

OTTOMAN EMPIRE
AND
EUROPEAN THEATRE

II

THE TIME OF JOSEPH HAYDN:
FROM SULTAN MAHMUD I
TO MAHMUD II (r.1730–1839)



edited by
MICHAEL HÜTTLER · HANS ERNST WEIDINGER



DON JUAN ARCHIV WIEN

OTTOMANIA

3

Series Editors

HANS ERNST WEIDINGER · MICHAEL HÜTTLER



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HOLLITZER



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ABBREVIATIONS

AD	<i>Anno Domini</i>
a.k.a.	also known as
b.	born
bapt.	baptized
BC	Before Christ
cent.	century
c.	circa
cf.	confer (compare, see)
d.	died
Diplomarb.	Diplomarbeit (unpublished Master thesis)
dir.	directed by
Diss.	Dissertation (unpublished PhD dissertation)
ed.	edited by, editor
eds.	editors, editions
et al.	et alii/aliae (and others)
ff.	and following
<i>fl.</i>	<i>floruit</i> (flourished)
fig.	figure
fol.	folio
ibidem	in the same place
idem	the same
no.	number
nos.	numbers
orig.	originally
p.	page
pp.	pages
r.	reign(ed)
res.	residence
rev.	revised
sect.	section
s.a.	sine anno (without year)
s.l.	sine loco (without location)
s.p.	sine pagina
s.n.	sine nomine (without name/author/editor)
s.typ.	sine typographus (without printer/publisher)
trans.	translated by, translator
vol.	volume
vols.	volumes
vs.	versus

REMARKS

Translations, if not indicated otherwise, are by the authors of the contribution. Quotations are generally in the original language, followed by an English translation.

Double quotation marks are used for quotations in the continuous text; single quotation marks indicate translated words or sentences, as well as otherwise highlighted words or phrases.

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EDITORIAL

MICHAEL HÜTTLER (VIENNA) AND HANS ERNST WEIDINGER (VIENNA/FLORENCE)

The Time of Joseph Haydn: From Sultan Mahmud I to Sultan Mahmud II (r.1730–1839), the second volume of *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre*, explores the relationship between Western playwrights, composers and visual artists of the eighteenth-century and Turkish-Ottoman culture, as well as the interest of Ottoman artists in European culture. Twenty-seven contributions by renowned experts shed light on the mutual influences that affected society and art for both Europeans and Ottomans. Successor to the first volume of the series, *The Age of Mozart and Selim III (1756–1808)*,¹ this book examines the compositions of Joseph Haydn (1732–1809) and his contemporaries along with events in the Ottoman political era during the time span from Sultan Mahmud I (b.1696, r.1730–1754) to Sultan Mahmud II (b.1785, r.1808–1839). Taking Haydn's *Türkenopern* ('Turkish operas') *Lo speciale* ('The apothecary', 1768) and *L'incontro improvviso* ('The unexpected encounter', 1775) as the departure point, the articles collected in this publication reflect the growth of research in the area of cultural transfers between the Ottoman Empire and non-Ottoman Europe, as expressed in theatre, music and the visual arts.

The cultural transfer ran both ways between the Ottoman Empire and such European states as the Holy Roman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy and the Kingdoms of Spain, France, Great Britain and Denmark.² At numerous European courts, art and music inspired by a 'Turkish' style became fashionable, be it more or less original or, as was the case in most matters, invented. Imitating aspects of Turkish life and culture was a sign of *savoir-vivre* for artists, businessmen and diplomats who preferred to show off as well-informed men. By the same token, Ottoman culture was influenced by European models. The first European-style reforms in the military system and technology were implemented during the reigns of Sultan Ahmed III (1673–1736, r.1703–1730) and Mahmud I. A book market also started to flourish, not least through the first Ottoman printing press installed by İbrahim Müteferrika (c.1670–1745) in 1727. Under Abdülhamid I

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- 1 Michael Hüttler and Hans Ernst Weidinger (eds.): *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre*, vol. 1: *The Age of Mozart and Selim III (1756–1808)*. Vienna: Hollitzer, 2013 (= Ottomania 1). The first volume contains forty-four contributions from two symposia held in 2008 in Vienna at the UNESCO International Theatre Institute (ITI; 25–26 April) and in Istanbul at the Austrian Cultural Forum (5–6 June) on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of Sultan Selim III's death. Volume 2 (= Ottomania 3) includes the papers from the second year of the symposia series, held in 2009 at the same locations in Vienna (24–25 April) and Istanbul (4–5 June), on the occasion of the bicentenary of Joseph Haydn's death.
 - 2 For the case of Denmark see Bent Holm: *The Taming of the Turk: Ottomans on the Danish Stage 1596–1896*. Vienna: Hollitzer, 2014 (= Ottomania 2).

(b.1725, r.1774–1789) and Selim III (1761–1808, r.1789–1807) many European experts – engineers, architects, military and naval officers, physicians, surgeons, and technicians – were recruited to serve in the Ottoman administration and army and help implement further reform efforts.³ Mahmud II, the last sultan born during Haydn’s lifetime, and Sultan Abdülmecid I (b.1823, r.1839–1861) commissioned European composers and invited French and Italian experts to run music conservatories and theatre houses shortly before and during the Tanzimat reform. Thus, Western ideas were shaping Ottoman culture even as the Orient was informing European culture.

