Women, Consumption, and the Circulation of Ideas in South-Eastern Europe, 17th – 19th Centuries

Edited by
Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu

NEAGA
sofia
lui
IONAŞCU
din
SLATINA

BRILL

BALKAN STUDIES LIBRARY

Women, Consumption, and the Circulation of Ideas in South-Eastern Europe, 17th–19th Centuries

Balkan Studies Library

Editor-in-Chief

Zoran Milutinović (*University College London*)

Editorial Board

Gordon N. Bardos (*Columbia University*)
Alex Drace-Francis (*University of Amsterdam*)
Jasna Dragović-Soso (*Goldsmiths, University of London*)
Christian Voss (*Humboldt University, Berlin*)

Advisory Board

Marie-Janine Calic (*University of Munich*)
Lenard J. Cohen (*Simon Fraser University*)
Radmila Gorup (*Columbia University*)
Robert M. Hayden (*University of Pittsburgh*)
Robert Hodel (*Hamburg University*)
Anna Krasteva (*New Bulgarian University*)
Galin Tihanov (*Queen Mary, University of London*)
Maria Todorova (*University of Illinois*)
Andrew Wachtel (*Northwestern University*)

VOLUME 20

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/bsl*

Women, Consumption, and the Circulation of Ideas in South-Eastern Europe, 17th–19th Centuries

Edited by

Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

This is an open access title distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license, which permits any non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided no alterations are made and the original author(s) and source are credited. Further information and the complete license text can be found at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/

The terms of the CC license apply only to the original material. The use of material from other sources (indicated by a reference) such as diagrams, illustrations, photos and text samples may require further permission from the respective copyright holder.

Cover illustration: Constantin Lecca, *Neaga, Wife of the Merchant Ionaşcu*. Courtesy Museum of Art, Craiova, Romania.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at http://catalog.loc.gov
LC record available at http://lccn.loc.gov/2017035406

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: “Brill”. See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1877-6272
ISBN 978-90-04-35498-2 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-35509-5 (e-book)

Copyright 2018 by Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu. Published by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi and Hotei Publishing.
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.
Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

Acknowledgements VII
List of Illustrations VIII
Notes on Contributors X

Introduction 1
Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu

1 Translating Imperial Practices, Knowledge, and Taste Across the Mediterranean: Giulio Ferrario and Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson 12
Giulia Calvi

2 French Residents and Ottoman Women in 18th-Century Levant: Personal Relations, Social Control, and Cultural Interchange 47
David Celetti

3 Women's Fashion in Dalmatia at the End of the 18th Century 65
Katarina Nina Simončič

4 A Dialogue of Sources: Greek Bourgeois Women and Material Culture in the Long 18th Century 95
Artemis Yagou

5 "Curls and Forelocks": Romanian Women's Emancipation in Consumption and Fashion, 1780–1850 124
Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu

6 European Fashion, Consumption Patterns, and Intercommunal Relations in the 19th-Century Ottoman Istanbul 150
Anastasia Falierou

7 Women in Merchant Families, Women in Trade in Mid-19th Century Romanian Countries 169
Nicoleta Roman

8 **Women Travellers as Consumers: Adoption of Modern Ideas and Practices in 19th-Century Southeast Europe** 200
Evguenia Davidova

Index 227

Acknowledgements

This collective volume originates from the panel “Women, Consumption and the Circulation of Ideas in South-Eastern Europe, 17th–19th Centuries” held at the European Social Science History Conference (ESSHC), Valencia, Spain, 2016. This volume is the result of a team effort and I want to thank all the contributors gathered around the *LuxFaSS* ERC Project, especially Evguenia Davidova and Nina Katarina Simončič for their involvement in the ESSHC panel and for contributing to this book. This book is the first output of the ERC-2014-CoG no. 646 489 grant, *Luxury, Fashion, and Social Status in Early Modern Southeastern Europe* (*LuxFaSS*), financed by the European Research Council and hosted by the New Europe College Institute for Advanced Study in Bucharest, Romania.

My gratitude goes to the New Europe College who supported me during the preparation of the manuscript. I am particularly grateful to Anca Oroveanu and Constantin Ardeleanu for reading and commenting on the manuscript. My thanks to Iuliu Raţiu and Elizabeth Ramsey for checking and editing all the chapters, and for their readiness to render the manuscript more readable.

I also wish to thank the anonymous reviewers for their useful and valuable comments and suggestions which were precious for the improvement of the manuscript. Special thanks to Ivo Romein at Brill Publishers for his enthusiasm and courtesy, and to Alex Drace-Francis for his encouragement and unwavering friendly help.

List of Illustrations

1.1 Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau générale de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1787, Tome 1, figs. 1–2. *Adam et Eve; Assomption de Mohammed* 31

1.2 G. Ferrario, *Il costume antico e moderno*, vol. 4 (Milan 1827), fig. 30 32

1.3 Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau générale*, Tome 1, *Musulmane faisante la prière,* fig. 15 32

1.4 Ferrario, *Il costume*, vol.4, fig.35 33

1.5 Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, tome 1, *Enfans Musulmans dans le jour de leur Circoncision; Animaux destinés aux sacrifice*, figs. 20–21 33

1.6 Ferrario, *Il costume*, vol. 4, fig. 36 34

1.7 Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, tome 1, Fig. 33, *Bibliothèque publique* 34

1.8 Ferrario, *Il costume*, vol. 4, tav. 45 35

1.9 Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau general* (Paris, 1790) tome 2, figs. 89–90 *Danseuse publique* 35

1.10 Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, tome 2, Figs. 91–92, *Tschenky, ou danseur publique* 36

1.11 Ferrario, *Il costume*, vol. 4, fig. 62 36

1.12 Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, tome 2, fig. 93, *La Romeca. Danse des femmes Grecques* 37

1.13 Ferrario *Il costume*, fig.63 37

1.14 Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Tableau général, tome 2, figs. 79, 80, 81, 82 *Mahometane voilée, Egyptienne voilée, Européenne couverte d'un schal, Eutopéenne couverte d'un mahhrama* 38

1.15 Ferrario, *Il costume*, vol. 4, tav. 60 39

1.16 Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Mahometane voilée, Egyptienne voilée, Européenne couverte d'un schal, Eutopéenne couverte d'un mahhrama* 39

1.17 Ferrario tav. 60 40

1.18 Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Frontispiece 41

1.19 G. Compagnoni, *Storia dell'Impero Ottomano*, Frontispiece 42

3.1 Johann Van Der Bruggen "REGNUM DALMATIAE 1737", Vienna 1737 68

3.2 Lace, Collection from Dobrota, Kotor 74

3.3 Alberto Fortis: Young women from Zadar, 18th century (Alberto Fortis, *Put po Dalmaciji* [Travels into Dalmatia], (Split: 2004), 17) 75

3.4 Jacket-bodice of red silk, 1770s, Museum of town Split, Split, Croatia (inventory number MGS-837) 78

3.5 Jacket-bodice and skirt, 18th century, Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb, Croatia (inventory number 10250 of jacket—bodice and skirt—MUO 6013) 79
3.6 Portrait of Katarina Righi Budmani, from the end of 18th century, Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik, Croatia (inventory number: DUM KPM SL-295) 81
3.7 Petar Katušić: Portrait of Ane Ghetaldi Saraca (Saraka), around 1781, Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik, Croatia (inventory number DUM KPM SL-188) 82
3.8 Alberto Fortis: Young women from Makarska, 18th century Ivan Lovrić, *Bilješke o putu po Dalmaciji opata Alberta Fortisa* [Notes on 'Travels in Dalmatia], tabla V (Zagreb: 1948) 86
5.1 Anonymous painter (1810–1820)—Smaranda Catargi, The Chancellor's Wife 130
5.2 Anonymous painter (1810–1820) – Zinca Samurcaş, The Majordom's Wife 132
5.3 Iosif August Schoefft, Portrait of woman, 1830 138
5.4 Ludovic Stawski—Bucur Family—1848 145
5.5 Constantin Rosenthal—România Revoluţionară, 1848 147
7.1 "Győr" faience of Habana inspiration (*cahle habane*), 18th century 172
7.2 Travel trunks, end of 18th century—beginning of 19th century 178
7.3 Women accessory made by jewellers of Brașov, 19th century 184
7.4 Safta Castrișoaia, wife of merchant Gheorghe Castrișiu, the Macedonian (Bucharest, Wallachia, around 1850–1860), *in Mariana Vida, Elena Olariu, Epoca Biedermeier în Țările Române* (*1815–1859*) (*București: Editura Muzeul Național de Artă al României, 2014*) 194

Notes on Contributors

Giulia Calvi
is Professor of Early Modern History in the Department of Scienze Storiche e dei Beni Culturali at the University of Siena. From 2004 to 2012 she held the Chair of Gender History in Europe and the World (XVI–XIX) in the Department of History and Civilization at the European University Institute in Florence.

In 2012 she was appointed to the Chair of Italian Culture in the Italian Studies Dept. at the University of California (Berkeley). In 2013 she was Kratter Visiting Professor in the Department of History at the University of Stanford. She was visiting professor at the EHESS in Paris and Marseille in 2001 and 2011. From 2003 to 2007 she was a member of the Advisory Committee of Villa I Tatti. The Harvard Centre for Italian Renaissance Studies (Florence, Italy). She is a member of the scientific committee of the Istituto per la Storia del Mediterraneo at the CNR in Rome. She is a member of the scientific board of "Histoire, Médécine et Santé" and editor in chief of "Genesis", a refereed academic journal on gender history published in Italy. She is a member of the ERC LuxFass project.

Giulia Calvi's main publications and research interests are in the field of early modern cultural and social history. Her recent production investigates the circulation of images, texts and material culture in and beyond Europe: *Gender and the Body* in A. Molho and D. Ramada Curto (eds), *Finding Europe*, 2007; *Global trends: Gender Studies in Europe and the US*, "European History Quarterly" 4, 2010; *Across Three Empires: Balkan Costumes in XVI Century Europe*, in C. Vintilă-Ghiţulescu (ed.), From Traditional Attire to Modern Dress: Modes of Identification, Modes of Recognition in the Balkans (XVIth–XXth Centuries), 2011; *Corps et éspaces. Les costumes des Balkans dans l'Europe du XVI siècle* "L'Atélier du Centre de Recherche Historique", revue èlèctronique du CRH, 11, 2013, http://acrh.revues.org/5291 DOI: 10.4000/acrh.5291; with K. Stornig (ed), *Fare famiglie in prospettiva globale*, special issue of "Genesis" XIV/1 (2015).

David Celetti
graduated in Economics at the University of Venice in 1992 and has a Ph.D. in Economic History at the University of Verona (IT), and a Postdoctoral Fellowship at the University of Padua, IT (1999–2005). Afterwards he worked as researcher at the Universities of Padua (Economic History), of Hertfordshire, UK (Textile History), at the KazNU "Al Farabi" of Almaty, KZ (Economic History and Sustainable Development). He is currently a postdoctoral researcher in

the *Luxury, Fashion and Social Status in Early Modern South-Eastern Europe* (LuxFASS) project hosted by the New Europe College, Bucarest.

His researches have focused on Early Modern and Modern Economic and Social history, with a particular interest on textile history, on the history of the Mediterranean trade, and on the paths of emergence of agro—industrial sectors (e.g. hemp and flax).

He is author of five monographic works and of more than 43 scientific articles and contributions published in Italy, France and Russia. His researches have been presented at 72 scientific conferences in Europe, Russia, Kazakhstan, P.R. China, the USA, and South Africa.

Evguenia Davidova

is Professor of International and Global Studies at Portland State University. Her research interests focus on the late Ottoman and post-Ottoman Balkans: commerce, nationalism, travel, and medical practices. Dr. Davidova is the author of *Balkan Transitions to Modernity and Nation-States. Through the Eyes of Three Generations of Merchants (1780s–1890s)* (Brill, 2013) and the editor of *Wealth in the Ottoman and post-Ottoman Balkans: A Socio-Economic History* (I.B. Tauris, 2016).

Anastasia Falierou

is a postdoctoral researcher in the *Luxury, Fashion and Social Status in Early Modern South-Eastern Europe* (LuxFASS) project hosted by the New Europe College, Bucharest. She received her Ph.D in history from *École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (ÉHÉSS),* Paris. She has worked as a fellow in the French Institute for Anatolian Studies in Istanbul (IFÉA) and as an instructor in the University of Bahçeșehir, Istanbul and in the Faculty of Turkish and Modern Asian Studies, University of Athens. Her research focuses on social and cultural history of the late Ottoman Empire, gender history and Balkan history.

Nicoleta Roman

is junior researcher at "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History-Romanian Academy, a specialist in social history, with a focus on women and childhood history; welfare, microhistory and history of 19th century. Following her work on Romanian childhood history she conducted two grants related to orphans and child abandonment in Wallachia (Romanian National Research Council (2011–2013)), and child labour and the formation of the Romanian working class (CERGE-EI (Prague) and Global Development Network (GDN) (*2015*)). She is currently research assistant in the LuxFaSS project financed by European Research Council and hosted by New Europe College-Institute for Advanced Study (Bucharest). Nicoleta Roman's last scientific publications include: *"Deznădăjduită muiere n-au fost ca mine". Femei, onoare și păcat în Valahia secolului al XIX-lea* (*Women, honour and sin in 19th century Wallachia*), Humanitas, 2016; "Living at the Edge of Society: Wallachian Orphans in Nineteenth-Century Bucharest" in Beate Althammer, Lutz Raphael, Tamara Stazic-Wendt (eds.), *Rescuing the Vulnerable: Poverty, Welfare and Social Ties in Modern Europe, Berghahn Books*, 2016, pp. 49–73; (as editor), *Copilăria Românească între Familie și Societate* (*secolele XVII–XX*) (*Romanian Childhood between Family and Society* (*17th–20th centuries*)*,* Nemira, 2015. She also published articles in academic journals like *Annales de Démographie Historique*, *The History of the Family* and *Popolazione e Storia*.

Katarina Nina Simončič
is an Assistant Professor of Fashion History at the University of Zagreb, Faculty of Textile Technology, Croatia. In the Department of Art History at Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb she attained a PhD with thesis: *Fashion culture in Zagreb at the turn of 19th to the 20th.* Her research strengths are in the relationships between genres including portrait painting, printmaking, photography and the fashion artifacts of the 16th to 20th centuries. She is the author of several publications related to the cultural history of fashion. She was an active participant in scientific and professional conferences dedicated to History of fashion and design in Florence, Bucharest, Oxford, Dubrovnik, Ljubljana, Bihac, Copenhagen, Helsinki, Sydney. Her last research was linked to reconstruction of fashion of the 16th century in Croatia based on archival documents, paintings, drawings, graphics and fashion terminology.

Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu
is Principal Investigator for the ERC project *Luxury, Fashion and Social Status in Early Modern South-Eastern Europe* (http://luxfass.nec.ro) hosted by New Europe College, Bucharest, and Senior Researcher at the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History, Bucharest. She was a fellow at Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, in 2015–2016. She is the author of many books, including *Liebesglut: Liebe und Sexualität in der rumänischen Gesellschaft 1750–1830*, Frank&Timme, Berlin, 2011; *Im Schalwar und mit Baschlik. Kirche, Sexualität, Ehe und Scheidung in der Walachei im 18. Jarhundert*, Frank&Timme, Berlin, 2013; *From işlic to top hat: fashion and luxury at the gate of the Orient*, Iniciativa Mercurio, Valadolid, 2011; (edited by) *From Traditional Attire to Modern Dress: Modes of Identification, Modes of Recognition in the Balkans* (*XVIth–XXth Centuries*), Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011.

Artemis Yagou
is an Athens-born historian of design and technology, currently based in Munich. She is Senior Researcher for the ERC-CoG-2014 project (2015–2020) "LuxFaSS: Luxury, Fashion and Social Status in Early Modern South-Eastern Europe" hosted by New Europe College (Bucharest), and Research Associate of the Deutsches Museum (Munich), working on the project "How they Played: Children and Construction Toys (ca. 1840–1940)" which is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) (2016–2021). She has published extensively, including *Fragile Innovation: Episodes in Greek Design History* (2011 in English/2015 in Greek).

Introduction

Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu

Recent research on fashion and luxury sheds new light on the role women played in the development of consumption and trade. To what extent did a growing demand for consumer goods lead to social change? In what ways did new commodities affect the lives of women in Southeastern Europe and the Ottoman Empire? Some historians have analyzed the importance of gender and class in shaping consumption.[1] Other studies have examined the impact the world of goods had on modelling individuals in past and present societies.[2] For instance, a conference held in Berlin in 2016 analyzed the emotions that "colonial objects" stirred in Europeans in the Early Modern period.[3] Similarly, another conference, also held in Berlin in the same year, assessed the relationship between "objects" that circulated between the Ottoman Empire and Europe as well as the networks created along the roads they travelled.[4]

This volume proposes new approaches to the study of women in Southeastern Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Signalling new research themes, exploring lesser-known geographical areas, and researching new archives, the chapters in this book contribute to debates regarding both the history of women and the social history of consumption and luxury. In addition, the book aims to integrate research on Southeastern Europe into the general framework of studies on gender, luxury, and consumption. Scholarship in the countries of Southeastern Europe considered the Ottoman occupation or domination a "dark age" and gave little attention to this period until recently. Historiographical approaches such as those promoted by the Annales School and Italian microhistory, which placed women amongst the actors of history, had a beneficial impact on the history of the Ottoman Empire in western scholarship; in the former communist countries, however, similar research lagged behind. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the liberalization of

---

[1] See Maxine Berg, "Women's Consumption and the Industrial Classes of Eighteenth-Century England", *Journal of Social History*, 30 (1996), 415–434.

[2] John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: 1993).

[3] http://www.historyofemotions.org.au/events/emotions-movement-cultural-contact-and-exchange-1100-1800/.

[4] https://www.wiko-berlin.de/en/events/workshops/workshops-20152016/workshopdetail/2015/people-trade-gifts-and-beyond-the-circulation-of-goods-and-practices-between-the-ottoman-empire/.

© CONSTANȚA VINTILĂ-GHIȚULESCU, 2018 | DOI:10.1163/9789004355095_002

This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

political regimes opened up new research avenues. Progress is evident in this respect, particularly for recent history. The history of communist regimes succeeded in arousing the curiosity and interest of many young researchers, who received financial support from important national and international research programmes.

Historical sources constitute a problem for reconstructing "women's past". Analyzing the lives of Greek, Bulgarian, Romanian, Armenian and even Turkish women in the Ottoman Empire becomes difficult given the rather sparse sources. The illiteracy rate among women was higher in Southeastern Europe than in the north of the continent. The analytical perspectives presented here work under the assumption that women were relegated to the domestic space, being considered only for their roles as mothers and wives, at least until the 19th century. In the Ottoman Empire, the Christian population applied Byzantine property laws which gave women ownership rights over their dowries.[5] At the same time, women had the right to seek legal protection for crimes committed against them and could be held accountable for their own reprehensible acts.[6] Divorce, seduction, slander, and rape brought before the courts a large number of women who filed complaints, defended themselves, testified or provided evidence in support of their cases. Therefore, in the Ottoman Empire and the Romanian countries, many of the historical sources for the 17th and 18th centuries come from the judicial archives kept by ecclesiastical courts.

More recently, studies dedicated to the history of fashion brought women once again to the forefront of research. Philippe Perrot, Ulinka Rublack, and Suraiya Faroqhi are just some of the scholars who have discussed the role of women in shaping new styles in fashion or in propagating new rules of conduct.[7] However, Romanian, Bulgarian, and Croatian historiographies still neglect the presence of women in the public space.[8]

---

[5] Constanţa Vintilă-Ghiţulescu, "Mariage et parenté à travers les actes dotaux roumains (1700–1865)", *Annales de démographie historique*, 1, 2011, 141–160.

[6] Amira El Azhary Sonbol (ed.), *Women, the Family and Divorce Laws in Islamic Society* (Syracuse: 1996); Olga Todorova, *Zhenite ot tsentralnite Balkani prez osmanskata epocha* (*XV–XVII vek*) [Women of the Central Balkans During the Early Centuries of Ottoman Rule] (Gutenberg: 2004); Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London: 2011), 101–122; Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700–1800*, (London: 2010).

[7] Philippe Perrot, *Les dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie: une histoire du vêtement au XIXᵉ siècle* (Paris: 1981); Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: 2012); Suraiya Faroqhi, Christoph K. Neumann (eds.), *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity* (Istanbul: 2005).

[8] For the Ottoman Empire, see Amila Buturović and Irvin Cemil Schick (eds.), *Women in the Ottoman Balkans. Gender, Culture and History* (London: 2007); Duygu Köksal and Anastasia

On the one hand, the sources used to examine the relationship between women and consumption are, in the most part, written by men. Drafted by men, dowry lists, wills, post-mortem inventories and probate inventories all contain goods and objects that inhabited the female universe. Travel accounts follow the same pattern and male travellers, consuls, and missionaries provide information about the Orient. On the other hand, correspondence where women talked about themselves and their needs, is a more reliable and direct source of information. However, in the Romanian countries, for instance, letters, together with memoirs and journals, which we have used as complementary sources in our research, only started to proliferate in the 19th century. Until 1810, when Elena Hartulari began keeping her diary, information about the thoughts and concerns of contemporary women in the Romanian countries is found exclusively in travel accounts and the images that usually accompany them.[9] Artemis Yagou, Nina Simončič, and Giulia Calvi show the role these sources play in understanding the female universe and warn against the traps they pose, in line with studies that have already become classics.[10]

This volume, therefore, is a periegesis of narrative sources, images, and objects from museums or private collections. Silk, brocades, clocks, glasses, musical instruments and objects that have a direct relationship with the female universe and decorate rooms, salons, and offices provide information about transformations produced in society. Buckles, combs, mirrors, and books are objects mostly found in paintings and images traced by Artemis Yagou. The objects identified in prints and lithographs were later confronted with the "originals" kept in museums and private collections in Athens, Munich, and Bucharest. Belonging to so-called "Greek" families, these objects travelled with their owners from Ioannina to Bucharest and from Constantinople to Athens or Iaşi, modelling behaviours, stirring new emotions, and forging new words. For instance, Yagou draws a direct line between *tambouras* music-playing and the social group of high socio-economic status, cultivated women. This finding holds true for the Romanian countries as well, where music education became an integral part of the values attached to the so-called boyar class. In addition

---

Falierou (eds.), *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women. New Perspectives* (Leiden: 2013); Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet (eds.), *Ottoman Women in Public Space* (Leiden: 2016).

[9] Elena Hartulari, *Istoria vieţii mele de la anul 1810* [The Story of My Life from 1810], in *Convorbiri Literare*, 58–61, 1926–1928.

[10] Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: 1994); Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: 1997); Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis (eds.), *Under Eastern Eyes. A Comparative Introduction to East European Travel Writing on Europe* (Budapest: 2008).

to music, reading and education shaped a new feminine model tasked with representing the family through sociability.

Printed in Venice in 1713 (reprinted in 1804) and distributed among Christians in the Ottoman Empire, the influential Greek epic poem *Erotokritos* had a high circulation in the Romanian countries in manuscript form, being reproduced in numerous miscellanea collections. Accompanied by beautiful miniatures, the 1787 Romanian translation of the work inspired generations.[11] *Erotokritos* stimulated literary creativity and is referenced in poems, songs, novels and memoirs, thus contributing to the literary instruction of an important social group, including women. At the same time, this epic poem modelled behaviours and structured an ethics of love inspired by the gallant language and gestures of the main character. No wonder, then, that the Greek Church intervened and considered the reading of this poem a punishable sin! In the Romanian countries, where the number of women engaged in reading was low, *Erotokritos* failed to arouse similar passions. However, only a few decades later, the Wallachian Orthodox Church criticized the fad for trendy French literature, cursed Voltaire,[12] and rebuked women's literary education. It has to be stressed that luxury, consumption, and education were reserved for the elites and certain social groups, such as the wives of boyars, wives of rich merchants, and well-to-do townswomen. The limitations of the primary sources inherently leaves outside our gaze groups of women who, either because of their age or status as slaves, could not accumulate material objects or express themselves, thus having no impact on the circulation of goods and ideas. David Celetti bridges this gap in his chapter on women crossing borders and boundaries by entering mixed marriages.

The accumulation of goods and luxury objects, their usage and display occurs during a period of political instability and economic uncertainty. People in South-Eastern Europe lived under the pressure of the three empires surrounding them, finding themselves involved in the frequent military clashes between the Ottomans, Habsburgs and the Russians throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Giulia Calvi discusses, via Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, the situation of Christians in the Ottoman Empire. In their private sphere, they regularly broke the various prohibitions imposed by the sultan by enjoying music and dancing, and by consuming goods bought on the commercial market. Indeed, norms were negotiable; a bribe to the local authorities easily redeemed any such trespass or breaking of the law. Nicolae Suţu, son of the Phanariot dragoman and, later, Prince Alexandru Suţu of Wallachia (1818–1821), describes in his memoirs the necessary precautions he took to avoid any conflict with the Ottoman authorities: "God only knows the precautions we had to take even for our children's pastimes during the bloody reign of Sultan Mahmud. One summer evening, we pretended to dance without music in one of the vast chambers of the Chebapi House,[13] which had a beautiful sea view. The windows were open and our party was only lit by a lousy candle. Bostanji basha (the police chief), cruising offshore, saw our dancing and found it outrageous. Upon landing, he called the city guard chief and charged him to bring in the next day at the Constantinople Police headquarters the owner of the house wherein the described scene took place. The guard then excused himself, saying he did not have the authority to bring in a bey[14] and invited bostangi basha to arrest the bey himself."[15] At times, the whims of a senior official prove fatal to an ignorant Christian. The same Nicolae Suţu recounts how Aleco Vlahuţi, a close family friend, was beheaded after being seen at the window of a house in Therapia with a sarik wrapped around his head, not knowing that the turban had just been banned.[16]

---

[11] Eugenia Dima, *Poemul Erotocrit a lui Vincenzo Cornaro în cultura română. Versiunea lui Alecu Văcărescu* [Vincenzo Cornaro's *Erotokritos* in Romanian Culture. Alecu Văcărescu's Version] (Iaşi: 2014).

[12] Ilie Corfus (ed.), "Cronica meşteşugarului Ioan Dobrescu (1802–1830)" [The Chronicle of Craftsman Ioan Dobrescu (1802–1830)], in *Studii si articole de istorie*, VIII, 1966, 341.

As G. Calvi, A. Falierou, N. Simončič, and C. Vintilă-Ghiţulescu show in their chapters, the sarik, made out of muslin and embroidered with precious gems, together with cashmere shawls and lace were among the textiles that played an important role in defining social identity and in delineating social distinctions. Many of the portraits from this period contain important clues about the spreading of luxury from Constantinople to the imperial peripheries. It was the era when the price of "lace was equal to the value of gold"[17] and when cashmere shawls became a mandatory adornment for the elite women's shoulders. The increased demand for luxury products, such as cashmere shawls or lace, and their distribution from Constantinople to Athens, Bucharest, Dubrovnik and Sofia stimulated the development of a specialized trade. Simončič writes that, during the mid-18th century, two or three caravans from Istanbul would arrive daily at Split, dropping off goods for the city elites or carrying them further to Dubrovnik and, then across the sea, to Venice. All these "goods", logged in customs records and later found on dowry lists, first and foremost reflect visible changes in language and vocabulary. "Turquerie, a culture in motion[18]" is spreading throughout Europe, acquiring different meanings, specifically for Christians in the Ottoman Empire and those on the periphery, for whom oriental luxury plays into the logic of prestige.[19] The long and difficult roads across the Balkans further increase the value of these luxury goods, which only the very wealthy can afford. Furthermore, because of their economic and symbolic value, luxury items become integral parts of the dowries of elite young women. However, these "foreign adornments" antagonized local authorities who, with the help of the Church, tried to limit their usage by passing sumptuary laws. The appetite of local elites for these oriental luxury goods was partly fuelled by the need to create markets for the distribution of the finished Ottoman products. The consumption of luxury goods crossed religious boundaries. We find Muslims, Christians, and Jews as both members of commercial networks and reliable customers, although religious beliefs played a crucial role in shaping tastes and preferences for colour, models or cuts. Class and gender were the two important factors in luxury consumption. Rich and well-to-do families chose certain clothes, colours, or jewellery to create "social codes", and were willing to disregard religious prescriptions or any other rules. Religious and political authorities tried to control their subjects by focusing on the textiles reserved for the upper classes, be they cashmere shawls, as G. Calvi argues, or white satin in the Romanian lands. After 1800 however, sumptuary laws fell into oblivion. Throughout the region, new styles, unanimously called "the French fashion" gained ground and redefined society. Beginning with the 19th century, women freely chose their outfits; numerous portraits reflect this desire to display their social status, wealth, class, and elegance. These paintings were a fashion trend in themselves in that period, when the homes of the rich were adorned with portraits of their family members as a sign of the changing times. However, despite the West being the main model for change, each social or ethnic group, each religion, and each gender embraced change in a different way. Nation-building in Southeastern Europe and modernization also took divergent paths. The Balkan societies were greatly influenced by their aspiration to become western, but the main factor in their transformation was their own dynamism. Luxury, fashion, and travel were outward signs of the overall reshaping of the Balkan societies. E. Davidova illustrates what Maria Karlova used as material markers for "progress and modernity"; fashion trends, hairstyles and furniture listed in her diary were categorized as being either "western" or "Balkan." Naturally, trade routes but also consuls, missionaries, and scientists setting out to discover the Orient contributed greatly to the growing curiosity and taste shifting toward the West.

---

[13] The house is located in Arnavutköy, the place where many of the Phanariot families used to seek refuge while awaiting new appointments to the thrones of Moldavia and Wallachia.

[14] Alexandru Suţu, former prince of Moldavia, self-exiled in Arnavutköy, waiting for a new appointment in the Romanian countries.

[15] Nicolae Suţu, *Memoriile Principelui Nicolae Suţu mare logofăt al Moldovei (1798–1871)* [Memoirs of Prince Nicolae Suţu Great Logothete of Moldavia (1798–1871)] (Bucureşti: 2013), 55.

[16] Ibid., 59. For more on this, see Christine Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution* (Berkeley: 2011).

[17] For more, see N. Simončič's essay in this volume.

---

[18] Alexander Bevilacqua and Helen Pfeifer, "Turquerie: Culture in Motion, 1650–1750", *Past and Present*, 221 (2013), 75–118.

[19] For more on luxury consumption and prestige, see Norbert Elias, *La société de cour* (Paris: 1985).

Merchants speculated in the new appetites for western fashion. To their consignments of goods from Vienna, Paris, Leipzig, London and Berlin, they added luxury items, books, new ideas, and a new lifestyle. Charles Frédéric Reinhard, who was appointed commissioner for commercial relations in 1806, drafted a report on Wallachia and Moldavia as potential markets for French products: "At the moment there are no direct commercial exchanges between France and these two provinces [...] Small attempts were made regarding luxury objects with red caps that are made in Orléans and with champagne, and they were successful, but it is known that by the nature of things such speculations are not successful on a large scale. In time, owing to its paper money and the Danube, Vienna shall undoubtedly gain ground on Paris.[20] As for luxury goods, even though people in Iaşi read 'Le Journal des Modes', the tastes are not refined enough to distinguish between the fashion of Vienna and that of Paris." Nevertheless, the great empires surrounding the Balkans found fervent consumers of luxury products in the local elites. Diplomatic correspondence reveals the constant concern for finding new markets for distributing luxury products and for importing raw materials. The discovery of the Black Sea by European diplomacy and the prospect of opening up new markets[21] stirred the interest of western European states to become involved in a more efficient administration of the Euxine region.

Women who brought along French fashion often accompanied official delegations. As David Celetti shows, the status and role of these women were sensationalized: diplomatic archives keep a detailed correspondence providing precious information about the consumption of French products in the ports of the Ottoman Empire. However, the women from D. Celetti's research do not resemble the women followed by Evguenia Davidova on their journeys, even though they all travelled to the Ottoman Empire. The two chapters sketch various profiles of female travellers (teachers, wives of merchants and consuls, nuns, prostitutes, etc.), enriching the overall picture and offering significant details on the ways in which they interact with the realities they encounter. Of all these female profiles, Nicoleta Roman focuses on the particular social category of women merchants, analyzing their role in using and marketing luxury products.

---

[20] *Călători străini despre ţările române în secolul al XIX-lea*, ed. by Georgeta Filitti, Beatrice Marinescu, Şerban Rădulescu-Zoner, Marian Stroia, Paul Cernovodeanu (Bucureşti: 2004), vol. 1, 274–275.

[21] Constantin Ardeleanu, "The Discovery of the Black Sea by the Western World: The Opening of the Euxine to International trade and Shipping (1774–1792), in *N.E.C. Ştefan Odobleja Program Yearbook 2012–2013*, (Bucharest: 2013), 21–46. See also Idem, "The Opening and Development of the Black Sea for International Trade and Shipping (1774–1853)", in *Euxeinos*, 12 (2014), 30–52.

A number of researchers posit the connection between consumption and modernity. Does this assumption hold true for Southeastern Europe as well? Objects travel together with the people who set out to search for the world they have discovered in the books they read. E. Davidova's study is a good example in this respect. Haris Exertzoglou clearly associates cultural consumption with progress and argues that women are major promoters of change and new ideas.[22] Indeed, Southeastern European societies underwent significant transformations during the 18th and 19th centuries. As each chapter in this volume shows, the elites preferred the "French fashion" and began to purchase more western luxury objects and consumer goods. But the West transferred not merely fashions or lifestyles, but also political ideas, books, sociability, a system of thinking and even political revolutions.[23]

It is clear that in the 19th century, Southeastern Europe altered its appearance dramatically, prompting Daniel Chirot to argue for the "Balkan colony", dependent on western products.[24] Other historians consider this change to be an Europeanization or Westernization of Southeastern European and Ottoman societies, who adopted French fashion as well as western political, educational, and legal systems.[25] However, as Donald Quataert argues, owning "western goods" does not "westernize" the owners.[26] For instance, high society women in Bucharest read French literature, dressed according to the latest fashions from Paris, and still owned gypsy slaves.[27] As Wendy Bracewell and Alex-Drace Francis argue, even when it compromises "national authenticity", Europe is a "system of values" and a guarantor of "modernity".[28]

---

[22] Haris Exertzoglou "The Cultural Uses of Consumption: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers during the 19th Century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35 (2003), 78.

[23] For instance, the 1848 revolution in the Romanian countries.

[24] Daniel Chirot, *Social Change in a Peripheral Society: The Creation of a Balkan Colony* (London: 1976), 89–91.

[25] Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York and Oxford: 1996), 37–43. Also, see Anastasia Falierou's essay in this volume.

Political change and the birth of independent nation states in the Balkans took place with the support of western political powers, whose aim was to remove Ottoman domination and gain economic advantage in the region. Thus, consumption was a means of communication, as Arjun Appadurai rightly argued: a circulating object also carried social and political messages.[29] State and society in the Balkans quickly accepted and adopted western ideas. Social and political reforms were imposed on an administrative structure moulded on the Ottoman one; therefore, the outcome diverged greatly from western European intent. We can speak more readily of cross-influences between the Balkan states and the surrounding empires.[30] Consumption, modernization and circulation of ideas first established roots in the towns and cities of the region, which consequently changed and flourished under the new influences.[31]

As the title suggests, our objective is to explore the relationship between women, consumption, and the circulation of ideas by analyzing the topic from different perspectives and examining a multitude of sources, ranging from literature to correspondence, and from judicial and diplomatic archives to probate inventories. We wanted to find out how material objects, such as fabrics, jewellery, or books contribute to the transformation of society. More importantly, we tried to understand the direct relationship between luxury, consumption and the behaviours and effects experienced by the female population. Charlotte Jirousek considers fashion the most visible object of consumption.[32] The "fashion revolution", which travelled through the Ottoman and Southeastern European regions, brought people closer to western values and helped these societies undergo major political, economic, and social change.

---

[26] Donald Quataert, "Introduction", in Donald Quataert (ed.), *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922. An Introduction* (New York: 2000), 5.

[27] See also Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, "Constructing a New Identity: Romanian Aristocrats Between Oriental Heritage and Western Prestige (1780–1866)", in Constanţa Vintilă-Ghiţulescu (ed.), *From Traditional Attire to Modern Dress: Modes of Identification, Modes of Recognition in the Balkans* (*XVIth–XXth Centuries*) (Newcastle: 2011), 104–128.

[28] Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis, "Foreword", in *Under Eastern Eyes*, IX.

[29] Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value", in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: 1986), 31.

[30] On this topic see: Vangelis Kechriotis, "Requiem for The Empire: 'Elective Affinities' Between the Balkan States and the Ottoman Empire in the Long 19th Century", in Sabine Rutar (ed.), *Beyond the Balkans. Towards an Inclusive History of Southeastern Europe* (Vienna: 2013), 97–121.

[31] Miloš Jovanović, "'The City in Our Hands': Urban Management and Contested Modernity in Nineteenth-century Belgrade", *Urban History*, 40, 1 (2013), 31–50.

Bibliography

Appadurai, Arjun (ed.), *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in cultural perspective* (Cambridge: 1986).

Ardeleanu, Constantin, "The Discovery of the Black Sea by the Western World: the Opening of the Euxine to International trade and Shipping (1774–1792), in *N.E.C. Şrefan Odobleja Program Yearbook 2012–2013* (Bucharest: 2013), 21–46.

Ardeleanu, Constantin, "The Opening and Development of the Black Sea for International Trade and Shipping (1774–1853)", in *Euxeinos* (12) 2014, 30–52.

Berg, Maxine, "Women's Consumption and the Industrial Classes of Eighteenth-Century England", *Journal of Social History*, 30 (1996), 415–434.

Bevilacqua, Alexander and Pfeifer, Helen, "Turquerie: Culture in Motion, 1650–1750", *Past and Present*, 221 (2013), 75–118.

Boyar, Ebru and Fleet, Kate (eds.), *Ottoman Women in Public Space* (Leiden: 2016).

Bracewell, Wendy and Drace-Francis, Alex (eds.), Under Eastern Eyes. A Comparative Introduction to East European Travel Writing on Europe (Budapest: 2008).

Brewer, John and Porter, Roy (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: 1993).

Buturović, Amila and Irvin Schick, Cemil (eds.), *Women in the Ottoman Balkans. Gender, Culture and History* (London: 2007).

Chirot, Daniel, *Social Change in a peripheral Society. The Creation of a Balkan Colony* (London: 1976).

Elias, Norbert, *La société de cour* (Paris: 1985).

Exertzoglou, Haris, "The Cultural Uses of Consumption: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers during the 19th Century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35 (2003), 77–101.

Faroqhi, Suraiya, *Subjects of the Sultan. Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London: 2007).

---

[32] Charlotte Jirousek, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the Late Ottoman Empire" in Donald Quataert (ed.), *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922. An Introduction* (New York: 2000), 202.

Faroqhi Suraiya and Christoph K. Neumann (eds.), *Ottoman Costumes From Textile to Identity*, (Istanbul: 2004).

Göçek, Fatma, Müge, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York and Oxford: 1996).

Jirousek, Charlotte, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the Later Ottoman Empire," in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550–1922. An Introduction*, ed. Donald Quataert (New York: 2000), 201–241.

Jovanović, Miloš, "'The City in Our Hands': Urban Management and Contested Modernity in Nineteenth-century Belgrade", *Urban History*, 40, 1 (2013), 31–50.

Kechriotis, Vangelis, "Requiem for The Empire: 'Elective Affinities' Between the Balkan States and the Ottoman Empire in the Long 19th Century", in Sabine Rutar (ed.), *Beyond the Balkans. Towards an Inclusive History of Southeastern Europe* (Vienna: 2013), 97–121.

Köksal, Duygu and Falierou, Anastasia (eds.), *A social History of Late Ottoman Women. New Perspectives* (Leiden: 2013).

Quataert, Donald, "Clothing Laws, the State and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720–1829", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 29 (1997), 403–425.

Quataert Donald (ed.), *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550–1922. An Introduction* (New York: 2000).

Perrot, Philippe, *Les dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie: une histoire du vêtement au XIX^e^ siècle* (Paris:1981).

Philliou, Christine, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution* (Berkeley: 2011).

Rublack, Ulinka, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: 2012).

Sonbol, Amira, El Azhary (ed.), *Women, the Family and Divorce Laws in Islamic Society* (Syracuse: 1996).

Todorova, Maria, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: 1997).

Todorova, Olga, *Zhenite ot tsentralnite Balkani prez osmanskata epocha* (*XV–XVII vek*) [Women of the Central Balkans during the early centuries of Ottoman rule]) (Gutenberg: 2004).

Vintilă-Ghiţulescu, Constanţa, "Mariage et parenté à travers les actes dotaux roumains (1700–1865)", *Annales de démographie historique*, 1, 2011, 141–160.

Vintilă-Ghiţulescu, Constanţa, "Judicial archives and the history of the Romanian family: domestic conflict and the Orthodox Church in the eighteenth century", in *The History of the Family*, 2, 2013, 261–277.

Vintilă-Ghiţulescu, Constanţa, "Rapiécer un honneur perdu": filles, parents et sexualité dans la société roumaine (XVIII^{e} siècle)", *SIDeS, Popolazione e Storia*, 1, 2013, 105–128.

Wolff, Larry, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: 1994).

Zarinebaf, Fariba, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700–1800* (Berkeley: 2010).

CHAPTER 1

Translating Imperial Practices, Knowledge, and Taste Across the Mediterranean: Giulio Ferrario and Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson

Giulia Calvi

In recent years, historiography on consumption, luxury, and fashion in the 17th and 18th centuries[1] has focused on the exportation of luxury goods from Asia to northwestern Europe, especially to England and the Netherlands. Stimulating imagination and desire, these products were emulated among a widening sphere of consumers. From the late 17th century onwards, they were gradually integrated into a middle-class market of locally produced imitations and ultimately shaped new practices of middle-class gentility, femininity, and masculinity. Taste, demand, and fashion define "modern materiality" and situate "things" in the current historiographical account of the making of Europe since the Renaissance.[2]

Considering northwestern Europe as a "category",[3] which leaves large parts of Europe and non-western societies out of the picture, this historiography draws a connection between affluence, women's capacity to increase

---

[1] Maxine Berg (ed.), *Goods from the East, 1600–1800* (New York: 2015); Jan De Vries, "Understanding Eurasian Trade in the Era of the Trading Companies", in Maxine Berg (ed.), *Goods from the East* (New York: 2015): 7–39; Beverly Lemire and Giorgio Riello, "East & West: Textiles and Fashion in Early Modern Europe", *Journal of Social History*, 41 (2008): 887–916; Maxine Berg, "Luxury, the Luxury Trades, and the Roots of Industrial Growth: A Global Perspective", in Frank Trentmann (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, (www.oxfordhandbooks.com: 2012), 1–15.

[2] Chandra Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York: 1983); Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests, Renaissance Art Between East and West* (London: 2000); Daniela Bleichmar and Peter C. Mancall (eds.), *Collecting Across Cultures* (Philadelphia: 2011); Dana Leibsohn and Jeanette Favrot Peterson (eds.), *Seeing Across Cultures in the Early Modern World* (London, 2012); Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up. Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: 2010); Paula Findlen, *Early Modern Things* (London: 2013); Mike Savage, "Status, Lifestyle and Taste", in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, (www.oxfordhandbooks.com: 2012), 1–13.

[3] Jos Gommans, "For the Home and the Body: Dutch and Indian Ways of Early Modern Consumption", in *Goods from the East*, 331–349.

© GIULIA CALVI, 2018 | DOI:10.1163/9789004355095_003
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

household production, confessionalization and democracy. However, questions arising from globalization, as well as developments in the field of global studies, encourage a broadening of the boundaries that set the study of luxury consumption within new East-West and global connections. Many of the essays in this volume outline the emergence of cross-cultural practices as a distinctive feature, encouraging social change shaped by ethnicity, religion, class, and gender relations. In the 18th century, transregional contacts and exchanges influenced trade, consumption and print, architecture, interior decoration, food and modes of dress, and ways of collecting and displaying, as well as practices of self-fashioning. Recent research situates the expansion of sub-imperial élites and mercantile bourgeoisies in the context of commercial global capitalism, arguing for the growth of cultural patronage attracted to a transregional and transcontinental circulation of objects and technology across imperial boundaries. This, in turn, stimulated exchanges and stylistic eclecticism both in Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

In recent years, some historians have begun to discuss the possibility of an Ottoman consumer revolution. Extant primary sources, however, do not allow scholars to answer basic questions regarding new consumption patterns comparable to the Industrious Revolution model proposed for early modern northwestern Europe. Moving away from this paradigm, Suraiya Faroqhi emphasizes the growth of an Ottoman middle-range market of semi-luxury goods protected from foreign imports, which compensated for the decline of old luxury consumption in the 18th century.[4] The importance of an Asian circulation of luxury goods and styles sheds light on exchanges between the Ottoman Empire, Persia and India, and on processes of imitation and cheap local production for urban consumption and export which predate European colonial expansion. Focusing on the circulation of people, goods and knowledge across the Mediterranean also means looking at practices of mediation, translation and networking, as well as at letters, travelogues and images, all of which point to the experience of moving across borders and to the self-fashioning practices of moving subjects.

This chapter focuses on transfers of knowledge, looking at the authors, books, and woodcut prints circulating between Istanbul, Paris and Milan at that time. Following the Renaissance, books, maps and prints were regarded as objects of luxury consumption, amassing in the private collections of the literate European élite and the courts. In the 18th century, a growing desire for knowledge of "others", not only in Europe but also in non-western countries such as East Asia and the Ottoman Empire, expanded the production and circulation of books and prints among a growing readership. In Istanbul, in 1727, during the reign of Ahmed III, the Hungarian convert Ibrahim Müteferriká established an Ottoman language printing press where he published the *Tarih-i-Hind*, a history of the Americas based on the 16th century Italian translation of *Historia de las Indias* by the Spanish historian Francisco Lopez de Gomara. Published in 1730, the volume included twelve woodcut prints picturing the flora and fauna of the Americas.[5] While Müteferriká's printing press aimed to translate European works for local consumption, Ottoman intellectuals began to describe the structure of the Ottoman Empire for a European audience. Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1740–1807) was the first Ottoman to publish, in French, a three-volume illustrated history of the Ottoman Empire (1787, 1790, 1820). I will focus on the circulation of this work between Istanbul, Paris and Milan where, Giulio Ferrario (1767–1849) used it as his main textual and visual reference in his encyclopedic *Il costume antico e moderno* (1817–1834). The two authors have never been studied in connection to one another and this analytical angle sheds light on the cultural transfer and translating capacities of mediators, such as Ferrario and Mouradgea d'Ohsson, who worked across imperial boundaries in different geopolitical centres of the Mediterranean.

---

[4] James Grehan, *Everyday Life and Consumer Culture in 18th-Century Damascus.* (London: 2007); Suraiya Faroqhi, "Decline and Revivals in Textile Production" in Suraiya Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, (Cambridge: 2016), 374 http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521620956.017. Nebahat Avcioglu and Finbarr Barry Flood, "Introduction, Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century" *Ars Orientalis*, 39, (2010): 7–38.

My point of entry into the work of both authors is Ottoman material culture and the growing fashion for Kashmir *schals* in Istanbul in the second half of the 18th century. Focusing on the social practices of Ottoman civil society as described, analyzed and pictured by both authors, I shall reconstruct the interconnections between both texts and the images that accompany them, in the context of the circulation of knowledge, books and prints across the Mediterranean world.

Religious Minorities and the Limits of Fashion

The following text comments on modern Ottoman civil society, where luxury textiles coming from the East encouraged practices of social distinction and the creation of different markets for the elites and ordinary people. In the context of consumption, these markets transgressed religious norms:

---

[5] Thomas D. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Americana* (Wiesbaden: 1990).

> Under Ottoman rule a widespread deviation from the traditional clothing norms of the Quran took place. With the exception of the Ulema and a few lay devotees, all well-to-do families manage to procure silk clothes and the richest textiles. Those coming from India are the most sought after. They come in single colors, striped, with flowers and in every kind of silk, in golden and silver thread for the gentle sex, for servants in wealthy households, and for some administrators at the court. *Schals* of extremely fine wool and highly priced are in great fashion. Price is of no concern, as the Ottomans love to have those measuring twelve feet by four and of such fine weave that they can pass through a ring. Men and women wear them all year long: in winter, men wear them to walk the streets and go horse riding. They cover their heads with these shawls in bad weather, as in those countries people have no umbrellas and carriages are reserved for the delicate sex. Women cover their heads and shoulders and some make winter clothes that cost more than the finest muslins and the more exquisitely embroidered textiles. People of the lower orders wear locally produced *schals*.[6]

This detailed description of the inclination for precious Indian textiles and Kashmir shawls in Istanbul contrasts with the practices of less wealthy Christian minorities in provincial towns who follow the dictates of Ottoman and western fashion in a more flexible way:

> Christian women, especially the Greeks, enjoy more freedom and sometimes follow European fashions and use makeup. If they leave the house, they have to conform to Muslim rules and wear the veil, a dark *feredjé* and black shoes. All women from other nationalities have to follow the same rules, and in all urban districts police officers from time to time read out loud these sumptuary regulations. Such rigid dressing codes are not enforced in the provinces, and in the islands of the Greek archipelago there is the greatest freedom. Here women keep to their ancient customs and go unveiled. This is why European women that have settled in the

---

[6] Giulio Ferrario, *Il costume antico e moderno*, o *storia della milizia, della religione, delle arti, scienze ed usanze di tutti i popoli antichi e moderni, provata coi monumenti dell'antichità e rappresentata cogli analoghi disegni. Dell'Impero Ottomano. Degli Slavi moderni* a cura di Carlo Magnetti, *Europa*, vol. 4 (Milano: 1827), 385 (my translation).

> provinces of the Empire are less restless. Their clothing is indeed a bizarre mixture of many costumes: some wear the *feredjé* and an Indian *schal* in lieu of a veil.[7]

Both quotes introduce the reader to crucial features regarding the social use of luxury goods whose main rhetorical and social use was embedded in a web of values and norms. Religion, ethnicity, class and gender affected the level of demand both of locally produced and imported goods, constructing the social codes that defined consumption, sociality, and appearance. In order to acquire them, wealthy Muslim families broke the monopoly of Quran legislation and adopted transgressive clothing practices: elite men and women wore original textiles imported from India, while ordinary people bought locally produced imitations. The rigid sumptuary codes in Istanbul contrasted with the more tolerant *milieu* of provincial towns: religion was a central tenet in the construction of consuming practices for both Muslims and Christians. Thus, fashion and the law, both forms of "specialized knowledge" for acquiring goods with "high discriminatory value", regulate consumption.[8]

Giulio Ferrario, *Il costume antico e moderno* (1817–1834)

The previous quotes come from Giulio Ferrario's *L'Impero Ottomano*, the fourth of his nine volumes on Europe in his monumental collection of world history, *Il costume antico e moderno.* It was printed in Milan in 21 volumes between 1817 and 1834, in parallel Italian and French editions.

Born in Milan in 1767, Ferrario was an erudite ecclesiastic charged with the direction of the Biblioteca Braidense, the main public library in the city.[9] The historical context in which *Il costume antico e moderno* is situated is that of the aftermath of the French Revolution, the formation of Napoleon's Empire, and the Habsburg takeover of parts of it, namely the kingdom of Italy and of Illyria, within the transformations affecting the Ottoman Empire and its European regions due to the Russian Empire's aggressive military policy. Ferrario lived through Napoleon's reign in Italy, including its demise in 1814. He then became a faithful subject of the Austrian monarchy and dedicated his major work to the Habsburg Emperor Francis I. He died in Milan in 1847.

---

[7] Ferrario, *Il costume*, 358.

[8] Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value", in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: 1986), 38.

