Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narratives

Edited by Claudia Ulbrich
Richard Wittman

Orient-Institut Istanbul

Istanbuler Texte und Studien 17

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ISTANBULER TEXTE UND STUDIEN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VOM
ORIENT-INSTITUT ISTANBUL

BAND 17

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WÜRZBURG 2016

ERGON VERLAG WÜRZBURG
IN KOMMISSION

Gedruckt mit freundlicher Unterstützung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft

Umschlaggestaltung: Taline Yozgatian

Titelbild: ANDREA ZITTEL
Aqua Blue Silk Personal Panel with Quilted Orange Under Panel
1995-98. Silk. 109 × 71 cm (43 1/4 × 28 inches)
© Andrea Zittel, courtesy the artist and Andrea Rosen Gallery, New York
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Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über http://dnb.d-nb.de abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at http://dnb.d-nb.de.

ISBN 978-3-95650-190-6
ISSN 1863-9461

Ergon-Verlag GmbH
Keesburgstr. 11, D-97074 Würzburg

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Preface

The current volume developed out of an international workshop of the German Research Foundation's Research Group 530 on "self-narratives in a transcultural perspective" [DFG-Forschergruppe 530 "Selbstzeugnisse in transkultureller Perspektive"] that was held at the Orient-Institut Istanbul from September 29 until October 2, 2009. The workshop formed part of a long-standing cooperation with the Orient-Institut Istanbul, where research on transcultural self-narratives continues beyond the term of the research group, with the project "Istanbul Memories. Personal narratives of the late Ottoman period" (www.istanbulmemories.org). The stimulating discussions at the Orient-Institut Istanbul centered around the multifaceted interplay between dress and person/personhood in written self-narratives or ego documents. By focusing on "Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narratives," we hoped to supplement the existing research on self-narratives with the dimension of material culture. In the workshop light was shed on the potential of dress to shape identities, to express forms of affiliation or foreignness, as well as on vestimentary practices. Were clothes simply purchased to be worn, to possess, and to give away as a gift or in barter trade? During the presentations and discussions it became clear that new insights might be gleaned if one widens the focus in self-narratives, beyond material culture to include the consideration of other sources such as trousseau inventories or account books.

The talks of the Istanbul symposium have been revised and supplemented by an introduction and the inclusion of three additional articles. Among the latter is a text on Andrea Zittel, whose artwork presents an original contemporary approach to dress. We are grateful to the artist for generously providing us with some of her pictures for inclusion in this publication. We would like to thank the Orient-Institut Istanbul for its hospitality, which rendered our intense academic exchange very pleasant, as well as for the organization of a very stimulating supporting program. The public lectures by Christoph Neumann (Munich), Esther Juhasz (Jerusalem) and Joachim Gierlichs (Doha/Berlin) provided precious stimuli for our discussions. We are grateful for the support of the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul (SRII) and its (then) director, Elisabeth Özdalga, for hosting Joachim Gierlichs' talk on their beautiful historic premises. We are indebted to all those who made the symposium and this publication possible, including the museums, libraries and archives that gave us the copyright for the materials reproduced in this volume, and to Nazire Ergün, Sophie Häusner and Pia Starke for the editing and proofreading of the texts. We are most obliged to

the German Research Foundation (DFG) and to the Orient-Institut Istanbul for their financial support of the symposium and their contribution to this publication.

Istanbul, Berlin, January 2015.

Claudia Ulbrich, Freie Universität Berlin
Richard Wittmann, Orient-Institut Istanbul

Introduction

Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Importance of Dress in the Historical and Cultural Sciences*

Claudia Ulbrich / Richard Wittmann

The question "how clothes made history and how history can be about clothes"[1] has gained increased importance in the Historical and Cultural Sciences. Among them count studies on fashion and clothing, research on the self and least but not least on self-narratives.

Dress has played an important role in the history and historiography of the western world for quite some time. Aside from art historians and anthropologists, sociologists, philosophers and semiologists have shown a particular interest in dress, fashion, and their manifold meanings.[2] Scholars of all disciplines would concur that dress is a socially relevant factor. Clothing can be taken as a communicative act and is related to identity.[3] It has enabled individuals to become part of a social group, as well as to distance themselves thereof. At least in modern times, dress has often been connected to fashion. And – as Georg Simmel has put it –, "fashion is the imitation of a given example and satisfies the demand for social adaptation; […]. At the same time it satisfies in no less degree the need of differentiation, the tendency towards dissimilarity, the desire for change and contrast […]. Thus fashion represents nothing more than one of the many forms of life by the aid of which we seek to combine in uniform spheres of activity, the tendency towards social equalization with the desire for individual differentiation and change."[4]

Some scholars assume that in Europe up until the Middle Ages, it was possible to identify people as adherents of specific societal groups by the wearing of

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* We would like to thank Gabriele Jancke for her careful reading and her insightful comments on earlier drafts of this introduction.

1 Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

2 Odile Blanc, "Historiographie du Vêtement: Un bilan", in: *Le vêtement - Histoire, archéologie et symbolique vestimentaire au Moyen-Âge (Cahiers du Léopard d'Or)* (dirigés par Michel Pastoureau) Vol. 1, (1989): 7-33.

3 Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2004), 177-178.

4 Georg Simmel, "Fashion," in: *International Quaterly* (New York), X (October 1904): 130-155 (pp. 133-34).

particular stipulated clothes.[5] Dress codes served to mark boundaries and costume albums rendered the impression of a well-ordered society reflecting gender and estate divisions. Complainants to the court often demanded the preservation of visible markers of belonging within the feudal, estates-based society. Frequent attempts by the authorities to regulate clothes as a means of ensuring the readability of the world through dress, however, allude to much more complex and controversial realities of conviviality on the ground, which knew dynamics of social ascent and descent as well as cultural exchange.[6] This was particularly the case in courtly society. Studies on aristocratic society have paid much attention to the role of dress.[7] First and foremost, studies on France have drawn on the studies of Norbert Elias on courtly society, which investigated the cultural, stately and social functions of the princely courts of the Early Modern period.[8] As is well known, Elias has demonstrated the degree to which domestication of the aristocracy and absolutist state-building processes have relied on feudal magnificence, court etiquette, and ceremonial norms. By participating in the rituals and performances at court, the nobility's social standing was enhanced while it became at the same time domesticated and stripped of any political aspiration. Even though dress played only a marginal role in Elias' writings, the work of Daniel Roche as well numerous other studies have illustrated its significance for courtly society, especially as an indicator of the intrinsic contradictions of the norms regulating courtly behavior.[9] On the hand, the sovereign would clearly stipulate each actor's dress for each occasion[10], while on the other hand there remained areas of life at court for which no regulations existed. Clothes became increasingly important in the rivalry among courtiers and helped establish a "culture of clothing" (Daniel Roche). Instead of fulfilling the need to regulate the world, dress now had to reflect the frequent changes in courtly fashion, which

5 Dress has played a significant role in research on the Middle Ages for quite some time. On the importance of dress as a means for individuals to position themselves socially, or to be localised by others, see for instance: Jan Ulrich Keupp. *Die Wahl des Gewandes: Mode, Macht und Möglichkeitssinn in Gesellschaft und Politik des Mittelalters* (Ostfildern: J. Thorbecke, 2010); Kirsten O. Frieling. *Sehen und gesehen werden: Kleidung an Fürstenhöfen an der Schwelle vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit (ca. 1450-1530)* (Ostfildern: J. Thorbecke, 2013).

6 Martin Dinges, "Von der „Lesbarkeit der Welt" zum universalisierten Wandel durch individuelle Strategien. Die soziale Funktion der Kleidung in der höfischen Gesellschaft," in: Neithard Bulst and Robert Jütte (eds.), "Zwischen Sein und Schein. Kleidung und Identität in der ständischen Gesellschaft," *Saeculum Themenheft* 44 (1993): 90-112 (pp. 92-99).

7 Isabelle Paresys and Natacha Coquery, *Se vêtir à la Cour en Europe (1400-1815)*. Une introduction, in: Isabelle Paresys and Natacha Coquery, *Se vêtir à la Cour en Europe (1400-1815)* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Université Lille 3 - Charles-de-Gaulle, 2011), 5-24.

8 Norbert Elias, *The Court Society* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983).

9 Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing. Dress and Fashion in the "Ancien Regime"*, transl. Jane Birell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994 (first: French 1989)).

10 Philip Mansel, *Dressed to Rule: Royal and Court Costume from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2005).

became a precondition for participation in life at court.[11] Dress became an expression of change in society and fashion turned into an inescapable social reality (*fait social total*). In the eighteenth century dress had still a constitutive power for identity, but the commercialized market gained more and more influence.[12] This shift was accompanied, as Barbara Vinken argues, by a gendered change in paradigms. The lofty, spectacular staging of the premodern nobility has been followed, with the end of the Ancien Régime, by the suppression of everything fashionable as an expression of 'femininity' in the sphere of the public and the political. The creation of bourgeois society resulted in uniformly clad male bodies that have been reduced to their mere functional aspects. As a result, fashion became the sole domain of the females, of whom western societies have ever since expected a form of striking decorous staging that evokes sexual desirability.[13] Colonial fantasies of the 'Oriental' corrupting all virility added to this image of female fashion, which superseded the aristocratic conception. Jean-Jacques Rousseau considered fashionable Paris as an "Oriental hotbed of sin", which threatened to pervert 'natural' gender relations.[14]

In Social History, which has been extended by Cultural History, "dress was taken to *make* identity, rather than merely to signify its anterior existence."[15] The connection between dress and authority was made clear in the Middle Ages through the symbolic act of investiture of clothes. The bestowal of a higher state or church function was connected to the donning of festive garments.[16] Clothes conferred a new identity on their wearer.[17] Likewise, such a connection between dress and authority can be shown for scholars. It was through dress that status and prestige of this group was established.[18] Only in the Enlightenment period did the academic dress code change, while still retaining many of the earlier norms in the form of traditions.[19] One of the most impressive examples of performativity of dress during the European Early Modern era can be found in the tradition of female cross-dressing, which has been studied by Rudolf Dekker and

11 Dinges, *Von der Lesbarkeit der Welt*, 101.
12 Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, 178.
13 Barbara Vinken, *Angezogen: Das Geheimnis der Mode* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013).
14 Ibid., 113-116.
15 Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, 177-178.
16 Jan Keupp, "Macht und Mode. Politische Interaktion im Zeichen der Kleidung," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 86, no. 2 (2004): 251-281.
17 Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1-4.
18 Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, *Gelehrte im Bild: Repräsentation, Darstellung und Wahrnehmung einer sozialen Gruppe im Mittelalter* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).
19 Marian Füssel, "Talar und Doktorhut. Die akademische Kleiderordnung als Medium sozialer Distinktion," in: Barbara Krug-Richter and Ruth-E. Mohrmann (eds.), *Frühneuzeitliche Universitätskulturen. Kulturhistorische Perspektiven auf die Hochschulen in Europa* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), 246-271.

Lotte van de Pol already three decades ago.[20] While they demonstrated on the basis of their collected sources how gender was created by dress, more recent studies have emphasized dynamic aspects and the amenability of clothing to multiple ascriptions of meaning, also and not least for the Renaissance. Focusing on the material and visual dimensions of clothes these investigations break new ground for "the language of clothes" and its relation to 'Self-Fashioning.'[21] One of the most popular examples for this relation is the costume book of Matthäus Schwarz of Augsburg, (1496-1564).[22]

Even though self-narratives are a treasure trove for the study of material culture, as they contain rich information on the appearance, use and value of dress, such aspects of material culture are only dealt with in passing in the current volume. The main heuristic interest herein is focused on the uses and significance of dress in self-narratives. Through determining the role of dress for one's self-fashioning in transcultural settings, the aspect of material culture is included in the research on autobiographical texts. As mentioned above numerous studies have emphasized the great potential of dress: it can create and transform identities, signify belongings as well as produce and mark differences. But how can these findings be made to bear fruit in the realm of research on self-narratives?

With regard to self-narratives, consensus has been reached that it is not the establishment of 'truth' in the form of verifiable facts that makes ego documents such fascinating texts. Instead, they afford us with unique insights into how individuals describe their world and make sense of it and how they define themselves in relation to other people.[23] Dress in this respect can take on many meanings ranging from a real object that fulfills a practical purpose to a sign, a code, or a medium for something else. This does not, however, entail that the authors of self-narratives are to be seen as autonomous individuals who are completely free in choosing how to stage themselves through entirely intentional, deliberate acts. Such a western concept is incompatible with the transcultural setting as it is applied here nor can it be confirmed on the basis of empirical findings in general.[24] Individualism is only one of many concepts of personhood that finds ex-

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20 Rudolf M. Dekker and Lotte Constance van de Pol, *The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe* (New York: St. Martin's, 1997. First published in 1989).

21 Rublack, *Dressing up*.

22 Ibid., 51-79; Valentin Groebner, "Inside Out: Clothes, Dissimulation, and the Arts of Accounting in the Autobiography of Matthäus Schwarz, 1496-1574," *Representations* 66, no. 1 (1999): 100-121; Gabriele Mentges, "Fashion, Time and the Consumption of a Renaissance Man in Germany: the Costume Book of Matthäus Schwarz of Augsburg, 1496-1564," *Gender & History* 14, no. 3 (2002): 382-402.

23 Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 15-19. Eaedem, "Witness or False Witness: Metrics of Authenticity, Collective I-Formations, and the Ethic of Verification in First-Person Testimony," *Biography* 35, no. 4 (2012): 590-626.

24 Gabriele Jancke and Claudia Ulbrich, "From the Individual to the Person. Challenging Autobiography Theory," in: Claudia Ulbrich, Kaspar von Greyerz, and Lorenz Heiligen-

pression in ego documents. Or, put differently, performance and performativity are closely intertwined. Many questions connected to person and personhood need to be asked to decipher the concrete meaning of dress as described in an autobiographic text. These questions include: “Which aspects of the person do authors highlight in their texts? What are the roles played by the body, objects, relationships, bonds and places? Do people construct themselves according to ideal-typical models (and hence tell us something about the values of their era), or do they imagine their lives as counterpoints to the existing order? Do they create a world in their writing, which is far removed from their own reality? Which gender systems, group cultures and inclusion/exclusion mechanisms become visible? Where exactly is the dividing line between the sexes/genders? To what extent are the ideas of personhood, as articulated in self-narratives, dependent upon situation and context?”[25]

This volume aims to approach self-fashioning in its multiple meanings and understandings. In some respects, it addresses issues that have been raised by Stephen Greenblatt in his 1980 study “Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare.”[26] Greenblatt stipulated two premises: In sixteenth century England people recognized a sense of a self, and, they possessed awareness that the self can be formed or melded. In his view, there existed “a sense of personal order, a characteristic mode of address to the world, a structure of bounded desires – and always some elements of deliberate shaping in the formation and expression of identity.”[27]

Greenblatt dates the coupling of an awareness of self with the opening of new avenues for expression and change, back to the Renaissance period. Yet earlier epochs have also recognized a ‘self’ and exhibited practices of its development, for example in the *imitatio Christi* or the veneration of saints.[28] The changing discourses on the individual and the community that developed in the transition period from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern era afforded unique historical conditions for a new self-fashioning as a negotiation process between individual expression and its restrictions by social structures and conditions. As Greenblatt argues, “fashioning oneself and being fashioned by cultural institutions – family, religion, state [were] inseparably intertwined.”[29] At the core of his understanding of self-fashioning is the notion of identity as a performative act, such as practiced through narration.

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setzer (eds.), *Mapping the ‘I’. Research on Self-Narratives in Germany and Switzerland* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 15-33.

25 Ibid., 31-32.

26 Stephen Greenblatt: *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980). We would like to use this opportunity to thank Babette Reicherdt who has given us important cues to Stephen Greenblatt und Barbara Vinken.

27 Ibid., 1.

28 The importance of mudane rituals for the expression of the self is often overlooked as Susan Crane has shown (Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity During the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 179).

29 Ibid., 256.

The development and expression of the self is preconditioned in an aesthetic, social, psychological and intellectual way by the dialectic of the individual freedom of expression of the self on the one hand and the limitations that existing structures impose on the self on the other. The poststructuralist and anthropological theories of Michel Foucault, Clifford Geertz, and others influence his 'framework.'

Greenblatt ultimately remains very close to a linear history of the self, a fact that has led to many objections. Susan Crane, for instance, has emphasized "that the history of the self is a more intricate, nonlinear, even contradictory story than its scholarship has yet recognized."[30] For the Middle Ages she concluded that the "(…) rhetorics of disguise and masking, of cross-dress and heraldry, illustrate the rich elaboration of personal significance around physical signs that is only possible when appearance, not hidden interiority, is taken to be meaningful."[31] Dror Wahrman alerts us to the non-linear, contradictory nature of the history of the self when he stresses for the eighteenth century that the self was "outwardly or socially turned."[32] During that century the significance of dress was more limited than in earlier or later centuries: "Eighteenth-century identities, by contrast, could readily be established by *not* seeing through clothes."[33] Other critics of Greenblatt's concept have predominantly lamented a lack of theoretical precision in his use of terms such as history, culture and subjectivity, which they saw as the root cause for some of the uncritical reception that Greenblatt's approach has received. Nevertheless, self-fashioning has remained a fascinating concept.

In this volume we want to adress the relationship of dress and self-fashioning in a transcultural context. In a broader sense, transculturalism refers to processes and practices that belong to more than one culture, or play themselves out in and between different cultural settings, as well as within cultures.[34] Hybrid forms and cultural interdependences deserve particular attention in this respect. Such an understanding of the term differs greatly from a more holistic interpretation, according to which culture is seen as a homogeneous space, which can be clearly distinguished from other cultures by its clear-cut borders and boundaries. The transcultural perspective understood in this broader sense challenges primarily any precept and definition of culture within the sphere of the national state, which sees culture under the presumption of the existence of an ethnically homogeneous unit or a clear-cut geographical space. Our approach not only deals

30 Crane, 177.
31 Ibid., 176.
32 Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, 179.
33 Ibid., 178.
34 Claudia Ulbrich, Hans Medick, and Angelika Schaser, "Selbstzeugnis und Person. Transkulturelle Perspektiven" [Introduction], in: Claudia Ulbrich, Hans Medick, and Angelika Schaser (eds.), *Selbstzeugnis und Person. Transkulturelle Perspektiven* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2012), 1-20 (pp. 15-19); Hans Medick, "Einführung: Kulturelle Mehrfachzugehörigkeiten," in: Ibid., 181.

with culturally and nationally defined spaces, but also is also applicable to social milieus, religious or gender groups. Methodologically, the question of transferability of concepts obtains key importance in the interdisciplinary dialogue.[35]

A transcultural focus, as James Amelang has emphasized, necessitates a "move beyond the original context of our texts to assess them in the light of their presence and interpretation in other cultural contexts."[36] This approach was implemented in this volume by engaging in a dialogue between students of different eras, disciplines, and academic traditions who have dealt with the question of how individuals in various cultures visualized or wrote about dress in their self-narratives.

Encounters with dress in transcultural settings

This volume assembles case studies on various cultures, eras and geographical regions, which focus on the interplay of body, dress and person. About half of the contributions deal with the Ottoman Empire, with an important focus on the relations with European nations or traditions, and on the presentation of one's own political entity towards a foreign power and its representatives. Beyond the prism of dress these articles contribute important facets to the history of the Ottoman Empire. This volume contains three parts, which are chronologically ordered and refer to different geographic areas. The first part unites a group of essays under the heading "The Self in Performance," which focuses on concepts of personhood in different cultural milieus.

Christine Vogel in her article "The Kaftan and the Sword. Dress and Diplomacy in Ottoman-French Relations Around 1700," addresses the *diplomatic persona* in a transcultural setting. Her analysis of the account of the French ambassador Charles de Ferriol on his presumably failed diplomatic mission to the Sublime Porte in Istanbul, provides an impressive depiction of the complex political realities after the Treaty of Karlowitz (Jan. 26, 1699). After having approached Topkapı Palace in the impressive company of some 4,000 janissaries, Ferriol refused to put down his sword when he was expected to don a new ceremonial robe bestowed on him by the sultan. As a consequence he is denied access to the Ottoman sultan. If one aims to understand Ferriol's description of this scandalous occurrence, it does not suffice to analyze the function of attire in an individual, social, or cultural sense.

35 Elke Hartmann and Gabriele Jancke, "Roupens Erinnerungen eines armenischen Revolutionärs (1921/1951) im transepochalen Dialog. Konzepte und Kategorien der Selbstzeugnisforschung zwischen Universalität und Partikularität," in: Claudia Ulbrich, Hans Medick, and Angelika Schaser (eds.), *Selbstzeugnis und Person. Transkulturelle Perspektiven* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2012), 31-74 (pp. 70-71).

36 James Amelang, "Transcultural Autobiography, or The Lives of Others," in: Claudia Ulbrich, Hans Medick, and Angelika Schaser (eds.), *Selbstzeugnis und Person. Transkulturelle Perspektiven* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2012), 77-86 (p. 79).

In a diplomatic context such as the reception of the French ambassador at the Ottoman Court, dress takes on an important significance as a means of voicing political demands and of demonstrating national predilections and values.

Gabriele Jancke discusses in her contribution "Exchanging, Protecting, Collecting, Signifying Clothes, Person and Civilization in Georg Forster's 'A Voyage Round the World (1777),'" aspects of the milieu of scholars in the Enlightenment period. The starting point of her remarks is the observation that Georg Forster writes in great detail about the clothes worn by the natives of the South Sea islands he visits, while hardly mentioning anything about his own attire. This is somewhat surprising given that in his time, dress was still imbued with ritual meaning that contained complex markers of belonging and hierarchy. Jancke shows that Forster construes himself as an author and scholar for whom foreign clothes are not only collectibles but markers that show the developmental state of a civilization. While the others whom he encounters on his journey are reduced to mere objects in his description, he stylizes himself as a competent observer who has the capacity to collect, order and classify evidence. Jancke presents Forster's travelogue as a source for a new concept of scholarship, based on natural anthropology with a strong sense of hierarchy. As an observer he is himself invisible, while the production of his travelogue performs a rich and culturally significant practice in a transcultural setting.

Angela Heimen focuses on the performative power to act out gender and on the interrelation between gender and dressing practices. She refers to Anne Lister who was born into a well-off family of landowners in Yorkshire. In many respects, her life seemed incompatible with the expectations and gender norms of her elevated social circle. In 1806, at age 25, she began writing in her diary, which she kept in a coded language to protect its privacy. By the time of her death in 1840, it had grown into a voluminous text of some 6,600 pages. In her article "'I cannot dress like the rest' Gender, Class and Body Techniques in the Diaries of Anne Lister (1791-1840)," Angela Heimen investigates body language and body techniques to approach the diarist who defied any clear gender affiliation for herself. In her erotic fantasies as well as in the safety of her home she would dress like a man, while she preferred female attire in her public appearances. Drawing on Jennifer Craik's view that body techniques were "the product of specific discourses interacting on different levels of power and knowledge and different realms such as social, political aesthetic and psychological forms of knowledge," Heimen develops the importance of fashion and dress for Lister's performance of the self. Items of dress are inherently ambivalent. Only the societal and cultural contexts in which they are worn – like on a stage – provide the reader with the necessary clues for understanding their meaning.

In "An Exercise in Ottoman Sartorial Micro-History: The Breeches, Shoes, and Fezzes of Mehmed Cemal Bey, 1855-1864," Edhem Eldem uses the account book of Mehmed Cemal Bey to tell a story of everyday life among the upper middle class of a society in full transformation. Eldem's skilful interpretation, emphasizing attention to detail and understanding the source in context, reveals a considerable amount about the quotidian reality of this Istanbul bourgeois bureaucrat. The lack of home maintenance expenses throughout the eight years which the book covers, combined with the minimal outlay for the women of his household, hints at Mehmed Cemal's continued dependence on his parents and his limited financial autonomy. Perhaps the best evidence the book provides is for Mehmed Cemal's considerable personal consumption, demonstrating his sartorial elegance in the form of textiles, garments, shoes and luxury items. While traditional purchases are not absent – including shawls, furs, and an eight year old slave girl – the appearance of western(ized) garments in the record are in absolute conformity with the reformist model imposed by the state in the second half of Mahmud II's reign. The entries describing what and where items were purchased gives a sense of social and religious hierarchy and geography. Fez merchants were always Muslim and named in the record, tailors were individually identified and came from a range of backgrounds while shoemakers were known only by their location. Cemal's account book offers a rare opportunity to follow with some detail, patterns of consumption over considerable and consistent periods of time, and reveals a typical man of his age, a bourgeois of Istanbul in times of change.

Elke Hartmann understands identities as "options available for acting and orienting oneself in a lifeworld." This theoretical approach, which replaces more simplistic role models, affords the tools for analyzing the manifold meanings of clothing in her article, "Shaping the Armenian Warrior: Clothing and Photographic Self-Portraits of Armenian Militiamen (*fedayis*) in the late 19th and early 20th Century." In a close reading of Roupen Der Minasian's "Memoirs of an Armenian Revolutionary," she demonstrates how clothing becomes an element of transition in the life of a *fedayi*. Replacing old clothes by new ones symbolizes the crossing over from the old life into a new one. By giving up on his expensive fashionable clothes, Roupen distances himself from the affluent home of his childhood and breaks with his bourgeois family. Not unlike written texts, photographs of fighters taken before setting out on a mission also show that 'clothing' formed part of performative acts. These acts fulfilled various functions. They underlined the feeling of belonging to a particular group, but could also be understood as forms of self-enactment. By choosing one's depiction in photography as well as one's clothes, it is possible to establish a connection to particular traditions, to express subtle differences, or to integrate elements of foreign cultures. A close examination of family photographs in particular, displays not only to what extent traditions were preserved, but provides an impressive showcase of cultural hybridities.

Under the title "Itemization and Visualization" the second part of this volume addresses aspects of material culture including representation in art.

Joachim Gierlichs provides in his article "Europeans in 'Turkish' Dress," a comprehensive overview of the centuries-old practice of Europeans depicting themselves in 'Turkish,' i.e. Ottoman, dress. He advocates drawing a clear distinction between paintings of Europeans in *alla turca* dress who wear authentic clothes and those depictions in which the Turkish connection is conjured up merely through the inclusion of 'Oriental-looking' people, accessories, or the scenery. A third category in this genre are images of individuals wearing a combination of elements of European and Turkish attire. Only once these types of depictions have been properly distinguished, Gierlichs argues, can we draw conclusions that will allow a productive engagement with the post-Saidian debate on Orientalism. A further desideratum is a more consistent analysis and recognition of regional variations and differences. Gierlichs notes that with the waning of the 'Turkish threat' after the failed siege of Vienna in 1683, Turkish dress came *en vogue* in France from where it eventually spread to other regions in Europe.

In her article "'A More Beautiful Spectacle was Never Presented to My Gaze:' Discussing Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq's Concept of Person by Analyzing His Description of Ottoman Dress," Kornelia Kaschke-Kısaarslan argues that Busbecq's 'Turkish Letters,' which are one of the principal primary sources on the sixteenth century Ottoman court, can be understood as an immaterial, epistolary collection of curiosities: a collection of cultural practices and techniques. Busbecq collected numerous items on his mission. Items of dress did not enter his collection but are frequently mentioned throughout his letters. Kaschke-Kısaarslan emphasizes that certain characteristics of clothes – or rather the way in which people wore these clothes as well as other cultural techniques of daily life –, could only be presented by Busbecq to his readership through literary description, which can be understood as a collection of cultural practices. As books, especially travel narratives, constituted an important element in all Renaissance collections of curiosities, the descriptions can even be regarded as a collection within the collection.

The history of dress should not only be written as comparative history, but also as a connected history, or, *histoire croisée*. Abdullah Güllüoğlu's article "The First Ottoman Legation to Prussia in 1763-1764 and its Depiction in a Costume Album from Berlin" is a good example for both. It deals with the genre of the costume book, which was a common feature of the sixteenth century. In addition, in the increasingly interconnected world of the seventeenth century, Ottoman artists also began to produce painted albums for the market. Among the most well-known printed albums belong a series of paintings by the Flemish artist Jean–Baptist Vanmour, who had been comissioned by the French ambassador Charles de Ferriol to provide a visual documentation of life at the Ottoman court. Abdullah Güllüoğlu succeeds in showing that the 'Receuil Ferriol' served as the model after which the hitherto hardly noticed Berlin costume album was shaped, which he subjects to a detailed analysis. While Ferriol asked for a portrayal of the entire Ottoman Empire through a set of individual paintings, the Berlin album focusses on the Ottoman legation of 1763/64. The album reflects the great interest in Ottoman fabrics and textiles and has to be understood within the context of the emerging '*Türkenmode*' in Berlin in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Drawing on the memoirs of the Countess of Schwerin, which were penned between 1723 und 1726, Nina Mönich investigated the meaning of colors in court society. In her article "'Mon habit bleu', 'mon habit noir'. The Meaning of Colors in Clothing in 'Histoire de la Vie de la Comtesse de Scheverin' (1731)," she focuses in particular on the colors black and blue and shows in a thorough analysis the multitude of mundane and religious meanings of color that can only be deciphered within concrete historical contexts. Colors appear as codes that signify values, norms, and belongings. The wearing of a black dress, for example, is not only explained in the self-narrative of the Countess of Schwerin as a sign of mourning or expression of the fashion in a particular aristocratic household, but also on economic grounds. The Countess of Schwerin also made use of color(s) in order to visualize a decisive turning point in her religiosity, when she converts to Catholicism. While focusing on the meanings that certain colors enjoyed at particular European courts, Nina Mönich's sophisticated reflections on color as code offer an approach for interpreting color in transcultural settings without premature emphasis on the differences.

In Esther Juhasz' piece, "Trousseau Lists of Jewish Brides from Izmir. Between an Official Document and a Personal Narrative," the multiple meanings of textiles become very clear. Dowry lists are far from trivial enumerations. Examining the relationship between women and their wedding apparel (clothes, underclothes, home textiles including whitewear, sheets, tablecloths, curtains, nightgowns, etc.) paves the way towards a better understanding of the economic, judicial and socially acceptable standards within the Jewish community of Izmir. Narrating history from the trousseau lists shows that private and communal lives cannot be neatly divided into separate spheres. Exemplified by the Sephardic communities of Juhasz' study, it goes without saying that this also applies to European societies not only for early modern times, but also for the nineteenth century with its excessive emphasis on hierarchy and differentiation.

At the core of the third section are articles dealing with the fascinating binary of "Uniformity and Individuality."

In her article "Traditional Costume, Nurse's Dress, Uniform – The Clothing of Red Cross Nurses in the First World War as Presented in the Autobiographical Texts of Adrienne Thomas and Helene Mierisch (1930/34)," Sophie Häusner offers a counter-narrative to the established discourse, which emphasizes the sexualisation and the degradation or debasing of war-time nurses as mere objects of sexual desire. She bases her critique on the exemplary study of the autobiographical novels of two German nurses serving in Red Cross units during the First World War. While the account of Adrienne Thomas became a bestseller in the interwar period but was burnt in 1934 by the Nazis for its pacifist nature, Helene Mierisch's text on her experience as a nurse during the war was welcomed by the regime as an "early expression of Nazi militarism." Häusner uses both texts to contribute to the discourse on uniforms and uniformity from the individual perspective of the nurses. It is through their particular garment, Häusner emphasizes, that the two protagonists gain access to a new and usually closed world for females – that of the male soldiers of the war – which thus affords them completely new forms of identification and options in their quest for meaning.

In her article "Persons in Uniform. The Meaning of Clothing for Japanese Prisoners of War in China," Petra Buchholz reevaluates widely shared Western assumptions on the meaning of "uniform and uniformity" on the basis of self-narratives produced by Japanese prisoners of war in Chinese detention camps during World War II. In contrast to modern Western societies where uniformity carried mostly negative connotations as the antonym of individuality, Buchholz emphasizes that in Far East China and Japan the lexical and implied meanings of 'uniformity' do not render themselves to such clearly negative labeling. Tracing a long tradition in both countries of following regulations of a person's outer appearance in terms of clothing, the item of dress that Buchholz further analyzes as an example of the Japanese/Chinese attitude towards "uniforms" is what became known in the West as the 'Mao suit.' Only loosely inspired by western uniforms, rather than a wholesale adoption of Western models, the Mao suits, which the Japanese prisoners had to wear, became a positive symbol of national identity and modernity. In a setting in which everybody is in uniform, the dress itself could no longer provoke resistance, but was seen as the acceptance of the Chinese model of society and, by extension, of the mild treatment China afforded its Japanese prisoners of war.

Kathrin Engler presents in her article "Between Uniform and Life-Form – Uniforms in the Artwork of Andrea Zittel," a radical reinterpretation of what uniforms stand for in the art of Andrea Zittel. The contemporary design artist has created several series of mass-produced clothes that she would continuously wear as her sole garments over extended periods of time (see picture on the book cover). While her dresses resemble uniforms in the fact that stylistic variations within each type are generally avoided, it is in Engler's analysis of the artist's intentions that differences to the more classical type of the military uniform, which Engler sees as the prototype for all uniforms, or the standardized attire of the business world or politics attire become apparent. While these classical types of uniform dress render variety and individuality impossible through their "authoritarian controlled conformity and de-individualization," this is not the case if dress norms are individually defined and agreed on. Zittel's uniforms rather create a "synthesis of uniforming practices and individualization." In Engler's interpretation, uniform and uniformity only correspond because and if no reflection on dress occurs. Such self-chosen uniformity makes free while unreflected, automatically accepted uniformity is the opposite of diversity and individualization.

Focusing on a diverse range of geographic realms during different time periods the contributions to this volume afford us with new insights in the uses and significance of dress in self-narratives for a great variety of transcultural settings, with some of the texts also shedding new light on a number of fascinating aspects of Ottoman history.

The Self in Performance

The Caftan and the Sword

Dress and Diplomacy in Ottoman-French Relations Around 1700

Christine Vogel

> "What happened at the Seraglio the day I should have had my audience with the Grand Signor is an event so considerable that I thought it necessary to send a Tartar messenger to France to inform Your Majesty specially."[1]

The new French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Charles de Ferriol, spared neither cost nor effort to be the first one to report what had happened at the *Topkapı* palace on January 5th, 1700. By mishap, however, his letter was lost, as were the first two copies. Finally, the fourth copy reached Versailles via Venice on March 22nd, some time after the first rumours of the Ferriol scandal had already reached the King by letters from Vienna.[2] The scandal that was obviously interesting to German observers was caused by a disagreement over Ottoman versus Western ceremonial dress codes – or so it seemed. In fact, due to the crucial role of attire in symbolic communication processes such as diplomatic ceremonies, there was much more at stake that day than inappropriate attire.

Ferriol had thoroughly prepared for what was supposed to be one of the highlights of his diplomatic mission. His entourage included several gentlemen who had accompanied him on his journey, all French residents of Istanbul and of his household, thirty French naval officers, six of his own janissaries, six valets, twenty-five footmen wearing the ambassador's splendid livery and six bodyguards dressed as Turks and surrounding his horse – altogether about 300 men.[3] According to one anonymous French eyewitness, "all gentlemen were dressed most lavishly and they rode with so much splendour and in such good order that the Turks who filled the squares and the streets were all enthralled by this cavalcade."[4] Having crossed the Golden Horn by ship, the procession was met by the

1 Ferriol to Louis XIV (January 8, 1700), Paris, Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères et européennes (MAE), Correspondance politique (CP) Turquie 33, fol. 64r–v: "Ce qui s'est passé dans le serail le jour que je devois avoir mon audience du Grand Seigneur est un Evenement sy considerable que j'ay cru devoir envoyer une Tartare exprez en France pour en rendre compte a Vostre Majesté."

2 The letter is marked "Quatriplicata recu le 22e mars," ibid. The king informs Ferriol that he had already learnt of the event by the "nouvelles de Vienne" in his letter of April 8, 1700, MAE, CP Turquie 33, fol. 100r.

3 Ferriol to Louis XIV (January 8, 1700), MAE, CP, Turquie 33, fol. 64v.

4 *Relation de ce qui s'est passé à Constantinople le Jour que M. de Ferriol ambassadeur de France à la Porte, devoit avoir son audiance du Grand Seigneur*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Manuscrits (MS) FR 10209, fol. 128r–133v, here fol. 128r: "Tous les Gentilshommes

chief sergeant (*çavus başı*) and forty of his men on horseback at the harbour. When they entered *Topkapı* Palace, the French passed by some 4,000 janissaries waiting to be paid that very day. After a ceremonial meal with the Grand Vizier, Ferriol was conducted to the Gate of Felicity leading to the audience chamber. So far, everything was quite in order. But just as Ferriol and his entourage were receiving their robes of honour as part of the Ottoman diplomatic ceremony, the *çavuş başı* noticed that Ferriol still carried his sword. According to Ottoman law, no one was allowed to approach the Sultan carrying weapons. Therefore he informed the Sultan's *dragoman*, Alexander Mavrocordatos, who then asked Ferriol to remove it. To this request, the ambassador answered:

> "I was doing nothing my predecessor M. de Castagnères and several other ambassadors like Mr. Trumbal, ambassador of England, and Mr. Collier […] had not already done; that the sword was part of our official uniforms, and that he could be sure I would not take it off; […] that it was not suitable for me to see a prince as important as the Sultan without all of my ornamentation."[5]

The following negotiation lasted an hour and culminated in Ferriol's exclamation

> "that they could rather take my life than my sword to which my honour was attached. I argued that we did not find fault with the Turk's way of dressing, and that consequently, they should let us have our way."[6]

As Ferriol was obviously not inclined to give in on the question, the increasingly distressed Ottoman officers eventually tried some cunning, telling the French ambassador that for him, the Sultan would make an exception. At last, wearing his long sword underneath his Ottoman caftan, Ferriol entered the narrow passage leading into the audience chamber when, all of a sudden, "a guard as large as a giant" jumped at him and tried to disarm him by force. Yet in vain, for Ferriol had not served in the French musketeers for nothing.[7] He countered the

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plus richement vestûs les uns que les autres, marchoient avec tant d'eclat et en si bon ordre que les Turcs dont les places et les ruës étoient toutes remplies, furent charméz de cette cavalcade […]."

5 Ferriol to Louis XIV (January 8, 1700), MAE, CP, Turquie, 33, fol. 66v–67r: "Je luy repondis que je ne faisois rien qui n'eut esté pratiqué par M. de Castagneres et par plusieurs autres ambassadeurs comme M. Trumbal amb.r d'ang.re et M. Collier le pere; Que l'Epee faisoit partie de nôtre habillement et qu'il devoit estre persuadé que je ne la quitterois point […]; qu'il ne me convenoit pas de voir un aussy grand Prince que le Grand Seigneur sans avoir tous mes ornemens […]."

6 Ibid., fol. 68r: "Je protestay qu'on m'osteroit plustost la vie que mon espée et que mon honneur y estoit attaché, Je representay que nous ne trouvions point a redire a l'habillement des Turcs, qu'ils devoient nous laisser la liberté du nostre […]."

7 On Ferriol's biography see Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Sinan Kuneralp, and Frédéric Hitzel, ed., *Représentants permanents de la France en Turquie (1536–1991) et de la Turquie en France (1797–1991)* (Istanbul; Paris: Ed. Isis, 1991), 27, and Eugène Asse, "Le baron de Ferriol et Mademoiselle Aïssé," *Revue rétrospective*, nouvelle série, juillet-décembre (1893): 1–48, 97–144, 169–210.

strike by a good hook to the chin of his attacker, then kneed him so violently in the abdomen that the guard collapsed. Starting to unsheathe his sword, he finally retreated, crying loudly (and in Latin) that international law, the *ius gentium*, was violated. Alarmed by the racket, the Sultan, who had been waiting all this time in his audience chamber, sent the chief of the white eunuchs (*kapıcıbaşı*) to ask Ferriol one last time to enter without his sword or else to leave. Ferriol then retreated to the second courtyard, took off his caftan and ordered his people to do the same. He also ordered them to retrieve all the presents they had brought with them. Finally, he and his men left the palace unchallenged, crossed the Bosporus and returned to Pera. They were accompanied by volleys of salutes fired by the nearby French warships, which were still unaware that the audience had not in fact taken place.

Multiple Roles: The Ambassador as King and Courtier

From today's perspective, it may seem difficult to imagine a more tactless and undiplomatic behaviour than Ferriol's on the threshold of the *Gate of Felicity*. A work of reference on French ambassadors to the Ottoman Porte does in fact accuse Ferriol of contempt for any diplomatic protocol.[8] What would legitimize his stubborn refusal to conform to Ottoman protocol and simply take off his sword, as dozens of European ambassadors had done before him, knowing that not even the Grand Vizier or the *ağa* of the janissaries were allowed to approach the Sultan with their swords?[9] How can we interpret that Ferriol would rather risk his life, his whole diplomatic mission and perhaps even the peace between France and the Ottoman Empire for the sake of his own sartorial integrity? And – maybe most curious of all – why would he boast about all this in a letter to his highest superior, the Sun King Louis XIV? Would these be the symptoms of some kind of mental disease, as one of Ferriol's successors assumed a hundred years later?[10]

To answer these questions, one has to take Ferriol's cultural background into account, as well as the ambient communication system, and the kind of sources his

8 Bacqué-Grammont/Kuneralp/Hitzel, *Représentants*, 27.

9 In 1686, the new French ambassador to the Porte Pierre de Girardin was informed by one of his predecessors Denis de la Haye-Vantelet "que je pouvois me mettre comme je le souhaiteroit aux audiances du G. Seigneur et du Visir, en manteau ou en Cravatte, que pour luy il avoit pris ses premieres audiances en manteau et s'en estoit dispensé aux autres, que je ne dois point porter d'espée ce jour la, Mais la faire porter par un escuyer, que toute la livrée ne doit point avoir d'espées." Pierre de Girardin, *Journal de mon Ambassade à la Porte*, BnF, MS, FR 7162, fol. 43r. This seems to have been the normal procedure until Ferriol's predecessor Castagnères.

10 François Emmanuel Guignard de Saint-Priest, *Mémoires sur l'ambassade de France en Turquie, 1525–1770*, ed. Charles Schefer (Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1974, reprint of the edition Paris 1877), 250: "La véhémence de M. de Ferriol était causée sans doute par un principe de maladie. Sa tète finit par s'altérer."

official letters represent.[11] After all, in the world of early modern French court society, being appointed ambassador was a major career opportunity and one of the highest honours to which one could aspire, particularly if one belonged to the provincial *noblesse de robe* such as the Ferriols d'Argental from Metz.[12] But unlike other means of social advancement such as high-ranking charges in the *parlements* or the king's councils, there were particular risks attached to a diplomatic career. The most evident was the virtual exile from Paris and Versailles – the places to be for anyone who wanted to *faire sa cour*, i.e. cultivate patron-client relationships and climb the social ladder. From this point of view, there were few diplomatic posts as unattractive as the mission to Constantinople. Some of Ferriol's colleagues even felt they were unjustly exiled and tried everything to shorten or change their missions.[13]

There was partial relief for ambassadors in one of their specific duties: They had to send reports home regularly and usually did so at least once or twice monthly. On these occasions they wrote to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State for the Navy, and sometimes to other high-ranking members of the Royal Council, who might well be their patrons. But first and foremost, they were allowed to address themselves directly to the king by which means they were likely to inspire some direct reactions of royal benevolence in front of the members of the *conseil d'en haut* where the best parts of their letters were read aloud. An expression of royal satisfaction made in these situations would create some favourable rumours among the courtiers and thereby augment the ambassador's social capital. Sometimes the king would even mention his ambassador's letters on other, more public occasions. The ambassador's friends and patrons then took care to divulge and disseminate all signs of royal contentment while playing down any royal or ministerial discontent. They also reported back to the ambassador the effect of his letters and gave him detailed recommendations on how he should write and to whom he should dispatch exotic presents. The correspondence of early modern (French) diplomats should not be mistaken for inferior administrative documents filled with 'private' matters and lacking the professionalism they would acquire in later centuries. Of course, these letters contained all sorts of information on political, religious, social and economic developments in the host countries as well as reports on the ambassador's negotiations. They have consequently been a treasure trove for researchers. Yet most of the time, these letters did not at all conform to

11 On the specific characteristics and cultural backgrounds of early modern diplomats and their diplomacy see Hillard von Thiessen, "Diplomatie vom *type ancien*. Überlegungen zu einem Idealtypus des frühneuzeitlichen Gesandtschaftswesens," in: *Akteure der Außenbeziehungen. Netzwerke und Interkulturalität im historischen Wandel,* ed. Hillard von Thiessen and Christian Windler (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau, 2010), 471–503.

12 On Ferriol's genealogy and his family background as the second of three sons of a *conseiller* at the *parlement* of Metz, see BnF, Cabinet de d'Hozier 138, 3550 Ferriol; Carrés de d'Hozier 255, fol. 77r–92r.

13 This is the case of Pierre Girardin, cf. his Journal, BnF, MS, FR 7162, fol. 33r–38v.

the professional rules mapped out in contemporary tracts on "the perfect ambassador"; usually, they were not short and simple, they did not come to the point, and they did not refrain from flattery and rhetorical ornamentation.[14] Rather, they conformed to the social conventions of contemporary court factionalism and competition for prestige. Therefore, they have to be read in the context of each ambassador's social network, his family, friends, patrons and clients.[15] These sources are not only interesting for *what* they tell us, but also for *how* they tell it and to *whom*.

In his letters to the court, Ferriol thus expresses himself as an eminent member of French court society and as an aspirant to even higher appointments and honours. His official correspondence had to compensate for his physical absence from Versailles – and therefore, it was used by him and all of his colleagues as a specific way of displaying his abilities of distiguishing himself and his skills of self-expression – just what the other courtiers did by means of conversation, ceremony and daily life at Versailles and Paris. In this way, Ferriol's official correspondence can be read as a genuine self-narrative, the self in question being that of an early modern courtier incorporated into a multilateral social network of friends, patrons and clients.[16]

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14 This is what François de Callières prescribed in his *Manière de négocier avec les souverains* published in 1716, cf. Jean-Claude Waquet, *François de Callières. L'art de négocier en France sous Louis XIV* (Paris: Éd. Rue d'Ulm, 2005); on this literature see also Maurizio Bazzoli, "Ragion di Stato e interessi degli stati. La trattatistica sull'ambasciatore dal XV al XVIII secolo," *Nuova rivista storica* 86 (2002): 283–328; Heidrun Kugeler, "'Le parfait Ambassadeur'. Zur Theorie der Diplomatie im Jahrhundert nach dem Westfälischen Frieden", in: *Internationale Beziehungen in der Frühen Neuzeit. Ansätze und Perspektiven*, ed. Heidrun Kugeler, Christian Sepp, and Georg Wolf (Hamburg: Lit-Verlag, 2006), 180–211.

15 For a new perspective on international relations based on the agents and their multiple social networks, see Hillard von Thiessen and Christian Windler, "Einleitung: Außenbeziehungen in akteurszentrierter Perspektive," in: *Akteure der Außenbeziehungen. Netzwerke und Interkulturalität im historischen Wandel*, ed. Hillard von Thiessen and Christian Windler (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau, 2010), 1–12; ibid., ed., *Nähe in der Ferne. Personale Verflechtung in den Außenbeziehungen der Frühen Neuzeit*, Zeitschrift für historische Forschung, Beiheft 36 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2005).

16 Wolfgang Reinhard, *Freunde und Kreaturen. "Verflechtung" als Konzept zur Erforschung historischer Führungsgruppen. Römische Oligarchie um 1600* (Munich: Vögel, 1979); Heiko Droste, "Patronage in der Frühen Neuzeit. Institution und Kulturform," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 30 (2003): 555–590; Birgit Emich, Nicole Reinhardt, Hillard von Thiessen, and Christian Wieland, "Stand und Perspektiven der Patronageforschung. Zugleich eine Antwort auf Heiko Droste," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 32 (2005): 23–266; Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Elie Haddad, "Noble Clienteles in France in the 16th and 17th Centuries. A Historiographical Approach," *French History* 20 (2006): 75–109; Gabriele Jancke, "Patronagebeziehungen in autobiographischen Schriften des 16. Jahrhunderts – Individualisierungsweisen?," in: *Selbstzeugnisse in der Frühen Neuzeit. Individualisierungsweisen in interdisziplinärer Perspektive*, ed. Kaspar von Greyerz and Elisabeth Müller-Luckner (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007), 13–31.

Yet, in this case, there was indeed more involved than just the ambassador's honour and personal career. If his correspondence was used by him as a means to acquire social prestige at home, some topics were more appropriate to achieve this than others. Diplomatic ceremonies such as processions, audiences and gift exchanges were particularly suitable because they symbolised power relations between states and princes[17] and thereby offered the ambassador the best occasion to display his true diplomatic skills and demonstrate his capacity and commitment to serve his king.

Due to an ever growing number of essays and tracts on international law and diplomacy, it was common knowledge among European diplomats by the end of the 17th century that, as ambassadors, they represented their sovereigns in an eminent way. Accordingly, they expected to receive the same ceremonial honours their sovereigns would if they were themselves present.[18] This was not merely a question of individual vanity. In fact, international relations in early modern Europe cannot be understood in terms of what would become the European state system by the 19th century. They should rather be perceived as relations between princes and noble families which functioned very much like one great international court society. Basically, this international *"society of princes"* (L. Bély) was ruled by the same kind of laws that also applied to any court society, which means that the rank of a sovereign within the international state system was manifested by the ceremonial honours he (i.e. his ambassadors) could enforce during public meetings.[19] These symbolic acts could be quoted as precedents and thus had a legal quality. This is why contemporary tracts on diplomacy and international law like Abraham de Wicquefort's *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions* (1682) affirmed that "during ceremonies, [the ambassador] cannot abdicate his rank without committing a crime"[20], the crime in question being that of betraying his master's honour and claims for power at the same time. And this is also why details of ceremony were so ruthlessly nego-

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17 André Krischer, "Souveränität als sozialer Status: Zur Funktion des diplomatischen Zeremoniells in der Frühen Neuzeit," in: *Diplomatisches Zeremoniell in Europa und im Mittleren Osten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Ralf Kauz, Giorgio Rota, and Jan Paul Niederkorn (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 1–32.

18 Abraham de Wicquefort, *L'ambassadeur et ses fonctions* (Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1690), 1:2; see also Krischer, *Souveränität*, 10.

19 Lucien Bély, *La société des princes* (Paris: Fayard, 1999); ibid., "Souveraineté et souverains: La question du cérémonial dans les relations internationales à l'époque modern," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France* (1993): 27–43; Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "Die Wissenschaft der feinen Unterschiede. Das Präzendenzrecht und die europäischen Monarchien vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert," *Majestas* 10 (2003): 125–150; ibid, "Honores regii. Die Königswürde im zeremoniellen Zeichensystem der Frühen Neuzeit," in: *Dreihundert Jahre Preußische Königskrönung. Eine Tagungsdokumentation*, ed. Johannes Kunisch (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2002), 1–26; William Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A System Approach," *Journal of Modern History* 52 (1980): 452–476.

20 Wicquefort, *L'Ambassadeur*, 2:3: "Dans les Assemblées de ceremonies il ne peut pas quitter son rang sans crime […]."

tiated beforehand, and why quarrels about precedence were so frequent in early modern Europe.

Returning to the question of diplomatic correspondence as self-narrative, it turns out that the ambassador's *self* was in fact multiple. Acting as his king's representative during diplomatic ceremonies, the ambassador incorporated an eminent self of royal majesty. Addressing the king in his reports, however, he reverts to his more humble self as a client and a courtier in search of prestige and career opportunities. Naturally, he proves himself worthy of the king's esteem by performing as perfectly as possible as his ambassador. But this also meant he had to show in his correspondence that he was a perfectly *honnête homme*, with all the virtues of a true nobleman, which in turn, could have all sorts of implications, namely when the sword was involved.[21] Bearing all this in mind, we might understand why, in fact, by subverting the Ottoman court protocol, Ferriol proves to be indeed the Sun King's "parfait ambassadeur."

Saber-Rattling with the Habsburgs: Diplomatic Ranking at the Porte after Karlowitz

In the mid-18th century, Julius von Rohr, a German expert in European ceremonials, was still quite astonished at the Ottoman practice of dressing foreign diplomats in caftans or robes of honour before introducing them to the Sultan.[22] That this practice might seem strange to a European observer can easily be explained by the prominent role of attire in European court life and ceremonials. Attire and adornment made evident the hierarchical order of the early modern court society. Accordingly, an ever increasing number of sumptuary laws regulated the social as well as the ceremonial order.[23] Moreover, attire was one of the main features of noble prestige and conspicuous consumption. The universal competition for status and prestige appears most clearly in the astonishing development of courtly fashion during the 17th and 18th centuries, a development

21 Cf. Anette Höfer and Rolf Reichardt, "Honnête homme, Honnêteté, Honnêtes gens," in *Handbuch politisch-sozialer Grundbegriffe in Frankreich* 7, ed. Rolf Reichardt and Eberhard Schmitt (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1986), 1–73.

22 Julius Bernard von Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der Grossen Herren*, facsimile of the edition Berlin 1733, ed. and comment. Monika Schlechte (Leipzig; Weinheim: acta humaniorum, 1990), 403: "Es ist auch bey den Türckischen Audienzen etwas wunderliches, daß sich einige frembde Gesandten vorher mit Türckischen Kaftans überkleiden müssen."

23 Martin Dinges, "Von der 'Lesbarkeit der Welt' zum universalisierten Wandel durch individuelle Strategien. Die soziale Funktion der Kleidung in der höfischen Gesellschaft," *Saeculum* 44 (1993): 90–112; Jan Keupp, "Macht und Mode. Politische Interaktion im Zeichen der Kleidung," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 86 (2004): 251–281; Alan Hunt, "The governance of consumption: sumptuary laws and shifting forms of regulation," *Economy and Society* 25 (1996): 410–427.

leading to some well-known caricatures of exaggerated aristocratic attire on the eve of the French Revolution.[24]

Now, considering that all this European splendour was to be covered by an Ottoman caftan at the crucial moment of the public audience, surely this was irksome. Some thirty years before Ferriol's appearance at the Gate of Felicity, one French ambassador's secretary expressed his discomfort at the sight of the caftans his master and the other French dignitaries had to wear, stating that "[the robes of honour] were so ugly compared to their own attire. But it is an inviolable custom that no one will ever be admitted to His Highness without this sort of caftan that rather serves to hide the embellishments than to bring out their brilliance."[25] Consequently, the diplomats had to find other means to affirm their specific rank and dignity and display magnificence.

Usually, European ambassadors at the Sublime Porte managed to cope quite well with this situation. Since all had to comply with this major element of Ottoman court protocol, they simply adapted it to their own purposes of symbolic rivalry. In fact, the quality and the number of robes of honour received by an ambassador during his audiences with the Sultan and with the Grand Vizier were common currency in the economy of honour and symbolic distinction reigning within the diplomatic corps and on the contemporary diplomatic stage. Ferriol mastered this symbolic language as well as his fellow ambassadors. When he prepared his audience with the Grand Vizier which, according to custom, took place some weeks before his reception at the *Topkapı Sarayı*, he carried on painstaking negotiations with the vizier concerning the quality of the caftan he was to receive during the ceremony. Ferriol laid claim to a caftan lined with sable which was considered the most valuable fur, reserved only for the highest Ottoman dignitaries.[26]

24 Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink and Rolf Reichardt, "Modekarikatur und Gesellschaftssatire (um 1780)," in *"Kauft schöne Bilder, Kupferstiche …". Illustrierte Flugblätter und französisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer 1600–1830*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink and Rolf Reichardt (Mainz: Verlag Hermann Schmidt, 1996), 78–80; Daniel Roche, *La culture des apparences. Une histoire du vêtement (XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles)* (Paris: Fayard, 1989).

25 Edouard de la Croix, *Mémoires du sieur de la Croix, cy-devant Secretaire de l'Ambassade de Constantinople. Contenans Diverses Relations tres curieuses de l'Empire Othoman. Premiere Partie* (Paris: Claude Barin, au Palais, sur le second Perron de la Sainte Chapelle, 1684), 65: "Monsieur de Nointel […] s'arresta avec sa suitte pour prendre dix huit vestes, qu'il fallut endosser quoy qu'elle fussent beaucoup plus vilaines que leurs habits, estant une coûtume inviolable que personne ne soit admis devant sa Hautesse, s'il n'est revestu de cette sorte de Kaftans qui servent plûtost à cacher les broderies dont l'on est couvert qu'à donner de l'éclat."

26 Olivia Pelletier, "Les robes d'honneur et les ambassades européennes à la Cour ottomane," in *Topkapı à Versailles. Trésor de la Cour ottomane. Musée Nationale des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, 4 mai–15 août 1999*, ed. Anne de Margerie and Laurence Posselle (Paris: Association française d'action artistique, 1999), 89–100; Monika Springbert-Hinsen, *Die Hil'a. Studien zur Geschichte des geschenkten Gewandes im islamischen Kulturkreis* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2000), 242; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Introduction, or why and how one might want to study Ottoman clothes," in *Ottoman Costumes. From Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul: Eren, 2004), 15–48.

According to Ferriol, the Vizier's negotiators "seemed horrified by my proposition, saying that this would signify an absolute reversal of the empire's protocol."[27]

In fact, this first negotiation of Ferriol's in Istanbul is a prelude to what would happen during his attempted audience with the Sultan. Again, we might find Ferriol's presumption strange and his blatant contempt for Ottoman tradition arrogant. Yet his behaviour was nothing but appropriate if the symbolic aspects of his charge are taken into account. In fact, Ferriol arrived in Istanbul when the relations between Europe and the Ottoman Empire were at a turning point. Since the failed siege of Vienna in 1683, the Turks had suffered a series of military defeats against a coalition lead by the Habsburgs, including Venice, Russia and Poland-Lithuania. After a major defeat at Zenta, the Ottomans finally negotiated a peace that was signed in January 1699 at Karlowitz. This treaty was perceived as shameful by the Ottomans. Among other things it ceded Hungary and Transylvania to the Habsburgs and was to mark the beginning of the Ottoman retreat from south-eastern Europe. The peace treaty was to be solemnly acknowledged by the exchange of special envoys, or *ambassadeurs extraordinaires*. The Habsburg ambassador Wolfgang Count of Oettingen-Wallerstein had met his Ottoman counterpart Ibrahim Pasha on December 7th, 1699, on the newly-agreed frontier in Syrmia.[28] While Ferriol was negotiating his audience with the Grand Vizier from December 15–25, Oettingen-Wallerstein was steadily approaching the Ottoman capital.

The imminent arrival of the new Habsburg ambassador posed a major challenge to the French. Ferriol had received detailed instructions from his master concerning the problem of precedence. Indeed, Louis XIV had made it quite clear "that one of the most important things […] is to continue to take precedence over all other foreign ministers […]."[29] Traditionally, the French had taken precedence over all other European powers at the Sublime Porte since the first European diplomatic missions to the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century. This was possible since the Habsburg Emperors were considered mere kings of Hungary by the Ottomans and had no permanent ambassador at the Porte. Concerning the situation after the Peace of Karlowitz, however, Louis XIV admitted that, once the Emperor's ambassador would have arrived in Istanbul, "it would be difficult to take precedence over him".[30] Even so, Ferriol was at least to leave things

27 Ferriol to Louis XIV (January 2, 1700), MAE, CP, Turquie, 33, fol. 53v–54r.

28 Ernst D. Petritsch, "Zeremoniell bei Empfängen habsburgischer Gesandtschaften in Konstantinopel," in *Diplomatisches Zeremoniell in Europa und im Mittleren Osten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Ralf Kauz, Giorgio Rota, and Jan Paul Niederkorn (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 301–322.

29 Pierre Duparc ed., *Recueil des instructions données aux ambassadeurs et ministres de France depuis les traités de Westphalie jusqu'a la révolution française, t. XXIX Turquie* (Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1969), 173: "[…] une des principales choses qu'il doive observer […] est de maintenir sur tous les autres ministres étrangers la préséance […]."

30 Ibid.: "Il seroit difficile de luy disputer la préséance […]."

as vague and uncertain as possible and to avoid meeting the Habsburg ambassador at all. In any case, Louis wanted Ferriol to make sure that he would see the Grand Vizier and the Sultan before the Count of Oettingen-Wallerstein. Finally, Louis concluded,

> "If the Sir de Ferriol thinks he can take precedence over this ambassador who should only be considered in Constantinople as an envoy of the King of Hungary, and if he judges that the Porte is willing to maintain the treatment it has always reserved to the ambassador of the [French] king who is considered by them as an Emperor and as the first prince of Christianity, his majesty thinks it right that he should take precedence over the Emperor's ambassador as well as over all the others."[31]

With these instructions in mind, the question of whether or not Ferriol should claim a caftan lined with sable for his audience with the Sultan turns out to be crucial, because as Ferriol himself argued, the English and the Dutch ambassadors had already received such caftans on their return from the peace conference at Karlowitz, and the Habsburg ambassador would without doubt also receive this kind of robe of honour. Notwithstanding the vizier's affirmation that the caftans lined with sable were distributed exceptionally as a special reward to the English and Dutch ambassadors because of their mediation at the peace congress, Ferriol insisted on this being a (for France, dangerous) precedent. From Ferriol's point of view then, accepting ordinary caftans on the occasion of his public audience would mean to defer not only to the Habsburg ambassador, which would have been acceptable at the worst, but even to the English and the Dutch ones, which was simply inconceivable:

> "I answered that since Your Majesty's ambassador has always been the first in dignity here and intended to maintain this superiority to all others whoever they might be, it would be a bad start for me to let them treat me with inferior honours and to accept a simple caftan while the ambassadors of England and Holland and the Emperor's ambassador have all received or will receive a fur-lined one. And since this is here the most valuable honour, I cannot give in on this."[32]

Just as his master Ferriol understood that after the Peace of Karlowitz, a fundamental change had taken place on the international stage. The Habsburgs were

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31 Ibid., 174: "Enfin si le sieur de Fériol [sic] croit pouvoir soutenir la préséance sur cet ambassadeur, qui ne doit être regardé à Constantinople que comme ministre du roy d'Hongrie, et qu'il juge que la Porte sera disposée à maintenir le traitement qu'elle a toujours fait à l'ambassadeur du roy, qu'elle considère comme empereur et comme le premier prince de la chrétienté, Sa Majesté trouvera bon qu'il précède l'ambassadeur de l'empereur aussy bien que ceux des autres puissances."

32 Ferriol to Louis XIV (January 2, 1700), MAE, CP, Turquie, 33, fol. 55r–v. "Je repliquay que l'amb.r de vostre Majesté ayant primé icy de tout tems et voulant conserver cette superiorité sur tous les autres quels qu'ils puissent estre, ce seroit mal debuter que de me laisser traiter avec des honneurs inferieurs et d'accepter un simple kaftan au milieu des amb.res d'ang.re et d'Hollande et de celuy de l'Empereur qui ont tous receu ou doivent recevoir des vestes de zebelines, Et que comme cestoit icy l'honneur le plus distinguée; je ne pouvois me relâcher sur ce point."

now prevailing in the Balkans. For some time to come, the Austrian military forces would no longer be bound at their eastern frontier, which, on the eve of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), was a clear disadvantage for the Sun King. Moreover, a new player had entered the international scene with Tsar Peter the Great who had captured the fortress of Asov near the Don river in 1696 and had also participated in the peace conference at Karlowitz. On the symbolic level, this new constellation of powers was expressed by a battle over precedence on the Ottoman diplomatic stage that was only to begin in 1699/1700. Up until then, no one had seriously tried to challenge the French claims of precedence at the Porte. Yet by 1699/1700, the Dutch and the English seemed willing to take advantage of the new power relations. With the arrival of the Habsburg ambassador, the traditional order of precedence at the Sublime Porte suddenly seemed a negotiable matter. Later on, in 1703, with the arrival of a permanent Russian ambassador claiming to take precedence over anyone but the Habsburg's ambassador, the English, Dutch and Venetian ambassadors would actually join forces and try to re-organize the order of precedence at the Sublime Porte to the disadvantage of the French.[33] For this reason Ferriol was right to think in 1699/1700 that the question of the sable-lined caftan was a fundamental issue. It was indeed a first threat to French claims of precedence in a symbolic battle that would occupy Ferriol until the end of his mission. This battle over precedence was the symbolic equivalent to the negative consequences to the Sun King during the War of the Spanish Succession which would set clear limits to French hegemonic aspirations in Europe.

Yet in 1699, Ferriol was forced to compromise, all the more so as he was not sure "whether Your Majesty would approve of me going to extremes at the very beginning of my negotiations."[34] Not wanting to delay his audiences with the Grand Vizier and the Sultan until the arrival of the Emperor's ambassador, Ferriol accepted a simple caftan in his public audience with the Grand Vizier, and was promised a fur-lined one at a later moment during a private meeting. But of course, this was a poor compromise. The description Ferriol made to the king of his audience with the Grand Vizier which took place on December 25, 1699, clearly tried to make up for this symbolic defeat by pointing out the unheard-of magnificence the French displayed on that occasion.[35] In many regards, this first audience, although of minor political importance, functioned as a kind of dress rehearsal for the one with the Sultan. Ferriol's report is dated January 2nd, only three days before the audience with the Sultan was to take place. The ambassador points out three remarkable ceremonial innovations the Grand Vizier alleg-

33 Ferriol to Louis XIV, (December 3, 1703), MAE, CP, Turquie, 40, fol. 170r–173v.

34 Ferriol to Louis XIV, (January 2, 1700), MAE, CP Turquie 33, fol. 57v: "[…] et ne sçachant pas sy vostre Majesté trouveroit bon que dans le commencement de ma negociation je misse les affaires dans la derniere extremité […]."

35 Ibid., fol. 59r–60r.

edly allowed as a special honour. First, against all tradition, the Grand Vizier did not keep Ferriol waiting one second but entered the room at the same time as his guest. Then, as the Grand Vizier was unable to distribute all caftans destined to Ferriol and his entourage because there were too many of them and it simply took too long, he stopped after the fifty-fourth. Third and most important of all, Ferriol tells the king that "[…] all [French] officers, all noblemen and all naval guards had their swords on them, which has never before been tolerated."[36] While this last ceremonial innovation might have been of minor importance in the eyes of the Grand Vizier, Ferriol's attempt to apply it eleven days later to his audience with the Sultan was clearly intolerable to the Ottomans.

Ferriol's predecessor Chateauneuf de Castagnères claims to have put Ferriol on his guard immediately after his return from the audience with the Grand Vizier. He suggested then that the French should leave their swords at home when they went to see the Sultan, because otherwise they would most likely be asked to take them off, which would compromise their honour. Ferriol however is reported to have disagreed on this. According to Castagnères, he stated that even if his entourage would be asked to lay down their swords, this would only increase his own honour and distinction since he intended to hold on to his.[37] Thus, if Castagnères is to be trusted, Ferriol had already taken the decision to keep his sword a long time before his audience. It is true that Castagnères himself had affirmed that in 1690 he had indeed carried a sword during his audience with the Sultan, and that this was the precedent mentioned by Ferriol in his discussion with Mavrocordatos.[38] But it is also true that "everybody knew that Monsieur de Castagnères only had a tiny knife completely hidden by his clothes."[39] The Ottomans simply had not detected Castagnères's weapon. Ferriol on the contrary intended to carry his large parade sword, knowing perfectly well that he would thereby challenge Ottoman court protocol. He deliberately sought to provoke a scandal.

Certainly parading his sword at the audience with the Sultan was Ferriol's answer to the affair of the caftan. The symbolic defeat suffered at the Grand Vizier's had to be wiped out by an act that could not easily be topped. If Ferriol failed to maintain his rank on his first audience, he would make sure to prevail on the more significant occasion of his audience with the Sultan. Therefore, the sword was meant to compensate for the ordinary caftan. That this kind of reasoning was not absurd by contemporary standards can be concluded from the

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36 Ibid., fol. 60r: "[…] tous les Officiers, gentilshommes et gardes de la marine avoient leurs espées, ce qui n'voit jamais esté souffert jusques icy."

37 Chateauneuf de Castagnères to his brother Abbé de Chateauneuf (January 7, 1700), MAE, CP, Turquie 36, fol. 69r.

38 *Extrait d'une lettre de Mr. de Castagneres de Châteauneuf du 27 avril 1690. sur son audiance avec l'espée*, MAE, Mémoires et documents (MD), Turquie 105, fol. 223r–224r.

39 *Memoire sur le different qui regarde la pretention des Ambassadeurs du Roy, d'aller à l'audience du Grand Seigneur avec leur épée*, MAE, MD, Turquie 105, fol. 225r: "Personne n'ignore que Mr. de Castagnere n'avoit qu'un petit couteau que son habit couvroit."

fact that Ferriol's colleague Castagnères interpreted the facts just like this when he reported to Louis XIV after his return to France.[40]

The sword lent itself particularly well for this purpose because of its symbolic significance. Inherited from the Middle Ages, the imaginary association of the sword was with the *miles christianus,* the Christian warrior, which was the central element in the self-perception of early modern noblemen.[41] As Ferriol himself put it, it was the most important ornament of noble attire as it symbolised the nobleman's honour and reputation. Moreover, on the French ambassador to the Ottoman Sultan, the sword attested the French king's claim to be the first and only protector of all Christians living under Ottoman rule.

For Ferriol's purposes, it was irrelevant that he failed in his attempt to enter the audience chamber with his sword: The decisive fact was that he had actually made this claim and that he had refused to participate in the ceremony without his sword. Due to the inflationary logic of ceremonial language, anyone who now went to the Sultan's audience without his sword would thereby automatically defer to the French in that they would be tacitly admitting that they could be treated in a way the French deemed degrading – unless they found a way out of the predicament. In fact, the Habsburg Emperor's ambassador met the challenge with an elegant trick. When the Count of Oettingen-Wallerstein entered the Ottoman capital on February 8th, he was attired as what Ferriol described as "neither German, nor Turkish, nor Hungarian, with neither sword nor hat […]."[42] Likewise, five days later, at his audience with the Sultan, the Emperor's ambassador appeared "in a very strange disguise […], being dressed in the costume of a stage actor with large sleeves rolled up to his shoulders, in order to excuse him from carrying a sword."[43] Oettingen-Wallerstein had simply evaded the symbolic attack by choosing a Hungarian costume that did not involve a sword as its "principal ornament". His ingenuity probably caused Ferriol some frustration for which he could only compensate by ridiculing his opponent's appearance. Again, Castagnères hit the crucial point when he affirmed that:

40 *Mémoire de M. de Chateauneuf au Roy a son retour de Constple. pour luy rendre compte de son Ambassade*, MAE, MD, Turquie 1, fol. 110r–133r, here fol. 121r–v.

41 Cf. Pascal Brioist, Hervé Drévillon, and Pierre Serna, *Croiser le fer. Violence et culture de l'épée dans la France moderne* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2002).

42 Ferriol to Louis XIV (February 9, 1700), *Correspondance du marquis de Ferriol, ambassadeur de Louis XIV à Constantinople*, ed. Émile Varenbergh, *Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique* 26 (1878): 481–865, here 566: "[…] un habit qui n'est ny allemand, ny turc, ny hongrois, sans espée et sans chapeau […]."

43 Ferriol to Louis XIV (February 26, 1700), *Correspondance*, ed Varenbergh, 569–570: "L'ambassadeur […] s'étant travesti d'une manière toutte singulière pour voir le Grand-Seigneur, et ayant pris l'habit d'un personnage de théatre avec de grandes manches pendantes retroussées sur les épqules, pour le dispenser de porter une espée […]."

> "[s]ince the Hungarian attire the count of Oettingen came up with does not include this ornament which is inseparable from the French attire; the sword cannot serve as an equivalent to the [fur lined] caftan […]."[44]

The king affirmed accordingly that

> "since the Emperor's ambassador complied so easily with the Turk's will by changing his attire […], there will be even more obstacles to the reception you are entitled to ask; it is nevertheless very important not to give in on the question."[45]

Thus, the issue of diplomatic ranking at the Sublime Porte was still open to reinterpretation. The affair of the sword had not really done the trick. However, it allowed the French to make a virtue out of necessity. As long as Ferriol was not officially received by the Sultan, his status remained unclear and he could pretend to act incognito, making it easier for him to cope with the presence of the Habsburg ambassador and the various symbolic humiliations implied. Moreover, the fact that everyday diplomatic business went on as usual and that French commerce did not suffer any inconvenience from Ferriol's behaviour was interpreted to the advantage of the French. Castagnères wrote,

> "One of the strongest proofs of the respect the Porte shows for […] Your Majesty is the way in which the Grand Signor has reacted to Monsieur de Ferriol's refusal to take his audience.
> This prince returned from hunting especially for the audience. He hears a dispute embarrassing to Ottoman pride right in front of his door; they keep him waiting in vain half an hour on his throne […]. [Yet] the prince gives the entire blame to the Vizier who thought he would die for exposing his master to this affront."[46]

Attire and Power Relations: Subordinating the Ottomans to European International Law

Castagnères's report shows that the message implied in the dispute over the sword was not only addressed to Ferriol's fellow ambassadors and to all Euro-

44 *Mémoire de M. de Chateauneuf au Roy a son retour de Constple. pour luy rendre compte de son Ambassade*, MAE, MD, Turquie 1, fol. 110r–133r, here fol. 121v.

45 Louis XIV to Ferriol (April 8, 1700), MAE CP Turquie 33, fol. 101r–v: "Je suis persuadé que la facilité de l'ambassad.r [l'ambassadeur] de l'Empereur a se conformer a la volonté des Turcs en changeant d'habit pour cet effet fera naistre encore de plus grands obstacles a la reception que vous estes en droit de pretendre il est cependant trop jmportant de ne se pas relascher en cette occasion."

46 Mémoire de M. de Chateauneuf au Roy a son retour de Constple. pour luy rendre compte de son Ambassade, MAE, MD, Turquie 1, fol. 110r–133r, here fol. 121v: "[…] Sire, une des plus fortes preuves de la consideration ou est aujourdhuj le nom de V.M. a la Porte, c'est la maniere dont le grand Seigneur a receu le refus que fit Mr. de Ferriol de prendre son audiance. Ce Prince revint exprez de la chasse pour la lui donner: Il entend à la porte de sa chambre des contestations auxquelles la fierté ottomane estoit peu accoutumée, on le fait attendre une demie heure inutllem.t sur son Trône. […], en sorte que tout le ressentiment du Prince tomba sur le Visir qui pensa perir pour avoir exposé son maître a cet affront."

pean princes but also to the Ottomans. For Ferriol, there seemed to have been no doubt at all that the Ottoman Empire was part of the European society of princes.[47] Clearly, Ferriol could not even imagine that the *ius gentium* that was just being invented in Europe did not apply to the Ottoman Empire, since he constantly referred to it during his challenge with the Ottoman court officials. Ferriol's thought experiment on what would happen if the French king himself came to Istanbul or if the Sultan visited France, implies that the Ottoman ruler and the French king basically were on a par with each other. It reveals a vision of Ottoman-French relations as principally based on equality and mutuality – a conception that would begin to govern international politics in Europe by the late 17th century but was not shared by the Ottomans at all.[48] Yet there was still more to it than that. Even if according to the *ius gentium*, all members of the international state system were, in principle, equal, there still was a practical hierarchy based on military power and achievement. So, in Ferriol's understanding, being part of the society of princes, the Sultan was consequently bound to acknowledge the Sun King's claim to universal dominance after the Treaty of Ryswick (1697). Moreover, the French were well aware that the Peace of Karlowitz was considered a major defeat for the Ottoman Empire. "They are no longer the Turks of the old days who claimed to rule the whole world", Ferriol affirmed in a letter to Louis XIV.[49] Accordingly,

> "It would be easy for Your Majesty to teach them sense […] with only one fifth of the armed forces you have employed in your last war, and with Your Majesty's permission, I will work out a project for the execution of what I am affirming. The knowledge I have acquired of the force – or rather, the weakness of this Empire and its military discipline give me all means to keep my engagements."[50]

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47 Ferriol shared this opinion with many of his European contemporaries, cf. Holger Th. Gräf, "Erbfeind der Christenheit oder potentieller Bündnispartner? Das Osmanenreich im europäischen Mächtesystem des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts – gegenwartspolitisch betrachtet," in *Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie*, ed. Marlene Kurz, Martin Scheutz, Karl Vocelka, and Thomas Winkelbauer (Vienna; Munich: Oldenbourg, 2005), 37–51.

48 Cf. Guido Komatsu, "Die Türkei und das europäische Staatensystem im 16. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zu Theorie und Praxis des frühneuzeitlichen Völkerrechts," in *Recht und Reich im Zeitalter der Reformation. Festschrift für Horst Rabe*, ed. Christine Roll et al. (Frankfurt am Main et al: Lang, 1996), 121–144.

49 Ferriol to Louis XIV (January 2, 1700), *Correspondance*, ed. Varenbergh, 544: "Ce n'est plus les Turcs d'autrefois, qui prétendoient dominer toutte la terre […]."

50 Ferriol to Louis XIV (January 2, 1700), MAE, CP, Turquie, 33. fol. 58r–v: "Il seroit aisé a Vot. Majesté de les mettre à la raison […] avec la cinquiesme partie des forces quelle a employée dans la derniere guerre Et si V. M.te me l'ordonne Je travailleray a un projet pour l'execution de ce que j'avance, les connoissances que je me suis aquises des forces ou plustost de la foiblesse de cet Empire et de la discipline militaire que jay veu dans leurs armées me donneront les moyens de satisfaire a mes engagements."

Ferriol's warmongering was to be kept secret, and therefore he had it encrypted in his letter. Yet, by rejecting Ottoman court protocol on the occasion of his public audience, Ferriol, in a sense, told the Ottomans just this: it is no longer you who set the rules.

With all this, we must also bear in mind that European observers had always perceived Ottoman court protocol as particularly humiliating. Ambassadors usually justified their participation by pointing out the uncivilised and brutal character of the Turks and the despotic nature of their government. So the symbolic humiliation somehow did not really count since it came from uncivilised barbarians. Evidently, all this did not go without serious contradictions. Ferriol in particular could not treat the Ottomans as equal participants in the international state system and at the same time claim them to be barbaric outsiders. If you took as seriously as he did the ambassador's task to personify the king's majesty during public ceremony, it must have seemed impossible to comply with Ottoman court protocol. For this would not only have meant to dress in a caftan and take off the sword, but also to be led to the audience by two guards, to kneel down in front of the Sultan and to kiss the hem of his robe. Clearly, this was totally incompatible with the Sun King's dignity. Ferriol thus took the sword as a pretext to avoid a humiliating encounter, thereby identifying his personal honour as a noble warrior with the Sun King's royal majesty. He jumped at the occasion to demonstrate his uncompromising submission to his master by declaring that he would rather die on the spot than accept humiliation. Oddly enough, he could only win in this situation: Had he died, he would have been the martyr of his king's glory. Had he succeeded, so much the better. As it were, the audience failed, which was tantamount to a symbolic victory of the French over the Ottomans. Consequently, Ferriol made sure that news of the incident was widely disseminated, much to the annoyance of the Ottoman government.[51]

Ferriol's example makes it clear that the complexity of the *diplomatic persona* entails ambiguous significations of attire in diplomatic self-narratives. Above all, the function of attire here cannot be reduced to the ascription of individual, social or even cultural identities, even if this is a case of inter-cultural contact. Of course, by clinging to his sword, Ferriol proves to be a true Christian nobleman and he may have gained some prestige according to the logic of the early modern court society. But with the question of whether or not he takes the ordinary caftan and holds on to his sword, there is much more at stake than his personal honour and career or

[51] A slightly abridged version of Ferriol's own report to Louis XIV was published as a foreword in the famous costume book *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant tirées sur les tableaux peints d'après nature en 1707 et 1708 par les ordres de M. de Ferriol et gravées en 1712 et 1713* (Paris: Le Hay 1714); cf. also *Relation, de ce qui s'est passé entre Monsieur de Feriol, Ambassadeur du Roy de France, a Constantinople, et les Premiers-Ministres de l'Empire Ottoman, touchant le ceremoniel, qui se doit observer aux audiences solennelles du Grand-Seigneur* (s.l., s.n., s.d. ca. 1700), which is a printed version of the anonymous report kept at the BnF, MS, FR 10209, fol. 128r–133v.

his self-conception as a nobleman. Firstly, attire was a lively weapon in the symbolic battle over precedence being waged between the French and the Austrian Habsburgs. Secondly, the sword that would not stay hidden underneath the Ottoman robe of honour had indeed helped to reveal and to affirm symbolically a new conception of Ottoman-French relations. By refusing to submit to the traditional Ottoman dresscode and by claiming that the French or European one must not be excluded from public ceremony, Ferriol in a way imposes the European standard of international law on the Ottomans. Within the symbolic language of court protocol, as the *diplomatic persona* acquires royal dignity, his way of attiring himself turns into a means of expressing relations of power between states. In Ferriol's case, it is a way of affirming French superiority towards anyone, including the Sultan who by the late 17th century had definitely lost his reputation of invincibility.

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Exchanging, Protecting, Collecting, Signifying: Clothes, Person, and Civilization in George Forster's *Voyage Round the World* (1777)*

Gabriele Jancke

> "In the evening, we returned on board; but as the surf ran considerably higher than at our landing, we were obliged to strip in order to wade to our boats, which our best swimmers had loaded with water-casks, and such refreshments as could be purchased on shore".[1]

With this rather ascetic non-description of his own person and clothes George Forster (1754–1794)[2], the 18th-century naturalist, ethnographer, writer, and translator, gives the kind of self-presentation that is highly characteristic of his travelogue. He simultaneously introduces his readers to a central topic of this famous Enlightenment text and to his own person though only indirectly in the "we" of his peer group. These are the officers and naturalists who had gone on shore to visit one of the Cape Verde Islands from their ship, the "Resolution", captained by James Cook on his second journey to the South Seas (1772–1775). Their clothes are not mentioned. The men stripped and must have carried their clothes high above their heads, obviously in order to save their fine attire from being spoiled by salt water. As Forster's long travelogue unravels, it becomes obvious that public nudity for these men of the European elite must have been disconcerting, and it would have potentially divested them of their social status. Very early on, the topic of attire thus is connected with a discourse on nakedness and social status.

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* Many thanks are due to those who discussed various aspects of this essay and gave their comments: First, to the participants of the workshop in Istanbul in 2009. Then, to readers of a first draft – Andreas Bähr, Sophie Häusner, Sebastian Kühn, Martin Leutzsch, Nina Mönich, Christine Vogel – more suggestions, in fact, than I was able to make use of in this version. Last not least, to the editors of this volume, Claudia Ulbrich and Richard Wittmann. My thanks also to Linda Schilcher who corrected and improved my English, to Julia Holzmann who found some typos, and to Nina Mönich and Sophie Häusner who did the editorial work.

1 George Forster, *A Voyage Round the World*, ed. Nicholas Thomas and Oliver Berghof, assisted by Jennifer Newell, 2 vols. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 1:36. In the German version made by George Forster together with his father Johann Reinhold and his friend Rudolf Erich Raspe, the word "naked" (*nackend*) is added, Georg Forster, "*Reise um die Welt*", in: *Georg Forsters Werke. Sämtliche Schriften, Tagebücher, Briefe, Reise um die* Welt, ed. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, bearbeitet von Gerhard Steiner, vol. 2 and 3 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1965/66).

2 Ludwig Uhlig, *Georg Forster. Lebensabenteuer eines gelehrten Weltbürgers (1754–1794)*, with 16 illustrations (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).

In contrast to the many detailed descriptions and discussions given of the attire on the bodies of other peoples encountered during this voyage, George Forster does not make more than a few remarks in passing about the European travellers' attire. He reports even less about the elite men on board, the captains, officers, and scholars, than he does about the sailors. There is a deafening silence in the text in this respect, foremost regarding his own clothes, which is especially striking once one approaches Forster's travelogue as a self-narrative. From the scraps of information scattered through the whole text, we can at least gather that even in the South Seas with its very warm climate the "gentlemen" on board went on-shore for their excursions fully dressed, complete with coats and neckwear.[3] There is a well-known portrait of the Forsters (father and son) painted by John Francis Rigaud in 1780, several years after their return, depicting the naturalists doing fieldwork in New Zealand. Even though this is certainly a reconstruction post-factum for the benefit of a cultivated European audience by an artist who was not on the voyage, it very likely reveals a good deal about their actual travelling attire.[4]

1. George Forster's Travelogue and Early Modern Self-Narratives

As Felix Platter's (1536–1614) journals and other contemporary texts show, attire was a central issue in early modern self-narratives from the 16th century on. Especially male authors devoted considerable and careful attention to clothing when writing about themselves. They might add drawings of their own, as Hieronymus Köler (1507-1573) did, or they might even be prepared to invest money, employing an artist who was to make woodcuts or miniature paintings, as did Sigmund von Herberstein (1486-1566) as well as Matthäus Schwarz (1497–1574) and his son Veit Konrad Schwarz (1541–1587/88). These men desired to visualize what they had to say by embellishing, emphasising or clarifying their written self–presentations. Attire was so important that it could even be chosen as the one and only subject of autobiographical self-presentation, as with Matthäus Schwarz and after him his son Veit Konrad Schwarz. Their costumed autobiographies were costly, consisting of coloured miniatures showing a wide range of their attire during various kinds of social encounters in the course of their entire lives. Each picture was accompanied

3 Forster, *Voyage*, 1:208, 413 (coat); 1:412 (cravat).

4 George Bertschinger, *The Portraits of John Reinhold Forster and George Forster. A Catalog Tracing the Origin of Each Portrait*. Improved website edition of the desktop publication of 1995 (Los Gatos 2004, http://www.rainstone.com/Portraits-Forster.2.htm#tish/ [accessed Dec 29, 2014]). Bertschinger's catalogue demonstrates that Rigaud's double portrait took some elements from an earlier Wedgwood medal, showing only Johann Reinhold Forster, and that the background elements are from New Zealand, not Tahiti, which is the usual ascription. Following Rigaud's oil painting, there were several drawings and engravings, e.g. the copper engraving by Daniel Beyel from 1799.

by a few words of explanation. As both father and son were high-ranking employees in the Fugger firm of Augsburg during the 16th century, belonging also to the Augsburg patriciate, they were well aware of the fact that clothes were material objects with personal and social consequences.[5]

The 18th-century George Forster would definitely have shared this view. He himself liked to dress carefully. It was said that both he and his father dressed in an aristocratic (and accordingly expensive) way.[6] In his widely-read travelogue, he also had much to say about the clothes of European people encountered on the voyage and especially about European peoples' social practices and deep-seated ideas in general that were connected with attire. At the same time, he gave so much attention to other peoples' clothes, with descriptions of almost photographic precision, that attire turns out to be one of the most prominent topics of his narrative. Then why did he shape his self-description in this travelogue without ever mentioning explicitly his own clothes? Which use did he make of attire as a topic of autobiographical travel writing? How did he organize this topic into the narrative form of an autobiographical travelogue, at the same time shaping it as part of a discourse on culture and civilization? How did he connect person with place? What exactly was the message he wished to convey when writing about clothes?

The South Pacific was Forster's primary focus. He and many of his contemporaries envisioned the region, and especially Tahiti and the Society Islands, as a place of undisturbed felicity, almost like paradise, and especially a sexual paradise (at least from a male perspective). This view was to be shared by many others, including European painters, most prominently Paul Gauguin. Emerging during the European Enlightenment, it was fuelled by colonial expeditions of discovery in the 1760s and 1770s like those of Louis Antoine de Bougainville

5 Felix Platter, *Tagebuch (Lebensbeschreibung) 1536–1567*, ed. Valentin Lötscher, Basler Chroniken 10 (Basel; Stuttgart: Schwabe, 1976); Hieronymus Köler in Hannah S. M. Amburger, "Die Familiengeschichte der Koeler. Ein Beitrag zur Autobiographie des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 30 (1931): 153–288, text 205–272; Sigmund von Herberstein, *Sigmund Freyherr zu(e) Herberstain / Neyperg / vnd Guetenhag / Obrister Erb-Camrer / vnd Obrister Truchsa(e)ß inn Ca(e)rndten / Denen Gegenwu(e)rtigen vnd Nachkommenden Freyherrn zu(o) Herberstain. Seines Thuens / Diensten / vnd Raysens / mit trewer vermanung / Sich zu(o) Tugenden vnnd guetem wesen zeschicken* (Wien: Michael Zimmermann, 1561); Matthäus Schwarz in August Fink [ed.], *Die Schwarzschen Trachtenbücher* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1963), 95–179; Veit Konrad Schwarz in ibid., 181–259; for further information on these persons and their texts see Gabriele Jancke, *Selbstzeugnisse im deutschsprachigen Raum. Autobiographien, Tagebücher und andere autobiographische Schriften, 1400–1620. Eine Quellenkunde*, unter Mitarbeit von Marc Jarzebowski, Klaus Krönert, and Yvonne Aßmann, http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/jancke-quellenkunde/ (accessed Dec 29, 2014), entries on Felix Platter, Hieronymus Köler, Sigmund von Herberstein, Matthäus Schwarz, Veit Konrad Schwarz; on Matthäus Schwarz cf. Valentin Groebner, "Die Kleider des Körpers des Kaufmanns. Zum 'Trachtenbuch' eines Augsburger Bürgers im 16. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 25 (1998): 323–358.