THE ESTERHÁZY FAMILY, THEIR RISE AND THEIR EXPERIENCE WITH THE OTTOMANS

The Esterházy family traces itself back to the thirteenth century. They were called Zerház, after the name of their land possessions in Hungary, until 1584 when Ferenc (Franz, Francis) Zerház (c.1532–1604) took the name Esterházy, and as nobiliary particle “de Galántha”.⁴ According to family member and contemporary Hungarian writer Péter Esterházy, it stems – in a more poetical perspective – from the Hungarian word for the evening star, Venus: *esthajnal*.⁵

Galanta, since 1421 in the family’s domain, is located east of Bratislava (German Preßburg, Hung. Pozsony), the city that served, after Buda and Pest had become part of the Ottoman Empire, as the Apostolic Kingdom of Hungary’s capital from 1536 to 1783 and again in 1848.

The Esterházys soon distinguished themselves as most loyal to the Habsburgs, who had ruled as kings of Hungary since they were elected by the Hungarian Diet of Pozsony on 17 December 1526. They rose in rank, becoming barons in 1613 and, only nine years later, in 1622, Counts of the Holy Roman Empire, endowed with the dominions of Frákno (today Forchtenstein in Austria) and Eisenstadt (Hung. Kismarton), both castles being property of the family until today.

Honouring their service in the many wars against the Turks and their help in transforming the Hungarian constitution from an elective kingdom to a hereditary one, Emperor Leopold I (b.1640, r.1658–1705) made the head of the family hereditary Prince of the Holy Roman Empire in 1687 and established the Esterházys as the first under all Hungarian Magnates.

3 See the contributions by Orlin Sabev and Mehmet Alaaddin Yalçınkaya in this publication.

4 For a more detailed family history, see among others the Esterházy family homepage *EsterhazyWiki*, <http://de.esterhazy.net/index.php/Personen>, 01.03.2014.

5 Cf. Péter Esterházy: *Harmonia Caelestis*. Berlin: Berliner Taschenbuch Verlag, 2004 (orig. 2001), p. 11. One is reminded of the Ottoman flag: from 1793 for the Ottoman caliphate and from 1844 for the Ottoman Empire, the flags had a crescent moon and a star; so does the Republic of Turkey’s modern flag.

Over the centuries, many high-ranking members of the House of Esterházy had participated actively in battles against the Ottomans. The progenitor of the Esterházy family, Ferenc Esterházy de Galántha, took part in a battle with the Turks in 1596 during the so-called Long War (1591–1606), in which he lost his son István (German Stephan, Engl. Stephen, 1572–1596). Nikolaus (Hung. Miklós, Engl. Nicholas) Esterházy de Galántha (1583–1645), Palatine of Hungary (the highest ranking official and representative of the Hungarian king), fought personally against the Turks at Neutra (now Nitra, Slovakia) in 1623. Paul (Hung. Pál, 1635–1713), also Palatine of Hungary, participated in both the Fourth Austro-Turkish War in 1664 as the commander of the militia and the Battle of Vienna in 1683.⁶ Finally, Anton Karl (Hung. Antal Károly, Engl. Anthony Charles, 1767–1790), a son of Haydn’s last employer Prince Anton I (Hung. Antal, Engl. Anthony, 1738–1794), died of wounds he received during the Siege of Belgrade (1789) in the course the Sixth and last Austro-Turkish War (1787–1791).

HAYDN’S ANCESTORS AND THE TURKS

For Joseph Haydn and many of his contemporaries, including his long-time employer, Prince Nikolaus I Esterházy (Hung. Miklós, 1714–1790) and the latter’s family and relatives,⁷ the Turks were not some distant people, but rather part of their family history.

Joseph Haydn’s family originates from Hainburg on the Danube, a city forty-five kilometres to the east of Vienna, the capital of the Habsburg Empire, and ten kilometres east of Preßburg, then capital of the Apostolic Kingdom of Hungary. Haydn’s grandfather, Thomas Haydn (after 1657–1701) was one of the allegedly less than ten survivors of the sack of Hainburg, seized by the Ottoman army on its way to Vienna in July 1683. More than 8,000 people were trapped inside the city walls and killed or captured. In 1687 Thomas married the sixteen-year-old Katharina Bleininger (1671–1739), another lucky survivor of the Hainburg Siege.

6 Cf. Allmayer-Beck, Johann Christoph: “Esterházy von Galántha, Paul Graf“, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 4: *Dittel – Falck*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1959, p. 662; <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd119031337.html>, 01.02.2014.

7 Spellings of the family name of Haydn’s employers as well as the names of their palace in Hungary differ considerably. The family name is spelled Eszterházy in Hungarian, Estoras in Latin, and Esterhazy in German. Today the family members and heirs in general use the form Esterházy. Haydn himself in his letters usually spelled the prince “Esterhazy” and the palace “Estoras”. Cf. for example Joseph Haydn: Letter to J. Traeg, Estoras, 8 March 1789, in: *Joseph Haydn: Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. Dénes Bartha. Kassel, Basel, Paris, London, New York: Bärenreiter, 1965, no. 116, p. 200.. Apart from quotations, in this publication the current form “Esterházy” is applied, and “Esterház” for the family’s most famous residence in Hungary.

