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BRILL

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A SAVAGE MAGNIFICENCE: OTTOMANIZING FASHION AND THE POLITICS OF DISPLAY IN EARLY MODERN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

On October 29, 1645, after many weeks of travel and preparation, the Polish ambassador Krzysztof Opaliński (d. 1655) led a spectacular procession into Paris.[1] Opaliński's arrival, to officiate the wedding by proxy of Marie Louise Gonzaga (d. 1667) to the Polish king Ladislaus IV Vasa (r. 1632–48), attracted keen interest from Parisian society. Françoise de Motteville (d. 1689), lady-in-waiting to the regent of France, Anne of Austria (r. 1643–51), recorded in her diaries that in their fashion and overall appearance, the Poles "who are now the neighbours of the Turks, seem inclinable in some measure to ape the grandeur and majesty of the seraglio." In describing the "richly apparell'd" riders, she noted that "there is something in their magnificence, which looks very savage." Although Motteville found the arriving foreigners "for the most part so fat and slovenly, that they are loathsome," she nevertheless admitted that the ambassador's entrée was performed "with abundance of solemnity, and the best decorum in the world." She seemed almost surprised that "our French people instead of laughing at them, as they had intended, were forced to commend them … that their entry was very well worth our regard."[2]

Opaliński certainly did feel commended, and his pleasure at the embassy's reception in Paris radiates in a letter he sent his brother a few days later. Peppering his Polish with Latin phrases in the style typical of the day, he wrote, "Everyone *passim* [everywhere] says that Paris has seen *nihil simile* [nothing similar] in wealth, appearance, and orderliness as this our entry. *Hoc mirum* [It is remarkable] that even the courtiers marvel so wonderfully at our order, and praise our graciousness, language, attire, and everything else."[3] Given that he shouldered much of the expense of the embassy, Opaliński was deeply concerned with how it was perceived, and he concluded an earlier letter, sent from Brussels, by expressing a desire that "we shall leave here, God willing, a remembrance of [our] good manners, rationality, and splendor."[4]

The Italian artist Stefano della Bella (d. 1664) documented the Poles' entry into Paris in fourteen drawings, likely in preparation for a series of never-executed etchings. In one of them, the ambassador's carefully choreographed retinue, composed of cavalry and infantrymen, steadily advances across the cream-colored paper (fig. 1). Like eddies within a greater flow, a few of the richly caparisoned horses spin and prance, displaying their riders' garments from all sides. The drawings coincide with the written record, visualizing Motteville's descriptions of the entrants' "very fine vests after the Turkish manner, over which, [sic] they wore a great cloak with long sleeves, which they let fall loosely by the horses [sic] sides. The buttons of both their vests and cloaks were rubies, diamonds, and pearls… . Their caps are furr'd, their heads shav'd."[5] Della Bella's drawings give prominence to the voluminous, fur-trimmed robes worn by the members of Opaliński's entourage, the splendor and strangeness of which likely contributed to the conflicted nature of the French noblewoman's account.

Oscillating among fascination, admiration, and repulsion, Motteville's reaction is typical of how Western Europeans perceived Poles, Hungarians, and other East-Central Europeans in the early modern period, based largely on how they looked. Even though Western styles of dress were common in Poland and Hungary, particularly in the sixteenth century, many nobles from these

Fig. 1. Stefano della Bella, *The Entry of Polish Ambassador Krzysztof Opaliński into Paris*, 1645. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash and watercolor, over graphite. British Museum, London, inv. no. 1895,0617.396. (Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum)

areas embraced a manner of dressing that was strongly influenced by Ottoman, and more broadly Eastern fashions.[6] Foreigners such as Motteville described this style of dress as "Turkish," "Persian,"[7] or "Jewish," and even "Japanese,"[8] revealing that early modern viewers drew on their knowledge or idea of what was Ottoman, or "Oriental," in order to understand the clothing of East-Central Europeans.[9] This essay will question how the Polish and Hungarian nobilities' Ottomanizing fashions were perceived both at home and abroad, and how they were consciously deployed in expectation of, or response to, those perceptions. It will also examine why these fashions were so readily accepted, when they stemmed from a religiously, culturally, and politically hostile source.

A portrait of the Orthodox Ruthenian nobleman and military commander Roman Fedorowicz Sanguszko (d. 1571) displays many of the defining elements of Eastern-influenced Polish and Hungarian dress (fig. 2).[10] Sanguszko is depicted *en pied*, his left hand resting on the hilt of his sword, which is likely a curved saber of Eastern origin, known in Polish as a *karabela*. His high-necked, long-sleeved *żupan* (tunic), made of a pale patterned gray fabric, is closed at the front and reaches just past his knees.[11] Over it Sanguszko wears a heavier, almost floor-length *kontusz* (outer kaftan or pelisse) in red velvet fastened across his chest with golden acorn-shaped clasps. The coat's interior, lined with dark fur, opens outward over his shoulders to form a collar. Two long, almost wing-like bands of crimson cloth constitute the decorative hanging sleeves, which are slashed open and thrown over the back so as to allow the arms free movement. He wears high yellow leather boots of a type that was imported en masse from the Ottoman Empire.[12] A gold and jeweled ceremonial *buzdygan* mace, either imported or produced locally in imitation of Ottoman models, lies on the table next to him.[13]

The garments in which Sanguszko was portrayed correspond to the basic forms of early modern Ottoman costume described by the fashion historian Charlotte Jirousek. She explains that "the layering of coats is a particular characteristic of Turkish dress, creating a silhouette that muffled the body form and equated luxurious dress with modesty and bulk. The layers were not merely worn on top of the other, they were designed and arranged so as to reveal the materials of all the layers, to sumptuous effect."[14] The careful layering of coats so as to reveal their luxurious fabrics is evident in the Ruthenian nobleman's portrait, even if they are closely fitted to his torso rather than bulky and loose. Although East-Central European individuals favored long garments, in the 1656 portrait by Benjamin Block (d. 1689) of the Hungarian count and judge Ferenc III Nádasdy (d. 1671) (fig. 3), the nobleman wears an example of a mid-length

Fig. 2. Unknown Polish painter, *Roman Fedorowicz Sanguszko*, early seventeenth century. Oil on canvas. Muzeum Okręgowe w Tarnowie, Tarnów, inv. no. MT-A-M/391. (Photo: Robert Moździerz)

Fig. 3. Benjamin Block, *Ferenc III Nádasdy*, 1656. Oil on canvas. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Tôrténelmi Képcsarnok, Budapest, inv. no. TKCs 2321. (Photo: Judit Kardos)

coat. The Ottomanizing qualities of his outfit are nevertheless evident in the characteristic layering of garments, and the overcoat's brilliant red color, flared cut, long slit sleeves, elaborate fastenings, and decorative borders.[15]

I term the recourse to Eastern modes of dress by the economically and politically powerful nobilities in Poland and Hungary "Ottomanization" to distinguish it from the related phenomena of *turquerie*, which was, in general, a matter of taste, and Orientalization, which represented a later form of "cultural colonialism."[16] Even if the Ottomanization of fashion undoubtedly shared certain characteristics with both of these, it was fundamentally an act of self-definition within a group in response to an intricate set of societal pressures. Some of the factors that enabled the popularization of such fashions included a perceived proximity to the Islamic East; the intellectual conceit, which reached an apogee in the seventeenth century, that the Polish and Hungarian nobilities were descended from Eastern peoples known as the Sarmatians and the Scythians, as opposed to Roman stock; and a vigorous exchange and appropriation of Ottoman and Iranian commodities, many kinds of which were eventually copied locally.[17] More important than these enabling factors, however, was the concurrent destabilization of royal rule and strengthening of the noble class in both Poland and Hungary, which catalyzed these other factors to full effect. The rift between the royal milieu and the nobility, the effects of which will be explained through group polarization theory, led the latter to seek an alternative to Western styles of dress that were popular at the court, ultimately turning to the East.

In the polarized context of early modern East-Central Europe, I argue, the premeditated choice to present oneself in Occidentalizing or Ottomanizing fashions advertised not only stylistic sensibilities but also political affiliation and group allegiance. Fashion, with its malleability, capacity for propagandistic advertisement, and ability to structure external perceptions, was much more than an expression of personal taste. For the East-Central European nobleman, constantly negotiating his identity in a shifting sociocultural landscape, it was an indispensable tool for addressing the exigencies of a complex political situation.

"GARMENTS OF VARIOUS AND DIVERSE NATIONS": THE BEGINNINGS OF OTTOMANIZATION IN POLAND AND HUNGARY

Studies of intercultural exchange between Europe and the Ottoman Empire have focused primarily on Italy and the Mediterranean arena,[18] and Northern Europe.[19] While the Ottomans' interactions with their northern neighbors Poland and Hungary have been examined in a number of excellent archivally-based documentary histories,[20] less attention has been devoted to the impact of these encounters on the visual arts and material culture of these realms.[21] Focusing on the Ottomaniza-

tion of costume in East-Central Europe greatly contributes to our understanding of what William Dalrymple has called the "porous frontiers of Islam and Christendom,"[22] and offers myriad possibilities for conceptual interpretations. For example, the appropriation of the fashion of a culturally distinct group to form one's own mode of self-definition becomes a way of symbolically subjugating the Other, who is simultaneously feared, derided, and admired. The display of costly objects and materials is a way to peacock and demonstrate superfluity, while the focus on trophies of war—as often made and purchased locally as actually won in combat—signals military supremacy.[23] Nevertheless, many studies have insufficiently probed the motivations behind the rise of Ottomanizing tastes in Poland and Hungary, instead positing a simplified causal relation between the widespread availability of Eastern objects and garments and the subsequent popularity of Ottomanizing styles of dress. [24] Studies that place undue emphasis on the role of objects as catalysts exemplify the incomplete approach to the study of Ottomanizing fashions:[25] the mere availability of such items is not sufficient to explain why by the seventeenth century they had become constitutive elements of the Polish and Hungarian national dress and external manifestations of a social and political identity.[26]

In sixteenth-century Poland and Hungary, however, Ottoman-inspired fashions were still but one sartorial option available among many, and more a matter of taste than of politics.[27] In 1551 the humanist scholar Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (d. 1572) observed, "He who dons an Italian cope in the morning, will then in the evening wear a Turkish *fałszura* (a long overcoat) and *kołpak* (a high hat of Turkish origin, known as a *kalpak* in Turkish), and white or red leather slippers."[28] Making a similar observation thirty years later, the Veronese-born soldier and humanist Alessandro Guagnini (d. 1614) wrote, "The inhabitants [of Poland] wear the garments of various and diverse nations, especially of Italians, Spaniards, and Hungarians … while others dress in the German, Turkish, Moscovian, and Bohemian manner."[29] Garments of Eastern and Western provenance, both of which were common in mid-sixteenth-century Poland, were freely mixed and matched. The Hungarian-born king Stephen Bathory (r. 1576–86) further cemented the popularity of Eastern dress in Poland with his election to its throne in 1576.[30] This is because Ottoman fashions had already permeated into Hungary by the fifteenth century, following the first Ottoman invasion of Hungarian territories in the 1390s and especially during the reign of King Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458–90), whose adaptation of Ottoman vestiary customs will be discussed below.[31] In Martin Kober's 1583 portrait, the Polish king Bathory sports what would become the definitive set of Ottomanizing garments in much of East-Central Europe: a voluminous red *kontusz* (itself a loan word to Polish from the Hungarian *köntös*) with hanging sleeves that open to reveal a second set of sleeves belonging to the patterned *żupan* tunic underneath; and bright yellow Turkish boots (fig. 4). As early as by the first quarter of the seventeenth century Polish and Hungarian fashions were so similar in their Ottomanization that the Hungarian traveler Márton Szepsi Csombor noted that "Polish men's costumes once differed from those of the Hungarians, while today these differences are very few in number, since both nations show a predilection for Turkish attire."[32]

COMPARING OTTOMAN AND EAST-CENTRAL EUROPEAN FASHIONS

Textual descriptions like Modrzewski's help us grasp the fluid ephemerality of fashion in the period, which allowed an elite individual to embody multiple political and social personalities, even within the span of one day. In portraits, however, this fluidity congealed into the one outfit that the sitter chose to be made permanent for posterity. Such images, although contrived and subjective, contribute much to our knowledge about fashions of the past, particularly as so few garments have survived. In Poland and Hungary, portraiture depicting noble sitters in Ottomanizing dress was one of the catalysts that eventually led to the popularization of these fashions across a broad cross section of society.[33] This resonates with cultural anthropologist Arjun Appadurai's explanation that "elite tastes, in general, have [a] 'turnstile' function, selecting from exogenous possibilities and then providing models, as well as direct political controls, for internal tastes and production."[34]

Fig. 4. Martin Kober, *Stephen Bathory*, 1583. Oil on canvas. Muzeum Historyczno-Misyjne Księży Misjonarzy (Historical-Missionary Museum of the Congregation of the Mission), Kraków. (Photo: Michał Grychowski)

