

The Oriental *Flâneur*: Khalil Bey and the Cosmopolitan Experience

By

Deniz Turker

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Submitted to the Department of Architecture
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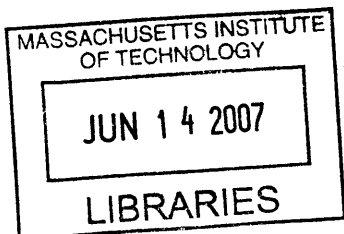
Nasser Rabbat
Aga Khan Professor of the History of Islamic Architecture
Thesis Supervisor

Certified by.....

Erika Naginski
Associate Professor of the History of Art
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by.....

Julian Beinart
Professor of Architecture
Chair of the Department of Committee on Graduate Students



! ROTCH

THESIS COMMITTEE

Thesis Supervisor:
Erika Naginski
Associate Professor of the History of Art

Thesis Supervisor:
Nasser Rabbat
Aga Khan Professor of Islamic Architecture

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ABSTRACT

This thesis offers an account of the professional life and aesthetic pursuits of a remarkable figure of the nineteenth century: Khalil Bey, an Ottoman diplomat and art collector whose career took him from one cosmopolitan city to another. Although, his collection of French art has gotten considerable attention in Western scholarship, due primarily to his commission of Gustave Courbet's *Origin of the World*, an in-depth study of his life hasn't yet been produced. It is in this regard that this thesis frames Khalil's life chronologically and details his diplomatic career, his three-year sojourn as an art-collector and his evolving egalitarian and reformist ideals. The aim here is to offer a critical interpretation of the figure of Khalil Bey, and in so doing, complicate the terms in which nineteenth-century masculine identity is cast. The overall aim is not to define anew such Baudelairian categories as flâneur, dandy, artist, and bohemian, but rather allow the possibility of how a cosmopolitan Oriental like Khalil Bey, who seamlessly navigated between the capitals of the West and East, offers a compelling model of self-fashioning, and a means of understanding how masculinity, in the age of modernity, was deeply unfixed.

Thesis Supervisor: Erika Naginski
Title: Associate Professor of the History of Art

Thesis Supervisor: Nasser Rabbat
Title: Aga Khan Professor of Islamic Architecture

BIOGRAPHY

Deniz Turker earned her Bachelor of Arts degree in the History of Art from Yale University in 2005. Her undergraduate interests were focused primarily on the cross-cultural exchanges between Venice and the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth-century, which resulted in a senior thesis titled *Material Spaces in Sinan and Palladio*. Two Yale College fellowships, the Sudler Award, and the Marshall-Allison travel grant, supported her undergraduate thesis research in the summer of 2004. As a SMArchS degree candidate in the Aga Khan Program at MIT, she worked primarily on eighteenth and nineteenth-century Orientalist art and architecture with an emphasis on nineteenth-century Ottoman figures, who shaped the aesthetic sensibilities of their time. After the completion of her Master's degree, she will be returning to MIT as a PhD student in the History, Theory, and Criticism of Art and Architecture Department. She will continue her research on Khalil Bey, as well as the intricate and evolving relationship between the Egyptian elites and the Ottoman Court in the nineteenth-century.

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I dedicate this work to my parents, Selma and Tefvik, who have always desired that I choose the path of history.

Thank you.

The Oriental *Flâneur*: Khalil Bey and the Cosmopolitan Experience

INTRODUCTION

Orientalism and Questions of Identity

He disappeared from me, and not a trace of him has remained

except in my heart, and no news is heard from him

And when he appears, the mirror shows his appearance

in which houses full of images become visible

—Rifa'a al-Tahtawi (1839).¹

This thesis offers an account of the professional life and aesthetic pursuits of a remarkable figure of the nineteenth century: Khalil Bey, an Ottoman diplomat and art collector whose career took him from one cosmopolitan city to another. While the three sections of this thesis proceed chronologically, they all focus on the question of an Eastern male identity that challenges dominant Western models of privileged masculine experience in the modern age. Following introductory remarks, the first section, entitled *Order, Spectacle and Alterity*, considers Khalil Bey's early years and, especially, his education in Paris at the military *Ecole Militaire Egyptienne*. The second section, entitled *Playing the Collector*, provides a description of the major collection of old master and nineteenth-century paintings that Khalil Bey amassed in the 1860s. The third and final section, entitled *Patriotic Cosmopolitanism and the New Ottomans*, elaborates on the French poet Charles Baudelaire's definition of the cosmopolitan male, and its applicability as a category for understanding Khalil Bey's later life as a political reformist in the Ottoman Empire.

Khalil Bey is perhaps best known for a first-rate collection of paintings that included, most notoriously, Gustave Courbet's *Origin of the World* (**fig. 1**).² Khalil Bey's biographers, who prize the dates, names, suggestive anecdotes and historic events that they have sought out, begin without exception with a photograph of a languid and rotund Oriental (**fig. 2**).³ One might dismiss this use of the black and white daguerreotype as a demonstration that, where the biographical genre is concerned, the cult of personality associated with famous individuals demands its visual representation. Susan Sontag has described this tendency to value the ostensive objectivity of the camera over text and paint as follows: "[T]he camera record justifies; the picture may distort, but there is always a presumption that something exists, or did exist, which is like what is in the picture."⁴ In Khalil Bey's life story, the picture in Sontag's citation directs us to Courbet's painting and the Oriental source of its creation. In other words, the photograph reproduced in a 1964 issue of the *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Gustave Courbet* was there to prove that the picture's patron wore a fez along with a contented half-smile—a natural effect of his *narghile*. That the Turkish writer Enis Batur later discovered that the photograph was in fact of someone else entirely, uprooted the reading of patron and painting offered by Linda Nochlin and others in which an Oriental despot, prompted by the eroticized will to possess, necessarily opts for the representation of a woman's sex.⁵

It can be claimed that one of the defining features of the Occident's nineteenth-century encounter with the Orient is a marked tendency to represent the latter along gendered lines. French Romanticism furnishes any number of visual examples. Consider Eugène Delacroix's *Death of Sardanapalus* (**fig. 3**), exhibited at the 1827 Salon, in which we are offered the two sides of the coin: on the one hand, the sybaritic despot reclining on his divan and contemplating both his impending suicide and the outrageous spectacle of the sacrifice of his harem; on the

other hand, the tantalizingly white-skinned beauties weakly fighting off the knives brandished by ferocious guards. That the languorous vice suggested by Sardanapalus's pose is reiterated in the daguerreotype of our unknown Oriental is no accident. It contributes directly to the one side of the stereotyped East (that of masculine despotism) whose other side (that of feminine submission) is part of a dominant discourse whose alterity is remarkable.

My aim here is to offer a critical interpretation of the figure of Khalil Bey, and in so doing, complicate the terms in which nineteenth-century masculine identity is cast. My point here is not to define anew such Baudelairian categories as *flâneur*, dandy, artist, and bohemian. Rather I will contemplate the possibility of how a cosmopolitan Oriental like Khalil Bey, who seamlessly navigated between the capitals of the West and East, offers a compelling model of self-fashioning, and a means of understanding how masculinity, in the age of modernity, was deeply unfixed. Baudelaire's *flâneur* as "passionate observer" emerged in 1863 as a dominant, if fluid, poetic model of the privileged white male for whom the city is a spectacle to be consumed.⁶ By the same token, the Ottoman elite likewise grappled with transforming notions of masculinity whose modern aspect tended problematically to endorse the forces of Westernization over and against notions of imperialism, paternalism, and monarchism.

The more accurate handling of Khalil Bey's life relies on an understanding of nineteenth-century cosmopolitanism that encompasses perhaps the *flâneur* and the dandy, but denotes much more than the ocular notions of seeing, being seen, performing an elegant life and other features of appearance that may be read as "a sufficient *raison d'être* for a nineteenth-century man."⁷ In strictly categorical terms, Khalil Bey participates in *flânerie* with his collection, and dandyism with courtesans, clothing and gambling, but his profession as a diplomat, which constitutes a

larger part of his life, generates a more complex mechanism that not only speaks to how “Orientalist discourse represents its own incompleteness,” but also to the wider fragmentation of the discourse’s dichotomous model of the East and West.⁸ Then, the “houses full of images” that appear on French mirrors in Egyptian scholar Rifa’a Al-Tahtawi’s poem are of himself, as much as of a peripatetic cosmopolite, whose various modes of living have proliferated through his frequent, fluid and evolving encounters with two cultural systems that in the middle of the nineteenth century are, in fact, penetrating one another in terms of cultural symbiosis, political emulation, monarchic reevaluation and questions of people’s rights and suffrage.⁹

Enis Batur’s two books on lengthy aphorisms, *Issiz Donme Dolap* and *Elma*, continually revert back to Khalil Bey. Batur’s many attempts at providing the most suitable description take him back to his first impression: “Halil Bey was an atypical [atipik] stranger.”¹⁰ Batur then amends his characterization to free it from the Orientalizing and aggressively marginalizing terminology with which Khalil was viewed by his European contemporaries: “I believe it was easy to identify the *stranger* in 1865. The difficulty was to situate the *atypical stranger*, to name its doubly-wrought Otherness.”¹¹ As early as 1982 Francis Haskell offered a similar characterization of Khalil Bey as “a modern man, who helped dispose of a picturesque but by now threadbare mythology” is to begin to rethink certain definitions and strive to acknowledge that approximating a historic moment of any magnitude requires an understanding of the ever-changing velocity and difficulty of writing the modern life.¹²

CHAPTER ONE

Order, Spectacle and Alterity: Khalil Bey's Early Life, 1843-1865

Muhammad Ali's Educational Missions and Khalil's first visit to Paris

The seldom talked about early life of Khalil Bey corresponds in large part to and is dictated by the viceroy of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha and his rigorous “attempt at constructing order” through the systematic renewal of its most visible mechanism, the Egyptian military.¹³ Most art historical accounts narrate Khalil Bey's later years exclusively --the labyrinthine ‘disorderly’ life of an urbanite in Paris has an undeniable speculative allure. They treat the collection and its auction as a beginning of and end to Khalil Bey's life.¹⁴ In fact, Paris was the center of Khalil Bey's formative years as well. Under a disciplinary European education sponsored and ordained by Muhammad Ali, Khalil played a part in the viceroy's vision of institutional order that was thought to restore over time a degraded Egyptian social structure in line with Western rules of conduct.

Although Khalil was sent through private means to Paris along with his brothers Osman and Ali to attend a French school, his profession as a diplomat is due solely to the so-called Parisian “Mission of the Sons of Mohammad Ali,” which took place between the years 1844 and 1849.¹⁵ As the son of the minister, *nazir*, of the Finance Department in Mohammad Ali’s *diwan*, Khalil was most probably considered extended family, a ‘son’, designating a future ‘ruler’ of modern Egypt.¹⁶ Of course the Parisian mission consisted also of Muhammad Ali’s biological sons and grandsons, some of whom would later play an important part in Khalil’s allegiance to the *Porte* and opposition to the Egyptian khedive Ismail. Two Armenian instructors, *mudirs*, who had been sent to Paris in an earlier mission, and an *imam* were also sent along.¹⁷

Borrowing from Egyptian statesman Nubar Pasha’s biography of Muhammad Ali, Timothy Mitchell describes the education missions as the top-down establishment of a new form of political power among the private landowners. The Pasha defends the exclusivity of the missions as follows: “In the introduction of these new ideas and new processes, authority alone has no power. Power resides in persuasion. One cannot take one-by-one four or five million individuals to convince them that one such thing is better than another.”¹⁸ To Nubar Pasha, once the Western forms of knowledge are diffused among the ‘sons’, the project of leading millions in a new direction, mirroring as it were the rules and regulations of the leaders’ disciplined schooling, becomes a more affordable undertaking.

It is not so difficult to see why Muhammad Ali chose France for his missions. Although the web of relations between the viceroy and the European nations were complex and often times mercurial due to Egypt’s delicate position within the Ottoman Empire, it was after all the intellectual residues of Napoleon’s Egyptian expedition that prompted the educational missions

to France. (In fact, a letter written by Gustave Flaubert in Cairo attests to Arabs' –and here he probably only interacted with Egyptian upper classes- lasting impression of Napoleon as a demigod.¹⁹) Two individuals from Napoleon's expedition, the French consul-general of Italian descent, Bernardino Drovetti, and the engineer, archaeologist, and geographer Edme-François Jomard, who was also the editor of the *Description d'Egypte* and a member of Monge's Egyptian Institute, persuaded Mohammad Ali to decide the location of the first mission in favor of Paris, even though most instructors of Muhammad Ali's new schools in Egypt were at the time of Italian origin and Italian was the *lingua franca* of the Levant.²⁰

There were many European technocrats, who were seeking to participate in Muhammad Ali's process of modernization. Jomard had already submitted Muhammad Ali a “*plan pour la civilization de l’Egypte par l’instruction,*” which urged the viceroy to send students to France for training in the modern sciences, which later made him the director of studies of these missions.²¹ Daniel Newman implies that this European attitude is a remnant of Napoleon's belief in the French education's capacity to incur civilization in the underdeveloped, a belief that in a more unbridled anti-Islamic language appears in Fourier's preface to the *Description* and earlier on in comte de Volney's *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie*. In particular, the latter would inadvertently become the mouthpiece for Napoleon's imperial goals as Volney prescribed civilizing missions to awaken the Egyptians from an indolent Islam.²²

Compared to the four that came before it, this mission was from its inception a more organized undertaking, as the students were housed in a building that very quickly became the Egyptian Military School, *Ecole Militaire Egyptienne* (**fig. 4**), under the directorship of the French Minister of War.²³ Timothy Mitchell argues that the school's education system was based on the British Lancaster ‘mutual improvement’ schools, due to the fact that a group of Egyptians,

who were responsible of structuring new Egyptian schools had been educated there in the 1820s and the results, it seems, were satisfactory. These schools were understood by the Egyptian authority to be ideal models of discipline as every movement of the student was monitored through a carefully planned mathematical structure of surveillance.²⁴ The system's appeal to the Egyptian administration was most probably due to its likeness to military order. As it is argued by Mitchell and Albert Hourani, Muhammad Ali's every attempt at modernization follows the infrastructure, composition and upkeep of an army.²⁵ However, it's still interesting to witness here a reliance on British education as the promoter of the model citizen, which is organized around the French military regimen. Courses in the Egyptian School in Paris were primarily on military subjects and "to ensure full control over the students" formation as soldiers, the courses were based on a code of regulations, which consisted of twenty-five articles.²⁶ Some of these articles, which are listed in full both by James Heyworth-Dunne and Timothy Mitchell, reveal to us that the students didn't have much time to experience the city, as they were "allowed out from 10 a.m. on Sundays and 3 p.m. on Thursdays."²⁷

Although much has been written on Eastern empires', states', sultans' or khedives' encounters with the West, it is difficult for us to grapple with notions of an East encountering the West on an individual scale, as Michele Haddad calculates Halil Bey's age at the time as thirteen.²⁸ However, there are two sources that provide glimpses into the nature and extent of the Egyptian students' experiences and presumed impressions, these are the abovementioned texts that list the school's activities and imam of the first Egyptian mission, Rifa'a al-Tahtawi's travelogue, *rihla*, and essays, *muqalat*, on his time in Paris.

From the former, we learn that during the holidays "Muhammad Ali's relations were allowed to visit Cherbourg, Compiègne and Fontainebleau."²⁹ The latter town is noteworthy due

to the fact that a significant portion of Khalil Bey's collection will consist of paintings from the Barbizon school of painters, whose primary focus was the landscape of Fontainebleau. In addition, it is interesting that within the confines of a 5.30 a.m. to 10 p.m. class schedule there was a two hour drawing course taught three times a week.³⁰ These two activities may have influenced Khalil Bey's aesthetic formation, as most military education in Europe starting in the 18th century emphasized a drawing component in their teaching.

Al-Tahtawi's *Takhlis* and East First Impressions of the West

The early institutional Western encounters with Egypt and their textual productions such as the *Description* and better perhaps comte de Volney's *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie*, find their modest, yet equally descriptive counterpart in Rifa'a Rafi al-Tahtawi's *Takhlis al-ibriz fi talkhis Bariz* (The Extraction of Pure Gold [on the Road] towards the Abridgment of Paris), as its English translator suggests "In addition to the perception of the Other, the book also lifts the veil on the perception of the Self (Europe) as conveyed to the Other (the Muslim)."³¹ The book is equally ethnographic in intent and surveys an early Occidentalism, an admiration for the forces of modernity in the Western, rather than a reverse Orientalism that suggests a pro-Islamic isolationist attitude and condescension towards all Western forms and structures.

Al-Tahtawi was the twenty-four-year-old imam of the first educational mission, who was brought along to provide the younger students with necessary religious guidance. However, from very early on in his travels he intended to educate Egyptians in the manners and customs of the French, therefore kept a meticulous journal. Although al-Tahtawi's account is of a Paris ten years before Khalil Bey's time, the descriptions are insightful, due to their transference of a naïve, but unflinching curiosity that could only be ascribed to first encounters with an unfamiliar culture,

thought to be the ideal model. Ali Mubarak in his *Alamuddin* of 1882 would later characterize al-Tahtawi's travelogue as the work of an Oriental flâneur, 'a roamer in its peripheries' or better perhaps, a stranger observing from the sidelines of the city, whose virtues can only be sung. However, as Christopher Prendergast would later argue, nineteenth-century Paris' reality was not even uncovered by its local inhabitants.³²

The author has poured in a lot of praise on Paris and his people, has dwelt extensively on the description of its women and men, but has remained a roamer in its peripheries, not a singer of its songs...he entered it from its doors, and subsequently did not uncover its reality by his description of it.³³

In its descriptive intent, al-Tahtawi's *Takhlis* inevitably resorts to dichotomies that in post-colonial literature are treated merely as clean and uncomplicated beginnings of a discourse that would only later get more intricate as the individual interactions proliferate and complicate alterity. In al-Tahtawi's travelogue, Paris becomes an abstract signifier of all things French, France is treated as Europe's microcosm, where the *libertarians* reason defies divine intervention, and progress seems to deny room for devotion.³⁴ However, unlike Ali Mubarak's much more severe self-assessments of concepts such as inferiority/superiority, backwardness/civilized, an all-around admiration for a progress-born civilization guides his observations. Mubarak engages in attempts at secularizing Egyptian religion, while al-Tahtawi detaches religion from progress and faithlessness from civilization. Al-Tahtawi takes the reader, specifically the literate Egyptian of the early nineteenth century from the history of Alexandria, to Marseilles' café-culture, Paris' topography, certain sartorial characteristics, leisurely and

culinary activities of its inhabitants, the structure of France's governance, and the particularities of its women. One enters into the restaurants, imagines its candied fruits, wonders around its streets on various carriages and witnesses a variety of 'spectacles,' perhaps the most recurrent characterizations of Second Empire Paris.