6 Uhlig, *Georg Forster*, 38; Michael E. Hoare, *The Tactless Philosopher: Johann Reinhold Forster (1729–1798)* (Melbourne: The Hawthorn Press, 1976), 158, 172, 267.

and James Cook, and at the same time by an optimistic, scholarly enterprise discovering nature's wealth and variety.[7] Human beings outside the "Old World" were among those "varieties" to be described and assigned a place by categorization. The standard for this enterprise was set by the "Old World" with their "ancient cultures". How exactly the "Old World" came into play in Forster's travelogue is another of the questions raised in this essay.

Forster thus concerned himself with areas that had as yet not much connection to the Old World, where he himself felt to belong. Acting as a scholar and scholarly author, he undertook to weave the topic of dress and clothes as highly material and social objects into a large spatial matrix that included more and more areas of the world – a world that was experienced by Europeans as "new" and as one to be discovered, to be described in its material and measurable aspects, to be compared with the "old" world with which they felt to be acquainted already, to be used for collecting objects and knowledge as well as for finding markets and founding colonies and empires, and to be included by scholars into the ongoing debates on the standards of culture, civilization, and history.[8] Against this background, George Forster's fascinating text of mixed elements certainly was a highly specialized type of self-narratives. For this kind of text, travel provided the narrative tool to connect person, societies, and spatial organization in a complex way.

The following essay is concerned with Forster's travelogue. It does not attempt to establish "facts" about attire in the social and material cultures under study, trying to look through the text at clothes as material objects and at the actual practices of various peoples with dress and clothes. These facts are part of a rich field of research in its own right, as well as the many drawings and pictures that were made during and after 18th-century voyages to the Pacific Ocean by various artists. In fact, none of those pictures was part of Forster's printed book. For this kind of material and social reconstruction, all types of sources are needed as well

7 Out of the vast literature s. Klaus H. Börner, *Auf der Suche nach dem irdischen Paradies. Zur Ikonographie der geographischen Utopie* (Frankfurt am Main: Wörner, 1984); David W. Forbes, *Encounters with Paradise: Views of Hawaii and Its People, 1778–1941* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992); Harry Liebersohn, *The Travelers' World: Europe to the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 2006); David P. Miller and Peter Hanns Reill (eds.), *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany, and Representations of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Anne Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island: The European Discovery of Tahiti* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2009); Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific, 1768–1850: A Study in the History of Arts and Ideas* (London; Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1960); idem, *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1992); Lee Wallace, *Sexual Encounters: Pacific Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2003); Larry Wolff and Marco Cipolloni (eds.), *The Anthropology of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007).

8 Thomas Nutz, *"Varietäten des Menschengeschlechts". Die Wissenschaften vom Menschen in der Zeit der Aufklärung* (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau, 2009); Liebersohn, *The Travelers' World*; Wolff/Cipolloni (eds.), *The Anthropology of the Enlightenment*.

as expertise in these highly specialized fields, whereas one single self-narrative would not be sufficient for leading to clear results.

This essay focuses on George Forster's book *Voyage Round the World* as an object of study in itself, reversing the perspective to consider what attire might actually have meant to George Forster and his 18th-century peers and audiences. In order to do this, it is necessary to examine the role of speaking and writing about clothes. At issue are the social, cultural, and epistemological concepts of the 18th century when dealing with the topic of clothing. Hence, this essay considers the theoretical foundations that are relevant for studying self-narratives, travelogues, and other narrative writings as historical sources. In particular, I am trying to draw attention to a special aspect of writing about dress and clothes: namely, that of theories of culture and civilization that are not only behind the descriptions but are also made explicit, in this case, from the very beginning. In consequence, this essay deals primarily with some European notions and discourses about clothes, which are seen in context of the dress practices and concepts of 18th-century South Sea peoples.

2. The Voyage Round the World – *a Piece of Naturalist Writing*

Forster's travelogue was published in English as *Voyage Round the World* in London in 1777. Shortly afterwards a German translation was published in 1778 with the title *Reise um die Welt*. The translation was made by Forster himself, together with his father Johann Reinhold Forster and his friend Rudolf Erich Raspe.[9]

But first, some background information on George Forster, his life and travels. Forster was born in 1754 in a village near Danzig in the eastern part of what was then called Prussia. His father Johann Reinhold Forster (1729–1798) was a pastor and naturalist, or, as it was called in the 18th century, a scholar of natural history. Johann Reinhold Forster began to take his eldest son, George, on trips when the boy was only ten years old, first to Russia, and a year later to England, where George helped his father as a teacher and translator. In 1772, when George was not yet twenty, both joined Captain James Cook (1728–1779) for his second circumnavigation of the globe, which concentrated on the South Seas and from which they returned in 1775. James Cook had orders to establish the location of the large southern continent, which was still assumed to exist, and to improve the nautical charts of these areas. The two Forsters were the ship's naturalists. Their assignment was to look for new and rare plants and animals, to make drawings and descriptions, and to bring home as many specimens as possible. So, where Cook's task kept him at sea, the Forsters and other scholars on board and also the painter, William Hodges (1744–1797), wanted to explore the islands and spend as much time

9 Uhlig, *Georg Forster*, 96. The following biographical information is from ibid. and Hoare, *The Tactless Philosopher*.

as possible on shore. In fact, their first stay on Tahiti was only just a little more than two weeks long.

When the expedition returned to England in 1775, Cook decided that he would write the official report himself. His experiences with the report of his first voyage had led him to want to make decisions about the written version himself. This meant trouble for Johann Reinhold Forster who had understood that his contract included the right to write and publish the official report – both a scholarly honor and an important financial opportunity, as the work was likely to be a best-seller. Not least, this implied the exclusive rights to publish a text in narrative form and with illustrations. Several months were spent negotiating the conditions for publication, and in the end Johann Reinhold Forster lost his case. In this troubled situation, the Forsters opted for a two-pronged strategy: Johann Reinhold Forster reworked his travel journal into a book called *Observations made during a Voyage round the World* which contained his discoveries and observations organized into chapters arranged according to subject matter. This was published in London in 1778. The younger Forster, however, was under no obligation to obey his father's contract with the Admiralty because he had been too young at the time. He was, therefore, free to write his account in narrative form, using his father's journal, and publishing a book in his own right. It is consequently unclear, how father and son collaborated, not only during the journey but also in writing their respective books. George Forster worked for nine months, and published his *Voyage Round the World* in 1777, just six weeks before Cook's official version was printed. As Cook's version was the official one and also had all the illustrations, it sold very well. As a result of the elder Forster's falling-out with not only Cook and the Admiralty but also with his former patron Joseph Banks and with the "Resolution"'s astronomer William Wallis, who published a highly influential polemic criticising George Forster's travelogue, both the Forsters' English-language books never sold well. Only in our time were both books reprinted in new editions, including ethno-historical notes.[10]

Though I am concentrating here on George Forster's travelogue it is clear that this text should be read together with at least Johann Reinhold Forster's book and James Cook's official account, if not with all the descriptions from other

10 These and the following details about the context and the strategies of writing that were relevant for George Forster's travelogue, are taken from Nicholas Thomas and Oliver Berghof, "Introduction," in George Forster, *A Voyage Round the World*, ed. Nicholas Thomas and Oliver Berghof, xix–xliii; see also Nicholas Thomas, "Johann Reinhold Forster and His *Observations*," in Johann Reinhold Forster, *Observations Made during a Voyage round the World*, ed. Nicholas Thomas, Harriet Guest, and Michael Dettelbach, with a linguistics appendix by Karl H. Rensch (Honolulu: Hawai'i University Press, 1996), xv–xxii, and idem, "'On the Varieties of the Human Species': Forster's Comparative Ethnology," in ibid., xxiii–xl. William Wales' *Remarks on Mr. Forster's Account of Captain Cook's last Voyage Round the World, in the years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775* (1778) is reprinted in Appendix B of Forster, *Voyage* (699–753), together with George Forster's published *Reply*, 1778 (ibid., Appendix C, 755–783). Wales criticized George Forster's *Voyage* but assumed that it had been written by his father, so his polemics was meant for Johann Reinhold Forster.

participants on this voyage.[11] Furthermore, there are the accounts of Cook's first voyage and all the reports of former journeys into this region of the world, among them the report written by Bougainville.[12] We know that all this printed material had been read by the Forsters and others before setting sail, and that everything available in book form was part of the baggage the captains, officers, and accompanying scholars took on board. These books were consulted over and over during the journey. The captains, officers, and scholars took along all the knowledge that was available for them in order to discern what new observations they themselves were able to add. By the 1770s, it was quite a considerable library of travel reports, let alone other kinds of works on natural history, that had to be taken into account. All personal experience had to be checked against this body of existing knowledge. Accordingly, personal experience inserted into this kind of natural history travelogues was not intended as subjective commentary, valuable in itself, but as a necessary part of gaining knowledge according to scientific methods of autopsy and authentification.[13]

The same can be said about the narrative form of the published report. That the narrative form of writing was one of the issues of debate between Cook and Johann Reinhold Forster shows that it was not only a question of more enjoyable reading but also one of scientific authenticity. Thus, writing down the scholarly results of an expedition required the narrative form of a travel report in order to give credibility to everything that was presented as facts to readers. The traveller-writer had to guarantee that his facts were derived directly from physical reality in an act of personal investigation. Or else, he had to disclose on whose information he had based his notes, and if he got this information orally or in writing. Personal autopsy, i. e. investigations made in direct contact with the investigated objects, then had to be converted into some paper form: a description of plants, drawings and sketches, a journal, all of these later to be reworked into a more coherent form of narrative travel report. After processing information through several more stages of various paper forms, including excerpts or collections, the highest achievable end-product was considered to be the comprehensive "philosophical" essay. Typically, the philosophers writing about natural history had done all their research in contact with books and libraries, staying at home in their study, a fact which was lamented by Bougainville in his own travelogue. Bougainville knew as well as others that it was philosophical knowledge that was the most influential yet most derivative form of knowledge, and that the phi-

11 Listed in Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island*, 506 note 7.
12 Listed ibid. 483–485 note 36 (Wallis), 489–490 note 11 (Bougainville), 494 note 3 (Cook's first voyage), 504 notes 1–3 (Boenechea).
13 Cf. Nutz, *"Varietäten des Menschengeschlechts"*, 143 and ch. IV: "Texte," 195–225, esp. 198, on autopsy and authentification. Nutz also refers to a tradition for this kind of travel reports (ibid., 196), originating in the humanists' apodemic literature with rich theory and practice from the late 16th century onwards.

losophers would do what they wanted with his and other travellers' reports, reprocessing and de-contextualizing specific information into generalizations.[14]

George Forster's travelogue has a long history as a literary text, and rightly so as far as its aesthetic qualities are concerned. However, it was written as a piece of scholarship in natural history, a field that comprised specialized knowledge about plants and animals as well as about human beings. A special branch of this field was concerned with the differences and "varieties" of human beings. This was an early form of physical anthropology combined with what we would today call ethnology (or cultural anthropology), where the categories used for classification were a "people" or "nation", and the methods used for classification included the interpretation of different types of culture or civilization as historicized stages which would eventually be arranged into one single scheme of human historical development.[15] Human beings and human ways of life were subjected to classification, artefacts were collected and inserted into cabinets of rarities and curiosities, and scholars and scientists of various fields contributed to the debates.[16] Among them were famous 18th-century scholars such as the philosophers Denis Diderot and Immanuel Kant, to name just two.

George Forster, who was eventually to earn his living as a professional naturalist, aimed to combine in his travelogue all the different paper forms of processing natural history knowledge, ranging from describing single facts on the one side to philosophy on the other side.

> "I have always endeavoured in this narrative to connect the ideas arising from different occurrences, in order, if possible, to throw more light upon the nature of the human mind, and to lift the soul into that exalted station, from whence the extensive view must 'justify the ways of God to man'."[17]

In the German version he explicitly calls his text a "philosophical travelogue". This went along with his father's original task as it first had been set down by the authorities:

> "From him they expected a philosophical history of the voyage, free from prejudice and vulgar error, where human nature should be represented without any adherence to falla-

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14 All this information about processing knowledge, transforming observation into paper forms (only part of which were meant for publication), the role of autopsy, authorization and authenticification and various forms of scholarly authority connected with a hierarchy of the various paper forms are taken from Nutz, *"Varietäten des Menschengeschlechts"*, ch. IV; in this important work, Nutz situates travel reports among other forms of scientific writing. Cf. also Thomas, "Johann Reinhold Forster and His *Observations*," esp. xv–xvi, xviii; Thomas/Berghof, "Introduction," esp. xxvii–xviii.

15 Nutz, *"Varietäten des Menschengeschlechts"*, ch. III: "Ordnungen der Differenz: Kultur/Zivilisation," 143–185.

16 Ibid. ch. V: "Objekte," 227–295; cf. also Thomas/Berghof, "Introduction," xli–xlii.

17 Forster, *Voyage*, "Preface," 9. German version: Forster, *Reise*, 1:9 ("philosophische Reisebeschreibung").

cious systems, and upon the principles of general philanthropy; in short, an account written upon a plan which the learned world had not hitherto seen executed."[18]

As regards the personal or self-narrative aspect of his story, Forster remarks:

> "I have sometimes obeyed the powerful dictates of my heart, and given voice to my feelings; for, as I do not pretend to be free from the weaknesses common to my fellow creatures, it was necessary for every reader to know the colour of the glass through which I looked."[19]

This is also the way he makes himself present in his text: His "I" is explicit in his Preface, framing the account as an organizing, reflecting, and responsible author-persona. During the main account, however, he mostly appears as part of a "we" that comprises at least his father and himself – and, we note, the "we" may well have meant "under the authority of my father" – but in most cases also the officers and the captain of the ship as well as the other specialists and scholars who usually all participated in the excursions on land. Thus, his textual "I" stands for those aspects of his person which were most distanced from the "facts" narrated, those aspects where he fashions himself as an individual *author* after the journey and where he especially aims to present himself as a *scholar* of natural history collecting facts and as a natural *philosopher* giving his general conclusions based on the facts. At the same time, however, he disappears almost entirely from his text as *son* of an authoritarian father whose mere helper he had been during the journey. Also, most physical and social aspects of his travel experiences are not present in his text as explicit topics.

To be sure, Forster certainly does not make himself the main subject of his travelogue. His text is focussed on the world seen and encountered during the voyage – the sea, seaports, islands, and everywhere the plants, the animals, the inhabitants. At the same time, he seems concerned to make his own body, attire, sociability and anything that was personal in these respects, disappear from his text and vanish behind his perspective as a scientific onlooker, processing data about the material and social world in an immaterial and socially disengaged way. The person of the writer is just some part of the narrative supporting the concept that there was first an *observer* who focussed on all the objects observed, and later on there was a *writer* who did the writing and thinking in order to fit his text into the existing discourses on natural history.

In this discourse on natural history, clothes were *objects* to be collected as artefacts,[20] and at the same time they were *signs* indicating the type and stage of the culture of which they were an element.[21] As objects in use, they were worn on

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18 Forster, *Voyage*, 5–6.

19 Ibid., 9.

20 On clothes as objects collected and kept in cabinets of curiosities and museums, s. Nutz, *"Varietäten des Menschengeschlechts"*, ch. V: "Objekte," 227–285, and 286, 291, 292, 312; on clothes in the collections of Johann Reinhold and Georg Forster, ibid. 267–271.

21 Cf. also the contribution of Kornelia Kaschke-Kısaarslan in this volume.

the body, giving protection against the elements and requiring the care of washing and mending. In contacts with the peoples encountered during the voyage, they were given and received as gifts, exchanged in commercial transactions of buying and selling, stolen and retrieved, or reworked into better sellable objects. They might also function as parts of gestures exchanged between people, in this respect subject to particular cultural usages and meanings embedded in those interactions. Against this background I am here raising the questions: How are clothes made visible in Forster's text? What is the role they play in fashioning the self in these transcultural settings?

3. Rituals of Status and Exchange – Clothes Narrated, Described, and Analyzed

When George Forster mentions the occasion on which he and the other gentlemen of the ship's elite had to undress in order to wade to the boat,[22] he sets the terms of engagement with the topic of attire for the rest of his travelogue. Most of the remarks he makes about himself are clad in the inclusive "we" used throughout the narrative, thereby indicating that he and his father belonged to the group of elite men on board in many respects. So his readers are meant to infer information about his person from what he has to say about the whole group, the captains, officers, and naturalist scholars. The topic of dress is used by him to make himself visible as a person in a social and cultural sense of belonging and relating to a group, but not in an individual or bodily sense.

As we have seen in the remark quoted at the beginning of this essay, being undressed is the condition that is noteworthy and has to be explained, and dress is strongly connected to status. Thus, nakedness becomes a subtopic in Forster's travelogue that is related to dress and status. In this way, Forster not only describes the facts of various peoples' repertoires of dealing with being dressed and undressed. His descriptions are also connected to 18th-century debates on culture and civilization in which clothes, among other artefacts like tools and weapons, were evaluated and collected as characteristics of particular cultures and as indicative of being civilized in a general way. Nakedness was seen in these discourses as a central feature of savagery, whereas clothes were seen as marking the difference between humans and animals.[23]

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[22] Forster, *Voyage*, 36.

[23] For the discussion of clothes in 18th-century debates on culture and civilization, s. Nutz, *"Varietäten des Menschengeschlechts"*, 79 (Meiner), 89 (Ehrmann), 127–128 (Linné), 148, 150, 162, 184, 298, 301, 304, 307; discussion of nakedness: ibid., 157, 182, 282; on the relevance of clothes for collections of objects and artefacts, s.a. note 20. – Cf. also Naoko Yuge, "Das 'wilde' und das 'zivilisierte' Geschlechterverhältnis? Die neue Blickrichtung in der anthropologischen Diskussion um 1800," *L'Homme. Z.F.G.* 13,2 (2002): 205–223.

In Forster's travelogue the ordinary sailors who cared for the boat and did all the swimming in rough seas were either doing this undressed – like the elite men wading to the boat –, or Forster found it unimportant to mention that their clothes got completely soaked. So there is a social difference in dress or in nakedness characterizing even his own culture: Whereas it is an important fact to mention the gentlemen's nakedness and, probably, their caring to save their clothes from being spoiled by sea water, it is different with respect to the sailors. This short scene shows in a very few words that it was usual for men of this elite to be dressed, and to be dressed completely and carefully, and that for them public nakedness was something to be avoided by all means, stripping them of the very means of becoming visible as elite persons. This would have been acceptable only in very special situations. On the other hand, if the ordinary sailors were naked or not, if their clothes were soaked or not, is not important to know. What is important to know about their clothes, however, is that the captain ordered sailors' clothes regularly to be laundered with fresh water for reasons of health and cleanliness, and also that the captain distributed warm woollen clothes to them in colder climes.[24] Both serve as an example that the ordinary sailors, from the elite mens' perspective, had to be kept under strict discipline, and that their superiors took good care of the crew. Forster draws here on the conception of a society ordered hierarchically, where the lower ranks needed to be disciplined and cared for and the higher ranks did the disciplining and caring for them.

In all his carefully noted details about clothes, Forster had one rule of thumb to decipher other people's dress codes: the more cloth or the more elaborate the dress, the higher the social rank of the wearer. Few clothes, on the other hand, or even no clothes at all were indicators of the lowest social and civilizational level. Through all his careful reasoning Forster never lets go of this basic idea.[25] Trying a summary about the South Sea cultures he encountered, he writes of the Tannanians, the inhabitants of one of the western Polynesian islands:

> "Dress, another distinguishing character of civilization, is as yet entirely unknown to them; and in the place of cleanliness, which every where renders mankind agreeable to each other, we observed divers sorts of paint and grease. They seem however to be in great forwardness towards receiving a greater polish."[26]

"[G]reater polish", then, appeared in recognizable form for the travellers when people exercised greater care in dressing up for an encounter with their foreign visitors. Forster writes about New Zealand in April 1773:

> "However, at our approach, instead of being welcomed by the natives on the shore, we saw none of them, and received no answer when we shouted to them. We landed there-

24 Regular washing of clothes: Forster, *Reise*, 1:23 (from the "Introduction" that was added to the German version); distribution of warm clothes in Antarctic zones: Forster, *Voyage*, 62–63.
25 E.g. Forster, *Voyage*, 34–35 (inhabitants of Santiago), 53 (slaves in the Dutch Cape colony).
26 Ibid., 554.

> fore, and having proceeded to their habitation, soon found the reason of this unusual behaviour. They were preparing to receive us in all their finery, some being already completely adorned, and others still busy in dressing. […] Thus fitted out, they shouted at our approach, and received us standing, with marks of friendship and great courtesy. The captain [!] wore the new cloak of baize on his own shoulders, and now took it off and presented the man with it; he, on his part, seemed so much pleased with it, that he immediately drew out of his girdle a pattoo-pattoo, or short flat club made of a great fish's bone, and gave it to the Captain in return for so valuable an acquisition."[27]

According to Forster's account, dressing up with clothes worn on the body on the part of the hosts was part of their rituals of hospitality, distinguishing a formal and ceremonious occasion from everyday encounters. At the same time, Captain Cook's valuable red-coloured cloak was used as a diplomatic present. In honour of this occasion, the cloak was now given by the guest as a gift, after the Maori chief before had tried in vain to acquire it in some simpler way of economic exchange.[28]

When the travellers arrived in Tahiti, Forster describes a reception ceremony given by the high chief Tu for the strangers. Presents were exchanged, ladies of the upper classes forged bonds of adoption with the gentlemen from Europe, and in exchange for their gifts these men were wrapped in huge amounts of cloth:

> "In a little time we met with an ample return for our presents, especially from the ladies, who immediately sent their attendants (Towtows) for large pieces of their best cloth, dyed of a scarlet, rose, or straw colour, and perfumed with their choicest fragrant oils. These they put over our cloathes, and loaded us so well that we found it difficult to move in them."[29]

When Tu approached the next day to return Captain Cook's visit, he came on board only after Cook had been wrapped in a similar way:

> "Captain Cook stood on the ship's side, entreating his majesty to come on board, but he did not stir from his seat, till an immense quantity of the best cloth of the country had been wrapped around the captain, encreasing his bulk to a prodigious dimension."[30]

Forster clearly recognizes this proceeding as a "ceremony"[31], but equally clearly he has no idea what exactly the performative qualities of this ritualized behaviour were for those who enacted it. For the Tahitians, it was "a mark of peace and friendship"[32], acknowledging and containing the *mana* or ancestral power of a person. In fact, on ceremonial occasions chiefly persons were wrapped regularly

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27 Ibid., 88.
28 Ibid., 87–88.
29 Ibid., 181; for gifts of cloth as a regular part of welcoming and farewell ceremonies, cf. ibid. 195, 205 etc.
30 Ibid., 182.
31 Ibid., repeated on the "Adventure" when Tu also visited Captain Furneaux, ibid. 185.
32 Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island*, 275.

in many layers of bark cloth or finely woven garments[33]. At this point, the Tahitians still thought the Europeans to be very high-ranking, nearly divine people whose power was best bound in bonds of friendship. Still, they had forged bonds of friendship with former English, French and Spanish visitors, and as they were aware that these were hostile to each other, they realized the difficulties of how to maintain their former political friendships and at the same time adjust to their new visitors.[34]

Being chiefly concerned with finding access to fresh water, vegetables, and meat, Cook, according to Forster's travelogue, was neither interested in the obligations implied in these ritualized ways of creating relationships nor even aware of anything having happened in this respect. Whereas Cook was thinking of exchange in simple economic terms, for Pacific peoples exchanges "were more than economic transactions of goods – barkcloth, food and the like –, but were being couched in religious terms."[35] When garments and cloth then appeared among the goods of exchange, there were different notions of what exactly the interactions of giving, taking, and making exchanges were meant to be part of. Cook's intentions were to have a "market" where he intended just to "buy" all the provisions he needed for continuing the voyage and maintaining the health and work of the crew. This was to be accomplished without further involvement in relationships and without giving much time to the question if what he had given as the "price" for an item would be seen as sufficient to close the interaction.[36] Because he was in short supply of goods to give in exchange such as nails, tools, beads, and garments, the prices had to be as cheap as possible. Gifts and presents were best dealt with in terms of short-term exchanges, without consideration of the contingent longer-term obligations.[37] The sailors wanted to collect objects in order to sell them at home for good money, supplementing their very meagre pay and compensating them for hard work at high risk. This, however, could result in the market for provisions breaking down, as the inhabitants of the islands found it more profitable to sell their weapons, cloth and other desired objects instead of fresh fish, etc.[38] It could even mean one group of islanders waging war and robbing another group of these desired items that had so suddenly become valuable items on this temporary

33 Ibid., 166–167, cf. further on wrapping in barkcloth ibid., 74, 143, 150, 250; for the ritual meanings of wrapping persons and things cf. also Steven Hooper, *Pacific Encounters: Art & Divinity in Polynesia, 1760–1860* (Norwich: The British Museum Press, 2006), 38–44.

34 Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island*, 273; cf. also Thomas/Berghof, "Introduction," xxxii, on the Europeans' "honorary 'insider' status", accorded to them by the hierarchically minded Raiateans and Tahitians.

35 Hooper, *Pacific Encounters*, 44–47 (p. 44).

36 At least, such doubts were expressed among his crew, cf. Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island*, 266.

37 Ibid., 79–80, 257–280; cf. Liebersohn, *The Travelers' World*, 13, about the vulnerability of 18th-century travelers through their dependence on acquiring fresh provisions throughout their voyage.

38 E.g. in Charlotte Sound, New Zealand, Nov. 1774: Forster, *Voyage*, 611.

market.[39] In such an instance, Cook used his authority and even violence to restore the type of market he sought to sustain in order to fulfil his tasks as leader of the expedition.[40] Forster gives no hint about the role of the scholars and the officers in the context of these conflicts. The latter certainly had some interests of their own which were not so far from those of the sailors.

With respect to physical subsistence and the provision of one's own or the whole group's future well-being, clothes had significance varying with the agent and the agenda. Thus social spaces were created that shifted in time and space and could mean different things to different participants. The ritual establishment of bonds of friendship would mean mutual gift-giving and sharing of resources among friends, at least for Tahitian and other South Sea populations.[41] If their European partners were unaware of these relational implications that would apply to any dealings with goods and resources, then the same event might mean completely different things for different parties according to these different notions.

The interplay of resources, relationships, and normative constructions of social space that emerges is a large field of investigation in itself. Situating interactions of exchange in their wider social field of power relationships, ritualized relational obligations, and the expectations of different agents would be worthwhile but impossible to pursue in the framework of this essay. These questions would have to be investigated not only with respect to the Tahitian ritualized ways of "doing society," but also with respect to the apparently non-ritualized, "modern" forms of economic exchange through the market relationships that were becoming so prominent in European societies and discourses at this time.

A large part of George Forster's published work on attire attempts to give an impression of what could be seen and what was worn on people's bodies. Whenever he describes the attire of New Zealand Maoris, or those of the inhabitants of Tahiti and other Polynesian islands, he goes into great detail, observing materials and techniques of production, colours, as well as ornaments, tattoos and accessories. All this serves as part of characterizing a population collectively. Also, these descriptions are part of the ethnographical collection and processing of material in a second paper form, which was made after Johann Reinhold Forster's daily notes in his travel journal.[42]

Forster always starts with bodily appearance. Differences between men and women in dress are one of the key elements in his travelogue – not least because they were easily observable for European eyes, untrained as they were in other markers of social difference and their specific meanings. But at the same time, gender as a number of differences in terms of the body was also a notion that was highly privileged by naturalists' discourses under Linnaean influence, tend-

39 Ibid., 276.
40 Cf. ibid., 611.
41 Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island*, 79–80.
42 Cf. Nutz, *"Varietäten des Menschengeschlechts"*, 196.

ing at times to overshadow other markers of social difference and distinction.[43] About Tahitian people, e.g., Forster makes the following remarks:

> "The people around us had mild features, and a pleasing countenance; they were about our size, of a pale mahogany brown, had fine black hair and eyes, and wore a piece of cloth round their middle of their own manufacture, and another wrapped around the head in various picturesque shapes like a turban."[44]

That this was expressed in general terms but meant, in fact, to refer only to the males, becomes obvious in the next sentence, setting women apart as a special group that is marked by gender.

> "Among them were several females, pretty enough to attract the attention of Europeans, who had not seen their own country-women for twelve long months past. These wore a piece of cloth with a whole in the middle, through which they had passed the head, so that one part of the garment hung down behind, and the other before, to the knees; a fine white cloth like a muslin, was passed over this in various elegant turns round the body, a little below the breast, forming a kind of tunic, of which one turn sometimes fell graciously across the shoulder. If this dress had not entirely that perfect form, so justly admired in the draperies of the ancient Greek statues, it was however infinitely superior to our expectations, and much more advantageous to the human figure, than any modern fashion we had hitherto seen."[45]

In this description, there is detail about fabric and colour of cloth, about the way of arranging the textiles, about the aesthetic values he associates with this, and, last but not least, about the culture of Greek antiquity which sets the standards against which to look, to appreciate, to understand and to evaluate. Throughout the text, there are also quotations from poets and other writers from Greek and Roman antiquity, and it is worth mentioning that this classical background was deemed completely appropriate in writing a scientific text of natural history.[46] Forster's remarks reveal the concepts which contemporary educated Europeans drew upon as myths to live by[47] – providing pre-conceived patterns for their observations, actions, and narratives. As Anne Salmond and others have shown, European myths such as that of Arcadia or paradise were particularly relevant for the Europeans in their encounters with the various South Sea peoples during their 18th-century voyages.[48] In the context of the 1770s, the language of Greek sculpture and aesthetic

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43 Ibid., 130; Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island*, 127 and note 5 with further references.
44 Forster, *Voyage*, 144.
45 Ibid.
46 Nutz, *"Varietäten des Menschengeschlechts"*, 223–224.
47 Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (eds.), *The Myths We Live By* (London: Routledge, 1990); Mary Midgley, *The Myths We Live By* (London: Routledge, 2003).
48 Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island*, esp. "Introduction: Aphrodite's Island," 17–21, and "Conclusion: The Angel of History," 458–464, also 457, after quoting Captain William Bligh and George Hamilton: "As one can see from these rapturous accounts, after two decades of contact by ships of different European nations – British, French and Spanish – the myth of 'Aphrodite's Island' had triumphantly survived, unscathed by experience."; cf. further

was certainly Eurocentric as well as class and gender specific, being available foremost to the educated male elites. But at the same time, as Bernard Smith has suggested, this was the language used to express respect according to the highest values of one's own culture, in visual and in textual media.[49] Later in his text George Forster criticized drawings made of Tongan people by the artist William Hodges because the latter had used the aesthetic language of ancient sculpture. It is interesting that Forster was seemingly oblivious to the fact that he himself had also explicitly made this comparison in his own description of Tahitian women.[50]

Again, Forster makes a remark in passing about "common men, who went almost naked"[51], that reveals his generalizing language as being in fact socially highly particular. He obviously had focused on the men and especially the women of the native elites when mentioning elaborate dress and the display of impressive amounts of cloth. Analogous to European societies, he noted that class and quantity of dress were interrelated. That was easy for him to comprehend. He also noticed that baring the shoulders as a sign of respect for higher-ranking persons was customary. But the fact that this was a situational as well as a relational practice was difficult to understand for him: They had first met Towhah, the leader of the Tahitian fleet, surrounded by his warriors and in his full military dress as was appropriate to his position. Later they encountered him together with his king.

> "He was now dressed like the rest of the people in this happy island, and naked to the waist, being in the king's presence. His appearance was so much altered from what it had been the day before, that I had some difficulty to recollect him."[52]

Even the father of the "king" had to bare his shoulders when his son was present.[53] Whereas there were some practices of ceremonial respect such as forms of address and greeting that the Europeans and especially Captain Cook in his contacts with leaders assumed from indigenous practices and practised themselves, Forster never

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Börner, *Auf der Suche nach dem irdischen Paradies*; Forbes, *Encounters with Paradise*; Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*; idem, *Imagining the Pacific*; Wallace, *Sexual Encounters*.

49 Smith, *Imagining the Pacific*, 84 ("It is important to realise that the so-called 'noble-savage' mode of presentation was not a visual stereotype applied indiscriminately, a misperception of eighteenth-century European vision. It was, more often than not, the result of a conscious aesthetic decision to elevate where the artist felt that elevation was appropriate. Parkinsons's *Journal* is admirable in the close relationship established between text and illustration; and the specific context of plate III reads, on the facing page, 'among the rest who visited us, there were some people of distinction in double canoes: their cloaths, carriage and behaviour evinced their superiority. I never beheld statlier [!] men. They behaved courteously.' So, appropriately, the Polynesian chieftain is presented in the engraving as if he were a Roman magistrate, his flowing toga about him, delivering a speech in the Senate."), cf. ibid. plate 85.

50 Forster, *Voyage*, 232; cf. Smith, *Imagining the Pacific*, 72–73.

51 Forster, *Voyage*, 144–145.

52 Ibid., 359.

53 Ibid., 182.

mentions any member of the travellers' group baring his shoulders out of respect towards high-ranking natives. Understanding the ritual language of rank and status very well, they wanted to give the message that they as a group completely and collectively, from captain to sailor, even boys, and servants, were at least as high-ranking as the highest representatives of the peoples they encountered.

No concept, however, was available to him for those situations in which a person was not at all distinguished by dress but made apparent as a leader only by other people's respectful behaviour. Forster and the other European men were indeed so puzzled by such an incidence that only then they started to observe faces in order to identify persons individually: When returning to New Zealand in November 1773, Forster describes the first encounter with the Maoris,

> "[…] and among them was Teiratu, the chief who had made acquaintance with us on the fourth of June and had pronounced a long harrangue that day. He was now in his old clothes, or what the polite world would call deshabillé; quite destitute of the finery of chequered mats edged with dog-skin, and his hair carelessly tied in a bunch, instead of being combed smooth, and delectably greased with stinking oil. In short, from being the orator and leader of a troop of warriors, he seemed to be degraded to a simple fishmonger. It was with some difficulty that we recognized his features under this disguise […]"[54]

After this, Teiratu was again treated by the travellers as an individual of leadership status. But without appopriate attire this had seemed plainly impossible – not only rank but even the individual features of the person were first and foremost a consequence of the dress worn and shown in order to become relevant as social facts.

Thus, at least in European eyes, clothes were the ritual place where social position as well as the recognisability of an individual were to be found. Again and again Forster describes events like this where various South Sea peoples did not rely on dress in their social practices as exclusively as their visitors from foreign shores.[55] This almost ritual fixation, on the part of the Europeans, on clothes as the place where a person came to be what she or he was also gives a clue to why Jeanne Baret (1740–1803), travelling in men's clothes in Bougainville's expedition (1766–1769), was recognised as a woman by the Tahitians, but not by her European fellow travellers.[56]

Forster drew the conclusion from his diverse observations that South Sea peoples did not need to dress as much as others. But as a cultural person with moral sentiments, as he himself would have expressed it, he could not make this simple statement in neutral terms. It was what he called "naked" that provoked him to more and more lengthy reflections about clothes and their uses when describing and noting the fact. It is worth mentioning here that Forster used the word "na-

54 Ibid., 270.
55 Cf. also ibid., 235, 254, 318.
56 Liebersohn, *The Travelers' World*, 21–23; Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island*, 92, 103, 113, 116, 233, 255, 256.

ked" explicitly only for the bodies of children and adult males, whereas for females he took care to transmit similar facts only indirectly. With this he was certainly taking into account the heated debates around the sexual encounters between European men and South Sea women, with their sharp criticism focusing on the argument that this way Europeans brought venereal diseases to the peoples of these areas. Thus framing the debate in terms of ethnic collectivities, the suggestion was avoided that it was men who infected women with these diseases. In order to escape this battlefield, on his second and third voyages Cook sought to prevent any representation of female bodies that might be identified as "naked".[57] Indeed, Forster's analysis of attire and nakedness focuses on male bodies and on the effects that the visibility of male body parts had on European male travellers. There were, after all, no European women around for this to cause any immediate effect.

One of the most indicative of the small essays Forster inserted into his narrative deals with the inhabitants of the island Malakula of the New Hebrides/Vanuatu. It deserves to be quoted at length:

> "Dress, in such a climate, is to be considered as an article of luxury, and cannot properly be placed among the indispensible necessaries. At Mallicollo they have not yet attained that degree of opulence which could have suggested the invention of garments. In their tufted groves they neither feel the scorching beams of a vertical sun, nor ever know the uncomfortable sensation of cold. Briars and shrubberies oblige them to take some precaution, and the impulses of nature towards the encrease of the species, have suggested the most simple means of preserving the faculties[58] and guarding against the dangers of mutilation […] We are too apt to look at the principles which are early instilled into our mind by education as innate, and have frequently mistaken a moral sentiment for a physical instinct. From the contemplation of unpolished people, we find that modesty and chastity, which have long been supposed inherent in the human mind, are local ideas, unknown in the state of nature, and modified according to the various degrees of civilization. It is not likely that the Mallicollese have ever thought of banishing unseasonable ideas from their mind, by a contrivance [i.e., referring to the penis-wrapper, G.J.] which seems much more apt to provoke their desires. Nay, it is uncertain whether the scanty dress of their women owes its origin to a sense of shame, or to an artful endeavour to please. The ideas of beauty seem to be more obvious, though singular and different among divers nations. The Mallicollese are not satisfied with the charms of their own person, but think that a stone hung in the nose, a bracelet, a necklace of shells, and a shining black paint, set them off to greater advantage. Their women, as far as we could observe, have no trinkets, but paint themselves with the yellow colour of turmerick, which has a peculiar aromatic smell."[59]

In these reflections, Forster concludes that at Malakula the protecting functions of clothes against heat, cold and sun were mostly provided by the forest, while aesthetic effects were implemented by adornments, body paint, scent and – at

57 Smith, *Imagining the Pacific*, 180, 198.
58 Here the German version has the more explicit wording "Geschlechtstheile:" Forster, *Reise*, 2:181.
59 Forster, *Voyage*, 492.

other places – tattoos. Moreover, he is aware that practices of embellishment were gendered according to rules differing from those he knew from European peoples, males making much more use of adornments than females. Moral sentiments like shame, decency, discipline, honesty, on the other side, prove to be culturally specific and far from given by nature. They are part of a highly particular European system of values and rules, shaping emotional orientations and reactions to a high degree. Under the circumstances mentioned by Forster, clothes would be a luxury that was not affordable for the inhabitants of Malakula due to material scarcity. So, according to his lucid analysis, dress was completely unnecessary in practical terms but absolutely indispensable in terms of cultural standards. In the last resort, clothes were a necessity of moral and civilizational relevance that was strongly connected to notions of sexuality and the need to cover sexual body parts in order to make them invisible. Especially offensive to Forster's eyes were the penis-wrappers worn by men of various South Sea islands, which he invariably comments on as indecent:

> "Round their middle they tie a string, and below that, they employ the leaves of a plant like ginger, for the same purpose, and in the same manner as the natives of Mallicollo. Boys, as soon as they attain the age of six years, are already provided with those leaves, which seems to confirm, what I have observed in regard to the Mallicollese, viz. that they do not employ this covering from motives of decency. Indeed it had so much the contrary appearance, that in the person of every native of Tanna or Mallicollo, we thought we beheld a living representation of that terrible divinity, who protected the orchards and gardens of the ancients."[60]

Forster refers here to the ancient Roman god Priapus, symbolized in form of a big penis, thus not only relating the topic of attire and nakedness to the sphere of religion and religious myth but also qualifying the practices encountered at Tanna, Malakula and elsewhere as idolatry. His notions, based again on one of the myths of antiquity available to the educated among the Europeans, were of course one-sided assumptions and far from what the peoples concerned themselves saw and felt about these body parts and practices, maybe also far from what the sailors, mariners and servants of the expedition thought. It is obvious that Forster and probably other European men as well felt these practices to be so confounding that they could not avoid looking again and again, and that they kept wondering what to make of this view. For their eyes, the sight of covered yet well demarcated penises was a sexual sight, at once requiring concealment and a sense of shame, even when they acknowledged that questions of decency were not involved for the inhabitants themselves. Probably the people of Tanna and Malakula did not even feel that everyday nakedness as such was a sexual matter. Like other South Sea peoples at that time, they had more explicit cultural repertoires at their disposal to evoke sexual notions – talk and jokes, gestures, dance,

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[60] Ibid., 515.

and in some places public copulation.[61] In the German translation of this passage, it was added that a "decent veiling"[62] of the penis would be the proper way of dealing with this part of the male body.

But Forster also has a comparison of cultures to offer, and for this he draws on medieval and the earlier part of early modern European history:

> "The ideas of modesty are different in every country, and change in different periods of time. Where all men go naked, for instance on New Holland, custom familiarizes them to each other's eyes, as much as if they went wholly muffled up in garments. The fashionable dresses and suits of armour which were worn in the fifteenth and sixteenth century at every European court, would at present be looked upon as the most indecent that can possibly be contrived; and yet who will dare to assert that there was less modesty in the world at that age than in this, or defame the virtuous characters of the invincible knights of that time, so famous for chastity, honour, and gallantry, – because they wore breeches made after the fashions of the times?"[63]

Forster is talking here about the codpiece, and he again refers to the Roman god Priapus. European history provides for him the evidence that can be of help to realize that civilizational values like decency may be part of different cultural systems, systems that were changing over time and that were signified by completely different cultural symbols and gestures. Being dressed or undressed, hiding body parts or making them visible, were thus put into verbal language with the effect of showing them to be part of the ritual systems of doing culture (and cultural values) through gestures and objects. These in their turn were only decipherable and usable by agents who had the relevant knowledge about embedded cultural and social practices at their command.

4. Clothes, Person, and Culture

When talking about attire and nakedness, Forster suggests that basic questions of culture and civilization were involved and that dealing properly with those questions required an educated person with fully developed moral sentiments, capable of exercising these sensibilities towards all kinds of observations made and able to connect everything seen and encountered to a valid system of categories and concepts. Clothes worn or not worn by other people might, for example, be connected to questions of climate, or to material prosperity, social differences, beauty, sexuality, propriety, religion, or the education of the agents observed.

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61 Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island*, 64, 121, 452–453, 456 (Tahitian views of sex); 170 (graphic use of language); 70–71, 99, 100, 102, 120, 167–168, 353, 390, 452–453 (sex in public and as part of rituals or festivals), etc.

62 Forster, *Reise*, 2:215 ("so daß wir an jedem *Tanneser* oder *Mallicoleser*, statt einer ehrbaren Verschleyerung, vielmehr eine leibhafte Vorstellung jener furchtbaren Gottheit zu sehen glaubten, welcher bey den Alten die Gärten geweyhet waren.")

63 Forster, *Voyage*, 566–568.

And on the part of the observer, they were related to powers of moral knowledge and judgment that he situated in a person like himself, i.e. European, male, qualified by a scholarly education and a naturalist's training. In his at times lucid reflections on cultural diversity, there is never the notion that such powers of judgment, operating within a valid system of categories and concepts, might also be expected among the peoples he observed, or even for that matter, among those who had the task of serving for the expedition and its leading group of elite men as servants and sailors.

At the same time, there is no explicit language to describe the possible desires or anxieties that may reside in the person of the observer and that may have activated or immobilised him, nor for the narration of thoughts and physical actions outside of, or contrary to, the plans and motivations of the persona of the scholarly observer. Whereas Forster has space to say something about the sailors' or South Sea people's sexual, social or economic options and actions, he has none for ascribing any to himself, or to any of the elite men on board. In narrating himself as a disciplined scholarly observer of male nakedness, he leaves open the question of any personal involvement. Did he even allow for such a space of involvement? So we can't know for sure about eventually existing personal aspects of his preoccupation with male nakedness from this text, whereas in other contexts he could be very explicit about his feelings towards male friends.[64]

In addition to his explicit discourse on clothing, there is a subdiscourse on a specific concept of person. This, in distinction to his ideas of culture and civilization, is never openly discussed. It is present as an implicit assumption, shaping his own perspective, focusing on cultural values and giving legitimacy to his narrative and judgments. According to his narrative, it is the observer from outside, the stranger without inside knowledge of the culture observed, who can be trusted with the process of collecting, ordering, classifying and evaluating evidence. This outside observer is also sure of himself as he compares and evaluates and makes connections to the wider field of discourses with other participants. Those observed, however, are never trusted to have the capacities for ordering, evaluation, and judgment. Their knowledge is narrated as no more than practical knowledge: They are not only "naked" because of the climate and their perceived poverty, but in the last resort, because they lack the appropriate sense of decency, morality, sexuality, and religion. And it is only the people observed, of course, who have no idea of what is lacking in their judgmental capacities. Thus, in light of this concept of person and its intra- and transcultural hierarchical implications it makes much sense for Forster to concentrate his discourse on nakedness on male agents. While including non-European people, he at the same time continued an early modern tradition of situating scholarly and judgmental

64 Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller, *Mann für Mann. Biographisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2001), 234–236.

capacities not just preferably in male bodies, but also in male-male social settings where male-male social practices and rituals determined the ways of establishing authority.

5. Conclusion

In sum, Forster obviously had a standard for measuring the level of civilization, and he uses this standard for all those whose dress he describes, including himself and his gentlemen peers, the English sailors, and all the people he encountered during the voyage. According to this standard, he himself belongs to the highest possible category of civilization, the men of the European elite. Within this elite it is especially the scholars with their special skills of disinterested observation and reasoning who inhabit the highest rank and set an example for all mankind as to which direction their future development should take. It is paradoxical that just as these superior qualities as scholar are demonstrated in writing, they tend to make the observer himself invisible, leaving just his objects of observation in the light of written history. That this is meant also as an indication of high social status can be seen by the same kind of invisibility removing the whole group of elite men from being an object of description. It is not *their* dress we are made to see, it is not *their* desires and *their* sexuality and *their* economic dealings we are told about, it is just always the ordinary sailors and other peoples who come into view as physical beings, in need of being disciplined and educated. Even while for persons of his social status and ambition in the material-physical and social world it seemed essential to wear appropriate clothes, thus “doing the person” in a performative way by using clothes as ritual signs, in his travelogue he appeared as a person mainly through invisibility – thus making a performance in writing that was certainly no less rich in making use of culturally significant practices.

Still, while he is concerned with describing, classifying and evaluating according to scientific standards of natural history of his time, Forster continues to inhabit a world in which clothes were people’s “outer skin” and where dress was used as a complex language of belonging and hierarchy for making social selves, where still in the 18th century identities were made and changed through handling clothes[65] – a world where dress was among the material objects used for ritualized ways of life.

Scholars like George Forster were hard at work devising new discourses that aimed at separating the scholar as an observer and thinker from the world observed and analyzed. At the same time, in his travelogue the writer is still implic-

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65 Cf. David Gary Shaw, *Necessary Conjunctions: The Social Self in Medieval England*, The New Middle Ages (New York; Basingstoke, Hampsh.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), ch. 7: “Self-Possession,” 145–163: 145 (“outer skin”); and Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2004), 176–179.

itly – and often in the "we"-form – present as a social individual. He recognises and discusses the embeddedness of clothes as objects in a social world of interaction, relationships and ritualized behaviours, and he demonstrates intimate knowledge of these. Ways of life and normative orientations still mattered for him, as they had done for early modern scholars and a longer tradition from antiquity, making entanglement in the social world an important aspect of scholarly writing.[66] Also, social hierarchy and a self-ascription of a high position of the educated and the scholars in this hierarchy remained a primary issue. But according to the terms of the new Enlightenment discourses, where scholars were fashioning a distanced observer who was standing outside the world observed and still able to understand and judge, not marked any longer by embeddedness in social practices, all these physical and social aspects of the scholar had to disappear from his scholarly texts. Ways of life and normative orientations were no longer of value as an example given for others nor even acceptable any more as an explicit part of the self-fashioning in scholarly discourse.

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66 For the tradition from antiquity cf. Pierre Hadot, *Exercices spirituels et philosophie antique* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1981), for early modern scholars cf. Gabriele Jancke, "'Individuality', Relationships, Words About Oneself: Autobiographical Writing as a Resource (15th/16th centuries) – Konrad Pellikan's Autobiography," in *May I Introduce Myself? The "I" between Self-reference and Hetero-reference. Individuality in the Modern and Premodern, ed.* Franz-Josef Arlinghaus (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, in prep.).

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‘I can not dress like the rest.’

Gender, Class and Body Techniques in the Diaries of Anne Lister (1791–1840)

Angela Heimen

> “Wednesday, 2 April 1817
> Began this morning to sit, before breakfast,
> in my drawers put on with my gentlemen’s braces …
> & my old black waistcoat & dressing-gown”[1]

At the time she wrote this, Anne Lister was 26 years old and lived with both her unmarried paternal uncle and aunt at the family seat Shibden Hall near Halifax. Although both her parents were still alive, Anne Lister had moved to Shibden a few years earlier since she was by then the next direct descendent and with that heiress of the estates and the lands that came with it.[2] The Listers belonged to the minor gentry and although they were not wealthy and far from being able to afford a lifestyle of luxury, they were one of the leading families of provincial Halifax. Halifax was far from the political and cultural centres of London, or even York. However in the early 19th century the town was a centre of the woollen manufacturing industry and sported numerous wealthy families, many of which had gained their wealth in the cloth trade.

Anne Lister was an extraordinary woman: she was widely travelled, well educated and continued to educate herself throughout her life in Greek, Latin, mathematics and philosophy.[3] From the time she moved to Shibden Hall, she took an active part in running the estate, which she took completely charge of after the death of her uncle in 1826. In the following years she managed the entire estate with its tenant farmers and turnpike roads. She undertook extensive building and improvement schemes, engaged in coal mining and was an active campaigner for the Tories. Today Anne Lister is noted because in her diary she states clearly that she is sexually attracted only to women and writes in detail about her erotic life. Although in public discourse she obscured the sexual nature of her preference for female company, she nonetheless stated openly that she would not marry and planned to share her life with a female companion. She had a long-term lover, Mariana Lawton, who had married to be financially secure. This

1 Anne Lister, *I know my own heart: the diaries of Anne Lister 1791 - 1840*, ed. Helena Whitbread (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1992), 1, title quote, 344.

2 Anne Lister had a younger sister. There were remote relatives in Wales, who will eventually inherent the estate after the death of Anne Lister and her companion Anne Walker.

3 Lister, *I know my own heart*, 6, 9, 12, 49. During her teenage years Lister visited a boarding school in York. It is from this time that she gained her extensive network of friends in York that would play an important role throughout her life.

did not keep the two women from meeting occasionally. In the meantime Lister fell in and out of love with various other women. Longing for a permanent partner and soul mate with whom she could share her life at Shibden and who could act as mistress of the house, her affair with Mariana Lawton cooled.[4] In 1832 Lister decided to concentrate her affection on her neighbour Anne Walker. The two women came to an agreement and formalized their union not only by an exchange of rings and blessings in church, but also by recognizing each other in their individual wills as sole beneficiaries for life of their respective estates. This was not the romantic relationship Lister had dreamed of, but a convenience match with a wealthy heiress who would contribute substantially to the upkeep of Lister's estate and enable Lister to enjoy a much better lifestyle over the next years. Anne Lister died 1840 in Russia while travelling.

Anne Lister's life seems in many ways irreconcilable with the rules and norms – especially the prevailing gender norms – of the society she lived in. To establish and consolidate a position that was officially not available to her, she challenged and transgressed rules and norms and adapted them to her own needs. In this paper, I want to explore what body-"language" and techniques Anne Lister chose to negotiate her place in society and what role gender as a category played in this negotiation process. Looking at what Anne Lister wrote about bonnets, stays and offering her arm to a partner, we can follow a fascinating discourse that is as much about power and differentiation as it is about sartorial issues.

We know so many details about Anne Lister because in 1806 she began keeping a diary. By the time of her death in 1840, the diary – or journal, as she calls it – runs to almost 4 million words over 6,600 pages, much of which is written in a code that Lister had devised for her journal and to communicate with close female friends.[5] Unfortunately, no complete edition of her diaries exists and the few publications that deal with the journals only offer abridged versions of certain periods of the diaries.[6] This paper will deal with the period from 1817-1823, since this is

4 "Mention my wanting a new friend as a constant companion & to keep house for me, sit at the head of my table, etc."(Lister, *I know my own heart*, 304).

5 The Journals are held at the Calderdal District Archives, Halifax – SH: 7/ML/E. I am greatly indebted to Helena Whitbread for sharing her extensive knowledge of Anne Lister and especially for showing me Lister's Halifax. I would further like to thank the staff at Shibden Hall and the Calderdale Archives in Halifax for their helpfulness on my rather spontaneous visit. Apart from the Journals the archive holds various other documents by Anne Lister such as letters and account books. The diaries are available online on the *History to Herstory* webpage: http://www.historytoherstory.org.uk/ (accessed 11 April 2012). However, working with them remains difficult since they are not transcribed.

6 There are a few publications with excerpts from the Journals. Besides Whitbread's edition for the years 1817 – 1823, there is another publication by her which covers some of the time Lister spend in Paris: Anne Lister, *No priest but love: excerpts from the diaries of Anne Lister, 1824 - 1826*, ed. Helena Whitbread (Otley: Smith Settle, 1992). Jill Liddington focuses on a brief period in Lister's later years: Jill Liddington, *Female fortune: land, gender and authority; the Anne Lister diaries and other writings 1833 - 36* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1998).

Fig. 1: West Yorkshire Archive Service, SH:2/M/19/1/1 – water colour portrait of Anne Lister of Shibden Hall 19th century.

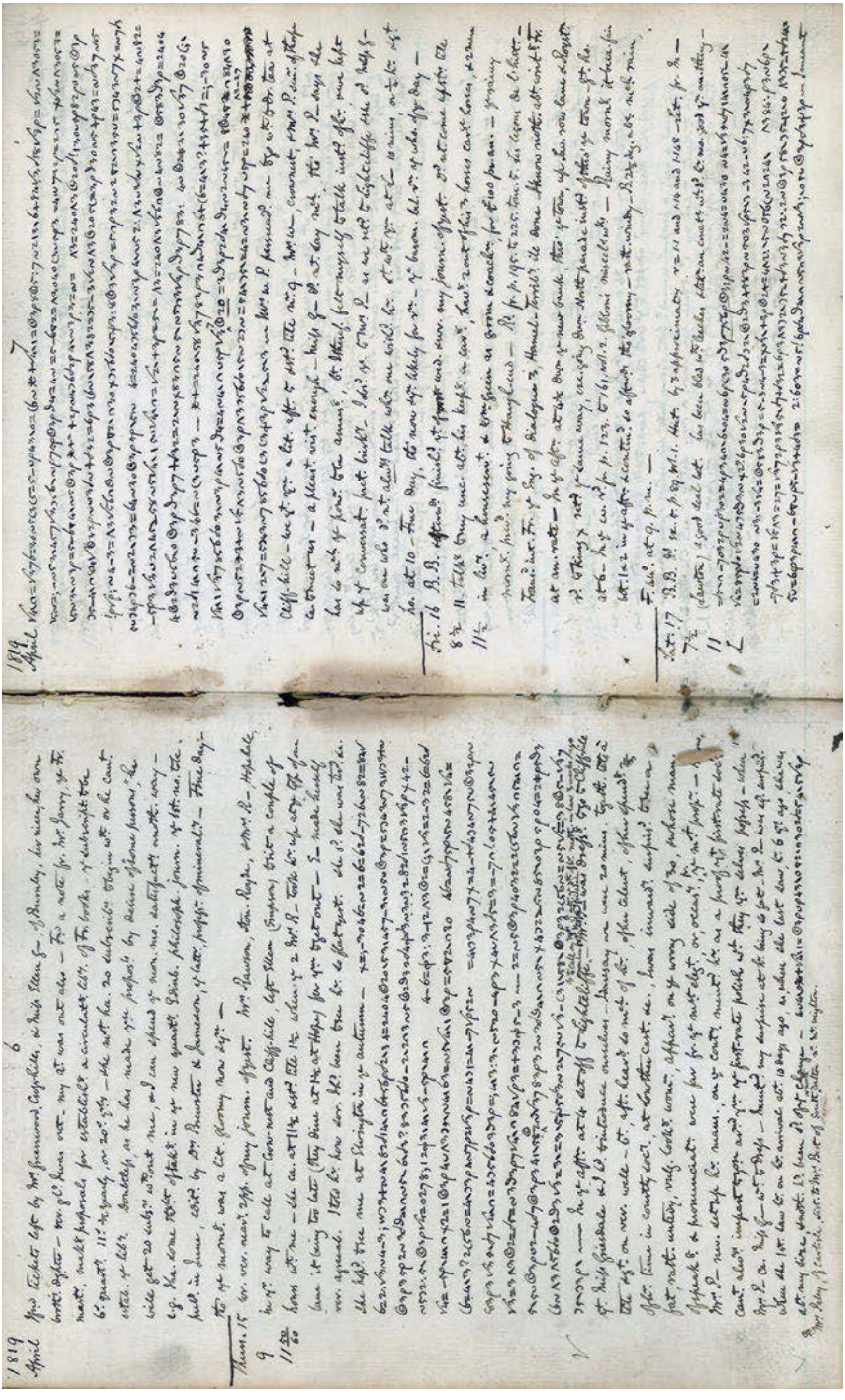

Fig. 2: West Yorkshire Archive Service, SH:7/ML/E/3 – Diary of Anne Lister 11 Apr 1819-22 until Nov 1819 (entry for 14-15 April 1819 – pages 6-7)

the time span covered in Helena Whitbread's edition of the diaries.[7] If one considers how much Lister wrote, it is obvious that Whitbread's publication is a minute view, compiled and filtered by another person with a very specific interest.[8] Although I could work with only a fraction of what Lister wrote during that time, the published extracts contain enough information about the various aspects of dress and body to make informed statements.

Self-narratives such as Anne Lister's journal are sources that can offer a wealth of information on a wide range of topics as well as providing a close-up look at a person and their notion of self. The choice of topics alone is telling, since a person can only write down a limited amount of her or his rich store of personal experience. Authors have to choose, therefore, which memories they want to immortalize. Gabriele Jancke emphasizes that "each report of facts is preceded by concepts of perception and activity which affect the selection, arrangement, collation, weighting, evaluation and interpretation of the details, and in fact everything that is said and narrated about the person."[9] My considerations have been prompted by the arguments of Jancke, who further points out that the writing of self-narratives is an act of communication, and by Natalie Zemon Davis, who argues that people consider themselves always as part of a network.[10] Although Zemon Davis' work is focused on a much earlier period in the early modern time, her argument is valid for Lister's journal because Lister's world was still far more Early Modern than "Early Industrial", and because the existence of a modern individual who acts autonomous of her or his environment is highly questionable. However, self-narratives are notoriously difficult sources. It should be noted that the "voice" of the narrator is absent and the reader is therefore extremely susceptible to misinterpretation of the sentiments or intentions of the author. Furthermore, it is often impossible to verify a claim. But then, it is not "the truth", that makes the self-narrative such a valuable and fascinating source, but to see how people explain their world and make sense of it, and how they define themselves in relation to other people.

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7 There is a new edition of "I Know My Own Heart" under a different title. This is far superior, since it does show what parts of the text are in code and has further additional journal entries and an extensive index.
It nevertheless is hard to understand why the publishers decided to use a still from a BBC production for the cover instead of picture of Lister herself and make the book look like a work of fiction. Anne Lister, *The Secret Diaries of Miss Anne Lister (1791-1840)*, ed. Helena Whitbread (London: Virago, 2010).

8 Helena Whitbread focused on the relationship between Anne Lister and Mariana Lawton.

9 Gabriele Jancke, "Autobiographische Texte – Handlungen in einem Beziehungsnetz. Überlegungen zur Gattungsfragen und Machtaspekten im deutschen Sprachraum von 1400 bis 1620," in *Ego-Dokumente. Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte,* ed. Winfried Schulze (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), 73-106 (p. 76).

10 Natalie Zemon Davis, "Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth-Century France," in *Reconstructing Individualism,* ed. Thomas C. Heller, Morton Sosna, and David E. Wellbery (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 53-63 (pp. 53-54).

Anne Lister's Journal is not a spontaneous end-of-day affair. Lister had literary aspirations and the way she worked on her journal shows this.[11] She mentions that she wrote rough drafts first, and copied them in her journal when she had more time.[12] She often spent several hours a day writing and editing her entries.[13] She copied letters and transcribed whole dialogues in direct speech into her journal. She indexed the journals and inserted cross-references. It is not clear if she planned or hoped that the journal would be read at any time after her death. There are times when she reads from it to her lover. Occasionally, her journal is the object of conversation during visits to her neighbours.[14] She certainly was aware of what purpose it served for her. Besides the entry "I am resolved not to let my life pass without some private memorial that I may hereafter read, perhaps with a smile, when Time has frozen up the sentiments which flow so freshly now.", there are countless remarks that writing in her journal has made her feel better.[15] Often she writes at length and in great detail about an incident that has troubled her or caused pain, concluding with "I feel better now" or "What a comfort is this journal. I tell myself to myself & throw the burden on the book & feel relieved."[16] Apart from serving as an "agony aunt" where Lister can shed her problems, she also uses her journal to examine and analyse her own actions in public to develop new strategies. Lister seems to have had a distinct masculine aura and with her general behaviour transgressed the norms of society in many ways. She faced various forms of social pressure from more implicit forms of her peers to very explicit actions from the "lower sorts". She perceived her body as problematic, although she never writes in detail what exactly is "bad" about it.[17] Besides her masculine physical traits, Lister claims a position for herself that is thoroughly male in connotation: that of an active heir with a female partner.

From the way Lister writes about herself and her performance on the public stage, we can discern that she worked on her*self* and especially on her body at least as painstakingly as she worked on her journals. And just as her text can be seen as an act of social practice and a form of communication, so can her body be seen as such a device. The difference between a text and a body is that the creation of a text comes only from the author, but the creation of a social body is a collaboration of many people. Even if Lister seems fully in charge of her actions and decisions, they are always conditioned by the reactions and sanctions

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11 Lister, *I know my own heart*, 92, 168.
12 Ibid., 238.
13 Ibid., 346.
14 Ibid., 37, 260.
15 Ibid., 80.
16 Ibid., 345.
17 At one time Lister records her lover Mariana saying "She meant if I had a feminine body she should be satisfied with the intellectuals..." meaning that if Lister's body would conform to the gender norms, she would accept her behavioural transgressions (Lister, *I know my own heart*, 306).

of her environment. It is in this light that Lister's frequent references to items of clothing or her dress habits should be seen.[18] Items of dress are an important part of constructing and expressing a person's social identity. They send instant messages about the wearer regarding a great variety of factors such as social status or affiliation with specific groups. Because fashion is a very complex set of signs depending always on the social and cultural context in which they are used, there are no ultimate rules of how to convey a certain image. A person is left with the often difficult task of finding a convincing combination of signifiers.[19] Besides making statements to the outside, clothes are at the same time something very intimate, worn in direct contact with a person's body, especially underwear. However, clothes are not only signs and signals that send certain messages about the bearer; they also provide in a very practical way incentives for social contact and interactions. In Lister's time this pertained especially to women, since by then women's costume was much more varied and personalized than men's. As we will see further on, women's clothes facilitated conversations about one's personality, they made very personal gifts and, last but not least, they offered plenty of opportunity for hands-on body contact.

Trying to analyse Lister's *bodytalk*, I have been guided by Judith Butler's idea about gender performance and Jennifer Craik's concept of fashion as a body technique. Judith Butler argues that gender is not a stable part of a person's identity, but something that is constituted over time and by stylized repetition of acts and further through the stylization of the body.[20] Jennifer Craik looks at the body as a technical device that is, with the help of clothing, turned from a natural into a social body.[21] However, body techniques encompass not only clothes or the way a person dresses, but a whole set of modes of expression and tools such as language, gesture and physical comportment that have to match the performance.[22] Body techniques, claims Craik, "... are the product of specific discourses interacting on different levels of power and knowledge and different realms such as social, political aesthetic and psychological forms of knowledge" and that "the performing body refers not only to the body itself but to the space and context in which it performs".[23] What makes Craik's concept of body techniques so attractive is that it – similar to the below mentioned concept of intersectionality – incorporates aspects that are often studied separately and that it takes fashion and dress issues seriously and not as a trivial matter. In the case of

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18 That dress plays an important role in her journal and is evidently a vital form of expression for Lister comes across by the fact that most clothes entries are in code. The other two topics that are usually encoded are sexuality and finances.

19 Fred Davies, *Fashion, Culture and Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 25.

20 Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: an Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal*, vol. 40, no. 4 (Dec., 1988): 519-531 (p. 519).

21 Jennifer Craik, *Fashion: The key concepts* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2009), 136-137.

22 Davis, *Boundaries*, 25.

23 Craik, *Fashion*, 136-137.

Anne Lister, we will see that sartorial issues and body actions cannot be dealt with separately, but are both a means of asserting a personal agenda. That gender is something that is *done* is something we can see in Lister's journal especially well. Since Lister did not act according to the gender roles of her time and had no role models in her environment that could have served as a blueprint for her, she tried out various modes of behaviour in a trial and error fashion.

Another concept that is helpful while looking at Lister's performance is that of intersectionality. First formulated by Kimberlé Crenshaw as an instrument that is more sensitive than other approaches to the multiple differentiations and especially inequalities within a society, the concept stresses the need to take various categories into account, instead of focusing on one, and to see how these categories interact and interlock with each other.[24] This is crucial in Lister's case. Although gender seems to be the main issue and motor in Lister's narrative, it is not the only stratification in Lister's society. Class, religion or marital status, for example, mattered at least as much, if not even far more so. A further important category that I will only be able to touch lightly on is sexuality.[25] Lister's acts can only be analysed if one takes all those categories in account.

Although Anne Lister's style in public was not quite as unconventional and openly masculine as in the privacy of her bedroom, she still made sure that she was perceived as different. On Sunday, the 1st of June 1817, she writes:

> "Spent the afternoon in mending some of my things for the wash. After tea, read aloud sermons 13 & 14 of Alison's... the first time I have thrown aside my winter things, having changed my black cloth spencer and straw hat for a black silk spencer and common straw hat. I have almost made up my mind always to wear black."[26]

On the 2nd of September she records the first formal evening visit she undertook in a black outfit. As this was at a time when young women generally wore white or brightly coloured dresses, this was a bold move indeed. Although it is impos-

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24 Kimberlé W. Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241–1299. For a critical overview and evaluation of the various approaches to the concept of intersectionalty see: Claudia Ulbrich, "Ständische Ungleichheit und Geschlechterforschung," *Zeitsprünge* 15 (2011): 85-104.

25 It is obvious that sexuality is a driving force for Anne Lister. However, to be able to research this topic fully, one would need access to the complete text for at least a certain period of her journals. Sexuality is a good example why a complete transcribed edition of the journals would be an asset for many disciplines. Even from the available material, one can tell that the document would not only change our perspective of the history of same-sex relationships (I would argue it is anachronistic to use the term lesbian for Lister), but also about sexuality in general. Lister's journals give a good impression that many women were far more sexually active in that era than is generally assumed. While Lister states that she only found women sexually attractive, many of her female friends seem to have been less concerned with which sex they engaged in erotic adventures. One can hazard a guess that especially for women outside marriage, same sex partners were convenient since they did not carry the danger of pregnancy.

26 Lister, *I know my own heart*, 9.

sible to know if she really always wore black, there are good indications that she often did.[27] She does not further mention why she decided to wear black. We can speculate that wearing black allowed Lister to set herself aside without transgressing accepted norms too much. She could achieve a grave and sombre look which stood in direct opposition to the cheerfully coloured dresses of the other young women.

In the western world there have been a few periods when black was worn for reasons other than mourning. These fashions, such as those worn for a certain period in Venice or by groups such as the Puritans, have been worn by both men and women.[28] At the same time when historians see for the first time a strict binary polarization of the sexes on account of biological differences, something odd happens in fashion: If until then women and men had dressed in all sorts of colours, and the differences were predominantly that of status, from the early decades of the 19th century onwards, a distinct difference between the sexes' clothings developed.[29] Women's dresses became increasingly body restricting and developed various exaggerated shapes over the next years, often highlighting certain body parts, such as the waist or a woman's back side (for example the dress style known as Cul de Paris) or baring arms and décolleté.[30] The favourite colour scheme for young women was either white or pastel-colours and floral prints. At the same time, in a comparatively brief time a sort of non-fashion developed for men, which has endured to this day. Men have since then, with little alteration, worn an outfit consisting of a shirt, a jacket and a pair of trousers. There is further very little differentiation in respect to factors such as marriage status or age in male dress. The colours are predominantly black and the shape is body negating. While masculine fashion moved away from the ideals of the aristocratic sentiments of leisure, luxury and display towards the values of the new work ethic, female fashion from the early 19th century onwards embraced the aristocratic the ideals to the full.[31] And while masculine fashion became sober and practical, it fell to the women to represent and display the wealth of their families. The way female dress restricted and conditioned body movement underscored the emphasis that women were passive consumers who spend their time in unproductive idleness.[32]

27 All the clothes she ordered were black and she notes giving away a lot of colourful dress items to her sister.
28 See the article by Nina Mönich in this volume
29 Karin Hausen, " „Die Polarisierung der "Geschlechtscharaktere" – Eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben: Neue Forschungen, " *Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas*, ed. Werner Conze (Stuttgart: Klett, 1976), 363-393; Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress and morality* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), 119.
30 Ribero, *Dress and morality*, 129.
31 Sabina Brändli, *"Der herrlich biedere Mann". Vom Siegeszug des bürgerlichen Herrenanzugs im 19. Jahrhundert* (Zürich: Chronos, 1998), 105.
32 Ribero, *Dress and morality*, 119

The forerunners of the male dress code and the first to wear black were members of a group that was not noted for its overt masculinity. It was the dandy who first sported that colour - combined with a simple but elegant style. One of the best-known trendsetters of this style was Beau Brummell, the epitome of sartorial excellence.[33] For a dandy, the priority was not the display of wealth or rank, but to look gentleman-like. A maxim was that one cannot always choose what class one belongs to, but anyone who dresses right can join the "rank" of a gentleman.[34] At the same time, dandies were a main target of carricaturists because they were considered effeminate and sexually ambiguous.[35] John Harvey, in his book "Men in Black", calls them "pioneers of gender, exploring an identity that puzzled contemporaries by seeming at once both manly and feminine."[36] This might have been an appealing concept for a young woman who did not fit into the current gender norms, especially since Lister often refers to herself as a gentleman. Another sort of "man in black" who might have provided some form of role model for Lister was the classical image of the scholar. Lister emphasizes her strict regime of studying the classics and mathematics and her attempts to subordinate her body to her mind. She actively promoted her image as a learned person among her neighbours.[37] With simple black clothes Anne Lister could affirm her association with a tradition of learned, scholarly men – which is another group that does not define itself through gender affiliation.

Apart from being clad in black, Lister seems to have accepted and followed the female dress code of her time to a great extent. She writes that her aunt had sent a black silk apron, which she had asked for (this will not have been a work apron, but one to wear with a smart dress), that she mended the seams and sleeves of her gowns and that she wore pelisses and spencers. She worked a lot on her stays. During a visit in London she consulted several tailors and records what she ordered (for example a black pelisse and a black velvet spencer and hat) and included the conversation she had with the tailors. She talked to them about her "bad figure", that she always wore black, that she wanted to be smartly dressed but could only afford one gown per year since she had a small allowance and that she spent a lot of money on books. She is pleased that they took her to be a gentlewoman and a "character".[38]

What is remarkable is that Lister often writes about mending and caring for her clothes and especially her underwear – her stockings, garters, stays and petticoats.

33 Susan J. Vincent, *The Anatomy of Fashion* (Oxford: Berg, 2009), 24; Peter McNeil, ed., *Fashion: Critical and Primary Sources: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Berg, 2009), 23.
34 John Harvey, *Men in Black* (London: Reaktion Books 1995), 29, 32.
35 Vincent, *The Anatomy of Fashion*, 26. The dandies were a favourite target of the Caricaturist George Cruikshank 1792-1878.
36 Harvey, *Men in Black*, 32.
37 Lister, *I know my own heart*, 82, 137, 151.
38 Lister, *I know my own heart*, 223.

Although on two occasions she complains about this occupation, one can nevertheless argue that not only did she not dislike the preoccupation with her garments, but that in fact it was very important to Lister.[39] For one, she was spending time to craft bags for buttons and other personal items as well, which indicates that she was not really adverse to needlework. Far more intriguing is the fact that she often writes in detail about her very frequent mending chores and especially that she mainly mentions mending her underwear. This might be due to the fact that underwear was more fragile and therefore needed more care. In this case it would still be unusual not only that she lavished so much care on these items, but that she took the time to note it in her diary. One does get the impression that her mending chores, and especially the fact that she writes about it is yet another part of body-work, of working on her difficult body. When Lister notes that she spent a whole morning re-lacing her stays to alter the fit or that she had been stuffing out her breast, it is an indication that underwear bore a special significance to Lister.[40] Items such as chemises, stays, and petticoats are close to the body and very intimate objects. Lister's unhappiness with her figure was a conversation topic for her – both in her diary and with her acquaintances.[41] This could, of course, have been partly a device to discuss very intimate, physical details with other women. Nevertheless, a few entries signify that Lister genuinely perceived her body as problematic. But it is not only undergarments Lister works on. On the 2nd of September 1817 a typical entry reads, "spent the whole morning in vamping up a pair of old chamois shoes & getting my things ready to go & drink tea at cliff-hill".[42] Journal entries like this give the impression that she is fixing herself a suit of armour to face the world.

One item of clothing Lister repeatedly distances herself from are bonnets. Although her friends frequently comment on how much better she would look with one and even present her with a few.[43] She does cover her head, as custom demands, but with hats.[44] Head coverings are often a conspicuous sign of the marital status of a woman. Matrimony was still a significant part of adulthood in Lister's time and Lister notes frequently that her friends and neighbours enquire about her getting married.[45] For Anne Lister, who repeatedly announces that she does not plan to marry this must have been a difficult subject, especially since it

39 Ibid., 49, 157. The complaint here is probably just as much about Lister's problem of finding her style as it is about the actual job.
40 Ibid., 132.
41 Ibid., 155, 167, 223.
42 Ibid., 14. Another entry reads "Mending my gloves, the trimming of my black bombazine petticoat and all in readiness for this afternoon..." (Ibid., 41).
43 Ibid., 342, 344.
44 Her masculine friend Miss Pickford seems to have similar problems and admits that she occasionly gives in to the pleas of her sister and wears a bonnet.
45 On October 4, 1820 Lister records that after she declared not to get married, her host, Mr. Duffy responded, "I fear it …& more the shame." (Lister, *I know my own heart*, 135).

is clear that a traditional establishment with a wife looking after her household was what she really wanted. About a dialogue with Miss Brown, a freshly engaged young woman of a more modest background with whom Lister flirts for a while and gives advice to, Lister writes, "Said there was a great difference between a married woman & an inexperienced young lady".[46] It is obvious that Lister does not group herself under the heading of "inexperienced young lady". Hence it must have been important for Lister to create an image for herself that was void of clear symbols denoting marital status. This could be well another reason why she preferred the black colour and a simple style for her outfits, since many "official" items of women's wear were coded as well. Lister herself comments often positively on very feminine fashion on the women she flirts with, for example when they wore "virginal white".[47] There are no comments of a general dislike of female clothing. Besides her interest in clothes, Lister spent a substantial amount of her allowance having her hair dressed and notes occasionally that she has been wearing false locks or has them cleaned. Twice she fantasizes explicitly about wearing male clothing; both times it is within a daydream of an erotic adventure with another woman.[48]

That clothes were an important device for Lister to describe and order her world is underscored by the fact that she writes not only about her own dress habits, but she also closely observed and evaluated those of the women in her surroundings. While staying with friends in York, she came across some of her Halifax neighbours at a ball. Lister describes in vivid detail and with acute sarcasm their rather overdone and colourful outfits and concludes that they had been the amusement of the whole room.[49] However, contemporary illustrations of balls and other social gatherings give a good idea that actually Lister herself – a young woman who was not in mourning, yet dressed in black – must have looked far more out of place. Another woman besides Miss Brown with whom Lister frequently socialised is Miss Pickford. The way in which Lister comments on the two women's respective dress shows the difference in the relationships. Miss Pickford is on a similar social scale as Anne Lister and, as Lister describes her, a good deal older. Lister notes shortly after Pickford's arrival in Halifax that she had the reputation of being "blue & masculine. She is called Frank Pickford."[50] Miss Pickford appears to have been rather relaxed about her appearance and thinks Lister the same (apparently Lister's efforts to look smart were really not that successful). To that Lister writes: "As to not noticing dress, etc., she supposes me like herself. How is she mistaken!"[51] Although she notes fre-

46 Ibid., 192.
47 Ibid., 51.
48 Ibid., 151.
49 Ibid., 245.
50 Ibid., 234. Anne Lister's nickname in Halifax was "Gentleman Jack."
51 Ibid., 237.

quently that she disapproves of Miss Pickford's dress habits, she does not record giving her advice about how to dress.[52]

The case with Miss Brown is very different. Although Lister is often very much taken with Miss Brown's style of dress, she still uses dress issues to exert her authority over Miss Brown. After she has established at a meeting that Miss Brown is intimidated by her – because of Lister's "penetrating countenance" – Lister informs her that "I should be always happy to give her any information... I said I would notice everything she said that wanted correction".[53] The very next day Lister sets on her task of improving Miss Brown, for example by telling her how to wear her bonnet. Some weeks before Lister had managed to be alone with Miss Brown. Besides telling her that her gown sleeves were too wide, she also used the opportunity to establish physical intimacy by adjusting a frill around the young woman's neck – which needed to be corrected three times. But even when in love, Lister stayed her critical self and reminded herself that a Miss Brown was an object of desire but could not be considered as her partner. "I think if I should persevere, I can bring the thing to what terms I please... I observed, however...that she had dirty nails & that her gown sleeves were not lined & she had no loose sleeves on. Is she very tidy? But she is pretty and I thought of what I should not."[54]

In Lister's account dress is a main facilitator for socialising and interactions, often transgressing class boundaries. Arranging her hair or altering clothes is often done with the help of female friends. There are further countless references of gifts of new sleeves, exchange of patterns for underwear and of friends or neighbours fitting new petticoats on her.[55] The intimacy of dress provided Lister with opportunities that could lead to physical intimacy with other women. Lister's female environment is apparently rather ambivalent about her masculine image. Besides commenting favourably on it and often ready to engage in gendered flirting, the same women often seemed to try to soften Lister's masculine appearance with advice on dress and gifts of clothing. Apart from the mentioned bonnets, they attached frilly lace over her cravat and tried to make her hair look more feminine.

It is doubtful that the women's attempts were successful, since it is more in the details of her outfit and her manner that Anne Lister showed her masculinity. Lister was using various props to cultivate, often quite playfully, her gentleman image: After a visit to a female neighbour (one of the few she really esteemed and was not appraising as a possible lover) Lister recalls: "I twirled my watch about, conscious of occasionally bordering on a rather gentlemanly sort of style. She

52 On Miss Pickford "I wish she would care a little about dress. At least not wear such an old-fashioned, short-waisted, fright of a brown habit..." (Lister, *I know my own heart*, 239-240).
53 Ibid., 74.
54 Ibid., 63.
55 Ibid., 32, 34, 124,154, 243.

seems to feel but not quite understand this. She would prefer my society to any lady, perhaps scarce knowing why."[56] At another time she muses: "…my manners are certainly peculiar, not at all masculine but rather softly gentleman-like. I know how to please girls."[57] At times "softly gentleman-like" seems to be somewhat of an understatement. When taking a public coach, she notes that she frequently joined the coachman on his box and would even take the reins.[58] Once she even gave money to a blind piper to get his seat on the box. She describes how she purchased pistols, how she tried them out with the shop assistant and then let him show her how to take them apart and enquired about the technical details.[59] During visits to her neighbours, she encouraged conversations about her chasing intruders with the pistols.[60] About Miss Brown she writes, "She mentioned on the moor my taking off the leather strap put through the handle of my umbrella, which made it look like a gentleman's. I said I would do if she asked me but not otherwise."[61] However, Lister obviously did not see the need to act out her masculine image consistently. Instead she decided from occasion to occasion if she wanted to highlight her masculine or feminine side. After a ball in York she notes, "No fan. A pocket handkerchief in my hand all evening."[62]

The common people were nevertheless not prepared to gloss over these obvious transgressions of norms so easily. She received mock marriage offers, both verbally and written, and was openly confronted about her appearance.[63] Lister's diary entry in June 1818 gives a good indication that these were not rare incidents:

> "The people generally remark, as I pass along, how much I look like a man. I think they did it more than usually this evening. At the top of Cunnery Lane, as I went, three men said, as usual, 'That's a man' & one asked 'does your cock stand' I don't know how it is but I fell low this evening."[64]

This entry is revealing in two respects. For one, it shows that Lister certainly met with opposition that often bordered on the popular censorship called "rough music". It does show furthermore, that although Lister on the one hand cultivates her masculine image, she still suffered when confronted too openly with its "freakishness". There seems to be a very fine balance between flirting with her otherness and genuine despair about it. Thus she notes conversations "About my figure, manner of walking & my voice; their singularity, etc." at social gatherings

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56 Ibid., 330.
57 Ibid., 136.
58 Ibid., 63, 103, 162.
59 Ibid., 319, 327.
60 Ibid., 55, 319.
61 Ibid., 80.
62 Ibid., 251.
63 Ibid., 64-65, 101, 123 At some point there was even a personal advert in the local newspaper that she was looking for a husband (Ibid., 106, 114).
64 Ibid., 48.

in her presence (as far as one can tell these conversations take place when the gentlemen were not present).[65]

However, it is a physical action that demonstrates that there were certain boundaries that even an Anne Lister was not allowed to transgress. When Lister's lover Mariana is coming for a visit, Lister decides to walk towards the carriage. She meets the carriage in a remote area ten miles outside of Halifax, surprising Mariana who is completely taken aback and shows her annoyance clearly. How emotional Lister is about this, can be seen by the many pages she takes to describe the scene in every detail. After having walked across the moor, she stumbled very excited into the carriage, shouting incomprehensibly. What however is mostly an issue, Lister writes, is that "I unluckily seemed to have taken 3 steps at once" while entering the carriage, which was of course noticed by the coachman and a friend who accompanied Mariana.[66] Lister was deeply hurt at her friend's reaction and writes later repeatedly about the event calling it the "three steps business".[67] What is striking here is the close connection of female propriety and physical deportment. In this incident Lister transgressed several norms: she walked for ten miles alone through wild terrain, she must have been dressed accordingly and she shocked her friend by the way she shouted. What is, however, most present in the two women's ensuing dialogs and Lister's thoughts about this incident is the fact that Lister took three steps at one time. Dress alone does obviously not make a male or female. It is just as much the use and movement of the body, which is conditioned and complemented accordingly by the gendered fashion.

Lister's dilemma becomes even more apparent if one looks at other reactions of her lover. Although Mariana clearly appreciated Lister's masculine side – in letters and private conversations she refers to her as "Fred" and as "my husband", yet at the same time she admitted openly that she was often ashamed of Lister's masculine traits when in public.[68] In Halifax or even in York in the circle of personal friends or in Halifax among families that aspired to be on calling term with the Lister's, people were willing to accept Anne Lister to a certain degree as she presented herself. During a holiday with Mariana in Scarborough, Lister nevertheless had to experience that, outside her personal network, people were not so ready to accept her transgressions. However, Lister seems to have been able to ignore the fact that it was her masculine appearance that led to frictions with her environment. Even when she was openly rejected by others and reprimanded by her lover clearly for her masculine appearance and manner, Anne Lister chose to

65 Ibid.,155. Lister further notes: "speaking of my oddity, Mrs Priestley said she always told people I was natural, but she thought nature was in an odd freak when she made me. I looked significantly & replied the remark was fair & just & true." Ibid., 347.

66 Ibid., 278.

67 Ibid., 292, 285.

68 Ibid., 104, 129, 116.

see the cause for her ill treatment in her cheap clothes and in not being able to dress according to her social standing. Hence she wishes she had a silk pelisse instead of her cheap cloth one.[69]

It is difficult to judge if she simply suppressed the knowledge of the true reason for her rejection, or if she – perhaps rightly – assumed that if she had more financial resources and with that more social clout, people would have to accept her behaviour. Anne Lister was deeply conscious of her social background and attached great value to her social standing. Her class-consciousness is underscored by her political Tory identity (later in life she became an active campaigner for that party) and especially her firm attachment to the Anglican Church – both the institution and its faith.[70]

In her journal Lister stresses that she made sure she only interacted with people according to the etiquette of her time. Thus, she was always considering if she was actually on "calling terms" with new acquaintance (meaning if it was appropriate to visit them at home, which then of course would lead to them calling on her at Shibden). It is difficult to judge just how much of this is due to her own discrimination or to the fact that her uncle and aunt were adverse to visitors. It must not be forgotten that Anne Lister herself was at the time still dependent on her relatives and was inviting people into *their* house, not hers.[71] Nevertheless, there are several indicators that they were her own standards and values she adhered to. Throughout her life she tries hard to gain admittance to aristocratic circles above her own standing. Further, Lister was incredibly strict and often scathing in her judgement and description of the people in her environment. Not many were deemed acceptable by her; "vulgar" is probably the word most often used by Lister when writing about others.[72] That included her father and sister just as much as families in Halifax, which were often on social parity with Lister because of recently acquired wealth and not of ancient family pedigree. Even her beloved aunt does not escape her scrutiny, when they trav-

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69 Ibid., 294, 295.

70 She comments on sermons, records private prayers and reading the bible with her aunt and is on good terms with the parish priest who is her tutor during this time. When Lister and Mariana decide to read the same text every day at the same time in their respective homes, it is the New Testament they settle on, not one of the many classical texts or authors Lister so often writes about.

71 Ibid., 56, 58, 83, 84. Anne Lister's abhorrence of her vulgar (yet financially affluent) neighbours comes across as genuine and some events show that her aunt had the same attitude. Nevertheless, there are also entries, where we can see that Lister did not always use her relatives as an excuse for not being able to invite people. On the 19th February 1823, she explains to Miss Pickford that she cannot visit her because she cannot invite anybody to her house. The day before Lister noted: "I have no house to ask her to. I must hope for some society in days to come." (Ibid., 235).

72 About the Greenwoods, a family with newly acquired wealth Lister writes – not in code: "The whole kit of them & vulgar as ever. Miss Caroline's head like a porcupine. Surely Mrs. Greenwood must drink." (Ibid., 73)

elled away from the security of Halifax. During a journey to Wales, Anne comments with dismay: "My aunt is shabbily dressed & does not quite understand the thorough manners of a gentlewoman."[73] Lister meanwhile observes her own behaviour critically and often finds fault with it and need for improvement.

Anne Lister insisted on etiquette and form to an extent that even her environment considered her snobbish and arrogant. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the rules of interaction between the different levels and elements of society are taken very seriously by her compatriots as well and seem to matter much more than gender issues. The fluid boundaries between gender- and class rules are illustrated if one compares her actions and behaviour within the different relationships she has with other women. In Miss Brown's case, Lister refuses to visit her at home because Miss Brown belongs to a social stratum that Lister deems too low to be on calling terms with.[74] The actions of the Brown's show how seriously the family takes their daughter's budding acquaintance with a woman from a higher social class. However, even involving two females, this association is subjected to checks and balances and has to follow certain rituals or the reputation of their daughter could be imperilled. The friendship was a frequent subject when Lister called on neighbours, with the other young women indicating their jealousy and inquiring pointedly which of them was Lister's favourite and especially stressing Lister's need to call on Miss Brown.[75] Lister encouraged the conversation, clearly enjoying talking about her new favourite.[76] However, when Anne Lister showed no inclination of visiting Miss Brown, it was threatening the honour of Miss Brown. After Mrs. Brown overhears the calling-issue being discussed at a tea party, she declares to her daughter that she will not have her talked about and tries to curtail her walks with Anne Lister.[77] Leaving the church, one day Lister observes how family and neighbours leave her and Miss Brown alone and "I never did see two people left more tête-à-tête in my life. In this, I was obliged to offer my arm."[78] Apparently, relationships that cross class boundaries work according to the same mechanisms as those between the sexes. Thus, the party of Miss Brown tried to make the relationship between the two women official by making it visible to others and with that asserting some pressure on Lister to acknowledge the connection. However, their authority was limited and they risked that Miss Brown, as the weaker part of the relationship, might still be compromised and harmed in her reputation.