[9] Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, *ad vocem.*

A sophisticated philologist and cultural entrepreneur, Ferrario used his intellectual activity and public persona to acquire a meaningful position in the urban cultural milieu of Milan, the capital of the kingdom of Italy under Napoleon Bonaparte. In 1802, he became part of the staff and then, in 1838, director of the Biblioteca Braidense, the main public library of the city. Charged with different responsibilities in this *lieu du savoir* for over forty years, Ferrario used the extensive and rare collections of the library to gather a group of scholars and artists around his initiatives. These contemporaries shared similar cultural and aesthetic concerns, and contributed to the first major collection of Italian literary classics (1802–1814) in 242 volumes. The Library was—and still is—part of an institutional complex comprising the Accademia and Pinacoteca of Brera where the leading artists of the day were trained and many prints in *Il costume antico e moderno* were produced.

Ferrario's stable institutional position did not change after the demise of Napoleon's rule in 1814 and the return of the Habsburgs. Never a supporter of Bonaparte, he quickly aligned himself with the new régime and continued to be proactive in many fields of knowledge. He expressed his passion for theatre and opera in a multivolume work on ancient and modern Italian theatres (1830); founded and directed *I Teatri*, a periodical where he wrote on music and choreography; and edited *Il costume antico e moderno* (1817–1834), a collection aimed at popularizing knowledge of exotic and foreign cultures in an encyclopedic format using a blend of erudition and entertainment. Acknowledging the support of many public and private libraries, scholars, scientists, and art collectors, Ferrario expounds his methodology: "We have concentrated in a single work sources that were disseminated in rare and extremely expensive volumes, for our young students to benefit from […] we hope that the fine arts will also profit from our work, as artists will no longer have to search in vain for the ideal costumes."[10]

He makes it clear from the start that the collection selects, gathers and translates rare sources from a variety of authors, making them affordable and available to the literate readership. Nowhere is there any reference to personal experience, travel or direct observation: within a long-standing Italian tradition dating from the Renaissance, *Il costume antico e moderno* is situated within the increasingly popular field of world history and armchair travel literature.

A group of Milanese artists, many of whom came from the Academy of Brera, designed and engraved the hand-coloured prints in each volume, "representing figures that have been diligently researched in the best histories of statues, coins, and bas-reliefs, as well as from the most trustworthy travelogues" and not from their own fancy.[11] Some of them, notably Appiani and Gallina, were active in the restyling of Milan as the new capital of the Italian kingdom under Napoleon. Coordinated by Ferrario, who authored many volumes and printed the whole collection, the monumental work was a group enterprise with the institutional backing of the Biblioteca Braidense and the art academy of Brera, in which colleagues (such as the former director of the Biblioteca), artists, and collaborators participated. This work became a model of erudite compilation in the 19th century and was reprinted seven times before the 1840s, including, most notably, a cheap *in quarto* edition put on the market in Florence in 1823.

---

[10] Ferrario, *Il costume*, 1, xxv.

Funding for the project was obtained through public subscription. Emperor Francis I, whose name was followed by thirteen members of the European royalty and high nobility, opened the list of the 211 so-called associates. The catalogue of associates provides useful information about the distribution of copies across Europe: all customers could choose hand-coloured or black-and-white editions. Subscriptions were made by numerous public libraries in Italy, as well as in cities such as Berlin, Leipzig, London, Mannheim, Munich, Paris, St. Petersburg, and Vienna. Among individual subscribers, there were book sellers, printers, merchants, traders, producers of painted cloth, painters, engravers, professionals (engineers, architects, and lawyers), state employees and ecclesiastics.

Ferrario's 21-volume work builds upon the tradition of early modern costume books in a world perspective, printed in Europe and in some non-western countries. Within this long-standing tradition, in early 19th-century Milan, this encyclopedic work was also part of a developing editorial production in which compendiums of contemporary travel literature gained increasing success. Fuelled by a publishing business keen on establishing a canon of modern travel literature of the last fifty years, Ferrario's work uses diaries, travelogues, and letters, some with sketches and watercolours, that had not been selected, edited, and translated before.[12]

The volume on the Ottoman Empire is the fourth of nine books on Europe of which two, in the wake of Philhellenism, are dedicated to Greece. The first part of the volume provides a rather factual synthesis of the history of the Ottoman Empire from its initial stages up to the present day, probably drawn from some popular compendiums circulating in Italy;[13] the second part offers an ethnographic overview of civil society ("civil customs", the customs of "private people") outlining the practices that promote and regulate taste formation. The book's last section is dedicated to the "modern Slavs" and is largely based on the Venetian abbé Fortis's classic journey across Dalmatia (1774), Cassas's *Voyage picturesque et historique* (1802), on Pouqueville's *Voyages* (1805), and on the Carniolan physician Balthazar Hacquet's *L'Illyrie et la Dalmatie*, including his ethnographic observations of the southern Slavs translated from German into French (1815).[14] The peculiar orientalizing gaze in the work of these authors projects a fascination with manliness and *primitivism* that Maria Todorova labelled *balkanism.*[15] The term has become a synonym for the reversion to the tribal, the backward, the primitive, and the barbarian; consumption as a discourse and a practice does not belong to this simple and violent society. Therefore, that section will not be discussed further in this chapter.

---

[11] Ferrario, *Il costume*, I, XXIV.

[12] Some French compendiums provided an initial but outmoded model, such as the "Annales des voyages" edited by Malte Brun (1807), among the often quoted sources of Ferrario's Ottoman Empire volume. Consulting Boucher de la Richarderie's bibliographical index but especially translating what was newly published in England and France, between the 1820s and 1830s Sonzogno published the 144 volumes of his "Raccolta de viaggiatori". Marino Berengo, *Intellettuali e librai nella Milano della Restaurazione* (Milano: 2012 repr. Milano: 1980).

Focusing on the social practices of Ottoman civil society, I shall reconstruct the circulation of texts that shaped the narrative in *Il costume antico e moderno*. The *abbé* Carlo Magnetti, one of Ferrario's collaborators, edited the volume, which has important *lacunae*: no bibliography and hardly any footnotes. References to sources are fragmented and lack authors' names, therefore correct or full titles of works are difficult to identify. In order to elucidate the overall cultural framework in which the volume is set, it is particularly important to trace this web of references, to find the original sources that went into both the text and the hand-coloured prints, and to identify the artists—designers, painters, and engravers—who decorated the work. Reconstructing the complexity of this endeavour means understanding not only cultural practices and transfers of knowledge, but also the crucial role of transcultural mediation that authors and texts performed between Italy and the Ottoman world.

---

[13] Giovan Battista Rampoldi's *Annali Musulmani* published (Milan: 1822–26) is essentially a compilation modelled on Barthélemy d'Herbelot de Molainville's *Bibliothèque Orientale* (1777–1779).

[14] Larry Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment* (Stanford: 2002); Francois Charles Pouqueville, *Voyage en Morée, à Constantinople et en Albanie 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801* (Paris: 1805); Marie-Gabriel de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pictoresque de la Grèce*, 1–3 (Paris: 1782, 1809, 1822); Louis-François Cassas, *Voyage pittoresque de la Syrie et de l'Egypte* (Paris: 1799); Balthasar de la Motte Hacquet, *L'Illyrie et la Dalmatie ou Moeurs, usages et costumes de leurs habitants* (Paris: 1815).

[15] Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: 1997).

Turbans, Shoes, Kashmir and Fur

The new inclination for long and light Kashmir *schals*, imported from India to Istanbul for the wealthy and produced locally for middle-range consumers, traces a *fil rouge* connecting material modernity, distinction, and taste. "Positional goods", whose value depends both on their social and cultural meaning and on how they compare with things owned by others, construct hierarchies of status.[16] Practices, objects, interior decoration and food are signified within a set of social markers as well as by their western and eastern origins. In *Il costume antico e moderno*, practices involving coffee and tobacco are described in the opening section on civil customs. Christian and Muslims alike drink coffee, while women and men smoke tobacco introduced to Constantinople by foreign merchants. The wealthy use silver and golden pipes decorated with precious stones while the people smoke clay pipes or the *narguilé* of Persian origin. Recently, the chewing of tobacco—unheard of among the Ottomans—has started to spread among the elites who enjoy a locally grown variety called *rapé*. Foreign tobacco powder is considered worthless, except tobacco from Corfu, which the Venetians used to trade on a large scale. Strictly regulated by Islamic law in the past, coffee, tobacco, and opium started to be consumed by all kinds of people, including the sultan himself:

> A variety of opiates is now in fashion and especially the *berdjh madjounn.* The simple madjounn is made with poppies or aloe and different kinds of spices, while the most refined kind contains grey amber, cochineal, moss and other precious essences. The Sultan and the high-ranking officials of the Empire add crushed fine pearls, rubies, emeralds and corals and because of these stones, it is called *djewahir-madjounny*. A small jar is worth at least one thousand lire.[17]
>
> Depending on status, individuals carry pills of opium in golden, silver, tortoise, or cardboard snuff boxes.

Women prefer small bites of electuaries without opium, but with moss, which smells nice and goes well with coffee. Women also enjoy chewing mastic, an aromatic resin from *lentiscus*, which grows in the islands of the Greek Archipelago, especially in Chios. The Ottomans adopted from the Arabs a great love of perfume that a strict etiquette prescribes and regulates for the ministers and officials in court. Guests and foreign ambassadors were greeted with a ceremonial offer of coffee, tobacco, and perfume.[18]

---

[16] Fred Hirsch, *The Social Limits to Growth* (London: 1977).

[17] Ferrario, *Il costume antico e moderno, Impero Ottomano*, 344.

As far as clothing is concerned, consumption and fashion cannot eschew sumptuary legislation obeying religious tenets. Ferrario's text articulates this tension between religious legislation and luxury with a keen focus on men's clothing, particularly on the turban as the main distinguishing feature of ethnicity and religious belief. Clothing also embodies political meanings and wearing a Persian beret or a European hat unleashes violent reactions, especially in times of popular uprisings in the Empire. Overall, the main rule for the Ottomans, according to Ferrario, is to show neither pomp nor negligence. They are allowed a discrete elegance, which they consider as a homage offered to the Lord, except on Fridays and during the feast of Beyram. They can wear black and white, but not red and yellow. Gold and silver cloth is prohibited. Luxury among the Ottomans is confined to the "old luxury"[19] of the court:

> [Osman I] was the first to introduce in the Palace the luxury and magnificence of Asian courts [...] and Suleyman I increased magnificence up to a point that nobody had seen before him. Notwithstanding the changes that luxury required, Ottomans both in the capital and the provinces of the Empire always kept the long dress of Orientals, altering the shape and cut and especially the shape and ornaments on their turbans.[20]

Suleyman also started the fashion for turbans and clothes that distinguish the different orders and ranks of the state apparatus:

> and thousands of workshops opened where crowds of workers incessantly produced and decorated turbans. The inhabitants of Constantinople and those of the European provinces usually wear turbans of white muslin. Those living in Syria, the Arabs and Egyptians use a striped cloth or a simple colored one. The same fashion applies to people living in Bursa, Caramania, Adana, Bosnia and Albania. The non-Muslim subjects are immediately visible as their headgear is very different. They are only allowed to wear a high sheepskin black busby called *calpach* or to cover their head with a piece of dark cloth. The Greek inhabitants of the Archipelago wear

---

[18] Ferrario, *Impero Ottomano*, 345–346.

[19] Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli and Carla Campanini (eds.), *Disciplinare il lusso* (Bologna: 2003); Jan De Vries, *The Industrious Revolution* (Cambridge: 2008); Peter Mc Neil and Giorgio Riello, *Luxury* (Oxford: 2016).

[20] Ferrario, *Impero Ottomano*, 347.

> a red or white woolen beret. A Muslim should never dress in a foreign fashion; a dress, and more so, headgear that does not conform to native custom would cover him with shame and opprobrium and would yield to a suspicion of apostasy. The worst thing he could do would be to wear a Persian beret or a European hat. They hate hats to such an extent that once, during the troubles that threatened the Empire, they used the trick of nailing a hat to the door of a minister, or a high ranking official that the rebels had sworn to kill as a traitor of his native land or deserter of his religion.[21]

Further distinguishing features are shoes: of yellow Moroccan leather for Muslims, and dark blue for ulemas, while non-Muslim subjects were required to wear black ones. Europeans entitled to wear Muslim dress were permitted to have yellow shoes, but could not wear a turban, a distinguishing feature of the dominant nation. They were, instead, obliged to wear a beret of marten or sable fur. European travellers dressed in oriental clothes could risk wearing a turban, but, if spotted, might experience some hostility. This was often the case in the Ottoman lands where people were too proud of their own dress to allow others to use it. In these situations, the best solution would be to wear a tartar beret. In spite of its green colour, it was less liable to provoke prejudice. Foreign ambassadors could never uncover their heads as Muslims found it indecent. During Ferrario's days, all Muslims shaved their head and wore a small red beret, called a *fez*, with the turban placed on top. Men cut their hair off to avoid appearing effeminate.

As we observed earlier, Kashmir *schals* typify modern luxury. Their exquisite texture rivals the finest muslin and embroidered textiles, thus reducing silk consumption. Furs are another example of luxury goods that confer social distinction. As the supreme tastemaker, Sultan Muhammed II introduced furs to Constantinople and decided what was fashionable and how furs should be used. Widespread consumption of fur at all levels of society followed the fall of Constantinople:

> In winter the artisan, the soldier, the peasant want one of lamb, mutton, cat or squirrel. The urban dweller is happy with fox and hare; the rich and the Great have a wardrobe stacked with sable, marten, white fox, ermine and miniver. A strict etiquette requires all these varieties, as in autumn one needs an ermine dress, three weeks later one of miniver, and sable all winter long. In summer, one wears a large dress—the *feredjé*—with a

---

[21] Ibid., 348.

> lining of camel or goat wool. Changing clothes depends on the Sultan's will. Black fox is reserved for His Imperial Highness. Women are much freer to use fur, as only money and taste decide what they can wear. Therefore, in winter they show the most beautiful fur coats and adorn their dresses with a border of fur around the skirt. A proverb says that it is expensive to dress a woman, but it is incomparably more so to dress an Ottoman lady. The smallest fur item costs between 1200 and 1500 lire. In the midst of winter, rich people and high-ranking court officials wear two or three fur coats. The climate is not so rigid, but houses have many windows and are built for warm weather and there are no fireplaces, nor warming pans for beds and therefore furs are necessary.[22]

Ferrario argues that this indulgent attitude towards women's attire is a compensation "for the subordinate position they have to bear".[23] Married women have "a master rather than a husband and they cannot see any other men except peeping through a hole in their window blinds."[24]

If the financial status of the family can afford it, women are adorned with gold and precious stones and their "high headsets remind us of a *bouf* which was fashionable in Europe thirty-five years ago".[25] The text addresses European readers by reminding them of their own past fashions, and by evoking a variety of headgear to help them visualize Ottoman women's dress. Another analogy drawn between stone garlands and fans aims to domesticate gestures and attitudes between East and West: "They hold a garland of jasper and agate to play with and show off; just as in Europe they use fans."[26] Whereas in Europe fans are part of women's attire and are used in public, in Ottoman society men and women use fans mostly in private. Round and made from peacock feathers or parchment, fans are decorated with golden flowers and have ivory or ebony handles. Men have plain ones. Servants and slaves fan their masters and waft flyswatters in front of the sultan and his ministers.

These analogies between Europe and the Ottoman Empire set the stage for Ferrario's main question concerning fashion, consumption, and change that intersects well-known moral and aesthetic tensions:

---

[22] Ibid., 351.

[23] Ibid., 353.

[24] Ibid., 356.

[25] Ibid., 354.

[26] Ibid., 354.

> This constant lack of stability that incessantly transforms European women's clothing does not rule in the Orient. Headgears, cuts, cloth are more or less always the same. Why? Because there are no merchants of fashion who tease ambition with a constant variety of inventions. While Muslim women follow a uniform style and lack the elegance and loveliness of European women, they compensate for these advantages with a noble custom and the simple graces of nature.[27]

This echoes Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's comments on Ottoman women's natural waistlines, which contrasted with the tight bodices and makeup favoured by western women to hide the ravages of time and personal passions. Veiled foreheads and eyebrows which met in the middle were the more modest indicators of Ottoman sophistication. Slaves did not cover their foreheads, or wear a veil, or furs. They also wore a small white or red beret imported from Orléans in France under their outer headgear.

Contact Zones and Trans-Imperial Subjects

As we have already mentioned, non-Muslim women, especially Greeks, enjoy greater freedom and can follow European dress styles in private. Greek homes are spaces where interethnic sociality is encouraged and where Europeans meet and mix with local minorities who entertain with music and dance:

> Beyond the *romeca* that girls are taught to dance at home, in Greek households a foreigner will admire the French, English, and German *contredances.* These entertainments however cannot be compared to the loud parties and dances that in the big European cities take place in theaters and in rich homes. Foreign ministers and wealthy merchants living in the Empire try as best they can to throw parties that somehow resemble European ones. Europeans in these cities move to the same districts, and in Pera they are in close contact with Muslims and live as they would in the freer cities inviting whole Greek families with men and women to dance together.[28]

---

[27] Ibid., 354–355.

[28] Ibid., 370–71.

The *Lettres* of Madame de Chenier are an interesting source on Greek dances and the ways in which mothers taught their daughters to dance at home.[29] Née Elisabeth Lomaca, Madame de Chenier was born in Constantinople, in 1729. Her father, Santi Lomaca, a Greek dragoman (interpreter) at the court of Sultan Ahmed III, was one of the envoys in the diplomatic mission to France in 1722–23. Elisabeth Lomaca received a cosmopolitan education and grew up in the international milieu of the city, speaking Greek, Ottoman Turkish, and French.[30] As the daughter of the sultan's interpreter, her training and upbringing in a context of cultural and linguistic mediation turn her into a *trans-imperial* subject,[31] i.e. an intermediary belonging to an ethnic minority that articulates and is, in turn, shaped by the making and shifting of boundaries between East and West and across empires in the Mediterranean world.

Santi Lomaca's home would probably have hosted cosmopolitan gatherings similar to those described previously in Ferrario's quote about musical entertainments. Such places served as "contact zones", where men and women, Greeks and Europeans, danced the French, English, and German *contredances*, in spite of Ottoman legislation prohibiting music and dance. Translator, trader and, diplomatic agent, Santi Lomaca negotiated practices of mediation in the social world of 18th-century Constantinople where music and dance shaped contacts and exchanges. In his daughter, Elisabeth's *Lettres*, framed in the wake of Philhellenism, dance becomes a medium to represent her love for antiquity, her nostalgia, and feelings of disempowerment and expropriation. She writes that Turks reserved, for their own amusement and for the women they segregated, the Ionian dance "that one can still see today in Smyrna and in Asia Minor where the taste for lascivious dancing lingers on. They enjoy to have these lascivious and voluptuous dances performed before them".[32] Dances that commemorate the past of a free nation are now staged in front of rulers who segregate women.

---

[29] Madame de Chénier, *Lettres grecques* (Paris: 1879), 139, 155.

[30] She married Chénier, a French diplomat in Istanbul, and was the mother of André Chenier, the poet that Robespierre sentenced to death during the French Revolution. Later in life, Elisabeth Lomaca moved to Paris and died there.

[31] The term is used in Nathalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire. Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: 2012); see also Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: 1992). Pratt defines contact zones as "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination", Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 4.

[32] Madame de Chénier, *Lettres*, 135. "qu'on voit danser encore aujourd'hui a Smyrne et dans l'Asie Mineure, où le gout des danses lascives subsiste toujours. Ils prennent plaisir de faire exécuter devant eux ces danses lascives et voluptueuses". (My own translation).

The chapter on music in *Il costume antico e moderno* also comments on the mixing of ethnicities and religious minorities during private dancing. In spite of prohibitions, Ottomans love music as part of a cultural tradition emanating from Persia. In private gatherings, "Eight or ten players join and they are Muslims, Christians and Jews. They all bring their different instruments in the homes of those who invite them, while the Muslims listen attentively with their tobacco and opium pipes and coffee. They are so taken by the music, that they look ecstatic and on the point of fainting."[33] At the end of a long digression on music, melody, and musical notes, the text refers to the "author of the work on costumes, customs etc. of the Ottomans" as its main source.

It is difficult to find a copy of the three extraordinary volumes of Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, a rare elephant folio edition printed in Paris by the great Didot. The first volume was published in 1787, the second, in 1790, while the third was edited by his son in 1820 after Mouradgea d'Ohsson's death. A copy of the three volumes, bound in red Morocco leather with golden inserts, is in the Biblioteca Braidense in Milan where Ferrario spent most of his life. Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau général* is the main textual and only visual source for the chapters on the private and civic customs of the Ottomans in the 18th century in Ferrario's volume on the Ottoman Empire.

Born to a French mother and a Catholic Armenian father, Ignatius Mouradgea followed his father into the same profession, working as an Ottoman dragoman (interpreter) in the service of the Swedish consul in Constantinople.[34] In this cosmopolitan milieu, the Mouradgeas, father and son, were cultural mediators, having a good knowledge of languages and being well-integrated in the court hierarchy and political networks of the Empire. Ignatius added the name d'Ohsson in 1787 when the king of Sweden, Gustave III, gave him noble status as reward for his services to the Crown. In 1784, he left for Paris to publish his outstanding work. The publication of the first two volumes must have been the editorial event of the day: it was printed by Pierre Francois Didot "the younger", a central figure of the luxury book trade in Paris who was famous for the beautiful typography of his books. A subscription aimed at an aristocratic readership financed a deluxe elephant folio edition, illustrated with 233 engravings, 41 of which are full-page or double-page fold-outs. A team of at least 28 artists (painters, designers and engravers) produced most of the engravings under the direction of Charles Nicolas Cochin (1715–1791), a major figure in the 18th-century art world in Paris. Recent research has shed light on the Ottoman and Persian sources of the *Tableau* and on the French adaptation of the paintings and drawings that Mouradgea brought with him from Constantinople. Sources indicate that he spent part of the time at the Armenian Catholic monastery of San Lazzaro in Venice and worked with Armenian collaborators there.[35] Elisabeth Fraser writes that, by bringing together both Ottoman and French artists, the *Tableau général* is a product of "active agents consciously adopting cross-cultural modes, implicitly negotiating issues of legibility, significance, and acceptability into the bargain".[36]

---

[33] Ferrario, *Impero Ottomano*, 373.

[34] Elisabeth A. Fraser, "'Dressing Turks in the French Manner'". Mouradgea d'Ohsson's Panorama of the Ottoman Empire", *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2010), 199–229; Carter Findley, "Writer and Subject, Self and Other: Mouradgea d'Ohsson and his Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman", in Sture Theolin et al., *The Torch of the Empire: Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson and the Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman in the Eighteenth Century* (Istanbul: 2002), 27–28.

Connecting Texts, Tracing Images

In the opening discourse to the reader, Mouradgea d'Ohsson presents his work, the difficulties he had to face, and sketches a short biography: "I was born and grew up in Constantinople, and during my entire life I was employed in the service of a Court intimately connected to the Sublime Porte. More than anybody else I had the means to overcome all difficulties and to accomplish the task that I now decided to complete." His *Tableau* is based on Ottoman sources: national historians and the "Annals of the monarchy" of which he had a translation made. He accomplished his long research of the original codes of Islam with the "help of a very learned theologian and jurist both of whom enjoy a high reputation in the Empire". Eminent state officials, with whom he had personal ties, also assisted by giving him extracts of their own registers, thus enabling him to analyze, in detail, the structure of the Ottoman state.[37] From the officials of the palace, he obtained information about the serail, the sultan, and his household, while the slaves in the serail supplied details about the sultanas, *cadinns*, and the imperial harem. He also informs the reader that many of them were freed after several years of service and married to court officials. His direct contact with these officials and with Christian women allowed him to correct the false opinions and inaccurate ideas he himself held.[38]

---

[35] Carter Findley, "Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1740–1807): Liminality and Cosmopolitanism in the Author of the Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman" in *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, 22, 1 (Spring 1998), 21–35.

[36] Fraser, "Dressing Turks in the French Manner", 200.

[37] Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris: 1787), V–VIII. Né à Constantinople, élevé dans le pays meme, et attaché toute ma vie au service d'une Cour liée avec la *Porte* par des relations intimes, j'ai eu plus que personne les moyens de vaincre ces difficultés, et de remplir la tache que je m'impose aujourd'hui.

The work is divided into two parts: the first focuses on Muslim jurisprudence and the second details the history of the Ottoman Empire, which d'Ohsson never completed. He died in 1807, after the publication of the first two volumes of his monumental work, each of which was over 300 pages long. In 1820, his son edited the third 500-page volume on civil and penal law.

Although they include many prints of men's and women's civil, military, and court costumes, Mouradgea d'Ohsson's volumes do not resemble illustrated travelogues. The lengthy presentation of Islamic law is interspersed with digressions on morality, social practices, and vivid descriptions of Ottoman society from his own experience. Surprisingly, scholars have ignored this ethnographic aspect that is central to *Il costume antico e moderno.* To date, there is no knowledge of an Italian translation of the *Tableau*, and only partial editions in German, Russian, Swedish, and English, the latter being published in Philadelphia in 1788.

In the second volume of Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau général*, the section on morality comprises two books: the first entitled 'Food' (*de la nourriture*) and the second, 'Dress' (*du vetement*). They discuss, respectively, pure and impure meats, forbidden and legal drinks, opium, coffee, tobacco and perfume; and dress, sumptuary norms on clothing and bodies, interior decoration, styles of clothing, colours, and carriages. Ferrario's text draws extensively from *Livre* One and *Livre* Two and quotes passages word by word, as shown by the descriptions of the different uses of Kashmir shawls and of dancing in Greek homes.[39] *Il costume antico e moderno* also repeats the sections about shoes, the long digression on turbans, and the changing styles and decorations, as well as the sections about jewellery, interior decoration, baths, heating, carriages and servants.

However, some details are more abundant in Mouradgea d'Ohsson's narrative, which insists on the cosmopolitan dimension of the "immense" city of Constantinople that "mixes foreigners of different nations with the local inhabitants, Muslim and Christian, offering the most striking diversity of costumes and languages, and infinite nuances of customs and practices".[40] An

---

[38] Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, IX–X.

[39] Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, 2, *livre* II: 140; *Tableau général*, 2, *Code religieux*, 428–29.

[40] Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, 2, *Code religieux*, 429.

Armenian Catholic close to government circles, he emphasizes the leading role of Christian minorities in promoting gatherings in the European style, where families of the elite and officers of the court transgress religious norms and interact with one another:

> families of a certain standing enjoy social gatherings at home. Many families live completely in the European way: their beds, their tables, the coming together of young men and women, games, and all that concerns civil life, stands in stark contrast to the way of living of the dominant nation. Those who have good connections to the young officers at court can easily invite them to their parties, at night and incognito, and this is when Muslims, freed of their prejudices and protected by their discreet hosts, totally yield to the pleasures of life. They drink wine; they cheer and sing at the table, forget the utterly severe Muslim mores, and get closer to the habits of Christians. In this pleasant forgetfulness, they sometimes allow themselves to dance the *Georgina,* a grotesque dance where people play the pantomime, with gestures, faces, ridiculous attitudes. They move their tongue, eyes, head, feet and hands as if they were separate parts of their body.[41]

As Elisabeth Fraser has highlighted, these comments are not part of an orientalizing attitude. On the contrary, Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau* aims to present Ottoman society in ways that enhance its modesty, industriousness, tolerance and lack of ostentation, eschewing the stereotypes that western travellers generally attributed to the inhabitants of this "non-communicative" empire. "Religious prejudices have constructed a barrier between the Empire and Europe", he writes, and these "phantoms" diffused by many books, have been mistaken for the real customs, habits, religion and law of the Ottomans.[42] Reforms in education, regular diplomatic contacts with the West, and "a few young Muslims of good family", trained in Europe to become the new cosmopolitan ruling-elite, would transform "letters and public administration". These are his concluding remarks. An enlightened intellectual, he relies on an enlightened sultan to modernize Ottoman society from above.

Elisabeth Fraser defined the *Tableau* as a "self-conscious, autoethnographic defense of the Ottomans"[43] which offers a new perspective on the relationship between the French and the Ottomans. The illustrations that constitute a very significant part of the volumes are of particular importance for this perspective. D'Ohsson insists that Ottoman painters produced all the images with great difficulty and in secrecy. Due to a long-standing iconoclastic tradition, there were no great artists, certainly none comparable to painters in Italy, France, or the Netherlands:

---

[41] Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Code religieux*, 433–434 (All English translations are mine).

[42] Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, 1, *Discours préliminaire*, III.

[43] Fraser, "Dressing Turks in the French Manner", 200.

> How could they advance in this sublime art in a nation that doesn't care about it, where there are no models and where even the Christians have no taste for paintings, nor the habit of getting portrayed and where Greek and Armenian painters have no other resources for their talent but painting holy images in churches or in private chapels? [...] It is useless to talk about Muslim painters: there are perhaps twenty in the whole Empire and they limit themselves to landscapes, maps, and drawings [...] some paint animals, but rarely human figures.[44]

Getting artists to work for him was extremely difficult and time-consuming: in order to draw, they had to work either on their own or in d'Ohsson's home, in silence and secrecy. They could draw the interiors of mosques, sepulchral chapels, libraries and the rooms of the divan thanks to the watchful protection of some officers in the court; for illustrations of the serail and the harem, he managed to employ the same artists who had decorated them and already had very precise designs of these spaces. "Extreme caution, lengthy and expensive procedures as well as painstaking research enabled us in over ten years of work to acquire this collection of paintings and drawings illustrating Ottoman history."[45]

All the paintings were engraved in Paris, but Cochin, charged with the artistic direction of the edition, assessed the figures negatively as "too short, their heads too big, without taste, without effect, and with a disagreeable perspective".[46] Therefore, at great expense, he decided to transform the original Ottoman images, hiring a French painter to repaint some of them which were then redrawn for the French engraver. A long work of decoding and interpreting visual traditions, taking care "not to translate them into the French style", went into the making of the 233 black-and-white prints that retained some of their sober truthfulness.

---

[44] Mouradgea d'Ohsson, 2, *Code religieux*, 456–458.

[45] Mouradgea d'Ohsson, 2, *Code religieux*, 462–463.

[46] Fraser, "Dressing Turks in the French Manner", 213.

In *Il costume antico e moderno*, 85 illustrations were readapted from the *Tableau général* to the volume on the Ottoman Empire.[47] Redrawn and printed in Paris, they had lost some of the original Ottoman traits and Ferrario's small team of artists readjusted a visual apparatus that had already gone through a westernizing process of translation. Vittorio and Francesco Raineri, Leone Giacomo Bussi, and Giacomo Gallina engraved the prints and coloured them by hand, at times using different layouts and making small changes on the page. These artists were active in Milan in the first quarter of the 19th century. The following figures show a small sample of illustrations from the two works which highlight this process of visual translation and hand-colouring of prints from the *Tableau général* to the *Impero Ottomano* in *Il costume antico e moderno*.

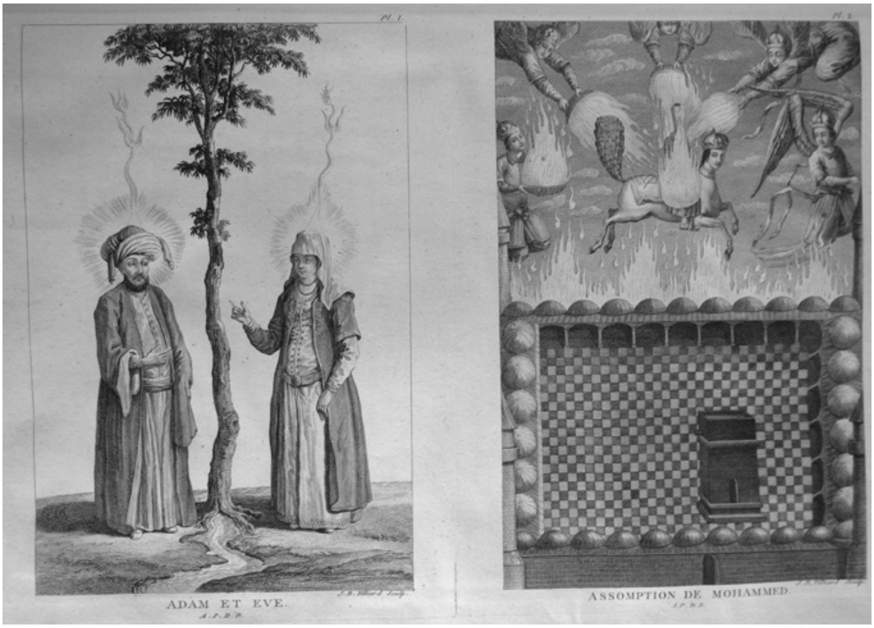


FIGURE 1.1 *Mouradgea d'Ohsson,* Tableau générale de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1787, Tome 1, figs. 1–2* Adam et Eve; Assomption de Mohammed.
COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA BRAIDENSE.

---

[47] 28 from Volume 1, 23 from Volume 2 and 35 from the third book.

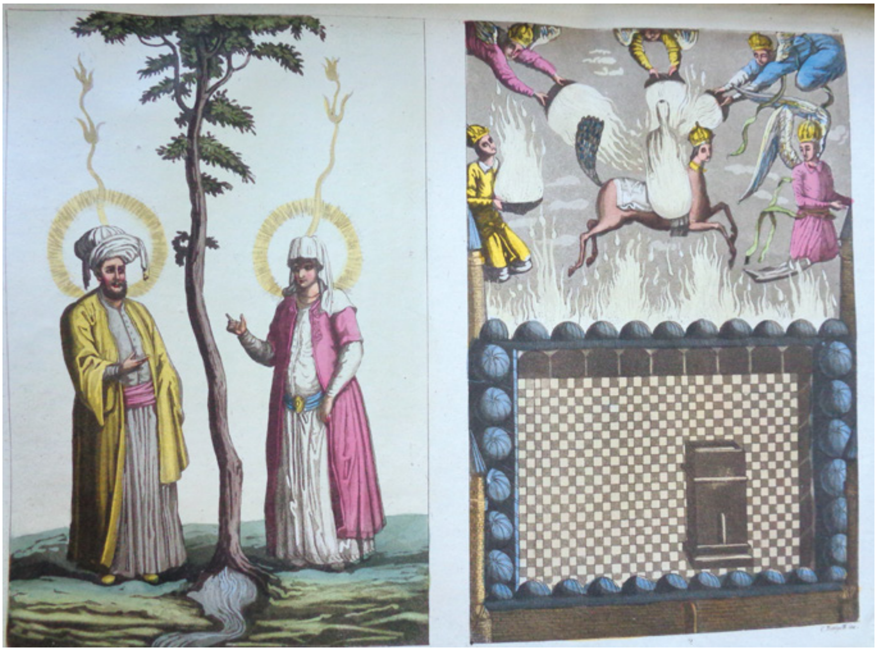


FIGURE 1.2 *G. Ferrario,* Il costume antico e moderno*, vol. 4 (Milan 1827), fig. 30.*
COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA BRAIDENSE.

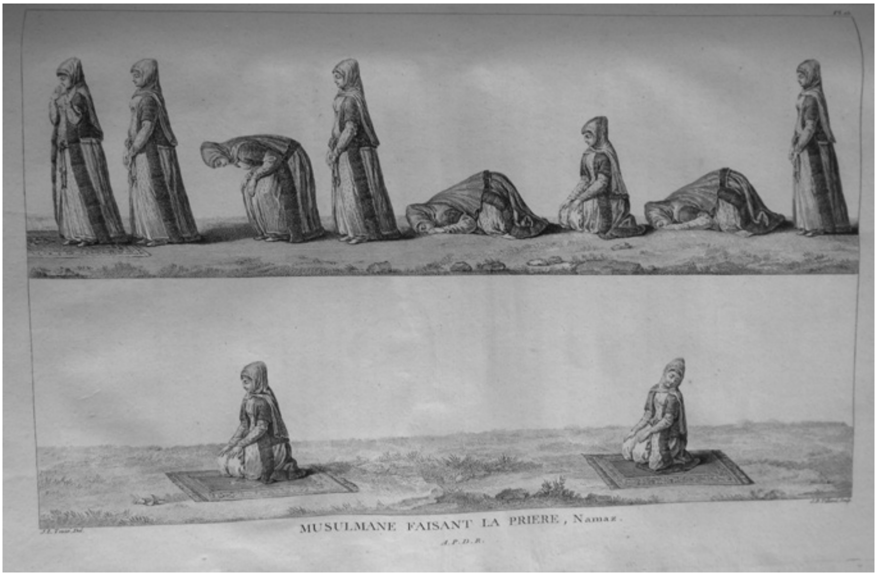

MUSULMANE FAISANT LA PRIERE, Namaz.
A.P.D.R.

FIGURE 1.3 *Mouradgea d'Ohsson,* Tableau générale, *Tome 1,* Musulmane faisante la prière, *fig. 15.*
COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA BRAIDENSE.

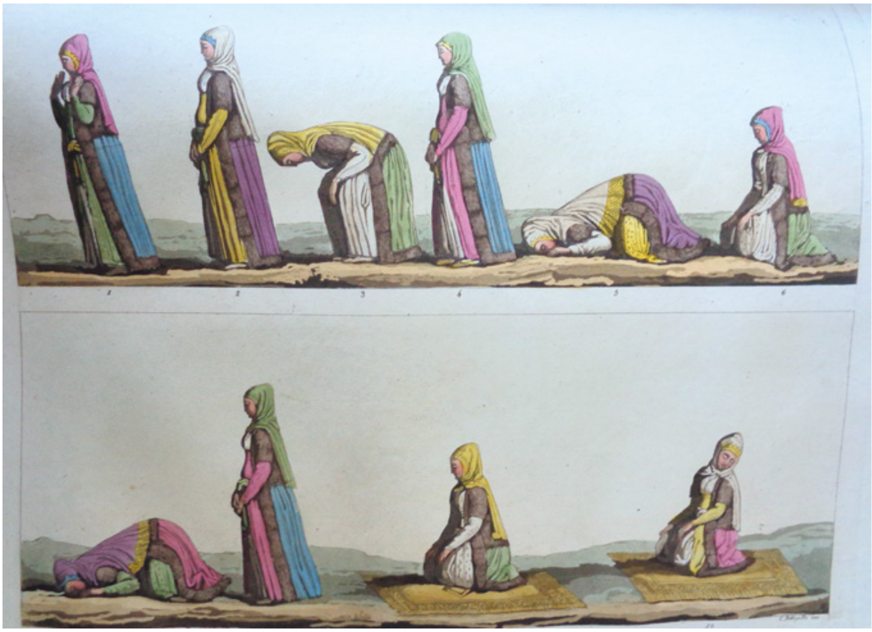


FIGURE 1.4 *Ferrario,* Il costume*, vol. 4, fig. 35.*
COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA BRAIDENSE.

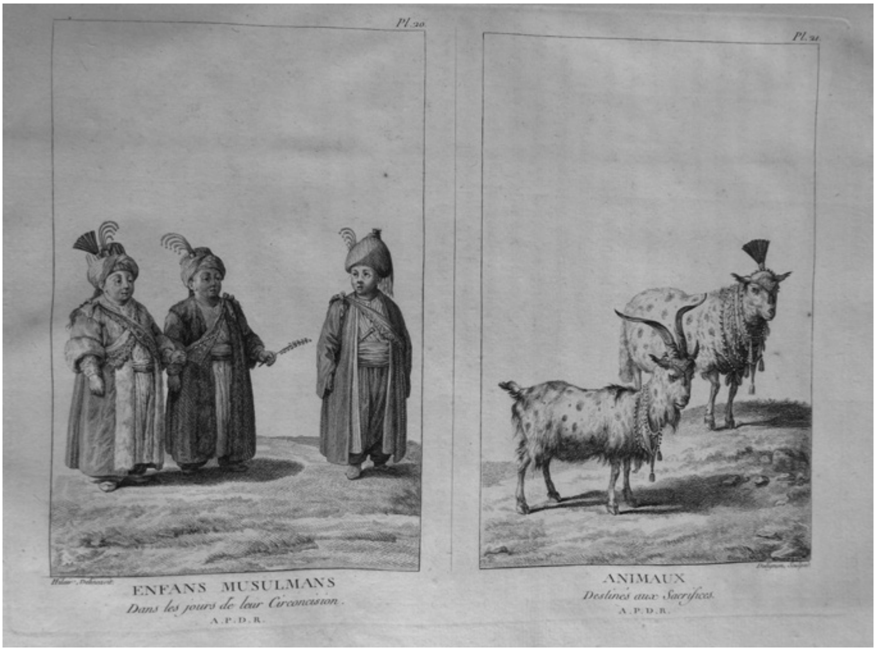

Pl. 20.
Pl. 21.
ENFANS MUSULMANS
Dans les jours de leur Circoncision.
A.P.D.R.
ANIMAUX
Destinés aux Sacrifices.
A.P.D.R.

FIGURE 1.5 *Mouradgea d'Ohsson,* Tableau général*, tome 1,* Enfans Musulmans dans le jour de leur Circoncision; Animaux destinés aux sacrifice*, figs. 20–21.*
COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA BRAIDENSE.

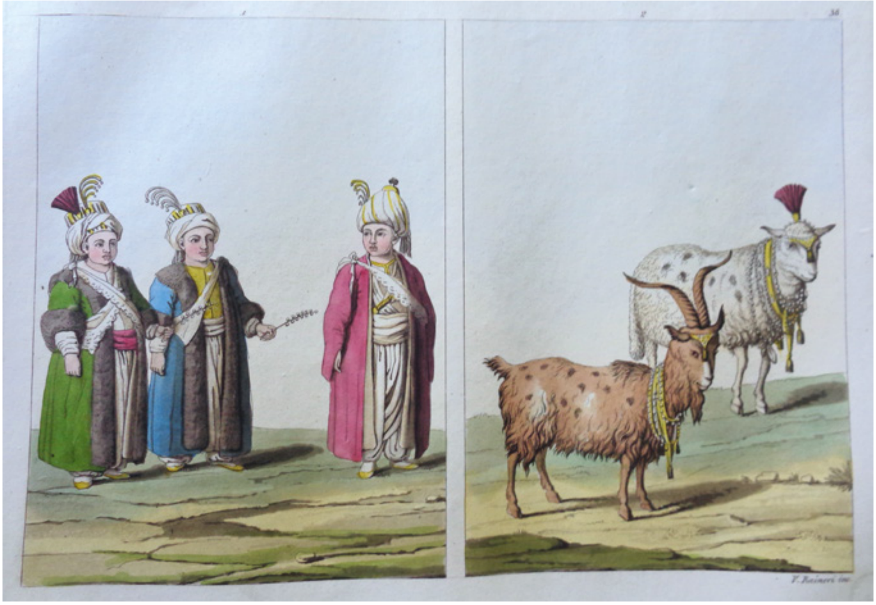

V. Raineri inc.

FIGURE 1.6 *Ferrario,* Il costume*, vol. 4, fig. 36.*
COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA BRAIDENSE.

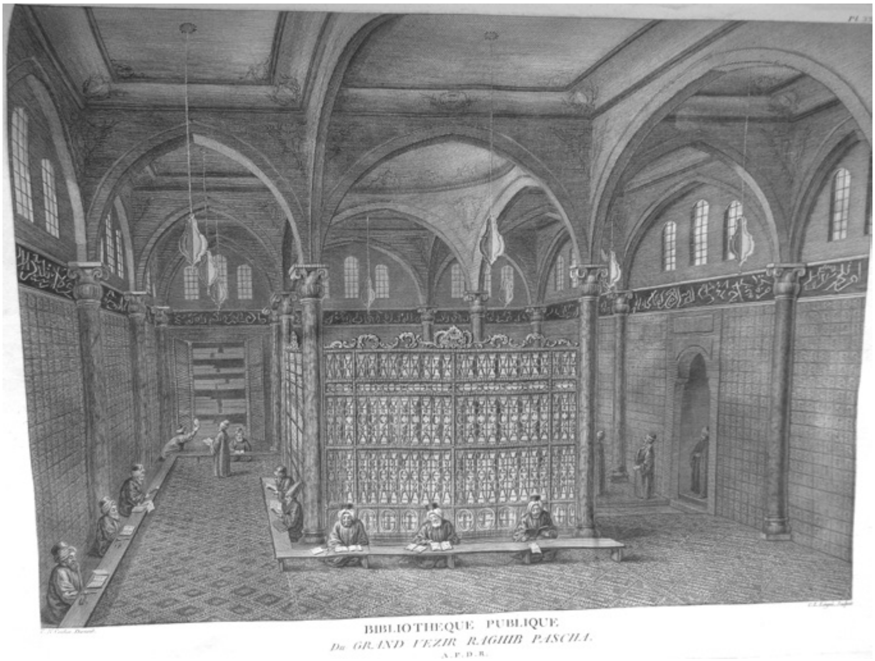

BIBLIOTHEQUE PUBLIQUE
Du GRAND VEZIR RAGHIB PASCHA.
A.P.D.R.

FIGURE 1.7 *Mouradgea d'Ohsson*, Tableau général, *tome 1, Fig. 33,* Bibliothèque publique.
COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA BRAIDENSE.

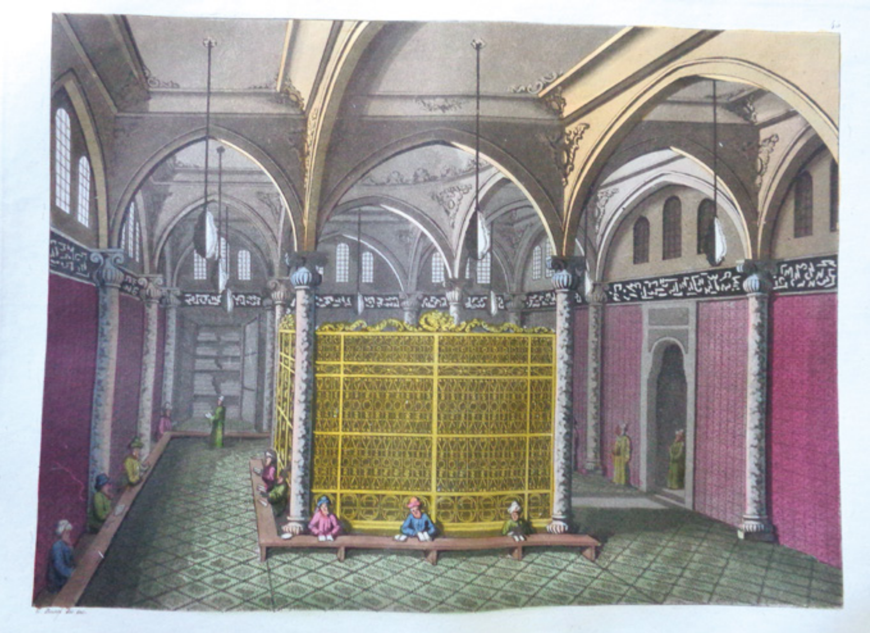


FIGURE 1.8 *Ferrario,* Il costume*, vol. 4, tav. 45.*
COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA BRAIDENSE.

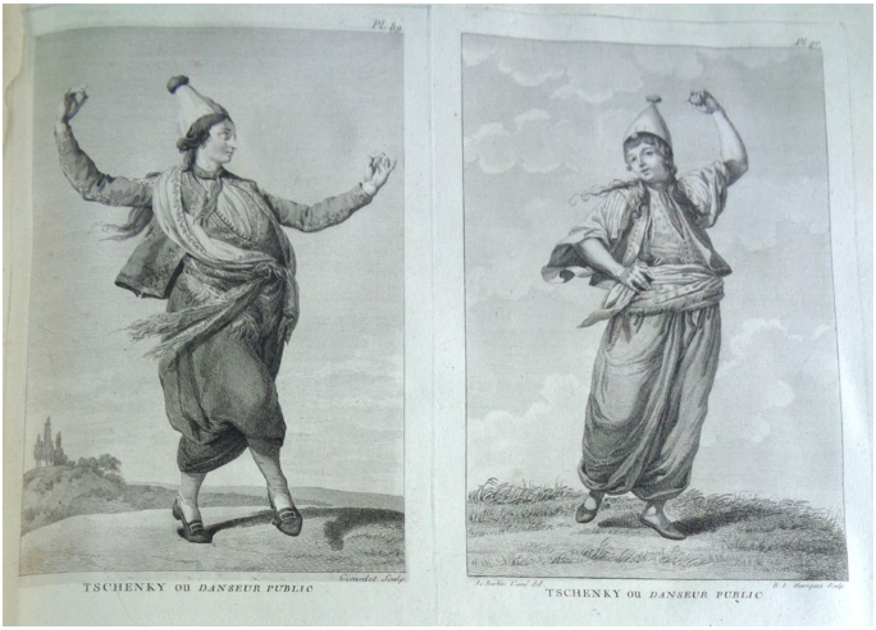

Pl. 89
TSCHENKY ou DANSEUR PUBLIC
Pl. 90
TSCHENKY ou DANSEUR PUBLIC

FIGURE 1.9 *Mouradgea d'Ohsson,* Tableau general (*Paris, 1790*) *tome 2, figs. 89–90* Danseur publique, Danseuse publique.
COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA BRAIDENSE.

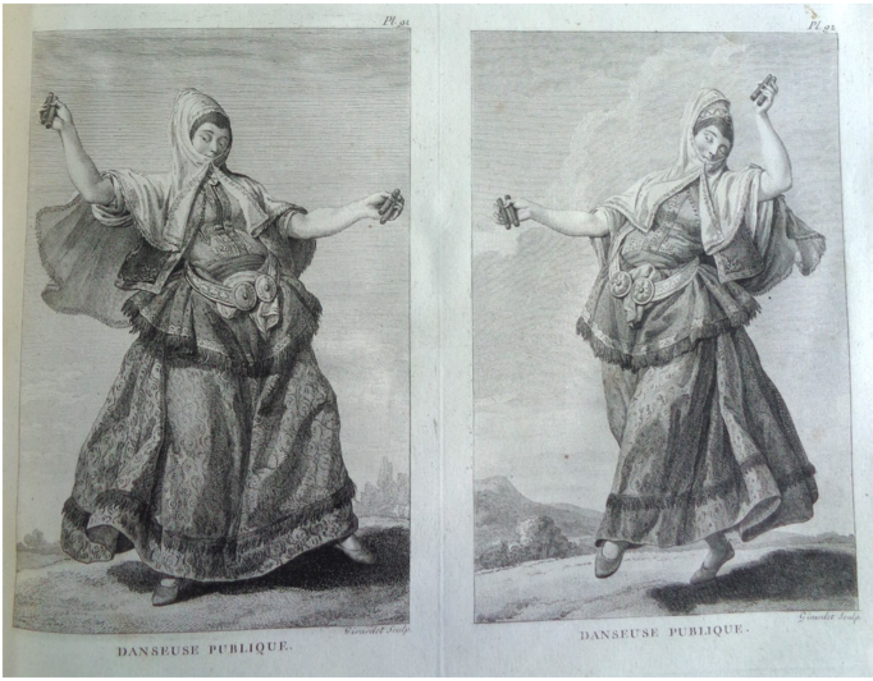

Pl. 91
Girardet Sculp.
DANSEUSE PUBLIQUE.
Pl. 92
Girardet Sculp.
DANSEUSE PUBLIQUE.

FIGURE 1.10 *Mouradgea d'Ohsson*, Tableau général*, tome 2, Figs. 91–92,* Tschenky, ou danseur publique.
COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA BRAIDENSE.

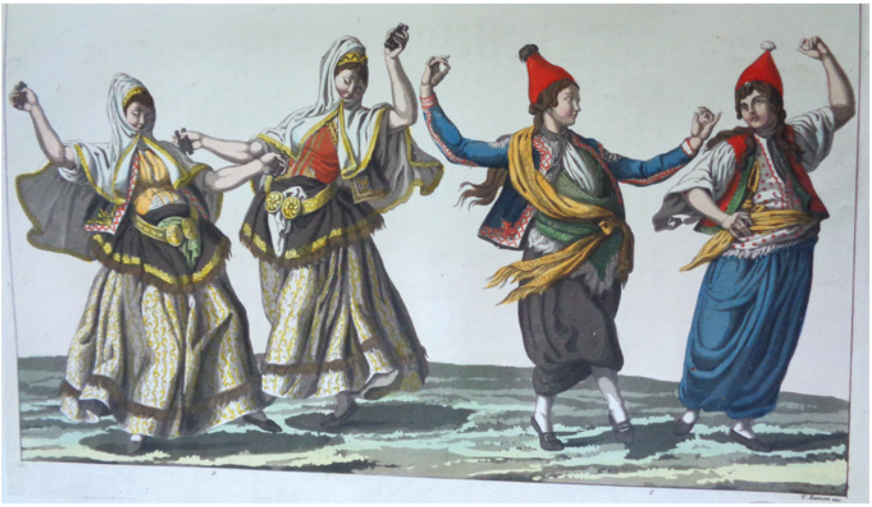


FIGURE 1.11 *Ferrario,* Il costume*, vol. 4, fig. 62.*
COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA BRAIDENSE.