For the imam, 'spectacle' doesn't quite correspond to any Arabic word or concept, he tries to relate it to theaters, but falls short of finding the appropriate synonym; therefore, as an alien-spectator, he tries to make sense of nominal occurrences such as the dioramas, theaters and operas that comprise Paris as such.³⁵ It is likely that the young students' impressions of Paris were close to al-Tahtawi's. Their first encounters with what was anachronistically thought of and defined as "Frankish" were probably linked to perceptions of the unknown as the source of spectacle. In many ways, the imam's journal could be seen as testimony to the experiences of the students he accompanied; they were after all a part of the educational missions. Their schedules regulated their experience of the city and limited them from fully absorbing the rapidly-forming constituents of metropolitan life. Ali Mubarak calls al-Tahtawi "a roamer in its [Paris] peripheries"; the characterization connotes a stranger, who not unlike the flâneur is also motivated by the power of sight and spectacle, crowd and innovation. However, al-Tahtawi's glance belonged to a neophyte, who didn't quite possess the flâneur's urban expertise.

James Heyworth-Dunne mentions that in June 1846, the viceroy decreed nine students be chosen to study civil administration and amongst those selected for this course were the weak-sighted³⁶ Ismail Bey, Muhammad Bey, and Khalil Bey. (This particular physical ailment will eventually factor into the choices Khalil Bey will make in his professional life.) Depending on the students' performances, they were given military titles, but civil administration students were separated from the classes centered around military practice, given a special teacher, tested on

much fewer subjects – French, geography, arithmetic, and elementary geometry-, and weren't given military ranks. Eventually, the school was closed in May 1849 under Abbas Pasha, Muhammad Ali's more conservative grandson, and from the biographical record found in Roderic H. Davison's article we understand that Khalil Bey returned to Egypt at the age of nineteen to serve as the second secretary to Abbas.³⁷ Unlike Khalil, most other students were placed in French universities and continued their studies in Paris. Soon after his return, Khalil was also selected as a member of the council of justice, *ahkam-i misriye*, and later as the director of the office of translation and of the bureau of correspondence in the Egyptian foreign affairs administration.³⁸

Khalil's Second Visit to Paris, the 1855 Universal Exposition and the Crimean War

Khalil was sent to Paris a second time during the rule of Abbas' successor Said Pasha. As Albert Hourani argues, Said's rule restored some of Muhammad Ali's reform policies that were stalled during Abbas' more conservative, agrarian reforms.³⁹ The new viceroy reinstated Egypt's diplomatic relations with France -in fact some scholars have even likened Said's court to Louis XIV's- and through his first overseas job, Khalil was made able to exercise diplomacy.⁴⁰ It is precisely in Said's eagerness in revitalizing the French connection that Khalil was chosen as the *commissaire spécial de l'Égypte* in charge of the Egyptian gallery in the first French Universal Exposition, the same year that Ferdinand De Lesseps and his International Scientific Commission to design the Suez Canal were invited to Egypt. Khalil's appointment was announced in the Parisian newspaper *La Patrie* dated March 9 1855.⁴¹

For the Universal Exhibition in Paris, the khedive of Egypt has sent Khalil Bey, the son of Serif Pasha, who is the director of the *Turkish-Arab Communications Bureau*, as commissioner.

The forty trunks of agricultural and industrial goods that the Egyptian government is sending to the Universal Exhibition will soon travel to Marseille. Khalil Bey, who will be traveling with the goods, is expected to leave for Alexandria within a few days.⁴²

The contents of the forty trunks that Khalil oversaw represented a selection of Egypt's proto-industrial reforms. From the rather scant resources, we find that the Egyptian gallery in the Exposition contained a combination of unprocessed materials, natural resources, and manufactures of both military and non-military industries; marbles, fabrics, embroidery and grains were found alongside works of calligraphy, weaponry, and equestrian armor. However, it was the textiles that won Egypt the jury's prizes. This is not at all surprising, because in assessing Muhammad Ali and Abbas's physiocratic modernization of Egypt in the early half of the nineteenth century one observes a heavy reliance on cotton production and textile industries.⁴³ Although it is difficult to measure Said Pasha's interest in competing with European markets, let alone find foreign investors in the Palace of Industry or assign prices to the Egyptian products - as we know through Ernest Renan's criticism of the 1855 Exposition, Europe was really off to view the merchandise- Haddad interprets the prizes that the textiles collected as symbols of the re-established relations between Egypt and France.⁴⁴

As Haddad further suggests, beyond the marketability of the products on display, the Oriental participants were given acknowledgments based on military sentiments as a result of the on-going Crimean War. The size of the Oriental displays was markedly smaller than the Crystal

Palace, however they collectively received considerable attention due to the fact that the prizes of raffle organized for the allied armies were shown “amongst flowers and greenery within the Magribi style cases of Turkey, Egypt and Tunisia.”⁴⁵

This Exposition (**fig. 5**) is of interest not only because it was intended to celebrate both art and industry, as the former was France’s “competitive edge” and the latter was by now a staple in the Exposition trend set by the British, but also for our purposes due to the fact that the Ottoman and Egyptian sections were treated as separate and equal-sized entities.⁴⁶ Historically, the event is situated within a complex web of international alliances that are dictated by colonialism, trade, industry, and a newfound understanding of market competition. Another important factor lies in Napoleon III’s aspiration to link his rule with the glories of Napoleon I by exploiting the claim that through the latter’s reign, France became the first empire to establish the idea of *Exposition*.⁴⁷ Therefore, the Exposition had for France a dual political intent; it sought to convey domestic stability and legitimize its monarchical rule, while maintaining the European balance of power with Britain. As Frank Anderson Trapp suggests, the Exposition marked “the forty years of rapprochement that had grown up between England and France since their armies met at Waterloo.”⁴⁸ The mammoth size of the 1855 Exposition hinted at an amicable rivalry as France wanted only to eclipse Britain’s Crystal Palace and supersede it in technical advancements, since France believe it already had in arts.

Like its predecessors, the Exposition’s descriptions are best attained through individual perceptions, impressions, and aphorisms that one reads in the Goncourts, Maxime du Camp, Théophile Gautier, Ernest Renan and others, who trace its borders largely in intellectual disparagement. Most suitably designated as the playground of the rising bourgeoisie, the Palace of Industry (**fig. 6**) is interpreted perhaps most interestingly in the travelogues of the petite

bourgeoisie, as they find themselves in familiar geography, the magnified, exaggerated version of their own stores. However, their observations on the unfamiliar are far more compelling in their naïve renderings than the nineteenth-century sophisticated literary dialogue of self and other that Edward Said and others have surveyed. Christopher Prendergast provides the best definition of what is meant by the word spectacle in nineteenth-century Paris. For him, the visual product is created and designated as a spectacle through perceptions of alterity, as well as the competing and contrasting representations that sustain it as such. A spectacle is dependent on an individual or group's confrontation with unusual forms of representation or socio-cultural production.

The spectacle is never an image mounted securely and finally in place; it is always an account of the world competing with others, and meeting the resistance of different, sometimes tenacious forms of social practice.⁴⁹

In other words, it is the impressions of the rising classes, the consumers of the Exposition's products and participants of its raffles that, in a similar manner to al-Tahtawi, infer meaning on the spectacle offered by the "different, sometimes tenacious forms."

A curious little book by the Piedmontese ambassador to Paris, Giovanni Ruffini titled *The Paragreens on a Visit to the Paris Universal Exhibition*, follows a British middle-class family, whose patriarch had made a small fortune in the cork-trade, as they visit the exhibition of 1855 "under the auspicious occasion of Her Majesty's visit to the French capital."⁵⁰ As they pass by the Palace, Mrs. Paragreen is struck by the Zouaves (**fig. 7**) issued from the guardroom, and exclaims "Good gracious me! –Look, what a number of Turks!"⁵¹ The Zouaves were in fact recruited from a tribe of Berbers in Algeria and had served the French Army during the French

conquest and the Crimean War was the first time they served the French outside of Algeria. The Paragreens' impression of the Zouaves as Turks is probably due to their off-duty oriental-garb made up of a red fez, blue sash, braided blue jackets with waistcoats, and voluminous red trousers. The fascination with the 'allied' harmless Other – “excellent taste, I call it, to have his allies to guard his own palace, eh!” - demonstrates more a superficial awareness of European politics than the particular ethnographies of the East.⁵² The main concern of the British visitors is whether or not the Crystal Palace was surpassed by the French, “I believe no one has ever denied that one Englishman is worth four Frenchmen.”⁵³ Having mistook a bazaar, the Succursale de l'Exposition Universelle, for the Palais de l'Industrie, due to their insufficient French, the Paragreens feel at ease in their surroundings. In particular, due to his profession as a tradesman, Mr. Paragreen is quite comfortable; he “liked the locality, and felt quite at home in it.” He surveys the stalls, takes note of the costs in his memorandum-book and circulates the Succursale three times in hopes of seeing the Crown Jewels.

Even though ill-informed in their descriptions of the Exposition, the Paragreens' glance is at a certain level one of consumer experience, of a familiarity with buying and selling. Their understanding of spectacle is tied to their bourgeois “fascination with commodity,”⁵⁴ as well as with the relative sizes of machines, manufactures, buildings, the imperial grandeur, its jewels and bizarre armies made up of the Sipahis and Zouaves. Ruffini's short story is of importance on several levels. The Exposition is first and foremost for the people like the Paragreens; the Oriental galleries and its performers, Khalil, the Sipahis, the Zouaves and the belly-dancers that Zeynep Celik and others will later discuss, are for the bourgeoisie to interpret, unsophisticated in their observations as they may be. It is also in this respect that one witnesses much more clearly the European self-involvement (obsession over the French-British rivalry) and material

representations of power (desire to see the crown jewel) that exclude the Other as only a passing, transient representation, much more relentlessly perhaps than Goncourts' xenophobia that frequently appeared in their *Journal*.⁵⁵ It is difficult to conjecture how the Easterners that participated in the Exposition were viewed in 1855, but highly Oriental stories that were created around Ismail Pasha and Sultan Abdulaziz, before their visit to the 1867 Exposition can only attest to the fact that the Orient and its representatives were still the exotic Other. However, there was the Ottoman presence that beyond a mere Oriental representation continued to physically roam the peripheries of Europe.

Although intended an international event eager to communicate universal progress, the Exposition nonetheless became a stage for the on-going Crimean War that allied the Ottoman Empire with France, Britain, Piedmont and Austria against the military advances of tsarist Russia into the Danube. Therefore, Imperial Russia wasn't represented in the Exposition. As Erik J. Zürcher argues, this was precisely what Napoleon III had hoped for and he performed his military triumph that popularized his rule in the Exposition.

The Crimean War had as its ostensible cause a dispute over whether the Catholic or the Orthodox Church should control the holy places in the Palestine, especially the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. France interceded on behalf of the Catholics, while Russia defended the rights of the Orthodox. The Catholic Church had been granted pre-eminence in 1740s, but the fact that many times more Orthodox than Catholic pilgrims visited the holy land over time strengthened the Orthodox Church's position. France, supported by Austria, now demanded reassertion of the pre-eminence of the Catholics. Russia wanted

the status quo to remain in force. The bewildered Porte tried to please everyone at the same time.

The real reasons behind the aggressive attitude of France and Russia were almost wholly domestic. Both the newly established Second Republic in France, headed by Napoleon Bonaparte (soon to be Emperor Napoleon III), and the Russian tsar were trying to gain popular support by appealing to religious fervor.⁵⁶

The conflict between France and Russia escalated into war with Russia's demand to protect the Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire, which constituted "more than one third of its inhabitants," and Russia's consequent occupation of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. The Treaty of Paris that marked the end of the war is important in this context not for the specific provisions between the Ottoman Empire and Russia, but the former's acceptance into the prestigious Congress System, otherwise known as the 'Concert of Europe.' Weak in its military and economy, the Porte was given certain privileges by France and Britain in return for a second reform decree, the 1856 *Hatt-i Humayun*, which targeted precisely the Christian populations that Russia wanted to gain control over. The announcement of the decree that promulgated "the doctrine of equality under the rubric of Ottoman compatriotism" was made to coincide with the treaty and, at least on paper, validated the Porte's entry into the Concert.⁵⁷ Interpreting the Treaty, Roderic Davison asserts, "The Turks, victorious in war and protected by three great powers, were thus given a respite to work out their own salvation."⁵⁸

After the Exposition, Khalil Bey prolonged his stay in Paris most probably to observe the post-war proceedings. As Khalil witnessed the delicate nature of Ottoman diplomacy, which he would later become a part of, he also met the leading figure of the second phase of the *Tanzimat*

period, the grand vizier Ali Pasha, who would later assign him to a diplomatic post within the Ottoman Empire.

It is important to mention here that Khalil Bey's sentiments towards the Ottoman Empire and Egypt reflect a peculiar, dualistic patriotism that was probably felt at the time by most of Egypt's ruling class, who had a different and perhaps more complicated conception of national identity than an altruistic sense of belonging to a place. A better understanding of Muhammad Ali's rapid organization of a fatherland, *patrie* or *watan*, as al-Tahtawi and Khalil, both authors of books on Egyptian history, understand it, is not only bound to a desire to differentiate between an Egyptian identity versus an Arab one, but also requires a careful analysis of the relations between the nineteenth-century Ottoman and Egyptian administrations.⁵⁹ As a matter of fact, it is in the intricacies of belonging that the nineteenth-century Ottoman and Egyptian reform ideas and movements become more compelling historic events, as they demonstrate in varying degrees of convergence of Eastern and Western notions of religion, State, ruler, and education.

Following the Universal Exhibition and the 1856 Congress of Paris, on March 13, Khalil Bey wrote a letter in French to Ali Pasha that reads as an application for a diplomatic position in the Ottoman state service.⁶⁰ In his letter, he informs the vizier of his frequent eye inflammations; the best physicians in Paris had told him that if he continued to live in Egypt, he would be threatened with the loss of his vision.⁶¹ (Similarly, Michele Haddad will later make the case that due to his bad eyesight Khalil will fail to notice that one of his mistresses showed symptoms of syphilis, and his blue-spectacles will find mention in the gossip columns of the Second Empire.⁶²)

I want to be useful to my fatherland and not to spend my youth in idleness. Therefore I offer my services to the Ottoman government, the more so because our most precious claim to glory in Egypt is to be the servants of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan. My feeble knowledge could best be used in diplomacy.⁶³

In the letter, he refers to Egypt as his fatherland and presents to us a brief, but telling conception of a sense of belonging. Khalil sees his service to the Ottoman government as beneficial to Egypt's special status within the empire, "our most precious claim to glory in Egypt is to be the servants of the Sultan." Egypt's compliance to Ottoman governance to a great extent echoes the doctrine of Ottoman compatriotism coined in all *Tanzimat* decrees and directed to all the subjects of the empire, but to Egypt and a few others more generously. Muhammad Ali's *watan* as *mulk* model was organized around his Ottoman traditionalism that respected the existing fabric of Egyptian society, but, as Tim Mitchell posits, kept it under an invisible power of law and ordinance.⁶⁴ However, Egypt's later literary conceptualization of fatherland, was to a great extent tied to its pharaonic past; a separate historic origin, much discussed in al-Tahtawi and Ali Mubarak's later scholarship, would distinguish it from the hegemonic structure it lived under. Similarly, much to Muhammad Ali's chagrin, his son Ibrahim would vouch for an Egyptian identity by refusing to speak Turkish and asserting that "an elite of Egyptian military personnel was possible."⁶⁵

Khalil's letter also points to the fact that the relationship between Governor Said Pasha and Sultan Abdulmecid were not as severe as it would later become during Ismail Pasha and Abdulaziz's rules, since the intra-governmental appointments, such as the one that Khalil requests, appear to be administered quite fluidly between Egypt and the Porte. In addition, Khalil

Bey's new position doesn't seem to have offended his Egyptian sponsors, while the Ottoman reform period frequently necessitated more French speaking diplomats from its provinces. It is important also to mention that Muhammad Ali's interest in having Egyptian diplomats were never as vital to his ordination as educating military men. In this regard, Albert Hourani provides a suggestive anecdote. "To a student who told him [Muhammad Ali] that he had studied civil administration in Paris, he replied sternly: It is I who govern. Go to Cairo and translate military works."⁶⁶ Muhammad Ali's reluctance to add diplomats to his administration likely influenced Abbas Pasha, who would employ him in the translation bureau.