73 Ibid., 174.
74 Miss Brown's father is a merchant and Miss Brown is genteel enough to engage in leisure activities such as frequenting lectures on scientific subjects in Halifax.
75 Ibid., 55.
76 Ibid., 44.
77 Ibid., 81.
78 Ibid., 45, 54.

A further example for the blurred line between norms of gender and status, the application of these norms and how people established their own position through them, is Lister's frequent allusions to the custom of offering a partner one's arm while walking. The detail with which Lister describes this act with its fine variations of offering, accepting or taking the arm highlights that this is an acknowledged indicator of a person's position within a relationship. Anne Lister's contact with Miss Brown consists mainly of shared walks. Occasionally Lister notes that she has offered her arm to Miss Brown.[79] However, we can see above that she felt somewhat uncomfortable doing so after being officially left alone with Miss Brown but observed by others. And although Lister teaches Miss Brown how to shake hands, she avoids doing so with Miss Brown when other people are nearby, probably since this would, in Lister's view, have indicated the two being on equal footing.[80] With Miss Pickford the situation is more complex since the two women not only had to work out who was the *leading Lady* and therefore in the position to offer the arm, but also who would take the female position.[81] Lister plays safe: "I take hold of her arm & give her the outside & suit her humor."[82] Apparently Miss Pickford opted for the same approach, since a day later Lister records "She took my arm today. Seemed to do it naturally & never thinks to offer hers".[83] Miss Pickford does however take the initiative in shaking hands.[84] For Miss Brown it would have been a severe breech of conduct to offer her arm to Anne Lister or to take it.[85]

What is fascinating, or even puzzling, is that although Lister defies any clear gender affiliation for herself, she is irritated if others do not act according to gender norms. Thus she finds it unbearable to listen to a new curate because of his feminine voice and finds fault with a female acquaintance because she sticks her elbow out in a masculine fashion.[86] Lister is generally very outspoken in her dislike

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79 Ibid., 46, 54.

80 Lister records at other points her strong disapproval with her father or Miss Pickford for shaking hands with people of a lower standing, even if they were considered "respectable".

81 Although Lister has probably a higher social position, Miss Pickford is older and with that enjoys a natural position of authority (Lister, *I know my own heart*, 255-256). This is a good example of the importance of age, which is one of the categories that are often neglected. The relationship of the two women gains further significance through the fact that Miss Pickford confides in Anne Lister that she has an erotic relationship with a woman (Ibid., 269-270). Lister nevertheless does not reveal her own erotic feelings towards women.

82 Ibid., 237.

83 Ibid., 238.

84 Ibid., 236.

85 Lister's entry about a young female acquaintance in York illustrates further how complex the behavioural code is "We walked side by side…I then asked if she ever took anyone's arm & she immediately took mine. She would not have offered but waited for my doing so. After all, I generally meet with a sort of deference I scarce know what to attribute. Do they think me so clever that they shew it to me?" Ibid., 252-253.

86 Ibid., 100,133.

for "learned ladies" or "bas bleus".[87] Miss Pickford is an exception. Although Lister reaffirms at the beginning of their acquaintance her disapproval of learned women, she later admits that she enjoys the conversations with Miss Pickford, since she has the qualities of a gentleman.[88] It is nevertheless obvious that Lister mainly socialises with women. Men feature – as far as one can tell from the excerpts – little in the journals and there definitely seem to be no male role models or men with whom she converses on a regular basis, apart from her uncle. There must therefore have been little opportunity for Lister to talk about the intellectual subjects that are so important to her, but according to her, lie outside the feminine sphere. However, Lister states clearly that although she could not talk to women about learned topics, she would still prefer the company of a young girl to that of a gentleman.[89] It seems that the combination of erotic attraction and power was more alluring to Lister than intellectual exchange.

The journals of Anne Lister provide fine illustrations for various theoretical gender related concepts. Looking at the previous examples, there are many things we can learn. For one, it becomes obvious that our current binary gender system will not get us very far in trying to understand how gender works. Anne Lister clearly did not associate herself firmly with either the male or the female sphere. However, if we look at Lister's actions, we can really see that she performs, that she does gender. Judith Butler's statement that a body is not just matter but a "continual and incessant materializing of possibilities" is what Lister acts out when she tries out gendered behaviour in various versions and degrees.[90] Butler's argument that what we call gender identity is "a performative accomplishment compelled by social sanction and taboo" is clearly visible by how Lister's actions are conditioned by her environment.[91] We can further see how important it is to look at more categories than just one. The way in which Lister depicts herself in her journal underscores that she defined herself far more through categories such as class, occupation and religion than gender and that all her "gendered" actions are conditioned by the other categories. One aspect only hinted at in this paper is sexuality. It is often clear in Lister's narrative that sexuality is a driving force and directly connected to power. It is a power position which Lister seeks and usually claims in her relationships with other people, and which she translates with and connects to masculine terms. Perhaps we therefore should look less for male and female, but more for those who have power and those who do not, and at power structures in general.

Although Anne Lister's power-position was a male connotated one and although she used masculine dress in the privacy of her bedroom and her erotic

87 Ibid., 106, 170.
88 Ibid., 270-271.
89 Ibid., 153, 241.
90 Butler, *Performative Acts*, 521.
91 Ibid., 520.

fantasies, in public Lister did not resort to a male dress code. She wore typical female dress such as pelisses and chemises and used female underwear to shape her body. She spent a considerable amount of time and money to have her hair dressed according to the current fashion including wearing false locks. This might have been because there was but a very fine line between being labelled as a strong individual rather than being perceived as an anomaly, as the various reactions by the general public, her friends and her lover demonstrated. However, in the text available she voices no regret for not being able to wear masculine clothing. She does express however her frustration of her inability to afford good quality clothing and to dress according to her status. She established her sartorial difference through her black and simple dress code and by avoiding the feminine markers of marital status. She established her masculine or, as Lister probably would call it, her gentleman image, mainly through physical performance, which she employed depending on the situation, often when she wanted to impress another female. She was clearly upset when she lost control over when and how her masculine image was appraised.

By adopting a dress-code and other body techniques that differed from "the rest" Lister underscored that she claimed a position that would officially not have been available to her.[92] That her environment allowed her to claim this position to a great extent is mainly because she adhered very strictly to other norms and even enforced them herself, such us class/status, religious and political affiliation.

We can glean from the response of her environment that gender was an important category, but that there were other categories, which were at just as important, if not more so. And we can see that women were not just oppressed victims and that they, like Anne Lister, had enough agency to negotiate their position within their environment.

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[92] Lister, *I know my own heart*, 344

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Illustrations

Fig. 1: Watercolour portrait of Anne Lister of Shibden Hall 19th century, West Yorkshire Archive SH:2/M/19/1/1

Fig. 2: Diary of Anne Lister 11 Apr 1819 until 22 Nov 1819 (entry for 14-15 April 1819 – pages 6-7), West Yorkshire Archive SH:7/ML/E/3

An Exercise in Ottoman Sartorial Micro-History: The Many Breeches, Shoes, and Fezzes of Mehmed Cemal Bey, 1855–1864

Edhem Eldem

1. Introduction

"In this notebook have been recorded exactly as they were the revenues and expenditures of this worthless and sincere servant Mehmed Cemal from the twenty-first day of the month of Rebiyülevvel of this year twelve hundred and seventy-two [1 December 1855], together with the note exposing the quantity of wealth he possessed at that point that has accumulated in the past years."[1] These are the opening lines of a manuscript notebook in which the said Mehmed Cemal Bey kept for nearly a decade a detailed account of his revenues and expenditures. This paper is an attempt at interrogating this particular document in the very specific direction of a micro-historical analysis of the consumption patterns of an Ottoman bureaucrat in the mid-nineteenth century. As such, this is an offshoot of a more general treatment of the same material in an earlier article, designed to offer a general appraisal of the eight years or so covered by Mehmed Cemal Bey's accounts.[2] The title of the article made it a point to qualify this young state official as a bourgeois, with a direct reference to the article jointly written more than twenty-five years ago by Paul Dumont and François Georgeon on a certain Said Bey, based on this bureaucrat's diary and account books covering a number of years in the 1910s.[3] It is my contention in this respect that the similarity between these two cases, although some fifty years apart, could be stretched to include the use of the same terminology to describe the social status of Mehmed Cemal Bey, whom I would readily include into the vague but somewhat promising category of an "Istanbul bourgeoisie."[4]

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1 *Bu abd-i bi-mecal Mehmed Cemal muhlislerinin işbu iki yüz yetmiş iki senesi şehr-i Rebiyülevvelin yirmi birinci gününden itibaren varidat ve mesarifat-ı vakıasıyla sinin-i güzeşte hasılatından teraküm edüb aynen mevcud olan mebaliğin mikdarını mübeyyin sergi pusulası ayniyle işbu deftere kayd olundu fi 21 RA sene 1272* (p. 77).

2 Edhem Eldem, "Un bourgeois d'Istanbul au milieu du XIX^{e} siècle. Le livre de raison de Mehmed Cemal bey, 1855-1864," Nathalie Clayer, and Erdal Kaynar (eds.), *Penser, agir et vivre dans l'Empire ottoman et en Turquie. Études réunies pour François Georgeon* (Paris-Leuwen-Walpole: Peeters, 2013), 372–406.

3 Paul Dumont and François Georgeon, "Un bourgeois d'Istanbul au début du XXe siècle," *Turcica*, XVII (1985): 126–87.

4 For a discussion of my use of the term bourgeoisie in an Ottoman context, with particular reference to Istanbul, see E. Eldem, "Istanbul 1903-1918: A Quantitative Analysis of *a*

2. Mehmed Cemal Bey and his accounts

Of the remaining 79 pages of this bound notebook of originally 81 pages numbered in western numerals, Mehmed Cemal Bey has used pages 77 through 23 to record his revenues and expenditures from 21 Rebiyülevvel 1272 (1 December 1855) to 16 Şaban 1280 (26 January 1864). Kept mostly in the *siyakat* script, the rather cryptic script used by fiscal and financial scribes from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, these detailed accounts trace in great detail Mehmed Cemal's daily operations, from salary received to presents given, and from shaving expenses to the sale or purchase of books and manuscripts. The almost anachronistic use of the *siyakat* script betrays part of the man's profile: he was evidently a bureaucrat in some accounting department of the administration who rather pedantically showed off his mastery of a long abandoned specialized script. Luckily, we know somewhat more about him, thanks to the information provided by his descendants.[5] He was the son of Esad Efendi, accountant (*muhasebeci*) at the Imperial Treasury (*Hazine-i Hassa*). His personnel file (*sicill-i ahval*) from the Ottoman State Archives describes him as "Mehmed Cemal Bey, born in Istanbul in 1252, son of the accountant of the Imperial Treasury, Esad Efendi."[6] This same source reveals that he was born in 1252 (between April 18, 1836 and April 6, 1837), that following an early education at an unspecified primary school (*mekteb-i sıbyan*), he entered in 1264/1848, at the age of about eleven, the *Mekteb-i Maarif-i Adliye*, opened in 1838 to recruit civil servants for the state,[7] where he was taught grammar and syntax (*sarf ü nahiv*) before passing an examination that allowed him to transfer to the *Darü'l-Maârif* school, founded in 1266/1850, where he studied logic, geography and calculus (*mantık ve coğrafya ve hesab*). Considering that he entered government service in 1268/1852, at the age of sixteen, we must assume that his entire formal education consisted of these five years spent in the two schools mentioned above. He was first recruited into the offices of the Imperial Council (*Divan Kalemi*), and then into the Minutes Bureau of the High Council (*Meclis-i Vâlâ Mazbata Odası*).

Bourgeoisie," *Boğaziçi Journal. Review of Social, Economic and Administrative Studies*, v. 11, 1-2 (1997) *Istanbul Past and Present Special Issue*: 53-98; and my "[A Quest for] The Bourgeoisie of Istanbul: Identities, Roles, and Conflicts," paper presented at the Middle East Studies Association of North America Conference, Orlando, November, 2000, pupblished as E. Eldem, "(A Quest for) the bourgeoisie of Istanbul: Identities, roles, and conflicts," Ulrike Freitag, and Nora Lafi (eds.), *Urban Governance under the Ottomans. Between cosmopolitanism and conflict* (London-New York: Routledge, 2014), 159–86.

5 The notebook was given to me by his granddaughter, Ms. Nurcemal Yenal, whom I wish to thank once again for her kindness.

6 BOA, DH.SAİD, 2/180. *Mehmed Cemal Bey; 1252 İstanbul doğumlu, Hazine-i Hassa Muhasebecisi Esad Efendi'nin oğlu.*

7 Many sources consider this school to have been a center for the formation of judges, due to the term *Adliye* in its name. It appears, however, that this term was just a reference to Sultan Mahmud (*Adlî*) during whose reign this institution was opened. Some sources call it *Mekteb-i Maarif-i Adlî* (Mahmud Cevad ibni e'ş-Şeyh Nafi, *Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Tarihçe-i Teşkilat ve İcraati* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1338/1922), 25.

The following year, in 1269/1853, he was transferred to the payments office of the Imperial Treasury (*Hazine-i Hassa Sergi Kalemi*), a promotion that was probably not unrelated to the fact that his father, Esad Efendi, was already an officer (*mümeyyiz*) of that bureau. At that point in time, Mehmed Cemal Bey's personnel file catches up with our document: the first entry in his account book mentioning his salary dates from 2 Rebiyülahir 1272/December 12, 1855, and indicates that he received 300 piasters, followed by another 120 piasters ten days later, representing a monthly pay of 420 piasters for the month of Teşrin-i sani (November) 1271.[8] There is little more we can learn from Mehmed Cemal's official file that is relevant to the document under study: the next entry is dated 1284/1867, almost four years after the end of the account book. It does mention, without any chronological precision, that between these two dates "his salary increased gradually to the level of eight hundred piasters, and he was promoted to the third rank of the bureaucracy (*rütbe-i salise*) and to the position of *refik-i evvel* (first associate?).

Out of curiosity, one may wonder what would eventually become of Mehmed Cemal Bey, whose notebook covers only eight years of his rather unassuming career at the Treasury. In 1288/1871, at age 36, he reached the position of first inspector (*mümeyyiz-i evvel*), which his father had occupied at the time of his entry into service; by 1294/1877 he became bureau chief (*müdür*) and was promoted to first rank, second class (*rütbe-i ûlâ, sınıf-i sani*). As his bureau was abolished in 1297/1880, he was left in limbo for some time, until he was reinstated as a member of the Council of Financial Affairs (*Şura-yı Umur-ı Maliye*) in August 1881. Yet as this council was also abolished three years later, he was demoted, only to be 'recycled' four months later as a member of the *Divan-ı Muhasebat*, the Court of Audit. His career from that point on is not clear, as it does not appear in his personnel file. One may want to add, however, *pour la petite histoire*, that Mehmed Cemal Bey contracted two marital alliances with the same family, that of İbrahim Edhem Pasha (1818?-1893). His first-born daughter, Fatma Saime (1856-1940), who appears frequently in the accounts, was married to Edhem Pasha's third and least known son, Mustafa Mazlum Bey (1851-1893). His son from a third marriage, born in 1883 and thus almost thirty years younger than Saime, was married in 1912 to Nazlı (1893-1958), daughter of Edhem Pasha's first-born – and most famous – son, Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910).

3. A life revealed

Mehmed Cemal's accounts may not pass for a summary of his life and career, but they do reveal a remarkable amount of very detailed information on the eight years or so that they covered, and which corresponded to the very beginning of his

8 Salaries were based on the Rumi or solar calendar, but Mehmed Cemal kept his accounts according to the Hicri or lunar calendar.

adulthood. Indeed, let us not forget that he was born in 1252/1836 and that at the time of the first entry (December 1855) he was only nineteen years old. True he had entered the administration three years earlier, at the remarkably young age of sixteen; but most of his early service must have taken place under his father's close supervision. At any rate, one of the most striking observations to be derived from the account book had to do with a form of immaturity, revealed by the absence of certain crucial items in the long list of personal expenditures. Indeed, throughout the eight years of accounting, there was not a single entry that could relate to the expenses of a home, be it in the form of rent, purchase, heating, cleaning or any other form of domestic obligation that might be associated with the maintenance and running of an individual house. When combined with the frequency of gifts and presents received from both his parents – up to 40 percent of his salary during the first year – it becomes rather obvious that Mehmed Cemal was a young man living with his parents and with a still limited financial autonomy. He was clearly a rather typical son of an Ottoman bourgeois family, who was starting up in life and at work, and who benefited from his parents' unconditional support in this endeavor.[9]

Mehmed Cemal may have depended greatly on his parents, but that did not prevent him from setting up his own little household in the parental house. Knowing that the family had a house – probably a *konak* or townhouse – in Kızıltaş, in the vicinity of Laleli, and a summer residence – probably a *yalı* or seaside mansion – in Çengelköy, one has no difficulty imagining a situation where the size of these houses would have allowed for the son to have his own apartments (*daire*) within the same premises. Perhaps the clearest indicator that Mehmed Cemal, while living at the paternal home, was setting up his own household was his family. At the very beginning of the book, he is already married to a certain İsmet Hanım, who would give birth to a daughter by the name of Saime in May 1856, but would die shortly after, in January 1857. About two years later, he would remarry, this time to a Fitnat Hanım. Throughout the accounts, one can somehow follow the evolution of this small familial circle. A particular emphasis is given to Saime, whose childhood years becomes the occasion for many expenses, from a wet nurse to the feast celebrating her first day at school, and from her many garments to the management of her small estate. Other family members appear almost accidentally, depending on financial circumstances, such as presents or expenses during visits. One discovers not one, but two, sets of in-laws, past and present, one brother, two sisters, one niece and two uncles; both his parents are omnipresent, mostly through their generous treatment of their son.

Beyond these relatives lies the inner circle of unrelated household members, mostly servants and slaves. At the top Mehmed's former preceptor (*lala*) Ömer

9 This and the following details about Mehmed Cemal's life are directly taken from my "Un bourgeois d'Istanbul au milieu du XIX^{e} siècle," *art. cit.*

Agha acted as a sort of butler, while his housekeeper (*vekilharc*) Ali Agha ran the household. At the bottom of the ladder, a number of female slaves (*cariye*) constituted the workforce of the household. In all, some forty-odd people, only one of whom – Ömer Agha – received regular pay, the others appearing through expenses and especially presents and gratuities; considering that not all were slaves, this situation seems to suggest that they were in fact part of the greater parental household. Outside of the household, an outer circle consisted of a number of friends, acquaintances, colleagues.

4. A cultivated consumer

As a logical consequence of the nature of the document under study, an accounting book, the best-documented aspect of Mehmed Cemal Bey's life is his material circumstances, especially his consumption. The revenue side of his accounts is rather predictable and regular; it consists of his salary, of frequent gifts from his parents, and of a number of more occasional inputs, such as dividends from a *mukataa* (tax-farm) from a village in Anatolia, and interest accrued from a number of obligations. Not surprisingly his expenditures were much more diverse and varied. Ömer Agha's salary, his wife's pocket money, wages paid for certain services, and gratuities (*atiyye*) to a large number of dependents formed a first category of expenditure. An extension of this category would include less regular, but still social, payments: donations to the mosques of Kızıltaş and Kuleli, payments made to a number of individuals on festive occasions. I would include in a somewhat similar category payments for a number of services outside of the household: boat fare, carriage rental, barber and bath fees… Some professionals were seen more scarcely, such as a midwife, an apothecary, several physicians, and even a specialist of bloodletting (*kancı*), probably using leeches.

Yet the bulk of Mehmed Cemal's expenditures consisted of purchases of goods and commodities. Some were extremely common, especially those of perishable nature such as foodstuff: flour, fruit, vegetables, olive oil, sour cherry juice, bread, jams, or pastry like baklava, *kadayıf* or almond paste from the famous Hacı Bekir… Not surprisingly, this category seems to have been strongly underrepresented, most probably because it was still his father Esad Efendi's duty to ensure the larger household's provisioning. At the other end of the spectrum stood a very unique commodity, constituting the single most expensive item throughout the whole period of eight years: an eight-year-old slave girl for the impressive sum of 22,750 piasters. A horse, purchased a year earlier, had cost 3,250 piasters, exactly seven times less.

The young slave was not the only luxury item listed in the accounts. Jewelry, gold chains, clocks represented handsome sums and were occasionally resold to allow for other purchases. Yet the most striking category of such items is certainly that of books, some of which can certainly be considered to have been luxury objects. Mehmed Cemal possessed three Korans valued at 5,350, 4,500, and 2,500 piasters, respectively. The rest of the books he purchased were of a much less exceptional nature, consisting of a very small number of ordinary and inexpensive manuscripts and of a wide array of even cheaper printed books, including dictionaries, history books, poetry, or simply state almanacs and calendars.

5. Clothing

Not surprisingly, apart from food, the most important and frequent category of goods concerns textiles, garments, and shoes. All sorts of fabrics appear throughout the text, often to be entrusted to a number of tailors for the preparation of clothing. Among these fabrics, one could mention silk (*harir*), printed cottons (*basma*), woolens (*çuka*), cambric (*batista*), kerseymere (*kazmir*)… The garments bought and ordered also display a great variety. Under the category of men's clothing, almost exclusively destined to Mehmed Cemal himself, were ties (*boyunbağı*), socks (*çorab*), gloves (*eldiven*), shirts (*gömlek*), coats (*palto*), vests (*yelek*), jackets (*setri*)… The most frequent items were trousers or breeches (*pantalon*) and, of course, the ever-present fez (*fes*) and its inevitable silk tassel (*püskül*). For women, the list is somewhat shorter, and mostly related to his wife Fitnat Hanım's and his daughter Saime's consumption: socks (*çorab*), dresses (*elbise*), outdoor mantles (*ferace*), face veils (*yaşmak*). Shoes were particularly present in a wide variety of forms for both genders: slippers (*terlik*), indoors shoes (*lapçın* and *mest*), ankle boots (*fotin* < Fr. *bottine*), clogs (*nalın*), and the generic *kundura* and *papuç* (shoes). Table III gives a detailed listing of all these purchases throughout the entire period.

A closer look at each of these items, at their nomenclature, description, pricing, and frequency of purchase may well reveal a number of interesting observations and patterns. Table I summarizes these findings by listing the most frequently encountered items, together with their extreme and average prices. The trends that appear are pretty clear. Some clothing items recur with constancy, a clear sign that they constituted the backbone of Mehmed Cemal's wardrobe. Among these breeches – already named exclusively after the French *pantalon* – hold a particularly prominent place, with fourteen occurrences, almost two pairs a year. They are mostly made of kerseymere (*kazmir*) and may cost as little as 90 piasters and as much as 260; in most cases, however, they seem to fetch anything around 200 piasters, making them one of the most significant budget items in this particular department, reaching some 2 500 piasters. The famed *setri*, the local version of the European frock coat, represented almost twice this amount, but its much higher cost – almost 500 piasters – allowed for less frequent purchases, about eight in eight years, if one includes one purchase of a *sako* (jacket). And then of course, there were the shoes, many of them, representing approximately the same budget as the costly jackets. No less than nineteen pairs of *kundura*, the generic description of western-type outdoor shoes; but also twenty-four pairs of indoors shoes, predominantly *lapçın*, "a kind of short house-boot, laced at the side,"[10] and *mest*, "a light, soleless boot, worn in the house or inside of over-shoes."[11] To these one should add twenty-nine pairs of socks (*çorab*), six pairs of handkerchiefs (*mendil*),[12] two pairs of gloves (*eldiven*), and the most expensive accessory, silk ties, purchased twice at the very high prices of 50 and 120 piasters. The most typical accessory, however, is evidently the fez (*fes*) and its inseparable accessory, the silk tassel (*püskül*), hanging from its top down to the level of the ear. Mehmed Cemal purchased no less than nineteen fezzes, which suggests that he changed his headgear two to three times per year. He also purchased tassels fourteen times, which amounts to about one hundred pieces, since they seemed to be sold in batches of six, seven, or eight.[13]

Table I – Frequency of purchase and pricing of main items

Item	*Occurrences*	*Price: min-max (average)*
fes	19	20-35 (29)
fes püskülü	14	17-30 (20)
boyunbağı	2	50-120
setri	8	440-520 (475)
şal	2	900-1500
kürk	5	135-430 (300)
eldiven	2	15
mendil	6	17-25 (20)
pantalon	14	90-260 (180)
çorab	29	7-13 (9)
kundura	19	115-210 (160)
mest	9	36-60 (48)
lapçın	15	15-20 (17)

10 James W. Redhouse, *Türkçeden İngilizceye Lugat Kitabı. A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Constantinople: H. Matteosian, 1921), 1617.

11 Redhouse, *Lexicon*, p. 1830. The term is also used to describe galoshes worn over shoes as a form of protection, particularly against water and mud. In Mehmed Cemal's accounts it seems pretty clear that *lapçın* and *mest* are used interchangeably.

12 On handkerchiefs, see, Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Âdet, Merasim ve Tabirleri* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfi Yurt Yayınları, 1995), vol. 1, 228.

13 On the fez, see "Fes," Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 10 (Istanbul: Koçu Yayınları, 1971), 5698–702. Talking about the silk tassel, the article notes that there were "tassel combers" (*püskül tarayıcı*) in the street, whose trade was to comb out and detangle tassels that had been tangled by the wind.

One needs only to put these garments and accessories together to visualize what the young Mehmed Cemal Bey may have looked like: with his dark jacket and breeches, wearing his fez, and with a silk handkerchief in his pocket, he must have looked like an embodiment of the young clerk (*kâtip*) in the famous *Kâtibim* song, best known by the beginning of its first verse: "*Üsküdar'a gider iken*." The hem of his long jacket soiled by the mud of the streets after the rain ("*Üsküdar'a gider iken aldı da bir yağmur / Kâtibimin setrisi uzun, eteği çamur*"), so handsome in his starch-white shirt ("*Kâtibime kolalı da gömlek ne güzel yaraşır*") that his lover offers him sweets in a handkerchief ("*Mendilimin içine de lokum doldurdum*")… True, the song does not speak about breeches and shoes, and Mehmed Cemal seems to have purchased shirts (*gömlek*) only twice; yet it is clear that he was pretty much following the new kind of sartorial elegance that modernization cum westernization had imposed on civil servants and on an ever-widening section of the population.

6. A historical digression

The development of the costume that would eventually become Mehmed Cemal's standard outfit had a relatively recent past. By and large, the appearance of western(ized) garb in the Ottoman Empire could be traced back to the reforms of the second half of Mahmud II's reign and, more precisely, to the adoption of a new type of military uniform in 1828. As such, it formed an integral part of the long and sometimes bumpy process of military modernization undertaken by the Ottoman state. Mahmud II's transformation of the army was both a practical and a symbolic move. Practically speaking, the aim was to fulfill what had been the desire of several monarchs before him, namely to increase the performance and efficiency of the troops by adopting western military technology, organization, and training. On the symbolic side, the aim was to break with certain traditional forms and signs of the past, most notably with anything that could be associated with the Janissary institution. One particular area in which the changes undergone by the military institution were to be felt was costume, uniform and, by extension, all visual signs linked to the aspect of troops and officers. A first transformation of military uniform along western lines had been attempted under Selim III, with the creation of the *Nizam-ı Cedid* (New Order) regiments, and had been cause of much discontent among the 'conservative' elements in the army and administration. With the establishment of the *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* to replace the now abolished janissaries, Mahmud II once again engaged in sartorial reforms aimed at introducing a western-inspired military uniform. In general terms, the new uniform did away with the traditional garb that had until then characterized the outfit of Ottoman troops. One of the major changes was the introduction of tight knee-breeches (*potur*) and of a velvet waistcoat (*kadife cepken*). Most of all, the turbans, which had constituted the most distinctive signs of Ottomans, both military and civilian, were replaced in the army by a wadded cap called *şubara*.[14] In 1828, however, yet another change was brought to this outfit, as the *şubara*, deemed unsatisfactory, was replaced by the famous fez, which would soon become the trademark of the Ottoman costume. The following year, in 1829, this sartorial reform, which had remained limited to the military institution, was extended to the civilian bureaucracy of the Empire, with the compulsory introduction of jackets, waistcoats, trousers, boots and, of course, the fez.

Not surprisingly, these reforms and the rapid and forceful way in which they were introduced, met with strong criticism and even occasional resistance from the public. The opposition to the new garb was based on two, often overlapping, frustrations. On the one hand, the abandonment of old garb was felt as an insult to tradition, both Islamic and Ottoman. In a more practical sense, it meant doing away with former signs of distinction, ranging from the color and quality of fabrics worn to the shape and size of the headgear, not to mention the jewelry and other distinctive signs that could be attached to it. The most crucial distinction that was thus suddenly erased was that between Muslims and non-Muslims, an infuriating development from the perspective of the former. On the other hand, the adoption of a style of costume that was, after all, heavily inspired from western garments brought to mind the idea that the whole reform was aimed at de-Islamizing the state and at adopting 'infidel' forms and practices. The fact that members of the *ulema* were spared from this transformation and allowed to maintain their traditional garb was probably viewed by many as an implicit admission of this 'hidden agenda' of the reformist Sultan.[15]

For very different reasons, some westerners were of the same mind as the conservative opponents to the sartorial transformation of military officers and state employees. D'Aubignosc, a former *grognard* of the French imperial army who had then found employment in the Ottoman army, was one of those who believed that Mahmud II's reforms were destabilizing and frustrating the Ottomans, thus causing the exact reverse of what was aimed. His comments are extremely interesting, as they rather typically combine a 'rational' analysis based on the functional aspects of this major change with an Orientalist appraisal of the incompatibility of these innovations with some of the 'essential' attributes of the Oriental people. Thus, he was the first to admit that the reform had the positive effect of leveling and erasing former distinctions, privileges and social cleavages

14 Ahmed Lutfî Efendi, *Vak'anüvîs Ahmed Lûtfî Efendi Tarihi* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı-Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), vol. 1, 188 (events of 1243/1827-1828).

15 On Mahmud II's sartorial reforms, see, for example, Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 99–100; Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 2, *Reform, Revolution, and Republic. The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 49; Carter Vaughn Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom. A Social History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 212–4; Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 146–8.

that were best forgotten and that the new attire yielded numerous and serious advantages from the perspective of cost and function. Yet, he argued, the transformation had been too radical and had not given individuals the time to adapt to change. Instead of changing their outfit overnight, would it not have been better, he asked, "to choose convenient and comfortable garments?" To him, western costume simply did not meet the requirements of the Oriental body:

> This caution was most of all rendered necessary by the physical constitution of Muslims, which they derive from their education and behavior. By neglecting this concern, they have ridiculed a people who, only a few years ago, still had an imposing look.
> Today, they are in a pitiful state. The use of the sofa bends the back and sinks the chest; their way of sitting turns their feet inwards and arches their legs. Many who seem disabled are in fact just badly dressed.
> The width of previous outfits used to mask these acquired infirmities. Tight garments, on the contrary, underline and emphasize them. To this, one should add that they are all awkward in their new attire. This change has been all the more unkind to bureaucrats. They no longer display the grandeur, which, combined with their habitual detachment, used to command admiration and respect.
> Embarrassed in their embroidered suits and coats, made by clumsy tailors, not knowing how to carry their swords or sabers as an obligatory part of their official costume, they themselves are ashamed of a metamorphosis they know is not to their advantage, and they appear to be sharing the hilarity caused by their aspect when they think they can substitute a smile to the past gravity in their expression.
> There are even some of small stature, such as Reshid Pasha and Sarim Efendi, well known in London, whose efforts to imitate the western manners they had studied during their embassies in Europe, literally turned them into monkeys.[16]

D'Aubignosc was a lucid, but heavily biased, observer. His criticism was heavily tainted with a nostalgic form of Orientalism, which longed for the splendor and decorum of past ceremonies. He lamented on the abandonment of the fabulous pomp of Imperial pageants, of the glittering of shiny armors and helmets, the changing hues of colorful costumes, the swaying of plumes and aigrettes on the headgear of the Janissary guard of the Sultan.[17] His frustration went so far as to devote an entire chapter of his book to "the great moustaches," the ban of which–based on the association between this facial feature and the former Janissaries–he criticized strongly as yet another example of the loss of dignity and manliness that had come with reform.[18]

Despite diverse forms of opposition, Sultan Mahmud's sartorial reforms went their way, and by the time of his son and successor Abdülmecid's reign the new Ottoman costume was solidly implanted not only among state officials, but throughout most of the urban middle and upper classes. One way of documenting this transformation is to observe the transformation of the vocabulary by following

16 L.-P.-B. d'Aubignosc, *La Turquie nouvelle jugée au point où l'ont amenée les réformes du Sultan Mahmoud* (Paris: Delloye, 1839), 254–5.
17 D'Aubignosc, *La Turquie nouvelle*, 257–63.
18 D'Aubignosc, *La Turquie nouvelle*, 269–76.

the vicissitudes of one particular piece of garment, breeches or trousers, in the Turkish language. In the early 1830s, the French term *pantalon* found only traditional translations, such as *çakşır* or *şalvar*;[19] ten years later, in Alexandre Handjéri's famous dictionary, the situation had not changed and there was still no new term to describe the new garment.[20] It seems that it was not before the 1860s that *pantalon* made its official entry into the Turkish language, as would attest its appearance as a translation for "breeches" in Redhouse's 1861 dictionary.[21] From that date on, the word would appear systematically in all foreign language dictionaries;[22] but it would take another decade to make it into Turkish dictionaries. The 1864 *Müntehabat-ı Lugat-ı Osmaniye* did not include such a term,[23] and Ahmed Vefik Pasha seems to have been the first to innovate by using the word in the first edition of his *Lehce-i Osmanî*, dated 1876, already in the phonetically corrupted form of *pantolon*, which it has maintained to this day in Turkish.[24]

7. A male wardrobe

One of the striking characteristics of Mehmed Cemal's accounting is the degree to which it seems to have been almost exclusively centered on his own person. Clothing was no exception, and one is struck by how few garments seem to have been destined to other members of the household. The way in which he kept his accounts leaves little doubt or ambiguity: practically all items are specifically identified as to their use by the mention of "*lazime-i* …" (of use for …) followed by the name of an individual. In the overwhelming majority of the cases, the term used is "*çakerî*" or "the servant," the typical Ottoman formula of feigned modesty corresponding to "yours truly." Other than the humble Mehmed Cemal, the rare beneficiaries were some real slaves, individually named, his wife – *halile-i çakerî* ("your servant's wife") – and his daughter Saime, *kerime-i çakerî* ("your servant's daughter").

Table II leaves no doubt as to how dominant Mehmed Cemal was in the household's clothing expenses, totaling almost 90 percent of the value and over 80 percent of the quantity of all items purchased. If his daughter came next and well before his wife and slaves, it was mostly because of the celebration of her first day at school (*bed' cemiyeti*) in May, 1862, when she received a 500-piaster dress and a

19 T. X. Bianchi, *Vocabulaire français-turc* (Paris: Everat, 1831), 559.

20 Alexandre Handjéri, *Dictionnaire français-arabe-persan et turc* (Moscow: Université impériale, 1841), vol. 3, 11.

21 James W. Redhouse, *A Lexicon, English and Turkish* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1861), 95.

22 For example, James W. Redhouse, *Redhouse's Dictionary, in Two Parts, English and Turkish, and Turkish and English* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1880), 57, 219, 344, 473; Şemseddin Sami [Fraschery], *Kamus-ı Fransevî. Türkceden Fransızcaya Lugat. Dictionnaire turc-français* (Constantinople: Mihran, 1885), 284.

23 Mustafa Şükrü Eyyubî, *Kitab-ı Müntehabat-ı Lugat-ı Osmaniye* ([Istanbul]: Matbaa-I Âmire, 1280/1864).

24 Ahmed Vefik, *Lehce-i Osmânî* (İstanbul: Tabhane-i Âmire, 1293/1876), vol. 1, 350.

150-piaster fur, representing together about 40 percent of all the money spent on her clothing. The imbalance between Mehmed Cemal and his female household was also reflected in the average value of the items purchased. His own garments cost on average twice more than his wife's and three times more than his slaves', who rarely got anything else than socks, slippers and interior shoes. His daughter was much luckier, and her garments fetched higher values, albeit disproportionately amplified by the few highly expensive items mentioned above.

Table II – Distribution of clothing purchases in the household

	total value	*%*	*total items*	*%*	*average value*
Mehmed Cemal	17950 pi	87.2	170	80.2	106 pi
daughter	1600 pi	7.8	19	9.0	84 pi
wife	690 pi	3.4	12	5.6	57 pi
slaves	340 pi	1.6	11	5.2	31 pi
total	20580 pi	100.0	212	100.0	97 pi

Tempting as it may be to interpret this imbalance by abusive male domination and egocentrism, it seems impossible to imagine that such a crowded household should have been literally starved in terms of clothing, or that Mehmed Cemal's wife should have accepted to live on such a petty wardrobe of slippers, handkerchiefs and cotton dresses. One would rather imagine that once again the young man's budget reflected his financial dependency on his parents, and that whatever seems to be missing in the books must have been paid for by the real paterfamilias, Esad Efendi, whom Mehmed Cemal so rightly refers to as *veliyü'n-niam* (benefactor). This assumption is further confirmed by frequent references to "support" (*iane*) from his father or from both his parents for the purchase of some items for his own consumption. It is therefore more than likely that the slaves' real wardrobe, and possibly that of the little Saime should have depended on Esad Efendi's generosity. That this should have also included Mehmed Cemal's wife is much less probable, and in this particular case one would have to assume that she herself must have been behind the acquisition of most of her goods. Some clear indications that Fitnat Hanım was financially rather active, and that she regularly received a monthly "salary" (*maaş*) from her husband seem to confirm this scenario.[25]

For this reason, the number of typically feminine clothing items in the account book is extremely limited. Slaves received socks (*çorab*) and interior boots (*lapçın*), the only exceptions consisting of a 20-piaster *yaşmak* (face veil) for Mahiser and a 40-piaster *ferace* (outdoor mantle) for Cezb-i Halet Kalfa, both of which suggests that at least these two women had reasons to go out. His wife Fitnat's few items were hardly more varied, consisting of socks, indoors shoes

25 Eldem, "Un bourgeois d'Istanbul," 383–5.

and slippers (*çedik*, *terlik*), shoes (*papuç*), clogs (*nalın*),[26] handkerchiefs (*mendil*), a 100-piaster dress (*elbise*), and 60 piasters' worth of cambric. His daughter Saime was clearly better off, or rather much more present in the accounts, when it came to the variety and quality of clothing. From a very tender age – she received her first pair of *fotin* at three months – she would be showered with shoes (*fotin* and *kundura*) and indoors boots (*lapçın*), six pairs of the former, five of the latter, and a pair of boots when she was seven and a half. The little girl was also the beneficiary of much finer items: a silk umbrella when she was only one, no less than five dresses that cost between 100 and 500 piasters, and two furs worth 150 and 135 piasters. Some of these items were clearly earmarked for very special occasions: the 500-piaster dress and 150-piaster fur were part of the 2,000-piaster budget allocated for Saime's *bed cemiyeti*, her first day at school, when she was six. The 150-piaster dress she received a few months before this major event was labeled "*ıydiyye elbisesi*" or "festival dress," as it was evidently a present to be worn during the *ıyd-i Fıtr* or *şeker bayramı* (Sugar Festival) that would end the month of Ramadan. One should also probably see a particular meaning in the fact that Saime received an outdoor mantle (*ferace*) worth 50 piasters just after she turned seven; this must have been a sort of coming of age, symbolized by what was the most common and typical outdoor garment for Ottoman women at the time.[27]

Yet it was again for Mehmed Cemal Bey's own consumption that some of the most extravagant and expensive items appeared on the pages of the account book. He purchased no less than three furs for himself, at prices averaging 400 piasters. Two of these were identified with some precision; one was made of *Bosna nafesi*, the fur from the belly of a Bosnian fox, while the other was a *çilkafa* – from *cild-i kafa* ("head-skin") – made from pieces taken from the neck or back of foxes or wolves.[28] Nor did the expenses on furs stop at that; as in the Ottoman tradition furs were worn inwards, they had to be sown inside a garment (*kürk kabı*), which could also be expensive. The accounts bear traces of at least four such garments, whose prices could vary between a low 60 to a high 150; three of these were specifically described as being made of *Lahuraki* (a fine merino woolen), *çuka* (broadcloth), and *zeneb* (tails (?)). Mehmed Cemal seems to have indulged in the purchase of items even more expensive than furs. Half a piece of *şal-i anberser* (amber-like/amber-colored (?) shawl) to be used for a jacket (*hırka*) had cost him 900 piasters;[29] just one and a half *zira* (cubit) – a little more than a meter – of *Karamanî şal* (a shawl from Karaman (?)) could fetch the rather incredible sum of 1,350 piasters to which he had to add another 160 for the tailor who would make the precious fabric into a *yemeni*, a kerchief.

26 On clogs (*nalın*), see, *Osmanlı Âdet, Merasim ve Tabirleri*, vol. 1, 230.

27 On the *ferace*, see "Ferace," Koçu, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 10, 5650–2.

28 James W. Redhouse, *Türkceden İngilizceye Lugat Kitabı. A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Constantinople: Matteosian, 1921), 671.

29 Fort his sort of summer jackets, see, *Osmanlı Âdet, Merasim ve Tabirleri*, vol. 1, 226.

8. A microcosm of purveyors and artisans

The two separate entries for Mehmed Cemal's shawl, one concerning the purchase of the object, and the other the work of a tailor to transform it into a garment, are a good reminder of a precious kind of information contained in the book, namely the identity and location of some of the traders and artisans involved in Mehmed Cemal's clothing needs. The most interesting aspect of the question is without any doubt the very large number of professionals that appear in the accounts, clearly indicating that any image of a 'conservative' consumer, loyal to a limited number of craftsmen and traders had little, if any, relation with reality. The tailors (*terzi*) came first with respect to visibility and volume of trade, all of them non-Muslims and working in or around the Covered Bazaar. The Greeks seemed to be the most popular: Dimitri on Aynacılar Street was commissioned four times, Manolaki on the same street only once, Pavlaki at Kebeci Han twice, and Corci (Georgi), whose whereabouts remain unknown, once. With his shop near Nur-ı Osmaniye, Artin was an Armenian tailor, once simply identified as such (*Ermeni terzi*), who received two commissions. An unnamed Frankish tailor (*Frenk terzi*) – was he really European? – working in Tarakcılar, near Mahmud Paşa, was the most demanded of all, with no less than six garments, from a coat to several breeches, tailored for Mehmed Cemal. An anonymous *terzi*, conveniently located on Terzibaşı Street in the Covered Bazaar completes the list of the most important purveyors of garments to Mehmed Cemal Bey. To these one should add one single occurrence of a pair of breeches acquired in Galata. This laconic reference to what was already the center of European trade and style may be an indication that this particular item was purchased from one of the earliest examples of western shops or departments stores in the city.

In some cases, the distinction made between the textiles and the tailor's work (*üstadiye*) clearly indicates that Mehmed Cemal would sometimes buy the fabric from another merchant and bring it to the tailor to be made into a garment. Unfortunately, in most such cases he was content with simply noting the nature of the fabric without any explicit reference to the seller. An anonymous *çukacı* (clothier) at Sahaflar Çarşısı and another by the name of Meyhanecioğlu – probably Greek – are exceptions to this rule, as well as Hacı Emin Agha, evidently a Muslim, from the Bedesten, and Şalcı Mankasar, in Çukacı Han, who provided expensive shawls for further tailoring. The Oriental origin of these fabrics probably explains that they should have been traded by a Muslim and an Armenian. One could add to this list of purveyors of "raw" material the furrier İstavri – obviously Greek – who provided Mehmed Cemal with two of his three furs.

Shoemakers and cobblers (*kunduracı*) were even more numerous, no less than eight, but their status was evidently lower, as suggested by the fact that they were all anonymous. Their identification was based only on their location in the city: one at Arnavutköy, two at Okçularbaşı, one at Çengelköy, one at Nur-ı Osmaniye, one across from Reşid Pasha's mausoleum, one at Kökcüler Kapısı, and only one with something that resembled a name, or rather a nickname, Karamanî. Some were more solicited than others, such as the cobbler at Kökcüler Kapısı, who provided Mehmed Cemal Bey with shoes and indoor boots on five separate occasions. Once again, as in the case of tailors, there was an evident concentration in and around the Covered Bazaar, while the two instances of purchases on the Bosporus – at Arnavutköy and Çengelköy – took place in the summer, when the family spent the season in their mansion in Çengelköy.

Between the anonymity of shoemakers and the wealth of tailors lay the fez merchants, *fesci*, always named and all of them Muslims: Fesci Hurşid Agha (5 times), Fesci Hasan Efendi (3), (Hacı) Ragıb Agha (2), and Fesci Osman Efendi. Tassels were provided by a certain Mehmed Efendi (2). In some cases, Mehmed Cemal seems to have ordered his fezzes from intermediaries, apparently servants and acquaintances. Yaver Agha is one of these, who can easily be identified as an underling of some sort given that he was also the recipient of an *ıydiyye*, or a present for the *bayram*. The case of a certain Nazım Bey, who provided Mehmed Cemal with a fez once, with fez tassels four times, and additionally with a metal spoon (*madeni kaşık*), an almanac (*salname*), and a pen-knife seems more complicated. Indeed, his title of "bey" sets him apart from the rest of traders and craftsmen, invariably known as efendis or aghas, and the fact that Mehmed Cemal attended his marriage (*velime*) also suggests a certain degree of familiarity, unlikely in the case of a simple business relationship. Without being able to bring a decisive answer to this ambiguous relationship one can simply suggest that Nazım Bey may have been an acquaintance, perhaps a colleague at the office, who could become a convenient purveyor for occasional needs.

At the bottom of the ladder were the modest craftsmen and peddlers of ordinary goods and providers of menial services. Not surprisingly, they were generally anonymous, the one notable exception being Basmacı Üsküdarî İbrahim Efendi, probably the owner of a shop specializing in printed cottons (*basma*), given that Mehmed Cemal purchased items from him no less than four times. İbrahim Efendi was not the only dealer in cotton textiles; he also had a colleague who, however, remained anonymous, identified only through his religion, as the Jewish cotton fabrics dealer, Yahudi Basmacı. Arnavutköylü Kokona, literally "the old Greek woman from Arnavutköy," seems to have provided kerchiefs (*yemeni*) for the household. There is little doubt that this was a peddler known as a *bohçacı*, from the name given to the bundle (*bohça*) in which she would have stocked and carried her linen and wares. The fact that the accounts contain another reference to a *Bohçacı Kokona* suggests that this may indeed have been the same woman.

A final category consists of those purchases that were made from totally anonymous providers. Most of these had to do with the most common garments and accessories. Items such as socks were a typical example, as they were almost systematically mentioned without any reference to a trader, a shop, or even a location in the city. Not surprisingly, the only commercial area that is occasionally mentioned, and for a variety of goods, is the Covered Bazaar, Kapalıçarşı or, as Mehmed Cemal Bey generally refers to it, Çarşı-yı Kebir, the Great Market. This is the address given for an umbrella and for fezzes on several occasions, while clogs were purchased more precisely in the inner sanctum of the bazaar, the famed Bedesten. Mahmud Paşa, the commercial neighborhood nearby was where socks were bought at least on one occasion. In the particular case of fezzes, it is worth noting that on two occasions, Mehmed Cemal Bey purchased his headgear from a shop in Mahmud Paşa belonging to the Imperial Fez Factory, known as Feshane-i Âmire, or just Feshane. This was evidently one of four such outlets where the production of this state manufacture was made available to consumers.[30]

9. Conclusion

From breeches to fezzes, from cobblers to tailors, Mehmed Cemal's account book tells a story of everyday life among the upper middle class of a society in full transformation. Focusing on one particular aspect of that life, in this specific case that of clothing and garments, can help us get a better grasp of a phenomenon that generally eludes our understanding. One of the major problems in historical studies dealing with consumption in Ottoman history is their incapacity to really dig deep enough into the detail of quotidian reality; in most cases, one is left with the obligation of relying on official documents to delineate rules, on import figures to extrapolate production, on advertisement to imagine consumption, on catalogues to visualize style, or on novels to speculate on taste. We are still missing the kind of serial documentation that may bring all these general observations and assumptions closer to the reality of the basic socio-economic and cultural dynamics of certain sections of the population. Account books such as Mehmed Cemal's are precious inasmuch as they offer a rare opportunity to follow with some detail patterns of consumption over considerable and consistent periods of time.

Such sources are evidently far from being perfect and the present exercise has shown some of the limits of a still too patchy and partial documentation. Their voids and inaccuracies require serious critical appraisal before proper use can be made of the bits and pieces of information they contain. Mehmed Cemal's accounts would be likely to give a very wrong impression if they were not analyzed with the knowledge that he was in all likelihood financially only half independent. Likewise, the very limited information it reveals on the clothing and consumption of the large number of women in the household simply does not allow for any

30 The other three were in Vezneciler, Tophane, and Beşiktaş "Fes," Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 10, 5702. See also, "Defterdar Mensucat Fabrikası," Koçu, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 8, 4340–4.

sensible speculation on female consumption. And yet, despite all these biases and inaccuracies, one does manage to catch a glimpse of some interesting aspects of this young bureaucrat's clothing habits. He did spend considerable sums on a rather impressive number of garments; and yet there ends up being relatively little variety in his wardrobe. Most of his purchases are concentrated in the traditional commercial center of the city, in and around the Covered Bazaar; but the number of purveyors and craftsmen involved is surprisingly large. Most of his garments are in absolute conformity with the reformist model proposed and ultimately imposed by the state; nevertheless, much in resonance with the fact that he also purchases a young slave girl, one finds in his wardrobe a number of traditional garments, from shawls to furs and to indoor shoes… Mehmed Cemal is a typical man of his age, a bourgeois of Istanbul in times of change, whose precious records of his everyday life will make even more sense if we manage to widen the scope of our documentary evidence on comparable individuals.

Table III – Mehmed Cemal's clothing expenses, 1855-1863

Item	*Owner*	*Sum*	*Date*	*Seller/Provider*	*Location*
kürk kabı için 5 zira Lahuraki		90	31.12.1855		
fes püskülü ve perdahtı		15	28.01.1856	Yaver Agha	
hırkalık şal-i anberser		900	05.02.1856	Hacı Emin Agha	Bedesten
fes		30	19.02.1856	Feshane	
kazmir pantalonluk		90	08.05.1856		
pantalon ve yelek		90	08.05.1856	Ermeni terzi	Nur-ı Osmaniye
fes		26	12.05.1856		
kazmir pantalonluk		144	17.05.1856		
fes püskülü		20	21.05.1856	Mahmud Efendi	
kundura ve lapçın		170	06.06.1856		
Fransakârî harir boyunbağı		50	01.07.1856		
kazmir pantalon		160	01.08.1856	Terzi Dimitri	Aynacılar
2 harir mendil		50	01.08.1856		Kalpakcılarbaşı
fotin (kerime)	daughter	5	01.08.1856		
fes		27	06.08.1856	Fesci Osman Efendi	
8 fes püskülü		18	06.08.1856	Mahmud Efendi	

Item	*Owner*	*Sum*	*Date*	*Seller/Provider*	*Location*
pantalon		190	26.10.1856	Terzi Dimitri	Aynacılar
kundura ve lapçın		160	29.10.1856	kunduracı	Arnavutköy
3 zira setrilik çuka		180	11.01.1857	çukacı	Sahaflar
fes		35	20.02.1857	Nazım Bey	
fes püskülü		15	20.02.1857	Nazım Bey	
kazmir pantalon		180	08.04.1857	Terzi Dimitri	Aynacılar
setri		520	08.04.1857	Terzi Dimitri	Aynacılar
kundura ve lapçın		140	25.04.1857	kunduracı	Okçularbaşı
2 keten çorab		20	25.04.1857		Mahmud Paşa
fes		30	25.04.1857	Feshane dükkânı	Mahmud Paşa
7 fes püskülü		20	25.04.1857	Nazım Bey	
kundura ve lapçın		160	20.05.1857	kunduracı	Okçularbaşı
harir şemsiye	daughter	40	24.06.1857		
ruganlı terlik		30	10.07.1857	kunduracı	Çengelköy
fes		28	18.07.1857	Fesci Hasan Efendi	
fes püskülü		17	18.07.1857	Fesci Hasan Efendi	
fotin	daughter	10	21.07.1857		
beyaz yemeni		15	25.07.1857	Arnavutköylü Kokona	
harir şemsiye		80	05.08.1857		
kundura ve fotin		210	10.08.1857	kunduracı	Nur-ı Osmaniye
laciverd çuka setri		480	17.09.1857	Terzi Artin	Nur-ı Osmaniye
fes ve püskül		70	26.11.1857		
kundura ve fotin		200	22.12.1857	kunduracı	Nur-ı Osmaniye
lapçın ve çorap	slave	50	27.12.1857		
2 çorap		8.5	07.01.1858		
örücü ücreti		4	07.01.1858		
pantalon		220	15.01.1858	Terzi Manolaki	Aynacılar
lapçın ve çorab	slave	20	20.01.1858		
fes püskülü ve kaşık		23	17.02.1858	Nazım Bey	
fotin	daughter	20	30.03.1858		

Item	*Owner*	*Sum*	*Date*	*Seller/Provider*	*Location*
12 zira elbiselik hare	daughter	220	02.04.1858		
2 zira 6 rub çuka		220	16.04.1858		
pantalon ve yelek ve üstadiye		300	29.04.1858	Terzi Pavlaki	Kebeci Hanı
setri üstadiyesi		220	29.04.1858	Terzi Pavlaki	Kebeci Hanı
4 çift çorab		20	12.06.1858		Havuzbaşı
fes püskülü		30	20.07.1858	Nazım Bey	
kundura ve lapçın		160	07.09.1958	kunduracı	Kökcüler Kapısı
setrilik kazmir ve çuka		456	05.11.1858	Çukacı Meyhanecioğlu	
yemenilik 1,5 zira Karamanî şal		1350	05.11.1858	Şalcı Mankasar	Çukacı Han
pantalon		260	05.11.1858	Frenk terzi	Mahmud Paşa, Tarakcılar
harir boyunbağı		120	12.11.1858	Frenk terzi	Mahmud Paşa, Tarakcılar
yemeni üstadiyesi		160	12.11.1858	Terzi	Terzibaşı sokağı
palto üstadiyesi		280	12.11.1858	Frenk terzi	Mahmud Paşa, Tarakcılar
3 çift çorab		40	13.11.1858		
eldiven		15	19.11.1858		Kalpakcılarbaşı
kundura ve fotin		220	23.11.1858	kunduracı	Kökcüler Kapısı
Asitane fesi		35	23.11.1858		Çarşı-yı Kebir
Fransız harir püskül		25	23.11.1858	Fesci	Çarşı-yı Kebir
kürk kabı için 5 zira zeneb		140	01.12.1858		
Frengî nalın		10	31.12.1858		
fes		35	24.02.1859		
tül gömlek		20	24.02.1859		
lapçın ve tamir-i kundura		80	06.04.1859		
setri üstadiyesi		350	28.04.1859	Frenk terzi	Mahmud Paşa, Tarakcılar
siyah kazmir pantalon		220	28.04.1859	Frenk terzi	Mahmud Paşa, Tarakcılar

Item	*Owner*	*Sum*	*Date*	*Seller/Provider*	*Location*
kundura ve fotin		230	28.04.1859	kunduracı	Kökcüler Kapısı
siyah kadife yemeni üstadiyesi		120	04.05.1859	Frenk terzi	Mahmud Paşa, Tarakcılar
1 top batista	wife	60	04.05.1859		
3 çift çorab		20	04.05.1859		
fotin	daughter	10	04.05.1859		
setrilik çuka		220	04.05.1859	Çukacı Meyhanecioğlu	
terlik		16	03.06.1859		
2 harir mendil	wife	33	23.06.1859		
2 harir mendil	wife	36	02.09.1859		
Elbise	wife	100	15.10.1859		
terlik	wife	20	15.10.1859		
kundura ve lapçın		170	29.10.1859	kunduracı	Kökcüler Kapısı
çedik ve papuç	wife	30	09.11.1859		
2 çift çorab		24	21.11.1859		
2 çift çorab	wife	14	21.11.1859		
basma	wife	280	28.11.1859	Basmacı Yahudi	
1 fes		30	01.12.1859	Fesci Hurşid Agha	
7 fes püskülü		21	01.12.1859	Fesci Hurşid Agha	
basma ve saire		80	11.12.1859	Basmacı İbrahim Efendi	Üsküdar
1 çift nalın	wife	34	27.12.1859		Bedesten
basma ve saire		80	12.01.1860	Basmacı İbrahim Efendi	Üsküdar
1 fes		30	04.02.1860	Fesci Hurşid Agha	
7 fes püskülü		21	04.02.1860	Fesci Hurşid Agha	
çorablık tire		20	12.02.1860		
basma ve saire		80	18.02.1860	Basmacı İbrahim Efendi	Üsküdar
3 çift çorab	slaves	20	08.03.1860		
1 çift lapçın	slave	17	08.03.1860		
gömlek		40	13.03.1860		

Item	*Owner*	*Sum*	*Date*	*Seller/Provider*	*Location*
kundura ve lapçın		150	28.03.1860	kunduracı	Kökcüler Kapısı
6 fes püskülü		20	09.04.1861		
fes		30	11.04.1860	Ragıb Agha	
fes		30	27.05.1860	Hacı Ragıb	
terlik	wife	20	05.06.1860		
kundura tamiri		20	21.10.1860		
lapçın		15	21.10.1860		
kundura ve Çerkes mesti		160	23.10.1860		
şemsiye		20	30.10.1860		Çarşı-yı Kebir
çedik ve papuç	wife	40	11.11.1860		
kürk		380	25.11.1860		
kundura ve lapçın		130	06.03.1861	Kunduracı Karamanî	
1 kuka nesic		22.5	24.03.1861		
fes		32.5	24.03.1861		
basma ve saire		160	22.05.1861	Basmacı İbrahim Efendi	Üsküdar
yaşmak	slave	20	22.05.1861		
terlik		30	13.06.1861		
mest		65	23.06.1861		
kundura ve mest		140	25.10.1861		
sako ve pantalon		1000	02.11.1861		
fes ve püskül		55	14.11.1861		
lapçın	slave	20	05.12.1861		
2 çift çorab		15.5	10.12.1861		
keçi derisi Çerkes mesti		60	31.12.1861		
mest		36	04.02.1862		
mest		45	19.02.1862	Kunduracı Karamanî	
lapçın	daughter	10	27.02.1862		
fes ve püskül		60	15.03.1862		
kundura ve mest		130	23.03.1862		
bed cemiyetinde elbise	daughter	500	29.05.1862		

Item	*Owner*	*Sum*	*Date*	*Seller/Provider*	*Location*
bed cemiyetinde kürk	daughter	150	29.05.1862		
bed cemiyetinde kumaş	priest	30	29.05.1862	terzi	
fes		30	27.06.1862		
siyah çuka setri ve kazmir pantalon		600	18.07.1862		
kundura ve mest		130	31.07.1862		
pantalon ve yelek		410	15.08.1862		
kundura ve lapçın	daughter	25	12.10.1862		
elbise ve kürk kabı	daughter	100	18.11.1862		
2 çift çorab		16	18.11.1862		
çorab	slave	6.5	18.11.1862		
lapçın	slave	15	18.11.1862		
kundura ve mest		105	24.11.1862		
Rumeli nafesi kürk	daughter	135	04.12.1862		
Çerkes mesti		50	28.01.1863		
lapçın	daughter	10	28.01.1863		
ıydiyye elbisesi	daughter	150	20.02.1863		
Fes		20	24.02.1863		
kaster (?) setri		440	26.02.1863	Terzi Corci	
kundura ve lapçın	daughter	28	19.03.1863		
kundura ve mest		100	26.03.1863		
kundura ve mest		110	31.03.1863	kunduracı	Reşid Paşa Türbesi karşısı
elbiselik basma	slave	110	09.04.1863		
fes		22.5	22.05.1863	Fesci Hasan	
setri ve pantalon ve yelek		650	28.05.1863	Terzi Corci	
ferace ücreti	daughter	50	31.07.1863	terzi	
ferace	slave	40	18.08.1863		
kundura ve keçi derisi fotin		150	05.10.1863	kunduracı	Reşid Paşa Türbesi karşısı
kürk kabı için çuka		126	13.10.1863		
kürk kabı için 1 zira 1 rub çuka		30	24.10.1863		

Item	*Owner*	*Sum*	*Date*	*Seller/Provider*	*Location*
fes		25	30.10.1863	Fesci Hurşid Agha	
1 tulum Bosna nafesi kürk		430	30.10.1863	Kürkçü İstavri	
kürk kabı		60	13.11.1863	terzi	
lapçın	daughter	8.5	27.11.1863		
4 çift çorab	couple	22	27.11.1863		
elbise	daughter	100	29.11.1863		
pantalon		160	11.12.1863		Galata
terlik	slave	21	11.12.1863		
çilkafa kürk		400	23.12.1863	Kürkçü İstavri	
kürkçü yevmiyesi		25	29.12.1863		
cedid çizme	daughter	27	29.12.1863		
köhne çizme		7	29.12.1863		
3 çift çorab ve eldiven		26	31.12.1863		
kundura ve fotin		150	11.01.1864		

Shaping the Armenian Warrior: Clothing and Photographic Self-Portraits of Armenian *fedayis* in the late 19th and early 20th Century

Elke Hartmann

The existing photographs of the late 19th- and early 20th-century Armenian *fedayis*, those that have been reprinted and disseminated in numerous publications, are almost exclusively portraits that were taken of the fighters before they set out on a mission – group portraits in which the *fedayis* posed in clothing they had carefully selected along with their weapons and flags. There are portraits (see fig. 1) in which the *fedayis* let themselves be photographed in various costumes – uniforms and dress of the most diverse provenance – and adorned with very wide-ranging accessories; next to their weapons and ammunition belts, we see pistols, daggers and sabers, binoculars, tools and maps, or captured decorations and insignia of rank. The leadership ranks of the Armenian revolutionaries in Van appear to have spent an especially large amount of time in the photo studio. The exceptionally gifted organizer Nigol Mikayelian (Boghosian) from Shoushi, who adopted the *nom de guerre* Vana Ishkhan (Ishkhan from Van, or Prince of Van) while in Lernabar (the mountainous region south of Lake Van, which he acquired for the party), can be seen in a series of photographs in various models of richly decorated parade uniforms and warrior costumes, exhibiting a wide range of headwear.[1] The young Antranig Ozanian, later a general who achieved fame beyond Armenian circles and whose statue on horseback in the Parisian Père Lachaise Cemetery became a secular pilgrimage site, wears highly polished boots, newly tailored pantaloons and an extensively worked and richly adorned shirt with vest, and also a warrior's turban on his head and four rings of ammunition belts, from which a dagger hangs (see fig. 2). A backdrop of tree stumps, foliage and branches is draped in the photo studio, his hand rests on his gun, and behind him is a flag with the inscription "Everywhere death is equal – everyone must die someday" (*Amenayn degh mahe mi e – mart mi ankam bid' merni*). On his chest, exactly in the upper center of the image, Antranig boasts a medal of the Kurdish leader Bsharé Khalil, whom he had killed in revenge for the murder of the Armenian partisan commander Serop. This tro-

1 Cf. the photographs in Hratch Dasnabedian, *History of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnaktsutiun 1890/1924* (Milan: OEMME Edizioni, 1989), 52; *Houshamadyan Hay Heghapokhagan Tashnagtsoutyan.* Albom-Atlas, 2 vols. (Los Angeles: Hradaragoutiun Hay Heghapokhagan Tashnagtsoutian Arevmdyan Amerigayi Getronagan Gomidei, 1992), vol. 1: Tiutsaznamard 1890–1914, 98, 110, 119, 153, 161, 163, 164, 165, 208.

Fig. 1: A group of Armenian *fedayis* posing with their weapons and ammunition belts (photograph taken most probably in Yerevan, in summer 1904 before they set out for an expedition against barracks on the Ottoman border). The banner bears the slogan "Freedom or death". Note the binoculars Kayl Vahan, the commander in the middle of the picture, is holding. (Coll. ARF)

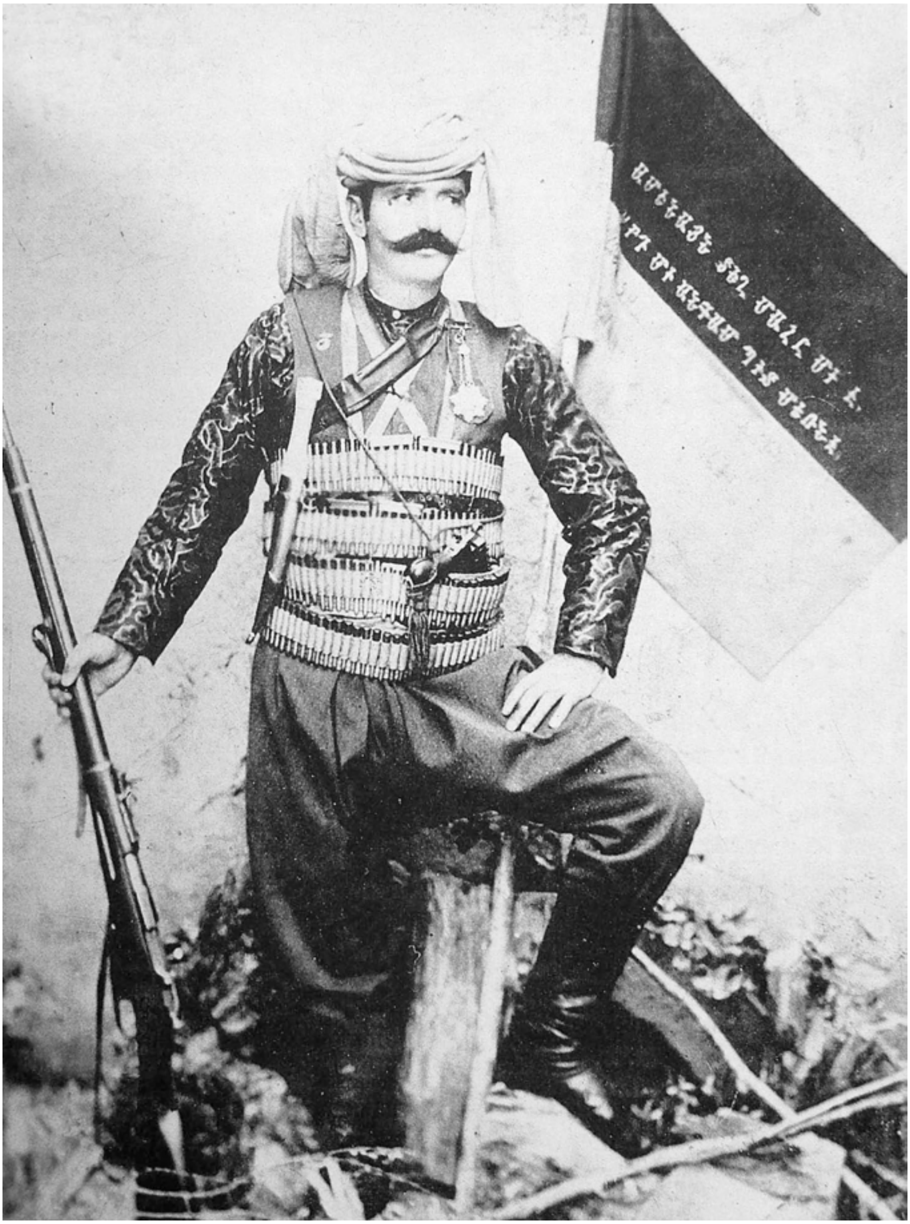

Fig. 2: Antranig Ozanian as a young *fedayi*, October 1900. (Coll. ARF)

phy was perhaps the reason why Antranig went to the studio in the first place.[2] Flags with the rallying cries of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation – in Armenian *Hay Heghapokhagan Tashnagtsoutiun*, the largest of the revolutionary parties – can be found in most of the group photos of the outward-bound commandos. The most common inscription is the phrase "Freedom or Death" (*azadoutiun gam mah*); a few commandos assigned to revenge missions present flags with the call "Revenge, Revenge" (*vrej, vrej*). The most conspicuous prop in these photos are binoculars, which can be seen in particularly obvious places (see fig. 1).[3] There are other photos in which the *fedayi*s assume theatrical poses, reenacting scenes of daily life in the military: Aram Manougian and his friends Vana Ishkhan and Vartan Shahbaz pretend to counsel a group of field officers at the command post; Troutsig (Ousanogh Kevork) Gretatsi and Tateos Amirian spot the enemy with their binoculars and send telling looks in that direction; Souloukhtsi Serop and his two sons Hagop und Avedis cock their guns and aim at their imaginary opponent, staring fixedly at the camera.[4]

Photographs of this sort, together with some examples from the most important written testimony of an Armenian *fedayi*, Roupen Der Minasian's "Memoirs of an Armenian Revolutionary," will serve as a starting point for an examination of some aspects of identity in a plural society and the significance of performative acts and time in the processes of constructing, adopting, and transforming identities. The focus is put on clothing as the Ottoman world's traditional,

2 Photograph in Dasnabedian, *History of the ARF Dashnaktsutiun*, 74; cf. Roupen [Minas Der Minasian], *Hay Heghapokhagani me Hishadagnere*, 7 vols., 2nd/3rd ed. (Beirut: Hamazkaini Vahé Sethian Dbaran, 1979–), 3:217–218. These memoirs of the high-ranking party functionary, *fedayi* and minister Roupen (1882--1951) are the most important self-narrative by far of an Armenian *fedayi* after 1915. Because of its early appearance – the text's first installments were printed as a monthly series in a magazine already in 1922 – its sheer scope, richness in detail and style as well as its composition, Roupen's "Memoirs of an Armenian Revolutionary" also shaped the autobiographical works of other *fedayi*s and party leaders. Up to today, Roupen's memoirs have been read especially by members of his party, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Hay Heghapokhagan Tashnagtsoutiun) but also far beyond. This text is the most important for the history of the Armenian *fedayi*s, and for many details it is the only (accessible) source, which is why it is used here as a complementary source to the photographical documentation. For an analysis of Roupen's "Memoirs" as a self-narrative, see Elke Hartmann and Gabriele Jancke, "Roupens 'Erinnerungen eines armenischen Revolutionärs' (1921/51) im transepochalen Dialog – Konzepte und Kategorien der Selbstzeugnis-Forschung zwischen Universalität und Partikularität," in *Selbstzeugnis und Person – Transkulturelle Perspektiven*, ed. Claudia Ulbrich, Hans Medick, and Angelika Schaser (Vienna; Cologne; Weimar: Böhlau, 2012), 31–71.

3 Cf. the photographs in *Houshamadyan HH Tashnagtsoutyan*, 1:43, 45, 52, 53, 57 below right, 113, 117, 164, 250 below; Dasnabedian, *History of the ARF Dashnaktsutiun*, 78.

4 Cf. the photograph in *Houshamadyan HH Tashnagtsoutyan*, 1:161, 57 below left, 116; see also fig. 5. Noteworthy are the similarities between these photographic self-portraits of the Armenian *fedayi*s and the Bulgarian revolutionaries and partisans who were investigated by Martina Baleva from an art-historical perspective; Martina Baleva, *Bulgarien im Bild. Die Erfindung von Nationen auf dem Balkan in der Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna; Cologne; Weimar: Böhlau, 2012), 85–90.

highly differentiated expression of background and belonging, status and personal attitude, and on portrait photography as a new technique and means of self-fashioning in the late 19th century.

The Armenian *fedayi*s were not alone in their fascination with photographic self-portraits. In the later 19th century, the medium of photography had become both affordable and flexible.[5] More and more, the new technique found its way beyond the stages of the studios; outdoor exposures and, increasingly, exposures in motion became possible. In the Ottoman Empire, in the capital Istanbul as well as in the provinces – and there not only in the larger city centers but also in the smaller provincial towns – dignitaries and families let themselves be photographed. Increasing numbers of people could afford to have their photographs taken. Starting in the 1880s, portrait photography positively boomed, with competition growing stiffer and stiffer among the studios. Finally, at the start of the 20th century, many laypeople owned their own cameras. Even though the new fashion also spread among Muslims of the Empire, the art remained primarily a non-Muslim craft for a long time, and above all an Armenian one; with this in mind, one can rightly assume a generally high proportion of Armenians or Christians among the customers of these mostly Armenian and Greek photographers.

Portrait photography fulfilled various functions. Displayed or hung, the images lent the photographed person an increased presence – for identification or affirmation of a person's ties with the depicted – but they also acted as an acknowledgement and affirmation of influence and power. This way of using one's own image had its spectacular starting point with Sultan Mahmud II, who had

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5 On the development of photography in the Ottoman Empire and individual aspects of its interpretation, see Engin Özendes, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: İletişim, 1995); Engin Çizgen, *Türkiye'de Fotoğraf* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1992); Wolf-Dieter Lemke, "Ottoman Photography: Recording and Contributing to Modernity," in *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Beiruter Texte und Studien 88, ed. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber, (Würzburg: Ergon, 2002), 237–249; Carney Gavin, "Imperial Self-Portrait: The Ottoman Empire as Revealed in the Sultan Abdulhamid II Collection's Photographic Albums Presented to the Library of Congress (1893) and the British Museum (1894)," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 12 (1988): 3–25; Nancy Micklewright, "Negotiating Between the Real and the Imagined: Portraiture in the Late Ottoman Empire," in *M. Uğur Derman Armağanı*, ed. Irvin Cemil Schick (Istanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 2000), 417–438; Nancy Micklewright, "Late Ottoman Photography: Family, Home and New Identities," in *Transitions in Domestic Consumptions and Family Life in the Modern Middle East: Houses in Motion*, ed. Relli Shechter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 65–83; the most current research can be found in Nimet Şeker, *Die Fotografie im Osmanischen Reich* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2009). Notable is the disproportionally high number of Armenians who pursued the new profession. One of the first overviews of the Armenian photographers in the south-east Anatolian city Ayntab (today Gaziantep) and Cilicia (in Turkish today: Çukurova) is provided by Mihran Minassian, "Les photographes arméniens d'Ayntab et de la Cilicie. Bref aperçu," in *Les Arméniens de Cilicie. Habitat, mémoire et identité*, ed. Raymond Kévorkian, Mihran Minassian, Lévon Nordiguian, Michel Paboujian, and Vahé Tachjian (Beirut: Presses de l'Université Saint-Joseph, 2012), 135–167.

his portrait – at this point still painted – the *tasvir-i hümayun* (Imperial Image) hung in the barracks and administrative buildings of his country. This was an unheard of breach of taboo, which provoked unrest in 1832.[6] A few decades later the mood had changed: postcards with the likenesses of the top military and civil leaders could be bought everywhere in the streets of the capital.[7] In the short years of the political liberalization after 1908, similar portrait postcards of Armenian *fedayi*s also circulated.[8]

Additional functions that photography offered, and particularly important for the Armenian *fedayi*s, were the possibilities for documentation and memory. The large numbers of exposures of individual *fedayi*s and especially entire commandos before their departure were foremost intended as commemorative photos and as visual entries in the Armenian revolution's history and book of heroes. The only existing photograph of the legendary fighter Kevork Tchavoush emerged in such a context: the functionary Vahan Papazian hurriedly photographed him after a party meeting on the island of Akhtamar in Lake Van, before he returned to a dangerous mission in the mountains of Sassoun.[9] Many group photos from unknown photographers are explicitly labeled in this way. It almost seems part of the ritual of departure to have one last picture taken together before part of the group would risk their lives in the line of duty. From such a context comes the photograph of the participants of the revenge campaign in Khanasor in July 1897, just as the portrait of the members of Nigol Touman's group in 1904 before their failed border crossing (see fig. 5), and also the image of the leaders of the Khan and Nevrouz commandos, almost all of whom were killed in the battle of Pasen.[10] Many others can likewise be listed.

Finally, a central function of the photographic portrait that must be mentioned is the aspect of self-enactment, which is always implied in self-portraiture. The studios provided backdrops and props, and a selection of various costumes were available;[11] regional dress also seems to have been fashionable. For example, family portraits in Bedouin costume are attested in Palestine.[12] People in

6 Cf. Özendes, *Photography*, 12–21; Şeker, *Fotografie*, 39.

7 See, for instance, the documentation of the French military attaché Caffarel, who was stationed in Istanbul in the 1880s and systematically forwarded these postcards along with descriptions and classifications of the respective person to Paris; Service historique de la Défense – Archives de la Défense, Fonds de l'Armée de Terre, Vincennes, France, 7 N 1629 (Attachés militaires Turquie 1885–1888), Caffarel to the French Ministry of War, February 3, 1885; February 11, 1885; March 11, 1885; June 27, 1885; and August 18, 1887.

8 Shavarsh Misakian, *Orer yev jamer* (Paris: Haratch, 1958), 352–357; one of these postcards, a double portrait of Bedros Seremdjian in a Bulgarian Uniform and in *fedayi* clothing, is illustrated in Dasnabedian, *History of the ARF Dashnagtsutiun*, 116.

9 Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 3:313.

10 Cf. Dasnabedian, *History of the ARF Dashnaktsutiun*, 50; *Houshamadyan HH Tashnagtsoutyan*, 1:52–57, 125, 115–119.

11 Cf. Şeker, *Fotografie*, 66.

12 Photos from private collections in Berlin and Beirut.

traditional costumes were also a popular motif of researchers and travel photographers, who not only visited the Holy Land of the Bible in ever increasing numbers, but also Western Armenia as the site of Noah's Ark and the Garden of Eden, as the Cradle of Civilization and the homesteads of ancient high culture and early Christianity.[13] That the Armenian *fedayi*s played with different dress and types of costume in their photographic self-representations is already evident from the few examples mentioned so far. However, the choice of clothing did not depend primarily on a love of disguise and theatrical play, which appears in a few of the mentioned examples. Rather, clothing and accessories speak more to individual ethnic and social placement; they create connections to groups and traditions, and they make assertions.

In the Ottoman Empire, clothing was one of the most important markers of regional, ethnic, religious-confessional and social belonging. Clothing displayed status. It was likewise an expression of a particular attitude. In the prolonged and fierce contention over the modernization of state and society, which lasted the entire "long" 19th century, clothing also signaled an acceptance or rejection of European techniques, ideologies and lifestyle, which acted as a code for the modern. Clothing also served the opposite response to the social and economic upheaval by reinforcing the society's re-traditionalization.[14] The choice of clothing here was an attempt to find a footing and orientation in the society's own tradition, which was in many cases first shaped over the course of these efforts. The scene was shaped by the clothing regulations, which formally were in force until the mid-19th century but remained influential in the Ottoman Empire until its final years; these provisions allotted or prohibited members of specific confessions particular colors, patterns and materials; they regulated the articles of clothing and head-coverings for civil servants; and in this way, they officially regulated how people could make visible religious and social differences, thereby simultaneously underlining the significant plurality of Ottoman society as a whole.[15] For the Vienna World's Fair in 1873, the Ottoman state chose to repre-

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13 For Armenia – in addition to many others – the works of Ernest Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans le Caucase*, 4 vols. (Lyon: Henri Georg Librairie, 1885–1887); Harry F. B. Lynch, *Armenia. Travels and Studies*, 2 vols. (London; New York; Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901) or Hugo Grothe, *Geographische Charakterbilder aus der asiatischen Türkei und dem südlichen mesopotamisch-iranischen Randgebirge (Puscht-i-kuh)* (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1909) should be mentioned. On the French travelers of the 19th century who wrote about Armenia, see David Vinson, *Les Arméniens dans les récits des voyageurs français du XIXe siècle (1796–1895)* (Valence: Éditions Régions, 2004). Ossip Mandelstam, *Journey to Armenia*, transl. Clarence Brown (London: Redstone, 1989) [first in Russian 1933].

14 I would like to thank Ilse Lenz (Bochum) for her suggestions regarding this aspect, the modernization process in general, but especially the often accompanying, catch-up modernization programs forced by the head of state.

15 On the Ottoman clothing regulations, see Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720–1829," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997): 403–425; also see Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922*, 2nd edition

sent itself by presenting the plurality of its people as made visible by variety in dress. A photography exhibit with a printed catalogue was commissioned as the official contribution to the fair; this presented a complete panorama of the Ottoman population through a series of studio portraits of costumed models.[16]

Especially in the areas along the borders between Iran, the Ottoman Empire and Russia, the region's daily cultural exchange and the variety of western and eastern influences at work in the Ottoman provinces were also mirrored in clothing. The boundaries between the three states were, despite every effort to control them, permeable to goods, people and ideas. Kurdish tribes that landed in trouble with the Ottoman authorities retreated to Iranian territory. Merchants brought new goods and influences back to their hometowns, and over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a class of long-distance traders emerged among the Armenians in the provincial cities of east Anatolia, developing trade networks that spanned from Western Europe across Eastern Europe, Russia, Persia and India all the way to South-East Asia.

European influences and fashions were most successfully transmitted through Istanbul and a few other larger harbors, such as Izmir in the provinces.[17] In addition to merchants and civil servants, thousands of migrant workers came into contact with this hybrid culture of the metropolis. Called *bantoukhd* in Armenian, these migrant workers from the impoverished eastern provinces became a mass phenomenon in the late 19th century, and they feature in the Armenian literature of the time.[18] Many of them remained abroad for good, but a few did

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 66–67, 148–153, 168, 177–178; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Introduction, or Why and How One Might Want to Study Ottoman Clothes," in *Ottoman Costumes. From Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul: Eren, 2004), 15–48 (pp. 15–16, 22–29, 40–42).

16 Victor Marie de Launay and Osman Hamdi Bey, *Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie/Elbise-i Osmaniyye* (Istanbul: Levant Times and Shipping Gazette, 1873) [reprint *1873 Yılında Türkiye'de Halk Giysileri: Elbise-i Osmaniyye*, transl. Erol Üyepazarcı (Istanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 1999)].

17 On the prominent role of the Ottoman metropolis for the cultural transfer into the provinces, it is worth mentioning Stefan Weber's investigations of Syrian architectural history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; see Stefan Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels. Stadt, Architektur und Gesellschaft des osmanischen Damaskus im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert," dissertation (Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin 2001) (published online: http://www.diss.fu-berlin.de/diss/receive/FUDISS_thesis_000000002332/ [accessed March 20, 2013]); Stefan Weber, *Damascus, Ottoman modernity and urban transformation (1808–1918)*, (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2009).

18 Cf., for example, the works of Hagop Mntsouri, which are now also accessible in a modern Turkish translation; on the migrant workers (not only Armenian) in general, see the following articles by Florian Riedler, "Public People: Seasonal Work Migrants in Nineteenth Century Istanbul," in *Public Istanbul – Spaces and Spheres of the Urban*, ed. Frank Eckardt and Kathrin Wildner (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2008), 233–253; Florian Riedler, "Wanderarbeiter (bekar) im Istanbul des 19. Jahrhunderts: Zwischen Marginalität und Normalität," in *Bettler, Prostituierte, Paria. Randgruppen in asiatischen Gesellschaften*, ed. Anja Pistor-Hatam and Antje Richter (Beiträge des Zentrums für Asiatische und Afrikanische Studien der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel 12), (Hamburg-Schenefeld: EB-Verlag, 2008), 143–158.

also return. In addition to the European travelers and researchers, a growing number of missionaries – many from the United States, but also from Germany, England, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries – made their way to the remotest regions of the Armenian highlands and opened schools and hospital stations all across the country.[19]

Finally, Russia played a large role in the region, although this has been relatively neglected by scholarship. Within the Muslim population, the *muhacirun* formed a numerically large group; they comprised Muslims of various ethnic groups from Crimea and from the Caucasus (who, in the 1850s and 60s, fled by the ten-thousands from Russia's southern expansion into the Ottoman Empire) as well as Muslim immigrants who entered the country due to the turmoil of the Russian-Ottoman wars of 1877–78.[20] Especially those who had gone through the Russian state education system in their hometowns brought with them a strong Russian influence, one that became particularly apparent and potent among the Ottoman revolutionaries. A number of the prominent Young Turks, such as the ideologue Yusuf Akçura,[21] were *muhacirun*. The Young Turk movement was also indirectly influenced by Russian models through the collaboration with and also the inclination towards the Armenian revolutionaries who were active in the eastern provinces as well as in the metropolis, since many of them, and above all

19 Literature on the missionaries' work in the Ottoman Empire and especially in Western Armenia is both rich and controversial. Cf., among others, the early study by Julius Richter, *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East* (Grand Rapids, MI: Revell 1910) [reprint: New York: AMS Press, 1970]); Frank Andrews Stone, *Academies for Anatolia. A study of the rationale, program and impact of the educational institutions sponsored by the American Board in Turkey, 1830–1980* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1984), based predominantly on the sources of the missionaries; Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains. Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876–1909* (London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998), 112–134, who adopts the sceptical to hostile view of the Ottoman state elite; similar is Erdal Açıkses, *Amerikalıların Harput'daki Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003). In addition there is a variety of published self-narratives (mostly memoirs) by missionaries. The best investigation of the topic, which uses a wide range of material from both national and missionary archives, approaches the different perspectives critically, and above all incorporates the missionary activity and its effects in relation not only to the Ottoman Christians but also to heterodox Muslim groups, is the yet unpublished doctoral dissertation by Zeynep Türkyılmaz, *Anxieties of Conversion: Missionaries, State and Heterodox Communities in the Late Ottoman Empire*, unpublished dissertation (Los Angeles: University of California, 2009).

20 For a short introduction with references to the most important scholarly literature, see Elke Hartmann, "Muhacirun," in *Lexikon der Vertreibungen. Deportation, Zwangsaussiedlung und ethnische Säuberung im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Detlef Brandes, Holm Sundhaussen, and Stefan Troebst (Vienna; Cologne; Weimar: Böhlau, 2010), 444–447.

21 On him, see Kemal Şenoğlu, *Yusuf Akçura, Kemalizmin İdeoloğu* (Istanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2009); on the Young Turk movement in general, see the detailed studies by Şükrü Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Preparation for a Revolution. The Young Turks, 1902–1908* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); also see Erik J. Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor. The role of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement 1905–1926* (Leiden: Brill, 1984).

Fig. 3: The Haladjian family from Agn (Eğin) (coll. M. P.).

many of the leaders, came from the Russian-controlled part of Eastern Armenia, from Artsakh (Karabagh) and the Armenian enclaves in the Caucasus (Akhalkalak, Akhaltskha).[22]

Photographic portraits of families show particularly clearly the range of possibilities for social, cultural and political self-locating that was available through dress and the types of differences that could open up even among the generations and genders within a single family.[23] In one exposure of the Haladjian family from Agn (Eğin) on the plains of Kharpert (Harput), we encounter several generations (see fig. 3).[24] The representatives of the oldest and youngest generations – the elderly couple sitting in the middle of the picture (first generation) and the small child in the lap of the couple's son sitting next to them are dressed the most traditionally. The child wears a dress of the light and dark striped mate-

22 A series of short biographies of Armenian revolutionaries can be found in Dasnabedian, *History of the ARF Dashnaktsutiun*, 185–214; Hratch Dasnabedian, *H.H. Tashnagtsoutiune ir Gazmoutenen Mintchev J. Enth. Joghov (1890–1924)* (Athens: Troshagi Dbaran, 1988), 199–250; Haroutiun Kiurkdjian, ed., *Badmakroutiun Hay Heghapokhagan Tashnagtsoutian*, 4 vols. (Athens; Yerevan: Hrad. HHT Piuroyi, 1992), with a biographical index at the end of each volume; also see the overview by Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963).

23 A rich collection of images can be found in Raymond H. Kévorkian and Paul B. Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire Ottoman à la Veille du Genocide* (Paris: ARHIS, 1992). The examples of images discussed in the following come entirely from the photographs that were reprinted or sometimes first published in this volume.

