# Untouched by the whims of fashion? Ottoman representation in early modern European costume books (1550-1800)

Peut, Amber

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## Ottoman representation in early modern European costume books (1550-1800)

Amber Peut
s2959186
Leiden University
History (Master) Colonial and Global History
Prof.dr. J.J.L. Gommans
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# Introduction

Pray let me into more particulars, and I will try to awaken your gratitude, by giving you a full and true relation of the novelties of this place, none of which would surprise you more than a sight of my person, as I am now in my Turkish habit, though I believe you would be of my opinion, that 'tis admirably becoming.[1]

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762) was a well educated noble woman with a passion for writing. When her husband became the British ambassador to Turkey, she followed him to Istanbul during the 1710s. During her stay in the city she wrote to many acquaintances about the Ottoman world around her.[2] One especially fascinating passage goes into detail about the Turkish dress she had taken up while in Edirne. She told her friend how she wore a damask pair of drawers, white kid leather shoes, a white silk gauze smock, a damask *antery* (which she calls a waistcoat), a caftan of the same fabric as her drawers, a girdle, a brocade *curdée* (a loose robe), and a *talpock* (a cap fixed on one side of the head).[3]

Montagu was in a special position to view Ottoman dress in person as a European in the early eighteenth century. Most other eighteenth century Europeans however had to make do with illustrations of Ottoman dress. One of the ways in which these Europeans had access to these illustrations was via costume books. These books showed the viewer a collection of the costumes of different people from all over the world, including the Ottoman Empire.[4] It is naive to think that these representations of costumes were wholly accurate though. The very nature of fashion is that it is ever changing after all, thus trapping these moments of time in a single page for a particular country and/or cultural group could possibly lead to a static view of this country and/or cultural group.

This does not take away from the fact that these books give a fascinating look into the expanding worldview of Europeans during the Renaissance and early modern period.[5] These costume books can function as an interesting vehicle to explore this expanding worldview when it comes to an empire that is often viewed as paradoxically European and also non-European: the Ottoman Empire. As Giorgio Riello pointed out in a recent article, these costume books are far less studied than their related genres such as maps and travel narratives.[6] This is especially true when it comes to the ways in which Ottomans were represented in these costume books. Which is surprising since Ottoman representation in other European book genres such as travel narratives and theater have become quite popular

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[1] M. Wortley Montagu, *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M--y W---y M----e: written, during her travels in Europe, Asia and Africa, to persons of distinction, men of letters, &c. in different parts of Europe. Which contain, among other curious relations, accounts of the policy and manners of the Turks; Drawn from Sources that have been inaccessible to other Travellers. Vol II* (London 1763) 27-28.
[2] I. Grundy, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: comet of the Enlightenment* (Oxford 1999) xviii.
[3] Montagu, *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M--y W---y M----e*, 28-30.
[4] G. Riello, 'The world in a book: the creation of the global in sixteenth-century European costume books', *Past and Present* 242:14 (2019) 281-317, there 281.
[5] Ibidem, 284.
[6] Ibidem, 282.

amongst historians in recent years. Especially when it comes to the ways in which these representations changed over time.[7]

This research however, is almost solely lacking when it comes to the representation of Ottomans in early modern European costume books.[8] One reason for this relative lack of research is possibly the reputation of costume books as a 'Renaissance genre' thus making further research after the Renaissance period unnecessary.[9] This assumption however could not be further from the truth. Like maps and travel narratives, costume books were published in large volumes well into the nineteenth century.[10] Ottoman costumes made up a substantial amount of these publications and give a wealth of sources to look into. This begs the question, to what extent did the representation of Ottomans in European costume books develop during the early modern period and what does this say about the genre of the costume book in general?

Costume books have only recently become a subject for historical research. Most of this research however is done for the sixteenth century, which makes sense considering that during this century the genre of the costume book came about.[11] Special focus within this part of the historiography lies on the work of Cesare Vecellio who compiled his costume book *Degli habiti antichi, et moderni* (*On ancient and modern dress from divers parts of the world*) in 1590, with an expanded bilingual edition being released in 1598. It is by no means the only costume book compiled in the sixteenth century, nor the first one, but due to the fact that it is the largest and most important Italian costume book released in the sixteenth century, it has captured the attention of scholars.[12] Ann Rosalind Jones focuses in her article on the time gap between when a particular style was in fashion and when this style was presented in costume books such as the work of Vecellio. According to Jones, this gap was captured by the author in his massive work along with the tensions between local cultures and their fashions and the international circulation of fashions during this era.[13] Eugenia Paulicelli uses a similar approach in her article, but specifically looks at the ways in which Vecellio links the identity of the wearer to their clothes and what this says about individualism and uniformity.[14] Jane Bridgeman approaches the work of Vecellio through a dress history lens and argues that

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[7] See for example recent works such as: H. Baktir, *The representation of the Ottoman Orient in eighteenth century English literature: Ottoman society and culture in pseudo-Oriental letters, Oriental tales and travel literature* (Stuttgart 2014); L. Wolff, *The singing Turk: Ottoman power and operatic emotions on the European stage from the siege of Vienna to the age of Napoleon* (Palo Alto 2016).

[8] One important exception is Charlotte Colding Smith who discusses Ottoman representation in costume books from the sixteenth century in detail. Smith's work will be discussed later on in this essay in more detail. See: C. Colding Smith, *Images of Islam, 1453-1600: Turks in Germany and Central Europe* (London 2014) 123-150.

[9] Giulia Calvi for example refers to costume books as a 'Renaissance Western tradition' and Giorgio Riello only talks about costume books during the Renaissance period in his article. See: G. Calvi, *The world in dress: costume books across Italy, Europe, and the East* (Cambridge 2022) 3; Riello, 'The world in a book', 281-317.

[10] The online *SP Lohia hand coloured rare book collection* alone has over 500 costume books, most of which were published well into the nineteenth century. See: SPL hand coloured rare book collection - category costume, https://www.splrarebooks.com/collection/search?category=182 (consulted January 1st 2024).

[11] Calvi, *The world in dress*, 1; A. Rosalind Jones, 'Habits, holdings, heterologies: populations in print in a 1562 costume book', *Yale French Studies* 110 (2006) 92-121, there 92.

[12] Calvi, *The world in dress*, 3.

[13] A. Rosalind Jones, '"Worn in Venice and throughout Italy": the impossible present in Cesare Vecellio's costume books', *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39:3 (2009) 511-544.

[14] E. Paulicelli, 'Mapping the world: the political geography of dress in Cesare Vecellio's costume books', *The Italianist* 28:1 (2008) 24-53.

*Degli habiti antichi, et moderni* can be viewed as the first modern history of dress due to its insistence on accuracy and its innovative methodology.[15]

This focus on Cesare Vecellio gives a particular Italian lens through which costume books of the sixteenth century are viewed within the historiography.[16] However, some works have also come out that reflect a more diverse, and most important for this essay, Ottoman focus on costume books. The Ottomans began to produce costume albums inspired by European examples during the seventeenth century. This kind of album or *muraqqa* consisted of separate folio's of costume images which were later bound together into an album. Because of its 'patchwork' nature, these albums were all unique with the content and sequence being decided by the compiler of the album.[17] Just like their European counterparts, these focused on representations of certain social classes, ethnic groups or professions within the Ottoman Empire.[18] In both cases costume was seen as a way of giving order to society, evident through the many sumptuary laws established in both regions.[19] These costume albums were made for Ottoman audiences as well as European audiences.[20]

Looking at the representation of Ottomans and their clothing in costume books will automatically lead to related media which explores this subject. For example, Bronwen Wilson explores Ottoman representation in Venetian portrait books of the late sixteenth century.[21] In this article, Bronwen argues that difference in clothing was one way of distinguishing one's religion in these portrait books. The turban in these books for example marked the wearer as a Muslim. Bronwen goes further than clothing however and stresses that during the late sixteenth century as a result of Ottoman-Venetian conflicts, representing Ottomans in portrait books with exaggerated facial features became more apparent. The author argues that this resulted in facial stereotypes being ascribed to ethnic groups like the Turks.

Amanda Wunder also argues that the image of the Ottoman in early modern European sources was in many ways a stereotype. Many European travelers presented 'the Ottoman' as either 'the enemy of antiquities' or 'an eternal, exotic object like the relics of the past'.[22] This last aspect especially was imposed by some European visitors who viewed Ottoman costume as something from 'the distant past'.[23] Stereotyping was done not only through forms of 'Renaissance communication' like the costume book and urban encomium but also through travel accounts. All these forms of communication were often woven together to

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[15] J. Bridgeman, 'The origins of dress history and Cesare Vecellio's 'pourtraits of attire'', *Costume* 44:1 (2010) 37-45.
[16] Although some works focus specifically on Renaissance Germany. See for example: F.G. Crofts, 'Visualizing Germaness through costumes in the sixteenth century', *The Historical Journal* 64:5 (2021) 1198-1229; G. Mentges, 'Fashion, time and the consumption of a Renaissance man in Germany: the costume book of Matthäus Schwarz of Augsburg, 1496–1564', *Gender & History* 14:3 (2002) 382-402.
[17] Muraqqa-inspired makes, https://www.rct.uk/resources/muraqqa-inspired-makes (consulted June 6th 2024).
[18] E. Fetvacı, *The album of the world emperor: cross-cultural collecting and album making in seventeenth-century Istanbul* (Princeton 2019) 113.
[19] Ibidem, 113.
[20] Calvi, *The world in dress*, 27.
[21] W. Bronwen, 'Reflecting on the Turk in late sixteenth-century Venetian portrait books', *Word & Image* 19:1-2 (2003) 38-58.
[22] A.Wunder, 'Western travelers, eastern antiquities, and the image of the Turk in early modern Europe', *Journal of Early Modern History* 7:1-2 (2003) 89-119, there 89.
[23] Ibidem, 115.

craft the European representation of 'the Ottoman'.[24] Wunder argues that these depictions of Ottomans crafted by European visitors to the Ottoman Empire in the late sixteenth century were later replaced by Orientalism in the eighteenth century.[25]

Noel Malcolm however argues that labeling all early modern European attitudes towards Ottomans as simply 'othering' is too oversimplified. For example, political thinkers within Europe viewed the government and religion of the Ottoman Empire with a wide variety of attitudes. From fear and disapproval to fascination and admiration. 'Eastern material', like that from the Ottoman Empire, was often used to shake up political discussions within Europe. It was not only used as a type of scapegoat.[26]

Now that the controversial 'O-word' has been dropped, it is time to explore this term and its applicability to the early modern Ottoman Empire in more detail. Edward Said's influent *Orientalism* (1978) gives multiple definitions for this term, but arguably the most used definition by historians concerned with the question of 'othering' is as follows:

'Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient - dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it; in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.'[27]

Some scholars have taken 'the very roughly defined starting point' of Orientalism farther back than the eighteenth century. For example, Robert Clines argues that Orientalism is a useful concept to describe the ways in which Renaissance Humanists wrote about the East. According to Clines: '(..) Said argued for Orientalism as a *transhistorical* discourse of power and knowledge production by and for the West that tells us far more about the West's view of the Orient than about the Orient itself.'[28] Clines thus argues that the term Orientalism can be used before the eighteenth century.

Other scholars however are hesitant to use the term 'Orientalism' earlier than the late eighteenth century. In their introduction, Marianna Birnbaum and Marcel Sebők argue that Orientalism is not applicable to the Ottoman Empire of the sixteenth century since there was no 'superior' West when it came to military, culture and technology. They view this 'superiority' as a precondition for Orientalism which is in line with what Said stated in his work.[29]

Malcolm's work conforms with Birnbaum and Sebők, but he argues further that Said's thesis is hardly applicable to the early modern period at all.[30] According to Malcolm, there

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[24] Wunder, 'Western travelers, eastern antiquities', 95-115.
[25] Ibidem, 119.
[26] N. Malcolm, *Useful enemies: Islam and the Ottoman Empire in western political thought, 1450-1750* (Oxford 2019) 416-417.
[27] E.W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York 1979) 11.
[28] R. Clines, 'Edward W. Said, Renaissance Orientalism, and imaginative geographies of a classical Mediterranean', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 65 (2020) 481-533, there 533.
[29] M.D. Birnbaum and M. Sebők, 'Introduction practices of coexistence constructions of the Other in early modern perceptions' in: idem, *Practices of coexistence: constructions of the Other in early modern perceptions* (Budapest 2017) vii-xvi, there x.
[30] Malcolm, *Useful enemies*, 415.

was no European power that governed Ottoman territory before the eighteenth century. In fact, the Ottomans themselves governed a large part of Europe. Malcolm thus criticizes Said for his overreliance on this 'control over the other' concept when it comes to the Ottoman Empire of the early modern period.[31]

Edhem Eldem argues that the term 'Orientalism' is not ideal to apply to the Ottoman Empire from the eighteenth century onwards. Its status as an old and independent polity right next to (or technically during this period *in*) Europe made it a less 'exotic' focus for Orientalists. Eldem argues that it was impossible to associate this vast empire with just one single ethnicity and/or religion and was therefore hard to generalize and stereotype.[32] Thus including the Ottoman Empire as a part of the dominant stereotyped image of the Middle East during this period is hardly applicable. Although the author does discuss the external and internal dynamics of Turkish Orientalism in Turkey from the nineteenth century onwards in a different article.[33]

Derek Bryce also doubts the usability of the term 'Orientalism' when it comes to the Ottoman Empire and how it was viewed through the Western gaze. He emphasizes that the Ottoman Empire was actually part of Europe for centuries and therefore not (only) strictly part of the illusive 'Orient'. Therefore, a strict binary between 'the West' and 'the Orient' was/is impossible.[34] Bryce argues that most often people see Ottoman presence *in* Europe but do not acknowledge this presence as being *of* Europe.[35]

This discussion becomes even more complicated when a concept like 'Turquerie' is brought into the discussion. The terms 'Orientalism' and 'Turquerie' are related but not the same.[36] Turquerie is often described as a pan-European interest in Ottoman culture between 1650 and 1750 which often expressed itself as the copying of Ottoman goods and ideas. Alexander Bevilacqua and Helen Pfeifer describe Turquerie as a dynamic concept since the Ottomans played a key role in this cross-cultural transaction. Ottoman objects traveled from the Ottoman Empire to Europe with layers of meaning and once they arrived in Europe more layers of meaning were added.[37] Due to increased trade and diplomatic relationships between the Ottoman Empire and Europe, Turquerie flourished. This increased contact not only helped with the transportation of goods, but also added new ideas on and experiences of Ottoman culture. This made European thoughts on the Ottoman Empire and its citizens more complicated than simply portraying them as 'uncivilized' and 'barbarous' as was often the case before the seventeenth century. Turquerie thus added to a more nuanced understanding

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[31] Malcolm, *Useful enemies*, 416.
[32] E. Eldem, 'The Ottoman Empire and Orientalism: an awkward relationship' in: François Pouillion and Jean-Claude Vatin eds., *After Orientalism: critical perspectives on western agency and eastern re-appropriations* (Leiden 2014) 89-102, there 89-90.
[33] E. Eldem, 'Ottoman and Turkish Orientalism', *Architectural Design* 80:1 (2010) 26-31.
[34] D. Bryce, 'The absence of Ottoman, Islamic Europe in Edward W. Said's *Orientalism*', *Theory, Culture and Society* 30:1 (2013) 99-121.
[35] See also: D. Bryce and S. Čaušević, 'Orientalism, Balkanism and Europe's Ottoman heritage', *Annals of Tourism Research* 77 (2019) 92-105.
[36] Gizem Tongo and Irvin Cemil Schick, Turquerie, https://www.peramuseum.org/blog/turquerie/1560 (consulted March 25th 2024).
[37] A. Bevilacqua and H. Pfeifer, 'Turquerie: culture in motion, 1650-1750', *Past & Present 221* (2013) 75-118, there 75-76.

of the Ottoman Empire by Europeans.[38] Though othering, stereotyping and cultural appropriation were still an important part of this movement.[39]

In contrast to Orientalism, Turquerie is often viewed as a form of cross cultural exchange between the Ottoman Empire and Europe. Both parties were active participants in this relationship instead of the more Orientalist idea of a dominant Europe. For the purposes of this study, both terms are useful tools when it comes to describing some of the Ottoman representation in European costume books. For example, the sensationalized images of women within the Ottoman harem as depicted by European costume book makers of the eighteenth century fit very well within the framework of Orientalism. Yet this concept does not really fit the exchange of costume images between the Ottoman Empire and Europe when it came to Ottoman costume albums. This exchange fits more comfortably within the context of Turquerie. Therefore both terms will be used in the course of this study.

To answer the question to what extent the representation of Ottomans in European costume books did develop during the early modern period and what this says about the genre in general, it is necessary to look at a selection of costume books which were published between the late sixteenth and eighteenth century. Due to the large amount of available (and largely unexplored) sources from these circa 250 years, a selection is necessary to give a cohesive study. This selection is based on a few criteria. First of all it deliberately looks at costume books that were published in different centuries to discern whether these Ottoman representations developed over the years. This selection also focuses primarily on costume books with a substantial amount of images which represent the Ottoman Empire to make the pool of Ottoman images larger for this study. This study has deliberately chosen to not focus on costume books published in a particular European country since images had the power to bridge language barriers. Most often, these costume books contained few texts if at all, which made it possible for everyone to 'read' them. This will also show the range of these images within Europe, since they often transcended borders and time. The copying of images in multiple costume books was certainly not unheard of.[40] This selection will thus also note when images are repeated in multiple costume books over the years. Two secondary works in particular have been immensely helpful when it came to finding costume books with Ottoman representation. One gives a brief description of sixteenth century costume books pertaining to the Ottoman Empire and the other does the same thing for costume books in the eighteenth century.[41]

Within this selection a few key components of these images will be explored to make a cohesive study. This will be done by comparing the following components of the images: the clothing, the pose, the distinctness, (when applicable) the background, the occupation/status of the person depicted, the facial expression and the relation of the image within the costume book (and other costume books) as a whole. By comparing all these different components,

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[38] Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, 'Turquerie', 76-77.
[39] Gizem Tongo and Irvin Cemil Schick, Turquerie, https://www.peramuseum.org/blog/turquerie/1560 (consulted March 25th 2024).
[40] See for example: H. Williams, 'Additional printed sources for Ligozzi's series of figures of the Ottoman Empire', *Master Drawings* 51:2 (2013) 195-220.
[41] Ö. Erdem and M. Tütüncü, *Scenes from the 16th century Ottoman Empire volume 3* (Leiden 2022) 4-23; I. Apostolou, *L'Orientalisme des voyageurs français au XVIIIE siècle: une iconographie de l'Orient méditerranéen* (Paris 2008) 257-278.

this study hopes to give an overall evaluation of the representations of Ottomans in these costume books. This study will not go into great detail on every single image within this selection of costume books since there would simply be too many for the size of this study. Rather, it focuses on certain red threads that can be discernible within this selection. For example, are the same types of people represented over and over again? Or are there a wide variety of people represented in these costume books? By drawing general conclusions from these wide varieties of Ottoman images, this study hopes to give at least a glimpse of the possible development within the representation of Ottomans in early modern costume books.

By analyzing the representation of Ottomans in this genre this essay also hopes to give more clarity to the genre of the costume book in general. Research on this topic is in many ways still in its infancy. By highlighting one particular group of people within this genre, this essay partly functions as a case study for the (possible) development of the genre of the costume book over the course of the early modern period. This will also result in examining the borders of this genre and therewith where this genre overlaps with other genres.

Before these costume books can be compared with each other however, it is essential to first answer a few other questions when it comes to the representation of Ottomans and their clothing during the early modern period. First it is necessary to explore which Ottoman sources these European costume book makers had at their disposal to create their costume images. The most important being costume images which were created within the Ottoman Empire in the form of Ottoman costume albums. By exploring this genre, one encounters immediately the practice of copying. As such it is important to explore this practice in more detail and especially what this says about repeating stereotypes in Ottoman costume albums as well European costume books. These repeating stereotypes also raise the question if the Ottoman costume album (and the European costume book for that matter) truly showed contemporary Ottoman fashion if this was the goal of these publications at all.

