

# **Louis-François Cassas: A Preface to Orientalism**

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in

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## Louis-François Cassas: A Preface to Orientalism

Koç University

Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities

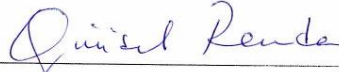
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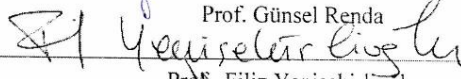
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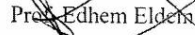
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## **ABSTRACT**

### **Louis-François Cassas: A Preface to Orientalism**

**Misra Kaya**

**Master of Arts in Archaeology and History of Art**

**March 2020**

This study hopes to bring a new dimension of understanding to Louis-François Cassas and tackle the notion of Orientalism in an earlier period in European history. Louis – François Cassas (1756 - 1827) was an eighteenth-century French landscape painter, draftsman, architect, archeologist, and antiquarian. He was one of the very few who had the chance to go beyond the borders of Europe and explore the uncharted territories of the Ottoman Empire. He visited the Ottoman Empire in 1784 as a part of the retinue of the newly appointed French ambassador Choiseul-Gouffier and spent three years, drawing Istanbul, Asia Minor, and the Levant. After his return, he produced many artworks, including paintings and engravings in travel books. This thesis investigates and reveals the extent of Orientalism in Louis-François Cassas' works by analyzing the artist's opinions of the East and his life story in order to understand the way in which ideas and life decisions have manifested themselves, and are reflected in his works. I believe placing Cassas in the highly politically charged milieu of the era, can help us understand the way in which political ideologies revealed themselves in the artist's works and investigate the extent of his Orientalism. Examining Cassas in an Orientalist light and demonstrating the way in which he realized his Orientalist tendencies, will help discover his role in influencing contemporary ideologies and shaping the future.

## ÖZETÇE

**Louis-François Cassas: Oryantalizme Bir Önsöz**

**Mısra Kaya**

**Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi, Yüksek Lisans**

**Mart 2020**

Bu çalışma, Louis-François Cassas'ın sanatına yeni bir boyut kazandırmayı ve Oryantalizm kavramını Avrupa tarihinin önceki bir döneminde ele almayı umuyor. Louis-François Cassas (1756-1827) 18. yüzyılda yaşamış Fransız bir peyzaj ressamı, ressam, mimar, arkeolog ve antikacı idi. Avrupa'nın sınırlarının ötesine geçip Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun erişilmemiş bölgelerini keşfetme şansına sahip olmuş az sayıdaki kişiden birisidir. Yeni atanan Fransız büyükelçisi Choiseul-Gouffier'nin sefaretinin bir parçası olarak 1784'te Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu ziyaret etti ve üç yılını İstanbul, Anadolu ve Levant'ı çizerek geçirdi. Avrupa'ya dönüşünün ardından, resimler ve seyahat kitapları için gravürler dahil olmak üzere çok sayıda sanat eseri üretmiştir. Bu tez, sanatçının doğu hakkındaki fikirlerini ve yaşam öyküsünü analiz ederek, yaşamı boyunca aldığı kararların sonuçlarını ve çalışmalarına nasıl yansıdığını anlamak amacıyla Louis-François Cassas'ın eserlerindeki Oryantalizmi incelemekte ve ortaya koymaktadır. Dönemin politik yönden son derece karmaşık ortamında Cassas'ın yerini anlamaya çalışmanın, politik ideolojilerin sanatçının eserlerinde kendilerini nasıl ortaya çıkardığını anlamamıza ve sanatçının Oryantalizminin boyutunu araştırmamıza yardımcı olabileceğine inanıyorum. Cassas'ı Oryantalizm ışığında incelemek ve Oryantalist eğilimlerini nasıl gerçekleştirdiğini ortaya koymak, çağdaş ideolojileri etkileme ve geleceği şekillendirmedeki rolünü keşfetmeye yardımcı olacaktır.



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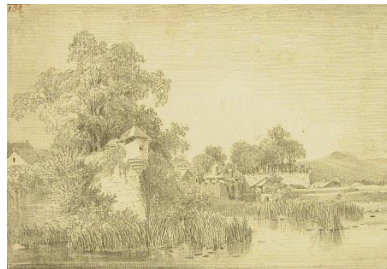
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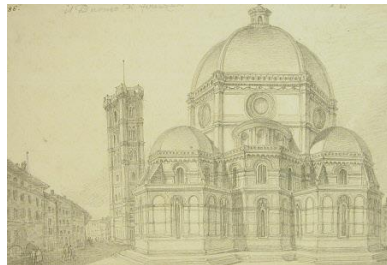
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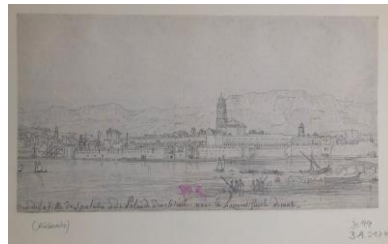
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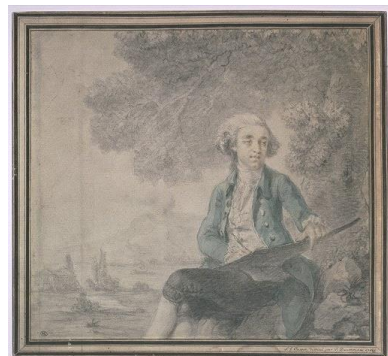
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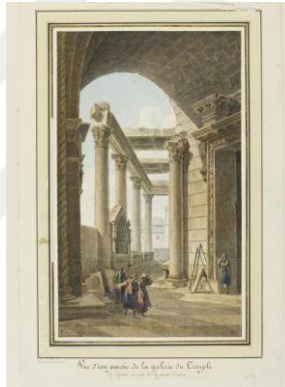


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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Louis – François Cassas was an eighteenth-century French landscape painter, draftsman, architect, archeologist, and antiquarian. After receiving his primary education in France, he was sent to Italy and was lucky enough to stay at the Académie de France in Rome. During his early years, he traveled extensively in Europe, all the way from Amsterdam to Split. He was one of the lucky few who had the chance to go beyond the borders of Europe and explore the uncharted territories of the Ottoman Empire. Although he was a distinguished artist in his time, he has been forgotten and neglected partly due to his unsuccessful artistic ventures.

Cassas created countless artworks in various types of media. Primarily, he made sketches while he was traveling and based on those preliminary sketches, he executed many engravings, watercolors, and gouache paintings. He drew landscapes, architectural elements, and ancient ruins; there are also numerous depictions of Ottoman figures including the reigning Sultan. Besides the ones he had already sold, the remaining collection of the artist was sold by his family after his demise. The collection was largely dispersed and scattered around the world. Aside from numerous museums, a large number of private collectors own the rest of the works, thus, making it more difficult to gather information and locate the artist's oeuvre. New information about unknown works is acquired when they surface on the art market at auctions. As a result of his extensive traveling, there are separate collections dedicated to each voyage. For the scope of this thesis, only works resulting from his Orient tour will be discussed in detail and included in the catalog.

## Research Questions and Aim

Increased number of diplomatic and commercial missions between Europe and the Ottoman Empire after the sixteenth century, gave rise to envoys consisting of ambassadors and artists to travel to the Eastern lands who in turn produced artworks including books, illustrated travelogues, and costume albums. Cassas was one of the pioneering artists of the eighteenth century, and his works served as prototypes for the genre of travel books and constructed a framework for upcoming artists and authors to follow. His publications and works of art inspired generations of artists, and they were used as sources and models for numerous artworks, as well as sparking ideas of Orientalism and Neo-Classicism.<sup>1</sup>

The starting point of this study was to shed light on the artist, his production process together with possible motives and results of his endeavors. I believe placing Cassas in the highly politically charged milieu of the era, can help us understand the way in which political ideologies revealed themselves in the artist's works and investigate the extent of his Orientalism. This thesis aims solely to analyze and explore the Orientalist aspects and does not intend to comment on other styles or movements of the era. Examining Cassas in an Orientalist light and demonstrating the way in which he realized his Orientalist tendencies, will help discover his role in influencing contemporary ideologies and shaping the future. This thesis hopes to bring a new dimension of understanding to Louis-François Cassas and tackle the notion of Orientalism in an earlier period in European history.

Another goal of this thesis is to produce a comprehensive study on the artist. Due to the small number of publications dedicated to the artist and the issue of inaccessibility, there

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<sup>1</sup> Ernst J Grube, "Introduction" *At the Sublime Porte: Ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire* (London: Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, 1988), 8, Nebahat Avcıoğlu and Finbarr Barry Flood. "Introduction: Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 39 (2010): 10.

was a need for an updated and thorough compilation of the artist where his life and works could be found all in one place. Furthermore, it aimed to bring to light many unpublished and many newly found works that have surfaced in recent years, mainly focusing on his eastward travels.

## Methodology

Cassas was understudied and overlooked in academia, especially in Turkey. To that end, I decided to make an in-depth catalog and started gathering information on the artist. I had the opportunity to visit several museums and see the works firsthand which include Musée Beaux-Arts de Tours, Château d'Azay-le-Ferron, Musée Bertrand de Châteauroux, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, and Pera Museum. During my visit to Tours, I had the chance to meet Annie Gilet to discuss the issue and visit the Château d'Azay-le-Ferron together. In the course of my museum visits, I consulted other museum professionals who were familiar with his works: Catherine Pimbert from Musée Tours, Michéle Maturd from Musée Bertrand, Thomas Ketelsen from Wallraf-Richartz Museum and Barış Kıbrıs from Pera Museum. Aside from libraries in Istanbul, I utilized the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bauhaus-Universität Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, and the British Library. What was available before was not enough; therefore, I set out to find more works by contacting museums and private collectors, looking through online museum collections, and auction house sites. Once gathered, the works were categorized according to their technique and then listed according to the artist's travel itinerary, except for the engravings. They were listed chronologically based on their date of publication.

For this research, the primary sources are Cassas' own letters, correspondence of the Académie de France in Rome concerning the artist, memoirs of his contemporaries, namely,

Goethe and Lady Craven, newspapers and journals, archival documents and most importantly the works themselves. Cassas' letters to his friend and patron Thomas-Aignan Desfriches were kept at Fondation Custodia which were also published in Dumesnil's *Histoire des plus célèbres amateurs français*.<sup>2</sup>

#### Literature review

There is not an extensive literature written on the artist. Yet, there seems to be a split in the corpus. Only Turkish scholars, who follow the footsteps of Auguste Boppe, categorize Cassas within the *Turquerie* fashion. Usually being only familiar with his Istanbul panoramas, scholars tend to deem him as a part of the *Turquerie* style. Researchers who had the chance to work more closely with the artist where they could study more of his works and read his letters, most often talk about the Orientalist aspect of his works.

Auguste Boppe, in his highly influential book, *Les Peintres du Bosphore*, puts the artist under the *Peintres de Bosphore* category, eighteenth-century artists those who visited Istanbul.<sup>3</sup> Zeynep İnankur, and Semra Germaner, following Boppe's lead consider his works as an interest, almost a fetish, towards the Ottoman/Turkish culture.<sup>4</sup> Aykut Gürçağlar's dissertation "Hayali İstanbul Manzaraları," later published as a book under the same title, includes one of Cassas' paintings in the list of imaginary İstanbul depictions.<sup>5</sup> However, Gürçağlar refers to "Orientalists" as those who painted the Orient and not in the Saidian

<sup>2</sup> M. J. Dumesnil, *Histoire Des Plus Célèbres Amateurs Français, Tome III, (Paris, 1858)*. However, the book had many mistakes in the transcription especially with dates and numbers.

<sup>3</sup> Auguste Boppe. *Les peintres du Bosphore au XVIIIe siècle*. Collection XIX, 2016.

<sup>4</sup> Günsel Renda. "1911 *Turquerie* Sergisi Üzerine." *Sanat Tarihinde Doğudan Batıya Ünsal Yücel Anısına Sempozyum Bildirileri*. Ankara: Güzel Sanatlar Matbaası, 1989, 74-75. Günsel Renda, "Europe and Ottoman Interactions in Art," in *Ottoman Civilization* (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2003), 1110-1111. Zeynep İnankur and Semra Germaner, *Constantinople and the Orientalists*, (İstanbul, Türkiye İş Bankası, 2002), 18.

<sup>5</sup> Aykut Gürçağlar, "Hayali İstanbul Manzaraları" (PhD diss., Istanbul Technical University, 1996), 241-247. Aykut Gürçağlar, *Hayali İstanbul Manzaraları* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2018), 166-169.

sense of the term. Edhem Eldem in his book *Consuming the Orient* mentions Cassas only referring to Boppe.<sup>6</sup> However, in the article titled “Orientalism and Archaeology: The Orient Where Time Stands Still,” he talks about the Philhellenic aspects of the artist.<sup>7</sup>

Henri Boucher was the first person to conduct scholarly research on the artist. In 1859 two sequential articles were published in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in Paris.<sup>8</sup> The first article covered the artist’s life until his permanent relocation to Paris with his wife. Afterward, in the second article Boucher picked up from where he left off, he gave a review of Cassas’ oeuvre and the processes of publication of his several works. Published just after thirty-two years after Cassas’ demise, Boucher’s articles are great sources; yet, as one can imagine reasonably outdated too.

The only researcher who has worked thoroughly on the artist is Annie Gilet.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, her dissertation titled “Louis-François Cassas (1756-1827): Un dessinateur sur les chemins de l’Empire Ottoman en 1784-1785” on the *Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie*,

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<sup>6</sup> Edhem Eldem, *Consuming the Orient* (İstanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2007), 17.

<sup>7</sup> Edhem Eldem, “Orientalism and Archaeology: The Orient Where Time Stands Still,” in *1001 Faces of Orientalism* (İstanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2013), 32-43.

<sup>8</sup> Henri Boucher, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Soixante-Huitième Année, Cinquième Période, Tome Quatorzième*, (Paris: Imprimerie Moderne Des Beaux-Arts, 1859), 27-53, 209-230.

<sup>9</sup> Annie Gilet. *Voyages en Italie de Louis-François Cassas* (Tours: Silvana Editoriale, 2016). Annie Gilet, *Im Banne der Sphinx* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zahern, 1994). Annie Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas: In Search of Major Anatolian Sites, 1784-1786,” in *Anatolian Travels*, (İzmir: Arkas Sanat Merkezi, 2016), 45-57. Annie Gilet, “Le Carnet d’Éphèse de Louis-François Cassas: Une sélection de feuilles du « carnet d’Éphèse » de Louis-François Cassas (1756-1827),” in *Du voyage savant aux territoires de l’archéologie : Voyageurs, amateurs et savants à l’origine de l’archéologie moderne*, ed. Royo Manuel, Denoyelle Martine, Champion Emmanuelle (Paris: de Boccard, 2011), 59-78. Annie Gilet, “Cassas und der Orient,” in *Europa und der Orient* (Berlin: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1989), 279-287. Annie Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas 1756-1827: dessinateur et “agent” du comte de Choiseul-Gouffier” in *Le voyage en Grèce du comte Choiseul-Gouffier* (Editions Alain Barthélemy, 2007), 46-61. Annie Gilet and Philip Mansel, “Les Lutteurs: An important watercolour by Louis-Francois Cassas 1756-1827,” in *At the Sublime Porte: Ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire*, (London: Hazlitt & Gooden & Fox, 1988), 55-56. Annie Gilet, “Une Galerie Ottomane à Rome de 1787 à 1790: l’Atelier de Louis-François Cassas (1756-1827), Piazza di Spagna,” in *14<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Frédérik Hitzel (Paris, 2013), 347-356.

*de la Phœnicie, de la Palæstine et la Basse-Ægypte* was never published.<sup>10</sup> Gilet has worked extensively on the subject, greatly contributed to the scholarship and uncovered a significant amount of new information. Nevertheless, she mostly focuses on the factualities of Cassas' life and provides formalist explanations of his works. She studies art works individually without looking for a connection or an underlying theme.

The most extensive work on the artist is the exhibition catalog *Im Banne der Sphinx* which was published in 1994. The catalog gives an overview of the artist's life and his art. Although the title suggests a focus on the Orient, all parts of the artist's life are covered equally. However, since the publication of this book, there has been new research done on the artist, no matter how little, and with the new artworks that have surfaced, it is now fairly outdated.

The other big publication is yet another exhibition catalog *Voyages en Italie de Louis-François Cassas*. Published after the exhibition in 2017, the catalog goes into detail about his earlier life and especially his life in Italy. Unfortunately, it does not enclose his voyage to the East or his later life in France. Both of the above-mentioned publications were realized due to Gilet's great efforts. She was the author who contributed the most to the two exhibition catalogs.

Frédéric Hitzel devotes a substantial amount of space to Cassas in his book *Couleurs de la Corne d'Or : Peintres voyageurs à la Sublime Port* where he presents a wide array of paintings by the artist. He mentions Cassas within the general scope of foreign artists visiting

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<sup>10</sup> Annie Gilet, "*Louis-François Cassas (1756-1827): Un dessinateur sur les chemins de l'Empire Ottoman en 1784-1785*" (unpublished PhD dis., Université de Tours, 1996).

Istanbul while providing a short summary of the artist's life and factual information regarding the themes and subjects of the artworks.

Recently Elisabeth Fraser dedicated a chapter in her book *Mediterranean Encounters* to the artist where she examined the power struggle between the patron and the artist and discussed the ways in which Cassas reinvented himself to gain success and step away from his patron's shadow.<sup>11</sup> Even though the title of the chapter is "Cassas's Orientalist Self-Fashioning," the chapter lacks in-depth explanations of the artist's Orientalist tendencies and rather focuses on the relationship dynamics between the two dominant personalities and his self-image in comparison with his place in the French society and in the Orient.

The most studied work of the artist is his unpublished book *Voyage Pittoresque*. Gilet's dissertation is dedicated to the book and Fraser's chapter revolves around the power dynamics surrounding the publication. Generally, previous research focuses on Cassas' singular works rather than his complete oeuvre. Several studies are focused on his drawings and their documentary value where scholars simply give detailed explanations and descriptions of his drawings. For example, Uve Westfehling's article on Istria and Dalmatia merely gives information regarding his trip and then talks about particular drawings. This scholarly approach can be found in most publications dedicated to the artist. Other examples are Annie Gilet's *Carnet d'Éphèse* article and Behrens-Abouseif's article on the works of Cassas depicting Cairo.<sup>12</sup> Because of the architectural accuracy of his drawings, many scholars evaluate the artist solely based on his drawings and that is where the problem arises.

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<sup>11</sup> Elisabeth A. Fraser. *Mediterranean Encounters: Artists Between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, 1774–1839* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017).

<sup>12</sup> Gilet, "Le Carnet d'Éphèse de Louis-François Cassas." Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Between Istanbul and Cairo: Louis François Cassas and the Panoramic Perspective," in *Essays: Diplomacy, Art and Archaeology* (London: University of London, 2010).



For the artist, his drawings were merely notes he took to remind him of what he had experienced, they were not finalized executions of his artistic production; therefore, making interpretations constructed upon the drawings and not the results of those drawings may lead to misinterpretations and misconstrued opinions.

Contrary to the artist, the topics of Turquerie and Orientalism are highly studied. The former is usually studied within the context of ambassador interactions and covers the early eighteenth century. The latter is commonly thought to have begun after the Napoleonic conquests, focusing on primarily the second half of the nineteenth century which creates a gap in the scholarship within the transitional period. Therefore, leaving artists such as Louis-François Cassas in purgatory, and unstudied.

#### Outline

The second chapter of the thesis will be two-fold. Firstly, I will talk about the way in which the political atmosphere and social developments of the eighteenth century manifested themselves in art. The main topics will be Turquerie, Orientalism, Philhellenism, and Egyptomania and the way in which they relate to each other. Secondly, I will briefly mention the history of traveling artists coming to the Ottoman Empire and how they played a major role in creating the image of the Turk.

The third chapter is dedicated to the life and art of Cassas. I will recapture the artist's life in order to provide some background and show the difficulties he had faced during the troubled times of his life. Afterward, I will introduce the oeuvre of the artist and mention the results of his artistic production. This chapter is significant in more than one aspect because previously, it was not possible to find the complete life story of the artist or his works. This

chapter compiles the artist's life and his works in a way that has not been done before and includes several newly found works.

Finally, in the fourth chapter, I will commentate on Cassas' artworks and examine them in accordance with his social status and political views. The collection of works will be categorized into three overarching groups, each corresponding to a certain determinant of Orientalism. However, these groupings are interwoven, and it is almost impossible to clearly distinguish between the categories. Even though the majority of the works could still belong to other divisions due to the interconnected nature of the groups, each individual work is chosen to be included in a certain category for being the best fit for that said category.

## CHAPTER II

### DEPICTING THE OTHER

#### Reflections of Political and Social Developments on Art

##### Turquerie

After the 1683 Vienna defeat and the 1699 Karlowitz agreement, a period of peace and balance of power took over Europe and the Ottoman Empire. During this period, instead of waging war, both the Ottomans and the Europeans chose to get acquainted with one other through diplomatic and trade relations.<sup>13</sup> These newly strengthened ties between the nations caused an increase in cultural interactions, and thus the eighteenth century became the peak of interconnectedness. Twenty-Eight (28) Mehmet Çelebi and his son Said Çelebi's visits to Paris left a mark on European circles and ignited a newly found interest and curiosity towards Turkish/Ottoman culture.<sup>14</sup> The fascination for all things foreign was reciprocal. The Tulip Period brought forth a curiosity about Europe and consequently new openness towards European culture for the Ottomans. They were highly interested in European administration, technology, and artistic production.<sup>15</sup>

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's letters from the Ottoman lands and the translation of *One Thousand and One Nights* by Antoine Galland in 1704 ignited a new fascination in the West.<sup>16</sup> The imaginary East was the source of exotic motifs which fueled the fad of Eastern exoticism in Europe. Turkish themes became popular and widespread which instigated the

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<sup>13</sup> Renda, "Europe and the Ottomans," 1107.

<sup>14</sup> Renda, "1911 Turquerie Sergisi Üzerine," 74.

<sup>15</sup> Avcioğlu, and Barry Flood, "Introduction: Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century," 8.

<sup>16</sup> Gérard-Georges Lemaire, *The Orient in Western Art*, (Konemann, 2001), 52.

fashion of *Turquerie*.<sup>17</sup> Ottoman motifs were incorporated into decorative arts and fashion, Ottoman themes started appearing more in operas and ballets, novels were written with Ottoman characters and music was composed with the adaptation of Ottoman melodies. Paintings started to appear depicting Turkish scenes and the wealthy started to commission their portraits in Ottoman costumes.

At the same time, the industry for travel books and exotic engravings grew in Europe. Many travelers curious about history and archaeology made their way to the Ottoman Empire for research purposes. Diplomats, merchants, travelers and artists flocked to the Ottoman capital. Many commissioned travel books with high quality illustrations.<sup>18</sup> Thus, the production reached a peak in France during the last several decades of the eighteenth century and publications with images became even more widespread in this era.

During the eighteenth century, the artists who painted Eastern subjects were classified into two categories. The first group was the artist who depicted the Ottomans without firsthand experience. Called *Les Peintres Turcs*, they created images compiled from various sources and the Ottomans they encountered within Europe.<sup>19</sup> The second group, referred to as the *Peintres du Bosphore* were working with embassy circles and depicted Istanbul from their personal experiences and observations.<sup>20</sup>

The mode of *Turquerie* was representation of Turkish exoticism within the Rococo style. It did not just depict the Turks for the purpose of bringing the East to the West, it made it a part of their life with music, fashion, and decorative objects. The decorative aspect of

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<sup>17</sup> Zeynep İnankur, "From the Imaginary to the Near East," *1001 Faces of Orientalism* (Istanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2013), 63, Semra Germaner, "Dreams of the Orient in Paintings," in *1001 Faces of Orientalism* (Istanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2013), 72.

<sup>18</sup> Renda, "Europe and the Ottomans," 1110, İnankur, "From the Imaginary to the Near East," 69.

<sup>19</sup> İnankur and Germaner, *Constantinople and the Orientalists*, 18.

<sup>20</sup> Renda, "1911 *Turquerie* Sergisi Üzerine," 74, İnankur and Germaner, *Constantinople and the Orientalists*, 21.

the style was much more recognizable, especially with the production of small objects. The majority of the paintings that fall into Turquerie are portraits of Europeans in Ottomans costumes, not depictions of contemporary Ottomans.

### Orientalism

The notion of Orientalism stems from the idea of “the other.” Even though there was always a divide between the East and the West, it constantly shifted through the years with changes in culture and politics. This difference between civilizations resulted in different outcomes according to contemporary policies and ideologies. However, the term “Orientalism” came into existence in the nineteenth century and it began as a scholarly endeavor, as a way to study the Orient.<sup>21</sup> Another branch of Orientalism was an artistic and literary movement which gained popularity after the French conquests in Egypt and North Africa, and the British conquest of India. Interest in the East rose with the surge of colonialism.<sup>22</sup> This curiosity led to depictions of the Middle East, North Africa, and Asia to become a popular subject in Europe, America and even the Orient itself. Due to political developments, a new way of looking at the East and depicting Eastern subjects emerged. In the beginning, the depictions of the Orient were mostly imaginary.<sup>23</sup> Artists would depict the fantasized lands based on earlier drawings and paintings, without actually traveling. They would be depicting exoticized, racialized, and often sexualized versions of these distant lands which can also be explained as “*satisfying and further stimulating a widespread fascination with the “exotic” lands of the Muslim East.*”<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Geoffrey Nash, “Orientalism,” in *The Encyclopedia of Empire*, 2016, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/book/10.1002/9781118455074>, 2.

<sup>22</sup> İnankur and Germaner, *Orientalists at the Ottoman Palace*, 12, Nebahat Avcıoğlu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation, 1728-1876*. (New York : Routledge, 2011), 5.

<sup>23</sup> Avcıoğlu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation*, 4.

<sup>24</sup> Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*. Vol. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 63.

After Edward Said's groundbreaking and Linda Nochlin's seminal work the term's political and social meanings gained importance.<sup>25</sup> They argued that some of the Orientalist paintings were considered as visual documents of nineteenth-century colonialist and imperialist ideology. The absence of time and the slothfulness of the Eastern people were key aspects of Orientalism which gave the idea to the viewer that the Orientals were incapable of progress; thus, inferior to those states and people in Europe. This concept was at the root of French imperialism as the justification for their colonialist tendencies. *“Conversely, it was other societies' lack of these characteristics, these core values and traits, that made them weak and backward and that thus both facilitated and justified Western domination.”*<sup>26</sup>

Unlike Turquerie, it is not possible to reduce Orientalism to just one particular style. Orientalism was not a school or a style, it did not comply with one particular style or a certain mindset. It was a compilation based simply on the subject matter, the Orient. The most commonly painted scenes include Orient landscapes with deserts, camels, and ruins; scenes of violence depicting wars, battles, massacres; and the secret lives of the harem women, oversexualized hammam scenes, and slave markets. Yet, Orientalism cannot be oversimplified to Oriental nudes or intimidating Ottomans. *“Many of the really interesting facts about orientalism have to do with its ambiguous character and vague borders.”*<sup>27</sup> Aside from the more popular subjects, there were many other ways of depiction that still fall under Orientalism and coincide with its underlying ideas and opinions. *“One may speak not of a*

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<sup>25</sup> Edward Said. *Orientalism*, (Penguin, 2013), Linda Nochlin. “The Imaginary Orient,” in *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth Century Art and Society* (1983): 33-59.

<sup>26</sup> Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East*, 57.

<sup>27</sup> Ivan Kalmar, *Early Orientalism: Imagined Islam and the Notion of Sublime Power* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 19.

*single Orientalism, but rather of an Orientalism in the plural that exploited the East from a variety of standpoints.*"<sup>28</sup>

Orientalism is not an unchanging ideology; it changes over time and across geographies. Even within Europe the outlook on the subject is different for each country; therefore, in this thesis the focus is on French Orientalism. The subject is very dynamic and prone to changes through time due to various factors including economy, politics, and socio-cultural developments. Yet, in the interest of this thesis, I will refer to the most prominent and established determinants of Orientalism.

While *Turquerie* entailed appropriating Eastern themes and elements into the Western norms of art and architecture, Orientalism portrayed the East charged with political connotations.<sup>29</sup> *Turquerie* was regarded as a curiosity and seen without the derogatory aspects of Orientalism, as simply a fascination with a particular culture. "*Usually viewed as a 'fad' or 'obsession,' the scholarship about Turquerie gave rise to a separate method of inquiry under the guise of exoticism defined as politically benign or culturally inconsequential.*"<sup>30</sup> However, even though the differences between *Turquerie* and Orientalism are evident, namely ideology and representation, the divide between the two is not as clear towards the end of the eighteenth century. As the lines start to get blurry, it becomes difficult to form a clear distinction between the two modes. Recently, Nebahat Avcioğlu and Edhem Eldem argue against the customary innocence of *Turquerie* and thus argue for a more fluid transition between the two.<sup>31</sup> Similar to the modes themselves, defining a clear cut between artists associated with each grouping is proven to be difficult,

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<sup>28</sup> İnankur and Germaner, *Constantinople and the Orientalists*, 39.

<sup>29</sup> Germaner, "Dreams of the Orient in Paintings," 73.

<sup>30</sup> Avcioğlu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation*, 4.

<sup>31</sup> Avcioğlu, 1-31, Eldem. *Consuming the Orient*, 16.

especially regarding artists from the transitional period. For those artists who had experienced the shift in power dynamics in Europe and molded by the ideologies, it is not possible to try to contain them in one specific category.

### Egyptomania

In 1798, French troops arrived in Alexandria and thereupon conquered most of Egypt from the surrogate rulers of the Ottoman Empire, the Mamluks.<sup>32</sup> The aim of the campaign was to seize control of Egypt and turn it over to the Directory. Napoléon Bonaparte was tasked with this challenging and ambitious undertaking.<sup>33</sup> After the unsuccessful attempt at capturing Syria and the opposing British power in the Mediterranean, Napoléon returned to France with a handful of his companions, including military officials and several scientists that had joined the expedition. Although overall the Egyptian Campaign was a disappointment military wise, it was a great success for Napoléon. Upon his return from Egypt, he became First Consul and subsequently Emperor.<sup>34</sup>

The success of Napoléon Bonaparte's Egyptian Campaign lies in the endorsement and creation of scientific and artistic production.<sup>35</sup> The two main publications resulting from this expedition were *Voyage dans la basse et la haute Égypte* and *Description de l'Égypte*. Dominique Vivant Denon's *Voyage dans la basse et la haute Égypte* was published in 1802. The book was very well received and was an instant success.<sup>36</sup> Curiosity towards Egyptian culture had already existed; yet, with the newly published book, there was a significant

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<sup>32</sup> Ronald H. Fritze, *Egyptomania: A History of Fascination, Obsession and Fantasy*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), 243, Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East*, 70-71.

<sup>33</sup> Fritze, *Egyptomania*, 242.

<sup>34</sup> Fritze, 252, Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East*, 70-71.

<sup>35</sup> Fritze, *Egyptomania*, 244.

<sup>36</sup> Fritze, 252.



increase in the scientific and artistic fascination of the subject.<sup>37</sup> Vivant Denon's book instigated the artistic revival of Ancient Egypt. "*Not simply fulfilling that curiosity, Denon's book sparked and fueled a new surge of Egyptomania and became the first popular travel account of the nineteenth century.*"<sup>38</sup>

The second publication resulting from the campaign was the *Description de l'Égypte*. A group of mostly volunteer scholars accompanied the French army for the scientific investigation of the soon-to-be French territory.<sup>39</sup> During the occupation, they studied the geographical, social, historical, archaeological, and economic state of Egypt. Published after the *Voyage* in 1809 until 1829, *Description de l'Égypte* was the first scientific research conducted in the area and on Ancient Egypt.<sup>40</sup> The authors of the book "*founded Egyptology as a modern empirical discipline and launched modern Egyptomania.*"<sup>41</sup>

In a similar approach to Greek independence, Egypt was seen as a place wanting and waiting to be rescued and the French saw itself as the savior. "*Denon compares Napoléon to the pharaohs of Egypt, but their glory is gone and can only be revived through the emperor; only France can regenerate Egypt.*"<sup>42</sup> The French believed that by conquering, studying it and presenting a new and "modern" way of life, they were bringing progress and wisdom back to the land. "*The French saw themselves as bringing science and civilization to the*

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<sup>37</sup> James Stevens Curl, *The Egyptian Revival: Ancient Egypt As the Inspiration for Design Motifs in the West*, (London: Routledge, 2005), 205.

<sup>38</sup> Fritze, *Egyptomania*, 252.

<sup>39</sup> Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East*, 70-71.

<sup>40</sup> Ian Shaw, *Ancient Egypt: A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 20.

<sup>41</sup> Fritze, *Egyptomania*, 244.

<sup>42</sup> Claudia Gyss, "The Roots of Egyptomania and Orientalism from the Renaissance to the Nineteenth Century," in *French Orientalism: Culture, Politics, and the Imagined Other* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Pub., 2010), 116.

*benighted Orient.*”<sup>43</sup> This notion was supported by Mamluks, they allowed the French Republic “*to portray their invasion as a liberation of the Egyptian people.*”<sup>44</sup>

In most of the publications and studies the inauguration of Orientalism is usually suggested to be the Egyptian Conquest of Napoléon. “*...does not use the term “Egyptomania” to designate this phenomenon and prefers to speak of “Orientalism,” the development of which was largely influenced by the Egyptian Campaign.*”<sup>45</sup> The fascination of the conquered lands of France, starting with Egypt, later on, included other geographies under French rule which were the subject of Orientalist works of art. Ultimately, “*Egyptian art became an instrument of propaganda, and antiquity became the object of a true cult.*”<sup>46</sup> As the starting point of the display of French colonialist power and imperialist ideology, Egyptomania is inherently a considerable part of Orientalism. “*The beginnings of Orientalism are found in Egyptomania, the artistic evolution of which reveals the political and scientific development of French interest in Egypt.*”<sup>47</sup>

### Philhellenism

Due to the Enlightenment and the increased recognition of the significance of knowledge and free-thinking, Europeans began to search for the roots of civilization and their identity. Consequently, they found it in classical antiquity, namely in Ancient Greece and Rome.<sup>48</sup> The discovery and idealization of Ancient Greece resulted in its transformation into an ideal representation of the cultural heritage and the foundation of eighteenth-century European identity. When Europeans recognized themselves as the civilized and the bearers

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<sup>43</sup> Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East*, 70-71.

<sup>44</sup> Fritze, *Egyptomania*, 243.

<sup>45</sup> Gyss, “The Roots of Egyptomania and Orientalism from the Renaissance to the Nineteenth Century,” 107.

<sup>46</sup> Gyss, 116.

<sup>47</sup> Gyss, 106.

<sup>48</sup> Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East*, 56.

of liberty, they asserted themselves as the heir to the civilized throne of the Ancient Greeks. As the self-proclaimed moderns of the era, Europeans took it upon themselves to save the Greeks and their culture from the oppression of the “uncivilized” Ottomans who ruled over Greece for the last four hundred years. *“In a highly optimistic society that believed in its own perfectibility through reason, rational debate, and empirical research, western Europe in the eighteenth century convinced itself that its destiny was to bring enlightenment to the four corners of the planet.”*<sup>49</sup> Therefore, to some extent, the idea of Philhellenism allows for integration into the Orientalist discourse. Europe advertised itself as the hero, the bringer of civilization, by the power they inherited from the Ancient Greeks. Its mission was to “help” the backward and underdeveloped nations whether it be contemporary Greece waiting to be saved or the untamed other. This belief was the foundation and the pretext of colonialism.

Travelers going on archaeological expeditions fostered the propagation of classical studies and led the way to Philhellenism. From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, traveling to Greece increased considerably in frequency and gained symbolic meaning. As books became widespread, they reached a wider audience and their impact grew accordingly. With the dissemination of the books and the accompanying images, this movement played a critical role in the creation of the image of the Orient, alongside its negative connotations.<sup>50</sup>

Compositions depicting the Greeks in their former glory days created a sense of timelessness where the contemporary state of Greece equaled its past as if nothing had changed aside from the Ottoman occupation and the people living there were still the same “civilized” community who laid the foundation of eighteenth-century Europe and were

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<sup>49</sup> Christopher M.S. Johns, “Travel and Cultural Exchange in Enlightenment Rome,” in *Cultural Contact and the Making of European Art since the Age of Exploration* (University of North Carolina Press, Jun 21, 2010), 73.

<sup>50</sup> Eldem, *Consuming the Orient*, 18.

suffering under the new rule.<sup>51</sup> The type of composition which shows the contrast between the glorious Greeks and the decadent Orientals also played well into the Orientalist thought. “*Along the way they adopted the contrast which many writers of ancient Greece had drawn between Greek freedom and Asian despotism, identifying themselves with the former and the Ottomans with the latter.*”<sup>52</sup> By displaying the oppression, it protested against the rule and legitimized the Western claim over Greece.<sup>53</sup> Philhellenes were avid supporters of the Greek cause and extremely influential in politics.<sup>54</sup> They were the driving force behind the Greek Independence.

### Embassy Artists in Ottoman Lands

Istanbul has always been an object of desire, and with major changes after the conquest, the city still continued to be a source of wonder. With travelers coming from all around the world, the pictorial depictions of the city were abundant especially towards the eighteenth century.

*“The passion for documenting the look and lives of Near Eastern people has a long history in Western European art.”*<sup>55</sup>

Leslie Luebbbers

Ever since the conquest of Constantinople, itinerant travelers accompanying embassies have been traveling to the Ottoman Empire. Increased number of diplomatic and commercial missions between Europe and the Ottoman Empire after the conquest, gave rise

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<sup>51</sup> Eldem, “Orientalism and Archeology,” 33.

<sup>52</sup> Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East*, 47.

<sup>53</sup> Eldem, *Consuming the Orient*, 188.

<sup>54</sup> Prominent faces of the period including Lord Byron and Victor Hugo were particularly open and outspoken regarding their Philhellenic opinions. One of the leading Orientalists of the time Eugène Delacroix’s *Massacre at Chios*, the pinnacle of Philhellenistic art, was inspired from Lord Byron who himself had died in the Greek War of Independence. Renda, “Europe and the Ottomans,” 1117.

<sup>55</sup> Leslie Luebbbers, “Documenting the Invisible: European Images of Ottoman Women, 1567–1867,” in *The Print Collector's Newsletter*, vol. 24, no. 1, (1993): 2.

to envoys consisting of ambassadors and artists to travel to the Eastern lands who in turn produced artworks including books, illustrated travelogues, and costume albums. Starting from the fifteenth century with great curiosity as well as animosity towards the Ottomans, these travelers accounts and depictions, created an image of the Turk. This image was created according to political, diplomatic and trade relations. Therefore, cultural exchange between Europe and the Ottoman Empire was innately political, which had a great impact on the visual culture.<sup>56</sup>

The first point of contact was achieved with guest artists like Gentile Bellini and then later on the interaction was instigated by embassies including artists in their retinues. This practice became a tradition with the insurgence of embassies coming to the Ottoman Empire. It was important for ambassadors to be accompanied by artists so that they could bring back reports with textual sources as well as visual sources. It was crucial to be able to see the other to know it. The difference between cultures, fashions, and way of life made it very interesting for the West to gaze upon the East.

At the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, with the expanding borders of the Ottoman Empire towards Europe, and even more so with the siege of Vienna, the Ottomans were seen as a significant threat which increased the interest of the Europeans.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, with the newly installed trade laws by Süleyman the Magnificent, the interaction between the cultures was accelerated.<sup>58</sup> This interaction resulted in an increased number of diplomatic and commercial missions. The envoys sent by the European countries consisted of ambassadors

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<sup>56</sup> Günsel Renda, "Europe and the Ottomans: Interactions in Art," in *Ottoman Civilization, vol II* (Ankara: Ministry of Culture, 2004), 1091.

<sup>57</sup> Nurhan Atasoy and Lale Uluç. *Impressions of Ottoman Culture in Europe: 1453-1699* (Istanbul: Armagga Publications, 2012), 338, Alexandrine N. St. Clair, *The Image of the Turk in Europe* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973), 7.

<sup>58</sup> Günsel Renda. "1911 Turquerie Sergisi Üzerine" *Sanat Tarihinde Doğudan Batıya Ünsal Yücel Anısına Sempozyum Bildirileri* (Ankara: Güzel Sanatlar Matbaası, 1989): 72.

as well as artists and many merchants were traveling to the Eastern lands; these foreign artists produced artworks including books, illustrated travelogues, and costume albums also known as *Trachtenbuch* in Germanic countries.<sup>59</sup> These publications and works of art inspired generations of artists and they were used as sources and models for numerous artworks.<sup>60</sup>

The printing press was utilized to spread the image of the Turk to the masses and to create a certain perception through the representation of the Ottoman figures.<sup>61</sup> News and pamphlets were being circulated in Europe. The stance against the Ottoman Empire was not unified in Europe, different countries adopted different representational schemes according to their current relationship with the Ottomans. Overall, there were two different approaches towards the Ottomans, curiosity and animosity. Owing to its close relations with the Ottomans from the Byzantine times, the Italians, especially the Venetians, were the leading source of more scientific and realistic images.<sup>62</sup> A more realistic and documentary approach in describing and representing the Ottomans were also undertaken by many other countries.<sup>63</sup> The second approach was called *Türkengefagr* (Turkish threat), born out of fear of the Ottomans, artworks belonging to this vogue created negative images. They showed barbaric Turks committing heinous crimes or doing unspeakable things.<sup>64</sup> The concept of *Türkengefahr* was supported by mainstream depictions of dreadful Ottoman soldiers and their ruthless actions.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Atasoy and Uluç, *Impressions of Ottoman Culture in Europe*, 338, Renda, "1911 Turquerie Sergisi Üzerine," 72.

<sup>60</sup> Atasoy and Uluç, *Impressions of Ottoman Culture in Europe*, 338, Renda, "1911 Turquerie Sergisi Üzerine," 72, Eleanor Sims, "Hans Ludwig Kuefstein's Turkish Figures," in *At the Sublime Porte: Ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire* (London: Hazlitt, Gooden&Fox, 1988), 24.

<sup>61</sup> Sims, "Hans Ludwig Kuefstein's Turkish Figures," 23.

<sup>62</sup> Renda, "Europe and the Ottomans," 1096, İnankur, "From the Imaginary to the Near East," 62-63.

<sup>63</sup> Atasoy and Uluç, *Impressions of Ottoman Culture in Europe*, 338.

<sup>64</sup> Renda, "Europe and the Ottomans," 1096.

<sup>65</sup> Atasoy and Uluç, *Impressions of Ottoman Culture in Europe*, 328.

Nicholas de Nicolay and Melchoir Lorichs were the two main artists in the sixteen century who traveled to the Ottoman Empire and were very significant in creating the European visual conception of the East.<sup>66</sup> Especially for travelers because these travel accounts could be regarded as souvenirs of their times. Certain sets of illustrations were redesigned and reprinted after the initial works of Nicolay and Lorichs for centuries.

Cosmographer of Henri II of France, Nicholas de Nicolay was a member of the entourage of the French embassy of Gabriel d'Aramon in 1553.<sup>67</sup> His sketches depict daily life and costumes in the Ottoman Empire. After being etched by Louis Daret in Lyon during the year 1568 these drawings, including 60 portraits, were published in a book titled *Les Quatre Premiers livres des navigations et pérégrinations orientales*.<sup>68</sup> Nicholay's figures were actively used as sources and models throughout the decades by various other artists.

The lady identified as *Ein Turckhin wie sie auf der Gassen zu gehen pfleget* in Kuefstein's ensemble is indeed a reversed version of Nicolay's *Femme Allant par la Ville* or *Donna Turca andando per la Città*.<sup>69</sup> Aside from this, George de la Chappelle's, the images in the *Jerusalem Codex* and even Peter Paul Rubens's depictions can be attributed to this single image. Furthermore, *Wrestlers* of Greillenstein, *Habits de diverses nations* *Omnium pene Europae* of Bruyn and *Habiti de Turchi*, book chapter from *Habiti antichi et*

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<sup>66</sup> Günsel Renda, "The Ottoman Empire and Europe in the 17th Century: Changing Image," in *The Image of the Turk in 17th Century Europe* (Istanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2005), 44.

<sup>67</sup> Atasoy and Uluç, *Impressions of Ottoman Culture in Europe*, 345, Renda, "1911 Turquerie Sergisi Üzerine," 72, Grube, "Introduction," 7.

<sup>68</sup> Atasoy and Uluç, *Impressions of Ottoman Culture in Europe*, 346, Clair, *The Image of the Turk in Europe*, ill. 11, Sims, "Hans Ludwig Kuefstein's Turkish Figures," 27.

<sup>69</sup> Sims, 26-29.

*moderni di tutto il mondo* of Vecellio were based on Nicolay's figures.<sup>70</sup> More interestingly, a figure from Ingres' *Turkish Bath* is directly taken from Nicolay's *Turque allant au bain*.<sup>71</sup>

Melchior Lorichs from Flensburg who lived between the years 1527-1583 accompanied the ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbeq to Istanbul. During his five year stay between 1555 until 1560, he produced a variety of works including a book on the political and military advancements of the Ottoman Empire, a panorama of Istanbul, costume albums and various drawings. In 1619, 128 woodcuts by Lorichs, which are considered as the most reliable and accurate depictions of the Ottomans during that period, were published with the title *Wolgerrissene und geschnittene Figuren in Kupfer und Holtz durch den Kunstreichen weitbermbten Melcher Lorch fur die Mahler Bildhauer unde Kunstliebenden an Tag gegeben, Anno 1619*.<sup>72</sup> Lorichs provides a variety of aspects of Ottoman life in Istanbul, the Hungarian and Austrian campaigns, Istanbul panoramas, portraits of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, other officials such as pashas, officers, soldiers, battles, subjugated Christian towns and consequently the slave trade.<sup>73</sup> Panorama of Constantinople is regarded as "*perhaps the earliest attempt to portray the city accurately*" by Westbrook, Rainsbury Dark, and Meeuwen.<sup>74</sup> Due to their documentary features many of the portraits made of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, among others, were based on Lorichs's work that was wide-spread in Europe at the time.<sup>75</sup> As Della Bella's

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<sup>70</sup> Sims, "Hans Ludwig Kuefstein's Turkish Figures," 27, 38, Renda, "The Ottoman Empire and Europe in the 17th Century" 44.

<sup>71</sup> Walter B. Denny, "Quotations in and out of Context: Ottoman Turkish Art and European Orientalist Painting," *Muqarnas*, Vol. 10, (1993): 227-228.

<sup>72</sup> Atasoy and Uluç, *Impressions of Ottoman Culture in Europe*, 346, Renda, "1911 Turquerie Sergisi Üzerine," 72, Clair, *The Image of the Turk in Europe*, ill. 6,7,8,9,10, Grube, "Introduction," 7.

<sup>73</sup> Hermann Goetz, "Oriental Types and Scenes in Renaissance and Baroque Painting-II," in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, vol. 73, no. 426, (1938): 105, Renda, "1911 Turquerie Sergisi Üzerine," 72.

<sup>74</sup> Nigel Westbrook, Kenneth Rainsbury Dark and Rene van Meeuwen, "Constructing Melchior Lorichs's Panorama of Constantinople," in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69, (2010): 62.

<sup>75</sup> Renda, *Europe and the Ottomans*, 1098.



drawings follow Lorichs's woodcuts closely, it can be attested that Bella's sources for his figures were Lorichs's images. The similarities of the figure on the right in *the Detail of the Entry into Rome of His Excellency, the Polish Ambassador* etching and Lorichs's "delly" from his book is undeniable.<sup>76</sup> Something similar can be observed with some of Sebastin le Clerc's illustrations in his book *Receuil de diverse figures turques*.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, Peter Paul Rubens as well as others, who used the costume books as sources for their sketches which are now in the British Museum Collections, were inspired by these two artists who shaped the way in which the Ottoman Empire was perceived in the sixteenth century.<sup>78</sup>

The naval battle of Lepanto in 1571 showed the Europeans that the Ottomans were not invincible. However, the empire continued to be a great threat. The siege of Vienna in 1683 was probably one of the biggest underlying reasons for this fear, as well as curiosity in the West.<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, Ottoman Empire's military superiority over the West diminished after the sixteenth century. With the new developments in Europe and the so-called "decline" of the empire, the relationship between the two powers started to transform. Instead of being the feared military power of the East, the Ottoman Empire began to be dependent on the power of its diplomatic relations. Even though there were wars and many battles being fought, they did not affect trade relations. Besides political reasons, commerce brought about a great amount of cultural exchange.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Ulrike Ilg, "Stefano della Bella and Melchior Lorck: The Practical Use of an Artists' Model Book," in *Master Drawings*, Vol. 41, No. 1, (2003): 33, "Turquerie," in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. 26, no. 5, (1968): 229.

<sup>77</sup> Renda, "The Ottoman Empire and Europe in the 17th Century," 46.

<sup>78</sup> Goetz, "Oriental Types and Scenes in Renaissance and Baroque Painting-II," 106, Atasoy and Uluç, *Impressions of Ottoman Culture in Europe*, 350.

<sup>79</sup> Lemaire, *The Orient in Western Art*, 48.

<sup>80</sup> Lemaire, 32.

Although the representation of the Ottomans turned less hostile, they were still being used to create a certain image of the Turks in the minds of the Europeans. “*The transition from exotic imaginary image of the unknown to a more realistic portrayal of the known was undoubtedly the result of the increasing volume of written material concerning the east, the expansion of diplomatic relations and the growing number of painters visited the Ottoman Empire at this time.*”<sup>81</sup> Throughout the seventeenth century many European ambassadors visited Istanbul and wanted to be better acquainted with the Ottoman Empire; therefore, collected information about the state and the people.<sup>82</sup> The artists traveling alongside the embassies made paintings and albums to document events and scenes.<sup>83</sup>

One such example is the secretary to the Earl of Winchelsea, Sir Paul Rycaut. He was appointed as ambassador to Sultan Mehmed IV by Charles II in 1661 and until 1679 worked as the British consul in Izmir. The three-volume book, *History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* was published in London in 1668. It was the greatest source of information about the Ottoman Empire.<sup>84</sup> The book was translated into various languages French, German, Italian and Polish.

George de la Chappelle, a French artist from Caen, was sent to Istanbul by the French ambassador Jean de la Haye who was tasked with renewing the capitulations.<sup>85</sup> Chapelle’s book *Recueil de divers portraits des principales dames de la Porte du Grand Turc* holds

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<sup>81</sup> Renda, “The Ottoman Empire and Europe in the 17th Century,” 55.

<sup>82</sup> Renda, 55.

<sup>83</sup> Renda, Günsel Renda. “The European Ambassadors at the Ottoman Court: The Imperial Protocol in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre. Vol. I: The Age of Mozart and Selim III (1756–1808)*, ed. Michael Hüttler and Hans Ernst Weidinger. (Wien: Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag, 2013), 263-276, Germaner, “Dreams of the Orient in Paintings,” 72-75, Elisabeth Fraser, “Dressing Turks in the French Manner,” *Ars Orientalis* 39, (2010): 199-205.

<sup>84</sup> Renda, “The Ottoman Empire and Europe in the 17th Century,” 46.

<sup>85</sup> Atasoy and Uluç, *Impressions of Ottoman Culture in Europe*, 356.

twelve etchings of Ottoman women and was dedicated to Madame Comtesse de Fiesque.<sup>86</sup> The inspiration for the book was the underrepresentation of women thus far. Unhappy with this negligence the artist hoped to document the lives and costumes of women in the empire. Yet, the title page shows scenes of various punishments. Chapelle's figures were used as patterns for many years to come by numerous artists.<sup>87</sup> For example, a series of oil paintings at the Ptuj Regional Museum are almost exact copies of his work.<sup>88</sup>

Austrian emperor Ferdinand II of the Holy Roman Empire sent Baron Hans Ludwig Kuefstein as ambassador to Sultan Murad IV in 1628 during the protestant crisis to prolong the Zsitvatorok Agreement of 1606. Artists accompanying him have been identified as Franz Hermann, Hans Geminger, Valentin Mueller.<sup>89</sup> Their depictions of figures, audience ceremonies, the palace and the places they have visited with the ambassador's retinue constitute the Kuefstein collection.<sup>90</sup> The majority of the collection is housed at the castle belonging to the Kuefstein family at Grillenstein (Schloss Greillenstein) and eleven of the gouaches were acquired by the Perchtoldsdorf Museum in Vienna.<sup>91</sup> The significance of Kuefstein's images lies in their transitional trait; even though images of women were inspired by Nicolay and Lorichs, the rest of the images depicted new and original themes which lead the way for upcoming artists.<sup>92</sup>

Claes Brorson Rålamb was appointed as the Swedish ambassador to the Porte of Sultan Mehmed IV in 1657 by the king Carl X Gustav. Even though Rålamb was not

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<sup>86</sup> Renda, "Europe and Ottoman Interactions in Art," 1103.

