill

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<sup>48</sup> Bambach, "Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer;" Bernard, *The King's Reformation*; Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 317-33; Contadini, "Threads of Ornament in the Style World;" Jerousek and Catterall, "The Sixteenth Century: Reaching for the East;" Foister, *Holbein and England*; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Lynn, *Tudor Textiles*, 1-31; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 29-278; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Speelberg, "Fashion and Virtue, Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution 1520-1620."

and, unlike Tagliente's easily imitated patterns, only those of great virtuosity can replicate Holbein's work.

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### Part III

Up until the early eighteenth century, Europeans held kaftans in high esteem due to their lavishness and virtue, as well as the difficulty in acquiring them; one had to be gifted one by the Sultan himself or have the extreme wealth of a powerful monarch. Henry VIII's decision to have himself depicted in his court clothing in the Ottoman fashion demonstrates his view of the power conveyed by kaftans. Kaftans were seen as an acceptable mode of self-presentation for a king of his wealth and power. The treaty at Karlowitz in 1699, where the Ottomans were forced to cede their Eastern European territories to the Hapsburgs, changed the meaning of Ottoman material culture in Europe. European views of and relationship with the Ottomans shifted with the Turks' recent defeat. The change in European-Ottoman relations can be observed through the way objects that connote "Ottoman" are used in portraiture. The kaftan specifically goes from being a symbol of power, to being an exotic "costume."<sup>49</sup>

Joachim Gierlichs is one such scholar who has considered how the meaning of the kaftan changes over time by creating a chronology of images of Europeans in "Turkish" dress. He presents a wide variety of example of portraits and attributes the change to shifting political fortunes. While I believe politics did in fact play a critical role in this change, I am not convinced

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<sup>49</sup>Abou-el-Haj, "The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier," 467–75; Gierlichs, "Europeans in 'Turkish' Dress," 151–185; Komaroff, "The Art of the Art of Giving at the Islamic Courts," 17–30; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands*;" Meserve, *Empire of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*; Raindl-Kiel, "The Empire of Fabrics;" Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial," 452–76; Peker, "A Retreating Power," 69–86; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Sardar, "Silk along the Seas;" Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange," 149–165; Christine Vogel, "The Caftan and the Sword. Dress and Diplomacy in Ottoman-French Relations around 1700," in *Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narratives*, ed. by Claudia Ulbrich and Richard Wittmann, (Würzburg: Ergon, 2015), 23–44.

it was the only factor, but rather a much more complex situation at play. An aspect of the change in the representation of Ottoman culture in European portraiture may lie in changes to Europe's court culture protocol. To understand Europe's cultural change in relation to the Ottoman Empire, Christine Vogel analyzes an encounter between French ambassador Charles de Ferriol and the Ottoman court. While her focus is court protocol, not portraiture, I propose that her conclusions about this incident can be applied to themes in Gierlichs' article allowing us to understand more fully Europe's shift in relationship to the kaftan and the Ottoman Empire. I will take a more in depth look at two paintings Gierlichs briefly discusses in his article, a portrait of Johann Rudolf Schmid von Schwarzenhorn by Jeronimus Joachims (Fig. 23) and *Mlle Levett et Mlle Glavani en costume Turc* by Jean Etienne Liotard (Fig. 24). A deeper analysis of these two paintings within a broader context highlights the difference in approach to the kaftan from sixteenth to eighteenth century Europe.<sup>50</sup>

Johann Rudolf Schmid von Schwarzenhorn was the Grand Ambassador of the German Holy Roman Emperor. In his portrait by Jeronimus Joachims (Fig. 23), Schwarzenhorn is depicted seated facing the viewer to the left of the painting, with a side table covered in a rich carpet, possibly Turkish, to his left. He has an air of confidence about him, as he leans back, his legs stretched forward, with one arm resting on the arm of the chair, and the other on the side table holding a letter. His pose allows his robes to be displayed, swept underneath his body towards the left side of the painting, so they cascade down his shoulder in dramatic folds. His