We are told that the vizier forwarded Khalil's letter to the acting vizier Kibrisli Mehmed Pasha, and the foreign minister Fuad Pasha, with the recommendation that Khalil be placed either in the Foreign Ministry or the Sultan's Suite. These letters were then screened and forwarded to the Sultan, who, on April 8, appointed him to a position within the Ottoman Foreign Ministry, and in a month Khalil Bey left Paris for Istanbul. Besides his duties as a commissioner nothing else is known of his stay in Paris between 1855 and 1856. However, one could only predict, as Haddad and more anecdotal Batur do, that Khalil was introduced for the first time to the rooms full of painting in the Exposition, their various genres, influences and movements, as well as Courbet's circus-booth *Pavillion du Réalisme* (fig. 8), which was set up across the street from the Palace of the Arts.⁶⁷ However, if Khalil had any time to practice his *flânerie*, it was cut short by his appointment to Istanbul, which would soon after relocate him to Athens as an Ottoman minister, *orta elci*. It was perhaps during his stay in Athens that he acquired a villa in the island of Lesbos.⁶⁸

In his memoirs, the British ambassador to the Porte, Horace Rumbold mentions his satisfaction with Khalil's appointment to Athens.⁶⁹ Roderic Davison, in his monographic study of

Khalil Bey's diplomatic career, also suggests that Khalil was "competent as a minister in Athens, for his reputation grew among European diplomats."⁷⁰ In 1861, exactly five years after Khalil's second Parisian visit and a two-year post in Athens, he was appointed minister to St. Petersburg. The Crimean War and the alliances and provisions that were made in its wake played a significant role in early part of Khalil's career, as the Ottoman post in St. Petersburg was established only after the end of the war. It is in his four-year stay in St. Petersburg that for the first time his Ottomanist views on the state and position of the Empire, particularly with respect to Russia's support of local nationalist aims and Wallachia and Moldavia's post-war union and their governance under the 'Congress of Europe' became apparent. Davison's careful analysis of Khalil's dispatches from St. Petersburg to the Porte detail Khalil's heady opposition to Russian foreign minister Alexander Gorchakov's pro-nationalist views. Davison attributes the tone of the dispatches to Khalil's character: "At times, perhaps, Khalil Bey was so vigorous as to be undiplomatic."⁷¹

Illustrative of one side of the dualistic patriotism observed in the writings and actions of Egyptian authorities like al-Tahtawi and Mubarak was an article Khalil penned, while in St. Petersburg as an Ottoman diplomat, on Egyptian history, entitled the History of the Ancient Egyptian Kings, *Kudema-i Muluk-i Misriye Tarihi*. The article was published in the first two volumes of the privately-owned *Mecmua-i Funun* journal of the Ottoman Science Society, *Cemiyet-i Ilmiye-i Osmaniye*. The journal was the first to carry an encyclopedic intent and the first few issues dealt largely with histories of civilizations. In the first issue, along with accounts of Serbian and Greek history appear the history of Ancient Egypt, written collaboratively by the Ottoman ambassador to St. Petersburg, Khalil Bey, and the ambassador to France, Cemil Bey. The two ambassadors state that their intent in writing the article is to historiographically match

the contemporary European historians, who have started including the newly discovered history of Ancient Egypt as their point of origin. The two diplomats were concerned with following a 'scientific order,' *ulum-i sa'ire*, in history-writing; therefore, it is with the history of ancient Egypt that the Journal of science begins its chronological order of history.⁷² Without mythologizing or aggrandizing a biblical narrative, the articles on the lives of the ancient Egyptian kings put an overwhelming emphasis on the democratic laws with which the pharaohs governed. The authors' resources — for example, who are the European historians they are emulating? — would provide an explanation as to why they are so focused on the ancient structures of law-giving and justice.⁷³

“From June 1865 on, Khalil Serif's name doesn't appear on dispatches from St. Petersburg, and Komnenos Bey steadily represents the Porte there,” writes Davison.⁷⁴ In most historical accounts, Khalil's resignation from the post appears to be sudden and without reason. In his later professional life, he was many times forced to resign by the Ottoman administration, due to his stance against khedive Ismail, but in 1865, he was still a respected Ottoman diplomat and had a steady position within the imperial administration. Perhaps it was his vigorous, undiplomatic stance against Russia that prompted a forced resignation, or he resigned, because he had caught syphilis from a Russian courtesan, and hoped his immense wealth would find him a cure in Paris. Whatever the real reason was, in 1865, his life took on a more independent route, through which Khalil played his personal vigorous diplomacy, as a retired ambassador, against khedive Ismail's Egypt by forming alliances with the New Ottomans. In the meantime, he gradually put into practice what he, as a student and a young commissioner, observed and learned in Paris. Here, his art became a form of diplomacy; his particular self-fashioning as a diplomat-collector, became a means through which he displayed his aesthetic sensibilities.

CHAPTER TWO

Playing the Collector:
Paris, 1865-68

Between the years 1865 and 1868, Khalil Bey became an art collector in Paris. This three-year withdrawal from his official diplomatic duties resonates as a break from what Timothy Mitchell has called the instance of ordination — where the East rediscovered and utilized the West’s systems and institutions — that Khalil participated in and that one is able to use as a framing device in formulating his early biography. Khalil’s second prolonged stay in Paris is one that has by now found its place in early Western scholarship and quotidian publications of the Second Empire. For the critics, “he was a figure straight out of *A Thousand and One Nights*” or a “*Turc de boulevard* ambled out of a Rossini opera.”⁷⁵ Nevertheless, Khalil was ostensibly the first Easterner, the “first child of Islam” as Théophile Gautier would call him, to enter into the elite circles of the Second Empire France. He acquired no less than a hundred and twenty-four paintings, and it is precisely this fact, (and not his sartorial demeanor), that sheds light on his cosmopolitan worldliness.⁷⁶

The purpose of this section is to set Khalil Bey's collection against the backdrop of mid-nineteenth-century Parisian aesthetic trends and to examine the influential players that continually politicized, commodified, and, on occasion, repopularized certain artists, genres, and styles. It is not my intention to analyze the specific works of art that Khalil Bey owned, but rather introduce the determinants of the collection's makeup, and describe the intellectual circle of which Khalil Bey was a member.

An Overview of the Collection

Khalil Bey's collection was amassed and dispersed in the space of three years. So while it is clear that Khalil Bey was a collector, it is difficult to call him a connoisseur; that is a professional devotee of the arts, whose entire career is defined by expertise and specialized knowledge. Collectors, who were also connoisseurs tended to focus on a specific provenance, century or artist. These were the experts, who were invited to contribute to an object's history in actions, to participate on the boards of the Universal Expositions, and to write catalogues on other Parisian collections.⁷⁷ Connoisseurship practices were evident, for example, in the art historian Théophile Thoré's collection of Dutch paintings and Lord Hertford's collection of eighteenth-century French decorative arts. Their influences were most certainly very effective in instigating interest among other collectors to buy objects that belonged outside of the French nineteenth-century. The small, but significant eighteenth-century French and seventeenth-century Dutch paintings in Khalil Bey's makes manifest the trends set by these connoisseurs.

Michèle Haddad selects various categorical and stylistic groups in Khalil's collection. She provides a description of the collection through Khalil's Orientalist paintings, the Delacroixs, the "erotic" nudes, the genre scenes and landscapes, and early Dutch, Flemish, and

French works. Anticipating reading familiarity between Khalil's life in the Orient and the Orientalist paintings he later collected, Haddad is disappointed by the scarcity of Orientalist scenes in the collection. She remarks that Khalil's scant choice of a few Fromentins (**fig. 9**), a Delacroix, and a Chassériau, all depict picturesque landscapes of North African desert oases with miniature figures of nomadic Arab falconers on horseback, and are not selected as representations of Khalil's country of origin. The collector was perhaps aware of the nineteenth-century Orientalist artists' desire to depict exoticism in its most exaggerated forms and instead collected, of course within the framework of trends that popularized Orientalist art in the middle of the nineteenth-century, the subtlest portrayals of the subject's landscape and ethnography.

Two years after Delacroix's death, Khalil acquired six of his paintings. Haddad argues that the purchase of *The Assassination of the Bishop of Liège* (**fig. 10**) inspired by the medieval story of Walter Scott's *Quentin Durward* was a particularly remarkable feat in the emerging arts trade. The painting's price in the earliest recorded sale was 4,800 francs, and in half a decade it would fetch 205,100 francs.⁷⁸ Khalil also acquired a very small painting titled *Tam O'Shanter Pursued by Witches*, where Delacroix, in a similar Romantic tonality, illustrated a ballad of Scottish poet Robert Burns.

In his early journal entries, Delacroix explained the creative pull of literary works on medieval history; their gothic staging allowed him, he suggested, to experiment with paint: "I should want to spread out some good thick, fat paint on a brown or red canvas. What I would need, then, in finding a subject is to open a book that can inspire me and let its mood guide me."⁷⁹ In Delacroix's use of "fat, thick paint," Gautier finds just the right amount of painterly gesture and sketch-like technique to depict the dynamism moment before the assassination.⁸⁰

Small genre scenes and landscapes, which were popularized after the eclecticism of styles adopted during the Universal Exposition, the new bourgeois patronage, and the emerging art market that favored smaller paintings, made up more than one third of Khalil's collection. Two works by Gérôme, a now lost Oriental scene titled *The Ragpicker in Cairo*, and *Louis XIV and Molière* (fig. 11) inspired by Ingres's earlier take on the historic occasion (fig. 12) may further disappoint the Oriental selection. The collection had eight paintings by the period's two most beloved genre painters, three by Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier and five by Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps. Both artists were a favorite of Lord Hertford, who bought five Meissoniers in a single auction in 1865 and owned seventeen Decamps paintings. Lord Hertford's biographer Donald Mallett writes, "[t]he year 1865 was exceedingly important. It started very much as Mérimée had been bold enough, even in jest, to point out, with Lord Hertford continuing to spend a fortune to add to his very large collection of pictures that nobody ever saw."⁸¹ In exactly the same period, Alfred Chauchard, the owner of the department stores of the Louvre owned twenty-six Meissoniers.⁸² In Khalil's collection, one particular work by Meissonier, *The Painting Connoisseurs* (fig. 13), was matched with a Boucher painting of the same thematic composition of an artist's studio; the former attenuating "the behavior of the spectators, the thematic equivalent of attitudes of listening attention," while the latter, depicting, rather as an allegory of artist and the act of painting, the destitute interiors à la *nature-morte* of an artist's studio with a portrait of himself, at the center of the composition, working on a landscape.⁸³

More than a decade before the Goncourts' claimed to have rediscovered *l'art au dix-huitième siècle* and wrote a twelve-volume book, Lord Hertford had developed a spontaneous preference for the French art of the eighteenth-century. In fact, the first painting he had acquired for his collection in 1841 was a Fragonard titled *The Schoolmistress*.⁸⁴

Lord Hertford's affection for the eighteenth century was not by any means a deliberate resuscitation of a school of art that had fallen out of favor, but a spontaneous preference for a form of decoration that best suited his own aristocratic mode of life. He didn't rediscover a style, he inherited a taste for it.⁸⁵

A nineteenth-century collector's taste for the eighteenth-century, however, had its limits. Boucher, Fragonard, Prud'hon and Greuze were appropriate, but Chardin was not. The eighteenth-century genre scenes of family life were collected only by common people and the bourgeoisie, therefore, the wealthy collector, in hopes of distinguishing his taste and social rank, was selective in his narrative choices. Lord Hertford only bought Greuze's female portraits; other collectors acquired Fragonard and Watteau's depictions of the French monarchy's fantastical *fêtes galantes*.

The eighteenth-century works that were approved by the nineteenth-century trendsetters, such as Lord Hertford, the Goncourts and duc de Morny, were exhibited at Martinet's in 1860. Therefore, when Khalil had started collecting, the works of the repopularized century were reflective of a new, yet lesser-known trend and were selected by connoisseurs with an awareness of contemporary class structures. For these reasons, eighteenth-century French works were scarce in Khalil's collection and today most cannot be identified. Also, it was due perhaps to the previous century's 'spontaneous' spur of popularity that connoisseurship was limited to only a few; even Khalil's advisor and art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel wasn't able to recognize that Antoine Watteau's *The Embarkation to Cythera* (**fig. 14**) was a fake. It is ironic, then, that Théophile Gautier claims in the beginning of his preface to the collection's auction catalogue that it has "neither fake gems, nor fake pearls."⁸⁶

Khalil's choice of Dutch and Flemish works can be related to his taste for Gustave Courbet and certain nineteenth-century landscape painters, who were all inspired by the realism of the seventeenth-century Northern artists. It was perhaps due to this reason and a certain expertise that these paintings required that the aristocratic collector favored Northern genre scenes over the French genre paintings bought by the lower classes. Among the artists, whose works Khalil acquired, was the David Teniers the Younger, the court painter of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm and the curator of the royal collection. One of three small Tenuier paintings done on bronze plate that Khalil owned depicts the entire collection of the Archduke, bought and organized by the artist, who would later paint the masterpieces in photographic detail, so as to provide an inventory of his vision (fig. 15). Khalil also owned portraits done in heavy *chiaroscuro* by two of Rembrandt's students, Gerard Dou and Balthazar Denner, as well as a small genre scene by Gerard Ter Borch. There is an incredibly intelligent weaving of Courbet's landscapes that read as still-lives into the works of these early masters. It shows an awareness either on the part of the collector or the art-dealer, Courbet's "depth of enthusiasm for Rembrandt,"⁸⁷ the emergence of matter through shadow, through black paint. Similar associations within the collection can be made between the North's aesthetic influences over the nineteenth-century French landscapists.

In the 1855 Universal Exposition, landscape painting, be it academic (Cabat, Aligny, Flandrin) or anti-academic (the Romantics, the Barbizon painters, the Realists), broke the history painting's long-lasting tenure.⁸⁸ Attributing landscape painting's popularity in the middle of the nineteenth-century to the patronage of the art critic and director of the Beaux-Arts, Charles Blanc, T.J. Clark writes, "Landscape became the second most important form of art bought by the State, and the interest in landscape persisted into the first years of the Empire."⁸⁹ It wasn't at

all, then, as a critic in *L'Artiste* had in 1868 suggested because of Islam's limitations on figural representation that Khalil chose to buy many landscape paintings from the Barbizon School.⁹⁰ The real reason was in part, because the collector's art-dealer, Paul Durand-Ruel supported the landscape painters of the Second Empire and had, as his biographer Peter Assouline suggests, a particular affinity for Théodore Rousseau. The dealer advised Khalil, as well as many other collectors after him, to buy Rousseau's *Avenue of Chestnut Trees* (**fig. 16**) and in a sense kept it close to him. In the 1855 Exposition, Rousseau's thirteen paintings were interspersed with fifty Decamps paintings, an arrangement, which the art critic, Paul Mantz found refreshing. Among critics and artists, Decamps's genres were losing their appeal and Rousseau, particularly to Delacroix, was an invigorating alternative.⁹¹ Even though Rousseau's work became a collector's item in the Second Empire, there were still critics, who despised the anti-academic stance of the artist's work. ("What disorder in the brushwork, and what an absence of the least sign of a method! This work is a veritable chaos, without light, without spontaneity, flaunting its own pretensions – that was the comment of one A. Galimard at the Salon of 1849.")⁹² According to Francis Haskell, however, even before Khalil's acquisition of the dark, perspectival study of an avenue in Barbizon —“where plain met forest” — “the State had made a vain attempt to purchase it many years earlier.”⁹³ Other five Rousseau landscapes in Khalil's collection are today unidentifiable, as well as the small works of Cabat, Corot, Troyon, Diaz, Dupré and Roqueplan.

Théophile Gautier and Francis Haskell on the Collection

The motives of a nineteenth-century art collector were never merely guided by personal whims. Khalil Bey's collection is demonstrative of a variety of contemporary tastes, as well as of his recollections of the 1855 Universal Exhibition. The ever-present Salon criticism, the very

curious politics behind the 1855 Universal Exposition's display of national art, the Academy's juries, the winners of the Exposition's Medals of Honor, Courbet's stance against these institutional devices, the distinct taste of the rising bourgeoisie, its consequent effects on the hierarchy of genres and the specific interests of a handful of art dealers and collectors were only a few spheres of influence that directly or indirectly played a part in what he acquired. Besides these often-interrelated external forces, there was also the emerging sensibility that a painting was after all a commodity; it was capital that could be quickly bought or liquidated through a few sessions at the Hôtel Drouot.⁹⁴ The collection's completeness, as Benjamin would hope existed, – Was it a thematic ensemble? Did it focus on a genre, century, or geography? How was it ordered and exhibited? – was gradually losing its significance. Certainly, the collection's dissolution is tied to the rapid commodification of these objects in the later half of the nineteenth-century – the collector's paintings were sold to pay off gambling debts and the collection was subjected to a pre-auction speculative deal that sold it to an unidentified group.⁹⁵ Even though, it is now impossible to approximate whether Khalil participated in the burgeoning art trade by buying works of art as small-scale investments in a foreign country, it is tempting to think of it as such.

Albeit the inherent skepticism in the rising age of capital towards aesthetic value and the example set by duc de Morny, who according to Charles Blanc and the Goncourts treated his collection like an art dealer, Khalil Bey's choice of paintings still convey a fashionable, yet not so forward-looking vision.⁹⁶ The predominance of Romanticism in the collection is analogous to the notion of an overall inability to move with the times that characterize Anita Brookner's ruminations on the Goncourts, Ingres, Saint Beuve and Huysmans and Paul Assouline's biography of the pre-Impressionism life of Paul Durand-Ruël. Brookner argues that these

intellectuals found solace in past centuries, because they were forced to adjust their literary attitudes, and artistic choices in favor of former periods to contest the rapidly changing politics of their generation.

Dominated by the past, irritated by the present and consequently unwilling to come to terms with it, this generation tends to withdraw into the fortress of art for art's sake, transfiguring its idealism into theories, seeking an aesthetic practice or experience sensations which will illuminate and justify their lives.⁹⁷

Therefore, Haddad's description of the collection as reflective of modernism is perhaps an overestimation.⁹⁸ The collection is rather corollary to contemporary collecting practices. Besides Haddad's thematically-arranged evaluation of Khalil Bey's paintings, there are two other sources that discuss the collection: Francis Haskell's brief overview of its highlights in his "A Turk and His Pictures in Nineteenth-Century Paris," and Gautier's Preface to the 1868 auction catalogue of the collection.

Francis Haskell's characterization of the collection hinges primarily on a collector's monetary means, as he prescribes to the group of paintings a quality over taste argument that limits discussion on what exactly determines their quality.

Khalil Bey acquired nearly all of his hundred-odd pictures, modern and Old Masters, from dealers – mostly from Durand-Ruël. Among French painters of the first half of the nineteenth-century virtually every famous name is included and some were represented by major works...

Most of these would inevitably have to be included in any serious anthology of the finest French pictures of the nineteenth-century. Indeed Khalil Bey's collection acquired its coherence not through any particularity of taste, but through sheer quality – and that quality was, it must be admitted, to a large extent determined by his superior purchasing power and his access to the best dealers.⁹⁹

In trying to estimate the quality of the collection, Haskell echoes Gautier's preface to the collection's 1868 exhibition catalogue. Like Gautier, who recommends the selection of paintings to national museums, Haskell argues that the paintings, which are now in museums, are worthy of being selected for an anthology of French paintings. However, Haskell very quickly resorts to assumptions that Khalil's Oriental choices such as Prosper Marilhat's *Une rue de Caire* (**fig. 17**) reflected a nostalgia for his fatherland and a reminder of "the dusty, picturesque town of his childhood."¹⁰⁰ In attempts to actualize the merely Romantic intent of French Oriental painter's, Haskell even brings in Horace Vernet's painting of the massacre of the Mamluks (**fig. 18**) as a means to historicize Khalil Bey's father Sherif Pasha's Cairo. The art historian argues that the images of an unfamiliar East reinforced Khalil's self-Orientalization. It is hard to be convinced of the nostalgia-driven associations that Haskell tries to pursue mainly because even Gautier, who was acquainted with Khalil Bey and may have been aware of the significance of certain paintings for the collector, doesn't presume a harem in Cairo that Khalil Bey relives through Ingres's *Turkish Bath* (**fig. 19**).