Thomas and Katharina had four children, Mat(t)hias (1699–1763), Joseph Haydn’s future father, Joseph Gregor (d. before 1739), Johannes (d. 1751), and Antonius (d. after 1739). In 1717 Matthias, the oldest son, moved from Hainburg to nearby Rohrau (both in Lower Austria) at the Leitha River, which formed the border between Austria and Hungary from the eleventh to the twentieth centuries. Since 1524, five years before the first siege of Vienna by the Ottoman army, the village and castle of Rohrau belonged to the Counts of Harrach, and it was the then ruling Count Karl Anton (1692–1758), with whom Matthias found employment and where he met his future wife, Anna Maria Koller (1707–1754).

Matthias and Anna Maria married in 1728 in Rohrau; they had twelve children, only six of whom survived – three daughters and three sons.⁸ Among them was (Franz) Joseph Haydn, who was born on 31 March 1732. All three sons were successfully involved with music: Joseph as one of the most celebrated composers in Europe, Johann Michael (1737–1806) as *Konzertmeister* (‘concert master’) in Salzburg, and Johann Evangelist (1743–1805) as a tenor at the court of Prince Nikolaus I Esterházy (1740–1790) in Eisenstadt.

HAYDN AND ESTERHÁZY

Joseph Haydn worked most of his life as a court musician for the Esterházy family, serving four of their princes, either at their castle in Eisenstadt, or during the summer months at their marvellous palace Esterház (Eszterháza, Eszterház, Eszterhaz, Esterháß, Estoras, Esdraß),⁹ often compared with Versailles, with an opera house for 400 people¹⁰ (which opened with Haydn’s *Lo speciale* in 1768, containing a fake Turkish scene)¹¹ and a marionette theatre.

Haydn was first employed in 1761 by Prince Paul Anton (Hung. Pál Antal) Esterházy (1711–1762), who resided in summer in the castle of Eisenstadt, as vice-*Kapellmeister*; with his successor Prince Nikolaus I Esterházy from 1762 to 1790, Haydn became First *Kapellmeister* from 1766 onwards and achieved wide renown. His most creative years were spent in the service of the House of Esterházy, at their castle in Eisenstadt or, in the summer months, at the palace Esterház, and the winter, like his Princes, in Vienna close to the Imperial court.

8 For Haydn’s background in the region, cf. the contribution by Käthe Springer-Dissmann in this publication.

9 Eighteenth-century publications used the names alternatively, often even within the same document, cf. for example in: *Beschreibung des Hochfürstlichen Schlosses Esterháß im Königreiche Ungern*. Preßburg: Anton Löwe, 1784.

10 Cf. *ibidem*, p. 36.

11 Cf. the title page from the *Lo speciale* libretto set by Haydn: “LO SPEZIALE | DRAMMA GIOCOSO | DA RAPPRESENTARSI | A ESTERHAZ | NEL TEATRO DI S. A. IL PRENCIPE | ESTERHAZY | DE GALANTHA &CC. &CC. | NELL’ AUTUNNO DELL’ ANNO 1768” (copy at the library of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna, A-Wgm 7328).

Haydn was also held in respect by the third of his princely patrons, Anton I. Although the prince cut back on expenditures for music and dismissed almost all of his musicians, he kept Haydn and thus enabled his two travels to London (1791–1792 and 1794–1795), which made the composer world famous. Haydn stayed attached to the Esterházy court even after buying a house in Vienna in 1793 and received a pension from Prince Nikolaus II (Hung. Miklós, 1755–1833) until his death in 1809.

Today called the “father” of the classical symphony and the string quartet, Joseph Haydn is, together with Wolfgang Amadé Mozart (1756–1791) and Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), also seen as the founder of *Wiener Klassik*, the First Viennese School. He composed over 750 works, including 107 symphonies, eighty-three string quartets, forty-six piano trios, 126 baryton trios (for Prince Nikolaus I), twenty-four operas (two for Eisenstadt [1762, 1766], 21 for Esterház [1768–1784] and one for London [1791]), fourteen masses and six oratorios. His other scores¹² include the so-called *Kaiserhymne* (‘Emperor’s hymn’) on a poem by Lorenz Leopold Haschka (1749–1827), *Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser* (‘God save Emperor Francis’), composed between 1795 and 1797 and in the latter year developed in the *Quartet* op. 76 no. 3 (Hob. 77), therefore later called the *Kaiserquartett* (‘Emperor’s quartet’). In the context of ‘Turkish’ music, Haydn is known for his operas *Lo speziale* and *L’incontro improvviso* and his *Symphony* no. 100 in G major (*Military*, London 1794).