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<sup>50</sup> Abou-el-Haj, "The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier," 467–75; Gierlichs, "Europeans in 'Turkish' Dress," 151–185; Komaroff, "The Art of the Art of Giving at the Islamic Courts," 17–30; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands*; Meserve, *Empire of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*; Raindl-Kiel, "The Empire of Fabrics"; Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial," 452–76; Peker, "A Retreating Power," 69–86; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Sardar, "Silk along the Seas"; Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange," 149–165; Christine Vogel, "The Caftan and the Sword. Dress and Diplomacy in Ottoman-French Relations around 1700," in *Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narratives*, ed. by Claudia Ulbrich and Richard Wittmann, (Würzburg: Ergon, 2015), 23–44.

first kaftan seems to be of gold silk, with the artist rendering a bright sheen to the fabric. Frontal closures follow down to his waist, where a thick, red girdle rests. On top of this, he wears a second kaftan that he seems to be wearing more like a cape, to display all the textiles. The outside of this kaftan is a wonderfully rich red with knotted gold closures that are somewhat obscured by the fabric folds. The lining is of gold with flower and vegetal motifs of blues, reds, and greens. His shoes look to be of a light-colored leather and atop his head is a cylindrical fur hat, with a black feather and jewel.<sup>51</sup>

In the right-hand corner of the painting, a chest displaying a coat of arms spills out rich textiles and golden objects. In the far left, there is a navy-blue curtain pulled back, revealing an arabesque-covered wall underneath. This wall ends at the center of the canvas, revealing a view into another space. In this scene, a richly dressed man with a white turban sits on red cushions under a canopy. To the left are a line of men facing the canopy. In front of the seated man three figures bow, while three more stand to the right. All the men in this scene appear to be dressed similarly, except for two of the figures on the right. One of these men wears a blue kaftan, while the other wears a golden yellow. This figure's attire, though distant, bears close resemblance to Schwarzenhorn.<sup>52</sup>

Schwarzenhorn was a slave captured by Turks in Istanbul and worked his way to become a wealthy diplomat, and this portrait functions to commemorate his success story. It highlights the pinnacle of his career, an audience with Sultan Mehmed IV in 1651. As likely gifts from the

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<sup>51</sup> Gierlichs, "Europeans in 'Turkish' Dress," 151-185; Komaroff, "The Art of the Art of Giving at the Islamic Courts," 17-30; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands*;" Meserve, *Empire of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*; Raindl-Kiel, "The Empire of Fabrics;" Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Sardar, "Silk along the Seas;" Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange," 149-165.

<sup>52</sup> Gierlichs, "Europeans in 'Turkish' Dress," 151-185; Komaroff, "The Art of the Art of Giving at the Islamic Courts," 17-30; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands*;" Meserve, *Empire of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*; Raindl-Kiel, "The Empire of Fabrics;" Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Sardar, "Silk along the Seas;" Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange," 149-165.

Sultan, the kaftans Schwarzenhorn wears and the chest of textiles portrayed in the painting's background both underscore this great honor, suggesting that Schwarzenhorn held the gifts from the Ottomans in high esteem. They show him participating in Ottoman court culture and demonstrate that his position as a diplomat for a European power was not diminished by adopting the culture with which he negotiates; rather, his cultural literacy is something that is advantageous and to be encouraged. In the previous century, Siegmund von Herberstein (1486-1566) -a diplomat for the German Emperor- negotiated with Sultan Süleyman to cease his attack on Eastern Europe in 1541. He began the tradition of European diplomats adopting the dress of the power with whom they negotiated. It was viewed as a strategic move. Von Herberstein, like Schwarzenhorn, had himself depicted in his kaftans given to him by Süleyman.<sup>53</sup>