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, men's fashions as rendered in varied visual sources, and from distinct cultural areas, are remarkably similar. These include Ottoman painted miniatures, costume books made by Western European travelers, and portraits of Polish and Hungarian noblemen in Ottomanizing garb. A comparison of Sanguszko's portrait, discussed above (see fig. 2), with a printed depiction of a sixteenth-century Ottoman janissary, identified as *Aga Capitano Generale de Giannizzeri* (Agha [*ağa* in Turkish] General Captain of the Janissaries), after drawings by the French traveler Nicolas de Nicolay (1517–83), reveals the extent to which Ottoman models shaped the traditional Polish nobleman's outfit of the period (fig. 5).[35] The differences are small. The janissary captain's long overcoat is buttoned in its entirety, in contrast to Sanguszko's rakishly open *kontusz*, and the long fastenings that cross the agha's torso like the rungs of a ladder are markedly different from Sanguszko's acorns, though variations on fastenings appear frequently in other Polish and Hungarian portraits of the period. A print by Aegidius Sadeler II of the Transylvanian prince, Gabriel Bethlen (d. 1629), shows another type of fastening, called frogging, which adorns the *mente* (a short overcoat, often lined with fur) he wears over his belted *dolmány* (a long or mid-length close-fitting jacket, buttoned at the throat) (fig. 6).[36]

While the similarities between Sanguszko's dress and that of the agha of the janissaries from Nicolay's print are undeniable, it is impossible to establish their accuracy. Sanguszko's portrait is an early seventeenth-century copy of a lost original done from life,[37] while the costume of the Ottoman figure was filtered through the biases of a number of foreign individuals—the traveler, engraver, and printer—before being further disseminated. There are, however, Ottoman-made images from the late sixteenth century in which we can observe similarly cut and ornamented garments.[38] One rich source for early modern Ottoman fashions is the manuscript *Sūrnāme-i Hümāyūn* (Imperial Festival Book) of 1582, which depicts guild processions in the Istanbul Hippodrome during the celebrations organized by Murad III (r. 1574–95) on the occasion of his son's circumcision (fig. 7).[39] The two dozen or so members of the arrowsmiths' guild process in front of the sultan, as was typical in the lengthy festivities, during which different groups such as state officials, guild members, and farmers presented him with gifts.[40] Aside from variations in color, ranging from pink and red to light blue, violet, and navy, the dress of each individual fletcher in the procession is

Fig. 5. Anton van Leest after engraving by Louis Danet, *Aga Capitano Generale de Giannizzeri* (Agha Janissary Captain), based on Nicolas de Nicolay's drawing of ca. 1551. From N. de Nicolay, *Le navigationi et viaggi nella Turchia* (Antwerp: Guiglielmo Siluio, 1577), fol. 160. Woodcut, Typ 530.77.606, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (Photo: © President and Fellows of Harvard College)

Fig. 6. Aegidius Sadeler II, *Gabriel Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania*, 1620. Engraving. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-P-1972-48. (Photo: courtesy of the Rijksmuseum)

Fig. 7. Unknown Ottoman court painter, *Procession at the Hippodrome,* detail showing members of the arrowsmiths' guild. From the *Sūrnāme-i Hümāyūn* (Imperial Festival Book), 1582. Watercolor on paper. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1344, fols. 109v–110r. (Photo: Walter B. Denny, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum)

nearly identical, consisting of a long-sleeved tunic and an overcoat with decorative fastenings, both floor length.[41] In some cases, the sleeves of the overcoats reach the elbows, while in others they are long and slashed at the shoulder, much as in the portrait of Sanguszko and Nicolay's print of the agha.[42] Each turban-wearing individual carries a bound bundle of arrows, the symbol and product of his craft. Thus while accuracy cannot be verified, the visual similarities of dress depicted in images from independent and diverse locales grant them comparative legitimacy.

One scholar has remarked that by the late seventeenth century Polish and Ottoman fashions were supposedly so similar that before the Battle of Vienna of 1683 the Polish king John III Sobieski (r. 1674–96) ordered his soldiers to wear straw cockades lest their allies mistake them for the Ottomans against whom they were fighting.[43] Sobieski's concern is illustrated by the 1633 etching of Johann Wilhelm Baur (d. 1642) entitled *Battaglia Polacha co*[*n*]*tra Turchi* (Polish Battle against Turks), which depicts a fictive skirmish between Polish and Ottoman soldiers. In the artist's imagining of the encounter, the combatants are virtually indistinguishable, dressed in similar flowing overcoats and wielding nearly identical scimitars (fig. 8).[44] Only their head coverings are different: the Poles sport what appear to be brimmed fur hats, while the Ottomans wear bulbous turbans.

In European visual culture since the late Middle Ages, the turban could be used to depict any non-Catholic individual,[45] including Jews, Pagans, and Protestants, who were thereby associated with Islam's supposed heresies.[46] Among the Ottomans, in contrast, headgear was highly regulated, with specific types of head coverings and colors of fabric restricted by law to various social, political, professional, and religious groups.[47] For instance, only Muslim males could wear turbans, and this privilege extended even after death, with carved turbans often topping the gravestones of Muslim state officials. Turbans never entered into the local sartorial tradition in Poland and Hungary, even though the local elites coveted nearly every other type of Ottoman object, includ-

Fig. 8. Johann Wilhelm Baur, *Battles of Different Nations: Battaglia Polacha co*[*n*]*tra Turchi* (Battle of Poles against Turks), 1636. Etching. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Anonymous Fund for the Acquisition of Prints Older than 150 Years, inv. no. S11.10.3. (Photo: Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College)

ing the hat known as the *kalpak*, which was of Eastern provenance. The strong association of the turban with Islam's imagined perversion of the social and religious order appears to have prevented its adoption by the multiconfessional nobilities of both these polities. Instead, noblemen, unencumbered by the norms that existed in the Islamic world, often chose to be portrayed without head coverings of any sort, revealing the characteristically shaved head with a single lock of hair at the top that has also been shown to have an Eastern, likely Tatar, origin.[48]

Even the Crimean Tatar diplomat Dedesh Agha, a Muslim man who frequently traveled to Poland, was portrayed with his head uncovered in the royal painter Daniel Schultz's 1664 group portrait of the envoy with his family and retinue (fig. 9).[49] That the aging sitter holds a feathered *kalpak* in his right hand, rather than wearing it, points not only to his acculturation and ease at the Polish court but also to the lesser symbolic importance granted to headgear in Poland than in his native milieu and in the Ottoman Empire, where an uncovered head was a sign of humiliation.[50] The painting, which presents the diplomat surrounded by courtly attendants, including a falconer and a dwarf, is a catalogue of mid-seventeenth-century men's fashions and an exercise in the depiction of leisurely masculinity. Dedesh

Fig. 9. Daniel Schultz the Younger, *Crimean Envoy Dedesh Agha and His Retinue*, 1664. Oil on canvas. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. GE-8540. (Photo: Vladimir Terebenin, © The State Hermitage Museum)

Agha, who surveys the viewer with a raised eyebrow, and his attendants wear both stylistically Eastern and Western clothing in a wide range of opulent fabrics and with different types of fastenings. The men showcase different hairstyles, from the Crimean shaved forehead, which one of the attendants has removed his hat to proudly present, to the falconer's full tresses, familiar from the nearly contemporaneous English royal portraits of Anthony van Dyck (d. 1641). The portrait, which places the sitter among varied cultural references, demonstrates the instability of positing any binary of Self and Other, Christian and Muslim, and Eastern and Western amid the fluid borders of East-Central Europe in the early modern period.

PERCEPTIONS OF OTTOMANS AND EAST-CENTRAL EUROPEANS AS OTHERS

Even though individuals from East-Central Europe enthusiastically embraced Ottoman fashions, they understood the Ottomans as inherently different—socially, religiously, politically, and linguistically—from themselves. When they traveled to Western Europe, however, they were viewed as comparably exotic. After all, Françoise de Motteville's simultaneous delight and disgust with "this barbarous nation"[51] was a conflicted reaction to the Polish nobility's peculiar appearance, which was very un-French but, above all, recognizably Eastern. Thus Edward Said's binary of an undifferentiated Orient positioned against a similarly uniform Europe does not

suffice to explain the complex dance of imitation and hostility that Poland and Hungary developed in relation to the Ottomans, and how that relationship was subsequently perceived in the rest of Europe. The historian Aleksandra Koutny-Jones rightly argues for a more nuanced understanding of Said's Europe, not as a monolithic body to which the Orient, as a whole, is opposed, but as a multipartite body with differing polities, each of which had differing experiences of the East and different manners of assimilating and understanding it.[52] Hungary, for example, divided by the Ottoman Empire's inroads into Central Europe in the 1540s, was itself partially Ottoman and partially Habsburg, while maintaining a strong ethnically and linguistically Hungarian population in both parts.[53]

The Ottoman Empire was a powerful and expansive Other and a state that was a pervasive concern: Said describes it as Europe's "lasting trauma." He notes that "until the end of the seventeenth century the 'Ottoman peril' lurked alongside Europe to represent for the whole of Christian civilization a constant danger, and in time European civilization incorporated that peril and its lore, its great events, figures, virtues, and vices, as something woven into the fabric of life."[54] In Poland and Hungary, the Ottoman influence became physically woven into the fabric of the textiles, sashes, tents, and carpets made locally in factories specializing in the production of goods that closely emulated highly desired Eastern models. Moreover, original Ottoman textiles decorated with traditional patterns, such as crescents, triple-spot motifs, tulips, and *çintamani* (auspicious jewel), which were either purchased or plundered as booty were occasionally reworked into familiar, useable forms as copes, chasubles, and other types of liturgical vestments.[55]

A seventeenth-century velvet brocade chasuble from Saint Adalbert's Church in the village of Kościelec Pińczowski in southern Poland is an example of such a reworking (fig. 10). An off-center L-shaped band cuts through the large, nestled circles of the *çintamani* pattern, dividing the vestment into two sections. This assymetry, unexpected and infrequent in such objects, suggests that the chasuble was cut from a larger textile, likely a wall hanging, with the band originally separating the hanging's border from its central rectangular field.[56] No piece of the original object was wasted, it appears, as a mortcloth, stole, and liturgical chalice cover were also cut from the same textile.[57] The appropriation of an exotic commodity and its transformation into liturgical objects by a Polish craftsman exemplify the way in which ornamental and aesthetic values were retained but recast into recognizable terms. But the creation of a hybrid object like the Kościelec chasuble, which embodies the labor of both the Ottoman weaver and the Polish tailor, must also be read as a polysemic act with varying political, religious, aesthetic, and cultural connotations. The beauty of the textile's design, with the contrast of repeating circles in silver and gold thread on a dark purple background, may have been the principal justification for its use as a vestment in a Baroque church. Nevertheless, the cutting and reworking to which it was subjected may also be read as acts of physical and metaphorical aggression on a commodity produced by an "infidel" Other and plundered from him in battle, allowing for its appropriation into a Christian context.

At the same time, the visual appearance of an object, and particularly a textile, was not unambiguously correlated with its Eastern or Western provenance. Many Ottoman garments, including those worn at the court of Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), were imported from Italy,[58] while many of the textiles with Eastern decorative motifs that were used to make Polish noblemen's stylistically Ottomanizing outfits were, in fact, produced in Italy, France, and Germany for the Polish market, in imitation of Ottoman models.[59] The widespread circulation of goods, through trade, conflict, and gift exchange, and of influences, through prints and costume books, explains such occasionally confounding complexity.[60]

In spite of their exoticism and their imitation and appropriation of Eastern styles, Poles and Hungarians were seen by Westerners as allies against the Ottoman threat, and certainly they thought of themselves as such. Numerous texts consistently reaffirm each country's status as the *antemurale Christianitatis*, or "bulwark of Christendom." For example, in 1621, Jerzy Ossoliński (d. 1650), ambassador of the Polish king Sigismund III Vasa (r. 1587–1632), arrived in London to deliver an oration to King James VI and I (r. 1567–1625) at the Palace of Whitehall, beseeching him to aid Poland in its dealings with

Fig. 10. Unknown Ottoman weaver and unknown Polish tailor, chasuble, seventeenth century. Velvet brocade textile with *çintamani* motif. Parish church of Saint Adalbert, Kościelec, Poland. (Photo: Tomasz Babik)

the Ottoman Empire.[61] The text, translated into English and published with the original Latin in pamphlet form in the following year, appealed both to the English king's magnanimity and to his strategic understanding of the threat at hand:

> The long concealed poyson in the brest of the Ottomans, hath now at length broke forth and the maske of many yeeres faigned friendship laid aside, Poland, the strongest bulwarke of the Christian world, is assaulted with the universall fury of the barbarous. The East is filled with noise of preparation for warre, the seas are loaden with navies, Asia is ioyn'd to Europe, and what forces Affrica affords, are arm'd for our destruction.[62]

Such language was commonplace in countries that interacted with non-Christian states, given that Europe had, since the Middle Ages, as Rhys Jones and Richard Phillips have argued, "positioned itself in relation to a dominant Islam, which Europeans constructed as the predominant binary opposite of and threat to Christianity."[63] In Poland and in Hungary, the constant stream of warmongering anti-Ottoman literature familiarized readers with, as one scholar explains, the "Muslim East through the prism of religious hatred and anti-Turkish clichés."[64] These clichés, which emerge in Ossoliński's language to describe the specter of a potentially conquered Poland as an open gateway for the Ottomans, "yielding easiest access into all parts of Europe,"[65] were a longstanding, codified topos. Already in the thirteenth century the Hungarian king Béla IV (r. 1235–70) warned Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243–54): "Should [Hungary] be overtaken by the Tatars, she will be for them like an open gate to other regions of the Catholic faith."[66]

PERCEPTIONS OF DISTANCE AND MYTHOLOGIES OF EASTERN ORIGIN AMONG THE NOBILITIES OF EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

The Ottoman Empire's expansion into continental Europe in the fifteenth century commenced what one scholar has called "a long and confusing series of interventions" along its fluctuating borders with Poland-Lithuania, Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, and the territories of the Crimean Tatars and the Cossacks.[67] Spectacular but often exaggerated accounts of war and the large quantities of booty acquired during periods of actual conflict have distorted our understanding of the complex relationship among these polities, particularly in studies of cultural influences and interactions.[68] Only recently has scholarship begun to examine the peaceful, rather than bellicose, relationship between the Ottomans and their northern neighbors between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, noting that even if their relationship was frequently tense, polities in the region were typically not at war; war was the exception.[69]

If, as Michel de Certeau suggested, "there is no spatiality that is not organized by the determination of frontiers," and space is structured through the act of its partition, then it is the very presence of a frontier that makes possible the "isolation and interplay of different spaces."[70] Frontiers and boundaries were a fundamental component of how the Poles and Hungarians, and the Ottomans, conceptualized their relationship to one another. Much attention was devoted to maintaining them with hopes of isolation, while fearing that they might be traversed for the purpose of conquest and eradication. The geographer Edward Soja's distinction among physical, mental, and social spaces, which "interrelate and overlap,"[71] is instructive when thinking about this frontier fixation, and the related issue of the awareness of proximity. Soja's spaces include the "physical space of material nature," that is, absolute distance (e.g., "The distance between Kraków and Istanbul is 1,225 kilometers"), and the "mental space of cognition and representation,"[72] or how the subject imagines the absolute distance as an obstacle or buffer, mapping it cognitively (e.g., "I *think* that Kraków is near to/far from the Ottoman Empire"). Soja's understanding of spatiality as a fluctuating "set of relations between individuals and groups" pertains not only to modern times.[73] In the treatise *Polonia* of 1632, for example, the historian and priest Szymon Starowolski (d. 1656) described the location of various cities in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth specifically by their proximity to non-Christian peoples. He positioned the city of Kiev "near the Tatars," while the province of Bratslav (Bracław in Polish) is "beyond Podolia … placed on a common border with the Tatars."[74] In Starowolski's "mental space of cognition,"

these locales were considered to be in general proximity to the broadly understood East, given that the Tatars were vassals of the Ottomans, even if the absolute distance to territories ruled by the Ottoman Empire could be quite significant, depending on where in Poland one was.