<sup>87</sup> Renda, "The Ottoman Empire and Europe in the 17th Century," 47.

<sup>88</sup> Polona Vidmar, "Catalogue," in *Image of the Turks in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century*, (İstanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2005), 210-239.

<sup>89</sup> Sims, "Hans Ludwig Kuefstein's Turkish Figures," 37.

<sup>90</sup> Renda, "The Ottoman Empire and Europe in the 17th Century," 49-50.

<sup>91</sup> Renda, "Europe and Ottoman Interactions in Art," 1102, Sims, "Hans Ludwig Kuefstein's Turkish Figures," 20.

<sup>92</sup> Sims, 40.

successful in his mission, his dairy and a series of twenty paintings he commissioned had a significant place in documenting seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire. Currently, at the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm, these paintings depict the procession of Sultan Mehmed IV.<sup>93</sup> The sultan, his viziers and other officials are painted in great detail with explanatory comments explaining ranks on their way to Edirne for the summer.<sup>94</sup>

With the eighteenth century, the fad of *Turquerie* swept across Europe and a new way of depicting the Orient and incorporating the East into the French visual language started to take shape. “*Broadly speaking, Enlightenment views of Islam were significantly less hostile, and certainly less fearful, than earlier views.*”<sup>95</sup> The depictions of the *Peintres du Bosphore* became extremely popular. Artists such as Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, Jean-Etienne Liotard, and Jean-Baptiste Hilaire were members of this assemblage.

Jean-Baptiste Vanmour’s works were by far the most influential and most used works of the time. Various artists made use of his paintings and figures during the later centuries. French artist of Flemish origin was born in Valenciennes in 1671.<sup>96</sup> He met Marquis de Ferriol in Paris in 1699 and accompanied the ambassador to Istanbul. Vanmour made many paintings and prepared engravings for the book *Recueil de cent estampes representant différentes nations du levant* which was published in 1714.<sup>97</sup> After de Ferriol, the artist worked for many other patrons in the capital, including Comte des Alleurs, Marquis de Bonac, Vicomte d’Andrezel, and Marquis de Villeneuve, Dutch ambassador Cornelius

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<sup>93</sup> Renda, “Europe and Ottoman Interactions in Art,” 1103.

<sup>94</sup> Renda, “The Ottoman Empire and Europe in the 17th Century,” 51-52, Atasoy and Uluç, *Impressions of Ottoman Culture in Europe*, 356.

<sup>95</sup> Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East*, 63.

<sup>96</sup> Lemaire, *The Orient in Western Art*, 347.

<sup>97</sup> *Intersecting Worlds: Ambassadors and Painters*, ed. Barış Kıbrıs, (İstanbul: Pera Museum Publication, 2014), 183.

Calkoen, and even Sultan Ahmed III.<sup>98</sup> Vanmour's paintings covered a wide range of subjects, from audience ceremonies to genre scenes, to costume depictions. His incentive to depict political incidents helped document the significant events of the period. He also had a studio where he executed many of his drawings with local artists who continued to work after his death in 1737.<sup>99</sup> Artists like William Hogarth and many others reproduced his works and continued to utilize it until the nineteenth century. The hamam scene from *Receuil de Cent Estampes* was copied by Hogarth in *A Turkish Bath*, and in Klaus Tuchelt's *Türkische Gewänder und Osmanische Gesellschaft im Achtzehnten Jahrhundert* with the title *Eine Türkische Dame mit ihrer Dienerin im Badehaus* and later on, incorporated into Ingres' *The Smaller Bather (Interior of a Harem)*.

Jean-Étienne Liotard was a Swiss artist, born in 1702 in Geneva. He was a merchant's son and after starting his career at a young age he left for Paris in 1723 to study.<sup>100</sup> As a part of Marquis of Puyseux's embassy retinue, he visited Italy several times and met Lord Ponsonby. With his new patron, Liotard traveled to the East and arrived in Istanbul in 1738. During his stay for four years, he painted many portraits of Europeans in Ottoman attire. He even acquired the title *Peintre turc* because he learned Ottoman and wore Ottoman clothes himself.<sup>101</sup> After his departure from the Ottoman capital he worked in Moldavia, Vienna, Paris, The Netherlands and London with many influential people, mainly empress Maria Theresa, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Marie-Antoinette.<sup>102</sup> Liotard was known for his

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<sup>98</sup> Lemaire, *The Orient in Western Art*, 347, *Intersecting Worlds* 183.

<sup>99</sup> Lemaire, *The Orient in Western Art*, 347, *Intersecting Worlds* 183.

<sup>100</sup> Lemaire, *The Orient in Western Art*, 343.

<sup>101</sup> Renda, "1911 Turquerie Sergisi Üzerine," 74, Renda "Europe and Ottoman Interactions in Art," 1110.

<sup>102</sup> Lemaire, *The Orient in Western Art*, 343.

portraits in Ottoman costumes which he continued to execute after his return, with these portraits he helped spread the exoticism of the East.

Antoine de Favray, born in Bagnolet in 1706, studied at the French Academy in Rome. After completing his education in 1744, he traveled to Malta. He was very well received and subsequently initiated into knighthood and order of Malta in 1751.<sup>103</sup> Favray was a celebrated artist and produced many paintings for churches and the knights. During his stay in Istanbul under the patronage of Marquis de Vergennes and Saint Priest, the artist worked at the French and Russian palaces starting from 1762 until 1771.<sup>104</sup> Due to his portraits of state officials, Ottoman subjects and landscapes, he managed to build a reputation for himself in the West.<sup>105</sup>

In the light of these new fashions in Europe, Count Marie-Gabriel de Choiseul-Gouffier published his seminal work titled *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce* in 1782.<sup>106</sup> *Voyage Pittoresque* was published in three volumes in 1782, 1809 and 1822, Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier began working on his book after returning from his grand tour in 1777.<sup>107</sup> The travel book consisted of depictions of landscapes, court scenes, rituals, houses, mosque squares, bazaars, and costume plates.<sup>108</sup> Louis-François Fauvel was one of the leading artists

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<sup>103</sup> Lemaire, 340.

<sup>104</sup> Lemaire, 340.

<sup>105</sup> *Intersecting Worlds*, 182.

<sup>106</sup> Marie Gabriel Auguste Florent Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*, (Paris, 1822).

<sup>107</sup> Nurdan Küçükasköylü, "Circulating Images: Ottoman Painters, Travel Books, Overtones," in *New Trends in Ottoman Studies*. (Rethymno: University of Crete, 2012): 6, Günsel Renda, "European Artists at the Ottoman Court: Propagating a New Dynastic Image in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism*. (Istanbul: Pera Museum, 2011), 229, Frédéric Hitzel, *Couleurs de la Corne d'Or*, (Paris: ACR Edition, 2002), 54.

<sup>108</sup> Hitzel, 56.

commissioned for the first book alongside Jean-Baptiste Hilair.<sup>109</sup> The upcoming volumes included others, including Louis-François Cassas.

As a novelty in its era, Choiseul-Gouffier's work served as a prototype for the genre of travel books and constructed a framework for upcoming artists and authors to follow, while igniting the fad of exoticism in France by providing a view into the lives and lands of the Ottomans.<sup>110</sup> *Voyage Pittoresque* was very well-received; Jacques-Charles Brunet, a late nineteenth-century cataloguer, praised Choiseul's book as an exemplary sample of the era.<sup>111</sup>

Choiseul-Gouffier's Philhellenism was apparent in this book from the opening piece to the texts accompanying the engravings. He was an ardent advocate of the Greek cause and his book was a tool of propagation for the Greek independence.<sup>112</sup> Elisabeth Fraser even argues that Choiseul-Gouffier's images of "resting Orientals" was the starting point of the slothful Turk stereotype, a commonly encountered subject in Orientalism.<sup>113</sup>

Jean-Baptiste Hilair was born in Audun-le-Tiche in 1753. The French artist studied under the influence of Jean-Baptiste le Prince. In 1776 Hilair traveled alongside Choiseul-Gouffier in the Aegean and his drawings were published in *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*.<sup>114</sup> The majority of the engravings in the first volume which was published in 1782 belong to the artist. Upon the appointment of Choiseul as the new French ambassador, Hilair accompanied him again to the Ottoman lands in 1784. Hilair also collaborated closely with the Swedish king Gustav III's private secretary and the esteemed dragoman Ignatius

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<sup>109</sup> Hitzel, 54, Renda, "European Artists at the Ottoman Court: Propagating a New Dynastic Image in the Nineteenth Century," 221.

<sup>110</sup> Hitzel, *Couleurs de la Corne d'Or*, 50, Günsel Renda, "Searching for New Media in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Painting," in *Arts, Women, and Scholars: Studies in Ottoman Society and Culture*. (Istanbul: Simurg, 2002), 453.

<sup>111</sup> Fraser, "Dressing Turks in the French Manner," 203.

<sup>112</sup> Eldem, "Orientalism and Archeology," 32-36.

<sup>113</sup> Fraser, "Dressing Turks in the French Manner," 206.

<sup>114</sup> *Intersecting Worlds* 182.

Mouradgea d'Ohsson.<sup>115</sup> He took part in Salon de la Correspondance and Salon de la Jeunesse in 1780 and 1782 respectively.<sup>116</sup> The most interesting aspect of the artist is the fact that he had been on both sides of the equation. He had worked for Choiseul-Gouffier and also for Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson who wrote his book *Tableau général* to provide an insider look into the Ottoman Empire for the European audience. The book was prepared according to the French visual language and artists like Hilair had the chance to work contemporary with Ottoman artists. Therefore, his impact is manifold considering his many contributions to art both East and West.

Louis-François Fauvel, from Clermont-en-Beauvais, was a member of French ambassador Choiseul-Gouffier's retinue and visited the Ottoman capital on more than one occasion.<sup>117</sup> Several of his figures were engraved for the third volume of *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*.<sup>118</sup> However, his main task was to draw and collect Greek antiquities. Fauvel had managed to comprise a remarkable amount of antiquities for Choiseul-Gouffier's collection. The collection of Greek antiquities at the Louvre belonging to the ambassador is mostly collected and documented by Fauvel. This incentive to collect and display Ancient Greece was imperative for the development of Philhellenism.

During this transitional period, the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century the economic and political outlook of Europe was changing towards the rest of the world. The artistic milieu Cassas was involved in, a combination of wide-spread curiosity towards the Ottomans and Choiseul-Gouffier's apparent

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<sup>115</sup> *Intersecting Worlds*, Lemaire, *The Orient in Western Art*, 341. For more details on *Tableau général* see *The Torch of the Empire*.

<sup>116</sup> Lemaire, *The Orient in Western Art*, 341.

<sup>117</sup> Lemaire, 339.

<sup>118</sup> Boppe, *XVIII. Yüzyıl Boğaziçi Ressamları*, 158.



Philhellenism was a very decisive factor in his artistic style. Right around the time when Cassas was visiting the empire, the naïve exoticism of *Turquerie* was giving way to Orientalism.<sup>119</sup>



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<sup>119</sup> Germaner, "Dreams of the Orient in Paintings," 73, Inankur, "From the Imaginary to the Near East," 63.

## CHAPTER III

### LOUIS-FRANÇOIS CASSAS

#### Life of Cassas

#### Formative Years

Honoré Cassas and wife Françoise-Marie Blondeau got married on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November 1746 at the St. Symphorien church in Tours.<sup>120</sup> In 1749 they relocated to the castle Château d’Azay-le-Ferron, Indre then owned by Louis-François de Gallifet due to Honoré’s business at the castle.<sup>121</sup> (Figure 1) Honoré Cassas was a land surveyor and a manager of the royal road works. Françoise-Marie Blondeau, born on the 25<sup>th</sup> of December 1719, was from a respected family of entrepreneurs and master pavers in Tours.<sup>122</sup>

The Cassas family had three children: Marie Martine, Philippe, and Louis-François.<sup>123</sup> Marie Martine was baptized on the 25<sup>th</sup> of December 1767 and she married a 60-year-old surgeon.<sup>124</sup> When their father died on the 12<sup>th</sup> of April 1788 and their mother went to live with her daughter and her husband.<sup>125</sup> Philippe was born and baptized on the 13<sup>th</sup> of August 1751.<sup>126</sup> He was an architect but did not have a close relationship with his younger brother. The most significant mention of him is when Cassas states that he stayed at his brother’s house before leaving for his journey to the East.<sup>127</sup> The youngest child, Louis-François was born at the end of May or in the first days of June and he was baptized on the

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<sup>120</sup> Annie Gilet, “Du Château d’Azay-le-Ferron à l’Académie de Dessin du Duc de Chabot,” in *Voyages en Italie de Louis-François Cassas*, (Tours: Silvana Editoriale, 2016), 25.

<sup>121</sup> Gilet, “*Louis-François Cassas*,” 16.

<sup>122</sup> Gilet, “Du Château d’Azay-le-Ferron à l’Académie de Dessin du Duc de Chabot,” 25.

<sup>123</sup> Gilet, 25.

<sup>124</sup> Gilet, Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 18.

<sup>125</sup> Gilet, 18.

<sup>126</sup> Gilet, “Du Château d’Azay-le-Ferron à l’Académie de Dessin du Duc de Chabot,” 25.

<sup>127</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 18, Appendix 1.

3<sup>rd</sup> of June 1756.<sup>128</sup> The baptismal document shows the date of the baptism, the parents' names, the godparents' names, the namesake of the artist and the signature of the archival officer:

*“On the third of June one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six Louis François was baptized, son of married couple, Sr Honoré Cassas geometrician and Dame Marie Blondeau. The godfather was Mr. Marc Antoine therefore Escuyer and receiver of the barony of Preuilly...the godmother Dame Catherine Romain de Goudist...The godfather and the godmother signed with us of this inquiry.*

*Garbe Curé”*<sup>129</sup>

In 1770 Cassas started his internship in Tours where he was a civil engineering student. He was trained with the principals of architecture where he learned about the concept of hydraulics, calculation of surfaces, geometric, ornamental and figural drawings, and also stereotomic drawings of architecture. He was working at the most important site of the period and the region, the construction of the new stone bridge on the Loire.<sup>130</sup> Cassas was responsible for the copying of projects, measured site drawings, elevation drawings, and creation of topographical maps. In his work certificate, it is written: *“appointed student draftsman of the Bridges and Roads (civil engineering) in 1770 until 1774 with a salary of 400 francs.”*<sup>131</sup>

He was working under the supervision of Jean Cadet de Limay who was a civil engineer and oversaw the drawings and plans the young intern had made.<sup>132</sup> Cadet de Limay

<sup>128</sup> Appendix 2, Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 16.

<sup>129</sup> Appendix 2. The English translation can be found in Appendix 2.

<sup>130</sup> Gilet. 18.

<sup>131</sup> Gilet, “Du Château d’Azay-le-Ferron à l’Académie de Dessin du Duc de Chabot,” 26. The original French text is as follows “nommé Élève dessinateur des Ponts et Chaussées en 1770 jusqu’en 1774 avec un traitement de 400 frs.”

<sup>132</sup> Dumesnil, *Histoire Des Plus Célèbres Amateurs Français*, 341.

had a keen eye for art and was particularly interested in landscape painting. It was him who discovered Cassas' affinity for landscape drawing while working with the artist who used to spend his free time drawing landscapes of the Loire. (Figure 2) In 1773 or 1774, Cadet de Limay introduced Cassas to his father-in-law Aignan-Thomas Desfriches.<sup>133</sup>

Aignan-Thomas Desfriches was a reputable artist, draftsman, art collector, and art patron. Born into a wealthy merchant family from Orléans, he was sent to Paris to study art and became one of the most influential people of the time. However, due to family matters, he was forced to go back to Orléans and take over the family business where he continued to live until the end of his life and carry out his artistic occupations.<sup>134</sup>

Desfriches and Cassas had an exceptional relationship. From the very beginning, Desfriches always believed in the young artist and supported him even without his knowledge. In a letter to Legrand, Desfriches praises Cassas and expresses his contentment about making Cassas' acquaintance with Choiseul-Gouffier. He writes: "*Mr. Cassas' talents did not need a recommendation, but it is a pleasure for me to have made them known to Mr. Choiseul and to have seen him hired the second time.*"<sup>135</sup> Desfriches kept a close eye on him and was informed about his life through letters either by Cassas himself or from mutual acquaintances. Cassas continued to send him letters during his travels, in Istanbul, Rome and then Paris.<sup>136</sup> Cassas and Desfriches continued to send letters to each other until the latter's

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<sup>133</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 19-20.

<sup>134</sup> Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans. *Aignan Thomas Desfriches*, Orléans: Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans, 2015.

<sup>135</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 20. The original French text is as follows "Les talents de M. Cassas n'avaient pas besoin de recommandation mais c'est une jouissance pour moi de les avoir fait connaître à M. Choiseul et de l'avoir vu engager à la seconde."

<sup>136</sup> The letters will be mentioned throughout the text and the photographs of the letters can be found in the Appendix.

demise in 1800.<sup>137</sup> Desfriches introduced Cassas to many influential people in the art milieu and supported him through his travels. One of the examples of the untold acts of kindness of Desfriches was his decision to send money to Cassas' parents telling them that it was from their son without the knowledge of the artist until Marie Blondeau stopped the transaction in 1791.<sup>138</sup>

Certainly, Desfriches' most important contribution to Cassas' career came when the artist was 19 years old. Desfriches recommended him to the Duke Louis-Antoine-Auguste de Rohan-Chabot, who eventually became his first patron. The Duke alongside with his wife Élisabeth Louise de la Rochefoucauld founded an *Académie de Dessin* in 1770 which was located at the Rochefoucauld family estate (Hôtel de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt) on 64, Rue du Faubourg-Saint-Honoré, Paris.<sup>139</sup> The Duke of Rohan-Chabot enabled Cassas to attend his academy and receive a proper classic and academic education alongside distinguished artists and respected teachers.<sup>140</sup> The education Cassas received at the academy helped him learn and master various techniques.

Another important figure Claude-Henri Watelet, who was also attending the academy, was a writer, artist, and landscape architect.<sup>141</sup> He was one of few important figures in Cassas' life and he felt a strong sense of responsibility towards the young artist.<sup>142</sup> He was

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<sup>137</sup> Académie d'Orléans, *Mémoires de l'Académie d'Orléans: agriculture, sciences, belles-lettres et arts* (Orléans: l'Académie d'Orléans est la nouvelle dénomination de la Société d'agriculture, sciences, belles-lettres et arts, 2005), 189. This is one of the reasons behind the lack of knowledge on the artists' life after 1800's. The main source of Cassas' life is the correspondence between the artist and his patrons.

<sup>138</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 17.

<sup>139</sup> Gilet, 22, Gilet, "Du Château d'Azay-le-Ferron à l'Académie de Dessin du Duc de Chabot," 27.

<sup>140</sup> Likes of Hubert Robert and Jean-Honoré Fragonard attended the Academy in Paris and it was a hub for collectors and art lovers alike. Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 22.

<sup>141</sup> "Watelet, Claude-Henri," A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture, *Encyclopedia*, accessed August 22, 2019, <https://www.encyclopedia.com/education/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/watelet-claude-henri>.

<sup>142</sup> Sonia Couturier, "L'implication des amateurs d'art dans les réseaux artistiques et intellectuels en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle : le cas de Claude-Henri Watelet (1718-1786)" (PhD diss., Université Concordia, 2008), 80-81.

a close acquaintance of Desfriches and always informed him about Cassas' state. In a letter to Desfriches, Watelet writes about recommending Cassas to work with Jean-Jacques Lagrenée and comments on his artistic abilities and well-being:

*“Paris, 13 January 1776.*

*The young Cassas is doing very well, he is behaving wonderfully; he has made pretty drawings from nature, and I have just asked Mr. the Duke of Chabot to make him receive him as a student, so that he can draw, according to the academies, the hump, and perhaps according to nature. He needs to expand his manner, and you have to try to get him to paint; at the very least, he will always gain something by making an effort.*

*Watelet.”*<sup>143</sup>

Jean-Jacques Lagrenée and Jean-Baptiste Le Prince were the most notable teachers of Cassas during his stay at the Academy.<sup>144</sup> His first teacher was Jean-Jacques Lagrenée, the younger, and his second teacher was Jean-Baptiste Le Prince. Both teachers had traveled widely and taught him the workings and intricacies of itinerant art production, and thus shaped his artistic style greatly.<sup>145</sup>

In a letter from 1777, Watelet updates Desfriches on Cassas' status at the Academy. He writes that Cassas is working with Jean-Baptiste le Prince and that he has high hopes for the young student:

*“26 January 1777*

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<sup>143</sup> Dumesnil, *Histoire Des Plus Célèbres Amateurs Français*, 192.

<sup>144</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 22-24.

<sup>145</sup> This topic will be further discussed in the “Art of Cassas” subchapter.

*The young Casas is at Le Prince's; Mr. Chabot urged this artist to admit him as a student, and, judging by his progress, he will become, as I hope, a good and honest artist. I do not lose sight of him and do whatever it takes to maintain the good impression he keeps giving of him.*

*Watelet*<sup>146</sup>

### Voyage to Germany, Flanders, and the Netherlands

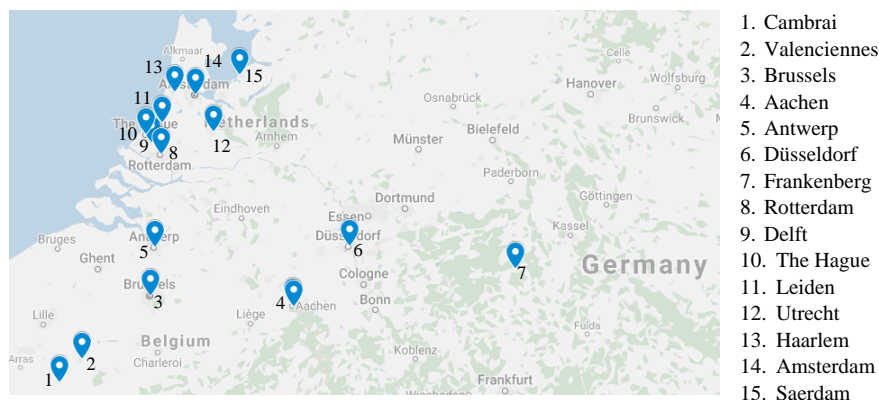
In spring 1776 Cassas traveled to Northern Europe for the first time where he visited Flanders, Germany and the Netherlands.<sup>147</sup> Not many documents remain to shed light on this trip, it is only the drawings the artist had made during his time abroad help us figure out his itinerary. The first stop of the artist was Cambrai, and after that Valenciennes, Brussels, and Aix-la-Chapelle where he drew the most important monuments of the town. He continued north to Amsterdam, Delft, The Hague, Haarlem, Leiden, Saerdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht, and many others. (Figure 3, Figure 4 and Figure 5) On the return journey, he visited Antwerp, Burtscheid, Düsseldorf, Frankenberg, Spa, and Vauxhal.<sup>148</sup> During his travels, he executed many topographical drawings with pencil where he depicted the towns, the ruins, the mills, and in particular the ports, the canals, and the ships.

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<sup>146</sup> Ratouis de Limay, *Un Amauteur Orleanais au XVIIIeme Siecle: Aignan-Thomas Desfriches*, (Paris, 1907), 175.

<sup>147</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 24, Uwe Westfehling, "Voyage à Travers les Flandres, l'Allemagne et les Pays-Bays," in *Im Banne der Sphinx* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zahern, 1994), 27.

<sup>148</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 24, Uwe Westfehling, "Voyage à Travers les Flandres, l'Allemagne et les Pays-Bays," 28.



Map of Northern France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany

### Voyage to Brittany

Cassas accompanied the Duke and Duchess of Chabot on their trip to Brittany. The couple left their estate on the 4<sup>th</sup> of June 1776.<sup>149</sup> In July Desfriches hosted the couple and their mutual beneficiary in his home in Orléans.<sup>150</sup> Afterward, the artist met up with the couple again in Nantes. In Brittany, he visited regions particularly close to ports and traveled through the ports of La Roche-Bernard, Lorient, Quimper, Brest, Guingamp, Saint-Malo, and Dinan.<sup>151</sup> (Figure 6 and Figure 7) The journey closely followed the coastline; however, the artist did make a few inland trips to visit the castles of his patron. The castle Josselin, Baud, Maillé, and Trevaifen belonged to the Chabot's.<sup>152</sup> (Figure 8)

The majority of the drawings illustrate the following of the two topics: coastal and inland. The coastal drawings include ports, ships and the inland drawings are of the many castles the artist had visited during this journey.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>149</sup> Gilet, "Du Château d'Azay-le-Ferron à l'Académie de Dessin du Duc de Chabot," 31.

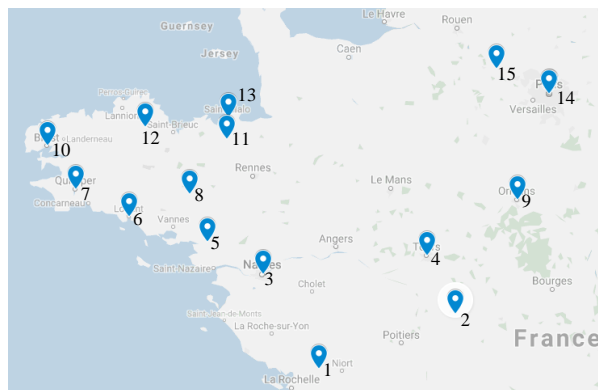
<sup>150</sup> Gilet, 31, Gilet, "*Louis-François Cassas*," 25.

<sup>151</sup> Gilet, 26.

<sup>152</sup> Gilet, 26.

<sup>153</sup> André Mussat, "Le Voyage en Bretagne," in *Im Banne der Sphinx* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zahern, 1994), 33.





1. Maillé
2. Azay-le-Ferron
3. Nantes
4. Tours
5. La Roche-Bernard
6. Lorient
7. Quimper
8. Castle Josselin
9. Orléans
10. Brest
11. Dinan
12. Guingamp
13. Saint-Malo
14. Paris
15. Castle la Roche-Guyon

Map of France

## Stay in Italy

Duke of Chabot approved Cassas' request to visit Italy and sent him there to help enhance his education and to appease his desire to travel.<sup>154</sup> The drawings are the main visual sources, and the letters to Desfriches and the correspondence of the directors of the Academié de France are the main written sources for the artist's Italian voyage.<sup>155</sup> On his journey from Paris to Rome, the artist traveled through Lyon, Geneva, Evian, and Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne,<sup>156</sup> (Figure 9 and Figure 10) Afterward, continued south to Turin, Milan, Verona, Parma, Modena, Bologna, and Florence.<sup>157</sup> (Figure 11, Figure 12 and Figure 13) This route is approximated from the drawings he made during his trip in the aforementioned cities.

<sup>154</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 27. Boucher, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 30.

<sup>155</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 27.

<sup>156</sup> Giles Bertrand, "Sur la Route de l'Italie: Le Voyage en Léman et en Savoie," in *Voyages en Italie de Louis-François Cassas*, (Tours: Silvana Editoriale, 2016), 72-77. Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 28.

<sup>157</sup> Francesca Lui, "«Le Tableau du Grand et le Pittoresque». Cassas en Voyage dans l'Italie du Nord," in *Voyages en Italie de Louis-François Cassas*, (Tours: Silvana Editoriale, 2016), 94-99.



Map of Southern France, Switzerland and Northern Italy

Once in Rome, Joseph-Marie Vien the president of the Académie de France in Rome between 1775 and 1781, wrote to Charles Claude Flahaut de la Billarderie, Comte d'Angiviller, for the permission for Cassas to stay at the Palazzo Mancini.<sup>158</sup> Count of Angiviller believed that the priority should be given to those who had won the *Prix du Rome* or those who were history painters.<sup>159</sup> Therefore, his response to Vien was not in favor of the artist.<sup>160</sup> However, in a letter from May 17, 1780, we learn that Duke of Chabot has intervened and managed to get Count of Angiviller to finally accept and give permission for Cassas to stay at the palace. Even though Count of Angiviller did not approve of this, he did allow the artist to stay at the palace.<sup>161</sup> The response from Vien proves that Cassas was sanctioned to stay at the Palazzo Mancini with Chabot's efforts despite the setback from Count of Angiviller.<sup>162</sup> After getting the permission to stay at the *Académie*, Cassas resided there for almost two years. The artist was planning to return to Paris at the end of September. In this letter to Count of Angiviller, we learn about Cassas' plans to leave Rome and return

<sup>158</sup> Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome, Tome XIV: 1780-1784*, (Paris, 1905), 13-14.

<sup>159</sup> At the time, landscape was seen as a lesser type of art compared to history painting.

<sup>160</sup> Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome, Tome XIV*, 18.

<sup>161</sup> Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, 21.

<sup>162</sup> Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, 26.

to Paris.<sup>163</sup> However, just as he was planning on leaving Cassas received a proposition he could not refuse which delayed his plans for another eight months. The abbot of Saint-Non recruited Cassas for his upcoming *Voyage Pittoresque*.<sup>164</sup> Therefore, Cassas only managed to leave the Palazzo Mancini during the month of May in 1783 and travel back to Paris. In a letter from May 7<sup>th</sup>, Lagrenée mentions giving away the room to a new student which Cassas has recently vacated.<sup>165</sup>

The *élève protégés*, students under the protection of patrons, benefitted from all the advantages of the *Académie*, without suffering from the discipline of the education. They had access to the various ancient and modern collections kept in Roman libraries, as well as to public and private sites and collections.<sup>166</sup> They were free to travel and meet with likeminded people, including antiquaries, collectors, travelers, diplomats, and fellow artists.<sup>167</sup> They had taken full advantage of what Rome had to offer in the eighteenth century as the crossroads of the art world. (Figure 14)

During his four yearlong stay in Rome, Cassas acquired many skills, learned about his profession greatly and met many influential people and shaped his worldview. Jacques-Louis David and Quatremère de Quincy were amongst the influential people he had met in Rome. Later on, David would help him publish his *Voyage Pittoresque* with the *Comité de*

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<sup>163</sup> Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, 262.

<sup>164</sup> Boucher, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 27. This topic will be mentioned in more detail in the upcoming subchapters “Voyage to Sicily” and “Voyage Pittoresque ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile.”

<sup>165</sup> Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, Tome XIV, 324.

<sup>166</sup> Elisabeth Chevallier, Raymond Chevallier, Annie Gilet, Annie Jacques. “Les Voyages en Italie,” in *Im Banne der Sphinx*, (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zahern, 1994), 45.

<sup>167</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 31.

*Salut Public* (Committee of Public Safety) and help grant the approval in 1794. The latter would sign his contract, again, for his publication in 1797.<sup>168</sup>

While in Rome, he made short trips to nearby regions such as Umbria and Lazio where he depicted the waterfalls of Tivoli and Terni.<sup>169</sup> (Figure 15 and Figure 16) Furthermore, in these four years, he made three important trips: one to Naples where he witnessed the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, one to Istria and Dalmatia, and the last one to Sicily before going back to Paris. The antiquities and the ancient monuments shaped his artistic style and led the way to his future endeavors. With the help of these trips, he learned to draw ancient ruins and got acquainted with the genre of *Voyage Pittoresque*.

#### Voyage to Naples

The first important trip of the artist was to the ever-popular Naples right before or during the early days of his sojourn in Rome. With the help of Duke of Chabot, Cassas stayed at the Palazzo Sessa, the ambassadorial residence of the British ambassador Sir William Hamilton.<sup>170</sup> Sir Hamilton was an antiquarian, archaeologist and volcanologist; hence, his fascination with Mount Vesuvius. (Figure 17) On 8<sup>th</sup> of August 1779 Cassas accompanied the ambassador to see the volcano and afterward sent a letter to Desfriches explaining in great detail what he had witnessed during the eruption of the mountain:

*“From Naples, August 8, 1779.*

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<sup>168</sup> Annie Gilet, “Le Grand Tour pour le Plaisir de Dessiner,” in *Voyages en Italie de Louis-François Cassas*, (Tours: Silvana Editoriale, 2016), 46.

<sup>169</sup> Annie Gilet, Natacha Lubchansky and Domenico Palombi, “De Terni à Cori, Promenades au Latium et en Ombrie,” in *Voyages en Italie de Louis-François Cassas*, (Tours: Silvana Editoriale, 2016), 116.

<sup>170</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 29.

*The eruption from Sunday to the evening of the 8th of this month is the least disastrous of those that are famous, but at the same time the most magnificent...*<sup>171</sup>

### Voyage to Istria and Dalmatia

The summer of 1782 happened to be a very fruitful time in the artist's life. Cassas had the chance to go on a trip to the eastward regions of Italy and Habsburg territory.<sup>172</sup> The main source for this trip was the information given in the published book *Voyage Pittoresque et Historique de l'Istrie et Dalmatie*, written by Joseph Lavallée. (Figure 18) The *Voyage Pittoresque* was the reason and the end product of the trip, and the engravings of Cassas was included in this publication.<sup>173</sup>

The author Lavallée writes:

*“...these drawings were engraved in Vienna by order of Emperor Joseph II. It was in 1782 that this society cast its eyes on the citizen Cassas, then in Rome, to carry out this plan. Consequently, on May 10 of the same year he left Rome for Trieste. On the 15th he arrived in Ancona; on the 16th he embarked at Pesaro, and a favorable wind made him touch down in Venice the next day 17.*

*The bad weather delayed the Bucentaur ceremony, and for nine days our traveler was forced to stay in Venice to make the final preparations for his journey.”*<sup>174</sup>

According to the text, the artist left Rome on May 10<sup>th</sup> for the trip which was sponsored by Emperor Joseph II of Austria. Passing by Ancona on the 15<sup>th</sup> and sailing from

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<sup>171</sup> Appendix 3.

<sup>172</sup> At the time, Trieste was under Habsburg rule and the regions of Istria and Dalmatia were Venetian regions. Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 34.

<sup>173</sup> After 1783, Lavallée demanded Cassas to paint watercolors for his *Voyage Pittoresque*, published in 1802. This subject will be explained in detail in the later section on Cassas’ art. Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 33.

<sup>174</sup> Joseph Lavallée. *Voyage Pittoresque et Historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie*, (Paris: Imprimerie de Vilain, 1802), 63. The original French text is as follows “...ces dessins dévoient être gravés à Vienne par les ordres de l'empereur Joseph II. Ce fut en 1782 que cette société jeta les yeux sur le citoyen Cassas, alors à Rome, pour exécuter ce plan. En conséquence, le 10 mai de la même année il partit de Rome pour se rendre à Trieste. Le 15 il arriva à Ancone ; le 16 il s'embarqua à Pesaro, et un vent favorable le fit toucher à Venise le lendemain 17. Le mauvais temps avoit fait différer la cérémonie du Bucentaure, et pendant neuf jours que notre voyageur se vit contraint à rester à Venise pour faire les derniers préparatifs de son voyage...”

Pesaro on the 16<sup>th</sup>, he landed in Venice on May 17<sup>th</sup>.<sup>175</sup> In Venice, he was held back for nine days due to bad weather conditions and the Bucentaur celebrations.<sup>176</sup> However, the information surrounding this trip is rather controversial. Previously it was believed that the artist was commissioned by Emperor Joseph II; however, recent research shows that Cassas was hired by Baron Pietro Antonio Pittoni.<sup>177</sup> Pittoni was the chief of police and had many interesting side projects. One of them consisted of hiring an artist to draw the Istrian coast. To this end, he contacted Cassas at the beginning of 1782 and offered 460 florins for the job.<sup>178</sup>

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July Pittoni wrote to the governor of the city of Trieste: “*Since Mr. Cassas' arrival, I have been very busy walking with him to choose the picturesque sites to form the views...we have established the Trestenico Bastion to do the general view. It is a talented boy that this Mr. Cassas, a student of Vernet...*”<sup>179</sup> Once in Trieste, the artist had decided to visit the Adriatic coast because he was intrigued and fascinated by this region. At the beginning of the month of August, he left Trieste and traveled all the way to Split.<sup>180</sup> (Figure 19) According to Westfehling, he was alone during this trip, yet Nassivera claims

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<sup>175</sup> Joseph Lavallée, 63.

<sup>176</sup> Bucentaur was a decorated Venetian galley. The annual ceremony of the “wedding of the sea” was celebrated by sailing with the Bucentaur on Ascension Day in the Republic of Venice. Lavallée, *Voyage Pittoresque et Historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie*, 63.

<sup>177</sup> Barbara Nassivera and Annie Gilet, “Trieste et le Cité Vénitienne de Split,” in *Voyages en Italie de Louis-François Cassas*, (Tours: Silvana Editoriale, 2016), 166.

<sup>178</sup> Barbara Nassivera and Annie Gilet, 167.

<sup>179</sup> Nassivera and Gilet, “Trieste et le Cité Vénitienne de Split,” in *Voyages en Italie de Louis-François Cassas*, (Tours: Silvana Editoriale, 2016), 167. The original French text is as follows “Depuis l'arrivée de M. Cassas, je suis fort occupé à me promener avec lui pour choisir les sites pittoresques pour former les vues...nous avons établi le bastion de Trestenico pour prendre la vue générale. C'est un garçon de talent que ce monsieur Cassas, un élève de Vernet...”

<sup>180</sup> Nassivera and Gilet, “Trieste et le Cité Vénitienne de Split,” 167, 168.

that he was traveling with French friends.<sup>181</sup> At the end of August, he returned to Venice, then followed by Rome.<sup>182</sup>

### Voyage to Sicily

In autumn 1782 Dominique Vivant Denon invited Cassas to Sicily on behalf of Jean Claude Richard, Abbot of Saint-Non who had decided to work with Cassas after he saw his paintings of Trieste.<sup>183</sup> (Figure 20)

At the end of 1782, he left for Naples and joined the rest of the group there. For almost six months, Cassas toured the island, starting from Messina, south to Taormina, went off route to visit Etna, continued on the coastline to Catania, and Syracuse.<sup>184</sup> (Figure 21 and Figure 22) Afterward visited Agrigento, Selinunte, and Palermo.<sup>185</sup> From Palermo, he crossed the island to reach Catane. After concluding his trip, he went back to Rome around April 1783.<sup>186</sup> (Figure 23)

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<sup>181</sup> Uwe Westfeling, "Voyage en Istrie et en Dalmatie," in *Im Banne der Sphinx*, (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zahern, 1994), 67, Nassivera and Gilet, "Trieste et le Cité Vénitienne de Split," 167.

<sup>182</sup> Boucher, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 31. For more information on this trip, see David McCallam, "(Ac)claiming Illyria: Eighteenth-Century Istria and Dalmatia in Fortis, Cassas, and Lavallée," *Central Europe*, Vol. 9 No. 2, (2011): 125–41.

<sup>183</sup> Boucher, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 32. Only eight drawings were included in the Volume IV of the book. Gilet, "Le Grand Tour pour le Plaisir de Dessiner," 46. Dominique Vivant Denon's portrait of Cassas is the first and the most well-known depiction of the artist.

<sup>184</sup> Madeleine Pinault Sørensen, "Le Voyage en Sicile," in *Im Banne der Sphinx*, (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zahern, 1994), 84. Madeleine Pinault Sørensen and Perrin Stein, "Cassas, Dessinateur en Sicile," in *Voyages en Italie de Louis-François Cassas*, (Tours: Silvana Editoriale, 2016), 213.

<sup>185</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 35.

<sup>186</sup> Sørensen, "Le Voyage en Sicile," 85. For more detailed information on the artists trip, see Sørensen and Stein, "Cassas, Dessinateur en Sicile," 212-215.

Overall, this trip was a turning point for the artist because he had gone to Naples without informing Duke of Chabot and the Duke was not pleased with this escapade.<sup>187</sup> After this incident, the relationship between the two was never the same again. In a letter, Watelet informs Desfriches about the displeased state of the Duke.<sup>188</sup>



Map of Italy

### A Brief Stay in France

After leaving Rome and moving back to Paris, Cassas visited the Salon in the month of August. Afterward, he went to stay with his patron at the Château de la Roche-Guyon in September and stayed at the castle until December. During his stay, he worked on his unfinished projects and gave drawing lessons to Mrs. Rochefoucault.<sup>189</sup> He wrote to Desfriches from Chabot's castle and described what he has been doing after their meeting in Paris. In his letter, he mentions the drawing lessons, his remaining work, the success of his

<sup>187</sup> Boucher, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 32.

<sup>188</sup> Dumesnil, *Histoire des plus célèbres amateurs français*, 196.

<sup>189</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 39.



escapades and his future plans. He also explains his relationship with the Duke and the way in which he treats him:

*“At the Château de la Roche-Guyon, December 2, 1783.*

*Since I had the honor of seeing you at Paris, I stayed a few more days to examine the salon, after which I went back to join The Duke at the Château du Val, who was very angry, to what he told me, that you weren't able to pay him a little visit...*

*The Duke still treats me with the same kindness and friendship that you know him for me; he also gives me the same pension of 1,200 francs, and leaves me free of my time, which I use for painting and drawing from Istria and Dalmatia that I am advised to engrave this winter. I have come to make a small drawing of Sicily for the Abbot of Saint-Non, whom he paid me six louis. I still have to make him others for the same work and which must be engraved.*

*I have just received letters from Trieste and Vienna announcing the arrival of my drawings by the Baron de Breteuil, who has taken care of them. The Governor of Trieste writes to me that they were very satisfied with my drawings at the Court, and that it was decided at once to have them engraved in Paris; they wish me to take charge of the choice of the artist, and to make with him all the necessary arrangements for the price of the three plates, the time he will ask, and the prepayments he will want to be made. All this will keep me busy and embarrass me, especially to find a good engraver of navy, figures and landscapes.”<sup>190</sup>*

By January Cassas returned to Paris and got invited over for dinner at the Limay's house where he dined with Vernet, Watelet, and Choiseul-Gouffier:

*“Paris, January 5, 1784.*

*...I had the honour of having dinner the other day at the home of Mr. and Mrs. de Limay's: leaving the table, they went through my portfolio and seemed very satisfied, as did Mr. Vernet, Mr.*

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<sup>190</sup> Dumesnil, *Histoire des plus célèbres amateurs français*, 204. Baron de Breteuil who was born at the same castle as Cassas and was a minister at the Royal Court of Vienna. Gilet believes that Baron de Breteuil had recommended Cassas to the Emperor, Joseph II.

*Waltelet, and Mr. de Choiseul-Gouffier, the most zealous amateur of the fine arts, who combines a lot of knowledge and taste with a pleasant talent; he draws in your genre with great intelligence, but nobody will succeed like Mr. Desfriches...*<sup>191</sup>

Marie-Gabriel-August de Choiseul-Gouffier was an accomplished traveler and an author who had published his seminal work titled *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce* in 1782. (Figure 24) This pioneering work helped him become a member of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres) in 1779 and of the Académie Française (French Academy). Furthermore, it resulted in Choiseul-Gouffier being appointed as the ambassador of France to Istanbul between 1784-1792.<sup>192</sup> Most probably it is then, the night of the dinner party, Choiseul-Gouffier decided to employ Cassas for his next trip.<sup>193</sup> In a later letter dated 30<sup>th</sup> January of 1793 from Cassas to Le Brun, the artist explains his decision to follow Choiseul-Gouffier to the Ottoman Empire:

“January 30, 1793.

*...This strengthened my position in Paris around 1783, at the time when Mr. Choiseul-Gouffier was appointed to the Constantinople Embassy. He allots to Turkey with brilliant projects for the arts; they seduced me and, although I could not doubt in advance that I would participate much more in the fatigue than in the honor of the execution, I sacrificed everything for the pleasure of associating myself with them and left under conditions that are far from replacing the advantages that I left in Paris.*<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> Dumesnil, 206 – 207 and Appendix 4.

<sup>192</sup> Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Sinan Kunalalp and Frédéric Hitzel, *Représentants permanents de la France en Turquie (1536-1991) et de la Turquie en France (1797-1991)*, (Istanbul: Éditions Isis, 1991), 37.

<sup>193</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 40.

<sup>194</sup> Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome, Tome XVI: 1791-1797*, (Paris, 1907): 279-280.

Before leaving for Istanbul, Cassas left a list of drawings which were kept at the ambassador's place and asked Limay to look after his drawings of Italy while he is away with the ambassador.<sup>195</sup>

Watelet's letter to Desfriches testifies for the new adventure of Cassas. Watelet explains that the artist will be going on a new trip with the new ambassador and that his old patron, Rohan Chabot, is very saddened by the news and no longer supports him financially. His escapade to Sicily and now his enthusiasm for the new trip are behind the reasons for this decision. Also, he talks about an ordeal including Cassas' father, who the artist has neglected after this traineeship, and this shows the way in which Desfriches cared about the family of the artist as well.<sup>196</sup>

#### Voyage to the Ottoman Empire

Cassas alongside the ambassador and his entourage left the port of Toulon on the 4<sup>th</sup> of August 1784 aboard the ship *Seduissant*.<sup>197</sup> They had a stopover in Malta and afterward in Greece, accompanied by others, Cassas went to draw the city of Athens. Due to the plague and other external factors including the weather, their trip was extended. They were obliged to anchor at Izmir and then at Çanakkale and wait for the news from Istanbul. Finally, they arrived in Istanbul on the 28<sup>th</sup> of September.<sup>198</sup> In this letter Cassas describes his trip in detail from Toulon to Istanbul to his first patron:

*“ From Constantinople, October 24, 1784.*

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<sup>195</sup> Appendix 5. This letter is very important because it consists of a list of all the drawings the artist had made which give crucial insight into his oeuvre.

<sup>196</sup> Dumesnil, *Histoire des plus célèbres amateurs français*, 198-199.

<sup>197</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 42.

<sup>198</sup> Appendix 1.

*We left Toulon on August 4, which I went aboard the ship "Séduisant." That very evening we set sail...Still with a favorable wind, we arrived in the port of Malta on the 9th of the same month under full sail. After staying in Malta for four or five days, we left to go to the Archipelago, where we met with Capt. Pasha's squadron who greeted the ambassador... We all took frames and we went to visit the ruins of Athens. Our caravan was composed of thirty-five people. We spent the night in a small village, and the next day we arrived in this famous city; next to Mount Hymette, we discovered it from far away.*

*I was in a kind of delight to go through such beautiful things, and it seemed to me that - it was only in a dream that I found myself transported in the middle of the magnificent ruins of Athens. We left after two days... Then, the frequent north winds prevented us from entering the canal of the Dardanelles, we wandered for several days in front of the shore where it is believed that was the city of Troy. Finally, on the 15th we entered the canal, and on the 28th, we anchored in the port of Constantinople.*<sup>199</sup>



1. Toulon
2. Malta
3. Athens
4. Dardanelles
5. Istanbul

The Journey from Toulon to Istanbul<sup>200</sup>

## Stay in Istanbul

In the same letter, the artist shares his first impressions of the city. He writes:

<sup>199</sup> Appendix 1.

<sup>200</sup> The marked locations indicate the places Cassas visited during his trip.

*“The situation of this city is admirable, nothing in the world is so noble and majestic, and announces such a large city, as all travelers say, for the capital of the world. Mosques are the most visible buildings. They are built on the model of Saint Sophia. The seraglio is at the city gate: it is a mixture of palaces, groves, fountains, pavilions or charming kiosks, tasteful (of a good taste) and the most beautiful view in the world, because at the same time you can see the Asian coasts, covered with trees and country houses; the Propontide and Olympus in the distance; opposite, is the Black Sea Canal, and to the left, the port covered with ships and surrounded on all sides by an amphitheatre of houses...From my bedroom window, I enjoy part of this beautiful view... and yesterday I went to see the Hippodrome and Saint Sophia.”<sup>201</sup>*

Even though Cassas seems to have liked the city, he does not like the people who inhabit it. In the next paragraph, he expresses his distaste for Turkish people and gives an estimate duration for his journey. To his dismay, the estimated twelve to eighteen-month long trip lasts for more than two years.

*“I will return to Constantinople in three or four months, where I will work a lot, and, depending on my calculation, I will be in France in a year or eighteen months at the latest. Nothing will be able to keep me here any longer. Turks are not attractive people; I will have much more pleasure in finishing my drawings in Orléans than here.”<sup>202</sup>*

While in Istanbul Cassas stayed at the newly renovated French Palace in the Pera district.<sup>203</sup> After a few days of his first letter from Istanbul, he left for the journey to the East aboard *La Poulette* with captain M. de la Prevalaye on the 30<sup>th</sup> of October 1784.<sup>204</sup> In a letter, he informs Desfriches about his next trip and adds the detail that it will be sponsored by the

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<sup>201</sup> Appendix 1.

<sup>202</sup> Appendix 1.

<sup>203</sup> Auguste Boppe, *XVIII. Yüzyıl Boğaziçi Ressamları*, trans. Nevin Yücel-Celbiş (İstanbul, Pera Turizm Yayınları, 1998), 109-110.

<sup>204</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 45 and Annie Gilet, “Le Voyage dans l’Empire Ottoman,” *Im Banne der Sphinx* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zahern, 1994), 96.

King himself.<sup>205</sup> During his journey, the artist visited a very wide geography.<sup>206</sup> Cassas returned to the Embassy Palace on January 9, 1786. An anonymous letter was sent to inform Desfriches of Cassas' arrival.<sup>207</sup>

The journey lasted for fourteen months, more than what Cassas had imagined initially, and afterward, he stayed in Istanbul for another year. While in Istanbul the artist had the chance to visit many places, some more difficult to enter than others. For example, on the 9<sup>th</sup> of May Choiseul-Gouffier, Milady Craven and the ambassador's employees visited Hagia Sophia, the Mosque of Sultan Ahmet and the Süleymaniye. A firman was granted by the sultan to these foreigners who had wished to visit the mosques.<sup>208</sup> Thanks to another officer from the French court it was made possible to obtain more information about the details of these visits. Joseph-Gabriel Monnier de Courtois documented his time spent at the Ottoman capital very meticulously in his diary. He noted on March 13<sup>th</sup>: "*Mr. le Hocq, Truguet, Deval drogman of the Palace, Cazas painter back from Balbek and Palmyra whose ruins he drew, Duval captain de brulot, frigate record and I after lunch on board the brik went to see Saint Sophie, the hippodrome and the courtyards of the mosque of Sultan Ahmet.*"<sup>209</sup> In another entry from March 29<sup>th</sup>, he recounts his visit to the Kavak Sarayı: "*Mrs Lafitte, Leroi, abbot Le Chevalier, Kauffer, Fonton, Cazas, Fauvel, Fleury, d' Abancourt, Grégoire and I, we had dinner in Asia in an old kiosk of Sultan Murat, from there we went to make a graphometer observation on the mountain of Gourgoulou, afterwards we returned*

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<sup>205</sup> Dumesnil, *Histoire des plus célèbres amateurs français*, 212, Appendix 1.

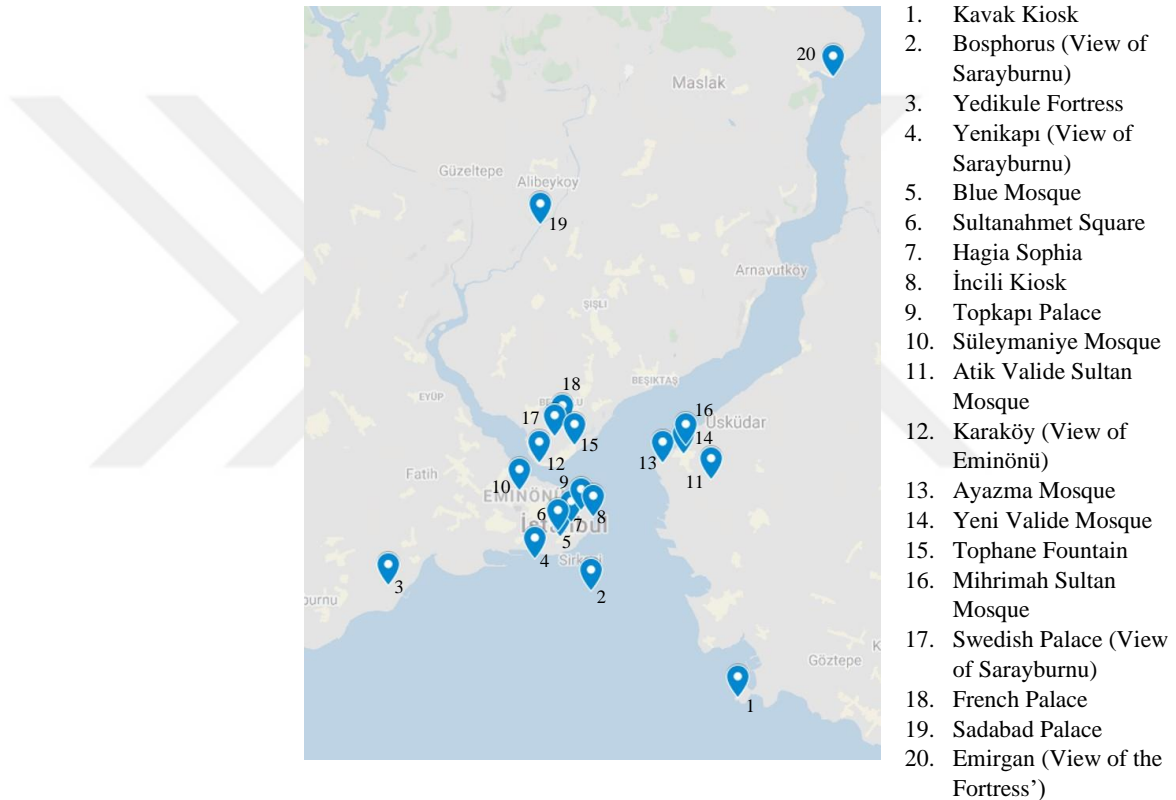
<sup>206</sup> The itinerary of the journey will be further discussed in the upcoming subchapter "Voyage to the East."