Joseph Haydn’s ‘Turkish’ opera *L’incontro improvviso* was premiered at the palace in Esterház on 29 August 1775, on the occasion of the most splendid festivities during the journey of Archduke Ferdinand Karl of Austria-Este (1754–1806), son of Emperor Francis I (b.1708, r.1745–1765) and Empress Maria Theresa (b.1717, r.1740–1780), and his wife Princess Maria Beatrice d’Este (1750–1829), heiress to the duchies of Modena, Reggio, Massa and Carrara in Northern Italy at Maria Theresa’s Court in Vienna.¹³

MAPPING THE ASPECTS OF RESEARCH

The majority of the contributions included in this volume were presented at two symposia held in Vienna and Istanbul in 2009, in cooperation with and at the premises of the UNESCO International Theatre Institute in Vienna and the Austrian Cultural Forum in Istanbul. This publication includes chosen papers from the

12 For Haydn’s biography and work we refer the reader to the manifold publications of Howard C. Robbins Landon, notably: *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, 5 vols. London: Thames and Hudson, 1994 (orig. 1976–1980). For a catalogue of Haydn’s works, cf. Anthony van Hoboken: *Joseph Haydn: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, 3 vols. Mainz: Schott, 1957–1978.

13 For a description of that journey and the festivities in Esterház, cf. the contribution by Clemens Zoidl in this publication.

mentioned conferences, along with additional contributions written by invitation. The cultural exchange between the Ottoman Empire and European states – through both direct cultural transfer and constructed images of the ‘Other’ in music, theatre and arts – has become for the first time the focus of profound research, and so the editors provided one more perspective, that of direct witnesses of the central points under consideration, with excerpts from two eighteenth-century texts that will be presented in a more detailed way later.

Earlier contributions on this cultural exchange shed light mainly from a single point of view – either the European or the Occidental. Juxtaposing Turkish scholars’ positions with Western perspectives helps give the picture greater balance and enables readers to discover new facets of the shared history in theatre and music.

This volume is itself structured in a theatrical way, with chapters following the model of an opera in five acts, divided by intermezzi and framed with prologue and epilogue. The PROLOGUE gives an overview of the political situation at the time of Joseph Haydn – that is, from the early eighteenth century until the first years of the nineteenth – in the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, from the point of view of Turkish and Austrian historians. Two authors focus on the reform efforts of the respective monarchs.

Mehmet Alaaddin Yalçinkaya directs our awareness to a rarely studied chapter in the relations between East and West. In “The Recruitment of European Experts for Service in the Ottoman Empire (1732–1808)” he shows how many Europeans worked officially for the Ottoman Empire during the reformation periods from Sultan Mahmud I until Sultan Selim III. Yalçinkaya researches the role of these experts in the building of Ottoman culture. Bertrand Michael Buchmann’s contribution, “Austria and the Ottoman Empire between 1765 and 1815”, takes a close look at the reforms in the Habsburg Monarchy under Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II (1741–1790, r.1765–1790). Those innovations in education and the tax system and the renewal of the church politics, as well as later accomplishments under Joseph’s brother Emperor Leopold II (b.1747, r.1790-1792) and Leopold II’s son Francis (1768–1835), last Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire as Francis II (r.1792–1806) and first Emperor of the newly created Austrian Empire as Francis I (r.1804–1835), such as the introduction of the *Allgemeines Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch* (‘General civil code’), laid the groundwork for achievements that are still in use in Austria today. Buchmann also juxtaposes those innovations with reform efforts in the Ottoman Empire during the period of Sultan Selim III.

ACT I is dedicated to FASHION AND DIPLOMACY, both of which are connected to the political and social changes of the late eighteenth century. Annemarie Bönsch explains the shift “From Aristocratic to Bourgeois Fashion in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century”. Modifications in clothes were mostly the results

of political changes, such as the French Revolution, and the need to distinguish visually a new, reformed society from the old and seemingly outdated forms. In her text “Of Messengers, Messages and Memoirs: Opera and the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Envoys and their *Sefâretnâmes*” Suna Suner gives an overview of the relevant *sefâretnâmes* and explores the reaction to European entertainment forms as described by the eighteenth-century Ottoman diplomats. The historical Ottoman embassy reports have great value not just diplomatically but culturally as well, as they include detailed descriptions of performances, stage design and décor. Çetin Sarikartal reports on an instance of “Two Turkish-Language Plays Written by Europeans at the Academy of Oriental Languages in Vienna during the Age of Haydn”. The two plays – one anonymous, the other by Thomas Chabert (1766–1841) – were also performed at that Academy and subsequently printed in 1761 and 1810, respectively. Sarikartal gives us the details of the historical and cultural context in which the plays were produced and attempts to trace the anonymous author.

In the FIRST INTERMEZZO Walter Puchner considers the introduction of the Ottoman shadow theatre in the Balkans: “Karagöz and the History of Ottoman Shadow Theatre in the Balkans from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries: Diffusion, Functions and Assimilations”. Puchner collected extensive bibliographical evidence from different parts of Southeastern Europe to trace the diffusion, functions and assimilations of shadow theatre. He shows that Hellenization was the basis for the enormous success of the Greek shadow theatre until World War II, while in most other provinces of the former Ottoman Empire, the shadow theatre disappeared.