Hungary had a much more immediate relationship to the Ottomans, given that the footprint of Ottoman military incursion had divided the historic lands of Hungary into separately governed, antagonistic polities. Nora Berend has observed that Hungary "remained at the intersection of the Turkic-nomad, Byzantine and Roman Christian cultures… . This was a frontier existence of *la longue durée*."[75] In similar terms, Kathryn A. Ebel has shown that the Ottomans themselves viewed their borders "not as a line but as a *space* in which the control of the centre attenuated towards the periphery or was exercised only intermittently," claiming that they "understood, managed and visualized the geographical limits of the state as a zonal frontier enforced by border towns."[76] Building on Berend's and Ebel's parallel arguments, one could argue that, as a whole, the Polish and Hungarian mentalities of the early modern period came to inhabit the liminal space of the border territory with the Ottoman Empire, never fully understanding its limits.

The Poles' and Hungarians' perception of their own proximity to the Ottomans and Tatars conceptually located them in the East, as did preconceptions drawn from Ptolemaic geographic distinctions that identified the territories of Poland, termed "Sarmatia Europea," as having belonged to the Iranian Sarmatians, and those of Hungary to the Huns or the Scythians.[77] Both perceptions have been correctly associated with the Ottomanization of tastes in early modern Poland and Hungary. The Eastern, rather than Roman, origin myths of Sarmatism and Scythianism were independently and enthusiastically accepted among Polish and Hungarian intellectuals and nobles. For example, in 1633, twelve years after his English sojourn, Jerzy Ossoliński was dispatched as the head of a delegation to Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623–44). During his address he described his native Sarmatia as "impervious to the weapons of the Romans, [but] surrendered to the Roman religion," combining a claim of Eastern lineage with a declaration of faithful Catholicism.[78] The term "Sarmatia," however, was used to describe more than just the geographical territory of Poland and Ukraine and the Eastern lineage of its now Christian peoples. Among its many meanings, "Sarmatia" and "Sarmatian" were also used as distinctive terms for the nobility, to describe Poland as a political entity, and to distinguish the northern Slavs as a discrete ethnicity.[79] The idea of Sarmatia was thus connected to the development of a new awareness of geographic place, political and ethnic concepts of nation, and social class. Under the aegis of the Sarmatian and Scythian origin myths, Polish and Hungarian noblemen could dress in Ottomanizing fashions while espousing the arguments presented in virulently anti-Ottoman texts. The texts condemned the Ottomans as present-day usurpers and infidels; the fashions, on the other hand, appealed to a notion of ancient and noble pre-Islamic Easternness, even if they were in actuality based on contemporary Ottoman garments.[80]

As we have seen, Polish travelers to the West consciously fostered the notion of an Eastern lineage. During the already discussed embassy to Papal Rome, Ossoliński entered Rome with an extensive and sumptuous retinue that even included camels. This spectacle was interpreted in Italy as a show of exotic opulence, and the Polish penchant for extravagant display was eagerly discussed.[81] In truth, however, camels were never a common means of transportation in Poland. Their inclusion in the showy entrance procession of 1633 was a gesture of conscious and carefully planned Ottomanizing self-fashioning: of Ossoliński himself, and, given his role as the king's plenipotentiary, of Poland's image abroad.[82] By including camels in their entrance procession, the Poles in Ossoliński's delegation seem to have consciously played with the European opinion of irrationality and "mysteriously attractive" excess, which as Said argued, had been, since as far back as Aeschylus's *The Persians*, associated with the East.[83]

In Hungary, the epic poem *Szigeti veszedelem* (The Siege of Sziget) by the military commander Miklós Zrínyi (d. 1664), written between 1645 and 1648, demonstrates the persisting popularity of the Eastern origin myth. The God-narrator, who describes the Hungarians' ultimate defeat against the Ottomans at Szigetvár in

1566, reminds the reader of the Hungarians' Eastern provenance, stating:

> From Scythia, I say, I brought them out,
> As from Egypt, the Jewish peoples.
> . . . . . .
> In Pannonia, flowing with milk and honey,
> I established them in Hungary.[84]

In this interpretation, Central Asian Scythia, like Sarmatia for the Poles, replaces Rome as the cradle of Hungarian civilization.

Book culture promoted the dissemination and popularization of these Eastern origin myths across Europe because Latin sources were widely understood, while texts on the subject in Polish or Hungarian were often quickly translated into French, German, and Italian.[85] Motteville's memoir attests to the popularity of such invented notions:

> This winter, there was a second embassy of the Poles which was fine and worthy [of] our curiosity, for it represented to us that ancient magnificence which passed from the Medes to the Persians, whose luxury is so finely painted to us by the antient authors. Tho' the Scythians were never reckoned men of pleasure, yet their descendants, who are now the neighbours of the Turks, seem inclinable in some measure to ape the grandeur and majesty of the Seraglio. There still appeared in them some faces of their old barbarity.[86]

Motteville does not use the term "Sarmatian," perhaps having confused it with the Scythians of her description. She does, however, firmly locate their supposed descendants, the Poles she observes arriving in Paris, in the Eastern realm. The Polish nobility in Opaliński's embassy is, in Motteville's opinion, directly descended from the Medes, the Persians, and then the Scythians, providing them a veritable lineage of Otherness and exoticism. That they should "ape" the Ottomans is not surprising, given that the two are neighbors and, she believes, descended from the same Eastern stock. While the Scythian origin myth was not as widespread among the Hungarian nobility of the period as was the Sarmatian myth in Poland, Motteville's description makes it clear that for Western Europeans the Sarmatian and the Scythian, as well as their respective descendants, could be easily confused.[87]

LOOT AND IMPORT: COMMODITIES AS ENABLERS OF OTTOMANIZATION

As discussed above, easy access to Ottoman-made objects, as imports in times of peace or as booty in times of war, assisted the Ottomanization of the nobility's carefully tended image. From the late fifteenth century onward, and culminating in the seventeenth century, a market for Ottoman goods—particularly textiles and carpets—developed in Russia[88] and across East-Central Europe.[89] At the same time, furs, broadcloth, and metalwares were purchased in Poland and Lithuania for sale in Istanbul and Edirne.[90] In Poland, the large Armenian population that resided in many Polish cities served as an intermediary for trade with the East.[91] In 1632 Starowolski wrote, "[the Armenians] gladly dwell in the Kingdom of Poland on account of their avarice, and they provide us with various commodities, partly from Persia, partly from the Turkish Kingdom, and also especially horses of good stock."[92] Indeed, in the seventeenth century, negotiations between Poland and the Safavid rulers of Iran for the purpose of establishing an alliance against the Ottomans led to amicable relations and, consequently, an increase in trade. That Safavid luxury goods were highly valued in Poland may be seen in a portrait of the young nobleman Stanisław Tęczyński (d. 1634) (fig. 11), whose luxurious cream-colored, fur-lined *kontusz* and *żupan* in the same color are offset by a thick, multihued rug with floral patterns.[93] Based on its ornamental motifs, the rug has been identified as coming from Kashan, a city in the province of Isfahan in present-day Iran.[94] In Tęczyński's time, too, the differences between Ottoman and Safavid carpets would have been recognizable to many buyers, given that their provenance was reflected in their prices.[95] Eastern and stylistically Eastern objects—the rug, Turkish boots, scimitar, fur hat, and Ottomanizing garments—were ubiquitous in the surroundings of an East-Central European nobleman like Tęczyński, and formative to his image.

When trade was interrupted during brief periods of military conflict, Ottoman objects continued to flow into Poland and Hungary as spoils of war. Appadurai notes that booty "always has a special symbolic intensity," because the very act of diversion of an object, that is, its removal from its expected context, causes "the

Fig. 11. Attributed to Tommaso Dolabella, *Stanisław Tęczyński*, ca. 1633–34. Oil on canvas. Zamek Królewski na Wawelu (Wawel Royal Castle), Kraków, inv. no. dep. 935. (Photo: Stanisław Michta)

enhancement of value [emphasis mine]…. Diversions of things combine the aesthetic impulse, the entrepreneurial link and the touch of the morally shocking."[96] Objects acquired as loot are prized because they connote victory in war and carry an association of bravery, exotica, and distant provenance. By being worn on or around the body of the captor, booty bestows these qualities directly onto the wearer, becoming part of his or her own mode of representation.

Ottoman weapons, for example, can be found sporadically in sixteenth-century inventories from East-Central Europe, but appear *en masse* beginning in the early seventeenth century, a development that one scholar connects to heightened military activity in the period.[97] An anonymous letter preserved in Houghton Library at Harvard University describes Polish-Ottoman military skirmishes in the area of Kamianets-Podilskyi, Khotyn, and Lviv in the early 1670s and corroborates the increase in looting of arms and weapons alongside luxury goods. The author of the letter lists a large quantity of weapons first, noting that "Our men captured *one hundred and twenty five missiles* [emphasis mine], Turkish horses, camels, expensive garments of gold and silver, and other things in great quantities."[98]

Other weapons that were commonly appropriated as war plunder included sabers and *kalkan* shields. A portrait of the nobleman Wincenty Gosiewski (d. 1662) attributed to painter Daniel Schultz (fig. 12)[99] depicts the nobleman in a chain mail armor worn over a red, long-sleeved coat. Gosiewski holds a raised spear and a round, golden-colored shield decorated with jewels and metal cutouts, similar to known seventeenth-century Ottoman *kalkan*s, including one that was looted after the Battle of Vienna in 1683 (fig. 13). The compositional prominence of the appropriated Ottoman shield in the painting suggests that the sitter valued it as an object for display—it was both beautiful and difficult to obtain, and therefore costly—thus advertising his ability to shoulder the monetary and physical expenses necessary to acquire it. It also hints at his readiness to aggressively engage the world outside the canvas, challenging the Islamic East with its own weapons.

OTTOMANIZING FASHION AS A MARKER OF POLITICAL ALLEGIANCE

The availability of Eastern or stylistically Eastern commodities certainly furthered the Polish and Hungarian nobility's distinctly Ottomanizing manner of self-fashioning but does not fully explain it. As we shall see, the role that Ottomanizing costume played among the nobility was to signal a protest against a Westernized court and against absolutist efforts by the Polish monarchy and by the Habsburgs in Hungary.[100]

Fig. 12. Attributed to Daniel Schultz the Younger, *Wincenty Gosiewski*, 1650–51. Oil on canvas. The Royal Collection of Stanisław August Poniatowski, Royal Łazienki Museum, Warsaw, inv. no. ŁKr 136. (Photo: Piotr Cerafícki, © Muzeum Łazienki Królewskie w Warszawie)

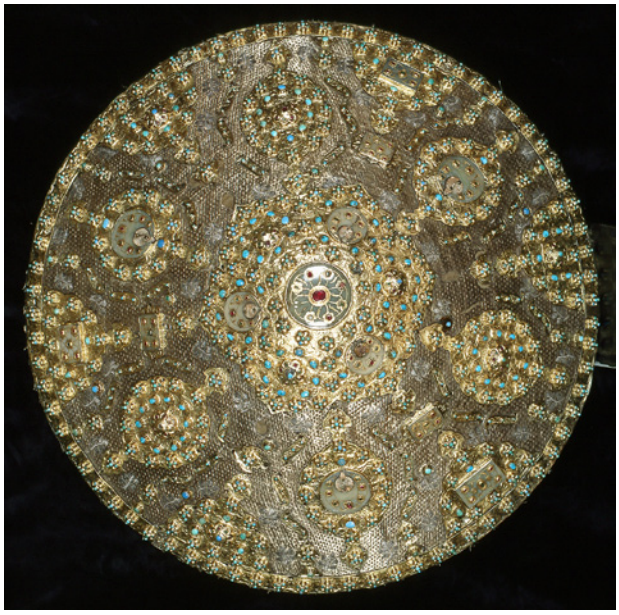

Fig. 13. Ottoman *kalkan*, mid-seventeenth century. Coiled reed, cotton thread, cloth of gold, embossed and gilded sheet silver, turquoises, spinels, emeralds, and jade. The object belongs to the collection of the Princes Czartoryski Foundation, Kraków, inv. no. XIV-381.