<sup>207</sup> Dumesnil, *Histoire des plus célèbres amateurs français*, 221.

<sup>208</sup> Pierre Pinon, "Constantinople Et l'Asie-Mineure," *Im Banne der Sphinx* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zahern, 1994), 115.

<sup>209</sup> The original French text is as follows "M le Hocq, Truguet, Deval drogman du Palais, Cazas [sic] peintre revenu de Balbek et de Palmyre dont il a dessiné les ruines, Duval cap<sup>ne</sup> de brulot, record de frégate et moi après avoir déjeuné à bord du brik avons été voir Ste Sophie, l'hypodrome et les cours de la mosquée de Sultan Acmeth." Pinon, "Constantinople Et l'Asie-Mineure," 123.

to rest in Scutari in the house of Muphti Zadé our amphitron, and from there we embarked again to return to Pera.”<sup>210</sup> In addition to the aforementioned places, the artist saw the Topkapı Palace, many kiosks, and especially the mosques on both sides of the city. During his second stay in Istanbul, the artist visited Bursa with the ambassador and discovered Troy with Lechevalier under the ambassador’s orders.



Locations or the Vantage Points of the Istanbul Drawings

An extremely curious event also took place during his stay in the Ottoman capital.

The artist was initiated into a freemason lodge named “*Celeste Amitié*.” He continued to go

<sup>210</sup> The original French text is as follows “Mrs Lafitte, Leroi, l’abbé Le Chevalier, Kauffer, Fonton, Cazas, Fauvel, Fleury, d’ Abancourt, Grégoire et moi, nous avons été diner en Asie dans un ancien kiosk du Sultan Murat, de là nous avons été faire une observation au graphomètre sur la montagne de Gourgoulou, après nous sommes revenus nous reposer à Scutari dans la maison de Muphti Zadé notre amphitron, et de là nous nous sommes rembarqués pour revenir à Péra.” Pinon, “Constantinople Et l’Asie-Mineure,” 126.

to an Egypt themed loge after going back to Europe, which especially in Rome caused a lot of trouble for the artist.<sup>211</sup> However, it is interesting that he was first initiated in Istanbul.

#### Voyage to the East

Louis-François Cassas departed Istanbul on the 30<sup>th</sup> of October with *La Poulette* under M. de la Prevalaye's captainship. Although the artist was on a very tiresome journey, he still continued to send letters to his loved ones. In his first letter after his departure he recounts the event that had taken place recently:

*“From Smyrna, November 4, 1784.*

*I just arrived in Smyrna, and my whole trip was very fortunate. We left from Constantinople on the 30th of last month, and we have anchored here for some necessary repairs to our ship, called the frigate la Poulette which belongs to the king. My travel is paid and authorized by the government, to go through all the coasts of Syria and Egypt. I believe I will be back from this beautiful journey in three or four months; that I will return to Constantinople, where I will stay another five to six months...”*<sup>212</sup>

After a few days of their departure, a storm in the Aegean had damaged the ship which resulted in an obligatory stopover at Smyrna. In his next letter, Cassas explains what he previously called “some necessary repairs.”

*“Larnaca, Cyprus, February 10, 1785.*

*I embarked on the king's corvette, la Poulette, commanded by M. de la Prévalaye. As we left the Dardanelles, and after passing through the islands of Tenedos, Lemnos and Chios, we had such a furious gust of wind that the foremast was swept away with everything on deck. We stayed all night in a worrying situation, and we barely made it to the harbor of Smyrna, where we stayed for twenty-*

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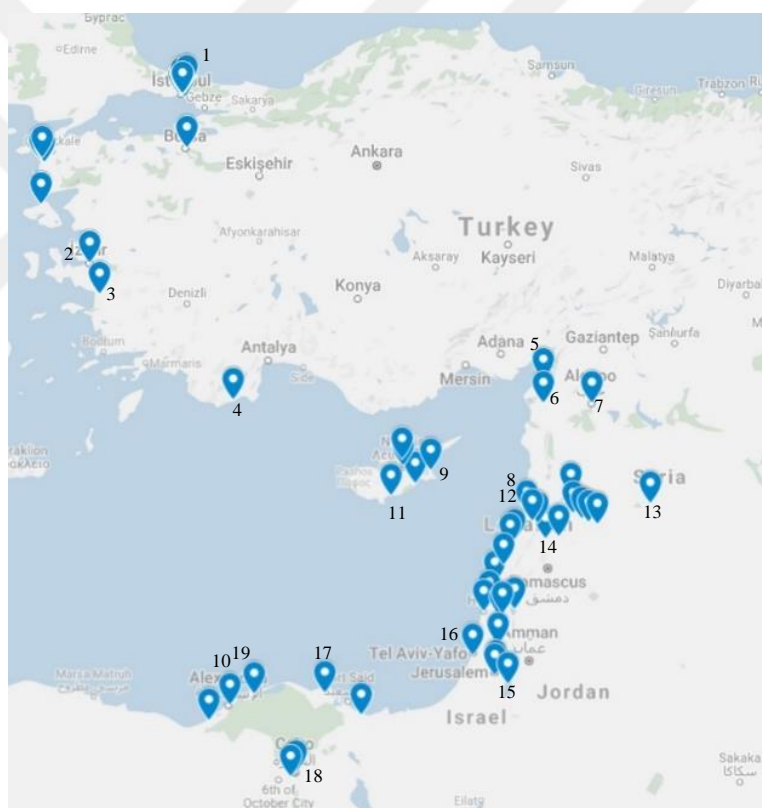
<sup>211</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 70.

<sup>212</sup> Appendix 6.



*three days...While the mast was being re-masted on the king's ship, I made several tours; first I visited the famous ruins of the temple of Diana at Ephesus, where I stayed eight days drawing and measuring beautiful fragments of Greek and Roman architecture..."*<sup>213</sup>

The artist and the crew of the ship were received by Consul Joseph Amoreux in Smyrna and stayed there for nearly a month.<sup>214</sup> In his letter, Cassas mentions having eight days to discover and sketch Ephesus.<sup>215</sup> On the 25<sup>th</sup> of November, the traveling party left the coastal Aegean city.<sup>216</sup>



1. Istanbul
2. Izmir  
(Smyrna)
3. Ephesus
4. Antalya  
(Myra)
5. Alexandretta  
(Iskenderun)
6. Antioch
7. Aleppo
8. Tripoli
9. Cyprus
10. Alexandria
11. Cyprus
12. Tripoli
13. Palmyra
14. Baalbek
15. Jerusalem
16. Jaffa
17. Damietta
18. Cairo
19. Alexandria

Map of the Eastern Mediterranean<sup>217</sup>

<sup>213</sup> Appendix 7.

<sup>214</sup> Annie Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas: In Search of Major Anatolian Sites, 1784-1786," in *Anatolian Travels*, (İzmir: Arkas Sanat Merkezi, 2016), 46.

<sup>215</sup> Appendix 7.

<sup>216</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 111.

<sup>217</sup> The marked locations indicate the places Cassas visited during his trip.

They arrived in Alexandretta (İskenderun) after a long and turbulent trip which took fifteen days.<sup>218</sup> From Alexandretta, Cassas and the ship's captain Prévelaye set out for Antioch from land with a caravan. From Antioch, it took three days for the caravan to reach Aleppo.<sup>219</sup> In Aleppo, Cassas left Prévelaye and went back to Antioch with an interpreter where he spent three days. Prévelaye caught up with the artist and they returned to *La Poulette* to set out for Alexandria. However, in his letter to Desfriches, the artist omits certain parts. For example, in his diary, Cassas dedicates a part where he explains that he did not indeed go straight to Antioch but spent some time at a village called Marthahouhan.<sup>220</sup> In his letter he writes:

*“Despite the danger of the trip, I left Mr. de la Prévelaye in Aleppo, and set off with an interpreter for Antioch, where I spent three days drawing remarkable ruins, precious remains of its former greatness. I do not let escape all the medals and engraved stones that I am presented and that I send to Mr. de Choiseul. Mr. de la Prévelaye came to join me in this city, where I was waiting for him, and we continued together on the road to Alexandria, and we sailed for Tripoli of Syria, at the foot of Lebanon, and then for Sidon, the famous Tyre, and Ptolemaid, Caesarea, etc... However, the danger was not as great as I could have imagined: unable to resist its strength, we came to Cyprus, where we have been anchored since yesterday, waiting for a more favorable time to make the same...”<sup>221</sup>*

While en route to Alexandria, they stopped at Tripoli, Sidon, Tyre. However, bad weather conditions interfered with the voyage and forced the ship to dock at Larnaca in

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<sup>218</sup> Alexandretta is present-day İskenderun and Appendix 7.

<sup>219</sup> Appendix 7.

<sup>220</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 111-112. At Marthahouhan he stayed at a brothel and in his diary, he recounts the events of the evening. The same place was mentioned by Volney and was described as “the disgusting dirtiness of misery/poverty.”

<sup>221</sup> Appendix 7.

Cyprus.<sup>222</sup> On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of February, *La Poulette* left the port of Larnaca and arrived in Alexandria on the 9<sup>th</sup> of March.<sup>223</sup> Unable to go to Cairo due to the plague, the artist decided to visit Syria instead and return to Alexandria when the conditions improved.<sup>224</sup> For that end, the traveling party went back to Larnaca, Cyprus where the artist visited Famagusta, Nicosia, Bellapais, Kyrenia, and Amathonte (Amathus).<sup>225</sup> After staying at Cyprus for nearly a month, they sailed to Tripoli and started preparing for the expedition to Palmyra. On the way to Palmyra, they stopped at Homs, Hassia, Sadad, Hawwarin, and Al Quaryatayn.<sup>226</sup> However, the difficult desert conditions and bandits on the road made the challenging trip even more so. After getting robbed and having to fight plunderers the artist's caravan had to go back and forth for supplies.<sup>227</sup> After staying at Palmyra for almost thirty days, the artist made his way to Baalbek through the Damascene mountains and stayed there for another twenty days.<sup>228</sup> The artist returned to the shores of the Mediterranean and spent another month in Lebanon, again waiting for the plague to diminish. Starting the journey from Galilee, the artist made his way to Jerusalem through Haifa and Nazareth. In the letter to Desfriches, he claims to have visited the monuments of the Holy Lands for fifteen days and in the letter to his father, he states that he stayed for one month in Jerusalem.<sup>229</sup> From Jaffa, he sailed to Damietta and sailed through the Nile to Cairo.<sup>230</sup> Finally, the artist departed

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<sup>222</sup> Appendix 7, For more information of Cassas' stay at Cyprus see Christine Demillier. *Regards Croisés sur Chypre: Dans le Pas de Louis-François Cassas*, (Gallimard, 2004).

<sup>223</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 113.

<sup>224</sup> Gilet, 113.

<sup>225</sup> Gilet, 114.

<sup>226</sup> Gilet, 115-116.

<sup>227</sup> Appendix 8.

<sup>228</sup> Appendix 8.

<sup>229</sup> Appendix 8 and Appendix 9.

<sup>230</sup> Appendix 8.

Alexandria with the French ships and arrived in Istanbul on the 9<sup>th</sup> of January.<sup>231</sup> In a very long letter, the artist recounts his long journey in the East:

“Constantinople, January 26, 1786.

*First, I crossed the Archipelago, I was at Alexandretta and from there to Aleppo. Then I followed all the coasts of Asia to Alexandria with the corvette of the king La Poulette; unable to go up to Cairo and Upper Egypt, because of the unrest there, I sailed for the island of Cyprus, and from there I crossed the canal to go to Tripoli of Syria, where I decided to make a trip to Palmyra, despite all the difficulties that I could see; but I was already accustomed to no longer being persuaded about the dangers; and after having provided myself with powerful recommendations for muzzles and other governors, money and necessary gifts, I set out on a walk with a caravan going to Baghdad. I dressed like the Arabs, let my beard grow and armed myself, like them, with a long spear. And in this crew, I climbed on my camel with my interpreter. I spent several days crossing Syria, through Antioch and Damascus, cities famous in antiquity, and which are still famous today for their ruins. At this city ends Syria and begins the desert that stretches to the edge of the Euphrates. I had to make other preparations to cross this immense sandy plain to Palmyra. I formed a caravan and took twenty-two Arab riders for my safety. I left on June 1st, I arrived, after infinite troubles, on the 18th of the same month. Everything I've had to suffer from cannot be imagined. After two days of walking, I was stripped by a party of Arabs who left us almost naked; I was forced to retrace my steps and take back other supplies, and especially water that is nowhere to be found in the desert, and I started my journey again. We had to fight several times; there were always difficulties and constant alarms, but the extreme desire to satisfy my curiosity, combined with a hardened temperament accustomed to suffering, was enough for me to overcome all. Finally, after eighteen days we noticed, east of the mountains, this city of Palmyra, all covered with magnificent tombs still whole; and after crossing a valley, we suddenly discovered the most extraordinary and most romantic (Romanesque) glance. The view distinguishes from superb ruins, and we were struck with astonishment and admiration. There are only a few colonnades and porticoes, all of white marble; an infinite number of temple remains,*

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<sup>231</sup> Dumesnil, *Histoire des plus célèbres amateurs français*, 221.

*many of which are still preserved; triumphal arches and other public buildings and the most elegant architecture. The ground, in the space of two miles, is all covered with broken columns, capitals, statues, altars and other fragments. In the middle, the Temple of the Sun rises majestically, the largest and most beautiful of all the temples of antiquity. It is in the enclosure of this beautiful monument, - that I refused to stay among the miserable Arabs who lived there. It was in the midst of the greatest dangers that I came to terms with drawing and measuring everything that is most interesting. And I think I have this complete journey, with what the English have already done there. After a long stay, I left the desert and passed through the Damascus mountains to Balbeck; there are not as many ruins as there are in Palmyra, but the architecture of the various temples that are still there causes astonishment by the grandeur of the materials, many of which are up to sixty-seven feet long and seventeen feet high. These monuments do not in any way give it away to the most beautiful antiquities of Rome for the order, grandeur, nobility, and purity of its architecture. After a three-week stay, I passed Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, where I was forced to stay because of the plague that was wreaking havoc on the Échelles de Syrie. I lived forty-five days in the hollow of a rock with Maronite monks, at the entrance of a very deep valley, where I thought I would be transported to the most beautiful places in Switzerland. The plague having ceased, I continued my journey to see the promised land; I entered it through Galilee, saw Nazareth and Mount Tabor. Then I crossed the kingdom of Samaria and finally Jerusalem. I read the Holy History and spent part of the nights learning about the things I was shown during the day. I spent fifteen days visiting all the places of this famous city, where I was welcomed by the fathers of the Holy Land who are under the protection of the King of France, and after having obtained a certificate, which is usually given to foreigners, I went to Joppa, where I sailed for Egypt. I passed in front of the ruins of Gaza, the Cup in my hand, and in two days of navigation, I arrived in Damietta, and I went up the Nile to Cairo... I arrived in Constantinople a few days ago... ”<sup>232</sup>*

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<sup>232</sup> Appendix 8.

## Voyage to Brousse

This trip was documented thanks to Elizabeth Lady Craven who was staying at the French Palace at the time and wished to visit Greece. For this trip, the ambassador Choiseul offered to lend his ship. The arrangement was made between Lady Craven and the ambassador. Due to the ambassador's condition, it was common for him to visit the natural spring waters and hot baths of Bursa to look for a cure from their healing powers. Therefore, the ship took the ambassador and his entourage to Mudanya where they continued to their final destination of Bursa and Lady Craven continued to Greece. Lady Craven writes in her letter of May 20<sup>th</sup>:

*“Athens, 20 May 1786.*

*I set out on the 12th, at half-past six in the evening, on board the Tarleton, which contained Mr. de Choiseul and a great part of his household, myself, my fellow-traveller, and the officers...It was the finest weather in the world, and we passed those islands, called the Princes, to the left, which are seven miles and a half from Constantinople; from those to Cape Bourbouron, which is the promontory of land that forms the port of Moudagna...”<sup>233</sup>*

Lady Craven's accounts document the journey in a very detailed way and also verify what Cassas wrote in his letter from May 20<sup>th</sup> to Limay:

*“Brousse (Bursa), 20 May 1786.*

*We have been in Brousse for eight days; we are all very happy to see that the waters of this city do Mr. Ambassador a lot of good; the walks of the beautiful country we live in are delicious, and the layout of the village where we are is extremely picturesque. Located on one of the ramps of Olympus, and through various gorges from which streams flow, you can see the top of this famous*

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<sup>233</sup> Elizabeth Lady Craven, *A Voyage Through the Crimea to Constantinople*, (London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1789), 243.

*mountain, always covered with snow; in the east, you can overlook a large plain covered with mulberry trees and watered by a small river, which will flow into the Propontide, after having refreshed all the beautiful countryside of Bithynia.*<sup>234</sup>

In her next letter, Lady Craven writes that her trip lasted for three weeks and on her way back she picked up the ambassador and his crew. Therefore, it is possible to say that the artist had spent three weeks in Bursa with the ambassador visiting the city and making drawings.

*“Therapia, 7 June 1786.*

*I arrived at Bursa just three weeks after I left the port of Moudagna, and found the Ambassador rather better than I left him ...”*<sup>235</sup>

#### Voyage to Troad

Under the orders of the ambassador, Cassas went on a trip to the Troad with Abbot Chevalier.<sup>236</sup> They made the trip in search of ancient Greek legends and stories to satisfy the Phil Hellenistic desires of the ambassador. The influence of Greek mythology and the Greek literature can be seen in a letter written by Cassas to a friend in France:

*“July 22, 1786*

*I have just made, by order and under the instructions of the Ambassador, a trip to Troy with Father Chevalier, who is very-attached. He has infinite knowledge and scholarship. We have travelled together through this so famous country, and in all our research we have been happy enough to discover the sources of the divine Scamander, hitherto unknown, and that the travelers had placed near the gorges of Mount Ida, a long way from this city, which is in contradiction with Homer. We've*

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<sup>234</sup> Appendix 10.

<sup>235</sup> Craven, *A Voyage Through the Crimea to Constantinople*, 272.

<sup>236</sup> According to Pierre Pinon they embarked on 11 September 1786 and disembarked at Kumkale two days later; however, the letter Cassas writes after his return is dated July. Therefore, there seems to be a confusion or a controversy surrounding the dates of this trip. Pinon, “Constantinople et l’Asie-Mineure,” 128-129.

*gone up until the violent Simoïs with Homer, Strabon, Poccocke in hand, and we saw, with admiration and to my amazement, the situation of the old and new Troy, the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus, placed, as Homer says, next to each other, near Cap Sigée, at the entrance to the Hellespont, and in the place where the Greeks had their entrenchments: Ajax's is at the other end of the camp on the Rhétée promontory.*"<sup>237</sup>

## Second Stay in Rome, Italy

Unfortunately, there are no correspondences or drawings to document the route from Istanbul to Rome. In one letter the artist mentions thinking about traveling through Bulgaria, Vienna, and Strasbourg; yet, in a later one, he writes about his plans of visiting Russia.<sup>238</sup> On the other hand, Boucher suggests that the artist had gone through Macedonia and northern regions of Greece, the places that he did not have to chance to visit before.<sup>239</sup> However, between the last letter and the first one sent from Rome, there are no other documents to give any clues about the artist's whereabouts or his itinerary.<sup>240</sup> The first letter from Rome is dated 28<sup>th</sup> of February 1787 where Cassas mentions that he has been in the city for a while now, catching up with his friends and experiencing the city with a new perspective gained during his travels.<sup>241</sup>

At first the artist had stayed at the Palazzo Mancini; however, after returning from his little trip to Naples he finds out that under the directions of the new Director, Ménageot, *élève protégés* were no longer allowed to stay at the premises or have workshops outside the Academy. Therefore, obliging with the new regulations the artist rented an apartment on the

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<sup>237</sup> Appendix 11.

<sup>238</sup> Appendix 12 and Appendix 13.

<sup>239</sup> Boucher, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 49.

<sup>240</sup> Appendix 14.

<sup>241</sup> Appendix 14.



second floor of Piazza di Spagna, Casa Toboli no 6.<sup>242</sup> This space was used as living quarters, a workshop and eventually a gallery for people to visit, and for him to showcase his work. After moving into this new space, his name starts to appear in the parish registers from 1788 to 1790. In the Roman archives, the artist is listed as *Luigi Francesco Las Casas pittore France*.<sup>243</sup> This neighborhood was particularly beneficial for the artist because it was the artistic center of the booming city where antiquarians and travelers of the Grand Tour frequented it most. The artist's reputation was preceding himself and his studio was overflowing with people curious to see his works.

Cassas had spent his time in Rome, mostly drawing and swiftly trying to finish the drawings of Choiseul-Gouffier's book. Aside from this, he was responsible for the marbles that had arrived in Rome in 1788.<sup>244</sup> The ambassador had tasked him with taking care and restoring antiquities that were brought from the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, he had an external budget for collecting more antiquities. Choiseul-Gouffier was giving him a monthly salary of 1500 *livres* and he had also given him 50 000 *livres* for the acquisition of objects of interest.<sup>245</sup>

Unlike his first stay in Rome, this time the artist went on only two excursions. One to Naples in 1787 and one to Albano in 1788, because as stated in his letters multiple times,

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<sup>242</sup> Gilet, "Une Gallerie Ottomane à Rome de 1787 à 1790," 349.

<sup>243</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 54. Gilet cites the document as follows: "Rome, Archivio del Vicariato. Tabularium Vicariatus Urbis S. Andrea delle Fratte (152) Status Animum (1788-1790)."

<sup>244</sup> Appendix 15 and Annie Gilet, "Un Atelier au Cœur de la Ville Éternelle Après le Voyage au Levant," in *Voyages en Italie de Louis-François Cassas*, (Tours: Silvana Editoriale, 2016), 242. For more information on the marbles see Gérard Paquot, François Queyrel, and Alessia Zambon, "Une Vue «Pittoresque» de Quelques Antiques de la Collection Choiseul-Gouffier à Constantinople," in *14<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Frédéric Hitzel (Paris, 2013), 599-608, Alessia Zambon, "From Constantinople to Paris: The Difficult «Repatriation» (1787-1817) of the Choiseul-Gouffier Collection," in *14<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Frédéric Hitzel (Paris, 2013), 897-906, and Queyrel François, "Un nouveau document sur la collection Choiseul-Gouffier," in *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 151<sup>e</sup> année, N. 2*, (2007) 1143-1159.

<sup>245</sup> Appendix 16.

his main priority was to finish the drawings of the upcoming books.<sup>246</sup> In his letters, he mentions the reasons behind these trips as “to find peace and calm.”<sup>247</sup>

After staying in Rome for more than three years, Cassas married Maria Serafina Corsetti at San Andrea delle Fratte on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1791.<sup>248</sup> Baptized in 1769, Maria Serafina was the daughter of a doctor, Salvatore Corsetti, who was living in the same building as Cassas. Francesco Righetti, Maximilien Laboureur and Pierre Cacault were the witnesses to the marriage. However, according to the archives, the wedding ceremony was rushed due to a prison sentence of the artist. The crime leading to the imprisonment is stated as “*by order of Monsignor Governor because of a misdemeanor made with Serafina Corsetti.*”<sup>249</sup> The misdemeanor, in this case, is believed to be rape. Yet, no other document was found regarding the trial or the imprisonment of the artist. The controversy surrounding the marriage also involves the dowry of the bride and the reprisals towards freemason artists at the time.<sup>250</sup>

After staying in Rome for four years, Cassas and his newly wedded wife moved back to Paris. There is no exact date for the relocation of the Cassas family. The only known dates are the artist's last letter from Rome which is dated the 1<sup>st</sup> of March and the first letter sent from Paris to the end of 1791.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 63, Appendix 17.

<sup>247</sup> Appendix 18.

<sup>248</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 68, 69. Gilet cites the document as follows: “Rome, Archivio del Vicariato, Andrea delle Fratte, Archivi Matrimoniali, 1790, no 5, 226” and Appendix 19.

<sup>249</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 68. The original Italian text is as follows “per ordine di Monsigr Governatore a causa di un mancamento fatto con Serafina Corsetti.”

<sup>250</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 68-71 and Gilet, “Un Atelier au Cœur de la Ville Éternelle Après le Voyage au Levant,” 242, 243. Untraditionally, the dowry of the bride, a sum of 2,000 Roman ecus, was given by Cassas rather than the bride’s father. Olivier Michel confirmed that it was a disguised imprisonment to protect the artist from the freemason related conflict. *La Réunion des Amis Sincères* was the name of the freemason lodge Cassas attended while in Rome.

<sup>251</sup> Appendix 20 and Appendix 21.

## Stay in Paris, France

Unfortunately, not much is known about Cassas' life in Paris. Aside from the major life events, there are no official documents, or correspondences to shed some light on the life of the artist. When they first arrived in Paris, the artist and his wife stayed at Rue du Sépulcre, Maison des Asturies, no 2 where they resided until 1807-1808.<sup>252</sup> In that residence, they had two children: Louis-Auguste-Armand and Alphonse who were registered in the parish of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.<sup>253</sup>

In 1792 Choiseul-Gouffier, a monarchist, refused the new regime and took refuge in Russia which resulted in Cassas losing both his patron and the author of the planned book.<sup>254</sup> Which also meant the loss of his steady income of 1,500 livres.<sup>255</sup> In 1806 Cassas opened an architecture gallery where he showcased architectural models of Greek, Roman and Egyptian monuments and his paintings.<sup>256</sup> "La Galerie de M. Cassas" was opened on no 8, Rue de Seine. (Figure 25) However, the models were acquired by the government in 1813 and his gallery was closed.<sup>257</sup>

In 1812, the Cassas family moved to no 3, Quai Malaquais. In 1816 Cassas was named as the *Inspecteur des travaux et professeur de dessin* (Quality inspector/Inspector of works and professor of drawing) at the Royal Gobelins Factory.<sup>258</sup> In 1817 the family moved

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<sup>252</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 79.

<sup>253</sup> Gilet, 79.

<sup>254</sup> Boppe, *XVIII. Yüzyıl Boğaziçi Ressamları*, 134, Fraser, *Mediterranean Encounters*, 67-68.

<sup>255</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 79. Frédéric Barbier, "Le Comte et son Dessinateur," in *Voyages en Italie de Louis-François Cassas*, (Tours: Silvana Editoriale, 2016), 234.

<sup>256</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 86. Werner Szambien, *Le Musée architecture* (Paris: Picard éditeur, 1988).

<sup>257</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 84. The gallery will be mentioned in more detail later on in the upcoming sub-chapters.

<sup>258</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 93, Gilet, "Du Château d'Azay-le-Ferron à l'Académie de Dessin du Duc de Chabot," 26.

to no 27, rue Mouffetard.<sup>259</sup> In 1821 Cassas received the *Légion d'Honneur* (Honor Medal) and in 1825 he was knighted with both the Knighthood of Saint-Michel and Saint-Louis.<sup>260</sup>

On the 16<sup>th</sup> of August 1825, Marie Serafina Corsetti passed away. After two years of her death on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of November 1827, Louis-François Cassas followed suit. He passed away during a visit to his sister's house on no 22, rue d'Orangerie, Versailles.<sup>261</sup>

### Art of Cassas

This subchapter will be dedicated to the art and artistic productions of the artist Louis-François Cassas. The artist's style did not drastically change throughout the years, his love of landscapes as a young apprentice did not diminish and continued to be the main focus of the majority of his paintings. This persistence of preference could potentially be stemming from his earliest education as an architect and an engineer. Only drawings can be found from the earlier years of his career, before his stay in Rome, and it is not possible to detect a big change in the way the artist drew from nature and life. The way in which Cassas paints is similar to the style of Rococo, especially his trees and vegetation and his style could be characterized as picturesque.

At the Academy in Paris Cassas received a classic and academic education. However, it can also be said that his education did not have a big impact on his artistic style because his aesthetic was not akin to that of his teachers. Their techniques were different, and his use of figures was much less than his teachers. The majority of his teachers were historical

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<sup>259</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 79.

<sup>260</sup> Archives.Nationales, Maison du Roi. Distinctions honorifiques sous la Restauration (1815-1830), O/3/835, dossier 53 and Archives.Nationales, Maison du Roi. Distinctions honorifiques sous la Restauration (1815 -1830), O/3/812, O/3/816, O/3/818.

<sup>261</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 94.

painters. The seeds of his interest in classical subjects may have been planted here, yet, the way in which Cassas used his classical landscapes was much different from history painting. His paintings resemble the classical landscape tradition started by Claude Lorrain and Nicolas Poussin but without the history aspect, the stories of religion or mythology. Moreover, Cassas had the chance to closely work with Jean-Jacques Lagrenée, and Jean-Baptiste Le Prince. They were both influential in terms of instilling the love for travelling and perhaps especially Lagrenée for the visit to Italy. Another reason behind his love of the classical lies in his first stay in Italy. The years spent at the Palazzo Mancini had a big impact on his artistic style where he had the chance to personally get acquainted with the Ancient Greco-Roman world. His extensive travelling not only presented the opportunity to discover the world at large but also to work and be inspired by the prolific artists of the era. Some of his Italian and Istria/Dalmatian works could be considered as a form of “veduta” or “capriccio” and are definitely inspired by Hubert Robert and the like regarding their compositions.

Cassas’ artworks were a direct outcome of his travels; therefore, they were less imaginary compared to history paintings. The issue of authenticity and the documentary approach of the artist regarding his works is a rather interesting topic. Researchers usually view his works as genuine, contemporary testimonials of the time. However, the level of accuracy is not the same with all of his works and it requires caution. The drawings are usually accurate due to their creation process as being done in-situ and their purpose for being made for future references. Yet, the paintings and engravings do not have the same purpose. There are many instances where we can see the artist’s imagination at play but there are also some instances where he has a documentary approach. *Le Sultan, le jour du Bairam*,

*Marche du Sultan le jour du Bairam*, *Les Lutteurs*, *Choix d'une esclave*, and several others are very documentary in their subjects and composition. *Le Sultan, le jour du Bairam* depicts the reigning sultan, Abdülhamid I, on his way to the mosque for the holiday prayer. It shows the procession and the sultan as they are without any explicit underlying messages or motivation. It also gives an idea of the relationship between the people of the land and their ruler. *Marche du Sultan le jour du Bairam* resembles Claes Brorson Rålamb's procession paintings from the seventeenth century. Presented before a recognizable monument of the city, the Tophane Fountain, the sultan is shown alongside his procession. *Les Lutteurs* is one of the most intriguing images of Cassas, made as a pair of the *Le Sultan, le jour du Bairam*, this painting shows a wrestling match. Among the audience, the grand vizier and the Captain Cezayirli Hasan Paşa is depicted sitting in the tent, alongside foreign viewers who are assumed to be French due to their clothing which is very in line with the fashion of the Ancien Régime during when Cassas was travelling in the East.<sup>262</sup> The image documents a certain event that had taken place at a certain time. *Choix d'une esclave* is the most peculiar painting. In this image a foreign man is shown taking an interest in a local woman. The title of the image suggests procurement of a slave; yet, slave trade was a complicated issue in the Ottoman Empire alongside depictions of Ottoman women. The outfit of the man observing the women is an awkward mix of Ottoman and French fashions. He is dressed in an Ottoman manner with the *şalvar* and *kuşak*; yet, he is still wearing his bicorne hat, the only thing that signals his foreign identity. The bicorne hat was a characteristic of late eighteenth century fashion. The hat serves the purpose of giving information to the viewer that the man is a foreigner and indicates his French identity. Although the identity of the man is a mystery,

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<sup>262</sup> Gilet and Mansel, "Les Lutteurs," 56.

there is a chance that the man in question is indeed the artist himself. Whilst travelling Cassas had donned Ottoman gowns and let his facial hair grow; therefore, it could be a genuine representation of the artist and the event that took place.

Overall, the collection of works can be categorized into four: his drawings, paintings, the engraved prints and the architectural models in his gallery. The majority of the drawings were made in-situ (*sur le motif*) and were used to document whatever the artist was experiencing at that certain moment. They were quickly sketched and made for later use, sometimes as part of a composition or as details. There are also a few preparatory sketches for big scale paintings. The painting category is a very complex one because there are watercolor, gouache and colored engravings in this section. The differentiation is difficult in this category because the artist does not simply use one technique or the other. There are many works that were made with the combination of ink, watercolors, and gouaches. Therefore, making a separate section for each technique would not be possible. Due to his extensive traveling the artist has appeared in many travel books and aspired to publish some of his own. The engravings within these works constitute the most famous and the most studied part of the artist's oeuvre. The Architecture Gallery was not a direct outcome of Cassas' artistic abilities. Nevertheless, the idea behind the gallery and the curation of such a collection is definitely a testimony of his artistic prowess. Even though the casting of the architectural models was not done by Cassas himself, they still constitute a large part of his architectural productions which he allocated a considerable amount of time and earned profits from.

Documentation regarding the artist's artworks is rarely found. As it was in the case of his life, his personal letters and the correspondence of the French Academy in Rome are

the main textual sources for these works. In his letters, the artist sometimes mentions the projects that he is working on. He usually does not go into too much detail about the works themselves but mentions their patrons, and sometimes their themes. Interestingly enough, he almost always notes their price. For example, he writes in a letter: *“I have come to make a small drawing of Sicily for the Abbot of Saint-Non, whom he paid me six louis.”*<sup>263</sup> Other than his personal letters and the correspondence of the French Academy in Rome, the only source of information are the works themselves. Also, found extremely rare are the encounters of other artists with Cassas written in their diaries or journals. Since there are zero to no documentation of his artistic productions regarding his drawings and paintings, this section will mainly be focusing on his published or print materials.

## Drawings

*“Sir Cassas... will return to Paris at the end of this month. I have seen some very beautiful designs he made in Italy.”*<sup>264</sup>

Cassas was known to produce a large number of sketches during his travels which would include cityscapes, landscapes, ancient ruins, buildings, monuments, architectural layouts, details of architectural decoration and ornamentation, studies of reliefs, statues, small items, vases, sarcophagus, column heads, and capitals. In a letter to Desfriches right before the Eastern trip, Cassas leaves a list of the 475 drawings he made in his Italian voyages. Lady Craven and others at the French Palace report that Cassas had returned from his trip with more than three hundred drawings. These three hundred drawings were just the

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<sup>263</sup> Dumesnil, *Histoire des plus célèbres amateurs français*, 204. The original French text is as follows “Je viens de faire un petit dessin de la Sicile pour M. l'abbé de Saint-Non, qu'il m'a payé six louis.”

<sup>264</sup> An excerpt from a letter from Lagrenée to the count d'Angiviller. Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome, tome XIV*, 262. The original French text is as follows “Le sr Cassas, ..., va s'en retourner à Paris à la fin de ce mois. J'ai vu des dessins supérieurement beaux qu'il a fait dans l'Italie.”



sketches he had done in-situ during his Eastern journey. There are also the copies he had made of these drawings for safekeeping as he traveled back to Europe. With the addition of the ones that he had made in Istanbul and his two trips to Anatolia, solely his Ottoman voyage constitutes a great number of drawings. Furthermore, there are many others that the artist executed afterward. Aside from the sketches the artist produces during his trips, there are preparatory drawings of the big scale paintings. The two most obvious examples are the *Sultan Ahmed Mosque in Constantinople* (Catalog no. 12) and *La Mosquée du Sultan Ahmet prise de 'Fener-Backessi ou jardin du/fanal/point de Calcédoine'* (Catalog no. 7). Both preparatory drawings are housed at the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne, whereas the watercolors are housed in Musée Beaux-Arts, Tours (Catalog no. 156) and the Pera Museum (Catalog no. 149), respectively.

Considering the amount of traveling he has done throughout his life, the overall number of Cassas' drawings are extremely high. Well over a thousand drawings are known and localized today. The majority of the drawings, over 434 of them, are housed at the Louvre which includes panoramic views of cities, ancient ruins, detailed studies of architectural ornamentation and archeological findings.<sup>265</sup> Almost all of the Eastern drawings with the addition of the Istria and Dalmatia drawings, a total of 256 drawings are housed at the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne. The rest of the drawings of the Istrian and Dalmatian regions; his former trips to Brittany, Northern France, Germany, Netherlands, and the places the artist visited on his route to Italy equals 196 drawings, which are a part of the Ickworth House Collection belonging to the National Trust of the UK National Trust.

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<sup>265</sup> There is a controversy surrounding the Louvre collection. Even though some of the drawings are attributed to Cassas, some may have been executed by Fauvel. Héron de Villefosse Antoine. "Don d'un album de Cassas de M. Alexandre de Laborde au Musée du Louvre," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 62<sup>e</sup> année, N. 2, (1918): 162-163.

Musée Beaux-Arts de Tours also houses a small collection of drawings. However, their most important collection is the *Carnet d'Éphèse*, the artist's sketchbook which contains twenty-six folio drawings of Ephesus and Smyrna.<sup>266</sup>

There are many other museums and institutions that house Cassas' drawings. Some of these said museums and archives are Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (ENSBA), Paris, Musée des beaux-arts et galerie David-d'Angers, Musée d'histoire de la ville et d'ethnographie du pays malouin, Musée Dobrée, Musée Ingres, Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Haags Gemeentearchief archief Leidschendam-Voorburg and Metropolitan Museum of Art. Furthermore, a considerable amount of drawings is also found in various private collections.<sup>267</sup>

After a visit to Cassas' studio in Rome, Goethe wrote in his journal:

*“A French, architect of the name of Cassas has returned from his journey to the East. He has taken the measure of the most important old monuments, especially of such as have not yet been publicly described; he has also taken drawings of particular places, has by pictures illustrated decayed and vanished conditions of life, and has shown us a part of his drawings, sketched with great precision and taste...”*

*10. A pyramid restored as indicated by some original documents, from actual observation and from conjectures....This drawing is the most prodigious architectural idea I have seen in my life, and I do not believe it is possible to go further in that direction.”<sup>268</sup>*

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<sup>266</sup> For more information see Gilet. “Le Carnet d'Éphèse de Louis-François Cassas,” and Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas: In Search of Major Anatolian Sites, 1784-1786.”

<sup>267</sup> The catalog of this thesis will only consist of drawings, paintings and engravings the artist made during his Eastern journey and stay in İstanbul. As mentioned in the text, the sheer amount of works the artist has would not be able to be contained in a master's thesis. The artist's Eastern oeuvre is simply more than 300 works. Other artworks will be given as figures if necessary; however, a complete catalog of the artist's oeuvre is not possible at this point. Moreover, the author only had the chance to take photos of the Eastern voyage and the rest of the collection is not digitized as of yet.

<sup>268</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Goethe's Travels in Italy* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1885), 414-416.

It is usually believed that the drawings are very accurate historically and architecturally.<sup>269</sup> In a letter he emphasizes that he worked with great accuracy during his Troy visit and that the drawings he made were sent to Foucherot to be included in the new *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*: “I surveyed the map geometrically with the utmost accuracy, and I drew and measured several buildings that still exist in the new Troy, built at a short distance from the old one. I am sending the drawings and plans to Paris, to my friend Mr. Foucherot; you will be able to see them at the engravers'; they will be part of the first volume of the *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*.”<sup>270</sup> Cassas was very meticulous about architectural drawings and would spend a lot of time and effort to measure monuments and ruins. For example, the drawing titled *Tombeau d'Orcan à Brousse* depicts the mausoleum of the late Sultan Orhan. However, after the 1855 earthquake, the building was destroyed and now his extremely precise drawing is one of the most important visual sources of this monument.<sup>271</sup> (Catalog no. 112) In addition to that, for his in-situ (*sur la motif*) drawings the artist would take small notes, write small inscriptions on the paper either describing the subject or the vantage point. (Catalog no. 56) He would also put letters and distinct shapes next to architectural details or ornamentation and draw them on a bigger scale and in more detail in the empty spaces of the paper. (Catalog no. 19, no. 20, and no. 55) This way he would get efficient use out of the paper and document even the smallest of details.

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<sup>269</sup> This issue will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter III.

<sup>270</sup> Appendix 11.

<sup>271</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas: In Search of Major Anatolian Sites,” 57. For more information on this topic see Macit Tekinalp, “Remodelling The Monastery of Hagios Ioannes In Prousa Ad Olympum (Modern Bursa, Türkiye),” *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaja- The State Hermitage Papers* 53 (2010): 162-177. Suna Çağaptay, “Prousa/Bursa, A City Within the City: Chorography, Conversion and Choreography,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies Vol. 35 No. 1* (2011): 45–69. S. H. Eldem, “Bursa’da Şehadet Camii Konusunda bir Araştırma,” *Türk Sanatı Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri 1* (1963): 313-26.

Sometimes he would write the colors of certain things on them. For example, in the drawing of the Topkapı Palace, the grass is indicated with “green.” (Catalog no. 54)

## Paintings

The painting category houses the watercolors, gouaches, and colored engravings. Since the artist used these different techniques and paints together in many of his works, it is almost impossible to differentiate the works by their techniques and separate them into categories.

As mentioned previously, the paintings were a continuation of the drawings. Whether sketched in-situ or made for the purpose of becoming a painting, they were the foundation of the artist’s paintings. Even though it is not possible to locate them all or know whether they exist, the many existing drawing-painting pairs give a very solid idea of the connection between the two. (Catalog no. 81 and no. 216) Some paintings are the direct translation of the drawings (Catalog no. 49, no. 159 and no. 160) and some are composed versions of a couple of different drawings. (Catalog no. 36 and no. 158)

For Cassas the engraving process was very straight-forward. Just as the drawings served as models for the paintings, the paintings served as models for the engravings. There are many examples where we can see the way in which the process was functioning. The artist would first use his sketches, or make drawings, turn them into paintings. These preparatory paintings were then given to the engravers to be engraved or etched. The artists production process is best understood when studying corresponding images. There are many examples where two of these elements exist, whether the drawing and the painting (Catalog no. 54 and no. 161), the drawing and the engraving (Catalog no. 106 and no. 283) or the painting and the engraving (Catalog no. 211 and no. 281). However, in some very rare cases,

all three can be found. The drawing (catalog no. 107), the painting (Catalog no. 224) and finally the engraving (catalog no. 284) is known today of the *Ruines de la ville d'Alexandrie*.

The oeuvre of the artist is very nature-based and architecturally inspired. Cityscapes and landscapes constitute a big part of the artist's collection. There are also architectural settings where the painting's main subject is an architectural element which the artist then supports with landscape views, vegetation, and small figures.<sup>272</sup> The paintings are usually comprised of several elements. Even in the imaginary compositions the artist always puts an architectural detail or a figural detail to give a sense of the scale and location.

The most interesting point of the paintings is the numerous reproductions where the artist would produce almost the exact same paintings more than once. Aside from the colored engravings like *Vue de Constantinople, prise de la mer de Marmara* which can be reproduced easily, at least compared to watercolors, there are several compositions that the artist has made time after time. Some of the most frequently reproduced compositions are the *Gate of Persecution*, *Turks Admiring Ruins*, *Acropolis* and *Philopappus* series.

The majority of the paintings are sold at auctions and are now in private collections scattered around the world. Some of the collections that are known to have Cassas' works are the Auguste Boppe Collection, the Suna and İnan Kıraç Collection and the Ömer Koç Collection. Yet, there are also museums where it is possible to find works of Cassas even though they are not usually displayed. The ones in Suna and İnan Kıraç Collection have been on display for quite a long time at the Pera Museum. Also, there are many others at the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Tours. For example, *La Mosquée du Sultan Ahmet*, *Vue de*

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<sup>272</sup> The small human figures are staffage which the importance of this addition will be discussed in Chapter III.

*l'Acropole et de l'Olympéion à Athènes, Vue du cloître de l'abbaye de Bellapais* and many others which cover a wide range of geography are kept in Tours. One of the most interesting paintings, *Vue de Constantinople*, currently on display at the Louis-François Cassas Room at Château Azay-Le-Ferron, is, in fact, a part of the collection of the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Valenciennes. The painting has been on a very long-term loan to the castle which is managed by the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Tours. The interesting fact about this painting is that due to its big dimensions, it was not moved during World War II, like the rest of the collection to a safer location and was left behind. A very rare and important photograph documents this event. (Figure 26) Other than the above-mentioned museums, Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans, The National Museum Sweden, Stockholm, The Albertina, The Benaki Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum has several works by the artist.

One very important issue surrounding watercolors is the issue of preservation. There are two major problems that the paintings have encountered. The first problem is the issue of remounting and the second issue is light damage. The remounting problem occurs in two paintings with Ottoman subjects.

*La Mosquée du Sultan Ahmet* was cut from around the building and it was pasted on another piece of paper. (Catalog no. 156) However, during this procedure, one of the six minarets of the Sultanahmet Mosque was lost. In the preparatory drawing is it evident that all six of the minarets are present; yet, in the watercolor one minaret is missing. (Catalog no. 12) Also, the places where the painting was cut is extremely apparent. Aside from the minaret, the treetops, the *alems* on top of the minarets and the dome are missing. Moreover, the composition seems to be smaller in the painting. It is not known whether it was caused by resizing the work or it was executed that way originally. Another possible copy of the

work from the Istanbul University collection may prove otherwise. This oil painting is closer to the uncut drawing version of the composition and hints at resizing during conservation. Another painting with the same issue is the *Procession du Sultan le jour de Bairam*. (catalog no. 262) The same copy and paste technique was used for this work. In this instance, the background of the composition is lost. (Catalog no. 280) The building behind the procession and the landscape with mountains and boats behind the audience seems to be missing. Even though the composition is not smaller widthwise, it is shorter lengthwise. The place where the paper was cut is extremely visible just below the feet of the men in the foreground. However, this painting has an interesting provenance; thus, what we have observed may also be directly linked with art crimes. This painting currently at the Musée Bertrand de Châteauroux was taken hold at the border by the customs, then purchased by the French State and finally sold to the museum in 1982.<sup>273</sup> Therefore, the later adjustments may have been made in accordance with its former owner and/or smuggler.

*Vue de l'Acropole et de l'Olympéion à Athènes* (Catalog no. 119) and *Vue de Palmyre* (Catalog no. 184) from Musée Beaux-Arts de Tours, *Paysage* (Catalog no. 240) and *Paysage avec un groupe d'orientaux devant une metope* (Catalog no. 241) from Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans and *Vue imaginaire d'un temple en ruine* (Catalog no. 176) from a Private Collection have all suffered from light damage where the distinct lines of the frame can be seen on the surface of the painting. The discoloration of the paintings is rather severe.

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<sup>273</sup> Michéle Maturd, conversation at Musée Bertrand de Châteauroux, August 3, 2018.

## Engravings

In the late eighteenth-century-France, high-quality book production was incredibly fashionable and illustrated travel books were vigorously sought after by bibliophile collectors. The majority of the travels were carried out to be published and these recordings, both visual and literal, were crucial in bringing the distant lands to the reader's own house, as well as guiding the new generations of travelers on their journeys. As someone who has traveled extensively and produced immensely, Cassas contributed in many travel books and attempted to publish some of his own.

Even though he appeared in many books, Cassas' relationship with engravings was not always easy-going and fruitful. His ambition of publishing books was the biggest issue he had faced in his career. They were both his motivation and his downfall. The artist often disregarded his drawings and he regarded his watercolors as a means of making a profit and a compulsory step in the engraving process. In his eyes, his engravings were highly esteemed, in his letters he mentioned his prints most often and put them on a higher pedestal. He expected them to lead him to fame and fortune. However, the engravings were the ones that caused most of the complications. Cassas faced many problems with preparation, publication, authorship, copyrights; and having to compete with other projects similar to his was the cause of his failure and his undoing.

Throughout his career Cassas contributed in, published or hoped to publish a total of fourteen books: five on Italy, four on Greece, four on the Middle East and one on Eastern Europe.<sup>274</sup> Today these books can be found at libraries and collections all around the world.

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<sup>274</sup> *Grandes vues pittoresques des principaux sites et monuments de la Grèce, de la Sicile et des sep collines de Rome* includes both Italy and Greece.



*Voyage Pittoresque ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*

Cassas' engravings appeared in the fourth volume of the *Voyage Pittoresque ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*. The book was the ambitious publication project of Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non and the first part was published in 1785 in Paris, followed by the second part in 1786.<sup>275</sup> The engravings made by Cassas were from his 1782 trip to Sicily.<sup>276</sup> For this book, Cassas collaborated with Jean Honoré Fragonard and Hubert Robert, among others.

Saint Non writes about Cassas and his explorations of Italy and Eastern Europe, and comments on their collaboration in the footnotes of the 15<sup>th</sup> plate:

*“This beautiful & interesting view was drawn from nature by Mr. Cassas. This young artist full of talents, by the advice & under the protection of Mr. Le Duc de Chabot, made several trips to Italy, Sicily, & especially in Dalmatia & Istria, from where he brought back an infinitely curious series of views & sites of the greatest interest. We are pleased to bring together in our book some of the views he last drew in Sicily, which we owe him, such as this one, and a few others that we will find in the continuation of this Voyage.”*<sup>277</sup>

Even though he traveled extensively and made many drawings, only eight drawings were selected by Vivant Denon and the Abbot Saint-Non:<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>275</sup> Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Voyage Pittoresque ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile* (Paris, 1785). Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Voyage Pittoresque ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile* (Paris, 1786).

<sup>276</sup> For more details see subchapter Voyage to Sicily.

<sup>277</sup> Saint-Non, *Voyage Pittoresque ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*, 1786, 34.

<sup>278</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 36. Madeleine Pinault-Sørensen, “Le Voyage en Sicile,” in *Im Banne der Sphinx*, (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zahern, 1994), 86-87.

1. Plate 15: *Vue des Ruines du proscenium ou Avant-scène de l'ancien théâtre de Taorminium* (Figure 27) (There are two watercolors depicting the same scene, one of them is housed at the Art Institute, Chicago. (Figure 28 and 29))
  2. Plate 64: *Vue des Rochers de la Favarotta, située sur la côte septentrionale de la Sicile près du lieu où a existé autrefois la ville d'Hyaccara, Patrie de la fameuse Lays* (Figure 30)
  3. Plate 111: *Ruines du temple de Minerve à Syracuse* (Figure 31)
  4. Plate 122 : *Vue des restes du temple de Jupiter Olympien à Syracuse* (Figure 32)
  5. Plate 125 : *Restes d'arc antique, monument élevé par les Syracusains après la défaite des Athéniens commandés par Nicias dans la 91e Olympiade 400 ans environ av. J.-C.,* (Figure 33)
  6. Plate 129 : *Vue des grottes de San Pantarica dans le Val di Noto près du lieu où étoit autrefois l'antique ville d'Erbessus* (Figure 34)
  7. Plate 130 : *Site pittoresque dessiné près des grottes de San Pantarica* (Figure 35)
  8. Plate 131 : *Vue prise dans les campagnes du Val di Noto près de Sciortino*<sup>279</sup> (Figure 36)
- Voyage Pittoresque des isles de Sicile de Malte et de Lipari*

The drawings Cassas has made in Sicily were also published in the second edition of *Voyage pittoresque des isles de Sicile de Malte et de Lipari*. Written by Jean Houel, the book was published in 1784 in Paris by L'imprimerie De Monsieur.<sup>280</sup> There is only one engraving that was included in the book. The eighty-eight plate was titled *Vue de la partie méridionale*

<sup>279</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 36.

<sup>280</sup> Jean Houel, *Voyage pittoresque des isles de sicile de malte et de lipari* (Paris: L'imprimerie de Monsieur, 1784).