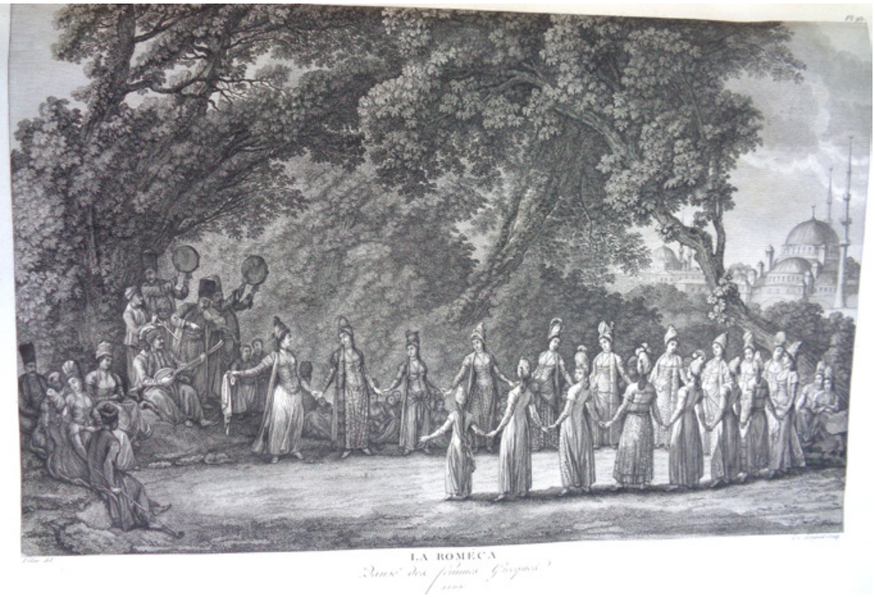

LA ROMECA
Danse des femmes Grecques

FIGURE 1.12 *Mouradgea d'Ohsson,* Tableau général*, tome 2, fig. 93,* La Romeca. Danse des femmes Grecques.
COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA BRAIDENSE.

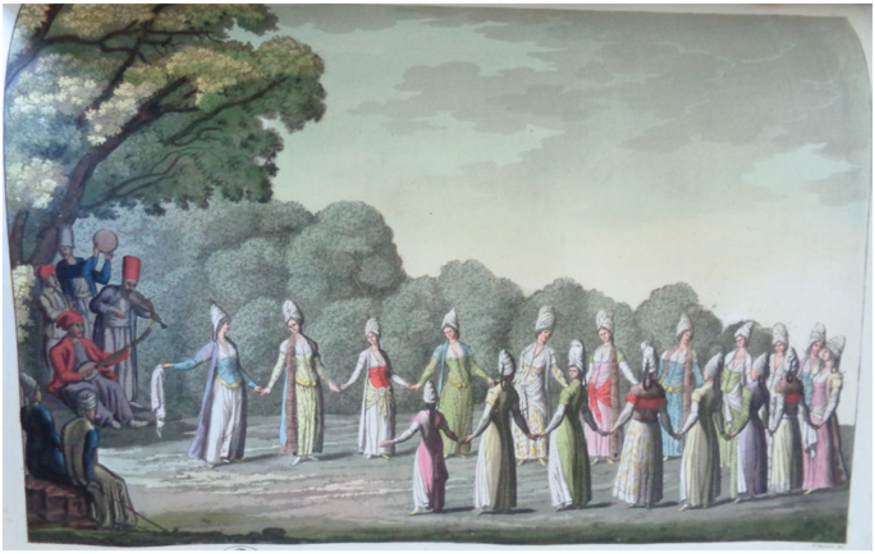


FIGURE 1.13 *Ferrario* Il costume*, fig. 63.*
COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA BRAIDENSE.

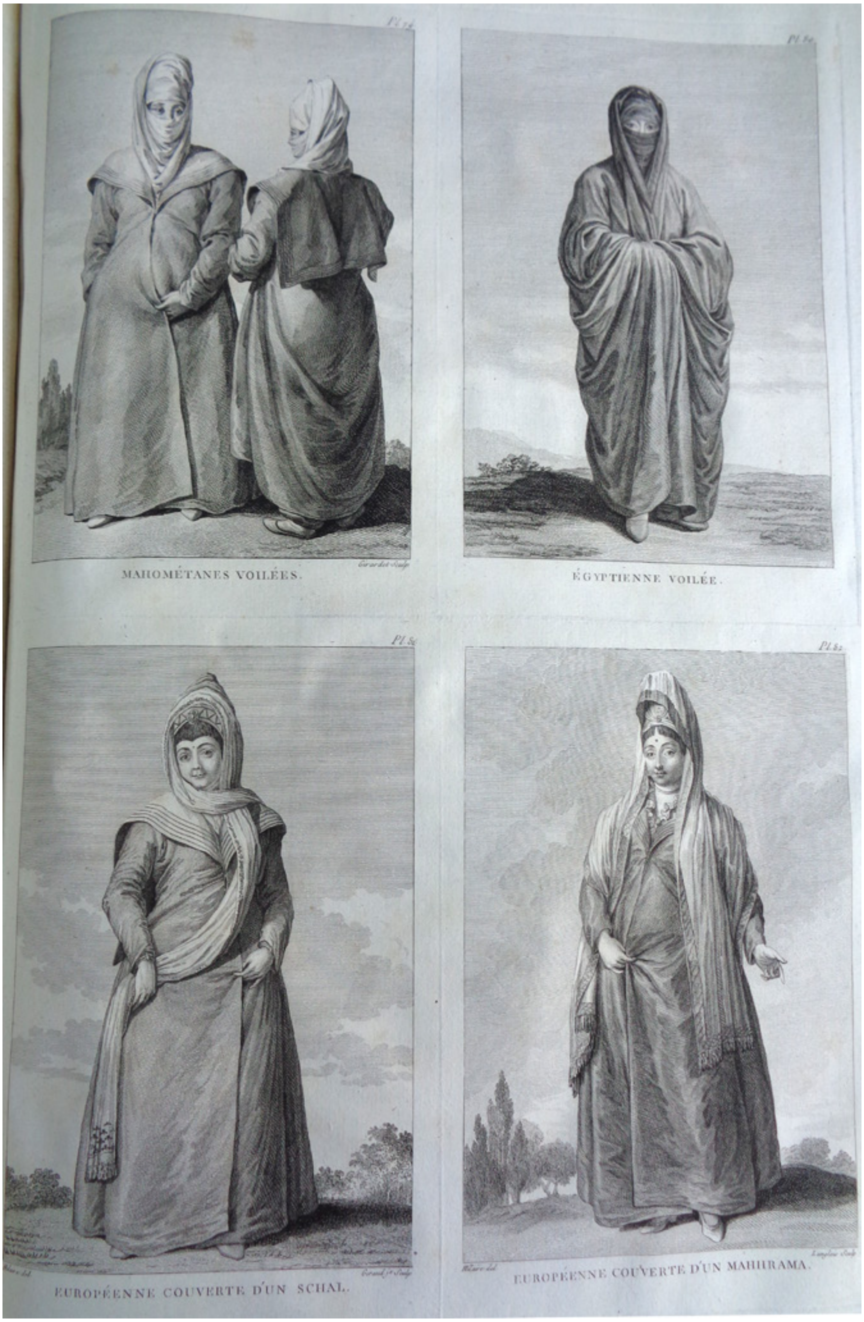

Pl. 79
MAHOMÉTANES VOILÉES.
Pl. 80
ÉGYPTIENNE VOILÉE.
Pl. 81
EUROPÉENNE COUVERTE D'UN SCHAL.
Pl. 82
EUROPÉENNE COUVERTE D'UN MAHHRAMA.

FIGURE 1.14 *Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Tableau général, tome 2, figs. 79, 80, 81, 82* Mahometane voilée, Egyptienne voilée, Européenne couverte d'un schal, Européenne couverte d'un mahhrama.
COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA BRAIDENSE.

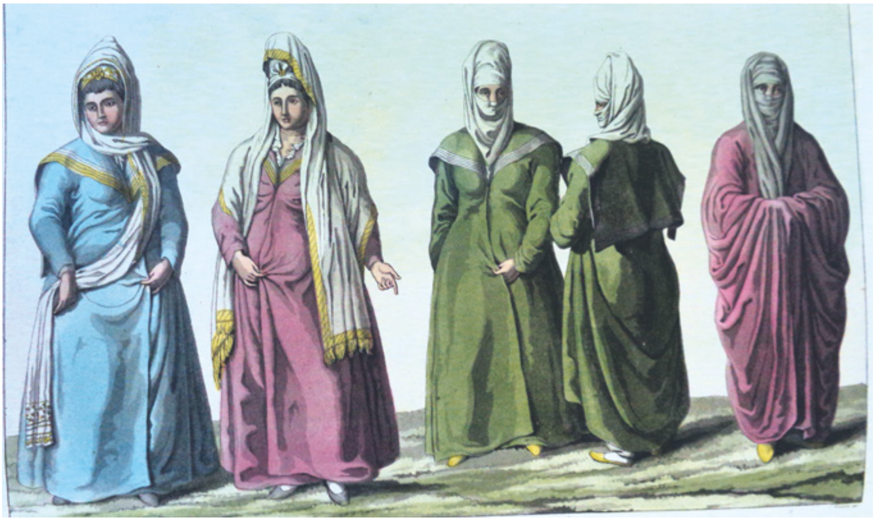


FIGURE 1.15 *Ferrario,* Il costume*, vol. 4, tav. 60.*
COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA BRAIDENSE.

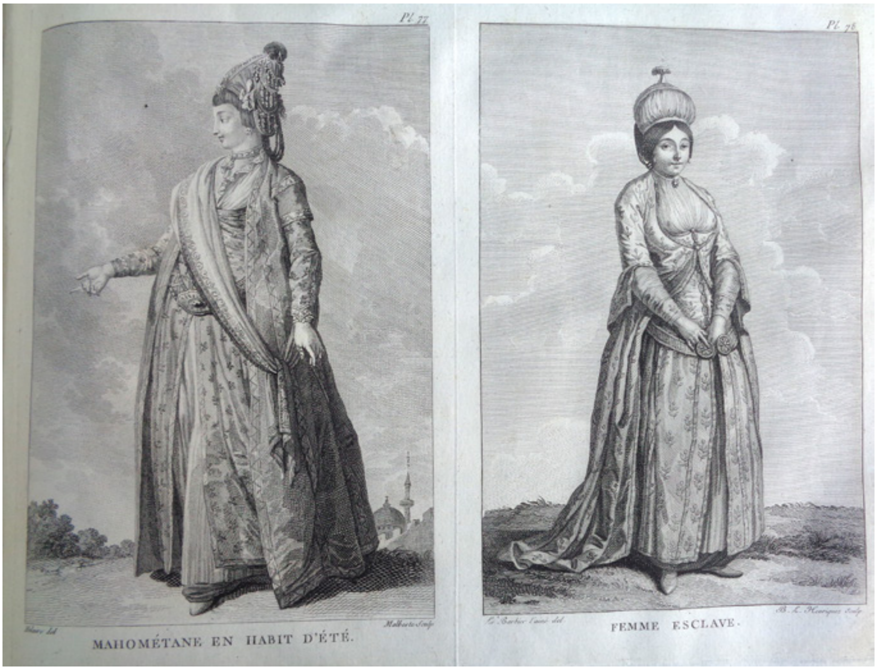

Pl. 77
Pl. 78
Malbeste Sculp
MAHOMÉTANE EN HABIT D'ÉTÉ.
Le Barbier l'ainé del
B. L. Henriquez Sculp
FEMME ESCLAVE.

FIGURE 1.16 *Mouradgea d'Ohsson,* Mahometane en habit d'été. Femme esclave, Egyptienne voilée, Européenne couverte d'un schal, Eutopéenne couverte d'un mahhrama.

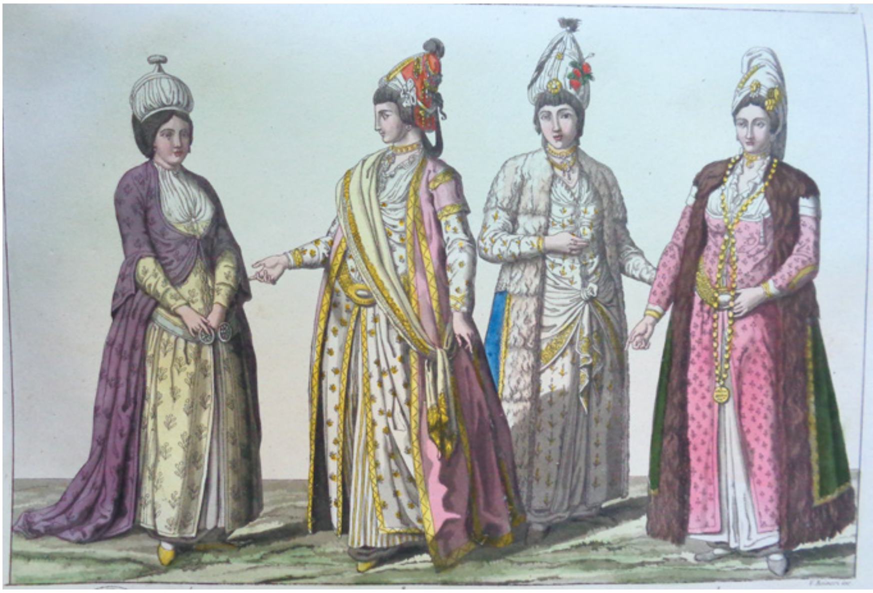


FIGURE 1.17 *Ferrario tav. 60.*

In 1823, four years before the publication of Ferrario's volume, an octavo edition of the *Storia dell'Impero Ottomano* was printed in Milan. The author of the compendium, Giuseppe Compagnoni,[48] was an ecclesiastic, polygraph, and jurist acting as a constitutional consultant to Napoleon in northern Italy. After a factual historical synthesis, the *Storia* sheds light on the private life of the Ottomans, repeating descriptions of food, clothing, and material culture in the same order as they appear in Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Livre* One and Two of Book Two. Looking at this cheaper edition for middle-class readers with hardly any illustrations, the private life in the Ottoman Empire must not have appealed to the imagination of armchair travellers. Yet the fashion for Kashmir *schals* resonates again, mirroring the passion for Indian textiles all over Europe.[49] Furs follow. The front page of Compagnoni's compendium lists Mouradgea d'Ohsson among the authors he borrowed from and traces the powerful image of the Prophet on the frontispiece of the *Tableau général*.

---

[48] Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, *ad vocem*.

[49] Giuseppe Compagnoni, *Storia dell'Impero Ottomano*, 6 vols. (Milano: 1823), 119–120; The *Tableau général* was also printed in an octavo cheaper edition between 1788–1824.

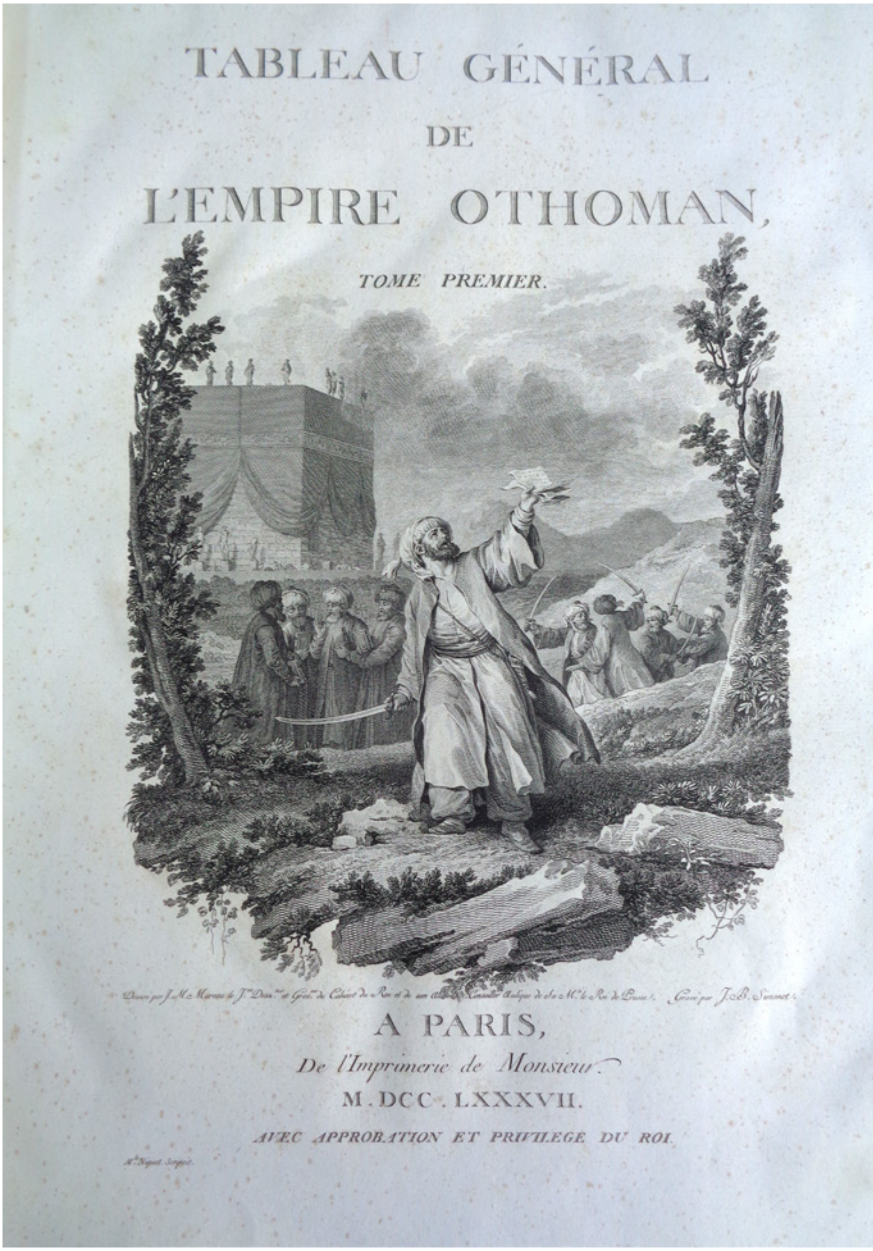
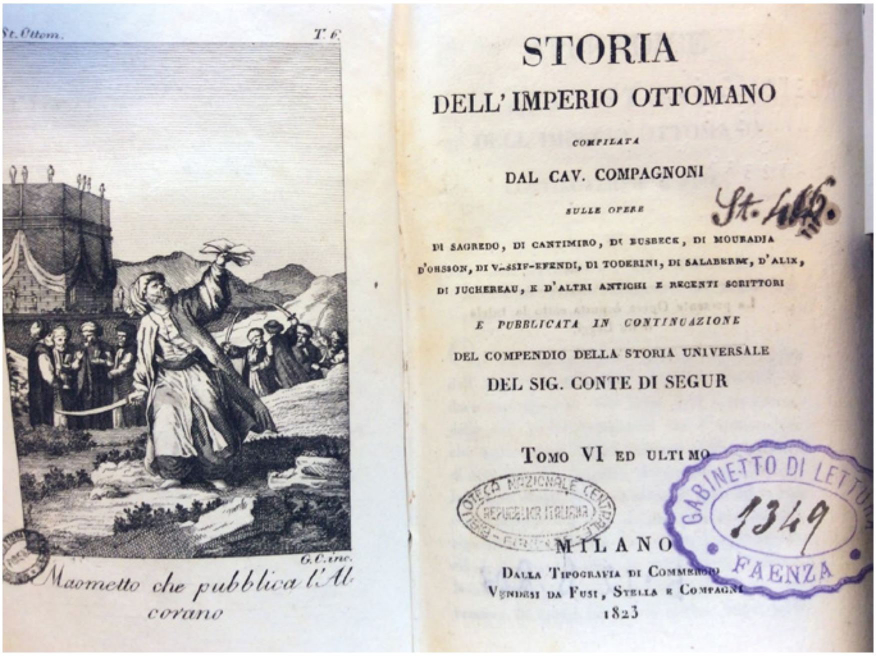


TABLEAU GÉNÉRAL
DE
L'EMPIRE OTHOMAN,
TOME PREMIER.

A PARIS,
De l'Imprimerie de Monsieur.
M.DCC.LXXXVII.
AVEC APPROBATION ET PRIVILEGE DU ROI.

FIGURE 1.18 *Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Frontispiece.*



St. Ottom. T. 6.

G. C. inc.

Maometto che pubblica l'Al corano

STORIA
DELL' IMPERIO OTTOMANO
COMPILATA
DAL CAV. COMPAGNONI
SULLE OPERE
DI SAGREDO, DI CANTIMIRO, DI BUSBECK, DI MOURADJA
D'OHSSON, DI VASSIF-EFENDI, DI TODERINI, DI SALABERRY, D'ALIX,
DI JUCHEREAU, E D'ALTRI ANTICHI E RECENTI SCRITTORI
E PUBBLICATA IN CONTINUAZIONE
DEL COMPENDIO DELLA STORIA UNIVERSALE
DEL SIG. CONTE DI SEGUR

TOMO VI ED ULTIMO

MILANO
Dalla Tipografia di Commercio
Vendesi da Fusi, Stella e Compagni
1823

St. 466.
Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Firenze
Repubblica Italiana
Gabinetto di Lettura
1349
Faenza

FIGURE 1.19 *G. Compagnoni,* Storia dell'Impero Ottomano, *Frontispiece.*

Conclusion

Descriptions of material culture open up a web of words and images, and outline the circulation of textual and visual knowledge across the Mediterranean, from the Ottoman Empire to France and Italy. By focusing on the work of Giulio Ferrario and Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, we showed the close connections between their writings and the unique ways in which the former—with his team of artists and engravers—borrowed from the latter.

Coming from a Christian minority, the dragoman Mouradgea d'Ohsson was a cultural broker, mediating between the Ottomans, French and Swedes. Due to financial difficulties and legal conflicts with collaborators and publishers, he spent his life in different court societies where he had good political connections. His view and criticism of the Empire come from an elitist standing and an insider's practice of government apparatuses. His profile and action fit well with the notion of a trans-imperial subject working inside institutions across multilingual and multiethnic geopolitical formations.

Giulio Ferrario, ecclesiastic, librarian, and printer, shares the same institutional profile. Living in Milan during the imperial transition between the

French and the Habsburgs, Ferrario repeatedly acknowledges his position as a public intellectual and imperial subject trained in the Enlightenment tradition of reform, implemented by Joseph II in the kingdom of Lombardo Veneto. His volume on the Ottoman Empire introduces the anti-orientalist stance that Mouradgea d'Ohsson adopted in his *Tableau général*, going against the grain of conventional narratives. Adopting the Armenian's anti-orientalism, did Ferrario mean to criticize the orientalizing gaze that the French and the Habsburgs projected onto their ruled subjects in the southern regions of Europe?

The stratified levels of meaning that this long process of translation implies, question analytic categories such as "transculturation", "contact zones" and cultural transfer.[50] Even though Paris is the "centre," neither author fashions himself as a man on the margins. They are bi- or trilingual, publish in French and Italian, and constitute themselves and their work within a perspective that emphasizes interaction, copresence, and connectedness. Yet, in Mouradgea d'Ohsson's magnificent work, the Ottoman Empire shapes the relationship with the West by engaging with French aesthetic idioms and using Ottoman and Persian textual and visual sources to antagonize conventional orientalizing narratives. Translating, readjusting, and addressing Italian and European readers, Ferrario appropriates this complex work of cultural mediation. *Il costume antico e moderno* had seven editions in cheaper formats before 1840 while other compendiums with selective translations—such as Compagnoni's *Storia dell'impero ottomano*—circulated in different social milieus and in local contexts. They all contributed to the spreading of Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau.* However, in contrast to the French reception, which favoured the message that the Ottoman Empire, like Europe, had a coherent and intelligible legal and governmental system,[51] in Italy, the dense and lively descriptions of etiquette, material culture, and sociality were selected, translated, and popularized beyond the elite readership who had subscribed to *Il costume antico e moderno.*

---

[50] Pratt, Mary Louise, *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: 1992). Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Histoire croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity", *History and Theory* 45 (2006): 30–50; Jorg Feuchter, "Cultural Transfers in Dispute: an Introduction" in Jorg Feuchter (ed.), *Cultural Transfers in Dispute: Representations in Asia, Europe and the Arab World since the Middle Ages* (Frankfurt am Main: 2011); Anna Veronika Wendland, "Cultural Transfer", in Birgit Neumann und Ansgar Nunning (eds.), *Travelling Concepts for the Study of Culture* (Berlin: 2012), 45–66; on recent cross-cultural work see the special issue of *Art History*, volume 38, issue 4 *Objects in Motion in the Early Modern World*: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/ahis.2015.38.issue-4/issuetoc September 2015.

[51] Carter V. Findley, *Mouradgea d'Ohsson*, 43.

Bibliography

Appadurai, Arjun (ed.), *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: 1986).

Art History, special issue on *Objects in Motion in the Early Modern World*: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/ahis.2015.38.issue-4/issuetoc volume 38, 4, September 2015.

Berengo, Marino, *Intellettuali e librai nella Milano della Restaurazione* (Milan: 1980).

Berg, Maxine (ed.), *Goods from the East* (New York: 2015).

Berg, Maxine, "Luxury, the Luxury Trades, and the Roots of Industrial Growth: A Global Perspective", in Frank Trentmann (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, (www.oxfordhandbooks.com: 2012), 1–15.

Bleichmar, Daniela and Peter C. Mancall, (eds.), *Collecting Across Cultures* (Philadelphia: 2011).

Cassas, Louis-François, *Voyage pittoresque de la Syrie et de l'Egypte* (Paris: 1799).

Chénier, Madame de, *Lettres grecques* (Paris: 1879).

Choiseul-Gouffier de, Marie-Gabriel, *Voyage pictoresque de la Grèce*, 1–3 (Paris: 1782, 1809, 1822).

Compagnoni, Giuseppe, *Storia dell'Impero Ottomano*, 6 vols. (Milano: 1823).

De Vries, Jan, *The Industrious Revolution* (Cambridge: 2008).

De Vries, Jan, "Understanding Eurasian Trade in the Era of the Trading Companies", in Maxine Berg (ed.), *Goods from the East* (New York: 2015): 7–39.

Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (Rome: 1960–).

Faroqhi, Suraiya, "Decline and Revivals in Textile Production" in Suraiya Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, (Cambridge: 2016), 374 http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521620956.017.

Ferrario, Giulio, *Il costume antico e moderno*, o *storia della milizia, della religione, delle arti, scienze ed usanze di tutti i popoli antichi e moderni, provata coi monumenti dell'antichità e rappresentata cogli analoghi disegni* (Milan: 1817–1834).

Ferrario, Giulio, *Il costume antico e moderno*, o *storia della milizia, della religione, delle arti, scienze ed usanze di tutti i popoli antichi e moderni, provata coi monumenti dell'antichità e rappresentata cogli analoghi disegni. Dell'Impero Ottomano. Degli Slavi moderni* a cura di Carlo Magnetti, *Europa*, vol. 4 (Milan: 1827).

Feuchter, Jorg (ed.), *Cultural Transfers in Dispute: Representations in Asia, Europe and the Arab World since the Middle Ages* (Frankfurt am Main: 2011).

Findlen, Paula, *Early Modern Things* (London: 2013).

Findley, Carter, "Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1740–1807): Liminality and Cosmopolitanism in the Author of the 'Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman'" in *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, 22, 1 (Spring 1998), 21–35.

Findley, Carter, "Writer and Subject, Self and Other: Mouradgea d'Ohsson and his Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman", in Sture Theolin et al., *The Torch of the Empire: Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson and the Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman in the Eighteenth Century* (Istanbul: 2002).

Fraser, Elisabeth A., "'Dressing Turks in the French Manner'". Mouradgea d'Ohsson's Panorama of the Ottoman Empire", in *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2010), 199–229.

Gommans, Jos, "For the Home and the Body: Dutch and Indian Ways of Early Modern Consumption", in *Goods from the East*, 331–349.

Grehan, James, *Everyday Life and Consumer Culture in 18th-Century Damascus* (London: 2007).

Hacquet de la Motte, Balthasar, *L'Illyrie et la Dalmatie ou Moeurs, usages et costumes de leurs habitants* (Paris: 1815).

Herbelot de Molainville, Barthélemy, *Bibliothèque Orientale* (Paris: 1777–1779).

Hirsch, Fred, *The Social Limits to Growth* (London: 1977).

Jardine, Lisa and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests, Renaissance Art Between East and West* (London: 2000).

Leibsohn, Dana and Jeanette Favrot Peterson, (eds.), *Seeing Across Cultures in the Early Modern World* (London: 2012).

Lemire, Beverly and Giorgio Riello, "East & West: Textiles and Fashion in Early Modern Europe", in *Journal of Social History,* 41 (2008): 887–916.

McNeil, Peter and Giorgio Riello, *Luxury* (Oxford: 2016).

Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Ignatius, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris: 1787).

Mukerji, Chandra, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York: 1983).

Muzzarelli, Maria Giuseppina and Carla Campanini (eds.), *Disciplinare il lusso* (Bologna: 2003).

Neumann Birgit and Ansgar Nunning, (eds.), *Travelling Concepts for the Study of Culture* (Berlin: 2012).

Pouqueville, Francois Charles, *Voyage en Morée, à Constantinople et en Albanie 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801* (Paris: 1805).

Pratt, Mary Louise, *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: 1992).

Rampoldi, Giovan Battista, *Annali Musulmani* (Milan: 1822–26).

Rothman, Nathalie, *Brokering Empire. Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: 2012).

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

Savage, Mike, "Status, Lifestyle and Taste", in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, (www.oxfordhandbooks.com: 2012), 1–13.

Theolin, Sture et al., *The Torch of the Empire: Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson and the Tableau général of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (Istanbul: 2002).

Todorova, Maria, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: 1997).

Wendland, Anna, Veronika, "Cultural Transfer", in Birgit Neumann and Ansgar Nunning (eds.), *Travelling Concepts for the Study of Culture* (Berlin: 2012), 45–66.

Werner, Michael and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Histoire croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity", in *History and Theory* 45 (2006): 30–50.

Wolff, Larry, *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment* (Stanford: 2002).

CHAPTER 2

French Residents and Ottoman Women in 18th-Century Levant: Personal Relations, Social Control, and Cultural Interchange

David Celetti

The Early Modern Ottoman Empire hosted hundreds of foreigners. Most of them lived in Constantinople and in other active trade centres, such as Smyrna and Thessaloniki. Among them, more than 700 "official" French residents, including merchants, diplomats, and artisans, formed one of the largest foreign communities up to the middle of the 19th century. Within this context, by focusing on the role of women as intermediaries and catalysts of intercommunity contacts and connections, this essay aims to show the extent to which long-term permanence in the Levant fostered personal relations between French and Ottoman inhabitants.

The chapter assumes that prolonged contiguity naturally led to personal relationships and that segregation imposed on communities, together with differences in culture and habits, could only restrain, but not prevent, such contacts. These, in turn, naturally implied material and immaterial exchanges. The acquisition of goods and items arriving both from Europe and the Empire, the experience of different customs, traditions, culinary habits, and the diffusion of new fashions and tastes became a characteristic of daily life in the *Echelles du Levant*, as the French named their *comptoirs* in the southern and eastern Mediterranean. Furthermore, personal relationships helped to build social networks, which constituted an ever more effective channel both for business and for conveying new cultural references and identities. In this context, women played a pivotal role, having more direct and intimate contact with French men as lovers, concubines, or wives.[1]

---

[1] Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, *Une société hors de soi: identité et relations sociales à Smyrne aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles* (Paris: Peters, 2006) p. 376; Id., "Coexistence et langues de contact à Smyrne au XIX^e siècle", *Arabica*, 54, 4 (2007), 568–85.

© DAVID CELETTI, 2018 | DOI:10.1163/9789004355095_004
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

The chapter is structured in three parts. The first one drafts a broad image of the French presence in the Ottoman Empire, focusing on the *Echelles du Levant* and the role, occupation, and social position of the French residents. The second part analyzes the nature of the contacts between French men and local women, linking them to intercommunity cultural transfers. In conclusion, it discusses the role of local women in enabling closer links between European and Ottoman subjects and in forging the peculiar character of the multicultural and multinational society characterizing many of the Levant's ports.

Our thesis is that Ottoman women, involved in long-term relations with French men residing in the Levant, ushered in a new society whose culture was remarkably different from that of previous contexts with regards to language, way of life, and consumption habits.[2] If these effects appeared quite clearly during the 19th century within a process of marked "westernization", which affected primarily the European part of the Ottoman Empire and led to the emergence of mixed social groups, such as the "Levantines",[3] their roots are nevertheless to be sought in the long history of the 18th-century European presence in the Levant.[4] This aspect is all the more interesting, as most literature on the French presence in 18th century Levant focuses on commercial and diplomatic aspects,[5] or, sporadically, on very specific aspects such as the institution of the *enfants de langue*.[6] It neglects, in this way, to uncover the extent to which interactions between French men and local women in the 18th century were already a core aspect of the French presence in the Ottoman Mediterranean, building a reality that dialectically contrasted with legal prohibitions. Besides, our primary sources confirm the interpretation that religion, much more than ethnicity, marked, at least until the 19th century a frontier,

---

2 Constanţa Vintilă-Ghiţulescu, "La mode vient de Constantinople: les Boyards Roumains entre Orient et Occident (XVIII^{e} siècle)", *Etudes Balkaniques—Cahier Pierre Belon*, 1, 16 (2009), 109–116.

3 Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Levantiner. Lebenswelten und Identitäten einer ethnokonfessionellen Gruppe in osmanischen Reich im "langen 19. Jahrhundert*", (München: 2004), 515.

4 Smyrnelis, "Coexistence et Langues de Contact": 568–585; Bruce Masters, "Semi-autonomous Forces in the Balkans and Anatolia", Suraiya Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, 3, *The Later Ottoman Empire 1603–1839* (Cambridge: 2006), 186–208.

5 *Cfr.* Gilles Veinstein, *Les Marchants Etrangers dans l'Empire Ottoman. XVI–XVIII siècles*, in Suraiya Faroqhi, Gilles Veinstein, *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire* (Paris: 2008), 47–61.

6 Ministère des affaires Etrangère de France, *Enfants de langue et Drogmans*, Catalogue de l'Exposition, Palais de France, Istanbul 25 mai-18 juin 1995 (Istanbul: 1995), 136.

dividing not only Christian, Muslim and Jewish communities,[7] but also, though to a lesser extent, Catholic and Orthodox ones. Conversion was, in fact, both the main possibility of overcoming otherwise effective barriers, and the most effective way of social integration.

The chapter, along with scientific literature, is based on economic and diplomatic documents, preserved in the *Archives Nationales de Paris*,[8] which highlight the social dimension of the residents' life.

French Residents in the Ottoman Empire

French diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire have traditionally been relatively intense and productive. However, the presence of French residents in the Levant, including the setting up of tight consular networks, is strictly linked to the 18th-century growing importance of French–Ottoman trade (tab. 2.1).[9]

TABLE 2.1 *Share of the major European States in the Levant Trade*

Year	France	England	Holland	Venice	Austria
1686	15.70	43.40	38.30	2.60	–
1749–50	65.10	15.20	3.40	16.30	–
1776–78	45.10	24.90	14.40	9.60	2.90
1784	36.50	9.20	18.30	12.00	24.00

SOURCE: EDHEM ELDEM, "CAPITULATIONS AND WESTERN TRADE", SURAIYA FAROQHI (ED.), *THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF TURKEY*, 3, THE LATTER OTTOMAN EMPIRE 1603–1839, (CAMBRIDGE: 2006), 327.

---

[7] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Introduction*, in Suraiya Faroqhi, Gilles Veinstein, *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire* Paris: 2008), XI–XLII.

[8] Archives Nationales de Paris, Paris, France (from now on AN).

[9] Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "The Economic Activities of Ottoman and Western Communities in Eighteenth Century Izmir", *Oriente Moderno*, 18 (1999), 11–26; Id., "The Ottoman Port of Izmir in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, 1695–1820", *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, XXXIX/1 (1985), 149–152.

Notwithstanding the relevance of commercial relations, the French community did not consist only of merchants. Along with traders, priests and monks, diplomats, artisans, soldiers, renegades, refugees, and prostitutes,[10] as well as travellers[11] voyaged to the Levant. All together, they formed a heterogeneous and complex society made up of legal and illegal residents.[12]

The concept of "legitimate residence" represents an essential aspect which defines the French communities in the Levant and differentiates the typologies and possibilities given to each individual to interact with the local society.[13]

To live legally in the Ottoman Empire, French people had to obtain a passport and authorization to travel, issued by the Chamber of Commerce of Marseille and only valid for a specific place and limited time. Those documents gave their holders not only the right to "emigrate" and to reside in the *Echelles*, but also the qualification of member of the *Nation Française*.[14] Thus, the holders were granted full diplomatic protection, consular support in business activities and daily life, and the right to participate and vote in community councils. In turn, they had to abide by a stringent set of rules regarding the interaction with the local population, especially with its female constituent. For instance, marriages outside the community were prohibited, the acquisition of real estate was forbidden, and direct contact with Ottomans beyond commercial activities was heavily discouraged. Law and morality, justice, and social shaming formed an articulated net designed to prevent French residents from getting too close to locals.[15]

---

[10] In the correspondence of Minister de Maurepas with the consuls in the Levant, questions often emerged regarding the relatively vast presence of sometimes undisciplined monks and priests (e.g. AN, B III 1, f. 23; B III 15, f. 383; B III 30, f. 45, 55, 59), of artisans and other French men of "poor condition" (e.g. AN, B III1/B, f. 189), sailors and soldiers (e.g. AN, B III 1, f. 96; AE B III 11, f. 191; AE, B III 16, f. 85), and of prostitutes (e.g. AN, AE B III 30, f. 71).

[11] Léon de Laborde, *Voyage en Asie Mineure de Constantinople au Taurus et à la Cote de Cilicie* (Le Blanc: 2013), 285; Jean Otter, *Journal de Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, 1734–44 (Paris: 2010), 215. See also Françoise Cloarec, *Le Temps des Consuls: L'Echelle de Alep sous les Ottomans* (Paris: 2003), 171, and, for the bibliographical references on travellers and travellers' accounts in the Ottoman Empire, Giulia Calvi, "Corps et Espaces. Les Costumes des Balkans dans l'Europe du XVI^{e} Siècle", L'atelier du Centre de Recherches Historiques, 11 (2013), 1–27.

[12] Jean-Michel Casa, *Le Palais de France à Istanbul: un demi-millénaire d'Alliance entre la Turquie et la France* (Istanbul: 1995), 113.

[13] Gilles Veinstein, *Les Marchants Etrangers dans l'Empire Ottoman. XVI^{e}–XVIII^{e} Siècles*, in Suraiya Faroqhi, Gilles Veinstein (eds.), *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire* (Paris: 2008), 47–61.

[14] These terms referred to French merchants and *commis*, working as secretaries and interpreters, and living officially in the various Mediterrannean ports under the responsibility of the consul or vice-consul. Along with professional traders, the *Nation Française* might have included artisans, missionaries, and the residents' wives who had been allowed to live in the *Echelles*. Members of the *Nation Française* were therefore identified by the fact that they were French people living officially and regularly in the *Echelles*, and accepting the control and protection of the French diplomatic network. See on this topic Thomas Philipp, "The Trade of Acre in the Eighteenth Century: French Merchants and Local Rulers in the World Economy", in Jeremy Adelman, Stephen Aron (eds), *Trading Cultures. The World of Western Merchants*, (Princeton: 2001), 87–110.

This distance was further reinforced by the separation of individual communities within specific areas of Ottoman cities according to national and religious parameters. The measure, reflecting control and security concerns, had also been enforced by European trade centres such as Venice and Livorno.[16] In the Ottoman Empire, however, it acquired a much stronger character, as urban division was imposed by a system of so-called "capitulations",[17] merging fiscal privileges, jurisdictional autonomy, and the freedom to live according to European traditions.[18]

Institutional action and geographical separation, however, did not and could not succeed in creating impassable barriers. First of all, interactions and intercommunity networks were at the core of commercial activity itself. Daily life, then, created occasions for spontaneous contacts, as Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis shows in the case of Smyrna. The city's space was rigidly divided among communities, but during the summer Greeks and Europeans lived in the widely integrated milieu of their holiday residences.[19] The port, the bazaars, and the cafes were other places of encounter, mostly, but not totally, reserved for men. Ultimately, restrictions on female immigration to the Levant and, in general, on intermarriages, pushed men to seek contacts with local women.

---

[15] *Cfr*. Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, *Une ville Ottomane Plurielle: Smyrne aux XVIII^e et XX^e* siècles (Istanbul: 2006), 39–49.

[16] *Cfr.* Maria Pia Pedani, *Between Diplomacy and Trade: Ottoman Merchants in Venice,* in *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire,* edited by Suraiya Faroqhi, Gilles Veinstein (Paris: 2008), 3–21; Donatella Calabi, "Gli Stranieri nella Capitale della Repubblica Veneta", *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Italie-Méditerranée,* 111, 2 (1999): 721–732; Francesca Trivellato, *The Family of Strangers. The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven-London: 2009): 470; Bruce Masters, "Christian in a Changing World", *The Cambridge History of Turkey, 3, The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839,* (Cambridge: 2006), 272–283; Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christian and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean,* (Princeton: 2000), 228.

[17] Eldem, "Capitulations and Western Trade", 283–335.

[18] Daniel Panzac, "International and Domestic Maritime Trade in the Ottoman Empire during the 18th Century", *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* 24 (1992), 189–206. For a comparison with Venice, see Umberto Signori, *Venezia e Smirne tra Sei e Settecento. Istituzioni Commerci e Comunità Merncantili* (Universita degli Studi di Padova. Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche, Geografiche e dell'Antichità. Corso di Laurea Magistrale in Scienze Storiche, Anno Accademico 2013–14), 117–182, and Erica Ianiro, *Levante, Veneti e Ottomani nel XVIII Secolo* (Venezia: 2014), 413.

This already heterogeneous picture was further complicated by the presence in the *Echelles* of large numbers of "illegal immigrants", *de facto* exempted of any control, who managed to buy passage to the Levant and settle there, often permanently. They lived in a "grey zone" of, mostly tolerated, illegality, interacting with both the French and Ottoman communities, favouring the latter when they openly pursued integration strategies into the local society. The relevance of this "invisible" group emerges quite clearly from the high concern with which the Minister de Maurepas[20] addressed the question in a letter to the French Ambassador in Constantinople, M. de Villeneuve. Maurepas stressed that "illegal passages" were very frequent and that the number of French people, both women and men, residing in the *Echelles* without passport and authorization was extremely high. He ordered Villeneuve to make a detailed list of all those living there without permission, to arrest them, seeking, if need be, the collaboration of the Ottoman authorities, and to send them back to France. To stop this trend, ship captains who illegally transported individuals to the Levant should also be prosecuted and submitted to the same punishment as their passengers.[21]

Sources focused, above all, on the extremely marginal: people without stable occupation, poor artisans, sailors, and women. The latter gave particular concern to the French diplomats. Many of them, in fact, were fleeing poverty or persecution. Joining the already vast group of European prostitutes, they endangered the "reputation of France, and the prestige of its merchants in a place where women's morality had to be faultless".[22] Even so, consuls appear to have been unwilling to act against these women and only rarely sent them back to France. It was preferable that French men would resort to French or European prostitutes rather than to Greek, Jewish, or Muslim ones.[23] If rules were clear and strict, reality was ambivalent and laws had to be bent to meet the concrete necessities of life.

---

[19] Smyrnelis, Une ville Ottomane plurielle, 45.

[20] Jean Frédéric Phélypeaux, Compte de Maurepas was Minister of the Navy (secrétaire d'Etat à la Marine) between 1723 and 1749. The administration of foreign trade and of the colonies also fell within his duties.

[21] AN, AE B III 1, f. 117.

[22] Geneviève Goussaud Falgas, *Le consulat de France à Tunis aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles. Vie quotidienne* (Paris: 2003), 172–174.

[23] Goussaud Falgas, *Le consulat de France à Tunis*, 172–174.

More than against prostitution itself, officials reacted promptly when women were about to "abjure the faith", as it emerges from the case of a certain widow Martin, who was sent back to France precisely for this reason and not because of her supposed "immoral conduct" and regular visits to taverns and other places of doubtful reputation.[24] Apostasy was, in fact, considered a danger for the cohesion of the community in relation to its Muslim and Orthodox counterparts. It is not stated, however, what religion the widow wanted to embrace. In any case, the reasons that pushed the widow towards such a particular—and definitive—step were probably linked to her marriage prospects. The opportunity to marry would have allowed her to settle down indefinitely, and decently, in the Levant. Mixed marriages and integration objectives were linked into a single strategy. It involved, as it seems, both French men and women willing to move to the Levant. The focus of our sources on the "masculine side" of the question might reflect the quantitative dimension of the practice, as well as a bias towards the more relevant components of the "French Nation". It does not, however, forcibly imply that the phenomenon excluded the female part of the community. As a matter of fact, despite the fading number of French residents, women's irregular emigration to the Levant continued all through the 18th and the early 19th century.[25]

Marrying Local Women

Most European countries with residents in the Ottoman Empire, including France, prohibited the marriage of their men to local Ottoman women. While any form of marriage of French nationals in the *Echelles* was generally restricted, unions among community members were, however, more easily accepted. These marriages could be celebrated regularly with the permission of the local consul and the final approval of the Minister of the Navy.[26] Contraveners were morally shamed, excluded from the *Nation Française*, and, at least in theory, sent back to France. There, as the Minister de Maurepas insistently reminded, they should be punished, prevented from returning to the Levant, and, in any case, from developing further any form of trade with the Ottoman Empire. The children eventually born from intercommunity unions would not have access to French nationality.[27] Diplomatic correspondence shows that these rules not only applied to merchants and other ordinary members of the *Nation Française*, but also to consuls and vice-consuls, for whom no exception was to be made.[28]

---

[24] AN, AE, B III 1, f. 49.

[25] Marie Carmen Smyrnelis, *Jeux d'Identité ò Smyrne aux XVIII^e^ et XIX^e^ Siècles*, in H. Le Bras (ed.), L'Inventions des Populations. Biologie, Idéologie et Politique (Paris: 2000), 125–139.

[26] AN, AE, B III 1, f. 117. The Minister of the Navy was in charge, along with naval and colonial affairs, of foreign trade questions.

This strict attitude can be explained as a defence against the perceived economic and social dangers of mixed unions, potentially leading to excessive expenses and debt incurred by merchants, to transfers of commercial and political information, to the formation of new families determined to reside permanently in the Levant, and to the eventual emergence of intercommunity familial networks. To prevent permanent residence of French nationals, further regulations had been enforced prohibiting the acquisition of real estate in the *Echelles*. If intercommunity marriages were officially banned, any other "personal" relationship with local residents was formally disapproved of.

The effectiveness of such strict rules needs, however, to be cast into serious doubt. Already in the 18th century, more than half of the French residents of Smyrna, for example, were married, many of them with non-French women, and they did so without any form of official authorization. After the Revolution, when old rules were abolished, the number of "non-controlled" emigrants in the *Echelles* soared together with the frequency of their contact with the local population.[29]

The vast majority of "mixed" marriages occurred between French men and Greek women, the latter converting to Catholicism at the moment of the union. The validity of the marriage was subordinated to the regular celebration of the sacrament. This end could be reached only by convincing a priest to give his benediction to the new couple, demonstrating pregnancy or asserting the willingness to end living in concubinage. Subterfuge, such as to wait for the cleric to be alone in the street and force him to fulfil his functions, was also common. The rules enacted by the Council of Trent obliged church officials to celebrate the marriage and it was their benediction, and not the registration in notarial acts, which determined the validity of the union. In fact, priests were often helpful, fearing they would lose parishioners if they did not fulfil their requests, especially in places where French and other Catholic communities—such as the Venetians or the Ragusans—lived side by side. In these cases, couples who did not succeed in convincing the French priests to celebrate the marriage resorted to foreign ones, thus getting nearer to other communities.

---

[27] Le Maire was a merchant family—and dynasty—from Marseille, traditionally trading and residing in the *Echelles* and counting, among its members, numerous consuls, both in the eastern Mediterranean and in northern Africa.

[28] Probably Jacques-Louis Le Maire, consul in Cyprus, at the time. Anne Mézin, *Les consuls de France au siècle des Lumières, 1715–1792* (Paris : 1997), 394–98.

[29] Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, *Une société hors de soi. Identités et relations sociales à Smyrne aux XVIII^e^ et XX^e^ siècles* (Paris: 2005), pp. 65 and ff.

Only men of low rank, such as artisans, retailers, fishermen and occasionally merchants, married Greek women. This reflects a more open attitude towards local women as the men involved were less concerned with the economic potentialities of uniting two families' capitals and networks. It also reflects the strategies of integration into the local society. Entering a Greek family was, in fact, seen as a means of consolidating a relatively weak personal position in a foreign country.

As we said, Greek women usually converted to Catholicism at the moment of marriage. However, few cases of conversion of French men to Orthodoxy were recorded. This option was mostly linked to the relevance of integration strategies in the choice of spouse.[30] Orthodox networks were considered to offer more effective protection and aid than French ones. This is also proved by the fact that such a step almost always implied losing most links with the French community and, progressively, even with relatives still living in the homeland.[31] When these marriages became known, the reaction of the authorities was usually very firm, the degree of severity depending on the conditions of both the French men and of the "local girls". For example, in 1734, de Villeneuve informed the Minister de Maurepas that in Constantinople and in other *Echelles* lived numerous poor artisans, some of whom had married, without permission, local girls, mostly of Greek origin, while others maintained "all sorts of relationships with Greek, Armenian, and Jewish women". The ambassador also noted that family links, as well as "moral abjection" and absolute poverty kept them in the *Echelles* despite their miserable life. In his response, de Maurepas ordered local consuls to prepare lists of the people who did not lead honourable lives and of individuals who, even if in good economic standing, had married local women or kept stable relationships with them. Both categories should be sent back to France immediately. Marriages should not be recognized and the women kept away from French territory. The same procedure should also apply to all French men residing legally or illegally in the

---

[30] On the complex—and varied—framework of the conversions strategies, see E. Natalie Rothman, *Conversions and Convergence in the Venetian-Ottoman Borderlands*, "Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies", 41 3 (2011), 602–633.

[31] Smyrnelis, *Une Société hors de Soi*, 138–188.

Levant.[32] The *Echelles* had to be freed "of all the French artisans, servants, and other people of poor condition having married or in any case living with local girls". Men affected by this procedure, who refused to return to France, would lose consular protection and their status as members of the "French Nation".