For his preface, Gautier chooses Baudelaire's review of the 1855 Universal Exhibition as his literary model.¹⁰¹ The latter's review of the Fine Arts Exhibition of 1855 with respect to the two distinct and opposing styles of Ingres and Delacroix – "like a pair of wrestlers" – become the

classificatory feature of the first few pages of Gautier's text.¹⁰² In Gautier, one finds the routine acknowledgment of Ingres as the traditional Academic painter of "an immense and incontestable renown" that is contrasted by Delacroix as the stylistically unconstrained "first modern" artist.¹⁰³ In other words, the organization of the preface stays true to a time-honored hierarchy among artists, and genres, therefore Ingres and history painting are first ones to be mentioned, followed by his "natural antithesis" Delacroix, who holds the key to change. The author's juxtaposition of Ingres' *Turkish Bath* with Delacroix's Oriental scenes not only speaks of the dichotomy between Ingres' attempts at familiarizing the exotic with the multiple silhouettes of the French nude and Delacroix's intent at keeping the Orient as the ever distant, self-contained Other, but also the opposition between the static Academy painting and artistic developments outside of it. The third divisive aspect among the collections' Ingres and Delacroix paintings is the degree of storytelling that Gautier and Baudelaire – who was inspired by the "universal correspondences" he found in the Exhibition that put him in a state of joyful "abundant impartiality"- find lacking in the former as they celebrate the latter's expansive "earthly dictionary," and effective storytelling. For both of the authors, Delacroix's ability to vary his style is determined by his art ranging "over the great literatures of the world."¹⁰⁴

The descriptive capabilities that Delacroix's new narratives in history painting offer Gautier, as he reads the Walter Scott inspired *Assassination of The Bishop of Liège* and *Tasso in the Madhouse* (fig. 20), allows the author to say more about Delacroix than Ingres, and it is precisely Delacroix's dialogue with literature, his translation of the written word, that captures Baudelaire's attention in the previous decade. Baudelaire's review of the Delacroix retrospective references the theme of progress, which the poet finds precisely in Delacroix's dependence on text that in turn provide Delacroix with an array of possible representations. Albeit being

apprehensive about the society's 'idea' of progress and rooting for a level of precaution in its vitality, Baudelaire is on point with his thematic choice; an overall representation of material progress was the driving principle of the Exhibition's planners and industrial displays had no problem expressing it. Planners' challenge was to show that art also had the capacity to perform change, a positive shift from the Academy-bound classicism, or a transition in contemporary artistic practice that in the process welcomed a variety of styles. Baudelaire writes: "If this year an artist produces a work which gives evidence of greater knowledge or imaginative force than he showed last year, it is certain that he has made progress."¹⁰⁵ It is in this context that Baudelaire favors Delacroix; the artist's stylistic progress and persistent search for variety is in Ingres' work absent.

With regards to the 1855 Exhibition, Patricia Mainardi wraps up the literary debate on the works of Delacroix and Ingres, as she introduces the highly politicized and conflicting aesthetic tastes of the Exhibition's planners and how they were all reconciled. She writes:

In the battle over the definition of the show, Prince Napoléon, supported by Ingres, took the position that the show should include all works completed since 1800 by the most celebrated artists, living or dead. Delacroix, aided by Mérimée, managed to defeat this plan, and in the end the Exhibition was limited to artists living on 22 June 1853, the date of the constitutive decree.

Delacroix and Mérimée were both quick to realize that a general retrospective of nineteenth-century art would strengthen the past at the expense of the present and would reinforce the contemporary position of the School of David, Ingres and his followers. Opening the Exposition only to living artists, on the other hand, would demonstrate the

diversity and vitality of art at mid-century: the Romantics, the Realists, the painters of Barbizon and genre, all would bear witness that the classical tradition was no longer the exclusive representative of the French School.¹⁰⁶

The author attributes Delacroix and Mérimée's win to their ally duc de Morny, who had no paintings by the School of David in his collection. In 1855, then, with the institutional recognition of all genres and styles, a period of eclecticism started to prevail in private collections. Khalil Bey's collection was shaped accordingly.

Khalil's Nudes

Amidst his collection's overall Salon-like eclecticism, Khalil Bey invites us to an interesting, yet less predictable pairing; one between Ingres and Courbet (and not Delacroix), and perhaps more generally, between the Classical and the Realist nude. It is a less conventional combination of artists that Baudelaire had once described as presenting to the spectator "an enormous paradox," because both Ingres and Courbet had waged "war against the imagination."¹⁰⁷ "They are obedient to different motives," the poet wrote, "but their two opposing varieties of fanaticism (the *ideal* of Ingres, and the *real* of Courbet) led them to the same immolation."¹⁰⁸ The artists' shared immolation was identified later by Meyer Schapiro, who found a certain naiveté and primitivism carried from the David school into Courbet's pursuit of naturalism.¹⁰⁹

For Baudelaire, the works in question were Ingres's *Turkish Bath* and Courbet's *The Sleepers* (**fig. 21**), both of which were paired in a private viewing in 1867 before the sale of the collection and brought in a contemptuous reaction from the Goncourt brothers: "And so, at the

two extremes of art, these two popular idiots have both betrayed female nudity...”¹¹⁰ Before discussing in what ways representation of the female nude was “betrayed,” challenged, or reconfigured by the two artists – and, here, the reference is Titian’s canonized *Venus of Urbino* from which Ingres had made a copy that was later bought by Khalil Bey - it’s important to note how the collector himself envisioned his group of nudes.

Due to the very particular nudes in the collection, Western scholarship has marginalized Khalil merely as the Oriental collector of *erotica*.¹¹¹ I will argue, however, that the specificity of these paintings breathes aspects of modernism into the collection, and their selection emphasizes awareness on the part of the collector, of stylistic differences and of change. I suggest that Gustave Courbet’s appeal to Khalil and the resulting introduction of Realism into a collection of Romantic works, particularly when contrasted with Ingres’s, stages the very visible metamorphosis of the female body in form and facture.

We are told that the literary critic Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve, who was previously entrusted with the task of giving Prince Napoléon’s then mistress Jeanne de Tourbey an “intellectual polish,” introduced Courbet to Khalil Bey.¹¹² Jeanne de Tourbey had, at this time, already become Khalil’s mistress and it is likely that she introduced Khalil to her circle of intellectuals; among them were playwright Marc Fournier, journalist Emile de Girardin and writer Ernest Renan. (Not only Jeanne de Tourbey, but also Ingres’s *Turkish Bath*, which was deemed far too pornographic by the Prince’s wife, became Khalil’s possessions in 1865.) In trying to characterize the special patron-artist relationship between Khalil and Courbet, Enis Batur speculates, that, in 1865, Sainte-Beuve accompanied Khalil to socialist thinker Pierre-Joseph Proudhon’s funeral, and here Khalil met Courbet. Batur is here attempting to forge a

connection between Khalil's proto-socialist reform ideals with those of Courbet and Proudhon's.¹¹³

Regardless of the possibility of shared politics, the collector-Khalil visited Courbet's studio in hopes of buying *Venus and Psyche*, a painting now only known through a photograph (fig. 22). However, the painting was in the process of being bought by a stock-broker, one Lepel-Cointet, who would later refuse to buy it, while making arrangements to sell the painting to Khalil Bey for a higher price. Courbet would later bring the conflict to the Tribunal de la Seine and the court would decide in his favor. Among the artist's letters, we come across one, in which, he mentions this incident and provides a glimpse into his relations with Khalil Bey:

It was M. Lepel himself who took me in his carriage to M. Khalil Bey to have me sell the painting in his name, to which M. Khalil Bey, a perfect gentleman, answered, "I will never allow such a man to make money on me. If the profit were to go to you, M. Courbet, I would accept."¹¹⁴

Instead of a replica of *Venus and Psyche*, Khalil would "order M. Courbet a new picture, which he has painted for me."¹¹⁵ The commissioned painting titled *The Sleepers* also has two female figures and, in fact, Courbet meant it to be a sequel to *Venus and Psyche*. However, unlike the voyeuristic and jealous Venus hovering over a sleeping Psyche, here, the two women lie in an embrace on a ruffled bed. In the rampant physicality of torn string of pearls, tousled hair and a gold hair pin sprawled at the edges of the bed, as well as the flat paper-like sheet peeling off at the fingertips of the voluptuous brunette, the artist is referencing lesbianism of a very particular (real) kind, unlike its eighteenth-century versions by Fragonard. Here, two real

women of lower classes replace the idealized forms of Diana and Callisto (**fig. 23**) and Courbet paints the aftermath of their sexual act, while Fragonard merely suggests seduction and immolation.

Analogous to the “gyratory effect” of Venus’s arm in *Venus and Psyche*, the brunette of *The Sleepers* is directing the gaze with her leg, which falls over and hides not only her own sex, but that of her partner. In essence, what Courbet would eventually reveal in *The Origin of the World* is only hinted at both in *The Sleepers* and even more so in the *Woman with White Stockings* (**fig. 24**). In a sense, one can think of Courbet’s nudes as a narrative series or parts of a whole. The bird in *Venus and Psyche* later appears in the *Woman with a Parrot*, as an icon that critic Jules Castagnary described as the Spirit’s counterpart, Beastliness.¹¹⁶ There are clear compositional transitions and tonal similarities between these paintings. Ultimately, *The Origin of the World* exposes that which the draperies that Lepel-Cointet ordered to be painted on Venus and what the *Woman with White Stockings* sheepishly denied the viewer as she put on her stocking. If one could formulate such an ersatz series from Courbet’s nudes that ended with *The Origin, Demoiselles by the Seine* (**fig. 25**), would be the first. Jack Lindsay characterizes the painting in Proudhon’s terms:

The exposure of vice [lesbianism] is linked with an intense curiosity and sympathetically sensuous feeling. One might claim indeed that this work is the logical conclusion of the *Demoiselles by the Seine*; what is veiled inside their eyes or under their eyelids here comes out hotly into the open. Realism must deal with the bedroom as well as with the field, the highway, the woodland.¹¹⁷

In fact, Courbet, through his rapid production of female bodies in the 1860s, represented, what his contemporary, Manet did both in *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* and in *Olympia* (fig. 26), which, as T. J. Clark so clearly articulates, was to represent “nakedness.”¹¹⁸ As opposed to the courtesan’s nudity veiled under the allusion of a demi-goddess in Titian’s *Venus of Urbino*, the representation of a naked woman, whose identity was known or could be predicted, was “a strong sign of class, a dangerous instance of it.”¹¹⁹ The pearls, hairpins, parrots, cats, slaves and Negresses became “all lures, they all meant nothing, or nothing in particular.”¹²⁰ The signs suggestive of a courtesan in Titian’s *Venus* or - Ingres’s faithful copy of it - that mythologized the body, that made nakedness respectable, impersonal even, and absent, was not vital for Manet and Courbet; they both opted for the “contemporary primitive of their own region.”¹²¹

To critics of the 1865 Salon, where *Olympia* was exhibited, the two artists “the master [Courbet] and imitator [Manet] were the two Marquis de Sade of painting.”¹²² In focusing solely on the candid eroticism in representations of the female body, the critics were either unable or reluctant, as Clark suggests, to see the prostitute as model and her unhindered representation as the “elimination and transformation of a traditional and allegorical setting.”¹²³ With respect to the metamorphosis in theme and facture of the female body in the middle of the nineteenth-century Dorothy M. Kosinski picks up on representations of lesbianism:

The lesbian theme is now recognized as a familiar iconographic element in Realism and Naturalism, figuring in the works of Toulouse-Lautrec, Constantin Guys, Edgar Degas, Conder and Forain, and in the writings of contemporary authors such as Maupassant, Zola and Flaubert.¹²⁴

Haddad inserts Baudelaire's *Femmes damnées* and Gautier's *Mademoiselle de Maupin* into the picture as well. If Courbet is borrowing from the latter – and according to Kosinski, the account of lesbian love in the novel includes a torn string of pearls, a ruffled bed, a brunette and a blond – perhaps the artist's intention was to fully reveal male voyeurism. Like the protagonist, Madeleine du Maupin, who assumes a man's identity in order to understand the male psyche, the artist was provoking the male gaze more violently than the latter's innocuous immolation of an unidentifiable, but ever-present body. The artist's motive in adding morality into the picture is in line with Proudhon, who asserted that *The Sleepers* revealed to the society their own insatiable vices. There is then the possibility that Courbet and Manet offered a new kind of *memento mori* for their viewers that mirrored in its representations the darker shades of desire and delectation.

Haskell elaborates on Courbet's intent in terms of the artistic tradition a little further: “[T]hat Courbet showed an interest in the art of Ingres and, on occasions, responded to it has often been pointed out, and this painting [*Turkish Bath*] might have particularly fascinated him, as well as Khalil Bey, seems likely enough.”¹²⁵ Anita Brookner agrees with the abovementioned reading of Goncourts' of Ingres's *Turkish Bath* and describes it as “a wholehearted tribute to the delights of the flesh, in which his plump naked wife figures prominently.”¹²⁶ Courbet might have been responding to Ingres's idealized, smooth lines and polished surfaces that further emphasized the fantastical aspects of the artist's harem scene. However, Ingres had, here, synthetically merged all his female nudes inside a single, claustrophobic sphere and in so doing desired a representation perhaps much closer to Courbet's. The many languid poses of Ingres's early practice with anatomical lines were dispersed around the balancing central figure, the resurrected mannerist spine of the *Valpinçon Bather* of 1808 (**fig. 27**). Interestingly, the critics didn't find the chaste and transcendental nudity in the *Turkish Bath* that they have found in

Ingres's earlier exotic harem scenes. The painting, like Courbet's *Sleepers*, was identified with the animalistic side of female sexuality – be it the prostitute or the caged concubine - or Baudelaire's characterization of her as obstinate in her “innocent yet monstrous fatuity.”¹²⁷ Ingres, who “Like Titian...knew his excitement must be concentrated if it were to achieve finality,” at the end of his career, however, wasn't able to calculate and control his excitement in depicting the nude.¹²⁸ Therefore, Edmond Goncourt saw in what he called the *Bain antique* “a group of savages from Tierra del Fuego...primitive like the earliest exercises of art.”¹²⁹ Kenneth Clark references Goncourt's antipathy, in his contemporary critique of the work:

All that was implied in the hand of Thetis or the sole of the odalisque's foot is now openly attributed to thighs, breasts, and luxurious *déhanchements*. The result is almost suffocating; but in the middle of this whirlpool of carnality is his old symbol of peaceful fulfillment, the back of the *Baigneuse de Valpinçon*. Without her tranquil form, the whole composition might have made us feel slightly seasick.¹³⁰

In the nineteenth-century critique of Manet's *Olympia* and its indirect assaults on Courbet as master and predecessor of this cheap erotica, the two artists' figures were compared to unfamiliar objects and bodies that were deemed strange and grotesque. Like Goncourt's likening of Ingres's odalisques to Amazons, Olympia's frame was compared to a range of exoticisms from Indian rubber to the sign of bestiality or resigned fatalism of the Orient.¹³¹ Therefore, the journalists of Courbet's hometown of Besançon were not at all perturbed by the Khalil's commissions that for them referenced his cultural identity; in fact, one C. Beauquier wrote: “The famous picture of *Two Naked Women*, rejected last year, has been sold by M. Courbet to a Turkish diplomat. Our

painter is making at the moment a pendant to this picture. I don't need to tell you that it is as lacking in decency as the first one. *Dame! For a Turk!*"¹³²

In line with Proudhon's moralizing exegesis of Courbet's work, Castagnary, in a little poem titled *Outis* (Nobody), transfers his mention of *The Woman with a Parrot's* "Beastliness" to Courbet's *Origin*. The poem, "written on a painting in Khalil Bey's collection," without a doubt refers to the fractured anatomy, the representation of a woman's sex without her head - or the "monstrous object" that Haddad reads in the poem - which epitomizes, for the critic, the dialectic of desire and damnation.¹³³ He writes that what is depicted is "the sultan of the world" that one cannot stop looking at, but is also an agent of disease and death. Castagnary may have been associating the painting's commission with its patron's syphilis, but the fragment of an idealized voluptuous body with its white loincloth intentionally moved above the breasts, with its dark pubic hair that even Olympia didn't have, with its shockingly abbreviated form is also beyond a paraprax, a final say in the relationship between the female body and its male spectator. Circumventing the tradition by stripping off the accessories of a traditional nude's portrait, Courbet had transferred Olympia's direct and knowing gaze onto what the voyeur wanted to see the most.

Lastly, by buying Courbet's nudes, Khalil may have extended his own relationship to the female body, his ability to possess both its reality and representation, to his collection's landscapes. The title doubtlessly alludes to the life-giving source of the womb, but the painting shares an extreme likeness to a series of landscape paintings by Courbet titled *The Source of the Loue* (**fig. 28**). Lindsay articulates the transference and imposition of organic symbolism between the two works as follows:

If we look at its [*The Origin of the World*] structure and make a sketch, keeping the essential lay-out but transforming the human sections into rocks, tree-clumps and the like, we arrive at a typical landscape of the kind that deeply stirred Courbet – the vagina forming the cave-entry, the water-grotto, which recurs in his scenes. This point is worth making because it helps us to see how he created the wonderfully compact pattern of the body here, and how certain symbolism was present in many of the landscapes.¹³⁴

In response to the *Origin*, *The Source of the Loue* clarifies the juxtaposition of a female's body with nature. The four versions are all representations of a dark cave that is the origin, the source of the river Loue. In the first one, the artist allows the cave itself entirely to fill the painted surface, making the viewer feel that he could be sucked into its inky depths, but in the second one, a minute spectator is inserted into the painting that echoes the man's relationship to a subliminal, life-giving nature, as well as perhaps to Castagnary's reading of a woman's sex:

A solitary fisherman who stands on a pier projecting out into the water, his tiny figure dwarfed by the awesome magnitude of the cave. Though he seems to be spearing fish, the man's gesture also suggests a boatman ferrying his way across the water into the fathomless depths of the cave.¹³⁵

In this connection, the womb finds its morphological counterpart in nature. The fisherman replaces the voyeur in the boudoir and seeks to discover the foreboding crevices and "fathomless depths" of nature. However, nature's spectator is conscious of his limited access, whereas, the male gaze that surveys the women of the metropolis, be it a courtesan, prostitute or a representation, to Castagnary's anguish, cannot divert his attention from the body that gives

pleasure, as well as life, and death. Courbet's *Origin* resolves the nineteenth-century dissolution of the nude by linking it semiotically to nature.