*du Canal de Messine, prise de Calabre on voit le rivage de la Sicile, depuis Messine jusqu'a Catane. Ce font ces pays qui ont été ravages par l'ouragan du 6 janvier 1784.*<sup>281</sup> (Figure 37)

The author Houel, recounts his encounter with Casas upon his return from Sicily and the way in which the composition fits within the book. He also gives a detailed description of the composition in the explanation of the eighty-eight plate of the book:

*“The front of this print represents the Calabrian shoreline, a few miles south of Reggio. This point of view was drawn by Mr. Casas, the painter: on his return from Sicily he gave me his portfolios, & allowed me to take this drawing, which struck me by its accuracy, & which represents this part of Sicily ravaged by the fatal hurricane of 1784, to a particular interest, which made it necessary for my work. Moreover, it will serve me to make Mount Etna known in advance, which we will soon be dealing with. It appears here in the open, & one can judge its height by comparing it to the great mountains that rise above Taormina. In spite of its remoteness, which diminishes it, it surpasses considerably all that surrounds it. Thus, the laws of optics are easily judged that this mountain is of a prodigious height since being on the horizon, where everything lowers, merges & is annihilated to the eye, it still shows so much superiority over those that parade here in front of it, & which are nevertheless themselves very high mountains.”*<sup>282</sup>

#### *Voyage Pittoresque de la Troade*

Casas' patron and his reason to travel to the Ottoman Empire, Choiseul-Gouffier, wanted to incorporate the Troy region of the Aegean in his upcoming book and tasked Tondu with the job of making a map of the area. However, the ambassador was not satisfied with the result. Thus, Jean-Baptiste Lechevalier and Casas were sent to undertake archaeological investigations in the Troy region between the years 1785-1786.<sup>283</sup>

<sup>281</sup> Houel, *Voyage pittoresque des isles de sicile de malte et de lipari*, 28.

<sup>282</sup> Houel, *Voyage pittoresque des isles de sicile de malte et de lipari*, 28.

<sup>283</sup> Chantal Grell, “Troie et la Troade de la Renaissance à Schliemann” in *Journal des savants*, (1981): 65.

A few years later, Lechevalier presented his research to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and consequently, his book was published in 1791 with the title *Description of The Plain of Troy With A Map of That Region, Delineated from An Actual Survey*.<sup>284</sup> In 1798, another version of the book *M. Chevalier's Tableau De La Plaine De Troye, Illustrated, and Confirmed* was published again by the Royal Society of Edinburgh.<sup>285</sup> The two books did not contain any images except plans in the former. The next year, the book was published under a new French title in Paris by Laran, *Voyage dans la Troade ou Tableau de la plaine de Troie dans son etat actuel*. The last version of the book was published in 1802.<sup>286</sup> The book was titled *Voyage de la Troade: fait dans les années 1785 et 1786*.<sup>287</sup> Another complementary book was published alongside the *Voyage de la Troade* which consisted of the visual collection of maps, plans, views, and coins, as the title suggests.

The name Cassas is not indicated in any of the books, it is just mentioned throughout the text casually and no drawings are known to have been preserved from this trip. However, in a letter dated 10 October 1786 from Istanbul, the artist mentions the great success of his trip to the region and gives information about the engraving process. He writes to Desfriches:

*“Constantinople, October 10, 1786.*

*I just did a little trip from Troy that had the largest success and for which I have just finished the map, which will be engraved this winter. I'm extremely busy with making layers of my drawings in case of an event, and I'm leaving in ten days at the latest...”<sup>288</sup>*

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<sup>284</sup> Chevalier, *Description of The Plain of Troy With A Map of That Region, Delineated from An Actual Survey*, trans. Andrew Dalzel, (London: Royal Society of Edinburgh, 1791).

<sup>285</sup> Chevalier, *M. Chevalier's Tableau De La Plaine De Troye* (The Royal Society of Edinburgh, 1798).

<sup>286</sup> Lechevalier, *Voyage dans la Troade ou Tableau de la plaine de Troie dans son etat actuel* (Paris: Laran, 1799).

<sup>287</sup> J.B. Le Chevalier, *Voyage de la Troade: fait dans les années 1785 et 1786* (Paris: Dentu, 1802).

<sup>288</sup> Appendix 13.

*Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phœnicie, de la Palæstine et la Basse-Ægypte*

In a letter from Istanbul artist talks about his new project with the ambassador: his two new *Voyage Pittoresque*'s one about Palmyra and the other about Baalbek. He also adds the way in which the ambassador plans for reimbursing this project and his great expectation of a "small fortune." He also advises Desfriches not share this information for he is scared of "jealous people":

*"Constantinople, April 10, 1786.*

*I am working on Voyage de Palmyre et de Balbeck that I will give to the public. The ambassador is willing to make all the advances for the engravers and will himself take care of the text of the book. These two works will go a long way to securing me a small fortune. Don't say anything about this to anyone yet, it would arouse too much jealousy."*<sup>289</sup>

In another letter, he emphasizes that the risk of the project would be on the ambassador alone and all the advantages would be his. He also adds that the format of the books will be similar to that of the *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce* and assures Desfriches of the meticulous execution of the books:

*"Constantinople, July 22, 1786.*

*The ambassador allows me, not only this publication, but he makes one of those familiar contracts with me; he provides for all my needs, and he lends me the necessary funds for such an expensive company; on this condition, that all the risks will be against him, and all the benefits for me. These two works will be in the same format as the voyage pittoresque de là Grèce, and you must be sure that their execution will be perfectly meticulous."*<sup>290</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> Appendix 26.

<sup>290</sup> Appendix 27.

After returning to Rome, Cassas immediately started working on the engravings for the upcoming book. In his letters from Rome, he often mentioned and gave updates on the project. Nonetheless, there were problems between the artist and the ambassador. In 1791 the French state ended Choiseul-Gouffier's ambassadorship in the Ottoman Empire and wanted to relocate him to Britain; however, Choiseul-Gouffier refused to obey the orders and stayed in the capital until the newly appointed ambassador arrived. In 1793 he took refuge in Russia under Catherine II and became the Director of the Academy of Arts and all of the Imperial Libraries by the orders of Paul I.<sup>291</sup> Once the ambassador lost his money and power, Cassas aspired to publish his book *Voyage Pittoresque de Palmyre et Balbeck* under his name, without mentioning Choiseul-Gouffier.<sup>292</sup> In 1792 Cassas asked the minister le Brun through Phillippe Menou to intervene and help recover his drawings of Palmyra and Ballbek from Rome where he had left them in the property of Choiseul-Gouffier at the French consulate. Since he has not abided the contract and was no longer a French citizen, Cassas argued that he no longer had the rights to the images.

Menou wrote to le Brun several times asking for the drawings to be returned to its rightful owner:

*“Mr. de Choiseul had entered into commitments with the citizen Casas, in particular that of having this superb collection of drawings engraved for his benefit, a commitment that should give the author a sense of well-being for the rest of his life. Mr. de Choiseul has not kept any of his promises and is now less than ever able to keep them. Consequently, Citizen Casas, who has all the probative evidence of the legitimacy of his rights, who has communicated several of them to me, and who is very ready, citizen minister, to represent them to you if you so request, is urgently requesting the deposit*

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<sup>291</sup> Frederic Barbier. *Le Réve Grec de Monsieur de Choiseul: Les Voyages d'un Europeen des Lumières* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2010), 224.

<sup>292</sup> Fraser, *Mediterranean Encounters*, 68.

*he left in Rome, and asks you in grace to give orders that it be addressed to you by the consul of the Republic who has it in his hands. This precious and complete work can only do France infinite honor, and it would be unfortunate if it could become the property of foreigners, while it so legitimately belongs to the citizen Casas.”<sup>293</sup>*

After several letters and interventions of others, le Brun finally replied and declared that the drawings belonged to the nation. Moreover, the disregarded status of Choiseul as an “émigré” helped Cassas with his case:

*“Mr. Choiseuil Gouffier, a citizen, presented to the citizen Digne, consul of the Republic in Rome, a collection of drawings made by the citizen Cassas who requested them. Either these designs are considered as the property of an “émigré” or only as the object of a claim by one French against another, the Nation has the right to seize them. In the first respect, they undoubtedly belong to the Nation; in the second, it is up to it to judge by ordinary means whether or not they belong to the citizen Cassas, since this artist is French and it is in France and against a French that he claims. In either case, the citizen cannot therefore dispense with giving you the drawings in question when you first request them on behalf of the Nation. Please do not delay in making this request; it is understood that the handover will be preceded by a detailed inventory of the drawings. Two expeditions of this inventory will be made; one will remain in the hands of the citizen Digne, and you will send the other to me while waiting for the subsequent orders I will have to send you.*

*If it were not for a French and a public official who were the depositary of these drawings, perhaps we would not have the right to claim them and should send the citizen Cassas back to the courts of the country for appeal; but here the case is different. The citizen Digne, although residing in Rome for a long time, is no less a public official and, as such, is subject to the laws of the Republic,*

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<sup>293</sup> Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, Tome XVI, 217 – 218.

*not only for acts relating to his functions, but also for all those of interest in any way to the French, either individually or as a nation body.”*<sup>294</sup>

After a difficult procurement, Cassas recovered his drawings from Italy.<sup>295</sup> In 1793 Cassas signed a contract with Jacques Anisson-Duperron, last director of the *Imprimerie Royale* (Royal Printing Press). And the title of the publication changed to *Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte*. The book was planned to be published in three volumes and to not to exceed three hundred engravings.<sup>296</sup> As the contract dictated, Cassas started to get paid by Duperon.<sup>297</sup> He took over the whole enterprise and started to manage the whole project, he even made contracts with the engravers in August 1793.<sup>298</sup> However, Anisson-Duperron was sentenced by the *Tribunal Révolutionnaire* and was guillotined in 1794.<sup>299</sup> Cassas was left on his own once more.

In a letter from 24 June 1794, Cassas reports that he has gained the support of prolific artists of the time namely Jacques-Louis David and adds that the *Comité de Salut Public*, Commissioners of the Revolution adopted the project as a ‘national enterprise.’<sup>300</sup>

*“The 6 messidor of the second year of the Republic, one and indivisible.)*

*CITIZENS,*

*I have only time to inform you that my enterprise has just been approved by the Comité de salut public, that it is continuing on behalf of the nation, that citizen David and several members of*

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<sup>294</sup> Société de l’Histoire de l’Art Français, *Correspondance des directeurs de l’Académie de France à Rome*, Tome XVI, 244-245.

<sup>295</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 154.

<sup>296</sup> Gilet, 154.

<sup>297</sup> Gilet, 155.

<sup>298</sup> Gilet, 156.

<sup>299</sup> Louis-Gabriel Michaud and Joseph-François Michaud, *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne : ou, Histoire par ordre alphabétique de la vie publique et privée de tous les hommes qui se sont fait remarquer par leurs écrits, leurs actions, leurs talents, leurs vertus ou leurs crimes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Michaud frères, 1811), 185.

<sup>300</sup> Barbier. *Le Réve Grec de Monsieur de Choiseul*, 235, Fraser, *Mediterranean Encounters*, 68-69.



*the Committee have put such an interest in it, that I can only show my gratitude to them by responding with my zeal to the desire they have to make the public soon enjoy the first deliveries. The Committee also invited the artists who must compete for the useful monuments that will be erected throughout the republic to consult my work, that is, all that I have collected of precious and admirable treasures from the superb buildings of the Greeks and Romans.*"<sup>301</sup>

The revolutionary government agreed to support the project financially; and in accordance with their ideas of Eastern expansion decided to publish it with the title, *Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phœnicie, de la Palæstine et la Basse-Ægypte*.<sup>302</sup> Even though the project was now a “national property/enterprise” there were still problems with the financing of the project, the engravers and Cassas were not getting paid.<sup>303</sup>

Under the *Directoire* government Cassas signed an authorship contract with Quatremère Quincy in 1796 and in 1797 Cassas signed another contract with Philippe Arcieri as the new Director of Publication and handed over the administrative roles.

The publication was made official when the *Prospectus* was published.<sup>304</sup> The book was planned to be published in three volumes consisting of three hundred thirty plates of engraving.<sup>305</sup> The first volume consisted of the engravings of Alexandretta, Aleppo, Antioch, Tripolis, and Palmyra. The second volume consisted of the engravings of Baalbek, Lebanon, Sidon, and Tyre. The third volume consisted of the engravings of Palestine, Egypt and finally

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<sup>301</sup> Appendix 28.

<sup>302</sup> Barbier, *Le Rêve Grec de Monsieur de Choiseul*, 235, Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 155. At the time they even announced an architecture competition based on Cassas’s drawings of Palmyra. The object of the competition was to be inspired by the architectural drawings of the ancient site and to design a Greek monument which would bring “a particular and analogue democratic republic character to French architecture.” However, the project was never realized.

<sup>303</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 163.

<sup>304</sup> Gilet, 163, 166. The prospectus was an informative advertisement of the book. Appendix 22.

<sup>305</sup> Louis-François Cassas, *Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicie, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte* (Paris: l’Imprimerie de République, 1799).

Cyprus.<sup>306</sup> Le Cen Guinguené, J. G. Legrand and M. L. Langles were indicated as the authors of the upcoming book. However, on the first page of the issue, the name Guinguené is missing and instead, F.J.G. de la Porte du Theil appears listed as one of the authors.<sup>307</sup>

For the purpose of being able to spark interest in the book and distribute it internationally the directors of the project signed yet another contract with two libraries installed all around Europe, Jean-Georges Treuttel and Jean-Godefroi Wurtz.<sup>308</sup> However, Cassas was in big financial distress. Rising production costs, devaluation of the revolutionary currency and inflation of the price of copper had put him in a very disadvantaged position.<sup>309</sup> Therefore, when the government stopped paying Cassas, he tried to finish the publication at his own expense with the help of subscriptions; however, after thirty deliveries he was not able to compensate anymore.<sup>310</sup> Furthermore, his subscribers were being seduced by other publications such as Vivant Denon's *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte: pendant les campagnes du général Bonaparte*. Finally, in 1802, this project was canceled in favor of the ambitious *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte*.<sup>311</sup> Then, in that same year, Choiseul-Gouffier came back from his exile in Russia by virtue of the new government. He took back the rights to the book and Cassas was left empty-handed.<sup>312</sup>

In the end, Cassas only managed to finish one hundred and eighty engravings out of the planned three hundred and thirty and deliver just thirty publications. All the preparatory

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<sup>306</sup> Appendix 22.

<sup>307</sup> Cassas, *Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte*.

<sup>308</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 174. The contract was signed on 11 April 1797 and stayed in until 1803 or 1804.

<sup>309</sup> Fraser, *Mediterranean Encounters*, 93-94.

<sup>310</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 188.

<sup>311</sup> Rita C Severis. "Although to Sight Lost, to Memory Dear: Representations of Cyprus by Foreign Travellers/Artists 1700-1955." (PhD diss., University of Bristol, 1999), 31. Annie Gilet, "Le Voyage dans l'empire ottoman," *Im Banne der Sphinx* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zahern, 1994), 107.

<sup>312</sup> Barbier, *Le Rêve Grec de Monsieur de Choiseul*, 235.

watercolors for the engravings were to be given to the French government and kept at the national library as part of the republic's collections.<sup>313</sup> Cassas disagreed and kept his work, hoping that the new government would fund his project.

*Voyage Pittoresque et Historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie*

In the spring of 1784, the drawings of Istria and Dalmatia were presented to the former ambassador in Vienna, Baron de Breteuil. One year later, in February 1785, Pittoni writes in his letter that he no longer is capable of funding this publication and cancels the project.<sup>314</sup> Afterward, due to the interest of the writer Joseph Lavallée the project is taken up again and *Voyage Pittoresque et Historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie* was published in 1802 by the Didot printing house in Paris.<sup>315</sup> The rest of the title reads “*Rédigé d'après Itinéraire de L. F. Cassas*” which makes it blatantly obvious that the author Joseph Lavallée based the book on Cassas' experiences and memoirs of his Istria and Dalmatia trip. Furthermore, it is indicated that all the engravings, maps and plans were drawn in-situ by Cassas: “*Work decorated with Prints, Maps and Plans, drawn and surveyed on site by Cassas, painter and architect, author and publisher of the Voyage pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phénicie, de la Palestine et delà basse Égypte...*”

As mentioned before, Lavallée's text was not fully accurate and was rather misleading, in particular, the facts about Cassas' trip and the origins of patronage.<sup>316</sup> Even

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<sup>313</sup> Fraser, *Mediterranean Encounters*, 76.

<sup>314</sup> For more details see subchapter Voyage to Istria and Dalmatia.

<sup>315</sup> Nassivera and Gilet, “Trieste et la Cité Vénitienne de Split,” 168.

<sup>316</sup> Previously for the study of this particular publication the only source was the text of Lavallée himself. However, after Nassivera's successful research it is now known that some of the so-called facts of Lavallée are indeed wrong which makes the previous research on this book somewhat faulted. Because they were based on the assumptions of those facts and were interpreted through that lens, they need to be approached with caution.

though Lavallée specifies that the text is based on Cassas' diary, the actual text was a combination of *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant* by J. Spon and G. Wheler, *Ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalato in Dalmatia* by R. Adam and *Voyage en Dalmatie* by Abbé G.B. Fortis.<sup>317</sup>

Due to the possible French interest in the region, Lavallée's choice of publication seems very in line with the current political atmosphere and rather visionary. In fact, after four years of the publication of the book, the two regions fell into French hands. Especially, considering that Napoléon and other high officials were listed as the first subscribers of the book, the idea that the purpose of the book was to play into the political needs of the era cannot be overseen.<sup>318</sup> Lavallée wrote about Istria and Dalmatia in a very derogatory way, as if the local habitants were not worthy enough to be living in such an esteemed place and the land needed saving to be able to go back to its glorious Roman days. The idea here is very similar to Orientalism in the sense that the Orient needed saving its Greco-Roman past from its Muslim residents and the magnificent Islamic architecture from the indifferent population. Therefore, the connection between the two ideas is rather clear, keeping in mind that Istria and Dalmatia were almost as "the other" as the Orient to the eighteenth-century French man.

The original patron of the book Pittoni praises Cassas' drawings and writes "*Mr. Cassas has made the most beautiful view in the world*" and "*I dare say he's surpassed*

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<sup>317</sup> Dragan Bogojević, "Le voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie de Joseph Lavallée : l'enchâssement textuel tardif (1802) des dessins de Louis François Cassas réalisés en 1782". *Convergences francophones* 5 (2018): 98.

<sup>318</sup> Jean-Pierre Caillet, "La publication du voyages pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie de L.-F. Cassas et J. Lavallée dans le contexte de la politique napoléonienne en Illyrie." *Kačić*, vol. 41-43 (2009/2011): 919-927. Bogojević, "Le voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie de Joseph Lavallée : l'enchâssement textuel tardif (1802) des dessins de Louis François Cassas réalisés en 1782." 97-109.

*Vernet*.<sup>319</sup> The majority of the said drawings are housed at the Wallraf-Richartz Museum and forty-five of the preparatory watercolors for the engravings are at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London. (Figure 38, Figure 39 and Figure 40)

### *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*

Count Marie-Gabriel de Choiseul-Gouffier published his seminal work titled *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce* in three volumes in 1782, 1809 and 1822. Choiseul-Gouffier began working on his first book after returning from his grand tour in 1777. The travel book consisted of depictions of landscapes, court scenes, rituals, houses, mosque squares, bazaars, and costume plates.

Cassas met Choiseul-Gouffier upon his return from Italy in Paris in 1784. He returned to the Mediterranean and traveled to the Ottoman Empire with the ambassador's entourage to work on *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce* alongside Jean-Baptiste Hilaire.<sup>320</sup> He stayed with the ambassador and made drawings for the upcoming volumes of the book on Greece and also made a trip to the Eastern territories of the Ottoman Empire with the orders and the financial support of the ambassador.

Cassas then went to Rome; whereas, Choiseul-Gouffier stayed in the Ottoman capital and then fled to Russia.<sup>321</sup> By doing so, he acquired the status of "émigré" and lost some of his rights as a French citizen. He returned to France in 1802 as a poor man and devoted himself to his studies and gained some of his rights back. He managed to publish his second volume of

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<sup>319</sup> Nassivera and Gilet, "Trieste et la Cité Vénitienne de Split," 167.

<sup>320</sup> Gilet and Mansel, "Les Lutteurs," 55.

<sup>321</sup> For more details on Choiseul-Gouffier's immigration, see subchapter *Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phœnicie, de la Palæstine et la Basse-Ægypte*.

the *Voyage Pittoresque* in 1809. The third and last volume of the book was published after his death in 1822.

Cassas' drawings appeared in the second and the third volumes of the book.

Engravings published in the second volume:

1. *Carte de la plaine de Troie* T II pl. 19 (drawing, painting, and engraving (Catalog no. 115, no. 236 and no. 293)
2. *Vue de la Vallée de Simoïs* T II pl. 24 (Catalog no. 294)
3. *Vue du Tombeau d'Ajax* T II pl. 26 (Catalog no. 295)
4. *Vue du Tombeau de Patrocle* T II pl. 27 (Catalog no. 296)
5. *Vue du Tombeau de Festus* T II pl. 29 (Catalog no. 297)

Engravings published in the third volume:

1. *Plan d'Alexandria-Troas* T II 39 (Catalog no. 298)
2. *Vue du Grand Monument d'Alexandria-Troas ...* 40 (Catalog no. 299)
3. *Vue du Château des Dardanelles ...* 53 (Catalog no. 300)

*Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte, pendant les années 1783, 1784 et 1785*

*Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte, pendant les années 1783, 1784 et 1785* written by Constantin-François de Chasseboeuf Volney was published in two volumes in 1787 in Paris.<sup>322</sup> The book was one of the sources that Napoléon had consulted before his Egyptian Campaign.<sup>323</sup> Charles Dédéyan purchased an old copy of an old book by Volney and realized

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<sup>322</sup> Constantin-François de Chasseboeuf Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte, pendant les années 1783, 1784 et 1785* (Paris, 1787). Jean-Marie Carré, *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Égypte II* (Cairo: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1932) 103-104.

<sup>323</sup> Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East*, 71.

that it was the copy that the author Volney had given to Cassas himself. Inscribed “*Donné au C. Cassas par l’auteur*” on the title page, the book also contained a letter.<sup>324</sup>

Cassas had given Volney two drawings, one of the Sphinx and one of the pyramids, to be published in the third volume of his *Voyage* series. However, the third volume of the book does not seem to have been published.<sup>325</sup> Yet, in another book titled *Œuvres de C. Volney, Tome II* published in 1825, there is one painting that fits the described drawings.<sup>326</sup> The engraving titled *Vue de Pyramides de Djizé* (Catalog no. 301) bears a resemblance to a drawing at the Wallraf-Richartz Museum. (Catalog no. 83) Moreover, the artist’s name can be observed at the bottom left “Cassas del.”

*Grandes vues pittoresques des principaux sites et monuments de la Grèce, de la Sicile et des sept collines de Rome*

In 1802 Cassas published several works from his Sicilian trip with the Piranesi brothers and once the Piranesi Chalcography closed, he recovered his copper plates and reused them for the publication of *Grandes vues pittoresques des principaux sites et monuments de la Grèce et de la Sicile et des sept collines de Rome*.<sup>327</sup> *Grandes vues* was published in 1813 in Paris as the result of the combined efforts of Cassas and Jacques Bance.<sup>328</sup> The book consisted of ten engravings depicting the great picturesque views of the

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<sup>324</sup> Charles Dédéyan, “Une lettre inédite de Volney au peintre Cassas,” *Revue d’Histoire littéraire de la France*, 51e Année, No. 4 (1951) :477.

<sup>325</sup> Dédéyan, “Une lettre inédite de Volney au peintre Cassas,” 478-479.

<sup>326</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 177.

<sup>327</sup> Sørensen and Stein, “Cassas, Dessinateur en Sicile,” 215. Madeleine Pinault-Sørensen, “Le Voyage en Sicile,” in *Im Banne der Sphinx* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zahern, 1994), 86-87.

<sup>328</sup> Louis-François Cassas and Jacques Louis Bance, *Grandes vues pittoresques des principaux sites et monuments de la Grèce et de la Sicile et des sept collines de Rome* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1813).

main sites and monuments of Greece and Sicily and six engravings depicting the seven hills of Rome.<sup>329</sup>

*Voyage pittoresque et historique du nord de l'Italie*

*Voyage pittoresque et historique du nord de l'Italie* by T. C. Bruun Neergaard was published in 1820 in Paris. The book was dedicated to the King of Denmark Friderick VI.<sup>330</sup>

In the book there are two engravings by Cassas:

1. *No 3 Vue de l'Isola madre une des iles Boromées* (Figure 41)
2. *No 4 Vue de l'Isola bella une des iles Boromées* (Figure 42)

*Voyage Pittoresque en Sicile*

Achille Etienne Gigault de La Salle's *Voyage Pittoresque en Sicile* was published in Paris by Didot in 1822-1826 and its English version *Select Views in Sicily; Accompanied by an Historical and Descriptive Account* was published in London in 1825.<sup>331</sup> There are two engravings in this book which belongs to Cassas:

1. *Fragments des Ruines d'un Temple à Selinunte* (Figure 43)
2. *Vue du Cap Sant' Alessio*.<sup>332</sup> (Figure 44)

Even though there is no documentation about this engraving, the signature "Cassas pinx." points to the artist's contribution.

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<sup>329</sup> "Quatrième Classe: Beaux – Arts," *Journal Général Littérature de France, Quinzième Année*, (Paris, 1812): 340. For detailed explanations of each engraving see "Quatrième Classe: Beaux – Arts."

<sup>330</sup> T. C. Bruun Neergaard, *Voyage pittoresque et historique du nord de l'Italie* (Paris: L'Imprimerie Firmin Didot, 1820)

<sup>331</sup> Achille Etienne Gigault de La Salle, *Voyage Pittoresque en Sicile* (Paris: Didot, 1822). Achille Etienne Gigault de La Salle, *Select Views in Sicily; Accompanied by an Historical and Descriptive Account*, trans. J. F. d'Ostervald (London: John Weale, 1825).

<sup>332</sup> Nelson J. Moe, *The View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question* (Oakland: University of California Press, Jul 25, 2002), 65.



*Voyage Pittoresque de Smyrna et d'Éphèse*

Due to a storm at the very beginning of Cassas' Eastern journey, *La Poulette* was obliged to anchor at Smyrna and fix its mast. The ship, the captain, the crew and Cassas were welcomed by Consul Joseph Amoreux and stayed there for nearly a month.<sup>333</sup> In the meantime, Cassas had the chance to explore his surroundings and to visit Ephesus.<sup>334</sup>

Cassas had the idea to publish a new *Voyage Pittoresque* this time depicting Ephesus and Smyrna. He had proposed the publication idea of seventy-two plates which would be published by the Maison Roi.<sup>335</sup> A document from 1823 shows Cassas' proposed project complete with the projected number of engravings, prices, and funding:

*“Since Mr. Le Maréchal announced his intention to give Mr. Cassas, Inspector of Works of the Royal Goblin Factory, the means to publish one of the works he has long held in his portfolio, this artist has had the honour of telling you several times about his desire to publish a Picturesque Journey to Smyrna and Ephesus in 12 issues, each consisting of 6 plates lithographed and drawn by the most distinguished artists. The price of the book will be 180 francs. I have the honor to ask you to authorize a subscription of 25 copies which would bring the expense to 4,500 francs, 3,000 charged in 1823 would be paid in advance to Cassas for the first expenses of the company, 1,500 francs in 1824.”*<sup>336</sup>

Even though the book was never realized, Cassas kept his portfolio. Unfortunately, it was scattered after his death in 1878, until it was bought by the Musée Beaux-Arts de Tours in 2008.<sup>337</sup>

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<sup>333</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas: In Search of Major Anatolian Sites,” 46

<sup>334</sup> Appendix 7.

<sup>335</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas: In Search of Major Anatolian Sites,” 46.

<sup>336</sup> Annie Gilet. “Le Carnet d'Éphèse de Louis-François Cassas,” 70-71.

<sup>337</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas: In Search of Major Anatolian Sites,” 47.

*Voyage Dans La Macédoine*

The first volume of *Voyage Dans La Macédoine* by Esprit Marie Cousinéry was published in 1813 in Paris. An engraving depicting Thessaloniki titled *Arc de triomphe d'Auguste et de M. Antoine, T I PII p. 26* bears the signature of Cassas. There are no documents regarding this engraving; nonetheless, it is signed at the bottom left as “Cassas pinx.” (Catalog no. 302)

*Voyage Pittoresque dans l'Empire Ottoman*

Choiseul Gouffier's *Voyage Pittoresque dans l'Empire Ottoman* is a combination of the three volumes of his *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*. Published posthumously in 1842 with two parts, the book contains engravings by Cassas that had already appeared in the last two volumes of the *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*.

There are no official images in the first part of the book; however, they may be included in there anonymously. In the second part of the book, there are eight indicated engravings which are a combination of the second and third volume of the *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*:

1. *Vue de la Vallée de Simoïs T II pl. 24*
2. *Vue du Tombeau d'Ajax T II pl. 26*
3. *Vue du Tombeau de Patrocle T II pl. 27*
4. *Vue du Tombeau de Festus T II pl. 29*
5. *Plan d'Alexandria-Troas T II 39*
6. *Vue du Grand Monument d'Alexandria-Troas ... 40*
7. *Vue du Château des Dardanelles ... 53*

*Palestine. Description géographique, historique et archéologique*

*Palestine. Description géographique, historique et archéologique. Avec planches* was a part of the series *L'Univers. Histoire et description de tous les peuples*. Published by Didot in 1845, the book was written by Salomon Munk.<sup>338</sup> Although there is no documentation regarding this publication, the engravings are signed “Cassas del” at the bottom left. There are three engravings that were drawn by Cassas:

1. *Monument sépulcral des Rois de Juda* (Catalog no. 303)
2. *Fontaine à Cana en Galilée* (Catalog no. 304, preparatory drawing Catalog no. 78)
3. *Vue à Napelouse sur l'emplacement de l'ancienne Sichem* (Catalog no. 305)

Architecture Gallery

"La Galerie de M. Cassas" was opened in 1806 on no 8, Rue de Seine to showcase architectural models and his paintings.<sup>339</sup> The gallery was open from ten in the morning until five in the afternoon and the entrance fee was 1 fr. 50 cents.<sup>340</sup>

Made with cork, clay, talc, and wood, the architectural models were scaled versions of various different monuments from around the world.<sup>341</sup> There were seventy-four models: eight to Ancient Egypt, four to Indian, one to Persian, twenty-nine to Greek, two of Etruscan, three to Cyclopean, twenty-five to Roman and three of them were dedicated to the architecture of the Late Roman Period.<sup>342</sup> Some models were constructed as the way Cassas

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<sup>338</sup> Salomon Munk. *L'Univers. Histoire et description de tous les peuples : 2,4 : Palestine. Description géographique, historique et archéologique. Avec planches* (Paris: Didot, 1845)

<sup>339</sup> Severis, “Although to Sight Lost, to Memory Dear,” 31

<sup>340</sup> *Mercure de France, Tome Vingt-Septième* (Paris: Imprimerie de le Normant, 3 January 1807): 42.

<sup>341</sup> Manuel Royo, “Les Maquettes de Rome et de Tivoli,” in *Voyages en Italie de Louis-François Cassas*, (Tours: Silvana Editoriale, 2016), 278.

<sup>342</sup> Dédéyan, “Une lettre inédite de Volney au peintre Cassas,” 487. *Mercure de France*, 42.

had seen them, and others were restored versions of the monuments.<sup>343</sup> The models were displayed on pedestals and there were paintings hanging on the walls intended for sale. (Figure 45 and Figure 46) One painting that could be recognized resembles Cassas' drawings of Palmyra. There was also an explanatory sheet accompanying the artworks.<sup>344</sup>

The setbacks of the big publication of Cassas have caused him many problems and opening the gallery was a solution to the artist's financial problems. He writes that he was forced to open the gallery for the public for the purpose of taking care of his family: "*The suspension of deliveries of my work of Syria having completely disrupted my business and aggravated my expenses, I am forced to make public this gallery whose proceeds fed my large family.*"<sup>345</sup> He also mentions that the government had provided a space for his gallery: "*The government (which) pulled me out of my unfortunate position of not knowing where to house my collection.*"<sup>346</sup>

There was an advertisement or an informative article about the gallery in a literary magazine of the period, the *Mercure de France*:

*"Mr. Cassas has just opened to the public his rich collection, which contains seventy-four models of ancient architectural monuments. These models are very well executed, and on a scale large enough for the most considerable to be up to four feet high. Some show only the ruins of these buildings, others show them fully restored, that is to say, such that from the existing debris one must believe that they were as a whole. The gallery of Mr. Cassas is open every day from ten to five o'clock. The entrance fee, with the explanatory sheet, is 1 fr. 50 cent."*<sup>347</sup>

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<sup>343</sup> *Mercure de France*, 42.

<sup>344</sup> *Mercure de France*, 42.

<sup>345</sup> Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas," 86.

<sup>346</sup> Gilet, 87.

<sup>347</sup> *Mercure de France*, 42.

After two years in 1808, the Emperor of Austria proposed to purchase the collection; however, the French State refused and decided to buy the collection for the Ecole des Beaux-Arts instead.<sup>348</sup> In 1810 models started to be gradually moved to the Palais des Beaux-Arts.<sup>349</sup> Yet, the payment was only completed in 1813.<sup>350</sup> After 1909 the models were dispersed and were never seen again, other than the seven models found at Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye by Jannick Durand.<sup>351</sup>

The Architecture Gallery was a place for Cassas to showcase his travels in a more tangible way. Also, he was familiar with the concept of having a gallery since his studio in Rome was overflowing with visitors curious to see his work.<sup>352</sup> In a sense, Cassas contributed to the institutionalization of museums by opening his gallery to the public.<sup>353</sup> What was once reserved for other artists, a privileged space, was now transformed into a public space. The gallery had a tremendous impact on the art and architecture of the era. Their later use at the Academy was one of the propellers of Neoclassicism and must have inspired many artists and architects alike. After visiting the gallery Vivant Denon commented on the gallery by underlining the authenticity and the great influence it had on architecture by saying: “*that it is of the utmost accuracy and, from this point of view, of major interest for the study of architecture.*”<sup>354</sup>

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<sup>348</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 89.

<sup>349</sup> Gilet, 90.

<sup>350</sup> Gilet, 91.

<sup>351</sup> Gilet, 91.

<sup>352</sup> Appendix 23.

<sup>353</sup> Gilet, “Louis-François Cassas,” 86. Werner Szambien, “La Galerie d’Architecture,” in *Im Banne der Sphinx* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zahern, 1994), 246.

<sup>354</sup> Royo, “Les Maquettes de Rome et de Tivoli,” 278. The original French of the text is as follows “qu'elle est de la plus grande exactitude et, sous ce point de vue, d'un intérêt majeur pour l'étude de l'architecture.”

Following the gallery, a book by J.G. Legrand titled *Collection des chefs-d'œuvre de l'architecture des différens peuples* was published in 1806 by the Imprimerie de Leblanc.<sup>355</sup> The title was followed by “executed as models, under the direction of L. F. Cassas, author of the *voyages d’Istrie, Dalmatie, Syrie Phœnicie, Palestine, Basse-Égypte, etc...*”<sup>356</sup> The book did not have any images, it only had the “observations” of the architect Legrand. It was divided into categories of Egyptian, Indian, Persian, Chinese, Greek, Etruscan, Cyclopean, Roman, and Late Roman architecture and Legrand focused on each monument that was on display. This book was regarded as a catalog of the collection.

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<sup>355</sup> J.G. Legrand, *Collection des chefs-d'œuvre de l'architecture des différens peuples* (Paris: Imprimerie de Leblanc, 1806).

<sup>356</sup> The original French text is as follows “exécutés en modèles, sous la direction de L. F. Cassas, auteur des voyages d’Istrie, Dalmatie, Syrie Phœnicie, Palestine, Basse-Égypte, etc...”

## CHAPTER IV

### CASSAS' ORIENTALISM

Louis-François Cassas traveled far and wide; yet, the Orient always had a special place in his life. It was his biggest challenge and the source of his much-anticipated fame and fortune. This love-hate relationship dictated many of his life decisions and set the course of his life. After Italy, the Orient was another land for him to conquer and he was ready to put some of the most significant aspects of his life aside, including severing all ties with his biggest supporter and patron the duke of Rohan-Chabot.

*“Constantinople, January 22 /February 26, 1786*

*It is in the enclosure of this beautiful monument, that I refused to stay among the miserable Arabs who lived there. It was in the midst of the greatest dangers that I came to terms with drawing and measuring everything that is most interesting.”<sup>357</sup>*

Although it was evident that he did not care for the people or the culture of the East and thought so little of them, he was intrigued by the past and the architecture. In his letters, the distaste of the artist towards the Ottomans (even though he separates them as Turks and Arabs) is extremely apparent. In his first letter from the Ottoman capital, the artist writes about the magnificent beauty of the “capital of the world,” describes what he has seen with awe and yet professes his antipathy for the Turks because they are not “attractive.”

*“From Constantinople, October 24, 1784*

*The situation of this city is admirable, nothing in the world is so noble and majestic, and announces such a large city, as all travelers say, for the capital of the world. Mosques are the most visible buildings. They are built on the model of Saint Sophia. The seraglio is at the city gate: it is a*

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<sup>357</sup> Appendix 8.

*mixture of palaces, groves, fountains, pavilions or kiosks, charming, tasteful (of a good taste) and the most beautiful view in the world, because at the same time you can see the Asian coasts, covered with trees and country houses; the Propontide and Olympus in the distance; opposite, is the Black Sea Canal, and to the left, the port covered with ships and surrounded on all sides by an amphitheatre of houses. From my bedroom window, I enjoy part of this beautiful view... Nothing will be able to keep me here any longer. Turks are not people attractive; I will have much more pleasure in finishing my drawings in Orléans than here.*<sup>358</sup>

It is obvious that Cassas had a certain ideology; however, how much of that was reflected in his work is still a question waiting to be answered. How much of Cassas' Orientalist view was projected on his work? In this following chapter, this issue will be discussed. Artist's oeuvre will be categorized and studied in accordance with their associated groups. The categories are standard Orientalist tropes, works that are simply a fragment of the artist's imagination and commodification of the geography.

### Orientalist Tropes

*“Larnaca, Cyprus, February 10, 1785.*

*Please forgive me for this brevity about a country where there was so much to say, both by the remarkable facts of ancient history and by the customs and laws of a people as superstitious as they are despicable. I dare say that we can add to everything we have said, many curious truths and anecdotes about a country that I believe is very unfamiliar to most travelers, who do not like to take the trouble that is necessary to know it well.*<sup>359</sup>

First of all, the standard tropes of Orientalism, from the Western point of view, are very much applicable to the majority of the visuals. *“Among Orientalist scholars, among*

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<sup>358</sup> Appendix 1.

<sup>359</sup> Appendix 7. The comment regarding superstition shows the profound effect of the Enlightenment on the artist and his way of thinking. Superstition was a certain concept that was highly discussed within the Enlightenment philosophical circles.



writers and in the popular imagination, Islam was often portrayed as lacking those very qualities which had made the West great: if the West valued freedom, rationality, progress and enterprise, Islam was now perceived as fostering servility, superstition, stagnation and indolence.”<sup>360</sup>

### Timelessness

Building on the aspect of absence of history, the sense of timelessness in the depicted lands attests to the underlying Orientalist ideas. The concept of timelessness is constructed by depicting figures in ancient costumes as if time had stopped or representing ancient sites as part of the daily life of locals.<sup>361</sup>

Drawing familiarity from the glorious past of Ancient Greece, creating an image in the viewer's mind of a continuous culture, as if there were no differences between the past and the present.<sup>362</sup> Trying to diminish the obvious change in the region was an indication of Orientalist notions.<sup>363</sup> This perpetuity of the lands, the people and the culture contrasted with the newly established Ottoman rule.<sup>364</sup>

Since “*decay, abandonment, idleness— were directly opposed to the values modern civilization,*” the contrast between the decaying glory of the ancient sites and the Ottomans who disregard the past of the European nations is noticeable.<sup>365</sup>

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<sup>360</sup> Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East*, 62.

<sup>361</sup> Eldem, *Consuming the Orient*, 187.

<sup>362</sup> Eldem, Severis, “Although to Sight Lost, to Memory Dear,” 42.

<sup>363</sup> Eldem, “Consuming the Orient,” 187.

<sup>364</sup> Eldem, 186.

<sup>365</sup> Shaw Wendy, “Between the Sublime and the Picturesque: Mourning Modernization and the Production of Orientalist Landscape in Thomas Allom and Reverend Robert Walsh’s Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor (c. 1839),” in *Poetics and Politics of the Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism*, (İstanbul: Pera Museum, 2011), 100.

In *Paysage de fantasie dans la Grèce antique* four female figures can be seen examining a sarcophagus with Greek inscriptions. (Catalog no. 239) In the background, the sea and what seems like a small village can be seen. The architectural remains, its adjacent sarcophagus and the trees surrounding these components dominate the composition. Standing next to a small lake, the figures are wearing chitons which are a common type of ancient clothing that was not worn at the time.<sup>366</sup> The composition is intriguing as well as anachronistic because the fragments of the architecture are damaged and in a ruined state; however, the female figures are wearing clothes that belong to the era of their creation. The contrast between the architecture and the fashion hints at the timeless nature of the lands. Even though the materials such as marbles and stones have not been able to fight against the forces of time and wear out, the people living there are still the same as their ancient ancestors. Eldem explains this phenomenon, he states:

*“... or even of Greece, where the western eye was likely to search for signs of permanence in the physical types, the customs, and the social fabric of these historical regions...the quest for traces of the ancient Greeks in the physiognomy and culture of citizens of the Hellenic kingdom were typical of this natural propensity of the western observer to obliterate any sign of change and dwell instead on all sorts of clues that revealed the unchanging nature of the Orient.”*<sup>367</sup>

The Gate of Persecution series is another example of the timeless state of Greek geography. (Catalog no. 164-171) On the right side of the composition a very accurate Gate of Persecution stands and in front of the impressive gate, a large number of figures, men, women, and children, are gathered. Even though the ancient site of Ephesus was abandoned and was no longer a part of daily life, the artist chose to depict the Greek site as a part of

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<sup>366</sup> Melisa Leventon. *Costume Worldwide* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), 24, Severis, “Although to Sight Lost, to Memory Dear,” 38.

<sup>367</sup> Eldem, “Consuming the Orient,” 187.

everyday life which “creates the impression of continuity and timelessness so dominant in representations of the Orient.”<sup>368</sup>

For his Cyprus paintings, there is nothing in his compositions to hint at the Ottoman rule, the compositions appear as if they are from a Greek geography.<sup>369</sup> The way in which the artist combined various elements in his composition to turn a Turkish scene into a Greek one, or to give a “Greek” feel to the composition can be seen in his paintings.<sup>370</sup> He dressed native people differently than their local or traditional costumes and made them wear costumes that would resemble Greece.<sup>371</sup> One of the examples where the artist adopted an anachronistic approach is the painting *Ruines du Monastere de Cozzafani, Chypre* and the corresponding engraving *Ruines du Monastere de Cozzafani, dans l’isle de Chypre*. (Catalog no. 181 and no. 292) The two works depict the ruinous status of the monastery in its current state; however, the incorporated figures are dressed in a more classical Grecian way, instead of their local Cypriot attires. The artist created images with underlying Philhellenistic messages which disregarded the current Ottoman rule.<sup>372</sup> In her dissertation Severis ties the total disregard of Ottoman presence with Philhellenism, she describes: “By the end of his journey around the Island he had formed his own ideas and these are easily detected in his paintings which can be regarded as genuinely philhellenic. He abandoned the role of an observer, and expressed his feelings in his illustrations in a discreet but also explicit and picturesque manner...”<sup>373</sup> These imaginary scenes are designed to recall the island’s Greek

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<sup>368</sup> Eldem, 187.

<sup>369</sup> Severis, “Although to Sight Lost, to Memory Dear,” 40.

<sup>370</sup> Severis, 35.

<sup>371</sup> Severis, 38.

<sup>372</sup> Severis, 39 – 42.

<sup>373</sup> Severis, 43.

past.<sup>374</sup> By presenting the “glorious” past, he created a sense of timelessness as if the time stood still and the only thing had changed was the Ottoman presence and the effects of it on the landscape and the people.<sup>375</sup>

Timelessness meant that in a geography that was so deeply connected with its history it was not possible to see the telltale signs of time.<sup>376</sup> Regarding his trip to Troy Cassas writes about the unchanging nature of the place, “*These tombs are still what they were in the time of that great poet (Homer) who had seen them.*”<sup>377</sup>

### Backwardness

“Constantinople, January 10, 1786.

*Moreover, I had a lot to suffer, and it is not without danger that I have travelled and made so many beautiful journeys in a country as barbaric as that of the Turks...please God, be at the end of this year at the latest; and if the ambassador did not need me, I would go earlier to my homeland.*”<sup>378</sup>

Another cornerstone of Orientalism is the backward nature of the people, their violent disposition and the absence of work in images. The representation of violence and laziness connotes the “*corruption of the contemporary society.*”<sup>379</sup> The image of “the Barbaric Turks,” as called by Cassas, is a very common trope of Orientalism. So are the slothful and lazy depictions of the “resting Orientals” which assert “*vice of idleness.*”<sup>380</sup>

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<sup>374</sup> Severis, 41.

<sup>375</sup> Eldem, “Consuming the Orient,” 186, Severis, “Although to Sight Lost, to Memory Dear,” 39.

<sup>376</sup> Eldem, “Consuming the Orient,” 187.

<sup>377</sup> Appendix 11.

<sup>378</sup> Appendix 9.

<sup>379</sup> Nochlin, “The Imaginary Orient,” 38.

<sup>380</sup> Nochlin, 38.

The very first plate of the book, *Abord de la ville d'Alexandrette, Costume des Gardes posté sur le rivage de la mer. Navires abrités dans le golfe*, is also the first example of an intimidating Oriental. (Catalog no. 270) In the engraving, the guard is shown smoking a pipe while resting his hand on his weapon while another sword is tucked into his belt. The other four soldiers in the back are also heavily armed and depicted in a casual manner. It is an interesting choice for this particular image to be the opening plate of the book. Considering the fact that opening images rarely lack in meaning, they are one of the best ways to convey messages. For example, the opening plate of Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage Pittoresque* with a female personification of Greece in chains was one of the biggest hints of his Philhellenism and at the same time caused of a lot of distress.<sup>381</sup> (Figure 24) The rivaling English ambassador had told the Ottoman officials about his book and ideals; thus, the ambassador was forced to prove otherwise by printing a new version of his book with a brand new first page at the French Palace in Istanbul.<sup>382</sup> Therefore, the importance of the first pages and the messages they carry are undeniable. While Choiseul-Gouffier's book opened with the depiction of the enchained Greece to underline his Philhellenism, Cassas' book opened with an intimidating presence of an Ottoman figure.<sup>383</sup>

The second example is the *Costume et Portrait d'un homme d'armes au Caire*. (Catalog no. 286) An Oriental soldier is portrayed fully equipped with an ax, a sword, and a gun. Behind him, there is another soldier wearing an embossed armor and a helmet, carrying a big bat, a shield and a banner. The emphasis here in this image is the intimidating nature of these two soldiers.

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<sup>381</sup> Eldem, "Orientalism and Archaeology," 32-33.

<sup>382</sup> Philip Mansel, *Constantinople: City of World's Desire, 1453 – 1924* (London: Penguin Books, 1997), 205.

<sup>383</sup> Fraser, *Mediterranean Encounters*, 76-77.

The third example is *Portrait d'Hassan Pacha, en 1786. --Ce célèbre Capitan-Pacha, ou Commandant des Flottes du Grand-Seigneur, avait coutume, dans ses promenades, de mener avec lui un lion apprivoisé. Il est ici représenté se promenant sur le port de Constantinople.* (Catalog no. 279) High admiral of the fleet, minister of the Ottoman navy Cezayirli Hasan Paşa can be recognized “with his pet lion which he was in the habit of taking out for walks.”<sup>384</sup> Cassas uses this figure again in his painting *Les lutteurs*, sitting within the tent watching the wrestlers. (Catalog no. 265) The intimidating presence of Hasan Paşa is clearly evident in this composition. Aside from his stern and threatening demeanor and his weapons; the bowing soldier, the towering ship, the spilled cannonballs and most importantly his pet lion is enough to create a fearsome image in the viewers’ eyes.

The fourth example is *Route de Hhemss à Palmyre. Repos de la petite Caravane avec laquelle l'Artiste voyageait la première fois (au mois de mai 1785) qu'il partit du Hhemss (jadis Emèse), pour se rendre à Palmyre. Arrivée d'une troupe de brigands arabes. Défense de la petite Caravane. Le lieu de la scène est au dessus de Sudud, village qui se trouve avant celui d'Howarein sur la route de Hhemss à Palmyre.* (Catalog no. 272) Aside from just providing views of the Syrian landscape, this engraving tells a story, the story of Cassas and the hardship he had faced during his trip to Palmyra. In one of his letters, he complained that he had suffered very much. He told the story of his treacherous voyage, the way in which he was robbed which forced him to return and start his journey all over again, and constantly fighting bandits along the way:

“Constantinople, January 22/ February 26, 1786.

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<sup>384</sup> Gilet and Mansel, “Les Lutteurs,” 156.

*Everything I've had to suffer from cannot be imagined. After two days of walking, I was stripped by a party of Arabs who left us almost naked; I was forced to retrace my steps and take back other supplies, and especially water that is nowhere to be found in the desert, and I started my journey again. We had to fight several times; there were always difficulties and constant alarms, but the extreme desire to satisfy my curiosity, combined with a hardened temperament accustomed to suffering, was enough for me to overcome all.*"<sup>385</sup>

The engraving shows a group of people hiding behind a set of bushes ready to fight the oncoming group of heavily armed bandits. Due to the perspective of the composition, the viewer sees the bandits towering over them and feels the danger looming over. Therefore, the viewer unconsciously and unintentionally relates directly to the artist's group. This pictorial effect enhances the stereotypic image of the violent and dangerous Orient. The personal agenda of Cassas is very apparent in this engraving. The fact he purposefully chose to include this event and show the Arab attackers in the book is his way of getting his ideas and opinions across. To erase all shards of doubt, he specifically put it in the title that he was indeed present during that battle and made sure that everybody reading the book would know about all the trouble he went through and the source of that trouble were the Orientals.

This set of engravings is a definite contrast with the rest of the book *Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie...* They are not picturesque views; they do not combine beauty with the sublime. On the contrary, they excrete uneasiness and danger.

*Tombeau d'Iamblichus a Palmyre, Vue en grand de la niche qui décore l'une des faces du tombeau* and *Tombeau d'Iamblichus a Palmyre, Restauration géométrale de la niche qui décore l'une des faces du tombeau* both depict the tomb of Iamblichus in Palmyra.

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<sup>385</sup> Appendix 8.

(Catalog no. 276 and no. 277) The first image depicts the actual status of the niche with Oriental heads popping out of the little gap on the wall, while the second shows the restored version of the tomb of Iamblichus according to the artist's imagination. The choice of displaying the two images consecutively may have been the artist's attempt at highlighting the effect of the Ottoman rule. By creating contrast, the artist underlines and hints at the idea of the glorious past being violated by the local Muslims.

The second example is *Monumens situés dans la vallée qui mène a Palmyre. Le Monument dont cette planche offre la principale face et la niche décoré de sculptures, ainsi que les deux Monumens ruinés qui se voyent à droite sont situés tout proche des montagnes sur le sommet des quelles se trouve l'ancien chemin du Château.* (Catalog no. 275) The engraving shows Oriental figures, either sitting, climbing or trying to get into the monument through the cracks. The mountain in the background and the remnants of other monuments and ruins wraps up the composition. The combination of the ruinous state of the site and the monument with the nonchalant attitude of the Orientals is what makes this composition a testimony of Cassas' opinions of the East.

In one of his letters, he writes that Turks excavated certain places where they thought that gold was buried. The negligence of the Turks, beside the gold, was perfectly acceptable, what surprised the artist was the fact that other European travelers were unfamiliar with the site in question:

“July 22, 1786.



*The Turks, convinced that gold can be found under all the monuments, have excavated it in part... It should come as no surprise that these monuments have come down to us; but what surprises us is that they have escaped the search for all travelers.*<sup>386</sup>

The third example is *Ruined d'un edifice situe pres les ruines du temple de Neptune*. (Catalog no. 273) The engraving portrays a man sitting on top of ruins among other various monuments. The figure is both slothful and intimidating. The way he sits on the ruin shows the dispassionate stance of the man regarding the broken pieces of architecture. Meanwhile, his exposed ax and frightening demeanor attest to the violent nature of the man.

The fourth example is *Troisième vue du Chemin d'Antonin, avant d'arriver a Baruth. Inscriptions antiques et Bas-reliefs taillés dans le roc* which has a corresponding painting titled *Young artist studying the Assyrian stele at the border to Nahral-Kelb River (Libanon)*. (Catalog no. 278) In the engraving, Cassas is shown examining the Assyrian monument accompanied by Oriental figures. One of them is showing him the stele and the other is sleeping on a rock. The juxtaposition of the learned European man and the sleeping Oriental creates a distinct contrast between the two cultures.