As a matter of fact, such orders—although regularly repeated through the years—seem to have been mostly ignored by local officials. Because they were carried out so sporadically, they produced no real effect on the lives of residents and did not alter the composition of the *Nation Française* as a whole. The French community did not react, as the minister supposed, against "intruders" who used any means to remain in the Levant. Even those who had been forcibly removed, itself quite an extreme action, often found a way back to the Levant, thus demonstrating their successful integration into the local society, the strength of the roots of their new life, and the ineffectiveness of government controls and reaction.[33]

Marriage was not the only possible form of contact with the local female population. In a letter of 13 August 1736, de Maurepas ordered the Vice-consul of Candia, M. Antoine Maltor, to investigate if local French residents, as well as French captains and sailors stopping over in Candia, frequented Greek houses. If they did, they should be prevented all the more strictly from visiting "places where wine was sold". Taverns were considered particularly dangerous to the moral and financial integrity not only of sailors, but also of the whole merchant class. Taverns encouraged the abuse of alcohol consumption and constituted a place of encounter with locals, most of the time Greek women, viewed as a much greater economic and moral danger than wine itself.[34]

The source does not openly mention prostitution. It can, however, be assumed that the minister's focus was largely on this possibility, being moved by moral as well as decency concerns. On the one hand, the mild reaction against French prostitutes, already mentioned before, shows that officials wanted, first of all, to avoid, even at this level, intercommunity contacts. Greek and Jewish prostitutes working in taverns of the non-Muslim quarters of the main Ottoman trade centres were particularly feared as a threat to the integrity of the whole French community. Less concern was expressed in relation to Muslim ones. This was linked to the fact that the actual possibility of meeting Muslim women was extremely limited; Ottoman laws severely punished women who were proven to have had intercourse with non-Muslim men.[35]

---

[32] AN, AE, B III, 1, f. 89.

[33] AN, AE, B III 1/B, f. 189.

[34] AN, AE, B III 2, f. 143. See also Joëlle Dalègre, *Grecs et Ottomans. 1453–1923. De la chute de Constantinople à la disparition de l'Empire Ottoman*, (Paris: 2002), 267.

Merchants and Dragomans

Merchants had a greater chance of having their marriages approved, above all, when the union took place between French merchants' families. So was the case of Charles Guien, a trader from Marseille residing in Smyrna, who married Marie Boulle, sister of the French merchant André Boulle, himself associated with Guien. Both the local French consul, Gaspar de Péleran, and the Minister de Maurepas approved the marriage, with the minister insisting that the family should not remain in the Levant more than three years and must then move back to France. A similar case was that of Gaspard Maurin, a merchant already living in Smyrna for five years when he married Anne Peretié de la Ciotat. Both the Consul and the Ambassador de Villeneuve judged the union convenient and gave their consent. The Minister de Maurepas agreed, but also stated that the family would have to move back to France within two years after the marriage. Similar conditions were imposed on the Robins and many other couples according to stories related by various sources.[36]

When the marriage involved local women, almost exclusively Greeks or, occasionally, those of Armenian origin,[37] approval was extremely uncertain, even for traders of consolidated position within the "French Nation".[38] For example, the minister wrote to the Consul of Rettino, exhorting him to react and take

---

[35] Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700–1800*, (Berkley: 2010), 86–111; Id., "Intercommunal Life in Istanbul During the Eighteenth Century", *Review of Middle East Studies*, 46, 1 (2012), 79–85; David Nirenberg, "Conversion, Sex, and Segregation: Jews and Christians in Medieval Spain", *The American Historical Review*, 107, 4 (2002), 1065–93.

[36] AN, AE B III 2, f 111. We have to consider that length of residency in the Levant was one of the essential aspects of the organization of the "French Nation", not only for married couples, but also for individuals living in the Levant simply for business reasons. On August 22, 1736 de Maurepas wrote to Jean-Louis Gauthier, consul in Tunis, that he would allow a merchant named La Baume to remain in the Levant a year longer than had been initially decided for business purposes. Subsequently, he would have to come back to France immediately with all his family (AN, AE, B III 2, f. 175).

[37] *Cfr.* Robert H. Hewsen, "Armenian on the Aegean: The City of Smyrna", in Richard G. Hovannisian (ed.), *Armenian. Smyrna/Izmir. The Aegean Communities* (Costa Mesa: 2012), 39–54.

[38] As de Villeneuve emphasized, marriages could only be approved if concluded between two French nationals already residing in the Levant. Other cases had to be evaluated

"the most convenient measures" against the marriage of M. Toulon, a merchant in the *Echelles*, to a Greek woman who had "created great scandal in Marseille".[39]

The same restrictions had to be applied, as clearly expressed by the minister, even to consuls, vice-consuls, and *dragomans*.[40] On February 6, 1726, de Maurepas wrote a letter addressed to all the consuls and vice-consuls from the Levant and the *Barbarie*, lamenting the fact that *dragomans* of the *Echelles* had married local Greek women, many of them "without any or with a little fortune". He decreed that only marriages involving persons of "decent condition" would be authorized, so that the new family could afford the standard of life required to be employed at "the service of the King".[41]

Not even the king's orders solved the problem. "Irregular marriages" of *dragomans* could not be stopped and became as common as the persecution of the couples involved. In November 1730, Jean Baptiste Baume, the Vice-consul of Candia, informed the Minister de Maurepas that a certain Toulon, a *dragoman*, had married a Greek woman without permission "in front of the Cadi of that place". As soon as the marriage became known, Toulon was ordered to embark on the first boat leaving Candia for France, which he duly did, albeit accompanied by his wife. On January 31, 1731, hearing that Toulon was already in Marseille, de Maurepas ordered that the man be punished "in order to give an example and end such scandals". The woman was to be arrested immediately or sent back to the Levant.[42] A month later, however, the affair came to an unexpected conclusion when it emerged that Toulon had married his wife with the blessing of the Episcope of Marseille. The couple was therefore allowed to remain in the city, but were prohibited from returning to the Levant.[43] Similarly, in October 1734, a certain Boissat, *dragoman* in Alexandria, sought permission to marry Rose Martin, a French woman residing in the Levant. The request was rejected and the *dragoman* was warned that if he married Martin, he would be forced to sail back to France immediately.[44] The injunction, however, was not enough to stop Boissat's plans. On 27 April 1735, de Maurepas informed Ambassador de Villeneuve that a *dragoman* in Alexandria, the same

---

based on the social situation of both future spouses and the convenience of the new union for the "French Nation" (AN, AE B III 2, f 111).

[39] AN, AE, B III 1, f. 103.

[40] See e.g. the letter of the Minister of the Navy to M. Le Maize where it is stated that "the intention of the King is that the consuls of the *Echelles* and above all those of the *Barbarie* do not marry" (AN, AE, B III 1, f. 214).

[41] AN, AE, B III 1, f. 22.

[42] AN, AE, B III 1, f. 103.

[43] AN, AE, B III 1, f. 105.

[44] AN, AE, B III 1, f. 220.

Boissat, had actually married Rose Martin. The union had been supposedly authorized by a local religious official, Gabius Modard, of the *tiers ordre de Saint François*, serving at the consular chapel. The minister instructed his ambassador to send the *dragoman* back to France without delay. Meanwhile, however, Boissat moved to Morea with his wife, where the couple settled down as if "authority didn't exist".

The question of *dragomans'* marriages became so pressing that de Maurepas sent a circular letter to all the consuls and vice-consuls in the *Echelles*. He ordered them to check the family situations of all the French residents in the Ottoman Empire, paying particular attention to interpreters, and to inquire about the relations between local women and French men living illegally in the *Echelles*. Those who had married Ottoman women, the minister emphasized, had to be sent back to France immediately and the marriage invalidated even if the couple had already received the saint sacrament. The letter also specified that marriage permissions should be granted only in the case of unions with French women belonging to the community, whose families were officially inscribed in the lists of French residents and could afford decent living standards. In all other cases, marriages had to be denied in order to preserve the morality, decency, and economic security of all French residents.[45]

The particular attention paid to *dragomans* shows the closeness of French officials' personal contacts and emphasizes the sharp contrast between rules and reality. The minister's preoccupation with the interpreters' conduct also hints at the relevance of their daily work. The *dragomans*, in fact, were deeply involved in processes of cultural and linguistic mediation, dealing with both diplomatic and trade matters. Their "fidelity" and the transparency of their lives and personal behaviour constituted an essential prerequisite on which to base the community's confidence and trust.[46] Moreover, the ineffectiveness of "anti-marriage laws" is confirmed by the frequency with which ministers referred to the problem in their correspondence with ambassadors and consuls. The number of infractions and the insistence on the necessity of a more rigid application of the law convey the impression that mixed marriages and, in general, intercommunity unions were a consolidated, relentless, and unstoppable trend, involving the whole French community, from simple artisans to the *dragomans*, in all the main trading centres of the Levant. The perseverance of the practice all through the 18th century might well be considered one of the most important transformations having led, though with varying intensity, to the emergence of that "mixed and cosmopolitan society" so clearly and precisely depicted by Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis in the case of Smyrna.[47]

---

[45] AN, AE B III 2, f. 49.

[46] Natalie Rothman, "Dragomans and "Turkish Literature": The Making of a Field of Inquiry", *Oriente Moderno*, 93 (2013), 390–421; Id., "Self-fashioning in the Mediterranean Contact Zone: Giovanni Battista Salvago and his *Africa Overo Barbaria, 1625*", in Konrad Eisenbichler (ed.), *Renaissance Medievalism*, (Toronto: 2009), 123–143.

Conclusion

French residents in the Levant formed a relatively large community.[48] In the view of the government they should have recreated a "piece of France" in a foreign country, perpetuating the perfect image of their homeland's moral virtues, perfect social organization, and economic success. They should also have lived in semi-autarchy, avoiding all contact with the Ottoman population deemed unnecessary to carrying out their business. A multitude of laws and informal rules should have achieved the goal of dividing the French from the local communities by reinforcing the already existing walls of language, culture, religion, and mutual suspicion.

As our research shows, even though it was stubbornly pursued throughout the 18th century, this goal was never reached. Taking mixed marriages—and, in general, relations between French men and local women—as an indicator of intercommunity links, the chapter demonstrates that, far from being a divided space restricting contact to business issues, the *Echelles* formed an environment of transfers and interchanges.

This conclusion should be partially mitigated, as de Villeneuve remarked, by the fact that marriages were indeed common between French men and Greek women, with only one known instance where a French man married a Catholic Armenian woman and with no recorded marriages between French men and

---

[47] *Cfr.* Smyrnelis, "Coexistence et Langue de Contact", *Arabica : Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, 4 (2007), 568–585.

[48] In the mid 18th century, at the height of their presence in the *Echelles* their number reached 700 inhabitants. Most of these lived in Constantinople (144), followed by Smyrna (119), and Thessaloniki (58). 30, 34 and 31 French residents respectively were counted in the Peloponnese, Aleppo and Rhodes (Amaury Faivre d'Arcier, *Les oubliés de la liberté: négociants, consuls et missionnaires français au Levant pendant la Révolution, 1784–1798* (Paris: 2007), 14–15. See also Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, "Vivre ensemble dans l'empire ottoman (XVIII^{e}–XIX^{e} siècles)", *Cahiers du Centre d'Histoire "Espaces et Cultures", n° spécial : Vivre avec l'ennemi : la cohabitation de communautés hétérogènes du XVI^{e} au XIX^{e} siècle*, (2007), 55–66.

Muslim women.[49] The melting process that characterized the main *Echelles* from the 18th century onwards concerned, therefore, mainly the Christian communities, religion constituting a barrier more impenetrable than rules. Even when encounters between French men and Muslim prostitutes were recorded, they were rare, occasional, and limited to taverns operating as informal brothels.

Taverns were, in general, the main meeting-place for members of these divergent communities. As Gaspard de Pélarar, the French Consul of Smyrna, noted, inns along the "Rue des Francs" were at the centre of interaction between the French and Muslims. He also stressed that those encounters were not always friendly and peaceful, with disputes over wine or prostitutes frequently ending in fights that prompted the immediate reaction of the local Ottoman authorities.[50]

In this context, and with all its limits, we must stress that relations between communities were by no means an exception; on the contrary, they constituted the structural characteristic of the Ottoman commercial centres, and intercommunity contacts were certainly more frequent than rules, and geographical and social separation would have suggested.

The extent to which this trait formed the basis for larger transfers of ideas, tastes, fashion, ways of life, and the influence mixed marriages and relations between European men and local women had on Ottoman society needs further study. Even though current sources do not directly mention such aspects, it is, however, to be assumed that the practice spurred on an ample network of contacts, which, in turn, naturally implied wider cultural interchange. Within this process, women—especially, as we said, Christians—played a central role.

---

[49] This study has focused on personal relations established between members of the French community and local women. Therefore we do not consider here marriages between converted Frenchmen and local Muslim women, as the former were *de facto* excluded from the French community after conversion. Such cases have been, however, quite common all through Ottoman Early Modern History, conversion representing a major way for integration into the Ottoman Muslim community and, sometimes, as the life of Bonneval Pasha demonstrates, the Ottoman *élite* (Tijana Krstic, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, (Stanford: 2011), i–xiii; Nabil Matar, "The Renegade in English Seventeenth-Century Imagination", *Studies in English LIterature, 1500–1900*, 33, 3 (1993), 489–505). Conversions were, in any case, quite a widespread process encompassing both Christians living in the Ottoman Empire and Muslims—as well as Jews—living in Christian lands (E. Natalie Rothman, "Becoming Venetian: Conversion and Transformation in the Seventeenth Century Mediterranean", *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 21, 1 (2006), 39–75).

[50] AN, AE, B III, 1, f. 48 and f. 124.

This is a consequence of the quite large presence of unmarried men living in a somewhat isolated context. It is, however, also the result of social strategies of integration, the two aspects being, to some extent, juxtaposed. Our sources clearly show that French officials were not particularly offended by the nature of "personal contacts" between French men and local women, given that Christian prostitutes were tolerated; instead, they were concerned about the eventuality that these relations might lead to a stable integration of French men into the local society. More importantly, they were outraged by the possible addition of "mixed families" to the French homeland. As Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis effectively demonstrated in her studies of the Barrelier and Fontrier families in Smyrna, building intercommunity personal links and new family networks across national boundaries could not be prevented, but they also contributed deeply to the transformation of the previously "pure" national character and to the emergence of a transnational culture, along with, once again, wider transnational personal networks.

Bibliography

Archives Nationales de Paris, Paris, France.

Calabi, Donatella, "Gli Stranieri nella Capitale della Repubblica Veneta", *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Italie-Méditerranée*, 111, 2 (1999), 721–732.

Calvi, Giulia, "Corps et Espaces. Les Costumes des Balkans dans l'Europe du XVI^{e} Siècle", *L'atelier du Centre de Recherches Historiques*, 11 (2013), 1–27.

Casa, Jean-Michel, *Le Palais de France à Istanbul: un demi-millénaire d'Alliance entre la Turquie et la France* (Istanbul: 1995).

Cloarec, Françoise, *Le Temps des Consuls: L'Echelle de Alep sous les Ottomans*, (Paris: 2003).

Dalègre, Joëlle, *Grecs et Ottomans. 1453–1923. De la chute de Constantinople à la disparition de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris: 2002).

de Laborde, Léon, *Voyage en Asie Mineure de Constantinople au Taurus et à la Cote de Cilicie* (Le Blanc: 2013).

Eldem, Edhem, "Capitulations and Western Trade", in Suraiya Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, 3, *The Latter Ottoman Empire 1603–1839*, (Cambridge: 2006), 283–335.

Faivre, d'Arcier, Amaury, *Les oubliés de la liberté: négociants, consuls et missionnaires français au Levant pendant la Révolution, 1784–1798* (Paris: 2000).

Faroqhi, Suraiya (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, 3, *The Later Ottoman Empire 1603–1839* (Cambridge: 2006).

Faroqhi, Suraiya, *Introduction*, in Suraiya Faroqhi, Gilles Veinstein (ed.), *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire* (Paris: 2008), XI–XLII.

Frangakis-Syrett, Elena, "The Economic Activities of Ottoman and Western Communities in Eighteenth Century Izmir", *Oriente Moderno*, 18 (1999), 11–26.

Frangakis-Syrett, Elena, "The Ottoman Port of Izmir in the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries, 1695–1820", *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, XXXIX/1 (1985), 149–152.

Goussaud, Falgas, Geneviève, *Le consulat de France à Tunis aux XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles. Vie quotidienne* (Paris: 2014).

Greene, Molly, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton: 2000).

Hewsen, Robert H., "Armenian on the Aegean: The City of Smyrna", in Richard G. Hovannisian (ed.), *Armenian. Smyrna/Izmir. The Aegean Communities* (Costa Mesa: 2012), 39–54.

Ianiro, Erica, Levante, *Veneti e Ottomani nel XVIII Secolo* (Venezia: 2014).

Krstic Tijana, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford: 2011).

Laborde, Léon de, *Voyage en Asie Mineure de Constantinople au Taurus et à la Cote de Cilicie* (Le Blanc: 2013).

Masters, Bruce, "Christian in a Changing World", in Suraiya Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey, 3, The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839* (Cambridge: 2006), 272–283.

Masters, Bruce, "Semi–autonomous Forces in the Balkans and Anatolia", in Suraiya Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, 3, *The Later Ottoman Empire 1603–1839* (Cambridge: 2006), 186–208.

Matar, Nabil, "The Renegade in English Seventeenth-Century Imagination", *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 33, 3 (1993), 489–505.

Mézin, Anne, *Les consuls de France au siècle des Lumières, 1715–179* (Paris: 1997).

Ministère des affaires Etrangère de France, *Enfants de langue et Drogmans*, Catalogue de l'Exposition, Palais de France, Istanbul 25 mai–18 juin 1995 (Istanbul: 1995).

Nirenberg, David, "Conversion, Sex, and Segregation: Jews and Christians in Medieval Spain", *The American Historical Review* 107, 4 (2002), 1065–1093.

Otter, Jean, *Journal de Voyage en Turqui et en Perse, 1734–44* (Paris: 2010).

Panzac, Daniel, "International and Domestic Maritime Trade in the Ottoman Empire during the 18th Century", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 24 (1992), 189–206.

Pedani, Maria Pia, *Between Diplomacy and Trade: Ottoman Merchants in Venice*, in Suraiya Faroqhi, Gilles Veinstein (eds.), *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire* (Paris: 2008), 3–21.

Philipp, Thomas, “The Trade of Acre in the Eighteenth Century: French Merchants and Local Rulers in the World Economy”, Jeremy Adelman, Stephen Aron (eds.), *Trading Cultures. The World of Western Merchants*, (Princeton: 2001), 87–110.

Rothman, E. Natalie, “Conversions and Convergence in the Venetian-Ottoman Borderlands”, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 41 3 (2011), 602–633.

Rothman, E. Natalie, “Becoming Venetian: Conversion and Transformation in the Seventeenth Century Mediterranean”, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 21, 1 (2006), 39–75.

Rothman, Natalie E., “Dragomans and “Turkish Literature”: The Making of a Field of Inquiry”, *Oriente Moderno,* 93 (2013), 390–421.

Rothman, Natalie E., “Self-fashioning in the Mediterranean Contact Zone: Giovanni Battista Salvago and his *Africa Overo Barbaria, 1625*”, in Konrad Eisenbichler (ed.), *Renaissance Medievalism*, (Toronto: 2009), 123–143.

Schmitt, Oliver, Jens, “Levantiner. Levenswelten und Identitäten einer ethnokonfessionellen Gruppe in osmanischen Reich”, in *Langen 19. Jahrhundert* (München: 2004).

Signori, Umberto, *Venezia e Smirne tra Sei e Settecento. Istituzioni Commerci e Comunità Merncantili* (Padova: 2013–14).

Smyrnelis, Marie-Carmen, *Jeux d’Identité à Smyrne aux XVIIIe et XIXe Siècles*, in H. Le Bras (ed.), *L’Inventions des Populations. Biologie, Idéologie et Politique* (Paris: 2000), 125–139.

Smyrnelis, Marie-Carmen, *Une société hors de soi: identité et relations sociales à Smyrne aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Paris: 2006).

Smyrnelis, Marie-Carmen, *Une ville Ottomane Plurielle: Smyrne aux XVIIIe et XXe siècles* (Istanbul: 2006).

Smyrnelis, Marie-Carmen, “Coexistence et langues de contact à Smyrne au XIXe siècle”, *Arabica: Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, 4 (2007), 568–585.

Smyrnelis, Marie-Carmen. “Vivre ensemble dans l’empire ottoman (XVIIIe–XIXe siècles)”, Cahiers du Centre d’Histoire “Espaces et Cultures”, in *Vivre avec l’ennemi: la cohabitation de communautés hétérogènes du XVIe au XIXe siècle* (2007), 55–66.

Trivellato, Francesca, *The Family of Strangers. The Sepharic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (London: 2009).

Veinstein, Gilles, *Les Marchants Etrangers dans l’Empire Ottoman. XVIe–XVIIIe Siècles*, in Suraiya Faroqhi, Gilles Veinstein (eds.), *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire* (Paris: 2008), 47–61.

Vintilă-Ghiţulescu, Constanţa, “La mode vient de Constantinople: les Boyards Roumains entre Orient et Occident (XVIIIe siècle)”, *Etudes Balkaniques—Cahier Pierre Belon*, 1, 16 (2009), 109–116.

Zarinebaf, Fariba, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700–1800* (Los Angeles-London: 2010).

Zarinebaf, Fariba, “Intercommunal Life in Istanbul During the Eighteenth Century”, *Review of Middle East Studies*, 46, 1 (2012), 79–85.

CHAPTER 3

Women's Fashion in Dalmatia at the End of the 18th Century

Katarina Nina Simončič

Introduction

This chapter aims to define the role of fashion garments as indicators of social status and a highly important aspect of visual communication among the social elites in 18th-century Dalmatia. The focal point of this overview is women's fashion. To achieve this goal, through research of historical artefacts from the Dalmatian territory, it is essential to address first the availability of sources and to explain possible problems we encountered in our attempt to reconstruct and comprehend particular historical circumstances. While preserved fashion artefacts of the privileged social class in 18th-century Dalmatia are very scarce, garments that belonged to lower classes are unavailable and can only be reconstructed from observations of travel writers or from court records. Certain fashion garments and accessories of the upper classes are currently preserved in museums in Zagreb, Split, Zadar, Sibenik and Dubrovnik. These include two women's jackets made of red and blue silk with gold and silver bobbin lace trimmings, which belonged to the Kasandric family on the island of Hvar; fans; lace artefacts and footwear. A larger and more substantial collection of menswear is preserved in the Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik. Since preserved artefacts are scarce and rarely found, they cannot provide sufficient information to reconstruct the social climate of the 18th century, when garments, i.e. fashion, functioned as a status symbol.

Historical records prove the continuity of a rich cultural life in Dalmatia from the Renaissance to the 18th century. In developed coastal cities with an active social life, society comprised of the nobility, the middle class, and the commoners.[1] The financial superiority of the upper class was manifested through clothing and accessories, even though sumptuary laws, which also applied to the lower social classes, restricted private expenditure. Keeping up with the fashion styles of European capitals was an imperative for the upper

---

[1] Danica Božić Bužančić, *Privatni i društveni život Splita u osamnaestom stoljeću* [The Private and Social Life of Split in the 18th Century] (Zagreb: 1982).

© KATARINA NINA SIMONČIČ, 2018 | DOI:10.1163/9789004355095_005
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

classes and archival records provide evidence of intensive trade and presence of fashion styles, expensive fabrics, and fashion accessories. However, frequent conquests of the Dalmatian territory over the course of history by the French, the Republic of Venice, and the Habsburg Monarchy contributed to the disappearance and theft of fashion artefacts, which would later be housed in foreign museums or private collections under different owners' names.

In addition to fashion artefacts, liturgical vestments of this period are also an important source of information, which helps deepen our understanding of 18th-century fashion. Like the majority of fashion outfits of that period, these were made from the most expensive French fabric and manifested the beauty of fashion garments. Most vestments were made of textiles purchased for that very purpose or from fabrics given to the church by rich families and the nobility as votive offerings for prayers for the deceased.[2]

Monastery collections of lace in the Dalmatian region represent another important source. These testify to intensive manufacturing of lace intended for the 18th-century European market, which was mainly conducted on the islands of Pag and Hvar, as well as in Dubrovnik and Kotor. Records show that a lacemaker from the island of Pag was brought to Maria Theresa's Habsburg court for the purpose of making lace garments, accessories, and decorations.[3]

Apart from preserved fashion artefacts, attention should be paid to portraits and archival records as secondary sources, to enable a better comprehension of the fashion environment in that period. However, the terminology used should be approached with caution because it is difficult to understand with absolute precision the fashion nomenclature from the end of the 18th century. For instance, archival records contain Italian, French, and English terms which do not necessarily denote the same garment or fashion style in Dalmatia as they do in the country of origin. As far as the reliability of sources is concerned, this article attempts to reconstruct garments and accessories worn by women of the middle classes and the nobility in 18th-century Dalmatia.

---

[2] Silvija Banić, "Prilog poznavanju sakralnih inventara otoka Raba: najvrjedniji povijesni tekstili sačuvani na misnom ruhu i drugim dijelovima liturgijske opreme" [Contributions to the Uunderstanding of the Sacred Inventory from Tthe Island of Rab: the Most Valuable Historical Textiles Preserved as Mass Attire and Other Parts of the Liturgical Equipment], *Rapski zbornik II* [Rab Almanac II] (Rab: 2012), 461–499.

[3] Nerina Eckhel, *Lacemaking in Croatia* (Zagreb: 2007).

Trade Routes, Supply of Goods and Historical Circumstances in 18th-Century Dalmatia

The territory of 18th-century Dalmatia was at the intersection of eastern and western trade routes, thereby assimilating elements of both civilizations.[4] However, fashion influences arriving from European capitals such as Paris, London and Vienna, as well as from Italian cities, through land and maritime trade routes, were dominant. Trade in the territory of Dalmatia was mainly concentrated in two coastal cities: Split and Dubrovnik.[5]

Over the course of the 18th century, trade routes across what is now present-day Dalmatia were simultaneously passing through the territories under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Venice (Istria, Dalmatia, and Albania-Boka), the Kingdom of Croatia, and the independent territory of the Republic of Ragusa (Fig. 3.1). Until the fall of the Republic of Venice in 1797, littoral Croatia was under the strong influence of Italy, whereas the southern part of the coast, along with the northern and eastern parts of the country, exhibited mainly French fashion influences arriving through Austria.[6] Maria Theresa, the sovereign of the Habsburg Monarchy, played a prominent role in economic, political, and cultural development. Situated at the intersection of intensive eastern and western trade routes, with its two large ports of Split and Dubrovnik, Dalmatia was basically at the very centre of fashion exchanges between the new trends coming from the West and the exotic offerings arriving on the European market from the East. In the second half of the 18th century, fashion trends in America, Europe, and the colonies were set by the two global market leaders, England and France.

Tradeing in Dalmatia was chiefly conducted by Muslim merchants in the first half of the 18th century and by Jewish merchants in the second half. The port of Split developed in the 16th century, becoming one of the most important trading points between the Ottoman Empire and the Venetian Republic, particularly in the trade of fabrics. The Ottoman merchants used

---

[4] Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Centuries*, 1: *The Structures of Everyday Life* (London: 1981).

[5] Grgo Novak, *Split u svjetskom prometu* [Split as a Part of World Traffic] (Split: 1930), Grgo Novak, *Povijest Splita* [The History of Split] (Split: 1964). Đivo Bašić, "Pomorstvo Dubrovnika od XII. do početka XX. Stoljeća" [The Maritime Affairs of Dubrovnik from the 12th to the Beginning of the 20th Century], *Pomorski zbornik* 44 [Maritime Anali 44] (Dubrovnik: 2006) 1, 139–177.

[6] Vladimir Marković, Ivana Prijatelj-Pavičić, *Umjetnički dodiri dviju jadranskih obala u 17. i 18. stoljeću* [Artistic Encounters Between Two Adriatic Coasts in the 17th and 18th Centuries] (Split: 2003).

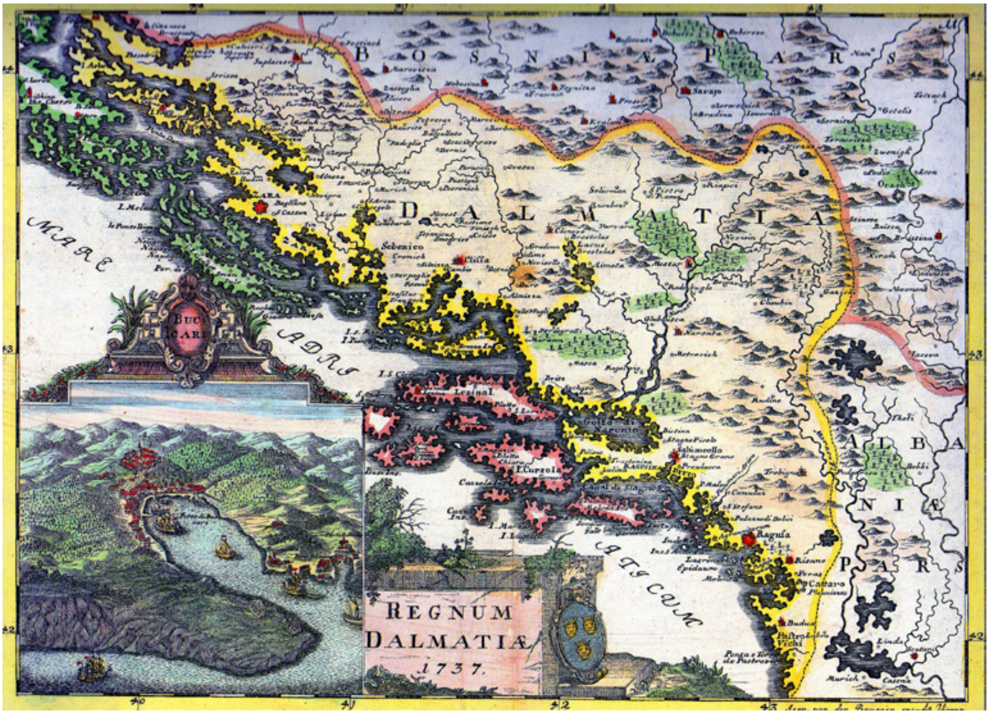

BOSNIÆ PARS
DALMATIA
ALBANIÆ PARS
MARE ADRIATICUM
BUCCARI
REGNUM DALMATIÆ 1737.
Sebenico
Spalato
Clissa
Lesina
I. Curzola
Ragusa
Cattaro
Mostar
Savajo
Trebigne
Budua
Antivari

FIGURE 3.1 *Johann Van Der Bruggen "REGNUM DALMATIAE 1737", Vienna 1737.*

land caravans to travel to Split via Bosnia and, from there, the goods were transported to Venice in ships. Since the Ottoman Empire decided to pave the road to Split, the journey from Istanbul to Split took 43 days.[7] For instance, 18th-century Split received two or three caravans per day with hundreds of kilograms of goods loaded on horses. A list from around 1752–53 reveals goods shipped from Split to Venice and back.[8] The specific names, such as silk *romaneta, damashino* canvas, shirt *turchesca*, and leather *bulgaro* indicate the origin of fabrics and patterns.[9]

---

[7] Nataša Bajić-Žarko, *Split kao trgovačko i tranzitno središte na razmeđu istoka i zapada u 18. stoljeću* [Split as a Trade and Transit Centre at the Crossroads of East and West in the 18th Century] (Split: 2004), 89.

[8] Ibid., 90.

[9] This commodities list dates from around 1752–1753. It refers to goods that arrived in Split and which were then sent to Venice: *bambosina* shirts; small silk tapes; large silk tapes; small and large buttons; silk shirts; boots; slippers; *turchesca* shirts; *mahrame* (bandanas of Turkish origin); *turchesca* fabrics with 4 buckles; belts; silk; leather: beaver, hare, ram, devilfish, ox,

In assessing the significance of fashion and its role as an indicator of social status, written documents, such as trade and legal records, court settlements and testaments provide the principal source of information. Considering their numbers and the sequence in which they were recorded, these expensive, high-quality garments functioned as status symbols in the formation of the visual dress code of privileged individuals. Only high social classes could afford garments *à la mode*. The term *à la mode* referred to French (*robe à la française*) or English dresses (*robe à l'anglaise*), garments made of expensive cotton and silk in intense, yet pastel tones. Lower social classes wore clothes in white or matt tones, although they were often embroidered in bright colours and accessorized with jewellery. This term (*à la mode*) also referred to fashion accessories and decorations such as lace trimmings, silk ribbons and bows, braids, pearls and gemstones applied to ready-made dresses. Thanks to intensive trade practices and local production in monasteries, the use of lace for decoration was also common in Dalmatia and records show it was extensively manufactured in this territory. Attempts to trace Dalmatian lace and its uses in the production of fashion artefacts in European capitals are complicated by the fact that lace was mostly bought by Venetian merchants and later resold as Venetian lace.[10] However, thanks to traders from Dubrovnik, Flemish lace was imported and sold along the entire Adriatic coast.[11]

Social segregation was also present among craftsmen and artisans: Croatian tailors made suits out of cheap fabrics, whereas German tailors sewed expensive suits for the middle class. Although there are records of many foreign and

---

old cats, wild cats, goat, lamb, calf, bear, rabbit, badger, camel, panther, jackal, *bulgaro* (fine leather from Bulgaria); wool: fine and medium fine, bleached, washed, shorn and rough wool, wool from Skadar, Skoplje, Sarajevo, Novi Pazar and Albania; red *bombaso* canvas; *salonichio*; unusual clothes; *delo stato* fabric; *serž/londrini* fabric; scarlet red fabric; *zambeletto* fabric; silk: fine, rough, for colouring, unclean, loose. Goods that came from Venice to Split: fine fabric with *Kalanka* patterning; *calimani* fabric; fine French silk; *arrattine* from England; *spagniollett; tamina* from France; *kamelot* from England; black silk with flower patterns; black *brussellini* from England; green fabric *sempitterna landines* from England. Fine French and English silk are frequently mentioned.

[10] Nevenka Božanić-Bezić, "Prilog istraživanju čipke u Dalmaciji" [Contributions to the Research of Lace from Dalmatia], *Središnji čipkarski tečaj u Beču* [The Central Lacework Course in Vienna] (Lepoglava: 2002), 60–72. In the 17th and 18th century, Dalmatian lace was sold as "Venetian". A similar practice is observed in the 20th century, when it was sold as "Austrian".

[11] Nevenka Božanić-Bezić, "Čipka na odjeći u 18. stoljeću u srednjoj Dalmaciji" [Lace on Clothing from the 18th Century in Dalmatia], *Čipka u kulturi tekstila i odijevanja* (Lepoglava: 2003), 10.

domestic artisans in Split, such as hat makers, furriers, tailors and cobblers,[12] affluent young women, especially brides-to-be, used to travel to Ancona and Venice for their attire, where they ordered tailored dresses and other decorative articles such as fans, gloves, scarves and purses.[13] In Dalmatia, specific terms were used to denote merchants specialized in trading garments, textiles, and fashion accessories. Thus, *mercator* or *trgovac,* also in use, referred to wholesalers, while *caupo* or *kramar* stood for retailers; female fashion merchants were *mercatorisae,* whereas local and foreign merchants were called *mercator domesticus* or *mercator extraneus,* respectively. When denoting a narrow specialization in trading particular goods, the following terms were also used: *sagarius* for the merchant of ready-made clothes, *metaxa* for the merchant of silk and silk goods, *manufacturarum negotiator* for the merchant of fashionable goods and fabrics, and finally, *hančomohar* for a glove maker.

Haberdashery, i.e. small ware and trimmings, were made by specialized women fashion merchandisers (*marchandes de modes*). Their entry into the mid-18th-century fashion market introduced a revolutionary change in the historically established hierarchy of sexual division of labour. *Les marchandes de modes*, who specialized in garment-finishing, i.e. decorations and trimmings of ready-made women's and men's garments, joined the textiles and garment-merchandizing market in which male tailors specialized in men's suits and female tailors in women's wear.[14]

While the market for garments and textiles provided an adequate supply of goods for middle-class consumers, Dalmatian noblewomen custom-ordered individually made garments or they and their families purchased fashion items during their official or private travels.[15]

The differences between clothes worn by members of different social classes were also regulated by sumptuary laws, which referred to both the fabrics and garments available to them. Thus, luxurious fabrics, intended solely for women of high society, were inaccessible to members of the lower social classes.[16]

---

[12] Bajić-Žarko, *Split,* 164.

[13] Rudolf Horvat, *Kaptolski cehovi u Zagrebu* [Kaptol Guilds in Zagreb] (Zagreb: 1936), 38; Slavko Stojan, *U salonu Marije Giorgi Bona* [In the Salon of Marija Giorgi Bona] (Dubrovnik: 1996), 115.

[14] Rudolf Horvat, *Povijest trgovine obrta i industrije u Hrvatskoj* [The History of Trades, Crafts and Industry in Croatia] (Zagreb: 1994), 56.

[15] Ibid., 60.

[16] Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Nasilje zakona: Gradska vlast i privatni život u kasno srednjovjekovnom i ranonovovjekovnom Dubrovniku* [The Violence of Law: City Authorities and Private Life in Medieval and Early Modern Dubrovnik] (Dubrovnika: 2003).

On several occasions during the 18th century, sumptuary legislation limited the quantity of foreign luxury fabrics[17] allowed to different consumers.[18] When limitations were imposed, noblewomen hid their expensive fashionable clothes in chests, which would be inherited by the Church after their death. Laws against luxury clothes did not include church attire, therefore expensive fabric from fashionable clothes could be reused to make new garments.

The most evident difference in the appearance of noblewomen and their middle-class counterparts was in their jewellery. The former possessed jewellery made from precious gemstones, whereas the latter wore gold. Women from the lower social classes could only afford silver. Among middle-class women, jewellery was the most frequently-mentioned fashion accessory, particularly gold, filigree earrings, decorated with pearls, diamonds and coral.[19] They were described as being mainly bell-shaped and of a cluster drop design. A mandatory accessory in the fashion inventory of middle-class women was a gold pendant chain which, along with a belt, indicated the family's financial status.

Lace Production and Lace Items as Indicators of Social Status

Lace trimmings, silk ribbons (bows), braids, and pearl and gem decorations, which were applied to ready-made dresses, became status symbols and mandatory accessories in achieving the desired *à la mode* look. Due to intensive trade and abundant local production in monasteries,[20] the presence of lace as a fashion ornament is well-documented in the Dalmatian region. The value of lace was equal to that of gold and, in London, in 1787, it exceeded it tenfold.[21] A comparable gold-lace value ratio was also recorded in Dalmatia. Therefore, lace had become an essential part of the *dota*, a woman's dowry brought into the marriage, but under the husband's control thereafter. This custom enabled a maiden to acquire a proportion of her parents' property, as the remainder would be shared amongst her brothers on their parents' death. Girls would start making their *dota* (dowry) at the age of ten, since they were married in early adolescence. As everything was handmade, from the stitchery and hand embroidery to the lace and finished garments, the making of the dowry was a very lengthy process. More affluent young females attended schools that allowed for this by including periods of monastic seclusion, whereas their peers from more modest backgrounds were educated by their elders.[22] Dowries typically included shirts with lace cuffs; as traditional jackets of the period had slightly shortened sleeves, the cuffs would be prominently displayed.[23] These trimmings were made from a multilayer lace called *cascada* or *postica*,[24] commonly used to decorate both men's and women's garments.

---

[17] Trade supervisors labelled as "foreign goods" the so-called exotic merchandise. For that reason in 1774, Zagreb started using the stamp "L.R.C.Z" (e.g. *Libera regia civitas Zagrabiensis*); Zlatko Herkov, Povijest zagrebačke trgovine [The History of Trade in Zagreb] (Zagreb: 1987), 215.

[18] Quantity limitations: silk fabrics in purple and scarlet colour and other expensive colours, silk fabrics in inexpensive colours (blue, green, regular red), silk fabric of lower quality, good quality English fabrics in expensive colours, lower quality English fabrics in other colours, scarlet fabrics (scarlet and granat), silk fabrics from towns of Padua, Naples (gros de Tour, gros de Naples, *croice Damast* (Croisee), *Damast* or *Procatelle* (brocatelle, low quality brocade or their imitations) and *rassette* (type of satin), fabrics called *kepentuh, maris, septuh, mornay, raseta, burset, quinet, capiczol, tabin, tabinet* (from franc. tabi—silk), *boroszla* (Bratislava fabric; hung. boroszloi), *paja* (flannel fabric) and *tafunt* (franc. tafetas, taffeta), *pannus latus floret* (franc. "fleuret", type of silk fabric) *czinodo dictus*, *pannus latus perdonon* (Bergam) *vocatus* and *floretus simplex, lodus seu gausape*—(tufted wool fabrics, ger. Loden e.g. rough Tirol cloth), *konton* and *ziz* (Ciz-Cotten)— cotton fabric, *Pfeffer bandana* (germ. Pfeffer-Tüchel).

[19] Nevenka Božanić-Bezić, *Juditini dvori* [Judith's Chambers] (Split: 2001), 214.

With the arrival of the Benedictines,[25] who transferred their knowledge and skills to the indigenous population,[26] the practice of lacemaking spread in Dalmatia, particularly on the island of Hvar. The intensive production of high-quality lace dates back to the 16th century, and was connected primarily to the territories of Dubrovnik, Boka Kotorska, and the Dalmatian islands.[27] Female convents were sites of intensive manufacture of expensive lace intended for foreign markets and local nobility.[28] Archival records document extensive lace production in Dalmatia throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, which was sold in larger European capitals as Venetian lace,[29] thus greatly compromising the attempts to trace the use of Dalmatian lace in the clothing of other European capitals.

---

[20] Marijana Gušić, "Uz pitanje dubrovačke čipke" [Questions About the History of Dubrovnik Lace], *Anali Historijskog instituta u Dubrovniku* [Annals of the History Institute in Dubrovnik] (Dubrovnik:1952), 331–340.; Nevenka Božanić-Bezić, "Prilog dubrovačkom umjetničkom vezivu XVI. stoljeća" [The Contribution of Dubrovnik Embroidery from the 16th Century], *Prilozi povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* [Annals of the History Institute in Dubrovnik], 14 (Split:1962), 56–164.

[21] Alessandra Mottola Molfino and Maria Teresa Binaghi Olivari, *I pizzi: moda e simbolo* (Milano: 1977), 29.

[22] Nevenka Božanić-Bezić, "Čipka na odjeći", 9–17.

[23] AIS-II, III, State Archives Split, I Archive Kapogrosso-Kavanjin. Split City Museum; Nevenka Božanić-Bezić "Čipka na odjeći", 10.

[24] Nevenka Božanić-Bezić, "Čipka na odjeći", 12.

[25] Benedictines arrive on the island of Hvar in 1664. Grgo Novak, *Hvar kroz stoljeća*, [The Island of Hvar Through the Centuries] (Hvar :1972), 130–133.

[26] Marijana Gušić, "Proučavanje čipkarske proizvodnje na Hvaru", [The Study of Lace Production on Hvar] *Ljetopis JAZU* [Annals JAZU], Vol. 67, (Zagreb: 1960), 326–238.

[27] Marijana Gušić, "Uz pitanje dubrovačke čipke" [Questions about the History of Dubrovnik Lace], *Anali Historijskog instituta u Dubrovniku*, (Dubrovnik: 1952), 331–340.

Lacemaking was predominantly the activity of nuns and tertiaries, the so-called *picokare*; members of the Third Order who were loyal to a particular convent.[30] *Picokare* were women who had not taken solemn vows but were nevertheless sworn to purity and absolute loyalty to their faith.[31] They would run errands for the mainly secluded monastic orders. Domestic manufacturers also produced lace, which tended to imitate the technique and style of the lace made in convents and which would later be applied to a variety of garments. Archival records show that women from the islands of Hvar and Vis,[32] as well as women from Dubrovnik,[33] Kotor (Fig. 3.2) and the surrounding areas were particularly skilled at lacemaking and embroidery. Since lace was frequently mentioned in the inventories of deceased noblemen and commoners, we can assume that it was not imported in large quantities as it was extremely expensive in European capitals at that time; rather, it was made locally by women and maidens. However, the inventories of Dubrovnik merchants note the importation of expensive Flemish lace, which was sold along the entire Adriatic coast.[34] During his stay in Dalmatia in 1774, Alberto Fortis documented the popularity of lace trimmings among commoners in the Zadar region[35]

---

[28] Church collections, i.e. lace artefacts preserved in Kotar-Dobrota, Hvar and Zadar, presently give evidence of the delicacy of lace ornaments available in Dalmatian markets from the 16th to the 19th century.

[29] Nevenka Božanić-Bezić, "Prilog istraživanju čipke", 60–72.

[30] Marijana Gušić, "Zbirka čipaka sv. Marije u Zadru" [Laces from the Church Museum of Saint Marija in Zadar], *Radovi Zavoda JAZU* [Articles of Department JAZU], VI–VII (Zadar: 1960), 81–96.

[31] Nevenka Božanić-Bezić, *Tragom renesansno-barokne čipke u dalmatinskim samostanima*, [Renaissance and Baroque Lace in Dalmatian Monasteries] (Korčula: 1999), 109–117.

[32] Nevenka Božanić-Bezić, "Tradicija čipkarske tehnike na otocima Hvaru i Visu od XVII stoljeća do danas" [Traditions of Lacemaking on the Islands of Hvar and Vis from the 17th century Onwards], *Makedonski folklore* [Macedonian folklor], XVIII, 35 (Skopje: 1985), 101–106.

[33] Nevenka Božanić-Bezić, "Prilog dubrovačkom umjetničkom vezivu XVI. Stoljeća" [The Contribution of Dubrovnik Embroidery from the 16th Century], *Prilozi povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* [Contributions to the History of Art in Dalmatia], 14 (Split:1962), 153–164.

[34] Božanić-Bezić, "Čipka na odjeći", 10.

[35] Alberto Fortis, *Put po Dalmaciji* [Travels into Dalmatia], (Split:2004), 8, 17.

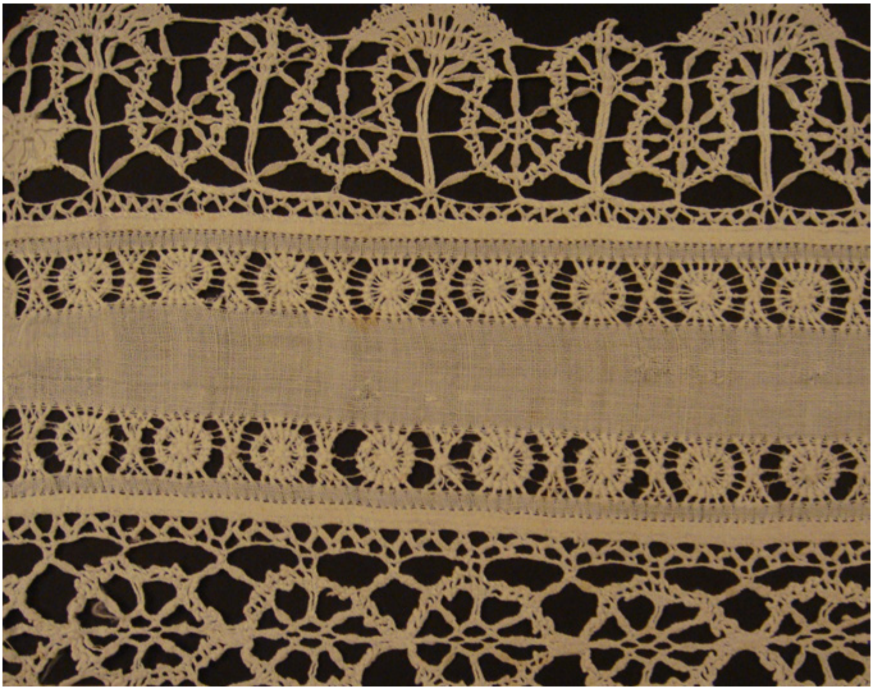


FIGURE 3.2 *Lace, Collection from Dobrota, Kotor.*

(Fig. 3.3). The significance of this documentation for the history of Dalmatia is also emphasized by Giulia Calvi in her chapter.

In 18th-century Dalmatian inventories, lace is frequently mentioned as an ornament on aprons, men's suits, women's dresses, armholes and necklines.[36] It was mainly made using needle, bobbin, and knotting techniques. It was a favourite pastime of local women along the Dalmatian coast and bobbin lace pillows were therefore often mentioned in dowries.[37]

Women of the upper social classes applied decorative lace, most commonly made from gold and silver threads, to the fronts and backs of their jackets. Jackets worn by members of the nobility had armholes ornamented in multi-layer lace, while middle-class women mainly wore simple shirts with single-layer lace sewn around the armholes and neckline. Lace was also the primary

---

[36] Nevenka Božanić-Bezić, "Hvarske i viške u svjetlu arhivskih izvora od 16. do 18 stoljeća", [Archival Records from Hvar and Vis from the 16th–18th Centuries], *Prilozi povijesti otoka Hvara* [Contributions to the History of the Island of Hvar], X (Hvar: 1997) 101–109.

[37] Ibid., 102.

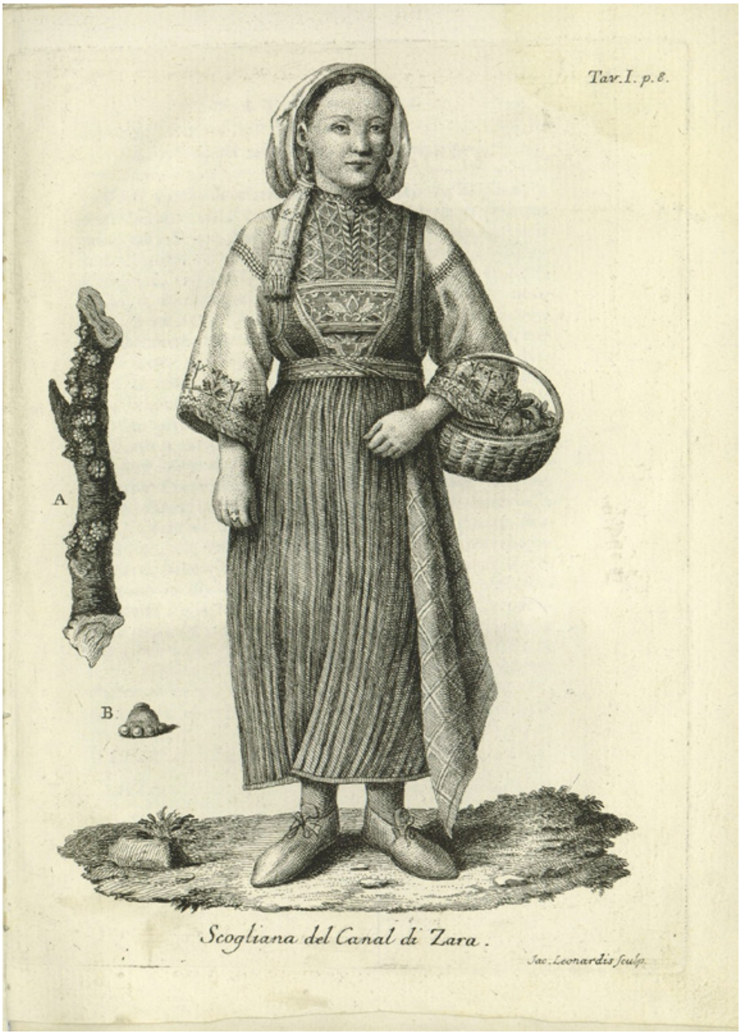

Tav. I. p. 8.
A
B
Scogliana del Canal di Zara.
Jac. Leonardis sculp.

FIGURE 3.3 *Alberto Fortis: Young women from Zadar, 18th century (Alberto Fortis,* Put po Dalmaciji *[Travels into Dalmatia], (Split: 2004,17.), Zbirka rukopisa i starih knjiga NSK; Gajeva knjižnica; Europa čita = Reading Europe: European culture through the book, NSK 000692410.*

decoration on shoulder covers, headgear, and neck scarves given to maidens by their fiancés as gifts. Silk or damask aprons lavishly decorated with lace and worn as accessories to the dress were particularly popular among Dalmatian middle-class women. Ornamental lace frequently covered the cleavage, providing a soft transition from a woman's gentle skin to the garment.