CHAPTER THREE

Patriotic Cosmopolitanism and the New Ottomans:
Khalil's Later Years

“What shall we call our ‘self’? Where does it begin? Where does it end?”

Henry James (1881).¹³⁶

Baudelaire's *Cosmopolite*

One observes in Khalil's seemingly conflicting identities the emerging notion of nineteenth-century cosmopolitanism. This notion that bears the creed “every citizen belongs to a community of communities,” etymologically invokes its corresponding urban site, the modern cosmopolis (world-city), where the local intermingles with the foreign in varying degrees and eventually produces its own heterogeneous population. Nineteenth-century Paris, Cairo and Istanbul, three cities that Khalil considered home at various points in his life, were undoubtedly sites of socio-cultural heterogeneity. The inhabitants of these cities represented and accepted their own alterity, hence, they were effortlessly able to circulate between and be absorbed into analogous urban folds.

Khalil was no doubt a product of this early-modern heterogeneous urbanity, and not only where he came from, but also his ethnicity, social status and profession permitted him mobility, access and assimilation. His largely idiosyncratic dualities – playing the Ottoman patriarch against the Egyptian national, or the dandy against the Oriental- were, to an extent, self-imposed when certain social experiences necessitated going native, but for him the transformations were only natural. The less discursive Parisian identities that Walter Benjamin discovers through his study of Paris' arcades also impart impressions of how Khalil must have behaved or performed the collector or the gambler. Into this nineteenth-century context of manifold masculine identities, Baudelaire with his 1855 review of the Universal Exposition introduces another persona, the honest man, whom the poet observes, has been affected by “the divine grace of cosmopolitanism.”¹³⁷

What would he [an honest man] say, if faced with a product of China – something weird, strange, distorted in form, intense in color and sometimes delicate to the point of evanescence? And yet such a thing is a specimen of universal beauty; but in order for it to be understood, it is necessary for the critic, for the spectator, to work a transformation in himself which partakes of the nature of a mystery – it is necessary for him, by means of a phenomenon of the will acting upon the imagination, to learn of himself to participate in the surroundings which have given birth to this singular flowering. Few men have the divine grace of cosmopolitanism in its entirety; but all can acquire it in different degrees.¹³⁸

Baudelaire's cosmopolite appears only once in his writings and in the 1855 review; in prose, he is perhaps the foreign, ever-wandering stranger, whom Baudelaire frequently encountered in unexpected urban locales.¹³⁹ One reads in the poet's philosophical excursions that precede his discussion of cosmopolitanism, the Kantian dilemma of desiring to comprehend the "unfamiliar" object, and in this case the most exotic of all objects, a product of China. In a sense, Baudelaire is playing the part of the cosmopolite, as he shapes his review through the eyes of a spectator, who has the innate ability to "learn of himself to participate in the surroundings which have given birth to this singular flowering."¹⁴⁰

Lost in the microcosmic representations of the Exposition, Baudelaire ponders how he can possibly obtain a cosmopolite's objective gaze, as he asks himself: Could the Chinese *product* – and of course it had to be the machine-produced object of the industrial age – be considered beautiful universally? Could he, the Parisian intellectual, be able to grasp its beauty as well as the Chinese? What could he do in order to arrive at the aesthetic parameters that determined the product's aesthetic value? What were the universal truths that he needed to "acquire" in order to obtain the worldview of the cosmopolitan, the universal man, who was above all, honest in his contemplations and was unbound by the "periphrastics and hesitations of Style."¹⁴¹

Khalil's experience of the Fine Arts Exhibition in 1855 is an illustrative example of how an individual, who fits Baudelaire's definition of an honest man of thought and travel, is able to contemplate the aesthetics of mid-century French paintings that he had never before seen. Baudelaire writes: "No scholastic veil, no university paradox, no academic utopia has intervened between them [honest men] and the complex truth [universality]."¹⁴² Although Baudelaire is likely referring to Delacroix and Decamp's encounters in Morocco and Turkey –the French

perceptions of the Orient-, the reverse –Khalil’s experience in the Paris Exhibition and his subsequent collecting habits- also match the description. As much as the French artists were open to receiving “a whole new world of ideas” from the faraway countries they visited, Khalil was “sympathetic” to the unfamiliar images he saw, which, to Baudelaire, represented the worldly perceptions of contemplative French artists.¹⁴³ Perhaps what appealed to Khalil in 1855 then, was the universality of the sympathetic cosmopolitan glance that he read in Delacroix and Decamp’s paintings. Through the paintings, the matching vision of the cosmopolites met; an artist’s act of looking matched in intent, the qualities that determined the perceptive faculties of the spectator.

I would like to dwell on Baudelaire’s cosmopolite a little while longer in the context of the Universal Exhibition. We come across a moment in mid-century, where the intellectual is struck by the world-as-picture nature of the universal exhibitions and forced to contemplate the notion of hierarchy within structures that try to convey universality. (Later, the modern-day distrust in a pure and idealistic universalism will come to hinge on post-colonial discourse and retrospectively describe the 1855 Exposition’s nature as one interminably bound to power structures: “There can never be a universalism that is not under the aegis of some definite power or agent.”¹⁴⁴) Baudelaire is able to provide an equal-opportunity analysis of “a comparison of the nations and the respective products” through the nonjudgmental gaze of the cosmopolitan, a notion that appears in Kwame Anthony Appiah’s discussion of the “cosmopolitan patriot” as a modern individual’s expression of liberalism, to which I will return later.¹⁴⁵ Baudelaire is occupied not at all with the act of looking that confers meaning onto objects, events and cultural expressions, but the unmediated appeal or effect of these productions themselves that grab the attention of the outsider. It is the object’s initial strangeness that Baudelaire finds beautiful, as he

declares, “the Beautiful is always strange.” Moreover, the many different varieties of the beautiful, for Baudelaire, determine taste in art, artist’s individuality and national progress.¹⁴⁶ However, one has to acquire a cosmopolite’s honest and objective disposition to recognize beauty in the strange and unfamiliar.

Even though Baudelaire’s understanding of a cosmopolite’s sentiments carries an idealistic and sympathetic tone, it is in many respects synonymous with the word’s definition in the *Larousse du dix-neuvième*.¹⁴⁷ The *Larousse* identifies the crucial characteristic of a cosmopolite in his ability to shift between the morals and habits of the many countries he inhabits, in order to “work a transformation within himself.”¹⁴⁸ However, one finds a relatively limited understanding of the word in the texts that *Larousse* selects to demonstrate its use in contemporary literature. Mérimée assigns the cosmopolite an impartiality and aloofness: “Xénophon juge les hommes avec l’impartialité d’un cosmopolite,” and Jean-Jacques Rousseau finds him opportunistic and unrooted: “Méfiez-vous ces cosmopolites qui vont chercher au loin, dans leurs livres, des devoirs qu’ils dédaignent de remplir autour d’eux.”¹⁴⁹

Contemporary Definitions of Cosmopolitanism

The *Larousse*’s definition of the cosmopolite as liminal and impartial, and Baudelaire’s cosmopolitan-aesthete are, nevertheless, exegetical models that only explain one side of Khalil Bey’s atypical otherness. Both characterizations leave one with the impression of an insouciant, unattached, disembodied wanderer — albeit endowed with the ideal universal aesthetic sensibility. Through these definitions, a cosmopolite becomes synonymous with non-communitarianism and is placed in direct opposition to patriotism, or any other sentiment that the displaced individual may have felt towards a group, land, or country. Moreover,

cosmopolitanism, which Baudelaire had observed, could be acquired and appear in varying degrees that attaches flexibility to the word's meaning. It is perhaps due to the ambiguity inherent in the definition of the nineteenth-century cosmopolitan that the current discourse on cosmopolitanism is applied liberally to many different occurrences that span a wide range of truisms, some of which Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen identify as "globalization, nationalism, migration, multiculturalism and feminism."¹⁵⁰

In the recent proliferation of attempts at constructing comprehensive definitions and examples of cosmopolitanism, one finds that any notion demonstrating multi-cultural forms and events can be conceived as such. For example, Vertovec and Cohen come up with a four-part definition of the word that dispenses all sentiments tied to a nation-state. For the authors, cosmopolitanism is also a pliable cultural production that is "anti-essentialist, and is capable of representing variously complex repertoires of allegiance, identity and interest."¹⁵¹ In many ways then, the nineteenth-century definition is carried unscathed into the modern discourse.

The authors compensate for their very broad definition of cosmopolitanism in their discussion on who has access to the group. They argue that in its limited eligibility, cosmopolitanism in history was an exclusive practice, accessible only to "the privileged, bourgeois and the politically uncommitted elites."¹⁵² Vertovec and Robin emphasize that the contemporary discourse often still presents the cosmopolite as an unattached "cosmocrat," who according to Christopher Lasch's most extreme characterization is "said to be in revolt against the nation-state."¹⁵³ In pursuing to define "cosmopolitanism's neglected egalitarian dimension," Ross Posnock is also aware of the word's similar non-committal attribute, which he designates as "a strictly leisure class dilettantism."¹⁵⁴ I will not argue against the exclusivity of practice in the nineteenth-century; travel was by and large accessible to the man of means. However, for a

diplomat, the cosmocratic definitions of cosmopolitanism become problematic, as the profession is inherently of a cosmopolitan nature. The institution of diplomacy requires willingness for unrootedness and displacement, a voluntary exile as it were, which is dictated by and is bound to a central national or imperial administration. The diplomat always needs to hold in balance his own ideals and the position of the body he represents. The picture becomes even more complicated, when the diplomat serves a state, which is not his fatherland.

Sami Zubaida's discussion of Middle-Eastern cosmopolitanism, which may have offered a useful model in describing Khalil's life, also follows the model of the unbound, anti-nation-state cosmopolite.¹⁵⁵ Borrowing from a Western model – Karl Mannheim's conceptualization of homelessness— Zubaida ascribes what he calls (but never clearly defines) the “cosmopolitan milieu” to individuals deracinated “from confident traditional perspectives on the world.”¹⁵⁶ His cosmopolitan examples span the Abbasid courts, al-Andalus, as well as Maimonides and Ibn-Khaldun's writings, which, to him, demonstrated an awareness of processes of knowledge occurring outside of their socio-context. What Zubaida calls the ‘European impact,’ which he defines as “a euphemism for conquest and military-economic dominance” is for him the catalyst for the emergence of nineteenth-century cosmopolitan enclaves and reformist thought in the Middle East.¹⁵⁷ This assumption is alarming, as it connotes a spontaneous process of enlightenment that if it weren't for the European powers wouldn't have been realized by the East. It is in the same milieu that he discusses the Ottoman poet and member of the New Ottomans movement Namik Kemal (**fig. 29**), and Muslim reformer Jamaledin al-Afghani, and the Alexandrian non-Muslims, who have ironically forced urban segregation between their social spaces and the native Egyptians in the so-called cosmopolitan port city.

Kwame Anthony Appiah provides a counter-interpretation of cosmopolitanism that in fact does not compromise models of nation-state, patriotism, belonging and rootedness, but strives for their coherence and stability. Appiah's definition, as Ross Posnock and Martha Nussbaum on separate occasions argue, transforms the cosmopolite as an identity to cosmopolitanism as a form of premeditated practice.¹⁵⁸ This new understanding is consistent with Baudelaire's cosmopolitanism, as both attest to its attainability. In other words, one can learn to be a cosmopolitan, as Baudelaire suggested, with sufficient "will acting upon the imagination," a self-imposition that Appiah emphasizes under terms drawn from modern psychology as "the freedom to create oneself."¹⁵⁹ He acknowledges, however, that "the old and the normative" that have over time shaped the cosmopolite, are taken into account at the moment of self-creation.¹⁶⁰

Appiah endows his cosmopolite precisely with the awareness of belonging, as he writes: "The cosmopolitan patriot can entertain the possibility of a world in which *everyone* is a rooted cosmopolitan, attached to a home of one's own, with its own cultural particularities, but taking pleasure from the presence of the other, different places that are home to other, different people."¹⁶¹ By bringing in the example of his Ghanaian father, Appiah proposes that the aloof cosmopolitan is a Western phenomenon; a product of what James Clifford calls "a totalizing Western liberalism," as Appiah detaches it from the twentieth-century occurrences in non-Western societies.¹⁶²

Cosmopolitan Patriotism in the Ottoman Empire

"Somewhere in our writing of history we need to show historical processes as reflected in the minds of individuals, who are able to articulate them and, in so doing, to change their nature," suggests Albert Hourani.¹⁶³ Borrowing from Hourani's recommendation to deploy

monographic studies in order to better understand certain processes in Middle-Eastern history, I seek to emphasize, through Khalil Bey's career as a diplomat, a politically engaged cosmopolitanism, one in which belonging precludes and dictates unrootedness. In this final section, I will use Khalil Bey's involvement in the Ottoman Empire's reform period in the later half of the nineteenth-century as a case study and an earlier example of cosmopolitan patriotism put into practice in the nineteenth-century.

Responding to Hourani's approach to historiography, historians of the nineteenth-century reform movements in the Ottoman Empire have focused on individual statesmen, intellectuals and journalists, whom they believe not only "exercised a major influence on efforts made in this period to reform and revitalize the Ottoman Empire," but also brought in varied notions of political theory and reform, due to their different socio-cultural backgrounds.¹⁶⁴ Khalil, who would become Khalil Serif after his father's death, belonged to this group of *hommes de lettres*, albeit his frequent travels that detained him from attending the more organized meetings of the reformists. However, even while he was living the life of a *bon vivant* in Paris, he was not completely detached from his diplomatic roots and his obligations to serve both the Ottoman Empire and Egypt – it was in St. Petersburg that he penned his articles on ancient Egyptian history, in Paris that he wrote a pamphlet that argued for Ottoman constitutionalism. In other words, the particularities of the collection sustain the Baudelairian, aesthetic side of a cosmopolite's practice; however, Khalil's art of diplomacy, by nature, necessitates a second definition of cosmopolitanism that which reconciles his self-fashioning in Paris (as the unrooted aesthete) with his profession (as a politically engaged diplomat).

The second phase of the *Tanzimat* period (1867-1876) in the Ottoman Empire is often viewed as "the most eventful years between the Crimean War, the deposition of Sultan

Abdulaziz and the promulgation of the first Ottoman constitution.”¹⁶⁵ Scholars follow two historic threads to examine this period; the first focuses primarily on the institutional reforms put into use by the viziers and statesmen of the Empire, and the second one is centered on the more clandestine political movements, or as Serif Mardin argues “political protests,” within the Empire’s intelligentsia known as the Young Ottomans. While Khalil was in Paris, he was involved in the activities of the latter, because of his alliance with his cousin, the Egyptian prince Mustafa Fazil Pasha, who was also the brother of khedive Ismail, and the grandson of Muhammad Ali. However, Khalil and Mustafa Fazil would only become acquainted with the Young Ottomans a year after the group members organized themselves around the structure of the Italian secret society, the *Carbonari*, during a Romantic *fête champêtre* on the hills of the Bosphorus in 1865.¹⁶⁶

One Saturday evening in June half a dozen young intellectuals gathered in the Bosphorus villa of one of their number, and on the following day went up the Bosphorus to the Belgrad forest for a lunch prepared by a cook and two servants who had been sent on ahead. At this *fête champêtre* it was decided to form a secret society, the object of which was to bring about change in the Ottoman administration – to get rid of absolutism and to promote constitutionalism. The name, which apparently they first gave to themselves was the Ittifak-i Hamiyet, or the Patriotic Alliance. So was born the group which by 1867 became the New Ottoman Society.¹⁶⁷

The poet, journalist and member of the New Ottoman Society, Namik Kemal’s characterization of the members recalls to mind Appiah’s cosmopolitan patriots, as Kemal writes in an 1867

article: “[Its] members are held together by a brotherhood of opinion and a kinship of change.”¹⁶⁸ Another member would later ally change or progress with patriotism.¹⁶⁹ “The members,” Davison adds, “were men who have had the advantage of travel and of contact with Western-educated relatives.”¹⁷⁰ Besides the group’s opposition to foreign intervention and desire for more drastic social reforms, a more immediate connection between them was their desire to form a strong, effective and independent Turkish journalism that would revolt against Persian influenced literary classicism by producing a more refined and legible Turkish.¹⁷¹ These activities had two interrelated agendas: to oppose the Ottoman administration, and in so doing, provide a printed voice for the ‘public’.¹⁷²

It was, by and large, the Young Ottoman journalists’ explicit critiques of the Ottoman administration and their frequent pamphleteering in Istanbul that forced them into exile in May of 1867 in Paris. Here, they were housed, supported and employed by Khalil and Mustafa Fazil (**fig. 30**), both, at the time, unemployed Ottoman state servant, who were against the Ottoman administration, as well as Ismail’s attempts at securing the khedivial lineage under his sons.

[Mustafa Fazil Pasha] had risen fast to become minister of Education in 1862, Minister of Finances in 1864, and had finally been appointed to the chairmanship of the Council of Treasury when this body was established in October of 1865.