# 1. The Ottoman costume album in the early modern period

This chapter will discuss the genre of the costume album within the Ottoman Empire of the early modern period, the practice of 'copying and pasting' and the question of Ottoman fashion when it comes to this genre. To clarify, the term 'album' is often used in an Ottoman context when costume images are being discussed, while the term 'book' is mostly used for their European counterpart.[42] The goal of this chapter is to illustrate what kinds of Ottoman sources the European costume book makers might have tried to emulate for their own Ottoman costume images. One of these Ottoman sources, the costume album, will be discussed in greater detail since this genre marked a vital source for inspiration for the European costume book makers of the early modern period. The Ottoman costume album (and the European costume book for that matter) can not be studied without discussing the practice of copying and reproducing. This practice was an integral part of costume image creation in both the Ottoman Empire and Europe and was an essential actor in the creation of stereotypes. The creation of these stereotypes also asks the question if this genre was reflective of contemporary Ottoman fashion at all.

## 1.1 The Ottoman costume album

The genre of the Ottoman costume album, much like its European counterpart, started in the mid-sixteenth century.[43] It is often assumed that the Ottomans solely copied the tradition of the costume album from Europe during this time period. However, the origin of the Ottoman costume album can also be related to numerous visual traditions of the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic World in general.[44] Ünver Rüstem argues that these albums had more immediate parallels in Ottoman court art than European costume books. By the second half of the sixteenth century, the Ottomans adapted Iranian models of album (or *muraqqa*) production which focused on single-figured paintings. Some of these paintings depicted a wide range of costumed figures much like European costume books of the same period.[45] It is therefore too simplistic to label this genre as 'European'.[46] These albums were composed of costume images painted on separate sheets which were later bound together into an album. These albums were custom made with the sequence, theme and presentation of these costume

[42] E. Fraser, 'The color of the Orient: on Ottoman costume albums, European print culture, and cross-cultural exchange' in: Tara Zanardi and Lynda Klich eds.*, Visual typologies from the early modern to the contemporary: local contexts and global practices* (New York 2018) 45-59, there 45.
[43] Current research has identified over 200 examples of this particular genre. See: Ü. Rüstem, 'Well-worn fashions: repetition and authenticity in late Ottoman costume books' in: Margaret S. Graves and Alex Dika Seggerman eds., *Making modernity in the Islamic Mediterranean* (Bloomington 2022) 21-49, there 47.
[44] E. Fraser, 'The Ottoman costume album as mobile object and agent of contact' in: Idem, *The mobility of people and things in the early modern Mediterranean: the art of travel* (New York 2020) 91-114, there 92.
[45] Ü. Rüstem, 'Well-worn fashions', 26-27.
[46] Fraser, 'The Ottoman costume album', 92.

images being determined by the buyer and compiler of the album. It was in many ways these collaborations that made the Ottoman costume album a product of cross-cultural exchange.[47] The buyers were often European tourists and ambassadors who took these albums with them back to Europe. The owners of these albums often gave their own spin on their acquisitions by creating labels for the Ottoman characters which were not always accurate. Most Ottoman costume images seem to have been created without these labels, showing an active interaction between the Ottoman material and their European owners.[48] This interactive element however also begs the question if the Ottoman costume album should be classified as a unified genre. At the end of the day, these albums were not all composed of the exact same elements since they were part of a collaborative effort.[49]

Nevertheless, it is certainly possible to discern a set group of characteristics when it comes to Ottoman costume albums. The genre shows a remarkable similarity between both the Ottoman Empire and Europe. The Ottoman costume album (much like those in Europe) showcased characters against a plain background who were identified by the clothes, props and (sometimes) labels attached to them. These characters were often arranged according to their ethnic, religious and social position within Ottoman society and the same types of characters were often repeated in these albums. The Ottoman costume album was strongly rooted in the conventions of the genre since its format and aesthetic remained relatively unchanged for centuries.[50] The hierarchy of the Ottoman Empire was reflected in these works, since the sultan and high ranking courtiers were usually the first people represented in these books. From there other characters were represented such as military personnel and civilians.[51]

The repetition of these Ottoman 'characters' or 'types' resulted in genre conventions. For example, images of Greek dancing girls in the same outfits were repeated for centuries in Ottoman costume albums. This means that not only the same characters were represented, but that entire images were copied by artists. This would mean that these costume images were not necessarily representations of Ottoman society at this time, but that the (European) owners of these albums sought out these Ottoman types.[52] However, this might not have been the case for costume albums and costume images which were bought by the Ottoman urban elite during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. These albums had the ability to show recent fashion trends amongst the urban classes of the Ottoman Empire. One particular costume album even shows an image of a young Ottoman man holding an English pocket watch which had only recently become widely available to the Ottoman public.[53] This would suggest that the Ottoman costume album of the eighteenth century had the ability to evolve

[47] Fraser, 'The Ottoman costume album', 91-92.
[48] W. Kynan-Wilson, ''Painted by the Turcks themselves': reading Peter Mundy's Ottoman costume album in context' in: Sussan Babaie and Melanie Gibson eds., *The mercantile effect: art and exchange in the Islamicate World during the 17th and 18th centuries* (London 2017) 39-50, there 39-40.
[49] E. Natalie Rothman, *The dragoman renaissance: diplomatic interpreters and the routes of Orientalism* (Ithaca 2021) 117.
[50] Kynan-Wilson, 'Painted by the Turcks themselves', 39-40.
[51] Ibidem, 47.
[52] W. Kynan-Wilson, 'Souvenirs and stereotypes: an introduction to Ottoman costume albums', *Heritage Turkey* 3 (2013) 35-36.
[53] G. Collaço, 'Albums of conspicuous consumption: a composite mirror of an 18th-century collector's world', *Journal18* 6 (2018).

over the years, a development which can also be observed in European costume books as will be discussed in detail later on in this essay.

Some interesting examples which showcase the Ottoman costume album's ability to evolve over time are the *Hubanname* (1792-1793) and the *Zenanname* (post-1793) by Enderunlu Fazıl (1757-1810). These works were highly influenced by the genre of the costume album and the *şehrengiz* genre which described in a lighthearted tone the 'beautiful people' (and their characteristics) who lived in various cities and countries. The *Hubanname* did this for men and the *Zenanname* did this for women. Both works included eroticism, however it seems that Fazıl was much more interested in the men he presented in his work than the women. For this reason the *Hubanname* is often associated with homoeroticism in the historiography. This might have been one of the reasons why he fell out of favor with the Ottoman court.[54]

These works stand out when compared to other Ottoman costume albums. Not only because they contain a lot more text than the typical costume album, but also because they showcase men and women from other countries. Both works also seemed fairly uptodate when it came to their depictions of European men and women. Fazıl most likely relied on circulating European fashion prints to compile these images.[55] For example, the image of a French woman showcases a costume which was associated with the French Revolution.[56] An image of a European man even seems to be wearing a bicorn hat, an item which is also traditionally associated with the French Revolution (see figure 1).[57] A European fashion plate from 1787 shows a fairly similar outfit to the one the man in the bicorn hat wears.[58] The outfit of the European man in the *Hubanname* seems to be slightly out of date since the waistcoat is still quite long and the coat does not feature a pronounced collar which would become more popular during the 1790s.[59] This is not surprising since there would inevitably be a delay between the arrival of the European fashion plate in the Ottoman Empire and its use as a template for the *Hubanname*. Even with this delay in mind, it shows a commendable effort on Fazıl's part to portray European costumes with such recent sources. This would not always be the case when it came to the portrayal of Ottomans in European costume books as will be explored in detail in the next chapter of this essay.

Other Ottoman artists however seem to have stuck with their own society and hierarchy. A relatively well-known example of this type of work is *Costumes Turcs de la cour et de la ville*

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[54] Michael Erdman, Boys, Boys, Boys: Enderunlu Fazıl Bey's Hubanname, https://blogs.bl.uk/asian-and-african/2021/02/boys-boys-boys.html (consulted April 11th 2024); Sunil Sharma, The Ottoman Turkish Zenanname ('Book of Women'), https://blogs.bl.uk/asian-and-african/2016/11/the-ottoman-turkish-zenanname-book-of-women.html#_ftn5 (consulted April 11th 2024); Jan Schmidt, 'Enderuni Fazıl' in: Encyclopaedia of Islam Three Online, https://doi-org.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_26187 (consulted April 11th 2024).
[55] Collaço, 'Albums of conspicuous consumption'.
[56] Sunil Sharma, The Ottoman Turkish Zenanname ('Book of Women'), https://blogs.bl.uk/asian-and-african/2016/11/the-ottoman-turkish-zenanname-book-of-women.html#_ftn5 (Consulted April 11th 2024).
[57] Folio from a *Hubanname* (the Book of the fair) by Fazil-i Enderuni (d. 1810), https://asia.si.edu/explore-art-culture/collections/search/edanmdm:fsg_S1999.126/ (consulted April 11th 2024).
[58] Magasin des modes nouvelles françaises et anglaises, 28 février 1787, Pl. 2, A.B. Duhamel, naar Claude Louis Desrais, 1787, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-2009-2204 (consulted April 11th 2024).
[59] Michele Majer, Fashion history timeline 1790-1799, https://fashionhistory.fitnyc.edu/1790-1799/ (consulted April 11th 2024).

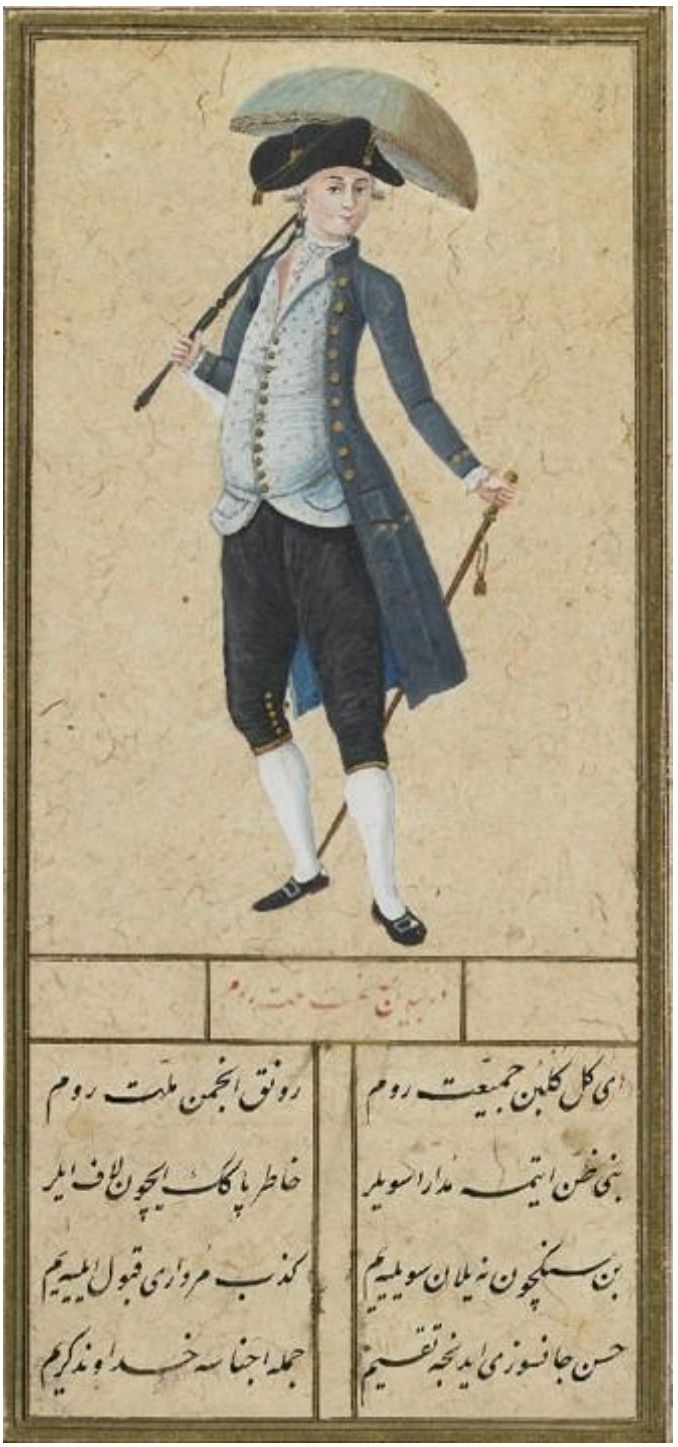



Figure 1: Folio from a Hubanname (the Book of the fair); Fazil-i Enderuni; Istanbul; ca. 1780; ink, opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 17.5 x 7.7 cm; National Museum of Asian Art Collection.

*de Constantinople en 1720* attributed to Ottoman court painter Musavvir Hüseyin. The costume album was a gift from envoy Çelebi Mehmet Efendi (ca. 1670-1732) to the French boy king Louis XV (r. 1715-1774) in the name of sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730). While the album is dated to the year 1720 when the Ottoman envoy visited the French king, Hüseyin probably designed the images during the 1680s. This claim is based on the existence of a very similar costume album titled *Figures naturelles de Turquie* (1688) which contains costume images that are almost identical to those found in *Costumes Turcs*.[60] What is interesting to note however is that the title page of *Figures naturelles* attributes the album to the name Raynal. It is possible that Raynal was the owner of the album and not the artist that made the album.

Both costume albums contain handwritten descriptions in French, but *Costumes Turcs* also contains brief descriptions in Ottoman Turkish. This is noteworthy, since most Ottoman costume albums were made without descriptions. As earlier noted, these were usually later added by the European clientele. It seems that these titles were given by someone who was fluent in Ottoman Turkish or even by Hüseyin himself. Though the descriptions given in *Figures naturelles* are generally more detailed and give more context than those given in the other costume album.

Not all the images of the two costume albums are perfectly identical however. While both albums start with a very similar image of a sultan sitting on a throne who is flanked by two men, the image from *Costumes Turcs* is slightly more elaborate that the one found in *Figures naturelles*. The former album contains more gold detail work and the two men flanking the sultan are holding different attributes in their hands. The background is also slightly more detailed. The artist has placed the sultan on a patch of grass instead of leaving the background blank like the image in *Figures naturelles* and the background contains red decorative flowers.

These two images are also given different titles in each respective album. *Figures naturelles* identifies the sultan as sultan Soliman II (r. 1687-1691) (see figure 2). The man on the left side of the sultan is the *silahdar* or sword bearer. The man on the right is the *ibrictar*, the water carrier of the sultan. These titles however must have been accidentally switched by the writer of these descriptions since the man on the right is clearly carrying a sword while the man on the left is holding a flask.

The description given in *Costumes Turcs* however does not identify the sultan by name, though the Bibliothèque nationale de France identifies him as sultan Ahmed III (1673-1736) (see figure 3). The image is most likely to represent this sultan since he was the one who gave this costume album as a gift to the young French king. The accompanying men are identified as the sword bearer and cloak bearer. The man on the left is holding a sword while the man on the right is not holding a cloak (as his title would suggest) but a bow and quiver. This specific image of a man holding a bow and quiver more resembles another image found in

[60] S. Förschler, 'Zirkulation und Differenzierung von Motiven des kulturell Anderen: Kostümportraits in europäischen Reiseberichten und in der osmanischen Miniaturmalerei' in: Barbara Schmidt-Haberkamp ed., *Europa und die Türkei im 18. Jahrhundert/Europe and Turkey in the 18th century* (Bonn 2011) 243-362, there 351-355; Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie, ark:/12148/btv1b84559196, Figures naturelles de Turquie (1688).

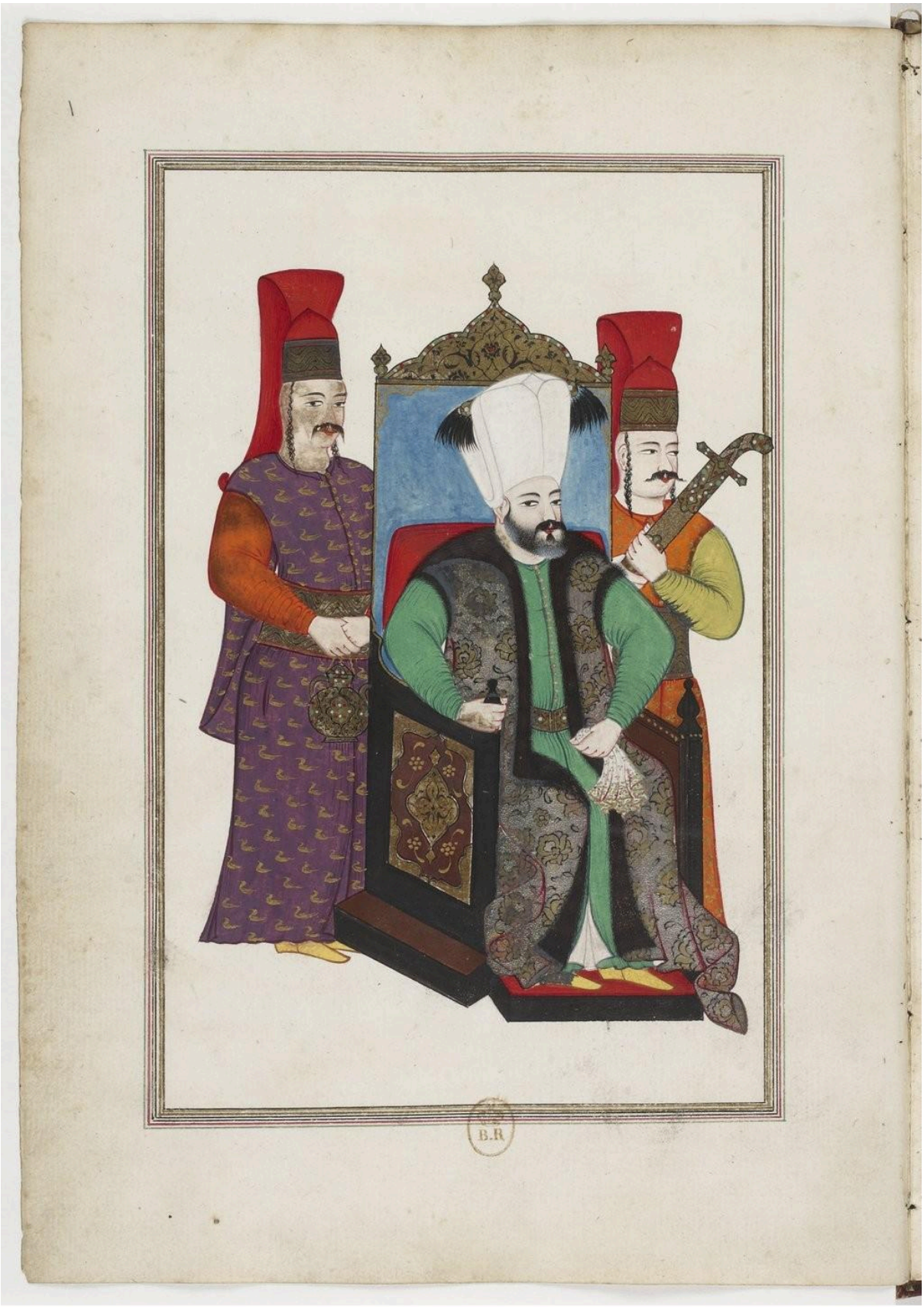
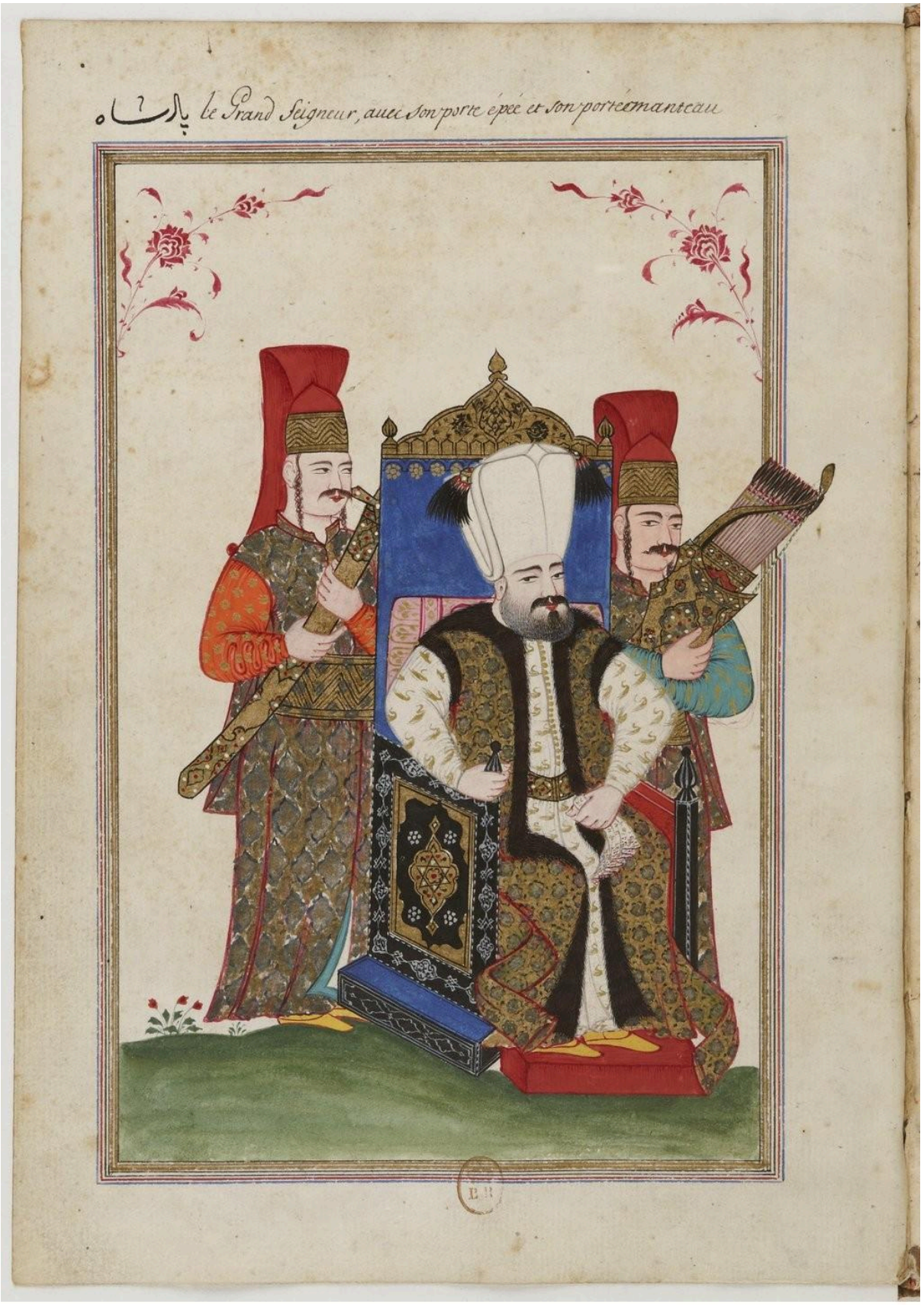



Figure 2: An image of sultan Soliman II (r. 1687-1691) flanked by the *silahdar* and the *ibrictar* from *Figures naturelles de Turquie* (1688).




Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 3: An image of sultan Ahmed III (1673-1736) flanked by the sword bearer and the cloak bearer from *Costumes Turcs de la cour et de la ville de Constantinople en 1720*.

*Figures naturelles* than it does either of the men flanking the sultan. This image bears the title of '*choadar aga*' or the one who carries the bow and quiver of the sultan.

Both albums start with images of the sultan and from there branch out to images of civil and military staff, women, dervishes and different ethnic groups. Though *Figures naturelles* does this in 60 images while *Costumes Turcs* does this in 49 images. Both represent more men than women though the costume album from 1720 contains one especially detailed image of women within a harem setting which is not present in the other album. It seems in general that the album which was given to the king of France contained slightly more detailed images with goldwork than the other album, possibly to make it a more appropriate gift for a king.

Fazıl's and Hüseyin's works stand out as costume albums which were made by named Ottoman artists. However, this was not always the case for costume albums which were produced in the Ottoman Empire. While the genre of the Ottoman costume album includes albums which were made by Ottoman artists, they also contain albums made by European artists who mimicked Ottoman painting techniques. Both of these artists could be active in Istanbul and could even collaborate to make these albums.[61] An example of this type of costume album is the *Rålamb book of costumes* (1657-1658) purchased by Swedish ambassador Claes Rålamb (1622–1698) in Istanbul. The album follows the conventional structure of the costume album with images of Ottoman officials, tradesmen, women and different ethnic groups. The images are accompanied by handwritten descriptions in Swedish, French, Italian and Latin probably made by Rålamb himself after he purchased the album. While uncertain, current scholars suspect that the artist who made these costume images was of Polish origin.[62]

The fact that Europeans mimicked Ottoman painting techniques makes it difficult to attribute them to a certain artist. It seems that costume album artists rarely labeled their works or simply were not mentioned by the buyers of the albums.[63] Amongst these anonymous Ottoman costume albums is one titled *Costumes de la cour du grand seigneur* (1630), though the images have been attributed to an anonymous Ottoman artist.[64] The book contains 149 Ottoman images, starting again with an image of the sultan. This sultan however is not mentioned by name. In 1630 this would have been sultan Murad IV (r. 1623-1640).[65] This image of the sultan is followed by several Ottoman officials, harem staff, women, entertainers and musicians. What stands out however is the last section of the book which depicts rather dangerous looking forms of entertainment. Almost resembling modern theme park attractions, these images are not as fantastical as they might appear at first. One miniature in the eighteenth century Ottoman manuscript *Surname-i Vehbi* shows a similar contraption as

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[61] Calvi, *The World in Dress*, 27.
[62] Calvi, *The World in Dress*, 51-53; N. Avcıoğlu, *'Turquerie' and the politics of representation, 1728-1876* (Farnham 2011) 18.
[63] N. Avcıoğlu and M.O. Charlton, 'Vanmour in America: The "dressed pictures" from the Jerome Irving Smith collection', *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 97:1 (2023) 20-49, there 26.
[64] Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie, ark:/12148/btv1b525057428, Costumes de la cour du grand seigneur (1630); Avcioğlu and Charlton, 'Vanmour in America', 25.
[65] Malcolm Edward Yapp and Stanford Jay Shaw, Ottoman Empire, https://www.britannica.com/place/Ottoman-Empire (consulted March 17th 2024).

does a now lost Ottoman album.[66] This last section also contains an image of a baker put in stocks with bells as a punishment for giving short weight, an image which was often found in Ottoman costume albums of this period (see figure 4).[67]

The art style of this album is quite detailed which makes the costumes of the Ottoman figures stand out. The faces however show a lot less detail making it hard to discern their expressions. All images are surrounded with a rather hastily drawn border and are each given a description in Italian. These last two elements might have been added later since (especially in the first couple of images) they do not seem to match the art style of the images they surround. The poses of the figures are limited considering that most are depicted in a three-quarter view.

While this album is attributed to an Ottoman artist, the album does not seem to follow the more common Ottoman art style. For once the costumes are not mostly made up of large color blocks like those of *Figures naturelles de Turquie*. Instead the costumes show a relatively large amount of detail such as folds in the fabric of the clothing. The same can be said of the faces of the figures. Compared to Ottoman miniatures of this period, the costume images have round faces and pronounced eyelids instead of the more varied face shapes and monolith eyes of the figures in Ottoman miniatures.[68] Perhaps the Ottoman artist wanted to appeal to a more European audience by adapting their art style or the attribution is mistaken and the artist was of European origin. Research on this subject however is unfortunately lacking.

The European buyers of these costume albums did not seem too concerned with whether these costume images were made by an Ottoman artist or a European one in the Ottoman Empire.[69] Even European artists who (temporarily) lived in the Ottoman Empire like Jean Baptiste Vanmour (1671-1737) and Jean-Étienne Liotard (1702-1789) were often seen as Turks themselves by other Europeans.[70] Nevertheless, the fact that they were made in an Ottoman art style gave them a special significance to their buyers. When they traveled back to Europe with their souvenirs, these albums could serve as a template to illustrate Ottoman images in Europe.[71] For example, French artist Carle van Loo (1705-1765) looked at the Ottoman costume album *Costumes turcs de la cour et de la ville de Constantinople en 1720* for inspiration for his own Ottoman costume images.[72] Not only European costume books took inspiration from these Ottoman images however. Paul Rycaut's influential *History of the present state of the Ottoman Empire* (1667) also made use of Ottoman images as a template for the illustrations in his book.[73] Even when it was/is not always possible to verify whether Ottoman costume images were made by Ottoman hands or European hands, there was

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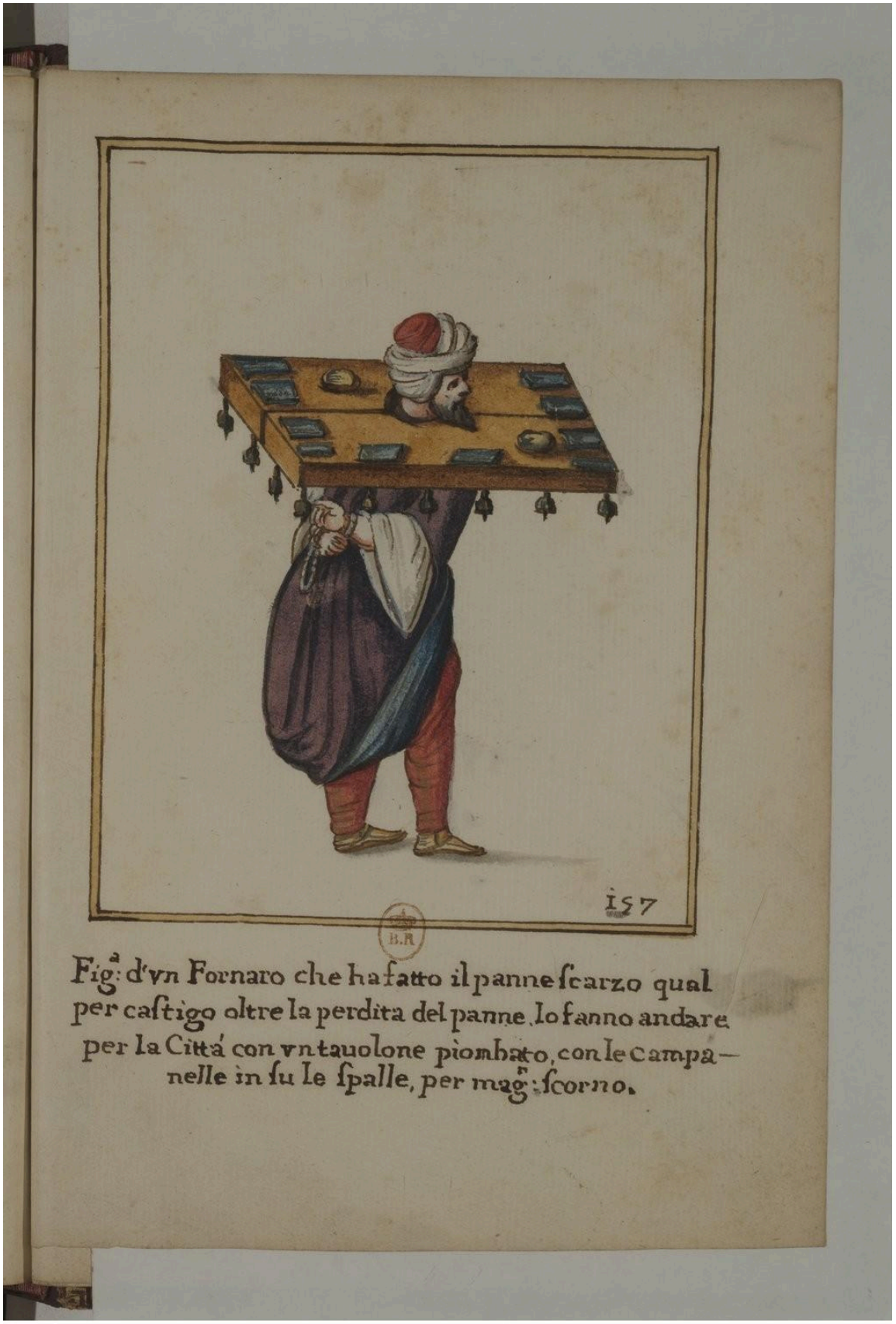
[66] W. Kynan-Wilson, 'Play and performance in Ottoman costume albums' in: Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet eds., *Entertainment among the Ottomans* (Leiden 2019) 62-89, there 63.
[67] S. Żerańska-Kominek, 'Musicians in the Ottoman costume album from the collection of Stanisław II August', *Music in Art* 41:1/2 (2016) 189-202, there 199.
[68] See for example the miniatures from the *Surname-i Vehbi* used in the following article: L. Tay, 'Surname-i Vehbi' deki Hacı Beşir Ağa Tasvirleri' in: Kerim Türkmen Armağanı ed., *Sanat Tarihi Yazıları* (Istanbul 2017) 307-320.
[69] Avcioğlu and Charlton, 'Vanmour in America', 26.
[70] Avcioğlu and Charlton, 'Vanmour in America', 26; Smentek, 'Looking East', 85.
[71] Avcioğlu and Charlton, 'Vanmour in America', 26.
[72] Ibidem, 31-32.
[73] Ibidem, 26.

certainly a demand for Ottoman material as a template for European costume book artists. These European costume books will form the subject of research for the next chapter of this study.




Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 4: An image of a baker put in stocks with bells as a punishment for giving short weight as the Italian description underneath the image informs the reader from *Costumes de la cour du grand seigneur* (1630).

## 1.2 Copying, reproducing and stereotypes

The repetition of the same Ottoman types or characters (or even entire images) in Ottoman costume albums across decades resulted in certain stereotypes. As noted earlier, these stereotypes were often sought out by European buyers and were not representations of Ottoman society at the time. As will be discussed in great detail in the next chapter of this essay, the repetition and copying of Ottoman costume images and stereotypes was also widespread in European costume books.

This revelation asks for a more indepth look at the practice of 'copying and pasting' in early modern art. This subject has become quite popular in the academic world in recent years, especially when it comes to the topic of 'originality' in art. Unfortunately however, this research is mostly concerned with the early modern European art world and not the Ottoman one. A few noticeable exceptions however are some articles published by *Ars Orientalis*, a journal entirely dedicated to Middle Eastern and Asian art.[74] Though some of this more European focused research may also be applicable to the Ottoman art market of the early modern period.

Originality and authenticity are concepts which most modern people greatly appreciate in art. Art museums want to know if their paintings are truly made by great artists and not simply copies and they are willing to dedicate much time and a great amount of money to figure this out. However, originality and authenticity were viewed differently during the early modern period than now. Even great artists such as Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) did not shy away from recycling and repeating their own work.[75] Furthermore Rubens often attributed paintings made in his studio as being painted 'by his own hand' even when he had not painted them (entirely) himself. Other Dutch masters used similar criteria to label their work as their own even though assistants helped them during the painting process, especially when it came to secondary elements.[76]

Early modern artists did not limit themselves to self-repetition only. In the eighteenth century the painting reference was deemed the 'original' and all work that came from this reference was viewed as a 'copy'. Although this artwork (the copy that is) could itself become the 'original' which other artists tried to imitate.[77] Copying man-made objects had become an artform during the Renaissance, when classical art and architecture was held in the highest regard. Striving for the most perfect imitation (*imitatio*) or surpassing the source of the copy by adding something (*aemulatio*) were some of the most important assets in the arsenal of a Renaissance artist. This started to change with the invention of the printing press. Now images could in theory be reproduced indefinitely with perfect precision and much quicker than before. This development fuelled discussions about copies and authority in the

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[74] Ars Orientalis, https://asia.si.edu/research/publications/ars-orientalis/ (consulted May 3rd 2024).
[75] M. Daiman, 'Telling what is told: originality and repetition in Rubens's English works' in: Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard eds., *Concepts of creativity in seventeenth-century England* (Martlesham 2013) 151-180.
[76] A. Tummers, 'By his hand': the paradox of seventeenth-century connoisseurship' in: Koenraad Jonckheere and Anna Tummers eds., *Art market and connoisseurship: a closer look at paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens and their contemporaries* (Amsterdam 2008) 31-67.
[77] S. Knaller, 'Always dealing with reality but never too close to it: original and copy in modern aesthetics' in: Corinna Forberg and Philipp W. Stockhammer eds., *The transformative power of the copy: a transcultural and interdisciplinary approach* (Heidelberg 2017) 69-84, there 71-72.

early modern period.[78] Regardless, copying was still seen as an essential way to improve one's artistic skills. Drawing manuals existed especially aimed at teaching this skill to artists.[79] Even costume books were sometimes aimed in part at artists who could use them as pattern books.[80] Thus these costume books could in theory transform from the 'copy' to the 'original'.

This copying was not unique to the European art world but was also seen in the Ottoman Empire. For example, one image of a kneeling Safavid youth found in an eighteenth century Ottoman album was an adaptation of an image produced in the Safavid Empire in the late sixteenth century; though the image was updated for the eighteenth century Ottoman public by redrawing the clothing of the youth to reflect the latest fashions in Istanbul.[81] Not only the Safavid Empire was a source for inspiration when it came to images. The Mughal Empire was also represented in costume albums of this period. Ottoman as well as European artists adapted these mughal images into 'Ottomanized' costume images. By the late eighteenth century, Istanbul had become a true art market for European travelers as well as native Ottomans who wanted to obtain Iranian and Indian images. The adaptations of these Iranian and Indian images by Ottoman and European artists created a true 'knock-off' market in the Ottoman capital.[82] Like European travelers and artists who wished to recreate Ottoman costume images, these Ottoman art collectors gave their own spin on foreign images.

This brings us back to the question of stereotyping in Ottoman costume albums. Like their fellow European artists, the Ottoman makers of costume images often repeated the same stereotypes and images across decades. This could mean that these artists were not particularly concerned with stereotyping their own society if these images sold well. Copying images seems to have been a consistent component in early modern Ottoman album production in general which makes its prevalence in Ottoman costume albums less surprising. While costume images in Europe were easily copied by way of the printing press, costume images in the Ottoman Empire were (it seems) exclusively drawn by hand. There is a surprising lack of research on this interesting practice. Despite working in different mediums and with different technologies, the European and Ottoman art market for Ottoman costume images was largely based on copying designs.

As Benjamin Schmidt has noted in his book *Inventing exoticism: geography, globalism, and Europe's early modern world*, the market for works pertaining to geography was often not based on selling true and recent representations of non-European cultures but on selling recycled older images and texts. The early modern publishing world consisted of many different actors that made the eventual product of a travel narrative possible such as editors, book binders, writers and printmakers. All these elements worked together not necessarily to create a recent and objective travel narrative, but to create a sellable product for the European

[78] S. Fransen and K.M. Reinhart, The practice of copying in making knowledge in early modern Europe: an introduction, *Word & Image* 35:3 (2019) 211-222, there 212.
[79] Ibidem, 215-216.
[80] I. Janžekovič, 'Ethnic 'stereotypes' in early modern Europe: Russian and Ottoman national costumes', *History and Anthropology* (2022) 1-25, there 15.
[81] G. Collaço '"World-seizing" albums: imported paintings from ʿAcem and Hindūstān in an eclectic Ottoman market', *Ars Orientalis* 51 (2021) 133-187, there 151-154.
[82] Ibidem, 156-160

market.[83] A similar process might have also existed in the Ottoman Empire when it came to costume albums. Ottoman as well as European artists wanted to sell these costume images to as wide of a clientele as possible to make a profit. By reproducing images, the production of costume images could be accomplished more easily and faster than if these were all original designs. These reproductions however had the (maybe unintentional) side effect that certain stereotypes were introduced which ended up in many Ottoman costume albums as well as European costume books. This raises the question, were these stereotypes purposely introduced to sell to a wide (European) clientele or were these stereotypes accidentally created through the reproduction of costume images? Perhaps both of these answers are true in a sense since both these elements could strengthen each other in a way. The reproduction of images could result in stereotypes which became recognizable to the clientele who in turn asked for more of these stereotypes, creating a loop. While these Ottoman stereotypes could have had their roots in early modern Europe's desire for exoticism, it seems that just as much of this process could be attributed to Ottoman album production practices.

## 1.3 The genre of the costume album and the question of Ottoman fashion

The genre of the Ottoman costume album was for a large part rooted in the practice of copying preexisting designs. This makes it difficult to determine if this genre was reflective of contemporary Ottoman fashion. As Riello writes about its genre counterpart in Europe:

'A point to be noted is that what is presented [in European costume books] is not in any sense real: it is not photographic or even a representation of costume in different parts of the world. What we see in costume books — though the point might have not been as clear for contemporaries — is an imagining of the world.'[84]

Though Riello speaks in the context of sixteenth century European costume books which discussed the world outside of Europe, the sentiment still holds true for costume albums in the Ottoman Empire. Though 'an imaging of the world' was often not what these albums contained, but an imaging of Ottoman hierarchy and society. These costume albums acknowledged and reinforced this hierarchy through static costume images. Therefore they might not have been reflections of contemporary Ottoman fashion.