Clothing and Textile Artefacts from 18th-Century Dalmatia

As mentioned before, intensive trading allowed affluent Dalmatian ladies of the 18th century to choose from two basic types of garment: the so-called *closed* type of dress (*robe volante, robe battante, mantua*—the main feature of the *robe volante* being a wide drape falling from the shoulder down the back) and the so-called *open* type of dress with the front opening revealing the petticoat underneath, also referred to as *robe à la française* (*contuche* or *sack-back gown*). The armholes were decorated with multilayer lace called *engageantes, cascada,* or *postica.*[38] Several preserved portraits from the Dalmatian region illustrate this type of dress. However, influences from England were starting to play a more prominent role in setting out European fashion guidelines, with the Duchess of Devonshire serving as a paragon of the English style. Features such as cut constructions, typical of English menswear, and unadorned fabrics, free from metallic or gold silk embroidery, laid the foundations for a purer, simpler, and smoother Neoclassical style in comparison to the sumptuous and dynamic French Rococo fashions. Long, straight sleeves and tight-fitting coats created a refined, elegant silhouette. This new climate brought about the popularity of the *robe à l´anglaise* (English dress) in the 1770s, although it had been present on the fashion stage since the mid-18th century. In Dalmatia, in 1784, a dress called an *inglesina* is listed as a dowry asset of Ruža Majstrović from Makarska, engaged to captain Franjo: "The skirt and the inglesina were made of the same fabric, wool (*sukno*), in a red, green and light-blue colour."[39] A notary record reveals that *inglesina* was also a term denoting an outer dress in Dalmatia. At the end of the 18th century, a jacket referred to as an *inglesina* is often mentioned in historical dowry records.[40] Dresses in French (*mantua*), English (*inglesina*), and Italian styles (*vestura, vesta, carpetta, mezzo manto, zipponzin, tabaro, sotana, polachette, busto, cottole, sotto abito*[41]), along with garments of Turkish origin (*mahrame*[42]) were commonly owned by the nobility and middle-class women. The greatest difference between such garments was in the price of the fabric. According to archival records, female members of the lower social classes wore simple dresses made of cheaper fabrics, most often from wool or linen yarn in plain weave.[43] Unfortunately, there are no records of any remaining garments or textile artefacts from the lower social classes.

---

[38] Božanić-Bezić, "Čipka na odjeći", 11.

[39] Božanić-Bezić, *Juditini dvori* [Judith's Chambers], 80.

[40] English maiolica dishes were especially valued in 18th-century Dalmatia.

[41] *Vestura*—dress; *vesta*—skirt; *carpetta*—a short-sleeved dress, skirt, jacket, or carpet in Dubrovnik; *mezzo manto, zipponzin*—garments similar to a jacket or waistcoat; *tabaro*—cape; *sotana*—dress; *polachette*—jacket with buttons; *busto*—waistcoat; *cottole*—dress, *sotto abito*—undergarment.

[42] *Mahrame*-scarf. See Božanić-Bezić, *Juditini dvori*, 66.

It is interesting to note that most surviving clothing artefacts from 18th-century Croatia are, in fact, menswear.[44] Preserved high-quality samples of women's fashion from the 18th century are very scarce and the three garments still in existence, two jackets and a skirt, all belonged to members of the higher social classes in Dalmatia at that time.

The two women's jackets in blue and red silk,[45] decorated with gold and silver bobbin lace on the back, belonged to the Kasandrić family from the island of Hvar. The red damask silk jacket is preserved in the Split City Museum (Fig. 3.4), while the navy-blue damask jacket is kept at the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb.[46] Both jackets have a trapeze neckline and long sleeves. The gold and silver lace on these jackets was applied in the form of an ornamental ribbon that follows the seams between garment sections, embellishing the neckline, the back cut and the lower edge of the jacket. According to archival records, both items were purchased in Venice, thus indicating the important role of strong Italian fashion influences.

---

[43] Fani Celio Cega, *Svakidašnji život grada Trogira od sredina 18. do sredine 19. stoljeća* [The Daily Life of Trogir from the Mid-18th to Mid-19th century], (Split: 2005).

[44] Parts of a man's suit from the second half of the 18th century are preserved at the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb, the Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik, Šibenik City Museum, Split City Museum and the Historical Museum in Zadar. According to available information, the only entirely preserved attire comprises of all three elements of Gozze's ceremonial suit, which is kept on permanent display at the Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik. This collection also contains a waistcoat with illustrated buttons and Nikša Pozza's day suit, minus the waistcoat. Šibenik City Museum houses a green frock coat, a white waistcoat with metallic embroidery, and a short white embroidered waistcoat owned by the noble family De Dominis Gogala from Šibenik. All these garments have several common features: they were all made from fabrics woven, cut, sewn and embroidered in French workshops, but it cannot be precisely determined whether in Paris or Lyon. It should be noted that Croatian noblemen and affluent citizens were, unlike ladies, often portrayed wearing coats and jackets resembling military uniforms, or coats in an oriental style.

[45] Vanda Pavelić, *Oblici odjeće* [Types of Clothing] (Zagreb: 1955); Božanić-Bezić, "Čipka na odjeći", 11.

[46] Katarina Nina Simončič, "Jacket-bodices from the End of the 17th Century—Analyses and Attributes", *Book of Proceedings for the Seventh International Textile, Clothing & Design Conference* (Zagreb: 2014), 640–645.

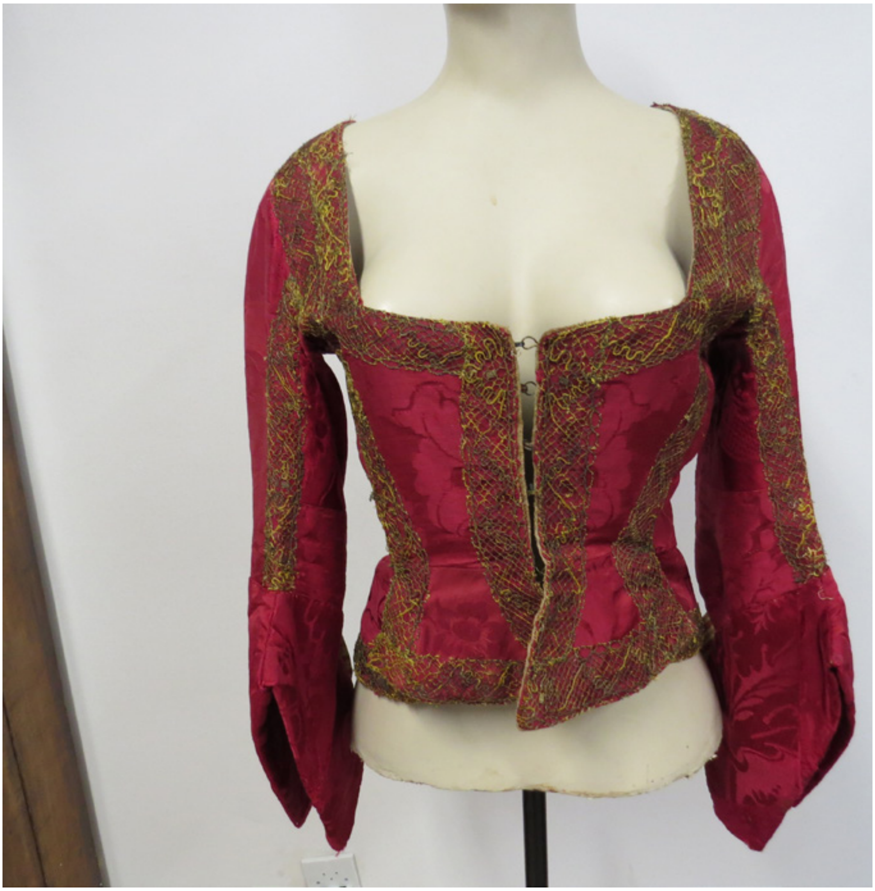


FIGURE 3.4 *Jacket-bodice of red silk, 1770s, Museum of town Split, Split, Croatia (inventory number MGS-837).*

The Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb also houses a skirt[47] made from silk fabric in gold and yellow with *bizarre* motifs (Fig. 3.5). Fabrics with bizarre motifs were very popular in late 17th- and early 18th-century Europe, especially in Italy, England, and France. Cora Ginsburg describes this group of designs as Asian-inspired Baroque ornaments that were sometimes woven in the East to suit the demands of the lucrative European export market.[48] According to

---

[47] The skirt is comprised of seven silk panels. Its overall width is 3.5 metres and the length is 1 metre.

[48] Cora Ginsburg, *Chinese Export for the European Market, ca. 1708–10.* Source online: http://coraginsburg.com/catalogues/2009/cat2009pg4-5.htm (27.01.2017.).

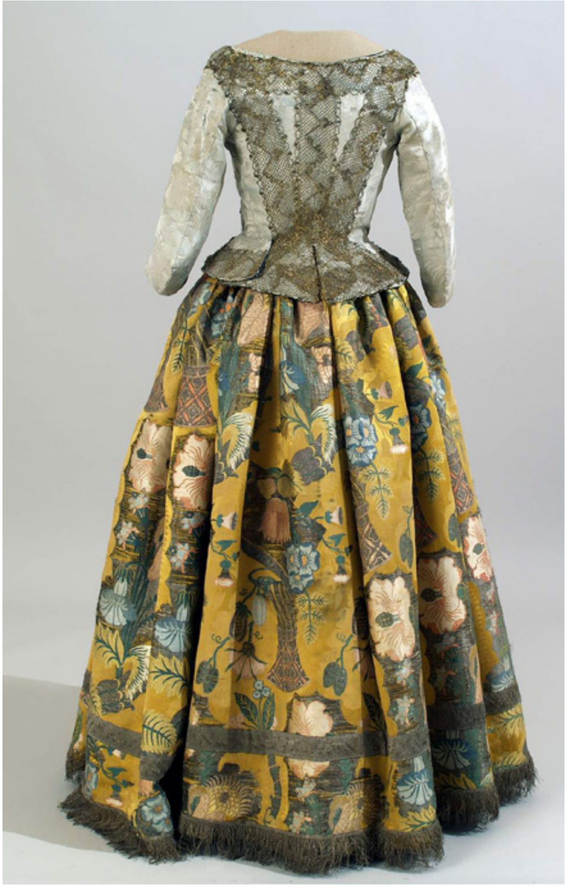


FIGURE 3.5
Jacket-bodice and skirt, 18th century, Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb, Croatia (inventory number 10250 of jacket—bodice and skirt— MUO 6013).

Ackermann, the term *bizarre fabric* was first used by Ernst Scheyer in his doctoral dissertation on *Chinoiseries*, in 1928, though without proper definition. Ackermann also asserted that *bizarre fabrics* were woven for a relatively short period of time, between the very end of the 17th and the first twenty years of the 18th century. They were produced mostly in Europe for wealthy clients.[49] The skirt from Zagreb was found on the border of the Venetian Republic and the Independent Republic of Dubrovnik. It had belonged to the Lamuelli-Kačić family from Blato on the island of Korčula. On the brocaded yellow satin background, we can observe branches, leaves, flowers and vases in pink, green, and blue. Among them, meandering decorative motifs are shaped using metallic thread. French artisans in Lyon workshops probably manufactured the textile at the beginning of the 18th century.[50]

---

[49] Ackermann also points out that the term *bizarre fabrics* means a specific style of pattern, not a specific weave. 'Bizarre' style was described as a flowery décor filled with abstract elements. A dynamic composition gives the full *bizarre* effect. Hans Christoph Ackermann, *Seidengewebe des 18. Jahrhunderts I. Bizarre Seiden* (Abegg-Stiftung 2000), 41–75 and 264–390.

However, a special category, which should be acknowledged in the attempt to comprehend the value of textiles as an indicator of social status, is comprised of liturgical artefacts. These can be observed in church collections in the territories of Kotor, Dubrovnik, Zadar, Lopud, Rab, Hvar, Šibenik, Skradin and Split. Liturgical garments were made from silk fabrics manufactured in Venetian and French workshops. Some of these fabrics, which were not primarily intended for liturgical but rather secular purposes, can be observed as a secondary source of fashion fabrics owned by affluent Dalmatian women in the 18th century. Luxurious silk fabrics, an indisputable status symbol, were not reserved solely for liturgical vestments but were also used to clothe wooden statues of the Madonna. Several samples of these *bizarre fabrics* are preserved on the island of Rab.[51]

Dalmatian Portraits from the 18th Century—Sources of Fashion Insight

Apart from Alberto Fortis's depictions of commoners, portraits also allow an interesting insight into the culture of living in that period. Unlike clothing artefacts, the number of preserved 18th-century portraits in Croatian museums is relatively high. These portraits give insight into the presence of various fashion styles and patterns in the Dalmatian region, provided we analyze them simultaneously with archival records (testaments, notary and trade records). In this context, we will consider the portraits of two Dalmatian noblewomen: Katarina Righi Budmani (1765–?) and Ana Ghetaldi Sarako (1761–1819) from Dubrovnik. Further on, we will focus on the picture of a middle-class woman from Makarska. This visual source of women from Makarska was preserved thanks to Fortis's[52] travels through Dalmatia, and shows how oriental style and French fashion was adopted and assimilated into Dalmatian fashion styles.

---

[50] Jelena Ivoš, "Liturgijsko ruho" [Liturgical Vestments], *Zbirka Tekstila Muzeja za Umjetnost i obrt* (Zagreb: 2010), 31.

[51] Banić, "Prilog poznavanju", 461–499.

[52] Alberto Fortis (1741–1803) was a Venetian writer, naturalist, and cartographer. He journeyed extensively in Venetian Dalmatia. His best-known work is *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (*Travels into Dalmatia*), originally published in 1774 and first published in London in 1778.

The portraits "Katarina Righi Budmani" (Fig. 3.6) and "Ana Ghetaldi Sarako" (Fig. 3.7) from Dubrovnik illustrate two different fashion styles at the end of the 18th century with regards to hair, make-up, ornamentation and, in part, garments. A strong French influence is evident in both cases, which provided

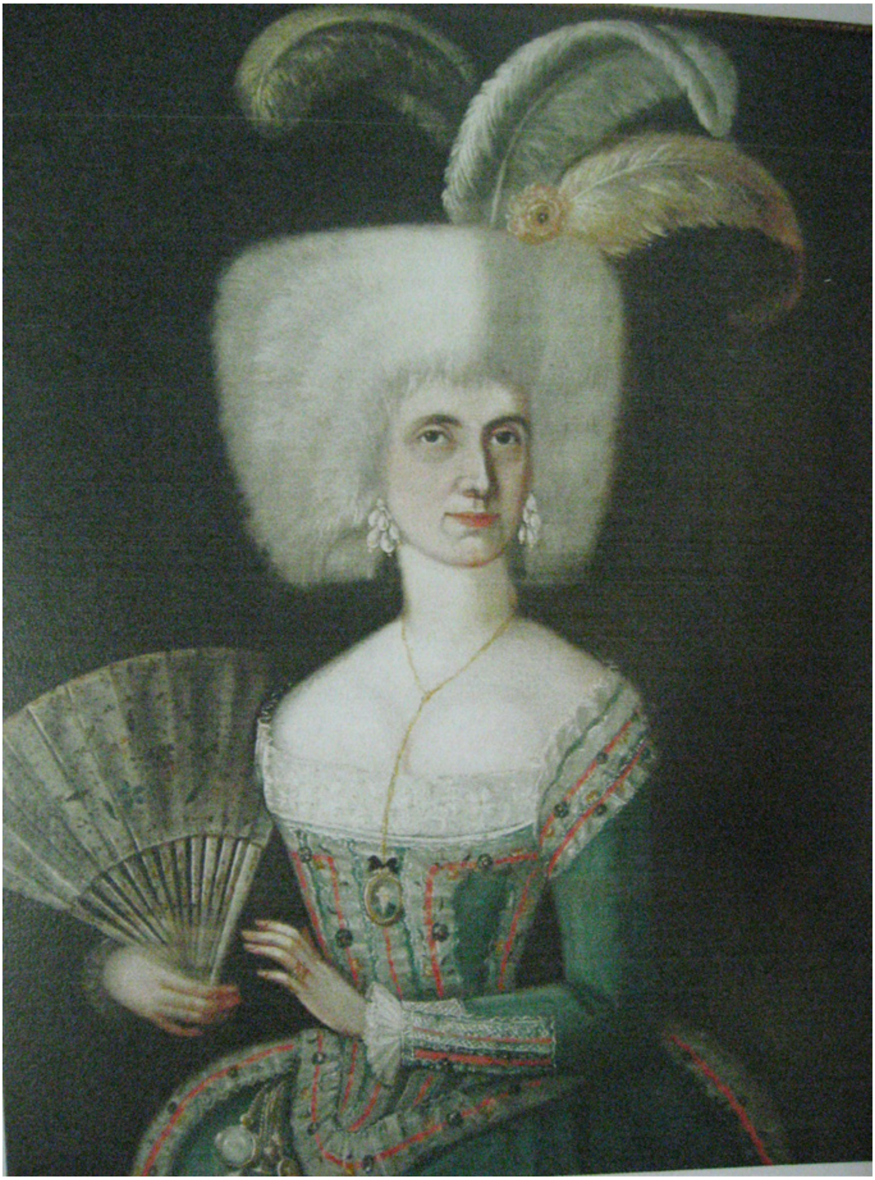


FIGURE 3.6 *Portrait of Katarina Righi Budmani, from the end of 18th century, Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik, Croatia (inventory number: DUM KPM SL-295).*

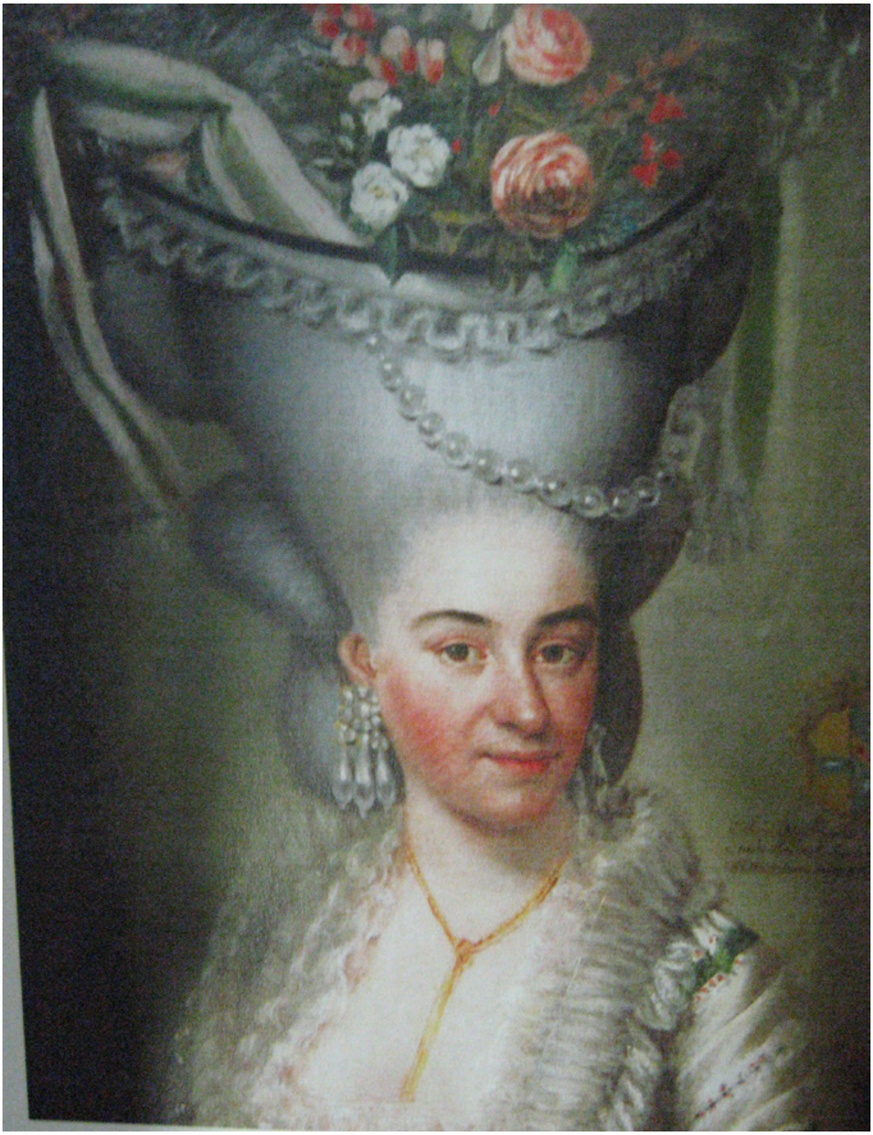


FIGURE 3.7 *Petar Katušić: Portrait of Ane Ghetaldi Saraca (Saraka), around 1781, Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik, Croatia (inventory number* DUM KPM SL*-188).*

remarkably creative adaptations in fashion styles in the wake of social revolutions and the reconstruction of class society at that time.

The portrait of Katarina Righi Budmani, by an unknown author, is preserved in the Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik and dates from the end of the 18th century. Due to the accentuated and sharply curved hips, the first impression of the dress suggests the form of a *robe à la française*. During the 1770s, this dress was worn primarily for formal ceremonies, whereas the *robe a l´anglaise* and *robe à la polonaise* were more commonly worn during the day. However, if we take the artist's technical skills into account and observe the difficulties in the realization of perspective, especially in the area around the shoulders, it is evident that determining the form of the garment should be approached with care. Another cause for caution is the fact that the lower part of the portrait ends at the hips, which makes it impossible to establish the direction of the decorative contours, the length of the dress, and, ultimately, the precise type of dress. Very narrow and simple sleeves, without elaborate decorations, indicate the common form of sleeve worn in the late 1770s and early 1780s.

However, if we compare this dress to a *robe à la polonaise*[53] model from 1774/93 exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, we can observe similarities both in form and trimmings. Similar elements can also be observed on the model of a *robe à la française*,[54] an artefact dating from 1780, exhibited in the same museum. The highly reduced waist, stomacher with silk ribbon decorations (the term *pettorine* or *prsnica*[55] was also used in Dalmatia), lace, ornamental buttons and accentuated, somewhat sharp hips, which seem to be shaped like a pannier, all indicate that the dress in question is of a *robe à la française* type.

Katarina Righi Budmani's jewellery includes earrings, a necklace, a ring and a piece of functional jewellery worn around the waist, the so-called *chatelaines* or *equipage* (gear). This type of jewellery, worn throughout the 18th and 19th centuries due to its practical and decorative qualities, was usually made of gold, silver, steel or other metals from which multiple pendants hung: a scissors etui, a watch, a puff box, smelling salts, keys, wax boxes, a thimble etc. The pendants observed in the portrait include a portrait medallion, several bells, and a pocket watch. A golden equipage, silver charms resembling blades, a golden heart-shaped charm, filigree crosses, pearls, gemstones and medallions with images of the Madonna, St. Anthony, and St. Helen are often mentioned in wills and dowries across Dalmatia.[56]

---

[53] Accession Number: 34.112a, b.

[54] Accession Number: 2009.300.855.

[55] Božanić-Bezić *Juditini dvori* [Judith's Chambers], 210.

[56] Božanić-Bezić, *Juditini dvori* [Judith's Chambers], 80; Vedrana Gjukić-Bender, *Zbirka portreta iz fundusa Kneževa dvora—muzejsko prezentacija, podrijetlo, putovi nabave* [A Collection of Portraits from the Funds of the Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik] (Doktorska disertacija obranjena na Filozofskom fakultetu) (Sveučilište u Zagrebu: 2012). (Doctoral dissertation held at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb: 2012).

The pearl earrings in the portrait drop in two lines of three tear-shaped forms. This formation of three clusters was common in mid-18th century fashion under the term *girandole* earrings.[57] Diamond girandoles can also be observed in the portrait of the Austrian princess Maria Luisa of Parma (1765) and Maria Luisa, the Grand Duchess of Tuscany by Anton Raphael Mengs (1764–5), as well as in the portrait of Ana Ghetaldi Sarako from 1781. Gold, silver, diamond, coral, pearl and filigree earrings were frequently given as gifts among the members of the privileged social classes in Dalmatia.[58] The gold necklaces observed in both portraits from Dubrovnik are of the same style and manner of wearing; however, Katarina Righi is wearing a necklace with a portrait medallion, a piece of sentimental or *memento mori* jewellery, which was especially popular in the second half of the 17th century.

In the 1770s, hairstyles in the French court reached the peak of inventiveness and creativity. The portraits from Dubrovnik feature two types of hairstyles, both with distinctive French signatures, even though there is no record of them in written sources. These portraits therefore represent the most valuable source of information available to comprehend the functioning of status symbols among the privileged classes in Dalmatia. In order to attain the desired height of the crown portion, women used implants made of wool, hemp fibres, and hair remnants or would even insert wire frames to build an entire composition around it. These elaborate hairstyles were additionally decorated with bands, pearls, flowers, vegetables, or even small replicas of ships and birdcages. In 1774, the Duchess of Devonshire created a great sensation by decorating her hair with an ostrich feather, as did Katarina Righi Budmani in the portrait from Dubrovnik. However, the latter depicts a somewhat more prominent crown portion of the hair resembling a bulge, with slightly geometrical forms of back-combed hair, which is typical of the French style at the end of the 1770s.[59]

The portrait of Ana Ghetaldi shows a white-coloured dress. A white dress, often mentioned in merchant lists from the Dalmatian region, was a more frequently encountered fashion garment from 1775 onwards, with the dominance of specific white hues: the so-called *cheveux de la Reine* (French for queen's hair—a burnished-blond hue similar to the colour of Marie Antoinette's hair) and *couleur de puce* (French for a deep red to dark greyish-purple), a colour Louis XVI of France was particularly fond of. Silk dyers of the 18th century used one basic dye to develop up to 30 different hues. For example, for white, there were six basic colours with multiple hues, with the following names: Indian white, Chinese white, raw yarn white, milk white, blue white and silver white. The difference in colouration of these fabrics was minimal and visually perceptible only when the fabrics were laid out close next to one another.[60]

---

[57] Adrien Goetz and Claudette Joannis, *Jewels in the Louvre* (Paris: 2008), 51.

[58] Božanić-Bezić, *Juditini dvori* [Judith's Chambers], 214.

[59] Aileen Ribeiro, *Facing Beauty: Painted Women & Cosmetic Art* (New Haven: 2011).

The portrait of the woman from Makarska by Alberto Fortis provides insight into the clothing culture of middle-class women in the 18th century. It also explains the influences that shaped the Dalmatian fashion style as it has since been preserved in traditional culture. In our reconstruction of fashion styles of this period, we observe with interest the assimilation of oriental style elements, adopted from the French court, with elements of indigenous clothes. In the intensive trade of the mid-18th century, the West was shipping French and Italian silk and English wool to the East via Venice, Ancona, Split or Dubrovnik, while eastern fabrics and Turkish oriental garments were imported to Venice via Split. Unlike western fashion garments of this period, oriental clothes did not restrain the human body but tended to reveal and affirm it.[61] Perhaps, it was precisely on these trade routes that dresses such as the *robe turque* or *robe à la Sultane* travelled to the French court.[62] Madame de Pompadour posed as a sultana for the artist Charles-André van Loo for her portraits in 1747 and 1755. The infatuation with oriental garments did not bypass the Viennese court, where Martin van Meytens portrayed Queen Maria Theresa in that style of dress (1744/1745). These garments also arrived in Dalmatia, where the *robe turque* was often worn by rich young women in Makarska (Fig. 3.8).[63] They belonged to the affluent social class of merchants and mariners, which emerged in the aftermath of the Ottoman-Venetian wars. This social class replaced the impoverished local nobility on the social ladder. Their daughters' dowries were often more abundant and luxurious than those of the impoverished local nobility.[64] As opposed to their peers in other cities, young women from Makarska wore

---

[60] Melissa Hyde, "The 'Makeup' of the Marquise: Boucher's Portrait of Pompadour at Her Toilette", *The Art Bulletin*, 82, 3 (London: 2000), 453–475.

[61] Bajić-Žarko, *Split*, 89.

[62] Parisian and London coloured fashion illustrations from the beginning of 1770 show the creative expansion of forms and terminology in women's fashion. This period marks the emergence of styles such as *à la circassienne, à la levantine, à la crèole*, which liberate the body like the aforementioned dress of the *à la sultana* type, remaining in vogue since the reign of Madame de Pompadour. Jane Ashelford, *The Art of Dress. Clothes through History 1500–1914* (London: 1996), 140–141; Madeleine Delpierre, *Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: 1997), 68.

[63] The drawing in Alberto Fortis's travelogue depicts a female commoner from Makarska, later used by Ivan Lovric in his work. Ivan Lovrić, *Bilješke o putu po Dalmaciji opata Alberta Fortisa* [Notes on Travels in Dalmatia], tabla V (Zagreb: 1948).

[64] Božanić-Bezić, "Čipka na odjeći", 13, 76.

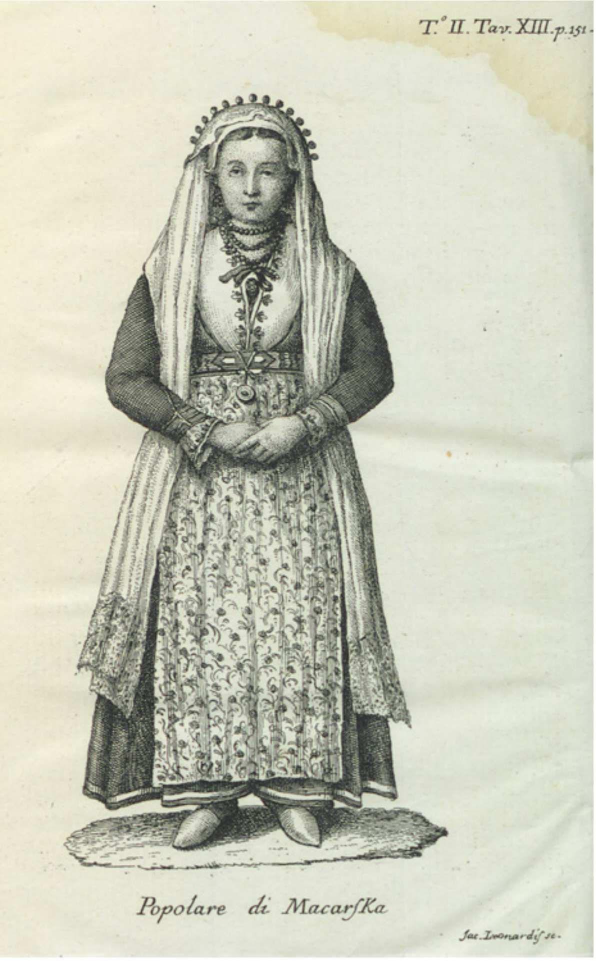

T.° II. Tav. XIII. p.151.
Popolare di Macarſka
Jac. Leonardis sc.

FIGURE 3.8 *Alberto Fortis: Young women from Makarska, 18th century Ivan Lovrić,* Bilješke o putu po Dalmaciji opata Alberta Fortisa [*Notes on 'Travels in Dalmatia*], *tabla V* (*Zagreb: 1948*)*, Zbirka rukopisa i starih knjiga* NSK*; Gajeva knjižnica; Europa čita = Reading Europe: European culture through the book,* NSK *000692410.*

a variety of headscarves such as the *alla turchescha* or *alla turca*,[65] along with the headgear *turban*, a jacket called a *jelek—geleco*,[66] made from fine Turkish silk, and other heavily-fringed items. Affluent mariners[67] brought Turkish silk scarves (*mahramas*), while women sewed their own jackets out of fine silk fabrics from Levant, wore shoes from Genoa and Livorno, and golden shoes from Constantinople,[68] as noted in the archives and the following folk poem:

---

[65] Božanić Bezić, *Juditini dvori* [Judith's Chambers], 62.

[66] Ibid., 68.

> And I will pray to the God Almighty,
> To blow the winds from down below,
> To bring the ship "Saruh" back to Pelješac,
> With my darling on board back from Levant
> Bringing me white scarves,
> Silk, gold and other treasures
> And the beautiful Levant thread,
> For me to make beautiful attires
> To walk gaudily all the way
> Even in my old age[69]

---

[67] Dalmatian mariners arrived in the ports of present day Belgium and the Netherlands, where they acquired Dutch and Reims plain weave fabrics used to sew women's shirts. These fabrics were owned by every middle-class bride. Young women of lower social classes attempted to sew at least sleeves out of this fabric. Nevenka Božanić-Bezić, "Odijevanja u Hvaru u XVIIII stoljeću" [Dressing on the Island of Hvar in the 18th Century], *Juditini dvori* [Judith's Chambers], (Split: 2001), 187–203.

The family Fisković in Orebić still preserves an Indian 18th-century fabric, brought by the captain Jozo Fisković from Mauricius, which was an intermediary trading point with India in that period. Cvito Fisković, "Putovanje na pelješkom jedrenjaku s kraja 18. i početka 19. stoljeća" [The Journey of Pelješac Sailing Boats from the Late 18th to Early 19th Centuries], *Pomorski zbornik* [Maritime Almanac], (Zagreb: 1962), 1752.

[68] Božanić-Bezić, Nevenka, "Utjecaj pomorskih veza na kulturu življenja u Dalmaciji i Dubrovačkoj Republici od 15. do 19. stoljeća" [The Influence of Maritime Connections on the Culture of Life in Dalmatia and the Dubrovnik Republic in the 15th and 19th Centuries], 66.

[69] I molit ću Boga velikoga,
Da zapuha odazdala vitra,
da brod "Saruh" doje do Pelješca,
i s njim da doje dragi s Levanta.
I donese bilih ubrusaca,
svile, zlata, blago diferanta.
I lipoga konca od Levanta,
Sa čim hoću lipu robu šiti.
do starosti gizdava hoditi.

Cvito Fisković, "Orebička ženska narodna nošnja" [The Female Folk Costume from Orebic], *Pelješki zbornik I* [Peljesac Almanac], (Split: 1976), 227–268.

Young women from rich mariners' families adopted the Turkish dress code as it gained popularity in the French court to communicate their newly gained financial power.

Moreover, lower social classes quickly adopted eastern garments (as well as the terminology), which were cheaper than western fashion merchandise. As the importation of goods was probably compromised following the outbreak of the Turkish-Venetian war, domestic craftsmen started making Turkish artefacts of their own.[70] It should be noted that the *alla turca* style, which was considered fashionable in 18th-century Dalmatia, became a part of the traditional culture over time. A preserved photograph of a woman from Makarska from 1905,[71] which is currently housed in the Berlin Archive, and traditional folk costumes which still manifest the cultural identity of this region substantiate this claim.

Unlike French fashion, the Turkish style did not strive to constrain the female body in corsets or panniers, but to hide it from the public eye. Strong Turkish influence in Dalmatia can be observed until the end of the 18th century, when middle-class women started abandoning the custom of covering their heads, as described in a humorous folk poem from the period:

> Some women and girls
> Having seen their daughters and old mothers
> Revealed their hair, and their breasts.
> And they feel no shame
> Sitting in the church.
> With a proud cheek and their bosom on display.[72]

---

[70] Božanić-Bezić, Nevenka, "Utjecaj pomorskih veza na kulturu življenja u Dalmaciji i Dubrovačkoj Republici od 15. do 19. stoljeća" [The Influence of Maritime Connections on the Culture of Life in Dalmatia and the Dubrovnik Republic in the 15th and 19th Centuries], *Juditini dvori* [Judith's Chambers], (Split: 2001), 62.

[71] Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nr.: N (74 P) 62⁄2007, 32d.

[72] Neke žene i divojke.
Videć ćeri, stare majke.
Odkriv kose, još I dojke.
I mnoge se sad ne stide.
Neg u crkvi one side.
Obraz prsi nek jim vide.
Ivan Milčetić, "Duhovne i šaljive pjesme iz Makarske" [Spiritual and funny poems from Makarska], *Građa za povijest književnosti V* [Archives for Literature History], (Zagreb: 1907), 163.

Owing to the work of Alberto Fortis, we learn more about the dressing habits of the lower social classes. Their clothes were primarily functional and seldom subject to change; they were commonly made from rough woven fabric (*raša*) and exhibited strong features of Turkish style.[73]

In our review of women's dress code in 18th-century Dalmatia, it is essential to gain an understanding of women's position in their families and society as a whole. Their position was slightly more favourable in Dalmatian coastal towns and on the islands, in comparison to women living in rural communities of the Dalmatian hinterland. Women of all social classes could ensure or enhance their social status by "marrying well". Potential brides used their clothes as a form of non-verbal communication, i.e. their garments were an indicator of their financial status. Whether traditional or fashionable, clothing was an indicator of luxury. The level of fashion consciousness depended on social class, and was exhibited through the choice of luxurious fabrics, garments arriving from both western and eastern markets, embellished by embroidery in intensive colours (especially red), lace trimmings, and jewellery. The dowries of noble and more affluent middle-class women comprised fashion articles from the West, combined with oriental garments. Women from more modest backgrounds sewed and embellished their own garments. However, the uncertain future of Dalmatian lower-class women encouraged them to pursue careers in the fashion market during the 18th century. They specialized in garment-finishing and making fashion accessories and embellishments, or trained to become lacemakers in convents. This was a process of gradual liberation of women from the traditional role imposed on them at birth. Noble-class women also made lace, but as a form of pastime. They also received private home education, learned Italian and French and played a musical instrument. Every affluent household in Dalmatia owned a personal library and led a social and cultural life similar to people in the West (e.g. organizing concerts, theatre-going). Noble women could easily access fashion innovations owing to the intense market trade in main ports or during their personal travels through Italy, although only in the company of their husbands; this was also customary among Romanian women, as Constanţa Vintilă-Ghiţulescu describes in her chapter.

The newly emerged social class of affluent young women from mariners' families acquired fashion innovations and oriental style indirectly through male family members working as sailors and ship captains.

---

[73] Fortis, *Put po Dalmaciji* [Travels into Dalmatia], 43.

Middle-class Dalmatian women were inspired by the trends among the nobility. However, they simultaneously developed their own dress code, based on autochthonous heritage fused with both eastern and western influences. These women gathered information on fashion innovations through fairs, whereas Turkish influences reached them indirectly through Bosnian traders. They commonly employed Venetian style (*alla veneziana*) in their choice of furniture and clothing, and ordered these artefacts from domestic artisans of various crafts.

Conclusion

In analyzing the historical and trading climate of 18th-century Dalmatia, our intention was to illustrate how a rich market enabled the development of various fashion styles, which would soon become an indicator of social status as their use was restricted and imposed by sumptuary laws. Fashion influences, which determined the appearance of noblewomen, middle-class women, and their counterparts in the lower social classes, arrived both from the West and the Orient. Intensive production of lace in convents and domestic craftsmanship indicates the concern with appearance and fashion among women of all social classes, whereas the few preserved garments illustrate adherence to European fashion guidelines and demonstrate the precision and artistry of their manufacture. The observed portraits indicate the complex hallmarks of the period, such as the wearer's social status, fashion movements, and the manner in which particular garments and ornaments were worn, while preserved clothing artefacts display the cutting patterns used, the tactile delicacy of the fabric, the manufacturing technique and the intensity of their colours. Since Italy and France, in particular, were fashion arbiters of the period, the overview emphasizes the presence of Italian, French and English fashion terminology in 18th-century Dalmatia as another important indicator of adherence to European fashion guidelines by local noblewomen and affluent citizens in their clothing culture and daily rituals. The fashion innovations adopted correspond, with only a slight delay, to those which originated in fashion capitals like Venice, Paris, and London, thus making Dalmatia the equivalent of other urban European regions. The essential differences in status and clothing styles among the nobility, middle-class women, and commoners were observed in dress types, use of fabrics, and types of jewellery, as substantiated by archival records and preserved portraits.

Translated by Antonia Treselj

Bibliography

Ashelford, Jane, *The Art of Dress. Clothes through History 1500–1914* (London: 1996).

Bajić – Žarko, Nataša, *Split kao trgovačko i tranzitno središte na razmeđu istoka i zapada u 18. stoljeću* [Split as a Trade and Transit Centre at the Crossroads of East and West in the 18th Century] (Split: 2004).

Banić, Silvija, "Prilog poznavanju sakralnih inventara otoka Raba: najvrjedniji povijesni tekstili sačuvani na misnom ruhu i drugim dijelovima liturgijske opreme" [Contributions to the Understanding of the Sacred Inventory from The Island of Rab: the Most Valuable Historical Textiles Preserved as Mass Attire and Other Parts of Liturgical Equipment], *Rapski zbornik II* (Rab: 2012), 461–499.

Bašić, Đivo, "Pomorstvo Dubrovnika od XII. do početka XX. Stoljeća" [The Maritime Affairs of Dubrovnik from the 12th to the Beginning of the 20th Century], *Pomorski zbornik* 44 [Maritime Anali 44] (Dubrovnik: 2006) 1, 139–177.

Benjamin, John, *Antique Jewellery* (Suffolk:2003).

Borders of Croatia on Maps from 12th–20th Centuries, The Museum of Arts and Crafts (Zagreb: 1992).

Božanić-Bezić, Nevenka, "Prilog dubrovačkom umjetničkom vezivu XVI. Stoljeća" [The Contribution of Dubrovnik Embroidery from the 16th Century], *Prilozi povjest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 14* (Split:1962), 153–164.

Božanić-Bezić, Nevenka, "Tradicija čipkarse tehnike na otocima Hvaru i Visu od XVII stoljeća do danas" [Traditions of Lacemaking on the Islands of Hvar and Vis from the 17th century Onwards], *Makedonski folklor*, god. XVIII, 35 (Skopje: 1985), 101–106.

Božanić-Bezić Nevenka, "Hvarske i viške u svjetlu arhivskih izvora od 16. do 18 stoljeća", [Archival Records from Hvar and Vis from the 16th–18th Centuries], *Prilozi povijesti otoka Hvara*, X (Hvar: 1997) 101–109.

Božanić-Bezić, Nevenka, *Tragom renesansno-barokne čipke u dalmatinskim samostanima*, [Renaissance and Baroque Lace in Dalmatian Monasteries], (Korčula: 1999), 109–117.

Božanić-Bezić, Nevenka, *Juditini dvori* [Judith's Chambers], (Split: 2001).

Božanić-Bezić, Nevenka, "Odijevanja u Hvaru u XVIIII stoljeću" [Dressing on the Island of Hvar in the 18th Century], *Juditini dvori* [Judith's Chambers], (Split: 2001), 187–203.

Božanić-Bezić, Nevenka, "Utjecaj pomorskih veza na kulturu življenja u Dalmaciji i Dubrovačkoj Republici od 15. do 19. stoljeća" [The Influence of Maritime Connections on the Culture of Life in Dalmatia and the Dubrovnik Republic in the 15th and 19th Centuries], *Juditini dvori* [Judith's Chambers], (Split: 2001), 55–67.

Božanić-Bezić. Nevenka, "Prilog istraživanju čipke u Dalmaciji" [Contributions to the Research of Lace from Dalmatia], *Središnji čipkarski tečaj u Beču* (Lepoglava: 2002), 60–72.

Božanić-Bezić. Nevenka, "Čipka na odjeći u 18. stoljeću u srednjoj Dalmaciji" [Lace on Clothing from the 18th Century in Dalmatia], *Čipka u kulturi tekstila i odijevanja* (Lepoglava:2003), 9–17.

Božanić-Bezić, Nevenka, "Umjetnički dodiri dviju jadranskih obala u 17. i 18. Stoljeću" [Artistic Encounters Between Two Adriatic Coasts in the 17th and 18th Centuries], *Zbornik radova* (Split: 2007), 121–127.

Božić Bužančić, Danica, *Privatni i društveni život Splita u osamnaestom stoljeću* [The Private and Social life of Split in the 18th Century] (Zagreb: 1982).

Boucher, Francoise, *A History Of Costume in the West* (London: 1997).

Braudel, Fernand, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Centuries, Vol 1: The Structures of Everyday Life* (London: 1981).

Campbell, Gordon (ed.), "Bizzare Silk", *The Grove Encyclopedia of Decorative Arts*, Volume I, (Oxford University Press: 2006), 113–114.

Car, Gordana, *Pregled muških odijela druge polovice 18. stoljeća u Hrvatskoj* [Review of Men's Suits from the Second Half of the 18th Century], Diplomski rad obranjen na Tekstilno- tehnološkom fakultetu u Zagrebu (12.05.2013.).

Celio Cega, Fani, *Svakidašnji život grada Trogira od sredina 18. do sredine 19. stoljeća* [The Daily Life of Trogir from the Mid-18th to Mid-19th century], (Split: 2005).

Chrisman-Campbell, Kimberly, "From Baroque Elegance to the French Revolution: 1700–1790 ", *The Fashion Reader* (Oxford: 2007), 6–20.

Craven Elizabeth, *Letters from the Right Honourable Lady Craven, to his Serene Highness The Margrave of Anspach, During her Travels Through France, Germany and Russia in 1785 and 1786* (London: 1814).

Čoralić, Lovorka, "Prilog poznavanju prisutnosti i djelovanja hrvatskih trgovaca u Mlecima (15–18 stoljeća)" [Contributions to Knowledge of the Presence and Activities of Croatian Retailers in Venice (15th–18th Centuries)], *Povijesni prilozi 22* (Zagreb: 2002) 41.–73.

Delpierre, Madeleine, *Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: 1997).

Eckhel, Nerina, *Lacemaking in Croatia* (Zagreb: 2007).

Fisković, Cvito, "Putovanje na pelješkom jedrenjaku s kraja 18. i početka 19. stoljeća" [The Journey of Pelješac Sailing Boats from the Late 18th to Early 19th Centuries], *Pomorski zbornik* [Maritime Almanac], (Zagreb: 1962), 1752.

Fisković, Cvito, "Orebička ženska narodna nošnja" [The Female Folk Costume from Orebic], *Pelješki zbornik I* [Peljesac Almanac], (Split: 1976), 227–268.

Fortis, Alberto, *Put po Dalmaciji* [Travels into Dalmatia], (Split: 2004).

Frampton, Mary, *The Journal of Mary Frampton: From the Year 1779 Until the Year 1846* (London: 1885).

Fukai, Akiko, "Rococo and Neoclassical Clothing", *Revolution in Fashion; European Clothing, 1715–1815* (New York: 1989).

Gail, Marsh, *18th-Century Embroidery Techniques* (Lewes: 2006).

Ginsburg, Madeleine, Avril Hart and Valerie Mendes, *Four Hundred Years of Fashion* (London: 1984).

Gjukić-Bender, Vedrana, *Zbirka portreta iz fundusa Kneževa dvora—muzejsko prezentacija, podrijetlo, putovi nabave* [A Collection of Portraits from the Funds of the Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik] (Doktorska disertacija obranjena na Filozofskom fakultetu, Sveučilište u Zagrebu: 2012).

Goetz, Adrien and Joannis, Claudette, *Jewels in the Louvre* (Paris: 2008).

Gušić, Marijana, "Proučavanje čipkarske proizvodnje na Hvaru", [The Study of Lace Production on Hvar] *Ljetopis JAZU* knj. 67, (Zagreb: 1960), 326–238.

Gušić, Marijana, "Zbirka čipaka sv. Marije u Zadru" [Laces from the Church Museum of Saint Marija in Zadar], *Radovi Zavoda JAZU*, VI–VII (Zadar: 1960), 81–96.

Gušić, Marijana "Uz pitanje dubrovačke čipke" [Questions about the History of Dubrovnik Lace], *Anali Historijskog instituta u Dubrovniku,* (Dubrovnik: 1952), 331–340.

Hart, Avril and Susan, North, *Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Fashion in Detail* (*London:* 2009).

Herkov, Zlatko, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine* [The History of Trade in Zagreb] (Zagreb: 1987).

Horvat, Rudolf, *Kaptolski cehovi u Zagrebu* [Kaptol Guilds in Zagreb] (Zagreb: 1936).

Horvat, Rudolf, *Povijest trgovine obrta i industrije u Hrvatskoj* [The History of Trade, Crafts and Industry in Croatia] (Zagreb: 1994).

Hyde, Melissa, "The 'Makeup' of the Marquise: Boucher's Portrait of Pompadour at Her Toilette", *The Art Bulletin*, 82 (3). (London: 2000), 453–475.

Ivoš, Jelena, "Liturgijsko ruho" [Liturgical Vestments], *Zbirka Tekstila Muzeja za Umjetnost i obrt* (Zagreb : 2010).

Janeković Römer, Zdenka, Nasilje zakona: Gradska vlast i privatni život u kasno srednjovjekovnom i ranonovovjekovnom Dubrovniku [The Violence of Law: City Authorities and Private Life in Medieval and Early Modern Dubrovnik] (Dubrovnika: 2003).

Karaman, Igor, "Zagrebački trgovci u 17 i 18 stoljeću" [Merchants from Zagreb in the 17th and 18th Centuries], *Historijski zbornik*, god. XXIX–XXX, (Zagreb:1976–1978).

Lovrić, Ivan, *Bilješke o putu po Dalmaciji opata Alberta Fortisa* [Notes on Travels in Dalmatia], tabla V (Zagreb: 1948).

Marković Vladimir, Prijatelj-Pavičić Ivana, Umjetnički dodiri dviju jadranskih obala u 17. i 18. stoljeću [Artistic Encounters Between Two Adriatic Coasts in the 17th and 18th Centuries] (Split: 2003).

Markowsky, Barbara, *Europaische Seidengewebe des 13.'14. Jahrhunderts* (Koln: 1976).

Ivan Milčetić, "Duhovne i šaljive pjesme iz Makarske" [Spiritual and Funny Songs from Makarska], *Građa za povijest književnosti V* [Archives of History for Literature V], (Zagreb: 1907), 163.

Mottola, Molfino, Alessandra and Maria Teresa Binaghi Olivari, *I pizzi: moda e simbolo* (Milano: 1977).

Novak, Grgo, *Split u svjetskom prometu* [Split as a Part of World Traffic] (Split: 1930).

Novak, Grgo, *Povijest Splita* [The History of Split] (Split: 1964).

Novak, Grga, *Hvar kroz stoljeća* [The Island of Hvar Through the Centuries] (Hvar: 1972), 130–133.

Pavelić, Vanda, *Oblici odjeće* [Types of Clothing] (Zagreb: 1955).

Ribeiro, Aileen, *Facing Beauty: Painted Women & Cosmetic Art* (New Haven: 2011).

Sadako, Takeda, Sharon and Kaya, Durland, Spilker, *Fashioning Fashion: European Dress in Detail 1700–1915* (Los Angeles: 2010).

Simončič, Katarina Nina, "Jacket-bodices from the End of the 17th Century—Analyses and Attributes", *Book of Proceedings for the 7th International Textile, Clothing & Design Conference* (Zagreb: 2014), 640–645.

Stojan, Slavko, *U salonu Marije Giorgi Bona* [In the Salon of Marija Giorgi Bona] (Dubrovnik: 1996).

Thepaut-Cabasset, Corinne, *The Mouche, Beauty Patch. Innovation, Name and Reputation* (2012) http://www.fashioningtheearlymodern.ac.uk/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/The-Mouche-Object-in-focus-final-text1.pdf.

Weber, Caroline, *Queen of Fashion—What Marie Antoinette Wore to the Revolution* (New York: 2007).

CHAPTER 4

A Dialogue of Sources: Greek Bourgeois Women and Material Culture in the Long 18th Century

Artemis Yagou

The Context

In the Ottoman-dominated Europe of the Early Modern period (17th to 19th centuries), certain non-Muslim populations, especially the Christian elites, defined their social status and identity at the intersection of East and West. The westernization of southeastern Europe proceeded not just through the spread of Enlightenment ideas and the influence of the French Revolution, but also through changes in visual culture brought about by western influence on notions of luxury and fashion. This approach allows a closer appreciation of the interactions between traditional culture, political thought, and social change in the context of the modernization or "Europeanization" of this part of Europe.[1]

The role of the "conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant" in these processes has been duly emphasized.[2] The Balkan Orthodox merchant represented the main vehicle of interaction and interpenetration between the Ottoman realm and the West, bringing the Balkans closer to Europe than ever before.[3] The gradual expansion of Greek merchants beyond local trade and their penetration into export markets is the most characteristic event of the 18th century in Ottoman-dominated Greece.[4] This was triggered by political developments, more specifically the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774, the opening of the Black

---

[1] LuxFaSS Research Project, http://luxfass.nec.ro, [accessed 30 May 2017].