### Imaginary Compositions

Cassas' works certainly have a "documentary realism" in most cases, he tries to be as authentic as possible regarding architecture.<sup>387</sup> Yet, this attitude did not stop the artist from producing images stemming from his imagination, whether they be real places with unreal additions, landscapes with an ethnographic touch, total fantasy views or fictional restorations.

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<sup>386</sup> Appendix 11.

<sup>387</sup> Donald A. Rosenthal. *Orientalism, the Near East in French Painting, 1800-1880*. (University of Rochester Press, 1982), 140-141.

## Real Places with Unreal Additions

In some of his compositions, Cassas chose to add different elements to real places to achieve more alluring picturesque views. He also combined several different elements to create more attractive and visually pleasing compositions. Victoria & Albert Museum's observation on the artist seems fitting in this instance: "*Visual responses to antiquities, for instance, ranged from careful delineations of the architectural and decorative features of ruins to less accurate but more vivid views deliberately composed to create a particular pictorial effect.*"<sup>388</sup>

The composition of *View of Sultanahmet Mosque from Kadiköy Point* departs from the traditional historical peninsula depictions where the vantage point is either from the hills or the skirts of Pera. (Catalog no. 149) Cassas illustrates Sarayburnu in a very different light by focusing on the Sultanahmet Mosque. He depicts the Seraglio Point in the midst of galleys sailing down the Bosphorus through the trees of the forest with Oriental figures in the foreground. In the drawing of the painting, there is an inscription which reads "*La Mosquée du Sultan Ahmet prise de "Fener-Backessi ou jardin du/fanal/point de Calcédoine".*" (Catalog no. 7) However, looking out from Fenerbahçe or Kadiköy it is not possible to see the cityscape like this or to see a piece of land blocking the view. Therefore, even though the cityscape and the overall atmosphere may seem accurate, the constructed composition is not. The artist had made a conscious decision to add the figures which give a more ethnographic feel to the painting.

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<sup>388</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum, *Voyages & Visions: Nineteenth-Century European Images of the Middle East from the Victoria and Albert Museum* (Seattle and London: Victoria and Albert Museum and University of Washington Press, 1995), 99-101.

The main emphasis of the painting *Theatre of Myra, now Demre, in Lycia*, originally titled as *Vue du Theatre de Cacanie en Caramancie*, is the ancient theatre of Myra. (Catalog no. 172) Behind the theatre and the many trees surrounding it, rock-cut tombs carved in the mountain can be observed. Three figures are standing and another three are sitting and smoking pipes in the middle of the ancient theatre. The waterfall in the foreground adds movement to the composition and in the background, other mountains in the distance can be seen. However, the trees filling the composition and the waterfall are inaccurate additions. For this composition, the overall atmosphere was more important than the truthful depiction of the site's topography and merging the past with a beautiful view took precedence over "photographic accuracy."<sup>389</sup>

*Vue de la tête colossale du Sphinx et de la 2ème Pyramide d'Egypte* or *The Sphinx and the Pyramid of Gizeh* is one of the many reproduced compositions. (Catalog no. 219-224) It depicts a portion of the pyramid of Gizeh with a body of clouds cutting it in half. There are figures in the foreground, both Europeans dressed in the revolutionary fashion and Orientals with spears conversing with the foreign visitor or being involved with their camels either lying beside them or riding them. Finally, the Sphinx stands in the middle of the composition, interestingly enough complete with a nose.

Doris Behrens-Abouseif comments on Cassas by writing "*Cassas's pictures should not be indiscriminately trusted for their documentary value. The fact that he often provides genuine documentary material makes it yet more difficult to guess where fantasy comes into play.*"<sup>390</sup> As this statement suggests, it is difficult to pinpoint exactly where Cassas'

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<sup>389</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum, 99-101.

<sup>390</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, "Between Istanbul and Cairo," 7.

imagination came into play regarding his compositions. Behrens-Abouseif writes “As an archaeologist who had worked extensively on classical architecture, Cassas understood his task as one of exploration, as well as interpretation and reconstruction. This view led him to make bold “restorations,” as his portrait of the Sphinx with integral nose and lips demonstrate.”<sup>391</sup> The restored nose of the Sphinx was one of Cassas’ many additions. It is interesting to see that the artist had chosen to fix the broken nose; yet, he left the rest of the head untouched.

While he was touring the orient, the artist went undercover and tried his best to keep his true European identity a secret, he had grown a beard and dressed like the local people. He traveled alongside locals with caravans. In the engraving titled *Tombeau d’Absalon, situé dans la vallée dite de Josaphat, et taillé dans le roc, costume, sous le quel l’Artiste déguisé a pu prendre à loisir les mesurer du monumen* Cassas is shown disguised wearing the clothes of the land. (Catalog no. 282) This incident is not only shown but also explained in the title. Therefore, the presence of Europeans dressed so explicitly foreign is highly unlikely. However, putting the Europeans in that composition gave the feeling of them actually being there, especially, considering the success of Napoléon’s Egyptian Campaign.

Cassas was a supporter of the revolution which can be seen from his letters and the way in which he addressed people. In his earlier letters to Desfriches, he always uses “*Monsieur*” as a salutation; whereas, in his letters, after his return to Paris he starts using “*citoyen*.” Moreover, the artist changes his closing remarks from “*Monsieur, Votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur*” to “*Salut et fraternité*.”

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<sup>391</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, 6.

*Vue du Bosphore*, currently in a private collection, depicts an Ottoman kiosk overlooking the Bosphorus. (Catalog no. 158) In the distance, two fortresses on each side of the sea can be seen with boats floating in between the two shores. Right next to the kiosk, a cemetery right on the shore catches the eye and then the female figures making their way towards the viewers. To their left, there are three men sitting and smoking, and the foliage of the vegetation alongside several trees covers the foreground. The building on the left is taken from the drawing *Le Palais de Kavak*; however, the rest of the composition is manipulated. (Catalog no. 36) The two fortresses of the Bosphorus, Rumeli Hisarı and Anadolu Hisarı could not be seen from this point of view. The artist put Rumeli Hisarı on the right and Anadolu Hisarı on the left which means that the vantage point must be from the north to the south. However, the kiosk was located in Üsküdar which is located on the south of the fortresses, making this composition unreal. If it was indeed a view from the kiosk, the fortresses should have been on the other sides of the Bosphorus.<sup>392</sup>

The last example is the engraving titled *Antioche, appelée par les Arabes, Anthâkyeh. Vue de la porte, dite de Médine, (Bâb êl-Medynah,) prise en dedans de la ville* from *Voyage Pittoresque Syrie...* (Catalog no. 271) This example is quite different from the rest regarding to its unreal addition. Instead of adding pictorial elements, a new geographical location was attached to the engraving. The same engraving was published in a book about Palestine. The engraving was included in *Palestine. Description géographique, historique et archéologique* with a new title *Vue à Napelouse sur l'emplacement de l'ancienne Sichem*, a Biblical city located in the West Bank. (Catalog no. 305) Within a span of forty years, the view of Antioch was translated into a view of Sichem.

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<sup>392</sup> Pinon, "Constantinople Et l'Asie-Mineure," 121.

## Landscapes with an Ethnographic Touch

The artist created vistas by combining beautiful landscapes full of trees and greenery usually with a body of water and mountains in the background. By adding *staffage* or “little people” belonging to the Orient, he constructed rather ambiguous pieces of the Orient regarding geography and time. His use of *staffage* and decorative elements are usually constructed. The use of *staffage* in Cassas’ paintings are obvious; however, with what intention he chose to include them is still an unanswered question.<sup>393</sup> Whether the artist simply wanted to incorporate figures into his landscapes to indicate the scale and for aesthetic reasons, or to step outside of *staffage* and convey certain messages remains unknown. Nevertheless, whether consciously or unconsciously, Cassas managed to create many paintings with what could be explained by “*landscape exoticism*.”<sup>394</sup>

*“...images that ‘sell’ the Orient as a destination tended initially to put the emphasis on the exotic nature of the environment, with due respect for the expectations of oriental(ist) tropes: palm trees, the desert, a blue sky, the sea... However, the scenery rarely stood alone, as a need was also felt to represent the human environment, hence the frequent recourse to ‘typical’ constructions — historical and/or vernacular — and, most of all, to human figures with the same ‘local’ and, therefore, exotic appeal.”*<sup>395</sup>

*Edhem Eldem*

Simply creating beautiful landscapes was not enough, the composition was complete once it acquired an identity with the help of figures or little ethnographic details which

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<sup>393</sup> *Staffage* is incorporating human figures into landscapes paintings. They are not the subject of the painting, but rather added into the composition as secondary elements to serve other purposes such as creating depth and a sense of scale.

<sup>394</sup> Eldem, “Consuming the Orient,” 93.

<sup>395</sup> Eldem, 263.

“worked as a label of authenticity that proved to the viewers that they were getting the ‘real thing’ without having to abandon the comfort of their hometown.”<sup>396</sup>

The first example of a work of this type is *A landscape with waterfalls, figures with a dromedary in front of a fountain in the foreground on the left*. (Catalog no. 255) In the middle of this painting, the waterfalls flow from the mountaintops and continue to snake between the hills. Three figures are seen climbing upwards accompanied by a camel. The camel is looking towards the direction of a water foundation amidst the trees which pours into a broken sarcophagus.

In this particularly Egyptian inspired painting, *Caprice égyptien avec un obélisque et des pyramides*, the artist combined several elements of Egyptian architecture. (Catalog no. 251) The pyramids in the distance, the obelisk, the temple-like building with a hieroglyph/relief and the palm trees create an Egyptian setting. The half-circle consisting of men and women watches two women dancing in front of a house with a sunshade. The people gathered around the little pond enlivens the composition.

Another example is the painting *Paysage avec ruines antiques*. (Catalog no.252) At the foot of the mountain, there is an Ottoman tomb, next to it a woman is trying to reach the tombstone while the other two are holding on to each other. To their left, there is a sarcophagus with floral decoration and on the very right there are four men sitting underneath the tress. In the middle of the composition, there is an opening between the trees so that the small village on the seashore, the aqueduct and the peak of the mountain on the other side of the sea can be seen. In this example, the majority of the sense of place is created

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<sup>396</sup> Eldem, 93.

by the tombstones. Tombstones were one of the favorite additional elements of the artist. He used them frequently in his imagined compositions. Aside from this example, Cassas uses tombstones in *Stèles en ruine dans un cimetière d'Orient*, *Champ du repos sous les pins*, *A Scene of Oblation*, and *Orientaux aux abords d'une forêt et d'un point*. (Catalog no. 256, no. 253, no. 254, and no. 248) They are also often present in his Istanbul views. The imaginary *Vue de Constantinople*, the large *Vue de Constantinople*, the colored engravings *Vue de Constantinople, prise de la mer de Marmara* and the constructed *Vue du Bosphore* view all have tombstones included in the composition. (Catalog no. 144, no. 147, no. 150-155 and no. 158)

*Personnages devant une tombe en ruines dans un paysage fluvial* or *Turks by ancient tombs on the coast* are the reproductions of the same composition. (Catalog no. 249 and no. 250) They are almost identical except the tree standing to the left of the open sarcophagus. In *Personnages devant une tombe en ruines dans un paysage fluvial* the tree is leaning towards the right, blocking the view of the mountain peaks in the back. However, in *Turks by ancient tombs on the coast* the whole of the mountain can be seen. Aside from this difference, the open sarcophagus in the front and the three men dressed in Ottoman garb, the ruined walls and relief, and the other sarcophagus behind the trees are exactly the same. In this composition, the three men looking intently at the open tomb in front of them which creates the “Ottoman feel.”

The next example is in the Albertina and it is titled *River Landscape with Figures*. (Catalog no. 245) In the background, atop of the mountain, there is a building with a tower and starting from the foot of the mountain a river flow calmly. The women are sitting right next to the river, casting their reflections on the water. On the other side of the river, there



are two men looking up at a weathered column. The inscription on the column is not precise; however, they resemble Greek letters. This view would be lost without the figures which narrow down the possible locations to the domains of the Ottoman Empire or the Orient at large. *Ottomans dans un paysage imaginaire, une forteresse dans le lointain* is a very similar painting currently in a private collection. (Catalog no. 246)

This is yet another landscape with a mountain in the distance, an abundance of greenery and a body of water where people are gathered. The same concept of combining ethereal backdrops with water is very common in Cassas' works. It can be seen in *View of a clearing by a lake, with Turkish figures before a ruined temple*, among others, mentioned previously. (Catalog no. 247)

The next painting is titled *Orientaux près des ruines d'Alexandria Troas en Asie Mineur*. (Catalog no. 244) In the background, there are mountains and the sea where ships can be seen sailing. On the left side of the composition, there is a sarcophagus on a pedestal and underneath it, various parts of columns are scattered around. Three Orientals with guns are walking away from the ruin and two others are sitting on the edge of the cliff where the sarcophagus is situated. The costumes of the men are a definite indicator of the geography and the ruins add a sense of history.

A very similar painting to this example is the *Autoportrait de l'artiste dessinant un sarcophage* where instead of the Oriental figures, the artist has drawn himself drawing the sarcophagus. (Catalog no. 243) There is also an Oriental figure with one hand pointing at the ruin and the other tightly holding his gun. Other than the lack of trees in the autoportrait, and the presence of the date and signature of the artist, the paintings are the same. Another similar painting to this which is another autoportrait is *Paysage avec autoportrait*. (Catalog

no. 242) This painting is in line with the general theme of mountains, the body of water, greenery and a ruin of some sort. Here the artist is again depicted as if he is drawing the ruins on the right.

Another composition in this category titled *Paysage* belongs to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans. (Catalog no. 240) The peak of the mountain, the water reflecting the tower and the boat, and the various types of trees filling the composition create a beautiful landscape. The ruins with the inscription, the broken columns and the fallen relief give a sense of history while the figures placed in the middle provide a sense of realness. The most interesting part of this painting is the soldier dressed in Ancient Greek or Roman manner standing tall with his right hand extended out and his left balancing his sword on the ground. His armor, the red cape, the helmet, the shortness of his outfit and the sword all suggest inspiration stemming from Ancient Rome.<sup>397</sup> However, the other figures especially the one sitting by himself between the trees look as if he is wearing a turban. This juxtaposition of the Orientals and the Ancient Greco-Roman soldier is extremely confusing. Was this an attempt by Cassas to show the timelessness of the realm?

One of the aspects of Orientalism is the sense of reality of the images and the way in which certain elements in a composition help cover up the imaginary parts. Rosenthal's documentary realism gives the viewer a sense of accuracy as if the constructed scene is real.<sup>398</sup> By combining aesthetically pleasing views and figures which supposedly belonged to a certain geography, "*The ethnographic touch*," Cassas successfully managed to create an exoticized landscape.<sup>399</sup>

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<sup>397</sup> Due to the low resolution of the image, it is difficult to come to a definite conclusion.

<sup>398</sup> Rosenthal, *Orientalism, the Near East in French Painting*, 140-141.

<sup>399</sup> Rosenthal, 21, 93, 94.

*“In its familiarity, landscape painting thus played a far more subtle game of constructing an opinion of the East through established pictorial languages of beauty, the sublime, and the picturesque which could gain new meanings when transcribed onto distant lands...European travelers sought refuge in a timeless and unchanging East that could eternally satiate their nostalgia. Thus, such travel literature supports the tropes of the timeless Orient built into the Orientalist genre, but instead of implicitly supporting the imperial power of Europe.”*<sup>400</sup>

Wendy Shaw

### Fantasy Views

There are many imaginary compositions among Cassas’ works. Other than little additions to compositions that depict real locations, there are some compositions that are completely fictitious. The goal of these paintings was to appeal to the viewers’ imagination.

*Promenade dans les Jardin du Sérail* is similar to the previously discussed “landscapes with an ethnographic touch” because the foundation of the composition is the same as the previous examples. (Catalog no. 143) However, with this painting, the artist takes the element of fantasy a step further by adding complete pieces of architecture. The ambiance resembles recreation areas similar to Göksu, Büyükdere, Kağıthane, and the architectural elements looks as if they were inspired by the Rumeli and Anadolu Fortresses.<sup>401</sup> So far, the landscape looks rather European but with the additions of the small mosque to the left of the fortress which is indicated by a single pencil minaret and the kayıks/caiques in front of the aqueduct and the figures provide a sense of Oriental geography. The most prominent figures are two women facing the viewer and the four men who are sitting on the shore looking out at the view. What makes this painting stand out from the rest

<sup>400</sup> Shaw, “Between the Sublime and the Picturesque,” 95.

<sup>401</sup> Pera Müzesi, *Düşlerin Kenti İstanbul* (İstanbul: Pera Müzesi, 2014), 90.

is the title, *Stroll in the Palace Garden* or *Promenade dans les Jardin du Sérail*. By putting the “Serail” in the title which directly refers to the Ottoman capital the artist declares that this view belongs to Istanbul. Yet, it does not.

*Promenade dans les jardin du Sérail* was made in 1822 which was around the time when Cassas proposed the project of *Voyage Pittoresque de Smyrna et d'Éphèse*.<sup>402</sup> Therefore, it is rather unlikely for the artist to have forgotten what the Ottoman capital had actually looked like. It may have been an attempt at showing the so-called European foundation of Istanbul because the city was now inherently and dominantly Islamic looking due to the abundance of mosques and other examples of Ottoman architecture. Here, the artist could have tried to peel off the Ottoman layers and show the European roots of the city while still giving it an Ottoman feel with the mosque and the figures. As an alternative, Aykut Gürçağlar argues in his dissertation that Cassas' aim was to domesticate the Orient to help his European audience get familiarized with the view. In order to create an Orient that is easier to understand and escape to the artist combined his Rococo style with the exoticism of the East.<sup>403</sup>

### Restorations

Cassas made compositions out of restored and reconstructed images of ancient Greek, Roman or Egyptian sites and ruins based on his plans and measurements. The majority of these restorations were done on Egyptian monuments. Aside from the reconstructed buildings, figures were added into the composition wearing ancient Greco-

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<sup>402</sup> August Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore au XVIIIe siècle*, (Paris: ACR Edition, 1989), 228.

<sup>403</sup> Gürçağlar, *Hayali İstanbul Manzaraları*, 169. Aside from Orientalism, the inspiration for this painting could have been stemming from the Romanticism movement and its inclination towards creating the imaginary. Since this painting was made towards the end of the artist's life, perhaps the influence of Romanticism needs to be mentioned as well.

Roman costumes. All figures were represented as Greco-Roman despite the location of the site, including Egyptian monuments.

These reconstructions were created to show the pre-Islamic state of the places. By glorifying the ancient status of the sites, the artist was trying to legitimize the end of Ottoman rule. The contrast with the current state of the sites in ruin in other plates and their ancient glory in the restorations, he emphasized the oppression and the destruction under the Ottoman state.<sup>404</sup> Furthermore, the restorations provided a sense of timelessness. Similar to their Greek counterparts, displaying the sites in their original state, eliminated the difference between past and present.

The first example is the engraving *Restauration d'un Temple Égyptien. Ce monument est situé pres de l'ancienne Peluse...* (Catalog no. 288) The engraving depicts the reconstructed state of an Egyptian Temple. Besides the dominating architecture, the most interesting aspect of the engraving is the figures. A large number of animated figures dressed in ancient Greco-Roman clothes are grouped in various locations of the composition. The smoke coming out of the temple suggests that a ceremony may be taking place.

The second example is the engraving *Restauration d'un Temple Égyptien. Développement de la partie du milieu du temple.* (Catalog no. 289) This engraving shows a detail from the previous composition. There is a considerable amount of people inside the building attending a ceremony, as well as, climbing the steps.

The third example is the engraving *Temples Égyptiens avec tous les genres d'accessoires dont on pourrait supposes que la magnificence Égyptienne décorait ces*

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<sup>404</sup> Mercedes Volait, "History or Theory? French Antiquarianism, Cairene Architecture and Enlightenment Thinking," in *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 39 (2010): 231, 236.

*grands monuments*. (Catalog no. 290) This engraving displays a wide array of Egyptian architecture, including a pyramid, two obelisks, monumental architectural structures, statues, reliefs, and hieroglyphs. Even though it was not titled as a “restoration,” figures in ancient Greco-Roman costumes attest to that idea.

The fourth example is the engraving *Grande pyramide, Même légende que la planche précédente*. (Catalog no. 291) It depicts a pyramid behind an architectural structure and on both sides, there are obelisks and a series of reliefs with sphinx statues on top. Similar to the previous one, the title does not indicate a restoration; however, the two big lines of figures in ancient costumes convey a clear message.

The first four engraved reconstructions are all from the *Voyage Pittoresque Syrie...* which was published in part in 1799, right when Cassas was competing with Vivant Denon and his *Voyage*. After Napoléon’s 1798 conquest, Egyptomania was on the rise and these staged reconstructions promoted the dream of Egyptomania.<sup>405</sup> The monumentality of the architecture of Ancient Egypt had captivated the modern Europeans.<sup>406</sup> The aim was to highlight the grandeur of Egypt’s ancient past.<sup>407</sup>

The fifth example is the engraving *Portique de Diocletien: Vue en perspective du même Monument restauré d’après le plan et les mesures des Ruines*. (Catalog no. 274) The engraving is dedicated to the monument of the Roman Emperor Diocletian in Palmyra. The monument is reconstructed based on its plan and measurements. In the composition, there

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<sup>405</sup> Annie Gilet, “*Louis-François Cassas (1756-1827): Un dessinateur sur les chemins de l’Empire Ottoman en 1784-1785*” Annexe II (unpublished PhD dis., Université de Tours, 1996), 247.

<sup>406</sup> Gyss, “The Roots of Egyptomania and Orientalism from the Renaissance to the Nineteenth Century,” 109.

<sup>407</sup> Alexia Blair, “Early Modern Egypt: In the Crosshairs of Orientalism,” December 16, 2014. <http://revolutionegypt.blogs.wm.edu/2014/12/16/early-modern-egypt-in-the-crosshairs-of-orientalism/>.

are numerous elements that require attention, most notably the chariots, figures dressed in ancient costumes and a caravan of elephants.

The sixth example is the painting titled *Palmyre, reconstitution de la grande allée aux colonnes – représentation panoramique*. (Catalog no. 190) The reconstructed monument in this composition is the Tetrapylon of Palmyra and the adjoining colonnaded street. The composition is extremely animated by the figures, their flowing attires and the horses on the left.

The seventh and final example is the painting titled *Reconstitution des temples de Baalbek avec procession*. (Catalog no. 196) The Temple of Jupiter, Temple of Bacchus and Temple of Venus of Baalbek was reconstructed and a procession of people with ancient costumes was added to the composition.

Throughout his life, the artist created images which appealed to the aesthetic needs and exotic curiosities of people. Sometimes incorporating a little bit of his imagination, sometimes giving it free rein Cassas produced and sold many artworks representing the Orient.

### The Commodification of the Orient

Early on in his career, from Rome right after his Eastern tour, Cassas wrote to Thomas Desfriches that it was not possible to make a living by selling paintings and that he wished to publish his book which would bring him fame and fortune.<sup>408</sup> For a long time, the publication of his book was the main goal of Cassas' life, he was ambitious, and he was

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<sup>408</sup> Appendix 24.

determined to complete his masterpiece. However, the creation process was tedious, and he needed to find other ways to make money.

Usually, for the engraving process, one painting was enough to prepare the engraving; however, Cassas was producing more for the art market. The preparatory paintings were now colored, a novelty, because the paintings had a dual purpose: to be engraved and to be sold.<sup>409</sup> According to Gilet "*The large watercolors which, by their size and their mounting on a frame, rivaled the paintings, were essentially intended for sale because they met the tastes of collectors of landscapes passing through Rome.*"<sup>410</sup>

"Rome, January 9, 1791.

*I will not tell you the story of my misfortunes, they are overwhelming for my heart, and have put it to terrible trials. All my adventures, of which you will have surely heard in many ways, are too long and too wrapped up in unfortunate circumstances whose recollection is still too distressing to dare to undertake to tell you about them... I will myself carry a number of drawings, as you asked me to do, to sell them to your amateurs.*"<sup>411</sup>

He sold the large preparatory drawings that were used to produce engravings because people were fond of them and were fascinated by them.<sup>412</sup> "*The mania for collecting also emphasizes the fact that those who wished to possess important works of Italian art viewed them as commodities in the marketplace that could be had if the price were right.*"<sup>413</sup> There are many instances where he mentioned selling individual watercolors throughout his life. Cassas writes "*It is absolutely necessary that I begin to have my work engraved and that I*

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<sup>409</sup> Annie Gilet. "Un Atelier au Coeur de la Ville Éternelle Après le Voyage au Levant," in *Voyages en Italie de Louis-François Cassas* (Tours: Silvana Editoriale, 2016), 240.

<sup>410</sup> Gilet, "Une Galerie Ottomane à Rome de 1787 À 1790," 350.

<sup>411</sup> Appendix 19.

<sup>412</sup> Gilet. "Un Atelier au Coeur de la Ville Éternelle Après le Voyage au Levant," 240.

<sup>413</sup> Johns, "Travel and Cultural Exchange in Enlightenment Rome," 76.



*take a decisive role because it is on this that my reputation and fortune will be established and not by selling drawings all over the place.*"<sup>414</sup> This quote shows that the artist was indeed selling paintings to earn money and was also depending on the book to reach his much-awaited fame. This habit of selling paintings for extra income while he was working on other projects was familiar to Cassas.

*"Rome, August 5, 1789.*

*I have been selling drawings for some time now; I have made some for the King of Sweden, etc. The hope of my book is still so far away from me that I am already starting to build a fund and be able to invest money when I arrive in Paris... My drawings sell for twenty-five louis, depending on the circumstances; however, I make them cheaply.*"<sup>415</sup>

As time goes by, the artist started becoming even more desperate and lower the prices even though the production costs keep going up. He describes a painting that he recently sold, an Anti-Lebanon Mountain landscape with a river and Turkish tombstones surrounded by trees. He adds that he is willing to make more paintings like this if the buyer says that he bought it for 20 louis instead of the actual price which was 15. He also adds that he used to sell these types of paintings for 20-25 louis that this is the first one with a reduced price:

*"Paris, le 6 décembre 1792.*

*...on the right, we see a small river with some Turkish tombs, between clumps of trees; in the background, we see one of the peaks of Ante Lebanon. I beg the person not to allow copies to be taken; if she wants others, I will do them for her at 15 louis, but on condition that she will say she has paid me 20 louis, and for any other, I no longer want to make them at less than this last price... I hope*

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<sup>414</sup> Fraser, *Mediterranean Encounters*, 63.

<sup>415</sup> Appendix 25. The paintings in the collection of the National Museum Sweden are perhaps the ones in question.

*that the buyer will be one of them. happy, especially for that price, because they're the first of this size that I sell for 15 louis; the price has always been 20 to 25 louis.*"<sup>416</sup>

Once he had lost his precious book and later on his gallery, he went back to producing watercolors and had the most productive period of his career.

## Reuse

Cassas made use of certain motifs and elements from his works by reworking them into other compositions. The first example of the artists attempt at a re-usage is the engraved depiction of an Ottoman naval officer from the *Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie...* (Catalog no. 270) The figure standing in the foreground with his pipe and weapons was taken from a study of Oriental figures *Etude de cinq Kurdes à Alexandrette*, now housed at the Musée des Beaux-Arts Tours. (Catalog no. 258) In the figural study, there are other figures looking rather similar to the ones in the engraving; however, they are not exact matches as in the case of the prominent male figure.

The second instance is the wedding procession. The same wedding procession scene was used both for an engraving depicting Cairo, from the *Voyage Pittoresque Syrie...*, and executed as a watercolor on its own. (Catalog no. 285) A considerable amount of the figures from the engraving can be found in the watercolor currently in a private collection. (Catalog no. 264)

The third case requires more diligence and attention to detail. The small figures and the remains of a bas-relief from a watercolor *Paysage avec un groupe d'orientaux devant une métope* at the Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans is the same as the watercolor *Acropolis*

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<sup>416</sup> Appendix 29.

*of Athens and Olympian Zeus Temple* from the Pera Museum. (Catalog no. 241 and no. 118) Even though the backgrounds of the two paintings are completely different, the repurposed item is almost identical.

### Reproductions

Aside from the watercolors that were later on turned into engravings, Cassas made reproductions of his watercolors with slight changes in the composition; thus, producing repetitive images with changes in media, dimensions and compositional details. Moreover, his architectural plans and measurements were later reproduced as architectural models.

### Paintings

The one painting technique which was used for mass production is the *contre-épreuves* (counterproof) technique. *Contre-épreuves* were produced by pressing a moistened blank paper on top of a freshly imprinted paper. The paint whether it be ink, chalk, or fusain would transfer onto the damp paper. This would yield a fainter mirror image of the original painting. This technique was used for several reasons. First of all, this process would make the image smudge-proof and stable. Second, it was a way to control and check for mistakes. Usually, the mirror image would make it easier to spot mistakes in the composition. Third, artists used the copies of their works as proofs of originality. In the event of questionable authorship, the *contre-épreuves* would help the artists as evidence of authenticity. Fourth, it helped foster communication between the artist and the engraver. This way the artist could convey their vision to the engraver much more easily. Last but certainly not least, the technique made it extremely easy to produce paintings which could be then sold separately. It also allowed adjustments to be made and pictorial elements could be added or removed during the painting process. Therefore, all paintings created with this technique do not have

to be the exact copies. They were extremely popular during the eighteenth century, especially in France.<sup>417</sup>

In his article, Uwe Westfehling asserts that Cassas made use of this technique. In the short article, Westfehling offers three examples: two views of Italy and one constructed image of a Greek scene. However, the author fails to provide more examples.<sup>418</sup> The majority of examples which will be presented here are thought to be executed using the aforementioned technique.<sup>419</sup> Interestingly enough that all of the examples Cassas executed have either Greek, Roman or Egypt related themes.

The first composition is *Paysage de fantaisie dans la Grèce antique* series. The above-mentioned series consists of three works that are almost exact copies of each other with differences in the details, such as trees, and the background. (Catalog no. 237, no. 238, and no. 239) One of the compositions has an extra sarcophagus, whereas the other has a view of a settlement. As mentioned before, this composition was laced with heavy symbolism and underlined with distinct messages of Philhellenism.

The second example of the reproduced paintings are the Gate of Persecution series: *Figures in front of the Gate of Persecution, Ephesus, View of Ephesus, with the Gate of Persecution in ruins, Greek family in front of the Gate of Persecution, Ephesus, Figures in front of the Gate of Persecution, Ephesus, Figures in front of the Gate of Persecution,*

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<sup>417</sup> Ronald D. Spencer. *The Expert versus the Object: Judging Fakes and False Attributions in the Visual Arts*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), 84, Uwe Westfehling. "Le 'Mirror' du Monde: Contre-épreuves d'Après les Dessins de Cassas de la Collection d'Arts Graphiques de Cologne," in *Voyages en Italie de Louis-François Cassas, 1756–1827*, Musée des Beaux Art Tours, 2016.

<sup>418</sup> Unfortunately, the internet and websites of auction houses are not very reliable sources. Taking this article as a starting point, the artist's oeuvre was studied and more examples that may be produced with the same technique mentioned here were found. There were some works that were excluded due to questionable authorship.

<sup>419</sup> In order to be completely sure of this, detailed surveys need to be done on the paintings. Unfortunately, it is not possible at this moment. Therefore, the usage of this technique is a possibility, not a certainty.

*Ephesus, Vue de la Porte de la Persécution à Ephèse, View of Ephesus, and View of Ephesus.* (Catalog no. 164, no. 165, no. 166, no. 166, no. 167, no. 168, no. 169, and no. 170) This is probably the most recurrent composition of the artist. In all of the paintings the landscape in the background, the Gate of Persecution, the open sarcophagus, the fallen reliefs, and the surrounding vegetation exists. The male figures in front of the gate are from *Etudes de personnage devant la porte de la Persécution à Ephèse.* (Catalog no. 259) Aside from these elements, the copies of this composition are noticeable similar, the only differences are in the figures and the vegetation, mainly the trees. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, this painting was a way to illustrate the timelessness of the land.

The Athens series is the third composition Cassas repeatedly produced: *Acropolis of Athens and Olympian Zeus Temple, Vue de l'Acropole et de l'Olympeion à Athènes, A View of the Acropolis, Athens, from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, The Acropolis, View of Athens with the temple of Olympian Zeus and The Olympeion at Athens.* (Catalog no.118, no. 119, no. 120, no. 121, no. 122, and no. 123) These six paintings with various names are located in numerous museums and collections around the world.<sup>420</sup> The composition shows the ruins of the Greek temple Olympeion and the Acropolis.<sup>421</sup> For each painting, there are slight differences in the composition. The most notable is the lack and/or presence of different figures and trees. Also, in the majority of the paintings, the Philopappos Monument can be noticed. The two paintings, *The Acropolis* and *View of Athens with the temple of Olympian Zeus*, are more different than the rest of the group.<sup>422</sup> *The Acropolis* simply does not have

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<sup>420</sup> Pera Museum, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Tours, The Benaki Museum, Attingham Park, Shropshire, National Trust Collection and various private collections

<sup>421</sup> Christine Peltre, "Le Voyage en Grece," in *Im Banne der Sphinx* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zahern, 1994), 111.

<sup>422</sup> This painting was attributed to Cassas; however, the attribution may not be true. The addition of sun rays is very unlike the artist.

any figures in the composition and the *View of Athens with the temple of Olympian Zeus* instead of having both Ottoman and Western figures in the foreground has a group of people dancing right next to the ruins of the Olympeion.

One of the main objectives of Cassas' or any other employee of Choiseul-Gouffier was to visit Greece and acquire Ancient Greek objects for the ambassador. The Westerners in the foreground are talking to the locals regarding the relief lying beneath their feet as if they are trying to figure out the fate of that piece, whether to be taken and become a part of the collection or to be left alone in its original place.<sup>423</sup>

The fourth example is the Philopappos Monument series: *Vue imaginaire des ruines du tombeau d'Antiochus Philopappos à Athènes*, *The Philopappou Monument, Athens*, *Le Monument de Philopappus à Athènes*, and *The Philopappos Monument*. (Catalog no. 134, no. 135, no. 136, and no. 139) The real focus of the painting is the monument itself. Rising on top of the Mouseion Hill, the monument is depicted with extreme accuracy. The current condition of the monument is not very different from what it used to look like in the eighteenth century. Even though the monument itself is very true to life, its surroundings and other complementary elements in the picture plane are questionable. We can see the Europeans examining the architectural element with fascination, discussing among themselves, pointing at the reliefs, whereas, the locals are just relaxing nonchalantly right next to this notable monument. Besides the faithful depiction of the monument and the fixed figures, only little details differ in the different versions of the painting, such as the placement of the trees and the background. Moreover, in two of the paintings *The*

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<sup>423</sup> Barış Kıbrıs, conversation at Pera Museum, November 19, 2019.

*Philopappou Monument, Athens, and Le Monument de Philopappus à Athènes*, a relief can be detected. (Catalog no. 135 and no. 136)

The fifth example is the two paintings: *Archéologues examinant un bas-relief aux abords de la ville d'Athènes* and *Grand Touristes admirant le monument de Philopappos avec au loin l'Acropole et la ville d'Athènes*. (Catalog no. 132 and no. 133) In the painting, there are European visitors examining the bottom half of the Philopappos Monument including the impressive relief with figures, horses and a chariot and the Acropolis stands in the distance to the right. The only main difference between the paintings other than the vegetation is the group of people standing in front of the monument in *Archéologues examinant un bas-relief aux abords de la ville d'Athènes* which consists of two Oriental female figures, an Oriental male figure and another European male figure. From what we can gather from the artist's drawings of the monument, it was rather intact and in good shape. (Catalog no. 3, no. 4, and no. 5) Moreover, another painting by Giovanni Battista Lusieri attests to the condition of the monument. (Figure 47) Hence, the reason why Cassas would depict the monument without its upper half is a mystery.

The Athens series and the two similar paintings mentioned here were made for the art market for sale which might have been the reason behind these paintings.<sup>424</sup> The purpose of the paintings was not to be genuine but to be sellable and profitable. Although Cassas made meticulous drawings with documentary value, the end products did not always have the same aim. For the artist creating works that were aesthetically pleasing was more important than their historical or architectural accuracy.

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<sup>424</sup> Annie Gilet, "Louis-François Cassas 1756-1827: dessinateur et "agent" du comte de Choiseul-Gouffier" in *Le voyage en Grèce du comte Choiseul-Gouffier* (Editions Alain Barthélemy, 2007), 52.

The sixth example is the Ancient Ruins series: *Turks and other figures admiring classical ruins*, *Vue imaginaire d'un temple en ruine*, *Turks and Other Figures Admiring Classical Ruins*, *Ruines Antiques sur les Bords de la Mer Noire, près de Trebisonde*, and *Personnages Orientaux Admirant un Bas Relief Antique Devant un Temple*. (Catalog no. 175, no. 176, no. 177, no. 178, and no. 179) The composition is dominated by the architectural ruins and the accompanying Oriental figures. The seascape and vegetation are present per usual. This composition includes reused human figures, which the artist took from an engraving depicting an Egyptian temple in his *Voyage Pittoresque* and placed in a constructed Greek scene. (Catalog no. 287) The same figures were again used for the *Voyage Pittoresque et Historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie*. (Figure 48) Even though there are some variations regarding the title and the 'real' location of the composition, it is interesting to see how a group of Orientals from Egypt could be incorporated in what seems to be a Greek landscape whether it be Pontus or imaginary. Although the overall structure of the image does not change, little details in the figures, vegetation, background and the parts of the ruins differ from image to image. It is very intriguing because this composition was not turned into an engraving. These paintings were not produced for the sake of a book or for the use of the engravers, this imaginary composition was created simply to give an Oriental feeling and considering that there are almost six of them, they were sold as commodities rather than simply art.

In a letter written in 1792, Cassas mentions a painting he produced for a certain Mr. Soyer. He describes the painting as "a small forest at the bottom of a gulf, with the ruins of a temple portico on the shores of Asia Minor." After a survey of the artist's oeuvre, it is not difficult to see that the painting in question belongs to the Ancient Ruins series. He further



adds the details of a negotiation about the prices of two other paintings where he agreed to sell for a lower price because he did not want to stop Mr. Grillol from commissioning more paintings:

*“Paris (end of 1791 or beginning of 1792).*

*...and to show him the drawing I finished for Mr. Soyer. I would be happy to have met his taste in choosing the site. It is a small forest at the bottom of a gulf, with the ruins of a temple portico on the shores of Asia Minor...As for Mr. Grillol, I am angry that he refused to give me the price I had asked him for two of my most beautiful drawings, which were paid for twenty-five louis; but the circumstances determine all, and I wrote him that I agreed to give them all framed for 1,000 fr. which is still about the same price as his 800 fr., because the glasses and borders are expensive and have increased. What determined me again was that he was from Orléans, where I don't want to refuse anything, and that he had to make me do two more similar ones.”<sup>425</sup>*

The seventh example is the Palmyra Views series: *Vue de Palmyre, Vue des ruines de Palmyre, Vue de Palmyre, La grande galerie de Palmyre*. (Catalog no.184, no. 185, and no. 186) This painting series depict the Great Colonnade and the Monumental Arch at Palmyra from the same point of view. Even though there are slight differences in the scope of the composition, for example, the visible façade on the left in *Vue de Palmyre*, the views are more or less the same in each painting. The figures play a big part in differentiating the painting due to their varying nature. This composition was one of the rare compositions that were published as an engraving in *Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte*. However, the copy at Musée Beaux-Arts de Tours is dated to 1821 which means that the watercolor was produced after the publication of the *Voyage Pittoresque*.

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<sup>425</sup> Appendix 21.

Therefore, it is clear that the painting was not made with the intention to be used as a preparatory painting or as a step in the publication process but to be sold as is.

The eighth example is the Temple of Bacchus series: *Paysage avec la porte de la cella du temple de Bacchus à Baalbek* and *La porte de la cella du Temple de Bacchus*. (Catalog no. 193 and no. 194) *Paysage avec la porte de la cella du temple de Bacchus à Baalbek* provides a vista through the gate to the city. From the opening of the gate, the Temple of Jupiter and a mosque are shown. However, this view is not real. The walls of the temple were intact and for someone looking from the outside of the temple, only the inner walls would be seen. Yet, the amount of vegetation within the temple is too much to have been drawn from the inside. On the other hand, *La porte de la cella du Temple de Bacchus* offers a different view through the gate. Since the walls are shown in this painting, it can be said that the vantage point is from the inside of the temple. The opening of the gate shows part of the ruins outside. However, it is still not entirely true, the walls of the temple are not as flat as shown here. They are decorated with niches and columns all around. The differences between the two paintings are the color scheme, the vegetation, the figures, the temple's walls and the pieces of architecture on the floor.

The ninth example is the View of Baalbek series: *Ba'albek, Le Temple circulaire et le Temple de Jupiter* and *Vue animée d'un temple oriental*. (Catalog no. 200 and no. 201) The main point of this composition is the Temple of Bacchus and Temple of Jupiter, seen from afar in front of towering mountains and surrounded by the trees. The circular Temple of Venus is located on the left where the majority of the figures are positioned as well. The number and the placement of Oriental figures are the reasons behind the differences in this series.

The tenth example is the Sphinx series: *Vue de la tête colossale du Sphinx et de la 2e pyramide d’Egypte*, *Vue de la tête colossale du Sphinx et de la 2è pyramide d’Egypte*, *Vue de la tête colossale du Sphinx et de la 2ème Pyramide d’Egypte*, and *The Sphinx and the Pyramid of Gizeh*. (Catalog no. 219, no. 220, no. 221, and no. 222) As mentioned previously, the alterations on the Sphinx’s face were apparent in this composition. The horse riders on the right foot of the pyramid were the deciding point of the differentiation of some of the paintings, other than the Sphinx itself and the way in which it was drawn or painted.

### Architectural Models

Cassas opened his architecture gallery in 1806 to the public due to financial distress with the hopes of making some profit.<sup>426</sup> Supported by the state, the main purpose of the gallery was to make money and help the artist with his financial conundrum. Visitors were required to pay an entrance fee and the works on the walls were up for sale.<sup>427</sup>

The artist’s drawings and paintings were reproduced in architectural model forms which were then displayed on pedestals with each corresponding painting hanging above the model. Models covering a wide range of geography were laid out in the gallery space for people to observe. There were even small brochures explaining and giving information about the models.

Yet, one very important component was missing, the architecture of the Ottoman Empire. Excluding Ottoman architecture was a conscious decision of the artist. Even though he sketched many monuments of Islamic architecture, he did not turn any of them into models. Instead, he focused on Greek, Roman, and Egyptian and went as far as to include

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<sup>426</sup> See “Architecture Gallery” in Chapter II.

<sup>427</sup> *Mercur de France*, 42.

Indian and Persian architecture, places he did not visit. This attitude towards all things Islamic is visible in many aspects: the people and the architecture. Aside from his views of Istanbul, it is extremely rare to come across Ottoman architecture in any of his paintings or engravings other than mosques in cityscapes. The artist does not dedicate any plates to mosques or any other well-known types of Islamic architecture.

The gallery was successful, and it managed to stay open for seven years. Cassas had brought the Orient to the Parisian's doorsteps. By making the Orient available to the public in return for a small fee, anybody had the chance to find themselves in the distant lands of the East. In turn, Cassas was making money off of the Orient, he was exploiting it for his financial gain by satisfying people's need for exoticism.

During the production of his paintings, the artist's own fantasies came into play. He reused and reproduced many of his figures and compositions which attests to what Gilet wrote on the artist, "*Cassas receives many commissions and performs great watercolors where he stages the Ottoman landscape...*"<sup>428</sup> These constructed images had certain ideological connotations where "*'Ethnographic' themes had the advantage of staging individuals or groups of individuals who brought a human touch and appealed more to consumers than a simple view; historical themes made it possible to relate the image to a (sometimes familiar) narrative...*"<sup>429</sup>

With mass production and accessibility, he aimed to achieve the glory he anticipated from his book both financially and socially. The *contre-épreuve* technique enabled him to carry out his imaginary depictions in a much simpler and less time-consuming way. Through

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<sup>428</sup> Gilet, "Une Galerie Ottomane à Rome de 1787 à 1790," 352.

<sup>429</sup> Eldem, *Consuming the Orient*, 25.

this method, he could easily incorporate ‘ethnographical’ and ‘historical’ elements into his works. By making more imaginary paintings he played more into the Orientalist notion of the constructed East and the convenience of the technique enabled him to showcase his political inclinations more quickly and easily. *“Once again, even though orientalism per se is nowhere to be seen in the title of this project, the simple fact that it refers to the Orient as a commodity or as an object of mass consumption can hardly be dissociated from the notion of an unequal power relationship between consumer and commodity.”*<sup>430</sup>

*“Rome, February 28/ March 24 1787.*

*At last I'm here brought closer to my homeland and delivered from the claws of the Arabs with my wallets. It is now that I feel all the pleasure of having made such a beautiful trip, that will make me happy for the rest of my life, and assure me, by the good will of the Count of Choiseul for me, a small fortune, independently of all the resources I can hope for of my works.*<sup>431</sup>

Ultimately, for Cassas, the most important aspect of Orientalism was the profit and the marketable potential of the place. He was someone who knew how to navigate the political milieu of his time. His works and publications were clever and foresighted undertakings even though one was a failure in the end. Despite the governing body or the person, the artist still successfully managed to advertise his work.

His techniques, ideas, execution, and production propagated Orientalism rather than the mode of Turquerie and played an integral role during the crossroads of French history. *“Once tamed, it was possible to turn the Orient into yet another commodity for the growing*

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<sup>430</sup> Eldem, 26.

<sup>431</sup> Appendix 14.

*appetite of the West.*”<sup>432</sup> He indeed sold the visualization of the ideals and the fantasies of Philhellenism, Egyptomania and Orientalism as a commodity and as art.



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<sup>432</sup> Eldem, *Consuming the Orient*, 18.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

This thesis investigates and reveals the extent of Orientalism in Louis-François Cassas' works by analyzing the artist's opinions of the East and his life story in order to understand the way in which ideas and life decisions have manifested themselves, and are reflected in his works. For this study, I try not to deem Cassas simply an Orientalist but try to explore his Orientalism and the way in which he perceived the Orient.

Cassas was an eighteenth-century man with proper training and an "Enlightenment" mindset living in an extremely contested period of time who was on a mission to depict the Orient. The end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed fast-changing approaches and styles in politics, philosophy and ultimately art. Cassas is a transitional figure and has played a crucial part in the beginning or the transitional period into Orientalism. However, for this period, it is very difficult to exactly pinpoint the inspirations, aspirations and motivations behind the creation of the artist's works. Being able to understand where one inspiration begins and another one ends requires more research in other areas and analyses of other subjects which are not in the scope of this thesis. Therefore, this thesis only focuses on Orientalism, and concepts linked to it for it is very difficult and lengthy for a master's thesis to cover all. For this thesis, I have studied over 500 artworks by Cassas, including drawings, paintings, and engravings. Due to the scope and the focus of the thesis, I have only included the analyses of works with Oriental subjects, a large number of artworks collected from various museums in Europe and private collections around the world even though I have become familiar with the artist's other geographical collections, namely the Italian and the Istria/Dalmatian collections.

Chapter I: Introduction presented the inception and the formation process of this thesis, including the initial questions, the research methods, and the literature review. It explained the development of the thesis throughout this study. It also provided an outline for the upcoming body of research.

Chapter II: Depicting the Other provided historical background for the thesis. The first part of this chapter introduced the four most important terms of art and cultural studies that were going to be mentioned thereafter and explained the way in which they relate to each other and fit into each discourse. The second part of this chapter gave a brief introduction to the tradition of ambassador-artist partnership and presented the political and artistic milieu in which Cassas traveled to the Ottoman Empire. Artists accompanying ambassadors and their artistic production have had an immense influence in shaping the minds of the Europeans thus far. Due to their accountability as firsthand experiences, no matter how imaginative the images, they were always deemed more respectable for their realistic qualities and viewed differently than others who also depicted the East. Their depictions and their representation schemes created an image of the Orient up until Cassas. His ideas and opinions of the East were shaped by the ones who preceded him and as per tradition, his images shaped the ones succeeding him.

Chapter III: Louis-François Cassas was entirely dedicated to the artist. The third chapter covered the life events and the artistic productions of Cassas. I believe that the artist's life, his hardship, and failures have contributed greatly to his artistic choices and shaped his oeuvre. By looking at the life of the artist and recognizing the connection between the works and the reasons behind their production, we can begin to understand the decisions that had resulted in his artworks.



Chapter IV: Cassas' Orientalism examined and delved into the manifestations of the artist's Orientalist tendencies. In this chapter, selected works were analyzed in accordance with the cornerstones of Orientalism introduced in the first chapter. Depictions of backwardness and timelessness, creation of imaginary lands whether real places with unreal additions or total fantasy views and the attitude of Cassas towards his work as a commodity rather than art are all a testimony of the artists underlying Orientalism. The notion of backwardness was represented by the depictions of uncivilized and violent Ottomans. Philhellenistic ideals were represented in his Greek compositions, mainly located in Ephesus, Troy, and Cyprus, through the depiction of a timeless land where time stood still. Egyptomania was illustrated in his "restoration" compositions where impressive Egyptian monuments are filled with Greco-Roman figures, depicting the glorious past of the region without the current oppression of the Ottoman rule. The views of the Sphinx under French domination strongly suggested the rising interest and subsequent conquest of the region. The commodification of the Orient was made possible by reusing certain motifs, reproducing the same compositions repetitively in paintings and displaying architectural models for the purpose of generating an income. The hardship and the financial struggles had led the artist to try and make the most money out of the Orient as possible. His works were visually stimulating and aesthetically pleasing and with the added effect of the exotic other, they were the perfect commodity of the era. The summation of all the points listed above and throughout the thesis culminated in the decision to highlight and showcase Louis-François Cassas' Orientalist side.

This thesis will make way for new research on the artist with the help of the compiled life history and cataloged works of the artist. Finally, Cassas' complete biography will be

made available. With the addition of newly found works, it will widen the oeuvre of the artist, as well as, making available many artworks that either have been in museum collections but not have been published before and not accessible to all.

Furthermore, this study hopes to bridge the gap between the eighteenth and nineteenth-century perception of the Orient and help bring a new perspective on the transition period of French art history which is overshadowed by more mainstream artists, history paintings, or other travel books like the *Description de l'Égypte*.

Most importantly, this thesis will provide a new outlook on the artist Louis-François Cassas. I think that it is possible to say that Cassas was a man of the eighteenth century, trying to survive and adapt in the nineteenth. Lost within the scholarship and stuck between modes of Turquerie and Orientalism, the artist will finally take his place in the scholarship of the history of art as an early Orientalist or simply an Orientalist. This thesis aspires to make this artist more well-known in Turkey and Turkish scholarship. For someone who has worked so extensively on this geography, I believe that it is highly important for Turkish scholarship to be acquainted with him and his works.

It is evident that Cassas had a considerable impact on the development of various modes and styles in and after the eighteenth century, such as Orientalism and Neo-Classicism as well as the genre of travel books. His perseverance helped him through his journeys and led him to become a successful artist who was gifted with the art of drawing and with the help of his education flourished even more so. The legacy that he has left to us today demonstrates the significance of his work and the way in which he influenced future generations of artists. There still much that is unknown and uncertain; therefore, further research needs to be carried out to be able to fully understand the artist, his works and the

impact of his artistic endeavors. First of all, there are many unstudied drawings of cities regarding architecture and urban integrity. The majority of the drawings included in the catalog depicting Istanbul and its architecture have not been studied. Cassas' drawings of eighteenth-century Istanbul are a wonderful source for many types of architecture, consisting mainly of mosques, palaces, kiosks, and urban landscape. A big part of the urban landscape is the depiction of the city walls and the representation of Byzantine architecture. Corresponding artworks with these two subjects are rarely found during this era. Therefore, a considerable number of drawings by Cassas on these topics are very important. Especially, considering that some of the drawings at Wallraf-Richartz Museum were mislabeled as Byzantine structures; the need to study the two subjects increases even more so.

As mentioned here in this thesis, the figures of Cassas play a big role in his compositions. The figures are usually animated and are shown carrying out ethnographically relevant actions. The inclusion of the figures and their significance needs to be studied further than their simple usage as staffage. In addition to the overall look at figures, depictions of women should be separately examined. There are many women figures included in his works which are at the forefront of some of the compositions that are extremely intriguing. Lastly, the most important figure in Cassas' works is himself. Interesting and laden with underlying messages, the artist's self-portraits should be more closely studied.