ACT II, BOOKS IN AND ABOUT THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, is dedicated to the circumstances of book printing in Istanbul and Vienna and the impact of books collected and catalogued by a Viennese bibliophile. Orlin Sabev takes a look at “European Printers in Istanbul during Joseph Haydn’s Era: İbrahim Müteferrika and Others”. Müteferrika in the early eighteenth century and his successors in the second half of the century pioneered the Ottoman printing tradition in Istanbul and were the first to print books with Arabic script in the Ottoman Empire. All the previous presses were run by Jews, Armenians and Greeks and printed in Hebrew, Armenian and Greek, respectively, as Sabev explains. Geoffrey Roper studies the opposite case. His “Music, Drama and Orientalism in Print: Joseph von Kurzböck (1736–1792), his Predecessors and Contemporaries” focuses on publications in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, which were printed in Vienna. Arabic wood-block printing had been used in Vienna by the mid-sixteenth century, but a climax was reached in the mid-eighteenth century when Joseph von Kurzböck, the prime publisher of the Enlightenment in Maria Theresa’s time, started his printing business and set up his “Illyrisch- und orientalische Hofbuchdruckerey” (‘Illyrian [Cyrillic] and Oriental court printing establishment’). Roper investigates Kurzböck’s role in the printing of music and drama and takes a look at his successors as well. Reinhard

Buchberger considers a very special collection of books in his paper “The Austro-Turkish War of 1788–1791 as Reflected in the Library of the Viennese Bibliophile Max von Portheim”. Aiming to create a bibliography of the Josephinian Age, Max von Portheim (1857–1937) collected about 25,000 publications and catalogued them according to different criteria with around 450,000 handwritten paper slips. A part of this impressive collection is dedicated to the “Türkenkrieg” (‘Turkish war’) of 1789–1791, including theatre, poetry and prose works, histories and accounts of the War, pamphlets, booklets, historical works on the Ottoman Empire, travel books and even engravings and music prints.

The SECOND INTERMEZZO refines the volume’s topic to one specific aspect: cartwrights and carriages. Käthe Springer-Dissmann explains how the profession of Haydn’s father might provide us with a possible connection between the composers Wolfgang Amadé Mozart and Joseph Haydn – of which neither of them were probably aware – in her text “Did Mozart Drive a ‘Haydn’? Cartwrights, Carriages and the Postal System in the Austrian-Hungarian Border Area up to the Eighteenth Century”.

The contributions grouped in ACT III are related to Joseph Haydn’s operas and THE ESTERHÁZ STAGE, with two articles that focus on *Lo speciale*. “Turkish Travesty in European Opera: Haydn’s *Lo speciale* (1768)” by Larry Wolff studies Carlo Goldoni’s (1707–1793) libretto *Lo speciale* (1755) in the context of the Venetian cultural and political interest in ‘Turkishness’ with regard to Turkish disguise. The Russian-Ottoman War (1768–1774) was already looming when the opera premiered at Esterházy in 1768. In her study “Encountering ‘Others’ in Haydn’s *Lo speciale* (1768)” Caryl Clark investigates the ways in which aspects of ‘difference’ and ‘otherness’ are rendered in Haydn’s musical setting of *Lo speciale* in order to encode the character of the apothecary as another ‘internal other’, the Jew. Clark also analyzes a nineteenth-century German-language adaptation and revision of this opera under the title *Der Apotheker* by Robert Hirschfeld (1857–1914), a German-speaking Jew living in Vienna. Writing about “Haydn’s Humour Reflected in *Lo speciale* (1768) and *L’incontro improvviso* (1775)”, Necla Çıkgıl analyzes the composer’s treatment of the libretto’s Turkish motifs. Matthew Head considers *L’incontro improvviso* from another perspective: His study “Interpreting ‘Abduction’ Opera: Haydn’s *L’incontro improvviso*, Sovereignty and the Esterházy Festival of 1775” explains how the ‘politics’ of this opera are not of the ‘East meets West’ model, but rather show enlightened absolutism in general, as well as the practices of display in particular, occasioned by the Milanese Highnesses’ visit to Esterházy. Contrary to the usual abduction plots, the seraglio in this opera emerges as a symbol of refinement and modernity. Setting the opera’s exoticism during the four-day festivities in Esterházy functioned, as Head shows, “not just as imaginative escape but as a sign of royal power, as the essence of aristocratic privilege to command the globe itself”.

The THIRD INTERMEZZO is “A Royals’ Journey in 1775: The Vienna Official Press Review”, compiled with a rich commentary by Clemens Zoidl and dedicated to the ‘press review’ of the earlier-mentioned royal journey of Archduke Ferdinand Karl and his wife Princess Maria Beatrice d’Este from Milan to Vienna in 1775. Due to the social rank of the visitors, the event was followed by particular publicity. The most important newspaper then in Vienna, the *Wienerisches Diarium* (from 1780 until today *Wiener Zeitung*), also provided extensive reports of the celebrations held in honour of Ferdinand Karl and Maria Beatrice.¹⁴ A highlight of the Milanese Highnesses’ sojourn in Austria was the visit paid to Prince Nikolaus Esterházy at Esterház. Therefore, the Prince commissioned from his court composer the opera *L’incontro improvviso*, Haydn’s “Turkish” opera, set in the sultan of Egypt’s seraglio in Cairo – premiered during a spectacular late-summer three-day festivity often called the last baroque celebration in the Habsburg Monarchy.