24 Cf. Kévorkian/Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 379.

rial (called *manusa*), which was widespread throughout the entire region. The old patriarch wears pantaloons, slippers on his feet and a fez on his head, the head-covering that became obligatory for Ottoman officials through the *tanzimat* reforms and first spread through the realm following these measures,[25] and additionally a half-length coat. His wife's fur-trimmed coat and the heavy velvet of the dresses worn by the young daughters attest to a certain level of affluence. Just as her husband's fez betrays association with the world of the state bureaucracy, the fur-trimmed coat signals contact with the world of the merchants who moved between Anatolia and its eastern neighbors.[26] Coats of the same type can be seen in other photographs either on long-distance traders and rich merchants or on urban dignitaries, among whom, in turn, the most affluent merchants of the city often numbered; these appeared as philanthropic patrons and were elected to the newly created political committees during the reform period.[27]

The son, who sits with his wife next to his parents, already wears narrow-fitting pants instead of pantaloons. His wife, like her mother-in-law, wears a colorfully striped and patterned sash, and her shirt is also of a traditional pattern. She combines these elements, however, with a European-cut jacket, which mimics the fur-trimming of the collar through a light fabric, and in contrast to her mother-in-law, she wears no head-covering. Her sons and daughters, standing behind her, are without exception clothed in a seemingly European style. What appears here to be "European" in contrast to the classic Western Armenian costume are the materials and cuts; these became integrated into the traditional dress in Eastern Armenian areas (and later also clearly in a few regions of Western Armenia) over the course of the 19th century.[28] A boy carries a book in his hand, which indicates his status as a pupil in a modern school, an element that can be found in many family photos.[29] The family is photographed in front of a

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25 On the decree of 1829 on the fez as an obligatory head-covering for Ottoman officials, see Quataert, *Clothing Laws*, 403.

26 On the regional distribution and the social connotations of this type of coat, see Arakel Badrig, *Haygagan Daraz Hnakuyn Jamanagnerits Mintchev Mer Orere* (Yerevan: Haygagan SSH KA Hrad., 1967) 43, 33–34, 39, plates 67, 39 and 53; for examples of patterns, see Nazig Avakian, *Haygagan Joghovrtagan Daraze (XIX t.–XX t. sgizp)* (Yerevan: Haygagan SSH KA Hrad., 1983), 46, also cf. the photographs in the appendix in ibid., fig. 33, 31 a and b; on the large trading routes through Armenia and their significance for traditional dress, see ibid., 18.

27 Cf., for example, the images in Kévorkian/Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 212 (long-distance traders from Sivri-Hisar) and 525 (the Patriarch of Constantinople and later the Catholicos of the Armenian Apostolic Church) Khrimian Hayrig with notables from Van. A prosopographical study of the Armenian deputies in the first Ottoman parliament of 1877–78 as a case example for the Armenian provincial notables is provided by Elke Hartmann, "The 'Loyal Nation' and its Deputies, in The First Ottoman Parliament," in *The First Ottoman Experiment in Democracy* (Istanbuler Texte und Studien 18), ed. Christoph Herzog and Malek Sharif (Würzburg: Ergon, 2010), 187–222.

28 A few examples with patterns and detailed descriptions of the materials used can be found in Avakian, *Haygagan Joghovrtagan Daraze*, 25, additionally figs. 11 a and b.

29 See, for example, Kévorkian/Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 235; also cf. ibid., 496.

Fig. 4: An Armenian family from the Sebastia (Sivas) region (private coll.).

wall of the house that was decked with carpets. Other pictures exhibit background arrangements, which instead of carpets – or perhaps also combined with them – present European furnishings, very frequently end tables and floor clocks.[30]

In another Armenian family portrait, taken in 1913 by the French traveler Thérèse Roussel, the head of the family can be seen in a European three-piece suit, leather shoes and fez; the women of the family wear headscarves and chin-veils with their plain, everyday wear, and one of the small children also wears a traditional head-covering.[31] In yet another urban family from Southern Armenia, the father is presented in a traditional striped tunic with a sash, half-length coat and fez, his sons can be recognized as pupils, while his wife and daughter wear European clothing, though the daughter has put on an elaborately crafted silver belt.[32] One family from the region of Sebastia (Sivas) demonstrates its status and position in exactly the opposite way (see fig. 4). European furnishings can be discerned in the background of the picture. The family's small son, who stands at

30 See, for example, Kévorkian/Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 212, 261 (Portrait of the Ashderian family from Marzvan/Marzovan; also cf. Sarkis Boghossian, *Iconographie Arménienne*, 2 vols. (Paris: n.p., 1987–1998), 2:250, 251; Arsen Yarman, *Osmanlı Sağlık Hizmetlerinde Ermeniler ve Surp Pırgiç Ermeni Hastanesi Tarihi* (Istanbul: Surp Pırgiç Ermeni Hastanesi Vakfı, 2001), 63.

31 *Le Tour du Monde* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1913), 550: image reproduced in Kévorkian/Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 62.

32 Ibid., 62.

the edge of the photo slightly offset from the rest of the family, holds his school book under his arm and wears a typical school uniform. Aside from him, however, the entire family wears the traditional dress of the region, clearly made from expensive fabric. Everyone, including the small children, wear shoes.[33]

This dress can be traced back to the traditional clothing from the region. In the workmanship seen in the photographs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these clothes are festive clothing for special occasions – especially so since at this time cheap, factory-made fabrics were also widely spread in the provinces.[34] Accordingly, people can be seen in such clothing especially in photos from weddings and other large celebrations.[35] Another occasion could be to display the splendid regional dress for the cameras of European travelers.[36] The men's pants in the most recently mentioned family portrait from Sebastia (fig. 4) are made of goat hair, fashioned through a special weaving technique.[37] The sophisticated process of production appears to have made this article of clothing into an identification symbol for the rural elite of the Armenian highlands. Thus, in the international sensation caused by the kidnapping of the Armenian girl Gülizar, the Kurdish tribal chief Musa Bey from the region of Moush let himself be photographed in a newly fabricated suit of this material.[38]

As is clear from these few examples, an abundance of social historical information can be read from the details of clothing. Nevertheless there is still much research to be done. The entire palette of social and cultural historical informa-

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33 Ibid., 235.

34 The Ottoman-English trade agreement of 1838 created a caesura, which opened the Ottoman market to English industrial goods, cf. Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey*, vol. 2: "Reform, revolution, and republic. The rise of modern Turkey 1808–1975" (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977, reprint 2002) 122; Donald Quataert, *Ottoman manufacturing in the age of the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 92–104.

35 Cf., for example, Kévorkian/Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 481.

36 See, for example, the portrayal of a group of woodworkers from Shadakh, who carry out their work in entirely unscathed – and thus recognizable as new – splendid costume; Kévorkian/Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 553.

37 Details on these particular weaving processes can be found in Ora Shwartz-Be'eri, *The Jews of Kurdistan. Daily Life, Customs, Arts and Crafts* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2000; first in Hebrew 1981), chapters on clothing and weaving: 67–139, esp. 69, 95, 96, 98, 121. I would like to thank Esther Juhasz (Jerusalem) for the reference and for a copy of the catalogue.

38 On the episode of Gülizar's kidnapping, the international reaction, and the legal proceedings in Istanbul, see the extensive documentation in the British National Archive, Foreign Office, 78/4332, 78/4333 and 78/4334; the Ottoman report of the proceedings are reprinted in excerpts and long paraphrases in Musa Şaşmaz, *Kürt Musa Bey Olayı (1883–1890)* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2003); the memoirs of Gülizar were written down by her daughter: Armenouhi Der Garabedian (Kevonian), *Giulizar* (Paris: Imp. A. Der Hagopian, 1946); they also appear in a French translation with supplemental commentaries by her grandson and granddaughter: Arménouhie Kévonian, *Les noces noires de Gulizar*, transl. Jacques Mouradian (Marseille: Éditions Parenthèses, 2005). The above-mentioned image of Musa Bey is reproduced in all three books: in Şaşmaz it appears on the front cover, in the Armenian edition it is on p. 41 (in mirror image), and in the French translation it can be found on p. 36.

tion, which is transmitted through dress, becomes revealed only if one can know an entire series of elements: one must be able to recognize the details of the production techniques and the materials of certain fabrics and articles of clothing, and thus be able to infer their value; one must have detailed knowledge about regional distribution of certain fabrics and patterns as well as their use by certain groups (ethnic-religious, social, professional, etc.); one needs to be able to decipher the messages about status, prestige, function and also confession that certain colors, patterns or articles of clothing can transport; in short, one must be able to read the entire set of meanings which were inherent in the multifaceted clothing of the Ottoman Empire, which were familiar to contemporaries, and through which they could orient themselves.[39]

From an analytical perspective, one has to consider two additional factors. First, it is important to keep in mind that in addition to its capacity for meaning within Ottoman society, clothing was also one of the most important media for communication with the world beyond Ottoman borders. This is especially true regarding photography. At the Vienna World's Fair, the Ottoman Empire presented itself by

[39] The ethnographic works on Armenian dress provide a good orientation, above all Badrig, *Haygagan Daraz*; this richly illustrated album gives a historical overview of Armenian dress from antiquity to modernity, with a subsequent overview of the different regions, based on ethnographic studies since the 19th century as well as the material found in the "memory books" (*houshamadyan*), which were compiled in exile by survivors of the genocide for many of the lost regions, cities, town or even villages. In addition to this album is the study by Avakian, *Haygagan Joghovrtagan Daraze* – even if restricted to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is the most important recent publication on the topic. It distinguishes five larger regions within the Armenian world, describes in detail the different fabrics and their production with many drawings and photographs of the different articles of clothing (as individual components of the costume), their cuts, colors and patterns, head-coverings, stockings and shoes, as well as ornamentation and jewelry, and finally it ends with an extensive glossary that also comprises the different regional meanings of the terms. See also *Badgerakirk Haygagan Daraznerou* (Beirut: Hamazkayin Vahe Sethian Dbaran, n.d. [1988]); Svetlana Poghosyan, "Costume," in *Armenian Folk Arts, Culture, and Identity*, ed. Levon Abrahamian and Nancy Sweezy (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001), 177–193. There are also works on the clothing of the Ottoman Empire in general. To start, the dictionary by Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1967) is useful, providing an overview of the technical terms and also the fabrics, manners of processing, patterns etc. Some information on the different textiles and their quality can be gleaned from the already cited work by Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing*; cf. additionally the likewise already mentioned compilation by Faroqhi/Neumann, ed., *Ottoman Costumes*, and Sevgi Gürtuna, *Osmanlı Kadın Giysisi* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1999). In general it can be asserted that the clothing of the elites is better researched than that of the "simple people," and that the east – as is true for many of the other areas of Ottoman research – remains hazy in comparison with the west of the country, meaning that much less is known about the clothing and its social connections for the provinces than for the capital Istanbul. What is still lacking, according to my knowledge, is a study that compares the clothing of the different groups of people within the region (cf. however, the perspective that Badrig provides by contrasting the Armenian dress with a panorama of types from the neighboring peoples into Central Asia, Badrig, *Haygagan Daraz*, plate 82).

exhibiting its regional, ethnic and religious diversity. The diversity shown was conceived as diversity in unity, which was held together – and above all made possible – by the common umbrella of the Ottoman state.[40] This self-portrayal was visually translated as a photographic exhibition of costumes, in which all the different types of inhabitants were placed side by side – groups which encountered one another in real life either extremely rarely or mostly through conflict.[41] This example reveals the strong suitability of clothing – and even more so of the photographic portraits of selected costumes – for transmitting very complex connections between political, social and cultural living conditions and identities in ways that both simplify and seem directly evident.

The European travelers who visited the Ottoman provinces in growing numbers had much interest in "originality," and thus in the celebrations, customs and clothing of the indigenous peoples; this made them a simultaneously unexpected and important mouthpiece for the inhabitants of the provinces in communicating their often difficult situations – which was especially the case for the Armenians in the Anatolian highlands. The countless pictures in European travel literature showing the misery of the villagers are also to be understood in this context as an appeal to Europe.[42] As much as the postures of the photographed villagers appear at times posed to solicit pity, their rags and bare feet nonetheless also greatly attest to a reality excluded from the portraits of the photo studios.[43] Even though photography became affordable for increasing numbers of social classes, the family portrait still remained a status symbol of the better situated city-dwellers. Furthermore, the clothing with which those being photographed enacted themselves and gave expression to their self-positioning remained for most village inhabitants an unaffordable luxury. Western Armenia had experienced a period of increasing uncertainty and daily violence since the 1840s. The ravages of the Russian-Ottoman war left entire tracts of land barren and uprooted hundreds of thousands of Armenian farmers. The fields lay fallow, and the lost harvests meant a series of local famines in the 1880s. The increasing social tension finally erupted in the 1890s in the empire-wide massacres of Armenians, in which adult men were disproportionally targeted, leaving many families without their breadwinners.[44] Poverty and oppression

40 The catalogue of this Ottoman contribution to the exhibition was published as a large-format, illustrated book: de Launay/Hamdi Bey, *Elbise-i Osmaniyye*.

41 Cf. for example the picture which shows an Armenian monk from the island of Akhtamar in Lake Van framed left and right by two Kurdish warriors, de Launay/Hamdi Bey, *Elbise-i Osmaniyye*, 320.

42 The term is borrowed from the work by Martin Schulze Wessel and Jörg Requate, ed., *Europäische Öffentlichkeit. Transnationale Kommunikation seit dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2002).

43 Cf., for example, the images in Kévorkian/Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 486, 490, 491, 492 etc.

44 For a more extensive analysis of the situation in the eastern Anatolian provinces and for background on the violence, see Elke Hartmann, "The Central State in the Borderlands: Ottoman Eastern Anatolia in the Late 19th Century," in *Shatterzone of Empires. Coexistence*

was also experienced by many Muslims. Many of the Muslims who had fled the Caucasus and the Balkan countries were settled in the Ottoman provinces without any basis of livelihood whatsoever. Many of the settled Kurds were just as exposed to the attacks of the armed tribes as the Armenians were. The rags worn by these farmers suggest the original form of the traditional clothing. They do not, however, reveal clues to any kind of lifestyle, belonging or attitude, but attest solely to the misery and daily fight for survival of their wearers. The possibility of expressing oneself through clothing is reserved for those who can afford different dress and costume.

The Armenian *fedayis* also explicitly set themselves apart through their clothing from the villagers in their worn-out dress and over whom they asserted claims to power. Their clothing, regardless of provenance, and especially their equipment, served not least to impress the inhabitants of the villages that they entered. Particularly the binoculars that the fighters conspicuously carried with them compelled respect from the villagers. Many had never seen such a thing.[45] Equipping the *fedayis* with particularly good and sophisticated clothing was useful in acquiring new regions for the party. Once they had established themselves, however, the *fedayis* were advised to appear more simple in their dress in order to demonstrate not their claims to authority but rather their humility and solidarity with people whose resources would now be supporting them. The discussion about whether the fighters nonetheless had a right to better clothing since they were prepared to sacrifice themselves for the peasants, however, continued.[46]

The clothing of the *fedayis* foremost had to satisfy practical requirements. In his memoirs, Roupen describes in detail the individual articles of clothing of the *fedayis* who had withdrawn to the mountains. By explaining their respective functions, he simultaneously sketches the conditions under which the *fedayis* fought and the conditions of the tight social microcosm in which they lived: full of tension, and oscillating between great hardship and the uplifting feelings of freedom.[47]

The clothing that the *fedayis* selected for their photographic self-portraits do not so much emphasize the practical necessities as create a statement of self-position-

and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands, ed. Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 172–190.

45 Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 2:186–187. The following remarks are based paradigmatically on the portrayal of the life and conduct of the *fedayis* in this work, which – as mentioned – is a particularly valuable contribution among contemporary Armenian self-narratives because most of the other descriptions of the partisans' daily life are entirely or greatly based on this source, just as the later historiography on the topic.

46 Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 4:270–278.

47 Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 2:278–302, also cf. 4:141–146, 1:282. A list of articles of clothing and pieces of equipment of the *fedayis*, classified according to specific duty (scout, fighter, weapon-bearer, etc.) can be found in the decrees of the party convention at Alexandropol in April 1904, reproduced in Hratch Dasnabedian, ed., *Niuter H. H. Tashnagtsoutian Badmoutian Hamar* (Beirut: Vahé Sethian Press, 1985), 2:195–196.

ing. Through the choice of dress, demonstrations of the person's strengths and claims of fighting power are formulated. Also through their clothing, the *fedayis* position themselves within distinct traditions, creating links to very different reference points. Some wear Caucasian uniforms and the characteristic high fur hats (*papakh*),[48] clothing which elicits a conglomeration of associations. Firstly, it indicates that a large number of leaders came from the Russian-ruled Transcaucasus, from Eastern Armenia, Artsakh (Karabakh) or Akhalkalak and Akhaltskha. It further reminds of the military training that many acquired in the lines of the Russian army. Finally, it alludes to the various traditions in which the Armenian fighters of the late 19th century wanted to be positioned. Among these are the memories of the 18th-century autonomy of the Armenian "five principalities" (*khamsayin melikoutiunnere*) of Artsakh, as well as the great resistance of the Caucasian mountain peoples to the Russian expansion. It is noteworthy that the clothing of the irregular Hamidiye cavalry of the eastern Ottoman provinces, which was created in 1890 based on the Russian Cossacks and almost entirely comprised recruits from the Sunni Kurdish tribes, was also in the style of the Circassian dress of the Caucasian military.[49] This visual proximity could only be advantageous for the Armenian *fedayis*, whose direct opponents and competitors in the villages of the Armenian highland were not so much governmental organs but rather the armed Kurdish tribes.[50]

Other *fedayis* let themselves be portrayed in the traditional garb of the Armenians from Sassoun, thereby seizing another line of tradition of Armenian "love of freedom" and unyielding nature that had become legendary.[51] In the centuries of Ottoman rule, some Armenian enclaves, all of which were located in difficult to access spots in the mountains, had defended their autonomy well into the 19th century; during the period of Ottoman reform, which foremost meant the submission of all provinces to central control, they had also resisted the central government's taxation attempts, because these payments would have amounted

48 Cf. the images in *Houshamadyan HH Tashnagtsoutyan*, 1:52, 71, 115, 116, 125; for contemporary images of Circassian male dress for comparison, see Federalnoe agenstvo po kulture i kinematografii rossiĭskiĭ etnograficheski museĭ, ed., *Tslavianie yevropy i narody rossii k 140-letiiu pervoĭ etnograficheskoĭ vystavki 1867 goda* (St. Petersburg, 2008), 204–205, 211.

49 Cf. the images in Lynch, *Armenia*, 2:109, 110. The best study on the Hamidiye regiments is Janet Klein, *The Margins of Empire: Kurdish Militias in the Ottoman Tribal Zone* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); additionally cf. Kodaman Bayram, "Hamidiye Hafif Süvari Alayları. (II. Abdülhamid ve Doğu-Anadolu Aşiretleri)," *Tarih Dergisi* 32 (1979): 427–480.

50 Cf. the numerous references in Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 2:180–181, 185, 191, 1:290–293, 157, 281 etc.

51 See, for example, the images in *Houshamadyan HH Tashnagtsoutyan*, 1:52, 53, 73, 161, 250; Kiurkdjian, ed., *Badmakroutiun*, 3:177; on the men's clothing of the region, see Avakian, *Haygagan Joghovrtagan Daraze*, 55–64, figs. 16, 35, 36; Badrig, *Haygagan Daraz*, 36–37, additionally the plates 45 (Sassoun), 46 (Shadakh), 47 (Van-Vasbouragan); cf. also the photographs in Kévorkian/Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 69, 496; on the myth of the love of freedom and unyielding nature of Sassoun, cf. also Roupen, *Hishadagnere* 2:180 passim.

to a double tax burden for the inhabitants who also had to pay tribute to the local rulers. Among these autonomous enclaves, the mountainous region of Sassoun, located in the province of Bitlis west of Lake Van, was particularly important. In this region, the resistance against state power was especially bitter. There, as before in the Cilician mountain fortress Zeytoun, revolutionary cadres were successful in their attempts to oust the traditional rulers and to spark a full revolt out of the people's initially limited resistance to new taxes, and they then placed themselves at the top. In this way Sassoun experienced two rebellions within one decade, in 1894 and 1904, both of which were suppressed with extreme brutality, thereby inciting international furor.[52] Sassoun, moreover, is the same area in which the Armenian national epic poem "David of Sassoun" was set, a poem transmitted orally throughout the region for centuries until being committed to writing by several scholars into several versions during the 19th century. This epic tells the story of David's resistance to an opposing, superior power, and of the defiance of the inhabitants of Sassoun for several generations, their berserker strength, stubbornness, wildness, recalcitrance, roughness, sincerity and unconditional loyalty, their courage and their heroism. The epic summarizes this character of David, his ancestors and progeny with the word *dzour* (crooked, skewed, slanted). Projected onto the inhabitants of the entire region, the modern revolutionaries apprehended these evocations and attributed them to themselves.[53]

By choosing the dress of Sassoun, the revolutionaries also referenced the Kurdish tribal chieftains of the region, who in the late 19th century were the actual lords

52 Yet to be written is a history of the events in Sassoun (and likewise in Zeytoun) that considers the different Armenian perspectives of the inhabitants on the one hand and the revolutionaries on the other, the context and the perspectives of the Ottoman state, as well as the importance of international actors. Such an analysis promises important conclusions for many fields. For one, a series of basic issues condenses around these incidents – issues of forced catch-up modernization, questions of the creation and implementation of modern statehood and central state control, and questions of the state's reach and ability to integrate; these questions are of central importance even today for the pacification and stabilization of many crisis zones of the Middle East (e.g., Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia). Furthermore, a comprehensive and critical reassessment of the revolts of Sassoun in their contexts would be an important contribution to the extremely politicized but not particularly scholarly debate about the so-called "Armenian question," the prehistory of the genocide of the Armenians during World War I. Material for all sides is amply available and accessible in the collections of the Ottoman State Archives in Istanbul, the British National Archives and other European archives, Armenian archives (in Armenia as well as abroad), as well as the Armenian memoir literature (among which are the memoirs of Roupen, who integrated the memories of many other eyewitnesses and fighters whom he had interviewed [vol. 3]). See additionally the Soviet-Armenian research on the topic, among others, H. M. Boghosian, *Sasouni Badmoutiun (1750–1918)* (Yerevan: Hayasdan, 1985).

53 Cf. Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 2:230; also cf. Melik-Shah, "Aratchin Dbavoroutiunners Roupenen," in *Asbarez* 28.11.1961; Malkhas, "Housher (Andib)," in Roupen, *Hay Heghapokhagani me Hishadagnere*, 7 vols., 1st ed. (Los Angeles, 1952), 7:381–416, esp. 409; etc. *David of Sasoun (Sasountsi Tavit)* is – mostly in excerpts – also translated into various European languages, among others, German, English, French and Russian.

of the land. In hardly any other province was it so difficult for the Ottoman central state to subordinate and to pacify the Kurdish tribes for the long-term as it was in the province of Bitlis.[54] With this in mind, it is not particularly surprising that several *fedayis* chose those goat-hair pants that had become the trademark of the powerful Kurdish Bey for their photographic self-performance.[55] This dress reclaimed at once an assertion of Armenian origins, virtually the right of Armenian seniority, in a time during which historical and ethnographic research of folk culture was blossoming; simultaneously on the political stage, it justified and reinforced national aspirations by referring to the age and dominance of Armenian culture. Precisely in the areas around Lake Van, Sassoun and Vasbouragan, which comprise the Armenian heartland and in which their myths of origin[56] and national epics find their home, the dress of the Armenians and Kurds display particularly great similarities. Usually classified by European travelers as "Kurdish," the dress of Sassoun appeared to the Armenians as the most ancient expression of their own identity and everyday culture, which they had preserved and had passed along to the Kurds. Armenian scholarship supports this claim mostly by considering the arts of fine spinning and weaving of goat-hair fabrics: ancient and medieval descriptions attest to the Armenian mastery,[57] and the Kurds of the region had recognizably adopted this from their Armenian neighbors.[58]

The *fedayis* and revolutionary cadres who had themselves so portrayed were aware of the effects of their images. They knew about the foreign public that saw their pictures in the press and likewise about the hold their self-enactment had on the local population. They also knew well that their means of impressing the peasants with their appearance, equipment and clothing and of frightening both Armenians and Kurds with their martial bearing was far more effective for their mission than all milder attempts of persuasion. Roupen supplies a few examples in his memoirs. The most impressive scene emerges from his arrival in the dis-

54 On this we have eloquent testimony not least from the documentation of the Ottoman central government on the inter-Kurdish feuds in the region, BOA, Yıldız Esas Evrakı Defterleri (Y.EE.d.) 297, 23 Ca. 1295 H.; BOA, Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Dahiliye Nezareti Maruzatı (Y.PRK.DH.) 5/76, 20 C. 1310 H. etc.

55 Cf. the images in *Houshamadyan HH Tashnagtsoutyan*, 1:113, 138, etc.

56 The reference for the so-called "traditional history" of the Armenians is the "History of the Armenians" of Movses Khorenatsi (Moses of Khoren) from the 5th century (C.E.), which combines biblical and non-Christian traditions into a mythical story of Armenian origins, which then crossed over into the chronicles of his time. Pre-modern Armenian historiography is based on this narrative; during the 19th (and also in the 20th) century, it was taught in Armenian schools and thereby popularized as traditional history. Movses Khorenatsi's "History" is available in English in a scholarly translation: Moses of Khoren, *History of Armenia*, translation and commentary by Robert W. Thomson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); additionally, there are also (partial) translations in other languages, among others in German: *Des Moses von Chorene Geschichte Gross-Armeniens*, aus dem Armenischen übersetzt von Dr. M[ax] Lauer (Regensburg: G. J. Manz, 1869).

57 Badrig, *Haygagan Daraz*, 14.

58 Shwartz-Be'eri, *The Jews of Kurdistan*, 121, 98.

tricts of Gargar and Sbargerd, which he was to make newly accessible to his party. As long as he enters the villages with all of his troops in full uniform, the organizational work proceeds rapidly. But when he arrogantly leaves behind his men after the first few successes and proceeds alone with just two companions, they are beaten up, and he is only able to bring the villages back under control by summoning his entire squad.[59] With the surprising candidness characteristic of his memoirs, he summarizes, "first then did I comprehend that the presence of the [armed] group was stronger than sermons and speeches, this living image and embodiment of force."[60]

Operative in all of these situations are the mechanisms of costume and theatrical performance. First, the photographic portraits are iconographical self-enactments that show a particular image of the *fedayi*, thereby evoking associations and predetermining how the *fedayi* would be remembered – something all the more important considering the fighters' awareness of undertaking a historic mission. Second, potential acts of violence are performed, which often spared the *fedayi* from actually performing such violence. Finally, exaggerated stories of the *fedayis*' fights are created or promoted; these stories would then precede the *fedayis*, become legend,[61] and establish their authority well before they actually arrived. The *fedayis* also took advantage of the possibilities of costume for camouflage and disguise, as Roupen describes in many episodes. In the role of servant to the group leader Nigol Touman, Roupen crosses the Russian-Iranian border for the first time.[62] The same role-play of master and servant is used by Roupen and his companion Yeghishe in 1909 during their trip from Russian Armenia over the Ottoman border to the Black Sea.[63] In another case, Roupen disguises himself as a Tatar refugee in order to move illegally from Persian territory back into Russian lands.[64] In this story – as in the other episodes – the boundaries of disguise as a possibility for camouflage are made clear. In none of the cases does the disguise alone make the role; in all situations the disguised *fedayis* have to be careful not to betray themselves through their speech, movements and habitus. In the last example, Roupen has to avoid speaking because he has not mastered the Turkish dialect of his southern Azeri peasant character. In the

59 Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 2:183–188.

60 Ibid., 2:187; cf. similar depictions ibid. 4:276, 2:188–189, 191, 4:261, 1:283, 289; Dikran Deroyian, "Enger Roupen Der Minasian – Roupen Pasha," *Haratch* 5.12.1951.

61 Cf., for example, the description in Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 2:188–189. Belonging to this idealization of the fighters are also the heroic songs that were sung about them – in many cases equally in Armenian and Kurdish, cf. Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 1:134, 156, 261, 281, 295, etc. Many of these songs are still familiar among Armenians and are published in song books. A few of the songs are also still remembered by Kurds of the region, as travelers report (conversation with Anahide Ter Minassian, Berlin, August 26, 2010).

62 Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 1:262–263. On the return trip, he traveled as the "servant" of a doctor: ibid., 1:312.

63 Ibid., 6:163–164.

64 Ibid., 1:340–343.

first example, the inexperienced novice Roupen is advised by his leader Nigol Touman to keep quiet lest he attract attention by saying the wrong thing. Finally, during the crossing of the Russian-Ottoman border, Roupen's escort Yeghishe in the role of attendant and baggage carrier has to accept silently the loss of his expensive fur coat, which as a servant he could not have possessed, and thus cannot reclaim without falling out of character. In yet another episode, the disguise almost leads to its wearer's doom. In this case, Nigol Mikayelian (the later Vana Ishkhan) makes his way through enemy lines by wearing the uniform of a fallen Ottoman solder, thus escaping the inferno of Pasen in which more than a hundred of his comrades meet their deaths. Upon his arrival on the Russian side of the border, however, his fellow party members do not recognize him in the enemy fighter's clothing and thus receive him with hostility. In the end, his knowledge of the language and linguistic codes save him.[65]

Disguise and theatrical act succeed because of the tight time limitations – the limitation to a timeframe bridgeable by silence or by brandishing a weapon. For situations of illegal boundary crossing, breaking through enemy lines or entering an untapped area for the first time, these means suffice. For the life of a *fedayi*, however, for molding a young civilian into a partisan fighter, a simple change of clothes is not enough. Here, the clothing of the *fedayis* becomes an element of transformation. At the beginning of this transformation process is the donning of the clothes. Together with other rituals, the giving away of the old clothes and the assuming of the new represents the crossing over from the old life into the new one. It is no coincidence that Roupen's memoirs begin with the description of this initiation. At the end of 1903, he first receives orders for deployment to Kars, the most important cadre factory of the party, where the new revolutionaries are instructed and trained, and the deployments to the country on the other side of the border are prepared and coordinated. For the hard school that every fighter goes through, Roupen appropriates a term used to describe the hardening of steel: the revolutionaries are formed here, they are steeled (Arm: *trdzvil*). Roupen is housed with "the lads" upon his arrival, i.e., in housing for the cadres and fighters of the party, and this even though his mother lives in the same city. From the first moment on he finds himself in an atmosphere of familiarity: the men accept him into their circle without asking about his name, past or person. Following this is his donning of the new clothes. He has to give away his own, good clothes (he comes from an affluent, urban household), is ordered to take off his tie, and in return he receives a rough, threadbare jacket. Next he has his first meal in the circle of "the lads": all eat with their hands from one pot.[66] He

65 Ibid., 1:170–171.

66 Ibid., 1:39–41. A revealing parallel between this transition from civil life to the life of the *fedayis* are the caesuras that novices go through during their entry into a monastery. Also here the change in residence and clothing signal his turning away from and visible dismissal of the old world for the new life, and they mark a ritual of crossover.

finds the call to Kars a "great honor." After spending some time in this "revolutionary smelter" (*hnots*) and assuming various duties, he soon presses to be taken into one of the fighting groups that smuggle weapons and munitions across the border to Western Armenia. In June 1904 he gets his chance. After the commander of the group, Nigol Touman, first wants to turn him back, Roupen attempts to impress him with his marksmanship and his reserve officer's knowledge of the Russian artillery. At last he succeeds in pushing into the commando.[67] How far he is from being a real *fedayi*, however, becomes clear on this trip that ends in his baptism of fire.

Roupen comes from an affluent home and a bourgeois family; his father had been a Russian civil servant. After his father's early death, Roupen is sent to the seminary at Etchmiadzin (the seat of the Catholicos, the head of the Armenian Church), which was one of the best Armenian educational institutions at the time. Later he continues his training at the likewise well-renowned Lazarev Institute in Moscow, where he goes through officer training for the Russian army as well.[68] When Roupen is ordered to Kars in 1903, his family also moves there. He sets himself apart from his home, however; refusing the comforts of his mother's apartment, he moves in with his comrades. Against the ridicule and mistrust that he as an educated bourgeois son has to endure from his fellow fighters, he tries to distinguish himself as an especially adaptable and dependable member. In Kars he trades his bourgeois identity for one of a revolutionary through the symbolic act of changing clothing. He goes through almost a year of training and shaping. On the journey to the Persian border, which he begins in 1904, he once more has to prove himself in order to find his way to Western Armenia. Once again, and this time particularly bitterly, he is exposed to his comrades' scorn for intellectuals. Here, he has to learn for the first time the raw conversational tone of the fighters, their special linguistic code, their mutual insults that are not meant as humiliation but rather brotherly deference.[69] In a commemorative photo that the group had taken before its decampment, Roupen poses in the center of the picture with a hand grenade in his hand, which he pretends to throw (see fig. 5).[70] This image is the only picture that exists of Roupen assuming in such a theatrical pose. Not by chance was it taken before his first combat mission, when he dreamed more of being a *fedayi* than what he had actually proven in the guerilla warfare. Later, after the bourgeois son Minas Der Minasian (his former name) has become the experienced

67 Ibid., 1:286–287.

68 Two biographies of Roupen have been published recently: Ashod Nersisian, *Roupen. Roupen Der Minasiani Gyankn ou Kordzouneoutiune* (Yerevan: Edit Print, 2007); Khatchadour R. Sdepanian, *Roupen Der-Minasian (Gyanke yev Kordze)* (Yerevan: VMV Print, 2008); cf. Anahide Ter Minassian, "The Role of the Individual: The Case of Rouben Ter Minassian," *Ararat* 46 (1993): 183–201.

69 Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 1:270–276; also cf. the portrayal in Malkhas, *Housher*, 391–392, 402; on the conversational tone, cf. Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 1:336, passim.

70 The photograph is reproduced among others in *Houshamadyan HH Tashnagtsoutyan*, 1:125.

Fig. 5: Members of Nigol Touman's group before the battle of Razi, June 1904. The photograph shows Minas Der Minasian (Roupen) as a young *fedayi* (front row in the middle, with hand grenade) (coll. ATM)

partisan leader Roupen, such performances are no longer necessary. On the march Roupen must have felt that he could not muster enough tenacity, endurance and strength to manage the strain of the journey. His great willpower in this situation, however, brings him the recognition of his companions and ultimately also relief: after a strenuous day, a comrade relieves him of looking after his horse.[71] The most long-lasting shock comes from the first clash that Roupen is involved in along the Iranian-Ottoman border. For the first time he is confronted with the death of his comrades. Similarly disturbing for him is the experience of killing. Both trouble him so much that he begins to question the revolutionaries' entire approach and also his own purpose and ability.[72] He withdraws to a remote monastery to think things over. This stay at the Thaddeus Monastery comes close to an inner conversion. There he virtually molds his spirit into that of the partisan who he wants to become. There it is also clear to him that his body must also conform to that of the simple mountain peasants with whom he feels so connected and from whose rows the fighters he admires are recruited. Roupen begins to leave his light skin

71 Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 1:284.
72 Ibid., 1:288–295, 301–302, 304.

exposed to the sun so that it burns, he runs barefoot across the sharp cliffs until his feet start bleeding – and encounters in this condition a peasant who has tossed his shoes over his shoulder to preserve them and approaches the monastery barefoot.[73] A little later he returns to the northern Persian region for another mission. This time he has appropriated the habitus of a *fedayi*.[74] In the meantime he has also cast off his bourgeois name and assumed a *nom de guerre*, Roupen. With the choice of this name he makes use of another tradition which many Armenian revolutionaries referenced, namely, the memory of the last Armenian sovereign state, which had existed during the Crusades in Cilicia (thus beyond the actual Armenian heartland!). The founder of this principality was called Roupen. His descendant Levon was later crowned king. In a clear play on this king, Roupen Der Minasian named his second son, born in 1926, Levon. Since Roupen adhered to a very decisive pragmatism and realism when defining his goals and approaches, he could not articulate the secession from the Ottoman Empire as a concrete, immediate, political objective; yet, through his choice of names, he could still express the distant dream of Armenian statehood and also his claim and desire to play a similar role in its creation as the medieval state and dynasty founder Roupen. Taking on the new name, just as the new clothing before, marks a further step in his passage to a new life.

What takes place here is not only the start of a new phase of life. It is also the transition to a new identity, a new definition and also a new creation of his person. Roupen's success in adopting a new identity – in making it into his own – occurs through performative acts. Performance, more precisely performative repetition, creates the person of Roupen the *fedayi*. Thus we see that identities are changeable and versatile, an observation that has since become commonplace. In addition, performance theory gave rise to a scholarly apparatus by which the person is not defined by *being* but by *doing*.[75] This doing, to be sure, is confronted with boundaries set by the contexts of gender, social and cultural conventions, political parameters etc. These boundaries, however, can be called into question and can at least partially be negotiated through the person, his or her volition, thoughts and readiness to act. Clothing in this case is not only or even primarily an *expression* of a given identity or identification, but rather the choice of clothing is itself an important *performative act*, alongside which identity is created, as is made clear through the example of the photographic performance of Armenian revolutionaries and their becoming *fedayis*.

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73 Ibid., 1:303, 312–314, 326–327, 334, 335–336.

74 Malkhas, *Housher*, 389–392; cf. "Roupen Eng. G. Sasounii Khosadz Djare Voghpatsyal Eng. R. Der Minasiani Hishadagin Nvirvadz Rivolii Hantisoutian," *Aztag* May 10, 1952.

75 See especially the works of Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech. A Politics of the Performance* (New York; London: Routledge, 1997), and ibid., *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York; London: Routledge, 1990).

In the analytical divide between disguise and transformation, time becomes an essential determining factor. The performance that shapes the person is an elaborate act that spans a long timeframe. The result is enduring (albeit not rigid). Missing from this slow, performative, arduous and all-encompassing assimilation process is the arbitrariness of disguise. The process is also not easily reversed. Newly acquired cultural abilities – linguistic codes, movements, a habitus referring to a particular affiliation, etc. – conduct and means of action can displace and over time marginalize the old. This suppression is not, however, inevitable. The performative assimilation of a new identity represents far more an accrual, an opening of new spheres for action that does not necessitate the loss of the old. This way of thinking about identity and person, which considers their *possibilities for understanding, orientation and action*, further allows the conception of "multiple identities" or "multiple cultural affiliations." Such "multiple identities" can bind affiliations with different cultural systems (religious worlds, social subcultures, linguistic spaces, etc.) within a person, without leading to a split, fragmentation or crisis in the person, even if the affiliations contain contradictory elements. It is thus useful to introduce these performance-theory terms of identity and person into the debate about hybridity and plurality. This model of thought enables person and identity to be separated analytically: combined within a single person are multiple identities, which are understood as the *options available for acting and orienting oneself in a lifeworld*, and are more than simply roles. The term lifeworld (the German *Lebenswelt*)[76] is introduced here so that the discussion of affiliation and identity is not simply reduced to cultural systems of ethnic, linguistic or religious groups, but can instead remain open to all possible groups: social groups, subcultures, age groups and also genders. Each of these groups has its own space, shapes culture, and often develops languages or subcultural linguistic codes specific to age or gender.

One episode from Roupen's memoirs, the scene of his arrival in Moush in July 1908,[77] reflects once more the whole spectrum of meaning carried by clothing and change of clothing, performance and transformation. As the Young Turkish revolutionaries overthrow the sultan, their Armenian allies also descend from the mountains to celebrate victory and hope. Roupen who has meanwhile become commander of the *fedayis* from Daron (the region around Moush and Sassoun) also comes down to the city of Moush, where the Pasha had already asked

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76 On this concept, first used in the work of Siegfried Kracauer and later modified and introduced into the new cultural history see Rudolf Vierhaus, "Die Rekonstruktion historischer Lebenswelten. Probleme moderner Kulturgeschichtsschreibung," in *Wege zu einer neuen Kulturgeschichte*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag: 1995), 7–28 (reprinted in: Rudolf Vierhaus, *Vergangenheit als Geschichte. Studien zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans Erich Bödeker, Benigna von Krusenstjern, and Michael Matthiesen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 98–110.)

77 Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 4:389–394.

about him, and all of the local notables and a large group of people, soldiers and police have gathered to greet him and to celebrate the new constitution.

Roupen still wears his *fedayi*'s dress, on his head the long Caucasian felt hat (*papakh*), on his feet the light *drekhs* [peasant shoes with leather soles tied around a knitted, sock-like covering], the Sassounian *shalvar* [pantaloons] with a wool *apa* [a cloak of rough woolen fabric], under which his ammunition belt shimmers. With his long hair and beard he looks "similar to a mountain bear on two legs". Surrounded by all the "honourable, cleanly shaven men" who were dressed up and "decorated with medals, glittering sables, chains seeming of gold", Roupen begins to feel uncomfortable in his stinking clothes and plenty of lice on his body.

> "I had to tidy myself up. My *drekhs*, which had served me so well, had now become a thorn in my side. The teacher Kevork Marzbedouni had shoes ready and additionally a handful of clothes. They brought the things, and I put them on. I had forgotten how to tie a tie; Kegham tied it for me. They cut my hair, shaved me, and I became an urban, hairless lad; I was no *sarê pe prtch* [disheveled, nappy head] anymore."[78]

Roupen describes how he, accompanied by notables, makes his way through a row of soldiers who shield him and his escorts from the masses forced to the side by the police and the military. They carry Roupen on their shoulders to the seat of the provincial governor. Speeches are held. Roupen, however, is irritated by the general, joyous frenzy and his role in it. A growing trepidation meets his uncertainty, and he decides to flee to the mountains. Roupen signals to his old battle companion Petara Manoug to saddle the horses, and he rides off with him.

> "We mounted the horses. I wore the clothes of an effendi [a city slicker], with a fez and bobble, tie and jacket, only one pistol girded under my vest. Weapons and armor do not fit the clothing of an effendi nor a baron. The Turkish effendis do the same. I had betrayed the weapons of the *fedayis*; this was not the case for Petara Manoug. He wore the decorated clothes of the *fedayi*, with six rows of ammunition belts, the rifle around his neck, the white dagger on his side and an additional rifle in reserve, which he has ready for me. I ride my horse at a mannered walking pace; Manoug in contrast reins his horse, simultaneously spurring it with the heels of his boots; he lets it prance, lunge out, as if he wanted to trample the people in the marketplace in order to ride past. Manoug says to the people through his movements, 'the *fedayi* has come;' I signal with my polite manner to the masses bowing left and right before me, 'the *fedayi* has gone.' Under the countless curious looks we finally leave the city."

Suddenly Manoug spots wild geese and bustards grazing on the meadow. Roupen and Manoug whip their horses towards the bustards, Roupen swings the butt of his rifle, hits something soft and hard, but then his horse also flies and falls in the mud, while Roupen lands headfirst in the bog.

> "There I see Manoug with a bustard in his hand, standing above my head, saying with a grin, 'It doesn't matter, your effendi clothes haven't brought you any good; it's the fault of the Turkish fez. The bustard that you hit also fell in here.' We had bagged two bus-

78 Ibid., 4:391–392.

> tards, but both my horse and I were finished. We were covered with mud. We went to the riverbank; I cleaned my self, and we also washed my horse. I put on Manoug's cap [*arakhtchi*] and his cloak; we hung my wet clothes on the saddlebags and mounted our horses. […] 'I see, Baron, you want hide yourself away from people. Let us go to the monastery of Arakelots.'"[79]

Once more, Roupen withdraws to the seclusion of the monastery, that place where he had already contemplated himself, his goals and his options for action, and thus also pondered his identity, which had lead to his transformation to a *fedayi*.

After the revolution, as the *fedayis* disarm and many of their leaders are sent to the provinces as teachers, Roupen decides to pursue his studies abroad.[80] He resumes his options for action of his former lifeworld, the world he had left in order to go into the mountains as a fighter. Before his departure to Europe, he pays one last visit to his mother. She packs clean white undergarments for him and reminds him to have them washed regularly and to lead a civilized life again after his years as a "mountain bear."[81] In this scene, too, clothes become the symbol of the transition from one lifeworld to another. His decision to study and the clothing that he packs in his suitcase show, however, that even though his existence as a student had certainly receded for a time, it is still very much available to him as a framework for action and orientation. Having arrived in Geneva, Roupen nevertheless still maintains an intense connection to his life as a *fedayi*: he sends the greater part of his available resources to his former fighters in Moush, keeping only the bare minimum for himself. In contrast to his Genevan companions, he bases his conspicuously humble lifestyle on his life in the mountains that was full of privation.[82] In other words, Roupen's identity as a student is not exclusive; rather, he preserves the habitus and attitude of a *fedayi* at the same time. He acts simultaneously in different spheres of agency, or, in short, assumes the dual identity of student and *fedayi*, bourgeois and humble fighter, to which he would later add yet other identities and lifeworlds, as a high-ranking party cadre and minister in the Republic of Armenia and as the father of a family in his French exile[83], without having to give one up for the other.

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79 Ibid., 5:13–16, quotations 14–15 and 16.

80 Ibid., 7:19–25.

81 Ibid., 6:157: "Wear woolens in winter so that you don't catch cold, change your whites every week and have them cleaned; live like a man, leave the bear existence. If you get sick, who will take care of you? Oh, I should be struck with blindness, it is [too] far, I cannot come to you."

82 [Drtad] Etchmiadznetsi, "Im Aratchin Hantiboume Roupeni," in Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 1st ed., 7:417–422, esp. 420.

83 Recently published family photos from the private collection of Anahide Ter Minassian show Roupen as a father in a suit and hat with both his sons, or wearing a stylish bowler with his sisters. See Hayasdani Azkayin Arkhiv, ed., *Roupen Der-Minasian. Pasdatghteri yev Niuteri Joghovodzou* (Yerevan: Hayasdani Azkayin Arkhiv, 2011), pages between 168 and 169, unfortunately without captions.

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Itemization and Visualization

Europeans in "Turkish" Dress

Joachim Gierlichs

The study of "Europeans in Turkish Dress" challenges us with a subject of complexity and requires serious reflection.[1] It can be approached in a number of ways. Should we take those men or women so clothed as themselves the subjects of investigation? Or should we make the artists, for whose work we are grateful, our subjects? Should we approach the problems chronologically or thematically? What about the clothes themselves? They are textile artefacts worthy of study. Are the painted clothes accurate renditions, for example, of authentic Ottoman clothes, and do they include the accessories appropriate and true to particular contexts of time and place? Or should we not approach this complex history within the phenomenology of Orientalism[2] in its manifold "game plans", as was the goal of the work of Nina Trauth in her *Maske und Person*[3]?

In this article we will approach a variety of aspects. We will consider why some European men and women of the 17–19th centuries clothed themselves *alla turca* and/or had themselves depicted so in pictures. We are, therefore, dealing with the question: Who (individually or as representatives of particular categories or groups) had themselves depicted in oriental (Turkish) dress? What were their reasons and motivations for doing so? And how did these phenomena change over time?

Let us begin our study of these complex themes with a painting. This is an oil on canvas presently found in the collections of the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha with an abbreviated title (fig. 1): *Portrait of a European Gentleman in Turkish Dress*.[4]

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1 This text is the revised version of a paper given at the workshop *Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narratives* in Istanbul in October 2009. The original version was composed in Doha, Qatar and during a short stay in Berlin in the summer of 2009 without the knowledge of the then just published dissertation of Nina Trauth, *Maske und Person, Orientalismus im Porträt des Barock* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009). For the carefully accomplished English translation I am grateful to Linda Schilcher, Berlin.

2 The term was first introduced by Edward Said in 1978, since then it is used in various ways and still much discussed, see e.g. the revised and enlarged edition of 2010, Edward W. Said, Hans Günter Holl, *Orientalismus* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2010). See also Trauth, *Maske*, 21–24, and Tara Mayer, "Cultural Cross-Dressing: Posing and Performance," in *Orientalist Portraits, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* vol. 22, no. 2, 281–298.

3 Reviews by Christine Kruse, *Sehepunkte* (10, 2010, Nr. 5), http://www.sehepunkte.de/2010/05/17294.html (accessed August 6, 2012); and Michael Hüttler, *rezens.tfm* (e-Journal für wissenschaftliche Rezensionen, Institut für Theater-, Film- und Medienwissenschaft an der Universität Wien). Published November 16, 2010 (2010/2), http://rezenstfm.univie.ac.at/rezens.php?action=rezension&rez_id=97 (accessed August 6, 2012).

4 PA.2.1997, Iran, 1680–1690. Oil on canvas).

Fig. 1

The painting was acquired in 1997 on the international art market.[5] As is often the case with such acquisitions, its provenance is wholly or partially unknown and undocumented. Already the title raises three questions: Is this really a portrait? Is the (gentle)man depicted really a European? And what are we to understand by the expression "Turkish dress"?

Beginning with the last of these questions, it is clear that the designation "Turkish dress" would naturally not refer to "Turkish" in today's meaning of the word, but to Ottoman. Or, even more generally the inference might be to terms often used such as "oriental" or "Muslim" in the sense of a cultural-geographic designation. In fact, the clothing is not Ottoman but Persian, or more precisely, a Safavid textile model. There is a top wrap or cloak of colourful flowered fabric over a blue and gold (beige) striped undergarment. The latter is buttoned together below the breast with two closely placed buttons so that the garment falls open below that point. The right side of the cloak is turned out slightly so that the inner lining, probably of fur, is visible. The collar of the cloak is also of some kind of unrecognisable animal fur.[6] Showing under the inner garment are pink leggings and soft green boots. The head covering is a turban of typically Safavid style as we know these from several paintings from 17–18th century Iran.[7]

The painting is not signed. We know nothing about either the artist or the consigner. The date of completion can only indirectly be established. Comparing style and iconography we can posit a very probable origin in the Safavid Empire sometime towards the end of the 17th century.[8] If we had wanted to build on the theory that this is a portrait of a particular personality rather than a genre scene, the middle aged man who is depicted in three-quarter profile with his right hand resting on a thin stick[9] has not been identified. However, his light skin and his considerable blond moustache would indicate that this is indeed a European. Similarly, the background of heavily ruffled curtains on the left side, the European landscape in the background, and the white dog at his master's feet would support this supposition.

5 Sotheby's London, 15 October 1997, lot 35. For a detailed analysis of the whole group of Safavid paintings now kept in the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha, see the forthcoming article by Eleanor Sims, "Peoples from Parts Unknown: 17th-century oil painting from Safavid Persia" (paper given at the 4th Hamad bin Khalifa Symposium on Islamic Art in Doha 2011). I want to thank E. Sims who was kind enough to make her manuscript available to me.

6 Compare "A gentleman in Persian dress," formerly in the Negaristan Museum, now transferred to the Saadabad Museum of Fine Arts, Tehran; see Eleanor Sims, "Five Seventeenth-Century Persian Oil Paintings," in *Persian and Mughal Art* (London: P. and D. Colnaghi, 1976), 221–248, no. 138.

7 Layla S. Diba and Basil W. Robinson, in *Royal Persian paintings: the Qajar epoch, 1785–1925* (London: Tauris 1998), 120, no. 11.

8 Compare the examples mentioned by Sims, *Persian Oil Paintings*, 221–248.

9 This detail is depicted in a number of representations; see e.g. Nicolas Respaigne and Johann Paul von Kuefstein (more information below in the text).

The subject may well have belonged to a group of European travellers and internationally active business people as, for example, the French gem merchant Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689).[10] These had themselves depicted in oriental, or perhaps, orientalised, attire. On the one hand this would indicate their successful commercial travels and trade missions.[11] On the other, the pictures would demonstrate the quality of the sumptuous fabrics and clothes they brought back from distant lands. We cannot, however, totally exclude the possibility that the subject is not a European but rather a member of the ethnic group of Armenians[12] who were often found among those who dealt with western travellers, businessmen and diplomats during the Safavid period, and who themselves were active in foreign trade. The nearly white skin and the physiognomy of the face at first exclude this interpretation, but there were, of course, also fair-skinned men and women in Iran from the Caucasus regions.[13]

For the time being let us just accept that this is probably a European active in trade with Safavid Iran who has had himself depicted in oriental (here, Persian) attire while standing within a European set (curtains, painting and dog). The model for this painting may well have been the etching entitled "Persian" in the famous Recueil Ferriol,[14] about which we will talk more later.

The desire to dress oriental is only one – though not an unimportant aspect – of the larger, century-long phenomenon of variously motivated and variously intense European interest in the Orient. This interest focused especially on the Ottoman Empire, which had through wartime and peacetime very close relations with Europe, and especially with the Habsburg Empire. Following the second failed Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683 and further Ottoman defeats (Mohács in 1687 and Slankamen in 1691), the direct threat to European powers declined by the end of the 17th century. At the same time, however, civilian interest in the power on the Bosphorus grew all the more.

10 For Tavernier see the impressive oil on canvas by Nicolas de Largilliere at the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Brunswig, documented in: Gereon Sievernich and Hendrik Budde (eds.), *Europa und der Orient* (Gütersloh, Munich: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1989), 821, fig. 895.

11 Possibly he belonged to one of the European envoys sent to Persia as e.g. the envoy to Shah Safi in Isfahan, on which Adam Olearius participated in behalf of Friedrich III of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf in 1635.

12 Besides Armenia, Georgia played an important role in the Caucasus during the 18th century, see Sims, *Persian Oil Paintings*, 221–248, and Chahyar Adle, "Peintures Géogiennes et peintures orientales, Musée Géorgien d'Art Chalva Amiranachvili à Tbilissi," *Archéologie et arts du monde iranien, de l'inde et du Caucase d'après quelques recherches récentes de terrain, 1984–1995* (1996): 347–365.

13 See e.g. Theresa Khan, a Christian Circassian princess, the later wife of Sir Anthony Sherley, who, being in the entourage of Shah Abbas, led his mission to Europe; see Sheila R. Canby, *Shah 'Abbas and the remaking of Iran.* (London: British Museum, 2009), 56–57.

14 See Marquis Charles de Ferriol, *Receuil du Cent Estampes representant differentes Nations Du Levant, tirees sur les Tableaux peints d'apres Nature en 1707 et 1708* (Paris: LeHay & Duchange, 1714), plate no. 90.

Travellers such as pilgrims, clergymen, businessmen, but most of all diplomats to the “Sublime Porte” had written important and often very informative reports already at the end of the medieval period. Often these were replete with illustrations by artists who travelled with the Europeans.[15] The invention and spread of printing led to the wider distribution of these texts. Whereas at first the rulers and notables were the focus of these reports, later travellers increasingly took interest in common people, stressing the great ethnic diversity within the huge empire.

For the 16th century we have two important witnesses who depicted contemporary personalities, Melchior Lorichs (ca. 1527–1583)[16] and Nicolas de Nicolay (1517–1583).[17] Although Lorichs was famous mostly for his views of Constantinople/Istanbul, he also made a portrait of the ruling Sultan, Suleiman the Magnificent (or, as in Ottoman usage, Suleiman the Law Giver, or Kanuni) and also of his wife Hürrem Sultan.[18] In addition, we have a number of drawings of musicians and especially of harpists.[19] These are Orientals, or, more precisely, ladies of the Ottoman court. We know, of course, that these could also be women from the European territories of the Empire, as was Hürrem, (or Roxelane as she was known in the West) who came from a region that extends between today’s Romania and Ukraine. As far as we know, Europeans in the narrow cultural and political definition of that term were not depicted in Turkish, Ottoman or “oriental” dress by Lorichs.

Similarly Nicolas de Nicolay is not known to have produced any depictions in which a European was dressed in Turkish attire. There is an engraving of a heavily veiled lady on her way to the *hammam* (bath) in the company of a stately servant woman who is not veiled.[20] The lady is most likely a native. It is questionable that European women would have visited or been allowed to visit the local baths at this time, though later this was possible, as in the case of Lady Wortley Montagu. Additionally, a picture by Jean-Etienne Liotard (1702–1789) might be of a European woman at the baths.

Depictions of European women in oriental or Turkish attire are relatively rare prior to the second half of the 17th century. The “Picture of a Young Woman in Turkish Dress” preserved in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (KdZ 15237) could be of a European, that is, a non-native.

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15 See for example the printed travelogues of Johannes Schiltberger (1380– after 1427), Hans Dernschwam (1494–1568), Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522–1591), Stephan(us) Gerlach (1546–1612), Leonhard Rauwolff (c. 1540–1596) and Salomon Schweigger (1551–1622).

16 For Lorichs see *Europa & der Orient*, 241–244, as well as Kjeld von Folsach, *The Arabian journey* (Arhus: Prehistoric Museum Moesgard 1996), 31–45 (p. 36, fig. 7 (harpist)).

17 For Nicolay see *Europa & der Orient*, 825, cat. 12/22; images: 307, figs.: 372–373.

18 See *Dess kunstreichen weitberuehmbten und wolerfahrnen Herrn Melchioris Lorichi,… wolgerissene und geschnittene Figuren zu Ross und Fuss, sampt schönen türckischen Gebäwen und allerhand was in der Türckey zusehen…* (Hamburg: T. Gundermann, 1646).

19 Folsach, *Arabian Journey*, 36, figs. 6–8.

20 Semra Germaner and Zeynep Inankur, *Constantinople and the Orientalists* (Istanbul: İşbank, 2002), fig. 148.

Fig. 2

The extremely fine brush painting is the work of Jacopo Ligozzi (circa 1547–1627) completed in 1614 in Florence.[21] It is difficult to make a definitive identification of the female subject simply because the Ottoman Empire included sev-

[21] 17.5 × 14.2 cm, see *Europa & der Orient*, 637, fig. 732.

eral European ethnic groups (e.g. in the Balkans). Since the late 17th and then more so in the 18th century these appear increasingly as subjects in paintings. As evidence we have the "Greek Women of Pera" and many depictions of Armenian and Jewish women. These are usually hardly to be differentiated from western and central Europeans. If the painting by Ligozzi is really of a European woman it would then be our earliest example.

More than any other painter of that time, we are indebted to Jean Baptiste Vanmour (1671–1737) for his visualisations of contemporary Ottoman society.[22] Vanmour arrived in Istanbul as a member of the entourage of the French Ambassador Marquis Charles de Ferriol (1652–1718). For more than 30 years, until his death, Vanmour fulfilled his commission to depict the various inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire. In 1714 de Ferriol published a series of copperplate engravings based on Vanmour's paintings. *The Recueil de Cent Estampes representant differentes Nations Du Levant, Gravées sur les Tableaux peints d'apres Nature en 1707 et 1708*[23] – referred to more simply as the *Receuil Ferriol* – is hugely valuable for its record of Ottoman society (fig. 3). Its influence on the wave of orientalised European painting of the 18th and 19th centuries can hardly be exaggerated. The *Receuil Ferriol* had approximately 100 engravings depicting mostly figures of the Ottoman elite beginning with the Sultan and military figures, then a variety of professional men, and continuing into the realm of ordinary people and the ethnic minorities of the Empire.

There were a number of reprints of the *Receuil Ferriol*, all of which served as models not only for paintings but also for the exquisite Meissen porcelain figures.[24]

A number of Vanmour's paintings – and those of his school[25] – depict receptions given by the Sultan for European envoys. The latter are identifiable by their European attire. Take, for example, the audience of the French Ambassador Vicomte d'Andrezel at the court of Sultan Ahmed III (1703–1730) on October 17, 1724 (fig. 4).[26] The French Ambassador played an especially important role at this time due to the primacy of the French over other European powers in relations with the Ottomans. For example, he represented Europe in all religious matters be-

22 Vanmour has been the topic of many publications during the last years, see e.g. Eveline Sint Nicolaas, Duncan Bull, Günsel Renda, and Gül İrepoğlu, *An Eyewitness of the Tulip* Era (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2003); Seth Gopin, *Jean Baptiste Vanmour* (Tourgéville: Illustria, 2009); Olga Nefedova, *A Journey into the World of the Ottomans* (New York, Milan: Skira, 2009).

23 There are several different editions, and a facsimile has been published by Sevket Rado in Turkey (Istanbul 1979).

24 Maria Elizabeth Pape, "Die Turquerie im 18. Jahrhundert und der 'Recueil Ferriol,'" in *Europa und der Orient*, 305–323 (p. 318).

25 Vanmour's paintings were often copied, and some are attributed either to him or his school or circle, respectively, a problem we will not focus on in this article. See Gopin, *Vanmour*, who devoted a whole chapter to this topic.

26 Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux Arts, see ibid, 63, fig. 49.

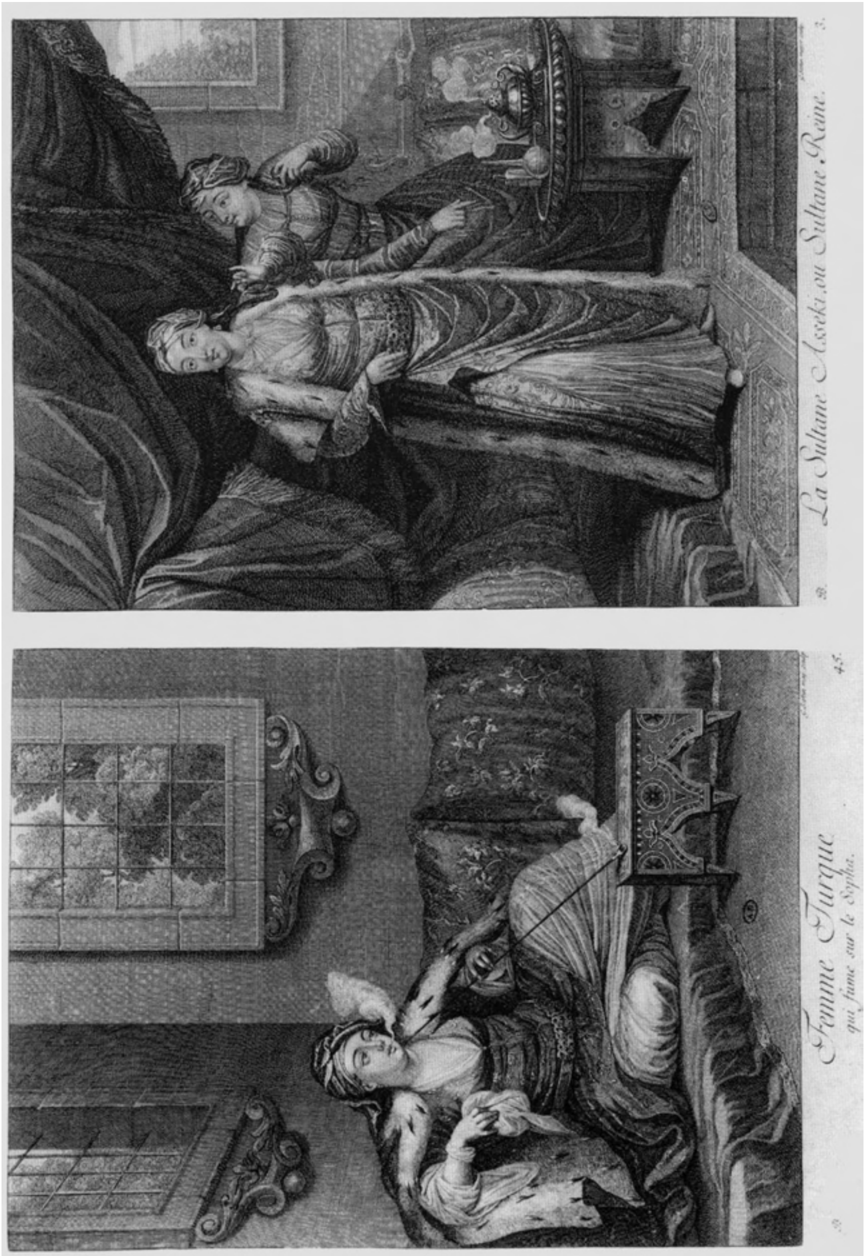
La Sultane Asseki, ou Sultane Reine.
Femme Turque
qui fume sur le Sopha.

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

fore the Sublime Porte. The festive entry of the Venetian envoy (circa 1725) shows the *bailo* also in European attire and mounted on horses.[27] Similarly, the Ambassador of the Netherlands Cornelius Calkoen and his entourage, meeting Sultan Ahmed III on September 14, 1727, are clearly recognisable in their European robes.[28] There is a total of 36 pictures attributed to Vanmour from the Calkoen Collection now preserved in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.[29]

It is clear that European, not Turkish or Oriental, attire was worn to document a claim of difference and to distinguish the Europeans from the Ottomans, as well as to establish individual rank and significance of the countries being represented.

Though this appears to be a general rule, there were exceptions. Closer research has revealed a number of these. The depiction of Siegmund[30] von Herberstein (1486–1566), Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein (1587–1657), Graf Walter Leslie (1606–1667), Johann Rudolph Schmid Freiherr von Schwarzenhorn (1590–1667)[31] , and Graf Wolfgang IV von Öttingen-Wallerstein (1626–1708) will be considered next.

27 Oil on canvas; in a private collection, see Sint Nicolaas, *Eyewitness*, 30–31.
28 Ibid, 190–195, nos. 24, 25, 26.
29 See extensively ibid.
30 There are different spellings: Instead of "Siegmund" we find also "Sigismund".
31 The dates of all four persons were taken from the Allgemeinen Deutschen Bibliographie (ADB), online: http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/index.html (accessed August 15, 2012).

Fig. 5

My discoveries began with the very unusual painting of Hieronymus Joachims (known to have been in Gemmingen, Baden-Württemberg in the 17th century) preserved at Vaduz Castle in the Collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein (Inv. no. 1007). It was on show at the pioneering Berlin exhibition "Europe and Orient" in 1988, showing Johann Rudolph Schmid Freiherr von Schwarzenhorn before the Sultan in 1651.[32] Johann Rudolf is sitting on a high-backed European-style chair before a table in a room that permits an expanded view into the Audience Hall of the Sultan (fig. 5).

This European is dressed in a rich oriental robe with a fur cap and leather boots. The picture depicts his 1651 reception by Mehmed IV (ruled 1648–1687). By this time, Schwarzenhorn has an astonishing career behind him. Beginning as a slave, having been taken prisoner by the Turks in Istanbul, he rose to be the Austrian Imperial envoy to the Ottoman Empire.[33] The clearly demonstrative assumption of oriental robes and the inclusion in the painting of oriental accessories, such as the open trunk overflowing with sumptuous silks, portrays his suc-

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32 Oil on copper, 67.7 × 83 cm; see *Europa & der Orient*, 799 (text), fig. 880 (p. 801).

33 Information on his adventurous life is provided in the article in the ADB, online: http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz78622.html (accessed August 15, 2012).

cess story. Another painting of the same subject completed by Nikolaus van Hoy in 1660 shows Johann Rudolph Schwarzenhorn, again in oriental robes, standing proudly with his left hand on his hip,[34] exactly as Peter Paul Rubens (circa 1630) had depicted Nicolas de Respaigne (d. 1647) as a traveller to Jerusalem, a painting which is an icon of European art.[35]

Schwarzenhorn's successor in the post of Grand Ambassador of the German [Holy Roman] Emperor was at least as imposing a figure. On September 26, 1699 Graf Wolfgang IV von Öttingen-Wallerstein travelled on horseback from his garden palace in Leopoldstadt in one part of Vienna to the inner city's castle to receive his credentials as envoy to the Porte directly from the hand of the Emperor. With him was an entourage of 279, all of whom were dressed in oriental attire. The imperial court painter Frans von Stampart's (1675–1750) painting of this event became the basis of numerous engravings which were in turn often available as prints (fig. 6).

> "On his head he wore a bright red velvet Turkish cap with a beautiful sable-trimmed hood over which was a large black 'Raigerbusch' which was exquisitely bejeweled with rubies and diamonds and of which the covering piece was richly embroidered with gold and a raised pattern of rare flowers in red, totally lined with the most precious sable, and the inside piece embroidered with gold thread in a floral pattern. At his sides […] a beautiful Turkish sabre of gold bejeweled with rubies, emeralds and diamonds." [36]

> "In addition he held a Pusican, a mace, in his right hand as was the practice in Hungary, Poland and the Tartar regions among ranking officers to symbolise their dignity."[37]

Why Graf Wolfgang IV chose to wear oriental robes is explained convincingly by the Abbot Simpert Niggl, the chaplain accompanying the ambassador to Istanbul. In his diary published in 1701 Simpert wrote: "In peacetime the Turks dress neither in sable nor carry sidearms […]"[38] As agreed in the Peace of Karlowitz (January 25, 1699) Article 17, the envoy of the Emperor and his entourage were permitted to dress however they pleased. We have no reason to doubt the report

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34 Now in the Town Hall in Stein am Rhein, see Trauth, *Maske*, fig. 141 (cat. 120).

35 Staatliche Museen Kassel; see http://www.pubhist.com/work/4279/peter-paul-rubens/portrait-of-nicolas-de-respaigne (accessed August 15, 2012).

36 See Volker von Volckamer, "Graf Wolfgang IV. von Öttingen-Wallerstein (1629–1708)," in: Peter Schienerl (ed.), *Diplomaten und Wesire – Krieg und Frieden im Spiegel türkischen* Kunsthandwerks. (Munich: Staatl. Museum für Völkerkunde, 1988), 9–34 (p. 18).
["Auf dem Haubt habend eine hochroth-Sammete mit schönem Zobel gebrämte Türkische Hauben, darauff ein groß und breiter schwartzer Raigerbusch, an welchem ein sehr kostbares Kleinod mit Rubin und Diamanten besetzet, dessen Ober-Rock von einem der reichisten Goldstücken mit roth gantz rar erhoben Blumen, durch und durch aber mit dem allerkostbarsten Zobel gefüttert, und der Unter-Rock von einem geblümten Goldstuck ware; Auff der Seithen ... einen schönen Türckischen Säbel von Gold, auch dick mit Rubin, Smaragd und Diamanten besetzet."]

37 *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, ed. Johann Heinrich Zedler, vol. 40, Halle, Leipzig: Johann Heinrich Zedler: 1744: 920, quoted after Volckamer, "Graf Wolfgang," 18.

38 Ibid, 18.


Cum Privilegio Sac. Cæs. Maj.
Ihr Excellenz Herr Wolffgang deß H. Röm. Reichs Graff von Oettingen Kaiserl:
Majestät geheimbder Raht, Camerer, und Reichs Hoff Rahts-Præsident, auch dero bey
denen Anno 1699, im Monath Ianuario, zu Carlowiz in Ungarn, mit denen Türcken geschlossne Fri-
dens Tractaten gewesener Plenipotentiari, primari, und jezo an die Ottomanische Pfort
nach Constantinopel abgeschickter Groß Pottschaffter.
F. Stampart ad vivum pinx. et del.
M. D. CC.
I. A. Pfeffel fecit Vien

Fig. 6

that the Imperial Ambassador wished to avoid the difficulties encountered by the French Ambassador, Ferriol Marquis d'Argental, only shortly before.

In January of 1700 Ferriol was refused an audience with the Sultan because he refused to remove his dagger. Josef von Hammer-Purgstall gave a detailed report of this event in his history of the Ottoman Empire. There we find a small detail of great interest: "The Jaushbashi noticed that the Ambassador's robe was ajar due to the presence of the hidden dagger."[39] With that we may surmise that the Marquis did not wear European attire to the audience, as depicted in the pictures produced later by Vanmour of the audiences of the French Ambassador Vicomte d'Andrezel and the Dutch Ambassador Cornelius Calkoen in 1724 (or depicted on that date). At the very least Ferriol must have cloaked himself in the honorary Ottoman kaftan. By dressing completely *alla turca* Graf Wolfgang IV avoided the power skirmish precipitated by Ferriol. As already mentioned, Ottoman officials and notables carried no weapons in times of peace. It would, therefore, not represent a submissive act to appear before the Sultan without a weapon.

The "political masquerades of Graf Wolfgang IV zu Öttingen-Wallerstein" are given an entire chapter by Trauth. Taking the 26 surviving paintings of contemporary depictions of Europeans and Orientals found today at the Wallerstein Palace near Nördlingen,[40] Trauth interprets the choice of orientalised attire by the Graf as "political mimicry. That is to say that the Graf made a demonstration of power by dressing in the attire of Europe's most powerful contender. One cannot separate mask from person in these pictures because the assumption of foreign garb is both an act of clothing and of costuming. The Graf neither identifies himself with the foreigner nor does he mascarade in these clothes."[41]

Elsewhere Trauth writes, "Graf Wolfgang's masquerade is a chosen tactic. He shrewdly followed the diplomatic rule to dress like the natives."[42] It is this second interpretation which seems to me the most convincing given the remarks of the contemporary source (Abbot Simpert Niggl).

We can support this view with the fact that ambassadors and envoys of various states and empires dressed themselves and behaved variously according to their political and geographic situations. This notion is further supported by yet another engraving. The predecessor of Graf Wolfgang was Graf Walter Leslie, who was awarded the "Order of the Golden Fleece" for his services connected to the Peace of Vasvar. An engraving[43] shows this Graf with his Order and wearing oriental robes (fig. 7).

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39 Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte Des Osmanischen Reiches* (Pesth: Hartleben, 1834–35), vol. 4, 24–25.
40 Trauth, *Maske*, 237–278; for a complete list see 321–327 (appendix 3).
41 Ibid, 278.
42 Ibid, 252.
43 Possibly based on a drawing by Franz Steinpichler from Graz, see Ibid, 263–264, fig. 135 (cat. 378).


VTRVMLIBET
VTRVMQVE
CÆSARI
IN HIS OMNI
HORA FI
DELIS SER
VIVI
Gualterus S.R.I. Comes de Leslie Cæsareus ad
Portam Ottomanicam Orator. 75

Fig. 7

Even though the illustration is hardly a detailed record of a contemporary Ottoman *kaftan*, it is none the less clear that oriental, not European, attire is intended.

The tradition of dressing in the attire of the power to which one was sent, as here to the Ottomans, began with Siegmund von Herberstein (1486–1566) who had been sent on a number of missions and demonstrated great diplomatic finesse on behalf of the German Emperor. His successful mission to Sultan Suleyman (ruled 1520–1566) in the Ottoman camp at Buda in 1541 resulted in a cease-fire and an agreement that held back the Ottomans from a further push to the West. On this occasion he was presented with a robe of honor by the Ottomans and is depicted in this *kaftan* in a woodcut in his *Gratae Posteritati* (fig. 8).[44]

It seems this diplomat did not find it appropriate to wear or be depicted in the accompanying turban, at least not while on this mission.

By contrast, a painting in the Museum of Ptuj (Pettau), Slovenia, by an 18th century Austrian artist shows Siegmund von Herberstein with a long beard and dressed in the magnificent *kaftan* presented him by the Sultan and a turban with agraffe lying on the nearby sideboard.[45] As this painting was destined for the Hrastovec palace, which was not open to everyone, this clearly orientalised representation could have been a portrait meant only for private viewing, whereas the illustrated edition of the *Gratae Posteritati* would have been public and therefore something like an official depiction.

We can summarize the following about diplomatic attire:

It seems that west European envoys, that is, the French and the Dutch ambassadors, appeared before the Sultan in European clothing,[46] while envoys and especially the great ambassadors of the Holy Roman Empire coming on behalf of the German Emperor carried out their missions to the Ottoman court and negotiated treaties attired in oriental or orientalised robes.

This tradition begins with Sigismund von Herberstein in the middle of the 16th century and is continued by Johann von Schwarzenhorn, Graf Walter Leslie and lastly Graf Wolfgang IV von Öttingen-Wallerstein. The last was an envoy to the Ottomans at a time (1699–1700) when Ottoman power had peaked. There

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44 Colour image in Linda Komaroff, *Gifts of the Sultan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 21, fig. 8, cat. 233, p. 294 (with full details).

45 Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj. *Begegnung zwischen Orient und Okzident* (Landesmuseum Ptuj: 1992), 121, no. 4.6 (with color image); Sakıp Sabancı Museum. *Image of the Turks in the 17th century Europe* (Istanbul: Mas Matbaacılık A.S., 2005), 166–167 with large color image. An old black & white image can be found in *wiki commons*: *Digital Archive of Slovenia,* without any reference regarding the whereabouts of the painting.

46 Here we have to take into consideration that all surviving paintings (Vanmour or his school/circle) date from the 1720s, i.e. they were commissioned later than the Habsburgian examples and after the peace of Karlowitz (1699). The audience with the Sultan of Marquis Ferriol took place at the same time as that of Graf Wolfgang IV von Öttingen-Wallerstein, and according to the historian Hammer-Purgstall (see above) the French ambassador had worn a kaftan over his European cloths.

Fig. 8

are no depictions of Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein (1628–1629 as envoy in Constantinople) in oriental robes. The depictions surviving show him in the uniform of an Upper Austrian Landeshauptmann,[47] a title which was given him only after he returned from his mission. None the less his descendant Johann Paul von Kuefstein (1673–1719), who took part in the mission of the Grand Ambassador Graf Wolfgang IV von Öttingen-Wallerstein, had himself depicted dressed in Turkish clothes (fig. 9).[48]

Both Grand Ambassadors Hans Ludwig von Kufstein and Graf Wolfgang IV von Öttingen-Wallerstein commissioned depictions of so-called *Türkenzimmer* (Turkish salons) with considerable ensembles of Europeans dressed in oriental clothing and depictions of the ruling Sultan as well as the Valide Sultan (the Sultan's mother). The ensemble of paintings at Schloss Öttingen-Wallerstein was first studied in depth by N. Trauth, who combined this research with studies of the pictures in Schloss Greillenstein in Waldviertel and those at the Museum in Ptuj (Pettau), Slovenia.[49] The pictures in the Wurmberg Collection in Ptuj (Pettau) – for which the latest research considers Johann Josef von Herberstein (1630–1692) to have been the commissioner[50] – have already formed the core of two large exhibitions (1992, 2005).[51] Despite preliminary studies, the Turkish salon at Schloss Greillenstein has yet to receive a thorough investigation addressing the appropriate art history themes.[52]

47 See his half-length portrait (a copper engraving by Elias Wideman) in Karl Teply, *Die kaiserliche Großbotschaft an Sultan IV. 1628. Des Freiherrn Hans Ludwig von Kuefsteins Fahrt zur Hohen Pforte* (Vienna: Verlag A. Schendl n.d. [1976]), frontispiece.

48 Two portraits survived: a half-length portrait (by F. van Stampert) at Schloss Wallerstein and an (anonymous) full portrait at Schloss Greillenstein; see Trauth, *Maske*, 242, figs. 122, 123 (only as a small black & white figure).

49 Ibid, 237–278, 321–327 (Appendix 3).

50 See Maximilian Grothaus, "Die Turquerie von Pettau/ Ptuj, ihre graphischen Vorbilder und ihre kulturhistorische Bedeutung," *Begegnung zwischen Orient und Okzident*, ed. Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj (Landesmuseum Ptuj, 1992), 74–78.

51 On the paintings from the estate of the Herberstein family (from Schloss Wurmberg/ Vurbeck), today kept in the Ptuj museum, see at length Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj, *Begegnung* and Sakıp Sabancı Museum, *Image*.

52 See Teply, *Großbotschaft*; Maximilian Grothaus, "Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein und die Kaiserliche Großbotschaft an die Hohe Pforte im Jahre 1628," *Kamptal Studien* 2–3 (1982–1983): 145–174, pls. 18–22; and Eleanor Sims, "Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein's Turkish Figures," *At the Sublime Porte. Ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire (1550–1800)* (London: Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, 1988), 20–40. The author had the opportunity for a short visit to Schloss Greillenstein in April 2012, where several paintings are still kept in the *Türkensaal* (short note in Trauth, *Maske*, 249). The author would like to express his gratitude to Elisabeth von Kuefstein, who takes care of the castle and the collection, for her kindness of allowing access and providing useful information as well as visual material. Further research on the important ensemble is planned by the author.

Fig. 9

The highly complex thematic around the "Turkish collections" – as Trauth has called them – found in numerous European palaces[53] cannot be explained here, as much as that is begging attention. It is to be noted, however, that it is possible that not all envoys or ambassadors who commissioned paintings with Ottoman themes, received these as gifts or, perhaps, even collected such also had themselves depicted in oriental garb. In many cases at least, such depictions are not preserved. With the exception of Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein this could also apply to Claes Broson Ralamb, the Swedish King Carl X Gustaf's ambassador to Istanbul in 1657.[54] The two paintings preserved of him – a bust and a full figure portrait seated – show him in rich European clothes.[55] There are no depictions of him in "Turkish" robes.[56]

Moreover, not just men such as diplomats had themselves depicted in oriental robes. We also find examples of European women from elevated social circles depicted *alla turca*.

On one of the many paintings by Jean Baptiste Vanmour preserved today in the Rijksmuseum (SK-A-2041) in Amsterdam we find a young woman in oriental robes. She has been identified as the "Valide Sultan, Haseki Sultan, Kadinefendi" or the "Sultan's Daughter".[57] This is, however, far more likely a European woman in Oriental, i.e. Turkish dress of the time because Vanmour painted a series of prominent European personalities. Take, for example, his painting of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1688–1762), the wife of the British Ambassador, Edward Wortley Montagu. The painting was finished in 1717–1718 and hangs today in the National Portrait Gallery in London. It shows Lady Montagu together with her 5-year old son and two other persons (fig. 10).[58]

Her *Letters from Turkey* give us the most vivid descriptions of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 18th century. In one of these, a letter to her sister Lady Mar dated April 1, 1717, Lady Montagu gives us a wonderful description of the Turkish clothes she has acquired.

53 E.g. Johann Matthias von der Schulenburg, who commissioned genre scenes by Antonio and Fransceso Guardi in the 18th century, as well as the Swedish ambassadors Ulric und Gustaf Celsing, who built a collection at Schloss Biby near Stockholm. See Trauth, *Maske*, 247, footnote 35 (with references).

54 He kept diaries during his travel and stay, which had been published later, see in detail Karin Adahl, *The Sultan's procession* (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2006).

55 Ibid, figs. p. 8, p. 30.

56 Trauth, *Maske* (334, cat. 21) mentions a portrait (subsequently added to the list) in which he is in Oriental dress, the quoted source [Karin Adahl, *Minnet av Konstantinopel: den osmansk-turkiska 1700 – talssamlingen på Biby* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2003), 67] has not been available to me.

57 Sint Nicolaas, *Eyewitness*, 160–161. In Gopin, *Vanmour*, 184, fig. 206, it is named "Portrait d'une femme, peut-etre Beyaz Gül (Rose Blanche)."

58 Illustrated e.g. in Auguste Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore au XVIII^e siécle* (Paris: ACR, 1989), 33; Gopin, *Vanmour*, 185, fig. 207.

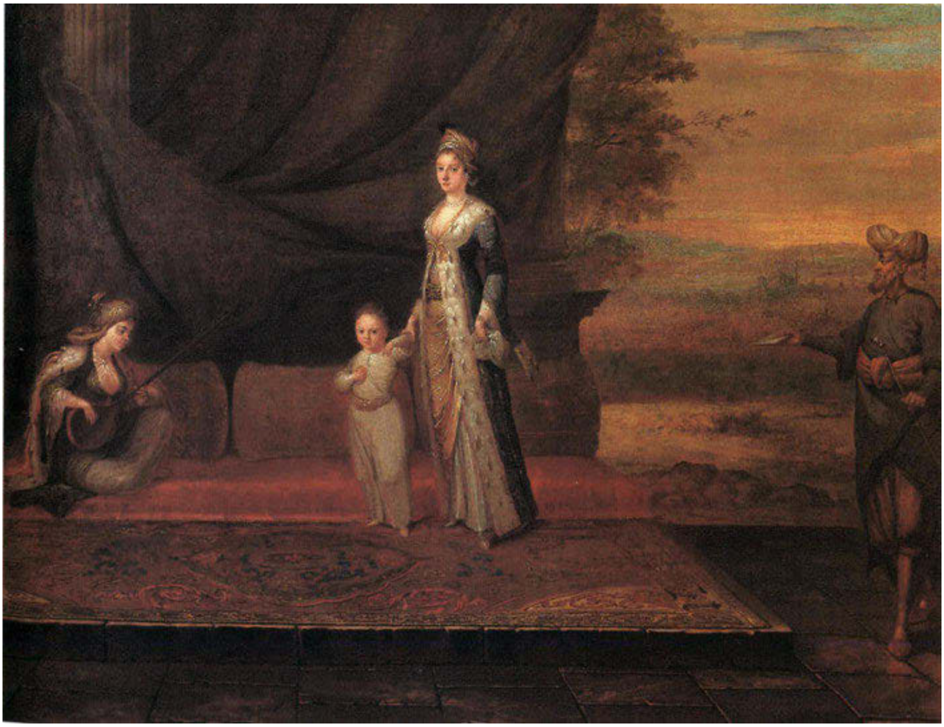

Fig. 10

"The first part of my dress is a pair of drawers, very full that reach to my shoes, and conceal the legs more modestly than your petticoats. They are of a thin rose-coloured damask, brocaded with silver flowers. My shoes are of white kid leather, embroidered with gold. Over this hangs my smock, of a fine white silk gauze, edged with embroidery. This smock has wide sleeves hanging half way down the arm, and is closed at the neck with a diamond button; but the shape and colour of the bosom is very well to be distinguished through it. – The antery is a waistcoat, made close to the shape, of white and gold damask, with very long sleeves falling back, and fringed with deep gold fringe, and should have diamond or pearl buttons. My caftan, of the same stuff with my drawers, is a robe exactly fitted to my shape, and reaching to my feet, with very long strait falling sleeves. Over this is my girdle, of about four fingers broad, which, all that can afford it, have entirely of diamonds or other precious stones; those who will not be at that expence, have it of exquisite embroidery on sattin; but it must be fastened before with a clasp of diamonds. – The curdee is a loose robe they throw off, or put on, according to the weather, being of a rich brocade (mine is green and gold) either lined with ermine or sables; the sleeves reach very little below the shoulders. The head dress is composed of a cap, called talpock, which is, in winter, of fine velvet embroidered with pearls or diamonds, and in summer, of a light shining silver stuff. This is fixed on one side of the head, hanging a little way down with a gold tassel, and bound on, either with a circle of diamonds (as I have seen several) or a rich embroidered handkerchief. On the other side of the head, the hair is laid flat; and here the ladies are at liberty to shew their fancies; some putting flowers, others a plume of heron's feathers, and, in short, what they please; but the most general fashion is a large bouquet of jewels, made like natural flowers; that is, the buds, of pearl; the roses, of different coloured rubies: the jessamines, of diamonds; the jonquils, of topazes, & c. so well set and enamelled, 'tis hard to imagine any thing of that kind so beautiful."[59]

A few years ago a small painting was found in a Parisian art gallery which has been attributed to Vanmour.[60] We cannot be sure that this is also a depiction of Lady Montagu. The subject is very similar to the Lady Montagu in the Amsterdam portrait. Additionally there is a small oil painting by Vanmour still in private hands which depicts Lady Montagu in the same clothes and in the same pose as in the painting in the National Gallery.[61] Lady Montagu was painted by others of that era. Jonathan Richardson (1665–1745)[62] and Charles Jarvis (1675–1739)[63], for example, depict her in oriental or mixed European and oriental clothes. Not long ago a picture of "Lady Montagu in Ottoman Dress" turned up on the art market in which she is depicted in her youth in a blue dress decorated with stars and crescent moons.[64] If the description/attribution is accurate this would be a new variant on the oriental theme: The lady is here not in a full body portrait and is significantly younger than she appears on the other paintings, yet her clothes are even more oriental. She was already 29 in 1717 when first arriving in the orient.[65]

Subsequent to the impact of Lady Montagu and Vanmour's paintings, it was increasingly fashionable to have oneself depicted in Turkish clothes. There are many paintings to prove this. The most important representative of this trend is the Genevan artist Jean-Etienne Liotard (1702–1789) who painted numerous European personalities this way. Liotard spent a number of years in Istanbul (1738–1742) where he was introduced into its cosmopolitan society by M. Levett. Soon he had a number of commissions.[66] The picture "M. Levett and Mlle. Glavany on the Diwan" hangs today in the Louvre. M. Levett is in Turkish robes with a turban and a long-stemmed pipe while Hélène Glavany, daughter of the former French Consul in Crimea, is depicted in the clothes of a Tartar woman and playing a stringed instrument (fig. 11).[67]

59 "Letter XXIX, To the Countess of ––," see http://andromeda.rutgers.edu/~jlynch/Texts/montagu-letters.html (accessed August 15, 2012).
60 33 × 25.5 cm, Gallery Eric Grünberg, Fine Arts; see Patricia Rochard, *Türkei* (Mainz: Schmidt, 1992), 161, fig. 90. Trauth, *Maske*, 388, cat. 406 gives (after Sotheby's) different measurements: 32.5 × 26.0 cm.
61 Trauth, *Maske*, 388, cat. 408; Nefedova, *Journey*, 152, fig. 37a (private collection, not kept in the Orientalist Museum, Doha).
62 *Europa & der Orient*, 312, fig. 380.
63 Ibid, 815, cat.12/4, fig. 890.
64 72.2 × 63 cm: English School, Sotheby's London, Arts of the Islamic World, October 5, 2011, lot 157.
65 The painting deserves a serious investigation, all the more so with respect to the "Ottoman" dress.
66 Gérard-Georges Lemaire, *Orientalismus* (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), 68.
67 Ibid, 68–69.