Besides proposals for further research, I would also like to propose an exhibition dedicated to the artist and his Ottoman voyage. An exhibition that would bring together Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Pera Museum, and various other collections.

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De Constantinople, le 24 octobre 1784.

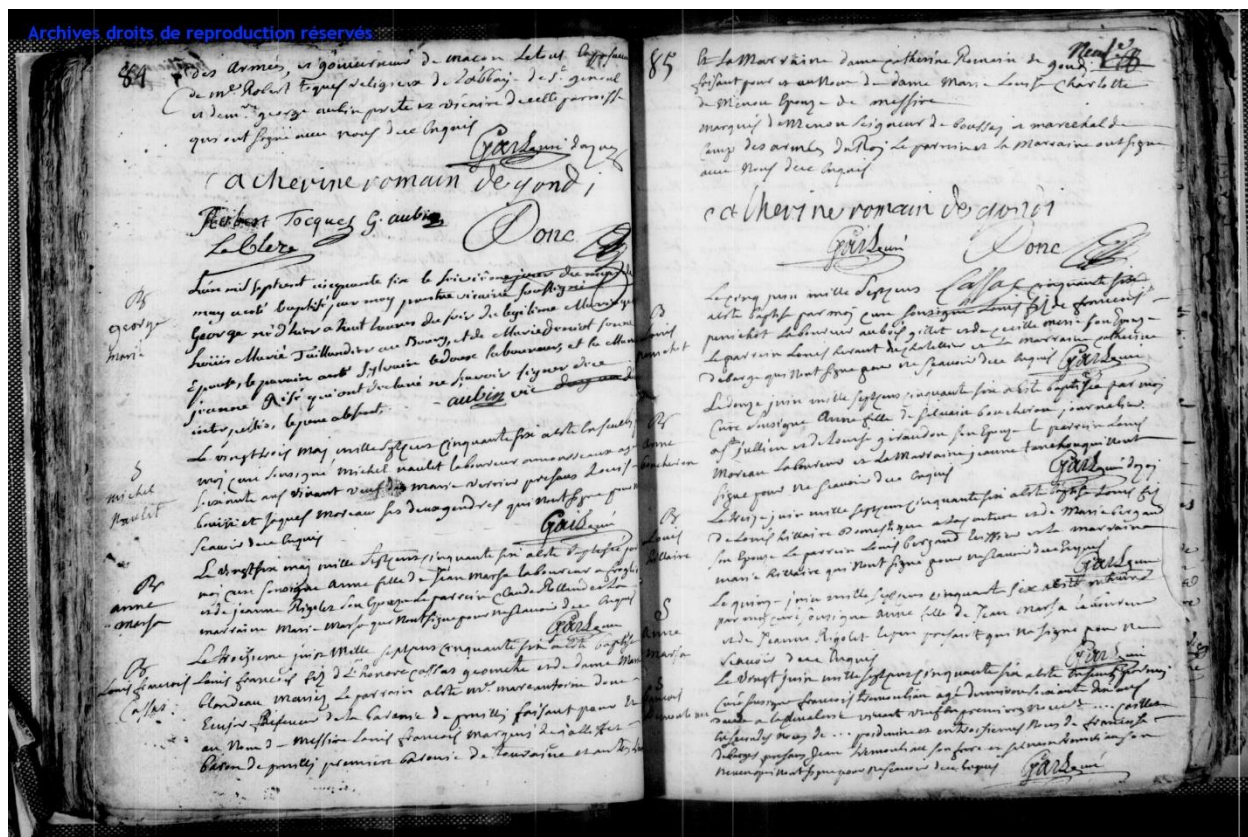
...Nous sommes partis de Toulon le 4 août, que je me suis rendu à bord du vaisseau le Séduisant. Le soir même nous mîmes à la voile...Toujours avec un vent favorable, nous arrivâmes à pleines voiles dans le port de Malte le 9 du même mois. Après avoir resté quatre ou cinq jours à Malte, nous en sommes partis pour aller dans l'Archipel, où nous avons rencontré l'escadre du capitain Pacha qui a salué M.l'ambassadeur...Nous avons tous pris des montures et nous avons été visiter les ruines d'Athènes. Notre caravane était composée de trente-cinq personnes. Nous avons passé la nuit dans un petit village, et le lendemain nous arrivâmes dans cette célèbre ville ; en côtoyant le mont Hymette, nous la découvriâmes de fort loin...

J'étais dans une espèce de ravissement de parcourir de si belles choses, et il me semblait que - ce n'était qu'en songe que je me trouvais transporté au milieu des ruines magnifiques d'Athènes. Nous en partîmes au bout de deux jours...Ensuite, les fréquents vents du nord nous empêchèrent d'entrer dans le canal des Dardanelles, et nous louvoyâmes plusieurs jours devant le rivage où l'on croit qu'était la ville. Enfin, le 15 nous entrâmes dans le canal, et le 28, nous mouillâmes dans le port de Constantinople...

La situation de cette ville est admirable, rien au monde n'est aussi noble et aussi majestueux, et n'annonce une aussi grande ville, qu'on prendrait, comme disent tous les voyageurs, pour la capitale du monde. Les mosquées sont les bâtiments qui se montrent le plus. Elles sont bâties sur le modèle de Sainte-Sophie. Le sérail est à la porte de la ville : c'est un mélange de palais, de bosquets, de fontaines, de pavillons ou kiosques charmants, d'un bon goût et de la plus belle vue du monde, car on voit en même temps les côtes d'Asie, couvertes d'arbres et de maisons de campagne ; la Propontide et l'Olympe dans l'éloignement ; en face, est le canal de la mer Noire, et à gauche le port couvert de vaisseaux et environné de tous côtés d'un amphithéâtre de maisons. De la fenêtre de ma chambre, je jouis d'une partie de cette belle vue... hier j'ai été voir l'Hippodrome et Sainte-Sophie...

Je reviendrai à Constantinople dans trois ou quatre mois, où je travaillerai beaucoup, et, selon mon calcul, je serai en France dans un an ou dix-huit mois au plus tard. Rien ne sera capable de me retenir ici davantage. Les Turcs ne sont pas des gens séduisants ; j'aurai bien plus de plaisir de finir mes dessins à Orléans qu'ici...

2. Appendix 2: *Baptism Certificate of Louis-François Cassas*, Archives Départementales de l'Indre, Etat Civil, Archives communales, Baptêmes, Mariages, Sépultures, Azay-Le-Ferron, 1743-1762, 235.

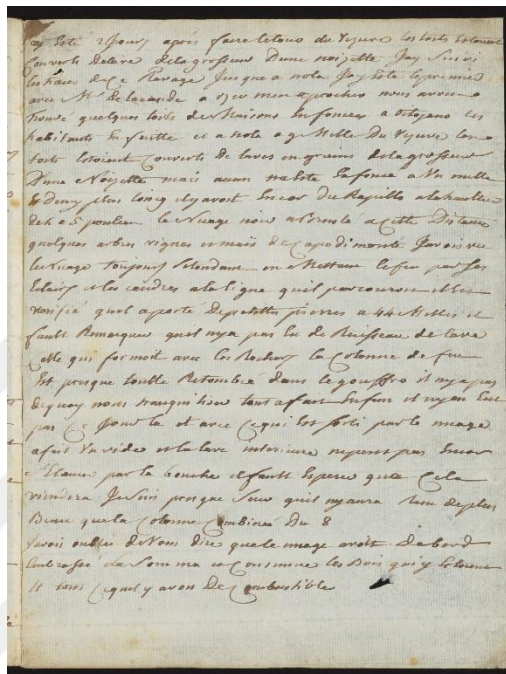
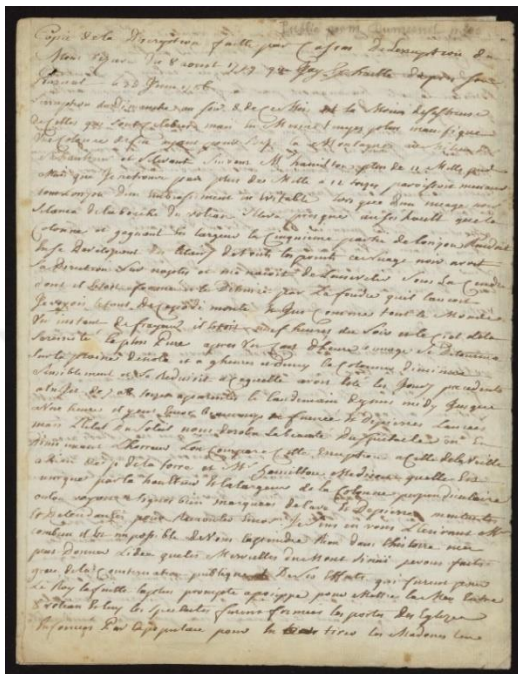


Le troisième de juin mil sept cent cinquante six a été baptisé Louis François fils de Sr Honoré Cassas géomètre et de Dame Marie Blondeau mariés. Le parrain a été Me Marc Antoine donc Escuyer et receveur de la baronnie de Preuilly Faisant pour et au nom de Messire Louis François marquis de Gallifet baron de Pouilly première baronnie de Touraine et autres lieux et la marraine Dame Catherine Romain de Goudist epse dudit Messire faisant pour et au nom de Dame Marie Louise Charlotte de Menou epse de ... marquis de Menou seigneur de Poussay et Maréchal de camp des armées du Roy. Le parrain et la marraine ont signé avec nous de ce enquis.

Garbe Curé



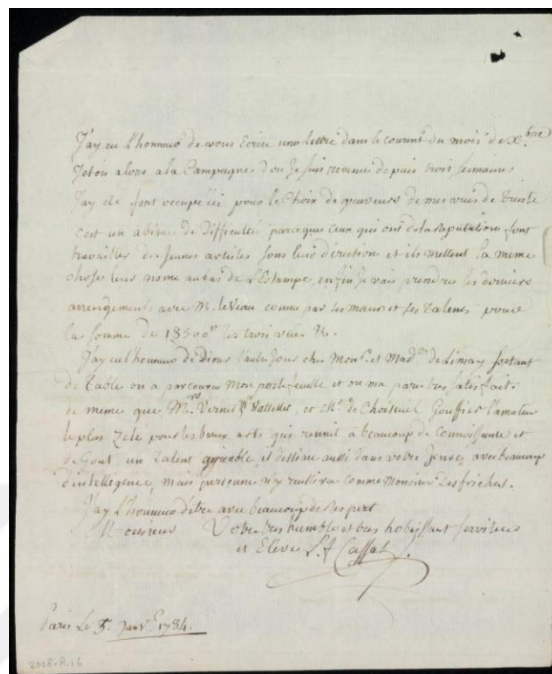
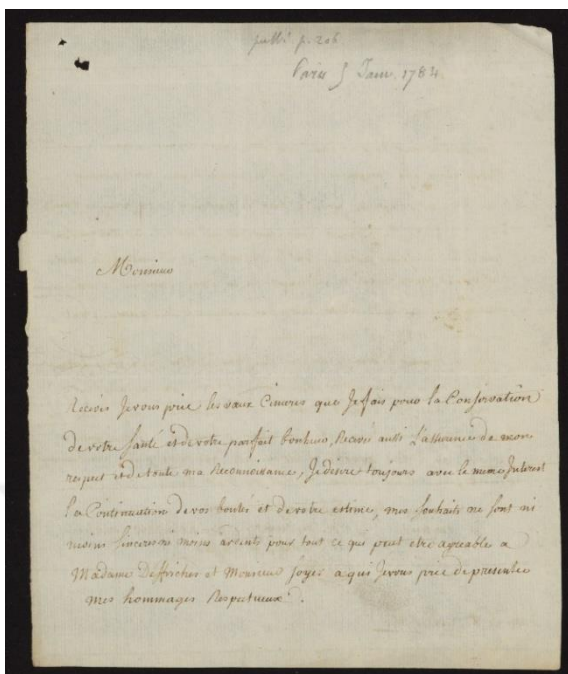
3. Appendix 3: Cassas, Louis-François. *Louis-François Cassas to Thomas-Aignan Desfriches*. Letter. Naples, August 8, 1779, Fondation Custodia, 2008-A.15\_1, 2008-A.15\_3.



De Naples, 8 août 1779.

...L'éruption du dimanche au soir 8 de ce mois, est la moins désastreuse de celles qui sont célèbres, mais en même temps la plus magnifique...

4. Appendix 4: Cassas, Louis-François. *Louis-François Cassas to Aignan-Thomas Desfriches*. Letter. Paris, 5 January 1784, Fondation Custodia, 2008-A.16\_1, 2008-A.16\_2.



Paris, 5 janvier 1784.

...J'ai eu l'honneur de dîner l'autre jour chez M. et Mme de Limay : sortant de table, on a parcouru mon portefeuille et on m'a paru très-satisfait, de même que M. Vernet, M. Watelet, et M. de Choiseul-Gouffier, l'amateur le plus zélé pour les beaux-arts, qui réunit à beaucoup de connaissances et de -goût un talent agréable ; il dessine dans votre genre avec beaucoup d'intelligence, mais personne n'y réussira comme M. Desfriches...

5. Appendix 5: Cassas, Louis-François. *Louis-François Cassas to Aignan-Thomas Desfriches*. Letter. June 1784, Foundation Custodia, 2008-A.17\_1.

Paris le 5 Jan 1784

États des Dépenses que le Sr Cassas a faites à Paris dans sa Chambre chez Monsieur de la Roche, le 5 Jan 1784	
Logement No 17. Du Port aux Déjeunés en Juin 1784	
Et le Brevet de Mariage lors que M. de la Roche y passeroit pour aller à son Ambassade de Constantinople.	
Voyage de Paris à Lyon	10 Dépenses
Geneve & les Environs	34
De Geneve à Turin par le Mont Cenis	26
De Turin à Gênes	16
Novaro Novi Environs Di Gênes	86
La de Bracciano	12
Tivoli & Environs	62
Voyage des Appennins et à Gora	8
Voyage de Calabre, Albano, Neum, &c	58
Terzi Spolite &c	32
Voyage de Rome les Majors	33
Voyage de Trieste	16
Torone	7
Capoue voyage au Capite	6
Voyage de Sorrente	11
Naples pour Naples &c	40
Voyage de Naples la Sicille	75
Voyage de la grande Grèce	13
	425 Dépenses









Laruica, île de Chypre, 10 février 1785.

Je me suis embarqué sur la corvette du roi, la Poulette, commandée par M. de la Prévalaye. En sortant des Dardanelles, et après avoir passé les îles de Ténédos, de Lemnos et de Chio, nous eûmes un coup de vent si furieux, que le mât de misaine a été emporté avec tout ce qu'il y avait sur le pont. Nous restâmes toute la nuit dans une situation inquiétante, et nous gagnâmes avec peine la rade de Smyrne, où nous sommes restés vingt-trois jours... Pendant qu'on refaisait un mât au vaisseau du roi, je fis différentes tournées ; je fus d'abord visiter les ruines fameuses du temple de Diane à Éphèse, où je restai huit jours à dessiner et à mesurer de beaux fragments d'architecture grecque et romaine...

Malgré le danger du voyage, je laissai M. de la Prévalaye à Alep, et je me mis en route avec un interprète pour Antioche, où je suis resté trois jours à dessiner des ruines remarquables, restes précieux de son ancienne grandeur. Je ne laisse point échapper toutes les médailles et pierres gravées qu'on me présente et que j'envoie à M. de Choiseul. M. de la Prévalaye vint me rejoindre dans cette ville, où je l'attendais, et nous continuâmes ensemble la route d'Alexandrette, et nous fîmes voile pour Tripoli de Syrie, au pied du Liban, et ensuite pour Sidon, la fameuse Tyr, et Ptolémaïde, Césarée, etc. Étant en route pour Alexandrie... Cependant le danger n'était pas aussi grand que je pouvais me le figurer : ne pouvant résister à sa force, nous sommes venus mouiller à Chypre, où nous sommes depuis hier, en attendant un temps plus favorable pour faire la même route pour Alexandrie...

Vous voudrez bien me pardonner cette brièveté sur un pays où il y avait tant de choses à dire, autant par les faits remarquables de l'histoire ancienne, que par les usages et les lois d'un peuple aussi superstitieux qu'il est méprisable. J'ose dire qu'on peut ajouter à tout ce qu'on a dit, bien des vérités et des anecdotes curieuses d'un pays que je crois très-mal connu de la plupart des voyageurs, qui n'aiment point à se donner la peine qui est indispensable pour bien le connaître...

8. Appendix 8: Cassas, Louis-François. Louis-François Cassas to Aignan-Thomas Desfriches. Letter. 26 February/22 January 1786, Foundation Custodia, 2008-A.26\_1, 2008-A.26\_2, 2008-A.26\_3, 2008-A.26\_4.

Paris le 26 Fev 1786

Mon sieur

Je vous envoie par le courrier de ce jour une lettre que vous m'avez écrite le 10 de ce mois. Elle m'a été remise par le sieur de la Roche, qui m'a dit que vous n'avez pas encore reçu la lettre que j'ai écrite le 10 de ce mois. Je suis surpris de ne pas l'avoir reçue, car elle est arrivée à Paris le 10 de ce mois. Je vous prie de m'en dire quelque chose, car j'ai besoin de savoir si elle est parvenue à destination. Je vous prie aussi de m'écrire quand vous aurez reçu la lettre que j'ai écrite le 10 de ce mois. Je vous prie de m'écrire aussi de m'écrire quand vous aurez reçu la lettre que j'ai écrite le 10 de ce mois. Je vous prie de m'écrire aussi de m'écrire quand vous aurez reçu la lettre que j'ai écrite le 10 de ce mois.

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De Darnay pour M. de la Roche, à Paris, le 26 Fev 1786.

Je vous prie de m'écrire quand vous aurez reçu la lettre que j'ai écrite le 10 de ce mois. Je vous prie de m'écrire aussi de m'écrire quand vous aurez reçu la lettre que j'ai écrite le 10 de ce mois. Je vous prie de m'écrire aussi de m'écrire quand vous aurez reçu la lettre que j'ai écrite le 10 de ce mois. Je vous prie de m'écrire aussi de m'écrire quand vous aurez reçu la lettre que j'ai écrite le 10 de ce mois.

De Darnay pour M. de la Roche, à Paris, le 26 Fev 1786.

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Constantinople, 26 janvier 1786.

Je traversai d'abord l'Archipel, je fus à Alexandrelte et de là à Alep. Ensuite j'ai suivi toutes les côtes d'Asie jusqu'à Alexandrie avec la corvette du roi la Poulette; ne pouvant pas monter au Caire et dans la haute Égypte, à cause des troubles qui y étaient alors, je m'embarquai pour l'île de Chypre, et de là je traversai le canal pour me rendre à Tripoli de Syrie, où je résolus de faire un voyage à Palmyre, malgré toutes les difficultés que l'on me faisait entrevoir ; mais j'étais déjà accoutumé à ne me plus laisser persuader sur les dangers; et après m'être muni de puissantes recommandations pour les musulmans et autres gouverneurs, de l'argent et des présents nécessaires, je me mis en marche avec une caravane qui allait à Bagdad. Je m'habillai à la manière des Arabes, je laissai croître ma barbe et je m'armai, comme eux, d'une longue lance. Et dans cet équipage je grimpai sur mon chameau avec mon interprète. J'employai plusieurs jours à traverser la Syrie, par Antioche et Damas, villes fameuses dans l'antiquité, et qui le sont encore aujourd'hui par leurs ruines. À cette ville finit la Syrie, et commence le désert qui s'étend jusqu'au bord de l'Euphrate. Je fus obligé de faire d'autres préparatifs pour traverser cette plaine immense de sable jusqu'à Palmyre. Je formai une caravane et je pris pour ma sûreté vingt-deux cavaliers arabes. Je partis le 1er juin, j'arrivai, après des peines infinies, le 18 du même mois. Tout ce que j'ai eu à souffrir ne peut se concevoir. A deux journées de marche, je fus dépouillé par un parti d'Arabes qui nous laissèrent presque nus ; je fus obligé de retourner sur mes pas et de reprendre d'autres provisions, et surtout de l'eau qu'on ne trouve nulle part dans le désert, et je recommençai mon voyage. Nous eûmes à combattre plusieurs fois ; c'étaient toujours des difficultés et des alarmes continuelles, mais l'extrême désir de satisfaire ma curiosité, joint à un tempérament endurci et accoutumé à souffrir, me suffisait pour tout surmonter. Enfin, au bout de dix-huit-jours nous aperçûmes, à l'est des montagnes, cette ville de Palmyre toute couverte de magnifiques tombeaux encore entiers ; et après avoir traversé une vallée, on découvre tout à coup le coup d'œil le plus extraordinaire et le plus romanesque. La vue distingue de superbes ruines, et on est frappé d'étonnement et d'admiration. On ne voit que colonnades et portiques sans nombre, tous de marbre blanc ; - une infinité de restes de temples, dont plusieurs sont encore conservés ; des arcs de triomphe et d'autres édifices publics et de l'architecture la plus élégante. Le terrain, dans l'espace de deux lieues, est tout couvert de colonnes brisées, de chapiteaux, de statues, d'autels et d'autres fragments. Au milieu, s'élève majestueusement le

temple du Soleil, le plus grand et le plus beau de tous les temples de l'antiquité. C'est dans l'enceinte de ce beau monument, - que je fus logé parmi de misérables Arabes qui y habitaient. C'est au milieu des plus grands dangers que je suis venu à bout de dessiner et de mesurer tout ce qu'il y a de plus intéressant. Et je crois avoir ce voyage complet, avec ce que les Anglais y ont déjà fait. Après un séjour assez long, je quittai le désert et passai les montagnes de Damas pour me rendre à Balbeck ; il n'y a pas une aussi grande quantité de ruines qu'à Palmyre, mais l'architecture de divers temples qui y sont encore, cause étonnement parla grandeur des matériaux, dont plusieurs pierres ont jusqu'à soixante-sept pieds de longueur sur dix-sept de hauteur. Ces monuments ne le cèdent en rien aux plus belles antiquités de Rome pour l'ordonnance, la grandeur, la noblesse, et la pureté de l'architecture. Après un séjour de trois semaines, je passai le Liban et Anti-Liban, où je fus obligé de rester, à cause de la peste qui faisait de grands ravages dans les Échelles de Syrie ? je vécus quarante-cinq jours dans le creux d'un rocher avec des religieux maronites, à l'entrée d'une vallée très-profonde, où je croyais être transporté dans les plus beaux endroits de la Suisse. La peste ayant cessé, je continuai mon voyage pour voir la terre promise ; j'y entrai par la Galilée, je vis Nazareth et le mont Thabor. Je traversai ensuite le royaume de Samarie et enfin Jérusalem. Je lisais l'Histoire sainte et je passais une ° partie des nuits à m'instruire des choses qu'on me faisait voir dans la journée. J'employai quinze jours à visiter tous les lieux de cette célèbre ville, où je fus bien accueilli par les pères de la Terre-Sainte qui sont sous la protection du roi de France, et après m'être muni d'une attestation, qu'on donne ordinairement aux étrangers, je me rendis à Joppé, où je m'embarquai pour l'Égypte. Je passai devant les ruines de Gaza, le Tasse à la main, et en deux jours de navigation, j'arrivai à Damiette, et je montai le Nil jusqu'au Caire... Je suis arrivé à Constantinople depuis quelques jours...





10. Appendix 10: Cassas, Louis-François. *Louis-François Cassas to Jean Cadet de Limay*.  
 Letter. Bursa, 20 May 1786, Foundation Custodia, 2008-A.29\_1, 2008-A.29\_2, 2008-A.29\_3, 2008-A.29\_4.

20 Mai 1786

publié p. 281.

Monsieur

Jay en d'honneur de recevoir la lettre que vous avez bien voulu vous donner la  
 prier de m'écrire, sur ce point on flatta d'investir et me faire un plan  
 sensible plaine pour que cela me fournisse une occasion de vous témoigner  
 toute la reconnaissance que j'ai avec vous et d'interêt que vous avés  
 toujours pris à ce qui me regarde, & vous dois encore des remerciements  
 Monsieur de la prier que vous avez été digne de faire jeter mes  
 papiers qu'ils ont été dans un lieu qui me tranquillise.

De tous les événements qui peuvent arriver.  
 M<sup>r</sup> de Maest Cap<sup>t</sup> de Cavaliers et ami de M<sup>r</sup> l'Ambassadeur  
 est parti j'ay a un an pour le rendre a Paris, et on ne pouvait point  
 de savoir on est fort inquiet de sa personne, son départ me a été  
 M<sup>r</sup> de Maest par lui-même le bon de faire de l'avis pour M<sup>r</sup> de Duval Chabot,  
 M<sup>r</sup> de Lamb. sensible a mes regrets a bien voulu lui envoyer deux dessins  
 que je lui avois fait des Supplis Numes de Salmyce, j'ay été en me  
 peut pas plus sensible a cette marque d'attention et M<sup>r</sup> de Duval ne peut plus  
 être extrêmement flatté. J'ay joint aussi deux autres dessins de monument  
 de Salmyce qui représentent le géométral de quelques temples que M<sup>r</sup>  
 l'Ambassadeur le propose de faire graver et Don M<sup>r</sup> Boucard, les a  
 pas la même occasion de M<sup>r</sup> de Maest j'ay en d'honneur d'écrire a  
 M<sup>r</sup> Desfriches concernant mes affaires particulières, vous faire un  
 que presume Monsieur tout ce que je dois à un protecteur si zélé  
 pour les beaux arts. Je lui fais part de mon retour en France  
 qui sera à ce que j'espère dans le courant de cet automne, est un  
 arrangement pris avec M<sup>r</sup> de Lambassadeur, j'ay d'abord expliqué que  
 j'avois de retour en France après les voyages que je venois de faire  
 dans des pays aussi barbares et où on trouve aussi peu de forest.

Constantinople même qui qu'on finit avec agréable par la fiction et  
 par les réflexions de la société de différentes nations de l'Europe, on  
 l'aissé point le des de l'habiter longtemps mais au contraire elle  
 de la quitter après avoir parcouru ce qu'elle renferme de plus beau.  
 nous sommes à Brouffe depuis huit jours, nous avons tout avec  
 grand plaisir que les causes de cette ville font beaucoup de bien à  
 M<sup>r</sup> l'Ambassadeur, les promesses de beau pays, que nous habitons  
 sont délicieuses et la disposition du village, on nous sommes est  
 extrêmement pittoresque, située sur une des Campagnes de l'Albanie et  
 à travers différents gorges on voit de Perceps, on aperçoit le  
 sommet de cette fameuse montagne toujours couverte de neige, et l'on  
 on domine sur une grande plaine couverte de muriers et arrosée  
 par une petite rivière qui va se jeter dans le port de Bursa après  
 avoir arrosé toute la belle Campagne de la Bithynie.  
 le Courant me presse de finir, mais l'été qui peut être en de trop  
 longue, les voyageurs qui ont constamment de nouveaux objets pour  
 les yeux sont toujours tentés de faire des descriptions de ce que  
 les yeux frappent. Je vous prie en grace Monsieur de présenter  
 mes hommages les plus respectueux à Madame de Limay et combien  
 elle sensible à son souvenir.  
 Jay d'honneur d'être avec le plus parfait de la plus parfaite  
 Monsieur

Je désirerois bien ne pas être oublié auprès de  
 M<sup>r</sup> le Grand Maître Foucault M<sup>r</sup> de  
 à Brouffe le 20. May 1786

Louis François Cassas  
 notaire public  
 et Officier

2008-A.29

Brousse (Bursa), 20 May 1786.

Nous sommes à Brousse depuis huit jours ; nous voyons tous avec grand plaisir que les eaux de cette ville font beaucoup de bien à M. l'ambassadeur ; les promenades du beau pays que nous habitons sont délicieuses, et la disposition du village où nous sommes est extrêmement pittoresque. Situé sur une des rampes de l'Olympe, et à travers différentes gorges d'où coulent des torrents, on aperçoit le sommet de cette fameuse montagne, toujours couverte de neige ; à l'est, on domine sur une grande plaine couverte de mûriers et arrosée par une petite rivière, qui va se jeter dans la Propontide, après avoir rafraîchi toutes les belles campagnes de la Bithynie.





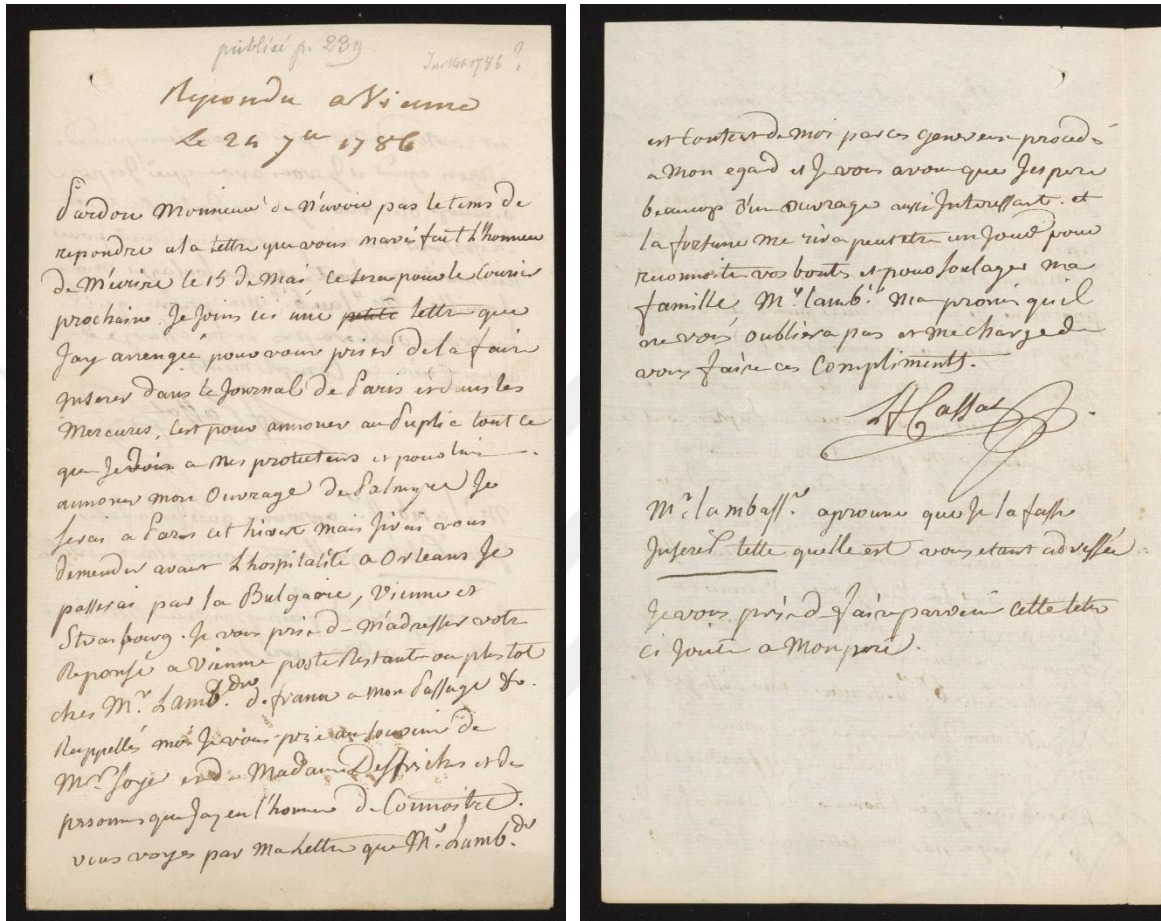




Le 22 juillet 1786

Je viens de faire, par ordre et sous les instructions de M. l'ambassadeur, un voyage dans la Troade avec M. l'abbé Chevalier, qui lui est très-attaché. Il a infiniment de connaissance et d'érudition. Nous avons parcouru ensemble ce pays si célèbre, et dans toutes nos recherches nous avons été assez heureux pour découvrir les sources du divin Scamandre, jusqu'à présent inconnues, et que les voyageurs avaient placées près des gorges du mont Ida, à une grande distance de cette ville, ce qui est en contradiction avec Homère. Nous avons remonté jusqu'à celle du violent Simois avec Homère, Strabon, Pococke à la main, et nous avons vu, avec admiration et à mon grand étonnement, la situation de l'ancienne et de la nouvelle-Troie, les tombeaux d'Achille et de Patrocle, placés, comme le dit Homère, l'un à côté de l'autre, près du cap Sigée, à l'entrée de l'Hellespont, et dans l'endroit où les Grecs avaient leurs retranchements: celui d'Ajax est à l'autre extrémité du camp sur le promontoire Rhétée. Les Turcs, persuadés qu'on trouve de l'or sous tous les monuments, l'ont découvert en partie et la manière dont il est construit ne permet pas de douter que c'est celui de ce grand guerrier. Sa situation relativement aux autres, tout ce que Homère et ses commentateurs en disent, se rapporte parfaitement à cette importante découverte, de même qu'à toutes les autres que nous avons faites. Ces tombeaux sont encore ce qu'ils étaient du temps de ce grand poète qui les avait vus... On ne doit pas être étonné que ces monuments aient passé jusqu'à nous ; mais ce qui nous étonne, c'est qu'ils ont échappé à la recherche de tous les voyageurs. J'ai levé la carte géométriquement avec la plus grande exactitude, et j'ai dessiné et mesuré plusieurs édifices qui existent encore dans la nouvelle Troie, bâtie à peu de distance de l'ancienne. J'envoie les dessins et plans à Paris, à mon ami M. Foucherot ; vous pourrez les voir chez les graveurs, ils feront corps avec le premier volume du Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce.

12. Appendix 12: Cassas, Louis-François. *Louis-François Cassas to Aignan-Thomas Desfriches*. Letter. 24 ? 1786, Foundation Custodia, 2008-A.31\_1, 2008-A.31\_2.



Je serai à Paris cet hiver ; mais j'irai vous demander avant l'hospitalité à Orléans. Je passerai par la Bulgarie, Vienne et Strasbourg. Je vous prie de m'adresser votre réponse à Vienne, poste restante, où plutôt chez l'ambassadeur de France à mon passage.

13. Appendix 13: Cassas, Louis-François. *Louis-François Cassas to Aignan-Thomas Desfriches*. Letter. Constantinople, 10 October 1786, Foundation Custodia, 2008-A.32\_1, 2008-A.32\_2, 2008-A.32\_3.

10 8<sup>bre</sup> 1786

Monsieur

J'ay eu d'honneur de vous écrire il y a environ six mois et sous la même enveloppe une autre que je vous adresse et que je vous prie de faire insérer dans le journal ou dans les Mémoires pour servir le public du projet de M. l'ambassadeur qui doit faire les armes des fiefs de Guesnes vous mettre au jour mon voyage de Salmyre et Saalbach. Je vous annonce aussi mon prochain retour en France au commencement de l'hiver mais je crains que l'opération qui au printemps est venue pour vous, M. de C. de l'Or qui vous comms avec

de l'Égypte et de l'Arabie il est ici depuis quelques temps et doit partir pour l'Arabie et de retour de l'Arabie pour l'Égypte. Je suis au moment de partir de Paris et de aller tout droit pour l'Allemagne. Je suis parti d'ici par la Russie et de profiter d'une occasion favorable d'un fief qui a de l'importance et de l'amiti pour moi et de l'ambassadeur qui a toujours de excellentes propositions pour moi. Je m'en va faire un petit voyage de la Prusse qui a eu le plus grand succès et de l'ambassadeur de l'ambassadeur qui sera grave et hiverné. Je suis extrêmement occupé à faire des Calques. Mes affaires en ce moment et de passer dans 10 jours d'ambassade. J'espère que j'irai après de vous pour trouver de vos nouvelles à mon passage à Vienne dans deux mois. Je suis inquiet de votre santé et de la situation de vos lettres. Je suis obligé beaucoup. J'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire de différents endroits de mon voyage et j'ai trop pressé pour entrer dans d'autres détails. Je vous recommande toujours mon père avec toute sa famille et vos biens jusqu'à mon arrivée. Je suis prêt de vous faire tous les services possibles. Je prie à Madame de l'Épique et Monsieur de l'Épique. Je prie à Monsieur de l'Épique et M. de l'Épique et je suis au par en de la poste. Je vous prie de bien me pas oublier de donner la lettre

que j'ay écrit pour le journal de M. l'ambassadeur qui j'ay été approuvé très fort qu'elle soit insérée.

J'ay l'honneur de vous adresser la plus parfaite des nouvelles de tous les fiefs de France et de Monsieur de l'Épique très humble et très obéissant serviteur

L. Cassas

Constantinople le 10 Octobre 1786

2008-A.32

Constantinople, 10 octobre 1786.

Je suis au moment de mon départ, et, au lieu d'aller tout droit par l'Allemagne, je suis tenté d'aller par la Russie, et de profiter d'une occasion favorable d'un seigneur qui a de l'estime et de l'amitié pour moi, et avec le consentement de M. l'ambassadeur, qui a toujours d'excellents procédés pour moi. Je viens de faire un petit voyage de la Troade qui a eu le plus grand succès et dont je viens de finir la carte, qui sera gravée cet hiver. Je suis extrêmement occupé à faire des calques de mes dessins en cas d'événement, et je pars dans dix jours au plus tard...







Rome, le 28 février 1787

Enfin me voilà rapproché de ma patrie et délivré des griffes des Arabes avec mes portefeuilles. C'est à présent que je sens tout le plaisir d'avoir fait un si beau voyage, qui me rendra heureux le reste de ma vie, et m'assure, par les bonnes dispositions de M. le comte de Choiseul pour moi, une petite fortune, indépendamment de toutes les ressources que je puis espérer de mes ouvrages.

Depuis que je suis ici, je suis si agité et si affecté par l'impression que fait sur moi l'aspect de cette belle ville, joint au plaisir de revoir d'anciens amis, que j'y avais laissés, que je ne puis mettre aucun ordre dans ma conduite ni dans mes idées, et je ne fais autre chose que courir du matin au soir, pour satisfaire ma curiosité, et pour faire des comparaisons avec tout ce que j'ai vu dans mes voyages...







Rome, 2 janvier 1788.

MONSIEUR,

Tous mes effets et les marbres sont arrivés, et il est nécessaire que je sois ici pour les faire restaurer, de manière que je suis fort occupé, et que j'avance beaucoup de choses, parce que je me fais aider pour tout ce qui est architecture, dont j'ai fait des découvertes intéressantes relativement à cet art.







Rome, 13 juin 1788

Il m'a porté dernièrement mon crédit à 50,000 livres fournies, et je ne puis guère partir d'ici avant d'avoir terminé une infinité d'objets commencés, et faire restaurer plusieurs statues que j'ai trouvées dans mes voyages et qui demandent absolument ma présence...il me donne une pension de 1,500 fr...



17. Appendix 17: Cassas, Louis-François. Louis-François Cassas to Aignan-Thomas Desfriches. Letter. Rome, 22 May 1787, Foundation Custodia, 2008-A.35\_1, 2008-A.35\_2.

publié p. 36

22 mai 1787

Monsieur

Comme le 22 May de l'an 4<sup>e</sup> de la République

Je me permets d'offrir de deux articles que j'ai eu dans le Journal de Paris  
 l'un la copie d'une lettre que j'écris au sujet de l'autre de celle que les  
 vôtres ont envoyée de tout autre style pour vous prouver de l'opinion que les  
 Partis vous font que vous avez été approuvé de M. le Cte de Chaulieu et  
 de M. de La Fayette pour vous en tranquilliser et M. de La Fayette  
 ne pouvant vous le faire que par un autre qui n'est pas le bien que l'on fait  
 vous en ferez l'honneur de l'impression de mon voyage et tout ce que M.  
 l'Ambassadeur en a pu faire pour moi. C'est comme le plus petit de mes  
 services que j'aurai. Je n'en suis pas fier, mais j'ai vu que M.  
 le Cte de Chaulieu n'est pas si content de son changement, et j'ai vu les services  
 pour le présent que j'en ai eu quelque participation de moi, envoyés à M.  
 de La Fayette et le Cte de Chaulieu pour en être pour quelle partie dans la Gazette.  
 C'est la grâce que j'ai eu de vous en être plus sûr, car j'ai vu que vous  
 plâtiez sur l'envoi d'un avis le bien de M. de Chaulieu au pré de M. l'Ambassadeur de la  
 République, et que l'on s'en soit servi qui n'est pas le bien de M. de Chaulieu  
 qui n'est pas le bien de la République, et que l'on s'en soit servi qui n'est pas  
 le bien de la République, et que l'on s'en soit servi qui n'est pas le bien de la République.  
 Je n'ai pas de quoi vous en être plus sûr, car j'ai vu que vous  
 plâtiez sur l'envoi d'un avis le bien de M. de Chaulieu au pré de M. l'Ambassadeur de la  
 République, et que l'on s'en soit servi qui n'est pas le bien de M. de Chaulieu  
 qui n'est pas le bien de la République, et que l'on s'en soit servi qui n'est pas  
 le bien de la République, et que l'on s'en soit servi qui n'est pas le bien de la République.

Je ne puis pas, Monsieur, en Introduction au géométral de l'algèbre, après  
 avoir occupé le graveur à mon dessin, à Paris, et avec grand  
 soin de principes, et de ce que j'ai vu de l'opinion que les  
 vôtres ont envoyée de tout autre style pour vous prouver de l'opinion que les  
 Partis vous font que vous avez été approuvé de M. le Cte de Chaulieu et  
 de M. de La Fayette pour vous en tranquilliser et M. de La Fayette  
 ne pouvant vous le faire que par un autre qui n'est pas le bien que l'on fait  
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 C'est la grâce que j'ai eu de vous en être plus sûr, car j'ai vu que vous  
 plâtiez sur l'envoi d'un avis le bien de M. de Chaulieu au pré de M. l'Ambassadeur de la  
 République, et que l'on s'en soit servi qui n'est pas le bien de M. de Chaulieu  
 qui n'est pas le bien de la République, et que l'on s'en soit servi qui n'est pas  
 le bien de la République, et que l'on s'en soit servi qui n'est pas le bien de la République.

Rome le 22 mai 1787





Rome, le 1<sup>er</sup> octobre 1788.

...J'étais alors à Albano, où je dois retourner après-demain pour y jouir des plaisirs de la campagne jusqu'au mois de novembre ; d'ailleurs, j'y travaille avec plus de tranquillité, n'étant pas dérangé par une infinité de curieux qui ne font que me faire perdre mon temps...



19. Appendix 19: Cassas, Louis-François. *Louis-François Cassas to Aignan-Thomas Desfriches*. Letter. Rome, 9 January 1791, Foundation Custodia, 2008-A.52\_1, 2008-A.52\_2, 2008-A.52\_3.

Rome 9 Jan. 1791

Monseigneur

Je me vois entretenu par de l'histoire de mes Malheurs  
ils sont accablés pour mon cas et l'on m'a de bien  
peu de temps à peine toute ma situation de mon cas  
succesivement entendue par les de bien des Manières) tout trop  
longue et trop enveloppée de Circonstances fâcheuses dont  
le souvenir est encore trop affligant pour mes entretiens  
de vous en faire le récit.

Enfin la doctrine et l'humilité de ma conduite a triomphé  
des obstacles qui me persécutaient à travers les obstacles et les  
Malheurs des Circonstances présentes, mon renom est fini  
je ne suis encore depuis quelques jours et je suis en plus que  
jamais de l'histoire publique et de l'histoire de toute la  
presque sembler qui ont commencé depuis longtemps et que

Je suis indulgent pour les misères humaines, je ne fais et dire  
qu'entendre le desordre et la peine de mes affaires, cependant  
M. le C<sup>te</sup> de Choiseul pour mes de Malheurs représente  
même un million de 1500<sup>l</sup> jusqu'à ce que mon ouvrage soit  
au jour je ne suis encore pas encore car le C<sup>te</sup> n'est  
pas encore bien établi car moi qui je continue à  
jouir paisiblement avec mon épouse de la tranquillité que  
je desirais depuis si longtemps, elle est moi fait tout de suite  
au Ciel pour la conservation de nos enfants et l'honneur de l'Etat.  
De tout ce qui peut concerner à votre bonheur mes souhaits  
ne sont pas moins sincères pour Madame Desfriches à qui  
je vous prie de présenter mes respectueux hommages.

Je ne puis être en France à Paris payé avec qui je  
me rendrai définitivement à Paris mes affaires seront  
permettant par Dieu être obtenu plus longtemps et le retard  
de cette affaire me fait un tort au C<sup>te</sup> de Choiseul.

Je suis encore à M<sup>l</sup> le C<sup>te</sup> de Meslay et Jours —  
tandis que par avoir envoyé 300<sup>l</sup> pour le paiement  
de mes parents malgré le retard, ces biens que  
j'ai été obligé de faire en tant que de l'argent à  
recevoir à mes amis à Paris je suis en de plus de  
prouver dans ce moment vous ont par mesurés de plus  
le change qui a parait fort bien considérable —

me retourné en part du retard en aucun manière.  
J'ai desiré à remettre M<sup>l</sup> le Duc de Choiseul et M<sup>l</sup> de  
desiré à recevoir de main de grâces et surtout à  
avoir le parti que on peut tirer de ces deux ans pour  
l'ouvrage que je dois en tant au C<sup>te</sup> de Choiseul  
des Circonstances peu favorable aux vœux avec M<sup>l</sup> le  
C<sup>te</sup> de Choiseul est toujours de plus à faire les affaires  
nécessaires pour la publication de cet ouvrage et je suis  
jusqu'à la fin de la pression qui est ma affaire  
Je prie vous même un certain nombre de ces l<sup>es</sup> qui  
vous ont les avis demandés pour le rendre avec un état  
d'attente au bien de l'impression votre réponse et de nouveau  
de tout le possible que vous m'avez fait. Je vous prie de  
M<sup>l</sup> Jours de la lecture de mes vœux pour tous ce qui peut  
lui être agréable, ne doute pas de toute la reconnaissance  
que je dois à vos bontés, et aux vœux que vous voulez bien  
prendre pour tout ce qui me regarde de des profond  
remercements lequel je suis toute ma vie

Monseigneur

Rome le 9 Jan. 1791

Obéissance respectueuse  
et dévouée  
L. F. Cassas

2008-A.52



Rome, le 9 janvier 1791

Je ne vous entretiendrai pas de l'histoire de mes malheurs, ils sont accablants pour mon cœur, et l'ont mis à de bien terribles épreuves. Toutes mes aventures, dont vous aurez sûrement entendu parler de bien des manières, sont trop longues et trop enveloppées de circonstances fâcheuses dont le ressouvenir est encore trop affligeant, pour oser entreprendre de vous en faire le récit...Je porterai moi-même un certain nombre de dessins, tels que vous me les avez demandés, pour les vendre à vos amateurs.



20. Appendix 20: Cassas, Louis-François. *Louis-François Cassas to Aignan-Thomas Desfriches*. Letter. Rome, 1 March 1791, Foundation Custodia, 2008-A.53\_1, 2008-A.53\_2, 2008-A.53\_3

Rome, le 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 1791

Monsieur Desfriches

Je suis en l'honneur de recevoir votre lettre avec les très grandes joies que j'en ai eues, et de celles des personnes qui vous ont écrit. Je vous demande pardon si je ne vous en ai pas expliqué en plus grand détail, toutes les circonstances de mon mariage; quelques relations qu'on a supposé que j'avois avec Cagliari ont été ajoutés à mes mes embarras, au reste je suis qu'il est de tout permis, moi seulement de ne pas avoir eu dire d'assaut que le tout n'est que permis, plus est je me rassure, tout les discours de mon amour à l'égard de l'époux.

Je vous prie de m'envoyer par Monsieur de Menage qui me charge de vous dire mille fois de sa part, nous attendons les

deux ou trois jours de plus, mais le bon qui n'est pas de Naples, les grands succès de son Talon et les charmes de sa personne, ne doivent pas vous être connus parce que vous le connaissez, après ce vous savez mieux que qui que ce soit, tout ce qu'il a écrit.

Je suis toujours ravi de parler de Rome quelques jours après l'après, et quand à la position de M<sup>lle</sup> de Desfriches, je suppose que je n'en aurai le premier quartier qu'à mon arrivée à Paris. Je suis à attendre en lettres de Constantinople, relativement à l'ouvrage de l'abbé de l'abbé, et le choix des personnes.

Je vous envoie une lettre de change, qui arrivera dans la fin de Mars, par M<sup>lle</sup> de l'abbé, de 2400<sup>fr</sup>. Sachez que je vous prie de faire retour par Monsieur de Menage à Paris, qui vous dira bien mieux tout ce que j'ai écrit. Je suis bien sûr de ne pas avoir eu l'honneur de recevoir de vos nouvelles en reportant deux lettres que j'ai écrites dans le commencement de l'année - Je vous prie en grande de ne pas être si homme qui n'est bien mérité, que l'on dit de 300<sup>fr</sup>, que j'ai promis de vous donner à mon arrivée, car les circonstances sont bien fâcheuses pour les arts et les sciences, et de grandes nécessités.

J'attends avec impatience votre réponse, je vous prie de ne pas oublier de m'envoyer les personnes que vous font

chers et qui ont la bonté de se souvenir de moi. Je suis en l'honneur de recevoir votre lettre avec les très grandes joies que j'en ai eues, et de celles des personnes qui vous ont écrit. Je vous demande pardon si je ne vous en ai pas expliqué en plus grand détail, toutes les circonstances de mon mariage; quelques relations qu'on a supposé que j'avois avec Cagliari ont été ajoutés à mes mes embarras, au reste je suis qu'il est de tout permis, moi seulement de ne pas avoir eu dire d'assaut que le tout n'est que permis, plus est je me rassure, tout les discours de mon amour à l'égard de l'époux.

Je vous prie de m'envoyer par Monsieur de Menage qui me charge de vous dire mille fois de sa part, nous attendons les

Rome le 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 1791

Je suis en l'honneur de recevoir votre lettre avec les très grandes joies que j'en ai eues, et de celles des personnes qui vous ont écrit. Je vous demande pardon si je ne vous en ai pas expliqué en plus grand détail, toutes les circonstances de mon mariage; quelques relations qu'on a supposé que j'avois avec Cagliari ont été ajoutés à mes mes embarras, au reste je suis qu'il est de tout permis, moi seulement de ne pas avoir eu dire d'assaut que le tout n'est que permis, plus est je me rassure, tout les discours de mon amour à l'égard de l'époux.

Je vous prie de m'envoyer par Monsieur de Menage qui me charge de vous dire mille fois de sa part, nous attendons les

Monsieur Desfriches  
Négociant de l'abbé de l'abbé  
à Orlean



21. Appendix 21: Cassas, Louis-François. Louis-François Cassas to Aignan-Thomas Desfriches. Letter. Paris, End of 1791 or beginning of 1792, Foundation Custodia, 2008-A.54\_1, 2008-A.54\_2, 2008-A.54\_3

Paris le ?  
fin 91 ou commencement de 1792

publié p. 308.

Monsieur

M<sup>r</sup> de Lamoignon est venu l'après midi de passer hier chez moi qui vous a rassuré sur votre santé. J'ai été bien fatigué de voir par où l'on trouve chez moi pour le recevoir et pour lui montrer le dessin que j'ai fini pour M<sup>r</sup> Forges. Je n'ai presque d'avis de recevoir bon quart dans le chœur du côté. C'est une petite forêt dans le fond d'un golfé avec les murures du portique d'un temple sur les côtés de l'axe intérieur, il y a longtemps que ce dessin est fini et j'attends que l'on de M<sup>r</sup> de Marais le fait pour l'envoyer dans la même caisse, mais j'en ai fini encore de 15 jours. Celui de cette vénérable dame. J'ai été obligé de m'occuper des dessins de M<sup>r</sup> de la Borde qui ont fait comme vous les avoir payés d'argent et cela retardé

mes commissions pour Orléans mais on n'est pas qui m'ont servi. J'ai eu le plaisir d'avoir ici M<sup>r</sup> de Guilleville qui vous aura sûrement parlé de vos petits arrangements. J'en loue beaucoup que vous savez fait faire la commission d'un homme si estimable et qui a de si bons procédés à mon regard après ce que je double ai de fait pour le contentement. quand a M<sup>r</sup> Goussier j'en ai fait que l'on refuse le prix que je lui avais demandé de deux de ces plus beaux dessins et qui m'ont fait payé 25 louis mais les commissions me déterminent à tout et j'en ai écrit que j'accepterai à la fin de mes trois encadrements pour 10,000<sup>fr</sup> qui reviennent toujours à peu près à son prix de 800<sup>fr</sup>. — parce que les deux autres bordures coûtent cher et ont augmenté de qui m'ont demandé encore cent qu'il est d'Orléans on ne peut pas en refuser et qu'il m'en doit faire faire deux autres semblables.