This does not mean that these costume albums are entirely fictitious when it came to fashion in the Ottoman Empire. These costume albums were in many ways reflective of the strict clothing laws which were in place in the Ottoman Empire for most of the early modern period. Ottoman fashion of the early modern period, much like in Europe, was defined by social status, rank and laws. Special kinds of clothing and headwear were reserved for civil and military staff according to their rank. But these regulations were also given to civilians such as certain colors for headwear according to one's ethnicity. These clothing laws stayed

[83] B. Schmidt, *Inventing exoticism: geography, globalism, and Europe's early modern world* (Philadelphia 2015).
[84] Riello, 'The world in a book', 285.

relatively consistent during the early modern period and fulfilled multiple functions within Ottoman society. For example, clothing regulations for state officials and subjects could be viewed as a reflection of discipline and state control.[85]

These regulations can also be seen reflected in the works of costume album artists. Especially when it came to headwear. Each rank within Ottoman society had its own type of headwear associated with it.[86] This was no different in costume album images, with the most distinct and recognisable type of headwear probably being the hats worn by the janissaries. This hat usually consisted of a brass-colored fitted band with a rectangular piece of cloth sticking out which flopped over towards the back of the neck of the wearer. This cloth was often colored white or red in these costume images. A surviving example of this type of hat is currently housed at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and dates from around 1550 (see figure 5).[87] Comparing this surviving example to the images of the janissary found in Ottoman costume albums, it is clear that they were basing their drawings on true examples (see for example figure 6).

However, these janissary hats were part of a standard uniform and the uniform is defined by its consistency over time. To ask the question if costume album images truly reflected contemporary Ottoman fashion is a difficult one. Due to its primary purpose as a reflection of Ottoman hierarchy and the repetition of multiple images over the years, it might not even be possible to view this genre from a fashion history perspective. Although fashion historian Jennifer Scarce argues that the genre of the Ottoman costume album had the ability to better showcase the fashions worn by different social classes (especially when it came to women's fashion) than other Ottoman pictorial sources.[88] But even with this context in mind, research on the development of Ottoman fashion over the course of the early modern period is scarce at best. Without this research it is almost impossible to judge if these costume images are a true reflection of early modern Ottoman fashion. Our current understanding of Ottoman fashion is mostly based on surviving Ottoman garments, most of which belonged to the Ottoman sultans and are still housed at the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul. This extraordinary wealth of information has been preserved due to the Ottoman tradition of preserving and labeling the clothes of sultans after their deaths.[89] Though a fascinating source, these garments were probably not reflective of everyday Ottoman fashion. They were mostly high luxury clothes for a specific setting and were therefore not as susceptible to changes in fashion. However, this might not have been the case for the cheaper garments which belonged to the wider Ottoman public.[90]

But did fashion even exist in the Ottoman Empire? Some historians echo early modern Europeans by arguing that 'fashion' did not exist in the Ottoman Empire.[91] The term 'fashion'

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[85] D. Quataert, 'Clothing laws, state, and society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29:3 (1997) 403-425, there 405-406.
[86] Ibidem, 406.
[87] Janitscharen-Mütze, www.khm.at/de/object/527132/ (consulted May 12th 2024).
[88] J. Scarce, *Women's costume of the Near and Middle East* (London 2003) 39-41.
[89] N. Atasoy, W. Deny, L.W. Mackie, S. Atlıhan, A. Effeny and J. Raby, *İpek, the crescent & the rose: imperial Ottoman silks and velvets* (London 2001) 21.
[90] M. Iida, 'Venetian silk textiles and fashion trends in the Ottoman Empire during the early modern period', *Mediterranean World (*地中海論集) 23 (2017) 191-200, there 193-194.
[91] See for example: O. Inal, 'Women's fashions in transition: Ottoman borderlands and the Anglo-Ottoman exchange of costumes', *Journal of World History* 22:2 (2011) 243-272, there 257-263; Wunder, 'Western

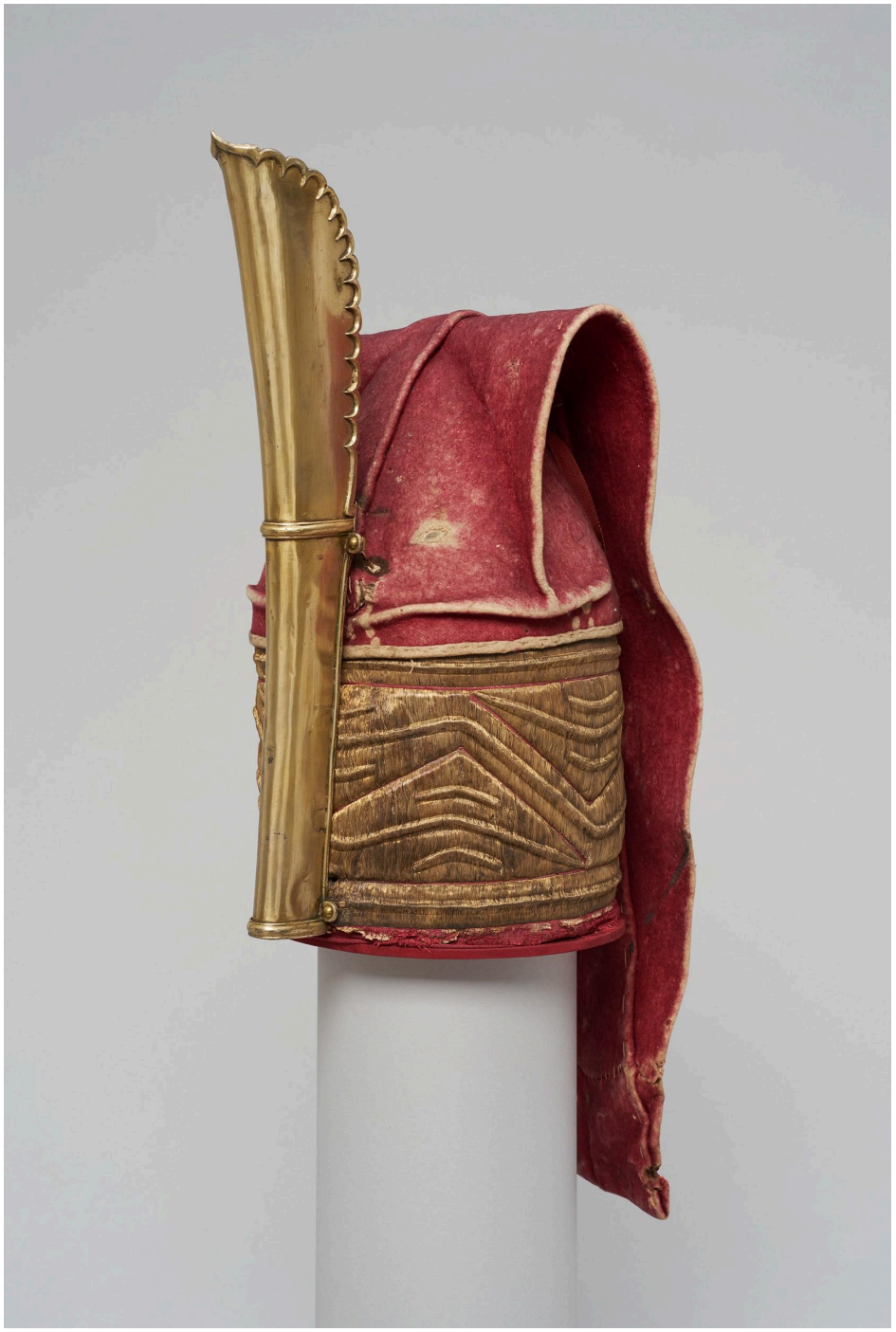

Figure 5: A janissary hat; Ottoman; ca. 1550; felt, gold embroidery, gilded brass; 52 cm x 18 cm x 28 cm; Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien.

travelers, eastern antiquities', 115; G. Goncu-Berk, 'The Ottoman kaftan: designed to impress' in: Jennifer Grayer Moore ed., *Patternmaking history and theory* (London 2019) 201-213, there 203.

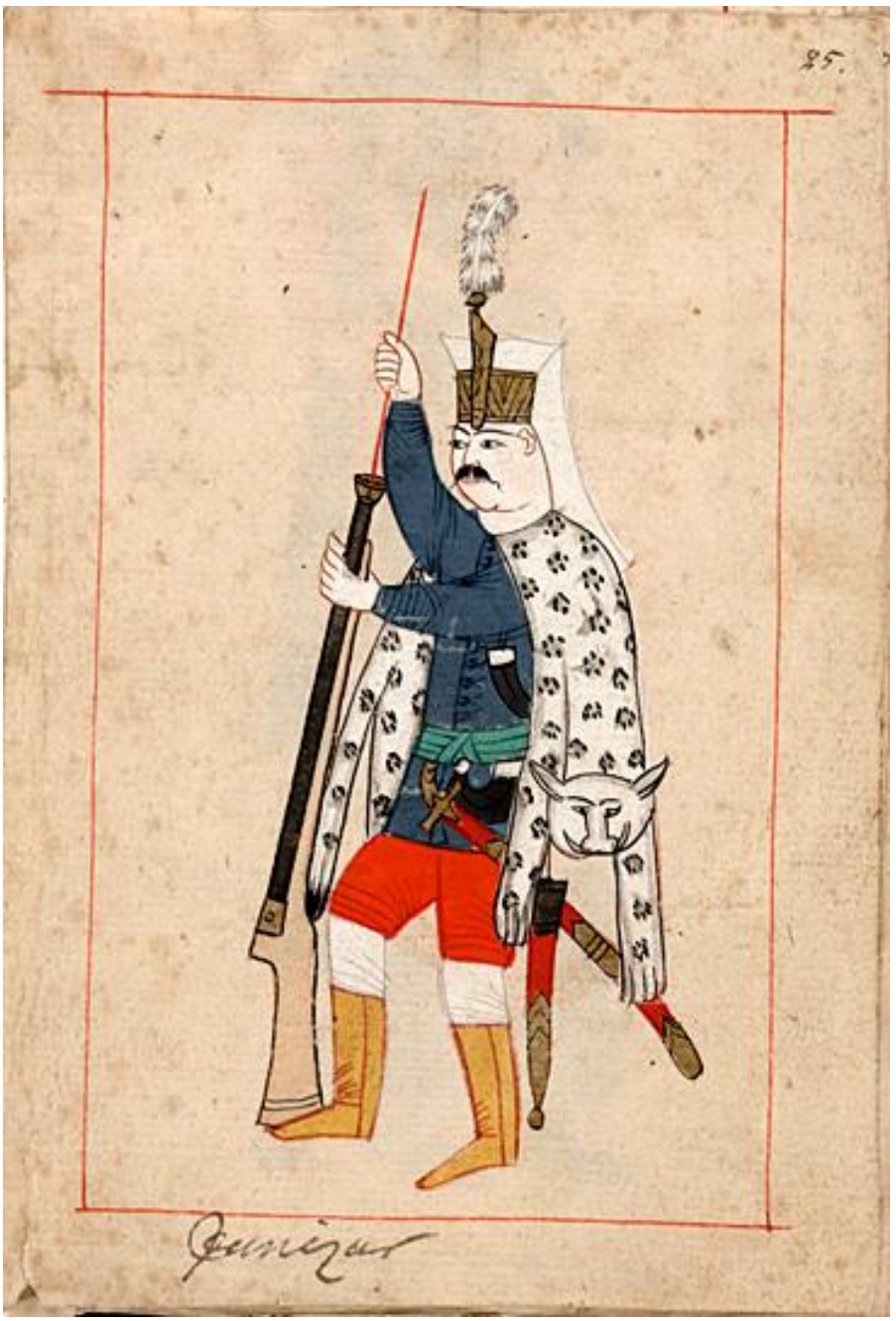

Figure 6: An image of a janissary from the *Rålamb book of costumes* (1657-1658).

suggests changes in clothing styles over time, a concept which supposedly came about in Europe during the fourteenth century according to Fernand Braudel. Everywhere else the general rule seems to have been changelessness, including the Ottoman Empire.[92] Though this claim has not gone entirely without criticism, the study of early modern Ottoman fashion is a far cry from its European counterpart. There are dozens of academic works dedicated to the study of early modern European dress, through which it is possible to figure out what fashionable Europeans were wearing. Even down to the decade or even year! This type of information is simply not available for the Ottoman Empire. Perhaps the genre of the costume album even promoted this line of thinking. By copying and pasting images over decades, it would seem that Ottoman fashion had not changed at all during that time. However, we do not know if this was the case. Without an in-depth understanding of Ottoman fashion, it is hard to judge these Ottoman costume images based on accuracy. This essay will therefore not be too concerned with this question, but will instead look at the (possible) development of these Ottoman costume images over the years.

## Conclusion

Ottoman costume albums were one of the most important sources for European costume book makers who wanted to create Ottoman costume images. These albums were made in the Ottoman Empire by local as well as European artists. Like costume books in Europe, this genre showcased people from different social classes and ethnic groups within the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman costume albums were often representations of the hierarchy within the Ottoman Empire with the court as a central focus. These albums were popular souvenirs for European travelers to the Ottoman Empire. However, these albums were also made for the Ottoman urban elite. The buyers of these albums were actively involved with the creation of these costume albums since they were custom made for them. This collaboration between (European) buyer and (Ottoman) creator is often viewed in the context of a cross-cultural exchange.

While these albums could have been made with local input, they still often contained static representations of the Ottoman Empire and its citizens. The same types of people (or characters) were repeated across many different albums and even entire images were copied over the decades. This was probably the result of (Ottoman as well as European) art market practices such as copying, but could also be attributed to the European demand for ‘exotic’ images. By using these costume images as a template in Europe for their own production of Ottoman costume images, European artists might have reproduced these stereotypes. This copying might have also had the added effect that fashion within the Ottoman Empire seemed to remain unchanged for centuries. This sentiment is still echoed by multiple scholars today, though this seems to be mostly misjudged since the study of early modern Ottoman fashion is a neglected field of study. Although this was often the case for the costume albums which were made for a European clientele, this might not have been the case for albums made for the Ottoman urban elite. For example, the costume albums of Enderunlu Fazıl showcased

[92] F. Braudel, *Civilization and capitalism, 15th-18th century, volume I: the structure of everyday life. The limits of the possible*, trans. S. Reynolds (Berkeley 1992) 316-317.

relatively up-to-date versions of European dress, marking an interesting reversal of representing the other in costume albums.

# 2. Ottoman representation in European costume books, 1550-1800

This chapter will take a closer look at a selection of costume books published in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The aim is to discern whether Ottoman representations within this genre developed in the course of these 200 years. However, before we can start to analyze these costume books it is important to first explore the second half of the sixteenth century since this was the period when the costume book made its debut in Europe and when the representation of Ottomans in this genre began. Each century will be discussed separately before they are joined together to form a conclusion. Each of these sections will start with a very brief overview of the state of the Ottoman Empire within this century and the (dominant) European mindset when it came to this empire.

## 2.1 The sixteenth century

The Ottoman Empire was at its most influential during the sixteenth century and as such this century has often been termed its 'Golden Age'.[93] Due to expansion westward into Eastern Europe, this did not go unnoticed by European scholars who often looked at this development with a mix of fear and fascination.[94] Ottoman representation during this century often reflected this European attitude, as Ottomans were often portrayed as the ultimate 'Other' to Christian Europe. Fear of invasion meant that perceived positive characteristics of the Ottoman Empire like its political organization and tolerance, often still went along with aversion.[95]

During this same period however diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire increased which opened up opportunities for Europeans to view this empire for themselves first hand.[96] Europe during this period was enthralled with the Ottoman Empire, for better or worse, and this was reflected in many different types of media such as plays, books, travel narratives, and of course costume books.[97] It should come as no surprise that the Ottomans were well represented within this emerging genre during this period. While it might be tempting to think that this Ottoman representation was mostly negative due to preserved military treat from a European perspective, and such representations were far from uncommon during this period as earlier noted, it is not the whole story. As Charlotte Colding Smith describes in her

[93] S.N. Faroqhi, 'Introduction' in: Suraiya N. Faroqhi and Kate Fleet eds., *The Cambridge history of Turkey, volume 2: the Ottoman Empire as a world power, 1453-1603* (Cambridge 2012) 1-16.
[94] Malcolm, *Useful enemies*, 65-69.
[95] Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, 'Turquerie', 76-77; D. O'Quin, *Engaging the Ottoman Empire: vexed mediations, 1690-1815* (Philadelphia 2019) 6-7.
[96] K. Koçak and H. Açik, 'Reading the Ottoman costumes in the travelogues of John Covel and Cornelis De Bruyn', *International Journal of Humanities and Education (IJHE)* 9:19 (2023) 269-282, there 271.
[97] H. Kurz and O. Kurz, 'The Turkish dresses in the costume-book of Rubens', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ)* 23 (1972) 275-290, there 275.

work, costume books had the ability to give the European public more social and cultural context to the Ottoman Empire. This was in sharp contrast to other visual media during this period which showed a more militaristic and threatening picture of the Ottoman Empire.[98]

Colding Smith argues that the costume book, and the Ottoman representation within this genre, was mostly intended as a comparison between the many different cultures represented in said books. According to Colding Smith, these books started with the 'known world' (often the location where the costume book was published) and expanded outwards from this location to less familiar, 'exotic' locations like the Ottoman Empire.[99] While many costume books do certainly follow this structure, it is not universal. One particularly interesting example which does not follow this structure is currently housed at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.[100] In this unnamed work possibly made in Augsburg during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the hand drawn images of multiple Ottomans are some of the first images presented in the book. They are shown alongside images which represent the noble classes of European and Middle Eastern origin. These are placed even before regions such as Italy and England. The prominent position of these hand drawn figures gives the impression that they were seen as important to the maker, but maybe even more interesting, possibly on par with their European counterparts.

The purpose of the costume books as a comparison between the 'known world' and the 'unknown world' is further brought into question when looking at costume books that only discuss the Ottoman Empire. These books represent different social classes within the Ottoman Empire only, much like the costume albums found in the Ottoman Empire. A rather famous example of this type of costume book is another hand drawn example made by Lambert de Vos in Istanbul in 1574.[101] In this work, the colorful drawings representing the many different kinds of people who inhabited the Ottoman Empire are accompanied by short hand written latin descriptions. While it is of course possible that the European reader would compare these images with the European world around them, the book itself makes no such direct comparison. Instead, the book feels more like an encyclopedia. The accuracy of the images could of course still be brought into question. However, this work shows at least a better attempt at representing the many different types of people who inhabited the Ottoman Empire compared to costume books in which the Ottomans are one of the many groups represented.

The Ottomans took up a unique position in European costume books of this period. Not only are they in sheer numbers well represented, but there was also an exchange of costume images between the Ottoman Empire and Europe. European travelers had the ability to take actual costume images produced in the Ottoman Empire with them back to Europe as references for their costume books. These eventual European images in turn could have made their way back to the Ottoman Empire where they could have influenced the production of costume images.[102]

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[98] Colding Smith, *Images of Islam*, 150.
[99] Ibidem, 125-129.
[100] Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, BSB Cod.icon. 361, Kostüme und Sittenbilder des 16. Jahrhunderts aus West- und Osteuropa, Orient, der Neuen Welt und Afrika (Augsburg? Last quarter of the 16th century).
[101] Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen, Mittelalterliche Handschriften, Msor 009, Lambert de Vos: Türkisches Kostümbuch (Istanbul 1574).
[102] Colding Smith, *Images of Islam*, 131.

While it was possible that the European costume book makers could have had actual reference images which were made in the Ottoman Empire, this did not mean that they were all realistic representations of the Ottoman Empire. Images could have been changed, warped, reordered or mislabeled making them less authentic.[103] Even if these images survived the transfer to Europe relatively unscathed however, the images themselves might still be dubious at best. These images were made with the intent to showcase the supposed hierarchy within the Ottoman Empire, not to give a view of an evolving empire. They were often produced in the Ottoman Empire (mostly in Istanbul) for a European market, and as such were made with European tastes in mind. This again could mean that the images were not made with realism in mind, but with the intent to sell well to the European clientele.[104]

Another factor that majorly influenced the realism of Ottoman representation in costume books of this period was copying. As already discussed in detail in the previous chapter, the makers of European costume books (much like their Ottoman counterparts) often did not bother to make wholly original images themselves.[105] Images were shamelessly copied from other sources, some of which were already decades old by the time of them being reproduced. Some of the biggest sources of inspiration during this time period were Danish-German printmaker Melchior Lorch (1526/7-1583) and French geographer Nicolas de Nicolay (1517-1583) who had both traveled to the Ottoman Empire and had published works relating what they had witnessed during their travels.[106] Even though these men had been to the Ottoman Empire themselves, their representations of said empire could still be asked into question. While Nicolay's images are often claimed to be quite accurate by historians nowadays, this is probably not the case for his depictions of elite Ottoman women.[107] Heather Madar notes that even travelers who had been to the Ottoman Empire like Nicolay would have had limited access to women's spaces within the empire. Ottoman women, especially those from the sultan's harem, were kept in seclusion and male strangers were not permitted to see their faces uncovered. Madar thus argues that European depictions of elite Ottoman women were mostly a blend of fantasy and vague hearsay during the sixteenth century.[108] However, it is interesting to note that the European fascination with the harem was not in true swing during this period. This is in stark contrast with the eighteenth century when Europeans became more fascinated with the harem and the women within this structure.[109] We will come back to this topic in a later section of this essay.