Fig. 11

The most well-known and certainly the most mature of Liotard's paintings is "A young reader in oriental garb," which he began in 1738 and of which he eventually finished three versions. At the same time he painted "A young woman with a tamburine, dressed according to Turkish custom." The well-known painting of Lady Mary Gunnings, Countess of Coventry was painted in Paris in 1750.[68] Though, it should be noted, that the latest research holds that this is in fact a portrait of his wife, Marie Liotard.[69]

Liotard himself let his beard grow long and groomed it in the oriental way. He himself wore only Turkish clothes. One cannot determine, however, if he had truly embraced an oriental identity or if his attire was part of his public relations strategy.[70] It is true that Liotard continued to dress so when he returned to Europe, and he was quickly dubbed *le peintre turc*, and thus becoming himself a "brand". A self-portrait painted in Vienna in 1744 (fig. 12) – when he was presented to Empress Maria Theresia – depicts him with a long beard and not necessarily Turkish but

68 Also of this painting several versions exist, among others in the Musée d'art et d'Histoire in Geneva, Lemaire, *Orientalismus*, 70–71.

69 See Ducan Bull and Thomas Macsotay Bunt, *Jean-Etienne Liotard* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002) and Trauth, *Maske*, 283, color plate 22, cat. 250.

70 Trauth, *Maske*, 46 sees this more as a clever strategy.

Fig. 12

certainly oriental attire.[71] He is wearing a brown jacket over a plain, light-colored shirt and has a large fur cap on his head. The entire outfit reminds us more of a religious figure, perhaps a Persian mystic (*darwish*).

Liotard's paintings were in great demand. He received commissions from all over Europe. His subjects were often posed in the genuine Ottoman clothes which he brought along with him, a ploy that must have contributed to his success. Several portraits of famous persons painted by Liotard are preserved. Among these is one of William Ponsonby,[72] his patron who had brought him to Istanbul. Also John Montagu, the Earl of Sandwich,[73] Mary Gunnings, the Countess of Conventry,[74] and the Empress Maria Theresia with her daughter[75] were all painted by Liotard.

Though most of his paintings are of rulers, aristocrats or persons in the diplomatic service, in the case of Richard Pococke, whom Liotard met in Istanbul, we have a portrait subject who was a theologian and archaeologist.[76] Pococke went to Egypt in 1737 and stayed there five years. His traveller's report was published in London in 1743 as *A Description of the East and Some other Countries. I: Observations on Egypt*. Today we have both a large (202.5 × 134 cm) portrait in oil of Pococke found in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva[77], and also a small sketch of the same (fig. 13)[78]

Charles André van Loo (1705–1765)[79], a contemporary of Liotard, was also greatly influential in spreading the "Turkish fashion" wave in Europe, especially in France. In our context his painting entitled *Sultane* is very likely a depiction of Madame de Pompadour, reclining while a dark-skinned servant offers her a cup of coffee.[80] Van Loo was an artist who knew perfectly well how to conform to contemporary tastes. The two paintings he exhibited in the Paris Academy after 1737 – *Le concert du Grande Sultan* and *Le Pacha faisant peindre sa maitresse* – are still moderate in their "Turkishness". In the *Concert* massive columns form a European framework around this mixed Turkish-European scene. The carpet, the clothes of the male figures depicted in highly decorative turbans and kaftans and of the females with either turbans or feathers are all Turkish.[81] None the less his

71 Lemaire, *Orientalismus*, 72. See also Bull, *Liotard*, 9 (reproduction in different colors).
72 Trauth, *Maske*, 63, fig. 23.
73 Private collection, see *Europa & der Orient*, 316, fig. 384.
74 Most probably this is a portrait of Marie Liotard (see footnote 67).
75 Etching, 30.6 × 23.7 cm, 1745, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (HB 129 [6], p.12), *Europa & der Orient*, 819, cat. 12/8 (fig. 387).
76 I will deal with the social diversity of Europeans depicted in oriental dress at the end of this article.
77 Anne de Herdt, *Dessins de Liotard* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992), 79. Illustrated also in Europa & der Orient, 318, fig. 386.
78 The drawing (21.2 × 13.1 cm) is kept in the Louvre, see Herdt, *Liotard*, 77.
79 Different spellings exist: e.g. "Carle Vanloo."
80 See *Europa & der Orient*, 311, fig. 379 (here only "a Sultana"); see also Trauth, *Maske*, 51–54.
81 Pape, *Turquerie*, 311.

Fig. 13

paintings do not intend to inform us of what was typically Turkish but rather their exoticness and otherness are both intentional and a means for distancing the subjects from the depicted objects. One can interpret these paintings as allegories of music and painting.[82]

Aristocratic children from the princely courts of Europe were also painted wearing oriental and Turkish garb, etc. For this we can give in evidence two paintings: the portrait of Emich Carl Fürst zu Leiningen and that of prince Maximillian, who later became the King of Bavaria. Both paintings are by the Mannheim painter Johann-Peter Hoffmeister (1740–1772). The *Portrait of Prince Max in Turkish Attire* is a copy of a picture by Johann-Christian von Mannlich (1741–1822) who accompanied his patron and commissioner Herzog Christian IV von Pfalz-Zweibrücken to Paris. There he met Charles van Loo (1705–1765) and must have seen the painting van Loo was painting for the Turkish Salon of the Marquise de Pompadour in the Schloss Bellevue which is today preserved in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg (see above the reference to the *Sultane*). The robes in this painting are for the most part European, as were most in all the paintings so far mentioned. Only the "Pumphosen" are possibly oriental. The painting would then become "Turkish" by the addition of the "Moor" [black slave] and accessories such as the turban.[83] Three years later (1767) the portrait of Emich Carl Fürst zu Leiningen presents him in a far more Oriental(ised), richly detailed robe, though the background was by contrast mainly neglected.[84]

Yet another category of subjects is a series of persons from European princely and ruling families who were in direct contact with the Ottomans by virtue of military conflicts. Some of these had themselves depicted in Turkish robes (or what one thought that to be), others, however, did not. Beginning with Markgraf Ludwig von Baden (1655–1707) whose fame was based in the many battles in which he participated at the end of the 17th century, and who acquired the nickname of "Türken Ludwig" [Turkish Louis] in German (and European) history. At the battle of Slankamen near Belgrad in 1691, he captured valuable trophies which came to be known as the Turkish Plunder, kept at first in the Residence Palace in Rastatt, but later under his successor Markgraf August Georg, was included in the "Türkische Kammer".[85]

82 Ibid, 311.
83 Rochard, *Türkei*, 177, cat. 100.
84 Ibid, 176, cat. 99.
85 This collection is very well published; see Ernst Petrasch, Reinhard Sänger, Eva Zimmermann, and Hans Georg Majer, *Die Karlsruher Türkenbeute* (Munich: Hirmer, 1990). Based on this catalog, a website also provides substantial information concerning the "Türkenkammer," see http://www.tuerkenbeute.de/_(accessed August 6, 2012).

The small portrait is part of a series which originally included 70 costume depictions by a Baden Court painter, probably Ludwig Ivenet, painted in the first quarter of the 18th century.[86]

The highly-detailed robe and the turban and crescent sword – bearing resemblance to authentic Ottoman clothing – stand in marked contrast to the sketchy background scenery.

However, we also know of two other significant European heroes of "Turkish Wars" not depicted in Turkish or oriental garb. The Polish King Jan III Sobieski (1629–1696) and the Kurfürst Maximilian II Emanuel of Bavaria (1672–1736).[87] Jan Sobieski was the hero of the battle before Vienna in 1683 in which the Ottoman Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha was defeated and the siege ended. Max Emanuel was the victor of the battle at Mohács in 1687. Both of these military commanders, we are told, spent the night following the battle in the tents of the conquered Ottoman Vizier.[88] To achieve more telling conclusions, however, more study need be done on the depictions of these and other Turk-fighters. We can study, for example, paintings of Prince Eugen of Savoy (1663–1736) or Karl V Leopold of Lothringen. It would also be of great value to study the paintings made in eastern and southeastern Europe, for example, those of Polish aristocrats who were veterans of wars against the Ottomans.[89]

Preserved today in the Albertina in Vienna is Liotard's etching of "Empress Maria Theresia and her daughter Marianne in Turkish attire" made in 1745 (fig. 14).[90]

Liotard, who we have already discussed above, was then on a visit to Vienna in an era when the Ottoman threat was no longer real and the Habsburgs were at the zenith of their power. To represent oneself *alla turca* could not have meant anything more than a fashion statement for Maria Theresia.

Finally, a portrait photograph taken in 1917 of the German Kaiser Wilhelm II dressed in Turkish uniform and decorated with the *Nishan Imtiyaz* medal could be our end point in this part of the study.[91] The photograph is posed before the Merasim Köshkü and the Kaiser is in the kind of uniform which, since the Ottoman military reforms of the 19th century, now resembled European uniforms. Here we see that the one-time enemy and rival has become an ally of the ambitious

86 *Europa & der Orient*, 818–819 (cat. 12/9). Of Ludwig Ivenet no dates are known (see also Trauth, *Maske*, 348).

87 The visual material has been checked only on a cursory basis, i.e. the selection is neither representative nor complete.

88 Gudrun Gorka-Reimus, *Der Traum vom Orient* (Potsdam: Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten, 2005), 27.

89 Polish-Ottoman relations with respect to dress might well be mentioned in Walter Leitsch and Stanisław Trawkowski, *Polen und Österreich im 17. Jahrhundert*, (Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), but this publication has not yet been available to the author.

90 *Europa & der Orient*, 818, cat. 12/8, fig. 387 (p. 319).

91 Gorka-Reimus, *Traum*, 12.

Fig. 14

German Empire. Already the military mission of Heinrich von Moltke in the 1830s had started this reverse trend.

It is clear that European rulers and aristocrats have often posed in oriental attire for sketches, illustrations and portraits. This was frequent and applied in a variety of contexts. By contrast we have relatively few examples of European commoners similarly depicted. Large representational oil paintings would, of course, require considerable financial resources. But there is another factor, that of the sumptuary regulations which held sway and did not crumble until the 19th century. People of lower social strata were held to clothe themselves as was appropriate to their social position.

The exceptions were wealthy businessmen and those merchants who had come into money and position, as the above-mentioned diamond merchant Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689). Also among these few exceptions was the English journalist and publicist James Silk Buckingham (1786–1855). He had himself and his wife Elizabeth painted in Arab garb by Henry William Pickersgill. Buckingham is wearing the robe in which he (without his wife) had that year travelled through Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia.[92] His observations and experiences were later published in his travel diary.[93]

We have already mentioned the archaeologist Richard Pococke and his portrait by Liotard. Perhaps the most interesting exception, however, is that of a hotel owner in Istanbul. A lithograph by Joseph Nash (1809–1878)[94] based on a draft by David Wilkie (1785–1841)[95] is entitled "Madame Josafina, landlady of the Hotel Constantinople". This is one of the very few persons of the middle class[96] who was, as in previous centuries only aristocrats had been, portrayed in Turkish clothes (fig. 15).

But this picture had a totally different motivation. While rulers, aristocrats and diplomats were spurred to pose in oriental garb to display Turkish fashion, perform a "political masquerade", or demonstrate their diplomatic skills, Madame Josefina had probably lived for decades in Istanbul and had adjusted to her environment: her oriental attire is her very own usual clothing.

Finally, let us go back to the pastel by Jean-Etienne Liotard (1702–1789) painted in 1742–1743, the one mentioned above in connection with the etching by N. De Nicolay. Here we see a young woman with a servant (or, perhaps a child) in the baths. The clothing is typical, including the stilted clogs (Kothurne) (fig. 16).[97] This "Turkish woman with servant" could well be a native or a European woman of the middle class who, as with "Madame Josefine", had lived in

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92 *Europa & der Orient*, 823–824, cat. 12/20.

93 This travelogue could provide interesting information concerning "dress in self narratives", see ibid, 483, cat. 1/202.

94 Regarding Joseph Nash only very little information is available; see *Sir David Wilkie's sketches in Turkey, Syria & Egypt, 1840 & 1841* (London: Graves & Warmsley, 1843); online: http://edocs.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/volltexte/2009/13227/(accessed August 6, 2012).

95 See Briony Lewellyn, "David Wilkie and John Frederick Lewis in Constantinople, 1840: An Artistic Dialogue," *Burlington Magazine* 145, no. 1206 (2003): 624–631, 630, fig. 9. For David Wilke see National Galleries of Scotland; Scottish National Portrait Gallery. *Visions of the Ottoman Empire* (Edinburgh: Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, 1994), 28–30.

96 If one of the numerous Greek or Armenian ladies of Istanbul had been depicted, the additional information "in Turkish dress" would not make much sense.

97 Geneva, Musée d'Art et Histoire; see *Europa & der Orient*, 317, fig. 385.


D Wilkie f Constantinople October
Madame Josephine the Landlady of the Hotel Constantinople in a Turkish Dress

Fig. 15

Fig. 16

the city on the Bosporus for some time. I think that the fact that a second nearly identical version of this scene exists in the Doha collection[98] supports the latter identification. In addition there is in Paris a chalk sketch by Liotard (circa 1738–1742) of a young woman in oriental attire and stilted clogs[99] who could well be a European, and then there is an oil painting, "Portrait einer türkischen Dame" in a private Turkish collection which is similar but with a native woman.[100] There clearly needs to be a systematic investigation of personalities of the upper middle classes depicted in drawings and paintings before any conclusions about these can be drawn.

Summary & outlook

The reasons why Europeans had themselves portrayed in Turkish (i.e. Ottoman) attire – or what was thought to be Turkish attire – are clearly manifold. Motivations are linked with the period and the profession and social position of the one to be portrayed. The clothing of diplomats reflected the relationships between political entities in their time. This is why the French and Austrian envoys chose to wear European clothes and Ottoman robes respectively. The fascination of the European upper classes with Turkish fashion gains momentum only after the Turks are no longer a threat to Vienna at the end of the 17th century. While at first the diplomats had practical reasons to wear Ottoman robes and to have themselves depicted so, as the sworn enemy's power faded in the 18th century, and the direct threat to the Habsburg Empire waned, the "Turquerie" fashion spread from its centre in France to ever wider circles of the European upper classes.

Nina Trauth's theory as set out in her work *Maske und Person* (2009) proposes that persons of the upper classes in western and central Europe of the 18th century who dressed *alla turca* and had themselves so depicted in a number of media, including oil paintings, engravings, etc. are to be viewed and understood in the terminology of the theatre. This approach has brought new light and convincing results within the Orientalism discourse. But due to its theoretically-burdened perception of works of art this approach neglects the importance of broader art history themes and textile analyses.

98 Orientalist Museum, OM 726; pastel on paper, laid down on canvas, 70.9 × 56 cm; see Nefedova, *Journey*, 54–55, no. 9 (colour plate).

99 Musée du Louvre, 20.5 × 13.5 cm; Illustrated in ibid, 54.

100 Istanbul Koç Holding A.S., 189 × 102 cm, 17th (?) century; see *Europa & der Orient*, 309 (cat. 12/14), fig. 376. See also a very similar "Portrait einer Dame in türkischer Kleidung" attributed to Vamour or his circle (200 × 100 cm) in a private collection, maybe a young lady from a wealthy Venetian or Greek trader family; Museum für Kunsthandwerk, *Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit* (Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1985), 237, cat. 4/14, color plate p. 17.

It will be necessary in the future to draw on Trauth's insights and the large catalogue of more than 500 works of art[101] that she has assembled to continue with systematic studies of selected works, concentrating on the identity of the clothing itself and its authenticity as depicted.

The scale of this undertaking suggests that we need to categorise the textiles into three main groups:

1. An orientalised scene. Here the textiles are largely European, but the persons or scenes depicted are intended to appear oriental. A European person could be depicted as an oriental in a scene including a "moor" or other oriental-looking persons. There could be oriental props, scenery and even make-up, but the textiles used are largely of European origin and provide little interest for the scholar of Ottoman/Turkish attire.
2. A mixed scene in which both cultural regions are represented, be it by persons, scenery, props, and/or clothing, with considerable variations of authenticity in the textiles depicted. We have described a number of examples from this category in this study and attempted to analyse their composition, intention and authenticity.
3. Authentic Ottoman depictions. Here the depictions are of authentic Ottoman/Turkish/oriental attire. They show contemporary depictions of the clothing that natives of this region actually wore. An example of this category of art would be the *Receuil Ferriol* which played a significant role in our study here. The historian has a reasonable expectation that the attire can be indentified in cultural, geographic and social space and time and that these analyses will be valid contributions to the broader discourses of art and cultural history.

It has become evident in our study that it will be essential to differentiate Ottoman/Turkish fashion geographically. This avenue of study is now opening as work is done in former Ottoman provinces and neighbouring lands (the Black Sea and Balkans, the Arab lands, Poland[102], and Italy). Western European research is sometimes limited by its ignorance of the languages of these regions. But, recently, there have been exciting exhibitions in Ptuj (1992) and Istanbul (2005) in which materials from Slovenia and Croatia have received expert attention. These are hopeful signs.

There is little doubt that the "Orientalism discourse" will also develop further. A recent contribution is the article entitled "Cultural Cross-Dressing: Posing and Per-

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101 In the last years many new art works appeared in the international art market, which need to be included, i.e. since her publication in 2009 presumably some dozen new paintings, engravings, colour drawings etc. have to be added to her list. The best way to overcome this problem would be an updatable database accessible online.

102 As an example for a Polish nobleman dressed at least partly Orientalised, see the painting of Stanislaus Teczynski (before 1635) by Tomaso Dolabella in the collection of the Wawel in Krakau, see Jerzy Szablowski, *Kunstschätze des Königsschlosses Wawel* (Warsaw: Arkady, 1994), 109 (colour plate).

formance in Orientalist Portraits" by Tara Mayer[103]. Analysing several portraits of Europeans with Indian sub-continent connections during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the study demonstrates the importance of analysing portraiture as an act of public performance."[104] Mayer argues that "a more nuanced and historicised reading reveals that the wearing of exotic dress in European portraiture cannot be universally interpreted as either an attempt to manage the Orient or an indication that the sitter had 'gone-native'.[…] This move away from traditional, monolithic binaries of East versus West affords us a more subtle lens [… and] the superimposing of post-modern, Saidian-style power dynamics on the incentives of individuals operating in the past can confuse our ability to understand their possibly varied and complex motivations."[105]

With this last statement we can only register our enthusiastic agreement.

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‘A More Beautiful Spectacle was Never Presented to My Gaze’: Discussing Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq’s Concept of Person by Analyzing His Description of Ottoman Dress

Kornelia Kaschke-Kısaarslan

I.

> “Now come with me and cast your eyes over the immense crowd of turbaned heads, wrapped in countless folds of the whitest silk, and bright raiment of every kind and hue, and everywhere the brilliance of gold, silver, purple, silk, and satin. A detailed description would be a lengthy task, and no mere words could give an adequate idea of the novelty of the sight. A more beautiful spectacle was never presented to my gaze.
> Yet amid all this luxury there was a great simplicity and economy. The dress of all has the same form whatever the wearer’s rank; and no edgings or useless trimmings are sewn in, as is the custom with us, costing a large sum of money and worn out in three days. Their most beautiful garments of silk or satin, even if they are embroidered, as they usually are, cost only a ducat to make.”[1]

These are the words with which Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq describes a celebration at the Sultan’s winter camp in Anatolia. In my view, it is the most significant passage concerning the description of Ottoman clothing in his well-known *Turkish Letters*. Even though Busbecq frequently mentions clothing, we can nearly see the sparkle in his eyes when reading this paragraph, the fascination he experienced during his inauguration as legate of the Holy Roman Emperor at Sultan Suleiman’s court. The sight he describes is so curious to him that he claims to have never seen anything as beautiful or spectacular.[2]

When we read the above quoted paragraphs for the first time, they seem to be unproblematic and coherent, but when we take a closer look, inconsistencies, controversies, even contradictions emerge: How can silk cost only a ducat? How can luxury and thrift be reconciled in the same sentence?

In this article, I will attempt to resolve these tensions with a close reading of the quotation from the *Turkish Letters*. In my view, the inconsistencies regarding

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1 Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq. Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople 1554-1562*, translated from the Latin of the Elzevir Edition of 1633 by Edward Seymore Forster in 1927 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), 61.

2 On the current understanding of term “spectacle” in historical research, see the issue: “Spektakel,” *L’Homme. ZfG* 23.1 (2012).

Busbecq's dress description can be resolved by exploring how he presents his multi-layered identity. Indeed, Busbecq portrays himself as a humanist, who is familiar with intellectual discourses of his time, and as an agent of his sovereign, who strives to give useful political advice. Both of these dimensions of his persona are expressed in his depiction of Ottoman dress.

To give each of these aspects the space it deserves, after giving a few biographical notes, I will then probe how Busbecq's *Turkish Letters* can be understood as an immaterial, epistolary collection of curiosities: a collection of cultural practices and techniques. Together with his collection of curious material objects, these letters allowed him to appear as a learned scholar of the republic of letters. In the following chapter, I investigate how he uses his published works at the same time to counsel policy makers on possible strategies concerning the Ottomans and thus states that he served as a statesman over his lifetime for three Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire.

II.

Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, who lived from approximately 1522 to 1592, was a highly educated humanist and diplomat in the employ of three generations of Austrian monarchs (Ferdinand I, Maximilian II, and Rudolf II). In 1536, he enrolled at the Latin-language Catholic University of Leuven and from there he went on to study at a number of well-known universities in northern Italy such as Bologna and Padua. Busbecq, like his father and grandfather, chose a career at a noble court. He entered into the service of the Austrian monarch Ferdinand I around 1552. It was in 1554, however, that Ferdinand named him *ordinarius orator*[3] to the Ottoman court under the rule of Suleiman I, where he spent the following eight years of his career. Busbecq's diplomatic mission in Constantinople was to negotiate a renewal of the peace treaty of 1547,[4] which he accomplished in 1562.[5]

Busbecq reported on his stay in Constantinople in his widely known work *The Turkish Letters*, which he wrote entirely in Latin. It consists of four literary letters to an imaginary friend. This self-narrative in the form of a travelogue refers to Busbecq's actual stay in the Ottoman Empire. It is not a chronological account of it, however. The author describes his adventures in the Ottoman Empire in a rather eloquent and well-structured way, thus successfully creating an interesting

3 Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *Augerii Gislenii Busbeqvii legationis Turcicae epistolae quatuor: Adienctae sunt duae elterae; Eiusdem de re militari contra Turcam instituenda consilium* (Paris: Beys, 1589), 49.

4 Ernst Dieter Petritsch, "Der habsburgisch-osmanische Friedensvertrag des Jahres 1547," *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 38 (1985): 49–80.

5 *Die Schreiben Süleymans des Prächtigen an Karl V., Ferdinand I. und Maximilian II.*, ed. Anton C. Schaendlinger (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1983), document 25.

and entertaining piece of literature. Busbecq's letters today remain one of the principal primary sources of the 16th century Ottoman court. Until recently, the *Turkish Letters* were considered to be an outstanding and novel piece of literature, because of their open-minded descriptions of everyday Turkish life. Thanks to the work of Zweder von Martels, we are now able to date Busbecq's writing to the 1580s.[6] At this time, a trend had developed within the republic of letters for describing visited places in an impartial and unprejudiced way.

While staying in the Ottoman Empire, Busbecq not only practiced his profession as a diplomat, but also pursued his wide range of humanistic interests, collecting ancient coins, Greek manuscripts and inscriptions. He was also widely interested in the flora and fauna of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, he was the one who sent the seeds and bulbs of the narcissus, hyacinth, the lilac and, most famously, the tulip, to the imperial court in Vienna and introduced them to botanists throughout the Roman Empire.[7]

Busbecq returned from the Ottoman Empire in 1562 and became a counselor at the court of Emperor Ferdinand I in Vienna. He ended his career in Paris, however, as the guardian of Elisabeth of Austria, daughter of Maximilian and widow of the French king Charles IX. It was in Paris that he wrote down the final version of the *Turkish Letters*.[8] The first of the letters was published in 1582. All four letters were then first published together in Paris in 1589. Numerous editions and translations soon followed throughout Europe, some of which are still in print today.[9]

III.

In the 16th century, collecting rarities and exotica in so-called "cabinets of curiosities" was a widespread trend.[10] Next to pieces of art, they presented padded animals and plants, mechanical and scientific instruments as well as everyday-life

6 Zweder R.W.M. von Martels, *Augerius Gislenius Busbequius. Leven en werk van de keizerlijke gezant aan het hof van Süleyman de Grote. Een biografische, literaire en historische studie met editie van onuitgegeven teksten* (Groningen: Universiteitsdrukkerij, 1989). On the dating of the letters, see esp.: idem, "The Colouring Effect of Attic Style and Stoicism in Busbequius *Turkish Letters*," in *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction. Studies on the Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing*, ed. idem (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 140–157.

7 "Osmanische Blumen – Osmanische Gärten, Gärtner, Gartenpflanzen – Pflanzen des Osmanischen Reiches in Mitteleuropa. Begleitheft zur Ausstellung 26.04.–12.05.1985 im Palmengarten in Frankfurt am Main," *Zeitschrift des Palmengartens der Stadt Frankfurt am Main* 49 (1985). Concerning the question about whether Busbecq was actually the first to introduce the tulip into the Northern-alpine countries, see: Jack Goody, *The Culture of Flowers* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 188, and note 87.

8 Von Martels, *Attic Style and Stoicism in Busbequius Turkish Letters*.

9 For example, the 2005 edition of Edward Seymore Forster's English translation from 1927, quoted above and throughout this article. Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters*.

10 Friedrich Jaeger, "Kuriositätenkabinett," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 7 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2008), col. 404–408.

items from foreign cultures. In the first theoretical tract on the "cabinets of curiosities," entitled *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi* and written in 1565, Belgian author Samuel Quiccheberg formed a precise structure for organizing collections of rarities: He separated the materials into five main divisions: pictures, portraits, and models directly related to the collector; *artificalia*; *naturalia*; instruments and tools; and other pieces of art. These main divisions were classified into sub-divisions, which were based on the traditional theoretical concept of mnemothechnic and Giulio Camillo's *L'idea del theatro*, first published in 1550.[11] In Camillo's understanding of theater, the complete knowledge of the time needed to be saved, stored, and organized. He thought the collections of the Renaissance should portray the "macrocosms in the microcosms" and create a universal image of the "real" world.[12] Curiosity and wonder were understood as integral parts of knowledge production, as shown extensively by authors like Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park.[13] Pieces of art in the collections were often statues, paintings, and miniatures; *naturalia* were fossils and compounds; and the mechanical and scientific instruments were compasses and globes. The collections, however, also included armor, weapons and foreign dress.[14]

During his eight-year mission at the Sultan's court, Busbecq collected many different materials such as ancient coins and inscriptions, Greek manuscripts, unknown plants and flowers, and exotic animals and had them transported to Northwestern Europe. In light of this, I found it curious at first that Busbecq did not accumulate Ottoman clothing as well.[15] Instead, he seems to have been satisfied with "only" describing it in his writings. In this chapter, I will therefore focus on reading the introductory passage of the *Turkish Letters* as a part of a humanist's text. I will take into account existing collection practices and travelling concepts and finally suggest that Busbecq's travel-narrative has to be understood as a collection of cultural practices. In fact, together with his collection of material goods, it can even be regarded as a collection within the collection.

While Busbecq served the Habsburgs, several family members were collectors of curiosities. Among them were Emperor Ferdinand I, who in 1563 founded the cabinet of curiosities in Vienna (*Wiener Kunstkammer*), Archduke Ferdinand II,

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11 Giulio Camillo, *L'Idea Del Theatro* (Fiorenza: Torrentino, 1550).

12 Andreas Grote, *Macrocosmos in Microcosmo. Die Welt in der Stube. Zur Geschichte des Sammelns 1450 bis 1800* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1994).

13 Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books; Cambridge, Mass.: Distributed by the MIT Press, 1998).

14 Virginie Spenlé, "Kunstsammlung," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 7 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2008), col. 351–359, see: Chapter 5, "Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern," col. 353–355; Stephan Roseke, "Kuriositätenkabinett," in *Enzylopädie der Neuzeit* 7 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2008), col. 404–408; Anke te Heesen, "Sammlung, gelehrte," in *Enzylopädie der Neuzeit* 11 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2010), col. 580–589.

15 He remarks that at his discharge audience with the Sultan, he "received nothing beyond the customary gifts which are presented to departing ambassadors." The customary gifts in general included robes of honor. Cf. ibid., 231.

who collected at his Ambraser residence, and, most prominently, Emperor Rudolf II, who housed his famous collection at the Prague Castle.[16] A lot of the exhibited materials were collected during travels. Busbecq also describes in his *Turkish Letters* his adventures while travelling and presents within the text a variety of curious events, clearly indicating that travelling and collecting were also in Busbecq's particular case closely related.

To fully appreciate the intertwinement of travelling and collecting in the 16th century, it is essential to consider early modern concepts of travel and travel narratives as well as recent research findings. Simultaneously, along with the enhanced mobility of the Late Middle Ages, *curiositas* underwent a theoretical appreciation of value: it became a legitimate reason for non-utilitarian travelers, particularly humanists.[17] As a European movement, humanism involved seeking out the developmental path for becoming a truly human being by studying the ancient, particularly Greek, cultures. Consequently, humanists looked for opportunities to travel and describe the landscapes of antiquity – even those which were under the rule of "barbarians."[18] This new rationale for travel was mostly favored in the circle of Erasmus of Rotterdam. As mentioned earlier, Busbecq studied at the University of Leuven, where Erasmus had inaugurated the *res publica literaria* – the republic of letters.

Through an ordered recording of the abundant details accumulated during travel, newly gained knowledge should be systematically written down afterwards in a travel narrative and then circulated, enabling this knowledge to become widespread. The theoretical considerations for structuring and presenting newly acquired knowledge resemble the theoretical approaches to presenting the collected materials featured in the cabinets of curiosity.

In his work *A History of Curiosity* and the *ars apodemica*, Justin Stagl states that the humanist travelers were recognized as having a distinct relevance. As "outposts" and corresponding members of scholar-societies, they were expected to collect knowledge as carefully as merchants collected their goods. They were supposed to keep an account of their experiences and introduce new knowledge so it could be integrated into the existing corpus of knowledge through mutual exchange and thus benefit the republic of letters as a whole.[19]

16 Julius von Schlosser, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätrenaissance. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sammelwesens* (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1978), 45.

17 Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity. The Theory of Travel 1550–1800* (Chur: Harwood Academic Publisher, 1995), 71-73.

18 Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, *Das Osmanische Reich im Spiegel europäischer Druckwerke. Kostbarkeiten aus vier Jahrhunderten. Begleitheft zur Ausstellung des Instituts für Orientalische und Ostasiatische Philologien, Turkologie, der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität und der Stadt- und Landesbibliothek Frankfurt am Main, 12. April bis 18. Mai 1985* (Frankfurt am Main: Universitätsbibliothek, 1985), 10.

19 Stagl, *History of Curiosity*. Cf. idem, "Ars Apodemica. Bildungsreise und Reisemethodik von 1560–1600," in *Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Xenia von Ertzdorff (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992), 141–189 (p. 161).

In all the Renaissance collections of curiosities, books, especially travel narratives, constituted an important element. In recent publications regarding the cabinets, travel narratives have been interpreted as instruments of verification for the collected and displayed *exotica*.[20] I therefore want to propose a supplementary understanding of these texts: The travel-narratives were not only a vital part of the collection like all other material goods, but with their descriptions of foreign, even previously unknown phenomena, they can be understood as collections within the collection.

As mentioned above, during his stay in the Ottoman Empire, Busbecq collected a variety of objects that he transported to Northwestern Europe such as Greek manuscripts, coins, floral seeds and bulbs. Many of these objects found their way into bigger collections. These included the Greek manuscripts, which Hugo Blotius, the first librarian of the Imperial Library in Vienna, bought from Busbecq in 1576,[21] or the tulip bulbs, which Busbecq sent to Carolus Clusius, the director of the emperor's gardens in Vienna.[22]

I would now like to argue that Busbecq not only collected noteworthy curiosities in the form of physical objects, but also provides an important account of cultural phenomena, which he described in his *Turkish Letters*. Interestingly, the material objects he collected are barely noted in the *Turkish Letters,* as if the mere mentioning of them would allow him to achieve an inventory of what he had assembled. In contrast, he describes in great detail the cultural practices and techniques – the non-material objects. This, therefore, constitutes a significant portion of his self-narrative. Besides his collected objects, Busbecq displays yet another collection of curiosities in his text. He does so, though, in a literary way that presents them to the mind's eye of his readers.

In reading the text in this way, it is possible to understand Busbecq's decision to not provide a strict chronological report of his stay. By choosing to not systematically order his precious collected phenomena sequentially, he is able to give each cultural practice its own appropriate space in the collection and in his documentation. As a result, each phenomenon is able to unfold in its complete distinctiveness. The described practices and techniques range from habits and local customs to food and foreign animals and, of course, to dress. Busbecq appears to have portrayed the cultural practices detailed in his writing which he could not physically assemble as material goods and transfer to the imperial court. In doing so, he additionally refers to his eye-witness encounters and the credibility of his report. The distinct character of the performance of these cultural practices could only have been fully appreciated in their own particular cul-

20 Dominik Collet, *Die Welt in der Stube. Begegnungen mit Außereuropa in Kunstkammern der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), esp. chapter I.

21 Josef Stummvoll, *Geschichte der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. 1: "Die Hofbibliothek (1368–1922)" (Vienna: Prachner, 1968), 81–127.

22 Goody, *The Culture of Flowers*, 188, and note 87.

tural surroundings. This is why he puts their spectacle on display in an imagined theater performance.[23]

Two other passages of his text clearly convey in a literary narrative the animated cultural processes. The first one is a story about the incubation of eggs in Egypt:

> "The same (I have been informed about it by so many reliable witnesses that I believe their accounts as though I had seen it with my own eyes) is true also of the following story, which is so widely reported and generally admitted to be true that he would be thought a fool who ventured to throw any doubt upon it. Those who come hither from Egypt – and many come continually – constantly affirm that their eggs are not put under hens, as they are with us, but certain men, whose duty it is, construct in the spring a kind of oven, made of heaped-up manure and dung, to which the whole neighbourhood brings its eggs from far and wide. In this oven the eggs are quickened by the heat of the sun and of the rotting dung, and in due time produce chickens, which are handed back to the person who brought the eggs by those who superintend the business, who do not count them (for this would be too long a task) but weight them out […]"[24]

This local custom could not have been simply transplanted to Vienna. Although Busbecq could have taken chickens and eggs and even an Egyptian oven, he could not have executed the same process, which required a combination of all the materials in the interaction with the Egyptian sun. Instead, Busbecq tried to inspire the imagination of his readers by vividly capturing any similarly non-exportable practices. The reader senses that the author is performing an imaginary theater play directly aimed at captivating the inner eye of his audience.

Another part of Busbecq's literary collection is his encounter with two members of a Gothic tribe of the Crimea. Here, too, the author describes a historical process, namely, the process of an extinction of a language and culture.

> "At this time I must not forget to tell you what I learned about a tribe which still inhabits the Crimea, and which, I have often been told, showed traces of German origin in speech and habits, and even in facial and bodily appearance. I had, therefore, long been anxious to see a member of this tribe and to produce, if possible, something written in that language. Hitherto, however, I had been unsuccessful. Chance at least to some extent satisfied my desire. Two delegates had been sent from that district to Constantinople to submit some kind of complaint to the Sultan in the name of the tribe. My interpreters happened to meet them, and, remembering what I had told them to do if such a chance occurred, brought them to dine at my house."[25]

This passage is followed by a short account of their conversation and a description of the tribe given by one of the visitors.

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23 Cf. Mineke Bosch, Hanna Hacker, Ulrike Krampl, "Editorial," *Spektakel, L'Homme. ZfG* 23.1 (2012), 5–9; Claudia Ulbrich, "Tränenspektakel. Die Lebensgeschichte der Luise Charlotte von Schwerin (1731) zwischen Frömmigkeit und Selbstinzenierung," *Spektakel, L'Homme. ZfG* 23,1 (2012): 27–42.

24 Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters*, 104–105.

25 Ibid., 201.

> "I will next write down a few of the many Germanic words which he repeated to me; for there were just as many words which were quite different from ours, either from the nature of the language or else because his memory failed him and he gave foreign instead of native words. He prefixed the article tho or the before all substantives. The following are the words which were identical with or only a little different from ours."[26]

The subsequent list of about 120 words is the last remainder of this Gothic tribe.[27] Busbecq tries to locate the tribe's origins within other Germanic tribes. He assembles as many details and characteristics as possible to provide a coherent portrait of this tribe.

To conclude this first close reading, I want to re-emphasize my argument that certain characteristics of clothes – or rather the way in which people wore these clothes as well as other cultural techniques of daily life – could only be presented by Busbecq to his readership through literary description. Mere spectators of any collected pieces he might have brought back with him would not have had the same insight. Returning to the passage I quoted at the outset, Busbecq continues as follows:

> "The Turks were quite as astonished at our manner of dress as we at theirs. They wear long robes which reach almost to their ankles, and are not only imposing but seem to add to their stature; our dress, on the other hand, is so short and tight that is discloses the forms of the body, which would be better hidden, and is thus anything but becoming, and besides for some reason or the other, it takes away from a man's height and gives him a stunted appearance."[28]

For Busbecq, the fact that the Ottoman fashion bestowed a dignified appearance in comparison to the rather stunted one evinced by formal Central European dress was clearly significant. I argue that this would not have been understood as fully had Busbecq simply brought Ottoman clothes back to Vienna. As a collector, Busbecq presented his gathering of Ottoman clothes in a literary fashion to better transmit as many of their attributes as possible.

My reading of the text passages above yields a new perspective on Busbecq's letters. His wide-ranging interests and open-minded descriptions of his experiences in the Ottoman Empire are well known. My argument offers a supplementary interpretation: His educational background as a humanist influenced and structured his perception of, and also his writing about, the Ottoman Empire. However, it was not ultimately solely responsible for his way of writing, for his early modern practices of collecting and organizing rarities and curiosities also obviously had a considerable influence on Busbecq's writing. The pivotal term here seems to be the *curiositas*:[29] The reader stumbles upon it in regard to travel,

26 Ibid., 202.

27 MacDonald Stearns, *Crimean Gothic. Analysis and Etymology of the Corpus* (Saratoga, CA: Anma Libri, 1978).

28 Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters*, 61.

29 For an introduction to the concept of curiosity, cf.: Arthur MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment. Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (New

finding new knowledge and insight, as well as the cabinets of curiosities themselves. Busbecq seems to have used different strategies for collecting curiosities: while he shipped material objects to the emperors' court and introduced them to scholars, he also transformed cultural practices into literary descriptions so that he could, in effect, carry them with him.

IV.

So far, the reading of Busbecq's description of Ottoman clothing has focused on understanding it as a collected item of an interested humanist. The persona of Busbecq, therefore, has only been viewed as such. However, to understand the full meaning of the paragraph it is not sufficient to simply locate the text and its writer within collection practices of the 16th century. Its author must also be examined as a political advisor and hence in terms of another facet of his identity. When taking into account that his stay in the Ottoman Empire was the result of a diplomatic mission, the need for this broader view becomes self-evident.

The stated contradictions of the introductory quote cannot be resolved by focusing solely on a humanist analysis. When the political dimension is reflected on, it becomes understandable how an observer could combine a fascinating luxurious spectacle with thriftiness: The depicted organized performance of wealth and power in association with simplicity and restraint becomes an achievable model that the political adviser Busbecq is able to present to his emperor. So here we can still see the sparkle in his eyes, not only from curiosity, but also from seeing an opportunity to learn from an adversary on how one can better oneself and overcome defeat.

Therefore, in the following chapter, the quotation will be re-read, more specifically, in terms of the broader context of the *Turkish Letters* and other writings by Busbecq, and emphasis will be given to the political dimension of the passage on Ottoman clothing.

In the introductory quote, Busbecq describes Ottoman clothing as a beautiful spectacle unlike anything he has ever witnessed before. Along with the luxury, he noticed great simplicity and economy. He observes that everyone's dress had the same form, no matter the wearer's rank. Additionally, there were no extra accessories sown into the clothes, which were the custom for very costly Western clothing. The Ottoman dresses he describes in the paragraph were mostly made of embroidered silk or satin, but still cost only a small amount of money. To read and analyze this passage within a diplomatic framework, we only have to look at the larger context in which Busbecq presented this description: The para-

Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); *Curiositas. Welterfahrung und ästhetische Neugierde in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Klaus Krüger (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2002); Neil Kenny, *Curiosity in Early Modern Europe. Word Histories* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998).

graph portrays Busbecq's first audience at the Sultan's court upon his arrival in the army's winter camp in Amasya.[30] In order to demonstrate a political dimension within the *Turkish Letters* in general and the paragraph on Ottoman clothing in particular, special attention should be given to Busbecq's curriculum vitae and his writings.

First, I will take an even closer look at Busbecq's career as a whole. He was a counselor at the imperial court in Vienna, and undertook missions on the court's behalf. Like many other humanists, Busbecq started to work at a noble court after finishing his university studies. Following Christine Treml's work on humanists, there were five different functions for learned humanists at court: secretary, diplomat, councilman, preceptor, and possibly at the end of a successful career, chancellor.[31] Treml points out that none of the people she studied exercised only one of the listed functions at a time or one after another.[32] Busbecq's life at court follows precisely this trajectory: As mentioned above, in 1552, Busbecq entered the service of Ferdinand I without a specific position (*Extraordinari Diener*).[33] Of special value were his erudition and his command of languages,[34] which led Ferdinand I to appoint Busbecq as his *ordinairus orator*[35] to the Ottoman court. After successfully negotiating a six-year extension of the peace treaty of 1547 and returning just in time for Maximilian II's coronation as German king in Frankfurt in 1562, he was made a counselor of Ferdinand's Aulic Council (*Reichshofrat*).[36] In the protocols of the council, his name is first found on July 10,

30 Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters*, see 58–62, quotes 61.

31 Christine Treml, *Humanistische Gemeinschaftsbildung. Sozio-kulturelle Untersuchung zur Entstehung eines neuen Gelehrtenstandes in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1989), 17–20.

32 Ibid., 18.

33 Friedrich Firnhaber, "Der Hofstaat König Ferdinands I. im Jahre 1554," *Archiv für die Kunde Österreichischer Geschichtsquellen* 26 (1861): 1–28 (p. 28).

34 Charles Thornton Forster and F. H. Blackburne Daniell, *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq. Seigneur of Busbecque, Knight and Imperial Ambassador*, vol. 2 (London: C. K. Paul, 1881); see Ferdinand's letter to Busbecq on April 3, 1564 (Patent of Knighthood) 295–299 (p. 296).

35 *Ordinarius orator* is the title Busbecq uses himself for his position in Constantinople, see: Busbecq, *Legationis Turcicae epistolae quatuor*, 49. Since the development of the Habsburg diplomatic policy towards residing diplomats, in contrast to occasion-orientated legates, was not yet finalized, the title ambassador seems inappropriate. On Habsburg diplomatic policy in the 16th century, cf.: Christina Lutter, *Politische Kommunikation an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit. Die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen der Republik Venedig und Maximilian I. (1495–1508)* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1998); on the diplomatic relations between the Roman and the Ottoman empires, cf.: Ernst Dieter Petritsch, "Tribut oder Ehrengeschenk? Ein Beitrag zu den habsburgisch-osmanischen Beziehungen in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Archiv und Forschung. Das Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in seiner Bedeutung für die Geschichte Österreichs und Europas*, ed. Elisabeth Springer and Leopold Kammerhofer (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1993), 49–58.

36 Zweder R.W.M von Martels, "On his Majesty's Service. Augerius Busbequius, Courtier and Diplomat of Maximilian II.," in *Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Friedrich Edelmayer and Alfred Kohler (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1992), 167–181 (p. 174).

1562.[37] After Ferdinand's death in 1564, Busbecq stayed on the council until 1567.[38] In 1563, however, Busbecq accompanied two sons of Maximilian II, Rudolf (the later emperor Rudolf II) and Ernest to the Spanish court of Phillip II, where they were sent to be educated. During this time, Busbecq held the title "Marshal of the Hall" or *Praefectus depiferum*.[39] As mentioned above, Busbecq resumed his function as a councilman after returning from Spain. In 1566, Vienna was in a state of crisis as a new war had broken out with the Ottomans. Emperor Maximilian II was in need of good counsel regarding the Ottomans, which may explain why Busbecq was called back from Spain.

Nevertheless, Busbecq regained his position at Maximilian's court in 1567. There, he was responsible for overseeing the education and the household of Maximilian's four younger sons, since the emperor needed a "Catholic but moderate man to reconcile the demands of the Empress Maria and Philip II"[40] in order to provide the princes with a Catholic education. In 1570–71, he visited Spain again to accompany the princes Albert and Wenceslaus for their education at court. He travelled back to Vienna with the princes Rudolf and Ernest. In 1574, after the death of the French king Charles IX, Busbecq was ordered to Paris as seneschal of the household and possessions of Elisabeth, daughter of Maximilian II and widow to the king. Although Elisabeth returned to Vienna, Busbecq spent most of the rest of his life in Paris. Historians are not certain whether Busbecq was appointed official legate of Rudolf II to the French court after Maximilian's death in 1576, but he resumed writing letters with important political information and analysis to the emperor.[41] The letters Busbecq sent to Maximilian and Rudolf from Paris clearly show that even though he was far away from the court in Vienna, he was still involved in decision-making processes. One example is the appointment of Hugo Blotius, a fellow Flemish man, as the first official librarian of the imperial library in Vienna.[42] Busbecq recommended Blotius in a letter to Maximilian from Paris in 1575.[43] It was during this time in Paris that

37 Oswald von Gschließer, *Der Reichshofrat. Bedeutung und Verfassung, Schicksal und Besetzung einer obersten Reichsbehörde von 1559 bis 1806* (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1942), 108.
38 Ibid., 108, 111.
39 Von Martels, *On his Majesty's Service*, 175.
40 Ibid., 177.
41 See: Busbecq: "Epistolarum Legatinonis Gallicae," in *Busbecq, Ogier Gislain de: Omnia quae extant opera. Um eine Einleitung vermehrter Nachdruck der 1740 bei Jo. Brandmüller in Basel erschienen Ausgabe*, Einleitung Rudolf Neck (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1968). This edition is the easiest to access and based on the Elvizir edition of 1633, which is also the basis of Edward Seymore Forster's translation. An English translation of the letters from Paris can be found in: F. H. Forster: *The Life and Letters*, vol. 2 (London: C. K. Paul, 1881).
42 Josef Stummvoll, *Geschichte der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 81–127.
43 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, Cod. 9737, 15, fol. 80r. An English translation may be found in: Forster: *The Life and Letters*, 2: 73f.; on the importance of letters of recommendation for acquiring positions, see: Treml, *Humanistische Gemeinschaftsbildung*, 77–98.

Busbecq finished the final version of the *Turkish Letters*, which were published in their first complete edition by Beys in Paris in 1589.[44]

As this portrait of Busbecq's career at the imperial court in Vienna shows, Busbecq held a great number of positions throughout his life, proving his value to such a degree that three Roman Emperors trusted his advice[45] and judgment as an expert[46] on a variety of political subjects. Research on the humanists at court suggests that Busbecq had an exemplary career, having held positions in the fields of diplomacy, education, and policy making. In all of these positions, his political advice was specifically requested, and Busbecq offered it up in quantity.

Not only were the *Turkish Letters* and his important scholarly discoveries linked to his stay in the Ottoman Empire, but so was another important work: the *Exclamatio, sive de re militari contra Turcam instituenda consilium*.[47] In this text, Busbecq conceived of a standing army that would be trained and educated for many years before entering the "war against the Turk." This text, however, has not yet received adequate attention from historians.

The *Exclamatio* was first published in 1581, along with the first *Turkish Letter*. When all four letters were published in a complete edition in 1589, the *Exclamatio* was further appended to it. This means that Busbecq probably wrote this text around the same time he wrote the description of his stay in Amasya and thus also the quote cited above on the Ottoman clothing.[48] In my view, Busbecq gives an account of his experiences within the *Turkish Letters*, on the one hand, to secure his scholarly position within the republic of letters and, on the other, as a political advisor. As the title already suggests, the *Exclamatio* can only be read as a political document. Being the humanist that he was, he used a variety of ancient models such as Lycurgus and Caesar. The most detail, however, is given to the Ottoman model for an elite troop that shows great discipline and diligence, modesty and morals, but also strength and self-confidence: the Janissaries. Busbecq in fact already points out in the *Turkish Letters* the exemplary character of

44 Busbecq, *Legationis Turcicae epistolae quatuor*.

45 Christian Wieland, "Gelehrte Räte," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 4 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2006), col. 380–384.

46 Frank Rexroth, "Das späte Mittelalter und die Anfänge der Europäischen Expertenkultur," *Jahrbuch der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (2006): 19–25 (p. 24); Klaus van Eickels, "Legitimierung von Entscheidungen durch Experten. Friedrich II. als Gesetzgeber im Königreich Sizilien und als Richter nördlich der Alpen," in *Herrschaftsräume, Herrschaftspraxis und Kommunikation zur Zeit Kaiser Friedrichs II.*, ed. Knut Görich, Jann Keupp, and Theo Broeckmann (Munich: Utz, 2008), 391–405; see also: Jens Häseler, "Gelehrter," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 4 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2006), col. 395–397 (p. 395).

47 Busbecq, *Omnia quae extant opera*, Exclamatio: 374–428. Unfortunately, no English translation exists.

48 The Encyclopedia of the Renaissance and the Reformation dates the composition of the *Exclamatio* to 1576. No other publication, however, dates the text to any other time than before its first publication in 1581. Thomas Goddard Bergin et al., "Busbecq, Ogier Ghiselin de," in *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance and the Reformation* (New York: Market House Books, 2004), 77.

the Ottoman army: their "strength unimpaired, experience and practice in fighting, a veteran soldiery, habituation of victory, endurance of toil, unity, order, discipline, frugality, and watchfulness." In the travelogue, he nevertheless does not devise a strategy for fighting the Ottomans, but rather paints a picture of despair about possible outcomes of future military encounters between Christian and Ottoman troops.[49]

Through his experiences at the Ottoman court, Busbecq was familiar with the procedures behind the formation of the Janissary corps. The Ottomans collected young boys from Christian families in their South-Eastern European territories, the so-called *devshirme*.[50] Like the Roman army in its time, only skill and practice enabled the Ottoman army to control the huge terrain that was under their rule in the 16th century.[51] Busbecq portrays in great detail how the Ottomans collected, educated, and treated the boys and young men. He also describes the different positions that were available for them, not only in the military but also in the administration. For Busbecq, this army, which had many years of physical and educational training, was the model that the emperor and other Christian commanders needed to use in the future when fighting the Ottomans.[52] It seems that many readers were convinced by Busbecq's argument, even a century after the first publication, since the *Exclamatio* was published in at least two single editions shortly before, and at the time of, the second Ottoman siege on Vienna.[53]

In placing Busbecq's quoted description of Ottoman clothing in its overall textual framework, the political dimension of the paragraph becomes more obvious. In all of his writings, Busbecq underscores the discipline and organization of the Ottoman army; he also points out that the Ottomans themselves had many virtues such as simplicity and modesty, which was also reflected in their clothing style.

V.

Questions of identity, concepts of personhood, and senses of belonging are central to the work of many early modern historians – especially to the work of many of the contributors to this volume. An important new term that has enabled us to better understand and portray our historical actors is "multiple cultural associations." An approach which recognizes that a person belongs to a

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49 Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters*, 111-112.

50 V. L. Ménage "Devshirme," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 210–213.

51 Busbecq, *Omnia quae extant opera*, 401.

52 Ibid., 412–421.

53 Martin Wrede, *Das Reich und seine Feinde. Politische Feindbilder in der reichspatriotischen Publizistik zwischen Westfälischem Frieden und Siebenjährigem Krieg* (Mainz: von Zabern, 2004), 105–107 (p. 105, note 81).

multitude of cultural groups and settings reveals the multi-contextuality of the introductory quotation and its author, despite their apparent contradictions.

In this essay, I placed Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq in two different, but not separate or even separable surroundings. First, I read Busbecq's descriptions of Ottoman clothing as part of his collection of curiosities. In this way, he was able to follow his interests as a scholar who was fascinated by anything new, different, and, in a word, exotic. His wide range of scholarly interests extended from finding antiquities, examining flora and fauna and linguistic studies, to observing cultural practices. Looking at the importance of the emergence of collections and their preservation in cabinets of curiosity in the 16th century, a connection between Busbecq's own collection of material goods and his collection of cultural practices in the *Turkish Letters* seems inevitable. As I have discussed, Busbecq could not include Ottoman dress into his collection of materials, since they would then forfeit a great part of their authenticity. After all, the characteristics of the dress were linked to its use in a given performance and presented in the cultural setting to which it belonged. In a cabinet, the pieces of clothing would be "dead," only hollow objects. To have the full effect on the observer, they needed to be part of an imaginary theater performance and therefore – in Busbecq's case – could only be transmitted through literature, letting the reader marvel and wonder about the "legendary Orient."

Secondly, I read the quotation – contextualizing it in a broader setting – in reference to Busbecq's political advice to the Holy Roman Empire on how to succeed in the war against the Ottomans. In placing the quote at the Sultan's army's winter camp in Amasya, it obtains not only a political, but even a military dimension. From this vantage point, Busbecq was able to present the Ottoman Empire as an organized system characterized by reason, discipline, and thrift. On the basis of his detailed account throughout his work, he presented his advice on how to overcome the Ottoman military superiority.

Through a close reading, the introductory quotation about Ottoman clothing loses its contradictory quality as the multiple aspects of the text and its author are gradually illuminated. On the one hand, the text should be understood as the writing of a learned humanist who used his text to present a collection of cultural practices that otherwise could not be exported back to the Roman Empire for public display. On the other hand, the author was clearly a diplomat and as such was involved in policy making. A text by such an author thus also has to be understood as a form of political advice. In contextualizing Busbecq and his writings in these different settings, new multi-facetted interpretations become possible: The Ottoman dress can be fascinating, spectacular, luxurious, and even extraordinarily beautiful, while at the same time thrifty, rational, and well-organized.

Through a broad network of friendships, correspondence, visits, and publications, the republic of letters was formed by early modern humanists who worked as teachers and scholars, but also as counselors and advisors at court. Through their writings, knowledge transfer shifted from being local and oral to omnipresent and universal. The knowledge that the members of the republic of letters collected and organized was communicated in letters and books, and libraries and collections functioned as reservoirs of knowledge.[54] In writing the *Turkish Letter*s and the *Exclamatio, sive de re militari contra Turcam instituenda consilium*, Busbecq recorded his collected experiences and the conclusions he drew from them. He also inscribed into these works his persona, his status and the legacy by which he wanted to be remembered.

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54 Martin Gierl, "Gelehrte Medien," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 4 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2006), col. 377–380.

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'Mon habit bleu', 'mon habit noir': The Meaning of Colours in Clothing in *Histoire de la Vie de la Comtesse de Scheverin* (1731)

Nina Mönich

In the Middle Ages and the early modern period colours had "great significance in all areas of social life as a symbol, as an indicator of status, but also as an active force."[1] As Michel Pastoureau underscores:

> "Any description, any notation of colour is cultural and ideological, even when it is a matter of the most insignificant inventory or the most stereotypical notarized document. The very fact of mentioning or not mentioning the colour of an object was quite a significant choice reflecting the economic, political, social, or symbolic stakes relevant to a specific context."[2]

According to Pastoureau, colours are not only physical phenomena of perception, but also complex cultural constructions[3] that are shaped by society. "It is society that 'makes' the colour, that gives it its definitions and meanings, that constructs its codes and values, that organizes its customs and determines its stakes."[4]

More than other objects of material culture, clothing has a "particularly close relationship with its wearers."[5] It "is usually found directly on the person" and "is thus particularly well suited to being identified with the person."[6] In the early modern period "wardrobes could become storehouses of fantasies and anxieties, as well as accomodations to expectations of what a person ought to look and be like."[7] The symbolic function of dress had particular importance in court society in the 18th century. It was an important part of ceremonial self-representation and the depiction of the court.[8] In Martin Dinges' view, it served to promote social distinc-

1 Marina Linares, *Alles Wissenswerte über Farben* (Essen: Verl. Die Blaue Eule, 2005), 184.

2 Michel Pastoureau, *Black. The History of a Colour* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), 15.

3 Michel Pastoureau, "Vers une histoire des couleurs: possibilités et limites," http://www.academie-des-beaux-arts.fr/actualites/travaux/%20comm.%202005/04-pastoureau.pdf (accessed April 15, 2013).

4 Pastoureau, *Black*, 16.

5 Martin Dinges, "Von der 'Lesbarkeit der Welt' zum universalisierten Wandel durch individuelle Strategien. Die soziale Funktion der Kleidung in der höfischen Gesellschaft," *Saeculum* 44 (1993): 90–112, here 91.

6 Ibid.

7 Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up. Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 10.

8 On court representation at the Berlin court around 1700, see: Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "Höfische Öffentlichkeit. Zur zeremoniellen Selbstdarstellung des brandenburgischen Ho-

tions and exclusion as well as to convey group membership. Clothing was a means of making the world "readable", but also enabled a "blurring of boundaries".[9]

In the scholarship, it has been accepted that there were different forms of visualization and presentation of clothing in the 18th century. Daniel Roche defines the fashionable court society in Paris as a "culture of appearance".[10]

To read the world of colours and decipher the culture of prestige, colours must be studied as historical phenomena and situated in their respective culture-specific meanings. This is the precise aim of this essay, specifically with regard to Berlin's court society around 1700.

The early 18th century is regarded as a kind of 'intermediate period' between the 'legible' early modern world resulting from dress codes and the less clearly recognizable world towards the end of the 18th century, which experienced a universal change.[11] A particular colour was often worn at court up until the Baroque period that was mostly determined by the ruler or was the traditional colour of royalty and thus symbolized membership to the exclusive group of the court. The role of clothing colour changed in the 18th century, however.[12] According to Friedrich Carl von Moser's *Teutsches Hof=Recht* (1754/55), it was generally possible to "choose the colours for one's clothing, as one liked". In regard to history, he stressed that there were

> "also instances of great lords who reserved wearing one thing or another for themselves alone, and of jealous lords who sometimes made the mistake, or the indeed clever decision, to resemble or imitate him in his favourite colours and type of clothing."[13]

He, accordingly, noted the following about Prussian King Friedrich I:

> "King Friedrich I of Prussia made the announcement to his court in January 1710 that no one, no matter what his character might be, would be allowed to wear violet or purple-red, as both of these colours were reserved for the King. All merchants in Berlin were also prohibited from selling fabrics and cloths of this colour to anyone besides His Majesty."[14]

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fes vor dem europäischen Publikum," *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preußischen Geschichte* N.F. 7 (1997): 145–176.

9 Dinges, "Von der 'Lesbarkeit der Welt'", 94.

10 Daniel Roche, *La Culture des Apparences* (Paris: Fayard, 1989).

11 Martin Dinges, "Der 'feine Unterschied'. Die soziale Funktion der Kleidung in der höfischen Gesellschaft," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 19 (1992): 49–76. Criticism of Dinges' and Roches' thesis of a supposedly "stable" world of the "sartorial Ancièn Regime" is found in Ulinka Rublack, "Clothing and Cultural Exchange in Renaissance Germany," in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Robert Muchembled (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 258–288.

12 Claudia Schnitzer, *Höfische Maskeraden. Funktion und Ausstattung von Verkleidungsdivertissements an deutschen Höfen der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999), 11.

13 Friedrich Carl von Moser, *Teutsches Hof=Recht*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt; Leipzig: Andreä, 1754/55), vol. 2: 420.

14 Ibid.

Moser thus points out the importance of colours for presenting distinctions at the Prussian court around 1700. Scholar of ceremonies Julius Bernhard von Rohr also emphasizes the significance of clothing colours in his *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschafft der Privat-Personen* (Berlin 1728). Unlike Moser, however, he stresses the role of the court society, rather than the king:

> "There also was much at stake with the selection of the colours of the clothing, and one had to weigh a variety of factors if one did not want to be subject to foreign *critiques* that might otherwise be avoided."[15]

Rohr goes on to say that the colour of dress had to be suited to the person, his or her age and appearance. One should not choose colourful clothing, but rather those that are "becoming".[16] The examples from the normative writings on ceremonies advise that clothing colours should be adapted according to the preferences of the ruler and the court society and moreover be selected with regard to ceremonial, aesthetic, moral and social issues. Normative sources were important references for the significance of colours. It is only in interpretations, however, which include personal testimonies that the practices and cultural techniques for dealing with colours truly become apparent.

For instance, in her *Histoire de la Vie* Countess Luise Charlotte von Schwerin, née Baroness von Heyden, dramatically illustrates looking out the window of her home to the opposing Charlottenburg Palace to watch her husband. She could easily recognize him when he was dressed in red.[17] The red colour of her husband's overcoat may be understood as communicating the complex information that first emerges from the analysis of this personal testimony. The form of dress of a red overcoat initially indicates her husband's prominent position and close proximity to the royal family. Court officials often wore red – although not purple or violet – clothing to signify their membership to the court.[18] A red overcoat was even part of the dress of the Order of the Prussian Black Eagle, to which

15 Julius Bernhard von Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der Privat-Personen* (Berlin: Rüdiger, 1728), 566.

16 Ibid., p. 567.

17 "Je restay souvent jusqu'a 4 heures de suitte a regarder par la fenêtre, les fenetres du chateaux ou je sçavois que le C. de S. etoit, quand il avoit un habit rouge, j'etois charmée parce que alors je pouvois voir s'il etoit dans cet endroit dangereux Des ce que je ly voyois, je croyois qu'on m'arachoit les cheveux de la tête et je versay des larmes dans une quantité inexprimable, Souvent je restois la immobile jusqu'au soir que j'avois les yeux si eblouïs de regarder si fixement et de pleurer que je ne pouvois voir devant moy." The text is cited from the two-volume manuscript of the library Méjanes, Aix-en-Provence, Ms. 1190–1191: *Histoire de La Vie de Madame la Comtesse de Scheverin écrite par elle-même à ses enfants* (abbreviated as *Histoire* in following), 1731; here, volume 1, fol. 275. For further information on the text and the author, see the published edition. *Une conversion au XVIII^e siècle. Mémoires de la comtesse de Schwerin*, ed. Maurice Daumas and Claudia Ulbrich, with the assistance of Sebastian Kühn, Nina Mönich and Ines Peper (Presses universitaires de Bourdeaux 2013).

18 Heide Nixdorff and Heidi Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben. Von den Farbordnungen des Mittelalters zum individuellen Farbgeschmack* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde und Museum für Deutsche Volkskunde, 1983) 114.

her husband Count Friedrich Wilhelm Graf von Schwerin had been admitted in 1701 by the new Prussian King Friedrich I.[19] Red also served as a signalling colour on different levels: first, it allowed her to recognize her husband; second, it symbolized the 'danger' of his location; finally, it may be classified among the widespread criticism of the court in the 18th century.[20] Still further, the red colour can be read as a covert allusion to her husband's marital infidelity, as he possessed a lover among the ladies of the court that was initially permitted by the court. While Luise Charlotte observed Berlin's "colourful court society" from her window,[21] she recognized her husband due to his striking red overcoat.

The example demonstrates the interpretative possibilities that emerge by including personal testimonies in the analysis of the complex representationality of clothing colour. We can also ask what normative discourses and values could be associated with colour choice and the possibilities that exist for self-presentation, representation and visualization when the person selects his or her clothing colour. What affiliations could be indicated by the colour of clothing? What liberties and constraints were present and what discourses were organized around the choice of colours? What meanings and what representational and symbolic functions did the respective clothing colours possess?

I would like to discuss these issues by focusing on the *Histoire* and paying particular attention to the colours black and blue, which, like red, had special significance. Before analyzing the importance of the clothing colours black and blue in the following, I will first discuss the author's relevant biographical details along with *Histoire*'s literary-historical context.

Luise Charlotte von Schwerin, née Baroness von Heyden (1684–1732), was born in 1684 in Wesel in the Duchy of Cleves, where she was Reformed bap-

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19 Cf. Rudolf Scharmann, "Krönungsgewand, Campagne Kleid und Ritter-Ordenstracht. Herrscherkleidung Friedrichs. I.," in *Preußen 1701. Eine europäische Geschichte*, ed. Deutsches Historisches Museum/Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, 2 vols. (Berlin: Henschel, 2001), 68–72.

20 On elements of court criticism in the Histoire, see: Claudia Ulbrich, "*Madame la Comtesse de Scheverin:* Une approche biographique," *Thèmes et figures du for privé. Communications réunies et présentées par Maurice Daumas* (Presses universitaires de Pau, 2012), 173–185; idem, "Tränenspektakel. Die Lebensgeschichte der Luise Charlotte von Schwerin (1731) zwischen Frömmigkeitspraxis und Selbstinszenierung." In: *L'Homme. Z.f.G.* 23,1 (2012), 27–42.

21 In the course of the efforts that were made around 1700 in regard to the coronation, the court of Friedrich I. was described as a particularly colourful and extravagant court: see, for example, Peter-Michael Hahn, "Die Hofhaltung der Hohenzollern. Der Kampf um Anerkennung," in *Preußische Stile. Ein Staat als Kunststück*, ed. Patrick Bahners (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001), 73–89, 485–486, here 85. On the Berlin court society around 1700, see also: Peter Bahl, "Die Berlin-Potsdamer Hofgesellschaft unter dem Großen Kurfürsten und König Friedrich I. Mit einem prosopographischen Anhang für die Jahre 1688–1713," in *Im Schatten der Krone. Die Mark Brandenburg um 1700*, ed. Frank Göse (Potsdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2002), 31–98; Wolfgang Neugebauer, "Hof und politisches System in Brandenburg-Preußen. Das 18. Jahrhundert," in *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands. Zeitschrift für vergleichende und preußische Landesgeschichte* 46 (2000), 139–169.

tized. After her marriage, Luise Charlotte resided at various family estates at the courts in Hanover, Berlin and Vienna as well as Königsberg with her husband Friedrich Wilhelm von Schwerin, a diplomatic envoy, steward of the Prussian Queen Sophie Luise and privy counsellor. In 1719, she secretly converted in Vienna from the Reformed to the Catholic faith. As word of her conversion spread in Berlin, Luise Charlotte was subject to antagonism from her husband, the Berlin court society and King Friedrich Wilhelm I and was consequently forced to leave Prussia. She never accepted, however, the separation and subsequent divorce from her husband and fought afterwards for financial support from the von Schwerin family. She later received a pension through Emperor Charles VI and support from the Vatican. Luise Charlotte was familiar with numerous courts, which she could compare in her personal history. In writing her biography, she adopted a critical and distant stance in relation to the Berlin court.

The *Histoire de la Vie de Madame la Comtesse de Scheverin écrite par elle-même à ses enfants* is a two-volume, 1400-page folio copy of this comprehensive biography in French from the year 1731. The composition of the original text probably occurred between 1723 and 1726. Now about forty years of age, the countess in the *Histoire* looks back on her life until the time when she had to leave Prussia in 1721. She tells of her upbringing, various journeys, her reading, life in Geldern and disputes in her family, her relationship with her husband, parties and receptions at the courts in Vienna, Berlin, Hanover and Königsberg, religion and rites, fashion and clothing, illness, death and mourning, intrigue and friendship, her relationship to the royal and imperial family and, finally, also of the reasons for her conversion. The colours black and blue are frequently mentioned in her detailed descriptions. The meanings of these colours are only revealed in a larger context.

The Colour Black

In the history of clothing, black has most often been associated with different kinds of threshold experiences.[22] In the 17th century, black became 'the' colour of mourning in Christian Europe.[23] The state of mourning though was not only represented by the colour of clothing, but also by extreme concealment. For example, the images of Queen Sophie Charlotte's funeral procession show men clad in black and women heavily veiled in white.[24] The women wore gowns and linen

22 Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 157.

23 Pastoureau, *Black*, 135; on mourning attire, see also: Lou Taylor, *Mourning Dress. A Costume and Social History* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1983).

24 Johann Georg Wolfgang, *Leichen-Procession, der Allerdurchlauchtigsten Großmächtigsten Fürstin und Frauen Sophien Charlotten, Königin in Preussen [...] wie solche den 28. Junii 1705 in der Königl. Residentz-Stadt Cölln an der Spree in hochansehnlicher Königl. Auch anderer Hohen Standes Personen und in vieler andern Volckreicher Versammlung gehalten und vollbracht worden* (Berlin: Liebpert 1705). Etchings, 82 sheets. Nonetheless, in the mourning guidelines regarding

sheets that covered the whole face.[25] Luise Charlotte also describes different types of court mourning and often writes about mourning in connection with issues involving her clothing. She did not have appropriate mourning attire on the occasion of Sophie Charlotte's death in 1705, which she learned about shortly after her wedding while in transit through Hanover. For this reason, she was supposed to appear in another woman's dress. In Vienna, she was not familiar with the mourning ceremonial and was therefore not aware of the occasion that would require her to wear mourning clothes.[26] She also discusses mourning clothes in connection with economic considerations.[27] While Luise Charlotte describes mourning clothes as part of a ceremony, she also describes them as signifying a status and a state of mind, the pain felt and the 'actual' or 'internal' sadness for the deceased.[28]

Luise Charlotte wore black clothing for three years. She does not describe this specifically as mourning clothing, but rather indicates economic motives. According to her account, she continuously wore a black dress for three years from 1713–1716. She maintains that this was due to a promise she had given her husband. In order to save costs and reduce debt, she proposed to her husband that she would only wear black from that moment on. She indicates that this was connected to an obvious estrangement to the other ladies of the court.

Around 1700, black clothing could assume different meanings.[29] It demonstrated "the departure from sensual colour, from the worldly and earthly".[30] Black clothing was also in fact cheaper than colour clothing.[31] It could thus be viewed as a sign of frugality, modesty and humility. Moser, for example, reflected that

> "it is possible to wear black anywhere at court, although not on gala days, and if a foreign ruler always comes in a black dress for a longer period, it can be a little too debasing."[32]

Rohr's discussion of the reasons to put on black clothing before the high holy days is ambivalent. While the black colour was indeed "venerable", wearing black clothing on high holidays could be perceived as "something chaste and indiffer-

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Sophie Charlotte's death the women's clothing is, to the contrary, described as black: "The ladies of the court will wear: 1. A dress of black cloth. 2. A covering for the head of dense black crêpe. 3. Underneath it, a long cape. 4. And over the dress a large voile or gown. 5. A so-called 'Schnepgen' on the forehead." *Theatrum Europaeum*, ed. Johann Philipp Abelinus et. al., 21 vols., vol. 17 (Frankfurt am Main: 1718), 126f.

25 See also Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 158.

26 *Histoire*, vol. 1, fol. 488ff.

27 Ibid., fol. 167.

28 Ibid., vol. 1, fol. 572.

29 On the colour black, see: Pastoureau, *Black*; Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion or fancy. Dress and meaning in Rembrandt's paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006); Harald Haarmann, *Schwarz. Eine kleine Kulturgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main; Berlin: Lang, 2005); Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 157–170; John Harvey, *Men in Black* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995).

30 Linares, *Alles Wissenswerte über Farben*, 184.

31 Cf. Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 165.

32 Moser, *Hof=Recht*, 420.

ent". At "most courts, however, this *fashion* is ridiculed and considered to be something vulgar and bourgeois".[33] For Rohr and Moser, black clothing is associated with humility, which, nonetheless, is not always evaluated positively. On the contrary, the practice of dressing in black is also characterized as absurd and reflecting overly modest behaviour.

Scholars frequently recognize that black clothing has a dual character. Black is seen, especially by the clergy, as a sign of lower standing and a representation of 'simplicity'. Still, it was also emblematic of the valuable clothing of royalty and nobility in the Spanish-Burgundian tradition,[34] which even influenced imperial Vienna. The real heyday of the Spanish-Burgundian court dress was between 1550 and 1600.[35] Muted colours and frequently black were also worn in the Dutch tradition.[36] According to Luise Charlotte's account, the ladies at the Viennese court around 1700 still dressed in black, which she considered to be a sign of a great economy.[37]

Along with the aspect of fashion, black clothing symbolized religious tendencies. Religious dress in black reflected

> "an attitude of renunciation regarding personal displays of luxury and self-abandonment into a 'female world'. However, it cannot be solely attributed to the gesture of mourning or of mourning one's sins. Rather, dark clothing should be understood as a representation of a self-chosen 'retreat', as a shield against unwanted sensations."[38]

In addition to being a renunciation of luxury and a symbol of (not just religious) retreat, black clothing also came to symbolize confessional differences after the Reformation.[39] Michel Pastoureau thus highlights the related confessional quality of black clothing. He observes that Protestantism at the beginning of the 16th century led to a change in way the colours were viewed:

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33 Rohr, *Privat-Personen*, 559.

34 Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 163. See also Pastoureau, *Black*, 132f.: "But black dominated and it had a dual nature. On the one hand, there was the black of kings and princes, luxurious blacks, originating in the Burgundy court in the period of Philip the Good and transmitted to Spanish with the rest of the Burgundian heritage; on the other, the black of monks and clerics, of humility and temperance, the black of all those movements as well that claimed, in one way or another, to rediscover the purity and simplicity of the primitive church."

35 Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 163.

36 Susanna Stolz, *Die Handwerke des Körpers. Bader, Barbier, Perückenmacher, Friseur. Folge und Ausdruck historischen Körperverständnisses* (Marburg: Jonas, 1992), 167.

37 *Histoire*, vol. 1, fol. 491f.: "les autres on n'a que des habits noirs a la Cour sutout les femmes mariées. Economie admirable puisque quand on ne prétend pas de primer ils peuvent paroître souvent."

38 Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 160.

39 On the different confessional garments in regard to Catholics and Protestants in Augsburg, see: Étienne François, *Die unsichtbare Grenze. Protestanten und Katholiken in Augsburg (1648–1806)* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991), 188ff.

> "In all areas of religious and social life (worship, dress, art, domestic life, business) it recommended or established practices and codes almost entirely constructed around a black-gray-white-axis. War was declared against colours that were to vivid or too showy."[40]

In Pastoureau's opinion, the Protestants' rejection of colour was especially apparent in the area of clothing:[41]

> "For the Reformation clothing was always a sign of shame and sin. It was linked to the Fall, and one of its principal functions was to remind man of his depravity. That was why it had to be a sign of humility and contrition, to be made dark, simple, subdued, and to be adapted to nature and activities. All Protestant moral codes had the deepest aversion to luxury in dress, makeup and finery, disguises, changing or eccentric fashions. [...] A consequence of these commandments was an extreme austerity in clothing and appearance: simplicity of forms, sobriety of colours, suppression of accessories and artifices that could mask the truth."[42]

Pastoureau, however, insists that black did not remain a strictly Protestant colour, but was also used in the Catholic Counter-Reformation: "As with the Protestants, the good Catholic had to be dressed in black, and within his home and his daily life, he had to avoid vivid colours, makeup and finery."[43] The fashion of wearing black at court according to the Burgundian-Spanish tradition was primarily in evidence at Catholic courts. This use of black clothing by different confessions shows the great mutability of the representational and symbolic function of colours.

Luise Charlotte explicitly depicts her wearing of black clothing as an act of humility and frugality. It is not possible to directly attribute black clothing to a particular confession. She wore black clothing from 1713–1716 at the Reformed, 'colourful' Berlin court and then set them aside when she went to Catholic Vienna, which was influenced by Spanish court fashion. There she seems to have been pleased with the black clothing worn by the ladies of the court. Luise Charlotte's account indicates that continuing to wear black clothing in Berlin was difficult over an extended period. Even the Brandenburg-Prussian Queen Sophie Dorothea had asked her to set aside her black dress.[44] She did not do so until shortly before she went to Vienna with her husband. It was at the request by the Hapsburg ambassador on the occasion of a gala reception for the birth of the Hapsburg heir Archduke Leopold (1716–1716) that she reluctantly consented. On the third day after the birth, she decided to appear in a coloured, if understated, dress.[45] Apparently, it would have been inappropriate on this gala day to

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40 Pastoureau, *Black*, 124.
41 Cf. ibid., 130.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid., 134f. emphasizes the pervasiveness of black clothing: "Thus estate inventories all showed a predominance of dark clothes and fabrics from the late 16th century to the first decades of the 18th century. In Paris, for example, about 1700, 33 percent of noble clothing – men's and women's alike – was black, 27 percent brown, 5 percent gray."
44 *Histoire*, vol. 1, fol. 410f.
45 Ibid., vol. 1, fol. 446ff.

be presented in a black dress as the wife of the second ambassador extraordinary to go to the Hapsburg court in Vienna. Luise Charlotte reports on various negotiations with her father, her husband and other senior courtiers over her choice to now wear a coloured dress for this occasion. Her simple single-colour dress stands out from her husband's ornate clothing and moreover provides conversation fodder for the entire city of Berlin.[46] This account can be classified with others, in which she describes herself as a fashion trendsetter in Berlin who could create a sensation with a plain-coloured ribbon or a simple dress.[47]

Luise Charlotte emphasizes the frugal clothing practices at the Catholic Viennese court in contrast to the Reform-influenced Berlin court. Just the same, when it comes to her own clothing in Vienna, she pays less attention to the black colour of her clothing articles than their appropriateness.[48] Her description here demonstrates the situational aspect of her statements. While the imperial court, which required ornate dress, is shown positively, the court of Friedrich I is depicted as being wasteful. The description of her black dress can be read as a critique of Berlin court life and the typical court behaviour of her husband. It can further be classified as reflecting the usual criticism of the young royal Prussian court. It also serves as a means of setting herself apart from the Berlin society that had made her an outcast and of presenting herself as a virtuous outsider. By contrast, she praises the clothing practices in Vienna, whose courtly circles she entered after her conversion and to which she felt she belonged. The reference to having worn black clothing in Berlin can be read as a sign that she had actually belonged to Viennese court society long before her stay in Vienna. Clothing made social relations conspicuous and indicated affiliations. Her depiction, however, can also be said to have religious implications. With her description of her clothing colours a few years before the conversion, Luise Charlotte already turns away from the ornate, courtly and secular life of the Reformed Berlin court. The conversion, accordingly, is the culmination of a development that had long been on the horizon.[49] Independent of confession, the colour black is presented here as a sign of humility.

46 Ibid.

47 Cf. ibid., vol. 1, fol. 252f.: "je ne puis m'empecher de mettre icy sans que je scache [253] si c'etoit un defaut ou un don naturel, tout ce que je mettoit me séoit bien et quand même je n'avois qu'un simple habit ou un ruban uny, soit autre ajustement mis sans art et sans etudes chacun le louoit et les autres femmes etoient obligée de suivre mes modes tellement que des garcons de boutique se sont enrichis dans ce tems la a B. vendant plus cher le double des pieces don't j'avois prise."

48 *Histoire*, fol. 488ff.: "Tout le monde se preparoit pour la fête de st Charles Boromée Le C. de S. avoit une livrée eclatante et un habit pour luy d'une magnificence [489] extraordinaire, Il pensa aussi a m'en choisir un, et il etoit magnifique et de bon gout, La C. de Str. l'aprouva, et je me rejouissois pour cette feste."

49 Cf. Ulbrich, *Tränenspektakel*, 38.

In the same text, the colour black thus appears as a sign of modesty, mourning and a certain court fashion. The author is clearly fully aware of the symbolic function of language, and uses it to portray herself as a virtuous, thrifty and humble woman. She also employs it to express her membership to the Viennese court society and the world of the faithful.

The Colour Blue

In 1713, Luise Charlotte has her portrait painted in luminous colours by the Prussian court painter Antoine Pesne.[50] The blue ribbons that she wears in her hair and fall over her shoulders from behind are especially striking. According to Peter Burke, the "accessories represented together with the sitters generally reinforce their self-representations."[51] At this time, ribbons were a popular fashion accessory, and the wearing styles and colours were invested with different meanings that are difficult to reconstruct today.[52] Luise Charlotte mentions ribbons in different places in her *Histoire* and draws attention to her special ability to emphasize her best features with nothing more than a single-colour ribbon.[53]

The colour blue was a valuable colour until the 18th century, in terms of production and use in paintings and when it came to clothing and other uses in textiles. From the 13th century onward blue was considered a royal colour and a colour of the aristocracy. Until the end of the 18th century, it was the chosen colour for French coronation regalia.[54] Royal blue, which was worn as a sign of power at French court in the Baroque, became especially fashionable in the second half of the 17th century under Louis XIV.[55] Another use of the blue colour starting at the end of the 17th century was in the uniforms of the Brandenburg-Prussian army, which had an eye-catching radiance. Over the course of the 18th

50 Antoine Pesne, *Charlotte Luise, Countess von Schwerin, née Baroness von Heyden*, oil on canvas 80 × 65 cm, half-figure on oval canvas, Dresden Museum, inventory number p. 664, ca. 1713.

51 Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 26.

52 On the importance of ribbons, artificial flowers and accessories at the beginning of the 18th century, see Erika Thiel, *Geschichte des Kostüms. Die europäische Mode von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1985), 252f. On the meaning of ribbons and accessories, see also: Katharina Simon-Muscheid, "Standesgemäße Kleidung. Repräsentation und Abgrenzung durch Kleiderordnungen (12.–16. Jahrhundert)," in *Zweite Haut. Zur Kulturgeschichte der Kleidung*, ed. André Holenstein (Berne: Haupt Verlag, 2010), 91–115, esp. 97; Michel Pastoureau, "Pratiques et symboles vestimentaires," *Médiévales* 29 (1995) 5–8.

53 *Histoire*, vol. 1, p. 253.

54 Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 141; Michel Pastoureau, *Bleu. Histoire d'une couleur* (Paris: Édition du Seuil, 2000), 60–63, here 63: "[...] à la fin du Moyen Âge, même en Allemagne et en Italie, le bleu est devenu la couleur des rois, des princes, des nobles et des patriciens." This wearing of the colour blue went back to the imitation of Mary's blue gown: ibid., 52, 60.

55 Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 144.

century, the colour's perception changed and was no longer limited to the court.[56] As early as the mid-18th century, blue was not associated with nobility, but the middle class. Anton Balthasar König noted that, at the time of Friedrich Wilhelm I, "the colour blue was the most common, and attire was redolent of the military."[57] In the *Berliner geschriebene Zeitungen* from the years 1713–1716 edited by Ernst Friedlaender, the royal dress of Friedrich Wilhelm I is described as blue – and probably inspired by the uniforms of the Prussian army.[58] Beginning in the 18th century, the further spread of the colour blue was encouraged, on the one hand, by scientific discoveries and, on the other, by an expanded trade connected to the 'New World' and slave labour. The growing popularity of blue colours in clothing was accommodated by the efforts of dyers who, with the help of new scientific knowledge, were able to achieve particular desired shades of blue.[59]

In the 17th and 18th century, the blue fashion trend especially took off as a result of the use of indigo in dyeing. The importation of indigo from the colonies, however, was strictly regulated or prohibited in most European countries until the 18th century.[60] Dye from indigo was already known in Europe for some time and was mostly imported from India. This changed at the beginning of the 16th century with the colonization of the 'New World' and the discovery there of an indigo plant that had much stronger colouring properties. Trade and the dyeing of fabrics were built on a culture of slavery, which allowed production to be much less expensive than in Europe. This led to numerous edicts in France and the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, which banned the importation of indigo. It was then subsequently legalized in 1737.[61]

Not only did the textile dyeing techniques experience considerable change in the 17th and 18th century. The use of blue as a paint also changed dramatically in the 18th century. The creation of the first artificial colour pigment of Prussian blue resulted in its proliferation, especially as a paint colour.[62] The pigment called 'Prussian blue', and later 'Berlin blue', was synthesized for the first time

56 Hans Medick examined the collection and acceptance of the colour blue in Württemberg's Laichingen as "evidence of the transformation processes that took place in the second half of the eighteenth century in the 'culture of prestige.'" Medick understands "the triumph of the colour blue in the years between 1750 and 1770 in men's clothing […] as a contemporary fashion trend." Hans Medick, "Eine Kultur des Ansehens. Kleidung und Kleiderfarben in Laichingen 1750–1820," in *Historische Anthropologie* (1994), 193–214, here 204f.

57 Anton Balthasar König, *Versuch einer historischen Schilderung der Hauptveränderungen, der Religion, Sitten, Gewohnheiten, Künste, Wissenschaften u. der Residenzstadt Berlin seit den ältesten Zeiten, bis zum Jahre 1786*, 5 vols. (Berlin: 1792–1799), pt. 4, vol. 2, 261.

58 See Ernst Friedlaender (ed.), *Berliner geschriebene Zeitungen aus den Jahren 1713 bis 1717 und 1735. Ein Beitrag zur Preußischen Geschichte unter König Friedrich Wilhelm I.* (Berlin: Mittler, 1902), 6, 48, 110.

59 Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 141.

60 Cf. Pastoureau, *Bleu*, 124

61 Cf. ibid., 124–132.

62 Michel Pastoureau, article "bleu," in *Dictionnaire des couleurs de notre temps: symbolique et société*, ed. idem. (Paris: Bonneton, 2007), 24–32, above all 24–29.

around 1706 by Johann Jakob Diesbach in Berlin. For some time, however, earlier research assumed that the dye did not become pervasive until the mid-18th century. This has been contradicted by recent findings.[63] It has hence been determined that Prussian blue was used in paintings for the first time in 1709 by Pieter van der Werff. Around 1710, the pigment was used by painters such as Pesne within the Berlin court and the Royal Academy of Arts in an amount previously unsuspected.[64]

Luise Charlotte's blue ribbons in the portrait from 1713 allow for a variety of interpretations. On the one hand, a blue court-fashion trend developed in the late 17th century, emanating from the court of Louis XIV, which also would have likely reached Berlin. Due to the import bans on still-rare indigo and limited dyeing options, blue remained an exclusive colour at the beginning of the 18th century. On the other hand, because of the blue colour of Prussian uniforms, there were increasing allusions to military fashion. Clothing also made it possible to emphasize the significance of the military in society. The use of the colour blue in the portrait, however, could also be attributed to technical developments in the medium of illustration and the pigment Prussian blue, increasingly applied by Pesne around 1710. A confluence of these two exclusive 'new' developments is also conceivable. In connection with the discovery of the first artificial pigment, it is at least possible that blue was already at this early stage a fashionable colour at the Berlin court both as a paint colour and for clothing.

In the portrait, Luise Charlotte's blue ribbons appear to be a fashion accessory that stands out from other portraits Pesne had made at this time of ladies of the court. They typically wore jewellery or feathers in their hair, but no ribbons.[65] An additional meaning of the blue band might lie in the von Heyden coat of arms, which consisted of white and blue squares.[66] The preference for the colour

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63 Jens Bartoll, "The Early Use of Prussian Blue in Paintings," 9th International Conference on NDT of Art 2008 Jerusalem, Israel, May 2008, http://www.ndt.net/article/art2008/papers/029bartoll.pdf (accessed December 8, 2010).

64 Bartoll, *The Early Use of Prussian Blue in Paintings*, 7.

65 See the listed works of Antoine Pesne in Eckart Berckenhagen (ed.), *Antoine Pesne* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1958), 93–222, and his portraits of ladies of the court in Berlin around 1710.