J'en ai fait un arrangement de la statue que j'avais vendue avec quelque dessin mais j'en ai payé que dans 8 ans et on me fait la rente de cet argent. Cela m'ont été la gêne pour le moment mais j'en ai presque d'un dessin d'objets de luxe qui me sont convenus plus et que j'avais fait faire dans un cabinet en j'en ai fait d'avoir un Cabinet

vous me sur, vite et mon utilité. Je me prépare beaucoup de plaisir de voir votre beau dessin d'air et j'en ai toujours dans le présent d'être heureux de servir Orléans et par tout de vous avoir de vous embrasser et de vous parler de votre reconnaissance. J'ai dit il y a quelque temps que M<sup>r</sup> de Lamoignon et que j'en ai vu hier chez moi qui me a bien obligé de vous faire mes compliments et à M<sup>r</sup> de la Borde de la part elle me communique avec qui vous communiquez tout en passant de savoir de nouvelles de votre santé et j'en ai presque d'avoir plusieurs occasions de parler de vous à beaucoup d'égard de votre commission. J'attends la réponse pour savoir ce que M<sup>r</sup> Forges désirait de votre dessin que j'ai vu et que j'ai caché pour ne pas le céder à M<sup>r</sup> de la Borde qui ont qui ont pour encore son dessin. Je vous prie M<sup>r</sup> de Lamoignon de m'en le voir.

22 Juin 92

Je n'ai pas vu M<sup>r</sup> Goussier qui on fait les bordures et qui m'envoie la mesure du verre que j'en ai les envoies pour son accord de qu'il j'ai perdu la mesure qu'il m'en a laissée. J'en ai mille compliments et mille tendres à toute monde. Je vous embrasse de tout mon cœur.

Paris mardi matin 26.

J'attends la réponse

Aignan-Thomas  
Desfriches  
rue Neuve  
à Orléans

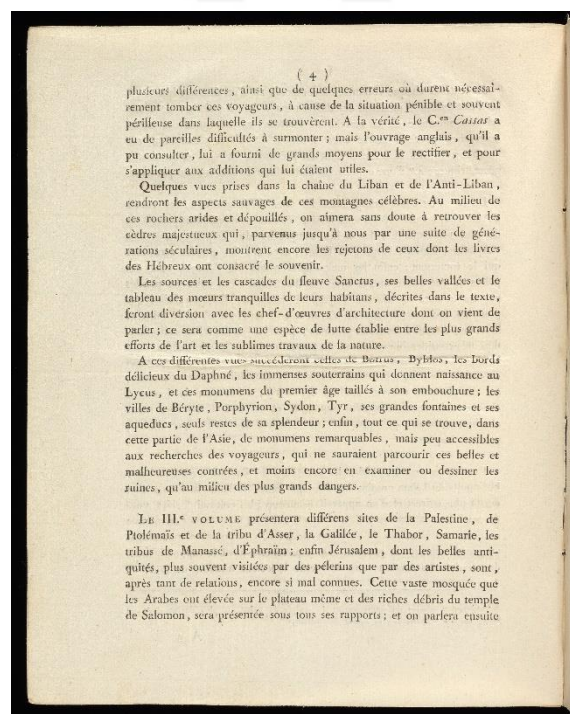
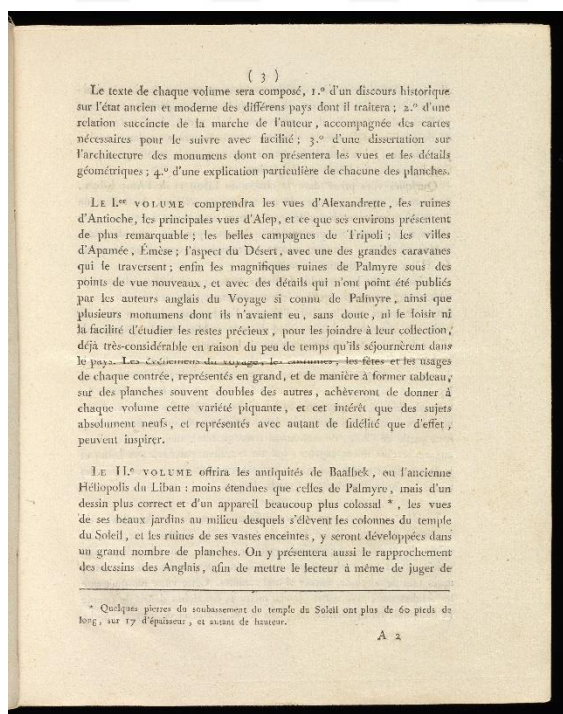
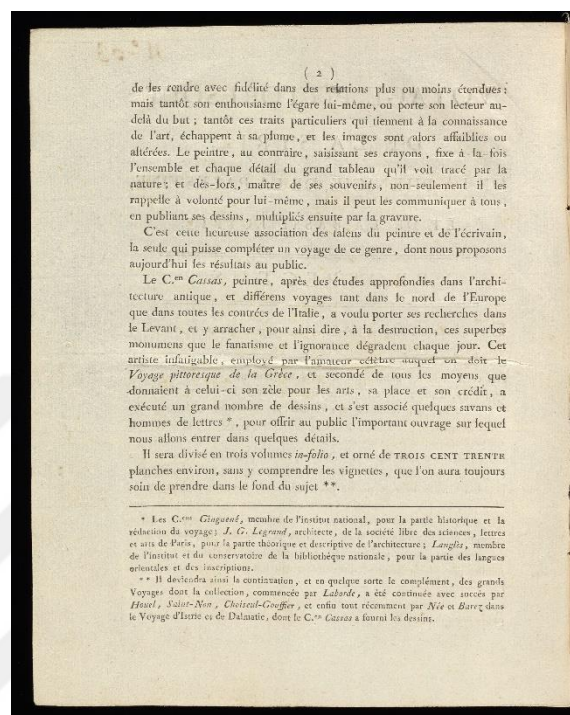
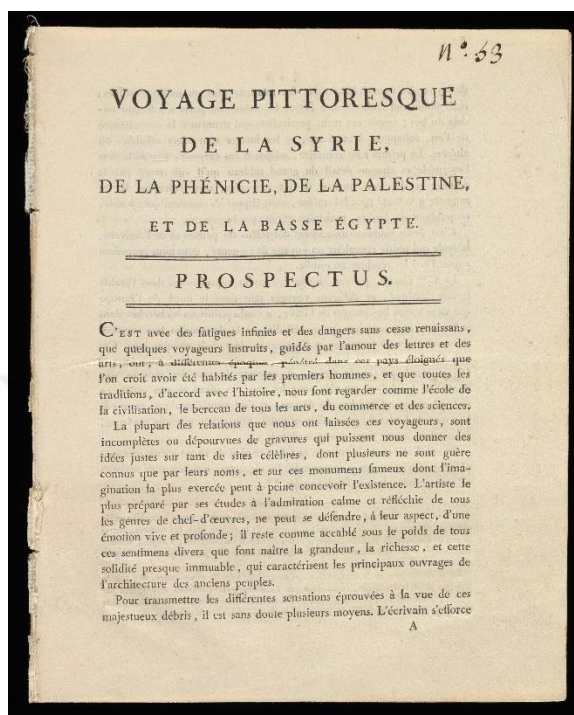
Paris (fin de 1791 ou commencement de 1792).

... pour lui montrer le dessin que j'ai fini pour M. Soyer. Je serais heureux d'avoir rencontré son goût dans le choix du site. C'est une petite forêt dans le fond d'un golfe, avec les ruines du portique d'un temple, sur les côtes de l'Asie Mineure...

Quant à M. Grillol, je suis fâché qu'il me refuse le prix que je lui avais demandé de deux de mes plus beaux dessins, et qui m'étaient payés vingt-cinq louis ; mais les circonstances me déterminent à tout, et je lui ai écrit que je consentais à les lui donner tout encadrés pour 1,000 fr. Ce qui revient toujours à peu près à son prix de 800 fr., parce que les verres et les bordures coûtent cher et ont augmenté. Ce qui m'a déterminé encore, c'est qu'il est d'Orléans, où je ne veux rien refuser, et qu'il m'en doit faire faire deux autres semblables...





22. Appendix 22: Cassas, Louis-François. *Prospectus*. Paris, 1798.



( 5 )

des trois grandes plaines qui ont conservé aussi le nom de Satorion, de Beilfém, du mont des Français, et de ces plaines qu'arrose le Jourdain jusqu'au lac Asphaltite.

La basse Égypte fera également partie de ce volume, et comprendra les principales vues des villes élevées sur le rivage du Nil, les productions du Delta, Damiette, le Caire, les principaux édifices de cette immense cité, ses portes, et ces riches mosquées où l'on voit se développer le style original et léger de l'architecture arabe, exécutée avec tout le luxe et toute la richesse orientale. Les ruines d'Héliopolis et de Memphis; les fameuses pyramides, les plus vastes et les plus anciens monuments de tous les âges; Alexandrie, avec ses obélisques, sa colonne et tous les autres édifices dont les restes attestent son ancienne magnificence, se trouveront dans ce même volume, qui sera terminé par plusieurs vues pittoresques de l'île de Chypre, comme Famagouste, Idalion, Paphos, Amathonte, l'Olympe, et d'autres lieux célèbres dont les noms, bien plus que leurs aspects, rappellent tous les charmes de la nature, et dont les souvenirs se lient aux plus séduisantes images de la mythologie des Grecs.

Vainement on eschiverait à captiver l'attention du public par une si longue énumération, si l'exécution ne répondait à la richesse du sujet; mais on sera rassuré sur ce point, lorsqu'on apprendra que ce voyage (déjà annoncé dans le Journal de Paris en avril 1787\*), ordonné avec magnificence par l'ambassadeur de France à Constantinople, et exécuté en partie d'après ses plans, commencé ensuite à être gravé aux frais d'Anisson Duperron\*\*, a été enfin adopté par le Gouvernement français, qui, secondant les efforts de l'auteur, et voulant tenir avec lui les conventions successivement faites par les amateurs dont on vient de parler, a voulu fournir à toutes les dépenses exigées pour la plus belle

\* On y a aussi donné, à cette époque, de la publicité aux découvertes de l'auteur dans la Troade, faites conjointement avec le C.<sup>te</sup> Le Chevalier, homme de lettres; découvertes qui, avec beaucoup de dessins et de cartes très-précises levées à Constantinople et dans plusieurs endroits de l'Asie mineure, sont destinées à former le second volume du Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce, attendu avec tant d'impatience du public.

\*\* Ce directeur de l'imprimerie du Louvre, si connu par son amour pour la bibliographie et pour les arts, s'était généreusement substitué, quelque temps avant sa mort, à tous les engagements contractés avec le C.<sup>te</sup> Cassin par Chasteau-Gouffier.

( 6 )

exécution des gravures de cet ouvrage, le plus considérable en ce genre qui ait encore été publié\*.

Le papier d'Annonay superfin est tout prêt pour l'impression; déjà plus de cent planches sont terminées, et deux cents autres sont préparées à l'eau-forte par les plus habiles graveurs, qui tous ont été et sont encore employés à cette entreprise\*\*. Jamais souscription n'a offert sans doute une garantie aussi solide de sa prompte continuation jusqu'à la fin, ni présenté autant de moyens de satisfaire les souscripteurs sous tous les rapports.

Les livraisons seront composées de six planches avec leur explication; elles seront au nombre de 50 à 55, et paraîtront à-peu-près tous les mois. Le prix de chacune sera de TRENTE-CINQ FRANCS, et de TRENTE FRANCS seulement pour ceux qui souscriront dans le courant de l'année, à partir du mois de mai prochain (nouveaux style), ou 1.<sup>er</sup> prairial de l'an VI de la République.

Les grandes planches ne seront jamais comprises pour deux, ainsi qu'il est d'usage; en sorte que le cahier sera constamment de six estampes, quelle que soit leur grandeur; et pour assurer que plusieurs sont seules de la valeur du cahier entier. Indépendamment de cet avantage, on distribuera gratuitement aux souscripteurs, à la fin de l'ouvrage, six grandes vues formant un supplément, et propres à mettre sous verre; elles représenteront l'ensemble ou la vue générale des villes de Constantinople, d'Éphèse, de Smyrne, de Malte, d'Athènes et de Spalatro.

Comme un grand nombre de planches sont terminées, on pourra pour satisfaire l'empressement des amateurs qui le désireraient, leur délivrer à la fois plusieurs livraisons d'estampes, sans à attendre quelques mois pour l'impression du texte, dont l'exécution typographique à l'imprimerie de la République exige le plus grand soin.

\* Le Gouvernement, convaincu de l'utilité de cette entreprise pour le progrès des arts, et de sa liaison intime avec l'avancement de l'architecture, et les intérêts du commerce, l'a encouragée avec persévérance au milieu même des crises de la révolution, en octroyant à ses frais la gravure des planches et l'impression du texte.

\*\* Plusieurs des planches portent 20 points sur 15, d'autres 24 sur 15, et les plus grandes à-peu-près 30 points, ce qui n'a guère été exécuté dans des ouvrages de ce genre.

( 7 )

Tous les dessins qui ont servi à la gravure, et qui la plupart sont des aquarelles terminées, ont été soigneusement conservés, et formeront un précieux recueil appartenant à la République; il sera en conséquence déposé dans la bibliothèque nationale.

La plupart de ces dessins ont passé sous les yeux des premiers artistes, et ont obtenu leurs suffrages. Parmi ceux qui en ont rendu les témoignages les plus satisfaisants au Gouvernement, et sollicité ses encouragements, il suffira de désigner le savant auteur du Voyage de jeune Anacharis\*; le peintre du Bélisaire et des Hivaces; l'auteur du livre intitulé, Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce; celui des Antiquités de la France, &c. &c.

L'impression des planches et la direction des gravures sont confiées aux soins du C.<sup>te</sup> Tilliard, connu avantagèrement par son talent, et par la conduite de plusieurs grands ouvrages, tels que le Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce, le Télémaque, la Struvalon dérivée, &c. &c.

On tirera un très-petit nombre d'exemplaires avant la lettre, dont le prix sera de CINQUANTE-CINQ FRANCS la livraison, et de QUARANTE-CINQ FRANCS seulement pour ceux qui la prendront dans le courant de l'année. On donnera dans la première livraison une dissertation sur les antiquités de Palmyre, et l'explication des planches de cette livraison.

La liste des souscripteurs sera imprimée à la fin de l'ouvrage, dans l'ordre de leurs soumissions; et c'est également suivant cet ordre qu'ils recevront leurs épreuves. Les prix ci-dessus fixés sont pour Paris; et les libraires ou commissionnaires sont autorisés à se faire rembourser leurs frais de port et de commission pour les envois à l'étranger ou dans les

\* Ce savant, auquel l'obligeance et l'affabilité étaient ainsi familières que l'érudition, a communiqué à l'auteur différentes observations sur les antiquités de Palmyre et de Baalbek, dont on s'empresse de faire usage dans le texte de cet ouvrage. Il se propose, lorsque la mort l'a enlevé aux sciences et aux lettres, de donner une nouvelle édition de son Voyage d'Anacharis; édition dans laquelle il eût inséré plusieurs des dessins et des observations qui font partie de l'ouvrage annoncé par ce Prospectus. Son vœu, à cet égard, se trouve rempli; et cette édition vient d'être annoncée dans le Prospectus, comme la plus magnifique et la plus complète que l'on puisse désirer; elle doit incessamment sortir des presses du C.<sup>te</sup> Didot le jeune.

( 8 )

départemens. On donnera le treizième exemplaire à ceux qui en prendront douze à-la-fois.

On souscrit, à Paris, chez l'Auteur, rue de Seine, n.<sup>o</sup> 46, près les Quatre-Nations, où l'on pourra voir les objets relatifs à cette entreprise:

TILLIARD, graveur, cloître Notre-Dame;  
G. DESBURE l'aîné, libraire de la bibliothèque nationale, rue Serpente, n.<sup>o</sup> 61;  
J. C. MOLINI, rue Mignon, quartier André-des-Arcs;  
Et chez les C.<sup>tes</sup> LAMY, qui des Augustins;  
MAUGER, rue Croix-des-Petits-champs, n.<sup>o</sup> 59;  
LAIOSSE, graveur, place du Carrousel;  
TREUTTEL et WÛRTZ, libraires, à Strasbourg, et à Paris, quai de Voltaire, n.<sup>o</sup> 21.

Ainsi que chez les principaux Libraires de l'Europe.

À PARIS, DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE.  
Germinal an VI.





Rome, 25 mai 1787

Tout le monde se porte en foule chez moi pour voir mes dessins, et je suis obligé de tenir ma porte fermée à un grand nombre de curieux, surtout de ceux qui sont bien aises de voir pour détruire la moitié d'un ouvrage qui n'a rien de commun souvent avec leurs occupations.





25. Appendix 25: Cassas, Louis-François. *Louis-François Cassas to Aignan-Thomas Desfriches*. Letter. 23 August 1789, Foundation Custodia, 2008-A.48\_1, 2008-A.48\_2, 2008-A. 48\_3, 2008-A.48\_4.

publié p. 288 } an 1789

Monsieur

Paris le 23 août  
1789

J'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire le mois passé pour la fondation  
de la dernière j'en ai reçu une petite lettre par M. le Comte  
de Meslay. Je n'en ay pas de réponse. J'attends cela avec grand  
impatience au point que je suis desolé cependant  
de ne recevoir aucune de vos nouvelles depuis votre lettre du 22  
novembre. Je n'en ay pas non plus de M. de Meslay. Je  
sais en ce qui est personnellement. J'ignote de tout ce qui se passe et  
on m'a écrit plus qu'à l'ordinaire. J'en cours à l'autre.

M. de Meslay est en charge d. vous dire un million de  
compliments. quand à mes affaires elles vont assez bien, mon

credit continue toujours et les affaires de M. de Meslay  
choisies me retiennent en malgre moi une partie de la semaine  
moi qui me propose tout de plain de rester quelques jours  
de l'autre au point de voir les circonstances ne font pas mon  
plan les bureaux. Je ne reviens ma patrie dans ce moment-ci.  
Je suis tranquille sur les finances que vous voulez bien donner  
à ma mère ainsi que d. ceux de M. le Comte de Meslay.  
Je vous supplie de vouloir bien les continuer jusqu'à mon  
retour. Je m'en suis tenu depuis quelques jours à l'ordinaire de mes  
affaires pour le Roy de Suede. Je. L'esperance de mon ouvrage  
est encore si éloignée de moi que je commence des espérances à me  
faire un petit établissement dans le pays à mon retour à Paris.  
M. de Meslay. Le Comte de Meslay m'a remis entre les mains  
72 louis. J'ai écrit en la bonne mesure de m'en offrir la moitié à  
Je pense qu'il voudra bien vous donner 300. pour le faire de  
ma famille. Je suis fâché de vous avoir parlé si peu  
de cette somme. Tous vos chers ouvrages en font si considérables.  
Les livres que j'ai lus, bien ainsi d'attentions. Occasions.  
mon dessin se vendent 25. louis. Je suis le Circulaire. J'en  
J'en suis à mille marches. Je vous au moins à vous adresser

à vous avoir d. l'argent à place et me faire de l'autre  
pour le reste de ma vie. J'attendrais de l'ouvrage  
que j'en ai donné au public et pour lequel je fais des  
depuis tous les jours.

Je vous supplie de me donner de vos nouvelles et de m'en  
d. madame de Meslay. Je vous supplie de m'en donner  
à mes honneurs respectueux. J'en suis  
à vous de nouvelles de M. de Meslay. Je  
vous supplie de m'en donner à leur souvenir.

Je suis avec le plus profond respect et les plus  
parfaites assurances

Monsieur

Votre très humble et  
obéissant serviteur  
L. F. Cassas

Paris le 5. août. 1789.

1789

Monsieur

Paris le 5. août. 1789.



Rome, le 5 août 1789

Je me suis livré, depuis quelque temps, à vendre des dessins ; j'en ai fait pour le roi de Suède, etc. L'espérance de mon ouvrage est encore si éloignée de moi, que je commence, dès à présent, à me faire un fonds et pouvoir placer de l'argent à mon arrivée à Paris...Mes dessins se vendent vingt-cinq louis, selon les circonstances ; cependant j'en fais à bon marché





Constantinople, le 10 Avril 1786.

...Je travaille à mon voyage de Palmyre et de Balbeck que je donnerai au public. M. l'ambassadeur veut bien me faire toutes les avances pour les graveurs et s'occupera lui-même du texte de l'ouvrage. Ces deux ouvrages contribueront beaucoup à m'assurer une petite fortune. Ne dites encore rien de cela à personne, cela exciterait trop de jalousie...



27. Appendix 27: Cassas, Louis-François. *Louis-François Cassas to Aignan-Thomas Desfriches*. Letter. Constantinople, 22 July 1786, Foundation Custodia, 2008-A.27\_1, 2008-A.27\_2, 2008-A.27\_3, 2008-A.27\_4.

De la page 234 Constantinople le 22 Juillet 1786.

L'instinct qui vous veut bien prendre Monsieur aux dangers que je vis de courir, est une nouvelle preuve de cette bienveillance qui me sera si utile et qui me paraîtra toujours si précieuse. S'il est vrai que l'on s'attache peu ses propres bienfaits, j'ay sans doute le droit de compter à jamais sur vos bontés; ce sont elles qui m'ont obtenu la fortune d'être comissaire de Monsieur le Duc de Chabot et l'Education qu'il a daigné me faire donner, bonté infinissable auquel ce protecteur aussi généreux, qu'éclairé a bien voulu donner la permission de satisfaire ma passion pour les voyages et

l'instinct même ou mes faibles services mérités par le courtoisie, si ce n'est du succès de ma soeur, au moins de mon entier dévouement. On dit Monsieur, qu'il est rare de trouver surtout parmi les grands un protecteur qui ne regarde pas les bienfaits comme de simples avances destinés à rentrer souvent avec usure, qui s'oublie lui-même pour ne penser qu'avec contentement de ceux qu'il oblige; pour moi j'ay eu le bonheur d'en trouver deux et il m'est bien doux d'avoir à partager mes hommages entre deux personnes si faites pour s'estimer naturellement. Monsieur le Duc de Chabot m'avait procuré le bonheur de vivre pendant six ans au milieu des Ruines de la Sicile et de l'Italie j'ay eu depuis celui de suivre Monsieur le Comte de Choiseul, gouffier à Athènes, à Constantinople, lieux célèbres que le public lui aura vuentôt l'obligation de connaître et il m'a choisi pour exécuter des projets formés pour lui-même dans un tems où il avoit la modeste de ne pas prévoir qu'on lui donneroit des occupations plus importantes.

j'ay parcouru toute la Sicile et la Sicile; j'ay dessinée, mesuré ces Edifices immenses de Salerne dont la richesse sera toujours un problème insolvable; ceux de Balice, moins vastes, mais plus précieuses par la pureté de leur dessin et j'ay porté dans mon travail l'exactitude jusqu'au scrupule; c'est le plus sûr moyen de lui donner quelque prix, car certainement je n'aurais rien supposé qui put valoir ce que j'ay vu sur le spot. J'ay été toute la semaine du Mont de tous les beaux Cedres qui la couronnent, les Ruines de Syra, de Syra, de l'Hôtel de la toute la Palestine, Jérusalem et cette vaste mosquée que les Arabes ont élevée sur les Ruines d'un Temple de Salomon. De là j'ay suivi la côte d'Egypte par Belbeis, Giza, et Damiette, le Delta, le lacus d'Alexandrie et enfin j'en suis revenue après quinze mois d'absence avec près de trois cents dessins faits d'après nature. Je suis occupé à enlever tous ces matériaux en ordre, et j'en ferai encore quelques mois auprès de Monsieur l'Architecte qui dans sa bonté donne à ceux qui lui sont attachés l'exemple du travail le plus assidu. Le goût que le public témoigne pour les voyages et pour les arts

m'a fait desirer de publier les ruines de Salerne et de Balice, elles sont déjà connues par les ouvrages des Anglois qui seuls les ont dessinées, avant moi, mais on rendoit toute justice, et on <sup>précise</sup> étoit cependant si flatté que le <sup>dessin</sup> mien paroitroit peut être inutile et que l'on y trouveroit un grand nombre d'objets qui avoient échappé à ces savans voyageurs. Monsieur l'Ambassadeur me promet non seulement cette publication, mais il fait avec moi un de ces marchés qui lui sont si utiles, il prouve à tous mes besoins et il me prête tous les fonds nécessaires, à une entreprise si dépendante de cette condition que tous les Rois qui en seront contre lui et toutes les avances pour moi. Les deux ouvrages seront du même format que le Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce et vous serez bien sûr que l'exécution en sera parfaitement soignée. J'espère, Monsieur, avoir l'avantage d'avoir avec au mois d'octobre et de vous remettre les épreuves de l'attachement et de la reconnaissance la plus parfaite avec laquelle j'ay l'honneur d'être

Monsieur  
 Votre très humble et  
 très obéissant serviteur  
 L. F. Cassas

2008-A.27

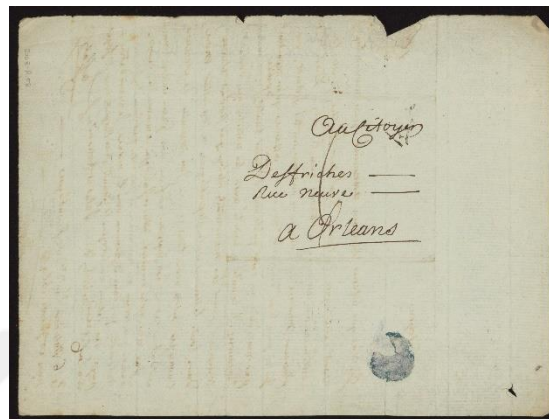
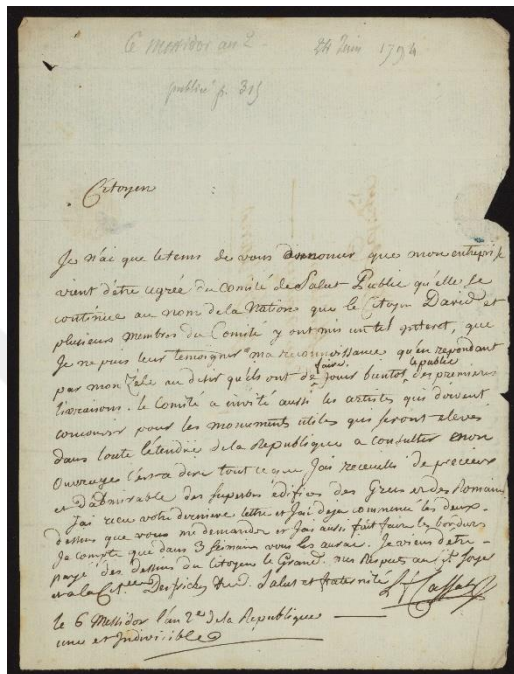
Constantinople, le 22 Juillet 1786.

...M. l'ambassadeur me permet, non-seulement cette publication, mais il fait avec moi un de ces marchés qui lui sont familiers ; il pourvoit à tous mes besoins, et il me prête les fonds nécessaires à une entreprise si dispendieuse ; à cette condition, que tous les risques en seront contre lui, et tous les avantages pour moi. Ces deux ouvrages seront du même format que le voyage pittoresque de la Grèce, et vous devez être bien sûr que l'exécution en sera parfaitement soignée...





28. Appendix 28: Cassas, Louis-François. *Louis-François Cassas to Aignan-Thomas Desfriches*. Letter. Constantinople, 22 July 1786, Foundation Custodia, 2008-A.58\_1, 2008-A.58\_2.



Le 6 messidor de l'an IIe de la République, une et indivisible.

CITOYEN,

Je n'ai que le temps de vous annoncer que mon entreprise vient d'être agréée du Comité de salut public, qu'elle se continue au nom de la nation, que le citoyen David et plusieurs membres du Comité y ont mis un tel intérêt, que je ne puis leur témoigner ma reconnaissance & qu'en répondant par mon zèle au désir qu'ils ont de faire jouir bientôt le public des premières livraisons. Le Comité a invité aussi les artistes qui doivent concourir pour les monuments utiles qui seront élevés dans toute l'étendue de la république, à consulter mon ouvrage, c'est-à-dire tout ce que j'ai recueilli de précieux et d'admirable des superbes édifices des Grecs et des Romains...








Paris, le 6 décembre 1792.









... à droite, on voit une petite rivière avec quelques tombeaux turcs, entre des touffes d'arbres ; dans le fond, on voit un des sommets de l'Ante-Liban. Je prie en grâce la personne de n'en pas laisser prendre des copies; si elle en veut d'autres, je les ferai pour elle à 15 louis, mais à condition qu'elle dira me les avoir payés 20 louis, et pour tout autre, je ne veux plus les faire à moins de ce dernier prix...J'espère que l'acquéreur en sera content, surtout pour ce prix-là, car c'est les premiers de cette grandeur que je vends à 15 louis; le prix a toujours été de 20 à 25 louis...








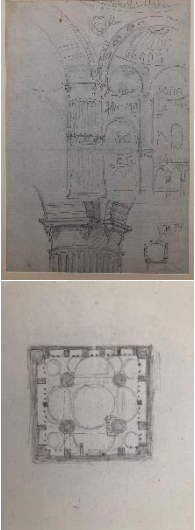
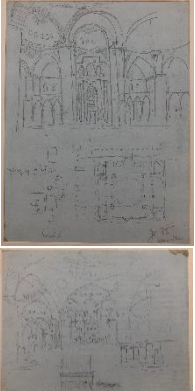

CATALOG







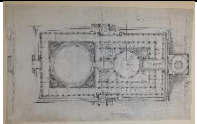
	Visual	Title	Location	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Source
1		<i>Panthéon d'Adrien, à Athènes</i>	The Louvre, RF 4841.183	-	Pen and ink	-	Réserve des grands albums Album Cassas Louis-François 1, Folio 76 <a href="http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/186/18878-Pantheon-dAdrien-a-Athenes-max">http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/186/18878-Pantheon-dAdrien-a-Athenes-max</a>
2	-	<i>View of Athens</i>	The National Museum Sweden, Stockholm, NMDrh 573	-	-	70,5 x 102 cm	<a href="http://collection.nationalmuseum.se/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&amp;module=collection&amp;objectId=175166&amp;viewType=detailView">http://collection.nationalmuseum.se/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&amp;module=collection&amp;objectId=175166&amp;viewType=detailView</a>
3		<i>Monument de Philopappus; deux statues dans des niches</i>	The Louvre, RF 4841.212	-	Pen and ink	57.5x41.5 cm	Réserve des grands albums Album Cassas Louis-François 1, Folio 86 <a href="http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/215/18907-Monument-de-Philopappus-deux-statues-dans-des-niches">http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/215/18907-Monument-de-Philopappus-deux-statues-dans-des-niches</a>
4		<i>Monument antique: Philopappus</i>	The Louvre, RF 4841.187	-	Pen and ink	-	Réserve des grands albums Album Cassas Louis-François 1, Folio 78 <a href="http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/190/18882-Monument-antique-Philopappus">http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/190/18882-Monument-antique-Philopappus</a>
5		<i>Monument antique: Philopappus</i>	The Louvre, 4841.164	-	Pen and ink	-	Réserve des grands albums Album Cassas Louis-François 1, Folio <a href="http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/167/18859-Monument-antique-Philopappus">http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/167/18859-Monument-antique-Philopappus</a>
More drawings at the Louvre, views of Athens: <a href="http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/resultats/oeuvres/50/2">http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/resultats/oeuvres/50/2</a>							
6		<i>Vue de Constantinople</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 88 (recto)	? .10.1784- 02.1787	Pencil on blue paper	15x40.5 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)

7		<i>La Mosquée du Sultan Ahmet prise de "Fener-Backessi ou jardin du/fanal/point de Calcédoine"</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 87	? .10.1784-02.1787	Pencil on blue paper	18.9x32.2 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
8		<i>Vue de Constantinople prise en mer sud oust à 2 lieux en mer le 26 d'aout 1784</i>	Musée Beaux Arts de Tours, 2008-1-14 & 2008-1-15	26.08.1784	Pencil		Une Gallerie Ottomane à Rome (353)
9		<i>"Constantinople vue de loin en arrivant par la mer de Marmara"</i>	Private Collection	-	-	-	Im Banne der Sphinx (120)
10		<i>Vue d'une rive du Bosphore</i>	Private Collection	-	Lead pencil	21.5x31.5 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (133)
11		<i>La Cour de la Mosquée de Sultan Ahmet</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 65	? .10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	32.2 x 43.2 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
12		<i>Sultan Ahmed Mosque in Constantinople</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 66	? .10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	33.5 x 77.7 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
13		<i>City view of Constantinople with Sultan Ahmed Mosque</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 67	? .10.1784-13.06.1786	Pencil	24.8 x 43 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
14		<i>Istambul, Sultan Ahmed Mosque</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 68	13.03.1786-13.06.1786	Pencil	13.8 x 17.9 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)





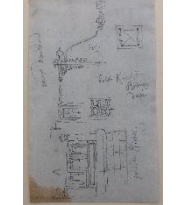

15		<i>Fountain in the courtyard of the Sultan Ahmet Mosque (front) and partial view of the exit portal (back)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 69	13.03.1786-13.06.1786	Pencil	19.2 x 14.2 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
16		<i>Istambul, Sultan Ahmed Mosque [?], Sketches to the architecture of a mosque, detail drawings</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 70	13.03.1786-13.06.1786	Pencil	17 x 21,8 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
17		<i>1<sup>er</sup> et 2<sup>e</sup> Porte de la Sultan Ahmed (Portal at the Sultan Ahmed Mosque)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 71	? .10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	21.6 x 28.9 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
18		<i>Sultan Ahmed Mosque</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 72	? .10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	21.2 x 30.6 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
19		<i>Sketches to interior views and pieces of equipment of a mosque</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 73	? .10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	25.6 x 21.8 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)

20		<i>Interior view and floor plan of a mosque</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 74	?.10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	29.1 x 19.45 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
21		<i>Interior view and floor plan of a mosque</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 75 (recto/verso)	?.10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	22 x 17 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
22		<i>Views of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque in Istanbul and detail sketch of battlements (back)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 81 (verso)	?.10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	21.3 x 26.2 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)


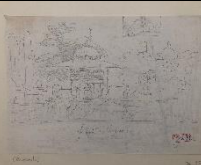

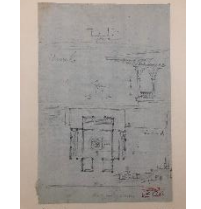
23		<i>Vue intérieure de Sainte-Sophie</i>	Private Collection	-	Pencil	40.6x35.5 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (70)
24		<i>Constantinople, Sainte-Sophie: élévation principale</i>	The Louvre, RF 4841.155		Pen and ink		Réserve des grands albums Album Cassas Louis-François 1, Folio 63 <a href="http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/158/18850-Constantinople-Sainte-Sophie-elevation-principale">http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/158/18850-Constantinople-Sainte-Sophie-elevation-principale</a>
25		<i>Constantinople, Sainte-Sophie: coupe sur la longueur</i>	The Louvre, RF 4841.156		Pen and ink		Réserve des grands albums Album Cassas Louis-François 1, Folio 63 <a href="http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/159/18851-Constantinople-Sainte-Sophie-coupe-sur-la-longueur">http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/159/18851-Constantinople-Sainte-Sophie-coupe-sur-la-longueur</a>
26		<i>Plan de Sainte Sophie à Constantinople</i>	The Louvre, RF 4841.15		Pen and brown ink		Réserve des grands albums Album Cassas Louis-François 1, Folio 62 <a href="http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/157/18849-Plan-de-Sainte-Sophie-a-Constantinople">http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/157/18849-Plan-de-Sainte-Sophie-a-Constantinople</a>
27		<i>View of the Sultan Meyman Mosque in Istanbul (Süleymaniye Mosque?)*</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 86	?10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	-	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
28		<i>Mosque Mayman Sultan*</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 99	?10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	18.8 x 36.2 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)

29		<i>Mosquée de Scutari/ View of the Atik Valide Mosque in Scutari</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 93	? .10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	20.4x34.2 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
30		<i>Mosquée de la Sultan mère à Scutari</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 97 (recto/verso)	? .10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	22 x 32.5 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
31		<i>Mosquée de Scutari (View of the Ayazma Mosque in Scutari)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 95	? .10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	29 x 22 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
32		<i>Mosquée de Scutari (View of the Ayazma Mosque in Scutari)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 100	? .10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	21,9 x 15,5 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
33		<i>Ground plan of a mosque (front side)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 89	? .10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	24.1 x 39 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)



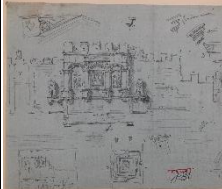






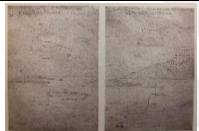






34		<i>Pavilion in Kavak Serail south of Scutari</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 90	?10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	21,65 X 32,5 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
35		<i>Kiosque à Kavak Sarayi</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 91	?10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	18.4 x 27.35 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
36		<i>Le Palais de Kavak</i>	Private Collection	-	-	-	Im Banne der Sphinx (122)
37		<i>Vue du kiosk de la perle de la pointe du Sérail, sur les bords de la mer de Marmara (Incili Kiosk)</i>	Private Collection	1784	Pencil	13 x 16.5 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-du-kiosk-de-la-perle-de-la-pointe-du-s%C3%A9rail-kKTxTrkYPa2705aymqYYBA2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-du-kiosk-de-la-perle-de-la-pointe-du-s%C3%A9rail-kKTxTrkYPa2705aymqYYBA2</a>
38		<i>Detail sketches of a kiosk</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 76	?10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	9.6 x 15.3 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
39		<i>Sketches of a capital and further architectural sketches</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 77	?10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	18.8 x 14 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)










40		<i>Palace grounds (front)*</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 78	?10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	20, 5 x 32.1 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
41	?	<i>Sketches of a palace complex</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 79	?10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	12.2 x 19.6 cm	museum catalog (info)
42	?	<i>Sketches of a palace complex, general view and details</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 80	?10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	18.4 x 14 cm	museum catalog (info)
43		<i>Sketch of a palace garden with fountain house &amp; detailed sketches (front)*</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 82 a (recto)	?10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	20,9 x 30,6 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
44		<i>Sketches of buildings in a palace garden, pavilions by a pond (back)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 82 a (verso)	?10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	20,9 x 30,6 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
45		<i>Sketches of a garden pavilion with fountain pavilion (front)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 82 b (recto)	?10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	29.1 x 19.4 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)

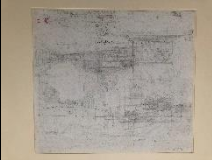






46		<i>Sketches for a palace garden (back)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 82 b (verso)	?10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	29.1 x 19.4 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
47		<i>Les Eaux douces</i>	Private Collection	-	-	-	Im Banne der Sphinx (128)
48		<i>Sketch and floor plan of a pavilion [Revan Kiosk, Topkapi Palace [?]] (Back)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 92 (verso)	?10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	20.4x32.6 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
49		<i>Istanbul. Topkapi Palace [?], Pavilions*</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 94	?10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	(Large)	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
50		<i>Vue Générale du Serail prize d'Asie (View from Asie to Topkapi Palace (front))</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 96 (recto)	?10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	17.95 x 26.8 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
51		<i>Drawing &amp; sketch &amp; floor plan (back)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 96 (verso)	?10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	17.95 x 26.8 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
52		<i>Pavilion [Revan Kiosk?] Of the Topkapi Palace and detailed drawing of a floor plan (front side) as well as ground plan of the pavilion and two further floor plans (back side)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 101	?10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	19 x 25,6 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)







53		<i>3<sup>ième</sup> Porte du Serail (third portal of the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul (front))</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 102	? .10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	33.2 x 50.8 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
54		<i>Troisième porte du serail (Topkapi Palace, gate to the third courtyard)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 64	? .10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	26.4 x 40.1 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
55		<i>Bay window of a palace and further architectural details sketches (front)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 81	? .10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	21.3 x 26.2 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
56		<i>View of a fortification in front of Istanbul</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 83	? .10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	18.1 x 28 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
57		<i>View of the outer wall of the Byzantine palace of Bukoléon in front of Istanbul*</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 84 a	? .10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	19 x 27.9 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
58		<i>Harbor and Palace wall in Istambul with Sultan Ahmet Mosque in the background</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 84 b	? .10.1784-02.1787	Pencil	20,9 x 31,7 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
59		<i>View of the fortress of Constantinople &amp; detailed drawing of battlements &amp; detail drawing of a gate &amp; detailed drawing of a wall with steps, back left, drawing is on the head &amp; three sketchy sketches of</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 88 (verso)	? .10.1784-02.1787	Pencil on blue paper	15x40.5 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)








		<i>a mural crown with battlements and treetops, back right*</i>					
60		<i>Vue du fond du Golfe de Smyrne/View of the Gulf of Smyrna</i>	Musée Beaux Arts de Tours, 2008-1-14 & 2008-1-13	?	Pencil on beige laid paper	21.3x15.7 cm	Anatolian Travels (47)
61		<i>Porte méridionale du stade d'Ephèse/Southern Entrance to the Stadium at Ephesus</i>	Musée Beaux Arts de Tours, 2008-1-21 & 2008-1-22	?	Pencil and chalk on beige laid paper	21.3x15.7 cm	Anatolian Travels (48)
62		<i>Ruines du Théâtre d'Ephèse/ Ruins of the Theatre of Ephesus</i>	Musée Beaux Arts de Tours, 2008-1-18 & 2008-1-19	?	Pencil on beige laid paper	21.3x15.7 cm	Anatolian Travels (49)
63		<i>Relevés de décors sculptés sur le site d'Ephèse/ Sketches of Sculpted Ornaments on the Site of Ephesus</i>	Musée Beaux Arts de Tours, 2008-1-4	?	Pencil on beige laid paper	21.3x15.7 cm	Anatolian Travels (50)
64		<i>Relevé d'un détail du linteau de la Porte de la Persécution à Ephèse</i>	Musée Beaux Arts de Tours, 2008-1-5	?	Pencil on beige laid paper	21.3x15.7 cm	Anatolian Travels (51)
65		<i>The Ruins of Ephesus, Turkey</i>	Ickworth House, National Trust	circa 1786 – 1787 (?)	Ink and sepia wash on paper	30.3 x 46.3 cm	Ickworth House online catalog
66		<i>Vue partielle prise de l'intérieur d'un bastion</i>	Private Collection	-	Pencil	-	Im Banne der Sphinx (142)

67		<i>Le dessin de Famagouste</i>	Private Collection	-	Pencil	-	Im Banne der Sphinx (143)
68		<i>Vue Générale de Larnaca</i>	Private Collection	-	Pencil	-	Im Banne der Sphinx (143)
69		<i>Divers vues perspectives de la Mosqué el mée (ned?) l'emplacement du temple de Salomon à Jerusalem (Jerusalem, Tempelberg (?))</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 1	10.1785	Pencil	38.9x26.8 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
70		<i>Jerusalem, Temple Mount (?)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 3	10.1785	Pencil	15.9 x 27.2 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
71		<i>Jerusalem, Temple Mount (?)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 4	10.1785	Pencil	15.9 x 27.2 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
72		<i>Jerusalem, Temple Mount (?)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 5	?06.1782	Pencil	25.4 x 51.2 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
73		<i>Vue de la colline du Temple à Jérusalem/ Jerusalem, Temple Mount with Dome of the Rock</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 6	10.1785	Pen in black over pencil, gray-black washed, pink watercolored	24.4 x 31.3 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)










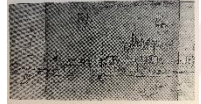
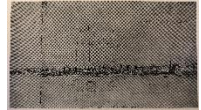





74		<i>Jerusalem, Temple Mount with Dome of the Rock</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 7	10.1785	Pencil	23.15 x 25.9 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
75		<i>Jerusalem, Temple Mount (?)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 8	10.1785	Pencil	26.1 x 39.7 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
76		<i>Jerusalem, Temple Mount (?)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 9	10.1785	Pencil	19.2 x 29.1 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
77		<i>Jerusalem, Temple Mount &amp; Parts of a Ground Plan (Front) &amp; Jerusalem, Temple Mount, Building Sketches (Back)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 10	10.1785	Pencil	20,6 x 31 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
78		<i>Le Village de Cana en Galilée</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 11	09.1785-10.1785	Pencil	18,7 x 26,7 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
79		<i>Vue de Jérusalem</i>	Private Collection	5 octobre 1785	Pencil, pen and ink	51.5x74.5 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (180)
80		<i>La Terrasse du couvent des Pères de la Terre Sainte</i>	Private Collection	-	-	-	Im Banne der Sphinx (178)







81		<i>Vue prise de l'endroit où Salomon gardait ses 1000 femmes</i>	Private Collection	-	-	-	Im Banne der Sphinx (178)
82		<i>Riverside in Egypt (front)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 13	1785	Pencil, red chalk	18,85 x 42,15 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
83		<i>View of pyramids</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 14 a	1785	Pencil, red chalk	14.5 x 18.85 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
84		<i>Vue de pyramides depuis Giza</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 14b	1785	Pencil	16x22.1 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
85		<i>Vue des pyramides de Giza</i>	Private Collection		Black chalk	17.6x22 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (193)
86		<i>Mosquée Bercouquier</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 15 a	1785	Pencil, ink (black), pen	14.9 x 9.5 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)



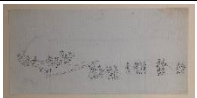




87		<i>Gate (?)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 15 b	1785	Ink (brown), paper (white, waxed), pen	14,6x8,1 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
88		<i>Views of temples, columns and capitals (obverse) &amp; sketch of a capitol (upper left corner) &amp; sketch of a sketch with two columns (lower left)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 16	1785	Pencil	16.2 x 22 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
89		<i>Vue du Caire prise of Girge ou Gizza (View of Cairo from Giza and sketch of a staircase (front, lower right))</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 5	1785	Pencil, brown ink, pen	20.3 x 51.7 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
90		<i>View on the desert, old Cairo and the pyramids of Giza</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 17 a	1785	Pencil, red chalk, paper (white, waxed)	11.5x18.9 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
91		<i>View of Cairo</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 17 b	1785	Pencil	15.95 x 21.5 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
92		<i>Sur la route de Rosette (View of a mosque on the riverbank (front) &amp; Two sketchy sketches of a building section (back))</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 18 a	1785	Pencil, brown ink, red chalk		Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
93		<i>Mosquée du Sultan Hassan/ Mosquée au Caire</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 19 (recto)	1785	Pencil	39,05 x28,95 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)



94		<i>Minarets au Caire</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 21	1785	Pencil	27.35 x 35.9 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
95		<i>Entrée principale de la mosquée du Sultan Hasan</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 32	1785	Pencil, pen and black and brown ink, wash in gray	55x52.5 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (189)
96		<i>Cassev- Joussef-Saleh-eddin, le Palais de Joseph Saladin - le vestibule ou selection le Grand Divan (Saladin fortress ruins in the citadel of Cairo &amp; detailed drawing (front, top middle))</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 33	1785	Pencil, pen	41.25 x 47.6 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
97		<i>Bab-el-Futuh ou porte des Conquêtes au Caire</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 34	1785	Pencil, pen, grey and brown ink, grey wash	58.4x60 cm	© Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln, 1982, rba_c004689)
98		<i>Vue des Mosquées Morestan et Bercouquier</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 19 (verso)	1785	Pencil, ink	39x28.8 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (190)
99		<i>Bab-Zouellé</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 23	1785	Pencil, pen and ink on green paper	19.1x28.9 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (188, 190)








100		<i>“Cassev Jousef – Saleh-eddin. Le Palais de Joseph Saladin le Vestibule ou section le Grand Divan”</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 18b	1785	Pencil, pen and ink	19x29 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
101		<i>Le Grand Pharillon à Alexandrie</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 31	-	-	-	Im Banne der Sphinx (196)
102		<i>Vue d’Alexandrie prise du côté de port vieux</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 30	1785	Pencil, brown ink	22,15 x 40,5 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (197), museum catalog
103		<i>Vue d’Alexandrie prise de la maison du Consul de Venise</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 9	1785	Pencil	21.7x65.6 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (198)
104		<i>Vue prise au pied de la butte, dite Sainte-Catherine/ View of the Butte, Catherine à Alexandrie (View of Alexandria from the foot of the so-called Saint Catherine's Hill &amp; Archways</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 6	1785	Pencil, red chalk, brown ink	20.9x59 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
105		<i>L’Obélisque de Cleopâtre</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 11	1785	Pencil on blue paper	20.9x56.2 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
106		<i>L’Obélisque de Cléopâtre</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 12	1785	Pencil	22.6x33.3 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
107		<i>Vue des colonnes que l’on dit être sur le chemin qui conduit anciennement à la porte de Canope, aujourd’hui Porte de Rosette</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 28	1785	Pencil	21.9x33.6 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (201, 202), museum catalog (info)






108		<i>Vue de la Porte de Rosette</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 27	1785	Pencil	21.2x30.2 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (203), museum catalog (info)
109		<i>La Colonne de Pompée</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 1	1785	Pencil, pen and ink, wash in gray and pink	55.8x37.3 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
110		<i>Vue de la Colonne de Pompée</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Egy. 2	1785	Pencil	35x58.9 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
111		<i>“La mosque des 1000 et une colonnes”</i>	Private Collection	-	Pencil	22x35 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (206)
112		<i>Tombeau d’Orcan à Brousse</i>	Private Collection	1786	Pencil on bluish grey laid paper	30.5x43.5 cm	Anatolian Travels (56)
113		<i>Vue de Brousse (?)</i>	Private Collection	-	Lead pencil		Boppe 1989 (213)









114		<i>Cavaliers arabes devant un temple égyptien</i>		-	Pencil, pen and ink, and wash	24.5x21.3 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/cavaliers-arabes-devant-un-temple-%C3%A9gyptien-LSvcGnlugQzX8koA6noEQ2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/cavaliers-arabes-devant-un-temple-%C3%A9gyptien-LSvcGnlugQzX8koA6noEQ2</a>
115		<i>Ruines antiques</i>	The Louvre, 4841.163	-	Pen and ink	-	Réserve des grands albums Album Cassas Louis-François 1. Folio 67 <a href="http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/166/18858-Ruines-antiques">http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/166/18858-Ruines-antiques</a>
116		<i>Boat Mooring with Boat and Turks (Front) &amp; Architecture Study (Back)</i>	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 85	-	Pencil	15.6 x 33 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
117		<i>Project pour la galerie d'architecture</i>	Private Collection	-	-	-	Im Banne der Sphinx (244)
Paintings							
118		<i>Acropolis of Athens and Olympian Zeus Temple</i>	Pera Museum	1787-1827	Watercolor on paper	67x103 cm	Misra Kaya
119		<i>Vue de l'Acropole et de l'Olympéion à Athènes</i>	Musée des Beaux-Arts de Tours, AF 58-11-1		Watercolor, pen and black ink	70 x 105 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (97)
120		<i>A View of the Acropolis, Athens, from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia</i>	Private Collection, Auction		Pen and ink	19.7 x 28.7 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/a-view-of-the-acropolis-athens-from-the-temple-of-wLxs3i0lxV_OFRdWf2yMGA2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/a-view-of-the-acropolis-athens-from-the-temple-of-wLxs3i0lxV_OFRdWf2yMGA2</a> Bridgeman Images

121		<i>The Acropolis</i>	Private Collection, Auction		Watercolor and ink	58.5 x 98.5 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/the-acropolis-MsWtffe0vvnkoJRGPEqsrw2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/the-acropolis-MsWtffe0vvnkoJRGPEqsrw2</a>
122		<i>View of Athens with the temple of Olympian Zeus</i>	The Benaki Museum, ΓΕ_40166	Early 19 <sup>th</sup>	Watercolor	33x51 cm.	Museum Catalog
123		<i>The Olympeion at Athens</i>	Attingham Park, Shropshire, National Trust Collection, 607888	1790	Pen, watercolour and bodycolour on paper	65 x 101 cm	<a href="http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/607888">http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/607888</a> Bridgeman Images (get license)
124		<i>The Porch of the Caryatids on the Erechtheion</i>	The Benaki Museum, ΓΕ 23981	1813 (?)	Colored etching	54x, 77,5 cm	<i>Grandes Vues Pittoresques des Principaux Sites et Monuments de la Grece et de la Sicile</i> , Paris 1813. Gift of Damianos Kyriazis  Museum Catalog & <a href="https://www.benaki.gr/index.php?option=com_collectionitems&amp;view=collectionitem&amp;id=108952&amp;Itemid=540&amp;lang=en">https://www.benaki.gr/index.php?option=com_collectionitems&amp;view=collectionitem&amp;id=108952&amp;Itemid=540&amp;lang=en</a>
125		<i>Le porche des Caryatides du temple Erechtheion</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor and gouache	53x77 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/le-porche-des-caryatides-du-temple-erechtheion-azKIXAkRnfNOJW0DeNp0A2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/le-porche-des-caryatides-du-temple-erechtheion-azKIXAkRnfNOJW0DeNp0A2</a>
126		<i>View of Athens with Hadrian's Aqueduct</i>	The Benaki Museum, ΓΕ 24530	1813	Colored etching	0,569 x 0,756 m	<i>Grandes Vues Pittoresques des Principaux Sites et Monuments de la Grece et de la Sicile</i> , Paris 1813. Gift of Damianos Kyriazis  Museum Catalog & <a href="https://www.benaki.gr/index.php?option=com_collectionitems&amp;view=collectionitem&amp;e_id=301595&amp;lang=el">https://www.benaki.gr/index.php?option=com_collectionitems&amp;view=collectionitem&amp;e_id=301595&amp;lang=el</a>