ACT IV is dedicated to the FRENCH INFLUENCE on European theatre and music. The pieces from the Théâtre de la Foire and Voltaire’s (1694–1778) plays had a significant influence on theatre not only in France, but also throughout Europe. Daniel Winkler discusses Voltaire’s most successful play *Zaïre* (Paris, 1732), a “tragedy of cultural difference”, which was the basis of numerous adaptations. Voltaire’s Enlightenment ideas appear in the tragedy, with its focus on liberty and equality and the philosophical question of religious tolerance. In his paper “Crusaders, Love and Tolerance: Tragic and Operatic Taste in and around Voltaire’s *Zaïre* (1732)” Winkler makes a comparison to Shakespeare’s *Othello*, to which Voltaire seems to refer in *Zaïre*’s structure and plot. The reception of the same play in Denmark (premiere in French 1749; first Danish translation 1756) is the focus of “The Sultan of Denmark: Voltaire’s *Zaïre* and King Christian VII (r.1766–1808) – Madness and Enlightenment” by Hans-Peter Kellner. King Christian VII (b.1749, r.1766–1808) personally performed the character of Orosmane in private and public performances at the Court Theatre in Copenhagen. Complementing Kellner’s study of the French influence on Danish theatre, Bent Holm looks on the Viennese relevance in the same field and examines the history of the comic opera *La rencontre imprévue* (“The unexpected encounter”) with music by Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714–1787), from its French roots in the Théâtre de la Foire of the seventeenth century to the Danish adaptations of the late eighteenth century: Gluck’s opera (libretto by Louis Hurtaut Dancourt, 1725–1801) was premiered in Vienna in 1764 as an amusement for the imperial family, and it was recomposed by Joseph Haydn for Esterház – using an Italian-language adaptation of the text by Carl Friberth (1736–1816) – as *L’incontro improvviso* in 1775. In his contribution “Occidental Portraits in Oriental Mirrors: The Ruler Image in the Eighteenth-Century *Türkenoper* and Gluck’s *La*

14 The press reports about the journey are included in this volume in their original form, i.e. in the German language, with extensive annotations in German.

rencontre imprévue” Holm shows that the character of the merciful Turk was a self-reflection of the actual absolute ruler. Isabelle Moindrot investigates another ruler subject, “*Tamerlan: A ‘Turkish’ Opera* by Peter von Winter for the Paris Opera (1802)”, which entered the Paris stage shortly after the French campaign in Egypt and Syria, a time that marked the beginning of French orientalism. As Moindrot shows, the librettist Étienne Morel de Chédeville (1751–1814) used Voltaire’s tragedy *L’orphelin de la Chine* (‘The orphan of China’, Paris, 1755) as the basis for his libretto, transferring the setting from China to Turkey and including the Turkish names of the Muslim characters. She also explains why this adaptation did not meet with approval from the audience.

The FOURTH INTERMEZZO is dedicated to Netice Yıldız’s interpretation of the Turkish image in the social and cultural context of eighteenth-century England. In her paper “Turkish Britons and Ottoman Turks in England during the Eighteenth Century” she analyzes the historical background of British–Ottoman relations and cultural interactions.

ACT V, THE OTTOMAN STAGE, opens with the paper “Westernisms and Ottoman Visual Culture: Wall Paintings” by art historian Günsel Renda. It considers the role of patronage in the Ottoman visual culture of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Istanbul. Westernized techniques and repertoire were adopted by artists who were open to new currents. The decorative program was later transmitted from the empire’s capital to the provinces through the official governors, the provincial notables who held administrative posts, and the rich bourgeoisie. Caroline Herfert’s contribution, “Selim III and Mahmud II in the Limelight: Imparting Knowledge on the Ottoman Empire from the Perspective of the ‘Viennese Turk’ Murad Efendi (1836–1881)”, explores the rather unusual case of Franz von Werner alias Murad Efendi, who acted as both an Ottoman diplomat and a Germanophone author. Murad Efendi, taking up the simultaneous roles of insider and outsider, dealt with ‘oriental’ motifs in his writings, as in the tragedy *Selim der Dritte* (‘Selim the third’, 1872) and the essay collection *Türkische Skizzen* (‘Turkish sketches’, 1876), trying to convey Turkish history for a European public. An Austrian of Croatian background, he lived partly in Vienna, where he staged his works, and partly in Istanbul, and so is regarded by Herfert as an (inter)cultural ‘ambassador’. Emre Aracı’s contribution, “‘Each Villa on the Bosphorus Looks a Screen | New Painted, or a Pretty Opera Scene’: Mahmud II (r.1808–1839) Setting the Ottoman Stage for Italian Opera and Viennese Music”, deals with European–Ottoman cultural exchange in the field of music during the Ottoman reforms of the early nineteenth century. At the invitation of Sultan Mahmud II, Giuseppe Donizetti (1788–1856) brought Western music to Istanbul; he also composed oriental songs (*Şarkı-i Cedid*, or ‘new song’) for the Sultan’s court. Abdülmecid I, the son of Mahmud II, was exposed to this cultural network from childhood and continued this practice, and Gioachino Rossini (1792–