[2] Troian Stoianovich. "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant," *The Journal of Economic History* 20 (1960): 234–313.

[3] Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1987); Vladislav Lilić, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant, by Traian Stoianovich. *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 20, no. 2, June 1960, 234–313", *Global History Review*, March 2015, https://globalhistoryreview.wordpress.com/2015/03/21/the-conquering-balkan-orthodox-merchant-by-traian-stoianovich-the-journal-of-economic-history-vol-20-no-2-june-1960-pp-234-313/ [accessed 30 May 2017].

[4] Serapheim Maximos, *Η Αυγή του Ελληνικού Καπιταλισμού: Τουρκοκρατία 1685–1789* (Athens, 2008), 108.

© ARTEMIS YAGOU, 2018 | DOI:10.1163/9789004355095_006

This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

Sea to foreign navigation in 1783, and the outcome of the 1788–92 conflict with Russia which reduced the former political and diplomatic preponderance of France and created a forced rapprochement between the Ottomans and the Russian and Austrian empires. Certain local communities benefited from this shift in the diplomatic balance of power, especially Greek and other Balkan merchants who already participated in a thriving trade with central Europe.[5] Alongside an Ottoman bureaucratic bourgeoisie, a commercial bourgeoisie materialized as Ottoman minority merchants engaged in trade with the West under the legal protection of major western powers.[6] The gradual rise in the mercantile and shipping activity of the Ottoman Greeks reached its apogee between 1780 and 1820, as non-Muslim Ottoman merchants acquired economic and social privileges which allowed them more freedom in their social behaviour, as demonstrated especially in their attire and their consumption of foodstuffs.[7] Greek merchants played the all-important intermediary role between European powers and the Ottoman world which resulted in substantial financial prosperity for themselves and enabled their incorporation into the wider system of division of labour.[8]

Until recently, these significant developments have been neglected or ignored in Greek historiography, which bypassed the "dark age" of subjection to Ottoman rule under the telling term of Tourkokratia (*Τουρκοκρατία*/ Turkish rule). In many cases, Greek national (and nationalist) historiography has employed this non-historical dark age of undifferentiated and opaque Tourkokratia to transform the Greek presence under Ottoman rule into a discourse of proto-national victimization and martyrology.[9] Such dominant one-sided views have been exploited in different ways in the young Greek State of the 19th century and beyond: they were used as tools for nation-building, for shaping a collective identity, and for creating a more attractive national history, indeed a national mythology. This situation is gradually changing, leading to a more complex and nuanced understanding of the state of the Greek minority in the Ottoman Empire.[10] Although the Greek populations were certainly in a subservient position, that of a *raya*, experiencing great insecurity and being deprived of basic rights, we may challenge their position as victims and point to the need to discover and describe the specifics of their condition. Recent research suggests that the Ottoman system of power was not complacent at all, but at the same time it was not founded on direct and continuous violence. It was relatively stable, its stability resulting from the consent of its subjects. This consent did not reflect an ideal co-existence of different cultures but the structure of power relations and the imposition of power and violence, when necessary.[11] Additionally, the social and intellectual stagnation did not necessarily mean material deprivation.[12]

---

[5] Edhem Eldem, "Capitulations and Western Trade", in Suraiya N. Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 3: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839* (Cambridge: 2008), 323.

[6] Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of the Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York: 1996), 44–45.

[7] Sophia Laiou, "The Ottoman Greek 'Merchants of Europe' at the beginning of the 19th Century", in Evangelia Balta, Georgios Salakidis, Theoharis Stavrides (eds.), *Festschrift in Honor of Ioannis P. Theocharides. Studies on the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, vol. II* (Istanbul: 2014), 313–331.

[8] Maximos, 49.

[9] Edhem Eldem, "Greece and the Greeks in Ottoman History and Turkish Historiography", *The Historical Review*, vol. 6 (2009), 33 and 37.

Thus, despite the restrictive and highly regulated environment, the gradual decline of Ottoman rule and the aforementioned political developments in the second half of the 18th century led to an expansion of trade and brought about economic and cultural growth in the south Balkan area. The prosperity resulting from increased trade activities went hand in hand with and underpinned the emergence of a Greek bourgeois class, particularly on the central-northern mainland, the Aegean islands, and the cities of Constantinople (Istanbul) and Smyrna (Izmir), where the major hubs of commercial activities were to be found. Commerce on land and sea led to education, new professions, the establishment of technical guilds, and other bourgeois activities.[13] These, in turn, became the springboards for the differentiation of Greek bourgeois social strata, a distinct Greek "European" world within Ottoman society.[14] The economic power of this rising Greek bourgeoisie was combined with deepening ties with Europe, with intellectual growth, and with the strengthening of a distinct identity.[15] Among the expressions of this new identity was the acquisition and enjoyment of material wealth, including luxury objects.[16]

Within this context, Vassilis Panagiotopoulos discusses this transitional period for Greek communities under Ottoman domination at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th. He writes about new attitudes that emerge at the turn of the century in "the city of Enlightenment, Yannina", especially as far as women are concerned. There were numerous signs of a new ethos in town: new sartorial habits accompany more liberal morals and novel behaviours. This ethos became more and more visible to Christians and Muslims alike, even threatening, as it upset longstanding beliefs and habits as well as questioned the status quo. There was a faint, albeit real, echo of new messages that emanated primarily from the cities of the European Enlightenment and reached Yannina via the local Diaspora. Influences from Paris, Vienna, various Italian cities, Budapest, the Danubian Principalities, as well as Istanbul, were corroding the traditional local nexus and set the tone for the approaching change.[17] Fashion was included in the public expression of an emergent bourgeois identity. Although Ottoman sumptuary laws restricted the use of specific fabrics or colours, and interventions by ecclesiastical authorities condemned luxury as a moral sin, the invasion of novelty was forceful and women participated in these transformative processes.[18]

---

[10] Alkis Angelou, *Το Κρυφό Σχολειό: Το Χρονικό ενός Μύθου* (Athens: 2007); *Μύθοι και ιδεολογήματα στη σύγχρονη Ελλάδα* (Athens: 2007); Eldem, "Greece and the Greeks", 40.

[11] Petros Pizanias, *Η Ιστορία των Νέων Ελλήνων από το 1400 έως το 1820* (Athens: 2014), 53–55 and 99.

[12] Pizanias, 132.

[13] Pizanias, 422.

[14] Pizanias, 431.

[15] Pizanias, 458.

[16] Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie.*

Greek Bourgeois Women: Sources and Images

This chapter deals with Greek-speaking Christian women belonging to the Rum *millet* of the Ottoman Empire; constrained by both gender and religion, they occupied a sensitive position in the social milieu, where established conventions placed "men above women and Muslims above non-Muslims".[19] The chapter focuses, in particular, on the lives of women of the emerging Greek middle class.[20] The time frame of the study is the long 18th century, i.e., up to the beginning of the Greek War of Independence in 1821. This period may be described as a significant transitional phase: in political and social terms, it prepared the demand for autonomy and eventually the War of Independence.[21] These developments arguably influenced women in ways that are not fully documented and therefore require extensive research.

More generally, the position and role of women living in the Ottoman Empire is a topic neglected by academic research. Madeline Zilfi notes that historians of the Ottoman era, with few exceptions, have not "attended to women", although she acknowledges that, as of the mid-1980s, thanks to the historiographical turn towards social historical themes, the study of women and gender began to assume a more central place in the new history "from below", especially through research into state archives, court records, and travel accounts.[22] Edhem Eldem observes, in particular, the "much understudied world of men and women of modest means, the urban poor, the rural populations and the marginal characters of port cities".[23] Betül İpşirli Argit also states that more image-based studies are needed for non-Muslim women, to complement the studies based on written sources.[24] Despite the progress thus far, the world of Greek women in the Ottoman Empire remains largely unknown, making it very difficult to imagine or reconstruct this world through concrete examples. With few exceptions, such as studies preserving the names of specific women, resources on this topic are scarce and the female world remains largely hidden from us.[25] A recent research programme (*O Hermēs ton Neon Ellēnon 1700–1832*) involved the creation of a digital database of personal data for Greek people in the Early Modern period, including information on 37,183 individuals, all men, among them 4,287 revolution fighters, 1,532 members of the Filiki Etaireia secret society, and 483 intellectuals.[26] Given the scarcity of information on women, this repository of distinguished men is arguably a precious source for approaching female lives indirectly, in the same way that the correspondence between two Greek brothers about marriage offers valuable insights into the position and habits of Greek women in the first half of the 18th century.[27]

---

[17] Vassilis Panagiotopoulos, *Αρχείο Αλή Πασά, Τόμος Δ'* (Athens: 2009), 124–126.

[18] Julia Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, "Χρυσά Σιρίτια και Μπαλωμένα Παπούτσια: Ο Λόγος περί Μόδας στον Νεοελληνικό Διαφωτισμό", *Ta Historika*, vol. 62 (2015): 55–80.

[19] Betül İpşirli Argıt, "Women in the Early Modern Ottoman World: A Bibliographical Essay", *Akademik Araştilmalar Dergisi* 60 (2014): 7.

[20] Greek women of the urban poor or rural populations are not discussed in this chapter.

[21] Pizanias, 455–476.

Foreign travellers' accounts are also sources of substantial value, offering a combination of textual and visual material which, however, should be treated with great caution. While printed visual sources by foreign travellers constitute a charming and legible corpus bearing a multitude of signs about history, sociology, and fashion, they are a research tool that should be used with prudence.[28] For instance, Olga Augustinos rightly observes that "Useful though they may be as sources of information, travelogues are even more significant as documents showing the reasoning process, criteria, and perceptual framework that representatives of one culture, in this case western European, used consciously or unconsciously in order to understand and evaluate another culture."[29] Admittedly, the representations of the "Other" in travellers' accounts constitute a repository of collective knowledge that also included stereotypes for the "Other".

---

[22] Madeline C. Zilfi, (ed.), *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era* (Leiden: 1997).

[23] Eldem, "Greece and the Greeks", 32.

[24] Betül İpşirli Argıt, "Visual Material as a Source for the Study of Ottoman Women in the Early Modern Era", in: Türe, D. Fatma and Birsen Talay Keşoğlu (eds). *Women's Memory: The Problem of Sources* (Newcastle upon Tyne: 2011), 29–39.

[25] Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, "Χρυσά Σιρίτια".

[26] Pizanias, 229, 410 and 415.

[27] Eftychia Liata, "Τεκμήρια για την Αθηναϊκή Κοινωνία στις Αρχές του 18ου Αιώνα: Η Αθηναϊκή Αστική Φορεσιά", *Mnēmon*, 11, 1987, 32–53.

The content of such accounts was often based on fleeting impressions, unchecked information, or personal idealizations. This filtering of experience and the ensuing process of conversion followed the standards and values of the viewer. Although popular collections of engravings attempt to record the typical, what is seen as typical is more often than not the alien—in other words what is divergent from the standards of the society from which the travellers and their public emanate. This leads to generalizations and results in the propagation of stereotypes for the "Other". At the same time, early modern European travel-writing offered valuable insights into otherwise undocumented realities, in this case into the lives of Christian women in pre-revolutionary Greece, especially since ethnographic interest assumed a more scientific and systematic character during the 18th century, leading travellers to switch their attention to daily life.[30] Furthermore, travel accounts opened European minds to cultural diversity as they enabled the circulation of so many foreign elements.[31]

The Von Parish Library as a Research Resource

In this context, a relevant resource has been identified: the von Parish Costume Library (von Parish Kostümbibliothek) in Munich, part of the city's municipal museum (Münchner Stadtmuseum). Accessible yet unexplored, this resource has offered a useful point of departure for the study of Greek women in the Ottoman Empire.

---

[28] Fani-Maria Tsigakou, "Εικαστικές Εκδοχές των Ελληνικών Ενδυμασιών: Προβλήματα Εγκυρότητας", in *Λαϊκή Τέχνη, Νέα Ευρήματα—Νέες Ερμηνείες*, ed. Handaka Sophia (Athens: 2015), 81–90.

[29] Olga Augustinos, *French Odysseys: Greece in French Travel Literature from the Renaissance to the Romantic Era* (New York: 1994). See also: Ioli Vingopoulou, *Travelogues*, 2014, http://eng.travelogues.gr, Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation [accessed 30 May 2017].

[30] Julia Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, *Ταξίδι, Γραφή, Αναπαράσταση: Μελέτες για την Ταξιδιωτική Γραμματεία του 18ου Αιώνα* (Athens: 2015).

[31] Alexander Bevilacqua and Helen Pfeifer, "Turquerie: Culture in Motion, 1650–1750", *Past and Present*, no 221 (2013), 89.

The von Parish Costume Library is a large collection of more than 35,000 books, 50,000 drawings and prints, and 500,000 photographs. The collection was created by Hermine von Parish (1907–1998), who had a passion for female costume and gathered the material over several decades through her travels and her searches for items in antique shops and auction houses. In 1970, the collection was bought by the municipal museum of Munich and is now available to researchers for study. However, the library material is inadequately documented and there is minimal information about provenance or about the logic behind the collection.[32] According to Dr. Esther Sünderhauf, director of the von Parish Costume Library, the only criterion for purchases was the subject of costume: Hermine von Parish was collecting visual material from any place and time, as long as it was a representation of costume and dress. Acquisitions, including individual prints and drawings, photographs, and newspaper cuttings, as well as books, were not recorded when the purchases were made.[33] The cost of documentation and the lack of appropriate staff have further hindered subsequent procedures of cataloguing.[34]

Within the collection, items of direct relevance to Greek women of the 17th–19th centuries include a copy of the highly influential publication *Trachten und Gebräuche der Neugriechen* (Costumes and Customs of the New Greeks) published in 1831 by the classicist and traveller Otto Magnus von Stackelberg (1786–1837),[35] as well as a number of individual prints on paper made using various techniques (lithographs, copperplates, woodcuts, etc.), either mounted on card or placed in passe-partouts. Several of the prints can be identified as copies of images from well-known travelogues: Joseph Pitton de Tournefort's (1656–1708) travel account with illustrations by the artist Claude Aubriet (1665–1742),[36] the travel account of Choiseul-Gouffier (1752–1817) with images by the artist Jean-Baptiste Hilaire (1753–1822),[37] as well as the aforementioned von Stackelberg publication. Arguably, the earliest representation of a Greek woman in the collection is the print entitled "Concubina Rhodiana" (Catalogue Number Pa/12808), a copy of an image from the late 17th-century travelogue of Rhodes Island by Vincenzo Maria Coronelli (1650–1718).[38] There are also various copies of prints by Christoph Weigel the Elder (1654–1725), who was active in Nuremberg. In Early Modern Europe, prints reproducing images from travelogues were very popular and were widely copied, reproduced, and circulated; indeed, they became highly desired objects of consumption. Among other things, prints satisfied the public appetite for impressions and knowledge of other cultures; the distinctive characteristics of prints as commodities may also reveal a lot about the rise of interest in superfluous objects in general.[39] Printed engravings of foreign cultures were luxuries the middle classes of Europe could afford and they were inseparable from new forms of economic and commercial organization.[40]

---

[32] Susanne Hermanski, "Schöne Hüllen gegen böse Geister", *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 17 April 2007, 45; Jürgen Moises, "Dem Zeitgeist auf der Spur", *Abendzeitung*, 18 April 2007; Gabi Peters, "Wo der Modezar am Bananenrock schnüffelt", *Bayerische Staatszeitung*, no. 36, 7 September 2007; Stephan Handel, "Die Mode-Sammlerin", *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 14 April 2009; Erika Dichtl, "Ein Leben für die Geschichte der Kostüm-Mode: Hermine von Parish", *Neuhauser Werkstatt-Nachrichten*, November 2012, 58–62.

[33] Personal communication by e-mail with Dr. Esther Sünderhauf, 15 December 2015.

[34] Hermine von Parish, "Bibliothek und Dokumentation des Kostümforschungsinstituts von Parish in München", *Bayern BFB*, vol. 18 (3) (München: 1990), 302–311. The catalogues of the library that have been consulted for the present text include the title of each item, its production technique (e.g. copperplate, coloured lithograph, etc.), and the value in German Marks (it is unclear if this was the price paid for the acquisition of the item or an estimated value at the time of the catalogue creation).

[35] Otto Magnus von Stackelberg, *Trachten und Gebräuche der Neugriechen*, (Berlin: 1831).

The use of images as historical evidence is a relatively new endeavour and enables historians of the present to "imagine" the past more vividly.[41] Images may operate in a complementary fashion to written documents, as they help visualize information that has been mentioned in written texts or provide evidence for aspects of social reality that the texts have overlooked. Visual material offers clues about small details and enables us to get a feel of the spirit of the age.[42] Such "glimpses of lived lives"[43] support our efforts to reimagine the lives of Greek women in the Ottoman Empire. Even though the von Parish collection is a modest resource, shaped by the sincere passion of its creator and not by the systematic and scientific mentality of a researcher, the collection offers the latter direct access to original visual material from the past and may contribute to informing new research. Given these reservations, the images from the von Parish collection deserve to be examined in conjunction with and complementary to other sources.

---

[36] Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant, fait par ordre du Roy. Contenant l'histoire ancienne & moderne de plusieurs Isles de l'Archipel, de Constantinople, des côtes de la Mer Noire, de l'Armenie, de la Georgie, des frontières de Perse & de l'Asie Mineure. Avec les plans des villes & des lieux considérables …, t. I*, (Paris: 1717).

[37] Marie-Gabriel-Florent-Auguste de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce* (Paris: 1782).

[38] Vincenzo Maria Coronelli and Antonio Parissoti, *Isola di Rodi Geografica-Storica, Antica e Moderna, coll' altre adiacenti già possedute da Cavalieri Hospitalieri di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme. Opera de Padri Maestri Coronelli Cosmografo della Serenissima Republica di Venetia, e Parisotti Storiografo dell' Accademia Cosmografica degli Argonauti …*, (Venice: 1688).

[39] Peter Parshall, "Prints as Objects of Consumption in Early Modern Europe", in: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, vol. 28, (1998), 19–36.

[40] Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, 79.

[41] Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: 2001).

From Images to Objects

Three copperplates have particularly attracted our attention because of the richness and originality of their content. They are entitled "Bourgeoises de l'Ile de Tine" (Bourgeois Women of the Island of Tinos) (Catalogue Number Pa/12796/2), "Dames de l'Ile de Tine" (Ladies of the Island of Tinos) (Catalogue Number Pa/12796/1), "Femmes de l'Ile de Santorin" (Women of the Island of Santorini) (Catalogue Number Pa/12848) respectively, and can be identified as copies of the original illustrations with the same titles made by Jean-Baptiste Hilaire and included in the account of the 1776 travel of Marie-Gabriel-Florent-Auguste de Choiseul-Gouffier, published in Paris in 1782 under the title *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*.[44] In the reproductions found in the von Parish collection, the drawings are mirrored and of lower quality than the originals by Hilaire, lacking in precision and clarity. A more thorough examination of the details of objects depicted in the images would entail viewing images from the original Choiseul-Gouffier publication. Despite the low quality of the images examined, their content is fascinating and shows rare views of interior spaces of Greek households in the Ottoman Empire, including images of women and children.

The image entitled "Bourgeoises de l'Ile de Tine" shows a woman with her two children in a room, sitting next to a window with a drawn curtain on a sofa richly covered with textiles. The woman is apparently teaching the elder child how to knit, while the younger one may be seen in a wooden cot nearby. Both mother and elder child wear elegant clothes and elaborate headdresses;

---

[42] İpşirli Argıt, "Visual Material", 29–39. İpşirli Argıt, "Women in the Early Modern Ottoman World".

[43] Zilfi, *Women in the Ottoman Empire,* 5.

[44] Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*. See also Christine Peltre, *Retour en Arcadie: Le Voyage des Artistes Français en Grèce au XIX*^e^ *Siècle* (Paris: 1997).

the woman also wears a pendant necklace. On the wall behind them, there is a shelf with various ceramic vessels (bowls, jugs, etc.), while on the side there is a window with a plush curtain. Overall, the image gives not only an impression of material ease, but also, and more importantly, an atmosphere of peace and dignity, where the mother enjoys time spent with her children, looking after them and teaching them.

In another mirrored copy of an Hilaire image from the Choiseul-Gouffier publication, the illustration entitled "Dames de l'Ile de Tine", two elegantly-dressed, young-looking women sit by a window, one of them holding a book and reading, the other one sitting in a very leisurely manner, either listening or daydreaming, with a cat by her side. On one side of the women, there is a wooden table with some vessels (lamp, ceramic plates, jug, and bowl with spoon), on the other side there is a musical instrument (a version of *tambouras*) on the couch. The image is extraordinary in that it associates women with two activities, reading and music-playing, which may be considered as elements of a highly cultivated, comfortable, even sumptuous life.

The third illustration, entitled "Femmes de l'Ile de Santorin", shows two women relaxing and conversing in an interior space, by the window. The image of the space surrounding them is punctuated by several objects indicating a comfortable existence: the furniture is covered with rich textiles, wine containers may be seen on the floor and various ceramic vessels on a shelf. Behind the women there is a large mirror with a wooden frame and a wooden carved desk with rolled-up documents on top of it. The women's posture and the general ambience created by the various objects suggest an enjoyable lifestyle, as well as a society in contact with foreign lands, from where some of these objects perhaps originate.

The publication by Choiseul-Gouffier corresponded to and reinforced the cultural and artistic norms of his time and of his privileged cultural milieu; he offered an entry point to an idealized Greek antiquity as well as a quasi-ethnographic take on the activities of contemporary women.[45] His work paid attention to both ancient and modern architecture and customs.[46] The artist Hilaire transposed into these images the sensitivities or preoccupations of Choiseul-Gouffier who commissioned them and who used the word "picturesque" in the title of this publication. Even though Choiseul-Gouffier claimed his reproductions to be faithful, the possibility that they were somewhat idealized should certainly be taken into account. How true could the languid poses of women reading and the sophisticated interiors be during a time when islands such as Tinos were known for their rusticity?[47] On the other hand, in the course of the 18th century, Tinos was a dynamic maritime commercial hub. The island experienced a relatively brief Ottoman domination (after 1715) and, having previously been under Venetian domination, retained strong links with Italy. Tinos had an important intermediary role in the trade between Izmir, the Aegean archipelago, and Italian ports, especially as far as the cloth trade was concerned. It also produced silk and silk handicrafts such as purses, gloves, and stockings for export, although relevant information remains limited.[48] Similarly, other Aegean islands participated actively, via Izmir, in the wider European market.[49]

---

[45] Frédéric Barbier, *Le Rêve Grec de Monsieur de Choiseul*: Les Voyages d'un Européen des Lumières (Paris: 2010).

[46] Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, 111.

Another group of prints in the von Parish collection consists of copies of images from the von Stackelberg publication.[50] Many of these images became very popular and were reprinted numerous times, illustrating other travellers' accounts too. Von Stackelberg's paintings of folk themes are impressive; the subjects, as well as the posture and movement of the figures, are quite novel and diverge from the established models of the period.[51] One of the images shows a beautifully-dressed young girl from the island of Kasos sitting on a large pillow on the floor and making her braids; the image exudes a carefree but melancholic atmosphere.[52] Another image shows an elaborately-dressed woman from Missolonghi (mainland western Greece) standing and lighting a lamp.[53] On a separate sheet of unknown origin (Catalogue Number Papr/648/84) the two previous images are combined in one. The existence of this double image might imply that these illustrations had made an impression and variations of them were reproduced commercially. The quality of the combined drawing is lower than in the original and the colours are slightly different. One detail is, however, worth mentioning: although in the original drawing of the Kasos girl there is a small comb on the floor next to her as she sits, in the copy the comb has been replaced by a book. The change is hardly discernible, due to the small size of this detail and the similarity of the object shapes; it is however a poignant one. What does it signify? Why did the artist take this liberty? Was it reflecting the reality of a girl who was not only elegant but also educated? More importantly, was it just the copier's idea to make the illustration intriguing to the projected audience? While it is impossible to answer these questions with certainty, they are indeed thought-provoking; the next section is dedicated to the significance of such objects.

---

[47] Peltre, 28–31.

[48] Olga Katsiardi-Hering, *Λησμονημένοι Ορίζοντες Ελλήνων Εμπόρων: Το Πανηγύρι στη Senigallia* (*18ος—αρχές 19ου αιώνα*) (Athens: 1989).

[49] Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *Το Εμπόριο της Σμύρνης τον 18*^{o} *Αιώνα* (*1700–1820*), (Athens: 2010), 31.

[50] Von Stackelberg.

[51] Vingopoulou.

[52] von Stackelberg, xxvi.

[53] von Stackelberg, xxx.

Focusing on Objects

Museums, libraries and private collections include items similar to those portrayed in the images described in the previous paragraphs. By comparing actual objects found in museums to those shown in images and by seeking relevant texts to document and complement them, we introduce the idea of materiality to our analysis of middle-class women. As Sophia Handaka notes, it is desirable to materialize in a metaphorical sense the period under discussion and to reconstruct it with objects at its centre.[54] Handaka emphasizes, in particular, secular arts and crafts of pre-revolutionary Greece (early 18th to 19th centuries), including wood carving, stone carving, pottery, wares of silver and gold, metalwork, jewellery, embroidery, weaving, textiles and dress. In this vein, we attempt to bring to life some of the objects illustrated in the aforementioned images by identifying specific items from contemporary museum collections, such as belt buckles, combs, mirrors, chests, musical instruments and books.

To begin with, the reading woman in "Dames de l'Ile de Tine" is dressed very elegantly, with a long fur over her shoulders, which falls to the floor, and a belt with a buckle made of two circular or elliptical elements on her lap. The belt buckle was one of the most widespread accessories of female attire in the period under consideration. Worn not around the waist, but around the hips, as fashion dictated towards the end of the 18th century, the low belt, or hip belt, was usually an expensive object with valuable silver or gilded buckles, often a masterpiece of workmanship.[55] The belts with their elaborate buckles were not only vehicles for showing off personal wealth and status, but also a form of portable investment that was easy to carry in case of emergency.[56] Thanks to their durable material, numerous belt buckles made with great craftsmanship into intricate designs are preserved these days in private and public collections all over the Balkans; however, research on the topic has been limited. For instance, the buckle in the aforementioned image resembles a silver buckle from the National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest (Inventory number 14512/ P 462). It is made of wrought silver with chiseled border floral decoration and baroque influences; the centre of the rounded buckle part bears a basket from which flow leaves and flowers, often considered symbols of plentifulness and fertility. The object must have belonged to a Greek family, as indicated by the name inscribed on the back side of the buckle.[57]

---

[54] Sophia Handaka, "The Objectification of History and the Historicizing of Objects: Understanding Neo-Hellenic Secular Art and Material Culture", in Paschalis M. Kitromilides and Dimitris Arvanitakis, eds. *The Greek World Under Ottoman and Western Domination 15th–19th centuries* (New York, 2008), 93.

[55] *Podoabe Din Trecut, Colecţia de Paftale a Muzeului Naţional de Artă al României* (Bucharest: 2015).

The collection of the National Historical Museum in Athens includes a set of combs (Inventory Numbers 533 and 534 respectively) similar to the comb portrayed in the von Stackelberg image of the girl from Kasos. The set is of Chinese origin, possibly from the end of the 18th century or the beginning of the 19th, and was donated to the museum by a private collector sometime between 1882 and 1891.[58] The combs are made of wood, incorporating bone and ivory details as well as painted floral decorations and inscriptions in Chinese. They are very delicate and elegant objects; their obvious link to female beauty care suggests a lifestyle that was clearly elevated beyond mundane concerns of survival. Ongoing research on the painted decoration and inscription is expected to reveal more information about the provenance and significance of these items. Although more data is needed to assess their value, their status as items imported from a very distant place suggests that they were objects of distinction. Additionally, the fact that these very fragile items have been preserved to this day might be an indication that they were valuable, treasured, and kept in a safe place.

Similar to combs, mirrors are items directly related to beautification, as well as to the importance of one's self-image; they are therefore symbols of vanity, of which Christian morality disapproves.[59] Early mirrors were rather primitive, made of metal which was then so highly polished that one could see one's face in it; the modern, silver mirror did not come into use until around the 16th century.[60] For most of its history, the metal-backed glass mirror has been regarded as a luxury.[61] Venice, the major hub of glass production worldwide, was the primary source of mirrors in the 18th century, although towards the end of the century Venetian glass products were supplanted by German glassware, especially from Bohemia. Despite the political and commercial decline of Venice in the 18th century, her trade to the East still retained a strong standing. Luxury products from Venice, including glass vessels and mirrors, were popular among Turks, Greeks, and other inhabitants of the East and saved the Venetian trade from total collapse.[62] It has been argued that the "mirror culture" of the East was very conservative and underdeveloped, therefore most mirrors were imports from the West.[63] Mirrors were valuable objects that held a special role in households and they were also often used as gifts or bribes to dignitaries. In 18th century Greece, the mirror had the aura of a beautiful, precious, and "modern" imported product, which served as a symbol of wealth and social prestige. Furthermore, the mirror was considered to be a technological, "industrial" product, because artisans in the Ottoman Empire did not possess the materials or know-how for the production of high-quality mirrors.[64] Small mirrors were also often incorporated into the underside of chest lids made for special uses.[65]

---

[56] *Κοσμήματα της Ελληνικής Παραδοσιακής Φορεσιάς 18ος 19ος αιώνας—Συλλογή Εϑνικού Ιστορικού Μουσείου* (Athens: 1999).

[57] *Podoabe Din Trecut*, 42.

[58] The documentation of the museum on these combs suggests that they were used by an Athenian lady in the late 17th century. However, this may have been an exaggeration by Alexandros N. Meletopoulos (1855–1927), the collector who donated them. Following discussions with curators from the National Historical Museum in Athens and from the anthropological Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich, as well as online searches of similar items in museums worldwide, late 18th or even early 19th century seems a more plausible date.

Chests themselves had twofold connections to luxury: on the one hand, they were beautiful, handcrafted items, on the other hand, they were intended to store dowry items and other precious things such as documents and jewellery that were only used on special occasions and had to be protected.[66] Furthermore, in medieval and modern culture, the chest was dually coded as the object which stored a person's most valuable possessions as well as enabling them to remain mobile.[67] A fine example of a wood-carved chest with a mirror incorporated into the underside of the lid is kept in the Averoff Collection, Metsovo (Catalogue Number ΓΕ_538); two other elaborately carved and decorated chests may be seen at the Benaki Museum, Athens (Catalogue Numbers ΓΕ12935 and ΓΕ8719). The von Parish images also include representations of various other items of furniture which, whether locally produced or imported, express changing habits in the use of space. Chairs, high tables, high sofas and chests of drawers exemplify a shift from the typically low and cushioned Ottoman seating towards a more European use of space.[68]

---

[59] Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub, *Zauber des Spiegels: Geschichte und Bedeutung des Spiegels in der Kunst* (Munich: 1951), 150; Chatzipanagioti-Sangemeister, "Χρυσά Σιρίτια", 73; Dimitris Dimitropoulos, "Στοιχεία για τον Οικιακό Εξοπλισμό στα Χρόνια της Οθωμανικής Κυριαρχίας: Η Περίπτωση του Καθρέφτη", *Ta Historika*, vol. 13, no. 24–25 (1996), 43.

[60] Neil MacGregor, *A History of the World in 100 Objects* (London: 2012), 318.

[61] Barbara Maria Stafford and Frances Terpak, *Devices of Wonder: From the World in a Box to Images on a Screen* (Los Angeles: 2001), 256.

[62] Nikos G. Svoronos, *Το Εμπόριο της Θεσσαλονίκης τον 18ο Αιώνα* (Athens: 1996), 199.

[63] Hartlaub, 58–59.

[64] Dimitropoulos.

[65] Virginia Matseli and Aris Tsaravopoylos, *Η Ελληνική Κασέλα* (Athens: 2010), 50–51.

[66] Matseli and Tsaravopoylos; Olga Mentzafou-Polyzou (ed), *Συλλογές Ευάγγελου Αβέρωφ: Ταξιδεύοντας στο Χρόνο* (Athens: 2000).

The musical instrument shown in "Dames de l'Ile de Tine" sets new challenges for research. The object may be identified as a stringed, pear-shaped *tambouras*, a member of the lute family that was widely used in pre-revolutionary Greece. The neck of such an instrument would typically be straight, but there were also cases of a slanted neck, similar to that of a lute, as is the case of the *tambouras* shown in this image.[69] The *tambouras* was usually played without the support of other instruments and produced a "thin" and relatively weak sound that was particularly appropriate for accompanying singing or dancing by a small group. Consequently, *tambouras* music playing was more fitting to interior spaces;[70] it would therefore suit women who were for the most part living in their private quarters. The identification of a musical instrument as an object used by women during their leisure time suggests a cultivated background and a privileged existence. Although there are various representations of and references to this instrument in accounts by western travellers, it is difficult to say to what extent such accounts have been influenced by the orientalist clichés that existed to satisfy the demands of the intended clientèle.[71] Since no surviving instruments from that period have been identified, the best approximation to the *tambouras* under discussion would be the one owned and used during a later period by the Greek revolutionary fighter Yannis Makriyannis (1797–1864). This instrument, kept at the National Historical Museum in Athens (Inventory No 3729), was created in the 1820s to replace Makriyannis's pre-revolutionary instrument that had been destroyed.[72]

---

[67] Folklorist Konrad Köstlin quoted in Alexander Klose, *The Container Principle: How a Box Changes the Way We Think* (Cambridge MA: 2015), 148.

[68] A reverse trend may be observed in the phenomenon of Turquerie, the pan-European interest in and emulation of Ottoman culture between 1650 and 1750 (Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, 75). Luxurious furniture for leisure, informal and liberating but luxurious dress closely associated with Ottoman attire, and "oriental" decorative elements were manifestations of highly complex, mutual cultural exchanges between Europe and the Ottoman Empire (Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, 93 and 103–104).

[69] Foivos Anogianakis, *Ελληνικά Λαϊκά Μουσικά Όργανα* (Athens: 1991), 207–210. Anogianakis, a respected authority on the history of Greek musical instruments, doesn't provide any information on his sources about different *tambouras* typologies. Our research into museum collections, in the MIMO database for musical instruments: Musical Instruments Museum Online, http://www.mimo-international.com/MIMO/ [accessed 30 May 2017], as well as contact with private collectors have indicated that no instruments of this type and time period have survived. This is also suggested in "Ottoman Music and its Instruments", http://www.turkishculture.org/music/classical/ottoman-music-instruments-282.htm?type=1 [accessed 30 May 2017].

[70] Anogianakis, 209.

The woman reading in the image "Dames de l'Ile de Tine" also attracts our attention: she seems to be enjoying a book, perhaps reading aloud to her companion. Greek books in the 18th century were produced outside the main territory of Hellenism, for example in Venice or Vienna. Typical ways in which they could be acquired were in person at large regional fairs in Greece, during travels abroad, or ordered through a subscription-based system.[73] The great bulk of Greek publishing during the Ottoman rule consisted of books of religious content; there were also grammars and miscellaneous publications with secular content, but at the end of the 18th century books of religious content still outnumbered those with secular content.[74] In any case, a mere seven percent of books published by subscription for a Greek readership between 1749 and 1832 were ordered by subscribers in areas (like Tinos) that would belong to the independent Greek state after the revolution; the majority were ordered by the Greek Diaspora of central and western Europe, France, Italy and Russia.[75] We can only speculate about the type of the book that the woman in the picture was reading. Could it be a copy of *Erotokritos*, the romantic poem written by Vitsentzos Kornaros in the early 17th century and subsequently widely published and read?[76] A copy of *Erotokritos*, published in Venice in 1804, may be seen today at the Bavarian State Library (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) in Munich (BSB-ID: 852361). This highly popular "erotic" book was condemned by religious circles as "heretic" and its use was described as a "sin".[77] Given these conditions, a female reader on the island is definitely a case deserving further attention.

---

[71] Christina Ghirardini, "'Eyewitness' Accounts of Turkish Music and Dance in the Eighteenth Century", *Imago Musicae* XXVI (2013), 47–77. See also: Cem Behar, "The Ottoman Musical Tradition", in Suraiya N. Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 3: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839* (Cambridge: 2008), 393–407.

[72] Nikos Fronimopoulos, *Ο Ταμπουράς του Μακρυγιάννη και η Οργανοποιία του Λεωνίδα Γαΐλα* (Athens: 2010).

[73] G. D. Bokos, "Η 'Διαφημιστική' Προβολή του Βιβλίου κατά την Τουρκοκρατία", in *Το Βιβλίο στις Προβιομηχανικές Κοινωνίες—Πρακτικά του Α' Διεϑνούς Συμποσίου του Κέντρου Νεοελληνικών Ερευνών* (Athens: 1982), 113–136.

[74] Richard Clogg, "Elite and Popular Culture in Greece under Turkish Rule", *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly*, vol. 32, 1979, 69–88.

[75] Richard Clogg, "The Greek *millet* in the Ottoman Empire", in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society I, The Central Lands*, eds. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: 1982), 185–207.

Evidence from Written Sources

All in all, these images suggest that the private world of these women, although sheltered, was at the same time open to a variety of influences and ideas; the material objects that populated their world were instrumental in the circulation of such influences and ideas. Written sources such as correspondence, probate inventories, archives of court cases, ecclesiastical archives and literature may offer valuable supporting evidence on the role of such objects in the lives of women.[78] Three selected examples of written sources are presented in the following paragraphs.

The first one consists of the correspondence, in 1787, between two female members of the Greek elites, in Istanbul and Iaşi respectively, about fashionable items that attract their interest, particularly "καινούργια μόδα" ("new fashion"), which is presumed to be the first ever mention of the term "fashion" in the Greek context. The study of this correspondence opens a window to the world of women in the higher strata of Greek society within the Ottoman Empire. Although female members of this social circle were restricted to the private sphere and to a limited range of experiences, the specific epistolary exchange reveals an awareness of new ideas by these women and their active involvement in new trends related to dress.[79]

---

[76] Gavin Betts, Stathis Gauntlett and Thanasis Spilias, *Vitsentzos Kornaros, Erotokritos: A Translation with Introduction and Notes* (Melbourne: 2004), xxvii.

[77] Alkis Angelou, "Το Βιβλίο και ο Χρήστης του: Το Λαϊκό Ανάγνωσμα", in *Το Βιβλίο στις Προβιομηχανικές Κοινωνίες—Πρακτικά του Α' Διεθνούς Συμποσίου του Κέντρου Νεοελληνικών Ερευνών* (Athens; 1982), 159–168; Alexis Politis, "Το Βιβλίο Μέσο Παραγωγής της Προφορικής Γνώσης: Δυσκολίες και Προβληματισμοί γύρω από το Θέμα", in *Το Βιβλίο στις Προβιομηχανικές Κοινωνίες—Πρακτικά του Α' Διεθνούς Συμποσίου του Κέντρου Νεοελληνικών Ερευνών* (Athens: 1982), 271–282.

[78] Ad Van Der Woude and Anton Schuurman, *Probate Inventories: A New Source for the Historical Study of Wealth, Material Culture and Agricultural Development* (Wageningen: 1980).

This new awareness was arguably permeating the middle classes too, as reflected in the second source, a letter from the archive of Ali Pasha, the notorious ruler of Yannina, in the Epirus region of mainland Greece. The letter, dated 18 September 1800 (Gennadius Library Athens, Ali Pasha Archive, no 587), is addressed by a Greek mother, writing (in Greek) from an unidentified location, to her son in Istanbul; she sends him wishes and greetings and scolds him for not writing more often. The names mentioned in the letter and the language used suggest a connection to the Aegean islands. Although it is unclear why this letter was included in the archive of Ali Pasha, it is assumed that there must have been an indirect connection between him and the people related to the letter.[80] The following request attracts our attention to this otherwise ordinary communication between a mother and her son: "do send me a *çevre* for *spalleto* for the winter and take care of dyeing the silks". Here, the Turkish *çevre* refers to a piece of embroidered handiwork that she needs to use as a *spalleto*, which in Italian means a type of knitted or woven shawl for the shoulders. This fascinating detail suggests an awareness of special products that were not available in the direct vicinity of the woman's place of residence, as well as a desire to acquire them. The reference to the silks that need to be dyed, although unclear and out of context, also indicates an interest in special or even luxurious items. Additionally, the free-flowing handwriting and the language used reveal an educated and self-assured woman.[81]

---

[79] Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, "Χρυσά Σιρίτια".

[80] Panagiotopoulos, 113–114.

[81] It is worth noting the amount of information that can be extracted from the actual physical object (as opposed to a mere transcript of the text), which demonstrates the value of hands-on, object-based research. Apart from the examination of the handwriting, the viewing and handling of the paper itself offers valuable information. In the 18th century, the majority of paper was imported to the East from Venice and Genoa; smaller quantities of high-price paper were imported from France (Svoronos, 267). Originally, all European paper was hand-made by dipping a wooden-framed metal screen (a mould) into a vat of warm water and cellulose fibres (made from disintegrated rags). Until the late 18th century, all moulds had the same basic design: a rectangle with widely-spaced vertical wooden ribs, a "chain" wire laced to the top of each rib, and closely-spaced horizontal "laid" wires tied to the chains. Wire designs sewn to this grid, when used, formed decorative and informative watermarks. "Laid" paper was thinner where the pulp touched the wires, making a latticework pattern easily seen when held up against light. Erin Blake, "Learning to 'Read' Old Paper", http://collation.folger.edu/2012/06/learning-to-read-old-paper/ [accessed

These examples may be seen as an indication that Greek women, restricted by sumptuary laws and other social limitations, had developed distinctive consumer attitudes which did not go unnoticed, as the third example shows. The Turkish poet Enderûnlu Fâzıl (1757–1810), in his popular poem *Zenân-Nâme* (The Book of Women), composed at the end of the 18th century and published posthumously, describes the habits of Istanbul women of various ethnic backgrounds. He dedicates a large section of his poem to Greek women, extolling their virtues and idealizing their beauty and intelligence. According to Scottish orientalist Elias John Wilkinson Gibb (1857–1901), Fâzil was a representative of Turkish Romanticism and his work was a revolt against traditional authority, an assertion of individuality, and an unbridled licence alike in matter and manner. Fâzıl's book was banned, which suggests that its content was considered provocative and incompatible with mainstream views on women.[82] Among other things, when writing about Greek women, he notes: "Yon diamond aigrette awry she wears"![83] The diamond aigrette, a luxury fashion accessory, is worn "awry" by Greek women, in other words, in an unusual, non-conventional manner. We may read between the lines a metaphor for the behaviour of Greek women in general. This small detail, the use of a headdress accessory, may signify the woman's desire to express her individuality and digress from the established norms and restrictions imposed upon her; the aigrette is an item offering possibilities of self-expression.[84] The impression rendered by the above verse may be linked to the portrait of a Greek bourgeois lady from the Fener district of Constantinople, an 18th-century oil painting

---

30 May 2017]. The sheet on which this letter was written is "laid" paper, typical of the 18th century. In addition to the latticework pattern, a watermark in the form of a crudely outlined bird may also be discerned on the paper sheet. It has not been possible to identify this specific design in LIMA: Watermark Databases, http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/projects/lima/paper/describing/databases/ [accessed 30 May 2017] Considering also the simplicity and lack of refinement of the watermark design, it may be assumed that the paper was of medium or low value.

[82] Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady: A Social History from 1718 to 1918* (Connecticut: 1986), 123; Azra Abadžić Navaey, "The Image of the 'Others' in the Zenân-Nâme", unpublished paper, presented in the Second European Convention on Turkic, Ottoman and Turkish Studies, 14–17 September 2016, Hamburg.

[83] E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry, Vol. IV 1700–1850* (London: 1905).

[84] At the same time, items like the aigrette and Ottoman loose-fitting garments offered European women who followed Turquerie fashions an alternative style of magnificence and leisure, one that freed them from physical constraints (Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, 105).

attributed to the Flemish painter Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (1671–1737), currently exhibited at the Benaki Museum in Athens (Catalogue Number ΓΕ9039).[85]

Interrogating Objects

The object-based research approach is clearly challenging, not only because surviving objects of 18th-century daily life in Ottoman Greece are limited in number, but also because accompanying documentation is practically non-existent. Attempting to reconstruct the past in which these objects were used means that they must be interrogated and interpreted as deeply and rigorously as the written reports.[86] A process less familiar and less tested than writing history on the basis of written records, working with objects requires a considerable leap of imagination, returning the artefact to its former life, engaging with it as generously, as poetically, as we can in the hope of winning the insights it may deliver, although the limits of what we can know with certainty should be acknowledged.[87] However, a history through objects can never itself be fully balanced because it depends entirely on what happens to survive.[88] Of course, this may be equally said for written texts; a history through texts may not be fully balanced either. Occasional discoveries of objects from the past or formerly unknown archival material may lead to critical changes in our knowledge and perspective of past events.[89]

Despite the difficulties and limitations, hands-on, object-based research with a special focus on the lives of Greek women in the long 18th century presents highly exciting prospects. Such an analysis would move from the materiality and tangibility of the object to a framework of information about itself and its relations to others.[90] The history of goods cannot be understood without examining the ideas that accompany them. There can be no purely material history of objects: goods, practices, and ideas are inextricably linked.[91] Following Klaus Krippendorff, our approach is based on the premise that the meanings that artefacts acquire in use are largely framed in language, therefore an independent theory of meaning of use is a conceptually convenient fiction.[92] The meanings of objects are dialogical accomplishments that arise in the process of use and in the conversations between human beings, the present text being an example of such a conversation. Matter matters, but does not determine what human agents do with it; in this sense, artefacts cannot account for how they are being used and what they end up doing. Attributing agency to artefacts, as in actor-network theory, trivializes the concept of human agency.[93] Therefore, objects are seen as expressions of human actions, not as actors themselves, and their meanings result from multiple descriptions by different users, bystanders or stakeholders, as well as from the ways in which objects are rearticulated or dropped out of the stories told, passed on, and performed. This approach encourages us to move from abstract objectivist theory to self-reflective human-centred accounts of our social worlds.[94]

---

[85] An analysis of the work by Vanmour, who spent most of his career working for various ambassadors in Istanbul, reveals the complexity of his influences and processes. Although he composed his paintings to make sense to a European public, he also operated within a borrowed Ottoman pictorial repertoire (Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, 84–85).

[86] MacGregor, xvi.

[87] MacGregor, xvii–xviii.

[88] MacGregor, xix.

[89] The Black Sea Maritime Archaeology Project is a case in point. This large-scale, international project has recently discovered off the Bulgarian coast several shipwrecks spanning a millennium, from the Byzantine to the Ottoman times. These discoveries are expected to enrich our understanding of items transported along the Black Sea trade route, including furs, cloth, silk, satin, perfumes and jewels, as well as books and written documents. http://blackseamap.com [last accessed 20 December 2016], William J. Broad, "Explorers Find Lost World of Shipwrecks", *The New York Times*, 11 November 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/12/science/shipwrecks-black-sea-archaeology.html?_r=0 [accessed 30 May 2017].

Additionally, based on ideas put forward by Langdon Winner, one wonders about the consequences these objects have on the lives of people, especially on their sense of self, on the texture of human communities, on qualities of everyday living, and on the broader distribution of power in society. How do these objects transform personal experience, daily practices and social relations, especially with reference to women who have no voice and are consistently excluded from power?[95] In this vein, this text attempts to establish a dialogue of sources about selected objects and the women who used them, seeking to create an entry point into the ways of living and thinking of these individuals who have remained largely silent in history.

---

[90] Klose, 237.

[91] Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, 117.

[92] Klaus Krippendorff, *The Semantic Turn: A New Foundation for Design* (Boca Raton FL: 2006), 147.

[93] Klaus Krippendorff, "Social Organizations as Reconstitutable Networks of Conversations", *Cybernetics and Human Knowing*, Vol. 15, nos. 3–4 (2008), 149–161.

[94] Klaus Krippendorff. "The Dialogical Reality of Meaning", *The American Journal of Semiotics, 19* (1/4) (2003): 17–34. http://dx.doi.org/10.5840/ajs2003191/41 [accessed 30 May 2017].

[95] Langdon Winner, "Upon Opening the Black Box and Finding it Empty: Social Constructivism and the Philosophy of Technology", *Science, Technology, and Human Values*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (1993), 362–378.

Luxury, Prosperity, Identity

The concept of luxury has been employed as a tool for the analysis of the objects under discussion. It is not easy to provide a broadly acceptable definition of the concept of luxury, which as a field of study has been largely neglected by historians and sociologists. Luxury may be defined as the production of exceptional objects, demonstrating an extraordinary investment in precious raw materials, craftsmanship, and time. At the beginning of the 21st century, emphasis is often placed on non-tangible forms of luxury, such as time or attention, which are scarce and much sought. In the long 18th century, however, the idea of luxury was linked more closely to materiality. Creating luxury was an investment in expensive materials and in the labour required to make an object, including the long process of perfecting the necessary skills.[96]

While from a moral or philosophical point of view luxury is seen as a form of decadence, from an economic perspective it is seen as a force that drives consumption and the development of economy. In many cases, luxury is reserved to elite groups who show their power and pomp through the display of precious goods; the history of luxury may therefore be, from this perspective, a history of power, reflecting the syncretism of cultural and political thought. Luxury and fashion as components of material culture can also be analyzed through the lens of cultural history, since they play an important role in the creation of visual culture.[97]

Objects, especially imported ones, played a significant role in these processes. There was certainly a great variety of imported products in the Ottoman Empire and Greek communities had access to them through various commercial channels. The classic case-studies of 18th-century commerce at the ports of Thessaloniki (Salonica) and Izmir reveal the range of trade exchanges, especially from England, France, Venice and other Italian cities, the Netherlands, and Russia, as well as from outside Europe. A significant proportion of the imports consisted of items such as silks and brocades, watches, glass and porcelain,[98] many of which would be cherished and used by women. Objects under discussion in this chapter, whether locally produced or imported, may be characterized as scarce (for example mirrors or musical instruments), which does not necessarily make them luxury objects. A toning-down of luxury might be appropriate, describing them as objects of value and perhaps examples of recently achieved prosperity. Since the objects under consideration here belonged to members of the middle classes and not of the elite, it seems more likely that these items were not unique objects of luxury but rather beautiful, superfluous objects connoting affluence, comfort, a certain refinement of taste and possibly an inclination towards conspicuous consumption. These observations are especially relevant to one of the most striking features in the images studied, i.e. the fact that the women portrayed seem to be very much at ease, exuding confidence and a sense of well-being.

---

[96] What is Luxury?

[97] LuxFaSS Research Project.

[98] Svoronos; Frangakis-Syrett.

Attempting to understand these phenomena, we might ask the following questions: How was luxury understood in the context of 18th-century Greece and what were its manifestations? Is it possible to distinguish between different degrees or categories of luxury? Above all, what can we infer about Greek women owning and using scarce or luxurious items? What were the consequences of using such objects on women's social standing and sense of self?

The present investigation proposes the hypothesis that, for women of the Greek middle class in the 18th century, the consumption and use of objects of value in daily life operated as markers of an identity in the making.[99] The aim of the research is to elucidate the ways in which the use of specific objects by Greek women, who were socially constrained by their gender and religion, was a mechanism for self-fashioning or even a method of transgression, where the individual may remake the rules and test the limits of authority.[100] It may be possible to reconstruct the everyday world of these women by placing at the centre of our investigation objects such as the belt buckle, the comb, the mirror, the chest, the musical instrument and the book. Our object-based research approach focuses on specific 18th-century objects, material that is largely understudied and whose value remains unexplored.[101] We expect that our research will contribute to increasing the visibility of women in the Ottoman Empire and will encourage the re-evaluation of historical events from the perspective of women.[102] The guiding principle is the search for the underlying complexity, not for an idealized world of cultural synthesis.[103]

---

[99] Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, "Χρυσά Σιρίτια", 70–72.