Kaftans or *Khila'*—meaning “to take off” in Arabic—are ceremonial robes the Sultan bestows on a subject as a form of honor. Kaftans are traditionally worn in three layers, with the first one fitted with long sleeves, the second with short sleeves, and the final one a ceremonial surkaftan with pendant sleeves, a sign of wealth. Each kaftan is layered strategically so each one is visible. The gifting of robes is an Islamic tradition that traces back to the Prophet Muhammad and imbues for the sultan with religious and political legitimacy. Kaftans were not only symbols of honor for those gifted them, but symbols of power due to the sultan's ability to finance these expensive textiles. The orchestration of the imperial ceremonies was another aspect of the sultan demonstrating his power and signaled his control over the Ottoman Empire. In Ottoman culture,

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<sup>53</sup> Abou-el-Haj, “The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier,” 467–75; Gierlichs, “Europeans in ‘Turkish’ Dress,” 151–185; Komaroff, “The Art of the Art of Giving at the Islamic Courts,” 17–30; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands*; Meserve, *Empire of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*; Raindl-Kiel, “The Empire of Fabrics”; Roosen, “Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial,” 452–76; Peker, “A Retreating Power,” 69–86; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Sardar, “Silk along the Seas”; Stanley, “Ottoman Gift Exchange,” 149–165; Christine Vogel, “The Caftan and the Sword. Dress and Diplomacy in Ottoman-French Relations around 1700,” in *Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narratives*, ed. by Claudia Ulbrich and Richard Wittmann, (Würzburg: Ergon, 2015), 23–44.

the sultan was believed to have a privileged relationship with God, who had given him rule over all humanity. By receiving a kaftan from the sultan, one was accepting his superiority over humanity. The Ottoman style and motifs of the kaftan visually signaled submission and loyalty to the sultan. During the reign of Süleyman, this symbolism was clearly recognized by Europeans, as the Hapsburg ambassador, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, in his 1555 visit to Istanbul, was intimidated and in awe of the elaborate and uniformed ceremonies performed at the Ottoman court.<sup>54</sup>

Schwarzenhorn's recognition of the symbolic power of the kaftan is apparent when his portrait is compared to a watercolor portrait of Süleyman. Titled *Süleyman the Magnificent Reviews Siege Operations at the Belgrade*, (1558), the painting depicts the sultan enthroned in a tent, surrounded by the encampment of his army and his officials. Composed in the traditional stylized form used by Ottoman artists of multiple perspectives and flattened space, the emphasis in this work is on the variety of textiles and patterns. Süleyman's tent is the most luxurious, with the greatest variety of different motifs. He sits on his throne with his three-layered kaftans clearly visible, haloed by a bright blue textile with gold vegetal motifs.<sup>55</sup>

Schwarzenhorn's portrait appears to be in visual dialog with Süleyman's, displaying his kaftans and seated on a throne surrounded by lavish textiles and vegetal motifs. Both paintings signify the power and prestige of Ottoman textiles and their centrality to Ottoman culture.

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<sup>54</sup> Gierlichs, "Europeans in 'Turkish' Dress," 151-185; Komaroff, "The Art of the Art of Giving at the Islamic Courts," 17-30; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands*; Meserve, *Empire of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*; Raindl-Kiel, "The Empire of Fabrics;" Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Sardar, "Silk along the Seas;" Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange," 149-165.

<sup>55</sup> Abou-el-Haj, "The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier," 467-75; Gierlichs, "Europeans in 'Turkish' Dress," 151-185; Komaroff, "The Art of the Art of Giving at the Islamic Courts," 17-30; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands*; Meserve, *Empire of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*; Raindl-Kiel, "The Empire of Fabrics;" Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial," 452-76; Peker, "A Retreating Power," 69-86; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Sardar, "Silk along the Seas;" Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange," 149-165.