66 Leopold von Zedlitz-Neukirch, *Neues preussisches Adels-Lexicon oder genealogische und diplomatische Nachrichten von den in der preussischen Monarchie ansässigen oder zu derselben in Beziehung stehenden fürstlichen, gräflichen, freiherrlichen und adeligen Häusern*, 4 vols., 2 addenda (Leipzig: Reichenbach, 1836–1843), here vol. 2, 388: "The Barons von der H. have a quadratic escutcheon. The first and fourth squares have six white and blue stripes, the second and three have red squares covered with a golden pruning saw. A small heart shield shows the imperial double eagle in a golden field. The helmets contain blue and white striped eagle wings, and in some reproductions we see a third helmet which is bedecked with gold and red feathers, between which is affixed the pruning saw mentioned in the shield." On the importance of coats of arms, see: Hans Belting, "Wappen und Porträt. Zwei Medien des Körpers," in *Bild-Anthropologie*, ed. idem (Munich: Fink, 2001), 115–142.

blue could be seen as a way to align herself with her family of origin.[67] Luise Charlotte, however, not only stylized the use of blue ribbons in her *Histoire* as a fashion accessory or as the colour of the von Heyden coat of arms, but also transformed their meanings. At the time of writing following her conversion, she interpreted in hindsight the outfitting of twelve children of an orphanage in 1706 as a sign of devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Luise Charlotte recognizes in her lifelong preference for the colour blue a sign from the Virgin Mary of her life's later bliss, the conversion. She indicates that her conversion is initiated by a dream of the Virgin Mary. On the day of her conversion, she already dressed herself entirely in white and blue – the coulours of Virgin Mary: "J'avois mis des habits tout blancs et des rubans bleux Je prétendois porter par la les couleurs de la Vierge."[68] She reflects that she had decided from this point on to wear the colours of Mary. She reinforces this promise just a few pages later.[69]

In her depiction, the white and blue clothing became a visible sign of her conversion for all to see. Consequently, she promised the Holy Virgin that she would only wear blue for a period of one year and six weeks after the announcement of her conversion, that is, she would adopt the "livrée" of Mary. In this way, the clothing is a sign of conversion and membership in the community of devout Catholics and worshipers of Mary. Even the coffin of her son, who was born after the conversion only to pass away shortly thereafter, is adorned with blue ribbons as a sign of the "livrée" of Mary – this despite his Reformed baptism.[70] When she left her house in Königsberg after this event for the first time to go to church, she says that she was dressed in blue according to her promise. Her appearance was thus very simple,[71] in contrast to a later visit to the church. At the request of her father confessor, she put on her "parures mondaines" for Easter. His sermon, she reflects, subsequently turned out to be single allusion to her situation.[72] Clothing is also described in religious contexts and used as a statement and means of communication both by Luise Charlotte as well as her preacher. Wearing the colour blue also belongs to the context of the history of Marian devotion.

It was not until the 12th century that the Virgin Mary became one of the first people to appear in images attired in a blue gown or dress.[73] Before this, Mary could be seen adorned in pictures in various, primarily dark and muted colours. The blue colour symbolism (usually a blue gown) then pushed out the other col-

67 In the *Histoire*, vol. 1., fol. 403 she reports on a dispute between her and her husband, in which she feels slighted because her husband insisted on putting up only the von Schwerin coat of arms in their newly renovated house and not that of von Heyden.
68 *Histoire*, vol. 1, fol. 692ff.
69 Ibid., vol. 2, fol. 2ff.
70 Ibid., fol. 553ff.
71 Ibid., fol. 583.
72 Ibid., fol. 590.
73 Pastoureau, *Bleu*, 50.

ours, becoming one of her main attributes.[74] From the 13th century onward, individual personalities began to wear blue clothing to show their closeness to the Virgin Mary.[75] Mary's blue gown led to an upgrading of the colour's status in general. The French kings contributed to the wider acceptance of the colour blue, wearing the blue gown "en hommage à la Vierge, protectrice du royaume de France et de la monarchie capétienne."[76] In reference to the worship of Mary, blue was also a sign of earthly power, although it retained its religious significance as the colour of heaven, as an "expression of the distance and grandeur of God" as well as a symbol of the "heavenly origin" and the "wisdom of God".[77] Especially in the Hapsburg Empire, the worship of the "blue Lord God" was apparent in a number of pilgrimage churches in and around Vienna.[78] Blue not only acquired significant meaning in the Catholic faith. In Calvin doctrine blue became the "plus belle couleur [...] naturellement [...] du ciel"[79] and "la couleur seule honnête, digne d'un bon chrétien."[80] Parallels to Luise Charlotte's blue dress can above all found in some Latin countries. There, "children were consecrated to Mary and, as a sign of this, often dressed in blue until the seventh year. Similar actions were taken in thanks for the healing of an illness."[81]

With regard to the significance of colours in the respective depictions offered by Luise Charlotte and Antoine Pesne, certain distinctions must be made. The blue ribbons in the painting by Pesne appear as a fashion accessory that can be traced back to different historical product developments. The ribbons in Pesnes' portrait act as a figurative sign that refers to the material culture of the court, which can no longer be clearly deciphered today in all of its encodings. The picture was created with contemporary viewers in mind who were familiar with the ribbons' complex symbolism and were in a position to interpret it. By contrast, Luise Charlotte's *Histoire* fondness for the colour blue becomes a long-standing sign of her devotion to Mary and a harbinger of her future conversion, which is symbolized by the blue colour of her dress.

Conclusion

In the *Histoire*, the description of colours in clothing is characterized by numerous references and associated with various secular and religious interests. After the separation from her husband and his death, Luise Charlotte fought for years

74 Ibid., 51.
75 Ibid., 53f.
76 Ibid., 60
77 Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 141.
78 Ibid., 129.
79 Pastoureau, *Bleu*, 107.
80 Ibid., 112.
81 Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 136.

to secure financial and material resources from the marriage. She used clothing and the description of modest clothing practices to stylize herself as virtuous, unfairly wronged and worthy of support. In interpreting her life from the perspective of the conversion, she understands fashionable behaviour to be either pleasing or offensive to God. Just as in Claudia Ulbrich's examination of tears in the *Histoire,*[82] the colours of clothing can also be understood as a language that makes social relations visible. Luise Charlotte uses them in different ways for depicting herself, for visualizing changes, social and religious values and norms and for portraying social relationships.

She appears as a fashionably dressed woman who has the ability to present herself with the simplest of means such as a plain black dress or blue ribbons. The display of her own modesty serves to associate her with Viennese court society and the community of devout Catholics, and to distinguish her from her husband and the Berlin court society, which she describes as extravagant. In contrast to those at the luxurious court, she wore a black dress at times in order to present herself as a pious and frugal outsider. The Histoire demonstrates ambivalence between the depiction of modest and fashionable behaviour. Religious and secular interpretations and descriptions are interwoven in various ways. The black dress along with the blue ribbons and the blue gown are highlighted by Luise Charlotte as signs of her piety and conversion.

The clothing colours serve the depiction and visualization of a decisive turning point in her life, the conversion from the Reformed to the Catholic faith. Fashion-conscious behaviour and deliberate clothing changes are described as ways of presenting oneself. Clothing allows different values and moral concepts to be described and displayed. It establishes a network of religious and secular relationships and marks different secular and religious affiliations. In this way, a personal concept may be recognized that expresses a relationship to God, the Mother of God and other people and things.

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82 Claudia Ulbrich, "'Je fondis en larmes'. L'histoire de la comtesse de Scheverin, écrite par elle-même à ses enfants (1731): un document qui peut servir de source pour une histoire des émotions", in: *Amour divin, amour mondain dans les écrits du for privé de la fin du Moyen Age à 1914*, Colloque international de Pau, 3 et 4 juin 2010, ed. Maurice Daumas (Pau: Editions Cairn, 2011), 273–287, here 284.

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The First Ottoman Legation to Prussia in 1763–1764 and Its Depiction in a Costume Album from Berlin*

Abdullah Güllüoğlu

> *"Berlin, Nov. 10.*
> *[...]*
> *Achmet Effendi Bassa, the Grand Signior's Internuncio, made his publick Entry Yesterday. He set out in a Coach from Weissenseé about Nine o'Clock in the Morning. Upon his Arrival at the Gates of Berlin he allighted, and entered a Tent where they presented him some Coffee. After he had drunk it, he mounted a fine Horse which was brought to him out of the King's Stables; and moving forwards he entered from the King's Suburbs into the Street Royal, passed over the Great Bridge by the magnificent Equestrian Statue of the Great Elector Frederick-William of Glorious Memory; thence along by the Castle, then turning to the Right through the Street called the Maisons Franches, went over the Bridge which leads to the Arsenal, and the Palace of the Prince Royal of Prussia; then crossing a third Bridge, passed along the Avenues of the Lime Trees of the New City, to the Corner of the Street called Wilhelm-Strass, which he entered turning to the Left, and kept on till he came to the Gate of the grand and noble House intended for him. Here follows the Order of his March. 1. One of the King's Equeries on Horseback. 2. A Riding-Master, followed by two Grooms, all Three on Horseback, bringing the Led-Horses of Major de Pirch, who had conducted the Internuncio from the Frontiers. 3. Thirteen Grooms, holding the Led-Horses of the three Gentlemen of the Electoral Marche hereafter mentioned. 4. Six Helpers of the King's Stables. 5. Two Servants of his Excellency Count Finckenstein, First Minister of State in the Department for foreign Affairs. 6. Two Trumpeters. 7. The three Gentlemen on Horseback, who were Messieurs d'Arnim, de Ludecke, and de Marschall. 8. A Captain at the Head of 50 Carabiniers on Horseback, with their Swords drawn. 9. The Master of the Horse to the Internuncio on Horseback. 10. Six Arabian Horses of very great Value, each richly caparisoned. 11. Two Huntsmen of the Grand Signior on Horseback. 12. Two Chiaoux, or Vergers, on Horseback, their Scymitars at their Sides, and holding in their Hands their Silver Verge or Staff, with a Knob on the Top. 13. The Capigilar, or Introductor alone, on Horseback. 14. The Governor, or Intendant, with the Iman Effendi, on Horseback. 15. The Hainadar or Treasurer, with the Divan Effendi, or Secretary of the Embassy, on Horseback, with three Janizaries on each Side, on Foot. 16. A Coach with Six Horses, in which were the Internuncio's Letter of Credence. 17. The Chiodars, or Servants. 18. Two Chatirs, or Footmen. 19. The Internuncio Achmet Effendi, with two Grooms holding the Reins of the Bridle of his Horse; having on his Right Major de Pirch, and on his Left the King's Interpreter. 20. The Internuncio's Pages on Horseback. 21. The Musick of the Janizaries. 22. The Internuncio's Baggage in a great Number of covered Waggons. 23. A Corporal, with his Halbert in his Hand, closed the March."*[1]

* Many thanks are due to Professors Barbara Kellner-Heinkele und Claudia Ulbrich who read and helped improve an earlier draft. My thanks also to Linda Schilcher who corrected and improved my English.

1 *London Gazette*, 22.–26.11.1763, no. 10368; with some minor differences in spelling the same description can be found in the *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 25.–28.11.1763, no. 995 and *The St. James's Chronicle; or, The British Evening Post*, 26.–29.11.1763, no. 427.

This long quotation gives a very detailed description of the solemn public entry of the Ottoman legation[2] headed by the envoy Ahmed Resmî Efendi (1694/95–1783)[3] to Berlin, the capital of Prussia, on November 9th, 1763. Ahmed Resmî Efendi was the first official Ottoman representative dispatched to Prussia. His legation has to be considered within the broader context of the Seven Years War and the negotiations for an alliance between Prussia and the Ottoman Empire at that time.[4] Therefore, it is not surprising that the presence of the Ottomans in Berlin was a spectacular event which drew far more than the attention of Berlin on-lookers. Several European newspapers reported events associated with this legation.[5] Furthermore Ahmed Resmî Efendi and his retinue were often the subjects of contemporary drawings, paintings, engravings and etchings.[6] One of the most popular German artists of the 18th century, the engraver Daniel Nikolaus

2 This quote is evidence of how imprecise the European understanding of the Ottoman diplomatic service was. It is helpful to differentiate between a legation and an embassy in the period before the establishment of the first Ottoman permanent embassies in Europe at the end of the 18th century. As the term embassy was reserved for the mission of Ottoman diplomats of the highest rank (Turk. *büyük elçi*) only, i.e. those holding the honorary titles of *paşa* (pasha) and *Rumeli* or *Anadolu beylerbeyi* (governor of Rumelia or Anatolia) I use the term legation for diplomatic missions headed by a diplomat of secondary rank. Such missions would be headed by what I here call an "envoy" (Turk. *orta elçi*).

3 See for the biography and the bureaucratic and diplomatic career of Ahmed Resmî Efendi, Virginia Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700–1783*, The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1995) and Kemal Beydilli, "Ahmed Resmi Efendi," *Toplumsal Tarih* 52/4 (1998): 56–64.

4 On the development of Ottoman-Prussian diplomatic relations in the 18th century see, Kemal Beydilli, *Büyük Friedrich ve Osmanlılar: XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı-Prusya Münâsebetleri*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları 3318, Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları 3212 (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1985).

5 Not only German-language newspapers such as *Berlinische privilegirte Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* or *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten* reported the arrival of the legation, many English newspapers also provided extensive reports. The *London Gazette*, *Lloyd's Evening Post*, and *The St. James's Chronicle; or, The British Evening-Post* published identical descriptions of the legation's entry to Berlin, which is, surprisingly, in some points more detailed than the one given in the German language reports. Other English newspapers publishing news on the Ottoman legation in Berlin were the *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, *Public Advertiser, London Evening Post, The London Chronicle: or, Universal Evening Post*, and the *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*. For a study analyzing news reports in the *Berlinische privilegirte Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* regarding the Ottomans in Berlin from the perspective of interculturality and as a media event, see Stephan Theilig, "Die erste osmanische Gesandtschaft in Berlin 1763/64: Interkulturalität und Medienereignis," in *Europäische Wahrnehmungen 1650–1850: Interkulturelle Kommunikation und Medienereignisse,* ed. Joachim Eibach and Horst Carl, The formation of Europe 3 (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2008), 131–160.

6 Some of these pictorial representations are reprinted in Gustav Berthold Volz, "Eine türkische Gesandtschaft am Hofe Friedrichs des Großen im Winter 1763/64," *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch* 11 (1907): 17–54 and Volkmar Enderlein, *Die erste türkische Gesandtschaft in Berlin 1763: Sonderausstellung des Islamischen Museums (2. Juli–17. August 1987)* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1987).

Chodowiecki (1726–1801), produced a set of eleven "Turkish Miniatures" which relate directly to the Ottoman legation and its stay in Berlin.[7]

The aim of this paper is to introduce the reader to a unique costume album that focused exclusively on the Ottoman legation in Berlin. I will do this in four segments. Following a brief introduction of the historical context of the legation, I will provide an analysis of the costume album to reveal its structure and themes and to make some suggestions as to its inception. Thirdly, I will discuss some aspects of the Ottoman legation system with reference to some illustrations in the album. And finally, I will illustrate the dependence of this costume album from Berlin on its two predecessors dating from the first two decades of the 18th century.

1. The Historical Context of the First Official Ottoman Legation to Prussia in 1763–1764

Unofficial Prussian-Ottoman diplomatic contacts go back to the reign of Friedrich Wilhelm I (1713–1740).[8] But it was Friedrich II (1740–1786) who intensified these, especially during the Seven Years War when Prussia was isolated in its opposition to the triple alliance of Austria, France and Russia.[9] At that time, Friedrich II was very much interested in an alliance with the Ottomans. The Ottoman Empire's attacks on the Hungarian provinces of Prussia's rival, the Austria of Empress Maria Theresa (1740–1780), would relieve Friedrich II from great difficulties and problems in this war. A victory against Austria would therefore be most likely in an alliance with the Ottomans. In order to negotiate and conclude an alliance agreement Friedrich II sent his envoy Karl Adolf von Rexin to Istanbul with valuable gifts twice, first in 1755 and later for a longer stay beginning in the summer of 1756 and lasting until 1764. Rexin was authorised to sign the expected alliance, but he was unsuccessful. In April 1763 after the death of the grand vizier Koca Mehmed Râgıb Paşa (1757–1763) the Ottoman government and Sultan Mustafa III (1757–1774)

7 Joachim Rees, "Türkische Miniaturen: Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki als Beobachter der Osmanischen Gesandtschaft von 1763/64," in *Europäische Ansichten: Brandenburg-Preußen um 1800 in der Wahrnehmung europäischer Reisender und Zuwanderer*, ed. Iwan-Michelangelo D'Aprile, Aufklärung und Europa 17 (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2004), 69–100.

8 See Beydilli, *Büyük Friedrich ve Osmanlılar*, 1–8; Enderlein, *Die erste türkische Gesandtschaft*, 5; and Klaus Schwarz, "Brandenburg-Preussen und die Osmanen: Frühe Beziehungen in Überblick," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 9 (1989): 361–379 (p. 376).

9 H. M. Scott, "Frederick II, the Ottoman Empire and the Origins of the Russo-Prussian Alliance of April 1764," *European Studies Review* 7 (1977): 153–175; Rudolf Porsch, *Die Beziehungen Friedrichs des Grossen zur Türkei bis zum Beginn und während des siebenjährigen Krieges* (Marburg: Oskar Erhardt's Buchdruckerrei, 1897); and Wilhelm Nottebohm, "Die preussisch-türkische Defensivallianz (1763–65): Ein Beitrag zu Friedrichs des Grossen orientalischer Politik," *Festschrift zu der zweiten Säcularfeier des Friedrichs-Werderschen Gymnasiums zu Berlin*, ed. Lehrer-Kollegium des Friedrichs-Werderschen Gymnasiums (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1881), 132–157.

decided to send Ahmed Resmî Efendi at the head of an Ottoman legation to Friedrich II. Officially the mission was sent to reciprocate the earlier gifts of Friedrich II, but secretly it was to investigate if the King was still interested in an alliance. If yes, then under what conditions, and would these conditions be compatible with Ottoman interests?[10]

The Ottoman legation led by Ahmed Resmî left Istanbul on 24th of July 1763 and travelling through Poland arrived in the Prussian capital on November 9th. They were received with pomp and ceremony the likes of which the Prussian population had never seen.[11] For most of the Prussians it was their first encounter with Ottomans. Twelve days after the arrival of the legation in Berlin on November 21st, 1763, Ahmed Resmî had his audience with Friedrich II.[12] Because it was the first Ottoman legation to Prussia and because the Prussian court had no experience receiving Ottoman envoys, protocol was imitated, using that already applied in Austria in 1755. At that time the Ottoman envoy Halil Efendi – who came to announce the enthronement of the new sultan, Osman III (1754–1757) – was formally received at the Viennese court by Emperor Franz I Stephan (1745–1765) and Maria Theresa (1740–1780).[13]

During Ahmed Resmî Efendi's long stay in Berlin – nearly six months – life was made as pleasant and interesting as possible by all concerned. Ahmed Resmî was unlikely to complain about his treatment during his stay. Among other things he had the opportunity to watch military inspections, visit industrial facilities and manufacturers, to take part in a masked ball, attend artistic performances, and visit

10 Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, "Vorbericht über Sultan Mustafa III. und Resmi Achmed Efendi," *Wesentliche Betrachtungen, oder, Geschichte des Krieges zwischen den Osmanen und Russen in den Jahren 1768 bis 1774, von Resmi Achmed Efendi, aus dem Türkischen übersetzt und durch Anmerkungen erläutert von Heinrich Friedrich von Diez* (Halle; Berlin: In Commission der Buchhandlungen des Hallischen Waisenhauses, 1813), 1-54 and Volz, "Eine türkische Gesandtschaft," 30–31.

11 Heinrich von Lehndorff, Queen Elisabeth Christine's chamberlain, wrote in his diary: "On November 9th the whole city was enrapt in the entry of the Turkish legation. Such a show had never before occurred here." Cited by Karl Eduard Schmidt-Lötzen, ed., *Dreißig Jahre am Hofe Friedrichs des Großen: Aus den Tagebüchern* des *Reichsgrafen Ernst Ahasverus Heinrich von Lehndorff, Kammerherrn der Königin Elisabeth Christine von Preußen* (Gotha: Perthes, 1907), 465. Even the king came from Potsdam to Berlin to watch the spectacle from the palace; see Kurt Treusch von Buttlar and Gustav Berthold Volz, ed., *Politische Correspondenz Friedrich's des Grossen*, vol. 23 (1763–1764) (Berlin: Verlag von Alexander Duncker, 1896), 171, footnote 2; and Volz, "Eine türkische Gesandtschaft," 37.

12 A detailed description of the audience was printed in the newspapers. See, *Berlinische privilegirte Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, 22 Nov. 1763, no. 140; *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten,* 25 Nov. 1763, no. 187 and 26 Nov. 1763, no. 188. It is very interesting and even surprising that the English newspapers, which reported in great detail about the legation in general, published nothing about the royal audience.

13 In fact, the protocol used for the Ottoman legation to Vienna in 1755 was applied and not that used for a 17th century legation from Moscow, as Friedrich Nicolai mistakenly assumed, see Volz, "Eine türkische Gesandtschaft," 37, footnote 4.

churches and a school. To honour the Ottoman envoy, special festivities were organized by the nobility at court. He was received several times in private audience by Friedrich II, where the main topic of the legation came up for discussion. None the less, neither side could agree on an alliance. In the meantime, Friedrich II had entered an alliance with Catherine II of Russia (1762–1796), and this had significantly diminished the former's interest in an alliance with the Ottomans. On April 22nd, 1764, Ahmed Resmî Efendi was invited to a last audience with the king to renew his credentials. But at the beginning of May, the Ottoman envoy left Berlin with his retinue.

Upon his return to Istanbul, he presented a report of his diplomatic mission to the sultan. Several manuscript versions of this report are preserved to this day.[14] Together with Ahmed Resmî's earlier report from Vienna in 1757–1758 both texts were included in full in the chronicle of Ahmed Vâsıf Efendi and printed in Istanbul in 1804.[15] At the suggestion of Friedrich Nicolai, a publisher in Berlin, an anonymous interpreter – who in fact was the Viennese Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall – translated the texts into German and they were published in Berlin and Sztetin in 1809.[16] A second German translation of the Berlin report was prepared by Willy Bey-Bolland and published in Istanbul in 1903.[17] The original reports in Ottoman Turkish were printed again in Istanbul in 1886 by the printer Ebu'z-ziya.[18] Bedriye Atsız published a translation into modern Turkish (*sadeleştirme*) in 1980.[19]

2. *The Costume Album from Berlin*

It was not usual for Ottoman diplomatic missions to include a painter among their accompanying staff as did contemporary European embassies in Istanbul. However, it seems that there were two exceptions in the first half of the 19th century.

14 Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman*, 223.

15 [Ahmed Vâsıf Efendi], *Mehâsinü'l-âsâr ve Hakâikü'l-ahbâr*, 2 vol. (Istanbul: Dârü't-tıbâati'l-âmire, 1219 [1804]).

16 [Ahmed Resmî Efendi], *Des Türkischen Gesandten Resmi Ahmet Efendi Gesandtschaftliche Berichte von seinen Gesandtschaften in Wien im Jahre 1757, und in Berlin im Jahre 1763. Aus dem türkischen Originale übersetzt. Mit erläuternden Anmerkungen* (Berlin; Sztetin: Friedrich Nicolai, 1809).

17 [Ahmed Resmî Efendi], "Eine Türkische Botschaft an Friedrich den Großen. Aus dem Türkischen ins Deutsche übertragen von Willi Bey-Bolland (Uebersetzer S. K. M. des Sultans)," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Exkursions-Klubs in Konstantinopel* 6 (1903): 1–40.

18 [Ahmed Resmî Efendi], *Sefâretnâme-i Ahmed Resmî: Prusya Kıralı Büyük Frederik Nezdine Sefâretle Giden Giridî Ahmed Resmî Efendi'nin Takrîridir* (Istanbul: Kitâbhâne-i Ebu'z-ziya, 1303 [1886]) and [[Ahmed Resmi Efendi], *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi: Ahmed Resmî Efendi'nindir* (Istanbul: Kitâbhâne-i Ebu'z-ziya, 1304 [1886/7]).

19 Bedriye Atsız, trans. and ed., *Ahmed Resmî Efendi'nin Viyana ve Berlin Sefaretnâmeleri*, Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser 151 (Istanbul: Tercüman, 1980).

The first was the embassy of Yâsincizâde Seyyid Abdülvehhâb Efendi[20] in Persia in 1810. This report was written by the interpreter of the embassy, Bozoklu Osman Şâkir Efendi, who happened to be also a painter, embellishing the report with 31 of his own illustrations.[21] The second exception was a report from the embassy of Nâmık Paşa,[22] who was appointed permanent ambassador to London in 1834. Today, one illustrated embassy report/travelogue (*resimli sefâretnâme/seyâhatnâme*), which is extant in two manuscripts can be attributed to this embassy.[23]

These two illustrated reports from Ottoman legations to Persia and England in the first half of the 19th century have no precedents in the 17th and 18th centuries. However, we do have visual representations of Ottoman legations and embassies by European painters and artists.[24] Among these is a costume album preserved in

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20 For a brief biography see Mehmet İpşirli, "Abdülvehhâb Efendi, Yâsincizâde," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988), 285–286.

21 The only surviving manuscript, probably the original from the pen of the author, is preserved in the Fatih Millet Kütüphanesi in Istanbul carrying the signature: Ali Emiri Tarih No. 822. For the embassy of Yâsincizâde Seyyid Abdülvehhâb Efendi to Persia and its report see Cahit Bilim, "Elçi, M. Seyid Abdülvahap Efendi, Yazar, Sefaret Tercümanı Bozoklu Osman Şakir Efendi: Musavver İran Sefaretnamesi," *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi (OTAM)* 13 (2002): 262–286; A. Zeki Memioğlu, "Musavver İran Sefaretnâmesi: Elçi, M. Yasinci-zâde Seyyid Abdulvahhab Efendi, Tercüman ve Sefaretnâme Yazarı, Bozoklu Osman Şakir Efendi," *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi* 17 (2001): 237–245; Filiz Güney, *XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran İlişkileri ve İran'a Giden Osmanlı Elçileri*, unpublished master's thesis (Afyonkarahisar: Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi, 2005), 79–85; and Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, ed. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1968), 206–210.

22 For a brief sketch of his biography see Abdullah Saydam, "Nâmık Paşa," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 32 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2006), 379–380; and Şehabeddin Akalın, "Mehmet Namık Paşa" *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* IV/7 (1952): 127–145. Enver Ziya Karal published the self-narrative of Nâmık Paşa, see Enver Ziya Karal, "Mehmed Namık Paşa'nın Hal Tercümesi" *Tarih Vesikaları* II/9 (1942): 220–227. For a biography, which largely relies on archival material and the political and diplomatic correspondence of Nâmık Paşa and a hymn of praise by a descendent see Ahmet Nuri Sinaplı, *Devlete, Millete Beş Padişah Devrinde Kıymetli Hizmetlerde Bulunan Şeyhül Vüzera, Serasker Mehmet Namık Paşa* (Istanbul: Yenilik Basımevi, 1987).

23 Both copies are preserved in the collection of Turkish manuscripts in the İstanbul Üniversitesi Merkez Kütüphanesi in Istanbul with the signatures: İÜMK, TY 5085 and İÜMK, TY 2416. So far both manuscripts are not published, but the first (İÜMK, TY 5085) was made accessible to the scientific community by Sadettin Buluç, "Türkçe Yazma İki Seyahatnâme" *IX. Türk Tarih Kongresi (Ankara, 21–25 Eylül 1981): Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, 3 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1986, 1988, 1989), 3: 1505–1516. İbrahim Şirin promised a critical edition of the embassy report, see İbrahim Şirin, *Osmanlı İmgeleminde Avrupa*, 2nd ed. (Ankara: Lotus, 2009), 245.

24 The research literature has devoted far more attention to the legation of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi to France 1720–1721, even with respect to its visual representations in different artistic media. See Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*, Studies in Middle Eastern History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Gilles Veinstein, introd. and ed., *Le paradis des infidèles: relation de Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed efendi, ambassadeur ottoman en France sous la Régence* (Paris: Maspero, 1981); and Beynun Akyavaş, ed., *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi'nin Fransa Sefâretnâmesi*, Türk Kültürü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları 129 (Ankara: Türk Kültürü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1993).

the manuscript collection of the Berlin State Library[25] (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz), and this refers precisely to the legation of Ahmed Resmî Efendi. So far this costume album has not received the attention it deserves. Volkmar Enderlein was the first to publish a short article on it in 1995 together with a reproduction of one of the plates.[26] More recently, a few images were used in an article about Ahmed Resmî Efendi's legation authored by Stephan Theilig.[27]

Now, for a description: The distinctive feature of this costume album lies in the opulence and expense of its production. We have 71 plates bound in redish brown leather. But since an older pagination goes to 93[28] we may assume that the album originally contained even more illustrations than are preserved today. All figures in the album were produced by means of paper cutting.[29] The individual folios are multilayered. In most cases the first layer consists of coloured silk glued onto a base sheet. Subsequently, a specially cut paper template was laid and glued onto the silk, resulting in the completed representation of objects, people and animals. In other words, all segments of garments, headgear, horse caparisons, etc. were cut out and mounted on top of the valuable coloured silk fabric. Pleats of the fabrics and contours of the robes were marked by finely cut narrow strips of paper. The garments, gifts, and horses were designed very carefully. In some cases they were gilt. Valuable fabrics similar to those in this album also appear in the inventory list of gifts presented by the envoy to the king.[30] As Enderlein says, one would like to see the actual fabrics of the sultanic gifts. But we know that Friedrich II secretly

25 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SBB-PK), Libr.pict.A 151 (Prov.: Königliche Hausbibliothek).

26 Volkmar Enderlein, "Das Berliner Kostümbuch von 1763," in *Im Lichte des Halbmonds: Das Abendland und der türkische Orient*, ed. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1995), 275–278.

27 Theilig, "Die erste osmanische Gesandtschaft."

28 The missing folios seem to have been torn or cut out. All images are framed, but their sizes vary. While the older pagination is written with a pencil at the bottom right corner of the frames, the more recent pagination – also written in pencil – is to be found in the upper right corner of the folios. A comparison of the two paginations allows the identification of the missing folios. Therefore, the following plates are missing with regard to the first data/specifications: 7, 14, 16, 20, 22, 24, 27, 37, 46, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 71, 85 and 91.

29 Enderlein, "Das Berliner Kostümbuch von 1763," 278.

30 For the list of the sultanic gifts which had been handed over to the king by Ahmed Resmî Efendi on November 21$^{\text{th}}$, 1763, see *Berlinische privilegirte Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, 29.11.1763, no. 143 and Carl Adolf Bratter, *Die preußisch-türkische Bündnispolitik Friedrichs des Großen* (Weimar: Verlag Gustav Kiepenheuer, 1915), 128–131. On diplomatic gift-giving at the Prussian court see Jeannette Opalla [former Falcke], "Das Geschenkewesen [sic!] am friderizianischen Hof: Absicht und Botschaft," in *Friedrich300 – Colloquien, Friedrich der Große und der Hof*, URL: http://www.perspectivia.net/content/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien/friedrich-hof/Opalla_Geschenkewesen (accessed December 17, 2011) and Jeannette Falcke, *Studien zum diplomatischen Geschenkwesen am brandenburgisch-preußischen Hof im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte 31 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2006).

sold most of the gifts in February 1764 even while Ahmed Resmî Efendi was still in Berlin.[31] Enderlein may be right when he suggests that the fabrics in the album probably came from the then-flourishing silk industry in Berlin.[32] The only parts which were painted are those depicting skin, hair, or non-fabric materials. These were painted with opaque colours, then cut out and glued directly onto the folios in their appropriate positions. Thus faces and hands of the individual figures, horses, camels, and mules, the weapons, musical instruments, kitchen items, the coach of the envoy, and some other equipment are painted.

There are captions to describe each individual's function. But not a single name appears. The captions in the costume album were written in at least two different handwritings. One is very clear and resembles block letters, the second resembles the German *Kurrentschrift*. Some of the original captions have been erased and overwritten.

Now, as to provenance: A contemporary stamp designates the album as belonging to the royal library in Berlin (Königliche Haus-Bibliothek Berlin). A special note affixed to the inside of the back cover with the inscription "F. W. II. 1128a" seems to mark Friedrich Wilhelm II (1786–1797) as the owner of the album. The year 1962 inscribed with pencil on the first page over the stamp of the royal library indicates that the costume album was included in the 1962 inventory of the Berlin State Library.

Because the album contains no text in addition to the captions at the bottom of the figures it is not possible to determine exactly when, by whom or where it was produced. Enderlein assumes that the album was compiled soon after the arrival of the Ottoman legation in Berlin.[33] There is no evidence to support an assumption that Friedrich II commissioned the album. It could just as well have been a gift by a courtier. Theilig assumes the costume album was a fabric pattern album (*Stoffmusterbuch*), which was submitted to the Prussian king to demonstrate the quality of Prussian dyes and textile production.[34]

However, a note affixed to the back cover mentioning Friedrich Wilhelm II seems to render another interpretation possible. In the last years of Friedrich II's

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31 *Politische Correspondenz Friedrich's des Grossen*, 268, footnote 3: "On February 1 Privy Councillor Köppen was commissioned to have assessed and to sell, through the agency of effective but discrete people partially in Holland and partially in the Empire or other distant lands and for the best possible return, the items stored at the palace in Berlin which are remaining from the Turkish gifts such as caparisons, riding accoutrements, and also the silken, woollen, and camel hair fabrics, making payment to the Bank of Ephraim & Sons on behalf of his Majesty, without attracting any attention."

32 Enderlein, "Das Berliner Kostümbuch von 1763," 278.

33 Enderlein, "Das Berliner Kostümbuch von 1763," 278. The appearance of "1763" in the title of his article is the reason why Enderlein regards 1763 as the year of production of the costume album. In contrast, Theilig commits himself to the year 1764; see Theilig, "Die erste osmanische Gesandtschaft," 156–157.

34 Theilig, "Die erste osmanische Gesandtschaft," 156–157.

life, Heinrich Friedrich von Diez[35] (1751–1817) – a diplomat, private scholar, bibliophile, and Orientalist – was first sent as Prussian *chargé d'affaires* to Istanbul in 1784 and later appointed ambassador.[36] During his time in Istanbul von Diez collected Oriental manuscripts. It seems that he had a keen interest in costume albums. Upon his return in 1790 he brought his manuscript collection to Berlin. It has been discovered that among these manuscripts were a set of five folio volumes known as the "Saray Albums"[37] and a two-volume costume album, which was commissioned by Sultan Abdulhamid I (1774–1789) and presented to von Diez as a gift from the sultan.[38] A note at the beginning of this costume album reads: "These Drawings of Costumes are stated to have been executed by order of the Sultan (i.e. Abdülhamid I [d. 1789]) for General Diez, Prussian Ambassador at Constantinople in the time of Frederick II [d. 1786]."[39] The two volumes are composed of 225 illustrations and are now in the British Library in London. It is known that they were acquired in Berlin by a purchase in 1858.

What does von Diez have to do with the costume album from Berlin? If Friedrich Wilhelm II was indeed the first owner of the costume album, as the note affixed to the back cover seems to suggest, then perhaps von Diez commissioned the costume album after his return to Berlin in order to present it as a gift to the king, perhaps intending it as an apology for his diplomatic adversity in Istanbul. However, these assumptions form no more than a hypothesis since so far I haven't been able to find any significant proof, which would verify them.

3. The 16th Century Emergence of a New Genre: The Costume Album

After this description of one particular costume album, I would like to raise some general questions about this genre and its origins. I must first clarify the

35 About the life and work of von Diez see Johann Albrecht von Reiswitz, "Diez, Heinrich Friedrich v." in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1957), 712–713; online version: www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118678469.html (accessed May 3, 2013).

36 On von Diez's diplomatic career and activities in Istanbul see Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, vol. 6, Geschichte der europäischen Staaten, ed. A. H. L. Heeren and F. A. Ukert (Gotha: Perthes, 1859), 467–493, 509–514, 518–611, 671–763. His valuable library of about 17,000 volumes and 835 manuscripts, including some priceless oriental manuscripts were bequeathed to the Royal Prussian State Library in Berlin, and is specified under the provenance "Bibliotheca Dieziana". On his legacy in the Prussian State Library, see Curt Balcke, "Heinrich Friedrich von Diez und sein Vermächtnis in der Preußischen Staatsbibliothek," in *Von Büchern und Bibliotheken: Ernst Kühnert als Abschiedsgabe dargebracht von seinen Freunden und Mitarbeitern*, ed. Gustav Abb (Berlin: Struppe & Winckler, 1928), 188–200.

37 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SBB-PK), Mss. Diez a. Fols. 70–74.

38 Metin And, "I. Abdülhamit'in Prusya Elçisine Armağan Ettiği Osmanlı Kıyafetler Albümü," in *Antik & Dekor* 19 (1993): 20–23.

39 Norah M. Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts: A Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings in the British Library and British Museum* (London: British Library, 1981), 7.

role costume albums played already in the 16th century. The harbingers of costume albums were the works done by famous 16th century artists such as Bellini, Pisanello and Dürer. The Venetian artist Enea Vico was the first to produce a study of costumes in 1545. There followed a number of costume albums, and studies dealing with the "Turks" were also printed.[40] Between 1560 and 1590 ten such costume albums appeared in Europe. The first one to fully fall in this genre was that of Francois Deserpzy published in Paris in 1562. This French-language album was reprinted three times (1564, 1567 and 1570) with the stated intention of initiating its readers into the variety of attire in the world with examples from Europe, Asia, Africa and the so-called "wild islands". One year later, in 1563, the costume album of the Venetian Ferdinando Bertelli was published in Latin, and reprinted in 1569. His son, Pietro Bertelli extended his father's work by publishing it in a three-volume set, of which the last edition was reprinted in Padua in 1596. In 1577 two further albums were published: Hans Weigel's *Trachtenbuch* appeared in Cologne, and the important Latin work of Abraham de Bruyn in Antwerp. But the most prominent exemplars of this genre were the two comprehensive studies published in Venice by the artist Cesare Vecellio in 1590 and 1598. The new genre was quickly established and was taken seriously, well beyond its mere entertainment aspects.[41]

As Ulrike Ilg has demonstrated, there were three contemporary intellectual trends within which the emergence of costume albums can be located. First of all, and this is Ilg's opinion, there was the urge to encyclopedise grounded in the notion of organising and structuring new knowledge. But the French scholar Le Roy sees their emergence as a historiographical shift and a change of perspective away from national histories in the direction of universal history, extending the scholar's scope from national history and culture in Europe to a trans-European geographical and cultural view. And finally, this new genre can be seen as part of the geographers' efforts to complete an atlas of the entire world.[42]

Such reconstructions of the inception of costume albums within contemporary intellectual movements and discourses during the second half of the 16th century are not acceptable to everyone. Rublack, for example, cannot find justification for seeing Le Roy's views in the production of costume albums. Le Roy advocated peaceful cultural exchange as the basis of a new European self image as part of a global republic or a single civilisation.[43] Rublack rejects a connection to Le Roy and proposes an alternative, challenging historians to analyse costume albums as texts. Instead of searching for a basic explanation for this genre Rublack would, for

40 Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 146.
41 Ulrike Ilg, "The Cultural Significance of Costume Albums in Sixteenth-Century Europe," in *Clothing Culture 1350–1650*, ed. Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 29–47 (pp. 29–33) and Rublack, *Dressing Up,* 146–147.
42 Ilg, "The Cultural Significance," 33–40.
43 Rublack, *Dressing Up,* 148.

example, be interested to learn the way in which the creators of costume albums attempted to influence particular political and social contexts. What is interesting about costume albums is not how they are similar but how they are different. How does the presentation of attire project political and social ideals to a particular audience by means of visualised representations of clothing? Consequently, Rublack formulates her primary enquiry as follows: "Hence our primary question has to be what kind of visual acts they constituted."[44] And finally she correctly stresses that works of this type cannot be accepted in the absence of further sources as truthful representations of what people actually wore.[45]

4. The Berlin Costume Album and its Forerunners

Costume albums about the Ottoman Empire date from the 16th century as well. An increased interest in the Ottoman land and people, especially after the conquest of Istanbul in 1453, led to the publication of twice as many books about the Ottoman Empire as about the New World between 1480 and 1609.[46] Captivity reports and travelogues were genres which promised to provide their audiences first-hand ethnographic knowledge on the "other." From early on, these reports were supplemented by illustrations of the "other" and his attire. Among the first travelogues of this type the report of Hans Schiltberger with its illustrative woodcuts published in Augsburg about 1476 has to be mentioned.[47] Among the sources of information about the Ottoman Empire illustrated travelogues were a popular genre in the following centuries.[48] The most remarkable of these is the publication by the Frenchman Nicolas de Nicolay which appeared in Paris in 1562 and very soon thereafter in German. This author stresses that he is reporting his very own personal observations which are reproduced in opulent illustrations.[49] The step

44 Rublack, *Dressing Up,* 149.

45 Rublack, *Dressing Up,* 149.

46 Ulrike Ilg, "Die 'Entdeckung' der osmanischen Kultur durch Künstler und Gelehrte im 16. Jahrhundert: eine humanistische Utopie," in *Expansionen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Renate Dürr, Gisela Engel, and Johannes Süßmann, Zeitschrift für historische Forschung, Beiheft 34 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2005), 173–196 (pp. 173–174).

47 For the facsimile of the first print of 1476 see Elisabeth Geck, ed., *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch* (Wiesbaden: Pressler, 1969).

48 For the genre of illustrated travelogues about the Ottoman Empire see Ulrike Ilg, "Die Türkei in der europäischen Literatur und Buchillustration des 16.–19. Jahrhunderts," in *Der lange Weg der Türken: 1500 Jahre türkische Kultur*, ed. Johannes Kalter and Irene Schönberger (Stuttgart: Linden-Museum, 2003), 272–298; Ulrike Ilg, "'… Ein Zeugnis nach dem Augenschein ist höher zu schätzen als zehn vom Hörensagen …': Text und Bild in Reiseberichten des 16. Jahrhunderts aus Amerika und dem Osmanischen Reich," in *Text und Bild in Reiseberichten des 16. Jahrhunderts: Westliche Zeugnisse über Amerika und das Osmanische Reich*, ed. Ulrike Ilg, Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut: Studi e Ricerche 3 (Venice: Marsilio, 2008), 11–18.

49 Ulrike Ilg, "Vom Reisebericht zum ethnographischen Kompendium: zur Rezeptionsgeschichte von Nicolas de Nicolays *Quatre premiers livres des navigations et pérégrinations orienta-*

from illustrated travelogues to costume albums on the Ottoman Empire extended into the second half of the 16th century, at a time when diplomatic contacts between the Sublime Porte and some Western European countries such as Venice, France, the Habsburg monarchy and England were intensified. At the end of the 16th century all these countries were represented diplomatically in Istanbul by an ambassador, envoy or resident. The coming and going of diplomats also allowed artists and scholars to travel to the Ottoman Empire. They did not only write down their experiences and impressions of land and people in their travelogues but painted them in pictures and drawings. This period witnessed a great interest and a rapid increase in the number of hand-painted costume albums on the Ottoman Empire, in an increasingly inter-dependent world.[50]

To the European artists active in Istanbul we have to add an increasing number of Ottoman artists by the beginning of the 17th century. The latter also painted costume albums for the market. Metin And has classified these painters *çarşı ressamları*, i.e. "market painters", and regards them as representatives of a trend in folk art.[51] They have to be distinguished from Ottoman artists who worked in the court workshops. While the costume albums produced in the 16th and 17th centuries were for an almost exclusively European audience, by the 18th century, interest increased on the Ottoman market as well.[52] Only a few of these albums have attracted the interest of researchers, and, consequently, only a small number have been printed so far.[53]

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les (1567)," in *Text und Bild in Reiseberichten des 16. Jahrhunderts: Westliche Zeugnisse über Amerika und das Osmanische Reich*, ed. Ulrike Ilg, Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut: Studi e Ricerche 3 (Venice: Marsilio, 2008), 161–192.

50 For the early period of the newly-emerging genre of costume albums dealing with the Ottoman Empire and one of its earliest examples, the Bremen Album from 1574, painted by Lambert de Vos, and its relation to other costume albums, see Rudolf H. W. Stichel, "Das Bremer Album und seine Stellung innerhalb der orientalischen Trachtenbücher," in *Das Kostümbuch des Lambert de Vos: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Ms. or. 9 aus dem Besitz der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen, vol. 2: Kommentarband*, ed. Hans-Albrecht Koch (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1991), 31–54.

51 For the emergence of *çarşı ressamları* and the costume albums of the 17th century see Metin And, "17. Yüzyıl Türk Çarşı Ressamları ve Resimlerinin Belgesel Önemi," in *9. Milletlerarası Türk Sanatları Kongresi – 9th International Congress of Turkish Art*, 3 vols. (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1995), 1: 153–162; Günsel Renda, "17. Yüzyıldan Bir Grup Kıyafet Albumü," *17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kültür ve Sanatı: 19–20 Mart 1998, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, Sanat Tarihi Derneği Yayınları 4 (Istanbul: Sanat Tarihi Derneği, 1998), 153–178; and Nermin Sinemoğlu, "Onyedinci Yüzyılın İlk Çeyreğine Tarihlenen Bir Osmanlı Kıyafet Albümü," in *Aslanapa Armağanı*, ed. Selçuk Mülayim, Zeki Sönmez, and Ara Altun (Istanbul: Bağlam 1996), 169–182.

52 Leslie Meral Schick, "Meraklı Avrupalılar İçin Bir Başvuru Kaynağı: Osmanlı Kıyafet Albümleri," *Toplumsal Tarih* 116 (2003): 84–89 (p. 89).

53 For one printed example of paintings and costume albums from the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries each representing a solemn procession of an Ottoman sultan or the Ottoman Empire in general see Hans-Albrecht Koch, ed., *Das Kostümbuch des Lambert de Vos: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Ms. or. 9 aus dem Besitz der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen, vol. 1: Faksimileband, vol. 2: Kommentarband* (Graz:

These primarily hand-painted costume albums have been supplemented over time by printed albums. It is very interesting and not surprising to see that the Berlin costume album was modelled on a printed French album. This is a collection of engravings published by the former French ambassador to Istanbul Marquis Charles de Ferriol (1637–1722).[54] He commissioned the Flemish painter Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (1671–1737)[55] to draw a series of paintings illustrating Ottoman court life including the sultan, his retinue and the harem, different administrative and military personnel, clergymen and religious practices, inhabitants of Istanbul, the islands and some landscapes, and different Ottoman provinces in North Africa, Arabia, Anatolia, and the Balkans. Vanmour completed his collection of paintings between 1707 and 1708. They were based on his own observations locally in Istanbul. After his return to Paris de Ferriol published together with Le Hay the *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant,* Paris, 1714 [56] as a collection of engravings based on the paintings of Vanmour. The *Recueil Ferriol* was an instant success with further editions and reproductions subsequently published in European languages.[57] The first German edition of the *Recueil Ferriol* was printed in Nuremberg in two parts 1719[58] and 1721[59] by the German engraver and

Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1990–1991); Karin Ådahl, ed., *The Sultan's Procession: The Swedish Embassy to Sultan Mehmed IV in 1657–1658 and the Rålamb Paintings* (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2006); Klaus Tuchelt (introd. and ed.), *Türkische Gewänder und osmanische Gesellschaft im achtzehnten Jahrhundert: Facsimile-Ausgabe des Codex "Les portraits des différens habillemens qui sont en usage à Constantinople et dans tout la Turquie" aus dem Besitz des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes in Istanbul* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1966); and İlhami Turan, ed., *Osmanlı Kıyafetleri: Fenerci Mehmed Albümü, Aslı Rahmi M. Koç Özel Kitaplığında Bulunan Fenerci Mehmed Tarafından Resimlendirilmiş Osmanlı Kıyafetleri Albümümün Tıpkı Basımıdır – Ottoman Costume Album: Fenerci Mehmed, a Facsimile Edition of Osmanlı Kıyafetleri by Fenerci Mehmed, the Original of Which is in the Private Collection of Rahmi M. Koç* (Istanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 1986).

54 For Marquis Charles de Ferriol see the article by Christine Vogel in this volume.

55 Olga Nefedova, *A Journey into the World of the Ottomans: The Art of Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (1671–1737)* (Milan: Skira, 2009).

56 Charles de Ferriol, *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant: Tirées sur les tableaux peints d'après nature en 1707. et 1708. par les ordres de M. de Ferriol, ambassadeur du roi à la Porte et gravées en 1712. et 1713. par les soins de M. Le Hay* (Paris: Le Hay, 1714). (here: *Recueil Ferriol*)

57 Maria Elisabeth Pape, "Turquerie im 18. Jahrhundert und der 'Recueil Ferriol'," in *Europa und der Orient 800–1900*, ed. Gereon Sievernich and Hendrik Budde (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1989), 305–323 (p. 309).

58 Charles de Ferriol, *Wahreste und neueste Abbildung Des Türckischen Hofes, welche nach denen Gemählden, so der königliche französische Ambassadeur Monsr. de Ferriol Zeit seiner Gesandtschafft in Constantinopel im Jahr 1707. und 1708. Durch einen geschickten Mahler nach den Leben hat verfertigen lassen, In fünff und sechzig Kupffer-Blatten gebracht worden: Nebst einer aus dem Französischen ins Teutsche übersetzten Beschreibung* (Nuremberg: Christoph Weigel, 1719).

59 Charles de Ferriol, *Der wahrest und neuesten Abbildung Des Türckischen Hofes, Fortesetzung, worinnen die übrige dem königlichen französischen Ambassadeur Herrn de Ferriol, Zeit seiner Gesandtschafft in Constantinopel im Jahr 1707 und 1708, von einem geschickten Mahler nach dem Leben verfertigte Gemählde, mit einem beglaubten Zusatz, In sechs und funfzig Kupffer-Blatten gebracht*

publisher Christoph Weigel. Actually, it was not a simple reproduction of the *Recueil Ferriol* but included new engravings made by Weigel himself with significant variation from the original. Two abridged editions were printed in 1723[60] and later again in 1789.[61] The *Recueil Ferriol* quickly became the primary source of *turqueries* in the arts of the 18th century throughout Europe. Pape emphasizes this point when she wrote: "This work was to be the most enduring and significant source for the variety of representations of Turkish themes throughout the 18th, and even into the 19th century."[62]

Because of its expense it seems the French original was addressed to a smaller and more select audience, while the modestly-produced German edition of 1719 has to be seen as a more popular edition. As for Turkey, it was only relatively later, in the late 1970s, that a greater interest in the *Recueil Ferriol* was observable. The publisher Şevket Rado first edited a facsimile of the French original in 1979[63] and then printed a Turkish edition in 1980.[64]

Because the *Recueil Ferriol* was widely available and well known throughout Europe, we may presume that the anonymous artist of the Berlin costume album apparently knew it very well and in particular its German edition. A brief look at the three collections – the French original *Recueil Ferriol*, its German edition, and the Berlin costume album – would be sufficient to see the similarities. The first thing one notice is that most of the figures represented in the German edition of the *Recueil Ferriol* are engraved in mirror image to the French original. And just this mirror image posture of the figures is also observable in the Berlin costume

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worden: Nebst einer aus den bewährtesten lateinisch- und französischen Scribenten verfassten Beschreibung (Nuremberg: Christoph Weigel, 1721).

60 Charles de Ferriol, *Wahreste und neueste Abbildung Des Türckischen Hofes, welche nach denen Gemählden, so der Königliche Französische Ambassadeur, Monsr. de Ferriol, Zeit seiner Gesandtschafft in Constantinopel im Jahr 1707 und 1708 durch einen geschickten Mahler nach dem Leben hat verfertigen lassen, In fünff und sechzig Kupffer-Blatten gebracht worden: Nebst einer aus dem Französischen ins Teutsche übersetzten Beschreibung* (Nuremberg: Christoph Weigel, 1723).

61 Charles de Ferriol, *Abbildung des türkischen Hofes: Aus dem Französischen übersezt, Mit 77 Kupfern, Nach den Gemälden welche Herr von Ferriol [...] durch den geschickten niederländischen Maler van Mour nach der Natur hat malen und in vielen Kupferplatten stechen lassen*, Neue und verbesserte Auflage (Nuremberg: Christoph Weigel und Adam Gottlieb Schneider, 1789).

62 Pape, "Turquerie im 18. Jahrhundert," 308. For the *Recueil Ferriol* see also Silke Förschler, *Bilder des Harem: Medienwandel und kultureller Austausch* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 2010), 45–56 and Silke Förschler, "Zirkulation und Differenzierung von Motiven des kulturell Anderen: Kostümportraits in europäischen Reiseberichten und in der osmanischen Miniaturmalerei," in *Europa und die Türkei im 18. Jahrhundert/Europe and Turkey in the 18th Century*, ed. Barbara Schmidt-Haberkamp (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2011), 343–362.

63 Jean Baptiste van Mour, *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant tirées sur les tableaux peints d'après nature en 1707 et 1708 par les ordres de M. de Ferriol, ambassadeur du roi á la Porte, et gravées en 1712 et 1713 par les soins de Mr. Le Hay* [1714 Paris Baskısından Tıpkıbasımdır] (Istanbul: Yayın-Matbaacılık, 1979).

64 Jean Baptiste van Mour, *On Sekizinci Yüzyılın Başında Osmanlı Kıyafetleri: Fransız Büyülelçisi Marquis de Ferriol'un Hollandalı Ressam Van Mour'a Yaptırdığı 100 Resim İle Türklere Ait Bazı Törenler ve Açıklamalar*, ed. Şevket Rado (Istanbul: Yayın-Matbaacılık, 1980).

album. From this we can conclude that the direct model of the Berlin costume album is not the *Recueil Ferriol* but its German edition.[65]

While the original paintings of Vanmour and the engravings of the *Recueil Ferriol* always have the same background scene (see figs. 1, 4, and 7) – they are further located in spaces with architecture and interiors that are entirely absent in the depictions of the German edition[66] (see figs. 2, 5, and 8 and compare with figs. 3, 6, and 9).[67] In both cases only the ground under the feet of the figures is indicated. However, the technique applied in the Berlin costume album would have made it very difficult to set up a background.

Nearly all costume albums dealing with the Ottoman Empire share some common characteristics. Their illustrations depict costumes of the Ottoman court, janissaries, clerics, people of various social classes, inhabitants of Anatolia and the provinces, representatives of minorities, such as Greeks, Armenians and Jews, as well as genre scenes, monuments, and characteristic objects.[68] Certainly it wouldn't be wrong to claim that the costume albums of the Ottoman Empire were intended as representations of the Ottoman world as a whole. Their focus was always on the sultan and his court. It is here that the Berlin album can be differentiated from earlier albums. It was intended to depict only a limited subject matter, namely those groups of people who were related and meaningful in the context of an Ottoman legation. The album took not the sultan but his envoy and the highest Ottoman representative abroad and his retinue for its central subject matter. The following goes further in presenting the Berlin album and in probing its history.

5. The Berlin Costume Album in Historical Context

As Enderlein pointed out this costume album depicts a particular historical event.[69] The contemporary newspaper reports of the Ottoman legation's procession to its audience with Friedrich II could well inspire visual depictions. A significant indication is provided in the image that appears on Plate 11 with its caption,

65 The German edition of Weigel was used as a reference for the manufacture of porcelain figures at the Veildorf monastary in Thuringia and in Ansbach. See Pape, "Turquerie im 18. Jahrhundert," 319 and Anette Loesch, "Zum Einfluß der Türkenmode auf das Meißner Porzellan," in *Im Lichte des Halbmonds: Das Abendland und der türkische Orient*, ed. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1995), 272–274 (p. 274).

66 In the German edition of 1719, there are some exceptions to this rule (plates 10, 11, 12, 26, and 42), where the figures are placed in front of the same background scenes as in the *Recueil Ferriol.* See for example figs. 7 and 8.

67 Here I would like to thank the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz for permission to use and publish some images from the Berlin costume album.

68 Tadeusz Majda, "The Rålamb Album of Turkish Costumes," in *The Sultan's Procession: The Swedish Embassy to Sultan Mehmed IV in 1657–1658 and the Rålamb Paintings*, ed. Karin Ådahl (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2006), 197–265 (p. 197).

69 Enderlein, "Das Berliner Kostümbuch von 1763," 276.

"*The Turkish Legation Secretary with the Treaty of Peace*"[70] in which the secretary of the legation (*divan efendisi*) holds the imperial letter of the sultan in his outstretched hands at the height of his head.[71] According to a contemporary account in the *Berlinische privilegirte Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen,* "the mounted Divan Effendi, or Legation Secretary, carried the letter of the sultan to his royal majesty in his hands."[72]

The order of the images in the costume album does not correspond exactly to the order of the historic event as it was described in the newspapers, but one cannot fail to see correlations. The costume album opens with a mounted trumpeter on the first plate with a caption that translates: "Turkish Trumpeter riding in Front". According to the order of plates in the album, the trumpeter was followed by an adjutant (plate 2) and a number of officers (plates 2–8) carrying banners (plates 3–4) and horsetails (plates 5–6) and then came some noblemen (plates 7–8).

Only two non-Muslims are represented in the album. These are recognisable by their black headgear. The first is the interpreter of the legation. He is the only figure to be illustrated twice in the costume album. Plate 9 – with a caption that translates: "The Turkish Legation Interpreter" – shows him on horseback, while as "The Turkish Interpreter" in plate 10 he is depicted on foot. From the newspapers we know that the name of Ahmed Resmî Efendi's interpreter in Berlin was Salomon Commandi, who was a merchant of Jewish background.[73]

The second Non-Muslim in the costume album appears on plate 52 captioned, "A Turkish Merchant and Persian Jew." This indicates that merchants travelled to Europe in the retinues of Ottoman legations. Plate 54, captioned "A Turkish Carpet Merchant", further supports this assumption while at the same time indicating that the trade in oriental carpets was important at this time in Europe.

70 Although the caption mentions a peace treaty transported by the secretary of the legation, it should not be taken literally, because it was indeed only the missive of the sultan. As we already know both sides could not agree on an alliance. Perhaps the unknown artist anticipated the conclusion of a treaty, or maybe he is referring to the trade agreement between the Ottoman Empire and Prussia concluded in 1761.

71 Plate 11 of the costume album is reproduced in the article by Enderlein; see Enderlein, "Das Berliner Kostümbuch von 1763," 277. Suraiya Faroqhi reproduced it again in one of her publications, see Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*, The Library of Ottoman Studies 7 (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 190.

72 *Berlinische privilegirte Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, 22.11.1763, No. 140. Nearly the same description is published in *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten,* 25.11.1763, no. 187: "[D]er Divan Effendi, oder der Gesandtschafts= Secretair zu Pferde, welcher in der Hand das Schreiben des Groß=Sultans hielte."

73 *London Evening Post*, 22.–24.12.1763, no. 5638: "They write from Berlin, that the Jew Merchant Salamon Commandi, Interpreter to the Turkish Embassador Achmet Effendi, set out from thence the 13th instant for Holland, and is expected here in town." See also *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten, 16.12.1763, Nr. 199:* "[...] [D]er Kaufmann Salomon Commandi, Dolmetscher bey dem Türkischen Gesandten, Achmet Effendi, ist nach Holland abgereist."

Fig. 1: Le Moufti: ou Chef de la Loy. Plate 20 of *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant*, 1714.

Fig. 2: Moufti: Das Oberhaubt der Türckischen Religion. Plate 20 of *Wahreste und neueste Abbildung Des Türckischen Hofes,* 1719.

Fig. 3: Ein türckischer Geistlicher. Plate 17 of [*Berlin Costume Album*]: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SBB-PK), Libr.pict.A 151 (Prov.: Königliche Hausbibliothek).

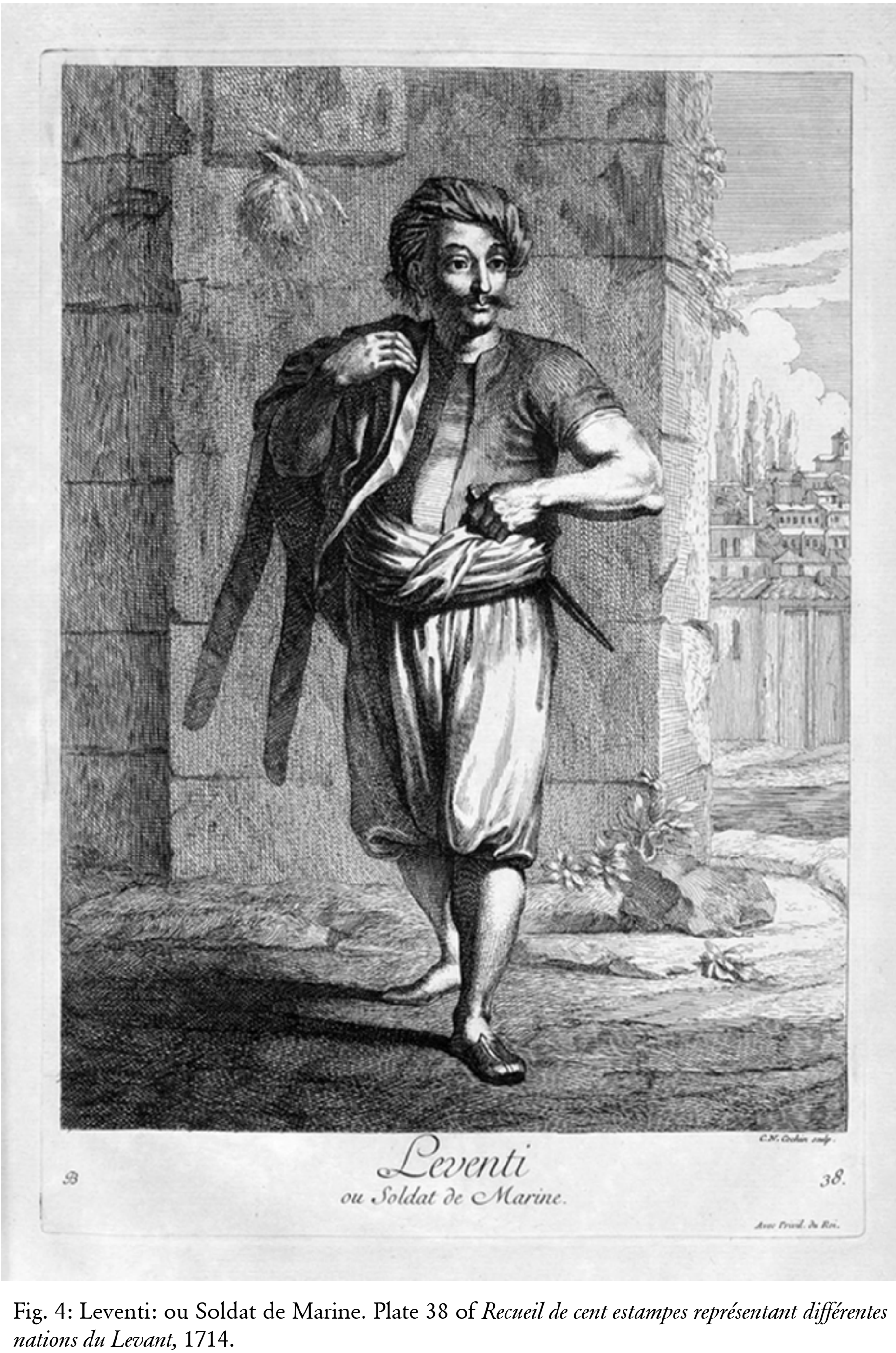

Fig. 4: Leventi: ou Soldat de Marine. Plate 38 of *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant,* 1714.

Fig. 5: Leventi: Ein Schiff=Soldate. Plate 38 of *Wahreste und neueste Abbildung Des Türckischen Hofes,* 1719.

Fig. 6: Ein Janitschar. Plate 39 of [*Berlin Costume Album*]: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SBB-PK), Libr.pict.A 151 (Prov.: Königliche Hausbibliothek).

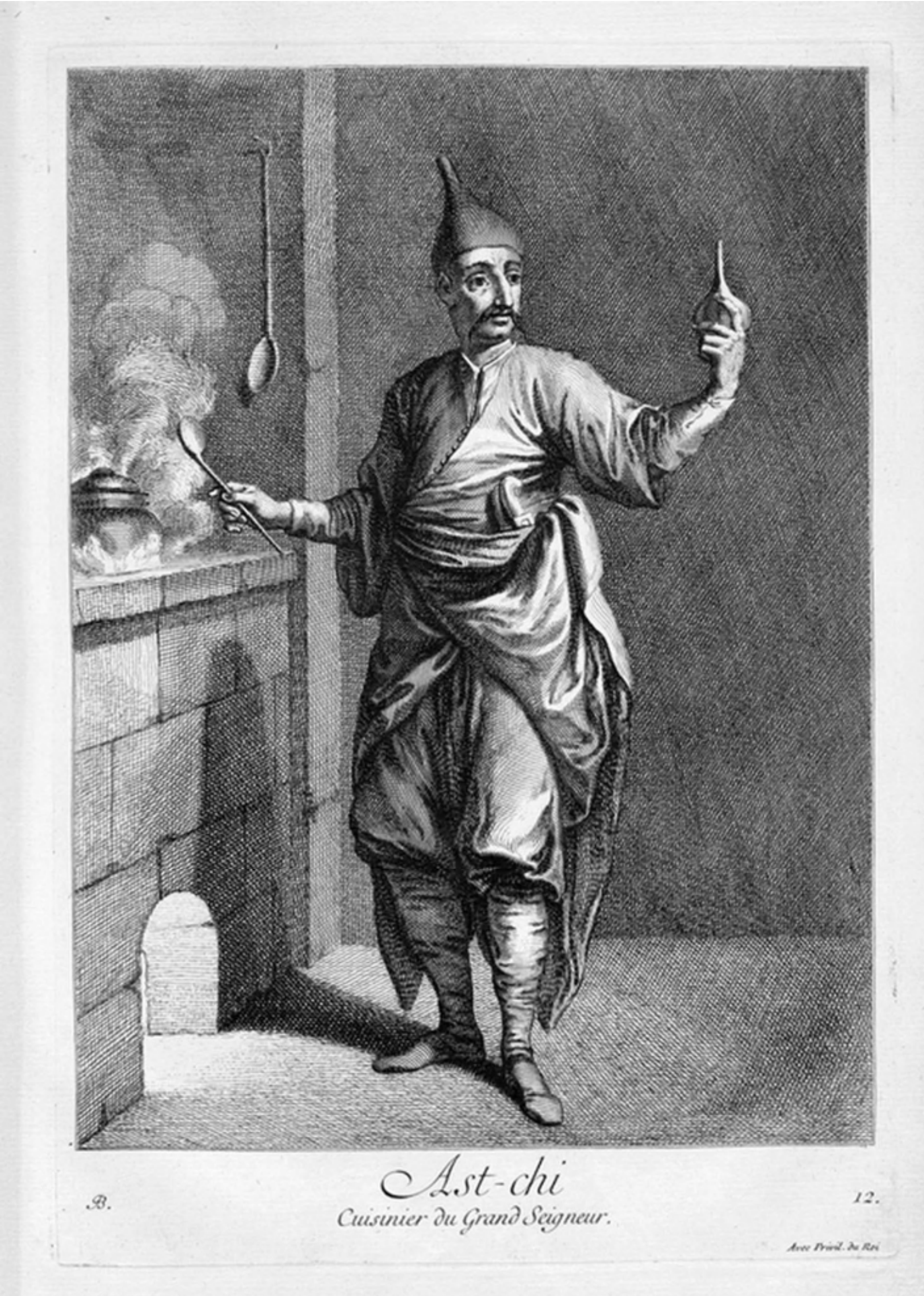

Fig. 7: Ast-chi: Cuisinier du Grand Seigneur. Plate 12 of *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant,* 1714.

Fig. 8: Ast-chi: Des Gros-Türckens Mund-Koch. Plate 12 of *Wahreste und neueste Abbildung Des Türckischen Hofes*, 1719.

Fig. 9: Ein türckischer Medicin Doctor. Plate 61 of [*Berlin Costume Album*]: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SBB-PK), Libr.pict.A 151 (Prov.: Königliche Hausbibliothek).

Following plate 11, which shows the above-mentioned legation secretary on horseback with the letter of the sultan in his hands, two marshals are represented on plates 12 and 13. The second marshal on plate 13, captioned "The Turkish Ambassador's Daughter's Husband as Marshal". The Ottoman envoy was indeed accompanied by the young Ahmed Azmî, who is considered to have been a relative of Ahmed Resmî Efendi.[74] This special information is, in fact, the reason why Enderlein assumes that this costume album deals with the Ottoman legation of Ahmed Resmî Efendi to Berlin in 1763–1764.[75]

In other costume albums about the Ottoman Empire the sultan would have been in the centre, but in the Berlin costume album the envoy is the main attraction (see plate 14: "The Turkish High Ambassador"). The anonymous artist of the costume album has portrayed him handsomely as an elderly man with a white beard. We know that Ahmed Resmî was in fact nearly 70 years old when he led the legation to Berlin. Again, this gives us another indication that the album deals with this particular event. The envoy is placed frontally as a full body figure in the picture. The spatial location is indicated by a few strokes representing grass. A massive turban with an egret covers his head. In his right hand he holds a feather fan and his left hand grasps his belt to which a dagger is attached. The hem of his blue robe is folded back and tucked into his belt. To his full grey pants he wears golden-yellow shoes. His red caftan is embellished with ermine fur around the edges.

Only two plates give reference to religion. On plate 17 "A Turkish Cleric" can be seen. He carries an open book in his left hand, while his right hand is raised in a gesture of preaching or teaching. In Ferriol's *Receuil* a similar illustration carries the title "The Mufti or Chief of Jurisprudence". In the Berlin album the picture no longer has a background and the title is so altered that one should rather see in this figure a prayer leader (*imam)*. Here we see a parallel phenomenon to the treatment of the head of the legation. In the *Recueil Ferriol* the sultan is central, but here the envoy is substituted for the sultan. Similarly the figure of a Mufti is down-graded to a lower-ranking cleric. In fact, the black cloak here reminds us more of a Christian rather than a Muslim cleric, for whom green was employed in other costume albums. The only other reference to religion is found on plate 55: "A Turk goes to Pray".

As already mentioned, two of the presents the Ottoman sultan sent to Friedrich II, a horse (plate 18: "Turkish Gift of a Horse") and a tent (plate 46: "Turk-

74 Aksan contradicts herself when she mentions Ahmed Azmî at one point in her work (pp. 27–28) as belonging to the family of Mustafa Efendi and son-in-law of Ahmed Resmî Efendi. At another point (pp. 70 and 87) she writes that he is the brother-in law of Ahmed Resmî Efendi; see Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman,* 27–28, 70, and 87. Şirin has pointed to the confusion in Aksan's work but he himself could not clarify the relationship, see Şirin, *Osmanlı İmgeleminde Avrupa,* 194. There is a good deal of confusion on this matter in the literature, but this is not the place to pursue this point.

75 Enderlein, "Das Berliner Kostümbuch von 1763," 276.

ish Gift of a Tent") are illustrated in the album. Plate 19 depicts "A Turk carrying the Drinking Gear for the Kaiser's Gift Horse" and plate 20 depicts "The Turkish Ambassador's Mount". Ottoman horses including their valuable accoutrements as well as elaborately decorated Ottoman tents are found among almost all Ottoman diplomatic gifts to European courts.[76]

The next depictions include a Turkish officer (plate 15), two noblemen (plates 16 and 21), a page (plate 22), a guard of the envoy (plate 23), and a *hajduk* (plate 24), which probably refers to a mercenary infantry soldier. One of the largest groups illustrated in the costume album are ten musicians of the janissary band (*mehterhâne)*[77] (plates 1, 26–33, 48) together with their head, the *mehter başı* (plate 25). While the first trumpeter (plate 1) rides a horse and leads the procession, the drummer (plate 48) rides on a camel, and the rest of the musicians (plates 26–33) are on foot. In most cases Ottoman legations and especially important embassies had a *mehterhâne* with them.[78] On his mission to Vienna in 1757–1758 Ahmed Resmî Efendi had no *mehterhane* with him. This earlier mission was smaller in comparison to that sent to Berlin, by exactly the number of persons composing the janissary band. In the Habsburg context it was often a matter of dispute if the procession to Vienna should be with or without music and flying flags. It

76 On Ottoman diplomatic gift exchange see Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Der Duft der Macht: Osmanen, islamische Tradition, muslimische Mächte und der Westen im Spiegel diplomatischer Geschenke," *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Kunde des Morgenlandes* 95 (2005): 195–258 and Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Ottoman-European Cultural Exchange: East is East and West is West, and Sometimes the Twain Did Meet. Diplomatic Gift Exchange in the Ottoman Empire," in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West*, vol. 2, ed. Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki and Rhoads Murphey, Library of Ottoman Studies 6 (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 113–123. For the presentation of horses and horse trading regulations in the Ottoman Empire see Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "No Horses for the Enemy: Ottoman Trade Regulations and Horse Gifting," in *Pferde in Asien: Geschichte, Handel und Kultur/Horses in Asia: History, Trade, and Culture,* ed. Bert G. Fragner, Ralph Kauz, Roderich Ptak and Angela Schottenhammer, Veröffentlichungen zur Iranistik 46 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 43–49.

77 Walter Feldman, "Mehter," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 1007–1008; Nuri Özcan, "Mehter," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 28 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2003), 545–549, T. Nejat Eralp, "Tarihi, Teşkilatı, Teşrifatı ile Osmanlı Mehteri ve Günümüze Yansımaları," in *Osmanlı Dünyasında Bilim ve Eğitim: Milletlerarası Kongresi Tebliğleri*, ed. Hidayet Yavuz Nuhoğlu (Istanbul: İslâm Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi IRCICA, 2001), 293–318; and Fırat Boztaş, *Onaltıncı Yüzyılın Sonuna Kadar Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tabl ve Alem Mehterleri Teşkilatı*, unpublished master's thesis (Istanbul: Istanbul University, 2009).

78 For the Janissary band and its influence on Austrian and European music culture, see Memo G. Schachiner, *Janitscharenkapelle und Europa: Quellen und Dokumente zu den Janitscharen und ihrer Musikkapelle im kaiserlichen Österreich*, rev. 1st ed. (Vienna: MC Publ., 2007); Memo G. Schachiner, *Janitschareninstrumente und Europa: Quellen und Dokumente zu den Musikinstrumenten der Janitscharen im kaiserlichen Österreich*, rev. 1st ed. (Vienna: MC Publ., 2007); Ralf Martin Jäger, "Janitscharenmusik in Österreich 1640–1740," in *Wege der Bläsermusik im südöstlichen Europa*, ed. Friedhelm Brusniak and Klaus-Peter Koch, Arolser Beiträge zur Musikforschung 10 (Sinzig: Studio-Verlag, 2004), 13–36; and Michael Pirker, *Bilddokumente zum Einfluss der Janitscharenmusik auf die österreichische Militärmusik*, unpublished PhD thesis (Vienna: University of Vienna, 1986).

seems this was not disputed in the case of Berlin. Incidentally, the population of Berlin would often have the opportunity to listen to Ottoman military music, though not everyone at the Prussian court was excited by the janissary musicians, as the diary entries of Heinrich von Lehndorff, the chamberlain of Queen Elisabeth Christine of Prussia, show.[79]

The Berlin album includes depictions of more military personnel. There were two captains (plates 34 and 35), two archers (plates 36 and 37), a sentinel (plate 38), and two janissaries (plates 39 and 40). Plates 42–44 depict Turkish jugglers and wrestlers. Plate 42 depicts three figures together, an exception in the album. In addition to the aforementioned horses, which are abundantly represented, camels (plates 45–48) and mules (plates 49–50) also appear primarily as carriers of luggage and household utensils, plates, etc.

The only image that is composed over several pages is the coach of the envoy with its six white horses (plate 51). Because this image is too large it had to be folded into two halves. In contrast to all other plates in the Berlin costume album the caption is not placed at the bottom but near the upper edge. In the description of the public entry a coach with six horses is mentioned as carrying the credentials of the envoy.[80]

It is not surprising that in the retinue of an Ottoman legation or embassy the kitchen staff comprised a relatively large group of people. They are represented in the Berlin costume album on 11 plates (56–59 and 64–70). Worth mentioning is the coffee maker (plate 58) and the coffee servant of the envoy (plate 57). Ottoman legations and embassies played a very significant role in the history of coffee in early modern Europe. All guests received by the Ottomans were entertained with coffee and sweets. The influence of Ottoman embassies in the proliferation of coffee drinking in court societies in Europe should not be underestimated. In addition to coffee, sherbet, a cold soft drink was also offered. Plate 59 depicts the sherbet servant. According to remarks of Friedrich II made in derision, eating dates became fashionable in Berlin in connection with the Ottoman legation.[81] Plate 68 depicts a Turkish date seller holding a plate with a cup full of dates in his right hand. His slightly darker skin probably indicates a connection to those regions of the Ottoman Empire where this fruit came from, namely northern Africa or the Arabian Peninsula. Plate 60 shows a barber and plate 61 a physician. It is interesting to observe that Ferriol's model for a cook appears here as a doctor. Again we are confronted with the opportunistic adaptation of a figure which was originally

79 Schmidt-Lötzen, ed., *Dreißig Jahre am Hofe Friedrichs des Großen*, 465. A similar aversion to janissary music is also voiced by Baron von Schlabrendorff, see Volz, "Eine türkische Gesandtschaft," 34.

80 See the quotation at the beginning of this article from the *London Gazette*, 22–26 Nov. 1763, no. 10368.

81 *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand*, vol. 26: *Correspondance de Frédéric II, roi de Prusse*, vol. 11. (Berlin: Decker, 1855), 337, *Politische Correspondenz Friedrich's des Grossen*, 197, and Volz, "Eine türkische Gesandtschaft," 40.

drawn from Ottoman society whereby it loses any real-life connection it may have had within the Ottoman system by illustrating a completely different figure in the legation.

Nearly all costume albums about the Ottoman Empire have a number of illustrations of women coming from different ethnic, religious and social groups. But an Ottoman woman would not have been present in an Ottoman legation. So far I have not encountered mention of the presence of any Ottoman women in my sources. But apparently the anonymous artist did not want to finish his masterpiece without a representation of at least one woman. And at the same time, to be consistent with the tradition of costume albums dealing with the Ottoman Empire, he added to this unique work of art an illustration of a Turkish woman (plate 71).

In the case of the Berlin costume album the artist endeavoured to translate the broad 'language' of the *Recueil Ferriol* which described the Ottoman Empire as a whole into the narrower 'language' of an Ottoman legation. The figures in the costume album had to undergo a translation process, being renamed to give them meaningful functions in the context of an Ottoman legation. As with the renaming, figures 1–9 clearly illustrate the dependence of the Berlin costume album on its forerunners – the *Recueil Ferriol* and the latter's German edition.

6. Conclusion

In one of his personal letters to his brother Heinrich, Friedrich II remarks ironically that with the arrival of the Ottomans in Berlin some of his subjects – he calls them "these coxcombs" – began to wear turbans and eat dates. He prophesied that soon those who were rich enough would begin to maintain harems.[82] An increasing interest in Ottoman fabrics and textiles was observable in Berlin at that time as a result of the presence of the Ottoman legation. The *Turquerie* or *Turkomania* or *Türkenmode*, which appeared in some parts of Europe – Paris[83] and Dresden[84] for example – at the end of the 17th, but especially in the 18th century, reached Berlin with only slight delay. Just as the Ottoman legations to France in 1669, 1721 and 1742 triggered a *Turquerie* there,[85] so did the first Ottoman lega-

82 *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand*, 337, 339 and *Politische Correspondenz Friedrich's des Grossen,* 197.

83 Hélène Desmet-Grégoire, *Le divan magique: L'Orient turc en France au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Sycomore, 1980) and Göçek, *East Encounters West.*

84 Holger Schuckelt, "Spektakel alla turca: Die Türkenmode in Sachsen unter August dem Starken," in *Die Türckische Cammer: Sammlung orientalischer Kunst in der kurfürstlich-sächsischen Rüstkammer Dresden,* by Holger Schuckelt (Dresden: Sandstein-Verlag, 2010), 226–319; Elisabeth Mikosch, "Ein Serail für die Hochzeit des Prinzen: Turquerien bei den Hochzeitsfeierlichkeiten in Dresden im Jahre 1719," in *Im Lichte des Halbmonds*, 235–243; Friedrich Reichel, "Die Türkenmode und ihr Einfluß auf die sächsische Kunst," in *Im Lichte des Halbmonds*, 263–271; and Loesch, "Zum Einfluß der Türkenmode."

85 Pape, "Turquerie im 18. Jahrhundert," 306: "[…] [T]ürkische Gesandtschaften kamen nach Frankreich (1721 und 1742), die ihrerseits großen unmittelbaren Einfluss auf die Vorstel-

tion to Berlin in 1763–1764. The Berlin costume album should therefore be seen not only as a document representing a prominent historical event in Prussian-Ottoman relations but also in the context of the emergence of *Türkenmode* in Berlin during the second half of the 18th century.

The costume album from Berlin was not an astoundingly original work. It followed an established tradition of depicting people from foreign lands. The artist, who unfortunately remains anonymous, had an earlier work to guide him. Some of the *Recueil Ferriol* sketches were cribbed but then cleverly adapted to new purposes by means of re-naming and the addition of captions. Whereas the *Recueil Ferriol* attempted to depict Ottoman society broadly, the Berlin album tied its sketches to a specific historical event. It cannot be entirely excluded that the artist of the Berlin album, using the ample descriptions of the Ottoman legation in the contemporary newspapers, created new sketches particularly appropriate to this legation. It is here that the Berlin album takes on special significance. Its exquisite technique and use of materials is remarkable. It is neither a book of sketches nor one of engravings, but a creation utilizing the actual sumptuous textiles of the time, an especially appropriate expression of the way in which Turkish attire was understood in 18th century Europe. We can say in conclusion that it is an artistic masterpiece of transcultural hybrid origins.

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lungen von den Türken hatten und die eigentliche 'Türkenmode' erst auslösten." ["Turkish legations came to France in 1721 and 1742 having a great and direct influence on the image of Turks and giving rise to the first wave of Turkish-influence on fashions."] We note that Pape does not mention the legation of Süleyman Ağa to France in 1669.

Fig. 7: Ast-chi: Cuisinier du Grand Seigneur. Plate 12 of *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant,* 1714.
Fig. 8: Ast-chi: Des Gros-Türckens Mund-Koch. Plate 12 of *Wahreste und neueste Abbildung Des Türckischen Hofes,* 1719.
Fig. 9: Ein türckischer Medicin Doctor. Plate 61 of [*Berlin Costume Album*]: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SBB-PK), Libr.pict.A 151 (Prov.: Königliche Hausbibliothek).

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Trousseau Lists of Jewish Brides from Izmir

Between an Official Document and a Personal Narrative*

Esther Juhasz

Introduction

Visiting the homes of Jewish families of Turkish origin living in Israel, as part of a museum project seeking to capture, document and collect vestiges of the traditional material culture of the diverse Jewish ethnic groups, prior to their immigration to Israel, I was shown mainly quantities of whitewear, sheets, tablecloths, curtains, nightgowns. Some of them beautifully embroidered and edged with lace, some sparkling white, ironed and neatly folded, some with yellow stains of age, some worn out, and some as new. All these were cherished remnants of trousseaus of generations of women who prepared them, proudly displayed them, washed ironed and stored them in chests, and kept them, apparently, more than other things.[1] These were the first indications of the centrality and significance of the dowry institution among the Jews of Turkey. Only later, in retrospect, could I apprehend some of the complex feelings and at times contradictory meanings which were enfolded in these textiles and the charged roles they played in the women's lives.[2]

The relationship between brides and their trousseaus is multidetermined, complex and charged. The tension inherent in this relationship stems from the inter-

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* Note to the reader: All rabbinical Jewish books appear in their Hebrew name transliterated into English. The reference in them is to the number of paragraph *siman* in Hebrew as this is the easiest way to locate the place in different editions.

1 This project, entitled "Survey of the material culture of the Jewish communities," was carried out by the Jewish Ethnography department at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, headed by Aviva Muller-Lancet. The project, aimed in its initiation to document and collect the material culture of the Jewish communities from the diaspora prior to modernization, in order to preserve its diversity for future generations, and yield an in-depth portrait of the traditional ways of life on the verge of disappearance.
The survey among the Jews of Turkey in which I participated with Mrs. Miriam Russo-Katz took place from 1974 to 1989, and resulted in a monographic exhibition and a thematic catalog: Esther Juhasz, ed., *Sephardi Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, *Aspects of Material Culture* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1989, English ed. 1990).

2 An early version of this paper was read at the World Congress of Jewish studies 1997. I would like to thank readers of early versions of this article Dr. Penina Morag-Talmon, Dr. Roni Weinstein and Prof. Galit Hasan-Rokem for their insightful comments. A version of this article was published in Hebrew "Trousseaus of Jewish Brides from Izmir: Biographical Objects," in *Textures, Culture, Literature, Folklore. Dedicated to Galit Hasan-Rokem*, ed. Hagar Salamon, Avigdor Shinan (The Mandel Institute of Jewish Studies. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 2013), vol. 2 , 461–484.

section between the personal and the communal, the public and the private, the exposed and the concealed, between sumptuousness and modesty, honor and shame. Trousseau items are of the most personal, even intimate belongings of the bride brought to her new home. These personal items prepared or bought to suit an individual person are at the same time, fashioned to comply with social requirements and etiquette. They display, along with the individual taste and style, societal conventions, norms and pressures. The trousseau, its contents and the ceremonies in which it was presented and appraised obey strict social codes and hierarchies. At this intersection the social imperative enters the private sphere and directs and dominates individual choices.

The social norms transmit dual, and even conflicting messages on various levels, the individual has to cope with them and maneuver a way through them, in order to satisfy all parties involved. For example, on one level the bride is expected to convey modesty and humbleness, and on a different level every family desires to send the bride wrapped with the most sumptuous finery the family can afford.

Although, allegedly, the trousseau represents the bride acting as her "carte de visite" in her new home and in her new status in society, it is well-established that the trousseau of a bride, in a society where arranged marriages are the rule, is a mirror reflecting the social standing and status of a family in society.

One might say that the content of the trousseau encapsulates a woman's anticipated biography, actually and metaphorically as outlined by societies' norms and expectations from her as a woman, wife and mother. The items of the trousseau objectify the planned stages of life which she is expected to go through.

The preparation of the trousseau is conceived as a mission that will shape the course of a woman's life. A befitting dowry will contract a good match, and the disappointment of not succeeding to attract a desired husband might linger as a bitter memory.

The trousseau items can be designated as "biographical objects,"[3] mediating objects which are entangled with the events of a person's life. Hoskins, who coined this term, distinguished between two types of biographical objects, objects chosen by the person himself as significant to him and objects incumbent on him by their involvement in his life. It would seem that trousseau items, which hover between the personal and the socially incumbent, between pride and shame, between success and disappointment belong to both groups and move in between them.

3 See Janet Hoskins, *Biographical Objects, How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives* (New York; London: Routledge, 1998), Introduction, 1–25. See also Janet Hoskins, "Agency, Biography and Objects," in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Suzanne Küchler, Mike Rowlands, and Patricia Spyer (London; Thousand Oaks; New Delhi: Sage, 2006), 74–85.

Dowry in Izmir

This article will look at the intricate relationships between women and their trousseaus by examining the trousseaus of the Jewish women in the community of Izmir. I will look at the relationship between women, objects and texts, between women and men, and women and other women. I will examine the juncture between the personal and the public, the formal and the informal as they are revealed through the contents of the trousseaus, their appraisals, their strict ordering and listing, and through the ceremonies which surround the dowry customs.

I will also examine the trousseau contents as objects representing an expected ideal biographical course of a Jewish woman in Izmir. Objects chosen by brides and their mothers to represent the bride, and those considered indispensible and mandatory by the accepted social codes. These objects contain explicit and implicit biographical aspects. For example fabrics which are intended to be used for babies' clothes and diapers, or those intended for shrouds, though not listed as such.

Historically the Jewish community of Izmir was founded in the 17th century by Sephardi Jews who settled in the Ottoman Empire.[4] Culturally this community shared its heritage with the greater circle of the other communities of the Sephardi diaspora, yet, regional and local variations have developed.[5] Dowry customs in the Jewish community of Izmir were also in close discourse with dowry customs of non-Sephardi Jewish communities, namely the Romaniot Jews[6] and with the neighboring Muslim[7] and Christian communities.[8] Thus one can discern similari-

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4 Sephardi, meaning Spanish, relates to Jews, descendants of the Jews who arrived in the Ottoman Empire after the 1492 expulsion from Spain. The Izmir community was founded by descendants of Sephardi Jews who came already from other Ottoman communities. It expanded with the growing importance of the port of Izmir.

5 For marriage and dowry customs of Sephardi communities in the Ottoman Empire see Esther Juhasz, "Marriage," in Juhasz, ed., *Sephardi Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, 196–217; Mark Glazer, "The Dowry as Capital Accumulation among the Sephardic Jews of Istanbul," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 10/3 (Aug., 1979): 373–380. For dowry customs in Salonica see Gila Hadar, "Marriage as Survival Strategy among Sephardic Jews of Saloniki, 1900–1943: Continuity and Change," *Mikan 8/El Presente Studies in Sephardic Culture 1* (2007): 209–225. For inner community descriptions of dowry customs see note 35 below.

6 Romaniot Jews are descendants of the Jews who lived in the Byzantine Empire, now very small communities in Greece only. The Spanish refugees outnumbered the local Jews upon their arrival and were in conflict with them regarding many customs. For the marriage and dowry customs of the Romaniot communities see Rae Dalven, *The Jews of Ioannina* (Philadelphia: Cadmus Press, 1990), 129–146, and Annette B. Fromm, *We Are Few, Folklore and Ethnic Identity of the Jewish Community of Ioannina* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008), 62–72.