In Poland, the rift between the court and the nobility may be traced to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the executionist movement of the middle and lower nobility sought to reform political life by constraining the growing power of the highest echelons of the aristocracy, namely, the magnate class, and of the Crown.[101] In 1573, after the death of the king, Sigismund Augustus (r. 1548–72), an elective monarchy was instituted in Poland, with the French prince Henry of Valois (r. 1573–75) chosen as the first king-elect. Upon appointment, Henry was required to accept the Articuli Henriciani, also known as the Pacta Conventa (Articles of Agreement), which each subsequent elected king was also sworn to uphold. Of particular importance was the "*De non praestanda oboedientia*" article, which stipulated that should the king not respect the laws of the commonwealth, the nobles were released from their oaths of allegiance and could act against him without fear of later retaliation.[102] This article permitted the existence of the *rokosz*, which initially denoted a political gathering of the nobility but quickly became synonymous with an armed uprising against royal power. The 1606–8 *rokosz* of Sandomierz, for example, when the Polish nobility rose up against King Sigismund III, was, in the words of one scholar, an expression of the "permanent opposition by the gentry [to the court] because of the threat to their freedom posed by the monarch's absolutist designs."[103] It is not surprising that the strengthening of the antiroyalist executionist movement coincided with the fullest development of Sarmatism as an intellectual project that bestowed a unique status and ancestry on the nobles.[104] In contrast to Western Europe's absolutist courts, the Polish nobility advocated the libertarian ideology of the so-called golden

freedom, characterized by a permanent, almost dogmatic, opposition to the king and an ultimately crippling aversion to reform.[105] As the electorate that chose each subsequent ruler by popular vote, the nobility possessed substantial influence over the monarchy, which repeatedly attempted and failed to reinstitute a hereditary system for the transfer of royal power.[106]

There were eleven electoral convocations during Poland's monarchical period, between 1573 and 1764, during which various European factions backed the typically foreign candidates for the Polish throne.[107] To illustrate the breadth of international involvement in Poland's internal policy it suffices to mention the candidates for the throne in the convocation of 1669: the Russian tsar, Aleksey Mikhailovich Romanov, and his two sons; Louis de Bourbon, prince of Condé; Philip William of Neuburg, elector palatine; Charles Léopold Nicolas Sixte (later duke of Lorraine); and the Polish prince Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki, who was eventually elected king (r. 1669–73).[108] Foreign embroilment in matters of the Polish royal succession resulted in a sociopolitical polarization between the Occidentalizing court, on one side, and the wide spectrum of Polish, Lithuanian, and Ruthenian noblemen on the other.[109] Nevertheless, the court-nobility divide was often crossed, and so, for example, Jerzy Ossoliński, a member of a powerful noble clan, represented the monarch as the ambassador of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to England or Rome.[110] Paradoxically, in early modern Poland any individual could display highly Ottomanizing tendencies in fashion that reflected his anti-absolutist political position while concurrently being integrally connected to the royal milieu, and even representing the monarchy's interests abroad.

In Hungary, the extended Ottoman occupation of its historic territories, which began with the 1521 conquest of Belgrade by Süleyman I, contributed to a difficult political landscape. In 1526, the Hungarian nobility unsuccessfully contested the accession of the Habsburg prince Ferdinand I (r. as Holy Roman Emperor 1558–64) to the Crowns of Hungary-Croatia, deeming him a German king.[111] Tensions between the German Habsburgs and the ethnically Hungarian (but also Hungarized Slovak and Wallachian) nobility were a lasting state of affairs. For example, once it became clear that the Habsburgs did not want to risk open war against the Ottomans, in spite of recurring hopes that they might reunite Hungary and conquer its Ottoman-occupied territories, influential Hungarian nobles turned against the Habsburg Holy Roman emperor. They included such figures as the warrior poet Miklós Zrínyi, Imre Thököly (d. 1705), and Ferenc Rákóczi (d. 1735), all of whom had previously been attached to the Habsburg court. As late as 1710, the English ambassador to the Habsburg court wrote that he noticed in the policy of the Habsburgs a "despotic power … to which People of all kinds are so averse, especially in the hands of the Germans, to whom they [the Hungarians] have an extreme Antipathy."[112] That the Germanic Habsburg court did not develop Ottomanizing tendencies may be attributed to the fact that the Habsburgs, who produced twelve Holy Roman emperors between 1452 and 1740, had an interest in drawing their lineage from ancient Rome rather than visually evoking the Turkish "usurpers" of Constantinople. Much as in Poland, in Hungary conflicts of policy exacerbated the divide between the royal and imperial court, which aspired to absolute rule, and the nobles obsessed with maintaining their own sovereignty.[113] However, while the mechanisms of self-fashioning in Poland and in Hungary may have been driven by analogous anti-absolutist currents and may have been visually instantiated in fashion and portraiture in similar ways, the Polish and Hungarian nobilities were not uncritical of each other, nor was the relationship between them always concordant.[114]

In Poland and Hungary the rift between the nobility and royalty can be understood in terms of Daniel J. Isenberg's group polarization theory, which has been applied to the study of how individuals who belong to conflicting groups behave in situations of disagreement. Isenberg posits that "people are constantly motivated both to perceive and to present themselves in a socially desirable light. In order to do this, an individual must be continually processing information about how other people present themselves, and adjusting his or her own self-presentation accordingly."[115] Although group polarization theory was developed in relation to immaterial decision-making, I suggest that its applicability may be extended to presentation and self-fashioning as manifested through the material expressions of fashion and

portraiture. As outwardly demonstrations of a given individual's selfhood, these will also be subjected to psychosocial group dynamics. In the Polish and Hungarian contexts, where the nobility was in near-constant disagreement with the court as a matter of principle, each individual nobleman had to continuously position himself within the broader group to which he belonged. If Occidentalizing fashions were associated with the court's international interests, then, logically, the group opposed to the court would rally around a fashion that was not French, Spanish, or German, but that could be claimed as distinctly Scythian or Sarmatian.

I suggest we take as true Isenberg's claim that "once we [as individuals] determine how most other people present themselves, we present ourselves in a somewhat more favorable light. When all members of an interacting group engage in the same comparing process, the result is an average shift in a direction of greater perceived social value."[116] In this case, such a shift would strengthen political motivations by increasing the visibility of Ottomanizing dress and accoutrement. With each individual contributing to this shift by adopting Eastern-style fashions, the cohort as a whole would become visually distinct by means of a psychosocial mechanism deeply entrenched in the nature of group interaction.

In this context it bears reminding that in seventeenth-century Western Europe political thinkers frequently invoked the figure of the Ottoman sultan to warn against the perversion and arbitrariness of absolutist power.[117] In Poland, however, Ottomanizing fashions did not indicate support for an Ottoman mode of governance in the way that, for example, French fashions were understood to be explicit political declarations in favor of the French model of absolute rule.[118] Dressing in Ottomanizing national dress carried a symbolic message of opposition to absolutism and European interventionism in Polish matters, without concurrently endorsing Ottoman politics, religion, and social structures. In Transylvania, however, where the Calvinist prince Gabriel Bethlen achieved his political aspirations with Ottoman support, local politics were tied up with Ottoman matters to a much greater extent than in Poland.[119] Bethlen's favoring of Ottoman fashions to the point that contemporaneous observers compared him to a "Turkish dignitary" (see fig. 6)[120] was not only, as in Poland, a reaction to absolutist efforts on the part of a Western-oriented monarchy but may also be seen as an expression of strong political, if not religious, association with the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the Transylvanian military commander János Kemény (d. 1662), known for his open hostility toward the Ottoman-affiliated Crimean Tatars, who had captured him in 1657, also possessed a significant collection of Ottoman objects. It appears that coveting Ottoman goods could easily be reconciled with having strong anti-Ottoman sentiments, though as I have already proposed, their possession may also be associated with the desire to signal military supremacy and to symbolically subjugate the enemy.[121]

I have suggested that the gradual spread of Ottomanizing fashions among a large portion of Hungarian and Polish noblemen was in part the result of a subconscious process of polarization characteristic of group psychology, but there was also a conscious component in the adaptation of Ottoman fashions into the national dress of these polities. The "increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process," which Stephen Greenblatt suggested for the emergence of the "self-fashioned" gentleman in sixteenth-century England,[122] is very much replicated in the Polish nobility's image building during their sojourns to the West, as I have already shown in the example of Ossoliński's embassy to Rome. Furthermore, vigorous trade, the regular Polish diplomatic presence in Istanbul, and the promotion of experts in Eastern matters at the Polish court ever since King Sigismund Augustus's secretary studied in Istanbul at royal expense[123] facilitated an acute awareness of Eastern matters among politicians, merchants, missionaries, and scholars in Poland, with a similar set of circumstances in Hungary.[124] Ossoliński was certainly conscious of distinctions between the Ottoman Empire and Safavid Iran, but in designing his delegation's painstakingly coordinated arrival in Rome he appealed to a much more general and superficial idea of the East and of "Oriental" splendor.

Unlike the wealthy, foreign-educated, cosmopolitan Ossoliński, however, the majority of Polish and Hungarian nobles did not possess a deeper awareness of the provenance of the Eastern objects they coveted and the

Ottomanizing fashions they wore. One scholar has noted, regarding imported Eastern carpets, that "nobody was sufficiently informed about Eastern geography to be really interested in their precise origins. Their association with Turkey and Persia was enough to give the products an exotic flavour."[125] Although the Polish and Hungarian nobility's self-fashioning was consciously Eastern, for the most part they remained unaware of any deeper distinctions within the cultures that they referenced.

ROYAL IDENTITY AND THE PRAGMATIC DEPLOYMENT OF OTTOMANIZING FASHION

In the polities of East-Central Europe it was the publicly visible figure of the ruler who had to negotiate the intersection of the Eastern and Western cultural models that permeated his realms. When the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus received the ambassador of Ferrara, Cesare Valentini, in 1486, it is recorded that he wore a long Turkish kaftan and that he bestowed gifts of similar kaftans upon the diplomat.[126] In the Ottoman Empire, richly embroidered kaftans were sent as gifts by the sultan because of their status as *hil'at* (robes of honor), and were given to foreign diplomats arriving in Istanbul. Hungarian and Polish envoys coveted the garments, ignoring or simply unaware of the fact that, among the Ottomans, donning them carried the symbolic message of recognizing one's inferiority and subjection to an Ottoman padishah, who was expected to clothe his subordinates.[127] The appropriation of this markedly Ottoman tradition in fifteenth-century Hungary is noteworthy because of how early it occurs and because it demonstrates Corvinus's understanding of the symbolism and prestige of the objects themselves and of the ritualistic behaviors involved in their transference as gifts.[128]

Gülru Necipoğlu has compared Corvinus to his Ottoman contemporary Mehmed II (r. 1444–45/46, 1451–81), demonstrating that both rulers deployed numerous personae in their self-fashioning. As Necipoğlu notes, the "fostering of multiple imperial identities at Mehmed's court can be seen as a corollary of the polymorphic Ottoman body politic that was being forged by the juxtaposition rather than the coherent blending of disparate cultural traditions."[129] In parallel, by drawing equally on the symbolic repertoires of Alexander the Great and of Attila the Hun, Corvinus crafted an identity in which Eastern and Western models of governance were unproblematically intermingled.[130]

An example that reveals the continued necessity for such self-fashionings, dated two centuries later, emerges from a letter the Polish king John III Sobieski, the scion of a powerful Polish magnate family, wrote to his French wife after sacking the fleeing Ottomans' camp following the 1683 Battle of Vienna. Sobieski recounts:

> The Vizier barely escaped from all this, on one horse and in a single robe. I indeed became his successor because to a great degree all of his riches have fallen into my hands…. I have all the Vizier's insignia, which they carry before him; the grand standard of Mahomet his emperor gave him for the war, which already today I have sent in the care of Talenti to the Holy Father in Rome. Tents, all wagons came into my possession, *et mille d'autres galanteries fort jolies et fort riches, mais fort riches* [and a thousand of other small things, beautiful and expensive, but very expensive], and still I have not seen many things…. You will not be able to tell me, my dear soul, as the Tartar women used to tell their husbands coming back without booty that "you are not a brave warrior if you come back without booty," because the one who conquers must be in the front line.[131]

The letter reveals the ways in which Sobieski appropriated multiple symbolic vocabularies, drawing with ease on Eastern and Western cultural referents to present himself as a cosmopolitan ruler, much like Matthias Corvinus and Mehmed II had done before him. Casting himself as a successor to the defeated Ottoman vizier and as a *defensor ecclesiae* who supplies the pope himself with captured symbolic spoils, the Polish king positioned himself with one foot in Rome and another in Constantinople/Istanbul, laying claim to the full spectrum of imperial Roman power. At the same time, his deployment of courtly French prose and references to marital interactions among Eastern warriors served as a way to fashion himself, in what is, after all, a private letter to his beloved wife, as a master of both spheres: the "cultured" literacy of her West and the Eastern lineage and Ottomanizing conceit he claimed for himself.