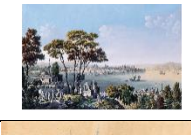




127		<i>View of Athens</i>	Private Collection		Hand colored engraving	58 x 83 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/view-of-athens-tPAGJXEGdPxO1dbW64T3uw2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/view-of-athens-tPAGJXEGdPxO1dbW64T3uw2</a>
128		<i>General view of Athens with Acropolis</i>	The Benaki Museum, ΓΕ_23441	1756-1827	Colored etching	18.5x21.5 cm	Museum Catalog
129		<i>La Vue panoramique d'Athènes depuis le chemin de Marathon</i>	Birgitta Fouret Collection				Le Voyage en Grèce du comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, 50-51
130	-	<i>View of Athens</i>	The Benaki Museum, ΓΕ 26426	1813	Lithography	32x47.5 cm.	Museum Catalog
131	-	<i>General view of Athens</i>	The Benaki Museum, ΓΕ 23998	1790	Etching	62.5 x144 cm	Museum Catalog
132		<i>Archéologues examinant un bas-relief aux abords de la ville d'Athènes</i>	Private Collection		Graphite, pen and black ink, watercolor	66.8x103.8 cm	<a href="https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/drawings-watercolors/louis-francois-cassas-archeologues-examinant-un-6060263-details.aspx">https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/drawings-watercolors/louis-francois-cassas-archeologues-examinant-un-6060263-details.aspx</a>
133		<i>Grand-Touristes admirant le monument de Philopappos avec au loin l'Acropole et la ville d'Athènes</i>	Private Collection	1821			Le voyage en Grèce du comte de Choiseul-Gouffier (54-55)
134		<i>Vue imaginaire des ruines du tombeau d'Antiochus Philopappos à Athènes</i>	Private Collection, Auction		Pen and ink, watercolor	53.7 x 75.4 cm	<a href="https://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=6060265">https://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=6060265</a>
135		<i>The Philopappou Monument, Athens</i>	Ömer Koç Collection	1821	Watercolor, gouache, and pencil	70 x 90 cm	Ömer Koç Collection, Sotheby's London Sale L15102, Lot 51 <a href="http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/19th-century-european-paintings-115102/lot.51.html">http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/19th-century-european-paintings-115102/lot.51.html</a>

136		<i>Le Monument de Philopappus à Athènes,</i>	Private Collection, Auction		Pen, ink, watercolor	25.3 x 37 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/le-monument-de-philopappus-%C3%A0-ath%C3%A8nes-ocqoyi6a_uggmXTy7TSwg2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/le-monument-de-philopappus-%C3%A0-ath%C3%A8nes-ocqoyi6a_uggmXTy7TSwg2</a>
137		<i>The Philopappos Monument</i>	The Benaki Museum, ΓΕ 23988	1795 c.	Watercolour	0.44x0.50 m	Gift of Damianos Kyriazis. (ΓΕ 23988)  Museum Catalog & <a href="https://www.benaki.gr/index.php?option=com_collectionitems&amp;view=collectionitem&amp;id=109066&amp;Itemid=540&amp;lang=en">https://www.benaki.gr/index.php?option=com_collectionitems&amp;view=collectionitem&amp;id=109066&amp;Itemid=540&amp;lang=en</a>
138		<i>The Philopappos Monument</i>	The Benaki Museum, ΓΕ 23980	1813	Colored etching	0,54x0,78 m	Grandes Vues Pittoresques des Principaux Sites et Monuments de la Grèce et de la Sicile, Paris. Gift of Damianos Kyriazis. (ΓΕ 23980)  Museum Catalog & <a href="https://www.benaki.gr/index.php?option=com_collectionitems&amp;view=collectionitem&amp;id=109102&amp;Itemid=540&amp;lang=en">https://www.benaki.gr/index.php?option=com_collectionitems&amp;view=collectionitem&amp;id=109102&amp;Itemid=540&amp;lang=en</a>
139		<i>Le monument de Philopappos à Athènes, dans un paysage imaginaire</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor	42 x 66 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/le-monument-de-philopappos-%C3%A0-ath%C3%A8nes-dans-un-8Sf38VyF-0Kp8uayVV4jmw2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/le-monument-de-philopappos-%C3%A0-ath%C3%A8nes-dans-un-8Sf38VyF-0Kp8uayVV4jmw2</a>
140		<i>View of Lake Kopais</i>	The Benaki Museum, ΓΕ_40454	1756 - 1827	Lithography	48 x 63,5 cm.	Museum Catalog
141		<i>Sommet du Mont Olympe Gravure</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor, engraving	44x68 cm	<a href="https://www.gazette-drouot.com/lots/5313251">https://www.gazette-drouot.com/lots/5313251</a>








142		<i>Vue de Petra (Lesbos, Griechenland)</i>	Private Collection		Pen and ink with watercolor	32.4 x 46 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-de-petra-lesbos-griechenland-2c3aiGBS_-Yhjj3aYYeSg2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-de-petra-lesbos-griechenland-2c3aiGBS_-Yhjj3aYYeSg2</a>
143		<i>Stroll in the Palace Garden, Saray' in Bahçelerinde Gezinti, Promenade dans les Jardin du Sérail</i>	Pera Museum	1822	Watercolor on paper	56 x 83 cm	Pera Museum
144		<i>Vue de Constantinople</i>	Private Collection		Pen, black ink, watercolor and gouache enhanced with gum arabic	58 x 98 cm	<a href="http://www.millon.com/lot/20930/4416698">http://www.millon.com/lot/20930/4416698</a>
145		<i>Panorama of Sarayburnu</i>	Pera Museum	1787-1827	Watercolor on paper	73x237 cm	Pera Museum
146		<i>Vue de Constantinople et de la pointe du Serail</i>	Private Collection	-	Gouache	63x143 cm	Boppe 1989 (214)
147		<i>Vue de Constantinople</i>	Azay-Le-Ferron&Valenciennes, D 60-8-3/Tours, D.46.2.98		Watercolor, pen and ink on paper mounted on canvas	124.8 x 344.7 cm/121x341 cm	Misra Kaya (photo), museum catalog (info)
148		<i>Vue de l'entrée du port de Constantinople</i>	Private Collection		Aquatints	52 x 70 cm	<a href="https://magazine.interencheres.com/art-mobilier/adjuge-mobilier-deco-bijoux-mode-tout-a-moins-de-1-000-e/">https://magazine.interencheres.com/art-mobilier/adjuge-mobilier-deco-bijoux-mode-tout-a-moins-de-1-000-e/</a>
149		<i>View of Sultanahmet Mosque from Kadiköy Point</i>	Pera Museum	1787-1827	Watercolor on paper	67x101 cm	Pera Museum



150		<i>Panorama of Istanbul</i>	E.G. Collection	1785 (wrongly dated)	Watercolor and gouache on engraving	52,5x77 cm	<a href="https://www.alifart.com/louis-francois-cassas-273075/">https://www.alifart.com/louis-francois-cassas-273075/</a> <a href="https://www.peramezat.com/urun/cassas-louis-francois-1756---1827-paris-1785-bakir-baski-gravur-uzel">https://www.peramezat.com/urun/cassas-louis-francois-1756---1827-paris-1785-bakir-baski-gravur-uzel</a> , <a href="https://www.denizler.org/urun/603561/vue-de-constantinople">https://www.denizler.org/urun/603561/vue-de-constantinople</a>
151		<i>Vue de Constantinople</i>	Private Collection	-	Gouache on engraving	53x78 cm	Boppe 1989 (215)
152		<i>Vue de Constantinople</i>	Private Collection		Colored engraving	52.5x77 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-francois-cassas/vue-de-constantinople-7NFW2kpKBH-LvwjdBosg_Q2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-francois-cassas/vue-de-constantinople-7NFW2kpKBH-LvwjdBosg_Q2</a>
153		<i>Vue de Constantinople, prise de la mer de Marmara</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor engraving	53x78.5 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-francois-cassas/vue-de-constantinople-prise-de-la-mer-de-marmara-HDjI-Csxe_bLY6FUy2V6w2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-francois-cassas/vue-de-constantinople-prise-de-la-mer-de-marmara-HDjI-Csxe_bLY6FUy2V6w2</a>
154		<i>Vue de Constantinople, prise de la mer de Marmara</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor and gouache over engraving	52.5x77 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-francois-cassas/vue-de-constantinople-prise-de-la-mer-de-marmara-u9O2kevOa0XY18AQP5mvaA2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-francois-cassas/vue-de-constantinople-prise-de-la-mer-de-marmara-u9O2kevOa0XY18AQP5mvaA2</a>
155		<i>Vue de Constantinople, pris de la Mer de Marmara</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor on engraving	60x82 cm	<a href="https://www.grosdelettrez.com/lot/9/1401433?refurl=%22Vue+de+Constantinople%2C+pris+de+la+Mer+de+Marmara%22.Aquarelle+sur+traits+grav%C3%A9s.+Cadre+en+bois+sculpt">https://www.grosdelettrez.com/lot/9/1401433?refurl=%22Vue+de+Constantinople%2C+pris+de+la+Mer+de+Marmara%22.Aquarelle+sur+traits+grav%C3%A9s.+Cadre+en+bois+sculpt</a>
156		<i>La Mosquée du Sultan Ahmet</i>	Musée des Beaux-Arts de Tours, 1962-18-1	1788-1790	Watercolor, gouache, pen and ink, découpage	59,2x100.7 cm	Museum
157		-	Istanbul University	-	-	-	-





158		<i>Vue du Bosphore</i>	Private Collection	-	-	-	Im Banne der Sphinx (121)
159		<i>“Vue des Ruines de Kavac Serai” ou Vieux Serail à l’entrée du Bosphore de Thrace</i>	Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris		Engraving, watercolor	61.2x87.5 cm	Corne d’Or (56)
160		<i>View of the Ruins of the Kavak Seraglio</i>	Ömer Koç Collection		Watercolour on paper, Engraving	61 x 86 cm	Ömer Koç Collection
161		<i>La “Porte de la Félicité” dans la deuxième cour du palais Topkapı</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor	29.5x43 cm	Corne d’Or (60)
162		<i>Vue du Bosphore à Constantinople, un palais au premier plan</i>	Private Collection		Pen and brown ink, watercolour	24,8 x 33,8 cm.	<a href="https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/drawings-watercolors/louis-francois-cassas-vue-du-bosphore-5984236-details.aspx?from=searchresults&amp;imObjectID=5984236&amp;sid=a87e594-9a42-45fd-ad14-e3cb1ed40083">https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/drawings-watercolors/louis-francois-cassas-vue-du-bosphore-5984236-details.aspx?from=searchresults&amp;imObjectID=5984236&amp;sid=a87e594-9a42-45fd-ad14-e3cb1ed40083</a>
163		<i>Carte de l’empire ottoman en 1787 avec légendes en turc</i>	The Louvre, RF 4841		Engraving, watercolor		Réserve des grands albums Album Cassas Louis-François I, Folio 1 <a href="http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/1/18695-Carte-de-lempire-ottoman-en-1787-avec-legendes-en-turc">http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/1/18695-Carte-de-lempire-ottoman-en-1787-avec-legendes-en-turc</a>
164		<i>Figures in front of the Gate of Persecution, Ephesus</i>	Private Collection, Auction		Pen, ink and watercolor	66 x 98.5 cm	<a href="http://www.arnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/figures-in-front-of-the-gate-of-persecution-jz6qH3uetvpryv28JTMaQ2">http://www.arnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/figures-in-front-of-the-gate-of-persecution-jz6qH3uetvpryv28JTMaQ2</a> <a href="https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/16795/lot/9/">https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/16795/lot/9/</a>

165		<i>View of Ephesus, with the Gate of Persecution in ruins</i>	Private Collection, Auction		Pen and brown ink, watercolour, gum Arabic	66.5 x 103 cm	<a href="https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/View-of-Ephesus-with-the-Gate-of-Persecution-FlrIdZP_bAybqm_fBK8EUa2">https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/View-of-Ephesus-with-the-Gate-of-Persecution-FlrIdZP_bAybqm_fBK8EUa2</a>
166		<i>Greek family in front of the Gate of Persecution, Ephesus</i>	Private Collection, Auction	1822	Watercolor and ink,	68 x 104 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/greek-family-in-front-of-the-gate-of-persecution-FlrIdZP_bAybqm_fBK8EUa2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/greek-family-in-front-of-the-gate-of-persecution-FlrIdZP_bAybqm_fBK8EUa2</a> <a href="https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/15904/lot/16/">https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/15904/lot/16/</a>
167		<i>Figures in front of the Gate of Persecution, Ephesus</i>	Ömer Koç Collection		Watercolour and ink on paper	68 x 105 cm	Ömer Koç Collection
168		<i>Figures in front of the Gate of Persecution, Ephesus</i>	Private Collection, Auction		Pen and black ink and watercolor	68 x 100.5 cm	<a href="http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2010/the-greek-sale-110100/lot.99.html">http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2010/the-greek-sale-110100/lot.99.html</a>
169		<i>Vue de la Porte de la Persécution à Ephèse</i>	Private Collection	1819	Watercolor, pastel, pen and ink	51.5x73.5 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (101)
170		<i>View of Ephesus</i>	The National Museum Sweden, Stockholm, NMDrh 785		Watercolor on paper mounted on canvas	70,5 x 103 cm	<a href="http://collection.nationalmuseum.se/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultListView/result.t1.collection_list.STspTitleImageLink.link&amp;sp=10&amp;sp=Scollection&amp;sp=SfieldValue&amp;sp=0&amp;sp=0&amp;sp=3&amp;sp=SdetailList&amp;sp=0&amp;sp=Sdetail&amp;sp=0&amp;sp=F&amp;sp=T&amp;sp=4">http://collection.nationalmuseum.se/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultListView/result.t1.collection_list.STspTitleImageLink.link&amp;sp=10&amp;sp=Scollection&amp;sp=SfieldValue&amp;sp=0&amp;sp=0&amp;sp=3&amp;sp=SdetailList&amp;sp=0&amp;sp=Sdetail&amp;sp=0&amp;sp=F&amp;sp=T&amp;sp=4</a>
171	-	<i>View of Ephesus</i>	The National Museum Sweden, Stockholm, NMDrh 571		Watercolor	70,5 x 102 cm	Put the catalog, <a href="http://collection.nationalmuseum.se/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&amp;module=collection&amp;objectid=177239&amp;viewType=detailView">http://collection.nationalmuseum.se/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&amp;module=collection&amp;objectid=177239&amp;viewType=detailView</a>








172		<i>Theatre of Myra, now Demre, in Lycia (Vue du Theatre de Cacanie en Caramancie)</i>	The V&A, SD.214	1808	Watercolor, ink,	57x77.8 cm	Catalog, Voyages & Visions
173		<i>Vue d'Antioche, en Turquie, des personnages et un troupeau au premier plan</i>	Private Collection, Auction		Pen and ink, watercolor heightened w/gum arabic	63.9x89.6 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-dantioche-en-turquie-des-personnages-et-un-Rpg31FRZvSKe5vU6d7z6ig2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-dantioche-en-turquie-des-personnages-et-un-Rpg31FRZvSKe5vU6d7z6ig2</a>
174		<i>Vue présumée de la cité antique de Pergé en Turquie, un convoi d'orientaux au premier plan (Falsely titled, should be Antioch)</i>	Private Collection		Pierre noire, pen and ink, watercolor	61 x 88 cm	<a href="https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/louis-francois-cassas-azay-le-ferrou-1756-1827-versailles-vue-presumee-5334543-details.aspx">https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/louis-francois-cassas-azay-le-ferrou-1756-1827-versailles-vue-presumee-5334543-details.aspx</a>
175		<i>Turks and other figures admiring classical ruins</i>	Ömer Koç Collection		Pen, ink and watercolour on paper	65 x 97 cm	Ömer Koç Collection
176		<i>Vue imaginaire d'un temple en ruine</i>	Private Collection, Auction		Watercolor	53,7 x 75,4 cm	<a href="https://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=6060264">https://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=6060264</a>
177		<i>Turks and Other Figures Admiring Classical Ruins</i>	Private Collection, Auction		Pen, ink and watercolor	36 x 54.5 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/turks-and-other-figures-admiring-classical-ruins-djA_gMYUydKoGixwEtTuRA2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/turks-and-other-figures-admiring-classical-ruins-djA_gMYUydKoGixwEtTuRA2</a>
178		<i>Ruines Antiques sur les Bords de la Mer Noire, près de Trebisonde</i>	Private Collection, Auction		Watercolor over pencil heightened with gum Arabic	16 x 24 cm	<a href="https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/14681/lot/147/">https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/14681/lot/147/</a>

179		<i>Personnages Orientaux Admirant un Bas Relief Antique Devant un Temple</i>	Private Collection, Auction		Pen, and watercolor	40.5 x 26 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/personnages-orientaux-admirant-un-bas-relief-fHE6eglvJG0G_V31--WFig2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/personnages-orientaux-admirant-un-bas-relief-fHE6eglvJG0G_V31--WFig2</a>
180		<i>Vue du cloître de l'abbaye de Bellapais</i>	Musée Beaux Arts de Tours, 991-5-2		Watercolor, gouache, pen and ink	25x37 cm	Mısra Kaya
181		<i>Ruines du Monastere de Cozzafani, Chypre</i>	Centre of Visual Arts and Research, Nicosia		Watercolour	40 x 25 cm	Cyprus Today, Volume LIII, No 1, January-March 2015, Press and Information Office (PIO), Ministry of Interior, Nicosia, Cyprus. 27
182		<i>View of Aleppo</i>	Ömer Koç Collection		Pen, ink and watercolour on paper	55 x 80 cm	Ömer Koç Collection
183		<i>L'arrivée d'une caravane dans le désert de Syrie</i>	Private Collection		Pierre noire, pen and india ink	54x76.5 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/larriv%C3%A9e-dune-caravane-dans-le-d%C3%A9sert-de-syrie-iuvZOMy_oSa0ujXstvKNfg2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/larriv%C3%A9e-dune-caravane-dans-le-d%C3%A9sert-de-syrie-iuvZOMy_oSa0ujXstvKNfg2</a>
184		<i>Vue de Palmyre</i>	Musée Beaux Arts de Tours, AF 58-11-2	1821	Watercolor, gouache, pen and ink, pencil	70x105 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (156)
















185		<i>Vue des ruines de Palmyre</i>	Private Collection		Watercolour	59,7x85,5 cm	<a href="https://www.gazette-drouot.com/lots/115805">https://www.gazette-drouot.com/lots/115805</a>
186		<i>Vue de Palmyre</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor	59,7x85,5 cm	Tableaux, Bijoux, Céramique, Objets d'Art, Mobilier, Tapis at Bayeux Enchères, Salon Novotel - 117 rue Saint Patrice - 14400 Bayeux Bayeux, Le 11 Novembre a 14h15 <a href="https://www.auction.fr/_fr/lot/louis-francois-cassas-1756-1827-vue-de-palmyre-1601345">https://www.auction.fr/_fr/lot/louis-francois-cassas-1756-1827-vue-de-palmyre-1601345</a>
187		<i>La grande galerie de Palmyre</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor paper with pen and black ink	25 x 37.50 cm	<a href="https://www.artcurial.com/en/node/1117994#popin-active">https://www.artcurial.com/en/node/1117994#popin-active</a>
188		<i>Vue des ruines de Palmyre</i>	Private Collection		Black chalk, pen and black ink, watercolour	53x77,5 cm	<a href="https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/louis-francois-cassas-1756-1827-vue-des-ruines-3982404-details.aspx">https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/louis-francois-cassas-1756-1827-vue-des-ruines-3982404-details.aspx</a>
189		<i>La Grande Galerie de Palmyre</i>	Private Collection	1799	Handcolored etching	30.9 x 43.4 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/la-grande-galerie-de-palmyre-1Fh3cMPBix9Nk6TU-dGvEw2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/la-grande-galerie-de-palmyre-1Fh3cMPBix9Nk6TU-dGvEw2</a>
190		<i>Palmyre, reconstitution de la grande allée aux colonnes – représentation panoramique</i>	Private Collection		Ink and wash	46.5x73 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (233)
191		<i>Vue animée de la ville antique de Palmyre depuis la Nécropole</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor, pen and ink	64 x 88 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-anim%C3%A9e-de-la-ville-antique-de-palmyre-depuis-s0Xse9DgRf9Rv_AE6O88xg2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-anim%C3%A9e-de-la-ville-antique-de-palmyre-depuis-s0Xse9DgRf9Rv_AE6O88xg2</a>
192		<i>Deux vues de Palmyre en pendant (2 works)</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor and gum arabic on paper	23x37 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/deux-vues-de-palmyre-en-pendant-2-works-LgMNuF8P_Ptqf7SC9gLaVg2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/deux-vues-de-palmyre-en-pendant-2-works-LgMNuF8P_Ptqf7SC9gLaVg2</a>








193		<i>Paysage avec la porte de la cella du temple de Bacchus à Baalbek</i>	Albertina, Vienna, 15.354	1793	Watercolor, pen and ink	38.2x51.5 cm	© Albertina, Vienna, online&catalog
194		<i>Personnages dans les ruines du temple de Bacchus à Baalbek</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor	65 x 90 cm	<a href="https://www.gros-delettrez.com/lot/17181/3294302?refurl=Personnages+dans+les+ruines+du+temple+de+Bacchus+%C3%A0+Baalbek+Aquarelle.+65+x+90+cm+%C2%ABJ%27ay+rest%C3%A9+%C3%A0+Baalb">https://www.gros-delettrez.com/lot/17181/3294302?refurl=Personnages+dans+les+ruines+du+temple+de+Bacchus+%C3%A0+Baalbek+Aquarelle.+65+x+90+cm+%C2%ABJ%27ay+rest%C3%A9+%C3%A0+Baalb</a>
195		<i>La porte de la cella du Temple de Bacchus</i>	Private Collection		Etching with watercolor, gouache	64x84 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (169)
196		<i>Reconstitution des temples de Baalbek avec procession</i>	Philippe Jabre Collection		Watercolor, gouache, pen and ink	71 x 138 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (229)
197		<i>Vue de Baalbek, au Liban, un groupe de chameliers au premier plan</i>	Private Collection		Pen and ink, watercolor heightened w/gum arabic	64.8x89.7 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-de-baalbek-au-liban-un-groupe-de-chameliers-m1BPJb8ndZDCufhS9dQVVA2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-de-baalbek-au-liban-un-groupe-de-chameliers-m1BPJb8ndZDCufhS9dQVVA2</a>
198		<i>Ba'albek, le temple de Jupiter</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor with Pen and Ink	66 x 100 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/baalbek-le-temple-de-jupiter-nmT26WISybUyLVtvQKEICQ2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/baalbek-le-temple-de-jupiter-nmT26WISybUyLVtvQKEICQ2</a>
199		<i>Vue de Baalbeck avec le Temple de Jupiter</i>	Private Collection		Pen and Ink and Watercolor	65 x 102 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-de-baalbeck-avec-le-temple-de-jupiter-r1Yc1pDZ0garrF86bTQKOW2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-de-baalbeck-avec-le-temple-de-jupiter-r1Yc1pDZ0garrF86bTQKOW2</a>

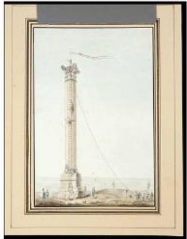



200		<i>Ba'albek. Le Temple circulaire et le Temple de Jupiter</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor	41 x 66 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/baalbek-le-temple-circulaire-et-le-temple-de-Ywv_hQ2C1J7IAWCPAA FH4Q2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/baalbek-le-temple-circulaire-et-le-temple-de-Ywv_hQ2C1J7IAWCPAA FH4Q2</a>
201		<i>Vue animée d'un temple oriental</i>	Private Collection		Pen and India ink, watercolor on paper laid on canvas	67 x 102.3 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-anim%C3%A9e-dun-temple-oriental-XJt0Asy6OP9IshU9r7Xx5 Q2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-anim%C3%A9e-dun-temple-oriental-XJt0Asy6OP9IshU9r7Xx5 Q2</a>
202		<i>Vue de Baalbek avec les Temples de Bacchus et Jupiter</i>	Philippe Jabre Collection		Pen and Ink and Watercolor	65.5 x 98 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-de-baalbek-avec-les-temples-de-bacchus-et-aEaM9dTbBNW5WFHez CIVg2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-de-baalbek-avec-les-temples-de-bacchus-et-aEaM9dTbBNW5WFHez CIVg2</a>
203		<i>Vue du temple de Baalbek animée de soldats turcs</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor and gum arabic w/pen and China ink	64.5x46 c	<a href="https://www.artcurial.com/en/lot-louis-francois-cassas-azay-le-ferron-1756-versailles-1827-vue-du-temple-de-baalbek-animee-de">https://www.artcurial.com/en/lot-louis-francois-cassas-azay-le-ferron-1756-versailles-1827-vue-du-temple-de-baalbek-animee-de</a>
204		<i>Vue du monastère de Saint-Antoine (Mar Anthounious, Qoshhya) dans la vallée du Fleuve Saint</i>	Private Collection	1792	Watercolor, pen and ink, pencil	69x105 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (171)
205		<i>Vue de la vallée du Kadisha, Liban</i>	Private Collection, Sale: 2588 Date: 18 nov. 2014 19:00		Gouache w/pen and India ink	38.2x51.5 cm	<a href="https://www.artcurial.com/en/lot-louis-francois-cassas-azay-le-ferron-1756-versailles-1827-vue-de-la-vallee-du-kadisha-liban#popin-active">https://www.artcurial.com/en/lot-louis-francois-cassas-azay-le-ferron-1756-versailles-1827-vue-de-la-vallee-du-kadisha-liban#popin-active</a>
206		<i>Vue de la vallée de la Qadisha au Liban</i>	Private Collection		Pen and india ink	65.3x101.5 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-de-la-vall%C3%A9e-de-la-qadisha-au-liban-3M8Y-vFugt4lv3ibikyt-g2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-de-la-vall%C3%A9e-de-la-qadisha-au-liban-3M8Y-vFugt4lv3ibikyt-g2</a>



207		<i>Young artist studying the Assyrian stele at the border to Nahr al-Kelb River (Libanon)</i>	Private Collection		Paintings, Watercolour, arabic gum and pencil	80.4 x 63 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/young-artist-studying-the-assyrian-stele-at-the-a-XbvfoMTfD4sLz9Uc_EdLA2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/young-artist-studying-the-assyrian-stele-at-the-a-XbvfoMTfD4sLz9Uc_EdLA2</a>
208		<i>The Bourtassi Mosk, Or The Derviches Convent, Tripoli, Lebanon</i>	Private Collection	1813	Watercolor on paper		<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/the-bourtassi-mosk-or-the-derviches-convent-cIDExwNTnUJo3A2Y5u7kg2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/the-bourtassi-mosk-or-the-derviches-convent-cIDExwNTnUJo3A2Y5u7kg2</a>
209		<i>Vue de Tripoli, au Liban, un groupe d'hommes mangeant au premier plan</i>	Private Collection		Pierre noire, pen and ink, watercolor heightened w/gum arabic	64.8x89.2 cm	<a href="https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/drawings-watercolors/louis-francois-cassas-vue-de-tripoli-5773314-details.aspx?from=searchresults&amp;intObjectID=5773314&amp;sid=a87fe594-9a42-45fd-ad14-e3cb1ed40083">https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/drawings-watercolors/louis-francois-cassas-vue-de-tripoli-5773314-details.aspx?from=searchresults&amp;intObjectID=5773314&amp;sid=a87fe594-9a42-45fd-ad14-e3cb1ed40083</a>
210		<i>Tyré vue générale du port</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor with Pen and Ink	24.4 x 37.2 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/tyr%C3%A9-vue-g%C3%A9n%C3%A9rale-du-port-YCshbAqjiEshnCTyuhN4Q2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/tyr%C3%A9-vue-g%C3%A9n%C3%A9rale-du-port-YCshbAqjiEshnCTyuhN4Q2</a>
211		<i>Vue du Mont Thabor en Galilée prise du côté du chemin de Nazareth</i>	Private Collection	1822	Watercolour on paper mounted on canvas	45x65 cm	<a href="https://www.grosdelettrez.com/lot/17181/3294305?refurl=Vue+du+Mont+Thabor+en+Galil%C3%A9+prise+du+c%C3%B4t%C3%A9+du+chemin+de+Nazareth%2C+1822+Aquarelle+sur+papier+marouff">https://www.grosdelettrez.com/lot/17181/3294305?refurl=Vue+du+Mont+Thabor+en+Galil%C3%A9+prise+du+c%C3%B4t%C3%A9+du+chemin+de+Nazareth%2C+1822+Aquarelle+sur+papier+marouff</a>
212		<i>Bergers sur le Mont Liban</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor	58 x 80 cm.	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/bergers-sur-le-mont-liban-11r7DuumPERd6raZolishw2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/bergers-sur-le-mont-liban-11r7DuumPERd6raZolishw2</a>
213		<i>Vue de Jerusalem/View of Jerusalem</i>	The National Museum Sweden, Stockholm, NMDrh 784	1785	Watercolor on paper mounted on canvas	68 x 100,5 cm	<a href="http://collection.nationalmuseum.se/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&amp;module=collection&amp;objectId=25610&amp;viewType=detailView">http://collection.nationalmuseum.se/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&amp;module=collection&amp;objectId=25610&amp;viewType=detailView</a>







214	?	<i>View of Jerusalem</i>	The National Museum Sweden, Stockholm, NMDrh 572		Watercolor	68,5 x 101,5 cm	<a href="http://collection.nationalmuseum.se/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&amp;module=collection&amp;objectId=177240&amp;viewType=detailView">http://collection.nationalmuseum.se/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&amp;module=collection&amp;objectId=177240&amp;viewType=detailView</a>
215		<i>Vue de la colline de Temple</i>	Musée Beaux Arts de Tours, 60-1-2		Pencil, pen and ink	27x64 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (181)
216		<i>Vue prise de l'endroit où Salomon gardait ses 1000 femmes</i>	Private Collection		Pen and watercolor heightened w/gum arabic	25 x 37 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-prise-de-lendroit-o%C3%B9-salomon-gardait-ses-1000-femmes">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-prise-de-lendroit-o%C3%B9-salomon-gardait-ses-1000-femmes</a>
217		<i>Orientaux dans un paysage: vue présumée de Jérusalem</i>	Private Collection		Pen and black ink, watercolour, enhanced with gum arabic	69x100 cm	<a href="https://www.gazette-drouot.com/lots/6302824">https://www.gazette-drouot.com/lots/6302824</a>
218		<i>Retraite des apôtres dans la vallée de Josephat</i>	Private Collection		Ink and Watercolor	39 x 24 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/retraite-des-ap%C3%B4tres-dans-la-vall%C3%A9e-de-josephat-ZFFX1YFHHDrPNyGt7I7iw2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/retraite-des-ap%C3%B4tres-dans-la-vall%C3%A9e-de-josephat-ZFFX1YFHHDrPNyGt7I7iw2</a>
219		<i>Vue de la tête colossale du Sphinx et de la 2<sup>e</sup> pyramide d'Egypte</i>	Musée Beaux Arts de Tours, 976-1-1		Engraving colored with watercolor and gouache	56x80 cm, 65x88 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (227)
220		<i>Vue de la tête colossale du Sphinx et de la 2<sup>e</sup> pyramide d'Egypte</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor and Gouache	55 x 78.5 cm.	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-de-la-t%C3%AAtre-colossale-du-sphinx-et-de-la-2%C3%A8-WdrjmMhfidDgue3s3VMoig2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-de-la-t%C3%AAtre-colossale-du-sphinx-et-de-la-2%C3%A8-WdrjmMhfidDgue3s3VMoig2</a>







221		<i>Vue de la tête colossale du Sphinx et de la 2ème Pyramide d'Egypte</i>	Private Collection		Pen and ink and watercolor	57 x 80.5 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-de-la-t%C3%AAtte-colossale-du-sphinx-et-de-la-2%C3%A8me-VtH91RfJ_ngMullzrSDWtw2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-de-la-t%C3%AAtte-colossale-du-sphinx-et-de-la-2%C3%A8me-VtH91RfJ_ngMullzrSDWtw2</a>
222		<i>The Sphinx and the Pyramid of Gizeh</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor	52.5 x 77 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/the-sphinx-and-the-pyramid-of-gizeh-IHMR9eJruPmeAK-2x-nfnA2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/the-sphinx-and-the-pyramid-of-gizeh-IHMR9eJruPmeAK-2x-nfnA2</a>
223		<i>Vue du fort de Qayt Bay à Alexandrie</i>	Musée Beaux Arts de Tours, 2000-2-1		Watercolor		Une Gallerie Ottomane à Rome (355)
224		<i>Les ruines d'Alexandrie</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor, pen and ink	22x34 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/les-ruines-dalexandrie-Ph3CWSGyE8YvNY0the4-sw2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/les-ruines-dalexandrie-Ph3CWSGyE8YvNY0the4-sw2</a>
225		<i>La Mosquée des 1000 et une colonnes (Dgiami al-Garbi,), Alexandrie</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor with Pen and Ink	52 x 77 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/la-mosqu%C3%A9e-des-1000-et-une-colonnes-dgiami-al-tWNhdrMmgxvc6m0l2dYwQA2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/la-mosqu%C3%A9e-des-1000-et-une-colonnes-dgiami-al-tWNhdrMmgxvc6m0l2dYwQA2</a>
226		<i>Vue des ruines de la grande mosquée Dgiami El Garbie</i>	Private Collection		Engraving w/watercolor, pen and gouache	57 x 79 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-des-ruines-de-la-grande-mosqu%C3%A9e-dgiami-el-nn8n6PUBP9om9PLvtOrD7w2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-des-ruines-de-la-grande-mosqu%C3%A9e-dgiami-el-nn8n6PUBP9om9PLvtOrD7w2</a>
227		<i>Magellon, French Consul in Egypt, Visiting the Column of Pompey's Pillar in Alexandria</i>	Ömer Koç Collection	1795	Graphite, pen, ink and watercolour on paper	27 x 38 cm	Ömer Koç Collection

228		<i>A column by the sea with the French flag flying</i>	Private Collection			Watercolor over pen and ink	30.7 x 20.7 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/a-column-by-the-sea-with-the-french-flag-flying-VLkMt-pPEZIRFKDSyg8wjg2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/a-column-by-the-sea-with-the-french-flag-flying-VLkMt-pPEZIRFKDSyg8wjg2</a>
229		<i>Vue de la colonne dite de Pompée à Alexandrie</i>	Private Collection			Handcolored engraving	55 x 78 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-de-la-colonne-dite-de-pomp%C3%A9-%C3%A0-alexandrie-i_DY4HjWbiniwrybvZucUg2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-de-la-colonne-dite-de-pomp%C3%A9-%C3%A0-alexandrie-i_DY4HjWbiniwrybvZucUg2</a>
230		<i>Vue de la Colonne dite de Pompée, prise du Midi en regardant la ville d'Alexandrie</i>	Private Collection			Handcolored engraving	54.5 x 78 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-de-la-colonne-dite-de-pomp%C3%A9e-prise-du-midi-en-784fnBBOXi3WYXi3N6dg8g2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-de-la-colonne-dite-de-pomp%C3%A9e-prise-du-midi-en-784fnBBOXi3WYXi3N6dg8g2</a>
231		<i>View of the Nile and Mosque of Mansura</i>	Albertina, Vienna, DG40144	1785		Etching, colored	55.2 x 78.9 cm	© Albertina, Vienna, online&catalog
232		<i>Le Pacha sur le Nil</i>	Private Collection			Watercolor on engraving	52 x 70 cm	<a href="https://www.grosdelettrez.com/lot/17181/3294304?refurl=Le+Pacha+sur+le+Nil+Aquarelle+sur+traits+grav%C3%A9s.+52+x+70+cm">https://www.grosdelettrez.com/lot/17181/3294304?refurl=Le+Pacha+sur+le+Nil+Aquarelle+sur+traits+grav%C3%A9s.+52+x+70+cm</a>
233		<i>Des Femmes Voilees au Pied D'un Obelisque Pres Du Nil</i>	Private Collection			Chalk and Watercolor	35.1 x 24.7 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/jean-baptiste-hilaire/des-femmes-voilees-au-pied-dun-obelisque-pres-du-KTJA-e9Vt57Ha4kPCTpyQ2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/jean-baptiste-hilaire/des-femmes-voilees-au-pied-dun-obelisque-pres-du-KTJA-e9Vt57Ha4kPCTpyQ2</a>

234		<i>Campement au bord du Nil &amp; Arret devant les ruines</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor	54 x 78 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/campement-au-bord-du-nil-arret-devant-les-ruines-vZ6FRur9D7gs11WDP8iBdw2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/campement-au-bord-du-nil-arret-devant-les-ruines-vZ6FRur9D7gs11WDP8iBdw2</a>
235		<i>Vue générale des Pyramides d'Egypte prise du Caire</i>	Private Collection		Handcolored etching	65 x 86 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-g%C3%A9n%C3%A9rale-des-pyramides-degypte-prise-du-caire-KFfzoQd8tyaXT3ozHyB8Ow2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/vue-g%C3%A9n%C3%A9rale-des-pyramides-degypte-prise-du-caire-KFfzoQd8tyaXT3ozHyB8Ow2</a>
236		<i>Cartouche de la "Carte de la plaine de Troie"</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor et encre brune sur papier	17 cm - 25 cm	<a href="https://bidtoart.com/fr/fine-art/unknown/125680">https://bidtoart.com/fr/fine-art/unknown/125680</a>
237		<i>Paysage de fantaisie dans la Grèce antique</i>	Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne		Contre-épreuve		Le 'Mirror' du Monde (69)
238		<i>Paysage de fantaisie dans la Grèce antique</i>	Private Collection, Galery of K. Henninger-Tavcar, Pforzheim		Watercolor		Le 'Mirror' du Monde (69)
239		<i>Paysage de fantaisie dans la Grèce antique</i>	Private Collection, Sotheby's NY, 26 January 2007, lot 462				Le 'Mirror' du Monde (69)
240		<i>Paysage</i>	Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans, 349		Gouache, pen, ink, watercolor on paper	54,4x76,5 cm	Museum Catalog



241		<i>Paysage avec un groupe d'orientaux devant une métope</i>	Musée des Beaux-Arts Orléans, 348	1792	Watercolor	57x78 cm	Museum Catalog
242		<i>Paysage avec autoportrait</i>	Musée des Beaux-Arts Orléans, 347	1800-1899	Watercolor, pen	56,5x78,5 cm	Museum Catalog
243		<i>Autoportrait de l'artiste dessinant un sarcophage</i>	Private Collection, Galerie Didier Aaron, Paris	1792	Pencil, pen and ink	53.5x75 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (139)
244		<i>Orientaux près des ruines d'Alexandria Troas en Asie Mineur</i>	Private Collection	1819	Pencil, pen and black ink, watercolour	50,5x72,5 cm	<a href="http://pierre-berge-associes.fr/html/fiche.jsp?id=6302572">http://pierre-berge-associes.fr/html/fiche.jsp?id=6302572</a> <a href="https://www.gazette-drouot.com/lots/6302572">https://www.gazette-drouot.com/lots/6302572</a>
245		<i>River landscape with figures</i>	Albertina, Vienna, 15353	1782	Watercolor, pen and ink	66,3x47,2 cm	© Albertina, Vienna, online&catalog
246		<i>Ottomans dans un paysage imaginaire, une forteresse dans le lointain</i>	Private Collection		Pencil, pen and watercolor	91 x 58.5 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/ottomans-dans-un-paysage-imaginaire-une-Qmug5ab5lgU-FKF6UAE_Fg2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/ottomans-dans-un-paysage-imaginaire-une-Qmug5ab5lgU-FKF6UAE_Fg2</a>




247		<i>View of a clearing by a lake, with Turkish figures before a ruined temple</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor over pen and black and grey ink	54.5 x 43.9 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/view-of-a-clearing-by-a-lake-with-turkish-figures-ZBfBBArZZqG6W_xtvekxpA2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/view-of-a-clearing-by-a-lake-with-turkish-figures-ZBfBBArZZqG6W_xtvekxpA2</a>
248		<i>Orientaux aux abords d'une forêt et d'un point d'eau</i>	Private Collection		Pencil, pen and black ink, watercolour and gouache on paper mounted on canvas and mounted on a frame	66x101,5 cm	<a href="https://www.coatalem.com/fr/oeuvres/dessins/116-louis-francois-cassas-orientaux-aux-abords-d-une-foret-et-d-un-point-d-eau">https://www.coatalem.com/fr/oeuvres/dessins/116-louis-francois-cassas-orientaux-aux-abords-d-une-foret-et-d-un-point-d-eau</a> <a href="http://pierre-berge-associes.fr/html/fiche.jsp?id=6302568&amp;np=&amp;lng=fr&amp;npp=&amp;ordre=&amp;aff=&amp;r=">http://pierre-berge-associes.fr/html/fiche.jsp?id=6302568&amp;np=&amp;lng=fr&amp;npp=&amp;ordre=&amp;aff=&amp;r=</a>
249		<i>Personnages devant une tombe en ruines dans un paysage fluvial</i>	Private Collection		Pen and black ink, watercolour and gouache on paper mounted on canvas and mounted on a frame	68,4x103,3 cm	<a href="http://www.pierre-berge-associes.fr/html/fiche.jsp?id=8921066&amp;np=&amp;lng=&amp;npp=&amp;ordre=&amp;aff=&amp;r=">http://www.pierre-berge-associes.fr/html/fiche.jsp?id=8921066&amp;np=&amp;lng=&amp;npp=&amp;ordre=&amp;aff=&amp;r=</a> <a href="https://www.gazette-drouot.com/lots/6302569">https://www.gazette-drouot.com/lots/6302569</a>
250		<i>Turks by ancient tombs on the coast</i>	Private Collection		Pen and Ink and Watercolor	36 x 54 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/turks-by-ancient-tombs-on-the-coast-8k21wf4TckRJK7lNfAHvQ2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/turks-by-ancient-tombs-on-the-coast-8k21wf4TckRJK7lNfAHvQ2</a>
251		<i>Caprice égyptien avec un obélisque et des pyramides</i>	Private Collection			68,5x105 cm	<a href="http://pierre-berge-associes.fr/html/fiche.jsp?id=8921067">http://pierre-berge-associes.fr/html/fiche.jsp?id=8921067</a>
252		<i>Paysage avec ruines antiques</i>	Private Collection			68,5x105 cm	<a href="http://pierre-berge-associes.fr/html/fiche.jsp?id=8921067">http://pierre-berge-associes.fr/html/fiche.jsp?id=8921067</a>




253		<i>Champ du repos sous les pins</i>	Private Collection		Watercolor	41 x 66 cm.	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/champ-du-repos-sous-les-pins-dkc0XP6TiOqQsXGqN6Ljyw2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/champ-du-repos-sous-les-pins-dkc0XP6TiOqQsXGqN6Ljyw2</a>
254		<i>A Scene of Oblation</i>	Attingham Park, Shropshire	1790	Pen, watercolour and bodycolour on paper	65 x 101 cm	<a href="http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/607887">http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/607887</a>
255		<i>A landscape with waterfalls, figures with a dromedary in front of a fountain in the foreground on the left</i>	Private Collection		Pen and Ink and Watercolor	57 x 78 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/un-paysage-avec-des-chutes-deau-des-figures-avec-8JhNElj5n2yWZhtH6u3bSw2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/un-paysage-avec-des-chutes-deau-des-figures-avec-8JhNElj5n2yWZhtH6u3bSw2</a>
256		<i>Stèles en ruine dans un cimetière d'Orient</i>	Private Collection		Pen and ink, and watercolor	16.9 x 11.1 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/st%C3%A8les-en-ruine-dans-un-cimet%C3%A8re-dorient-HRRv4piCXvpYjXaBBW30kw2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/louis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/st%C3%A8les-en-ruine-dans-un-cimet%C3%A8re-dorient-HRRv4piCXvpYjXaBBW30kw2</a>
257		<i>Choix d'une esclave</i>	Private Collection		Gouache	47x64 cm	Boppe 1989 (227)
258		<i>Etude de cinq Kurdes à Alexandrette</i>	Musée Beaux Arts de Tours, A.F. 55.4.1		Watercolor, gouache, pen and ink	23,2 x 36,8 cm	Misra Kaya












259		<i>Etudes de personnage devant la porte de la Persécution à Ephèse/Studies of figures of Ottomans in Front of the Gate of Persecution in Ephesus</i>	Musée Beaux Arts de Tours, A. F. 55-4-2 (1955-4-2)	1788-1790	Watercolor, gouache, pen and ink, lead pencil	43x59 cm	Misra Kaya
260		<i>Etudes de bédouins à Palmyre</i>	Musée Beaux Arts de Tours, AF 55-4-3		Watercolor, gouache, pen and ink	35x50 cm	Misra Kaya
261		<i>A group of bedouins eating at a low table, a bearded man seated on a ledge and three others to the right</i>	Private Collection		Pen and ink, watercolor, and bodycolor heightened with gum arabic	20.6 x 35.9 cm	<a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/lo-uis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/a-group-of-bedouins-eating-at-a-low-table-andKCyhzKQhYSEur2Ylq50g2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/lo-uis-fran%C3%A7ois-cassas/a-group-of-bedouins-eating-at-a-low-table-andKCyhzKQhYSEur2Ylq50g2</a>
262		<i>Le Sultan, le jour du Bairam</i>	Musée Bertrand, Chateauroux, 82-6-1		Watercolor	45x60 cm	Misra Kaya
263		<i>Marche du Sultan le jour du Bairam</i>	Private Collection		Gouache		Annie Gilet Thesis Appendix III
264		<i>Un Cortège Nuptial Au Caire</i>	Private Collection, Auction		Pen and watercolor over traces of graphite on paper	33.00 x 94.50 cm	<a href="https://www.blouinartinfo.com/galleryguide-venues/750624/past-results/107090">https://www.blouinartinfo.com/galleryguide-venues/750624/past-results/107090</a>
265		<i>Les Lutteurs</i>	Private Collection		Gouache, watercolor, ink	45x101 cm	Corne d'Or (58)
266		<i>Etude de Caravane</i>	Private Collection, formerly Galerie Didier Aaron, Paris		Watercolor, pen and ink	23x65.5 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (162)
267		<i>Repos d'une caravane dans le desert de Syrie</i>	Musée Beaux Arts de Tours, 988-4-1		Watercolor, pen and ink	33x67 cm	Im Banne der Sphinx (162)







		<i>Palmyre. Arrivée d'une troupe de brigands arabes. Défense de la petite Caravane. Le lieu de la scène est au dessus de Sudud, village qui se trouve avant celui d'Howarein sur la route de Hhemss à Palmyre</i>			
273		<i>Ruined d'un edifice situe pres les ruines du temple de Neptune</i>	Vol I 90	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799
274		<i>Portique de Diocletien: Vue en perspective du même Monument restauré d'après le plan et les mesures des Ruines</i>	Vol I 98	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799
275		<i>Monumens situés dans la vallée qui mène a Palmyre. Le Monument dont cette planche offre la principale face et la niche décoré de sculptures, ainsi que les deux Monumens ruinés qui se voyent à droite sont situés tout proche des montagnes sur le sommet des quelles se trouve l'ancien chemin du Château</i>	Vol I 102	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799


276	 <p>TOMBEAU DE IAMBlichus, A PALMYRE. Vue en grand de la niche qui décore l'une des faces du tombeau.</p>	<p><i>Tombeau d'Iamblichus a Palmyre, Vue en grand de la niche qui décore l'une des faces du tombeau</i></p>	Vol I 113	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799
277	 <p>TOMBEAU DE IAMBlichus A PALMYRE. Restauration géométrale de la niche qui décore l'une des faces du tombeau.</p>	<p><i>Tombeau d'Iamblichus a Palmyre, Restauration géométrale de la niche qui décore l'une des faces du tombeau</i></p>	Vol I 114	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799
278	 <p>TOMBEAU DE M. JESSE, A ANTONIN, SUR LE BORD DE LA RIVIERE A NABATH. Bas-relief taillé dans le roc.</p>	<p><i>Troisième vue du Chemin d'Antonin, avant d'arriver a Baruth. Inscriptions antiques et Bas-reliefs taillés dans le roc which has a corresponding painting titled Young artist studying the Assyrian stele at the border to Nahral-Kelb River (Libanon).</i></p>	Vol II 78	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799

279		<p><i>Portrait d'Hassan Pacha, en 1786. --Ce célèbre Capitan-Pacha, ou Commandant des Flottes du Grand-Seigneur, avait coutume, dans ses promenades, de mener avec lui un lion apprivoisé. Il est ici représenté se promenant sur le port de Constantinople</i></p>	Vol II 94	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799
280		<p><i>Costume et Cortege Ordinaire du Grand-Seigneur</i></p>	Vol II 96	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799
281		<p><i>Aspect du Mont Thabor en Galilée. La vue est prise du côté du chemin de Nazareth</i></p>	Vol III 4	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799
282		<p><i>Tombeau d'Absalon, situé dans la vallée dite de Josaphat, et taillé dans le roc, costume, sous le quel l'Artiste déguisé a pu prendre à loisir les mesurer du monumen</i></p>	Vol III 30	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799



283		<i>Obélisque, dit de Cléopâtre à Alexandrie</i>	Vol III 52	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799
284		<i>Ruines de la ville d'Alexandrie</i>	Vol III 53	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799
285		<i>Un Cortège Nuptial Au Caire</i>	Vol III 63	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799
286		<i>Costume et Portrait d'un homme d'armes au Caire</i>	Vol III 82	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799
287		<i>Bâs-relief Ægyptien, taillé dans le roc, près de la pyramide Chephrèn</i>	Vol III 92	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799



288		<i>Restauration d'un Temple Égyptien. Ce monument est situé pres de l'ancienne Peluse...</i>	Vol III 95	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799
289		<i>Restauration d'un Temple Égyptien. Développement de la partie du milieu du temple</i>	Vol III 96	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799
290		<i>Temples Égyptiens avec tous les genres d'accessoires dont on pourrait supposes que la magnificence, Égyptienne décorait ces grands monuments</i>	Vol III 97	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799
291		<i>Grande pyramide, Même légende que la planche précédente</i>	Vol III 98	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799

292		<i>Ruines du Monastere de Cozzafani, dans l'isle de Chypre</i>	Vol III 104	Voyage Pittoresque de Syrie, la Phœnicine, de la Palestine et la Basse-Égypte	An VII, 1799
293		<i>Carte de la plaine de Troie</i>	T II pl. 19	Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce	1809
294		<i>Vue de la Vallée de Simoïs</i>	T II pl. 24	Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce	1809
295		<i>Vue du Tombeau d'Ajax</i>	T II pl. 26	Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce	1809
296		<i>Vue du Tombeau de Patrocle</i>	T II pl. 27	Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce	1809
297		<i>Vue du Tombeau de Festus</i>	T II pl. 29	Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce	1809
298		<i>Plan d'Alexandria-Troas</i>	T II pl. 39	Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce	1822



299		<i>Vue du Grand Monument d'Alexandria-Troas</i>	T III pl. 40	Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce	1822
300		<i>Vue du Château des Dardanelles</i>	TIII pl. 53	Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce	1822
301		<i>Vue de Pyramides de Djizé</i>		Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte, pendant les années 1783, 1784 et 1785, Œuvres de C. Volney, Tome II	
302		<i>Arc de triomphe d'auguste et de M. Antoine</i>	T I Pl I p. 26	Voyage dans la macédoine,	1813
303		<i>Monument sépulcral des Rois de Juda</i>		Palestine. Description géographique, historique et archeologique. Avec planches	1845
304		<i>Fontaine a Cana en Galilée</i>		Palestine. Description géographique, historique et archeologique. Avec planches	1845
305		<i>Vue à Napelouse sue l'emplacement de l'ancienne Sichem</i>		Palestine. Description géographique, historique et archeologique. Avec planches	1845

\* Indicates that the works were wrongly titled.