Even though Fazil’s career was made in the Ottoman capital, his mind was not entirely occupied with his official duties, for Fazil Pasha also had interests in Egypt. He was the brother of the khedive of Egypt, Ismail Pasha. According to a rule of succession followed in Egypt as well as in the Ottoman Empire, Mustafa Fazil should have succeeded Ismail as khedive upon the latter’s demise.¹⁷³

A disagreement between Mustafa Fazil and the then Grand Vizier Fuad Pasha over the restructuring of the Empire's finances, lost Mustafa Fazil his job within the Ottoman administration and he was asked to leave the capital soon after. As soon as he settled in Paris "in regal splendor, relying on the millions in exchange for which, it was reported, his royal brother had purchased all his property in Egypt," the Sultan proclaimed a *ferman* that cut Mustafa Fazil Pasha out of the succession for the khedivate.¹⁷⁴

Not only the animosity between Mustafa Fazil and Ismail, but also a spur of constitutional movements in Egypt and Rumenia in 1866, and the possibility that he would be made a vizier under a reformed Ottoman administration influenced Mustafa Fazil's decision to support the Ottoman constitutionalists, and declare himself in a letter addressed to the Belgian newspaper *Le Nord* on January 1867 as the leader of "a section of the opposition known as Young Turkey."¹⁷⁵

A month after Mustafa Fazil's letter, Khalil wrote an unpublished political tract, which was circulated in Istanbul. In his memorandum, he advocated for a "constitutional regime for the Ottoman Empire, with a guarantee of the equality of Christians and Muslims, both politically and socially."¹⁷⁶ Historians are divided on whether Khalil convinced Mustafa Fazil to side with the New Ottomans, or whether it was Mustafa Fazil, who urged Khalil to write on Ottoman reforms and the necessity for a constitution. In this respect, Mardin writes:

Halil strikes one throughout as having been more deeply imbued with the ideas of constitutionalism, and he was taken much more seriously by his contemporaries than was Mustafa Fazil. Halil Serif Pasha's tactic was to take advantage of the pressure exerted by

the Great Powers on the Porte to force it into an acceptance of his constitutionalist scheme. He thus tailored his draft as much as possible on the French project of reforms earlier presented to the Porte. Consequently he got the support of the French ambassador Prosper Bourrée.¹⁷⁷

A few months after Mustafa Fazil's letter to *Le Nord*, and Khalil's memorandum, both of which had instantly found mention in the Turkish newspapers run by the New Ottomans, Mustafa Fazil wrote a letter to Sultan Abdulaziz, influenced, we are told, by the liberal thoughts of journalist Émile de Girardin and a lesser known Rumanian Ganesco, who is said to have written the draft of the letter. Although the letter never reached the Sultan, it was published in the French daily *Liberté* on March 24, 1867, and was translated and 50,000 copies were distributed immediately in the Porte by Namik Kemal and his friends, who had received a draft of the letter a few weeks, before it was published in France. The controversy over the letter's publication granted Mustafa Fazil and Khalil an audience by the emperor Napoleon, as "news circulated that he was to help Mustafa Fazil to further his plans."¹⁷⁸ Also, due to the letter's effectiveness in instigating an awareness of the necessity for administrative reforms, the New Ottomans, who were previously skeptical of Mustafa Fazil's leadership, were now favoring his presence in their organization.

In broad strokes, the letter dramatized the degeneration of moral values, which Mustafa Fazil believed were the source of religion and all other social structures that governed the Empire. It was for the first time that in a Muslim text religion was not the focus; instead, the idea of liberty through education echoed newly emerging notions of secularism and egalitarianism. For the prince, Turkish/Ottoman morality was innate and was spurred for centuries by a fervent

belief in liberty. To recover the freedom driven morality in its subjects, the Empire needed to restructure its educational system: “Liberty was the original schoolmaster which gave rise to all others.”¹⁷⁹ However, unlike the centralized reforms of Sultan Mahmud II and Viceroy Muhammad Ali, Mustafa Fazil strongly argued his belief in the deflation in autocratic rule, while formulating a monarchic government that would function only as a consultative organ. This letter was then used as the foundational text for the New Ottoman Society’s constitution.¹⁸⁰

The letter’s effects in Europe and Istanbul, strengthened the New Ottomans’ relationship with Mustafa Fazil Pasha, who brought them to Paris after their exiles were decried, through the help of the French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Prosper Bourrée and journalist Jean Piétri, owner of the liberal French newspaper *Courier d’Orient* published in Istanbul. Both Khalil and Mustafa Fazil, then, rapidly created a New Ottoman network of Turkish-language journals and newspapers that were published in London, Geneva and Paris. The strong organizational structure of this system of press opposition lasted only until the Universal Exposition of Paris in the summer of 1867. It is often emphasized that Mustafa Fazil’s self-interests brought the New Ottoman Society to its end. During Sultan Abdulaziz’s visit to the Exposition, Mustafa Fazil re-established his connections with the Ottoman Empire and accompanied the Sultan to Baden-Baden, and then to Istanbul. Khedive Ismail, who was visiting the Exposition at around the same time, tried to buy all the Parisian New Ottomans and Khalil to his side, but was unsuccessful: “Presumably Ismail wanted to use Halil Bey’s abilities and to break up the group formed around his opponent, Mustafa Fazil. In any case Halil Bey refused to join.”¹⁸¹

At first, the New Ottomans in Paris believed that Mustafa Fazil’s return would finalize his dreams of becoming the grand vezir of a monarchic parliament, which would then welcome

their participation. Instead, Mustafa Fazil's return marked a gradual disintegration within the Parisian group. The prince continued to support the various newspapers he had funded, such as *Muhbir*, *Hurriyet*, *Ulum*, *Ittihad* and *Inkilab*, but by 1869 the New Ottoman Society had dissolved and each journalist emphasized his own political beliefs in the publications. Mardin argues the Grand Vezir Ali Pasha played a part in cajoling Mustafa Fazil to reenter the administration. Perhaps, he was told that he would succeed Ali. Khalil must have kept in touch with Namik Kemal after Mustafa Fazil's return, however, Khalil, also returned to Istanbul, when he ran out of funds, and was invited by Ali to become the Under-secretary in the Foreign Ministry of the Empire.

When Fuad Pasha died, in Nice, in February 1869, Ali Pasha himself took over the post and title of Minister of Foreign Affairs, while keeping also the position of grand vezir. Halil Serif continued to be the Undersecretary of the Foreign Ministry, but because of Ali Pasha's dual role was now often called the "*mustesar* of the Grand Vezir."¹⁸²

While an Undersecretary, Khalil is said to have written a brochure on the capitulations, and allowed the French journalist Charles Mismar to use his library in Istanbul to write his *Soirées de Constantinople*. In 1870, Khalil was, rather abruptly, transferred to Vienna as an ambassador, and promoted to the rank of vezir very soon after, thus becoming Khalil Serif Pasha. The transfer was sudden and as Davison suggests was due to an altercation between Khalil and Khedive Ismail. The khedive while visiting Istanbul had refused to see Khalil. Perhaps in his undiplomatic vigor, Khalil read this as an insult, sent a letter to Ismail, published it and resigned from his job as an Undersecretary.

Khalil remained in Vienna for two years during the Franco-Prussian war. Within the European political turmoil, the Ottomans were to maintain strict neutrality. Khalil was concerned with a Russian move to overturn the 1856 Paris Treaty, which had neutralized the Black Sea. During his time in Vienna, he worked against Russia's pan-Slavic activities in the Balkans. In Vienna, he also observed the beginnings of the "Three Emperors' League" between Austria-Hungary, Germany and Russia, an alliance that would offset the First World War. In this period, Khalil's official opposition as a diplomat was to Russia's anti-Ottoman activities. As a close friend of Mustafa Fazil and perhaps more an Ottomanist than an Egyptian, Khalil worked against Ismail's largely monetary influence on the Porte — known to many as Ismail's oranges. In Vienna, he hosted Namik Kemal, who was returning to Istanbul after a three-year exile.

An early biographer of Namik Kemal, Mithat Cemal Kuntay offers an interesting narrative account of Khalil and Namik Kemal's meeting in Vienna. Kuntay sees in them an unlikely pairing. Khalil was living in an insurmountable luxury and hosting the likes of composer Jacques Offenbach, while Namik Kemal carried a revolutionary's careless sartorial disposition.¹⁸³ Regardless of their way of life, the two reformists still shared their New Ottomanist goals. For days, they discussed the possibility of starting a new journal.

With the death of Khalil's patron Ali Pasha, the chance arose for Khalil to become the Empire's Foreign Minister. However, Davison tells us that Khedive Ismail would pay large sums to the Sultan to prevent Khalil from coming back to Istanbul. Through the intricacies within the Porte and the death of the newly appointed Foreign Minister, on October 3, 1872, Khalil was "summoned from his Vienna embassy to become foreign minister."¹⁸⁴ He was also married at this time to Mustafa Fazil's Europeanized daughter Nazli Hanim (**fig. 31**), who has been of particular interest to feminist historians, due to a series of photographs of her dressed as an

Amazon, a Parisian woman and a European man.¹⁸⁵ It was also a year into his post as a Foreign Minister that Khalil set up a fund for Namik Kemal and Ebuzziya Tevfik's theater productions. The first collaborative play titled "Accidental Death," *Ecel-i Kaza*, was produced in January 1873, and "all the ministers except grand vezir, plus Mustafa Fazil and Midhat, who were out of office were present."¹⁸⁶

As a Foreign Minister, Khalil seems to have increased his plans for Ottoman reforms; this period would be his final attempts to implement reforms to arrest the dissolution of the Empire's hold on the Balkans. In his six-month stint as a Foreign Minister, he fought against Ismail's actions to win further financial autonomy. Ismail bribed Palace officials to obtain a ferman that allowed him to contract loans on his own authority and remove the grand vezir Midhat Pasha from office. Khalil's last reformist memorandum was on turning the Empire into a federation, which would revert Russia's influence over the Balkans. "The Russian ambassador, Ignatyev, understood this and opposed the plan bitterly. He later wrote that Khalil was very dangerous for Russia."¹⁸⁷ Khalil, in all matters of reform and modernization, chose Europe as his reference. He modeled his federation after the newly created German Empire and its control over semi-autonomous Bavaria and Baden. Besides, Ignatyev's opposition, Khalil still faced Ismail's persistence to remove him from office. Ismail's agent in Istanbul, one Abraham Bey would bribe Sultan Abdulaziz, who then sent word to the grand vezir. The vezir, however, replied that Khalil was "a man of patriotic public spirit and political knowledge. It is not appropriate to dismiss so capable a minister and one so well known in Europe."¹⁸⁸ Regardless of the vezir's trust in Khalil's work, he was dismissed on March 11, 1873, and remained unemployed for two years.

During these two years, Khalil was used intermittently as a pawn by Abdulaziz against Khedive Ismail, whenever the Sultan was displeased by the Khedive or perhaps wanted more of

his extravagant gifts. “From 1871 to 1873 his gifts to Abdulaziz were fantastic: geese and pheasants in fine cages, the resplendent lophophore, the crowned goura, the barnacle goose, one hundred dogs, sixty American white mignon ducks, rams and white Tuscan cows, four hundred sheep, three hundred thousand Ottoman bonds, and one million Ottoman bonds, among other things.”¹⁸⁹ Khalil would receive ambassadorial appointments from the Sultan, which would be reversed soon after. Davison writes that Khalil was among the group that deposed Sultan Abdulaziz in 1876 and was made Minister of Justice after Mustafa Fazil, who had served as such, died. Khalil would work with the new administration on an Ottoman constitution. The New Ottomans’ favored *alafranga* monarch known at times as the ‘citizen-king’, Murad V’s rule was cut short by his mental state after Abdulaziz’s suicide. His more traditional brother, Abdulhamid II, succeeded him.

Khalil couldn’t take part in the drafting the constitution, because he suffered a stroke on September 1876. After a very brief period as an ambassador in his beloved Paris, where he reported on French views of Russia and the Ottoman Empire’s relations, he died, allegedly of a brain disease. Perhaps what forced him to leave St. Petersburg in 1865 was syphilis after all.

Interestingly, his early allegiance to Egypt, which he considered his fatherland in 1855, was short-lived; a more in-depth analysis of his life would perhaps provide reasons for this shift. Khalil’s later patriotism was markedly pro-Ottoman and he saw himself, first and foremost, as an Ottoman diplomat, concerned with the state of the Empire. Even in imperial terms, however, he was able to envision the possibility of an egalitarianism sustained by a benevolent monarchy. Beyond his many ideas of reform, Khalil knew that the Empire’s two biggest threats were Egypt and Russia and he believed that he could, for as long as he served as a minister or ambassador, maneuver the Khedive’s influence on the Porte and the Russian advances in the Balkan

Peninsula. His cosmopolitanism emerged from his awareness of the importance of knowing the systems and structures of other states ‘from within’, which made him a respected and, at times, intimidating diplomat. Khalil (**fig. 32**), it seems, also believed in the positive outcomes of cross-cultural convergences: with his theater troupe, extremely liberated wife, reformist memoranda and frequent support in cultivating a cohesive Ottoman intelligentsia, he demonstrated, before the phrase was even articulated, an incredibly complex, but enlightening patriotic cosmopolitanism.

CONCLUSION

Now my system was always beautiful, spacious, vast, convenient, neat and, above all, water-tight; at least so it seemed to me. But always some spontaneous product of universal vitality would come to give the lie to my childish and superannuated wisdom – that lamented child of Utopia! It was no good shifting or stretching my criterion - it always lagged behind universal man and never stopped chasing after multiform and multi-colored Beauty as it moved in the infinite spirals of life.

Charles Baudelaire (1855).¹⁹⁰

It was not at all my intention to frame Khalil Bey as the universal man that Baudelaire wished in vain to emulate himself. After all, like the poet, Khalil had many prejudices and vices that interrupted the universal man's infinite level of idealism. This semi-biographical account of Khalil Bey suggests, however, like Baudelaire's ultimate desire, a means to split open and to expose the "convenient, neat and, above all, water-tight" system that so chagrined and restricted the poet. (After his experience of the 1855 Universal Exposition, Baudelaire objected to being bound to a system of representations and pursued unbrandished vistas in writing, but he acknowledged that he nonetheless "lagged behind universal man.")

Likewise, the system of "neat" culture-specific identities and representations has, of course, motivated many post-colonial theorists, historians and art historians to find counter-examples, the so-called subaltern voices. The contemporary scholarship's efforts to fracture

established power dynamics have in the process brought up remarkable individuals, similar in a multitude of ways to Khalil Bey. However, what made Khalil all the more complex, at least to my mind, was his awareness and conscious manipulation of the specific stereotyped identities that surrounded him and appeared in the canonical tropes of nineteenth-century Western scholarship. All at once, Khalil performed the dandy, the flâneur, the artist, the Oriental and the aristocrat. He was after all a diplomat, which as a profession required him to often practice representations and present ideas above and beyond his own. It was his profession that later enabled him to calculate his allegiances and patriotism as well.

It is time that we look more carefully into these characters' lives, in hopes of constructing more than anecdotal representations of certain subaltern vignettes. These have so far merely touched upon notions of cosmopolitanism and hybridity through a suggestive account (Ahmed Midhat Bey), a memoir (Fatma Aliye Hanım), an architectural fragment (Pascal Coste) or painting (Osman Hamdi Bey). In time, there will emerge, like it did through my still evolving research on the life of Khalil Bey - who was until the early 1990s known as the collector of nineteenth-century French erotica - a variety of powerful links that collapse the dichotomous structures of the Orient and the Occident.

Of course, this is by no means a complete account of Khalil Bey. There is a lot more archival work to be done: Khalil's alleged memoir, letters to his French courtesan Jeanne de Tourbey and friends Sainte-Beuve and Courbet, his patriotic pamphlets and constitutional drafts, as well as Ottoman, French, Arabic newspapers, and governmental dispatches that bear his name are all waiting to be discovered. There is also Khalil's vibrant and courtly ambassadorship in Vienna with composer Jacques Offenbach and a new collection of decorative arts and paintings present in his lodgings that need to be studied. Through these sources a history of liminality will

emerge that has strong ties to major historical events; the emergence of an Ottoman intelligentsia, their sources and inspirations, an independent Turkish press that gave voice to a “public,” nineteenth-century theories of statehood, nationhood, monarchy, rights of minorities and adjustments in imperial structures will need to be addressed. Khalil’s diplomatic life not only dovetails into the domestic disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and Egypt’s semi-autonomy, but the readjustments and failures of imperial structures in Europe, particularly in Russia. A more-detailed study on Khalil Bey will not function to justify his persona alone, but will find sociological answers to identity formations in the East, where many other individuals responded to forces of modernization. In other words, his biography will not aim to portray an Oriental’s enlightenment, but an in-between status that is in constant turmoil between reform and tradition, luxury and modesty, consumption and restraint. In this regard, not only the Ottoman poet and journalist Namik Kemal, but also the Comtian writer Ibrahim Sinasi Bey, who has been deemed the great Westernizer/reformer of Turkish literature will offer, through their secular notions of societal change and on their conceptualization of the “new man,” which is very close in character to Baudelaire’s *cosmopolite*, will shed light on Khalil’s persona alongside his contemporary New Ottomans. As Ross Posnock so eloquently writes, these cast of characters can “set the egalitarian and elitist moments in cosmopolitanism into a deliberately unstable synthesis that enable them to move among positions as warranted by historical circumstance and exigency.”¹⁹¹

NOTES

¹ Tahtawi, Rifa'ah Rafi. *An Imam in Paris: Account of Stay in France by an Egyptian Cleric (1826-1831)*. Translated by Daniel L. Newman. London: Saqi, 2004, 153.

² Many different variations of Khalil's name appear in documents of his time. In Ottoman and Egyptian sources, his name is spelled without the letter *k*, as Halil. In European sources his name is always Khalil. Also, only after his father's death, he acquires his father's name and his name becomes Khalil Serif. Before he receives the title Pasha from the Ottoman administration in the 1870s, he is referred to as Khalil Bey. To avoid confusion, however, throughout the text, I will only refer to him as Khalil Bey.

³ Haskell, Francis. "A Turk and his Pictures in Nineteenth-Century Paris," *Oxford Art Journal* 5 (1982):1, 40-47. Haddad, Michèle. *Halil Serif Pasa, Bir Insan, Bir Koleksiyon*. Istanbul: Aralik, 2001.

⁴ Sontag Susan. *On Photography*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1989, 5.

⁵ Batur, Enis. *Issiz Donme Dolap: Icbukeyler*. Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Kultur Sanat Yayıncılık, 1998, 210-211. Also see Batur, Enis. *Elma*. Istanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2001, 20. Nochlin, Linda. "Courbet's "L'origine du monde": The Origin Without an Original." *October* 37 (Summer 1986), 76-86. For a discussion on Europe's representation of an Oriental ruler see Celik, Zeynep. *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at nineteenth-century world's fairs*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992, 10.

⁶ Baudelaire, Charles. *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*. Jonathan Mayne, ed. and transl. New York: Phaidon Press, 1986. The essay was written in 1859–1860 and published in *Le Figaro*, November 26, 28, and December 3, 1863.