Fig. 14. Circle of Daniel Schultz the Younger, *King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki,* ca. 1668–69. Oil on canvas. Zamek Królewski na Wawelu (Wawel Royal Castle), Kraków, inv. no. dep. 40. (Photo: Anna Stankiewicz)

Unlike Sobieski, who during his twenty-two-year reign enjoyed wide-ranging support among the nobility, Polish kings were for the most part politically weak and struggled to maintain legitimacy and relevance. Famously, parliamentary proceedings of the Polish-Lithuanian *sejm*, or parliament, of 1672 were severely delayed due to demands by the delegates that King Wiśniowiecki don traditional Polish attire, consisting of a fixed set of Ottoman-inspired garments: the *żupan*, long *kontusz* coat, sash belt, *karabela* saber, and high leather boots. A chronicler of the event ruminated: "Why does His Royal Highness being *caro de carne, os de ossibus nostris* [the flesh of our flesh, the bone of our bones] *abhorret* [abhor] the Polish nation's *vestitum* [clothing], while favoring for himself foreign fashion, toward which our ancestors felt such *fastidio* [scorn], as an *opprobrio gentis Polonae* [disgrace of the Polish people]?"[132] As the text makes clear, the king, though Polish, dressed in Western European, and particularly French garb. Indeed, the portraits he commissioned closely resemble, and were likely directly modeled after representations of the French king Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715) by court painters such as Robert Nanteuil (d. 1678) and Hyacinthe Rigaud (d. 1743). For example, in an anonymous portrait Wiśniowiecki is depicted with his hair characteristically curled and coiffed in the contemporary French fashion, wearing ceremonial armor with an ample oblong lace bib, known as a *żabot* (from the French *jabot*) over his chest (fig. 14). That portraits of Wiśniowiecki draw so heavily on the representational vocabulary of an absolutist court and depict the sitter wearing the particular style of dress that generated the nobility's displeasure betrays his political persuasions and admiration of absolute power.

Schultz's portrait of Wiśniowiecki's predecessor John II Casimir Vasa (r. 1648–68), the third Polish king from the historically Swedish Vasa dynasty, was painted soon after his election in 1648 (fig. 15).[133] In contrast to Wiśniowiecki's adherence to French fashions, the portrait of King John Casimir reveals his conscious self-fashioning as a Polish Sarmatian monarch. Even though he, too, was known to favor Western attire, here he is depicted wearing the traditional nobleman's outfit.[134] The cut, volume, ornamentation, and even color of the clothes in his portrait, including the gold-trimmed *kontusz* belted with a red sash, and heavy, fur-lined crimson cape with characteristic golden fastenings, are distinctly non-Western, and they would have been understood as such by the contemporaneous audiences of his portrait. The composition, background, general styling, and insignia of royal power, however, all connect the sitter to the tradition of grand Western European dynastic portraiture.

John Casimir Vasa's portrait in Polish garb is the material expression of a conscious effort to hybridize the notions of Europeanness and Otherness that coexisted in early modern East-Central Europe, and which rulers like Corvinus and Sobieski navigated with such ease. For John Casimir the *żupan* and *kontusz* were not quotidian fashion but elements of a theatrical costume that was cast off upon the completion of the session with the

Fig. 15. Daniel Schultz the Younger, *King John II Casimir Vasa in Polish Dress*, ca. 1650. Oil on canvas. Gripsholm Castle, Mariefred, inv. no. Grh 1270. (Photo: © Rikard Karlsson/Nationalmuseum, Stockholm)

Fig. 16. Justus Suttermans, *Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici*, ca. 1640. Oil on canvas. Palatine Gallery, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 2334. (Photo: S.S.P.S.A.E e per il Polo Museale della città di Firenze–Gabinetto Fotografico)

painter, or perhaps even entirely fabricated by Schultz's brush.

In this the painting is related to Western European portraits of individuals masquerading in exotic Turkish garb such as the portrait by Justus Suttermans (d. 1681) of Ferdinando II de' Medici (r. 1621–70), who wears a large white Ottoman bulbous turban in a temporary imitation of the Other (fig. 16). In contrast to such fanciful, exoticizing paintings, however, the election portrait of John Casimir was a tool, utilized as part of a precisely orchestrated political program to curry favor with the fickle anti-absolutist Polish noblemen who wore Ottomanizing fashions to signal their political autonomy. The king disingenuously embraced such symbolically laden clothing because he hoped that by appeasing the nobility he might begin to lay a foundation for absolutist rule in Poland.

John Casimir was not the only ruler to recourse to the Ottomanizing national outfit in hopes of securing the nobility's approval. In 1733, arriving in Poland in secret for the electoral convocation, Stanisław Leszczyński, a Polish candidate for the throne, appeared in the Ottomanizing Polish costume, which caused great excitement among those gathered.[135] Similarly, the Austrian Habsburgs consistently commissioned texts and images that highlighted their role not only as Holy Roman emperors but also as kings of Hungary. In numerous printed and painted portraits the Habsburg rulers, including Matthias (d. 1619), Ferdinand III (d. 1657), Ferdinand IV (predeceased his father in 1654), and Leopold I (d. 1705)

are depicted in Ottomanizing Hungarian clothing. Occasionally they carry the full Hungarian coronation regalia, including the Holy Crown of Hungary and its accompanying scepter, mantle, and globus cruciger.[136] Justus Suttermans's portrait of Ferdinand III on the occasion of his coronation as king of Hungary in 1625, for example, shows the young monarch, who stands next to a table bearing the Hungarian crown, wearing traditional Hungarian garb: a short *dolmány* in a lustruous cream-colored fabric belted with a red sash, a heavy *mente* overcoat with fur collar and thick gold fastenings with jewels and tassels, thrown over the shoulders, yellow shoes, and a jeweled saber (fig. 17). The monarch's acceptance of the crown, which symbolizes the historical Kingdom of Hungary, is a nominal act dictated by inheritance, falling under the aegis of the body politic. Ferdinand's portrayal in Ottomanizing Hungarian garments, on the other hand, is a cultural act and a gesture of appeasement to the Hungarian noble class. The clothing of his natural body is, I suggest, meant to underline his role as a specifically Hungarian, rather than Germanic, individual.

Polish and Hungarian noblemen expressed their political allegiance and anti-absolutist beliefs through a style of dress that was strongly influenced by Ottoman models. Women, on the other hand, were largely barred from participation in politics, and were therefore exempt from the implicit proscriptions against Occidental fashions. Their relative invisibility in the public sphere precluded the necessity of politicizing their clothing, leaving them free to "usurp for themselves all of the garments of European matrons," as the chronicler Starowolski observed of Polish women's taste for Western styles.[137] Even though Ottoman women's fashions were probably known from costume books, they do not appear to have had any impact on the dress of Polish and Hungarian women, who most likely adapted Eastern and Western textiles to local or Western dress designs.[138]

A notable exception may be found in the portraits by court painter Louis de Silvestre (d. 1760) of Electress of Saxony and Queen Consort of Poland Maria Josepha of Austria (d. 1757) and her daughter, Maria Amalia of Saxony (d. 1760) of the House of Wettin, the latter a betrothal portrait made in preparation for her marriage to Charles VII of Naples (the future Charles III of Spain) (r. 1735–88) (fig. 18). The women wear stylized and feminized versions of Polish noblemen's outfits; in Maria Amalia's portrait the fur lining, slashed sleeves debonairly tossed over the shoulder, and rich red fabric of the sitter's dress, embellished with horizontal gold fastenings, reference the key details of a traditional *kontusz* or outer kaftan.[139] The opulence of these Ottomanizing garments may have been reason enough for the royal women to choose them. However, the more likely

Fig. 17. Justus Suttermans and studio, *Ferdinand III as King of Hungary*, ca. 1625. Oil on canvas. Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, Budapest, inv. no. 92.20M. (Photo: Tibor Mester)

Fig. 18. Louis de Silvestre, *Maria Amalia of Saxony in Polish Dress*, 1738. Oil on canvas. Museo del Prado, Madrid, inv. no. P02358. (Photo: Album/Art Resource, N.Y)

motivation for dressing the queen and princess in stylized versions of Polish male attire was their heightened public visibility and the widespread diffusion of their representations. In this way the court could advertise the notion that the entire royal family took an interest in Polish matters. The Wettins, a Germanic princely electoral family, possessed a royal title because two of its members, Augustus II the Strong (r. 1697–1704, 1709–33) and Augustus III (r. 1733/4–63), had been elected to the Polish throne. Therefore, Maria Amalia's donning of Polish garb may have been a reminder that her royal, rather than simply aristocratic status, was because of her father's role as elected king of Poland, placing her on a par with the heir to the Spanish throne whom she was to marry. The garments proclaimed royal authority by assuming that their intended Spanish and Italian viewers would immediately recognize them as Polish.

CONCLUSION

The Ottomanization of fashion, and more generally, of self-fashioning in Poland and Hungary, reveals that the ways in which Europe's Christian states negotiated their position relative to the Ottoman Empire were many and varied. Indeed, Europe was not a uniform geographic, social, linguistic, religious, or cultural entity that could easily be posited against the multiethnic and multiconfessional Ottomans, who themselves had a definitive and lasting presence on the European continent. In attempting to describe the impact that the Ottoman Empire exercised over Poland and Hungary, I have described a web of perceptions. These include the Poles' and the Hungarians' perceptions of the Ottomans, necessarily influenced by existing notions of the Ottoman threat and the topos of the Eastern *antemurale*, resulting in their subsequent culturally hybrid visual response to those stimuli. They also include exoticizing Western European reactions in England, France, the Papal States, Spain, and Saxony, to the Polish and Hungarian emulation of Ottoman Otherness, embodied through fashion and portraiture.

However, East-Central Europeans could be equally critical of the behaviors of foreigners, including Western Europeans. For example, the young nobleman Jakub Sobieski's description of the execution of regicide François Ravaillac in Paris in 1610 includes mention of purported cannibalism by the angered Parisians on the body of the assassin: "[Our] host, to all appearances respectable… brought a few pieces of the body of this Ravaillac… and fried them with some scrambled eggs and ate them…"[140] His account is one of horror and disgust at the Parisian's barbarity, a foil to Motteville's account of the "slovenly" and "savage" Poles from Opaliński's del-

egation, who arrived in Paris three decades later.[141] In similar terms, Poles considered Russian men's fashions, which were, after all, modeled by common cultural influences and possessed many visual similarities to Polish ones, to be barbaric and excessively opulent.[142] It is no surprise that difference—of behavior, culture, language, and geography, as well as of self-fashioning and choice of attire—created easily exaggerated judgments on the relative civility or barbarity of another people.

As I have argued, it was the Polish and Hungarian nobilities' concerns about the development of absolutist rule in East-Central Europe that allowed them to consolidate a relatively uniform political and social identity, as expressed through fashion. In Poland, Ottomanizing dress gradually lost its political charge, especially by the end of the eighteenth century, and types of garments and accessories that could trace their stylistic lineage to Ottoman kaftans and scimitars became disassociated from their original Eastern antecedents. Furthermore, scholars have shown that the constitutive elements of such dress, including the *żupan* tunic and *kontusz* overcoat, became less popular in the second half of the eighteenth century, eventually becoming festive outfits worn on special, particularly patriotic occasions, such as the parliamentary proceedings of the so-called Four Year Sejm of 1788–92. Noblemen who wanted to display their patriotism had traditional-looking Polish garments made, relying on ancestral portraits for greater authenticity. The eighteenth-century memoirist Jan Duklan Ochocki (d. 1848) notes that when the diplomat Adam Rzewuski (d. 1825) was preparing for his embassy to Denmark he ordered that "portraits from the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries be gathered, and the forms of garments be copied from them,"[143] so that he could wear a correct version of this most decorous of fashions. As one scholar has correctly pointed out, Rzewuski's outfit must be considered a consciously commissioned and designed costume, harkening back to an earlier era, rather than an expression of common men's fashions in Poland at that time.[144]

Paradoxically, it was only after the Third Partition of Poland in 1795, during which Poland's territories were divided among Russia, Prussia, and Austria, that such fashions reacquired their potential as highly charged tools for underlining identity and allegiance. During the failed November Uprising of 1830–31, Polish revolutionaries wore garments in the historical Ottomanizing style, following which the Russian colonial authorities entirely outlawed such traditional elements of dress.[145] Once again, Polish fashions, developed from Ottoman models from the mid-sixteenth century onward, became a rallying point against foreign interventionism. In the preceding centuries the Polish kings and the Habsburg emperors commissioned portraits wearing Ottomanizing garb and displaying local insignia of power, hoping to capitalize on the symbolic charge of this centuries-old set of visual tools for building allegiance. They understood that something as deceptively simple as a kaftan and long overcoat could generate political support from the powerful noble classes in their respective, extremely polarized societies. So, too, the Russian authorities in partitioned Poland understood that unless forbidden, such fashions, imbued with layered connotations of independence, national pride, republicanism, and antidespotism, would continue to impede the success of their own imperial project.

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NOTES

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It is difficult to separate the terms "Eastern Europe" and "Central Europe" from their contemporary political and ethnic associations. Therefore, I rely on the term "East-Central Europe" to describe, most generally, the "liminal and transitional space between the powers in the west [Germany and Austria] and east [Russia]…" (see n. 6 below). By "Poland" and "Polish" I refer,

pars pro toto, to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, that is, the dualistic state that combined the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Similarly, I use "Hungary" and "Hungarian," even though Hungary's historic lands were divided into three territories after the Battle of Mohács in 1526. These were Habsburg Hungary; the semi-independent principality of Transylvania, under Ottoman suzerainty; and Ottoman Hungary or Madjaristan, known formally as the *eyalet* of Buda, which was its capital between 1541 and 1686 (see n. 53 below). I do so for the sake of textual clarity, while remaining mindful of the problems inherent in reducing multiethnic and multiconfessional polities to only one of their constitutive elements.