Schwarzenhorn's portrait becomes political, as he shows off not only his success as a diplomat, but his connections to arguably the most powerful ruler in the world. Clearly, Europeans saw the Ottomans as a threat to the security of Europe so being able to show connections to the Empire was advantageous. So, what changed that resulted in this image of the Ottomans losing its political potency?<sup>56</sup>

The Hapsburg Holy Roman Emperor had put an end to the Ottoman siege of Vienna and, in January of 1699, signed the treaty at Karlowitz, which forced the Ottomans to cede Hungary and Transylvania to the Hapsburgs. This was a major humiliation to the Ottomans and shifted the power hierarchy in Europe, with the Holy Roman Emperor at the forefront. The Venetians and Russians had assisted the Hapsburgs in defeating the Ottomans, finally putting Russia and their ruler, Tzar Peter the Great, in a prominent position on the European political stage. The English and Dutch had also been heavily involved in the peace treaty at Karlowitz. Up until this point, the French had precedence with the Ottomans in the Sublime Port; however, with the power shift, the Hapsburgs, Venetians, Russians, English, and Dutch all had increased political leverage with the Ottomans.<sup>57</sup>

It is in this political setting that Vogel analyzes a particularly scandalous encounter between the French ambassador, Charles de Ferriol, and the Ottoman court on January 5<sup>th</sup>, 1700. Ferriol had been in heated negotiations with the Ottomans for a fur-lined kaftan, the highest honor, which had been given to the English and Dutch ambassadors, but only an ordinary kaftan

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<sup>56</sup> Abou-el-Haj, "The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier," 467–75; Gierlichs, "Europeans in 'Turkish' Dress," 151–185; Komaroff, "The Art of the Art of Giving at the Islamic Courts," 17–30; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands*; Meserve, *Empire of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*; Raindl-Kiel, "The Empire of Fabrics"; Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial," 452–76; Peker, "A Retreating Power," 69–86; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Sardar, "Silk along the Seas"; Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange," 149–165.

<sup>57</sup> Abou-el-Haj, "The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier," 467–75; Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial," 452–76; Peker, "A Retreating Power," 69–86; Vogel, "The Caftan and the Sword."



was given to Ferriol. Ottoman court protocol forbade anyone from having an audience with the Sultan while armed, yet Ferriol had refused to remove his long ceremonial sword and was prepared to die rather than meet with the sultan without it. Ferriol was already frustrated by not receiving his desired kaftan, but to be without his sword would have been insulting and a dishonor to him and the French.<sup>58</sup>

In eighteenth-century European court culture, the lavish ornamentation one wore, which included a sword to symbolize one's honor, was symbolically significant in politics. Ambassadors came to represent their ruler's person, and thus it was expected that an ambassador would carry himself accordingly, and their host would treat them as if they were hosting the monarch himself. Vogel argues that such protocol became incompatible with the Ottoman court system following the Treaty of Karlowitz, which required one to wear the kaftan assigned to him, and approach the Sultan without weapons, bowing and kissing his hem as a symbol of submission. If European ambassadors followed Ottoman protocol, they would symbolically be signaling their monarch's submission to the Sultan, something that would ruin their honor. Due to this rejection of Ottoman court protocol, kaftans were no longer the symbol of honor they once were for Europeans, but rather became a sign of humiliation, as it covered their European clothing which signaled their status at home.<sup>59</sup>

In his article, Gierlichs only suggests that it is the power shift in Europe which may be responsible for the change in European usage of Turkish dress. I believe this change triggered a conflict between European and Ottoman court protocols, playing a role in European's perception and usage of the kaftan. If wearing kaftans instead of European dress was considered a

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<sup>58</sup> Vogel, "The Caftan and the Sword."