Even if we take the representation of these European travelers for granted, what these travelers actually got to see of the empire was often limited at best. As Colding Smith puts it nicely: 'The sultan and the Ottoman court were the prism through which many Europeans

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[103] E. Fraser, 'Heinrich Friedrich von Diez and *Costumes turcs*: an Ottoman costume album in Prussia' in: Christoph Rauch and Gideon Stiening eds., *Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751–1817): Freidenker – Diplomat – Orientkenner* (Berlin 2020) 349-378, there 367 & 377; Fraser, 'The Ottoman Costume Album', 91.
[104] Colding Smith, *Images of Islam*, 131-133.
[105] Fraser, 'Heinrich Friedrich von Diez and *Costumes turcs*', 365.
[106] Colding Smith, *Images of Islam*, 99.
[107] C.A. Jirousek and S. Catterall, *Ottoman dress and design in the West: a visual history of cultural exchange* (Bloomington 2019) 83; H. Madar, 'Before the odalisque: Renaissance representations of elite Ottoman women', *Early Modern Women* 6 (2011) 1-41, there 24-25.
[108] Madar, 'Before the odalisque', 24-25.
[109] Ibidem, 32.

saw the whole of the empire.'[110] Ambassadors would have mostly stayed in Istanbul close to the court. They would for example have been exposed to the custom of the noonday prayer procession attended by the sultan himself. In this weekly public procession, the sultan had the opportunity to show himself to the people of Istanbul in all his splendor and power. On religious holidays, this display was even more elaborate with the janissaries lined up along the route the sultan had to take on horseback to get to the mosque from the Topkapı palace. The entourage of the sultan consisted of civil as well as military staff such as the troops of the imperial household cavalry (*sipahis*), janissary officers and soldiers, military commanders, administrative elites, religious officials, grooms, viziers and pages (*peyk*). On the very tail end of the parade dressed in fine garb would be the sultan himself.[111]

This procession would have been a perfect opportunity for curious Europeans to get a glimpse of the Ottoman court and their dress.[112] This might be one of the reasons why most costume books of this century are specifically focused on the civil and military staff of the Ottoman Empire. The janissary soldiers especially were a popular motif during this period. Even the very first known European costume book, *Recueil de la diversité des habits, qui sont de présent en usage, tant es pays d'Europe, Asie, Affrique & isles sauvages, le tout fait après le naturel* (1562) by François Desprez, presented a male and female janissary as part of its Ottoman section.[113] This was the only concrete Ottoman function presented in this book. Not even the sultan got this privilege! This focus on the janissaries might have been because of their esteemed position amongst the European public. They were seen as well-trained and loyal soldiers and were therefore admired as well as feared. It is also possible that they were simply more noticeable to the European public since they were also active on European soil during military battles and were often themselves of Eastern European descent.[114] This focus on military and civil staff of the Ottoman Empire stayed relatively constant over centuries as will be discussed later on in this study.

[110] Colding Smith, *Images of Islam*, 137.
[111] Atasoy et al., *İpek, the crescent & the rose*, 25-26.
[112] Ibidem, 25-26.
[113] F. Desprez, *Recueil de la diversité des habits, qui sont de présent en usage, tant es pays d'Europe, Asie, Affrique & isles sauvages, le tout fait après le naturel* (Paris 1567); Rosalind Jones, 'Habits, holdings, heterologies', 92.
[114] See for example: L. Silver, 'Europe's Turkish nemesis' in: Herbert Karner, Ingrid Ciulisová and Bernardo J. Garciá Garciá eds., *The Habsburgs and their courts in Europe, 1400-1700: between cosmopolitism and regionalism* (Leuven 2014) 242-266.

## 2.2 The seventeenth century

In the historiography there is still an ongoing debate about the end of the 'Golden Age' of the Ottoman Empire and when this exactly took place. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the empire faced financial troubles and was no longer able to control all its vast territory from a central location. These problems along with Europe's new military technology resulted in a 'decline' of the Ottoman Empire by the beginning of the seventeenth century.[115] The Ottoman defeat at the second siege of Vienna in 1683 is often taken as an example of this supposed decline.[116] However, this conclusion is not universal amongst scholars of the Ottoman Empire. According to Suraiya Faroqhi, the economy and army of the Ottoman Empire was able to withstand European competition well into the eighteenth century.[117] While it is true that the empire was no longer able to control its vast empire from a central location, the following decentralization did not mean that the empire was in decline. In fact, it might have been a rather effective means of government for such a vast empire.[118] The empire might therefore still have been a force to be reckoned with from a European perspective.

What does seem to have definitely declined by the beginning of the seventeenth century however is the genre of the costume book. There are far less surviving European costume books from this century than from the previous and next. This is not only the case for those that discuss Ottoman costumes, it is a general trend. The reason for this development is unclear as it is hardly discussed in the historiography. Nevertheless, Colding Smith notes that during the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) the production of Ottoman images and discussions on Ottomans in general became less of a priority in German speaking territories. However, renewed interest in the Ottoman Empire in the late seventeenth century due to the second siege of Vienna (1683) led to a reuse of older Ottoman images, like those from Lorch, which had been circulating in Europe for decades already.[119]

One of these publications was *Der türkische Schau-Platz* published in 1685 which partly chronicled the Austro-Turkish war (1683-1699) and made heavy use of Lorch's images.[120] This work was a later and slightly altered version of *Der Türckischer Estaats- und Krieges-Bericht* published in 1683 which claimed to describe several aspects of the Ottoman Empire including costume.[121] While not strictly (only) a costume book, it follows a similar structure to this genre. It focuses heavily on military and civil staff, but there are also a few civilians represented such as a sorbet merchant.[122] The images show mostly men but there are also a

[115] Goncu-Berk, 'The Ottoman Kaftan', 201-202.
[116] See for example: Madar, 'Before the odalisque', 32.
[117] S.N. Faroqhi, 'Introduction' in: Idem, *The Cambridge history of Turkey, volume 3: the later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839* (Cambridge 2006) 1-17, there 3-5.
[118] Ibidem, 11.
[119] Colding Smith, *Images of Islam*, 112-114 & 179.
[120] Ibidem, 112-114 & 179.
[121] E. Werner Happel, *Türckischer Estaats- und Krieges- Bericht, oder, Eine kurtze und gründliche Beschreibung des türckischen Käysers, Grosz- und anderer Veziers, Militz, Land und Leuten, Gewonheiten, Krieges- und Lebens-Arth, Gewehr, Kleydung, and was davon ferner zu berichten nötig* (Hamburg 1683); R.K Kulaksiz, Zur Entstehung des Genres der türkischen Sultaninnenporträts im Europa des 16. Jahrhunderts (Master of arts thesis, Universität Wien, Vienna 2023) 78.
[122] Werner Happel, *Türckischer Estaats- und Krieges- Bericht*, 127.

few women represented such as two women in a harem setting and a Christian female slave.[123]

Upon closer inspection, *Der Türckischer Estaats- und Krieges- Bericht* not only reuses images from Melchior Lorch, but also from Nicolas de Nicolay. These are mostly representations of dervishes, members of a Sufi fraternity.[124] An image which is supposed to represent a Kalenderi, one of these dervishes, seems to have been a popular motif during this period. Abraham de Bruijn also used this image along with other dervishes as depicted by Nicolay in his costume book *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae atque Americae gentium habitus* (1581) published almost exactly a hundred years prior.[125] The image shows a man standing with a book in hand and one finger pointed up. He wears a large hat with tassels on the brim and hoop earrings. Most noticeable however are his genitalia which have a ring pierced through them supposedly to promote chastity (see figure 7).[126]

It is notable that these representations of dervishes are much more sensationalized than representations of other Ottomans. The facial features of these figures are crudely drawn and their scarce clothing does not fit with any other clothing represented in this work. The same can be said of another picture of a dervishes who is depicted cutting himself with a knife. This motive was far from uncommon in European costume books of the sixteenth century and it is even seen in costume albums produced in Istanbul by European artists.[127] The continued popularity of these images might be due to their shocking content. These figures are presented in such deep devotion to their religion (note also the two figures with book in hand) that they physically modify their body. While these costume books do differentiate dervishes from other Muslims, it is hard to deny the underlying islamophobia that accompanies these images. Especially when one takes the context of *Der Türckischer Estaats- und Krieges- Bericht* into consideration. It was a work published during an active conflict between a European country and the Ottoman Empire. Painting a nuanced portrait of the Ottoman Empire was probably not the goal of this publication. Besides, religious fanaticism was often associated with Islam amongst European scholars during this period.[128] These images should therefore be viewed in the context of this European environment.

However, European costume books of the seventeenth century were not all simply compilations of images made by Lorch and Nicolay a century earlier. One interesting example of a seemingly 'original' work is *Recueil de divers portraits des principales dames de la porte du grand Turc* (1648) written by George de La Chappelle with etchings made by Noel Cochin.[129] Chappelle purportedly commissioned the images used in this book based on his time in Istanbul where he accompanied the French ambassador to the Ottoman sultan.

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[123] Werner Happel, *Türckischer Estaats- und Krieges- Bericht*, 125 & 141.
[124] Werner Happel, *Türckischer Estaats- und Krieges- Bericht*, 191 & 193 & 197. Corresponds perfectly with: N. de Nicolay, *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et peregrinations orientales* (Lyon 1568) 112 & 116 & 114.
[125] A. de Bruijn, *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae atque Americae gentium habitus* (Antwerp 1581) 56.
[126] Colding Smith, *Images of Islam*, 105.
[127] W. Kynan-Wilson, 'Souvenirs and stereotypes', 35-36.
[128] Silver, 'Europe's Turkish nemesis', 242-266.
[129] G. de La Chappelle, *Recueil de divers portraits des principales dames de la porte du grand Turc, tirée au naturel sur les lieux, et dediez a Madame La Comtesse de Fiesque. Par Georges La Chappelle peintre de la ville de Caen* (Paris 1648).

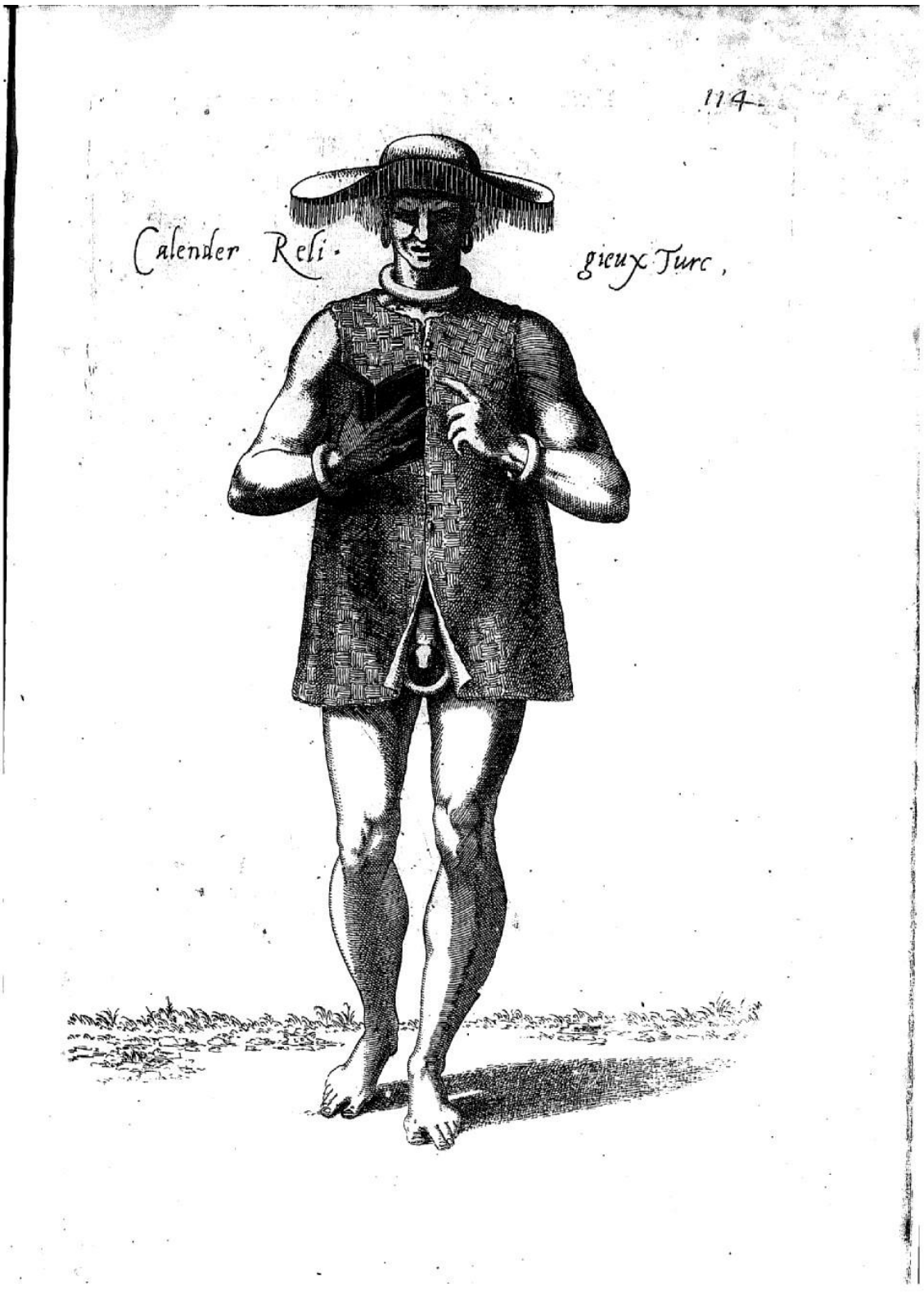




Figure 7: An image of a Kalenderi from Nicolas de Nicolay's *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et peregrinations orientales* (1568).

However, these depictions have often been regarded as fanciful.[130] Regardless of its accuracy, what makes this work stand out is its focus on women. While images of women were not uncommon in costume books of the sixteenth century, a costume book that solely focuses on women is quite unique. This focus on women also means that the usual structure of representing the civil and military staff of the Ottoman Empire is let go. This gives the book a more common outlook on the Ottoman Empire and its citizens. Although the cover of this book does show heavily militaristic depictions of Ottoman men like a janissary soldier and a *sipahis*. The background of the cover even depicts a battle field and the images on the bottom depict graphic forms of punishments which supposedly belonged to the Ottoman Empire.[131]

Chappelle's book contains twelve images of women who one may have found in the port cities around the Ottoman Empire with short ethnographic descriptions. These depict not only Turkish women but Greek, Armenian, Persian, Tatarian and Jewish women as well. The women are set against detailed backgrounds depicting their respective port cities. The figures all have slightly alternating poses but most give a three-quarter view. Their costumes are depicted with quite a large amount of detail, showing the many layers of their respective clothing and headwear. The faces show little individuality, making it hard to distinguish one woman from another.

With so much detail in the depictions of these costumes, it is easy to take them at face value. However as Justina Spencer has noted in her analysis of Chappelle's book this could not be further from the truth. As already discussed in the previous section of this essay, European men would have had a hard time catching a glimpse of an Ottoman woman alone and unveiled on the streets. This makes their depictions of Ottoman women's costume dubious at best.[132] Spencer places this work strongly in the context of Edward Said's *Orientalism*.[133] She argues that Chappelle depicts Eastern dress as timeless like so many of his peers during the early modern period. Especially his descriptions giving context to these images show a wide array of Western cultural prejudices like anti-Semitism.[134] She further argues that Chappelle used local Ottoman costume illustrations for his own benefit, reproducing these images on a large scale for a French audience. In this process he turned these images from single leafed folios into something that resembles European fashion prints, an archetype that became increasingly more popular during the seventeenth century.[135] Spencer sees this transformation most notably in the figure depicting a Turkish woman on a horse. She is portrayed sitting side straddle on a horse with her garment closed underneath her breast, exposing a deep decollete. This portrayal fits more with European women than with their Ottoman counterparts and as such Spencer argues that she is more European than Ottoman: 'Her costume may be foreign, but her demeanor is French.'[136]

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[130] Georges de La Chapelle, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG34416 (consulted March 13th 2024).
[131] J. Spencer, 'Habits and habillement in seventeenth-century voyages: Georges de La Chappelle's *Recueil des divers portraits des principals dames de la porte du grand Turc*' in: Karl A.E. Enenkel and Jan L. de Jong eds., *Artes apodemicae and early modern travel culture, 1550–1700* (Leiden 2019) 312-334, there 315-319.
[132] Ibidem, 317.
[133] Ibidem, 315.
[134] Ibidem, 319.
[135] Ibidem, 327-328.
[136] Ibidem, 332.

This transformation from an Ottoman context to a European one is definitely noteworthy. However, these images evolved even further than Spencer has noted. In the collection of the Harvard Museums is a painting depicting a Turkish princess which seems to have taken liberal inspiration from Chappelle's image of the same name (see figure 8 and 9).[137] While not an exact copy, the background is quite altered from the source material, the resemblance is undoubtedly there. What makes this image even more fascinating is that it was produced within the Ottoman Empire itself during the eighteenth century. Unfortunately the museum does not note whether it was made by an Ottoman artist or a European one. Regardless, this would mean that the image which Chappelle supposedly made based on Ottoman costume images (as Spencer claims) had made its way back to the Ottoman Empire to inspire artists there.

This was not the only journey Chappelle's images had made however. The Slovenian museum Ptuj-Ormož houses two paintings made by a Styrian painter around 1682 which show a remarkable resemblance to Chappelle's work. One depicts a Greek woman and the other an Armenian woman (see the Armenian woman in figure 10 and 11).[138] These paintings give color to the black and white etchings of Cochin and are almost direct one to one imitations. This demonstrates once again how widespread the practice of copying was during the early modern period and how this even crossed genres and mediums.

Perhaps the representations of Ottomans in European costume books made way for more costume images in travel narratives during the seventeenth century. As mentioned in chapter one, Ottoman costume album images could have made their way into European travel accounts such as Paul Rycaut's *History of the present state of the Ottoman Empire* (1667). Costume books are often categorized amongst maps and travel accounts which is not surprising since these genres often crossed over and bled together. To cite Schmidt once again, during the period around 1700 works pertaining to geography focused more and more on selling an exotic product to a newly invented 'European' audience. Europe gained its identity through distinguishing itself from this 'exotic' world during this time period. This was especially the case when it came to the Dutch market.[139]

A beautiful example of this emerging genre is Cornelis de Bruyn's *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn, door de vermaardste deelen van Klein Azië* (1698). Cornelis de Bruyn (1652-1727) was a Dutch painter who traveled to several countries in the Eastern Mediterranean during the 1670s including the Ottoman Empire. After arriving back in the Netherlands he completed the account of his travels and published it years later in 1698.[140] The travel narrative was accompanied by several engravings depicting maps, cityscapes, landscapes, animals and people.

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[137] Harvard art museums/Arthur M. Sackler museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd collection of Turkish art at the Harvard art museums, https://hvrd.art/o/356288 (consulted March 14th 2024).
[138] Greek woman | Styrian painter, about 1682 | Oil on canvas, 184 x 170 cm | Ptuj Ormož Regional Museum, G 27 s, https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/greek-woman/HwH0fGf12kxeLw (consulted March 14th 2024); Armenian woman | Styrian painter, about 1682 | Oil on canvas, 172 x 143 cm | Ptuj Ormož Regional Museum, G 262 s, https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/armenian-woman-styrian-painter-%C5%A0tajerski-slikar/3wEahwqcuL0XMw (consulted March 14th 2024).
[139] Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism*, 5.
[140] Koçak and Açik, 'Reading the Ottoman Costumes', 274-275.