Regarding nomenclature, I present the names of rulers as they most commonly appear in English-language scholarly literature; all others are in their language of origin. For example, I use Matthias Corvinus in lieu of Hunyadi Mátyás, but retain the Hungarian name for Ferenc III Nádasdy. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

1. Mieczysław Paszkiewicz, "Tematyka polska w twórczości Stefano della Belli, część II," *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 15 (1985): 57.
2. Françoise de Motteville, *Memoirs for the History of Anne of Austria … Translated from the original French of Madame de Motteville … who has likewise added an account of the troubles of King Charles I,* 5 vols. (London, 1726 [1725]), 1:259–65. Françoise de Motteville's memoirs, written during the course of her life (1621–89), were first published in French as *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire d'Anne d'Autriche* in 1722.
3. Krzysztof Opaliński to Łukasz Opaliński, November 1, 1645, "Z Paryża, 1 XI 1645," in *Listy Krzysztofa Opalińskiego do brata Łukasza 1641–1653*, ed. Roman Pollak (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1957), 306: "Zgoła wszyscy powiadają *passim, passim* [wszędzie], że *nihil simile* [niczego podobnego] Paryż widział w dostatki, w apparencją, w porządek, jako ten nasz wjazd. *Hoc mirum* [to dziwne], że i dworscy dziwują się tak cudownie wszystkim naszym porządkom, chwalą z ludzkości, z języka, z strojów [*sic*] zgoła ze wszystkiego."
4. Krzysztof Opaliński to Łukasz Opaliński, October 11, 1645, "86. Z Brukseli, 11 X 1645," in Pollak, *Listy Krzysztofa Opalińskiego do brata Łukasza*, 308: "Reputacyją zostawiemy tu, da Bóg, wielką grzeczności, dyksrecyji, splendoru *etc., etc*." The embassy left Opaliński in great debt; see ibid., p. xxv.
5. Motteville, *Memoirs for the History of Anne of Austria,* 1:262–63.
6. Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Orient w polskiej kulturze artystycznej* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1959), 190–210. For a definition of the term "East-Central Europe," see Marcel Cornis-Pope and John Neubauer, "General Introduction," in *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe: Junctures and Disjunctures in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Marcel Cornis-Pope and John Neubauer (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins B.V., 2004), 6. See also István Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities in East-Central Europe: Ethnic Diversity, Denominational Plurality, and Corporative Politics in the Principality of Transylvania (1526–1691)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).
7. For example, Baron Karl Ludwig Freiherr von Pöllnitz describes a procession at the electoral court in Dresden, where he saw "grooms in the Polish livery, but Turkish habit [and] … muleteers in the Turkish dress, but with the Polish livery." Karl Ludwig von Pöllnitz, *The Memoirs of Charles-Lewis, Baron de Pollnitz: Being the Observations He Made in His Late Travels from Prussia Through Poland, Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Flanders, Holland, England, &c… . Discovering Not Only the Present State of the Chief Cities and Towns; But the Characters of the Principal Persons at the Several Courts*, 4 vols. (London: Daniel Brown; John Brindley, 1738) 4:79–80.
8. The unconfirmed author of a picaresque Spanish novel imagined that donning a Polish outfit in his native Spain would entail precisely such a reaction. Estebanillo González (?), *La vida y hechos de Estebanillo González, hombre de buen humor, compuesta por él mismo* (Antwerp: Viuda de Juan Cnobbart, 1646), 355–56: "On a whim, and because the two outfits that the King of Poland had given me were not yet moth-ridden, I dressed in the Polish manner, in order to draw to myself the eyes of the common people, and to be recognized more quickly. I stepped out in this costume every day to stroll, with a cane, like a prince or a royal favorite, and in this way the outfit surprised the entire city. The city's officials left their habitual activities to come out to their doorsteps and see me, with laughter and mockery. The ladies left their tasks in order to lean out of their windows to jeer and make fun of me, and boys, forgetting the chores they were carrying out, encircled and followed me, and even sometimes pelted stones at me. *Some said I was Jewish, others that I was Japanese, others that a Turk* [emphasis mine], while I kept quiet and listened, because he who changes his outfit, opens himself to any sort of censure."
9. Mańkowski, *Orient w polskiej kulturze artystycznej*, 97–98. Scholars have long studied the Western European fascination with the East and with Eastern fashion. Texts worth mentioning include Molly Bourne, "The Turban'd Turk in Renaissance Mantua: Francesco II Gonzaga's Interest in Ottoman Fashion," in *Mantova e il Rinascimento Italiano: Studi in onore di David S. Chambers*, ed. Philippa Jackson and Guido Rebecchini (Mantua: Sometti Editoriale, 2011), 53–64; and Charlotte Jirousek, "Ottoman Influences in Western Dress," in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul: Eren, 2004), 240. On the value of foreigners' often exaggerated descriptions of Polish and Hungarian fashions, see also Przemysław Mrozowski, "Ubiór jako wyraz świadomości narodowej szlachty polskiej w XVI–XVIII wieku," in *Ubiory w Polsce: Materiały III Sesji Klubu Kostiumologii i Tkaniny Artystycznej przy Oddziale Warszawskim Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki*, ed. Anna Sieradzka and Krystyna Turska (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Kopia, 1994), 21; Irena Turnau, *Ubiór narodowy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw: Semper, 1991), 7–14. Suraiya Faroqhi warns that

"the remarks and images produced by European travelers …, must be used with due caution. For as strangers these people were more likely than insiders to misunderstand the often subtle messages imparted by the clothes of people whom at best they got to know but casually." Suraiya Faroqhi, "Introduction, or Why and How One Might Want to Study Ottoman Clothes," in Faroqhi and Neumann, *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, 17.

10. Tadeusz Dobrowolski, *Polskie malarstwo portretowe: Ze studiów nad sztuką epoki sarmatyzmu* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1948), 98. For Sanguszko's biography, see Mariusz Machynia, *Polski słownik biograficzny* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Nauk i Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1935–2012), s.v. "Sanguszko (Sanguszkowicz) Roman."
11. The etymology of *żupan* comes from the Italian *giubbone*, which in turn comes from *jubbah*, the Arabic word for a kind of tunic. Walter W. Skeat, *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (London: Clarendon Press, 1910), s.v. "jupon."
12. Andrzej Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu: Handel między Polską a Imperium Osmańskim w XVI–XVIII wieku* (Wrocław: Fundacja na Rzecz Nauki Polskiej, 1997), 174.
13. Such maces were known in Polish as *buzdygan*, and in Hungarian as *buzogány*, drawing on a common Ottoman Turkish etymological source (*bozdoğan*). On Ottoman loan words in East-Central Europe, see Anna Sieradzka, *Tysiąc lat ubiórów w Polsce* (Warsaw: Arkady, 2003); Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 142–44.
14. Jirousek, "Ottoman Influences in Western Dress," 233.
15. For a general introduction to the subject, see György Rózsa, "Baroque Portraiture in Hungary in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Baroque Splendor: The Art of the Hungarian Goldsmith*, ed. István Fodor (exh. cat.) (New York: The Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, 1994), 34–41.
16. Ewa Lajer-Burcharth has pointed out that "the eighteenth-century mode of engagement with the 'Orient' needs to be separated from the post-Napoleonic, nineteenth-century Orientalism as a form of cultural colonialism. The nature of power relations between Europe and the politically weakened but nevertheless still powerful Ottoman Empire could not be understood in colonial terms for obvious historical reasons. It is in fact more accurate to speak of the eighteenth-century exoticism in terms of mutual East/West fascination, a bi-directional discourse of curiosity and wonder." Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, "Jean-Etienne Liotard's Envelopes of Self," in *Cultures of Forgery: Making Nations, Making Selves*, ed. Judith Ryan and Alfred Thomas (New York: Routledge, 2003), 130. The same may be convincingly argued for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For further discussions of the phenomenon of *turquerie* in eighteenth-century Europe, see Nebahat Avcıoğlu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation, 1728–1876* (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2011). See also Alexander Bevilacqua and Helen Pfeifer, "Turquerie: Culture in Motion, 1650–1750," *Past & Present* 221, 1 (November 2013): 75–118, who correctly underline the complexity and range of European cultural response to the Ottoman Empire.
17. In Poland, these nobles were ethnically Polish, Ruthenian (a historical term referring to present-day Ukrainians and Belarusians), Lithuanian, and German, while in Hungary they included ethnically Hungarian, Slovak, Saxon, and Wallachian families. Poland and Hungary were multiconfessional societies, and although by the late seventeenth century Roman Catholicism had become the dominant faith, particularly in Poland, numerous noble families were Protestant or Orthodox Christian. On religious affiliation in early modern Poland, see, for example, Piotr Stolarski, *Friars on the Frontier: Catholic Renewal and the Dominican Order in Southeastern Poland, 1594–1648* (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 8; Paul W. Knoll, "Religious Toleration in Sixteenth-Century Poland: Political Realities and Social Constraints," in *Diversity and Dissent: Negotiating Religious Difference in Central Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. Howard Louthan, Gary B. Cohen, and Franz A. J. Szabo (New York: Berghahn, 2011), 30–52.
18. See recent texts such as Deborah Howard, *Venice & the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100–1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); Rosamund Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012); and Emine Fetvacı, "From Print to Trace: An Ottoman Imperial Portrait Book and Its Western European Models," *The Art Bulletin* 95, 2 (June, 2013): 243–68.
19. Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *The Art Bulletin* 71, 3 (September, 1989): 401–27; Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Christine Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidel: The Ottoman and French Alliance in the Sixteenth Century* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011).
20. For Poland, see Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th–18th Century): An Annotated Edition of 'Ahdnames' and Other Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania: International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th–18th Century): A Study of Peace Treaties Followed by Annotated Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Andrzej Dziubiński, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne polsko-tureckie w latach 1500–1572 w kontekście międzynarodowym* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2005). For Hungary, see, for example, *Hungarian-Ottoman military and Diplomatic Relations in the Age of Süleyman the Magnificent*, ed. Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor (Budapest: Loránd Eötvös University; Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1994).

21. Other important sources on Eastern cultural influences in early modern Poland and Hungary include Veronika Gervers, *The Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles and Costume in Eastern Europe, with Particular Reference to Hungary* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1982); *Portret typu sarmackiego w wieku XVII w Polsce, Czechach, na Słowacji i na Węgrzech: Seminaria Niedzickie II*, ed. Ewa Zawadzka (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 1985); *The Orient in Polish Art: Catalog of the Exhibition, June–October 1992*, ed. Beata Biedrońska-Słota (exh. cat.) (Kraków: National Museum in Kraków, 1992); *War and Peace: Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th–19th Centuries*, ed. Selmin Kangal (exh. cat.) (Istanbul: Fako İtaçları A. Ş., 1999); *Land of the Winged Horsemen: Art in Poland, 1572–1764*, ed. Jan K. Ostrowski (exh. cat.) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); and *Distant Neighbour, Close Memories: 600 Years of Turkish-Polish Relations*, ed. Nazan Ölçer, Tadeusz Majda, and Zeren Tanındı (exh. cat.) (Istanbul: Sabancı University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2014).
22. William Dalrymple, "Foreword: The Porous Frontiers of Islam and Christendom: A Clash or Fusion of Civilisations?" in *Re-orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East*, ed. Gerald MacLean (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. ix. Dimiter Angelov and Judith Herrin have argued that the permeability we observe between the East and West in the early modern period ought to be seen as the result of centuries of "cross-fertilization" between the courts of medieval *Latinitas* and the Byzantine Empire. Dimiter Angelov and Judith Herrin, "The Christian Imperial Tradition—Greek and Latin," in *Universal Empire: A Comparative Approach to Imperial Culture and Representation in Eurasian History*, ed. Peter Bang and Dariusz Kołodziejczyk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 173.
23. Suraiya Faroqhi notes: "Fashion is a way of manifesting superfluity, and one way of so doing is by flaunting goods imported from afar." Faroqhi, "Introduction, or Why and How One Might Want to Study Ottoman Clothes," 30.
24. Roman Rybarski, *Handel i polityka handlowa Polski w XVI stuleciu*, 2 vols. (Warsaw, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1958), 1:179; Beata Biedrońska-Słotowa, *Polski ubiór narodowy zwany kontuszowym: Dzieje i przemiany opracowane na podstawie zachowanych ubiorów zabytkowych i ich części oraz w świetle źródeł ikonograficznych i literackich* (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 2005), 86; Kangal, *War and Peace*; and Beata Biedrońska-Słotowa, "Wpływ sztuki orientalnej na sztuke polską w okresie sarmatyzmu," in Zawadzka, *Portret typu sarmackiego*, 189.
25. Some notable exceptions include Turnau, *Ubiór narodowy*; Janusz Tazbir, "Culture of the Baroque in Poland," in *East-Central Europe in Transition: From the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Antoni Mączak, Henryk Samsonowicz, and Peter Burke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 167–80; Jarosław Dumanowski, "Orientalne i zachodnie wzory konsumpcji szlachty wielkopolskiej w XVI–XVIII w.," in *Między zachodem a wschodem: Studia z dziejów Rzeczypospolitej w epoce nowożytnej*, ed. Jacek Staszewski, Krzysztof Mikulski, and Jarosław Dumanowski (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2002), 159; Aleksandra Koutny-Jones, "Echoes of the East: Glimpses of the 'Orient' in British and Polish-Lithuanian Portraiture of the Eighteenth Century," in *Britain and Poland-Lithuania: Contact and Comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795*, ed. Richard Unger (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 401–19.
26. Gülru Necipoğlu has observed that it may have been the earlier adoption of many Western European elements in Ottoman costumes, such as hanging slit sleeves, wide collars, and horizontal golden fastenings, that facilitated their popularity and ease of adaptation in Hungary and Poland. These elements brought Ottoman costumes closer to their European counterparts and differentiated them from Eastern Islamic models, including Timurid, Turkmen, and Safavid dress. Oral communication with Gülru Necipoğlu, November 27, 2012.
27. An engraving from the 1563 *Statuta Regni Poloniae* by Jan Herburt (Joannes Herborth de Fulstin) (d. 1577) demonstrates the range of fashions worn in Poland at the time. For more on this image, see Mrozowski, "Ubiór jako wyraz świadomości," 22.
28. [Translation into English mine.] Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, *O poprawie Rzeczypospolitej Andrzeja Frycza Modrzewskiego*, trans. from the Latin into Polish by K. J. Turowski (Przemyśl, 1857), 123. The Polish text reads: "A to jeszcze dziwniej, iż kto chodziwszy po ranu w kapie włoskiej, tenże zasię w wieczór chodzi w tureckiej fałszurze, w kołpaku, w półbótkach czerwonych albo białych." See also Jacek Żukowski, "W kapeluszu i w delii, czyli ewenement stroju mieszanego w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej," *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 57, 1 (2009): 19–37.
29. Alessandro Guagnini, *Sarmatiae Europeae Descriptio, quae Regnum Poloniae, Lituaniam, Samogitiam, Russiam, Massoviam, Prussiam, Pomeraniam, Livoniam et Moschoviae, Tartariaeque partem compectitur* (Speyer: Apud Bernardum Albinum, 1581), 43 recto: "Incolae habitum variarum diversarumque; nationum more gestant, praecipue vero, Italicum, Hispanicum, & Hungaricum, qui illis peculiaris est. Alii Germanico, Turcico, Moschovitico, Bohaemicoque."
30. George E. Borchard, "Reflections on the Polish Nobleman's Attire in the Sarmatian Tradition," *Costume* 4, 1 (1970): 14; Magdalena Bartkiewicz, *Polski ubiór do 1864 r.* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1979), 51; Przemysław Mrozowski, "Orientalizacja stroju szlacheckiego na przełomie XVI i XVII w.," in *Orient i Orientalizm w sztuce* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986), 259–60; Turnau, *Ubiór narodowy*, 44.
31. Pál Fodor, "The View of the Turk in Hungary: The Apocalyptic Tradition and the Legend of the Red Apple in Ottoman-Hungarian Context," in *Les traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople: Actes de la Table ronde d'Istanbul, 13–14 avril 1996*, ed. Benjamin Lellouch and Stéphane Yerasimos (Paris: Harmattan; Istanbul: Institut français d'études anatoliennes Georges-Dumézil, 2000), 99.
32. Quoted in Beata Biedrońska-Słotowa, "The Art of Islam in the History of Polish Art," in Biedrońska-Słota, *Orient in*