⁷ Saisselin, Rémy. "Dandyism and Honnêteté," *French Review* 29 (1956): 6, 458.

⁸ The most eloquent interpretation of the recent position of post-colonial critiques appear in Frederick N. Bohrer's article "The Sweet Waters of Asia: Representing Difference/Differencing Representation in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul," in *Edges of Empire: Orientalism and Visual Culture*. Jocelyn Hackford-Jones and Mary Roberts eds. Malden: Blackwell Pub., 2005, 121-138. Some of his very well articulated aphorisms on Eastern subject's position within Western discourse are as follows: "Orientalist imagery is always incomplete *as representation*. The more we see how the image of the Orient varies in European representations of the nineteenth century,

the more we must acknowledge the variability of Europe itself. Neither party in the binary model of exoticism can be treated as an integral unit. There is neither a simple 'Us' or 'Them.' Rather, both parties are fractured and variable, constructed in a dynamic relation to each other.'

⁹ Kwame Anthony Appiah uses the same imagery of a mirror to characterize the cosmopolitan. The multitude of images of a single person that al-Tahtawi sees through the French mirrors, for Appiah, are reflected through the shards of a single fractured mirror particular perhaps to his description of a Victorian adventurer, Sir Richard Francis Burton, as the aloof wanderer, who is neither a cosmopolitan, nor a non-cosmopolitan. Appiah writes, "The deepest mistake, he supposed, is to think that your little shard of mirror can reflect the whole." Appiah's metaphor is here unclear. He is all at once referring to the multi-faceted Burton, as well as the adventurer's view of the world as a fractured mirror with each individual shard representing a different truth, or cultural perspective. Appiah, Kwame A. *Cosmopolitanism, Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York: W. W. Norton, c. 2006, 1-8.

¹⁰ Batur, *Issiz Donme Dolap*, 22.

¹¹ Batur, *Elma*, 27 and 38.

¹² Haskell, 47.

¹³ Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonising Egypt*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 78.

¹⁴ See both Haskell and Haddad.

¹⁵ Heyworth-Dunne, James. *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*. London: Cass, 1968, 243.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ For further information, see Heyworth-Dunne.

¹⁸ Mitchell, 75.

¹⁹ Flaubert, Gustave. *Flaubert in Egypt : a Sensibility on Tour : a Narrative drawn from Gustave Flaubert's Travel notes & Letters*. Francis Steegmuller transl. and ed. New York: Penguin Books, 1996, 82.

²⁰ Hourani, Albert H. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983, 53.

²¹ Al-Tahtawi's description of Jomard is interesting as it conveys a native's perception of an Orientalist, or a European scholar of the Orient, such as de Sacy. "He is one of the scholar's of

the Institute (*al-Anstitut*), i.e. the Council of Sciences, of which he is a leading member. His behavior and character reveal the love he has for our ruler and his willingness to serve him through his counsel. Time and again one can see in him a profound concern for the interests of Egypt when it comes to spreading knowledge and the sciences there – or indeed to other African countries. This becomes evident from his personality and conduct, as well as from the views expressed in the introduction to his *Almanac de l’Egypte et de la Syrie pour l’année 1244 de l’hégire*. The fame of Monsieur Jomard’s erudition and organizational expertise from the start impose on the human mind a preference for the pen over the sword, since he can get things done with his pen a thousand times better than others can with their swords. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that it is the pens that rule the regions, His scientific zeal results in a high output in terms of books and research activities. At the same time, this is a quality that can no doubt be found in all European scholars. An author is like a machine; when it stops, it is broken. Or like an iron key, which becomes rusty if it is not used. Monsieur Jomard devotes himself to the sciences day and night.” See Tahtawi, 26.

²² Hentsch, Thierry. *Imagining the Middle East*. Fred A. Reed transl. New York: Black Rose Books, 1992, 123.

²³ Heyworth-Dunne writes, “From the biographical notes on the students who were attached to this mission, the experiment seems to have been more successful than any previously made.” Heyworth-Dunne, 262.

²⁴ Mitchell, 71.

²⁵ Most Middle and Near-Eastern modernization attempts in the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries started their processes with the army. Similar instances could be viewed in the Ottoman Empire beginning with Mahmud II’s army reforms.

²⁶ Heyworth-Dunne, 243.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 244.

²⁸ Here, I am aware of Ali Mubarak’s young character Burhanuddin in his fictive work *Alamuddin*. The twelve-year-old son of the title character is on occasion introduced to a Parisian social circle, in which he is asked questions about Egypt. He is ill-informed about his fatherland, as Ali Mubarak suggests, the Muslim tradition prevents him from knowing his history [the Pyramids], the current state of his country [agriculture, demographics] and its new institutions

[train, postal service]. However, the socio-cultural background of a young Halil Bey and Burhanuddin were probably very different and the levels of 'shock' after the first encounter was probably less petrifying for the more upper class Halil.

²⁹ Ibid, 247.

³⁰ Heyworth-Dunne, 246.

³¹ Tahtawi, 84.

³² Prendergast, Christopher. *Paris and the Nineteenth-Century*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992, 30.

³³ Al-qadi, Wadad. "East and West in Ali Mubarak's Alamuddin," in *Intellectual Life in the Arab East, 1890-1939*. Marwan R. Buheiry ed. Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 1981, 23. Ali Mubarak participated in the same Egyptian mission as a student with Halil Bey.

³⁴ Tahtawi, 126.

³⁵ Prendergast, 31.

³⁶ Heyworth-Dunne, 248.

³⁷ Heyworth-Dunne claims that Halil Bey returned to Istanbul, but Roderic Davison account seems more likely when certain diplomatic correspondences are taken into account. For Davison's sources see Davison, Roderic H. "Halil Serif Pasha, Ottoman Diplomat and Statesman." *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 2 (1981), Istanbul, 203-221.

³⁸ Davison, *Halil Serif Pasha*, 204. The biographical notes provided in Heyworth-Dunne inform us that Halil had returned to Istanbul. However, Davison's account seems more accurate as he follows Halil Serif's letters to the Grand Vizier Ali Pasha.

³⁹ Hourani, Albert H. *A History of the Arab Peoples*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1991, 275.

⁴⁰ Bowen, John, E. *The Conflict of East and West in Egypt*. New York: G.P. Putnam's sons, 1887, 301.

⁴¹ Grigsby, Darcy Grimaldo. "Out of the Earth, Egypt's Statue Of Liberty?" in *Edges of Empire*, 48.

⁴² Author's own translation from French.

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- ⁴³ Cuno, Kenneth, M. "The Origins of Private Ownership of Land in Egypt: A Reappraisal," in *The Modern Middle East: A Reader*. Albert Hourani et al., eds., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, 212.
- ⁴⁴ Ernest Renan in Benjamin, Walter. *The Arcades Project*. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin transl. Cambridge MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002, 180.
- ⁴⁵ Haddad, 20.
- ⁴⁶ Mainardi, Patricia. *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987, 25.
- ⁴⁷ Mainardi, 39.
- ⁴⁸ Trapp, Frank Anderson. "The Universal Exhibition of 1855." *The Burlington Magazine* 107 (June, 1965): 747, 300.
- ⁴⁹ Prendergast, 36.
- ⁵⁰ Ruffini, Giovanni. *The Paragreens on a Visit to the Paris Universal Exhibition*. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co., 1856, 12.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 37.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁴ Prendergast, 31.
- ⁵⁵ Brookner, Anita. *Romanticism and its Discontents*. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2000, 124 and 134.
- ⁵⁶ Zürcher, Erik J. *Turkey: A Modern History*. New York: I.B. Tauris, 1998, 53.
- ⁵⁷ Davison, H. Roderic. *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963. For a discussion on the French and British influence on the Ottoman reform decree of 1856 see Chapter II.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 204.
- ⁵⁹ Khalil's book is mentioned in Roderic Davison's article. As Zeynep Celik also writes that, "Al-Tahtawi's first volume on the history of Egypt, *Anwar Tawfiq al-jalil fi akhbar Misr wa tawthiq bani Isma'il* (The radiance of the sublime Tawfiq in the history of Egypt and the descendants of Isma'il), published in 1865, dealt with the period from the ancient kingdoms to

the Arab conquests.” See Celik , 13. It was around the same period, then, that Egyptian elites were slowly reclaiming their pharaonic past.

⁶⁰ Davison, *Halil Serif Pasha*, 204.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Haddad, 60-61.

⁶³ Davison, *Halil Serif Pasha*, 203-204.

⁶⁴ Tim Mitchell borrows from Foucault in describing the Viceroy’s modernization. For a detailed analysis of the changes in outlook towards the makeup of the Egyptian administration after Muhammad Ali’s rule, see Sayid-Marsot, Afaf L. *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984, 100.

⁶⁵ Marsot, 131.

⁶⁶ Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 52.

⁶⁷ On Courbet’s efforts to obtain permission for his 1855 retrospective, see Mainardi, 60-61. On the artist’s reasons to have an exhibition on his own, see Courbet, Gustave. *Letters of Gustave Courbet*. Petra ten-Doesschate Chu transl. and ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992, 139-147.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Rumbold, Horace, Sir. *Recollections of a Diplomatist*. London: E. Arnold, 1902.

⁷⁰ Davison, *Halil Serif Pasha*, 206.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² *Mecmua-yi Funun, eser-i Cem’iyet-i Ilmiye-i Osmaniye vol. 1*. Mehmet Tahir Munif Pasa. Istanbul: Cemiyet, 1862.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Davison, *Halil Serif Pasha*, 207.

⁷⁵ Assouline, Pierre. *Discovering Impressionism, the Life of Paul Durand-Ruel*. New York: Vendome Press, 2004, 77.

⁷⁶ See Haskell, “Turk and his Pictures” and Gautier’s auction catalogue entry in Haddad, 129-145.

⁷⁷ Here I have in mind Thoré-Bürger’s contribution to the Paris-Guide, published to coincide with the 1867 Universal Exhibition. For further information see Jowell, Frances Suzman.

“Thoré-Bürger’s Art Collection: “A Rather Unusual Gallery of Bric-a-Brac.”” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 30 (2003): 1/2, 54-119. For further insight into the collectors of mid-nineteenth-century with a brief mention of Khalil Bey’s collection see Jowell Frances S. “Thoré-Bürger – A Critical Role in the Art Market.” *The Burlington Magazine* 138 (February, 1996): 1115, 115-129.

⁷⁸ Haddad, 70.

⁷⁹ Delacroix, Eugène. *The Journal of Eugène Delacroix*. Walter Pach transl. New York: Grove Press, 1961, 74.

⁸⁰ Haddad, 73.

⁸¹ Mallett, Donald. *The Greatest Collector: Lord Hertford and the Founding of the Wallace Collection*. London: McMillan, 1979, 91.

⁸² Haddad, 80.

⁸³ Gotlieb, Marc J. *The Plight of Emulation: Ernest Meissonier and French Salon Painting*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996, 112.

⁸⁴ Mallett, 42.

⁸⁵ “Lord Hertford and the Eighteenth Century.” *The Burlington Magazine* 567 (June 1950): 92, 153-154.

⁸⁶ Haddad, 130.

⁸⁷ Clark, T.J. “A Bourgeois Dance of Death: Max Buchon on Courbet II.” *The Burlington Magazine* 111 (May, 1964): 794, 288.

⁸⁸ Mainardi, 83.

⁸⁹ Clark, T.J. *The Absolute Bourgeoisie: Artists and Politics in France, 1848-1851*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, 69.

⁹⁰ Ferté, R. de la. “Le monde, les arts, les ateliers.” *L’Artiste*, February 1, 1868, 283.

⁹¹ Haddad, 87.

⁹² Clark, T.J. *Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999, 69.

⁹³ Barbizon quotation taken from Clark, *Painting*, 79, the second quote on Rousseau’s painting is taken from Haskell, 42.

⁹⁴ Benjamin, 209.

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- ⁹⁵ Frances Suzman Jowell. "Thoré-Bürger – A Critical Role in the Art Market," 122.
- ⁹⁶ Charles Blanc cited in Mainardi, 37.
- ⁹⁷ Brookner, Anita. *The Genius of the Future; Studies in French Art Criticism: Diderot, Stendhal, Baudelaire, Zola, the Brothers Goncourt, Huysmans*. New York: Phaidon, 1971, 60.
- ⁹⁸ Haddad, 18.
- ⁹⁹ Haskell, 41-44.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.
- ¹⁰¹ Baudelaire, Charles. *Art in Paris, 1845-1862; Salons and Other Exhibitions Reviewed by Charles Baudelaire*. Jonathan Mayne transl. and ed. Greenwich, CT: Phaidon Publishers, 1965.
- ¹⁰² Baudelaire, *Art in Paris*, 136.
- ¹⁰³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 123.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 126
- ¹⁰⁶ Mainardi, 46.
- ¹⁰⁷ Haskell, 45.
- ¹⁰⁸ Baudelaire cited in Haskell, 45.
- ¹⁰⁹ Schapiro, Meyer. "Courbet and Popular Imagery: An Essay on Realism and Naïveté." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 4 (April, 1941-July, 1942): 3/ 4, 164-191.
- ¹¹⁰ Haskell, 45.
- ¹¹¹ See Nochlin, "Courbet's L'Origine du monde." Also see Lajer-Burcharth, Ewa. "Lequeu's Corpus: Lascivious Architecture." *Self and History: A Tribute to Linda Nochlin*. Aruna d'Souza ed. New York: Thames and Hudson, 2001, 25-42. Kosinski, Dorothy, M. "Gustave Courbet's "The Sleepers" The Lesbian Image in Nineteenth-Century French Art and Literature." *Artibus et Historiae* 9 (1988): 18, 187- 199.
- ¹¹² Haskell, 41.
- ¹¹³ Batur, *Elma*, 57.
- ¹¹⁴ Courbet, 307
- ¹¹⁵ Lindsay, Jack. *Gustave Courbet: His Life and Art*. Bath: Adams & Dart, 1973, 219.
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 212.
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 190.

¹¹⁸ Clark, *Painting of Modern Life*, 146.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Schapiro, 171.

¹²² Clark, *Painting of Modern Life*, 89.

¹²³ Kosinski, 190.

¹²⁴ Ibid, 190-1.

¹²⁵ Haskell, 45. Kosinski points towards Courbet's very clear response to Ingres's *Odalisque and Slave* of 1840 with his *Sleeping Woman* of 1869. Courbet transfers the same languid pose of the odalisque, but contaminates, as it were, the nudity of the pure flesh by adding to his figure a white stocking.

¹²⁶ Brookner, *Romanticism and its Discontents*, 115.

¹²⁷ Baudelaire, Charles. *Oeuvres complètes*. C. Pichois ed. Paris, 1961, 1188-89.

¹²⁸ Clark, Kenneth. *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959, 154.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 103.

¹³⁰ Ibid, 169-70.

¹³¹ Clark, T.J., *Painting*, 85.

¹³² Lindsay, 216. A similar Oriental-female body association was made also by Maxime du Camp. "To please a Moslem who paid for his whims in gold, and who, for a time, enjoyed a certain notoriety in Paris, because of his prodigalities, Courbet, this same man whose avowed intention was to renew French painting, painted a portrait of a woman which is difficult to describe. In the dressing room of this foreign personage, one sees a small picture hidden under a green veil. When one draws aside the veil one remains stupefied to perceive a woman, life-size, seen from the front, moved and convulsed, remarkably executed, reproduced *con amore*, as the Italians say, providing the last word in realism. But, by some inconceivable forgetfulness, the artist, who copied his model from nature, had neglected to represent the feet, the legs, the thighs, the stomach, the hips, the chest, the hands, the arms, the shoulders, the neck and the head. The man, who, for a few coins, could degrade his craft to the point of abjection, is capable of

anything.” Maxime du Camp cited in Hertz, N. “Medusa's Head: Male Hysteria Under Political Pressure.” *Representations* 4, (fall 1983), 27-54.

¹³³ Haddad, 60-61.

¹³⁴ Lindsay, 217-218.

¹³⁵ See Anne Dumas's catalogue entry on *The Source of the Loue 1864*, in *Courbet Reconsidered*. Linda Nochlin and Sarah Faunce eds. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989, 153.

¹³⁶ James, Henry. *The Portrait of a Lady*. New York: Norton, 1975, 175.

¹³⁷ Baudelaire, *Art in Paris*, 120.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ For an array of the poet's encounters with strangers, see the prose poems “Portraits of some mistresses,” and “The Generous Gambler” in both *Twenty Prose Poems*. Michael Hamburger transl. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1988 and *Paris Spleen*. Louise Varèse transl. New York: A New Directions Book, 1970.

¹⁴⁰ Baudelaire, *Art in Paris*, 120.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 121.

¹⁴² Ibid., 122.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Robbins, Bruce. *Feeling Global: Internationalism in Distress*. New York: New York UP, 1998, 75.

¹⁴⁵ Baudelaire, *Art in Paris*, 120. For a discussion of “cosmopolitan patriotism,” see Appiah, Anthony, K. “Cosmopolitan Patriots.” *Critical Inquiry* 23 (Spring, 1997): 3, 617- 639.

¹⁴⁶ Baudelaire, *Art in Paris*, 124.

¹⁴⁷ “Celui qui se considère comme citoyen du monde entire, qui ne limite pas son action dans les bornes de sa patrie.” Larousse, Pierre. *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle, français, historique, géographique, mythologique, bibliographique, littéraire, artistique, scientifique, etc.* Paris: Administration du Grand dictionnaire universel, v. 4, 1869, 238.

¹⁴⁸ Baudelaire, *Art in Paris*, 121.

¹⁴⁹ It is not clear from the single sentence example selected by the encyclopedia that the Xénophon Prosper Mérimée is referring to is Socrates's contemporary, Greek historian.

However, it is highly likely, because Mérimée studied Greek and had probably read Xénophon's *Anabasis*. Homer, however, was opposed to the advocates of cosmopolitanism. He referred to non-citizens as cosmopolitans.

¹⁵⁰ *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice*. Vertovec, Steven, and Robin Cohen, eds. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, 1.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁵⁴ Posnock, Ross. "The Dream of Deracination: The Uses of Cosmopolitanism." *American Literary History* 12, (Winter, 2000): 4, 803.

¹⁵⁵ Zubaida, Sami. "Middle Eastern Experiences of Cosmopolitanism," in Vertovec, 33.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ Martha Nussbaum in Posnock, 803.