7 In Muslim societies, as in Turkey, the traditional system of marriage payments is the bride price system and not the dowry. But it is customary and even mandatory, that fathers would provide their daughters with trousseaus as befitting their social standing and honor. On bride price and dowry see Jack Goody, "Bridewealth and Dowry in Africa and Eurasia," in *Bridewealth and Dowry,* ed. Jack Goody and Stanley Jejaraja Tambiah (London:

ties in the types of objects included in the trousseau, in the prestige assigned to them, and in their ceremonial display and assessment.

The period in question is a transitional period in the Jewish community between arranged marriages and those decided upon by the personal will of the bride and groom. This generated disagreements between parents and their offspring, and internal conflicts within prospective brides. On the one hand, by being willing to identify with their trousseaus and be represented by them, they might procure a good husband according to the prevailing social norms, but not chosen freely by them. On the other hand, by rebelling against the obsolete dictates of the dowry institution they might not marry, or miss a respectable marriage.

A central axis around which the significance of the dowry revolves is the meeting point between honor and shame: the pursuit of honor and the fear of shame.[9]

Cambridge University Press, 1973) 1–58; John L. Comaroff, ed., *The Meaning of Marriage Payments* (London: Academic Press, 1980).

On dowries in Istanbul see Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul households, Marriage, Family and Fertility 1880–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 87–107; 142–148. On transition in bridewealth customs in Republican Turkey see Paul J. Magnarella, "The Turkish Bridewealth Practice in Transition," *Muslim World* 59 (1969): 142–152. On dowries among the urban and rural Turkish population in contemporary Turkey see Özlem Sandıkçı and B. Ece İlhan, "Dowry: A Cherished Possession or an Old-Fashioned Tradition in a Modernizing Society," in *Contemporary Consumption Rituals: A Research Anthology*, ed. Cele C. Otnes and Tina M. Lowrey (Mahwah; New Jersey; London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2004), 149–178.

8 In Greek society the dowry plays a central cultural role and many studies examined its various aspects. For just a few examples see Michael Herzfeld, "The Dowry in Greece: Terminological Usage and Historical Reconstruction," *Ethnohistory* 27/3 (1980): 225–241; Renée B. Hirschon, "Under One Roof: Marriage, Dowry and Family Relations in Piraeus," in *Urban Life in Mediterranean Europe: Anthropological Perspectives,* ed. Michael Kenny and David I. Kertzer (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 299–323; Jane Lambiri-Dimaki, "Dowry in Modern Greece: An Institution at the Crossroads Between Persistence and Decline," in *The Marriage Bargain, Women and Dowries in European History,* ed. Marion A. Kaplan (New York: The Institute for Research in History: Haworth Press, 1985), 165–178; Paul Sant Cassia and Constantina Bada, *The Making of the Modern Greek Family, Marriage and Exchange in Nineteenth-Century Athens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), especially 103–139.

9 A great deal has been written about the tension between honor and shame in Mediterranean societies from various points of view, particularly prominent are studies concerning gender relations, marriage and marriage payments. One of the pioneering studies which many followed is *Honor and Shame: the Values of Mediterranean Society,* ed. Jean George Peristiany (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965). A seminal article on the subject of male and female honor (included in this collection) is Pierre Bourdieu, "The Sense of Honour," published also in his *Algeria 1960* essays, translated by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 95–132.

On honor as a central value in Ottoman Jewish society see Yaron Ben-Naeh, "Honor and Its Meaning among Ottoman Jews," *Jewish Social Studies* 11/ 2 (Winter 2005): 19–50. On women's honor in Ottoman society see idem, "Feminine Gender and Its Restriction in the Ethical Regulations of Ottoman Jewry," *Pe'amim* 105–106 (Autumn/Winter 2006): 127–149 (Hebrew).

Honor being a fundamental value in Ottoman Jewish society, many customs surrounding the engagement and dowry are directed by behavioral norms linked to it. The quantity and the quality of the dowry express the honor of the bride and her family. This is manifest, for example, in the custom to increase the value of the trousseau in the list: "It is customary in our city to record the sum of *medudim* [cash money] precisely, no more no less. But with regard to the trousseau it is customary to add forty for each sixty, this being done in the families' honor, to increase the dowry money,"[10] the Sephardi saying "*el onor no se merka kon paras*" (honor is not bought with money)[11] expresses the central duality which accompanies the rapport between the dowry and the sense of honor, as it signifies its overt meaning as well as its opposite at the same time. On the one hand, the accumulation of the dowry requires a substantial economic investment, and the detailed monetary assessment sums the family's honor in monetary terms, but on the other hand, the discourse surrounding the dowry attempts to distance and suppress the overt monetary aspect so that honor will seem dissociated from it.

By juxtaposing several types of formal and informal sources, oral and written, I will attempt to decipher some explicit and implicit messages communicated through the objects and the texts surrounding the trousseau regarding its significance on a personal and social levels.

The principal formal legal documents include a corpus of trousseau lists and betrothal *shiddukhin* deeds from the Jewish community of Izmir which span from 1854 to 1933.[12] Trousseau lists, apart from being valuable historical documents for the study of daily life, material culture and particularly the history of dress, are indicators of socio-economic stratification, they embody social behavioral codes and encapsulate a multi-vocal discourse in which the bride's voice might not be the principal one.

Other legal sources are *halakhic* discussions in rabbinical literature from the community of Izmir and other neighboring communities concerning disputes over dowry, inheritance requirements and customs.

On honor playing a major role in Jewish Italian weddings see Roni Weinstein, *Marriage Rituals Italian Style: A Historical Anthropological Perspective on Early Modern Italian Jews*, translated by Batya Stein (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2003), chapter 4 "'A Woman's Voice Is Lewdness': Gossip, Honor, and Social Control in the Marriage Ritual," 213–261.

10 Hayyim Pallaggi, *Hayyim ve-Shalom* (Izmir, 1857), 2: 28.

11 This proverb (taken from E. Shaul, *Folklor de los Judios de Turkia* (Istanbul: Isis, 1994), p. 44 no. 53), was chosen by Ben-Naeh as the title to the Hebrew version of his article: Ben-Naeh, "Honor and Its Meaning."

12 These lists are found in the Izmir community marriage registers, in the Izmir Community Archive at the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (CAHJP). I would like to thank the Archives for letting me use this material. I am grateful to Dr. Dov Cohen for his valuable help in transcribing and deciphering many lists for me, and for sharing with me his wide knowledge on the Jewish community of Izmir.

The informal sources include interviews with members of the Jewish community of Izmir, conducted in the 1970s and 1980s,[13] as well as written personal accounts, memoirs, newspaper articles and folk poetry.

Although the interviews related to a later period than the lists, the preparation of the trousseau and especially its display and appraisal, came up in the interviews as formative and influential events, at times joyful, at times painful. They imprinted the memories of the women and impacted their lives. In the early decades of the 20th century the listing of the trousseau waned, novelties were introduced to its contents, and the display of the trousseau diminished as well, however, even then the importance of the dowry as a prerequisite condition for marriage still prevailed.[14]

Dowry Customs in Izmir

According to the social code of the Jewish community in Izmir a girl could not get married, economically and socially, without a dowry, nor without certain items in her trousseau. The size and value of the dowry were indicators of the family's socio-economic position.[15] It was the task of the father to draw up the financial agreement and provide financial means, and that of the female side of the family, mother and daughter to prepare the material content of the dowry – namely the trousseau.

After the two families had reached an agreement to marry off their children, an engagement deed *Shiddukhin* was signed. In this deed the date of the wedding was set, certain conditions were stipulated, and the economic commitments undertaken by each family were specified, such as the responsibility to support the couple in the first few years after their marriage. The economic agreements included the amount of dowry in cash money or in property, which the father of

13 As part of the museological project, see note 1 above. I am indebted to the members of the Izmir Jewish community, in Israel and in Turkey, who shared with me their experience and memories.

14 On the continuation of the dowry institution mostly as means toward maintenance of economic status among the Jews of Istanbul see Glazer, "The Dowry as Capital Accumulation." On the existential importance assigned to the dowry and its persistence in second-world-war Salonica, even in the face of death, see Hadar, "Marriage as Survival Strategy," 212–218. On the continued importance of the dowry among the Romaniot Jews of Ioannina, see Fromm, *We Are Few,* 62–72.

15 The trousseau lists from Izmir are no doubt valuable sources for the study of the socio-economic stratification of the Jewish community as reflected in the value of the dowries. Yet, in this article I focus on the dowry customs and the values and norms which direct them, and these seem to be shared by all classes, as the lower classes attempted to emulate the upper classes in their manners and practices. For a similar process of emulation in dowry customs see Jane Schneider, "Trousseau as Treasure: Some Contradictions of Late Nineteenth Century Change in Sicily," in *Beyond The Myths of Culture,* ed. Eric. B. Ross (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 323–355.

the bride took upon himself to pay. Sometimes certain articles considered as financial assets, especially jewelry, and customary presents for the groom were mentioned specifically.[16]

Therefore the birth of a baby girl was conceived as a heavy financial burden as one had to comply with the social imperative of providing her with an appropriate dowry reflecting the family's standing and honor.[17] The trousseau was accumulated from the birth of the girl on, as the Sephardic saying indicates "[Once] the girl [is] in her diapers – the dowry is already in the chest"[18] this has already directed the baby girls' lives toward marriage.

The mother started accumulating articles for her daughter's trousseau, some she prepared herself, some she passed on from her own trousseau, and some she purchased. However, the bride's clothes were prepared in the time between the betrothal and the wedding. The cutting of the trousseau dresses commenced in a ceremony which took place in the bride's home, among female members of both families.[19] There the first ceremonial scissor cutting of the fabric was performed by a relative, a "happy woman" ("*una mujer bien kazada*," [a happily married woman]) whose parents and children were alive.[20] In affluent families a seamstress and embroiderers were hired to make the trousseaus. In less well-to-do families the female members of the family, grandmothers, aunts, and the bride herself, joined to complete the trousseau on time. Sometimes the articles were purchased in shops specializing in trousseau items, which still exist today, or ordered from the fashion centers of the time, Istanbul or Paris.

Grooms of all social strata and their families had certain expectations and exigencies, and they had to be met. These were expressed in a popular song written in the 1930s by Gershon Zadik and Moshe Kazez criticizing the acceleration in demands by grooms and the fantasies of women:

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16 Juhasz, "Marriage," 197. Engagement deeds from Izmir are much fewer than the trousseau lists.

17 The obligation to prepare a dowry for the daughter was conceived as part of the "Burden of a Daughter" see Ruth Lamdan, *A Separate People, Jewish Women in Palestine, Syria and Egypt in the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden; Boston; Cologne: Brill, 2000), chapter 2 "From Childhood to Marriage – The Burden of a Daughter," 24–57.

18 For this proverb see Michael Molho, "Birth and Childhood among the Jews of Salonica," *Edoth, A Quarterly for Folklore and Ethnology*, 2/3–4 (April–July 1947): 255–268 (p. 256). On a similar proverb in Sicily see Schneider, "Trousseau as Treasure," 325.

19 A corresponding ceremony was held for the commencement of the sewing of the baby's clothes and diapers (*kortar fashadura*) when the woman was in her fifth month of pregnancy. Miriam Russo-Katz, "Childbirth," in *Sephardi Jews in the Ottoman Empire, Aspects of Material Culture*, ed. Esther Juhasz (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum 1989, English ed. 1990), 254–270, here 256. On this ceremony in its symbolical contemporary version see Rachel Amado Bortnick, "The Jewish Women of Turkey," *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review* 15,2 (1993): 96–103 (p. 100).

20 See Russo-Katz, "Childbirth," 256; Amado Bortnick, "The Jewish Women of Turkey," 100.

> "great is the burden of the dowry…
> young men are wont to exploit…
> those whose purse is empty cannot marry, what bad luck
> even water drawers demand full *ashugar* [trousseau].
> Both rich and poor women exceed the bounds of reason.
> They desire muslin with a ribbon an embroidered *combinaison*"[21]

A few days prior to the wedding the trousseau was displayed publicly in the bride's home. This display was known as *ashugar* (trousseau) or *presyado* (assessment). The trousseau was hung upon the walls, spread on tables, or strung up on ropes across the room. The relatives of both bride and groom came to view the trousseau, express admiration for its beauty and richness and appreciation of the labor invested in it. However, the official purpose of the display was to assess the monetary value of the trousseau. To this end two or more community notables were invited to serve as assessors (*presyadores*). The assessors examined each item, recording its detailed description in a list (*lista* or *rol*). These itemized lists were sometimes delivered to the groom's family for inspection.

It should be said that this appraisal was a critical focal point of the marriage ceremonies and disagreements between the parties over the value of the dowry were a frequent occurrence.[22] They were very much feared as they put the family honor at stake and could cause a breakup of the engagement and marriage.

The Trousseau Lists

The trousseau (*ashugar)* in Izmir was just one component of the dowry, the *dota*, which consisted of all the property the bride would bring to the marriage as agreed upon by the two families. Likewise, the trousseau lists were one document of several which recorded the marriage agreements. In a Jewish wedding the marriage agreements and payments are contained in a series of documents and deeds differing in their legal status.[23] The principal, legally binding document is the

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21 Moshe Attias, *Cancionero Judeo-Español; Canciones Populares en Judeu-Español* (Jerusalem: Centro de Estudios sobre el judaismo de Salonica, 1972) (Hebrew and Ladino), no. 18, 251 (English translation from Juhasz, "Marriage," 200).

22 According to Rabbi Hiya Pontrimoli who lived in Izmir in the early 19th century, in his time, each side, that of the bride and that of the groom, invited two eminent people from the community on their behalf and the city scribe to serve as assessors. This had caused disagreements and quarrels between the families. In order to prevent this, it was hence decided by the rabbis that the community scribe will be the sole assessor. As recounted in his father's book R. Binyamin Pontrimoli, *Shevet Binyamin* (Salonica, 1824), 271. (I am grateful to Dr. Yaron Ben-Naeh for referring me to this source and to other rabbinical sources on this subject.)

23 On these documents as connected to the dowry see Shlomo Dov Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society, The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Genizah*. (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1967–1993) vol. 3, 123–142.

marriage contract (*ketubbah*), without which no Jewish marriage is valid.[24] In the *ketubbah* the husband vows to provide for his wife as long as the marriage persists, and promises to pay her a sum of money in case of divorce. This sum, according to some customs, as is the case with Sephardi *ketubbot* as those from Izmir, is based on the actual dowry brought by the bride with several increments according to custom. In Izmir: "For the community official writes the marriage contract on the sole basis of the *lista*, that is the *rol* that the official gives him from the bride's father, written and signed by the groom himself, and on the basis of the said *rol* the official determines the dowry payment undertaken by the groom in the marriage contract."[25]

Other documents were the various versions of engagement deeds, in which the economic and financial arrangements were recorded, and trousseau lists which feature only in some communities. The trousseau lists varied regarding their contents, structure and legal status according to communal customs. They were either incorporated in the *ketubbah* text, written on its reverse side, or written on separate pages.[26] In Izmir, the Sephardi custom of listing the detailed trousseau assessments on separate pages of the *rol* or *lista* continued till the early 20th century. But, contrary to the earlier Sephardi custom of discarding the lists after the groom's family have inspected the contents of the trousseau,[27] in Izmir the lists were copied, by the community scribe into the community books.[28] There they were kept for records, to be consulted in cases of the dissolution of marriages due to divorce, death of the husband or the wife (with no children), when the sum of the *ketubbah*

24 The text of the contract is standardized, but there are variations regarding conditions stipulated and regarding the relation of the promised sum of money in case of divorce, and its relation to the value of the dowry.

25 R. Nissim Avraham Ashkenazi, *Sefer Ma'aseh Avraham*, 1 (Izmir 1855), 8.

26 For examples of lists *rol* framed in Sephardi *Ketubbut* from the Balkans and Romania see Milicia Mihailovic, *Judaica in Yugoslavia* (Beograd: Proex Prosveta, 1990), 77–79; Shalom Sabar, "Ketubbah," in *Jewish Marriage Contracts of the Hebrew Union College Skirball Museum and Klau Library* (Philadelphia; New York: The Jewish Publication Society, 1990), nos. 175; 183.

27 R. Yosef Caro (author of the *Shulhan Aruch*, the accepted code of Jewish law) in his halakhic work *Beit Yosef* from 16th-century Safed discussed this custom:
"The notebook (the list) is delivered to the groom to ensure that no item or items have been omitted from what he was shown during the assessment; however, there is no need to preserve the notebook until such a time as the woman should be widowed […] However, once [the groom] has received the said property in his house, the notebook is discarded […] Moreover, the matter of the notebook is the accepted custom of the Sephardim even abroad wherever they reside." *Beit Yosef*, *Even ha-ezer*, *Dinei ketubba* 2 (Jerusalem, 1960) (English translation from Juhasz, "Marriage," 201). On the differences between Sephardim and Musta'arabs (Native Arabic-speaking Jews of Palestine since the Mamluk period who adapted many Arab customs) in the listing of the dowry and the assessment of the trousseau see Lamdan, *A Separate People*, 250–253.

28 It is unknown since when the Jews of Izmir registered the trousseaus in the community books. Among the Jews of Italy, as among the general population, it was customary to document all the stages of economic agreements, including the dowry, and register them in the office of the municipal notary, see Weinstein, *Marriage Rituals Italian Style,* 80–83.

had to be paid to the wife, or her inheritors. The detailed listed assessments were taken into account in order to establish what should be the actual payment. This raised disputes over the actual value of the trousseau after a lapse of time, as the value of the items diminished.[29] In Izmir, as we learn from R. Hiya Pontrimoli, the list was valid as a legal document. It was customary to pay all the sums mentioned in the list including the habitual increments, but not including the sum which augmented the value of the trousseau at the time of the assessment. He mentions also that even in the absence of the marriage contract a widow could be paid her "*ketubbah*" according to the list only.[30]

The lists follow a fixed structure. The text is in Hebrew and Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) written in Hebrew letters in cursive script. The list itself combines words in Judeo-Spanish, Turkish, Hebrew and French as the items listed reflect the prevalent contemporary nomenclature.[31] It should be said, though cautiously, that Jewish women did not generally speak Hebrew or read Hebrew script, and therefore had no direct access to the lists.[32]

The lists open with a blessing formula, the details regarding the bride and groom and the date of the wedding. At the head of the document four categories of payment are listed:[33]

medudim: the cash money given,
nedunia[34](dowry): the total assessed value of the articles in the list,
tosefet (increment): two increments imposed on the groom,
matana (gift): this is an ambiguous category that lists the value of gifts given by the bride's family that are not considered as dowry (see below).

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29 On regulations concerning women's inheritance customs in the Jewish community of Istanbul and their relation to the dowry assessment and related legal issues see Leah Borenstein-Makovetzky, "Istanbul Inheritance Regulations and Their Bearing on the Community Life in the Ottoman Period," in *Society and Community*, ed. Avraham Hayyim (Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim Institute, 1991), 3–23 (Hebrew); idem, "The Jewish Family in Istanbul in the 18th and 19th Centuries as an Economic Unit," in *Sexuality and the Family in History, Collected Essays,* ed. Israel Bartal and Isaiah Gafni (Jerusalem: The Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, 1998), 305–334 (Hebrew).
On the wider contexts of these legal issues and their repercussions in communities of Palestine and Syria in the 16th century see Lamdan, *A Separate People*, 24–57; 171–201; 250–253.

30 Pontrimoli, *Shevet Binyamin,* 191, 192, 271.

31 I use here the transcription of Judeo-Spanish, even of words derived from Turkish, as this was the spoken language by the Jews of Izmir and this is the way they were written in the lists.

32 I would like to thank Dr. Michal Held for sharing her views on the subject with me. On the inaccessibility of such texts by women see Matthias B. Lehmann, *Ladino Rabbinic Literature and Ottoman Sephardic Culture* (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2005), 131–133, and Yaron Ben-Naeh's review of this book in *Zion*, 72/4 (2007): 485–495 (Hebrew).

33 On this formula being the custom of the Izmir community see Pontrimoli, *Shevet Binyamin,*192; Pallaggi, *Hayyim ve-Shalom*, 28 (see quotation above).

34 In Hebrew there is no distinction between dowry and trousseau.

The lists do not enumerate all the dowry payments in cash; these are recorded in the prenuptial agreements. They record in detail the bride's personal belongings, the cash money settlements and some valuables, such as status symbols, which are not registered in detail but are counted under the category "gift."

The Contents of the Trousseau

The typical contents recorded consistently in the lists include several categories of items registered in the following order:

Clothing: outer clothes and underclothes (*vestidos y čamashires).*
Home textiles: matresses, blankets, pillows and bed linen (*blankeria*) and fabrics for the household such as tablecloths, curtains, towels.
A dowry chest (*sepet*) and a rug (*sejade or tapet*).

As we know from the interviews and from other sources, the bride brought other things which were not recorded in the lists. Two such significant groups were jewelry and silverware.[35]

Reading through the lists, in and between the lines, what was given in the trousseau and what was not, what was given and not listed or the order of importance, one can attempt to envisage the life experience that stood behind it.

35 On the contents of dowries in close Sephardi communities as reflected in internal sources see:
In Salonica: Moshe Attias, *Romancero Sefaradi* (Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute, 1949), 39 (Hebrew); idem, "Minhagei nisuin be-Saloniki," (Marriage customs in Salonica), *Edot* 1 (1946): 28–35 (Hebrew), especially 29–32.
In the Sephardi community in Jerusalem: Ya'akov Yehoshua, *Childhood in Old Jerusalem*; vol. 2 *The House and the Street in Old Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1966), 63–66 (Hebrew).
In Rhodes: Rebecca Amato Levy, *I Remember Rhodes…* (New York: Hermon Press, 1987), 17–20.
The desired and customary categories of objects brought in Sephardi trousseaus are the subject matter of the versions of the folk song entitled "The Good Dowry", see
Abraham Galanté, *Histoire des Juifs d'Anatolie*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Conseil Communal des Sociétés Béné-Bérith, 1937–39), vol. 1 "Les Juifs d'Izmir," 348–349; Isaac Levy, *Chants judéo-espagnols, recueillis et notés par Isaac Levy*, 4 vols. (London; Jerusalem: World Sephardi Federation, 1959–1973), vol. 3 nos. 107–110, 96–98. Batya Maoz, "Nineteen Annotated Epic Songs," in *Max Grunwald, Tales, Songs and Folkways of Sephardic Jews, Texts and Studies,* Folklore Research Center Studies 1, ed. Dov Noy (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1982), 117–181, no. 13, 157–159 (Hebrew). The songs enumerate jewelry, clothes, bedding and also slaves who will take care of the firstborn baby.
On the contents of Turkish urban and rural dowries: "chest dowries" *sandık çeyizi*, "appliance dowries," and "gift dowries" see Sandıkçı/İlhan, "Dowry: A Cherished Possession or an Old-Fashioned Tradition," 159–164.
On the contents of Greek dowries see Lambiri-Dimaki, "Dowry in Modern Greece," 169–170; on evolution and change in Athenian dowries see Sant Cassia/Bada, *The Making of the Modern Greek Family*, 106–115.

Clothing

The bride's apparel, outer clothes and underclothes, were the largest most prominent group of articles in the trousseau until the turn of the 20th century, when traditional Ottoman style dress was still worn. Underclothes, though in modern European style, continued to feature as an important component in later, more modern trousseaus when the quantities of the outer clothes diminished.

The bride's clothes, their quantity and quality were a metonym for the bride's beauty, femininity, modesty and honor.[36] They were the personal items of the trousseau close to her body and thus biographical objects par excellence.

The outer clothing consisted of the principal Turkish *entari*[37] dresses, jackets and outdoor scarf-wraps (*marama*) while the *ferace* coat veil is rarely mentioned. These Ottoman-style articles of dress were all in similar cut with slight variations, differing mainly in fabric and trimmings. The fabrics and trimmings determined the quality, prestige and value of each garment. Therefore the lists enumerate meticulously every garment in detail, including fabrics, colors, lining, embroidery and trimmings. The fabrics ranged from embroidered *taffeta* silk to woolen cashmere weave and plain and patterned silks (*čanfes sevayi*), patterned and brocaded striped silks (*selimiye*), mixtures of cotton and silk (*čitari*), or plain cotton (*čit*). The trimmings setting off the front closing, neckline, sleeves and seams were made of braided ribbons, metal thread braiding (*oya harč shirites, oya klavidon*); short jackets or longer coats lined with squirrel fur (*sinjap tawshan*), or with weasel fur linings, are mentioned in the lists as well.

The underclothes (*čamashires*) were not less important and were invested with much painstaking labor. They were given in batches of six or a dozen – the more the better.

In the earlier period the typical Turkish underclothes included chemises (*kamizas)* and underpants (*shalvar* or *čintian).* They were made from a variety of undyed striped fabrics, combinations of silk linen and cotton in smooth or crepe weave (*burunjuk pembezar kukulitra)* adorned with delicate trimmings, mainly *oya* needle lace, which the girls were seated to make. In the transitional period these were replaced by white linen or *cotton batiste* European-style underwear, *pantaloons*, *brassieres* and slips and augmented by sleepwear, nightgowns, negligées and the like, all richly embellished with European-style lace and embroidery.

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36 On the importance of clothing and their economic and symbolic significance in relation to other groups of dowry items in 19th-century Athenian dowries see Sant Cassia/Bada, *The Making of the Modern Greek Family*, 106–111; 123–129.

37 On *entari* dresses as the principal garment in Ottoman dress see Nancy Micklewright, *Women's Dress in 19th-century Istanbul: Mirror of a Changing Society*, Ph.D. diss., (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1986), 135–185.

Fig. 1: Entari dresses, Izmir, Turkey, late 19th and early 20th c. Collection of The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. The dress in the foreground: The wedding dress of Miriam Zion née Roditi (1863-1908) married to Yoseph Zion (Behor) in 1876. Extended loan from Dov Cohen Nof- Ayalon, in memory of Miriam Zion née Roditi. The dresses in the background: Gift of Mathilda Gordon in memory of her parents Victor and Regina Pisanti, Izmir; Lydia Ben Mayor, Izmir; Regina and Joseph Sadi, Bat Yam; Mrs and Mr. Robert Russo, Tel Aviv. Photograph Mauro Magliani.

The clothes were listed in a hierarchal order from the *primer vestido*, the first, most sumptuous gown – the wedding dress, through the second, for other nuptial ceremonies, the third for the Sabbath and "visits,"[38] and so forth to the last, the final garb – the shroud. This meant that practically and metaphorically the bride was "packed for life," she was provided with clothing for a lifetime, implying that the marriage will last all her life. The list of dresses, the purposes of which were known to all, delineated the anticipated biography of the bride.

38 Formal and semiformal visits (*vijitas*) on Sabbath and Jewish holidays were an important social institution for women, part of the formalities of social life, see Amado Bortnick, "The Jewish Women of Turkey," 100; Yaron Ben-Naeh, "Leisure Time of Jewish Women in Late Ottoman Jerusalem," *Mikan 8/El Presente Studies in Sephardic Culture* 1 (2007): 179–192 (pp. 188–189) (Hebrew).

Fig. 2: Typical needle lace Ottoman trimmings for underwear and bed linen. Collection of The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photograph Nahum Slapak.

The wedding dress which appeared in the early lists as the first dress prior to the 1890s was the most sumptuous *entari* dress, not necessarily white. From circa 1890, a new style of wedding dress was in vogue. It was made from dark velvet or pastel satin and heavily embroidered with couched metal thread, known in Turkish as *bindallı* (with a thousand branches).[39] This wedding gown marked only a transitional phase between the traditional *entari* dress and the white European wedding dress which prevailed since the early 20th century.

The custom of including the shrouds in the dowry continued till around the middle of the 19th century. R. Hayyim Pallaggi, the eminent Rabbi of Izmir (1788–1869) explained that people stopped including the shrouds in the trousseau as the proximity of death caused uneasiness and fear.[40] The presence of the shrouds in

39 These dresses, though being essentially Turkish, reveal in their tailoring, as well as in their embroidery motifs in the so-called "Turkish baroque" style, strong European influences. On this dress as part of a set of similarly embroidered house furnishing textiles see below.

40 "And it was customary in years past to include shrouds as well in the dowry that a man gives his daughter." R. Hayyim Pallaggi, *Zedakah Hayyim* (Izmir, 1874), homily on Dress, 3 (thanks to Dov Cohen for referring me to this source). R. Pallaggi commends this custom of making the shrouds in times of joy in life and not in haste after a person has died. It is

the trousseau was not always as a distinct garment intended only as shroud, it was also customary to use garments worn during lifetime as shrouds.[41] A query addressed to R. Shlomo Halevi regarding the value of the shrouds of a wife who died in her youth exemplifies the direct connection between a bride's trousseau and her honor even after her death. The widowed husband recounted that immediately after the death of his wife, the bride's mother took some sumptuous dresses and fabrics from her daughters' trousseau (a *sayo* made of *hitai* and a gold embroidered *sirma* dress) to use as her shrouds. Although he was aware of his legal duty to cover the expenses of the burial of his wife, he complained that his mother-in-law exaggerated in the extravagance of the shrouds. In his response R. Halevi states that one's duty is to pay for his wife's burial as appropriate, "in accord with his own honor and his wife's honor if it is higher." However if, in the widower's opinion, the mother-in-law overrated the value of the shrouds appropriate for his wife, she should repay him the difference.[42] The disagreement between the husband and mother-in-law, might have echoed a disagreement over the value of the trousseau which occurred at the assessment prior to the wedding. Their disagreement concerned the value of the bride's honor between her wedding and her death and the way it should be represented by her shrouds. The mother, who provided her daughter's trousseau and presumably did her utmost to represent her daughter's and her family's honor at the wedding, felt it to be her duty to preserve and repre-

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customary in some Jewish communities to prepare the shrouds during the lifetime as *memento mori* inducing a person to repent and behave morally. On the custom of preparing shrouds for the bride and groom as part of the dowry of the bride, in the Sephardi community of Tetouan, Morocco, and donning them at the wedding under the wedding gowns, see Alia Ben-Ami, "Decorated Shrouds from Tetouan, Morocco," *Israel Museum Journal* 8 (1989): 31–40. On the use of parts of the set of shrouds at critical points in the lifetime among Ashkenazi Jews see Corinne Ze'evi-Weil, "Les vêtments mortuaires des Juifs d'Alsace," in *Les Juifs d'Alsace*, Exhibition catalog, ed. Ester Muchawsky-Schnapper (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1991), 41–47 (French and Hebrew).

41 As I gather from oral information it seems that the inner chemises (*kamizas*) worn as under dresses were probably used also as shrouds. Other items pertaining to the dowry or the marriage gifts were sometimes also intended to be used in connection with death. Such was the *ogadero* necklace kept by Jewish women from Rhodes as a personal resource in order to purchase a plot in the graveyard and a tombstone. See Miriam Russo-Katz, "Jewelry," in *Sephardi Jews in the Ottoman Empire, Aspects of Material Culture*, ed. Esther Juhasz, (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum 1989, English ed. 1990), 172–195.
It was also probably the custom to spread the "first dress" in the trousseau over the coffin of a bride who died before her wedding. This is hinted in folk song recounting a romantic encounter between a girl and her lover, as she fears to die before she marries she asks her mother to spread her wedding dress over her coffin. Attias, *Cancionero*, no. 26, 90–91.
On home textiles donated to the synagogue to commemorate the trousseau owners see below.

42 R. Shlomo haLevi, *Sefer Lev Shlomo*, (Salonica, 1808), Even Ha'ezer 39.
On legal and economic connections between regulations concerning dowry and inheritance in the Jewish community of Istanbul see Borenstein-Makovetzky, "Istanbul Inheritance Regulations." On perpetuating a person's honor in death among Jews in the Ottoman Empire see Ben-Naeh, "Honor and Its Meaning," 27–28.

sent appropriately the family's honor through her trousseau, also at her daughter's death.

Since the turn of the 20th century and into the 1930s, European fashions gradually replaced traditional wear and *entaris* gave way to skirts and European-style blouses.[43] The preparation of full, life-long wardrobes, which was relevant so long as traditional dress was worn, became irrelevant, as with the advent of fashion where the cut of the dresses changed frequently following the dictates of fashion. Therefore the quantity of actual clothes in the trousseau diminished and gave way to underclothes, bed linen and home textiles; and lengths of fabric are listed instead of actual clothes.

Nevertheless the hierarchal ordering of the trousseau items in units called *vestidos* (garments) continued to guide the listing of the trousseau and there were codes denoting which type or color of fabric was appropriate for each type of dress. These codes were a cultural knowledge shared by those who prepared the trousseaus, those who wrote the lists, and also by cloth merchants. Advertisements in the local Judeo-Spanish newspapers illustrate the tenacity of these codes and of the dowry institution as a whole. For example Mr. Duenyas, an Izmir shop owner, advertises in 1898 his extremely cheap prices for a respectable trousseau for 15 *mecidies*. Somewhat replicating the form of a trousseau list, he enumerates the fabrics and quantities needed for each dress. For the first dress – the bridal dress – he offers a white fabric, for the second dress he offers a black fabric.[44] As part of the replacement of the sewn garments by unsewn fabrics for future sewing, the lists feature a sewing machine as one of the 'vestidos': "*Por sekundo vestido makina Singer*" (as a the second garment a Singer sewing machine).[45] This shows that the responsibility of the bride's family to dress her for her future life after marriage was still maintained as a social obligation, but it shifted from an actual obligation to a potential one not necessarily materialized before the wedding.

If from the earlier period we have albeit only the written mute testimony of the detailed lists, from the transitional period, when clothing styles were changing, we have additional voices which attest to conflicting views vis-à-vis the choice of clothes and other items for the trousseau, criticizing the display of the trousseau and the sustainability of the dowry as a social institution.

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43 The process of modernization of dress in Jewish communities in Muslim countries was complex and non-homogenous. It took place at different paces in each community and within the different socio-economic classes. Each community produced a local version of modern dress. The modernization in the dress of Jewish women in Izmir, which is revealed also in the trousseau lists, went through several phases from traditional Ottoman attire to old-fashioned European dress maintaining the traditional headgear the *tokado* to modern Western fashion wear. See Esther Juhasz, "Costume," in Juhasz, ed., *Sephardi Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, 152–162.

44 *Il Meseret* 1898 all along the year.

45 On the ambivalent function of the sewing machines as modernizing agents and perpetuating traditional women's roles, see below.

Awareness and enthusiasm toward the new fashions, shared by mothers and daughters about to be married, generated a conflict between the traditional obligation to furnish the bride with a long-term wardrobe and the wish to be dressed according to the latest fashions. Two 1898 newspaper articles from Izmir dealing with the "burden of the trousseaus" attest to the complex attitude of prospective brides and their fathers – the providers of the dowry – toward the trousseau.[46] These articles, written by men, criticize the fierce competition between brides-to-be, some of whom were already educated in modern schools, who wish to present the most up-to-date wardrobe in their trousseaus and to surpass their friends and relatives in the quantities of their clothes and particularly in their fashion novelties.[47] According to these articles the girls pressurized their fathers, who evidently wanted to provide the daughters with the most befitting and finest trousseaus, to procure for them the most expensive fabrics from Istanbul and Paris and provide them with the latest fashion dresses. The writers reprove the double standards of these girls. On the one hand the girls criticize the dowry institution as obsolete and refuse to abide by its rules, on the other hand they exploit their fathers' sense of obligation to follow the tradition, and their fear of shame, and demand to be provided with large and costly wardrobes which lay a heavy economic burden on their fathers, who sometimes cannot afford them.

The words of Alexander Benguiat himself also reveal an ambivalent attitude and double standards. He identifies with tradition and nostalgically misses the "simple" traditional clothes and their good quality, at the same time he calls for the abolition of the display of the dowry and for the reduction of the quantity of clothes brought in the trousseau and their extravagance. He praises the quality of the old-time fabrics and trimmings which rose in their value and could be used by the husband as financial assets and be sold in times of need, ignoring the economic burden they lay on the fathers' shoulders. He describes the deterioration he sees in the quality of the fabrics and workmanship which is due, in his opinion, to the transference of the sewing from the family home to modern "professional" seamstresses who sew the garments just for show. He blames all these changes on the rising bourgeoisie in the community, the "nouveaux riches" (*los rikos parvenidos*) who encourage the competition and use the dowry display to exhibit their wealth and new status.

46 Shlomo Avraham, "Los Ashugares," *Il meseret* 2, June 14, 1898, the response of Alexander Benguiat, the editor of the newspaper "La yaga de los ashugares," *Il meseret* 4, June 28, 1898. On this newspaper and the modernist agenda of its editor see Avner Levi, "Alexander Benguiat and His Contribution to the Ladino Literature and Journalism," in *The Sephardi and Oriental Jewish Heritage Studies*, ed. Issachar Ben Ami (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1982), 205–212 (Hebrew).

47 Women's "natural" desire to have quantities of sumptuous clothes and jewelry which drives their husbands to poverty and can even bring about calamities on the whole nation is a repeated motif in Jewish ethical literature. For some examples from the Ottoman literature see Ben-Naeh, "Feminine Gender and Its Restriction," 143.

The question still remains, did the changes in the fashion of the dresses and other trousseau items toward modernity signify more personal liberty and an essential social change? According to interviews with women who married in Izmir in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, it seems that the conflicts surrounding the dowries between the younger generation and their parents concerned the style of the trousseau items and less the inextricable association between dowry and marriage or its actual influence on contracting a good match.

Home Textiles

The next category of articles in the list is textiles for the home which included bedding, tablecloths, curtains, mattresses and pillows, and diverse furnishing textiles. The more sumptuous furnishing textiles were intended for ceremonial use on the Jewish holidays and especially in the life-cycle events from the wedding itself through birth, and used eventually as objects of memory after death.

Sets of whitewear, bed linen, curtains, tablecloths adorned with lace trimmings along with the bride's underclothes and nightwear became from the 1930s and 1940s onward the mainstay of the trousseau.[48] Similar to the fluctuations of style in the underclothes, bed linen also changed from Turkish-style bed linen made of undyed striped fabrics, combinations of silk, linen and cotton in smooth or crepe weave trimmed with typical Turkish needle lace, to white linen or cotton edged and inserted with European-style lace trimmings. Bed linen, whether in the traditional Turkish style or in the modern European style, was made from identical or similar fabrics with embellishments similar to those on the bride's underclothes. Thus in a real and metaphorical way they were intertwined and inseparable, identifying the bride's body with her home and more specifically with the intimacy of family life. The underwear, as well as the stacks of white bed linen, "decencies," carried with them a symbolical cultural baggage. They were the token of the bride's purity and virginity, which were her most important assets. They symbolized propriety and restrained sexuality.[49] In the Jewish ritual context white underclothes and bed linen signified the bride's obligation to keep the

48 In the museum's survey these were the items preserved most and found in the homes of families originating from the Jewish communities of Turkey.

49 On the connection between whitewear and purity, virginity and decency see Schneider, "Trousseau as Treasure," 333–339.
Among the Greek Jewish communities, Sephardi and Romaniot, influenced by Greek customs, the preparation of the mattresses prior to the wedding gained a symbolical meaning. Women from the bride's family went to the sea to wash the wool that would fill the mattresses in a ceremony called "the washing of the wool." They, so to speak, "purified" the mattresses before the wedding night. Attias, *Romancero,* 40; Fromm, *We Are Few*, 67–71.

menstruation laws, one of the three cardinal precepts incumbent on Jewish women after her wedding.[50]

The increase of the quantities of bed linen in the trousseaus and its identification with the trousseau was one manifestation of the Westernization which influenced Mediterranean communities' life and culture in many ways.[51] In the case of the trousseau its contents and significance transmitted the values of the European bourgeoisie which conveyed twofold contradictory messages of modernity and liberation along with an underpinning of the identification of the woman with the home and her traditional roles in the house and in the family. The French-orientated schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in which the girls learned also sewing and European white embroidery, were one of the principal "civilizing" agents which attempted to emancipate and liberate the girls to a certain extent and at the same Westernize them through initiating them into the bourgeois value system.[52] "The receiving of Western education by women [...]. was perceived as beneficial for the acquisition of new manners and ways that would add polish and hence facilitate marriage in societies that had come to culturally value the outer accoutrements of Western mores."[53] The schools gave the girls a formal Western education along with professional instruction in sewing and needlework as part of the productivization program intended to reform the professional profile of the Jewish communities. The professional education for girls, which was taught as part of the school curriculum and in apprenticeship

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50 The two other precepts are the separation of *hallah* and kindling the Sabbath light. The menstruation law (*niddah*) is the prohibition of sexual relations between husband and wife while the woman is menstruating and for seven days after until the woman purifies herself in the ritual bath. The woman has to count seven days after the flow stops before she immerses herself, these are called clean days or "whitening days" and are customarily marked by the wearing of white underwear. The husband and wife sleep in separate beds and the bed linen is changed in every stage.

51 On sets of embroidered whitewear becoming major and indispensible components of girls' trousseaus as part of the modernization process and its contradictory significance in Sicily see Schneider, "Trousseau as Treasure."

52 The Alliance Israélite organization founded by Jews in France in 1860 established a network of modern schools for boys and girls in Jewish communities all around the Mediterranean. Their aim was to educate the "Eastern" Jews in the European manner and teach them modern professions. On the educational and "moralizing" agenda of the Alliance Israélite and its influence in Mediterranean Jewish communities see Aron Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860–1925* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 101–120; idem, *Images of Sephardi and Eastern Jewries in Transition, The Teachers of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, 1860–1939* (Seattle; London: University of Washington Press, 1993).
On the apprenticeship programs of the Alliance Israélite in Turkey see Esther Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue, "L'Artisanat Juif en Turquie a la fin du xix^eme^ siècle," *Turcica* xvii (1985): 113–126. On the education of girls and the twofold role of the sewing and embroidery lessons see Esther Benbassa, "L'éducation féminine en Orient: l'école de filles de l'alliance Israélite universelle à Galata, Istanbul (1879–1912)," *Histoire, économie et société* 4 (1991, 10^e^ année): 529–559. The girls' school in Izmir was founded in 1878.

53 Rodrigue, *Images of Sephardi and Eastern Jewries*, 80.

workshops, taught them sewing and embroidery[54] thus directing them, at least partly, back to their traditional occupations.

Emulating European bourgeois manners, stacks of whitewear came to be identified with the trousseau without which a decent girl could not be married. As the prestige of whitewear, associating them with the upper strata of society, lay in their quantities, girls from middle and lower strata were pressed to produce even larger quantities of whitewear, with the hope of attracting a good match and maybe ameliorating their social position.[55] This, in turn, increased the demands of grooms of all social strata. Thus, as part of Westernization and modernization came an intensification of the efforts of girls to produce "good dowries," which paradoxically bound them even more to the preparations of their trousseaus. This acceleration of the demands of the dowry in whitewear as well as in other trousseau items, as an influence of Westernization, is reflected in the popular song:

> "… they labor all their life,
> Wasting away with their needles.
> They are exhausted of blood,
> Unable to prepare everything as required,
> Beds and bed covers are demanded
> even by the porter / of good cotton a set of linen drapes he requests…"[56]

Similarly, the introduction of the sewing machine, a novelty, an "object of desire," as a significant component of the trousseau and an important and valuable article in the household, had some contradictory effects.[57] The sewing machine aided the woman in freeing some of the time which had to be devoted to her many sewing chores, however at the same time it created new chores she could do at home. It equipped her and enabled her to be economically independent or to complement the family income by sewing for others, without necessarily leaving the house. "Seek a worthy wife who will work well with her needle and scissors who knows how to support her household."[58] Thus many Jewish girls worked as seamstresses toiling in the preparation of their own trousseaus and/or preparing trousseaus for other well-to-do brides.

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54 Jewish girls learned sewing and embroidery in European style also in other schools and in small private workshops run by Jewish women, in Izmir as in many other urban Jewish communities in the region.

55 Schneider, "Trousseau as Treasure" points to the "enslavement" of lower-class girls to the preparation of the embroidered "beds" in emulation of the upper classes.

56 Attias, *Cancionero,* no. 18, 251 (English translation from Juhasz Marriage, 200).

57 On the introduction of the sewing machine and its domestication as part of the concept of the bourgeois home see Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995, first edition 1986), 94–100; Diane M. Douglas, "The Machine in the Parlor, A Dialectical Analysis of the Sewing Machine," *The Journal of American Culture* 5/1 (Spring 1982): 20–29. On the sewing machine in the dowries of Salonica Jewish women see Hadar, "Marriage as Survival Strategy," 215. On the sewing machine as one of the three indispensible items of the dowry among the Jews of Ioannina see Fromm, *We Are Few*, 62.

58 Attias, *Cancionero,* no. 18, 251.

Fig. 3: Embroiderers' workshop for white embroidery with Singer sewing machines. Kırklareli, Turkey, c. 1930. Photographic Archive of the Isidore and Anne Falk Information Center for Jewish Art and Life, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Pins Benei Brak.

Fig. 4: A bride wearing a *bindal* dress after the wedding, Ruschuk? Early 20th c. Photographic Archive of the Isidore and Anne Falk Information Center for Jewish Art and Life, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Courtesy of the SimanTov family, Jerusalem.

Among the sumptuous home furnishing textiles, one group of gold embroideries, typically brought in trousseaus of Jewish brides in many Ottoman communities, stands out as a most meaningful group with strong biographical as well as Jewish religious and ritual connotations. In the 1890s and through the early 20th century it was the fashion to give brides a set of lavish golden embroideries made of velvet or satin fabrics embroidered with heavy couched metal thread to be used throughout their lives.[59] In accordance with economic possibilities, this set included a bed cover, various cushion covers and square multifunctional pieces, *bogo*, used as wrappers, sometimes it included also a *bindallı* dress.[60] These were intended for the bride's anticipated major life-cycle events. In the wedding itself they were used to construct the Sephardi-style wedding canopy, the *talamo*. The nuptial benedictions were said as the bride and groom stood wrapped in the groom's prayer shawl under the *talamo* symbolically shaped as a house and made from the bride's trousseau textiles which enveloped them. Hence they were used to deck the bed prepared for the woman after birth (*kama de parida*) where she received her guests after birth. A piece from this set was used to bring the baby boy to his circumcision. In "The Good Dowry" song the mother enumerates the trousseau items she gave her daughter, she associates the uses of the gold embroidered textiles with the awaited life-cycle events: "*Ya la di kama armada que le eche de bien cazada*" (I gave her a magnificent bed, that her marriage may succeed). "*Yo le di kama de sirma que se eche de buen parida*" (I gave her a bed decked with gold embroidery in the hope that she give birth).[61] These gold embroidered articles as well as the *bindallı* dresses were eventually donated to the synagogues, converted into Ark curtains, Torah mantles and binders, reading desk (*bimah*) covers, and the like, frequently with dedicatory inscriptions added on.[62] These were at times in memory of the women who owned them after their passing away, or the women themselves donated them in memory of departed family members. By donating their trousseau items to the synagogues, the women created a personal bond between themselves and the synagogue. As the habit of donating these textiles to the synagogue endured long after these embroideries had gone out of fashion, and were substituted by other textiles in the trousseaus, these embroideries became identified in the Sephardi Ottoman communities as synagogue tex-

59 Esther Juhasz, *Gold Embroideries and their Use in Sephardi Communities of the Ottoman Empire*, M.A. thesis (unpublished) (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1979) Hebrew; Juhasz, "Textiles for the Home and Synagogue," in Juhasz, ed., *Sephardi Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, 65–119; 68–85.

60 See above.

61 Levy, *Chants Judéo-espagnols*, vol. 3, no. 107, 96; no. 110, 98.

62 These embroideries, in fashion in that period among the middle- and upper-class urban Muslims and Christians, were used to embellish ritual ceremonies and festive occasions. The Jews appropriated the uses of these embroideries and adapted them to their own rituals and customs. Thus the gold embroideries, adapted from the surrounding culture as fashionable items without any Jewish specificity, were appropriated as Jewish through their use in the synagogue.

Fig. 5: Torah Ark curtain composed from a wrapper and cushion covers. Dedicated in memory of Mrs. Rivkula, the wife of Eliyahu Gabbai, Izmir, 1907. The collection of The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photograph David Harris.

tiles. The conversion, of these trousseau items, left marks of their original tailoring, so that the trousseau items in their new roles harked back to their former owners. Thus, the trousseaus of Jewish women were memorialized in Sephardi synagogues which have become their repositories, long after the passing away of the brides who received them for their weddings.

> "In the old synagogues of the Sephardim are preserved to this day fine silk Ark curtains embroidered in heavy gold thread, sometimes sparkling, sometimes having lost their brilliance, and in the middle of the Ark curtain, words to uplift the souls of those who had departed from the world in fullness of years or in the flower of their youth. These ark curtains were the same few splendid *kaveseras* that were spread on the beds of women lying-in, and that after many years were taken out of their wooden chests and hung up before the Ark of the Holy One […]"[63]

The identification of the clothing of the bride with the home textiles as with the underclothes and the bed linen emphasized the nexus between the women and the home. As if the trousseau dressed the bride, and she "dressed" her new conjugal home.[64] Extending this identification Shlomo Dov Goitein wrote somewhat ironically, analyzing trousseau lists of Jewish brides from medieval Egypt:

> "[...] but the colourful and richly patterned sophas, couches, pillows, spreads and hangings which often were made of the same materials as a Geniza[65] woman's dresses, could be regarded as an extension of herself; or vice versa, she in her attractive clothing formed so to speak, the most impressive item of the interior decoration of the home."[66]

In continuation, it should be said that the home textiles particularly the stacks of linen which served their symbolical role by their sheer presence in the trousseaus, were not always in actual use at the home. With the changes of fashion they were preserved as family heirlooms and memory items. They came to signify for the women of the younger generations the appreciation of the handicraft invested in them. In many cases they were kept by daughters as personal memories of their mothers and as a testimony of their mother's skills in embroidery and lace which they did not possess but still appreciated.[67]

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63 Yehoshua, *Childhood in Old Jerusalem,* 366 (English translation from Juhasz, "Textiles," 75).

64 This expression of women dressing their homes in their trousseau textile was prevalent in Greece, see, for example: Eleftherios Pavlides and Jana Hesser, "Women's Roles and House Form and Decoration in Eressos, Greece," in *Gender and Power in Rural Greece,* ed. Jill Dubisch (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), 68–96, 73.

65 Genizah is the store-room or depository in a Jewish synagogue (or cemetery), for worn-out Hebrew-language books and papers written in Hebrew script that were stored there before they could receive a proper cemetery burial, it being forbidden to throw away writings containing the name of God, *genizot* also contained writings of a secular nature. Here the reference is to the Cairo Geniza documents on which Goitein based his monumental work.

66 Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 4, 310.

67 On a similar process among Turkish daughters and mothers see Sandıkçı/İlhan, "Dowry: A Cherished Possession or an Old-Fashioned Tradition," 185.

The Dowry Chest

Chests appear constantly in the lists. Before the advent of European furniture, they were the common domestic storing place. During the preparation of the trousseau the chests were steadily filled with the bride's clothing and bed linen, home furnishings tied up in wrappers. Apart from their practical function, the dowry chests served symbolically as the bride's private space.[68] First in her natal home, later in her new home, and in between, only in one instance, on the occasion of the display of the trousseau, its contents were exposed publicly. Even after the European cupboards replaced the chests, chests were still used and kept. Many were brought by their owners in the 1950s as they immigrated to Israel.

Jewelry

A comparative examination of the presence and absence of categories of items in corpuses of trousseau lists shows that jewelry stands out exceptionally, as missing, in the Izmir lists.[69] All the more so as in Izmir, as we know from oral and textual sources jewelry was considered an indispensible part of a woman's dowry and apparel.[70] A father could not give away his daughter without giving her some pieces of jewelry, in accordance with his financial possibilities and social standing. The most valuable jewels, traditionally given by the father, were a chain necklace (*ogadero*) with matching bracelets (*manias de caton*), others were coin necklaces, earrings and more.[71]

It was customary, and one might say even mandatory, in Izmir, as in other Jewish Ottoman communities, that part of the cash money (*medudim kontante*), which the groom received from the bride's father in order to invest in business,

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68 See David B. Rheutbottom, "Dowry and Wedding Celebrations in Yugoslav Macedonia," in Comaroff, ed., *The Meaning of Marriage Payments*, 221–248.

69 See, for example, trousseau lists from the Jewish community of Baghdad, Yitzhak Avishur, *The Jewish Wedding in Baghdad and Its Filiations*, 2 vols. (Haifa: University of Haifa, 1990), 2: 33–39; 51–53 (Hebrew).

70 Another missing category from the Izmir trousseau lists, with which I will not deal here, is silverware which was considered a "must" in Izmir dowries. Particularly important was a set of silver dishes for serving sweets (*tavla de dulse*) of which it was said that a girl cannot get married without. On the custom of serving sweets, its social and cultural meanings, and the silver plates used for it in Izmir see Esther Shmeruk-Juhasz, "The Custom of Serving Sweets among the Jews of Izmir," *The Israel Museum News* 15 (1979), 72–79.

71 Jewelry was given by the groom and by other family members in the prenuptial ceremonies such as the "*besa mano*" ceremony and during the wedding ceremonies as well. On the various types of jewelry worn by Jewish women in Ottoman communities including those customary in Izmir and their importance as gifts and financial assets see Russo-Katz, "Jewelry." On the different legal status of jewelry given by the father or by the groom as gleaned from rabbinical discussions and adjudications regarding woman's inheritance disputes see Borenstein-Makovetzky, *Istanbul Inheritance Regulations*.

in learning a trade etc., was paid in jewelry. Also, upon receiving the money, the groom would buy his bride jewelry from this money.

> "[…] and it is our accepted custom that the husband must [my underline] make jewelry from the sum brought by the wife […]. For what is given at this point is in respect of the *medudim* received from the bride's father and corresponding to the sum he makes golden jewelry and articles etc. […] according to the custom of Istanbul and most other places that the *medudim* [cash money] is given in order to buy jewelry for the wives to beautify themselves […]."[72]

In Izmir, pieces of jewels given by the father as cash money or the obligation of the groom to buy them with the money he receives were recorded in the betrothal deed *shiddukhin* in which the economic obligations undertaken by each family were noted.[73]

It seems likely that the explanation of the absence of the jewelry from the overt listing might ensue from their dual roles as symbolical prestige markers and as financial assets, and the inherent tension between these two functions.[74]

Giving the jewelry as part of the money intended for the husband's use and simultaneously to be displayed on his wife's body created a complex situation.[75] The concurrent twofold functions of the jewelry given to the brides, as articles to beautify themselves and as cash reserves from which the husband could draw for his business, predisposed them as causes of disagreements and quarrels between man and wife on issues regarding economic need versus social visibility and respect. When a husband requested his wife to part with her jewelry which she donned on the Sabbath in the synagogue, or on ceremonial occasions,[76] in order to sell or pawn them, fluctuations in the economic situation of the family were exposed and this instigated in the woman, who appeared without her jewelry, a sense of humiliation and shame and a diminution in the family honor.

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72 Shemuel ben Moshe Hayyim, *Shemen haMishha* (Istanbul 1840), 1: 95, (English translation cited from Juhasz, "Marriage," 198) for rabbinical sources for this custom see Borenstein-Makovetzky, *Istanbul Inheritance Regulations*, 16–17.
For a comparison of the Sephardi and Musta'arab customs see Lamdan, *A Separate People*, 35–36.

73 See, for example, *shiddukhin* deeds from the Bikkur Holim synagogue community in Izmir from 1859, 1860, Izmir Community Archives.

74 On the dualism and tension between economic and symbolic value of gold jewelry given at weddings in contemporary Turkish culture see Burcak Ertimur and Özlem Sandıkçı, "Giving Gold Jewelry and Coins as Gifts: The Interplay of Utilitarianism and Symbolism," *Advances in Consumer Research* 32 (2005): 322–327.

75 For example, a question brought to Rabbi De Boton: Ya'akov de Boton, *Edut be-Ya'akov* (Salonica, 1720) 34, about a husband who forcibly took his wife's bracelets and hence she fled back to her parents. These particular bracelets, as explained, were those that all women don, and it was disgraceful to be without them. The rabbi's responsum deals in detail with the husband's right to use the wife's jewelry gifts. He presents also the wife's position who says that had she known he was going to deprive her of her jewelry she would not have married him.

76 On the jewels given to the bride in her trousseau for the purpose of adorning and beautifying herself on the Sabbath and Jewish holidays see R. Meir Shem Tov Melamed, *Mishpat Tsedek* (Salonica 1799), 3: 54.

In Izmir jewelry (and silverware) was considered a gift, unlike the other trousseau articles, a token of the bride's father goodwill and generosity toward his daughter, and maybe as such it seemed inappropriate that it should be quantified, at least not on an overt level. Yet, although apparently the father was not obligated to bestow his daughter with jewelry, the special status assigned to this gift in the social conventions surrounding the wedding and dowry customs, made this a socially binding requirement.[77] The father's gift was categorized as a special type of gift called "the praise of her natal family," this meant that the father gave his daughter jewelry to reward her for preserving her modesty and thus she merited them as she safeguarded her own honor and by extension her father's and family's honor.

> "Regarding what she is given in praise of her youth [...] these gifts are given in her honor and are given by her father and mother as a reward for her modesty that she preserved her virginity 'The king's daughter is all glorious within' [Psalms 45:14], [...]"[78]

This means that by endowing his daughter with jewels the father maintained and proclaimed his daughter's honor and his own which was dependent on his daughter's modesty.[79] He rewarded her for preserving her modesty by adorning her with jewelry. So in fact the customary norm of giving one's daughter jewelry, as marriage presents, was binding and the father could not allow himself socially not to give his daughter these customary gifts.[80]

The Appraisal of the Trousseau

In conclusion I would like to look again at the ceremony of the display of the trousseau and at its official and informal appraisal.[81] This was a climactic event, one of the highlights of the wedding ceremony's embodying intrinsic tensions.

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77 In modern Greece, as interpreted by Sant Cassia and Bada, the dowry as a whole is conceived as a gift, a gift the daughter may demand of her father, Sant Cassia/Bada, *The Making of the Modern Greek Family*, 83.

78 R. Yosef David, *Petah Beit David* (Salonica, 1720), 99. (This is but one example of many, thus defining this type of gift.)

79 The association between the bride's modesty and jewelry gifts is implied also in the *kezada* ceremony held a few days before the wedding (which is being revived today). There, a marzipan cake in the form of two birds/doves is prepared, and a "happy woman" breaks it over the head of the bride, just as the round cake (*roska*) is broken over the bride's head as she comes out from the ritual immersion, both hinting at the approaching wedding night. Then the bride receives jewelry presents from the women present. On these ceremonies see Juhasz, "Marriage," 205–206; Amado Bortnick, "The Jewish Women of Turkey," 100. On the nexus between a woman's modesty, her honor and her family's honor see Ben-Naeh, "Honor and Its Meaning," 25–27.

80 Other wedding gifts were also obligatory, such as those the father of the bride had to give the groom between the betrothal and the wedding. Failure to give them could cause a legal claim. In Izmir, for example, see Ahkenazi, *Sefer Ma'aseh Avraham*, 1: "Even ha-Ezer," "Hilkhot Kiddushin": 7. (Juhasz, "Marriage," 198–200).

81 For this ceremony among the Romaniot Jews of Ioannina see Fromm, *We Are Few*, 62.

At this point, the trousseau, which had been hidden in chests, was exposed in public for everyone to see, to be approved by the groom's family and the community officials, soon to be packed away again and transferred to the groom's home.[82] This event was described in different tones, some underscoring the festivity, the joy and pride, others emphasizing the intrinsic tensions and anxieties. Ya'akov Yehoshua described this appraisal nostalgically but ironically:

> "The hanging of the *ashugar* in the appointed day was done by the mother of the bride assisted by the bride herself and other female members of the family. After having set everything in good taste and understanding they positioned themselves close to the assessor to plead with him and to intercede with his judgment. The *hacham* [rabbi] Nissim Ya'ish did not haste, he looked to and fro around the room, smiling with an air of seriousness on his face. He took out of his caftan's pocket some tobacco, sniffed it while looking here and there as if contemplating the value of the merchandise. Then the bride's female relatives and her mother surrounded him praising and exalting the merchandise. Hacham Nisim Ya'ish felt now at ease, he took off his overcoat and started listing each article and its monetary value in tiny letters. From time to time he would handle a bed sheet or a dress or look at a coat or a pair of socks. Some times he would inquire about some article. The bride's mother offers him some shorbet or coffee or a good thick cigarette the father has prepared in advance. At times a "clash" would occur between the parties, but it was brushed away quickly with a smile […]"[83]

As aforesaid, the official evaluating of the trousseau was done by men. These were respected, trustworthy members of the community, considered to have the required expertise to assess women's apparel to their details. The display included private items such as underwear and whitewear. These were exposed, to the eyes, scrutiny and assessment of men. This asserted a social patriarchal control over the woman's intimate sphere, and of the marital intimacy. By doing so the community stepped into the private sphere of the bride, assuming control over her decency and conduct and for the sake of this control, even the accepted boundaries of modesty were transgressed.[84]

Moreover, as the trousseau articles were mostly sewn, embroidered and braided by women and officially evaluated by men, the assessment thus assumed control over women's work also. By vesting the power of assessment in the hands of men, the economic value of the items was given the highest priority, and the patriarchal power of the "value of the bride" was symbolically exercised.

The male control over the female intimacy was further exercised symbolically through the custom according to which it was the groom's responsibility to spon-

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82 The display of the dowry was customary among Turkish Muslims albeit with different emphasis. In 1925 it was banned as part of the laws which prohibited religious traditional ceremonies. These laws were cancelled 1969 as they limited individual freedom. According to Magnarella, ("The Turkish Bridewealth Practice in Transition," 150–151) this law was never enforced as this tradition was so deeply rooted in Turkish culture.

83 Yehoshua, *Childhood in Old Jerusalem,* 2, 64.

84 On formal and informal control of women in Jewish Ottoman communities see Ben-Naeh, "Feminine Gender and Its Restriction," 132–134.

sor the female party which accompanied the bride's ritual immersion prior to the wedding.[85] Upon receiving the trousseau in his house, the groom would send the bride money to pay for the party and a parcel. The parcel (*bogo de banyo*) contained articles to use in the bathhouse, a sumptuous set of towels, soaps, clogs and cosmetics to be used at the *hamam* and the party.[86]

Beside the public, officially documented, male assessment of the trousseau another informal, oral, female evaluation took place. Family and friends, male and female, were invited to the display, and it attracted especially prospective brides and mothers of prospective brides' grooms. Everybody was curious to see what each bride brought and how it was displayed. After a long time of preparation and latency everything was exhibited. The women examined the workmanship, the precision and style. They also inspected the aesthetics of the display detecting camouflaging devices designed to amplify the quantities of items and to highlight its better parts.[87]

Though their observations remained on the interpersonal level, or could be considered as gossip,[88] those part of the official appraisals were most powerful in establishing the bride's reputation, and implicated no less, on her image.

These judgments spread the word in the community about the bride's talents, her capacities or incapacities as a housewife, her modesty, propriety and diligence, thus establishing her standing in her new home with her prospective husband and most commonly, with her mother-in-law.[89] They influenced also the

85 This was her first ritual immersion required by Jewish law in preparation of the wedding night.

86 On this ceremony see Juhasz, "Marriage," 205–210. An analysis of this ceremony as practiced by the Jewish women in Rhodes see Michal Held, "Between the River and the Sea – a Multi-Layered Reading of a Judeo-Spanish Wedding Song from the Island of Rhodes," *Mikan 8/El Presente Studies in Sephardic Culture* 1 (2007): 91–121.

87 On an informal appraisal of the dowry trying to work out the cost of the various components see Rheutbottom, "Dowry and Wedding Celebrations in Yugoslav Macedonia," 228, 238.

88 On the encounter of formal and informal texts, written and oral, and the hierarchy of male and female texts see Galit Hasan Rokem, *Tales of the Neighborhood, Jewish Narrative Dialogues in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), chapter 1, 1–27. On gossip and social control in Jewish Italian marriage ceremonies see Weinstein, *Marriage Rituals Italian Style*, 125–154. On some social functions of gossip see Roy F. Baumeister, Liqing Zhang, and Kathleen D. Vohs, "Gossip as Cultural Learning," *Review of General Psychology* 8/2 (2004): 111–121.

89 In Athens two separate dowry appraisal ceremonies took place. One male, public and formal attended by the fathers of the couple and their brothers, the priest and the city notary who checked the contents of the trousseau if it matches what had been agreed upon in the prenuptial agreements. The other was a female ceremony in which the trousseau was displayed aesthetically, in order to boast the bride's diligence and good taste. There, the groom's presents to the bride were exhibited also so as to signify the acceptance and approval of the trousseau and the wedding by the groom and his family. Sant Cassia/Bada, *The Making of the Modern Greek Family,* 107–108.

reputation and prestige of the family of the bride as being generous or stingy for future marriages contracted with it.[90]

The social importance assigned to such informal evaluations was more conspicuous in trousseau displays which did not include a formal economic assessment. In the Jewish community of Baghdad, for example, the display of the trousseau took place after the wedding, already in the groom's house on the Sabbath following the wedding called "Women's Sabbath." This was an emotionally charged social occasion attended by women only, in which the women determined and transmitted to the community the reputation of the bride and her family. In this case the female informal evaluation was the sole power of social control.[91]

The informal female assessment provoked the competition between families and between prospective brides and accelerated the exigencies of the trousseaus. It also amplified the tension between tradition and innovation, between conformity and originality which surrounded the displays since the advent of modernization.[92]

The trousseau displays ceased to take place for purposes of appraisal around the 1940s as far as we know. In Izmir as in other Jewish communities in Turkey they are revived in a symbolic form as part of a nostalgic revival of traditional ceremonies. These revived ceremonies preserve symbolic aspects of the display but they are free of the anxiety that surrounded them previously. The occasion is a joyful party in which the traditional sweets and refreshments are served. The display takes place in the bedroom. It is an opulent display of delicate silk and satin lingerie, and large quantities of bed linen, bed covers, tablecloths and napkins all still wrapped in the transparent plastic bags in which they were bought.[93] This form of display underscores the fading of personal attachment to these textiles. But the choice of items for display maintains symbolically the association with the bride's modesty and propriety. Another emerging aspect of these displays is their role as revivers of the Sephardi heritage and as sustainers and consolidators of the ethnic identity. Thus, though in another way, the collective impact on personal privacy prevails.

90 This is how M. Matzas of Ioannina described (in an interview with A. Fromm in 1983) the informal gossip about the bride's trousseau, as people watched the trousseau procession being transferred to the groom's home from their home windows: "It was very pretty, they walked past all the houses. They [the neighbors] saw it pass and afterwards they talked, they said, "She didn't get, that stuff isn't good. Ah, she and she got three mattresses or got two mattresses… They talked, they gossiped, it was something nice, tradition…," Fromm, *We Are Few*, 63.

91 See Avishur, *The Baghdad Jewish Wedding*, 1: 131–133.

92 Sandıkçı/İlhan, "Dowry: A Cherished Possession or an Old-Fashioned Tradition," 158.

93 Amado Bortnick, "The Jewish Women of Turkey," 99.

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Uniformity and Individuality

Traditional Costume, Nurse's Dress, Uniform – The Clothing of Red Cross Nurses in the First World War as Presented in the Autobiographical Texts of Adrienne Thomas and Helene Mierisch (1930/34)*

Sophie Häusner

Since their establishment and professionalization in the 19th century, nurses working for the Red Cross have been recognizable by their clothing: a white cap, a white apron, a red cross brooch, and a white armband with a prominently displayed red cross. To this day, the uniform is known by various names: it has been called a nurse's dress (*Schwesternkleid*), a traditional costume (*Tracht*), and a uniform. Red Cross nurses were trained in times of peace to care for the sick and the wounded in the case of war.

In this essay, I would like to ask: what importance does this clothing have for the self-understanding of nurses, and to what extent has Red Cross traditional costume/the nurse's dress/the Red Cross uniform shaped and changed these women's self-perception?

Since the meaning of clothing is culturally specific, I would like to focus on a very particular phase in the history of Red Cross nurses. In the last years of the Weimar Republic, Germans reflected deeply upon the events of World War I. This reflection and public debate was shaped in large part by the memoirs, often written as novels, of those who had taken part in the war, as well as by academic publications treating politics, medicine, and society. In the debates regarding the role of Red Cross nurses in the war, clothing took on an important role.

In this essay, I would like to examine two autobiographical novels written by women working for the Red Cross during the World War I. The two women differed greatly both in their political orientation and in the way they dealt with their experiences in the war.

* This article forms part of my dissertation with the working title: *Kriegserfahrungen und Kriegserinnerungen – Der Erste Weltkrieg in autobiographischen Schriften von Rotkreuz-Krankenschwestern* (Experiences and Memories of War: World War I in the Autobiographical Writings of Red Cross Nurses), in prep. I would like to thank Helen Pfeifer for the translation.

The first book consists of the fictionalized memoirs[1] of Adrienne Thomas, and was published in 1930 under the title *Die Katrin wird Soldat* (Katrin becomes a soldier).[2] Adrienne Thomas (1897–1980, real name Hertha Strauch) grew up in Metz/Alsace-Lorraine in a bourgeois Jewish business family. At the outbreak of the war, the seventeen-year old Thomas became a Red Cross volunteer/assistant nurse. Adrienne Thomas kept a diary during this period. The original manuscript from the years 1915/16 has been preserved, and served as the basis for the author's later novel, *Die Katrin wird Soldat*.[3]

Adrienne Thomas began her education as a nurse in 1916 in Berlin. She treated her experiences in the war as a Red Cross volunteer and nurse in her autobiographical diaristic novel *Die Katrin wird Soldat* (1930). This pacifist work quickly became a bestseller and was dubbed "the female counterpart of Remarque."[4] Not only was the book published in multiple editions in German[5], it was also translated in the 1930s into other languages with great success.[6] The book was banned

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1 Adrienne Thomas chose to record her memories of the war in the form of a novel, written as a personal diary and featuring *Katrin* as the main character. Nevertheless, Thomas often emphasized the autobiographical content of her novel *Die Katrin wird Soldat*, basing much of it on her own diary of the period. Cf. my essay, "'Ich glaube nicht, daß ich es für mich behalten darf' – Die autobiographischen Veröffentlichungen von Krankenschwestern zum Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Selbstzeugnis und Person – Transkulturelle Perspektiven*, ed. Claudia Ulbrich, Hans Medick, and Angelika Schaser (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau, 2012), 155–171.

2 The first English translation was published in 1931 with the title *Katrin Becomes a Soldier.* For the novel *Die Katrin wird Soldat* see: Herman Moens, "Die Katrin wird Soldat: A Fictionalized Diary of the First World War," in *German Women Writers 1900–1933. Twelve Essays*, ed. Brian Keith-Smith (Lewiston et al: Mellen, 1993), 145–163; Brian Murdoch, "Hinter die Kulissen des Krieges Sehen: Adrienne Thomas, Evadne Price – and E.M. Remarque," in *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 28 (1992/1), 56–74; Helga Schreckenberger, "'Über Erwarten grauenhaft'. Der I. Weltkrieg aus weiblicher Sicht. Adrienne Thomas: Die Katrin wird Soldat (1930)," in *Von Richthofen bis Remarque: Deutschsprachige Prosa zum I. Weltkrieg*, ed. Thomas F. Schneider and Hans Wagener (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), 387–398. In print again since the end of 2008, with extra appendices and an updated afterword: *Adrienne Thomas, Die Katrin wird Soldat und Anderes aus Lothringen. Mit einem Nachwort von Günter Scholdt* (St. Ingbert: Röhrig, 2008). For her other books written in exile see: Brigetta Marie Abel, *Identities in flux: The exile Novels of Adrienne Thomas, Irmgard Keun, and Anna Seghers* (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 2000).

3 *Adrienne Thomas: Aufzeichnungen aus dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Ein Tagebuch*, ed. Günter Scholdt (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau, 2004).

4 Cf. for example Dr. Wera Basse's letter to the editer regarding *Katrin wird Soldat* in the *Vossischen Zeitung* of September 28, 1930. She remarks, "Thank you for this female version of *All Quiet on the Western Front*!" See also Moens, *A Fictionalized Diary*, 157 and the appendices in *Katrin wird Soldat-Ausgabe von 2008*, 379f. Erich Maria Remarque's *Im Westen Nichts Neues* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1929) was the most successful and well-known anti-war novel of the period. The book was published in English in 1929 as *All Quiet on the Western Front*, trans. Arthur W. Wheen (London: Putnam, 1929).

5 Cf. Scholdt, *Afterward*, 459: 15,000 copies were sold within two weeks, 100,000 after five months. By 1932 sales had again doubled.

6 The work has been translated into English, French, Italian, Dutch, Czech, and Hebrew, among others. Cf. Moens, *A Fictionalized Diary*, 156.

in 1933 and fell victim to Nazi book burnings. Adrienne Thomas emigrated first to Austria, then to France. She was detained in 1940 in Gurs, but fled the internment camp to New York with the help of friends.[7] In 1947 she returned to Vienna.[8]

In the anti-war book *Die Katrin wird Soldat*, Adrienne Thomas uses the development of the protagonist Katrin to express the futility of war. The text is divided into three parts, beginning with the pre-war period. The second part treats the outbreak of World War I; the third and longest portion treats Katrin's experiences in the war until her death in December of 1916. Like the author, Katrin comes from a Jewish business family in Metz[9] and volunteers for the Red Cross service at the beginning of World War I. Just like Thomas, Katrin found herself in close proximity to the front – that is in Metz and its surroundings – during her time "in the service of her country." She served first in the train station service of the Red Cross and in a military hospital, and later in various hospital wards. The novel describes the way in which Katrin's experiences in the war turned a spirited and musically highly talented girl into a disillusioned, hopeless young woman. This transformation occurs not only in the protagonist, but in a number of other people of her generation as well, especially in Lucien, with whom Katrin falls in love. Neither of the two survives the war: Lucien dies of his war injuries, Katrin of a serious infection.

The second book I will examine is Helene Mierisch's 1934 novel, published in the form of a diary, entitled *Kamerad Schwester*[10] (Comrade, Sister).[11] It was published in Nazi Germany in a number of different editions.[12] Helene Elisabeth Mierisch, née Augustin (1896–1988), was born in Einsidel/Saxony (Germany). There is little biographical information on Mierisch that does not come from her

7 In New York, Adrienne Thomas wrote, among other things, for the *Free World Magazine* and published several other books with the exile publishing house *Allert de Lange*, including the 1938 *Katrin! Die Welt brennt!* and the 1944 novel *Reisen Sie ab, Mademoiselle!* For information on Thomas' life and oeuvre, see Karin Sinhuber, *Adrienne Thomas. Eine Monographie* (Vienna: University, Diss., 1990); Erika E. Theobald, "Adrienne Thomas," in *Deutschsprachige Exilliteratur seit 1933*, ed. John M. Spalek and Joseph Strelka, vol. 2 (Bern: Francke, 1989), 905–913.

8 By that time, Adrienne Thomas was writing mostly children's books and essays for various daily newspapers. Some were published in the collection *Da und Dort* (Vienna: Danubia-Verlag, 1950), while her earlier books were published in new editions. Thomas' literary activities went beyond writing, though, and in 1948 she became a member of the Austrian PEN-Club. On June 26, 1973, she received the professor title from the Austrian Ministry of Education.

9 Metz is a city in Alsace-Lorraine and is located on the German-French border. In 1871 Alsace-Lorraine became a part of Germany, but was returned to France following World War I.

10 Helene Mierisch, *Kamerad Schwester*. 1914–1918 (Leipzig: Koehler und Amelang, 1934).

11 Helene Mierisch later published other autobiographical works, including *Ein Griff ins Leben. Aus meiner Schwesternarbeit* (Biberach: Koehlers Verlagsgesellschaft, 1953) and *Ärzte, Schwestern und Soldaten. Erlebtes aus zwei Weltkriegen* (Biberach: Koehlers Verlagsgesellschaft,1957). For Mierisch's life and oeuvre, see Birgit Panke-Kochinke, *Unterwegs und doch daheim. (Über-) Lebensstrategien von Kriegskrankenschwestern im Ersten Weltkrieg in der Etappe* (Frankfurt am Main: Mabuse, 2004).

12 Following the first edition of 1934, a second edition was printed during the first year of the war in 1939; the third, entailing 27,000 copies, was printed in 1940.

own autobiographical works. She, too, treated the sick and the wounded as a Red Cross nurse in World War I, although her position and the places where she served are not known. After the war, she apparently continued caring for those injured in battle. After getting married at the end of 1921, Mierisch ceased working as a nurse until the outbreak of World War II. She also had two children. During the World War II, Mierisch again served as a Red Cross nurse.

Kamerad Schwester is divided into four parts. The outbreak of World War I comes after only six pages. The protagonist Elisabeth, who is seventeen years old, is actually still too young to serve as a Red Cross nurse. However, by changing the birth date on her identity card, she is able to enter the Red Cross service anyway. She first works in the epidemiology ward of a military hospital on the German-French border, and is later moved to various military hospitals on the Eastern front (parts two and three). The fourth part includes her activities in a field hospital on the Eastern front, the revolution, and her return home, which is described as sad and without glory. The entries end a few weeks after the end of World War I, in December 1918. Appended to the text is a three-page afterword, which describes "a reunion of the old military war hospital" during Pentecost 1934. Looking forward, Mierisch emphasizes her willingness to support the personnel of the hospital in the case of the outbreak of another war. The text is an expression of early Nazi militarism.

Both Adrienne Thomas and Helene Mierisch use their books, published 1930 and 1934 respectively, to describe their duties as Red Cross nurses at the beginning of World War I. Both were almost the same age during their service. Their respective texts treat not only the past, but reflect upon and position themselves within the political context of the end of the Weimar Republic and the first years of National Socialism: the first (*Die Katrin wird Soldat*) is pacifist, and takes a cautionary tone, while the second (*Kamerad Schwester*) acts almost as a handbook for wars to come, motivating women to enter military service.

In my analysis of the two novels, I would like to draw upon the cultural studies discourses of the interwar period as they related to the Red Cross nurses who served in World War I. This discourse was precipitated by the *Sittengeschichte des Weltkrieges* (History of the Customs of the World War), published by Magnus Hirschfeld in 1930.

Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935) was a doctor and a sexologist. As a doctor he was, among other things, employed in a military hospital during World War I, but it was through his later work as a sexologist that he became famous. In 1919 he founded the Institute for the Science of Sexuality (Institut für Sexualwissenschaften) in Berlin, which was destroyed by the Nazis in 1933. Hirschfeld had already emigrated at that point. In 1930, he published the two-volume work called *Sittengeschichte des Weltkrieges*.[13] This history of manners and customs was one of the

[13] Magnus Hirschfeld, (ed), *Sittengeschichte des Weltkrieges*, 2 vol. (Vienna: Verlag für Sexualwissenschaften Schneider & Co., 1930), especially the fifth chapter, "Erotik in der Krankenpflege," 137–168.

most well-known microhistories of World War I. Its success, which has lasted until this day, is probably not unrelated to the many photographs and drawings included in the work, some erotic, others pornographic. A project of the Institute for the Science of Sexuality under the auspices of Dr. Andreas Caspar, the book consists of the contributions of ten authors whose names are listed only on the cover. Unfortunately, it is virtually impossible to know who composed which chapter. The book has twenty-two chapters, as well as a foreword, afterword, appendix, and bibliography. Of interest here is the fifth chapter, listed under the heading "Women"[14] and with the title "Eroticism in Nursing." Preceding this chapter is the following heading, which do not however correspond to any sections in the text: "Sexual curiosity, Scopophilia, Coprolagnia and the Sadism of the Caregiver – Service in the Military Hospital as a Means to an End – The Bad Reputation of the Female Caretaker – Female Visits in the Trenches."[15] It is not clear who wrote this text. I will follow the secondary literature in starting with the editor of the collection, Magnus Hirschfeld.[16]

Before I begin my textual analysis, I would like to treat the history of Red Cross nurses with special attention to their clothing. I would then like to assess the degree to which clothing regulations signal the caring for the sick and the injured, one of the most important duties of Red Cross nurses.

1. *Traditional Costume, Nurse's Dress, Uniform – The Historical Formation of the Red Cross Nurse Uniform in Germany*

The Red Cross was founded and funded in several countries beginning in the mid-19th century in order to care for the sick and the wounded, especially in times of war. Red Cross nurses were trained to provide medical services in war. In this way their clothing became not only a political, but a military issue.

In the mid-19th century, the Red Cross began training nurses. The Patriotic Women's Leagues (*Vaterländische Frauenvereine*), which were incorporated institutionally into the Red Cross, were responsible for the clothing, education, and procuring of nurses.[17] The activities and the structure of the Patriotic Women's

14 This heading featured three chapters, and included, in addition to the one treated here, chapter 3: "Die Dame in der Loge" (The Lady in the Loge), 51–80; and chapter 4: "Die Kriegerfrau auf dem Leidensweg" (The Warrior Woman's Life of Suffering), 87–136.

15 Hirschfeld, *Sittengeschichte*, 137.

16 Cf. for example Klaus Theweleit, *Männerphantasien*, vol. 1: "Frauen, Fluten, Körper, Geschichten" (Frankfurt am Main: Rowohlt, 1977).

17 For early Patriotic Women's Leagues in the time of the Wars of Liberation (Napoleonic Wars, 1813–1815), (a selection), see Dirk Alexander Reder, *Frauenbewegung und Nation. Patriotische Frauenvereine in Deutschland im frühen 19. Jahrhundert (1813–1830)* (Cologne: SH-Verlag, 1998); Karen Hagemann, "Deutsche Heldinnen. Patriotisch-nationales Frauenhandeln in der Zeit der antinapoleonischen Kriege," in *Nation, Politik und Geschlecht: Frauenbewegungen und Na-*

Leagues, who were the carriers of the sisterhoods, offered a sort of "feminine alternative" to the male-dominated military.[18] At the same time, the leagues aligned themselves with military ideals, which in turn influenced nursing practices. As Andrea Süchting-Hänger has shown, the Patriotic Women's Leagues compared their duties to the mandatory military service of men,[19] and saw their work caring for the sick and the injured as the female contribution to national defense.[20] They described the "traditional costume of Red Cross women as corresponding to the soldier's uniform, as a 'royal skirt' or 'robe of honor.'"[21] Not only clothing, but other military symbols like decorative medals were adopted.[22] An examination of clothing demonstrates that the Red Cross nurses corps was involved in the politicization of women from the very beginning.

Educational treatises from the first years of the 20th century pay special attention to the clothing of Red Cross nurses. A treatise of 1911, for example, explains that the nurse's dress is "not a mere superficial detail"[23] but "a nurse's jewelry and dress of honor."[24] It demands that nurses "protect the honor and the sanctity of the dress and the nurse's profession."[25] The dress is the "symbol of merciful, eager beneficence."[26] The meaning of the clothing was to be communicated to the future nurses already during their training. The 1913 *Catechism for Red Cross Volunteers*,[27] organized as *444 Questions and Answers Regarding the Treatment of the Sick and Healthcare* stated:

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tionalismus in der Moderne, ed. Ute Planert (Frankfurt am Main; New York: Campus, 2000), 86–112.

For the Patriotic Women's Leagues in the mid-19th century, see, Dieter Riesenberger, *Das Deutsche Rote Kreuz: eine Geschichte 1864–1990* (Paderborn; Munich: Schöningh, 2002); Herbert Grundhewer: "Von der freiwilligen Kriegskrankenpflege bis zur Einbindung des Roten Kreuzes in das Heeressanitätswesen," in *Medizin und Krieg: Vom Dilemma der Heilberufe, 1865–1985*, ed. Johanna Bleker (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1987), 29–44; Jakob Vogel, "Samariter und Schwestern: Geschlechterbilder und -beziehungen im 'Deutschen Roten Kreuz' vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Landsknechte, Soldatenfrauen und Nationalkrieger: Militär, Krieg und Geschlechterordnung im historischen Wandel*, ed. Karen Hagemann (Frankfurt am Main; New York: Campus, 1998), 322–344.

18 Andrea Süchting-Hänger, "'Gleichgroße mut'ge Helferinnen' in der weiblichen Gegenwelt. Der Vaterländische Frauenverein und die Politisierung konservativer Frauen 1890–1914," in *Nation, Politik und Geschlecht: Frauenbewegungen und Nationalismus in der Moderne,* ed. Ute Planert (Frankfurt am Main; New York: Campus, 2000), 131–146.

19 Süchting-Hänger, "Vaterländische Frauenverein," 138.

20 Ibid., 141.

21 Ibid., 138.

22 See, for example Thomas, *Katrin*, 285f. Cf. also Süchting-Hänger, "Vaterländische Frauenverein," 137.

23 Schwester Anna von Zimmermann, (Oberin), *Was heißt Schwester sein? Beiträge zur ethischen Berufserziehung* (Berlin: Verlag von Julius Springer, 1911), 5.

24 Zimmermann, *Was heißt Schwester sein?*, 4.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid., 6.

27 *Katechismus für "Helferinnen vom Roten Kreuz." 444 Fragen und Antworten aus dem Gebiete der Kranken-, der Gesundheitspflege und des Samariterdienstes*, compiled by health officer Dr. Eschle (Munich: Verlag der Aerztlichen Rundschau Otto Gmelin, 1913).

> "What else casts doubt on the proper upbringing of a nurse?" –
> "If her clothes are wanting in cleanliness and orderliness." [28]

Both the education and the clothing of Red Cross nurses presented Christian elements in a modern guise. Let us take, for example, Charlotte von Caemmerer's 1915 book, *Berufskampf der Krankenpflegerin in Krieg und Frieden* (The Professional Battle of the Nurse in War and in Peace).[29] The title, which refers to times of war and peace, suggests that the establishment of the Red Cross nurses constituted, among other things, a struggle over resources on the job market.[30] This struggle was reflected in the arena of clothing as well, and led to an effort to distinguish the appearance of nurses from that of nuns and deaconesses, who were considered slovenly, sluggish and out of fashion:[31]

> "The Red Cross Federations have begun to recognize the hygienic functions of the nurse's uniform. The fabric of the dress is becoming lighter in color, since it is washed more frequently. The white aprons are changed daily. The heightened demands of the profession resulting from the development of medical science require unobstructed hearing. Hence the caps have gotten smaller and leave the ears uncovered."[32]

Changing the white aprons daily is seen among Red Cross nurses as *the* symbol of hygiene. This points to the close relation between uniforms and conceptions of hygiene, which have mutually reinforced one another since the 19th century.[33] It is a relation that can be found in household manuals dating back to the 19th century.[34] For Caemmerer, notions of hygiene were related to the progressivism, the higher qualifications, and the general modernity of the Red Cross nurse.

If the terms *traditional costume* and *nurse's dress* are used in these official writings with reference to their particular characteristics, so too do they address issues related to war and to the duties of a wartime nurse, an association deeply rooted in the image of the Red Cross nurse.[35] This emerges in the image of the Red Cross uniform as protection.[36] As Anna von Zimmermann suggested in her 1911 *Beiträge zu ethischen Berufserziehung* (Contributions to an Ethical Professional Education): "The traditional uniform [*Tracht*] protects the nurse in public."[37]

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28 Ibid., 10.

29 Charlotte von Caemmerer, *Berufskampf der Krankenpflegerin in Krieg und Frieden* (Munich; Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1915), 120.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid., 120f.

32 Ibid., 120.

33 Cf. Gabriele Mentges, "Uniform-Kostüm-Maskerade. Einführende Überlegungen," in *Uniformierungen in Bewegung. Vestimentäre Praktiken zwischen Vereinheitlichung, Kostümierung und Maskerade*, ed. Gabriele Mentges, Dagmar Neuland-Kitzerow, and Birgit Richard (Münster; New York: Waxmann, 2007), 13–27 (pp. 18-19).

34 Cf. Elke Gaugele, *Schurz und Schürze. Kleidung als Medium der Geschlechterkonstruktion* (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau, 2002), 208-210.

35 See, for example, the publication of Anna von Zimmermann, (Oberin), *Die Hilfsschwester vom Roten Kreuz* (Leipzig: Verlag von Julius Springer, 1915).