Polish Art, 13. Such "predilections" have also been noted in Spain, on which see, for example, Barbara Fuchs, "The Moorish Fashion," in *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 60–87.

33. Irena Turnau has shown that by the seventeenth century men of all social classes wore the same set of garments of Eastern origin, but class distinctions were retained through the quality of materials used, and the arms and jewelry one could afford to carry; see Turnau, *Ubiór narodowy*, 9.
34. Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 31.
35. The first edition of the book in which this print appears, entitled *Les quatre premiers livres des Navigations et peregrinations orientales* (The Four First Books of Oriental Navigations and Peregrinations), was published in 1568. I have chosen to reproduce a colored woodcut from the 1577 Italian translation of Nicolay's book, published in Antwerp by François Flory, entitled *Le navigationi et viaggi nella Turchia*. These woodcuts were made by Anton van Leest after engravings by Louis Danet, which were based on Nicolay's original drawings; see David Brafman, "Facing East: The Western View of Islam in Nicolas de Nicolay's *Travels in Turkey*," *Getty Research Journal* 1 (2009): 153.
36. Katalin Földi-Dózsa, "How the Hungarian National Costume Evolved," in *The Imperial Style: Fashions of the Habsburg Era*, ed. Polly Cone (exh. cat.) (New York: Rizzoli, 1980), 80.
37. Dobrowolski, *Polskie malarstwo portretowe*, 98.
38. Regarding the use of Ottoman miniature painting as a historical source, Suraiya Faroqhi cautions that "stylization and even frank anachronisms … happened on [Ottoman] miniatures in general." Faroqhi, "Introduction, or Why and How One Might Want to Study Ottoman Clothes," 19.
39. Derin Terzioğlu, "The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 84–100; Gizela Procházka-Eisl, "Guild Parades in Ottoman Literature: The *Sûrnâme* of 1582," in *Crafts and Craftsmen of the Middle East: Fashioning the Individual in the Muslim Mediterranean*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Randi Deguilhem (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 41–54.
40. Terzioğlu, "Imperial Circumcision Festival," 84–85.
41. On color in Ottoman garments, see Faroqhi, "Introduction, or Why and How One Might Want to Study Ottoman Clothes," 24–28.
42. In Nakkaş Osman's depiction of Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) in Seyyid Lokman's *Kiyāfetü'l-insāniye fi Şemā'il'ül-ᶜOs̱māniye* (Descriptions of the Ottoman Sultans) of 1579, the sultan is shown wearing a green coat with fur collar, slashed hanging sleeves, and arm openings that greatly resembles that of both Sanguszko and Nicolay's agha. For more details on this manuscript, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Serial Portraits of Ottoman Sultans in Comparative Perspective," in *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* (exh. cat.) (Istanbul: Işbank, 2000), 22–59; see also Jennifer Scarce, "Principles of Ottoman Turkish Costume," *Costume* 22 (1988): 13.
43. Adam Zamoyski, "History of Poland in the 16th–18th Centuries," in Ostrowski, *Land of the Winged Horsemen*, 35.
44. The print forms part of a series of thirteen etchings entitled *Battles of Various Peoples*. Ölçer, Majda, and Tanındı, *Distant Neighbour, Close Memories*, 187–89.
45. On European connotations of the turban, see Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 1:60–61, 1:73–74, and Charlotte Jirousek, "More than Oriental Splendor: European and Ottoman Headgear, 1380–1580," *Dress: The Annual Journal of the Costume Society of America* 22 (1995): 22–33. Heather Madar has noted that in the *Martyrdom of Saint John* by Albrecht Dürer (d. 1528) one of the negative figures "is visually linked (through the turban) to the Ottoman Empire… . The conventional use of the turban … create[s] a composite, extra-historical symbol of evil." Heather Madar, "Dürer's Depictions of the Ottoman Turks: A Case of Early Modern Orientalism?," in *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450–1750: Visual Imagery before Orientalism*, ed. James G. Harper (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 165; see also p. 179.
46. See, for example, Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 56–63; Norman Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400–1536* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 148.
47. Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Historical Dictionary of the Ottoman Empire* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2003), 116. Europeans were rarely able to understand the intricacies of the legal system surrounding headgear, as well as its symbolism. Michael Winter cites an example from Cairo in 1703 when a French merchant was reportedly beaten by a janissary agha as punishment for wearing a white head covering, as that color was reserved for Muslims; see Michael Winter, *Egyptian Society under Ottoman Rule 1517–1798* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 184.
48. Koutny-Jones, "Echoes of the East," 414; Mrozowski, "Ubiór jako wyraz świadomości," 23; and Turnau, *Ubiór narodowy*, 9. For an example of an Eastern-inspired Hungarian haircut, see Aegidius Sadeler II's print of Gabriel Bethlen (fig. 6).
49. On this portrait, see Bożena Steinborn's work, including *Malarz Daniel Schultz: Gdańszczanin w służbie królów polskich* (Warsaw: Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, 2004), 136–38.
50. Gabriel Piterberg, *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 27; Kołodziejczyk, *Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*, 238.
51. Motteville, *Memoirs for the History of Anne of Austria*, 1:264.
52. Koutny-Jones, "Echoes of the East," 402. Although she makes her argument for the eighteenth century, her correct reasoning may also be extended into the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries.

53. The architectural vestiges of the prolonged Ottoman presence in Buda (Budapest) are discussed in Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 440. See also Gy. Kaldy-Nagy, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (Leiden, 1955–2005), s.v. "Madjar, Madjaristān."
54. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 59.
55. Gervers, *Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles*, 12. On the use and reuse of textiles, see Nurhan Atasoy, Walter B. Denny, Louise W. Mackie, and Hülya Tezcan, *İpek: The Crescent and the Rose; Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets*, ed. Julian Raby and Alison Effeny (London: Azimuth Editions Limited on behalf of TEB İletişim ve Yaypıncılık, 2001), esp. 176–81, 239.
56. Ölçer, Majda, and Tanındı, *Distant Neighbour, Close Memories*, 147.
57. Ibid., 139.
58. On the Ottoman market for Italian textiles, see Atasoy et al., *İpek: The Crescent and the Rose*, 182–90.
59. Rybarski, *Handel i polityka handlowa Polski*, 1:179. Similarly, Adam Manikowski has argued that the Venetian and Tuscan silk industries survived through the seventeenth-century economic crisis as a result of the Polish demand for stylistically Eastern silks. See Adam Manikowski, *Toskańskie przedsiębiorstwo arystokratyczne w XVII wieku: społeczenstwo elitarnej konsumpcji* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1991). I am indebted to Dariusz Kołodziejczyk for bringing these references to my attention.
60. Dumanowski, "Orientalne i zachodnie wzory konsumpcji," 159; Ibolya Gerelyes, "Ottoman Influences on Hungarian Goldsmiths during the Baroque Era" in I. Fodor, *Baroque Splendor*, 63.
61. Paweł Rutkowski, "Poland and Britain against the Ottoman Turks: Jerzy Ossoliński's Embassy to King James I in 1621," in Unger, *Britain and Poland-Lithuania*, 183–95.
62. Jerzy Ossoliński, *A True Copy of the Latine Oration of the Excellent Lord George Ossoliński, Count Palatine of Tenizyn, and Sendomyria, Chamberlain to the Kings Maiestie of Poland, and Suethland, and Embassadour to the Kings Most Excellent Maiesty: As it was pronounced to his Majestie at White-Hall by the said Embassadour, on Sunday the 11. of March, 1620* (London, 1621), 9.
63. Rhys Jones and Richard Phillips, "Unsettling Geographical Horizons: Exploring Premodern and Non-European Imperialism," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95, 1 (2005): 151. See also John B. Bohnstedt, "The Infidel, Scourge of God: The Turkish Menace as Seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., 58, 9 (1968): 1–58; and Paul W. Knoll, "Poland as *Antemurale Christianitatis* in the Late Middle Ages," *The Catholic Historical Review* 60, 3 (October 1974): 381–401.
64. Bohdan Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej do XVIII wieku* (Łódź: Societas Scientarum Lodziensis, 1950), 168. Baranowski lists the majority of Polish anti-Ottoman texts of the early modern period on pp. 161–68. For a history of the subject in Hungary, see Fodor, "View of the Turk in Hungary," 99–131.
65. Ossoliński, *A True Copy of the Latine Oration*, 1621.
66. Quoted in Nora Berend, "Défense de la Chrétienté et naissance d'une identité: Hongrie, Pologne et péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Âge," *Annales HSS* 5 (September–October 2003): 1011: "Si possideretur a Thartharis, esset pro ipsis apertum hostium ad alias fidei catholice regiones."
67. Brian L. Davies, *Warfare, State and Society on the Black Sea Steppe, 1500–1700* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 11.
68. The Polish king Sigismund I (r. 1506–48) sought an alliance with the Ottomans, which resulted in the so-called eternal peace (*pokój wieczysty* in Polish) of 1533 between the Porte and Poland-Lithuania; it was renewed on subsequent occasions. The best short overview of the complexities of Ottoman-Polish relations and regional politics is Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "A Historical Outline of Polish-Ottoman Political and Diplomatic Relations (1414–1795)," in Ölçer, Majda, and Tanındı, *Distant Neighbour, Close Memories*, 17–25.
69. See, for example, Kangal, *War and Peace*; Knoll, "Poland as *Antemurale Christianitatis*"; Robert Kołodziej, "Kontakty Dyplomatyczne Polski z Turcją w Czasach Władysława IV," in *Polska wobec wielkich konfliktów w Europie nowożytnej*, ed. Ryszard Skowron (Katowice: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2009).
70. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 123.
71. Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989), 120.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. Szymon Starowolski, *Simonis Starovolsci Polonia, nunc denuo recognita et aucta. Accesserunt tabulae geographicae et index rerum locupletissimus* (Wolfenbüttel, 1656), 42: "Similiter Tartaris vicinus est palatinatus Kiovensis; Braslaviensis Palatinatus ultra Podoliam, in confinio Tartarorum positus."
75. Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and "Pagans" in Medieval Hungary c. 1000–c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 23.
76. Kathryn A. Ebel, "Representations of the Frontier in Ottoman Town Views of the Sixteenth Century," *Imago Mundi* 60, 1 (2008): 6, 7.
77. Koutny-Jones, "Echoes of the East," 410.
78. Jerzy Ossoliński and Domenico Roncalli, *Ill.mi et excell.mi d. d. Georgii Ossolinii... Oratio habita ab eodem Illustriss. & Excellentiss. D. Romæ in Aula Regia Vaticana sexta Decemb. 1633...* (Rome: Francesco Cavallo [Romae: Apud Franciscum Caballum], 1633), 3 verso: "Illa, illa Sarmatia, Romanorum armis impervia, Romanae religioni mancipata."
79. Tadeusz Ulewicz, "The Sarmatian Literary Portrait: Summary," in Zawadzka, *Portret typu sarmackiego*, 40; Aron Petneki, "Gens Sarmatica, Gens Scythica: Polish and Hungarian Nobility and Its Consciousness, Summary," in Zawadzka, *Portret typu sarmackiego*, 29; Beata Biedrońska-Słotowa,

Sarmatyzm: Sen o potędze (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 2010), 20.