¹⁵⁹ Appiah, 625.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 618.

¹⁶² James Clifford cited in Posnock, 807.

¹⁶³ Gershoni, Israel. "The Return of the East: Mohammad Husayn Haykal's Recantation of Positivism," *Middle Eastern Politics and Ideas, A History from Within*. Ilan Pappé and Moshe Ma'oz eds. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997, 21.

¹⁶⁴ For further information on individuals involved in reform movements, see Davison, H. Roderic. *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963. Tevfik, Ebuzziya. *Yeni Osmanlilar Tarihi*. Istanbul: Pegasus Yayinlari, 2006. Kuntay, Mithat C. *Namik Kemal: Devrinin Insanlari ve Olaylari Arasinda* (3 vols.). Istanbul, 1944-49. Hourani, Albert. H. *A History of the Arab Peoples*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002. Mardin, Serif. *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought; a Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*. Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962.

¹⁶⁵ Davison, *Reform*, 172.

¹⁶⁶ Carbonari, otherwise known as the “charcoal burners,” were a group of secret societies formed in Italy in the nineteenth-century. They were organized around small cells in groups of seven - which the New Ottomans followed in structure - and were revolutionary in intent. For further discussion on the formation of the New Ottomans in line with the Carbonari method, see Tevfik, 71.

¹⁶⁷ Davison, *Reform*, 188.

¹⁶⁸ Kuntay, Namik Kemal, vol. I, 183-187, 290-291.

¹⁶⁹ Mustafa Fazil’s letter to *Le Nord* is cited in full in Tevfik, 27-40.

¹⁷⁰ Davison, *Reform*, 195.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 175.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 185.

¹⁷³ Mardin, 29.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ “On February 5, 1867, Mustafa Fazil addressed to *Le Nord* in Brussels a letter, published on February 7, proclaiming himself the representative of the *Jeune Turquie*. After defending himself against charges that he was interested in financial gain for himself, he continued: “It matters not whether one is Muslim, Catholic, or Greek Orthodox to be able to put the public weal ahead of private interest. For that it is sufficient to be a man of progress or a good patriot, which is one and the same thing. Such is at least, Sir, the inmost conviction of the great party of the *Jeune Turquie* which I have the honor to represent. This party knows neither the resignation of fatalism nor the abdication of discouragement. That is to say that the insurrection of Crete, and the other greater troubles which are promised us in certain quarters, find it unshakable in its resolution to carry out the reform projects which thought, experience and suffering have matured.” Mardin, 32. Also see Davison, 201.

¹⁷⁶ Davison, *Halil Serif Pasha*. 208.

¹⁷⁷ Mardin, 32.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁷⁹ Mardin, 280.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ Douin, Georges. *Histoire du règne du khédive Ismail, II*. Roma: Stampata ... nell' Istituto poligrafico dello stato per la Reale società di geografia d'Egitto, 1933, 313.

¹⁸² Davison, *Halil Serif Pasha*, 210.

¹⁸³ Kuntay, I, 329-335.

¹⁸⁴ Davison, *Halil Serif Pasha*, 214.

¹⁸⁵ Roberts, Mary. "Cultural Crossings: Sartorial Adventures, Satiric Narratives and the Question of Indigenous Agency in Nineteenth-Century Europe and the Near East," in Hackforth-Jones, 70-94.

¹⁸⁶ Davison, *Reform*, 297.

¹⁸⁷ Davison, *Halil Serif Pasha*, 216.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Davison, *Reform*, 284.

¹⁹⁰ Baudelaire, *Art in Paris*, 136.

¹⁹¹ Posnock, 814.

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- . *Elma*. Istanbul: Sel Yayincilik, 2001, 20.
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FIGURES



1. Gustave Courbet, *The Origin of the World*, 1866. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



2. Daguerreotype presumed to be the portrait of Khalil Bey taken from the *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Gustave Courbet*, n. 32, 1964.



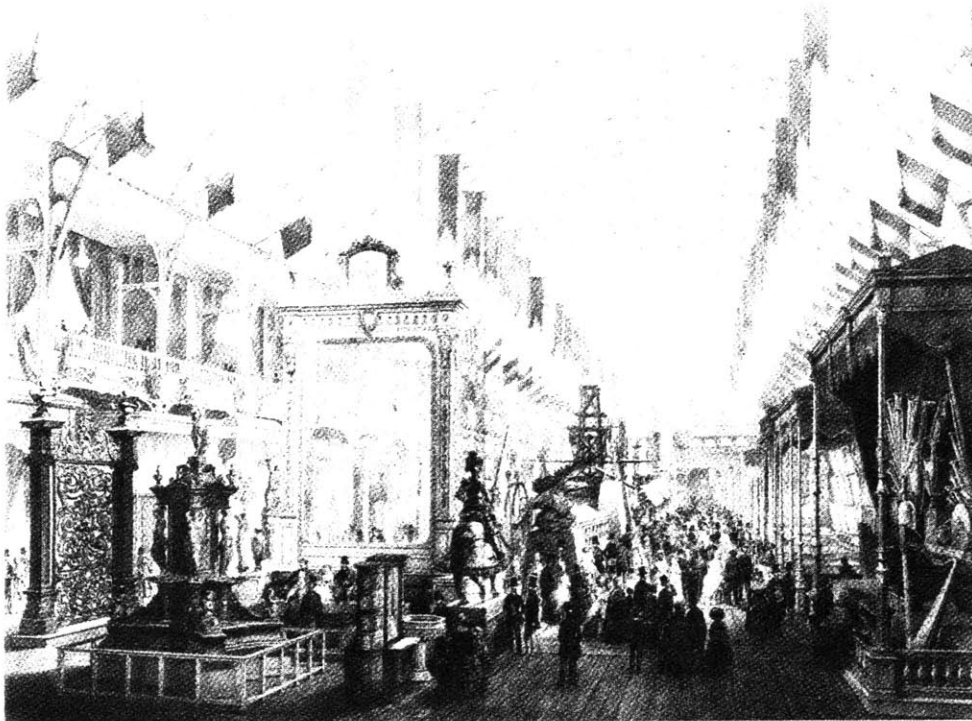
3. Eugène Delacroix, *Death of Sardanapalus*, 1827-28, Louvre, Paris.



4. Photograph of a class of the Mekteb-Osmani, the Ottoman School in Paris.



5. A. Deroy, *View of the Palais de l'Industrie*, 1855, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



6. *The Universal Exposition, Paris, 1855. General View of the Interior of the Palais de l'Industrie.* Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



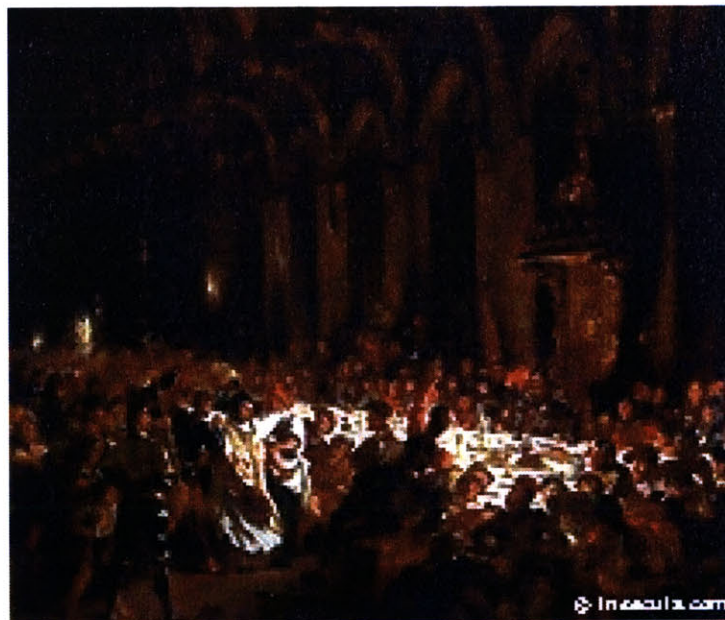
7. Hand Colored Lithograph of a *Zouave*, 1889.



8. Gustave Courbet, drawing of exhibition tent across a letter to Bruyas, 1855.



9. Eugène Fromentin, *Attaque d'une caravane*, La Rochelle musée de Beaux-Arts. The Fromentin that Khalil owned cannot be found, but the *Attaque* is a close example in its composition and handling of the figures.



10. Eugène Delacroix, *The Assassination of the Bishop of Liège*, 1827, 1831, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



11. Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Louis XIV and Molière*, 1862, location unspecified.



12. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Molière Dining with Louis XIV*, 1857, Musée de la Comédie-Française, Paris.



13. Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier, *The Painting Connoisseurs*, 1860, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



14. Jean-Antoine Watteau, *The Embarkation to Cythera*, 1717, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



15. David Teniers the Younger, *Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in his Picture Gallery in Brussels*, c. 1651, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.



16. Théodore Rousseau, *Avenue of Chestnut Trees*, 1841, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



17. Prosper Marilhat, *Une Rue du Caire*, c. 1840, Musée Condé, Chantilly.



18. Horace Vernet, *The Massacre of the Mamlukes in the Citadel of Cairo*, 1819, location unspecified.



19. Dominique Ingres, *The Turkish Bath*, 1862, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



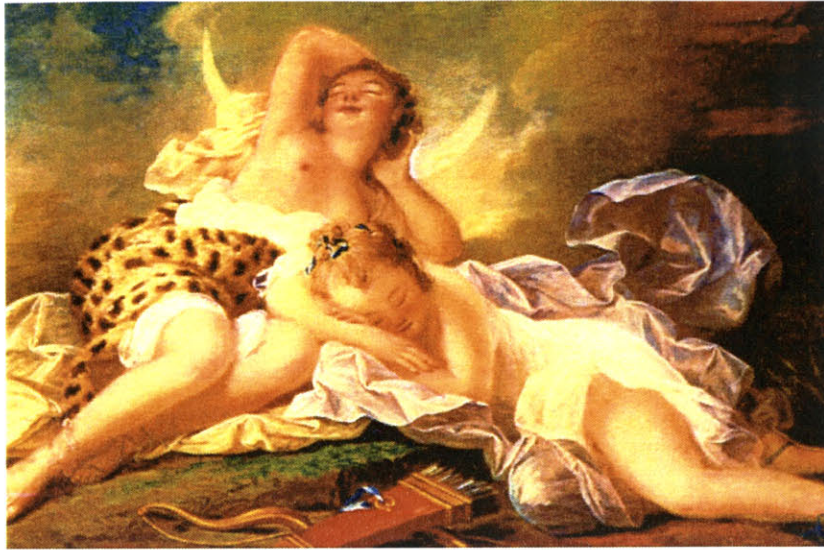
20. Eugène Delacroix, *Tasso in the Madhouse*, 1824, Galerie Nathan, Zurich.



21. Gustave Courbet, *The Sleepers*, 1866, Petit Palais, Paris.



22. Gustave Courbet, *Venus and Psyche*, 1864, photograph of the picture taken before it was destroyed in the Second World War.



23. Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *Diana Resting*, c. 1752, private collection, Paris.



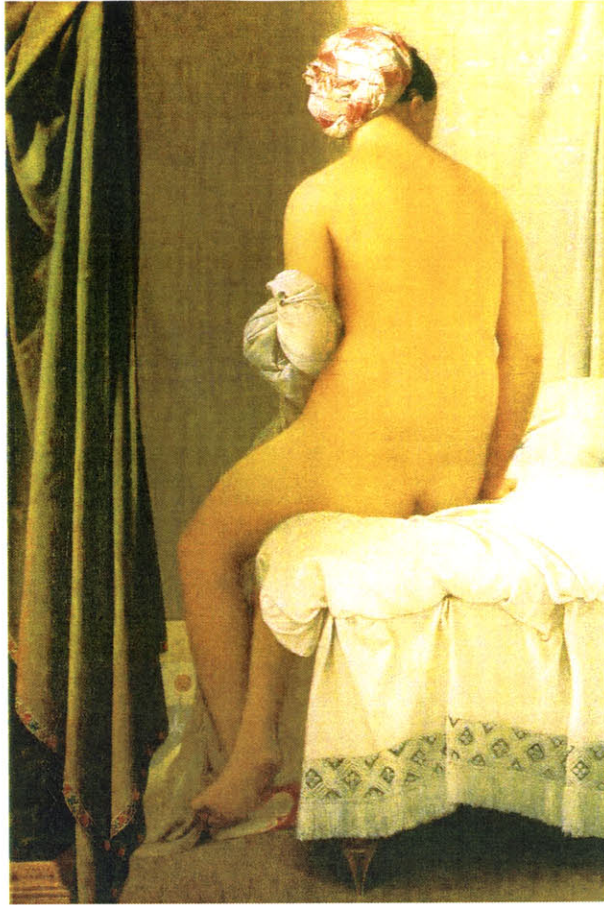
24. Gustave Courbet, *Woman with White Stockings*, 1861, Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia.



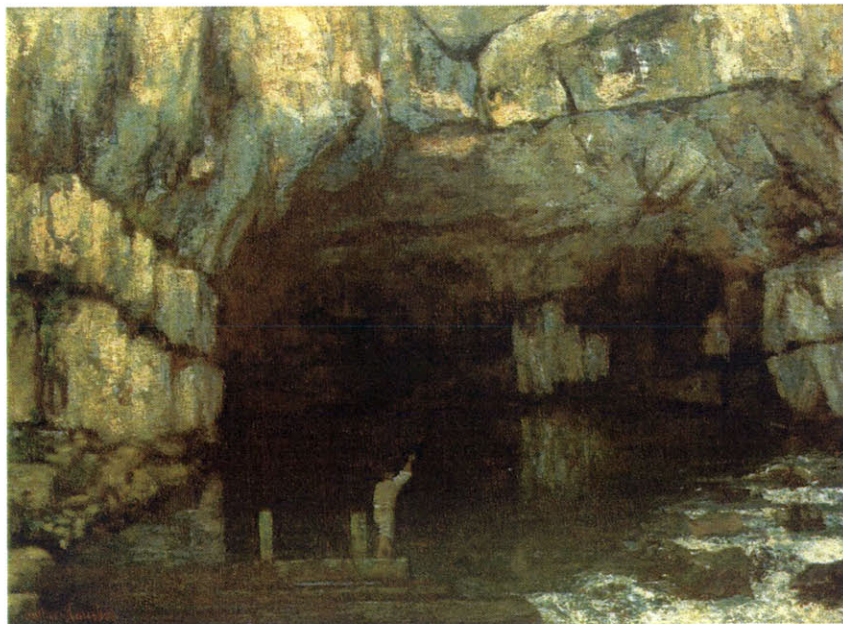
25. Gustave Courbet, *Demoselles on the Banks of the Seine*, 1856, Petit Palais, Paris.



26. Édouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1865, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



27. Dominique Ingres, *The Valpinçon Bather*, 1808, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



28. Gustave Courbet, *The Source of the Loue*, 1864, National Gallery of Art, Washington.



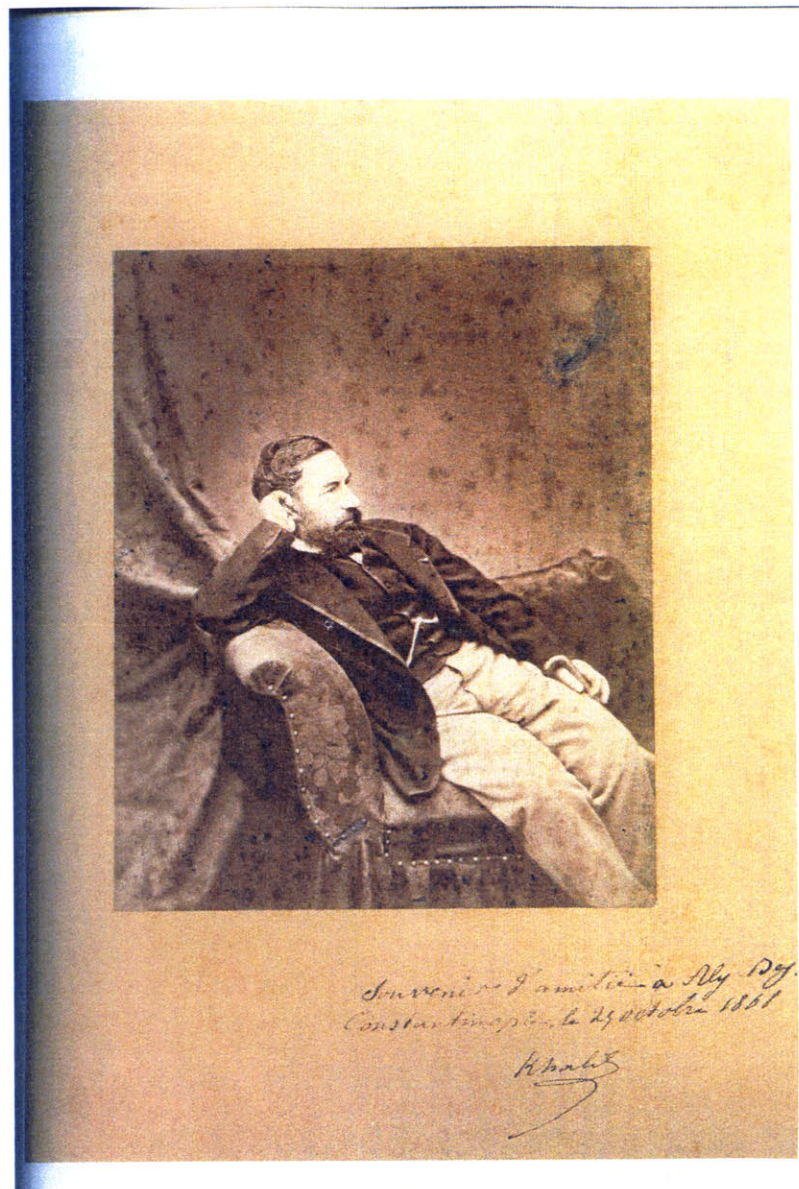
29. Photograph of Namik Kemal, from the cover picture of Mithat Cemal Kuntay biography.



30. Photograph of the Egyptian Prince Mustafa Fazil Pasha, from the private collection of Princess Rukiye.



31. Photograph of Princess Nazli Hanım, undated photographs, Sutherland Papers, Staffordshire Record Offices.



32. Anthony Samuel Adam-Solomon, *Photograph of Khalil Bey*, 1868, Paris.