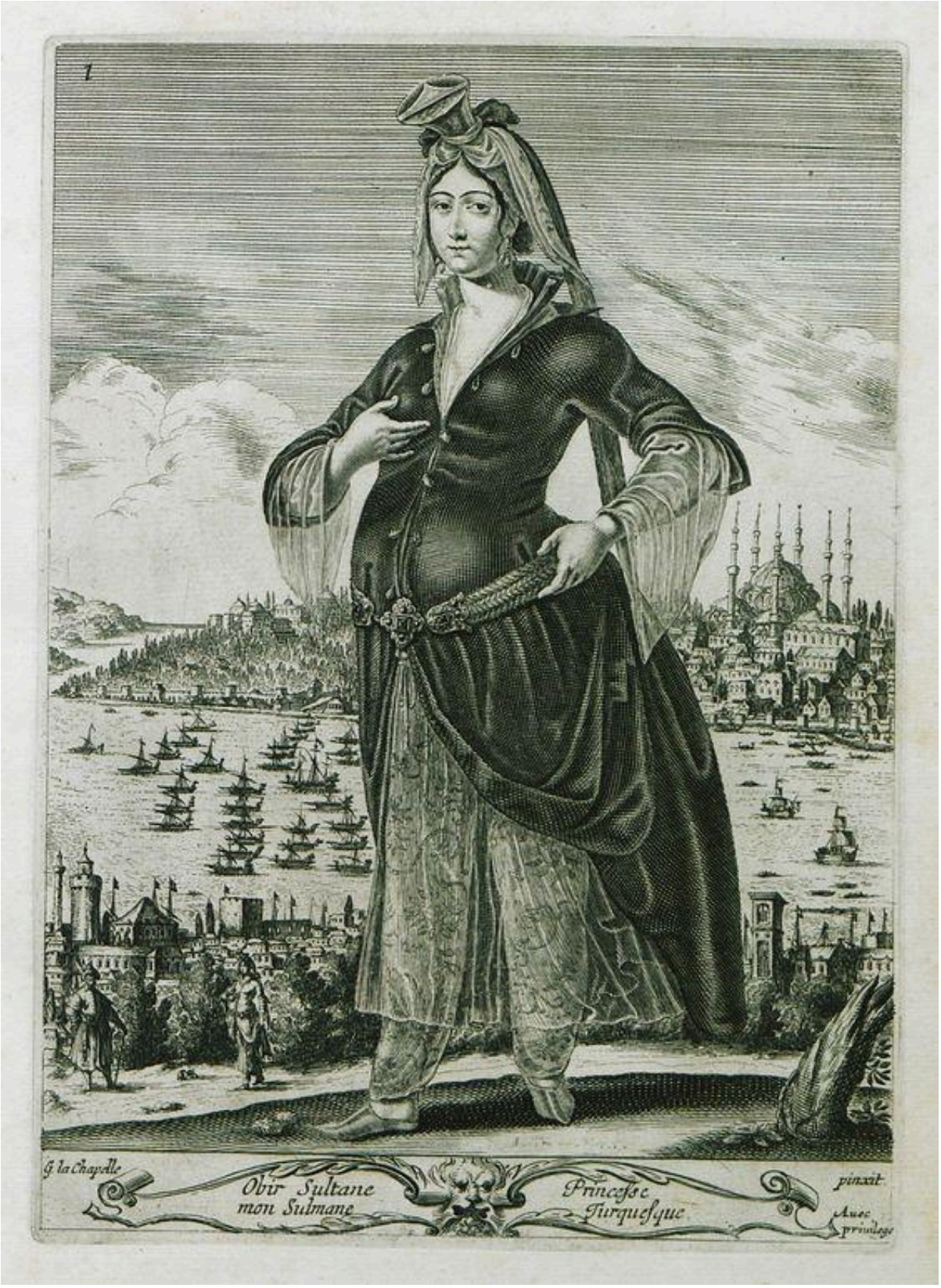


Figure 8: An image of a Turkish princess from George de La Chappelle's *Recueil de divers portraits des principales dames de la porte du grand Turc* (1648).

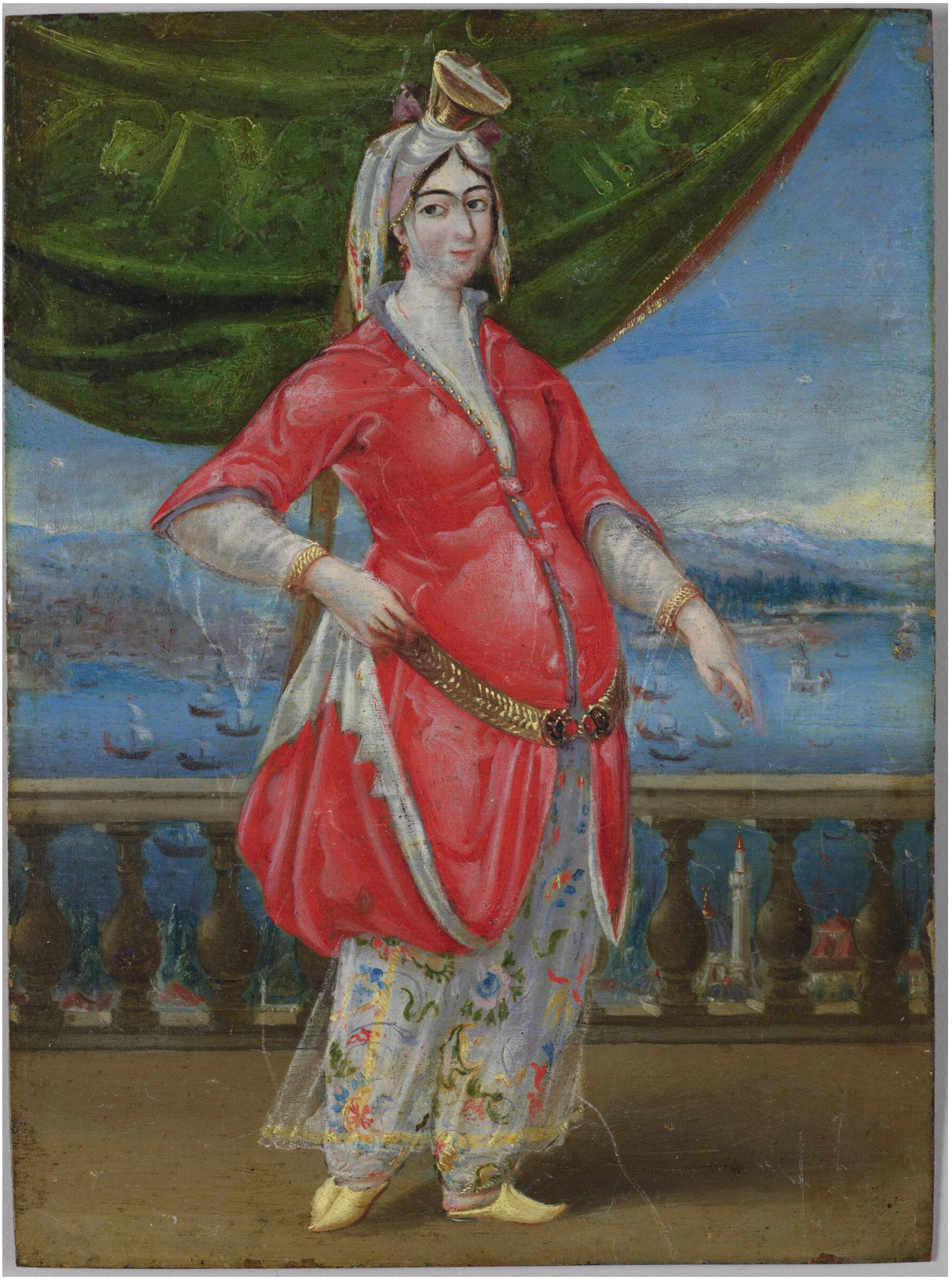

Figure 9: A Turkish princess; anonymous; Ottoman Empire; 18th century; oil on copper panel; 20.6 × 15.2 cm; Harvard Art Museums.

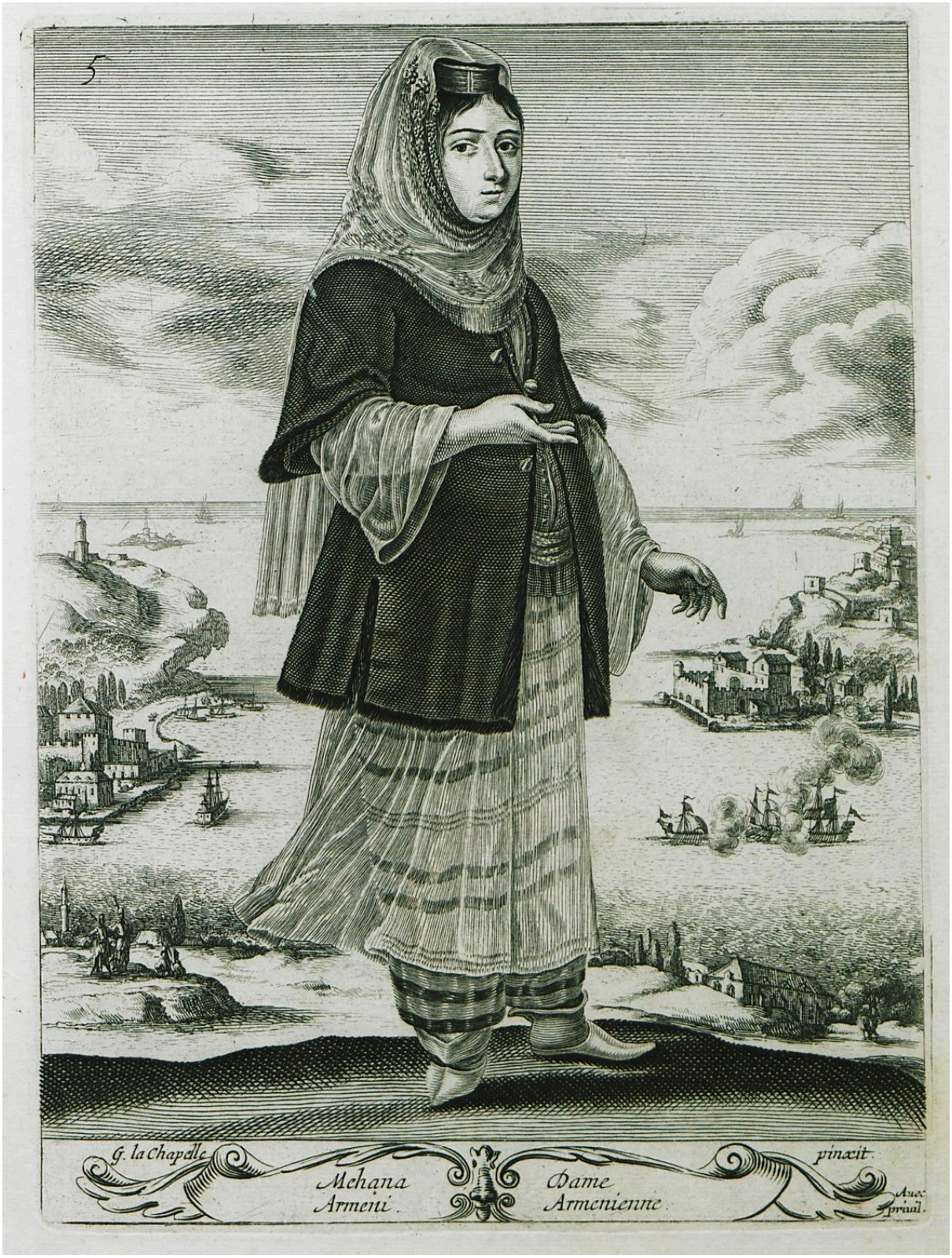


Figure 10: An image of an armenian woman from George de La Chappelle's *Recueil de divers portraits des principales dames de la porte du grand Turc* (1648).

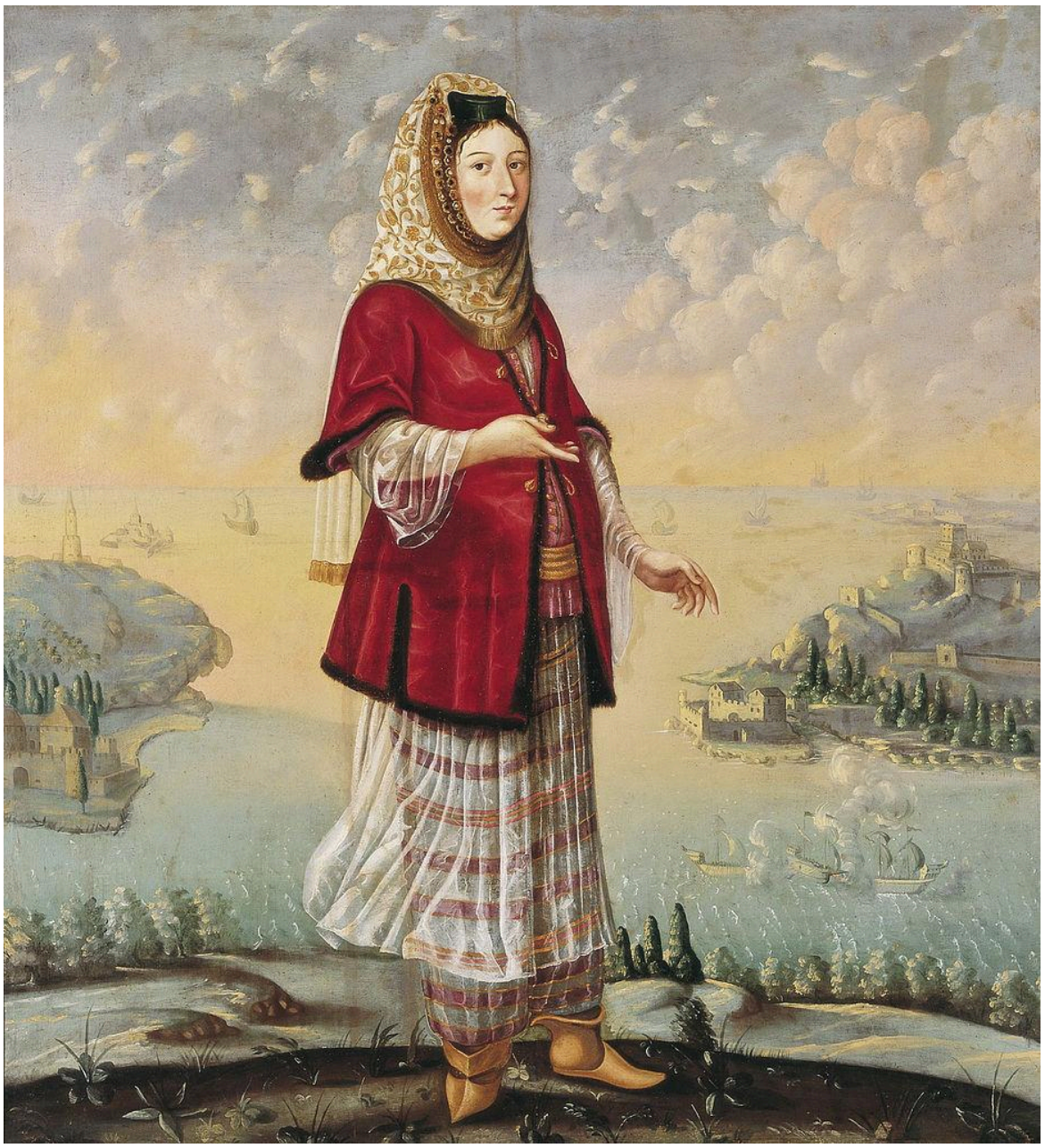

Figure 11: Armenian woman; Styrian painter; ca. 1682; oil on canvas; 143 cm x 172 cm; Ptuj-Ormož museum.

For the purposes of this essay one particular section stands out, namely the chapter which goes into detail on women's and men's dress in Istanbul.[141] This chapter is accompanied by nine images that showcase the costumes of Ottoman women and men, although these images only depict their subjects from the middle of the torso up. Like Chappelle's work, the women are in the majority with seven images while the men have to make do with two. The text which goes along with these images also focuses more on women's dress than men's.

The images and the text inform the reader that women's dress in Istanbul was quite grand. Their headwear consisted of a hat which was bound with several pieces of cloth of different colors. This headdress was further decorated with jewels and flowers and was so structured according to De Bruyn that it could be put on and off without losing its shape. The women covered themselves up while venturing out in public and in the winter their clothing was made with fur. The author even makes a note of women's dress in the harem which he assures the reader is accurate, although he would not have been able to enter this space, due to the models he had at his disposal. The women wore multiple kinds of headdresses like the *kalpok* (probably the same headdress as the *talpock* mentioned by Lady Montagu in her letters) or a Jewish headdress which resembled a vertically placed round plate. Once again, De Bruyn mentions how decorated these headdresses were with feathers, jewels and flowers.[142]

The men on the other hand only get a few lines dedicated to dress and headwear. The common Turkish men wore a red velvet hat bound with a white turban made of either linen or cotton. The janissaries on the other hand wore a special kind of ceremonial hat called a *serkola* which draped across the back of their heads. At the front these hats included a 'spout', as De Bruyn calls it, which stuck up above the forehead. Their non-ceremonial headdress resembled the more common turban, though they were usually made out of a white, red or yellow silk.[143]

The images which accompany the text seem to follow these descriptions quite well. De Bruyn refers in the text itself to these images which makes them a more cohesive unit instead of an afterthought. This is not surprising since De Bruyn claims in the full title of this work that he made these images himself as authentically as possible. Although some images leave something to be desired. For example the two women at the bottom of figure 37 wear almost identical headdresses and outfits. The facial expressions of the figures in general are not distinct from each other (see figure 12). They all have dark almond shaped eyes, dark hair and give a small smile to the reader. While this chapter gives more information when it comes to the fashions worn by Ottomans than the average costume book, the images themselves would not feel out of place in a costume book. Just like multiple costume book images, De Bruyn's images were later reused in Henri Chatelain's *Atlas Historique* (1739).[144]

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[141] C. de Bruyn, *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn, door de vermaardste deelen van Klein Asia , de eylanden Scio, Rhodus, Cyprus, Metelino, Stanchio, &c. mitsgaders de voornaamste steden van Aegypten, Syrien en Palestina: verrijkt met meer als 200 kopere konstplaaten, vertoonende de beroemdste landschappen, steden, &c. alles door den autheur selfs na het leven afgetekend* (Delft 1698) 58-59.
[142] Ibidem, 58-59.
[143] Ibidem, 59.
[144] P. Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans: sovereignty, territory, and identity in the early modern Mediterranean* (Cambridge 2015) 319.

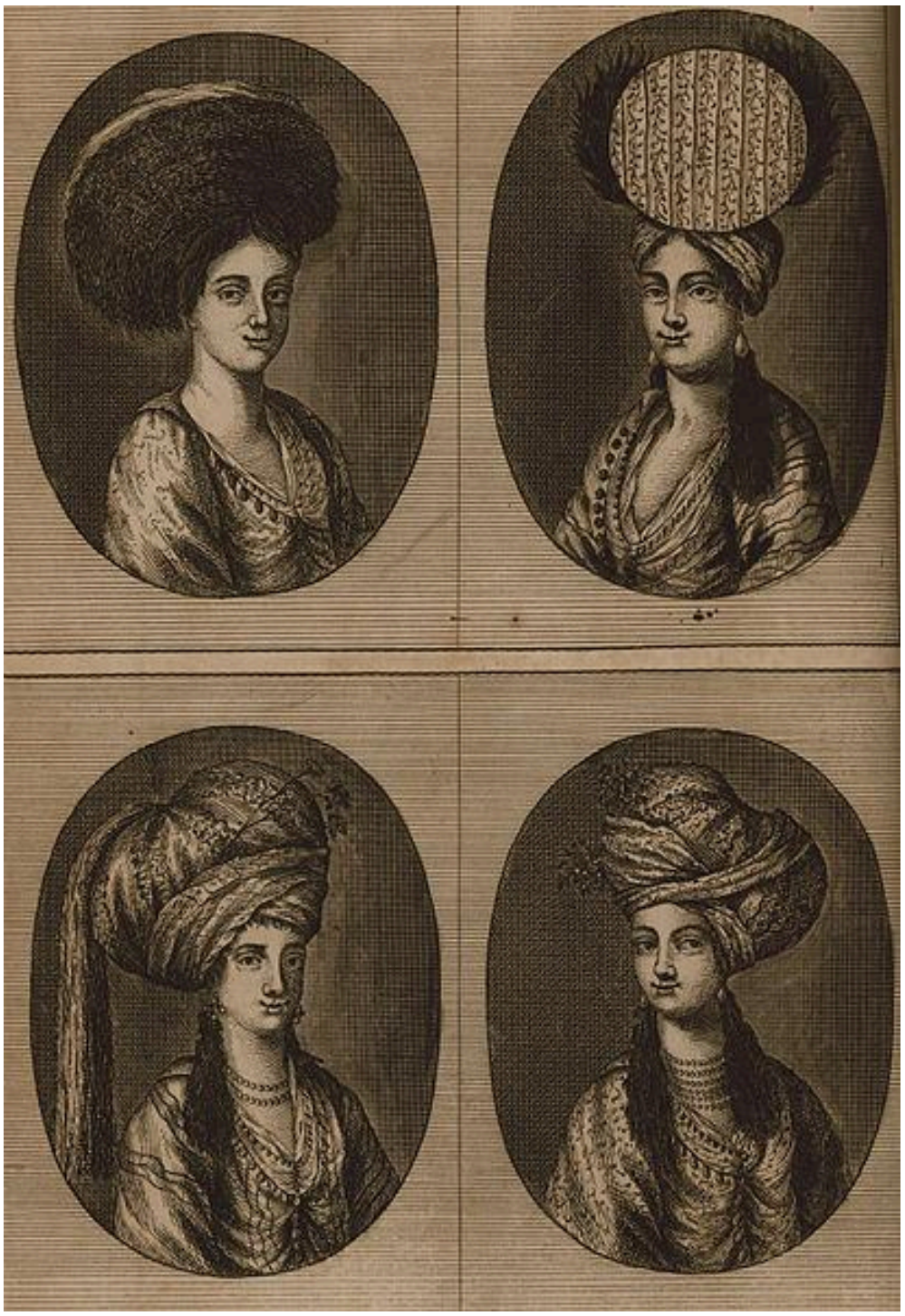

Figure 12: An image of several Ottoman women with their headwear from Cornelis de Bruyn's *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn, door de vermaardste deelen van Klein Azië* (1698).