36 Cf. Grundhewer, "Von der freiwilligen Kriegskrankenpflege," 146-147.

37 Zimmermann, *Was heißt Schwester sein?*, 5.

Although the Red Cross nurses had a close connection to the military since their founding, clothing regulations at the beginning of the 20th century rarely speak of a *uniform*, despite the fact that in the 1907 *Kriegs-Sanitätsordnung* (Regulations for the medical service in war),[38] two service uniform designs were specified for the case of war. This consisted of a grey dress with a white collar and white cuffs, a white apron, a white cap, and a dress to be worn outside the hospital. In 1912 this was codified into Prussian law as a "legally protected general service dress for nurses, assistant nurses, and assistants of the Red Cross."[39] The professional clothing for nurses and assistant nurses consisted of a white cap with an embroidered red cross, a grey work dress and a mandatory brooch. Since the Red Cross was organized on a regional level, Germany-wide uniform clothing was not yet in place at the beginning of World War I. However, clothing across the country was very similar, featuring a brooch and a white armband with a red cross as common marker that made nurses identifiable as part of the army medical service (in addition to the Red Cross identification card). The head covering (cap) was also considered mandatory.

Although the regulations regarding Red Cross nurse uniforms are related first and foremost to the military context, this is not their only association. Rather, their meaning should be understood in the greater cultural context regarding uniforms. Recent research has suggested that uniforms gained in importance over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Jochen Ramming, for example, has examined three different types of uniforms, namely the clothing of civil servants, rabbis, and the national folk costume movement led by women's organizations during the Wars of Liberation (Napoleonic Wars).[40] Ramming's research demonstrates that uniforms existed not only in military contexts; other social groups, too, aspired to distinguish themselves from others through their clothing. Clothes emerged in this context "as tools used self-consciously for group formation and for the construction of a new bourgeois social order."[41] Uniform dress was perceived by the social groups examined by Ramming as "clothing of identification,"[42] that is, an expression of a commitment to a newly forming social order. In this sense, the cultural and political meaning of uniform clothing was, accord-

38 Riesenberger, *Das Deutsche Rote Kreuz*, 108-109.

39 Cf. http://www.dhm.de/sammlungen/alltag2/textilien/drk.html/ (accessed 9 January 2012); and Riesenberger, *Das Deutsche Rote Kreuz*, 101.

40 Jochen Ramming, *Die uniformierte Gesellschaft. Zur Rolle vereinheitlichender Bekleidungsweisen am Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts. Beamtenuniform – Rabbinertalar – Nationalkostüm* (Würzburg: Veröffentlichungen zur Volkskunde und Kulturgeschichte, 2009).
The *Wars of Liberation* (Napoleonic Wars) refers to the engagements of 1813–1815, during which Germany was liberated from French occupation. The wars were catalyzed by opposition movements in Prussia (which had begun in 1806/7) and the catastrophic French campaign in Russia in 1812.

41 Ibid., 285.

42 Ibid., 284.

ing to Ramming, "in no way […] a passive and anti-individualistic manifestation of existing social structures."[43] The individuals examined by Ramming used uniforms in order to integrate themselves into newly developing social structures and to associate themselves with new social ideals. Ramming therefore sees uniformity as "a tool for constructing societies"[44] and emphasizes, "in this way, it became in a deeper sense an expression of a general commitment to the new bourgeois civil society of the 19th century. Uniforms became a symbol of modernity."[45] "Using uniforms," however, as Gabriele Mentges writes, is "not to be understood merely as the result of modernization processes; rather, it acts from the very beginning as a model for the possible social relations of modernization and contributes to its establishment."[46]

Red Cross clothing should not simply be equated with a uniform. Rather, it is a conglomerate of various features and terms. To this day, it is referred to in the literature as "traditional costume," "nurse's dress," and/or "uniform." These appellations are the result of various historical and social designations and meanings that have been unified in the figure of the Red Cross nurse.

The traditional costume (*Tracht*) marks the social and intellectual development of the nurse's profession from the nurses of the Catholic religious orders.[47]

The nurse's dress (*Schwesternkleid*) incorporates these religious associations within a more secular appellation. The word clearly refers to the professional clothing of a *woman*, and – more so than traditional costume – associates nursing with the female sex. Both the *traditional costume* and the *nurse's dress* allude to the deaconesses that emerged in the mid-19th century and constituted the Protestant counterparts to Catholic nursing.[48]

The word *uniform* emphasizes the military duties of a nurse. In contrast to *traditional costume* and *nurse's dress*, the concept has male connotations.

Not only *uniform*, but also the traditional costume and the nurse's dress can be understood in the context of the culture of uniforms. All three terms refer to both military and civil contexts. Since nurses wear their professional clothing both in times of peace and in times of war, when it comes to clothing, at least, the boundaries between war and peace become permeable. From a gender studies perspective, therefore, one must examine the meaning this clothing had both in the self-perception of nurses and in their perception by others.

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43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., 286.

45 Ibid. See also Mentges, "Uniform-Kostüm-Maskerade," 13-15; and Gabriele Mentges, "Die Angst vor der Uniformität," in *Schönheit der Uniformität. Körper, Kleidung und Medien*, ed. Gabriele Mentges and Birgit Richard (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2005), 17–42 (pp. 21-23).

46 Mentges, "Die Angst vor der Uniformität," 27.

47 For traditional clothing in general, see Ramming, *Die uniformierte Gesellschaft*, 13-15.

48 Cf. Riesenberger, *Das Deutsche Rote Kreuz*, especially 90-92.

II. Dressed for War – Descriptions of Red Cross Clothing in Autobiographical Texts

Clothing is a recurring theme in Adrienne Thomas' autobiographical novel, *Die Katrin wird Soldat*, marking various phases of the author's life. It symbolizes both autobiographical and historical developments in the novel.

In both chapters treating the pre-war period, the author begins with a description of clothing. Light clothing with bright colors dominate. Two descriptions are particularly striking, Katrin's beloved 'lemon yellow dress'[49] and the uniformly designed 'Kiel clothing'[50] that acts as a fashionable expression of militarized Wilhelminism.[51] The novel contrasts these two items of clothing with one another.

The protagonist mentions her "yellow eolienne dress"[52] when she goes on vacation with her parents and falls in love with one of the other hotel guests, a certain Johann. She feels that Johann treats her not as a child, but as an adult. He praises her voice and her musical talent, and asks to call her only by the name 'Maria.' She wears the lemon yellow dress to an evening reception held on the last day of her vacation, where she encounters Johann once again. Johann compliments her outward appearance. In doing so, he criticizes the German culture of uniforms, which forces "all the young girls into those awful Kiel sailor suits as soon as they can walk."[53] Katrin responds: "Everyone in my class wears the Kiel clothing; it is so beautiful and so comfortable, having no buttons or hooks."[54] The debate between the two ends with Katrin's words: "All the same, I now love the lemon yellow dress best, because of him, of course."[55]

In the last chapter of the novel, which treats World War I, all the colorful light fabrics disappear. All that Katrin describes now is her Red Cross nurse clothing. In wartime, she puts on "the white, freshly-washed, holiday apron with sleeves, with the Red Cross armband on the left arm."[56] Using quotation marks and highlighting their function, she describes her own Red Cross nurse's clothing as a "'uniform,' qualifying [her] for anything."[57] At this point, Katrin is still a nurse's assistant in the service of the Red Cross. After finishing her training, Katrin reflects on her newfound position as a full-fledged Red Cross nurse, again through the lens of clothing:

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49 Thomas, *Katrin*, 41.
50 Ibid., cf. Mentges, "Die Angst vor der Uniformität," 33-34.
51 Cf. Mentges, "Die Angst vor der Uniformität," 19-21. Wilhelmininism refers to the period of the German Empire under Wilhelm I and Wilhelm II (1871–1918).
52 Eolienne "is a modern, light, and soft half-silk fabric." Sonja Steiner-Welz: *Mode 1900–1920* (Mannheim: Reinhard Welz Vermittler Verlag e.K., 2007), 26.
53 Thomas, *Katrin*, 41.
54 Ibid.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid., 234.
57 Ibid.

> "Is that really me? Cathérine Lentz? Are those my legs in the patched woolen stockings? Is that my chest under the rough woolen dress, with the coarse linen apron? The same chest that was kissed by Lucien? Am I Cathérine Lentz? No, I am *Nurse Katharina* […]"[58]

If in the pre-war period it was light, colorful clothing that defined Katrin's appearance, in times of war it was rough woolens and coarse linens. Katrin often describes herself in the text as a "half soldier."[59] In doing so she marks her transformation from a carefree young girl to an adult woman whose identity is shaped in large part by her profession: "No, I am Nurse Katharina [Schwester Katharina]."[60]

In *Die Katrin wird Soldat*, clothing expresses Katrin's shifts in identity as well her entry into new fields of activity. First, the colorful, soft clothing expresses Katrin's transition to a young woman. It is through her clothing that she emerges publicly as a young woman, thus gaining access to new spheres such as parties and *soirées*.[61] During World War I, Katrin takes on a new appearance, one as a Red Cross nurse. With her armband and brooch[62], apron and cap, Katrin not only gains access to arenas closed to civilians, but also expands her personal mobility and takes on new duties and responsibilities. She acts as a woman in a male-dominated space. The idea of gender-segregated spheres is not questioned, but reinforced. Women were given their own spaces within the military context.

At the same time, changes in clothing and their coloring are reflective of political changes, and relate to historiographical processes of making meaning. The carefree pre-war years give way to the gray routine of war. The latter is expressed in the mass of *feldgrau* soldiers (field gray, referring to the color of their uniforms) that dominate public spaces: "Troops of *Feldgrau*er are constantly arriving, heading for the front"[63] and: "the streets are all *feldgrau*."[64]

In her autobiographical publication *Kamerad Schwester*, Helene Mierisch, too, refers to her Red Cross clothing as a 'uniform' – emphasizing the word in the same way as Adrienne Thomas does: "I awake in the morning by concerned knocking on the door, lying in front of the bed, still in full 'uniform.'"[65] In contrast to Adrienne Thomas' book, however, Mierisch's autobiographical works contain no references to clothing in the pre-war period. It is the Red Cross uniform alone that matters. The cap takes on particular importance. Already at the very beginning of the book, Mierisch writes that she took leave of her parents "with the now omnipresent

58 Ibid., 319.
59 Ibid., 199.
60 Ibid., 319.
61 Ibid., 39-41.
62 Ibid., 234, 285.
63 Thomas, *Katrin*, 164.
64 Ibid., 193.
65 Mierisch, *Kamerad Schwester*, 36.

cap."[66] In the workplace, the cap functions as an important symbol of equality among the various nurses: "the cap, like the uniform, brings equality."[67]

There are pragmatic reasons for this particular emphasis on the cap with respect to other aspects of nurses' clothing:

> "What does outward appearance mean in such misery? I no longer wear white collars – for how should one find time for washing and ironing when even sleep is reduced to a bare minimum?"[68]

The ideal hygienic standards of nurse's clothing cannot be met in a time of war. The cap is not treated in this context, though it was certainly worn and functioned as an important hallmark of the nurses. This heightened its role as a marker of belonging. Other studies like the one of Laurie Kaplan also show the importance of the cap in the autobiographical writings of nurses. Although it is an element of clothing that is associated with femininity, its meaning has changed over the course of history[69]: the cap, "as a Medieval symbol of femininity, as a Christian symbol of virginity, and as a military symbol of service has been transformed to serve the purpose at hand; it becomes a utilitarian article of clothing that caps the head."[70] The historical development of the Red Cross cap suggests the inherent ambivalence of uniforms: "[…] their uniforms indicate an ambiguously gendered social and political status."[71]

The uniform's importance in defining Mierisch's identity is signaled by the fact that she wore it even on her days off. Mierisch describes that her Red Cross uniform attracted great interest on the part of the public, due to the "armbands with the symbol of neutrality, indicating work 'near the front'."[72] She describes a steamboat ride during which her cap was almost blown off and where she received recognition as a "flotilla of torpedo boats"[73] passed her by and "everyone

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66 Ibid., 13.
67 Ibid., 144.
68 Ibid., 34.
69 The authors treated in Kaplan's essay designate the headdress as a "veil" rather than a "cap." Laurie Kaplan, "'How Funny I Must Look with my Breeches Pulled Down to my Knees': Nurses' Memoirs and Autobiographies from The Great War," in *Dressing Up For War: Transformations of Gender and Genre in the Discourse and Literature of War*, ed. Aránzazu Usandizaga and Andrew Monnickendam (New York: Rodopi, 2001), 1–12 (p. 11).
For Red Cross nurses in Great Britain, especially those working in the Voluntary Aid Detachments (V.A.D.), which were most comparable to the German Red Cross nurses, see: Henriette Donner, "Under the cross: why V.A.D.s performed the filthiest task in the dirtiest war: Red Cross women volunteers, 1914–1918," in *Journal of Social History* 30 (1997): 687–704.
See also: Anne Summers, *Angels and Citizens. British Women as Miltary Nurses 1854–1914* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1988).
70 Kaplan, "Nurses' Memoirs", 11.
71 Ibid.
72 Mierisch, *Kamerad Schwester*, 56.
73 Ibid., 111.

stood up and saluted her […] I gladly accepted the honor, although it was bestowed not on my own person, but upon the symbol on my arm and the cause that I served."[74]

It is here that Mierisch's attempts to give the uniform a single, clear meaning, free from all ambivalence and danger, becomes visible. Her femininity disappears behind the uniform, and Mierisch can forge a self-image that transcends the sexualization and the dangers facing nurses in times of war. Nevertheless, her cap, which she values greatly, remains an enduring marker of femininity.

III. Nurses in Uniform – Outside Perspectives

The sexualization and danger associated with the nursing profession figure prominently in the 1930 *Sittengeschichte des Ersten Weltkriegs*. Not only does the chapter *Eroticism in Nursing* contain countless images and descriptions of Red Cross nurses in flirty, erotic, and sometimes even pornographic pictures and poses, Hirschfeld's work also treats the rumour that prostitutes dressed up as a Red Cross nurses. Apparently, it was in this disguise that many entered the front during the World War I: "the great number of prostitutes dressed as nurses was well-known."[75] However, Hirschfeld takes things even further when he argues that female nursing has as its very essence something "erotic"[76] or "libidinous."[77] In doing so, he opens up a space for sexual fantasy behind the anonymity of the nurse's dress. Stripping the figure of the Red Cross nurse of its seriousness and credibility, Hirschfeld reproduces a photographic collage of actresses (themselves vulnerable by virtue of their profession to accusations of prostitution) in Red Cross uniforms.[78] The image is cynically captioned: "charity is extremely becoming." In this way, the Red Cross nurse's uniform becomes a threat to military culture and women wearing Red Cross uniforms are demonized. This claim is made not only in the text of the treatise, but through countless images and their captions, formulated by Hirschfeld himself. Hirschfeld also included more innocuous drawings, like the one found on page 140 of the *Sittengeschichte*, which depicts doctors in the operating room assisted by a Red Cross nurse. It would be a nondescript image, were it not for the caption: "the female sadist likes seeing blood and is an excellent surgical nurse." (see fig. 2) Though this issue will not be treated in detail in the present essay, it is worth highlighting the way in which the figure of the Red Cross nurse comes to represent a possible threat.[79] Inherent

74 Ibid.
75 Hirschfeld, *Sittengeschichte des Weltkrieges*, 152.
76 Ibid., 153.
77 Ibid., 140.
78 Ibid., 139 (see fig. 1).
79 Ibid., 140-141.

Fig. 1: This collage, which is not dated, was printed in the *Sittengeschichte des Weltkrieges* published by Magnus Hirschfeld. It is titled, "Parisian Actresses Dressed Up as Nurses." The image bears the cynical caption, "charity is extremely becoming."

in the activities of the Red Cross nurse, so Hirschfeld, is "her abuse of her power over the patient."[80] This perspective was already widespread during World War I. Rumours circulated on all sides that the Red Cross nurses of the enemy would

80 Ibid., 148.

Fig. 2: This drawing by L. Gedö (not dated) was included on page 140 of the *Sittengeschichte des Weltkrieges* published by Magnus Hirschfeld in 1930, in a chapter entitled "Eroticism in Nursing." The titles of the pictures were for the most part written by the author himself. In this case it reads: "the female sadist likes seeing blood and is an excellent surgical nurse."

poison the wounded or those taken hostage.[81] These examples demonstrate how successfully anti-feminist stereotypes were employed in the discourse on nursing in order to question and cast moral doubt upon a new sphere of female activity.

In Hirschfeld's treatise, clothing aids in the presentation of Red Cross nurses as a threat, allowing female access to a masculine, military realm. The discourse on prostitution treats not only the wartime duties of Red Cross nurses, but the threat presented by the possibility that prostitutes may use their clothing as a disguise to gain access to the army. This discourse is strengthened by the countless images in Hirschfeld's chapter – it is the Red Cross uniform that the reader repeatedly encounters. Here the uniforms are employed in the discrediting of the nurses.

There are no indications of sexual assault in the novels of Adrienne Thomas and Helene Mierisch. Neither does either of them suggest that their nurse's dress may have provided them protection. In his *Sittengeschichte*, Hirschfeld, too, speaks only of the threat presented by the uniform – and thus by the Red Cross

81 Elisabeth Domansky, "Der Erste Weltkrieg," in *Bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland. Historische Einblicke, Fragen, Perspektiven*, ed. Lutz Niethammer et al (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1990), 285–319 (p. 317); and Regina Schulte, "Die Schwester des kranken Kriegers: Krankenpflege im Ersten Weltkrieg als Forschungsproblem," *Bios* 7 (1994/1): 83–100 (p. 84).

nurses themselves – and never of the threat that military service may have presented to the young women. Only Henriette Riemann's book *Schwester der Vierten Armee* (Nurse of the Fourth Army) (1930) addresses this issue. Although Riemann, like the other two authors treated here, portrays the Red Cross nurse protagonist as upright and virtuous, sexual assaults by soldiers and doctors in the military hospital do receive attention in her book:

> "Behind the lines, the honeymoon is in full bloom. Those with minor ailments, rheumatism, or psychological problems court young women as far as their strength permits [...] All the men are going crazy. First the medic has a bout of lust, then the doctors, and then the patients; this evening even the kitchen sergeant paid us a visit, which devolved into a shameless attack. I grabbed him by the collar and forced him out the door with a strong push. [...] I go home. [...] Higher-ups treat us like maids, and every sexually starved man seems to think that we are just sex objects!"[82]

This excerpt shows that the authors were familiar both with wartime rumours and the treatises of the interwar period. It also suggests that the cooperation between the male-dominated military and the Red Cross nurses was not without tension.

Here again, gender is of key importance: the author describes herself as firm and strong, as a survivor, as someone who could hold her own against male aggression.

A number of contemporary sources testify to the extent of the dangers to which nurses were exposed: the research of Bianca Schönberger, for example, mentions an order of the Head of Army General Staff from the year 1917. This order demanded that officers no longer go on car rides around the military camps with 'ladies' (that is, nurses). The explanation for this order was that the rampant gossip could hurt the reputation of the camp.[83]

The texts of Adrienne Thomas and Helene Mierisch are silent about the potential threat associated with the figure of the Red Cross nurse, instead offering – through clothing, among other things – a positive image of the activities of nurses during the war. Both go farther than this, though: their protagonists are presented as heroines, acting honorably and respectably in the company of men. Katrin is referred to first as 'Maria' and later as 'Schwester Katharina,' and dies as a virginal heroine. In portraying Katrin in this way, the author engages the well-known literary trope of a woman in war (e.g., Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orléans*). Mierisch's memoirs, too, embed the image of the heroine in the Red Cross nurse. This is true not only in her faultless behavior, but in her activities, as well, as when she saves the lives of soldiers or exposes traitors.[84]

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82 Henriette Riemann, *Schwester der vierten Armee. Ein Kriegstagebuch* (Berlin: Karl Voegels Verlag, 1930), 215.

83 Bianca Schönberger, "Mütterliche Heldinnen und abenteuerlustige Mädchen: Rotkreuz-Schwestern und Etappenhelferinnen im Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Heimat-Front: Militär und Geschlechterverhältnisse im Zeitalter der Weltkriege*, ed. Karen Hagemann (Frankfurt am Main; New York: Campus, 2002), 108–127 (p. 114 and note 48).

84 E.g. Mierisch, *Kamerad Schwester*, 87-88.

Fig. 3: Reproduced above is a postcard that was in circulation from the beginning of WW I. The postcard could be obtained in return for a small donation, and was intended for the correspondance between soldiers and their families. It is titled: "Red Cross Collection 1914, benefitting nursing volunteers in the war."

Clothing is key in building up this heroic metaphor, especially the *white* of the aprons and caps. White became an expression of the purity, cleanliness and virginity of the nurses[85], a sort of "symbolic representation of the body."[86] In this case, "white symbolizes purity, cleanliness, and stainlessness, not only in a hygienic sense, but in a moral and sexual sense as well. Drawing from the religious representations of the *Madonna Immaculata*, the white aprons became a secular symbol of virginal innocence."[87]

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85 Cf. Grundhewer, "Von der freiwilligen Kriegskrankenpflege," 146-148; Gaugele, *Kleidung als Medium der Geschlechterkonstruktion*, 208; and: Theweleit, *Männerphantasien*, vol. 1, for example, 142-143.

86 Gaugele, *Kleidung als Medium der Geschlechterkonstruktion*, 208.

87 Ibid., 208. See fig. 3.

The two writers draw consciously upon these religious conceptions, keeping the sexuality of the Red Cross nurse at bay. However, they do not go as far as English and American Red Cross nurses have been described as having gone:

> "In 'dressing up for war,' that is, in adopting the official nursing uniforms, women challenged the traditional notions of separate spheres, Yet, the uniform itself – the quasi-Medieval veils and tippets, the little capes, the starched cuffs and white aprons – seems an absurd costume in which to begin a modern enterprise [...]. But the new clothes liberated the young women to assert their right to cross lines – to cross the Channel, in fact, to cut off their hair, and to wear trousers, boots, and breeches."[88]

Laurie Kaplan notes with respect to the self-narratives of nurses in the Anglo-American context: "…for the self-writing of these two women[89] dramatizes the ways a change of clothes can transform ideas."[90] The authors of my sources, on the other hand, preserve the feminine and religious connotations of their clothing, even as they refer to them as 'uniforms' and understand themselves as *Kamerad-Schwester* (comrade and sister) or 'half-soldiers.' In the end, even in times of war, they preserved the model of gender-segregated spaces and propagated it in their novels. Their uniforms were significant not for their ability to provide access to a male-dominated space, but much more as an expression of belonging and as a claim to a right to participate in the war effort. Both claims are made with the help of the uniform. In doing so, the authors seek to overwrite the danger associated with the image and the activities of the Red Cross nurses. Rather, the novels present a different ambivalence contained within the figure of the Red Cross nurse: she worked outside of the home, in a male, military environment – but nonetheless emerged an innocent, virginal heroine. The novels signal this through clothing (white caps and aprons): though designated as a uniform – hence referencing a form usually reserved for men – dress served just as much to express the Red Cross nurse's feminine, religious character traits.

Conclusion

Red Cross uniforms have been given a variety of meanings, both by outsiders and by nurses themselves, and have often been used to express personal orientations and identification. Clothing helps to create new identities and reflects a process of making meaning.

The ambivalent meanings of Red Cross nurses in World War I as they were remembered in the 1930's was expressed to a great extent through clothing.

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88 Kaplan, "Nurses' Memoirs," 6.

89 This refers to Kaplan's two main sources, the Baroness de T'Serclaes (Flanders and Other Fields: Memoirs of the Baroness de T'Serclaes (London: Harrap, 1964)) and Florence Farmborough's unpublished compendium, written as a diary (located in the Imperial War Museum).

90 Kaplan, "Nurses' Memoirs," 3.

These various and often pointed representations made the Red Cross nurse more and more central to a debate about inclusion and exclusion, the sexualization of women, and the figure of the female heroine. More and more, the figure of the Red Cross nurse reflected gender-specific patterns of behavior, but also desires and dangers. Clothing was *the* key aspect of this debate.

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Persons in Uniform

The Meaning of Clothing for Japanese Prisoners of War in China

Petra Buchholz

Uniforms, and the related concepts of uniforming and uniformity, have negative connotations in modern western societies, and in German society in particular. Uniformity is considered the great enemy of individuality; in foregrounding belonging to an organization, institution, or state, uniforms are thought to come at the expense of the individual. The standardization of uniforms highlights this self-effacing belonging to the utmost degree.[1] At the same time, however, insignia, medals and other variations found in uniform dress serve to *differentiate*, signaling the rank of the individual within the institution and thus revealing a hierarchy amongst those 'uniformly' dressed. Differentiation should not, therefore, be separated from standardization, especially with regard to military uniforms. Standardization *and* differentiation are of equal importance in understanding uniform dress.

Uniformity can be expressed not only in clothing in the strictest sense, but also in hairstyles, headdresses and other external markers. For that reason, a broad definition of dress will be used here. Heide Nixdorff, an ethnologist who has researched clothing extensively, defines it "as every form of intervention shaping the appearance of a person," including hairstyle, facial hair, make-up and tattoos.[2] Although this very broad definition has sometimes been criticized for "not allowing a clear distinction between what is and is not clothing,"[3] it is highly appropriate in the case of the group of people examined here.

As a member of the German Research Foundation's research group, "Self-Narratives in Transcultural Perspective," I have examined the personal accounts of Japanese prisoners of war who, following the termination of World War II in August 1945, spent five years in Russian prisoner of war camps, and then six

1 Cf. Nathan Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms: Communication Through Clothing* (New York: Grennwood Press 1986), 66–68. A critique of the negative connotations of uniformity can be found in Gabriele Mentges, "Die Angst vor der Uniformität," in *Schönheit der Uniformität: Körper, Kleidung, Medien*, ed. Gabriele Mentges and Birgit Richard (Frankfurt am Main: Campus 2005), 17–42.

2 Heide Nixdorff, "Kleidung," in *Wörterbuch der Ethnologie*, ed. Bernhard Streck (Wuppertal: Hammer, 2000), 117–120 (p. 117).

3 Iris Hopf, *Uniform in der Kulturrevolution? Über den Zusammenhang von Schnitttechnik und Ideologie im China der 1960er und 1970er Jahre* (Alltagskulturen Chinas und seiner Nachbarn 4, ed. Mareile Flitsch) (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz Verlag, 2011), 10, note 1.

more years (1950–1956) in a Chinese camp for the reeducation of war criminals. Although for many years the men refused to give any information about their war crimes, they finally submitted confessions to Chinese federal prosecutors and wrote several self-narratives about the atrocities committed in Chinese territory. Of the more than one thousand prisoners of war, only forty-five high-ranking prisoners were tried in court and given prison sentences; no one was given the death penalty. All the other prisoners were released in the summer of 1956 without a trial. Even after their return to Japan, these individuals did not deny the confessions they had made in the Chinese camps. Rather, many wrote additional memoirs in which they confirmed their guilt and described their experience of the Chinese reeducation process.[4]

In order to understand the meaning of clothing, and especially uniforms, for this particular group of people in this period in East Asia, I will – after a short examination of the Japanese and Chinese concepts of 'uniform' – treat the meaning, development and modernity of western-style uniforms in Japan and China. Using several passages from the self-narratives of Japanese returnees from China, I will then examine the meanings these individuals ascribed to the various uniforms prescribed to them.

Uniformity in Japan and China

The term 'uniform', used widely in German, English, and French alike, has its origins in Latin (*uniformis*), and contains the associations of 'homogenous' and 'invariable' – or, with a generally negative connotation – 'monotonous' or 'standardized.'

The word for 'uniform' used both in Japan and in China still today was adopted by the Japanese from Chinese more than a thousand years ago. Originally, it referred to the clothing required for visitors to the imperial court. As in the Latin, the Chinese/Japanese concept is composed of two lexemes, each of which is communicated by one character. While the written form and the meaning are the same in both languages (制服), the pronunciation of the two characters is different (Chin. *zhì-fú*; Jap. *sei-fuku*).

The first lexeme *sei* carries the meaning of control or regulation as well as organization and system. It is used in the combinations shown in the table below, as well as in many others.

The second lexeme *fuku* has two meanings, both in Japanese and in Chinese: clothing, apparel or item of clothing on the one hand, and obedience or submissiveness on the other. This lexical element also occurs in many other combinations, some of which are listed in the table below.

4 Cf. Petra Buchholz, *Vom Teufel zum Menschen. Die Geschichte der Chinaheimkehrer in Selbstzeugnissen* (München: Iudicium, 2010).

制服

sei - fuku

the uniform, the standard dress

制 **control; system, organisation**

服 **1. dress, clothes;**
2. obedience

compositions:

制圧 **mastery, control**

制規 **rules, regulations**

制限 **restriction, restraint, limitation**

制式 **formal, official**

制する **suppress, restrain, control**

1. 青服 **blue work clothes, an overall**

学生服 **student uniform**

軍服 **military uniform**

洋服 **Western (European) dress**

2. 服する **obey; serve (in the army, one's term in prison)**

服役 **penal servitude**

服従 **obedience; submission; subordination**

In contrast to the European concept, the Japanese and Chinese word emphasizes not the uniformity, but the control associated with clothing, that is, its inextricability from power: an individual demonstrates his obedience to a certain organization or state by wearing the uniform it has prescribed.

Throughout Japanese and Chinese history, authorities have given numerous directives concerning uniform clothing or headdress: after the Manchu conquered China in 1644, they ordered that the now subject Han Chinese would adopt their customary hairstyle, known as the Manchu queue, as a sign of submission.[5] The Han Chinese were given ten days to shave the front of their heads and to tie the rest of their hair back into a braid. Failing to conform to this decree was punished by death, and Chinese self-narratives of the time report that massacres associated with the decree claimed countless lives.[6] Adopting the Manchu hairstyle was to signal loyalty towards the new rulers; rejecting it symbolized rebellious tendencies. The braid was a symbol of the Qing dynasty until the founding of the Republic of China in 1911, which marked a radical shift not only in politics, but in hairstyle: no time was lost in "cutting off the old braids." In 1929, the braid was prohibited by law.

In Japan, the relationship between compulsory uniform dress and power became particularly evident during World War II, known in Japan as the Greater East Asia War. During this period, there was a mandatory civil uniform (*kokumin-fuku* = folk dress) consisting of khaki-colored overalls for men and wide pants (*monpe*) for women. Wasting valuable resources for more elaborate clothing was to be avoided, and anyone who disobeyed the law was branded a "traitor to the people" (*hikokumin*). This directive was accompanied by the widely announced slogan, "luxury is our enemy!" (*Zeitaku wa teki da!*). To this day, uniforms are well liked in Japan. Children in school uniforms define the cityscape, and even taxi drivers and elevator-girls wear standard clothing. That sartorial regulations have wide acceptance in Japan is visible from the transitions from summer to winter clothing, which take place on particular, pre-assigned dates (October 1st and April 1st, respectively). Although Japan can be quite warm in early October, it is difficult to find people wearing short sleeves or sandals. The same phenomenon exists in reverse on the first of April: although the weather is often still relatively cool, winter clothing is stowed away and light summer garments are worn.

In both China and Japan, as in many other non-European countries, the adoption of Western clothing had great symbolic value. Wearing it represented an opening to the West and functioned as a public sign of modernization. When Japan emerged from its two hundred year period of isolation, opening up at the beginning of the Meiji era (1868) under the pressure of American warships off of

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5 Joseph Guter, *Lexikon zur Geschichte Chinas. Sieben Jahrtausende im Überblick* (Wiesbaden: Marix Verlag, 2004), 67.

6 See, for example, the massacre of Yangzhou, in Patricia Ebrey, *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook*, 2nd ed. (New York; London: The Free Press, 1993), 271.

the Japanese coast, the still very young Meiji-Tenno had himself photographed in a Western-style suit. The photo was distributed to government agencies, military facilities, universities and schools, where it was to be displayed publicly. It eventually became a symbol of modern Japan.

It is the father of the Chinese Republic, Sun Zhongshan (or Sun Yatsen), who is credited with the design of the Zhongshan suit, later known in the West as the Mao suit or Mao jacket.[7] Aiming to signal modernity without the wholesale adoption of Western style, the suit quickly made a triumphal procession through the whole country, standing for loyalty to the new China and the renunciation of the imperial state.[8] When Mao Zedong proclaimed the People's Republic of China in October 1949, he did so in the suit designed by Sun Yatsen, thereby linking the new Republic to its great founding father. From then on, it became the Mao suit.

Although several forms of the suit exist (a matter I will not treat here[9]), it was often perceived abroad as a uniform. This may have been the result of its muted coloring, but could also reflect the untrained eyes of the observers. In any case, nowhere else in the world did the clothing of the population reflect national identity and the political process of a society as much as it did in China. Nevertheless, the "uniformity of clothing in large parts of society was not the result of any party directive, but stemmed much more from an insecurity regarding what was politically acceptable. In this sense it was a preventative strategy. Uniform clothing was used by large sectors of society to express an active repositioning."[10] Indeed, a general clothing regulation would not even have been feasible at the time, as Chinese clothing production was not developed enough to supply the entire population with uniform dress. Even the complete standardization of the military uniforms of the People's Liberation Army was never achieved.[11] So too was civil dress far from homogenous, at least in the 1950s, since it was produced for the most part at home.[12] Professional clothing was sometimes distributed by businesses,[13] and new, industrially manufactured clothing was given to youths sent to rural areas at the end of the 1960s.[14] Normally, though, clothing was produced in private households, which naturally relied on available fabrics and patterns.

In short, it should be kept in mind that both Japanese and Chinese uniforms were based on western clothing styles and were viewed in both countries as sym-

7 Hopf, *Kulturrevolution* (see note 3), 62–74.

8 Similarly, the Indian statesman, Jawaharlal Nehru, created the Nehru jacket that became the dominant dress in India (and is still worn today by Homi Bhabha, for instance, one of the most important figures in contemporary post-colonial studies).

9 Cf. Hopf, *Kulturrevolution*, 54–103.

10 Ibid., 5.

11 Ibid., 69.

12 Ibid., 85.

13 Ibid., 91.

14 Ibid., 95.

Fig. 1: The CPC party leaders in the 1950s: variation and subtle differentiation in uniform dress.

bols of the modern. For those individuals who grew up in the first half of the 20th century – like the Japanese prisoners of war treated below – this type of clothing, in all its uniformity, represented the clothing of a generation, distinguishing them from their parents and grandparents who generally wore more traditional clothing (or were at least represented in photographs wearing this kind of clothing).

The Meaning of Uniform Clothing for Japanese Prisoners of War

Having given a short description of the cultural context that shaped Japanese soldiers' perceptions of uniform clothing and its relation to power, we can now turn to the treatment of clothing in the self-narratives of China returnees.[15] We can assume that this group of men, whose average age at the time of arrival in China was between thirty and thirty-five, was well acquainted with uniform clothing. Having been drafted into the army shortly after the completion of their primary education, many of them passed seamlessly from school uniforms to military uniforms. Their families, for the most part, would have worn the national "folk dress" mentioned above. The men knew from their daily experiences that uniforms signaled

15 The special group of prisoners of war who spent six years in Chinese reeducation camps before returning to Japan founded the "Association of China Returnees" (*Chūgoku kikansha renrakukai*). Whenever the term "China returnees" is used in the following, it is always in reference to this group of about 1000 men.

belonging: modernity consisted not of the individualized manipulation of personal appearance, but of the adoption of standardized, western-style clothing.[16]

One can assume that what initially mattered most to these men, who had just spent five years under extreme conditions in Russian prison camps, was the very existence of clothing as protection from the cold.

Here I would like to insert a short linguistic remark: there is a word, common both to Chinese and Japanese, which means "basic necessities" or "that which is required to live." The word (Japan. *i-shoku-jū*, Chin. *yi-shi-zhu*) consists of three characters signifying clothing, food, and shelter. The indispensability of these three basic elements has thus entered daily language and become common knowledge.

The China returnees gave these basic needs varying levels of importance in their self-narratives. Accommodations were often described in great detail, and many even included a sketch of their living quarters.[17] Descriptions of food included everything down to consistency, quantity, and any special additions to a meal; a change in menu often warranted its own chapter. The third of the basic necessities, on the other hand, was all but ignored. There are no sketches of clothing, and few bothered to report that they were given any garments at all.

In the account of Yagi Haruo[18], however, we learn not only that clothing was distributed, but what kind:

> "Each year we were given the following items of clothing:
> Summer clothing – a jacket and pants, an undershirt and long underpants, short underpants
> Winter clothing – a jacket and pants (both lined, distributed four times in six years)
> Fabric shoes for the summer, lined winter shoes, winter socks
> Two large blankets (futons), a pillow.
> In addition, products for daily use: a hand towel, a toothbrush, toothpaste, a pen, ink, paper, toilet paper, a broom, a fly swatter, a floor rag."
> In addition, Yagi notes thankfully, "every month tobacco and rolling papers were distributed."[19]

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16 McVeigh has studied the meanings of uniform dress in Japan from a social psychological perspective, and comes to the conclusion that uniforms can be viewed as material markers of a life cycle managed by powerful politico-economic institutions: Brian McVeigh, *Wearing Ideology. State, Schooling and Self Representation in Japan* (Oxford; New York: Berg Publishers, 2000).

17 Cf. Petra Buchholz, "Geständnisse japanischer Kriegsgefangener im geschlossenen Raum. Einsicht unter Zwang," in *Räume des Selbst. Selbstzeugnisforschung transkulturell*, ed. Andreas Bähr, Peter Burschel and Gabriele Jancke (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau, 2007), 197–216 (pp. 205–215).

18 Yagi Haruo was a former officer in the army of the "Manchu State," the Northern Chinese puppet state established by Japan in 1937. After his return, Yagi wrote a two-volume account of his time as a prisoner of war in Russia and China: Yagi Haruo, *Yokuryūki – Miketsu kōryū jūichi-nen* [Chronicles of Captivity: Eleven years of confinement without a trial], Kasuya: Fukuoka keimusho sagyōka 1972 (vol. 1) and 1979 (vol. 2).

19 Ibid. vol. 2, 25-26.

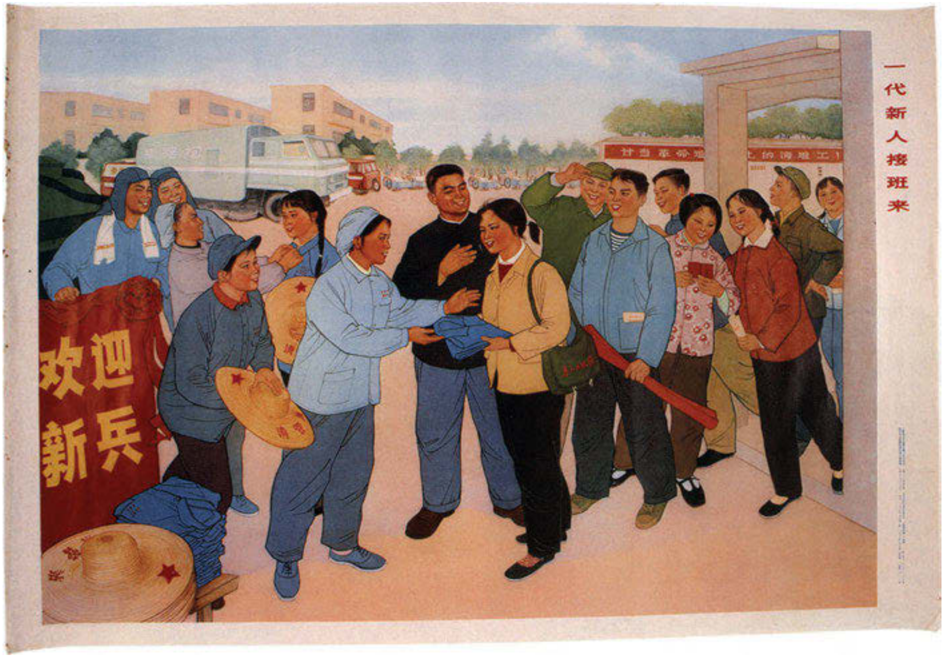

Fig. 2: This poster shows how young students from the cities arrive in the country during the cultural revolution; on point of arrival they are presented with new working clothes. (Chinese poster from the late 1960s)

Mizuguchi Takao, a former federal prosecutor for the Manchu state, was also one of the few who described his joy and surprise at the clothing allowance.[20]

From Uno Shintarō[21], however, we find out that already in the Soviet Union, just a few days before being extradited to the newly founded People's Republic of China, prisoners received "new, if very simple, clothing." The prisoners took this to be an unmistakable sign that they were returning home.[22] Most likely, the new clothing aimed to discourage the impression that the prisoners had been mistreated in the Soviet camps.

The distribution of clothing upon arrival in the Chinese reeducation camps did not, therefore, aim to redress any particular deficit – the prisoners had, after all, just been re-clothed. Rather, the clothing functioned as a symbol of incorporation, comparable to the practice, universal then as now, of assigning prison uniforms. In the Chinese context, this practice may best be compared to the ini-

20 Mizuguchi Takao, "Geständnis eines Staatsanwalts," in *Vom Teufel zum Menschen. Die Geschichte der Chinaheimkehrer in Selbstzeugnissen*, ed. Petra Buchholz (Munich: Iudicium, 2010), 236–266 (p. 237).

21 Uno Shintarō, a former Japanese intelligence officer who wrote an eight-hundred page autobiography: Uno Shintarō, *Kiku to Nihontō jō / ge* [The Chrysanthemum and the Japanese Sword], 2 vols. (Tokyo: Tanizawa shobō 1985).

22 Ibid., vol. 1, 389.

tiation ceremonies of the nineteen-sixties, in which urban youths were given farmer's clothing upon their arrival in the countryside.

None of the China returnees described the specific character of the clothing they received – its style, whether it was new or used, or how comfortable it was. However, such details can be deduced from photographs, which reveal blue work uniforms and peaked caps similar to those worn by the working class and by the staff of the reeducation camp. The clothing, therefore, did not serve to distinguish the prisoners, or to set them apart from the prison personnel; if one of the men had escaped, he would have blended seamlessly into the crowd.

As Yagi Haruo's above list suggests, however, these blue worker uniforms constituted only a small part of the generous package given to the men upon their arrival in China. While the clothing was received with astonishment, the disbursement of items for personal hygiene (which I consider part of the basic necessity of clothing) was met with explicit joy: "a toothbrush again for the first time in years!" [23]

The main reason for the generosity of the camp's authorities was the pacification of the newly arrived prisoners using a "strategy of leniency."[24] The men had believed until shortly before their arrival in China that they were on their way home, and unrest was to be avoided at all costs. Thus, it was repeatedly emphasized both through words and through deeds that, in great contrast to the Soviets, the Chinese would tend to the basic necessities of "food, accommodation, and clothing."

At the same time, however, providing Japanese prisoners with Chinese uniform dress constituted a self-conscious ritual emphasizing that now that they had arrived in the new China, the men were to adjust themselves to Chinese legal precepts and to the revolutionary claims of the people. Did any of the prisoners make note of or bristle at the ideological incorporation suggested by their new uniforms? Or was the acceptance of the clothing of the former enemy, the so ideologically laden Mao suit, a first sign of submission? None of the China returnees addressed these questions. Rather, the most important thing about the new clothing and a great source of common dismay at the time was the small but significant *difference* between their clothing and that of Chinese citizens: the jackets of the locals featured name tags, whereas the labels on the lapels of the Japanese prisoners displayed a number. The number was considered disgraceful, a sign of discrimination and of the men's branding as prisoners.

23 Mizuguchi, *Geständnis*, 237.

24 For this "strategy of leniency" see: Petra Buchholz, "Die 'Strategie der Milde' gegenüber japanischen Kriegsverbrechern in China: Japanische Selbstzeugnisse," *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung (BJOAF)* 31 (2008): 117–141.

Fig. 3: Prisoners gathered in the courtyard of a reeducation camp (in Fushun in northeastern China). (Kindly supplied by "Bujun no kiseki o uketsugu-kai," Tokyo)

Shimamura Saburō, the former chief of the secret police under the Manchu government, recounts the following:

> "One thing, in any case, was not funny at all: each of us had to fasten a tag with a number on it onto our jackets, about at the level of our chests. We were then photographed in the prison yard. In the Soviet Union we were not really prisoners, but more like forced laborers. Now we had become real prisoners. I got the number 895. From that day onwards, for almost ten years, that number was my name."[25]

Sawada Jirō[26] expressed this even more clearly:

> "We went from being 'prisoners' to being 'war criminals.' From that point on, Japanese people were no longer addressed by their name, but by their number. Sawada's number was 265. Everyone had to wear the blue Chinese national dress."[27]

For Sawada, the new Chinese clothing was obviously not a charitable gift, but a compulsory measure. Though Sawada was surely not alone in this perception, there are no further references to uniform dress and its ideological implications in the self-narratives of the China returnees. Yet this does not mean – at least during the first two years of their reeducation – that the clothing was necessarily 'internalized,'[28] the prisoners submitting themselves willingly to their new status. Rather, the opposite was the case. As we learn from subsequent interviews with the prison staff, there was great protest against the new clothing regulations: high-ranking prisoners, especially generals, marched proudly through the camp wearing their former uniforms, complete with badges signifying their rank.[29] Clothing itself functioned as a means of protest.

In the years that followed, the prisoners were continually forced to face their personal guilt in the war crimes committed by the Japanese army. For the most part, the prisoners did not do this willingly or eagerly, let alone linearly; they acted strategically and sometimes deceptively. In order to assess and engage with their interlocutors, however, it was crucial for the prisoners to understand the meanings of the variations of Chinese uniform dress. These were manifold, and included insignia, the form of the collar, the quality and color of the fabric, and the number of buttons and pockets (see image one). The affiliation and rank associated with various colors or badges constituted critical, basic knowledge both for the prisoners and for the Chinese population as a whole. The focus was not on the standardized aspects of the uniform, but on its distinguishing elements.

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25 Shimamura Saburō, *Chūgoku kara kaetta senpan* [The Prisoners of War Who Returned from China] (Tokyo: Nitchū Shuppan, 1975), 18.

26 Sawada Jirō was drafted into the army after graduating from college and had the rank of lieutenant by the end of the war. He is the author of a two-volume autobiography: Sawada, Jirō: *Hōkō* [An Itinerant Life]. Vol. 1: "Shiberia" [Sibirien]. (Tokyo: Jihi shuppan, 1988); vol. 2: "Chūgoku" [China]. (Tokyo: Jihi shuppan, 1991).

27 Ibid., vol. 2, 4.

28 For the function of clothing in identity creation, see Hopf, *Kulturrevolution*, 11.

29 For more details on this see: Buchholz, *Teufel*, 26–29.

Fig. 4: High-profile prisoners in court (1956 war crime trials in Shenyang).

This emerges clearly from Uno Shintarō's description of the "sessions for self-accusation," small groups in which individual prisoners reported on their activities during the war. As the participants waited for the Chinese instructor,

> "suddenly, the sound of footsteps could be heard in the prison corridor, then the rattle of doors as several people entered the neighboring cells. Finally, our door, too, was unlocked, and two people entered silently, with a faint smile on their lips. One of them was wearing a dark blue Mao suit, like the one worn by the cadres. […] The other man followed him and carried several folders under his arm; he seemed to be the assistant, and wore the greenish uniform of the "Chinese Liberation Army" with the name tag on the left side of his chest and the cap with the red star on his head. He was thin, but of robust stature."[30]

Uno's description suggests the extent to which four years of detention had cultivated his ability to 'read' signs expressed in the particularities of uniforms.

Only towards the end of the six-year reeducation process did clothing again become an issue: shortly before the war crimes tribunals in Shenyang (1956), as we learn from several of the some forty-five individuals tried, new clothing was once again distributed.[31] Indeed, it is clear from image four that the defendants

30 Uno, *Kiku*, vol. 2, 111-112.
31 For example, Shimamura, *Chūgoku*, 218.

were not wearing the blue worker's clothing that they had worn in the prison, but freshly ironed suits made from better material.

Shortly before their release and return home, all the prisoners were once again re-clothed. When Uno Shintarō was given notice of his discharge, the prison director ceremonially removed his number from his jacket.[32] The prisoners re-entered the outside world well-fed, clean-shaven, and, of course, with Mao suits. By this time, after six years of reeducation, all the men had confessed their crimes and sworn to never again support a war of aggression.

After one and a half decades abroad, the men returned to Japan. No sooner had they returned than a conflict erupted over clothing, what one might call a "clash of affiliations." Upon their arrival, the men were given the uniforms of the so-called "Japanese self-defense forces." Their reabsorption into their home country – and their rejection of the ideological influence of China – was to be sealed through a change in uniform. The men indignantly refused. Rather, it was the blue uniform dress associated with the Chinese "strategy of mildness" that had become their garment of choice. They wore this clothing as an expression of their newly gained pacifism and as a sign of their connectedness with the Chinese people, generous as they had shown themselves to be to the men.

In a conversation recorded fifty years after his return home, Sawada Jirō recounted the incident in the following manner:

> "We had no sense for the value of money. It was meaningless to us, even if we were told that it was worth this or that. Yet when we were given the military uniforms, we knew exactly what was going on. We were being treated like idiots. We had suffered enough as a result of such things, and it was a disgrace to now so shamelessly give us something like that."[33]

Surely some of the men did not refuse the warm boots of their new uniforms, and the majority of the returning prisoners, many of whom had to look for employment, did not wear the Chinese national uniform in their daily lives in Japan.

One of the returnees, Yokoyama Teruhiko, a former judge in the Japanese puppet state, was sentenced to imprisonment in China and returned to Japan only a number of years after the others. He reports in his memoirs that upon his arrival in the Japanese harbor, his family rushed onto the ship to give him neutral clothing, demanding he change into them then and there so that he wouldn't meet the cameras of the reporters in the infamous Mao suit.[34]

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32 Uno, *Kiku*, vol. 1, 1.

33 Sawada Jirō, "Haisen kara kikoku made" [From Defeat to the Return Home], *Kikan Chūkiren* 1 (1997): 3–25 (p. 5).

34 Yokoyama Teruhiko, *Bōkyō – Moto-Manshūkoku saibankan no yokuryū jukei-ki* [Homesick: A judge in former Manchuria reports on his time in captivity] (Tokyo: Saimaru shuppansha, 1973), 225.

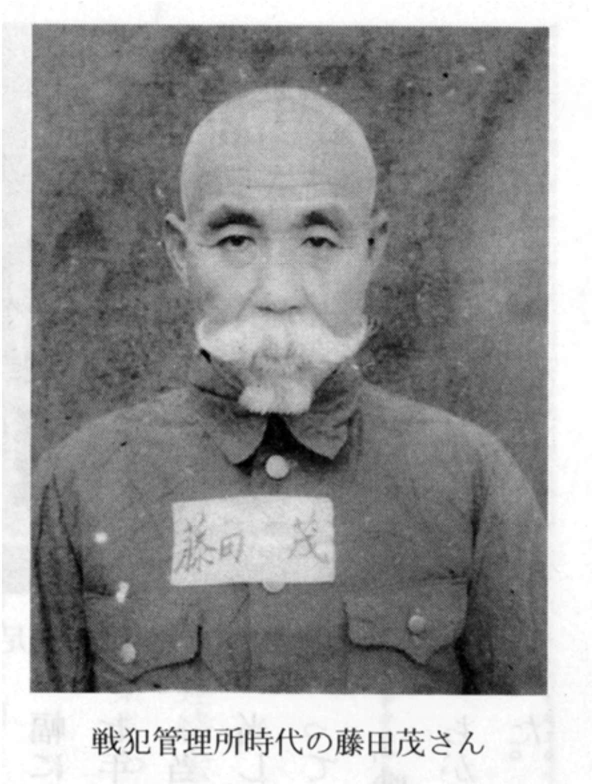

Fig. 5: Fujita Shigeru, 1950; identification photograph, taken of each prisoner after the distribution of uniform clothing; numbers were attached to the uniforms shortly thereafter.

In 1965, after all those who were convicted of war crimes had returned to Japan, the first delegation of the Japanese-based "Association of the China Returnees" traveled to the People's Republic of China. Fujita Shigeru, a former general in the Japanese army and the elected president of the association, led the delegation. Zhou Enlai, then prime minister of the People's Republic, received the men and presented Fujita with a gift from the Chinese people: a dark blue Mao suit. The suit signaled that the prime minister welcomed the repentant war criminals as friends of the Chinese people. It was a token of forgiveness and a gesture of acceptance. Fujita, who had been one of the generals to protest his prisoner of war status and the uniform that represented it by parading through the camp in his japanese military uniform and with an upturned moustache, accepted the gift with delight and gratitude. He even asked that he be buried in exactly this Mao suit; when he died fifteen years later, his relatives fulfilled this wish.

Although on first impact, clothing seems to be neglected in the self-narratives of China returnees, their repeated "incorporation through uniform dress" was significant and marked various phases of their lives. Yet the fact that Fujita decided of his own free will to don Chinese clothing should not be seen as a sign of thankfulness alone. It was also an act of control over his own appearance. He represented himself through the choice of a uniform.

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Between Uniform and Life-Form – Uniforms in the Artwork of Andrea Zittel

Kathrin Engler

"Some artists make objects, my work is the organization of a life."[1]

Under the artistic 'corporate identity' *A-Z Enterprise*, a name based on her initials, American conceptual artist Andrea Zittel (b. 1965) has been creating textile sculptures, inhabitable installations, furniture and food since 1991. She describes them as "experiments in living". Yet, Zittel's A-*Z Enterprise* is not so much a design studio as an ongoing autobiographical artistic experiment. Her conceptual starting points include individual restrictions, social ordering systems and social conditioning, whose rules and structures she questions, while engaging in self-experimentation. More simply put, the artist is interested in understanding just what rules are and the origin of the human need to construct them. In the process of producing designs that respond to her own living circumstances, Zittel critically investigates modernism's history with the critical intent of revealing its guiding assumptions. This genealogical approach furthermore corresponds to an archaeological point of view, providing a kind of ethnology of one's own particular culture that traces the manifold differences of modern art and design history.

Emulating the simplified modernist design idiom of the early 20th century, Zittel focuses on how the perception of human needs is socially constructed. In the project entitled *A-Z Personal Uniforms*, she chooses the body as a base material and artistic object of research. At the heart of her work is individual striving through the creation of 'personal' and yet highly structured systems and rules that create temporary spheres of freedom and continually revise those rules that determine our everyday lives and are for the most part no longer questioned. Here, the case to be examined is uniforming.[2] In examining this artistic paradigm – i.e. the creation of spheres of action combined with the sense of social responsibility that characterizes the contemporary artistic attitude – Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical dis-

1 Cherry Kaplan, "Social Study: An Interview with Andrea Zittel," *Db artmag*, April 16, 2004. http://homepage.mac.com/allanmcnyc/textpdfs/zittel1.pdf (accessed August 20, 2011).

2 This essay does not conceive of uniforming as an instrument of state and authoritarian control and power. This was the case, for instance, during the Nazi dictatorship, which aimed at a standardization and appropriation – that is, a uniformization – of society. Instead, in what follows, uniforming will designate a vestimentary practice that constitutes a "fundamental body technique and action [...] which culturally shapes the body and makes it communicable." Cf. Gabriele Mentges, "Uniform – Kostüm – Maskerade. Einführende Überlegungen," in *Uniformierungen in Bewegung. Vestimentäre Praktiken zwischen Vereinheitlichung, Kostümierung und Maskerade,* ed. Gabriele Mentges, Dagmar Neuland-Kitzerow, and Birgit Richard (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2007), 13–27 (p. 14).

course and his concept of habitus[3] will play an important role. It is moreover those "stereotypical repetitions"[4] of incorporated human thought, perception and behaviour patterns which Judith Butler appropriately terms in reference to the concept of habitus a "theory of body knowledge".[5] Andrea Zittel has made this the focus of her creative work, much as if she were heeding the call of the French philosopher Gilles Deleuze: "The world is such that it consists primarily of perfect, stereotypical repetition. Within this world, we constantly rejoice in small differences, variations and modifications."[6] Another parallel to Bourdieu's habitus theory is expressed in Zittel's critical distance to the constraints of these norms, established through constant repetition. This will be analyzed in the following on the basis of the uniform project.

The following discussion represents the initial results of my dissertation, which focuses on the oeuvre of Andrea Zittel.[7] First, the genesis of Zittel's textile sculptures will be elucidated in order to then examine the role of uniforms in art and her conceptual approaches. Inquiring into Zittel's production methods, forms and materials will make it possible to identify the shifting and re-establishment of boundaries of traditional artistic genres (painting, sculpture, architecture) and related disciplines (design, handicrafts) in her work. Zittel's approach is a prominent example of contemporary art that deals with design and its pervasive impact on everyday life, without claiming to be design itself.[8] In the intersection of art, design

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3 Bourdieu developed his habitus theory within the context of his socio-anthropological research on the evolution of internal social structures in Algeria and his art theoretical investigations. According to Bourdieu, during socialization, most human thinking, perception and behavior patterns, language, posture, gestures, habits, etc. are either socially mediated or individually learned, class-specific in their generation and mostly unconsciously incorporated through regular repetition. Social actors are able to organize the world with the help of the habitus, which, in turn, simultaneously neutralizes this practice. Bourdieu describes the habitus as systematic, which in his opinion explains the phenomenon of uniform lifestyles. Cf. Pierre Bourdieu, *Entwurf einer Theorie der Praxis auf der ethnologischen Grundlage der kabylischen Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1978) and Markus Schwingel, *Pierre Bourdieu zur Einführung* (Hamburg: Junius Verlag, 2005), 73.

4 Gilles Deleuze, *Differenz und Wiederholung* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1992), 12. Claus Pias, "Multiple," in *Dumonts Begriffslexikon zur zeitgenössischen Kunst*, ed. Hubertus Butin (Cologne: Dumont Verlag, 2006), 219–224 (p. 221).

5 As in Bourdieu's habitus theory, Butler uses this concept to describe the body as a site or receptacle of those customs that a particular culture creates and maintains to ensure belief in its own inevitability. Thus a "social reality" is manifested in the body that could not exist without it. Judith Butler, *Haß spricht. Zur Politik des Performativen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2006), 237–238.

6 Deleuze, *Differenz und Wiederholung*, 12. Pias, "Multiple," 219–224 (p. 221).

7 Kathrin Engler, "Patterns of Life – Andrea Zittel's 'A-Z Enterprise'," Freie Universität Berlin.

8 In addition to Andrea Zittel, well-known representatives of a design-based art include Tobias Rehberger, Liam Gillick, Jorge Pardo, Angela Bulloch and Richard Artschwager. Nonetheless, this is not an identifiable group of artists. Rather, these contemporary artists draw upon certain avant-garde precursors and, in the attempt to re-contextualize art as a critical intervention, disrupt the traditional boundaries between 'fine' and 'applied' art (i.e. design). The British art critic Alex Coles coined this artistic practice as *design art*, a term that I

and handcrafts, the artist strives to create individual spaces of action: "All of my work keeps coming back to the idea of individual empowerment."[9] These aspects should be understood from a genealogical perspective of artistic practice and conceptually applied art that stems from the beginning of the 20th century, and especially the 1990s.

From Uniformity to Diversity – Uniforms in Art

The history of the uniform is closely linked to the military in its origins. Indeed, uniforms were initially developed as military paraphernalia. In modern times, so-called unit clothing in business and politics guaranteed predictable behaviour and continues to shape traditional notions of the term 'uniform'. Its function, on the one hand, is to strengthen social cohesion within the respective group. On the other hand, it serves as a means of delineation from, and communication with, non-group members. The uniform's traditional characteristic is consistent with its etymological origin, i.e. unity (*uniformité*) in opposition to diversity (*variété* and *diversité*).[10] Even today, the historical-semantic interweaving of military or unity and uniform evoke associations of "authoritarian controlled conformity and de-individualization".[11]

In view of this cultural lineage, an analysis of the role of uniforms in the arts is all the more compelling. In this context, they provide for an extension or even re-establishment of the traditional uniform concept. (Even if the performative moment of dress conforms to comparably rigid rules, in the arts there is usually an overt reference to otherness or a demarcation of the masses.) Further, although serialism[12] emerged in particular in the era of industrial mass production along with

find problematic for a variety of reasons and therefore only refer to it here. Cf. Alex Coles, *DesignArt. On art's romance with design* (London: Tate Publishing, 2005).

9 Kirsten Hudson, "Andrea Zittel Interview," *SuperNaturale*, http://www.supernaturale.com/articles.html?id=149 (accessed February 25, 2012).

10 On this, see also Gabriele Mentges, "Die Angst vor der Uniformität," in *Schönheit der Uniformität: Körper, Kleidung, Medien*, ed. Gabriele Mentges and Birgit Richard (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2005), 17–42, (p. 19).

11 Regina Henkel, *Corporate Fashion. Uniformen in Unternehmen. Textil – Körper – Mode*, vol. 5 (Berlin: edition ebersbach, 2008), 11. Jochen Ramming deals with the negative connotation of uniforms, which emerged at the beginning of the 20th century, in congruence with the broader concept of "uniformity", and refers to the "industrial massification of consumption and culture". Jochen Ramming, *Die uniformierte Gesellschaft. Zur Rolle vereinheitlichender Bekleidungsweisen am Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts. Beamtenuniform – Rabbinertalar – Nationalkostüm* (Würzburg: Veröffentlichungen zur Volkskunde und Kulturgeschichte, 2009), 10.

12 The terms of the serial or serialism in the following refer to not only industrial production methods, but also repetitive structures as "constitutive elements in the designing" of artistic productions. Elke Bippus, *Serielle Verfahren. Pop Art, Minimal Art, Conceptual Art und Postminimalism* (Berlin: Reimer Verlag, 2003), 192.

In his dissertation about uniformity in the visual arts ("Uniformität in der bildenden Kunst"), the art historian Sven Drühl divided artistic techniques of serialism into four categories: re-the advent of sophisticated reproductive technologies, repetitive structures did not make their first appearance in artistic practice in the modern era. Artistic reproduction techniques such as casting, engraving, embossing or etching were already in use in ancient times. In the Middle Ages, the printing press revolutionized the magnitude of print circulation. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the invention of photography, film and sound technology enhanced traditional art genres to include new reproducible forms of expression. These developments prompted the philosopher Walter Benjamin in the mid-1930s to write his influential essay *Das Kunstwerk in Zeiten seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit (The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction)*. In it, he addresses the loss of "aura" in artworks and a "tendency to surmount the uniqueness" and attests to a "sense of similarity". At the same time, he introduces these very techniques as a new aesthetic category in art.[13]

With radio and television becoming a pervasive part of everyday life in the mid-20th century, the reproduction process turned into a mass phenomenon. By the 1960s at the latest, Pop and Minimalist artists began to seriously engage with Benjamin's writings and contributed to a positive understanding of the serial or uniform in the artistic context. Pop artists like Andy Warhol and Claes Oldenburg did so not only by adopting serial processes in the production of their works. They also elevated seriality itself to the level of discourse as a way of coming to terms with consumer and popular culture at a time of great economic growth and mass consumption. By contrast, representatives of Minimalist art, such as Donald Judd and Allan McCollum, primarily created systematically arranged works from mostly industrial products such as brick, neon tubes and steel plates. Individual artistic gestures were to be avoided. Instead, the central themes of this art were the importance of resisting meaning, the tautological presence of the objects and the objects'

production, series, variations and multiples. Reproductions are an exact "technical reproduction" of a particular work of art, such as a photographic copy in print media or on digital storage media. Series are understood as works of art which are conceived as production-line sequences or as part of a larger group, vary slightly and are moreover interconnected by a system of constants and variables. Variations are modifications of one and the same theme with minimal differences. They may have come directly from the artist's hand or have been produced by someone else. Multiples usually refer to three-dimensional art works that are composed "of a certain number of *serial*-made objects that are economically, physically and aesthetically *equivalent*" and have been authorized by the artist. Each multiple is also an original, although not one of a kind. In theory, they are well-suited to mass production. See Sven Drühl, "Der uniformierte Künstler. Uniformität in der bildenden Kunst," in *Uniformierungen in Bewegung. Vestimentäre Praktiken zwischen Vereinheitlichung, Kostümierung und Maskerade*, ed. Gabriele Mentges, Dagmar Neuland-Kitzerow, and Birgit Richard (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2007), 75–88 (pp. 75–76); and Edward Lucie-Smith, *The Thames and Hudson Dictionary of Art Terms* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984), 126, 160, 169, 195.

13 Walter Benjamin, *Das Kunstwerk in Zeiten seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1963), 11–18.

reference to nothing but themselves.[14] Since then, reproductive structures are no longer typical of only industrial manufacturing techniques and characteristic of handicrafts, but rather recognized art forms that have expanded the traditional boundaries of art.

In parallel with the ongoing development and establishment of serial production processes, serial reproduction techniques also became more prominent in the vestimentary practices of artists. Sven Drühl distinguishes between two basic types of "artist uniforms", which can vary greatly in their individual designs. First, artists create so-called "individual artist uniforms"[15] as a unique feature or an expression of an (artistic) habitus, or as Drühl defines it: "The individual artist uniform signifies for a person an archetypal, fixed style of dress with a high recognition value. It does not fundamentally change, but only in the details. It also does not depend on the prevailing fashion. [...] The individual artist's uniform often even signals a deliberate move away from fashion."[16] On the other hand, individual artist groups use a uniform style of dress to create a collective look or a kind of "corporate identity". The *A-Z Uniforms* series of works by Andrea Zittel show a combination of USP (*unique selling proposition*) or artist habitus and a putative corporate identity. The artist has produced the uniforms since 1991 in the course of her continuing efforts to bring together art, design and handicrafts.

The Genealogy of the A-Z Uniforms

Zittel's original idea for the ongoing *A-Z Uniforms* project came out of a financially precarious situation and a time when she found herself as a gallery assistant faced with the expectation of having to dress in a prescribed manner every day. The artist moreover questioned the habitus (in consumer societies) of changing clothes on a daily basis: "[…] social etiquette dictates that we wear a different change of clothes every day. Sometimes this multitude of options can actually feel more restrictive than a self-imposed constant. Because I was tired of the tyranny of constant variety, I began a six-month uniform project."[17] As part of her artistic experiment, Zittel created the first *A-Z Six-Month Personal Uniform*[18] (1991), in which she prescribed to herself the rule of having to wear a design every day for an entire six

14 Cf. Barbara Hess, "Pop Art," in *Dumonts Begriffslexikon zur zeitgenössischen Kunst*, ed. Hubertus Butin (Cologne: Dumont Verlag, 2006), 245–250 and Sebastian Egenhofer, "Minimal Art," in idem, 210–214.

15 Sven Drühl, "Die individuelle Künstleruniform," in *Schönheit der Uniformität*, 115–138 (p. 115).

16 Drühl, *Der uniformierte Künstler*, 78.

17 http://www.andrearosengallery.com/exhibitions/2004_1_andrea-zittel/ (accessed October 26, 2011).

18 The exact designation of the uniforms changes continually over time.

ANDREA ZITTEL. A–Z Uniforms, 1991–2000. Andrea Rosen Gallery, Gallery 2, New York. January 23–February 21, 2004. © Andrea Zittel, courtesy the artist and Andrea Rosen Gallery, New York.

months. There are currently well over seventy varieties. Each *Uniform* is now no longer worn for six months, but instead manufactured in three-month cycles for the corresponding seasons.

The first generation of *A-Z Personal Uniforms* (1991–1995) consists of sewn and straight-cut wool garments. The individual designs change from simple cloth garments to silk appliqué with tulle patterns and elaborate wool petticoats.[19] Next were the so-called *A-Z Personal Panel Uniforms* (1995–1998), which borrow from the geometric patterns and shapes of the fabric and clothing designs of the Russian Constructivists. Drawing inspiration from Varvara Stepanova's[20] axiom

19 Paola Morsiani and Trevor Smith (eds.), *Andrea Zittel: Critical Space*, exhibit. cat. (Houston; New York; Munich: Prestel Verlag, 2005), 70.

20 The designs of Russian graphic designer, fashion designer, costume and set designer Varvara Stepanova (1894–1958) were inspired by the language of technical design. Together with other artists Stepanova embraced a socially responsible art that is intended to be good for society as a whole, suitable for everyday use and also, using advanced techniques, lends itself to mass production. Notably, Stepanova also designed uniform-like overalls as work clothes. Cf. Mel Byars, *The Design Encyclopedia* (London: Laurence King/New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2004), 708–709.

that "the *faktur* of the material"[21] should be preserved, Zittel appropriated the design postulate of the group by manufacturing her clothing out of the basic rectangular form of the material. The garment's square-based design language is upheld, even after minimal intervention in the design through the artist. In designing the uniforms, Zittel continually customizes and expands upon her rules: "I firmly believe that it is easier to be creative when one has guidelines. I have always been interested in creating parameters and then of going wild within that particular set of parameters."[22] In the case of Zittel's *Personal Panels*, the artist first draws on the design principles of a previous artistic movement, only to then gradually replace them with her own self-determined rules.

In her *A-Z Rough Uniforms* (1998), Zittel achieves expansion by means of reduction, as she directly tears off material from the bolts of cloth, while making only slight modifications. Safety pins hold the straps to the uniform's funnel-like remainder and fabric ends. This manner of production not only reduces Zittel's expenditure of time, but also enables her to develop a design that appears attractive and sophisticated, despite its simple and reduced concept. During the same year, the artist refined her original concept even further with her *A-Z Single Strand Uniforms* (1998–2001). Instead of utilizing prefabricated materials, she produced her uniforms using only wool yarn and crochet hooks. The latter were soon substituted with her own fingers, which significantly reduced the manufacturing process to the raw material thread and her own body: "I liked crochet because it required the least number of implements possible in the construction of the garment […] I liked the purity of this idea, as it reminded me of an insect spinning its own cocoon, but instead I would be using my body to weave a covering for itself."[23] As a result of the improvements to Zittel's crocheting technique, the geometrical patterns of the crocheted uniforms have lost their linear structure and given way to irregular, organic shapes. In addition, the artist has developed a way of working that is sensitive to the perceived personal limitations of her nomadic lifestyle, since it does not depend on location and can be taken anywhere and be done anytime.

Andrea Zittel has now reached the point of also being able to produce her own materials in her work-in-progress oeuvre. With the *A-Z Fiber Uniforms* (2002–present), items of clothing are created from materials she has felted herself. The artist observes: "After I had finally reduced the tools of production to simply using

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21 Quote from the Moscow evening newspaper (*Wetschernaja Moskwa*). "Von der Kleidung zur Zeichnung und zum Stoff." Varvara Stepanova and Alexander Nikolaewitsch Lawrentjew (eds.), *Warwara Stepanowa. Ein Leben für den Konstruktivismus.* (Weingarten: Kunstverlag Weingarten, 1988), 180.

22 Andrea Zittel, "Representing Experience," in *Where Does Art End, Where Does Life Start? Proceedings of the conference on September 12 and 13, 2008, on the occasion of the exhibition "Andrea Zittel, Monika Sosnowska: 1:1" at Schaulager Basel*, ed. Annamira Jochim and Theodora Vischer (Göttingen: Steidl Verlag, 2009), 67–72 (p. 71).

23 http://www.andrearosengallery.com/exhibitions/2004_1_andrea-zittel/ (accessed January 14, 2012).

my own hands, I then began to consider the material that I was using. What if I could trace the strand of yarn back to its original form as fiber? Now I am finally beginning to make the most direct form of clothing possible by hand 'felting' wool directly into the shape of a garment […]."[24] The *A-Z Fiber Uniforms* are the result of a continually scaled-back mode of production, where the aim is to develop materials and manufacturing techniques that are made for everyday use, "incredibly primitive",[25] and yet elegant and sophisticated. Zittel thus shows over the course of two decades how an attractive design can emerge from extremely limited resources. As curator Trevor Smith remarks: "This process led her to realize that it is easier to be creative when the parameters are narrowed than when all options are possible."[26] Moreover, in making her designs the artist has created a production process that increasingly becomes a kind of work with her own body. From the technique of finger crochet, a forward motion which generates no wasted material, to felting, which turns raw wool into clothing, Zittel's artistic approach is a way of producing something that is "made by the body for the body".[27]

What conclusions might be drawn from this artistic practice and what significance does it have in the current context of art? Well-known examples of the artist's uniform being displayed on the body with its associated presentation practices are found in the cases of Joseph Beuys (wearing jeans, white shirt, vest, fur boots and a felt hat) and Bruce Nauman (wearing a plaid shirt, jeans, western boots and an Old-West-style cowboy hat). Andrea Zittel also creates an individual iconography with her *A-Z Uniforms*, whose recognition value is at once a means of presentation and stylization. The fact that her individualized artist's uniform is not only worn in public, but also in private, makes her clothing both part of her artistry and her personal identity.[28] The uniform has the character of sculpture in her work and, as a drawing shows, is virtually a "signature on one's own body".[29] Of far greater significance, however, is the fact that her 'do-it-yourself' approach, in contrast to her avant-garde precursors, pursues the idea of creating a self-determined

24 http://www.andrearosengallery.com/exhibitions/2004_1_andrea-zittel/ (accessed January 14, 2012).

25 Ibid., (accessed January 14, 2012).

26 Trevor Smith, "Andrea Zittel," http://www.newmuseum.org/exhibitions/397 (accessed February 29, 2012).

27 Cf. Oliver James, "Andrea Zittel at Regen Projects," http://slamxhype.com/art-design/andrea-zittel-at-regen-projects/ (accessed September 10, 2011).

28 In her dissertation *Sixties Dress Only. Mode und Konsum in der Retro-Szene der Mods*, Heike Jenss remarks on the identity-generating function of clothing that promotes a "personal situatedness." Gabriele Mentges also examines the construction of individuality through fashion, which, as a cultural-based behavioral technology, is linked "with modernity's promise of individualization," "because a social independence of action is presumed along with the expectation of the self-determined visual/material design of the individual person." Cf. Heike Jenß, *Sixties Dress Only. Mode und Konsum in der Retro-Szene der Mods* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2007), 12–13 and Mentges, *Die Angst vor der Uniformität*, 21.

29 Drühl, *Der uniformierte Künstler*, 135.

ANDREA ZITTEL. *Two Public Sculptures*. 1999. Pencil on paper. 22 × 30 inches (55.9 × 76.2 cm). © Andrea Zittel, courtesy the artist and Andrea Rosen Gallery, New York

identity by means of a more active, critical and creative form of consumption. Zittel herself repeatedly uses the phrases "individual empowerment" or the "empowered consumer".[30] The creation of individually posited norms – which she introduces in place of social and culturally accepted, but, in her view, not (sufficiently) reflected conventions – is Zittel's method of acquiring autonomy and freedom. In the tradition of Bourdieu, Zittel recognizes fashion as a material cultural and a behavioural technology of consumer cultures. Through fashion, individuals and social actors aim to assign themselves to particular social groups or delimit themselves from other classes. The fashion researcher Jennifer Craik describes this habitus as follows:

> "Everyday fashion plays an important role in the lives of most people. Systems of fashion and cycles of popularity percolate through contemporary life. Styles, conventions, and dress codes can be identified in all groups, including subcultures, ethnic groups, alternative lifestyles, workplace and leisure cultures, and in all the mundane places and institutions of everyday life."[31]

30 Kirsten Hudson, "Andrea Zittel Interview," *SuperNaturale*, http://www.supernaturale.com/articles.html?id=149 (accessed February 25, 2012).

31 Jennifer Craik, *The Face of Fashion: Cultural Studies in Fashion* (London: Routledge, 1994), xi.

Clothing practices are thus expressions of the respective habitus, by means of which the social actors not only order the world but also situate themselves *in* it. Similarly, one can describe the comparable preferences for certain clothing habits as similar 'dispositions',[32] to use another Bourdieuian term. Zittel investigates the everyday cultural technology of dressing with a very systematic approach. She shows how the human need for control and security has caused this habitus to become a silently incorporated norm, that structures but also restricts our daily lives. Nevertheless, she succeeds in the case of her *A-Z Uniforms* to bring together unreflected normative vestimentary practices and a personal limitation in something that is progressive "and demonstrates how they can become the basis of countercultural and emancipatory action".[33] Through the 'redesign' of her own clothing technology, Zittel transforms the body as a medium for storing everyday rituals and opposes 'social reality' with her own.

In her quest for autonomy and control, she also parodies the manufacturing techniques of industrial mass production, marketing and business strategies such as corporate branding.[34] In contrast to these standard means of production, Zittel utilizes a manufacturing process that is itself a 'creative gesture', while the daily wearing of the same uniform clearly breaks with traditional fashion-industry practices. Likewise, the artist's lifestyle becomes her source of inspiration, out of which she generates a new form of social action in the artistic field. The reestablishment of public and private, in turn, indicates her 'role', for she not only cares about people and their lives and regulatory structures, but also makes her art into an extension of her own life. One could also say that she has transformed her life into a lasting work of art.

Assuming that uniformity and individuality are in fact diametrically opposed to each other, Zittel's effort to present her body and her self through uniforming may seem absurd at first. But it is this logic of the paradox, this co-implication of normally conflicting categories, which runs through Zittel's work like a common thread. She designs objects which illuminate concepts such as freedom and control, public and private, authorization and limitation. On the one hand, Andrea Zittel brings common notions of uniformity[35] together with an 'individual uni-

32 Bourdieu characterized dispositions as "tendencies – mediated by the habitus – to act in a specific way under certain circumstances." They precede the habitus. Due to Bourdieu's constant revisions of the term, a precise definition is not possible and must be inferred from the particular context in which it is used. Eva Barlösius, *Pierre Bourdieu* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2006), 187.

33 Paola Morsiani, "Emancipated Usage: The Work of Andrea Zittel," in *Andrea Zittel: Critical Space*, ed. Paola Morsiani and Trevor Smith, exhibit. cat. (Houston; New York; Munich: Prestel Verlag, 2005), 16–29 (p. 17).

34 Corporate branding or brand formation refer to companies' targeted creation of brands with the aim of producing, establishing and ultimately increasing the value of a distinctive image. Franz-Rudolf Esch e.a., *Corporate Brand Management. Marken als Anker strategischer Führung von Unternehmen*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden: Gabler, 2006), vii.

35 See footnote 2.

formity', placing a restriction on autonomy and freedom that inquires about "the conditions and forms in which difference and the construction of personal and social identity are materially expressed and represented."[36] She is therefore interested in transforming the view of the reality of dressing behaviour, which is characterized by a "synthesis of uniforming practices and individualization"[37], and in creating new categories for her explorations of the social dimension of the contemporary clothing reality.

With a mixture of archaeological and ethnological insight – which furthermore points to Bourdieu – Zittel's uniform project takes a critical look at fashion as a tangible cultural and consumer object. It examines "the associated behavioural processes and contexts of action"[38] and creates a work whose "constitutive design elements"[39] are a repetitive structure that is set against uniqueness as the previous sense-giving principle of a work of art.

Zittel uses the mediality of clothing techniques, which has become especially important in Western cultural societies as a means of expression for the representation of individuality but also for group membership as well as the structuring principle of uniformity. The uniformed body not only stands out from the crowd – it is the bearer of the 'institution' *A-Z Enterprise* and a representative and integral part of its organization. For Zittel, design functions as a vehicle for restructuring, while also serving as a seismograph of human needs and desires, as well as their unconscious social conditioning. In this way, Zittel follows her own developed, self-imposed and constantly changing restrictions and 'rules' in order to merge social concepts of autonomy, freedom, individuality and control. She endeavours to continuously expand them and tests the majority of their limits, while continually broadening the traditional boundaries of art in the process.

During the months of wearing one and the same outfit – something probably unthinkable in most Western societies given today's social conventions – Andrea Zittel finds the limited choice to be liberating. As she describes it: "What makes us feel liberated is not total freedom, but rather living in a set of limitations that we have created and prescribed for ourselves."[40]

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36 Jenß, *Sixties Dress Only*, 20.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid., 34.
39 Bippus, *Serielle Verfahren*, 192.
40 Andrea Zittel, "These things I know for sure," in *Andrea Zittel: Critical Space*, ed. Paola Morsiani and Trevor Smith, exhibit. cat. (Houston; New York; Munich: Prestel Verlag, 2005), 14.

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List of Authors

Petra Buchholz, PhD, diploma in pedagogy and doctorate in Japanology, member of the DFG research group "Self-Narratives in Transcultural Perspective" at Berlin Free University (2004-2011). Her fields of interest include education and various topics relating to Japan, including the school system, culture of writing, writing movements (*jibunshi-undô*), the memory of war, and autobiographical writings. She also focuses on self-narratives in transcultural perspective. Her publications include "Schreiben und Erinnern. Über Selbstzeugnisse japanischer Kriegsteilnehmer" (Munich 2003), and "Vom Teufel zum Menschen. Die Geschichte der Chinaheimkehrer in Selbstzeugnissen" (Munich 2010).

Edhem Eldem, PhD, Université de Provence, Aix-Marseille I, Institut de Linguistique Générale et d'Études Orientales et Slaves. He has taught History at Boğaziçi University in Istanbul since 1989, where he has been full professor since 1998. Eldem is an internationally renowned scholar who has contributed to several highly important works in Ottoman Studies. Most notably, he has authored a path-breaking study and archival catalogue concerning the Ottoman Imperial Bank, a standard work on Ottoman epitaphs (together with fellow specialist Prof. Nicolas Vatin), as well as several important articles on diverse topics in Ottoman Studies including the history of Ottoman archaeology, late-Ottoman prosopographical/biographical studies, and Ottoman intellectual, painter, and archaeologist Osman Hamdi.

Kathrin Engler, MA in Art History and Cultural Anthropology, and since 2011 PhD student in Art History and member of PhD program "History and Cultural Studies" at Freie Universität Berlin. Her research areas include contemporary conceptual art, American art, design, and architecture. Engler is currently writing her dissertation on American artist Andrea Zittel (b. 1965), focusing on how Zittel's work represents current forms of conceptual art that address the impact of economic production systems and social structures on the "design" of people's daily lives.

Joachim Gierlichs, PhD in Islamic Art History. He is the author of several books and numerous articles on various topics relating to Islamic art. He was recently curator at the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha, Qatar (2007–2010); guest curator for "Roads of Arabia" at the Pergamon Museum in Berlin (2011–2012); and research associate at the Museum of Islamic Art for the Yousef Jameel Digitization Project in Berlin (2012–2013). The main focus of his research is the art and material culture of Iran, Turkey, and Central Asia in medieval and early modern times. Since September 2013, he has been associate director for Special Collections and Archives at the Qatar National Library in Doha.

Abdullah Güllüoğlu, MA in Turcology, member of the DFG research group "Self-Narratives in Transcultural Perspective" at Freie Universität Berlin (2007 -2010). Since 2008, he has been a member of the PhD program "History and Cultural Studies" at Freie Universität Berlin. Güllüoğlu's research centers on the Ottoman Empire with particular focus on cultural history, self-narratives, the history of diplomacy, and historiography. He is currently writing his dissertation, entitled *Diplomatische persona im politischen Ritual: Osmanische Gesandten und ihre Berichte aus der Habsburgermonarchie und Preußen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert in ihren zeitgenössischen Kontexten*. Güllüoğlu is a researcher at the History Department of 29 May University in Istanbul.

Sophie Häusner, MA in Modern History, Modern German Literature, and Gender Studies. Her research areas include 19th and 20th century German history, gender history, the history of medicine, research on self-narratives/autobiographics. Häusner is currently writing her dissertation "Kriegserfahrungen von Frauen im Rotkreuzdienst während des Ersten Weltkrieges am Beispiel der autobiographischen Texte der Adrienne Thomas."

Elke Hartmann, PhD, Islamic Studies. Her PhD thesis (Freie Universität Berlin, 2014) explores military conscription during the late Ottoman Empire, 1878-1910. From 2008-2011, Hartmann was a research fellow in the DFG research group "Self-Narratives in Transcultural Perspective" at Freie Universität Berlin. Her research areas include modern Ottoman history with particular focus on questions of modernization, military history, cultural and technical adaptation processes, minorities, nation and state building, collective violence and its organization, and genocide. She is also interested in memory, historiography, and self-narratives. She has published many articles on the history of the late Ottoman Empire and is a specialist in Armenian history and self-narratives. In 2010, she cofounded "Houshamadyan," a project that reconstructs the memory of Ottoman Armenian town and village life (www.houshamadyan.org).

Angela Heimen, MA in History, coordinator of the DFG research group "Self Narratives in Transcultural Perspective" at Freie Universität in Berlin. Her research interests include historical anthropology and gender history. Her master's thesis is entitled *Essgeschichten. Eine Untersuchung am Beispiel der Autobiographie von Thomas Platter* (2006/07).

Gabriele Jancke, PhD, historian, lecturer at Freie Universität Berlin from 2004-2011, member of the DFG research group "Self Narratives in Transcultural Perspective" at Freie Universität Berlin. She completed her habilitation in 2012. Jancke's publications include: *Autobiographie als soziale Praxis. Beziehungskonzepte in Selbstzeugnissen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts im deutschsprachigen Raum* (*Selbstzeugnisse der Neuzeit*, vol. 10), Cologne, Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau, 2002 and *Gastfreundschaft in der frühneuzeitlichen Gesellschaft. Praktiken, Normen und Perspektiven von Gelehr-*

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Esther Juhasz, PhD, Hebrew University 1986, teaches Jewish folklore at Hebrew University of Jerusalem and University of Haifa in Israel. She specializes in the fields of material and visual culture in the Jewish context and has published articles on various related topics such as Jewish dress. Juhasz is editor and principal author of *Sephardi Jews in the Ottoman Empire: Aspects of Material Culture* (Israel Museum, 1990) and of *The Jewish Wardrobe from the Israel Museum Collection* (Milan and Jerusalem 2012). She also serves as academic advisor to the Israel Museum Wing of Jewish Art and Life.

Kornelia Kaschke-Kısaarslan, MA in Modern History, North American Studies, and Art History at Freie Universität in Berlin. Since 2008, she has been a member of the PhD program "History and Cultural Studies" at Freie Universität Berlin. Her research areas include early modern history, history of the Ottoman Empire, research on self-narratives, and historical epistemology. She is currently writing her dissertation *Gelehrte Wissenstraditionen. "Das 'sagenumwobene Morgenland' in Reiseberichten in der Frühen Neuzeit."*

Nina Mönich, MA in History, research associate and since 2012 PhD student at the International Graduate Centre for the Study of Culture (Giessen). She wrote her master's thesis on "Kleidertexte. Mode und Person am Berliner Hof um 1700. Eine Annäherung," and collaborated on the edition "Une conversion au XVIIIe siècle. Mémoires de la comtesse de Schwerin" (eds. Maurice Daumas and Claudia Ulbrich, Bordeaux: Presses universitaires de Bordeaux 2013). Mönich's research interests include material culture, gender history, the history of emotions, auto/biography, and the 18th century.

Claudia Ulbrich, PhD, historian, Professor of Early Modern History and Gender History since 1994 at Freie Universität in Berlin, and speaker of the DFG research group "Self Narratives in Transcultural Perspective" at Freie Universität in Berlin. She is the author of *Shulamit and Margarete. Power, Gender and Religion in a Rural Society in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, transl. by Thomas Dunlap (2004, Paperback 2005). She co-edited with Hans Medick and Angelika Schaser, *Selbstzeugnis und Person. Transkulturelle Perspektiven* (2012), with Gabriele Jancke and Mineke Bosch *Auto/Biographie* (2013), with Kaspar von Greyerz and Lorenz Heiligensetzer, *Mapping the I. Research on Self Narratives in Germany and Switzerland* (2014).

Christine Vogel, PhD, historian, Assistant Professor of Early Modern European History at Universität Vechta. She is the author of "Der Untergang der Gesellschaft Jesu als europäisches Medienereignis" (1758-1773). Publizistische Debatten im Spannungsfeld von Aufklärung und Gegenaufklärung (Mayence 2006) and co-edited with Peter Burschel, "Die Audienz. Ritualisierter Kulturkontakt in der Frühen Neuzeit" (Cologne 2014). She is currently writing her second book "Interkulturelle Diplomatie in der Frühen Neuzeit. Französische Gesandte im Osmanischen Reich (17.-18. Jahrhundert)." Her areas of interest include Ottoman-French relations in the 17th century, diplomacy as transcultural practice and symbolic communication, and press and media in the Age of Enlightenment.

Richard Wittmann, PhD in History and Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University (2008). He studied law, Islamic Studies and Turcology in Munich and Berlin and is associate director of the Orient-Institut Istanbul, a humanities research institute of the Max Weber Foundation. From 2008-11, he was an associated member of the DFG research group "Self-Narratives in Transcultural Perspective" at Freie Universität Berlin. Wittmann's current research focuses on self-narratives as sources of study for the late Ottoman period. He coordinates the international and interdisciplinary research project *Istanbul Memories* (www.istanbulmemories.org) and is coeditor, with Prof. Christoph Herzog (Universität Bamberg), of a new publication series, *Self-narratives of the Ottoman Realm: Individual and Empire in the Near East* (Ashgate, UK).

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