<sup>59</sup> Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands*;" Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial," 452-76; Peker, "A Retreating Power," 69-86; Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange," 149-165; Vogel, "The Caftan and the Sword."

humiliation per Vogel's argument, then ambassadors would not wear Turkish dress for political means in a portrait, where their image would be saved for posterity. Thus, if Europeans wanted to wear Turkish clothing, they had to remove it from its original context and transform it into something else.<sup>60</sup>

Jean-Etienne Liotard's *Monsieur Levett et Mademoiselle Glavani en costume Turc* (Fig. 24) offers just such an example of this decontextualization of Ottoman dress. Here, we see a man and woman are seated in a couch dressed *à la turque*. The woman sits on the left crossed-legged, playing a tanbur. She wears a series of layered robes in the Ottoman fashion, with the first one of white with a floral design and gold hem. The sleeves, which stop just above her elbow, as well as a slit on her right knee and an opening at the chest, all expose the second layer, a red fabric with gold and blue vegetal designs. The robes flatteringly conform to her torso, with an ornate gold girdle at her waist. She wears a third robe visible at the sleeves and the opening at her chest. She wears red leggings, light-colored slippers and a fur trimmed cap. Her companion on the right is turned to the left, leaning into the couch with his right arm on the back cushion and his legs tucked to his side. He wears a rich blue robe with white fur lining and trim at the collar, cuffs, and down the front opening of the coat, opened just enough to suggest he is wearing additional robes underneath. He wears a white turban with a gold jewelry piece and light-colored leather slippers. In his right hand is a necklace of red beads, possibly red coral, and in his left hand he holds a long pipe with decorative beading hanging from the top. The two figures sit on a white cushion with a blue and red vegetal design and the cushion to their back is of red with gold

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<sup>60</sup> Abou-el-Haj, "The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier," 467-75; Gierlichs, "Europeans in 'Turkish' Dress," 151-185; Komaroff, "The Art of the Art of Giving at the Islamic Courts," 17-30; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands*; Meserve, *Empire of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*; Raindl-Kiel, "The Empire of Fabrics"; Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial," 452-76; Peker, "A Retreating Power," 69-86; Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Sardar, "Silk along the Seas"; Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange," 149-165; Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands*; Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange," 149-165; Vogel, "The Caftan and the Sword."

geometric designs. On the floor in front of the woman is a dark colored table with blue and gold motifs on the side and two gold vessels on top.<sup>61</sup>

As opposed to Schwarzenhorn's portrait, this painting is about theater: dressing in Ottoman-style robes bears no obvious political significance. The robes, like the tanbars, pipe, necklace, and the table with its setting, are merely signifiers of the exotic. The textiles on the cushions and their robes are meant to look Turkish, however, none of them have actual Ottoman motifs, but rather mimic the idea of what Europeans perceive as Ottoman. Even the way these figures are sitting recalls the trope about how Turk's lounge and their "laziness." The honor and magnificence that kaftans once symbolized is now reduced to a mere exotic fashion for elite Europeans to enjoy. But the seeming absence of the political is in itself political. By taking the kaftan—an item central to Ottoman political power and imbued with deep meaning from the beginning of Islam—and trivializing it strips it of its power. Thus, the kaftan is no longer a symbol of Ottoman power, but rather European power to force the Ottoman Empire into subjugation. It is no longer a coveted item acquired only through the honor of the sultan, but rather something that can be easily purchased and consumed by the European elite. This is a drastic change from the function of the kaftan in Schwarzenhorn's portrait (Fig. 23). By comparison to Liotard's painting, Schwarzenhorn is not exoticizing Ottoman culture or playing theater by pretending to be Ottoman, but rather visually representing his relationship with the Ottoman court. The figures in Liotard's painting have no apparent connection or relationship to

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<sup>61</sup> Gierlichs, "Europeans in 'Turkish' Dress," 151-185; Komaroff, "The Art of the Art of Giving at the Islamic Courts," 17-30; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands*;" Meserve, *Empire of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*; Raindl-Kiel, "The Empire of Fabrics;" Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Sardar, "Silk along the Seas;" Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange," 149-165.