## 2.3 The eighteenth century

The Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century is often talked about in relation to a 'decline'. As earlier noted, the loss at the second siege of Vienna (1683) supposedly marked a definite endpoint for the military wins of the empire. Their European competitors were allegedly far ahead of them and because of this the empire depended on foreign aid to keep its army up to date, marking an irreversible 'decline'.[145] While it is true that Ottoman military technology was not up to date during the eighteenth century, Jonathan Grant argues that by the end of the eighteenth century the Ottoman Empire had caught up with the new military innovations, making this 'decline' anything but irreversible.[146]

Emily Kugler notes that this 'decline' was also not noticeable in English texts during this century. The Ottoman Empire was not portrayed as 'powerless', 'decaying' or 'passive'. Instead the Ottoman Empire was seen as an influential region which left its mark on European culture and self-image.[147] This contrasts stark with Heather Madar's conclusion which states that after the second siege of Vienna, 'the Ottoman' in European thought shifted from 'formidable foe' to 'weakend and degenerate'.[148] Perhaps this discussion within the historiography can be related to the difference between the concepts of 'Turquerie' and 'Orientalism'. As earlier discussed, Europe's attitude towards the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century can not be solely defined with one singular concept. As will become clear during the course of this section, Europe's view of the Ottoman Empire as explored through costume images was anything but monolith.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the genre of the costume book made a true comeback.[149] This is also the case for the Ottoman representation within said books. The most influential artist when it came to Ottoman representation during this century was without a doubt Flemish-French painter Jean Baptiste Vanmour (1671-1737) who is most famous for his work pertaining to the Ottoman Empire.[150] Vanmour accompanied the French ambassador Charles de Ferriol to Istanbul in 1699 and he eventually stayed and worked in the capital until his death in 1737. Vanmour was commissioned by Ferriol to produce one hundred paintings of people who lived within the Ottoman Empire, most of which are nowadays housed at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.[151] These paintings were later transformed into engravings which made them more mobile (and reproducible) and as such became widely known within Europe as well as Istanbul.[152]

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[145] J. Grant, 'Rethinking the Ottoman "decline": military technology diffusion in the Ottoman Empire, fifteenth to eighteenth centuries', *Journal of World History* 10:1 (1999) 179-201, there 183-184.
[146] Ibidem, 200.
[147] E. Kugler, *Sway of the Ottoman Empire on English identity in the long eighteenth century* (Leiden 2012) 1-2.
[148] Madar, 'Before the Odalisque', 32.
[149] For a detailed description of French costume books published in the eighteenth century see: Apostolou, *L'Orientalisme des voyageurs français au XVIIIE siècle*, 257-278.
[150] K. van Cleave, *Dressing à la Turque: Ottoman influence on French fashion, 1670-1800* (Kent 2023) 16-17; Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, 'Turquerie', 84.
[151] Jean Baptiste Vanmour, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/rijksstudio/kunstenaars/jean-baptiste-vanmour (consulted March 25th 2024).
[152] O'Quin, *Engaging the Ottoman Empire*, 92-94; Jirousek and Catterall, *Ottoman dress and design in the West*, 63

Like Nicolay and Lorch before him, Vanmour's work dominated the representation of Ottomans within costume books. His engravings were published in multiple works like *Recueil de cent estampes representant differentes nations du Levant* (1714), *Explication des cent estampes qui représentent différentes nations du Levant* (1715), *Wahreste und neueste Abbildung Des Türckischen Hofes* (1719) and *Recueil d'estampes, représentant les grades, les rangs & les dignités, suivant le costume de toutes les nations existantes* (1780) to name a few. As a European living in the Ottoman capital, Vanmour sold his work with the promise of authenticity to a European clientele. However, his production process was much more complicated than simply painting what he witnessed first hand. The sometimes awkward composition of his paintings suggest the help of Ottoman artists who were not familiar with European painting practices. In some instances it is even possible to clearly see the inspiration from traditional ottoman images, though they were modified to function within a European pictorial context.[153]

Vanmour's images were not only modified to fit with European art styles but also to fit within Europe's expectations of the Ottoman Empire. Vanmour presented the different people of the Ottoman Empire as specific types instead of people like so many other artists before him. Even 'types' who could only refer to one single person, like the sultan or grand vizier, were not identified by name.[154] This results in an isolated representation of Ottoman political and social relationships which were in reality far more integrated than Vanmour represented.[155] Most costume books which made use of Vanmour's images started with the Ottoman court and military and from there expanded outwards.[156]

Another modification made by Vanmour to appeal to a European audience is his representation of Ottoman women. During the eighteenth century Europe became enthralled with the concept of the harem and the women within this structure. As a place that was off-limits to European men, speculations on the harem were mostly fantastical and extravagant. The ruler of this harem was the 'lustful' and 'despot' sultan who was associated with polygamy and orgiastic sex. The women living in his harem were represented as beautiful, but lustful and would supposedly try to seduce Christian men.[157] This went hand-in-hand with an oversexualised view of Ottoman women and men in general. The Ottoman Empire and its citizens were often associated with 'unlimited sexual consumption' between both opposite and same genders.[158] Scantily clad women swooningly lounging on sofas became a popular motif and this is also represented in Vanmour's work.

A noteworthy costume book which made use of Vanmour's images while presenting itself as a true dress history book is Thomas Jefferys' *A collection of the dresses of different nations, antient and modern* (1757). While this book describes more regions than just the Ottoman Empire, it is interesting to take a closer look at the ways in which this book represents Ottoman dress. The first volume of this work starts with the Ottoman Empire which is represented in thirty-three images (this selection does include some non-Turkish

[153] Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, 'Turquerie', 84-85.
[154] O'Quin, *Engaging the Ottoman Empire*, 94-95.
[155] Ibidem, 97.
[156] Ibidem, 105-106.
[157] Madar, 'Before the Odalisque', 2.
[158] Madar, 'Before the Odalisque', 2; O'Quin, *Engaging the Ottoman Empire*, 107-109.

ambassadors according to Jefferys).[159] This number and the prominent position of this region within the book is interesting to note, since the other regions under discussion do not get this many images dedicated to them.[160] There seems to be no real structure to the regions as presented in this book. The reader starts in the Ottoman Empire, but from there encounters Central Asia, China, the Levant, Arabia, Anatolia, India, Persia, Egypt and North Africa, Poland, Hungary and Italy.[161] This is interesting to note, because it is not a 'Europe first' and 'non-Europe second' structure as is expected of a European costume book that discusses

[159] T. Jefferys, *A collection of the dresses of different nations, antient and modern. Particularly old English dresses. After the designs of Holbein, Vandyke, Hollar and others. With an account of the authorities from which the figures are taken; and some short historical remarks on the subject. To which are added, the habits of the principal characters on the English stage. Vol 1* (London 1757) 14-24.
[160] Ibidem, 14-47.
[161] Ibidem, 14-47.

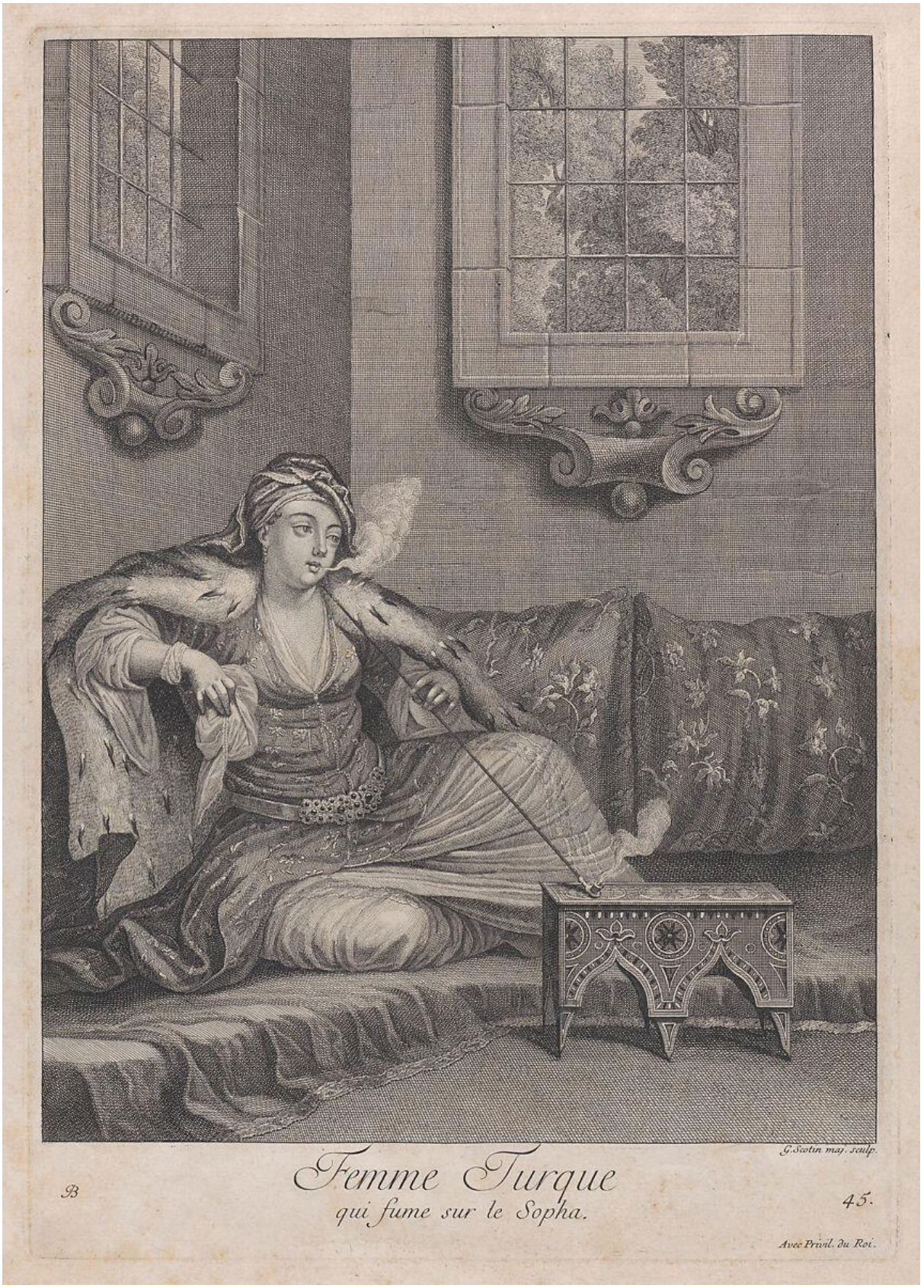



Figure 13: An image titled ‘Femme Turque, qui fume sur le Sopha’ from *Recueil de cent estampes représentent differentes nations du Levant* (1714) after Jean Baptiste Vanmour.

more than one region according to Colding Smith.[162] There does not seem to be a unified 'Europe' or 'Asia' in this particular costume book.

The fact that this costume book presents itself as a dress history book becomes clear from the introduction. The author notes that dress is far more than just covering up one's body. He explains that dress has the power to differentiate class, gender and status. It has changed over time and changes from location to location.[163] Like a true dress historian the author even cites his source images and dates them. The author acknowledges that his Ottoman images were taken from *Caravane du sultan à la Mecque* (1748), *Explication des cent estampes qui représentent différentes nations du Levant* (1715) and *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et peregrinations orientales* (1568).[164] This aspect is fascinating since no other costume book this essay has discussed so far has been dedicated to citing its sources. This also might give a different spin on the costume book as a static genre. By dating the images, the author puts them in a specific year, meaning that he (be it subconsciously) acknowledges that Ottoman fashion changes over time. This is a rather stark contrast to the European idea of Ottoman dress as timeless and unchanging.

The images also each get their own description. Some descriptions are especially detailed such as the one describing the sultan and grand vizier. These do not only go into detail on dress, but also give political context. The description of the grand vizier especially highlights his prominent position within the Ottoman Empire, albeit with a particular despot filter.[165] The dates seem to correspond with the publication dates of the images cited, but those citing *Explication des cent estampes qui représentent différentes nations du Levant* (1715) are dated 1700 instead of 1715, possibly to correspond with the year the embassy of Ferriol took place. The Ottoman section starts with the sultan and sultanas from different regions (and time periods). This is followed by images of eunuchs, the grand vizier, different ranks of military staff and religious officials. It is interesting to note that Jefferys adhered mostly to the sequence as presented in *Explication des cent estampes qui représentent différentes nations du Levant*. He presented the sultan and sultana back to back before he discussed the staff from the court and military.

The fact that Jefferys cites Joseph Marie Vien's *Caravane du sulltan à la Mecque* (1748) is important to highlight since this Ottoman costume book perfectly illustrates the transformation from clothing to 'costume'. Issued on occasion of a Turkish masquerade organized in Rome by the French Academy, it follows the classical structure of the costume book.[166] Multiple images of Ottoman men and women are accompanied by descriptions informing the reader of the figure's occupation. The colorful figures all posed in different stances are depicted against minimal backgrounds, all wear extravagant pieces of clothing in many layers. The book starts, like Vanmour's, with civil and military staff from the Ottoman court, the sultan however is missing. From there the reader is greeted by governors from different Ottoman territories and religious authorities only to return back to civil and military

[162] Colding Smith, *Images of Islam*, 125-129.
[163] Jefferys, *A collection of the dresses of different nations, antient and modern*, vi-xiii.
[164] Ibidem, 14-24.
[165] Ibidem, 21.
[166] J.M. Vien, *Caravane du sultan à la Mecque: mascarade Turque faite à Rome par Messieurs les pensionnaires de l'Académie de France et leurs amis au carnaval de l'année 1748* (Paris 1748).

staff. Interspersed within this section are a couple of ambassadors from foreign countries like Thailand and, oddly enough, the sultan. In the last section the harem is the main subject. This section starts with eunuchs all depicted with different skin colors. Finally, multiple 'sultanas' with different skin colors are portrayed lounging on cushions towards the end of the book.

A person with no prior knowledge of Ottoman dress might take these depictions at face value. However, comparing these images with other Ottoman costume book images results in some interesting differences. For once the title and introduction of this book clearly puts these images in the context of a masquerade. Making these costume images less depictions of actual pieces of clothing but rather costumes to be thrown off at the end of a night of partying.

A large portion of the men wear (sometimes multiple) oversized robes with often no real discernible closures and wide legged trousers tucked into their shoes. Almost all have a curved sword in hand and wear large feathered turbans. Their faces show slightly different expressions, but are not overly animated. Most men, with the exception of the eunuchs, have facial hair. It is hard to tell apart the women from the men in the last section of the book. They also wear robes, wide legged trousers and turbans, however they do not carry swords and are mostly depicted sitting down.

The heavy emphasis on oversized clothing and layering seems to have more in common with European theater costumes of this period than actual Ottoman dress. For example, one fashion plate in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art depicts a woman wearing one of the costumes of the play *L'Orphelin de la Chine* (1753) written by Voltaire. Like the figures depicted in the *Caravane du sultan à la Mecque*, the woman wears multiple robe-like layers of clothing and voluminous trousers. She even has feathers in her hair, almost mimicking a turban (see figure 14 and 15).[167] While the play is supposed to take place in China and the costume book supposedly depicts Ottoman dress, this similarity rather suggests an overall European idea of 'Eastern' dress. As theater/masquerade costumes, accuracy is probably not the goal. The costumes instead are suggestive of an Asian origin, but do not mimic one specific dress style within Asia. The women in *Caravane du sultan à la Mecque* wearing turbans are a beautiful example of this. The European public would have associated turbans with the Near East and as such even women are depicted wearing this garment while in reality there is little evidence to suggest that Ottoman women wore turbans. It was a garment reserved for Muslim men.[168]

That Vanmour was not the only source for inspiration during this century becomes clear when looking at one costume book titled *Recueil des différents costumes des principaux officiers et magistrats de la porte; et des peuples sujets de l'Empire Othoman* (ca. 1775). After more than two hundred years, Nicolay was still a source of inspiration for costume book makers.[169] While sometimes mirrored and coloured in, a large number of images are without a doubt a product of Nicolay. Some aspects have been altered by the maker of the late eighteenth century however. One image of a janissary is now titled 'The governor of

[167] Women's Childrens 18th century, Plate 014, https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15324coll12/id/11332 (consulted 22nd of March 2024).
[168] A. Jasienski, 'A savage magnificence: Ottoman fashion and the politics of display in early modern East-Central Europe', *Muqarnas* 31:1 (2014) 173-205, there 180; J. Landweber, 'Celebrating identity: charting the history of Turkish masquerade in early modern France', *Romance Studies* 23:3 (2005) 175-189, there 181.
[169] Apostolou, *L'Orientalisme des voyageurs français au XVIIIE siècle*, 268.