80. Similarly, in early modern Spain the study of ancient Hebrew letters and Jewish culture flourished alongside virulent anti-Semitism. See, for example, Dominique Reyre, "Topónimos hebreos y memoria de la España judía en el Siglo de Oro," *Criticón* 65 (1995): 31–53.
81. Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 394.
82. Ossoliński's entrance into Rome was rendered by the Italian printmaker Stefano della Bella in his *Entrata in Roma dell' eccel*[*issimo*] *ambasciatore di Polonia l'anno MDCXXXIII* (Rome: Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi, 1633).
83. Said, *Orientalism*, 57, 56.
84. Quoted in Miklós Zrínyi, *The Siege of Sziget*, trans. László Kőrössy (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 8–9. "Pannonia" is the Roman name for the territories of Hungary and Croatia.
85. Biedrońska-Słotowa, *Sarmatyzm: Sen of potędze*, 20.
86. Motteville, *Memoirs for the History of Anne of Austria*, 1:260–61.
87. Petneki, "Gens Sarmatica, Gens Scythica," 29.
88. In return, Russia exported furs to the Ottoman Empire. See Luisa V. Yefimova and Tatyana S. Aleshina, *Russian Elegance: Country and City Fashion from the 15th to the Early 20th Century*, trans. David Hefford (London: Vivays Publishing, 2011), 13; see also Atasoy et al., *İpek: The Crescent and the Rose*, 180–81, 237–39.
89. Stefano Ionescu, "Transylvania and the Ottoman Rugs," in *Ottoman Rugs in Transylvania* (exh. cat.) (Berlin: Museum of Islamic Art, 2007), 33; Beate Wild, "Transylvania, a World of Diversity between Worlds," in *Ottoman Rugs in Transylvania*, 17; Emese Pásztor, *Ottoman Turkish Carpets in the Collection of the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts* (Budapest: Museum of Applied Arts, 2007), 14.
90. On this trade, see Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu*, 147–51.
91. For specific examples of traders from Poland purchasing goods in the Ottoman Empire, see Atasoy et al., *İpek: The Crescent and the Rose*, 179.
92. Starowolski, *Simonis Starovolsci Polonia*, 41: "Gens enim haec lucri causa libentissime in Regno Poloniae immoratur, & merces nobis varias, partim e Perside, partim e Regnis Turca, praecipue autem equos generosos adducit."
93. Such was the frequency of mercantile travel between Safavid Iran and Poland, particularly by Armenian merchants, that in 1676 French diamond trafficker Jean Baptiste Tavernier (d. 1689) spoke of an established, optimal "route de Varsovie à Ispahan" [route from Warsaw to Isfahan]: Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier: Ecuyer Baron d'Aubonne, qu'il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes*, 5 vols. (Paris: Gervais Clouzier, 1676), 3:303. On this see also Dziubiński, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne polsko-tureckie*, 20–21.
94. Ostrowski, *Land of the Winged Horsemen*, 151. On the import of goods from the East in Western Europe, see Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 233.
95. Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu*, 168.
96. Appadurai, "Introduction," 26–28.
97. Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu*, 177.
98. The letter was sent to the vice chancellor of the Polish king Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki (r. 1669–73). Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms. Lat 382. *Copia literarum ex tentorijs Hassem Bassae ad illustrissimum dominum sub cancellarium regni*: manuscript, [16—], Gift of Archibald Cary Coolidge, 1901: "Nostri acceperunt centum 25 tormenta, equos Turcicos, camellos, vestes de pecunia, auro, argento, et aliis rebus copiam magnam." *Tormenta* translates to either "missiles" or "engines" for hurling stones. On war booty, see also Jan Chryzostom Pasek, *Memoirs of the Polish Baroque: The Writings of Jan Chryzostom Pasek, A Squire of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania*, ed. and trans. Catherine S. Leach (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 234.
99. Jacek Gajewski, "O kilku portretach Jana Kazimierza. Przyczynek do twórczości Daniela Schultza i ikonografii króla," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 37 (1977): 47–61; Steinborn, *Malarz Daniel Schultz*, 196, definitively rejects Schultz's authorship of the portrait; Ostrowski, *Land of the Winged Horsemen*, 197.
100. Tazbir, "Culture of the Baroque in Poland," 173.
101. On the executionist movement see, for example, Knoll, "Religious Toleration," 30–52.
102. Knoll, "Religious Toleration," 41. For more detail about the *Pacta Conventa* agreements and the rise of Polish republicanism, see Edward Opaliński, "Civic Humanism and Republican Citizenship in the Polish Renaissance," in *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage, Volume 1: Republicanism and Constitutionalism in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 165.
103. Andrzej Wyczański, "The System of Power in Poland, 1370–1648," in Mączak, Samsonowicz, and Burke, *East-Central Europe in Transition*, 151. On the *rokosz,* see also Stolarski, *Friars on the Frontier*, 23–25. The Polish word *rokosz* is itself a loan from the Hungarian *rákos*; see Halina Zgółkowa, *Praktyczny słownik współczesnej polszczyzny* (Poznań: Kurpisz, 2004), 162.
104. Ulewicz, "Sarmatian Literary Portrait," 40.
105. Wyczański, "System of Power in Poland," 151.
106. Ibid. The nobility was so influential because Poland and Hungary had among the highest percentages of individuals belonging to the noble class in all of Europe in this period. By various estimates, in Poland it formed around 8 percent of the entire population. See, for example, Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility: 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 25.
107. Mieczysława Chmielewska, *Sejm Elekcyjny Michała Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego 1669 roku* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2006), 5.
108. Ibid., 59–92.

109. Zdzisław Żygulski, *Dzieje zbiorów Puławskich: Świątynia Sybilli i Dom Gotycki* (Kraków: Fundacja Książąt Czartoryskich; Kazimierz Dolny: Muzeum Nadwiślańskie, 2009), 53.
110. Wyczański, "System of Power in Poland," 151.
111. Ibid., 32.
112. Quoted in Béla Köpeczi, "The Hungarian Wars of Independence in the 17th and 18th Centuries in their European Context," in *Hungarian History–World History*, ed. György Ránki (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 37.
113. Wyczański, "System of Power in Poland," 151.
114. See, for example, Stanisław Grzybowski, "Opinie szlachty polskiej o antyhabsburskich powstaniach na Węgrzech," in *Polska i Węgry w kulturze i cywilizacji Europejskiej*, ed. Jerzy Wyrozumski (Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 1997), 105–9.
115. Daniel J. Isenberg, "Group Polarization: A Critical Review and Meta-Analysis," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 50, 6 (1986): 1142. Group polarization theory was articulated most fully by Isenberg but also developed by social psychologists such as Serge Moscovici and Marisa Zavalloni, "The Group as Polarizer of Attitudes," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 12, 2 (1969): 125–35.
116. Isenberg, "Group Polarization, 1142.
117. See, for example, Linda T. Darling, "Ottoman Politics through British Eyes: Paul Rycaut's 'The Present State of the Ottoman Empire'," *Journal of World History* 5, 1 (Spring, 1994): 71–97; Edward Craig, *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 10 vols. (New York, 1998), 1:31; Frederick Quinn, *The Sum of All Heresies: The Image of Islam in Western Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 59. For the Polish case, see Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "Obraz sułtana tureckiego w publicystyce staropolskiej," in *Staropolski ogląd świata, tom 1: Rzeczpospolita między okcydentalizmem a orientalizacją. Przestrzeń kontaktów*, ed. Filip Wolański and Robert Kołodziej (Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek: Toruń, 2009), 19.
118. Tazbir, "Culture of the Baroque in Poland," 175.
119. Éva Deák, "'Princeps non principissa': Catherine of Brandenburg, Elected Prince of Transylvania (1629–30)," in *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anne J. Cruz and Mihoko Suzuki (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 82.
120. Quoted in Gervers, *Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles*, 15.
121. Kemény's collection of Ottoman items included six sabers, a broadsword, four saddlecloths, saddles, and other equine trappings. Gerelyes, *Ottoman Influences*, 61. On Kemény's enslavement, see Mária Ivanics, "Enslavement, Slave Labour and the Treatment of Captives in the Crimean Khanate," in *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders: Early Fifteenth–Early Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 207–15.
122. Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 2.
123. N. Davies, *God's Playground*, 379.
124. Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu*, 53–58, 119–131. Baranowski demonstrates that many individuals recognized the "Orient" as a complex region composed of discrete entities with recognizably differing social and religious conditions.
125. Gervers, *Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles*, 26. In Poland, the distinction between Eastern carpets was captured in the adjective *adziamski*, which was used to describe Iranian carpets from as early as 1533. *Adziam* originated from the Turkish word *Acem* (Arabic: *ʿajam*), meaning Iran. See Zygmunt Gloger, *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana* (Warsaw: Laskauer i Babicki, 1900), 13; Stanisław Stachowski, *Słownik historyczny turcyzmów w języku polskim* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2007), 5.
126. See Gervers, *Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles*, 12–13. For more information on the tradition of bestowing *hil'at*, see Louise W. Mackie, "Ottoman Kaftans with an Italian Identity," in Faroqhi and Neumann, *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, 223.
127. Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "Semiotics of Behavior in Early Modern Diplomacy: Polish Embassies in Istanbul and Bahçesaray," *Journal of Early Modern History* 7, 3–4 (2003): 255.
128. For an early modern Polish account of diplomatic gifts at the Ottoman court, see Samuel Twardowski, *Przeważna legacya Jaśnie Oświeconego XSiążęcia Krzysztopha Zbaraskiego do cesarza tureckiego Mustafy w roku 1621 Przez Samuela z Skrzypney Twardowskiego* (Kraków: W Drukarni Akademickiey Soc. Jesu, 1706), 120–23, 133–35, 237.
129. Gülru Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 35.
130. Ibid.; Dariusz Kołodziejczyk draws a similar conclusion about the complexities of the Ottoman sultan's self-fashioning in a recent article: see Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "Khan, Caliph, Tsar and Imperator: The Multiple Identities of the Ottoman Sultan," in Bang and Kołodziejczyk, *Universal Empire*, 175–93.
131. Jan Sobieski, "Letters to Marysieńka: In the Vizier's Tents, September 13 [1683], at Night," in *Polish Baroque and Enlightenment Literature: An Anthology*, trans. and ed. Michael J. Mikoś (Columbus: Slavica Press, 1996), 133.
132. *Diariusz Seymu Warszawskiego w styczniu roku 1672*, ed. Franciszek Kulczycki (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1880), 9: "Czemuż JºKMć będąc *caro de carne, os de ossibus nostris, abhorret* narodu Polskiego *vestitum*, a cudzoziemską sobie, iakoby *opprobrio gentis Polonae*, którą przodkowie nasi *fastidio* mieli, upodobał modę?"
133. Steinborn, *Malarz Daniel Schultz*, 96.
134. Koutny-Jones, "Echoes of the East," 412.
135. Daniel Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386–1795* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 260.
136. Friedrich Polleroß, "Austriacus Hungariae Rex. Zur Darstellung der Habsburger als ungarische Könige in der frühneuzeitlichen Graphik," in *"Ez világ, mint egy kert …" Tanulmányok Galavics Géza tiszteletére*, ed. Orsolya Bubryák (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatóintézet – Gondolat Kiadó, 2010), 65.
137. Starowolski, *Simonis Starovolsci Polonia*, 74: "Idem sane faciunt & foeminae, atque omnes Europaearum matro-

narum habitus sibi usurpant…" Regarding the apolitical nature of women's clothing in early modern Poland, see also Dumanowski, "Orientalne i zachodnie wzory konsumpcji," 159.

138. Koutny-Jones, "Echoes of the East," 417; Mańkowski, *Orient w polskiej kulturze artystycznej*, 199–200.
139. For more on this portrait, see Jesús Urrea, "'El Molinaretto' y otros retratistas de Carlos III en Italia," *Boletín del Museo del Prado* IX (January–December, 1988): 82–88.
140. Jakub Sobieski, *Peregrynacja po Europie* [*1607–1613*], *Droga do Baden* [*1638*], ed. Józef Długosz (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1991), 91: "Ten gospodarz, na pozór stateczny… przyniósł też był kilka sztuczek ciała tego Rawaliaka… smażył je w jajecznicy i jadł je…"
141. Motteville, *Memoirs for the History of Anne of Austria,* 1:263.
142. Dumanowski, "Orientalne i zachodnie wzory konsumpcji," 156.
143. Quoted in Mrozowski, "Ubiór jako wyraz świadomości," 19: "Zwożono portrety z XV, XVI i XVII wieku, z których brano formy na suknie."
144. Ibid., 20.
145. Turnau, *Ubiór narodowy*, 161. On the much-contended use of the term "colonial" to describe the partitions of Poland by European powers, see Rafał Kopkowski, "Joseph Conrad's Essays and Letters in the Light of Postcolonial Studies," *Yearbook of Conrad Studies* (*Poland*) 6 (2011): 23–26.