the Ottoman court and are not engaging with images of Ottomans produced by Ottomans, but rather fashionable images produced by Europeans of Ottomans.<sup>62</sup>

Europe's changing relationship with the kaftan has less to do with the Ottomans themselves, but rather changes within Europe. With their once invincible competitor rendered vulnerable, Europe began to assert dominance over the Ottomans by various means, such as the treaty at Karlowitz, and in fashion. Using pieces that were *like* kaftans, but not *actual* kaftans allowed Europeans to circumvent the dilemma of kaftans signaling allegiance to the Sultan. By changing the context and meaning of the kaftan, Europeans rendered it into a commodity of the elite. An object that could be consumed and used to represent the "exotic." This change to the "exotic" could be furthered by accompanying clothing with props that visually represented the "exotic East" without having any meaningful connection to Ottoman Empire.

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<sup>62</sup> Gierlichs, "Europeans in 'Turkish' Dress," 151-185; Komaroff, "The Art of the Art of Giving at the Islamic Courts," 17-30; Krody, *Flowers of Silk and Gold*; Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands*; Meserve, *Empire of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*; Raindl-Kiel, "The Empire of Fabrics;" Petsopoulos, *Tulips, Arabesques, & Turbans*; Sardar, "Silk along the Seas;" Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange," 149-165.

A comparison between Henry VIII's portrait by Holbein (Fig. 1) discussed in parts I and II and Liotard's painting (Fig. 24) discussed in part III exhibits a drastic difference in the function of kaftans. In Henry's portrait, the kaftan confers virtue and legitimacy on the English king and advertises his wealth. These meanings in sum then equate the kaftan with power, as can be seen in how Henry's robes are used to command the space of the portrait. Wearing the clothes of a great foreign power signal Henry's worldliness and his power to be engaged with the larger political landscape rather than confine to Europe. Tudor-era portraits such as the ones discussed in part II and the portrait of Schwarzenhorn indicate a more pervasive European association of the kaftan with legitimacy and virtue, or in other words, power. The recognition of the kaftan as a symbol of power may reflect European views of the power of the Ottoman Empire. Engaging with Ottoman culture was not only a display of the kaftan wearer's power but may also have been politically advantageous. Afterall, the Ottomans were looking to extend their territory further into Europe.

In juxtaposition to Liotard's painting of play theater, the kaftans present in Henry and Schwarzenhorn's portraits (Figs. 1 and 23) take on a prominent role in the composition. They wear *actual* kaftans, not something that is *like* a kaftan. Here, wearing an actual kaftan is of utmost importance, as the English king and diplomat show off their attire. The objects in Liotard's painting are a collection of objects that conjure a stereotypical image of the "exotic," which serves as their only function. The objects and clothing present in Henry and Schwarzenhorn's portraits are intentionally selected for their direct connection to the Ottoman Empire. Specificity of this connection, rather than generalization, is central to the communication of the power of the kaftan wearer.

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## Images



Figure 1: Hans Holbein the Younger, Henry VIII, 1540, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome



Figure 2: Titian, François I, king of France, 1538, Louvre Museum, Paris



*Figure 3: the School of Titian, Sülyman the Magnificent, 16th c*



*Figure 4: Hans Holbein the Younger, Henry VIII; Henry VII, ca. 1536-7, National Portrait Gallery, London*





Figure 5: Hans Holbein the Younger, Henry VIII, 1537, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid



Figure 6: Map of Europe and Mediterranean with Portraits of each monarch placed according to respective domains