1868), Franz Liszt (1811–1886) and Henri Vieuxtemps (1820–1881) were his guests. During his rule the new palace of Dolmabahçe incorporated a small but sumptuous opera house decorated by Charles Séchan (1803–1874), already famous after his work on the Paris Opera. Adam Mestyan takes us to a North African province of the Ottoman Empire: Egypt. In “Sound, Military Music, and Opera in Egypt during the Rule of Mehmet Ali Pasha (r.1805–1848)” he examines military music as part of the new order in Egypt set up by Mehmet Ali Pasha (c.1769–1849), the Turkish-speaking Ottoman governor. Military music schools run by Ottoman and European directors introduced the recruits to regimental bands and set the grounds to include Western-style music in state rituals and in nineteenth-century operas. It became so popular that even the leading religious scholars, together with Mehmet Ali Pasha, visited the Teatro del Cairo on such occasions.

The five acts close with an EPILOGUE that provides the reader with an eyewitness account by the British lady traveller Frances Trollope (1779–1863). “‘The Ladies of Vienna en masse Waited Upon the Turkish Ambassador to Compliment Him...’: Excerpts from Frances Trollope’s *Vienna and the Austrians* (1838)” is characterized by detailed descriptions of, among others, a reception and a ball given by the Ottoman Ambassador Ahmed Fethi Paşa in his residence – which was nothing else but Prince Esterházy’s palace in the Viennese residential suburb Maria Hilf (today Vienna’s sixth district). This is a rare account of such an event, and Mrs. Trollope was very proud to be among the ladies who were able for “the first time since the world began to enter the dwelling of a Mussulman, with free power to go out again at their pleasure”.¹⁵ Her accounts of this ball and other similar events provide a vivid picture of unforeseen encounters with an Ottoman representative entertaining Viennese high society in 1836.

The editors would like to thank all the participants in the two symposia held in 2009 in Vienna at the UNESCO International Theatre Institute (ITI) and in Istanbul at the Austrian Cultural Forum on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of Joseph Haydn’s death, for their contributions and discussions, which are the source for this publication. We would also like to thank the principal organizer DON JUAN ARCHIV WIEN¹⁶; the hosts Helga Dostal from the UNESCO-ITI in Vienna and Christian Brunmayr from the Austrian Cultural Forum in Istanbul for providing the space, equipment and support; H. Ex. Emil Brix, at that time at the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs/Cultural Section, and H. Ex. Selim Yenel,

15 Cf. Frances Trollope: *Vienna and the Austrians with Some Account of a Journey Through Swabia, Bavaria, the Tyrol, and the Salzbourg*. London: Richard Bentley, 1838, excerpted in the Epilogue of this publication.

16 For the connection between Don Juan and the Turks cf. Hans Ernst Weidinger: “Don Juan, Ottoman Empire and European Theatre: A Proem”, in: *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre*, vol. 1: *The Age of Mozart and Selim III (1756–1808)*, ed. Michael Hüttler and Hans Ernst Weidinger. Vienna: Hollitzer, 2013 (= Ottomania 1), pp. V–VII.

the Ambassador of the Turkish Republic in Austria, for opening the symposium in Vienna; and Cemal Öztaş, Grand National Assembly of Turkey, and İlber Ortaylı, Topkapı Palace Museum Istanbul, for opening the symposium in Istanbul, as well as Suna Suner for organizing the events.

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FOREWORDS

EXCERPTS FROM THE WELCOME NOTES¹

AUSTRIAN MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, CULTURAL SECTION

H. EXC. EMIL BRIX (VIENNA/LONDON)

It is my pleasure to say a few welcoming words on behalf of the Austrian Foreign Ministry. [...] In your discussion of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century, you deal with cultural personalities like Joseph Haydn or Voltaire on the European-Austrian side, and political leaders like Sultan Mahmud I (b.1696, r.1730–1754) and Sultan Mahmud II (b.1785, r.1808–1839) on the Ottoman side. This gives us greater insight into how the idea of the Enlightenment went through different phases on both sides. [...] In a way we are trying to re-create, with political support, good relations not only within Europe but also between Turkey and Austria. If we could say, “our music is understood in the whole world”, as Haydn once claimed, then we will have achieved something great. I do feel that there is a chance for success by doing work such as this symposia series. Academic fields especially should help make clear that communication is not a one-way street. The more you can show the mutual relations that existed in the eighteenth century, the happier I would be personally. I think we need to make people aware of how much Ottoman-Turkish traditions have become part of our European heritage. That is what I would wish for the future of this format of conferences and publications. Fruitful discussions about the relations between Europe and Turkey need to examine more than only the present day. In this context I say, you are doing an important political job as well and we are happy to support this project. [...] I do feel that Turkey is to a certain extent a trump card for Europe. In this sense I wish you all the best.

¹ Welcome notes held at the opening of the two symposia *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre II: The Time of Joseph Haydn. From Sultan Mahmud I to Mahmud II (r.1730 – 1839)* in Vienna (24–25 April 2009) at the UNESCO-International Theatre Institute, and in Istanbul (4–5 June 2009) at the Austrian Cultural Forum. For the programme of the symposia cf. Don Juan Archiv Wien, Symposia 2009, <http://www.donjuanarchiv.at/veranstaltungen/symposia/symposia-2009.html>.