[100] Madeline C. Zilfi, "Goods in the *Mahalle*: Distributional Encounters in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul", in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922—An Introduction*, ed. Donald Quataert (New York: 2000), 289–311.

[101] Handaka, 93–105.

[102] İpşirli Argıt, "Women in the Early Modern Ottoman World".

[103] Eldem, "Greece and the Greeks", 28.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined an object-based approach to the material culture of middle-class Greek women in 18th-century Ottoman Empire. A preliminary exploration of selected types of objects and the establishment of a dialogue between visual, material, and written sources has demonstrated the potential of an object-based approach. The hypothesis put forward is that material possessions such as dress accessories, furniture, musical instruments or books were employed by Greek women in their attempts to construct a world of their own, where they could assert their individuality and enjoy themselves. The chapter suggests a departure from the elite concept of luxury towards ideas more appropriate to the emerging Greek bourgeoisie of the 18th century, namely affluence, prosperity, fashion awareness and joie de vivre. This diversion unravels promising research paths within the larger theme of the present volume on "Women, Consumption, and the Circulation of Ideas", as it points to a dynamic society which was open to influences and was actively cultivating and exploring new ideas. Additionally, by studying the lives of Greek women in the long 18th century, we may enhance our knowledge about the birth of Greek modernity and acquire a complex and more nuanced understanding of its numerous parameters. The research effort continues.

Bibliography

———, *Κοσμήματα της Ελληνικής Παραδοσιακής Φορεσιάς 18ος–19ος Αιώνας—Συλλογή Εϑνικού Ιστορικού Μουσείου* [Jewellery of the Greek Traditional Dress 18th–19th C.—Collection of the National Historical Museum] (Athens: 1999).

———, *Μύϑοι και Ιδεολογήματα στη Σύγχρονη Ελλάδα* [Myths and Ideological Constructs in Modern Greece] (Athens: 2007).

———, LIMA: Watermark Databases, http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/archive-research/lima/paper/describing/databases, [accessed 30 May 2017].

———, LuxFaSS Research Project, http://luxfass.nec.ro [accessed 30 May 2017].

———, Musical Instruments Museum Online, http://www.mimo-international.com/MIMO/ [accessed 30 May 2017].

———, "Ottoman Music and its Instruments", http://www.turkishculture.org/music/classical/ottoman-music-instruments-282.htm?type=1 [accessed 30 May 2017].

———, *Podoabe Din Trecut, Colecţia de Paftale a Muzeului Naţional de Artă al României* [Ornaments from the Past: Collection of Belt-buckles from the National Museum of Art of Romania], (Bucharest: 2015).

———, What is Luxury? Temporary Exhibition, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 25 April–27 September 2015.

Abadžić Navaey, Azra. “The Image of the ‘Others’ in the Zenân-Nâme”, unpublished paper, presented in the Second European Convention on Turkic, Ottoman and Turkish Studies, 14–17 September, Hamburg.

Angelou, Alkis. *Το Κρυφό Σχολειό: Το Χρονικό ενός Μύθου* [The Secret School: The Chronicle of a Myth] (Athens: 2007).

Angelou, Alkis. “Το Βιβλίο και ο Χρήστης του: Το Λαϊκό Ανάγνωσμα” [The Book and its User: Popular Readings], in *Το Βιβλίο στις Προβιομηχανικές Κοινωνίες—Πρακτικά του Α’ Διεθνούς Συμποσίου του Κέντρου Νεοελληνικών Ερευνών* [The Book in Pre-industrial Societies—Proceedings of the 1st International Symposium of the Centre for Neohellenic Research] (Athens: 1982), 159–168.

Anogianakis, Foivos. *Ελληνικά Λαϊκά Μουσικά Όργανα* [Greek Popular Musical Instruments] (Athens: 1991).

Augustinos, Olga. *French Odysseys: Greece in French Travel Literature from the Renaissance to the Romantic Era* (New York: 1994).

Barbier, Frédéric. *Le Rêve Grec de Monsieur de Choiseul: Les Voyages d’un Européen des Lumières* (Paris: 2010).

Behar, Cem. “The Ottoman Musical Tradition”, in Suraiya N. Faroqhi (ed.). *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 3: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839* (Cambridge: 2008), 393–407.

Betts, Gavin; Gauntlett, Stathis and Thanasis Spilias. *Vitsentzos Kornaros, Erotokritos: A Translation with Introduction and Notes* (Melbourne: 2004).

Bevilacqua, Alexander and Helen Pfeifer. “Turquerie: Culture in Motion, 1650–1750”, *Past and Present*, no 221 (2013), 75–118.

Blake, Erin. “Learning to ‘Read’ Old Paper”, http://collation.folger.edu/2012/06/learning-to-read-old-paper/ [accessed 30 May 2017].

Bokos, G. D. “Η ‘Διαφημιστική’ Προβολή του Βιβλίου κατά την Τουρκοκρατία” [The ‘Advertising’ Promotion of the Book during the Turkish Rule], in *Το Βιβλίο στις Προβιομηχανικές Κοινωνίες—Πρακτικά του Α’ Διεθνούς Συμποσίου του Κέντρου Νεοελληνικών Ερευνών* [The Book in Pre-industrial Societies—Proceedings of the 1st International Symposium of the Centre for Neohellenic Research] (Athens: 1982), 113–136.

Broad, William J. “Explorers Find Lost World of Shipwrecks”, *The New York Times*, 11 November 2016.

Burke, Peter. *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: 2001).

Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, Julia. “Χρυσά Σιρίτια και Μπαλωμένα Παπούτσια: Ο Λόγος περί Μόδας στον Νεοελληνικό Διαφωτισμό” [Golden Fringes and Patched Shoes: The Discourse on Fashion in the Neohellenic Enlightenment], *Ta Historika*, vol. 62 (2015), 55–80.

Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, Julia. *Ταξίδι, Γραφή, Αναπαράσταση: Μελέτες για την Ταξιδιωτική Γραμματεία του 18ου Αιώνα* [Travel, Writing, Representation: Studies for the Travel Literature of the 18th Century] (Athens, 2015).

de Choiseul-Gouffier, Marie-Gabriel-Florent-Auguste. *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce* (Paris: 1782).

Clogg, Richard. "Elite and Popular Culture in Greece under Turkish Rule", *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly*, vol. 32 (1979): 69–88.

Clogg, Richard. "The Greek *millet* in the Ottoman Empire", in Braude, Benjamin and Bernard Lewis (eds). *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society I, The Central Lands*, (New York: 1982), 185–207.

Coronelli, Vincenzo Maria, and Antonio Parissoti. *Isola di Rodi. Geografica, Storica, Antica e Moderna, coll' altre adiacenti gia possedute da Cavalieri Hospitalieri di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme. Opera de Padri Maestri Coronelli Cosmografo della Serenissima Republica di Venetia, e Parisotti Storiografo dell' Accademia Cosmografica degli Argonauti ...,* (Venice: 1688).

Davis, Fanny. *The Ottoman Lady: A Social History from 1718 to 1918* (Westport, Connecticut: 1986).

Dichtl, Erika. "Ein Leben für die Geschichte der Kostüm-Mode: Hermine von Parish", *Neuhauser Werkstatt-Nachrichten*, November 2012, 58–62.

Dimitropoulos, Dimitris. "Στοιχεία για τον Οικιακό Εξοπλισμό στα Χρόνια της Οθωμανικής Κυριαρχίας: Η Περίπτωση του Καθρέφτη" [Data on Home Furnishing in the Years of the Ottoman Rule], *Ta Historika*, vol. 13, no. 24–25, 1996, 37–62.

Eldem, Edhem. "Greece and the Greeks in Ottoman History and Turkish Historiography", *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 6 (2009): 27–40.

Eldem, Edhem. "Capitulations and Western Trade", in Suraiya N. Faroqhi (ed.), The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 3: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839 (Cambridge: 2008), 281–335.

Frangakis-Syrett, Elena. *Το Εμπόριο της Σμύρνης τον 18*^{o} *Αιώνα (1700–1820)* [The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century (1700–1820)], (Athens: 2010).

Fronimopoulos, Nikos. *Ο Ταμπουράς του Μακρυγιάννη και η Οργανοποιία του Λεωνίδα Γαΐλα* [Makriyiannis' Tambouras and the Instrument Making of Leonidas Gailas] (Athens: 2010).

Ghirardini, Christina. "'Eyewitness' Accounts of Turkish Music and Dance in the Eighteenth Century", *Imago Musicae* XXVI (2013), 47–77.

Gibb, E. J. W. *A History of Ottoman Poetry, Vol. IV 1700–1850* (London: 1905).

Göçek, Fatma Müge. *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of the Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York: 1996).

Göçek, Fatma Müge. *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: 1987).

Handaka, Sophia. "The Objectification of History and the Historicizing of Objects: Understanding Neo-Hellenic Secular Art and Material Culture", in Kitromilides, Paschalis M. and Dimitris Arvanitakis (eds). *The Greek World under Ottoman and Western Domination 15th–19th centuries*, (New York: 2008), 93–105.

Handel, Stephan. "Die Mode-Sammlerin", *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 14 April 2009.

Hartlaub, Gustav Friedrich. *Zauber des Spiegels: Geschichte und Bedeutung des Spiegels in der Kunst* (Munich: 1951).

Hermanski, Susanne. "Schöne Hüllen gegen böse Geister", *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 17 April 2007, 45.

İpşirli Argıt, Betül. "Women in the Early Modern Ottoman World: A Bibliographical Essay", *Akademik Araştilmalar Dergisi* 60 (2014): 1–28.

İpşirli Argıt, Betül. "Visual Material as a Source for the Study of Ottoman Women in the Early Modern Era", in: Türe, D. Fatma and Birsen Talay Keşoğlu (eds). *Women's Memory: The Problem of Sources*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: 2011), 29–39.

Katsiardi-Hering, Olga. *Λησμονημένοι Ορίζοντες Ελλήνων Εμπόρων: Το Πανηγύρι στη Senigallia* (*18ος–αρχές 19ου αιώνα*) [Forgotten Horizons of Greek Merchants: The Fair in Senigallia (18th–early 19th c.)](Athens: 1989).

Klose, Alexander. *The Container Principle: How a Box Changes the Way We Think* (Cambridge MA: 2015).

Krippendorff, Klaus. "Social Organizations as Reconstitutable Networks of Conversations", *Cybernetics and Human Knowing*, Vol. 15, nos. 3–4 (2008), 149–161.

Krippendorff, Klaus. *The Semantic Turn: A New Foundation for Design* (Boca Raton, Florida: 2006).

Krippendorff, Klaus. "The Dialogical Reality of Meaning", *The American Journal of Semiotics, 19* (1/4) 2003, 17–34. http://dx.doi.org/10.5840/ajs2003191/41 [accessed 30 May 2017].

Laiou, Sophia. "The Ottoman Greek 'Merchants of Europe' at the beginning of the 19th Century", in Evangelia Balta, Georgios Salakidis and Theoharis Stavrides (eds). *Festschrift in Honor of Ioannis P. Theocharides. Studies on the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, vol. II*, (Istanbul: 2014), 313–331

Liata, Eftychia. "Τεκμήρια για την Αθηναϊκή Κοινωνία στις Αρχές του 18ου Αιώνα: Η Αθηναϊκή Αστική Φορεσιά" [Evidence on the Athenian Society in the Beginning of the 18th Century], *Mnēmon*, 11, 1987, 32–53.

Lilić, Vladislav. "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant, by Traian Stoianovich. *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 20, no. 2, June 1960, 234–313", https://globalhistoryreview.wordpress.com/2015/03/21/the-conquering-balkan-orthodox-merchant-by-traian-stoianovich-the-journal-of-economic-history-vol-20-no-2-june-1960-pp-234-313/ (Article Review) 2015 [accessed 30 May 2017].

MacGregor, Neil. *A History of the World in 100 Objects* (London: 2012), Matseli, Virginia, and Aris Tsaravopoylos. *Η Ελληνική Κασέλα* [The Greek Chest] (Athens: 2010).

Maximos, Serapheim. *Η Αυγή του Ελληνικού Καπιταλισμού: Τουρκοκρατία 1685–1789* [The Dawn of Greek Capitalism: Turkish Rule 1685–1789] (Athens, 2008).

Mentzafou-Polyzou, Olga (ed). *Συλλογές Ευάγγελου Αβέρωφ: Ταξιδεύοντας στο Χρόνο* [Evangelos Averoff Collections: Travelling in Time] (Athens: 2000).

Moises, Jürgen. “Dem Zeitgeist auf der Spur”, *Abendzeitung*, 18 April 2007.

Panagiotopoulos, Vassilis. *Αρχείο Αλή Πασά, Τόμος Δ’* [Ali Pasha Archive, Volume 4] (Athens: 2009).

von Parish, Hermine. “Bibliothek und Dokumentation des Kostümforschungsinstituts von Parish in München”, *Bayern BFB*, vol. 18 (3) (Munich: 1990), 302–311.

Parshall, Peter. “Prints as Objects of Consumption in Early Modern Europe”, in: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies,* vol. 28 (1998): 19–36.

Peltre, Christine. *Retour en Arcadie: Le Voyage des Artistes Français en Grèce au XIX^e^ Siècle* (Paris: 1997).

Peters, Gabi. “Wo der Modezar am Bananenrock Schnüffelt”, *Bayerische Staatszeitung*, no 36, 7 September 2007.

Pizanias, Petros. *Η Ιστορία των Νέων Ελλήνων από το 1400 έως το 1820* [The History of Modern Greeks from 1400 to 1820] (Athens: 2014).

Politis, Alexis. “Το Βιβλίο Μέσο Παραγωγής της Προφορικής Γνώσης: Δυσκολίες και Προβληματισμοί γύρω από το Θέμα” [The Book as a Means of Production of Oral Knowledge: Difficulties and Reflections], in *Το Βιβλίο στις Προβιομηχανικές Κοινωνίες—Πρακτικά του Α’ Διεθνούς Συμποσίου του Κέντρου Νεοελληνικών Ερευνών* [The Book in Pre-industrial Societies—Proceedings of the 1st International Symposium of the Centre for Neohellenic Research] (Athens: 1982), 271–282.

von Stackelberg, Otto Magnus. *Trachten und Gebräuche der Neugriechen,* (Berlin: 1831).

Stafford, Barbara Maria and Frances Terpak. *Devices of Wonder: From the World in a Box to Images on a Screen* (Los Angeles: 2001).

Stoianovich, Troian. “The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant,” *The Journal of Economic History* 20 (1960), 234–313.

Svoronos, Nikos G. *Το Εμπόριο της Θεσσαλονίκης τον 18ο Αιώνα* [The Commerce of Thessaloniki in the 18th Century] (Athens: 1996).

de Tournefort, Joseph Pitton. *Relation d’un Voyage du Levant, fait par ordre du Roy. Contenant l’histoire ancienne & moderne de plusieurs Isles de l’Archipel, de Constantinople, des côtes de la Mer Noire, de l’Armenie, de la Georgie, des frontières de Perse & de l’Asie Mineure. Avec les plans des villes & des lieux considérables …, t. I*, (Paris: 1717).

Tsigakou, Fani-Maria. “Εικαστικές Εκδοχές των Ελληνικών Ενδυμασιών: Προβλήματα Εγκυρότητας” [Greek Costumes in Printed Representations: Issues of Authenticity], in *Λαϊκή Τέχνη: Νέα Ευρήματα—Νέες Ερμηνείες* [Popular Art: New Findings—New Interpretations], ed. Handaka Sophia (Athens: 2015), 81–90.

Van Der Woude, Ad and Anton Schuurman. *Probate Inventories: A New Source for the Historical Study of Wealth, Material Culture and Agricultural Development* (Wageningen: 1980).

Vingopoulou, Ioli. *Travelogues*, 2014, http://eng.travelogues.gr, Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation [accessed 30 May 2017].

Winner, Langdon. "Upon Opening the Black Box and Finding it Empty: Social Constructivism and the Philosophy of Technology", *Science, Technology, and Human Values*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (1993), 362–378.

Zilfi, Madeline C. (ed.). *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era* (Leiden: 1997).

Zilfi, Madeline C. (ed.). "Goods in the *Mahalle:* Distributional Encounters in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul", in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922—An Introduction*, ed. Donald Quataert (New York: 2000), 289–311.

CHAPTER 5

"Curls and Forelocks": Romanian Women's Emancipation in Consumption and Fashion, 1780–1850

Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu

The history of the Romanian principalities in the 18th and early 19th centuries is fascinating in respect to the relationship between consumption, luxury, and the circulation of ideas. Under Ottoman rule, the regime in the Romanian principalities restricted travel to the rest of Europe. The establishment of the Phanariot regime, with rulers directly appointed by the sultan and selected from among the Greek elite of Phanar, noticeably limited access to Vienna, Paris, Geneva and even St. Petersburg for a certain part of the population. After 1711/1716, the boyars avoided travelling to that part of Europe for fear that they would be seen as traitors and that they and their families would incur the sultan's wrath.

Whereas in 1719 a boyar could still hope that his sons might gain an education by attending the schools of Vienna and, above all, by learning the foreign languages that were part of assimilating a culture of governance, by the mid-18th century, fear of Ottoman reprisals ruled out foreign travel.[1] When prince Constantin Mavrocordatos (1735–1741) sent fourteen young boyars to be educated in Venice, he was forced to recall them at the end of their third year. News of this "educative escapade" had reached the sultan's ears, albeit in a somewhat truncated form: it was said that the prince had made use of the young men in order to send his fortune to Venice. It was an act that was to result in his deposition.[2] After this experience, the boyars ceased to venture any farther than Brașov or Sibiu, but even then, only to sit out the period of military occupation in exile.

---

[1] In his will, dated 15 January 1719, Matei Crețulescu recounts the journey he made to Vienna, where he hoped to send his children to study. The will included the instruction that his two sons, Matei and Iordache, be "constrained" to learn foreign languages, chiefly Latin and Italian. Nicolae Iorga, *Documente privitoare la familia Cantacuzino* [Documents regarding the Cantaccuzino Family] (Bucharest: 1902).

[2] Mihai banul Cantacuzino, *Genealogia Cantacuzinilor* [Cantacuzino Genealogy], ed. Nicolae Iorga, (Bucharest: 1902), 120.

© CONSTANȚA VINTILĂ-GHIȚULESCU, 2018 | DOI:10.1163/9789004355095_007
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

In such circumstances, the question naturally arises: how did they gain access to information? How did they gain access to luxuries and consumer goods? The boyars more often than not headed to Constantinople. They did not travel there often or for pleasure, but only on business, in the retinues of the various deposed rulers returning to Istanbul to await better times or on special missions, as envoys of the incumbent ruler. Women were even more disadvantaged in this respect: they could travel only in their husbands' retinues, accompanying them to Constantinople or in exile to Brașov or Sibiu. In this situation, the princely court became the model to be imitated in regard to both fashion and the consumption of luxury products. Between the princely court and the boyar class, a highly active mercantile class inserted itself, purveying luxury products, ideas, news, and fashions.[3] After the Peace of Kücük Kaynarca and given increasing Russian influence in the region,[4] the situation changed for the Romanian principalities, too. But even if they were able to enjoy freedom of movement, at least travelling to Russia, which was now the protector of all the Orthodox in the Balkans, the boyars were still fearful and it was not until the long Russian occupation of 1806–12 that they plucked up the courage to travel to Vienna, Paris, and Berlin.

Fashion and Epistolary Advice

If we read the accounts of foreign travellers to the Romanian principalities, we discover that the women followed certain norms of beauty, specific to a certain period of time. We find similar accounts in albums containing pictures of costumes in fashion in the various regions of the Ottoman Empire. To make themselves "beautiful" according to the standards of the time, women accessed information, as well as consumer products. In this respect, we shall draw upon correspondence written by women and their requests for luxury and consumer products. Sometimes, such letters merely request information about a certain style, a certain colour, or certain fabrics currently fashionable. Epistolary consultation about fashions and novelties in such fields was a reality encountered throughout the period. The Hagi Popp Company in Sibiu is a primary source for the study of the role played by correspondence in the distribution of luxury products and the dissemination of information in particular. Analysis of such correspondence leads us to the conclusion that the *gaze* was very important in every type of request. Romanian historiography has spoken widely about the hospitality of the Romanian boyars, which sometimes becomes a kind of national trait, but without entering into any interpretative detail. The purpose of this hospitality could not have been more practical: the gathering of information. Every foreigner who crossed the threshold of a house brought something new: a style of clothing, information about music and dances, or about wars and plagues, details of recipes, manners, and norms of behaviour. The foreigner was a spectacle in himself, a performance provided to a social category that was little-travelled and little-involved in the world of information. These were the "goods" that the Romanian boyars "purchased" by providing lavish hospitality. This was the meaning of boyar hospitality, offered to those who could provide, in return, information and models. In fact, Alex Drace-Francis captures very well this manner in which the East and the West get to know each other and exchange information, later to be found in print filtered through the specific literary tropes of travel literature.[5]

---

[3] For information on the merchant class and its role in the development of luxury consumption in the period prior to our research, see Mária Pakucs-Willcocks, *Sibiu-Hermannstadt. Oriental Trade in Sixteenth-Century Transylvania* (Böhlau: 2007); Gheorghe Lazăr, *Les marchands en Valachie, XVII^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles* (Bucharest: 2007).

[4] See: Barbara Jelavich, *Russia and the Formation of the Romanian National State* (Cambridge: 1984), 20.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the correspondence between Catinca Știrbei and the company of Hagi Popp in Sibiu provides details about the role of women in keeping up consumption of luxuries. Both Catinca Știrbei and her husband, Barbu Știrbei, were part of the local Oltenian elite. With estates and manor houses in Craiova, the couple maintained an assiduous correspondence with the firm of Hagi Popp. The couple's letters reveal preoccupations and interests that differed according to gender: whereas Barbu Știrbei was interested in newspapers, carriages, wines, lead shot, gunpowder and information about the political situation in Europe, Catinca Știrbei requested flower seeds, cosmetics, textiles, lace, "fine tea," jewellery (pearls), medicaments, plates, dogs, silk stockings, white silk gloves and "shoes without spangles and with black or white leather or satin trim." The correspondence quite obviously relates to models that had already been seen and recorded, and had been described as perceived. As we will show later, a dispute about a wig reflects the difficulty of understanding and imitating a model. Maxine Berg and Jan de Vries also talk about "the impacts of desires and wants for new commodities",[6] to be found among women in particular. As such, it is not as much a case of imitating a model as the pleasure of including it among one's personal possessions. To return to the case of Catinca Știrbei, by experimenting with and trying out new products, such as "silk stockings", or by tasting "fine teas", she altered her own behaviour, gradually introducing new products into her everyday consumption.

---

[5] Alex Drace-Francis, *The Traditions of Invention: Romanian Ethnic and Social Stereotypes in Historical Context* (Leiden: 2013), 63–158.

[6] Maxine Berg, "New Commodities, Luxuries and their Consumers in Eighteenth-Century England", in Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (eds.), *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe*, 1650–1850 (Manchester: 1999), 65 and Jan de Vries, "Between Purchasing Power

During the 18th century, Romanian society was highly dependent on the oriental market for luxury goods. If we look at wills, dowry lists, and postmortem inventories, we find specifically oriental goods.[7] Their inclusion is highlighted through the adoption of the terminology specific to them, with fabrics and cloths being listed by their oriental names, coffee and its paraphernalia preserving their Turkish names, jewellery and furs being given by their Turkish or Greek names, and tobacco being consumed in the Ottoman manner, by means of a *çubuk* (tobacco pipe) or *nargile* (hookah), served by a special official, the *çubukçu-bași*, at the princely court and by a servant, named the *çubuçu*, in the great boyar households. Through comparative analysis of dowry lists and wills we may observe the valorisation of each item: clothes, jewellery, furs, silver cutlery, tablecloths and carpets were preserved and passed down from one generation to another.[8] The correspondence with the commercial companies in Sibiu reveals a curiosity regarding products from western Europe, as well as a desire to get to know the fashion in that part of the world. Whereas Western Europe was "fascinated" with goods from Asia,[9] Southeastern Europe displayed the same kind of fascination for everything that was in the "French fashion". For almost a century, trade routes had linked the large cities of Wallachia to Epirus, Edirne, Constantinople, Damascus, Aleppo and Bursa. Even "European" produce (such as Venetian and English textiles) travelled by the same network, conveyed by "Greek" merchants and assimilated with "oriental" goods.

Much has been written about consumption and consumer society, with research concentrating in particular on western society's connection to Asiatic

---

and the World of Goods: Understanding the Household Economy in Early Modern Europe", in John Brewer and Robert Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: 1993), 85–113.

[7] For the relation between dowries and women's consumption see Constanţa Vintilă-Ghiţulescu, *Im Schalwar und mit Baschlik. Kirche, Sexualität, Ehe und Scheidung in der Walachei im 18. Jarhundert* (Berlin: 2013), 45–93.

[8] See Maxine Berg, "Women's Consumption and the Industrial Classes of Eighteenth-Century England", *Journal of Social History*, 30 (1996), 415–434.

[9] Maxine Berg, "*'The Merest Shadows of a Commodity': Indian Muslins for European Markets 1750–1800*", in Maxine Berg (ed.), *Goods from the East, 1600–1800. Trading Eurasia* (Palgrave: 2015), 120.

commerce via the great trading companies.[10] Other studies have tried to unravel the meaning of such consumption, lending it a series of interpretations. Researchers have spoken of "conspicuous consumption," of desire, prestige and emulation.[11] But very little has been written about consumption in the Balkans and Southeastern Europe. Here, it is no longer possible to speak of consumption enabled by the great trading companies, but only of commercial, social, and cultural consumer goods brought by caravans of mules along the known routes.[12] The 19th century is fundamental to the creation of national states separated from the old Ottoman Empire. The Greek, Serbian, and Romanian elites also distinguish themselves by imitating the consumption habits of northern and central Europe elites, which they considered both cultural and political models.[13] Since the economic and the cultural realms converge,[14] consumption and fashion are part of the transformations Christian elites from southeastern Europe experience.

Thanks to dowry lists and wills we can observe how oriental products were gradually replaced with items from Vienna and Paris. Damask (Turkish: *Şam alacasý*), an expensive fabric from Damascus, was replaced with dyed cotton; metal glass holders (Turkish: *zarf*), crafted in filigree (Turkish: *feligén*), which had been part of the coffee-serving ritual, were discarded in favour of porcelain from Saxony; Indian shawls were abandoned for felt hats and bonnets. Cambric or *batiste* replaced *çevre*, muslin or silk embroidered with gold thread and spangles. The different names reveal different uses: *çevre* (worn in wedding rituals) had an important role in public display, while *batiste* acquired uses to do with maintaining the hygiene of the body subject to the self-constraint required by the new norms of civility. Words are an important tool in analysing this society in transition towards a new "French" model, a model declared in contemporary writings, but also blending with everyday practice. Words are all the more important in that they alter and shape not only behaviour, but also an entire social and political attitude.

---

[10] Maxine Berg, *Goods from the East*.

[11] Jan DeVries, *European Urbanization, 1500–1800* (London: 1984); John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: 1993); Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (eds.), *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe, 1650–1850* (Manchester: 1999).

[12] See also Evguenia Davidova, *Balkan Transitions to Modernity and Nation-States: Through the Eyes of Three Generations of Merchants (1780s–1890s)* (Leiden: 2013); Suraiya Faroqhi and Gilles Veinstein (eds.), *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire* (Paris-Louvain-Dudley: 2008); Suraiya Faroqhi, *Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire: Employment and Mobility in the Early Modern Era* (London: 2014).

[13] Varikas Éléni, "Subjectivité et identité de genre. L'univers de l'éducation féminine dans la Grèce du XIX^{e} siècle", *Genèses*, 6 (1991), 29–51;

[14] Beverly Lemire, Giorgio Riello, "East & West: Textiles and Fashion in Early Modern Europe", *Journal of Social History* (2008), 887.

The correspondence surrounding the everyday cosmetic wig reveals the avatars of this cultural transfer to other values and the manner in which these values were integrated into everyday life. The Romanian word *perucă* derives from the French *perruque*. There is little information about the wearing of wigs in the period and only the magnificently coiffed wig of historian and scholar Prince Dimitrie Cantemir bears visual witness to their use. The portrait dates from 1735 and adorns his *History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire*, a work written when the former prince had already been in Russia for twenty years.[15] Later, Ottoman fashion, which demanded that men shave their heads, discarded the wigs as being pointless. Rather, the catalogues of costumes present to us boyar ladies with covered heads. This style of headgear seemed to be important and was adorned with flowers, precious stones, or ribbons.

The fashion for curls and ringlets reached Romanian society with the arrival of the Russian army and the long occupation of the Romanian principalities between 1806 and 1812. Period portraits show us boyar ladies with bared shoulders and uncovered heads, the better to display this new feature of their freedom. The portrait of Smaranda Catargi, the wife of the grand logothete,[16] clearly mirrors this new phase (Fig. 5.1). The presence in the public space and the display of sartorial freedom became so obvious that it could not pass unobserved. The Church harshly criticised this visible freedom through the voice of one of its servants:

> In earlier times the houses were topped with wood, now we have them covered in iron … Then a formidable drought came. And still we did not heed. Living forever in fear, we were almost enslaved by the heathen. And then lo and behold! The females with heads uncovered and hair cut short, naked down to their waist. The men had discarded their own dress and assumed foreign garments, like unbelievers, some German, others Sfrench [sic], and in other ways, some with close-cropped hair, others with curls like women. And some of us, the more gifted, would mix with them and read their books, some in Sfrench [sic], others in German, still others in

---

[15] Ştefan Lemny, *Les Cantemir: l'aventure européenne d'une famille princière au XVIII^{e} siècle* (Paris: 2009), 181–182.

[16] In the Romanian principalities, officials' wives were referred to by their husbands' titles. As such, Smaranda Catargi was called the High Logothete, since her husband, Constandin Catargi, held that office in Moldavia at the time when her portrait was painted.

> Talian [sic]. And thus entered the teachings of that God-forsaken Volter [sic], whom the pagans hold in such esteem, like a God. And we would no longer observe the days of Lent. Always meats at table. At church, we went as to a promenade, to show off our best clothes, the females their devilish ornaments; instead of entering the church with fear of God and

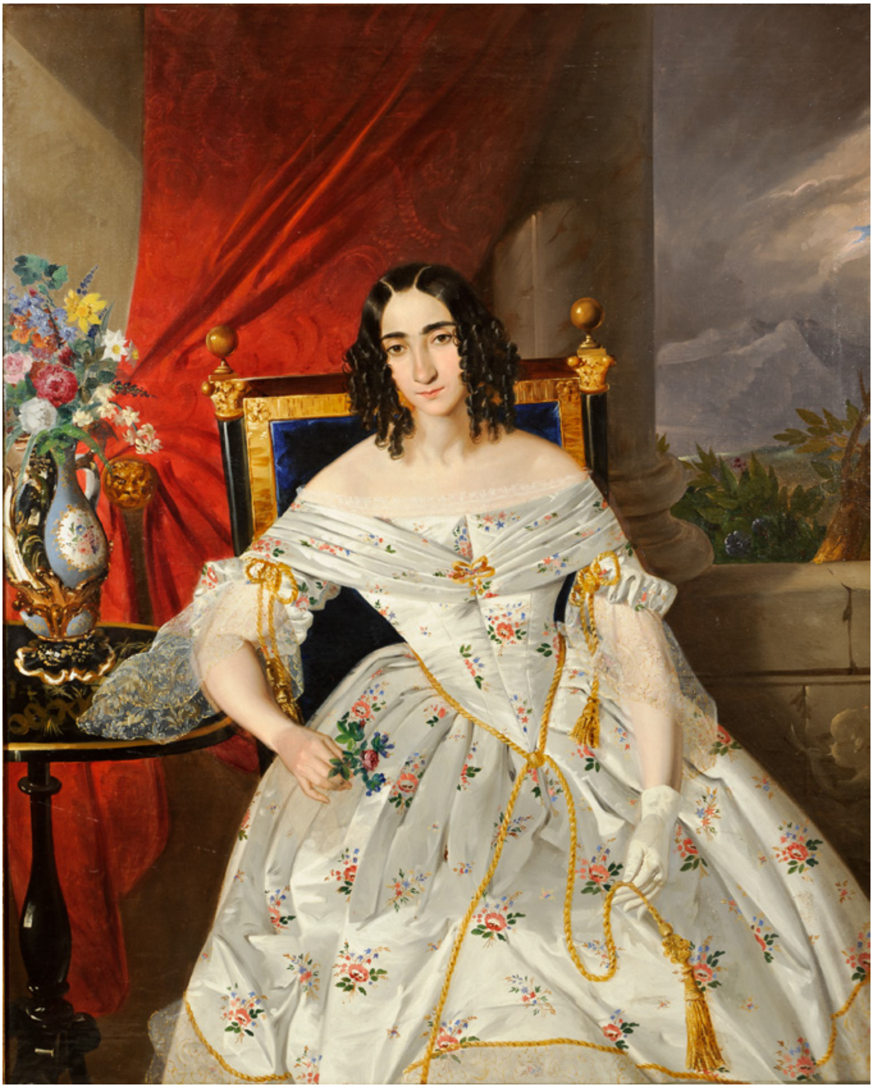


FIGURE 5.1 *Anonymous painter (1810–1820)—Smaranda Catargi, The Chancellor's Wife.* COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ART, BUCUREŞTI.

> pray for our sins. In brief, vanity had her throne in Bucharest. We no longer believed in God, but only in fine houses, and clothes, in cheating, and rich meals, in drunkenness, and especially in open whoring.[17]

In the context of changing tastes and fashions, Catinca Știrbei requested a wig from the company run by Hagi Popp in Sibiu (Fig. 5.2). After its success during the reign of Louis XIV, when wigs became taller and more varied, and after the introduction of male and professional wigs in the 18th century, in the 19th century the wig returned to its original purpose: the adornment of elderly aristocratic ladies. Catinca would have been one such lady, albeit one who wished to keep up with the fashion, displaying the ringlets of freedom. To make herself understood, Catinca Știrbei describes a model she has come across, the wig worn by "Lady Marghiolița", who was probably a friend: "I do beg you (Hagi Popp—*my note*) for the sake of my favour and my love to summon the wigmaker and order him to make me a wig and, as I show you, the hair shall be selected to match the hair I sent." This is followed by remarks about the model she has seen, Lady Marghiolița's wig:

> The type of hair is the same as that of the wigs of Lady Marghiolița, let it be as dark, let the shape be the same, as large and as tall, like that one, and as is the form of that one, so too should be the form of this one, for it pleased me; although it pleased me not that the hair was not sewn strongly, but rather came loose wherever you pulled it.

And to make sure that the wig would be just right, Catinca sent a lock of hair, accompanied by precise instructions. As Colin Campbell would say, Catinca Știrbei made use of a model, but, as we have seen, she did not want the copy to look too much like the original.[18] The master wigmaker hired to make such a *perruque* seems not to have wholly understood what was demanded of him. The result was not to the lady's liking:

---

[17] "Cronica meşteşugarului Ioan Dobrescu (1802–1830)" [The chronicle written down by the craftsman Ioan Dobrescu], ed. Ilie Corfus, *Studii si articole de istorie*, VIII (1966), 341. See also Angela Jianu, "Women, Fashion, and Europeanization: the Romanian Principalities, 1750–1830", Amila Buturović and İrvin C. Schick (eds.), *Women in the Ottoman Balkans: Gender, Culture and History* (London: 2007), 216.

[18] Colin Campbell, *Understanding traditional and modern patterns of consumption in eighteenth-century England: a character—action approach*, John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: 1993), 41.

> It was not in accordance with what I wrote, for you have crammed a great deal of hair … it is too great a mockery … it is a thing that I cannot wear, since there is too much hair and it makes the head look as small as a farthing and I am not accustomed to the like of this.

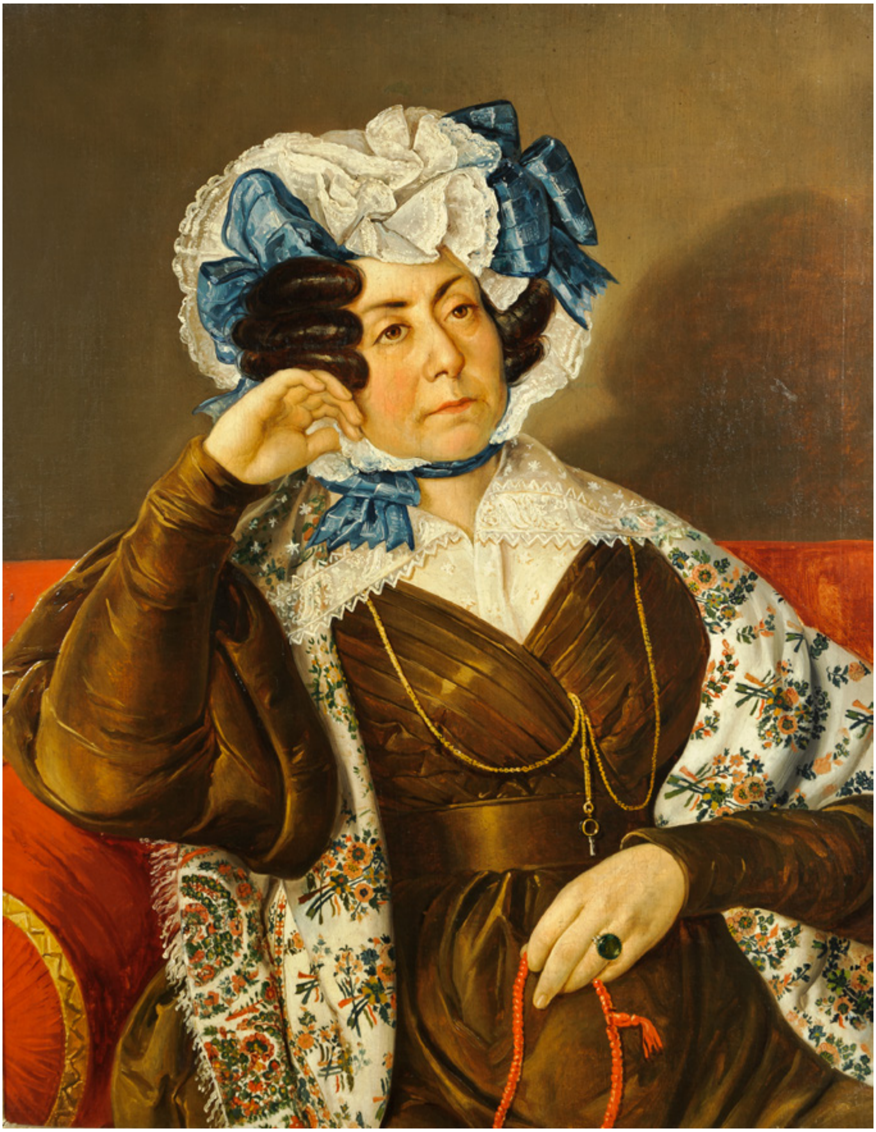


FIGURE 5.2 *Anonymous painter (1810–1820)—Zinca Samurcaş, The Majordom's Wife.* COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ART, BUCUREŞTI.

There followed further instructions, sent along with the wig:

> You will see what I have selected to be removed, for I have tied a thread so that you might recognise it, as it is short and bunched [...]. Let the whole wig be 50 drams, bonnet and all, since this is the fashion we are wearing.[19]

Zinca Samurcaș, Smaranda Catargi, and Elena Miclescu appear in paintings with curls that tumble over their shoulders or poke boldly from their bonnets, making us wonder what kind of curling tong can have styled them. The curls then in fashion did not suit the faces of every lady: both Smaranda Catargi and Elena Miclescu seem only to have thought of what was in fashion, rather than the fact that such a hairstyle made their faces look longer. Curls and black hair were in fashion and every lady was eager to look like the other "great ladies", researching various kinds of wigs and striving by means of elderberries and various formulations to achieve the appropriate colour. This happened in a period when national identity was being reconceived, a process in which women were significant figures.

The Church, Clothing Laws, and Emancipation

In the 18th century, "clothing laws", as Claire Sponsler calls them, held an important place in the administration of luxury, laws whereby the boyar class and the princes attempted to arrogate to themselves various items of clothing in their struggle for power.[20] Clothes and accessories were highly important in socially identifying the local boyars. Thanks to their visibility, clothes became an important element for defining social status in a society riddled with hierarchies of every kind.[21] The colour and quality of materials, furs, and carriages fall within the category of this need for visibility in the process of social recognition.[22] Rivalry for power between the local boyars and the Phanariot rulers also manifested itself via the sartorial code. Even if the local boyars accepted a ruler appointed by the sultan, this did not mean they were subservient once the prince arrived in Iaşi or Bucharest. The members of the local elite, who were rich and rather frustrated in their political ideals, displayed a certain amount of reticence towards the Phanariot princes. Since many of them believed that they themselves were entitled to be princes in their own right, the luxury they displayed was the most convenient form of opposition. Sometimes, the financial resources of the local elite far exceeded those of the princely court. Part of a "logic of prestige", luxury became a widespread means of displaying social identity.[23] Sometimes, the form of display defied all submission. The princes tried to impose their will on the rebellious boyars through various forms of control. One such form was the imposition of clothing laws in order to ensure the princes' *de facto* power. We may observe intense competition in which consumption of luxury goods regulated power plays. One example from the first half of the 19th century will help us better to understand this competition for power via luxury.

---

[19] In the same period, Mărioara Rosetti wrote from Iaşi to merchant Hagi Popp in Sibiu that she wished him to make her two wigs rather than the one (27 September 1810). Nicolae Iorga, *Scrisori de boieri şi negustori olteni şi munteni către casa de negoţ sibiiană Hagi Popp* [Letters of boyars and merchants addressed to the Commercial House Hagi Popp] (Bucharest: 1906), 50, 28 July 1810, 10 August 1810.

[20] Claire Sponsler, "Narrating the Social Order: Medieval Clothing Laws", *Clio*, 21, 3 (1992), 265–283.

[21] Constanţa Vintilă-Ghiţulescu, "Constructing a New Identity: Romanian Aristocrats between Oriental Heritage and Western Prestige (1780–1866)", in Constanţa Vintilă-Ghiţulescu (ed.), *From Traditional Attire to Modern Dress: Modes of Identification, Modes of Recognition in the Balkans* (*XVIth–XXth Centuries*) (Newcastle: 2011), 102–127.

On 12 January 1817, prince Ioan Caragea passed a decree whereby he attempted to legitimate his own power by arrogating certain sartorial symbols, making them specific only to the princely house. He decreed that white satin and every other "white material" attached to the *biniș* (long boyar coat with flared, split sleeves), *cüppe* (long boyar coat), or any other fur-trimmed coat were to be worn only by the members of the princely family, "their majesties the *beyzades* (prince's sons) and the princesses". The justification for this was that white "is a colour permitted to be worn only by princes and rulers of the people", in order that they might be distinguished "by their subjects".[24] The decree was announced throughout Bucharest to the sound of drums. A few days later, the boyars showed their defiance of the prince's commandment. One of the boyar ladies, Tarsița Filipescu, decked herself in the whitest possible turban, satin dress and *cüppe* and ostentatiously rode beneath the windows of the princely court:

---

[22] In his memoirs (1826), boyar Dinicu Golescu writes of the visual impact of clothes on a population capable of immediately recognising an acting official and showing him submission, but not respect. See: Dinicu Golescu, *Însemnare a călătorii mele, Costandin Radovici din Goleşti făcută în anul 1824, 1825, 1826* [Account of my Travel, Costandin Radovici from Golesti made in the year 1824, 1824, 1826], ed. M. Iorgulescu (Bucahrest: 1977), 80–81. This was the Ottoman model, as researcher Christoph K. Neumann argues when answering the question of "How to recognise a vizier if you see him on the street" Faroqhi Suraiya, Christoph K. Neumann (eds.), *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity* (Istanbul: 2005), 191–192.

[23] Norbert Elias, *La société de cour* (Paris: 1985), 107.

[24] Vasile A. Urechia, *Istoria românilor* [*Histroy of Romanians*] (Bucharest: 1900), 10/a, 297–298.

But Tarsița Filipescu the Dvornik (wife of a Dvornik) showed herself to be insolent, ignorant and heedless of our princely decree, in that she dared not only to wear a white satin dress, but also, wearing such clothes, to pass by our Princely Court without the slightest shame, wrote prince Caragea on 21 January 1817. Tarsița Filipescu thereby displayed not only her contempt for the prince's decree, but also her husband's opposition to the measures the prince had taken: Grigore Filipescu was part of a boyar political faction that openly opposed the reign of prince Caragea. The prince ordered the chief of police (the Grand Aga) to punish the lady by publicly tearing up her clothes if she dared to do the same thing again.[25] The lady was neither apprehended nor punished, for the simple reason that she was a member of a high boyar family far more important than the rabble of the prince's camarilla.[26]

Women's Education and Sociability

The episode is very significant to women's road towards affirmation in the public space. French fashion supported them in this process of affirmation. However, French fashion should not be reduced merely to clothes and other accessories for keeping up appearances; the importance of the educative component should also be taken into account. In this period, access to education was still a luxury in itself. The cultural construct that was women's education demanded significant material resources. The cultural baggage of an educated young woman was constructed around the humanities: the French language, music, drawing, dance etc. Each of these required a private teacher and teaching materials. Well-off families could afford to play the educational game, contributing to the development of an educational market specifically for women. The emergence of demand brought with it the specific products to satisfy that demand. The piano, for example, was regarded as a luxury item at

---

25 Ibid., 10/b, 298.

26 We encounter her again much later, in the 1840s: the lady is by now elderly, but just as haughty, hectoring the prince and the members of the Assembly, who had refused to grant her a pension. Her perseverance and countless petitions to every possible high official finally caused the boyars to submit and grant her the pension. See *Analele Parlamentare ale României* [Romanian Parliamentary Annals] (Bucharest: 1899), X_1, 134–136.

the beginning of the 19th century, one found in only a few boyar houses. The development of local production of pianos would have been out of the question if demand had been limited. But the piano was gradually to become part of the "symbolic educational capital" proper to women's education.[27] And so, within just ten years, pianos could be found in the pensions that sprang up in the major cities, as well as among the luxury goods purchased by boyars high and low. This is the only explanation for the presence of pianos in city shops and for extensive advertising for them in the press.[28] Had they been purchased only by the elite, there would not have been page after page in the newspapers filled with advertisements for them. The purchase of a piano may be regarded as part of a long process of socialisation and sociability.[29]

However, symbolic educative capital became an absolutely indispensable part of self-display in the new world of the literary and political salon. The importance of purchasing such "luxury products" (ability to play the piano and speak French) must be placed in the context of changes in the period and the role they were to play in everyday life. Dance and music became a vital part of an education, particularly a young woman's. In his study of music in the period, Dan Dumitru Iacob reveals music's journey from rejection to being a compulsory part of the elite's values. In the pensions for young women, French and the piano "were an expression of a good education", "an additional opportunity to gain success in high society" and ultimately "an asset when making a successful marriage". In the end, it came to be a form of legitimation and social prestige.[30]

---

[27] Maxine Berg, *New Commodities*, 64.

[28] See the advertisements in the newspaper Vestitorul Românesc, [Romanian Herald] 1843.

[29] Music becomes an important part of a woman's education. Emergence from isolation within the house demands the shaping of comportment appropriate to a presence in society. Young women are encouraged to perfect their musical abilities. Any musical instrument might contribute to personal development. From an exchange of letters, we discover important details about the place occupied by the guitar in the development of a woman's musical abilities. On 10 April 1841, Teodor Cerchez writes to a friend: "Your madam knows neither French nor the guitar, which is what we need. If you could find one that also knows the guitar, please let me know, and how much she would be content to charge for the year, but do send her because that is the kind of teacher of which I have need." The father had asked for a "madam" to educate his daughter, but the one who arrived in Iaşi at the boyar's house was unable to speak French or play the guitar, despite his wishes, thus prompting his letter. See Constantin Bobulescu, *Lăutarii noştri. Din trecutul lor. Schiţă istorică asupra muzicii noastre naţionale corale cum şi altor feluri de muzici* [Our Musicians. From their Past. Historical Overview of Our Choral National Music and of Other Kinds of Music] (Bucharest: 1922), 38.

The piano and French were to define social distinction and membership of a group, which now expanded to include rich merchants in the towns. With the acquisition of such luxuries (the piano, the guitar, and even French) came a transfer of knowledge that also presupposed the adaption and construction of new skills and behaviours.

The importance women gained in public life is also seen in many textbooks beginning to circulate at that time, providing rules, tips, and guidance regarding the behaviour of the lady of the house. For example, a manual published in 1854 details the new trends in education. Mistress of her salon, the woman needs to model her behaviour according to social needs: "women should always and everywhere set the tone in society, especially master their salons".[31] The author of this manual is Ioan Penescu (1808–1868) who translates and writes manuals for the education of young women. In another manual, young women are advised with regards to the "moral and material duties of the mistress of the house".[32] Because there is a growing demand for this type of literature, professor Ioan Penescu opens his own printing house (1838) where he publishes books and the magazine *Mercur*, which he founded in 1839.

Cultural Consumption: French and the Art of Conversation

Just how important were French and the art of conversation is apparent from the account books of a petty boyar from Bucharest. For almost three decades, between 1804 and 1839, Dumitrache Piersiceanu kept a strict record of his household income, investments, and expenses. The greater part of his household expenses was spent on raising and educating his children, with education differing by sex. Intended for careers in the administration, the boys were

---

[30] Dan Dumitru Iacob, "Elita socială şi viaţa muzicală din Iaşi şi Bucureşti în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea" [Social Elite and Musical Life in Iaşi and Bucharest], *Historia Urbana*, XX (2012), 99.

[31] *Catehismul bunei creşteri a fetelor sau al datoriilor lor morale şi soţiale ca fete, ca soaţe şi ca mume de familie* [The Catechism of Girls' Good Breeding or Their Moral and Social Duties as Girls, as Wives and as Mothers of Families] (Bucharest: 1854), 30.

[32] See Ioan Penescu, *Manual de economia casnică sau Datoriile morale şi materiale ale stăpânelor de casă, de I. Penescu, Profesor în seminarul sf. Mitr. Cu voia cinst. Eforii a Şcoalelor. Pentru Invăţătura fetelor* [Manual of Household Economy or The Moral and Material Duties of Mistresses of the House, by I. Penescu, Professor at the Seminary of the St. Mitr. Under the Will of School Board. For the Education of Girls] (Bucharest: 1846).