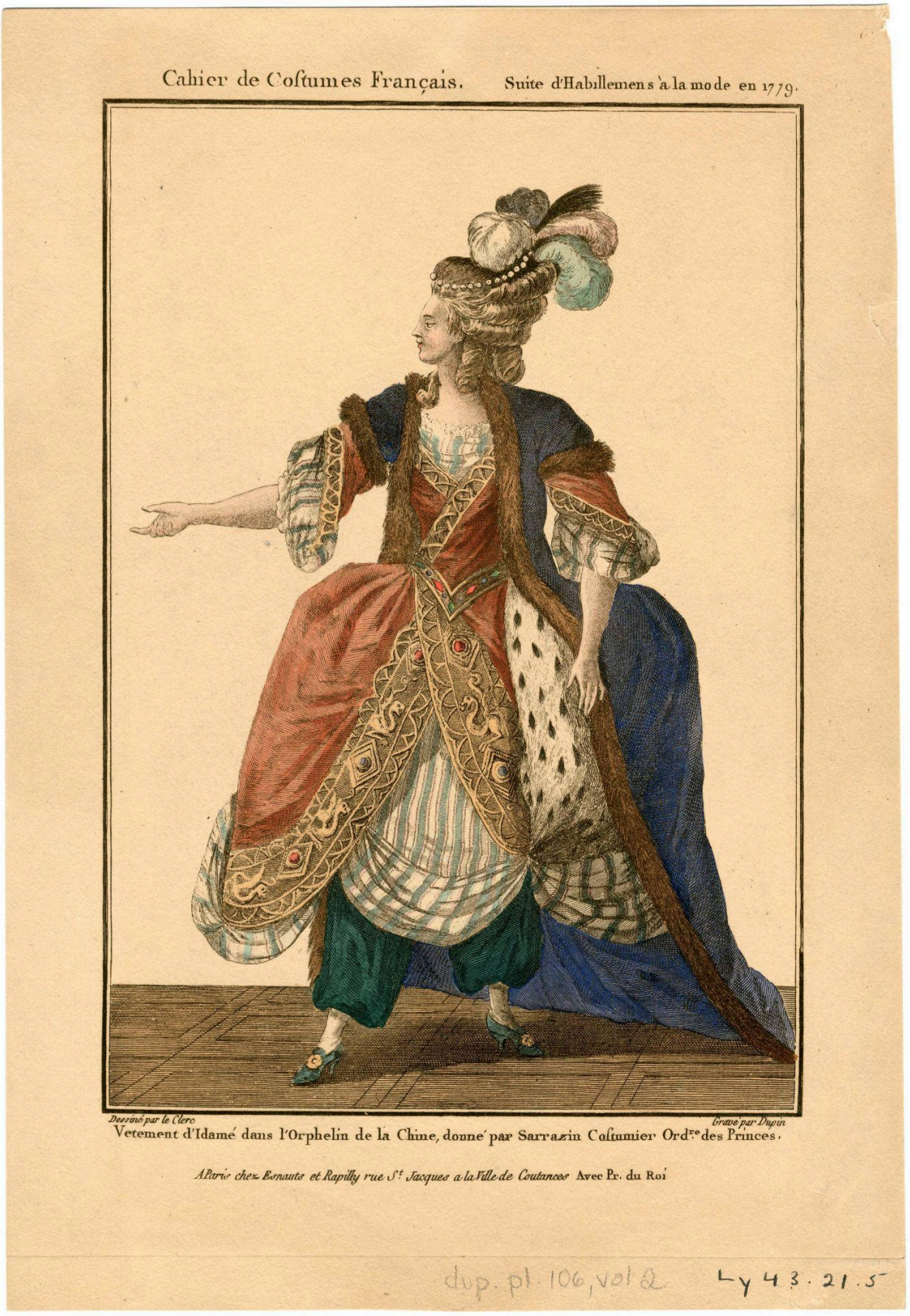
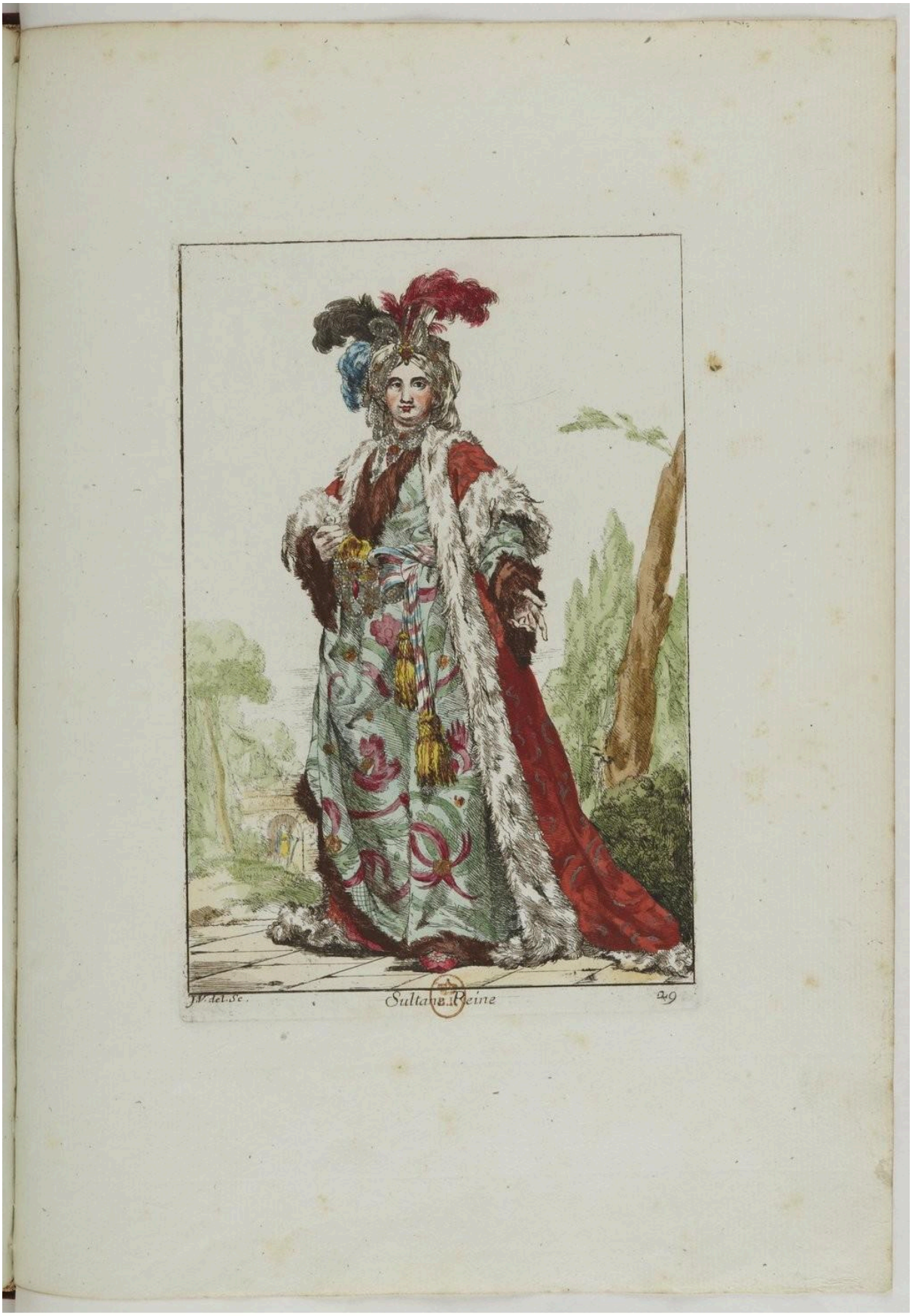



Figure 14: A theater costume for the play *L'Orphelin de la Chine* (1753) written by Voltaire.




Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 15: An image titled ‘Sultane Reine’ from Joseph Marie Vien’s *Caravane du sultan à la Mecque* (1748).

Constantinople' and another image of a janissary general has been changed to the grand vizier.[170] The infamous image of the Kalenderi even makes a comeback, although the author apparently was not too keen on the exposed and pierced genitalia and decided to give the dervish an extra garment to wear underneath his tunic (see figure 7 and 16).[171] While more resembling a scrapbook than a costume book, an album titled *Portraits et figures du Levant* assembled in the early eighteenth century also still used images made by Nicolay.[172] This album also contains prints of prominent Ottoman figures made by Nicolas de Larmessin I (1632-1694) and images used in the French translation of Paul Rycaut's *The present state of the Ottoman Empire* (1665).[173]

Another world-focused costume book which gives a detailed account of Ottoman dress is Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur's *Encyclopédie des voyages* (1796). Just like *A collection of the dresses of different nations, antient and modern,* the line between 'European' and 'non-European' is blurred since the section on Ottoman dress is located in the volume which discusses European dress.[174] This section also stands out when looking at which 'types' are represented. The book titles them as follows: Muslim men, a Muslim woman in winter garb, Turkish women, a Muslim female slave, European women in Turkish habits, Turkish women in a hammam, Muslim women praying and a Muslim woman dancing in public.[175] The figures are made up against a simple background in a relatively simple style with minor detail. This makes the figures quite emotionless and flat. The dominance of women is interesting to note, since most costume books during this period are relatively equal in the amount of women and men represented. The dominance of women also has the added effect, much like Chappelle's *Recueil de divers portraits des principales dames de la porte du grand Turc* (1648), that this section does not focus on military and civil staff of the Ottoman Empire. Even the one image which depicts men is simply labeled 'Muslim men'. This is a rather stark contrast to, for example, Vanmour's work which still highlighted the civil and military staff of the Ottoman Empire.

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[170] Anonymous, *Recueil des différents costumes des principaux officiers et magistrats de la porte; et des peuples sujets de l'Empire Othoman, tels que les Grecs, les Armeniens, les Arabes, les Égyptiens, les Macédoniens, les Juifs* (Paris ca. 1775) 5 & 2; Nicolay, *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et peregrinations orientales*, 88 & 92.

[171] Anonymous, *Recueil des différents costumes des principaux officiers et magistrats de la porte*, 34; Nicolay, *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et peregrinations orientales*, 114.

[172] Portraits et figures du Levant. [The costumes of the Near East] (ca. 1720), https://www.splrarebooks.com/collection/view/portraits-et-figures-du-levant.-the-costumes-of-the-near-east (consulted March 22nd 2024).

[173] Eumenia, Grande Sultane, Reyne, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1107250/eumenia-grande-sultane-reyne-print-nicolas-de-larmessin/eumenia-grande-sultane-reyne--print-nicolas-de-larmessin/ (consulted 22nd of March 2024); Mustapha Coul Oglou, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1107251/mustapha-coul-oglou-print-nicolas-de-larmessin/ (consulted 22nd of March 2024); Portret van Mehmet IV, sultan van het Ottomaanse Rijk, Nicolas de Larmessin (I), 1642 - 1694, http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.135963 (consulted 22nd of March 2024); Illustrations de Histoire de l'état présent de l'Empire ottoman, contenant les maximes politiques des Turcs, les principaux points de la religion mahométane... leur discipline militaire, https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb38495368p (consulted 22nd of March 2024).

[174] J. Grasset de Saint-Sauveur, *Encyclopédie des voyages; contenant l'abregé historique des moeurs, usages, habitudes domestiques, religions, fêtes, supplices, funérailles, sciences, arts, commerce de tous les peuples; et la collection complette de leurs habillements civils, militaires, religieux et dignitaires, dessinés d'aprés nature, gravés avec soin et coloriés à l'aquarelle. Europe tome premier* (Paris 1796) 1-12.

[175] Ibidem 1-12.


Figure 16: An image of a Kalenderi from *Recueil des différents costumes des principaux officiers et magistrats de la porte; et des peuples sujets de l'Empire Othoman* (ca. 1775).

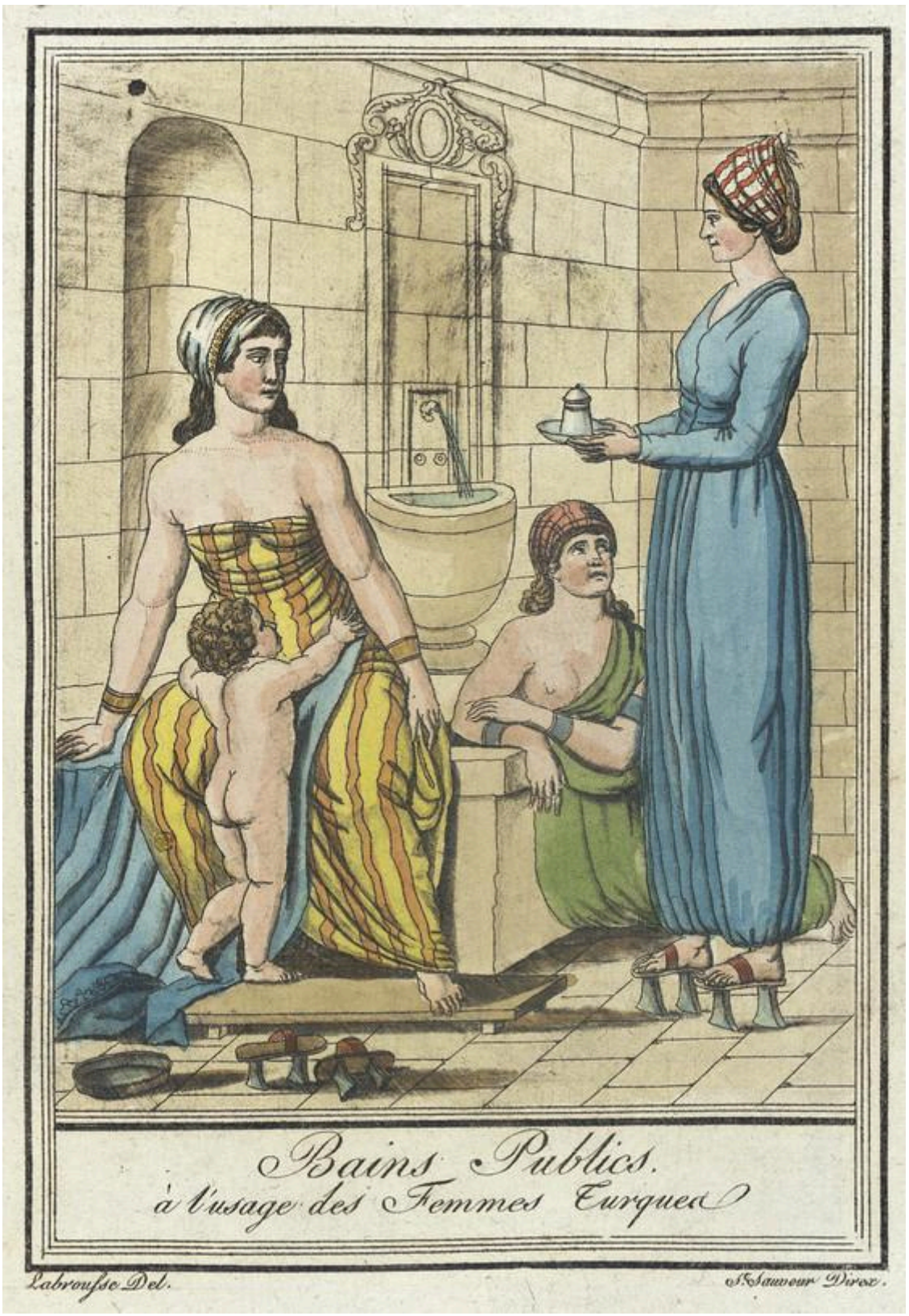


Figure 17: An image of women in a hammam from Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur's *Encyclopédie des voyages* (1796).

While the Ottoman section of this book focuses on women, they are not depicted in the standard eighteenth century Orientalist way. None of the women are depicted swooningly lounging on a sofa. Instead they are mostly depicted standing up in simple poses. With the exception of the women pictured in a hammam, the women are not depicted with exposed breasts. Even the women in the hammam are not depicted in an overtly sexual way. The small child hugging one of the women gives the scene a rather communal and familial feeling (see figure 17). These images give a more everyday look into the Ottoman Empire of the late eighteenth century, even more so than the work of Chapelle which still depicted Ottoman men in a heavily militaristic context. It should be stressed again that these images could still be highly inauthentic to the Ottoman Empire, but the point is that the focus is no longer just on the civil and military staff of the Ottoman Empire like it was previously. Instead the focus seems to have shifted to the more everyday aspects of the empire in this specific costume book. Though it is important to note that the text which accompanies these images still associates the Ottoman Empire with despotism while at the same time acknowledging the empire as one of the biggest in the world. Islam is also still associated with religious fanaticism much like earlier centuries.[176] This shows once again how Europe's attitude towards the Ottoman Empire was often a mix of admiration and condemnation.

## Conclusion

Ottoman representation formed an important part of European costume books for the entirety of the early modern period. The Ottoman 'types' represented within this genre stayed relatively consistent for these circa 250 years. The focus was primarily on the civil and military staff of the Ottoman Empire. However, larger works pertaining to the Ottoman Empire also presented images of civilians, craftsmen, religious officials and women. Important exceptions to this standard structure are costume books which focus on Ottoman women. These books often presented a more common focused perspective of the Ottoman Empire, though Ottoman princesses could still be part of this line up.

The relative consistency of these Ottoman 'types' can largely be attributed to the tradition of recycling older materials. Nicolas de Nicolay (1517-1583), Melchior Lorch (1526/7-1583) and Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (1671-1737) were some of the most influential artists when it came to images of the Ottoman Empire. Their work was republished decade after decade, creating a set number of Ottoman 'types' which were almost always represented in European costume books. These artists might have used these same types, but their specific depictions of these types often set the standard for their respective centuries. For example, Vanmour's orientalist depictions of women lounging on sofas set the standard for other artist's depictions of Ottoman women in European costume books.

Nonetheless, it could also be argued that these different Ottoman 'types' were reflective of Europe's attitude towards the Ottoman Empire in their respective centuries. In the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was at its height of influence and expanded into Eastern Europe. Ottomans were feared as well as admired during this century by Europeans and as such they

[176] Grasset-Sauveur, *Encyclopédie des voyages*, 1.

were often depicted as aggressive and highly militaristic. In the seventeenth century this attitude rears its ugly head again during the second siege of Vienna (1683). Older images from the sixteenth century are recycled to reflect this attitude. By the eighteenth century, when the Ottoman Empire was no longer a direct threat, we see a rebirth of Ottoman depictions in European costume books. Vanmour has set a new standard for Ottoman representations which now also includes many images depicting the Ottoman harem. Ottoman women were already depicted for decades in European costume books, but the focus was not on the Ottoman harem. This changed by the beginning of the eighteenth century when the cultural movements of Turquerie and Orientalism truly caught on. It could be argued that Turquerie brought new ideas and perspectives on the Ottoman Empire due to an increase in trade and diplomatic relationships. Ottomans were no longer dominantly portrayed as 'barbarous' as was the custom in earlier centuries. This left room for more nuanced representations of the Ottoman Empire. Although stereotyping was very much still part of this movement as is shown in costume books of this period.

# Conclusion

Early modern costume images of Ottomans existed in both the Ottoman Empire as well as Europe. These two regions were more often than not in dialogue with each other when it came to these images. Images from the Ottoman Empire made their way into Europe to inspire artists there and vice versa. While European costume book makers could have had reference images of Ottoman origin this did not mean that these images were authentic to the Ottoman Empire. The repetition of the same Ottoman 'types' or 'characters' in Ottoman costume albums of the early modern period were more inline with upholding the hierarchy within the Ottoman Empire than representing an image of a changing empire. The genre was often remarkably static in its representation of Ottoman citizens. However, it is also possible to view this practice of copying and pasting as a result of market practices since Ottoman album production in general seems to have relied quite heavily on copying preexisting designs. This raises the question if Ottoman costume albums were true representations of contemporary Ottoman fashion or even if the concept of 'fashion' existed in the early modern Ottoman Empire at all, as some scholars still claim that this concept is solely European though this claim has not gone uncriticized. Although these 'unchanging fashions' might not have been as prevalent in Ottoman costume albums which were intended for an Ottoman urban clientele such as the works of Enderunlu Fazıl (1757-1810). Fazıl represented Ottoman as well as European fashions with relatively uptodate sources compared to his fellow Ottoman costume album artists and as such showed changes in Ottoman fashion.

These images were often brought over to Europe by European as well as Ottoman ambassadors and European travelers. Although these travelers and ambassadors also created Ottoman costume images on their own without Ottoman templates. The representation of Ottomans in European costume books emerged with the genre itself during the sixteenth century. For 250 years Ottoman costume images remained a staple of the genre. Like their Ottoman counterparts, European costume books often relied on the practice of copying and pasting preexisting designs. Works of influential artists like Melchior Lorch (1526/7-1583), Nicolas de Nicolay (1517-1583) and Jean Baptiste Vanmour (1671-1737) remained sources for inspiration for decades to come. This would suggest that the genre was static and did not develop over the course of the early modern period. If this is the case, then the question to what extent did the representation of Ottomans in European costume books develop during the early modern period would be redundant since the conventions of the genre were too strong to allow for development.

However, it could also be argued that Ottoman costume images were reflections of Europe's dominant attitude towards the Ottoman Empire during each century. During the sixteenth century when the Ottoman Empire was at its height of influence and expanded into Eastern Europe, Ottoman costume images often highlighted different military staff from the Ottoman Empire like the janissary. These depictions are revived yet again during the second siege of Vienna (1683) when the empire was perceived as a military threat from a European perspective. During the eighteenth century when this perceived threat subsided and the cultural movements of Turquerie and Orientalism gained steam, more attention was paid to

the non-militaristic aspects of the Ottoman Empire and the Ottoman harem specifically. This allowed for a more nuanced view of the Ottoman Empire and its citizens.

But what does this development (or lack therefore) say about the genre of the European costume book in general? Ottomans were not only represented alongside costume images of other regions but also on their own. This last category especially often resembled their Ottoman genre counterpart. Even when they had to share the stage with other regions in costume books however, they still often took up a large portion of the content in said books. Colding Smith argues that the genre of the costume book relied on representing the 'exotic' next to the 'familiar'. These books she argues often started with the European country in which the book was published and from there spread outwards towards less familiar locations like the Ottoman Empire. While some costume books certainly follow this structure, it is by no means universal. Some costume books like the works of Thomas Jefferys and Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur seem to place the Ottoman Empire within Europe or even reject the notion of a unified Europe all together. This revelation asks for a reevaluation of the genre of the costume book itself. If this genre was meant to contrast the 'familiar' with the 'exotic' why did some authors have a hard time placing the Ottoman Empire within these two categories? Was this unique to the Ottoman Empire or did other regions receive the same treatment? These questions only highlight the intrigue of this understudied genre. Hopefully more research will answer these questions in the future.

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