AUSTRIAN CULTURAL FORUM ISTANBUL

CHRISTIAN BRUNMAYR (ISTANBUL/VIENNA)

[...] 2009 marks the 200th anniversary of Joseph Haydn's death. The Austrian Cultural Forum welcomes the initiative by Don Juan Archiv Wien to promote the cultural and scientific exchange between Turkey and Europe through its publications and a series of symposia, which we are proud to host now for the second year. This will help enhance knowledge of the work of Haydn and his 'Turkish' compositions and contribute to a better understanding of the long common history of Turkey and Austria.

Haydn composed among other scores 107 symphonies, sixty-nine string quartets, twenty-four operas and a great amount of chamber music and sacred works. He is, along with Wolfgang Amadé Mozart and Ludwig van Beethoven, regarded as the father of the *Wiener Klassik* ('Viennese classical era', or First Viennese School). I think this publication is especially important because it goes into depth with its analyses of the influences exerted by Ottoman culture on the compositions of Haydn and his contemporaries, putting them into a new context. We better understand the development of music by knowing the mutual influences between music and theatre in the Ottoman Empire and Europe. [...] We learn, among other things, of the important role that the sultans played in bringing artists and scientists from Europe to the Ottoman Empire, as well as the influence of Turkish elements in European art and theatre. So it is again a great pleasure for the Cultural Forum that we have this symposium here today and can support it. We are looking forward also to the concerts organized in the framework of the symposium, and to the two concerts here on the premises of the Austrian Cultural Forum, organized by Don Juan Archiv Wien, both of which illustrate this mutual influence in the music, the journey between East and West. I wish you a very productive symposium and look forward to reading the forthcoming publication!

FOREWORDS

UNESCO INTERNATIONAL THEATRE INSTITUTE (ITI) – AUSTRIAN CENTRE

HELGA DOSTAL (VIENNA)

[...] In the name of the Austrian Centre of the UNESCO International Theatre Institute, let me welcome you to the second symposium on the Ottoman Empire and European Theatre. We are looking forward to learning more about this fascinating subject. It seems to me like working on a puzzle of music, literature, opera, architecture and the arts.

History, traditions and habits make up a colourful picture and give us lively impressions of eighteenth-century Europe and its cultural and diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire. We are keen to form a completed landscape from this scientific puzzle.

Let me thank all those who have worked on this tremendous project: Don Juan Archiv Wien for conveying and organizing it and the Society for Music Theatre in Vienna, a member organization of the UNESCO ITI, for providing us with these rooms. Let me wish you all a successful symposium and publication.

FOREWORDS

TOPKAPI PALACE MUSEUM ISTANBUL

İLBER ORTAYLI (ISTANBUL)

[...] Austria was a country not only of theatres but also of theatrical attitude and behaviours and theatricalism. The summer residency of the Austrian-Hungarian embassy in Istanbul is a good proof of that, and the architecture of this palace in comparison to others is an example of theatricality. [...] The Ottomans in the past centuries became masters of European diplomacy, but while they exchanged envoys, they never had permanent representations in other countries. [...] The Ottoman diplomats were aware of the diplomatic terminology of Europe and the juridical institutions of international law, and now they equally accepted the state protocol and diplomatic immunities of European systems. However, the Ottomans did not have embassies in Europe till 1793. The first resident ambassadors abroad came from Selim III (b.1761–1808, r.1789–1807) and were assigned to London (1793), Berlin, Vienna (1795) and Paris (1796). The social life of Vienna, Berlin and Paris had a great influence on them, and many embassy-reports were written to Istanbul about their experiences. [...] I am looking forward to hearing more productive discussions about the cultural and diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire and Europe and wish you a successful conference!

GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF TURKEY

CEMAL ÖZTAŞ (ANKARA)

It is a great honour for me to open once again the symposium on the Ottoman Empire and European Theatre, this year within the context of *The Time of Joseph Haydn: From Sultan Mahmud I to Mahmud II (r.1730–1839)*. [...] After centuries of warfare between Austria and the Ottoman Empire, an interest in Turkish fashion and music arose, especially in the eighteenth century. Joseph Haydn's "Turkish" opera *L'incontro improvviso* ('The unexpected encounter', 1775) is a typical example of this fascination with Turkish subjects. The encounter is not too far from Wolfgang Amadé Mozart's later singspiel *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* ('The abduction from the seraglio', 1782) which also includes 'Turkish'-style music. Haydn's *Military Symphony* uses Turkish' instruments (triangle, cymbals, bass drum) in both the second movement and in the finale. Many listeners to music were familiar with the sound of Turkish music, especially those who could hear military or *Yeniçeri* ('Janissaries') bands.

The Istanbul symposium on the Ottoman Empire and European Theatre will give us an ideal chance to review the interaction between Europe and the Ottoman Empire in theatre, music and opera in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I would like to express our pleasure at having this symposium again in Istanbul, and express my sincere thanks to Don Juan Archiv Wien, the Austrian Cultural Forum in Istanbul and the UNESCO International Theatre Institute. I wish everybody an interesting and fruitful symposium.