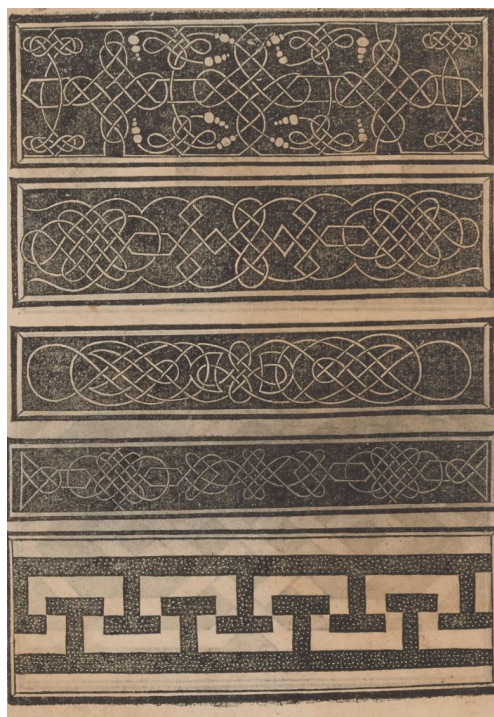


Figure 7: Giovanni Tagliente, *Examples of Embroideries*, 1527



Figure 8: Giovanni Tagliente, *Examples of Embroideries*, 1527



Figure 9: Giovanni Tagliente, *Examples of Embroideries*, 1527



Figure 10: Giovanni Tagliente, *Examples of Embroideries*, 1527





Figure 11: unknown artist, Queen Elizabeth I, ca. 1575, National Portrait Gallery, London



Figure 12: unknown artist, King Henry VIII, 1535-40, National Portrait Gallery, London



Figure 13: unknown artist, King Henry VIII, 1535-40, National Portrait Gallery, London

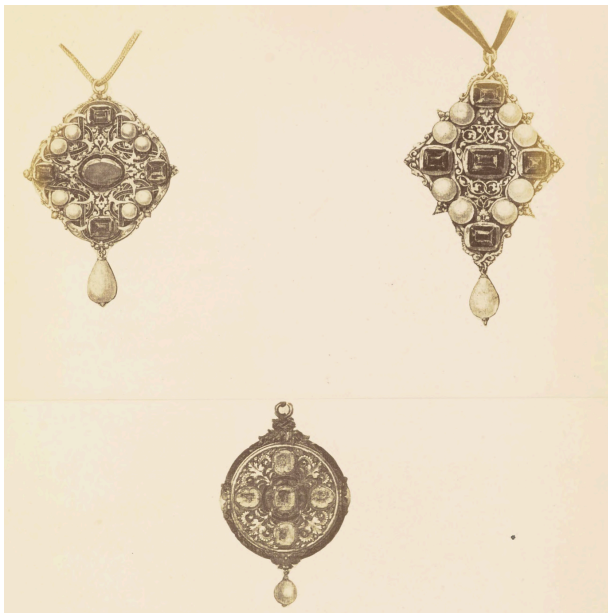


Figure 14: Hans Holbein the Younger, Jewelry Book ca. 1532-1543





Figure 15: associated with the workshop of "Master John," King Edward VI, ca. 1547, National Portrait Gallery, London



Figure 16: Master John, Queen Mary I, 1544, National Portrait Gallery, London



Figure 17: Hans Eworth, Queen Mary I, 1554, National Portrait Gallery, London



Figure 18: Hans Eworth, Portrait of Mary Fitzalan, Duchess of Norfolk, 1565, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven





Figure 19: workshop of Steven van der Meulen, Queen Elizabeth I, ca. 1564



Figure 20: unknown artist, Portrait of a Young Woman, 1567, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven



Figure 21: unknown artist, *An Allegory of the Tudor Succession: The Family of Henry VIII*, ca. 1590, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven





*Figure 22: unknown artist, King Henry VIII, 1597-1618, National Portrait Gallery, London*



Figure 23: Jeronimus Joachims, *Johann Rudolf Schmid von Schwarzenhorn as imperial ambassador*, 1651, Liechtenstein Museum, Vienna



Figure 24: Jean Etienne Liotard, *M Levett et Mlle Glavani en costume Turc*, 18th c, Louvre Museum, Paris