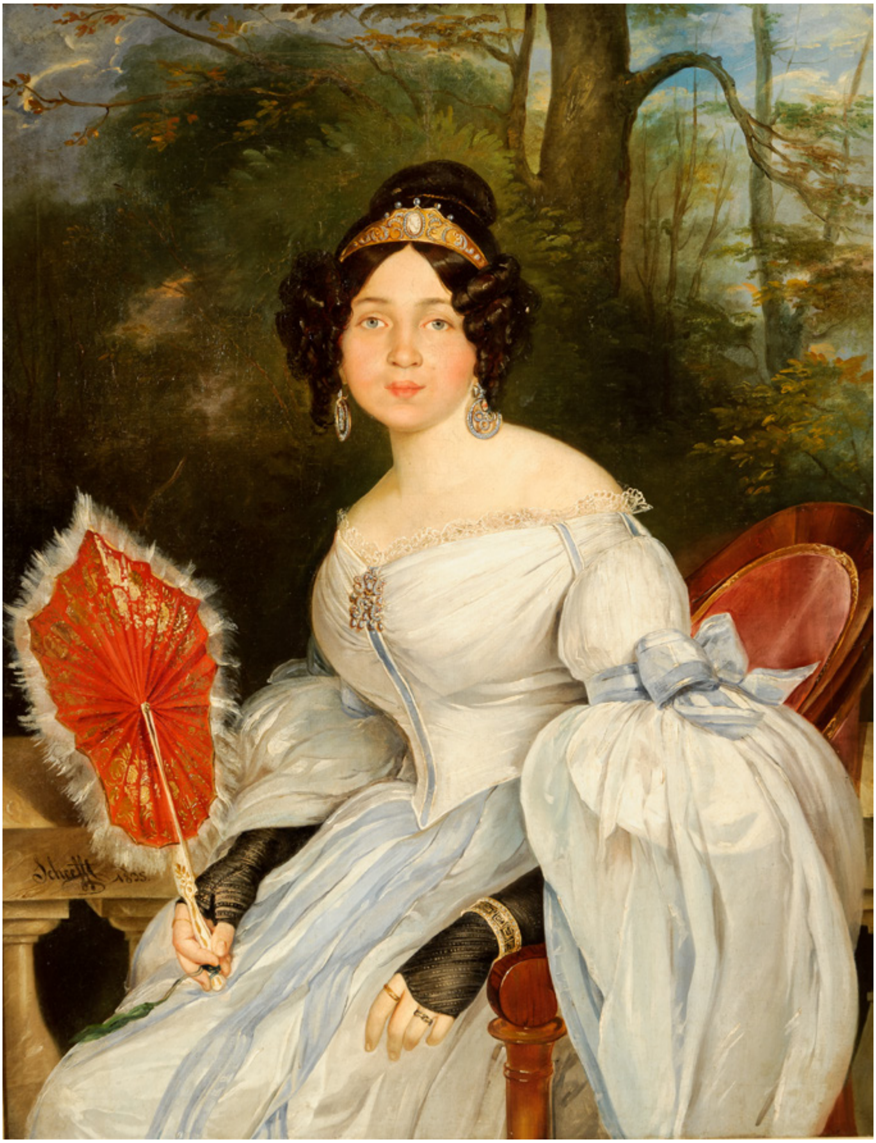


FIGURE 5.3 *Iosif August Schoefft, Portrait of woman, 1830.*
COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ART, BUCUREŞTI.

educated at home by private tutors and then placed as apprentices in the chancelleries of important officials. For Elencu, however, the father, influenced by his wife, was concerned with providing her with an education in keeping with the current fashion (Fig. 5.3). Between 1835 and 1839 we can trace his investments in his daughter's fashionable education. In the period, a number of pensions opened in Bucharest, but Dumitrache Piersiceanu preferred to hire private teachers, *mademoiselles* and *modistes*, who taught Elencu step by step. It was not only a financial investment, but also an investment of time: the father tried mainly to hire teachers from abroad, from France or Germany (and sometimes even from Brașov, a city of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at that time). For four years, Elencu was taught by "Mosiu Șarlă" (Monsieur Charles), Madame Janet, "Mosiu Șnel" (Monsieur Schnell), and "Matmozel Anica" (Mademoiselle Anne). The list is long because mastery of French or German did not also guarantee good behaviour or loyalty to one's employer.[33]

At the beginning of the century, with Greek losing ground to French, there was a significant migration from Paris, Lyon, and Geneva to Bucharest and Iaşi. Throughout the 18th century, Greek had been the language of conversation for the elite, the language in which they read and corresponded. Greek language both had structured membership of an exclusive group, which had coalesced around political power, and offered the elite the vocabulary of romantic sensibility.[34] For this reason, women's access to the language had been restricted. French, on the other hand, quickly became a tool for women's affirmation, enabling them to participate in salon conversation. It was also an important vehicle for self-affirmation. Women's presence in the public space of cultural sociability guaranteed them a far greater visibility than fashions in clothes would have done.

By educating his daughter in French, Dumitrache Piersiceanu prepares her for new roles in society. At the beginning of the 19th century, society redefined itself by assigning new roles to social actors: women represent the family in the new public show-window offered by the salon sociability. In addition to the *savoir-faire* and *savoir-vivre* manuals, the market is flooded with French literature, including dictionaries and language acquisition primers..[35] Exploring novel consumption among the Greek Christian elite from Izmir and Istanbul, Haris Exertzoglou argues that cultural production, which is part of the "process of social and cultural transformation", is a key factor in shaping a new social category, labelled as "bourgeoisie".[36] Imports of books, newspapers, and fashion albums (mostly in French) accompany imports of garments, furniture, musical instruments, or gourmet products. In the absence of indigenous literature, French literature becomes the coagulating element of a political and social ideology. This French literature also includes many ordinary novels, popular manuals, and calendars, full of ideas and information considered to be "immoral" or difficult to understand by women. However, romance novels are believed to pervert the souls of women who are yet unprepared to receive the same education as men.

---

[33] Constanţa Vintilă-Ghiţulescu, "Condica de toate pricinile şi trebuinţele casii mele" de pitarul Dumitru Piersiceanu de la Fundata (1804–1839)" [Account with all the affairs of my house], Dan-Dumitru Iacob (ed.), *Avere, prestigiu şi cultură materială în surse patrimoniale. Inventare de averi din secolele XVI–XIX* [Fortune, Prestige and Material Culture in the Patrimonial Sources] (Iaşi: 2015), 523–552.

[34] Elena Hartulari's journal is a good example in this respect. The only surviving journal written by a woman, it still needs a good critical edition in order to enter the research circuit. See Angela Jianu, "Elena Hartulari's Story: the presentation of the emotional self", Bilici, Faruk, Ionel Cândea, and Anca Popescu (eds.), *Enjeux politiques, économiques et militaires en Mer Noire* (*XIV^{e}–XXI^{e} siécles*)*: études à la mémoire de Mihail Guboglu* (Brăila: 2007), 429–44.

[35] The manual published by Grigore Pleşoianu (1801–1857) seems to be the first published French language primer. See Grigore Pleşoianu, *Abeţedar franco-românesc pentru tineri începători. Acum întâiu cules şi intr-acestaş chip cu rumâneşte întocmit de G. Pleşoianul,*

In criticising the teaching of French to women, for instance, the Church was in fact condemning this visibility too, which "distances them from their original purpose, that of being mothers", as *The Ecclesiastical Preacher* (Predicatorul Ecleziastic) said in 1857. *The Ecclesiastical Preacher*, the official gazette of the Church, saw a series of impediments to the acceptance of "modern" education:

> I now ask whether their education should entail only those things that are external, which is to say, making an impression, droning on in French or in German or in some other wise, or learning a little of what is useful in home economics and future childrearing and fulfilment of their sacred duties, and many other things to the liking of the many, which is to say: music, poetry, painting, operas, adornments, luxury and visits?

The aforementioned "enrichment" already existed, but without being of any great benefit to society, believed the Church. Rather, it was a perversion of the soul. Women ought to rear "patriotic men, courageous men, men of deep wisdom and political knowledge", writes *The Ecclesiastical Preacher*. But spending "six hours a day" getting dressed, strolling in Cișmigiu Park and along the Chaussée, and sitting jaded by the window could not provide a solid education. What was to be done? "Women have need of more serious learning", says the gazette, from which should be completely eliminated "the teaching of foreign

---

profesorul al şcoalelor naţionale din Craiova [French-Romanian Primer for Young Learners. Now Printed First in Romanian by G. Pleşoianul, professor of the national schools in Craiova] (Craiova: 1829).

[36] Haris Exertzoglou "The Cultural Uses of Consumption: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers during the 19th Century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35 (2003), 78.

languages", which is "of little benefit". In women's education, foreign languages should be reduced to a bare minimum, despite the important place they held in men's education: "In general it is beneficial that women should learn at an early age to respect religion, to treasure virtue, to prize cleanliness, to love wisdom, to submit to men, to despise in all sincerity vain expense … above all to make sure that their children are worthy of love and good reputation." This summary form of education, given in church more than at school, can only be completed under the guidance and supervision of a "male moralist".[37]

The active presence of women in the public space upsets part of the masculine society. Ten years before the above-cited article from *The Ecclesiastical Preacher*, another article in the *Albina Românească* [*Romanian Bee*], one of the most important magazines in Moldavia, ironically criticizes the "emancipation of women". The very use of the term shows this debate is part of a larger context during a time when arguments regarding individual freedoms are extremely important.[38] The author is intrigued by women's "pretence" to ask for more "rights" "against the stipulations of holy laws which make them obey men", ignoring the fact that in everyday practice women are the ones who "reign over men". Leaving the domestic space and giving up housework in order to embrace literary sociability seem a betrayal of the primordial goals of the society.

The article further outlines the dichotomy between *woman* and *madame* (in Romanian *damă*) or lady, and those who fight for their rights decidedly belong to another "kind": "not women, but *dames* go horseback riding, play billiards, smoke cigarettes, read newspapers and discuss world politics".[39] Real women remain devoted to "small children, spinning, weaving, vegetables and raising chickens", in other words, women are attached to the established values of the traditional family. However, the author believes that the female presence in the public and political arena has detrimental effects on family life. Emancipating themselves through knowledge, *dames* no longer know how to "naturally love their husbands" and, especially, how to be "totally obedient".[40] Ceasing to be "women", *dames* free themselves through consumption and enjoy their new found liberties through conversation, socializing, and fashion. Consumption built around female sociability is blamed precisely because it brings women more freedom and visibility in the public space hitherto reserved only for men. Gender consumption structures a new lifestyle, responding to the needs of a social class fighting for self-assertion.[41]

---

[37] While foreign languages occupied an important place in a man's education, the same author diminishes their role (to the point of regarding them as dangerous) in a woman's education. See *Predicatorul Ecleziastic* [*The Ecclesiastical Preacher*], 1857.

[38] For an analysis of debates regarding the emancipation of Gypsies, see Bogdan Mateescu, *Familia în timpul robiei. O perspectiva demografica. Studiu si liste de populatie din arhive* [Family across the Slavery time. Demographical Approach] (Iași: 2015).

[39] The term is used in a pejorative meaning here: *dama* is a Romanian translation of the French *madame*. *Madamă* or *damă* covered a large socio-professional category: a French woman teacher or only a woman teacher, a governess, a French maid, but also a courtesan.

[40] Albina Românească [Romanian Bee], n. 49, Sunday, 22 June, 1841.

Apart from these criticisms, the *dame* or the *lady* have the important role of socially representing the family, the people, and the nation. Contemporary with the birth of the modern Romanian state (1830–1860), women participate, through active consumption, in the creation of public spaces needed for political debate. Men equally participate in consumption in order to deal with the demands of a different lifestyle and of a new way of thinking about politics. Women's education, however, remains an entirely urban phenomenon, particular to the affluent social class. Even though the Organic Regulations introduce free and compulsory education both for boys and girls, the reforms are difficult to implement.

Education and Masculinity

Piano, dance, and French were also aimed at men. The passive society of the 18th century was replaced with an increasingly active society, open to the outdoors, to movement, to debate and analysis. The 19th century also brought changes to ideals of male appearance, bringing to the fore French elegance, as opposed to Turkish *zariflık*. In *The History of Moldavia* (1851), Manolache Drăghici provides us with a portrait of Caliarhi the Postelnik, who married Ralu Moruz and was considered to be "the most gallant and *zarif* of the boyars of Phanar." The adjective *zarif*, borrowed from Turkish, referred not only to beauty, but also to male elegance: "This boyar came to live in Petersburg [...] the monarch could not get enough of looking at the handsome and expensive garments he wore every day, so much so that many a time they say that on meeting him when out strolling he would stop him to admire his outfit for that day, including the handsome furs he wore."[42] For the notoriously conservative boyar chronicler, beauty could be reduced to the elegance and richness of one's clothes. Drăghici often dwells on beauty, using the terms *zarfir* and *zariflık* to describe elegance full of *zarafiruri* and *zarpale*, i.e. adornments.

---

[41] Building a gender identity through consumption and social promotion strategies adds a negative connotation to the image women had in South-Eastern Europe. See Varikas Éléni, Subjectivité, 29–51.

[42] Manolache Drăghici, *Istoriea Moldovei pe timp de 500 ani* [History of Moldavia for 500 years], (Iaşi: 1851), II, 46–47.

Constant competition with the Russian officer class also played a part in this necessary change, but above all, travel and study prompted men to choose comfortable French clothes rather than their previous long kaftans, to learn the art of dance, to join fencing clubs. Masculinity no longer had the harshness of the past, because the model was now different, and men's reading urged them to be attentive to their gestures, manners, and speech. Masculinity and honour now went hand in hand, providing young men with pretexts to prove their virility in duels.[43]

Modernisation brought with it new masculine types. One such type was the professional dancer, who employed his legs and body as his sole means of gaining access to the salons of the high and mighty. Mihail Kogălniceanu gives us a portrait of a dancer, in whom the features of a period in transition can be found.[44] Meanwhile the gazette finds amusement in painting portraits of the *gallant* and the *philanderer*. The gallant is the counterpart of the coquette, of whom we talk below, since he dresses up in order to be pleasing to female company, taking advantage of social appearances. The "butterfly", as Dionisie Romanov describes him in a moralising story, flutters around "beautiful" women, promising them great things, but stopping short of a handsome dowry. The coquette and the gallant require artifice to improve a physiognomy, to enhance the beauty of a feature, to add charm to a glance, rosiness to a cheek, freshness to a pair of lips. The era's fashionable *dandy* penetrated Romanian society as well and ended up being caricatured in many writings of the period. Those who portray him are the dandy's contemporaries, meeting him in the salons of Paris or on the streets of London and then recognising him easily in Iaşi and Bucharest.[45]

Inventing the Past and the Art of the Portrait

The houses and mansions of important families begin to be decorated with portraits of their members and women clearly stand out in this visual investment. Confiscated by the communist regime in the years 1950–1960, many of these portraits stayed hidden in the basements of various museums, with many being lost and many more remaining difficult to identify even today. Considered without much artistic value to be shown in galleries, these important documentary sources are still kept in museum warehouses or are cheaply auctioned one by one. However, these paintings were once part of a past.

---

[43] See Mihai Chiper, *O societate în căutarea onoarei. Duel şi masculinitate în România (1859–1914)* [Society Seeking Honor: Duel and Masculinity in Romania] (Iaşi: 2012).

[44] Mihail Kogălniceanu, *Profesie de credinţă* [Profession of Faith] (Bucharest: 1962), 29–43.

[45] Adriana Babeţi, *Dandysmul. O istorie* [Dandyism. A History] (Iaşi: 2004), 76–77.

National identity is created in an internal and international context conducive to a favourable development of group consciousness. Women participate in this political and social construction either by asserting the specific social pride of belonging to a nation or by initiating the process of manufacturing a past. This process goes hand in hand with the political activity promoted in the salon. The house turns slowly into a *place of memory* where ancestors are represented in the family portrait gallery. Alongside portraits, other art objects begin to be collected, thus leading to the emergence of the *cabinet* as a distinct part in the architecture of the house. However, not everyone could afford to purchase art objects. Beside the financial investment, collecting objects of art involves a certain degree of education, a taste for art, music, and literature. Similarly, one needs both financial means and taste to commission long series of family portraits to display the family's genealogy and past. (Fig. 5.4) During the 19th century, the *cabinet* and the salon become important parts of the culture of sociability. If men occupy the *cabinet* and collect objects of art, women populate the salon which they embellish and decorate both with artefacts and useful things. As such, women produce, purchase, and display "cultural things" considered "necessary for representing and constituting the family's social position".[46] By engaging in cultural sociability, women help strengthen the husband's and, implicitly, the family's political and economic relations.[47]

Conclusion

In conclusion, individual identity is constructed at the same time as the identity of the new modern state. The abandonment of Turkish clothes in favour of the frock coat and top hat is not only a matter of fashion, but also a political declaration on the part of the local Orthodox elite in their struggle for independence.

If the 18th century regulated luxury consumption through a series of sumptuary laws and many items of clothing (materials, jewellery, accessories, furs)

---

[46] Leora Auslander, "The Gendering of Consumer Practices in Nineteenth-Century France," in Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough (eds.), *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley: 1996), 83.

[47] See also Angela Jianu, *A Circle of Friends. Romanian Revolutionaries and Political Exile, 1840–1859* (Leiden: 2011).

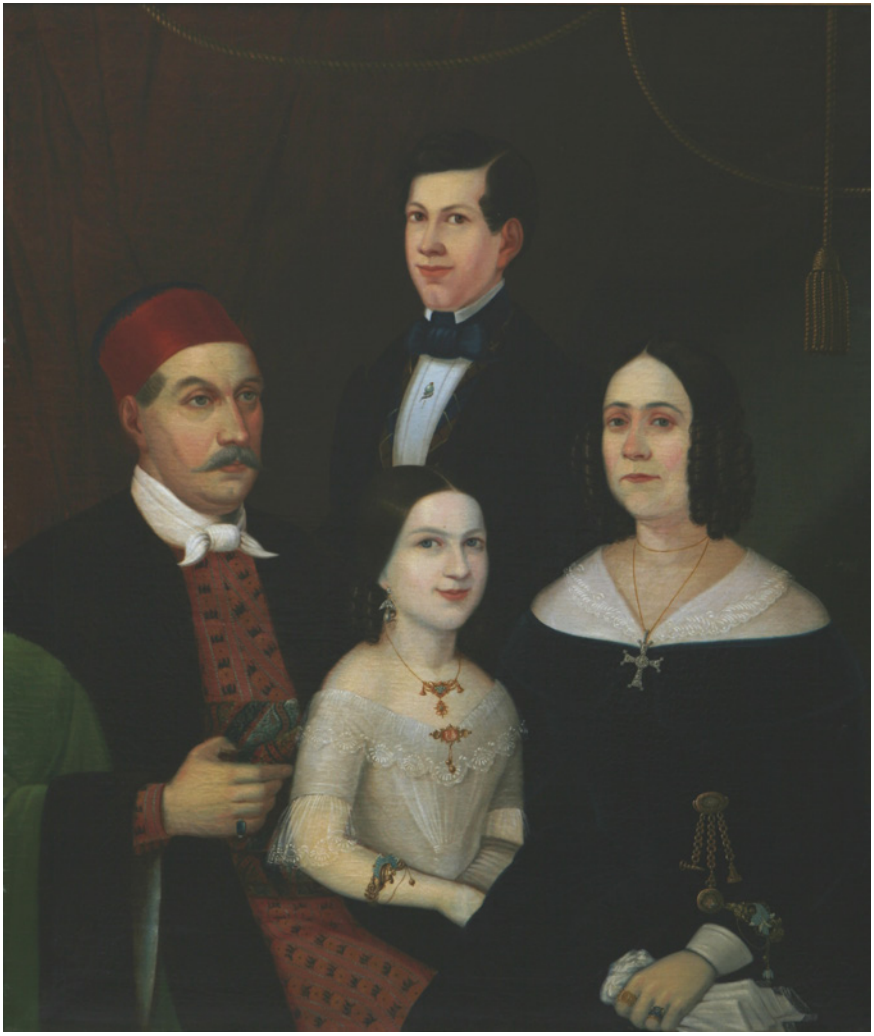


FIGURE 5.4 *Ludovic Stawski—Bucur Family—1848.* COURTESY OF THE MUSEUM OF ART, IAŞI (PHOTO BY SORIN IFTIMI).

came to acquire social meanings in the process of social identification, by the 19th century things had changed significantly. The opening up of a domestic consumer market and the accessibility of every type of product diminished the importance of such goods in defining social hierarchy. Luxury and fashion continued to separate people into classes, but not as starkly as it had done so before. The adoption of western consumption habits by imitating a mostly French model has often been interpreted as a form of "Europeanization" and modernization of Romanian society. Assimilating modernization to "Europeanization" can also be seen in other countries from Southeastern Europe separated from the Ottoman Empire. For instance, the Ottoman Empire reforms made by Sultan Mahmud II are considered a form of "Europeanization".[48] However, societies undergoing these reforms do not always attain the model towards which they aspire. Without a doubt, the Romanian elite expresses its commitment to Western cultural values by preferentially consuming goods coming from this direction. Yet, contemporaries share several discourses regarding "western culture", which coincides with French values for some, with German values for others, and even with British values for others starting with the second half of the 19th century. In short, this discursive construct contains both positive and negative evaluations. Even if some of the contemporaries promote imitation as a form of catching up with the West, the proposed modernity must have the image and identity of the Romanian nation.[49] At the same time, others criticize what they consider as a loss of identity and tradition "in favour of forms without substance".[50]

During the 18th century, sumptuary laws controlled luxury consumption and many clothing products (fabrics, jewellery, accessories and furs) became important social signifiers. However, a century later, things significantly changed because the emergence of a domestic consumption market made goods more accessible and the availability of luxury goods drastically lowered their importance to social hierachy. Luxury, fashion, and consumption still continue to classify individuals, but not to the extent they had done so before. The appropriation of "western consumption" removes many of the social and gender barriers, and offers women the chance of affirmation. Clothes, furniture, carriages and interior decorations as well as French, piano, and dance lessons are closely tied to reshaping new social frontiers and to redefining hierarchies. Women find themselves among the beneficiaries of the new consumption trends and consequently help shape national identity through the transfer of new ideas and models. The embodiment of modern Romania, as it appears in the

---

[48] Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York: 1996), 37–43.

[49] See the example of Eufrosin Poteca, assiduous promoter of modernizing efforts. Monk and philosophy professor, with studies in Pisa and Paris, Poteca delivers a series of sermons in favor of education, Gypsy emancipation, and, most importantly, state reformation following the model of "our European brethren." See Eufrosin Poteca, *Scrieri filosofice* [Philosophical Writings] (Craiova: 2008), 179–180.

[50] Ion Eliade Rădulescu, *Echilibrul între antiteze* [Equilibre between antithesis](Bucharest: 1916), vol. I, 10.

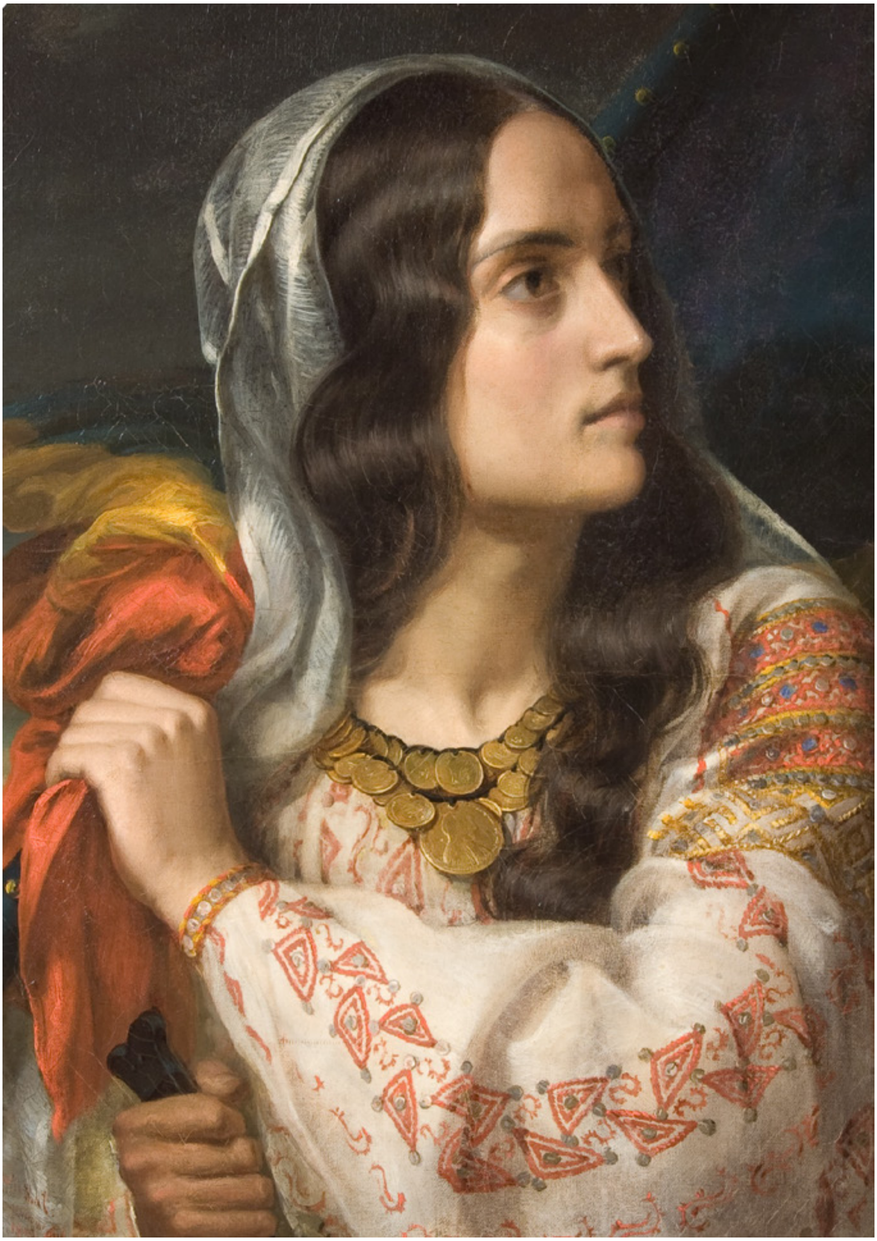


FIGURE 5.5 *Constantin Rosenthal—România Revoluţionară, 1848.*
COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ART, BUCUREŞTI.

vision of Forty-Eighter painter Constantin Rosenthal, could only be a woman (Fig. 5.5). The model, who posed for the artist, says a lot about the transformations which changed the Romanian countries in the first half of the century. Mary Grant, an Englishwoman who came to Bucharest to find a job as a governess and later married Constantin A. Rosetti, a descendant of an important boyar family, actively promoted, with her husband, the liberal ideals of the time and supported an incipient feminist movement.

Bibliography

Auslander, Leora, "The Gendering of Consumer Practices in Nineteenth-Century France," in Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough (eds.), *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley: 1996), 79–112.

Berg, Maxine, "Women's Consumption and the Industrial Classes of Eighteenth-Century England", *Journal of Social History*, 30 (1996), 415–434.

Berg, Maxine and Clifford, Helen (eds.), *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe*, 1650–1850 (Manchester: 1999).

Berg, Maxine (ed.), *Goods from the East, 1600–1800. Trading Eurasia* (Palgrave: 2015).

Brewer, John and Porter, Roy (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: 1993).

Chiper, Mihai, *O societate în căutarea onoarei. Duel şi masculinitate în România (1859–1914)* [Duel and Masculinity] (Iaşi: 2012).

Davidova, Evguenia, *Balkan Transitions to Modernity and Nation-States through the Eyes of Three Generations of Merchants (1780s–1890s)* (Leiden: 2013).

DeVries, Jan, *European Urbanization, 1500–1800* (London: 1984).

Drace-Francis, Alex, *The Traditions of Invention: Romanian Ethnic and Social Stereotypes in Historical Context* (Leiden: 2013).

Exertzoglou, Haris, "The Cultural Uses of Consumption: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers during the 19th Century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35 (2003), 77–101.

Faroqhi Suraiya and Christoph K. Neumann (eds.), *Ottoman Costumes From Textile to Identity*, (Istanbul: 2004).

Faroqhi, Suraiya, *Subjects of the Sultan. Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London: 2007).

Faroqhi, Suraiya and Veinstein, Gilles (eds.), *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire* (Paris-Louvain-Dudley: 2008).

Faroqhi, Suraiya, *Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire: Employment and Mobility in the Early Modern Era* (London: 2014).

Göçek, Fatma Müge, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York and Oxford: 1996).

Hacquet de la Motte, Balthasar, *L'Illyrie et la Dalmatie ou Moeurs, usages et costumes de leurs habitants* (Paris: 1815).

Iacob, Dan, Dumitru, "Elita socială şi viaţa muzicală din Iaşi şi Bucureşti în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea" [Social Elite and Musical Life in Iaşi and Bucharest], *Historia Urbana*, XX (2012), 89–114.

Jianu, Angela, *A Circle of Friends. Romanian Revolutionaries and Political Exile, 1840–1859* (Leiden: 2011).

Jianu, Angela, "Women, Fashion, and Europeanization: The Romanian Principalities, 1750–1830," in Amila Buturović and Irvin Cemil Schick (eds.), *Women in the Ottoman Balkans. Gender, Culture and History* (London: 2007), 201–230.

Jirousek, Charlotte, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the Later Ottoman Empire" in Donald Quataert (ed.), *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550–1922. An Introduction* (New York: 2000), 201–241.

Lemire, Beverly and Riello, Giorgio, "East & West: Textiles and Fashion in Early Modern Europe", *Journal of Social History*, 41 (2008): 887–916.

Lemny, Ştefan, *Les Cantemir: l'aventure européenne d'une famille princière au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: 2009).

Mateescu, Bogdan, *Familia în timpul robiei. O perspectiva demografica. Studiu si liste de populatie din arhive* [Family across the Slavery time. Demographical Approach] (Iași: 2015).

Quataert, Donald, "Clothing Laws, the State and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720–1829", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 29 (1997), 403–425.

Quataert, Donald (ed.), *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550–1922. An Introduction* (New York: 2000).

Perrot, Philippe, *Les dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie: une histoire du vêtement au XIX^e siècle* (Paris:1981).

Sponsler, Claire, "Narrating the Social Order: Medieval Clothing Laws", *Clio*, 21, 3 (1992), 265–283.

Varikas Eleni, "Subjectivité et identité de genre: L'Univers de l'éducation féminine dans la Grèce du XIX^e siècle," *Genèses* 6 (1991), 29–51.

Vintilă-Ghiţulescu, Constanţa, " Mariage et parenté à travers les actes dotaux roumains (1700–1865)", *Annales de démographie historique*, 1, 2011, 141–160.

Vintilă-Ghiţulescu, Constanţa (ed.), *From Traditional Attire to Modern Dress: Modes of Identification, Modes of Recognition in the Balkans* (*XVIth–XXth Centuries*) (Newcastle: 2011).

Vintilă-Ghiţulescu, Constanţa, *Im Schalwar und mit Baschlik. Kirche, Sexualität, Ehe und Scheidung in der Walachei im 18. Jarhundert* (Berlin: 2013).

CHAPTER 6

European Fashion, Consumption Patterns, and Intercommunal Relations in the 19th-Century Ottoman Istanbul

Anastasia Falierou

The contribution of western historiography to the study of fashion and its transformations has been particularly stimulating. Initial forays into the history of clothing, which were largely limited to descriptive or aesthetic analyses, were followed by studies in which several authors have opened new perspectives in this area of research: by analyzing the social dimension of clothing and by emphasizing the interaction between fashion and culture, they have also problematized the shape of the body itself.[1] In contrast, however, it was not until recently that researchers have become interested in the social history of Ottoman clothing and fashion.[2]

---

[1] See the important works of Roland Barthes, *Système de la mode* (Paris: 1967); Quentin Bell, *Mode et Société: essai sur la sociologie du vêtement* (Paris: 1992); Fred Davis, *Fashion, Culture and Identity* (London: 1992); Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge: 2000); Philippe Perrot, *Les dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie: une histoire du vêtement au XIX^{e} siècle* (Paris: 1981); Philippe Perrot, *Le travail des apparences ou les Transformations du corps féminin XVIII^{e}–XIX^{e} siècle* (Paris: 1984); Daniel Roche, *La culture des apparences. Une histoire du vêtement XVII^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècle* (Paris: 1989).

[2] On Ottoman clothing see Melek Sevüktekin Apak, Filiz Onat Gündüz, and Fatma Öztürk Eray, *Osmanlı Dönemi Giyimleri* (Istanbul: 1997); Anastasia Falierou, “From the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic: Ottoman Turkish Women’s Clothing between Tradition and Modernity”, in Constanţa Vintilă-Ghiţulescu (ed.), *From Traditional Attire to Modern Dress: Modes of Identification, Modes of Recognition in the Balkans* (*XVIth–XXth Centuries*) (Newcastle: 2011), 175–193; Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (eds.), *Ottoman Costumes From Textile to Identity*, (Istanbul: 2004); Sevgi Gürtuna, “Osmanlı Kadın Giysisi” PhD dissertation, (University of Istanbul: 1997); Lale Görünür, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Son Döneminden Kadın Giysileri Sadberk Hanım Müzesi Koleksiyonu /Women’s Costume of the Late Ottoman Era in the Sadberk Hanım Museum Collection* (Istanbul: 2010); Charlotte Jirousek, “The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the Late Ottoman Empire” in Donald Quataert (ed.), *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922. An Introduction* (New York: 2000), 201–241; Nancy Micklewright, “Women’s Dress in 19th Century Istanbul: Mirror of a Changing Society” PhD dissertation, (University of Pennsylvania: 1986);

© ANASTASIA FALIEROU, 2018 | DOI:10.1163/9789004355095_008
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

Considering that the history of clothing is an integral part of the history of everyday life, this chapter will analyze clothing as a code for reading and understanding Ottoman society and as a methodological tool that can break the boundaries between micro- and macro-history, and between the private and the public. The genesis of fashion is in and of itself one of the most striking signs of the radical transformation of society. Social changes and changes in fashion go hand in hand. To reflect on the history of clothing and its transformations means not only to go directly to the heart of the social and cultural history of the Ottoman Empire but also to study the process of the transformation of Ottoman society from another point of view, different from the most commonly-envisaged administrative and political perspectives.

The period covered in this chapter is roughly that of the 19th century and extends from the Tanzimat reforms[3]—when the Ottoman Empire embarked on a program of modernizing reforms along European lines—to the late 19th century. The radical impact of these economic, political, urban, social and cultural changes affected both the private and public spheres.

This chapter centres on the Ottoman capital, Istanbul, which is a natural choice: economically and politically, demographically and spatially, it was unique among Ottoman cities; astride the Bosphorus, it opened to the Sea of Marmara, to the port cities bordering the Aegean, and to the West beyond; last but not least, commercial and cosmopolitan, 19th century Istanbul was greatly impacted by western lifestyles and it remained the principal forum for communication and exchange between the Empire and the outside world. Moreover, the city boasted a strong European presence, particularly in the districts of Galata and Pera, where Levantines, together with non-Muslim populations, played a key role in the modernization of manners by maintaining close relations with Europe, in addition to their well-established diasporas in the Mediterranean and central and western Europe.

The transformative value of clothing is important for several reasons. A profound analysis of fashion juxtaposes, on the one hand, social and professional hierarchies (elites, middle, and lower classes) and, on the other hand, ethnic and religious groups (Muslims of various origins, Greeks, Armenians, Jews and various other European groups). This analysis will focus on the relations

---

Jennifer Scarce, *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East* (London: 1987); Hülya Tezcan, "Fashion at the Ottoman Court", in *P-Art, Culture, Antiques* 3 (2000), 3–49.

[3] The reform period known as Tanzimat began on 3 November 1839 with the issuing of the imperial edict of *Gülhane*, the manifestation of a deliberate political will to transform and modernize the Ottoman Empire according to the example of European countries.

between the different ethno-religious communities and the spread of western fashion in Ottoman society.

The evolution of clothing is inseparably linked to the place of both men and women in society and their roles in the public sphere. However, this chapter will limit its scope to the analysis of women's fashion—both upper- and middle-class women—and will describe the transition from traditional to modern clothing by explaining the factors that influenced and, at the same time, differentiated this process of transformation. Several important reasons justify this choice.

Contrary to men, Ottoman women—especially Muslims—led lives withdrawn from public life and were absent from the public sphere. Men and women followed different patterns of evolution. Changes in women's clothing were not subject to political intervention, but rather were influenced by socio-political factors, such as the increasing presence of westerners in the city, the flourishing of the foreign—especially French—press, and the strengthening of trade relations with western merchants. In addition, male clothing was characterized by fewer, but more sustainable changes;[4] women's costume changed quickly, but no change was permanent. Thus, it becomes obvious that in comparison to men's clothing, women's clothing followed an inverse process with respect to the degree and speed of change.

Unlike furniture, clothing penetrates both public and private spheres and thus, signifies the degree of cultural evolution and social change of every society. From this perspective, clothing styles become the visible expression of the penetration of European lifestyles into Ottoman society.[5]

From the length of the stripes to the material of the buttons, in traditional Ottoman society, clothing was meticulously regulated according to economic status, social status, season and circumstance. Numerous sumptuary laws were used as instruments for political, social and economic control by the elites.[6] Codifying the cuts and materials, they adorned themselves in conspicuous splendour, demarcating the periphery of their social status.[7] It is therefore hardly surprising that the immobility in the distribution of clothing signs corresponds to the immobility of the social structures.[8]

---

[4] For the evolution of male clothing in the Ottoman Empire see Anastasia Falierou, "Réglementer, Identifier, Homogénéiser: Quelques réflexions autour de la modernisation vestimentaire ottomane", in Silvia Marton and Constanţa Vintilă-Ghiţulescu (eds.), *Penser le XIX^e^ siècle: nouveaux chantiers de recherche* (Iași: 2013), 273–293.

[5] Jirousek, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System", 207–208.

[6] Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, the State and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720–1829", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 29 (1997), 403–425; Stanford J. Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic* (New York: 1991), 78–79 and Fehmi Yılmaz, "Osmanlı-Gayrimüslim Kıyafet Kanunu", *Tombak* 32, 2000: 22–26.

[7] Jirousek, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System", 206, 225–228.

The Tanzimat reforms (1839–1876) aimed to bring western ideas and lifestyles to the Ottomans. Throughout the 19th century, western goods, such as cosmetics, furniture, clothing and so on, were bought and used by the Ottoman upper classes. Beyoğlu came to resemble the corresponding areas of cities in western Europe. All the fashionable restaurants, cafes, nightclubs and department stores, such as *Karlman, Baker, Madame Vapillon* etc., also flourished in Beyoğlu. Non-Muslim as well as Levantine citizens of Istanbul were instrumental in modernizing attitudes and preferences. In almost every respect, the Ottoman way of making clothes was transformed into western methods of garment design and construction.

Tracing Patterns of Transformation in Ottoman Women's Clothing

An in-depth analysis of the diffusion of European fashion in Ottoman society must be examined through the double prism of class and ethno-religious community. Thus, several questions must be addressed.

First, did Muslim women belonging to different social classes adopt European fashion? Second, does the adoption of European fashion adhere to social more than ethno-religious criteria? In this process of diffusion, what was the role of non-Muslim communities? And, if they played a role, can shared spaces of communication between different *millets* be delineated in terms of class? These are the questions that this chapter proposes to answer.

A detailed look at Turkish Muslim dress under the influence of European fashion and imperial reform is expected to shed light on the aforementioned questions.[9] At the beginning of the 19th century, two different modes of dress prevailed in the Ottoman capital. On the one hand, there was the traditional mode of dress[10] known as *alaturca* and, on the other hand, the European one known as *alafranga.* In traditional Ottoman society, Muslim women's costume consisted of a number of layers: baggy trousers (*şalvar*), along-sleeved, collarless chemise made of cotton or transparent silk reaching down to the ankles (*gömlek*), and an *entari*, an ankle-length robe worn over the *şalvar* and the

---

[8] Ibid., 204.

[9] For a detailed analysis of the transformation of Ottoman women's clothing see Anastasia Falierou, "Ottoman Turkish Women's Clothing", 175–193.

[10] For the traditional mode of dress see Görünür, *Kadın Giysileri*, 18 and Jirousek, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System", 210–218.

gömlek, buttoned or open at the front and tied with a belt (*kuşak* or *kemer*). Over the *entari* Muslim women typically wore a variety of garments, such as the *hırka*,[11] a wool cardigan, the *cepken*,[12] a long-sleeved bolero that reached to the waist, and the *kaftan*, worn as a second *entari* and usually decorated with fur. The fabrics and embroidery on the various garments depended mainly on Muslim women's social class and economic situation.

The *entari* was considered the most essential indoor garment of Muslim women. Initially, the *entari* consisted of one single piece. However, in the early 19th century, when the first manifestations of western influence in dress appeared, the *entari* changed remarkably: it became longer, thus its hem scraped the ground, its sleeves had openings up to the elbows, and it flared down to the fingertips. It was during this period that two new types of *entari* emerged, the *üçetek* and *dörtetek*, whose main features were three or four small openings at the waist. Indeed, the transformation of this garment was so drastic that by the middle of the 19th century, the *ikietek entari* appeared in the form of a dress, slit on both sides and closed at the front, soon to be followed by the popular *biretek entari*, a dress without a front opening or side slits.[13]

In outdoor social interactions, women wore the *ferace*, a long full coat with a square collar, covering the whole body and falling all the way to the ground, and the *yaşmak* (yashmak), a veil made of fine white muslin.[14] The *yaşmak* was separated into two parts, top and bottom, which were tied behind the head leaving a gap at eye level. The *ferace* was principally made of wool in the winter and silk in the summer. Initially, *feraces* were plain-coloured and the colour of choice was often dark blue. However, young well-off ladies preferred light-coloured *feraces*, decorated with cruciform motifs, ribbons, and tulles. The *ferace* was an important indicator of social origin and its colour and ornaments indicated the social class to which a woman belonged. Under the influence of European fashion, the neck of the *ferace* widened and acquired rich decorations,[15] while accessories, such as the parasol, started to complement a woman's external appearance.

Authorities, however, controlled the external appearance of women. Strict rules imposed the shape, colour, and decoration of the *ferace*, which sometimes verged on the extravagant, and many decrees were passed aiming to reinforce morality, social discipline, and order.[16] In several cases, new styles in women's clothing were perceived as a deviation from the norm, and such deviation was punished rigidly. Ottoman sources reveal that alterations in dressing styles and more particularly, in Muslim women's costume date from before the 19th century.[17] However, the rate of change in the 17th and 18th centuries was very slow with changes limited to subtle alterations in the shape of garments or in the details of the accessories.[18]

---

[11] Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim, Kuşam ve Süsleme Sözlüğü* (Ankara: 1967), 129–130.

[12] Koçu, *Giyim, Kuşam Sözlüğü*, 51–52.

[13] Görünür, *Kadın Giysileri*, 51.

[14] Koçu, *Giyim, Kuşam Sözlüğü*, 240–241.

[15] Ibid., 108–111.

While the Ottomans had developed diplomatic and commercial relations with the West from the 16th century onwards, it was only during the 19th century—especially after the Ottoman-British commercial treaty of 1838—that the European presence in Istanbul became intrusive. Thus, the number of Europeans—soldiers, diplomats, tourists, artists, etc.—visiting the Ottoman capital had rapidly increased and a great number of manufactured goods imported from abroad, including novelties such as house furniture, decorative items, and clothing, could be found on the Ottoman market.[19]

Arguably, objects produced by a society express its values and the adoption of such objects by another society—in our case the Ottomans—often reflects the desire to identify similar values in this society. From this point of view, the study of dress styles goes far beyond a simple analysis of garments, fabrics, and colours. In fact, such a study has a deep symbolic dimension[20] because it shows how people see themselves. Dress styles and fashion are undeniably the most visible indicators of change in a society and, in this particular instance, they are also an indication of westernization.

The adoption of European fashion did not take place at the same rate among women of all ethno-religious communities or social classes. Some women—especially members of the imperial harem, wives and daughters of high-ranked Ottoman bureaucrats and rich merchants—could afford fashionable and expensive clothing, while others simply could not. By the mid-1830s, European fashion seemed to have penetrated the imperial harem and Pardoe, a British traveller who visited the Ottoman capital, noted that the costume of a "harem favourite" was an odd mixture of European and oriental garments:

---

[16] Betül İpşirli Argit, "An Evaluation of the Tulip Period and the Period of Selim III in the Light of Clothing Regulations", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 24 (2004), 11–28; Quataert, "Clothing Laws", 407–412; Nora Şeni, "Ville ottomane et représentation du corps féminin", *Les Temps Modernes* (1984), 66–95.

[17] Jirousek, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System", 218.

[18] Görünür, *Kadın Giysileri*, 14.

[19] Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York and Oxford: 1996), 97–107.

[20] Faroqhi and Neumann (eds.), *Ottoman Costumes*, 16–17.

> She wore trousers of pale blue cotton followed with yellow; and an *enteri* of light green stripped with white and edged with a fringe of pink floss silk; while, her jacket, which was the production of a Parisian dress-maker, was of dove-colored satin, thickly wadded, and furnished with a deep cape, and a pair of immense sleeves, fastened at the wrists with diamond studs.[21]

According to various sources, European clothing expanded to non-Muslim communities during the same period. Due to their close relations with the West, the Greeks and the Armenians were the first to be influenced. Already in 1835, many Armenians had started to abandon their national costume by adopting the "Frankish dress". A similar situation also prevailed among Greek women, who "had mingled the Greek and European costumes into a heterogeneous mass".[22] These descriptions reveal that in this early stage of transformation in clothing, women's costumes were characterized by confusion, as no particular fashion prevailed. The effort to combine traditional and European fashion often resulted in rather amusing, heterogeneous results, a feature of the fashion of non-Muslim communities which lasted until the late 1850s.

The rate of change among Muslim women decreased as they progressively adopted European fashion; in 1837, the harem favourite adopted the European jacket while in the early 1850s Muslim women were accustomed to western accessories such as parasols and gloves.[23]

Mrs. Edmund Hornby, the wife of a British official, spent three years in the Ottoman capital and her testimony concerning the appearance of a 12-year-old pasha's daughter in 1855 is revealing:

> The dress and trousers are of a thick kind of gauze, of pale salmon-color, and sprigged with silver. A green velvet cap, beautifully embroidered, covers her head, and her hair hangs down her back in numerous plaits …

---

[21] Julia Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan and Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836* (Philadelphia: 1837), 179; Micklewright, "Women's Dress", 147. For Pardoe and in general, for European women travellers in the Ottoman Empire see Kader Konuk, "Ethnomasquerade in European-Ottoman Encounters", *Criticism* 46 (2004): 393–414.

[22] David Porter, *Constantinople and its Environs, in a Series of Letters* (New York: 1935), 138.

[23] Micklewright, "Women's Dress", 149–150.

> her socks are of embroidered yellow leather, with peaks turning up in front, and she seems very proud of her gray-colored French parasol.[24]

However, during the late 1850s many wealthy Muslim women wore dresses that were partly traditional and partly European. It is worthwhile mentioning here the example of a young woman's costume in the harem of a pasha:

> The gold-embroidered costume, which, comprising a trailing skirt and very ample *schalwars* hung in exquisite folds as she sat with one foot raised upon the sofa, had been fashioned in the upper part into an imitation of a Frank bodice. This was (at that time) a daring innovation in the usual style of Turkish dress; the hanum was consequently very proud of her stiff, unbending waist.[25]

Although these hybrid outfits were a combination of European style from the waist up, and of traditional style below the waist, in the form of *şalvars* and the *entari*, women of the imperial court were very eager to follow European modes of dress especially during Abdülmecid's reign (1839–1861).[26]A primary sign of the influence of European fashion was in the cut and decorative elements of the *entari*, which lent itself to a variety of European vogues during the second half of the 19th century.

Moreover, Leyla Saz, daughter of the imperial physician İsmail Pasha, who had the honour of being admitted into the sultan's harem, writes in her memoirs that both the *sultanes* and women of the imperial harem did not hesitate to adopt "daring innovations" such as the *décolleté*:

> The décolleté also appeared at the Serail at first in a moderate fashion: a little bit of the neck and throat uncovered along with the shoulders and arms up to the elbows. Then the décolleté became larger, but the parts that were open were always covered with a light gauze which resulted in a very agreeable impression—almost like the sun being veiled by a transparent mist.[27]

---

[24] Micklewright, "Women's Dress", 150.

[25] Micklewright, "Women's Dress", 151.

[26] Görünür, *Kadın Giysileri*, 27.

[27] Leyla Saz Hanımefendi, *The Imperial Harem of the Sultans: Daily Life at the Çırağan Palace During the 19th Century*, trans. Thomas Landon (Istanbul: 1999), 184.

In the mid-19th century, another "innovative article" showed up in the wardrobes of Sultan Abdülmecid I's harem: the corset, a cosmetic accessory which shaped the female body into the desired figure and thus, made women of the imperial court feel more desirable.[28]

The increasing number of foreign diplomats, travellers, and officials, who visited the Ottoman capital with their families during the Crimean War (1854–1856), played a crucial role in the consumption patterns of the Ottomans. The *Malakof* style[29] was in vogue and the use of crinoline[30] became widespread. The diffusion of western fashion in the Ottoman capital cannot be studied without reference to the art of tailoring. The change in clothing habits was linked to the evolution of tailoring and European garments had a more complicated construction compared to the traditional *entari* or *şalvar*.

As Ottoman Muslim tailors did not have the necessary knowledge to meet the new fashion requirements, a number of European tailors came to Istanbul during the second half of the 19th century and established their tailoring firms, mainly in Beyoğlu. Home-tailoring flourished during the same period and seamstresses, called *modistras*, were invited to the houses of wealthy ladies in order to tailor fashionable *toilettes*.

Elite tailors and dressmakers visited European capitals such as London, Paris, and Vienna to get acquainted with the latest fashions. Even though wardrobes were renewed every season, only a few privileged individuals were able to follow the latest fashions by purchasing original garments. Those who could not afford new garments made alterations to the old ones. In addition to tailors and dressmakers, there were several department stores known as *bonmarşe*, which opened in Beyoğlu and Galata, selling ready-made clothing for men, women, and children.[31]

The years between 1860 and 1870 marked a turning-point in the history of Ottoman fashion. By the middle of the decade, not only the imperial harem, but also the women of the Muslim elite had adopted European fashions, the latter doing so in order to imitate the palace's lifestyle. Leyla Saz Hanımefendi informs us that in 1867, when the Sultan Abdülaziz (1861–1876) returned to Istanbul from his journey to Europe, women of the court welcomed him, all dressed according to the latest fashion:

---

[28] Baronne Durand de Fontmagne, *Un séjour à l'Ambassade de France sous le Second Empire* (Paris: 1902), 289–290; Görünür, *Kadın Giysileri*, 27–28.

[29] Koçu, *Giyim, Kuşam Sözlüğü*, 169–170.

[30] Ibid., 204.

[31] Uri M. Kupferschmidt, *European Department Stores and Middle Eastern Consumers: The Orosdi-Back Saga* (Istanbul: 2007).

> The sultanes wore green dresses, quite light, and rimmed with beautiful lace. They had long trains and they wore big diadems along with rather simple necklaces. The older kalfas also wore green dresses, some plain, some striped and some even with polka dots. The youngest girls wore light green dresses mixed with white and some wore white dresses, trimmed with green, along with small flowered patterns or small green ribbons. At that period, the young ladies and young girls had completely abandoned the old dresses with three tails or trains and the baggy pants underneath; fashion now demanded skirts with a single train which was caught up and attached to the belt—there were now petticoats instead of şalvars or baggy pants previously worn. The headdresses had also changed with the times and now usually matched the costumes.[32]

Moreover, several testimonies attest that the pace of adoption of new fashion by the women of the imperial court accelerated when members of other royal families visited Istanbul.[33] A good example is Empress Eugenie's visit. According to Zeyneb Hanoum, the French empress's visit provoked a veritable revolution in the sultan's harem as "there was a craze for everything French".[34] Women of the imperial harem tried to imitate the Empress's dress and hairstyles because they thought that she had entranced their master, the Sultan Abdülaziz, thanks to her elegant appearance:

> It was after the visit of the Empress Eugénie that women of the palace and the wives of the high functionaries copied as nearly as they could the appearance of the beautiful Empress. They divided their hair in the middle, and spent hours in making little bunches of curls. High-heeled shoes replaced the coloured babouches [Turkish slippers with heels]; they even adopted the hideous crinolines, and abandoned forever those charming Oriental garments, the chalvar and the enturi, which they considered symbols of servitude, but which no other fashion has been able to equal in beauty.[35]

---

[32] Saz, *The Imperial Harem*, 212.

[33] This is valid not only for the harem favourites but also the Ottoman *sultanes* and the sultan's mother (Valide Sultan) herself. For example, it is known that the Valide Sultan did her best to be dressed *alafranga* when two princesses from Egyptian Khedive visited her at Dolmabahçe Palace. Micklewright, "Women's Dress", 152–153.

[34] Zeyneb Hanoum, *A Turkish Woman's European Impressions* (New Jersey: 2004), 98.

[35] Zeyneb Hanoum, *Impressions*, 97–98.

In general, during the second half of the 19th century, consumption and dress styles defined social identity and rank. Thus, Muslim upper-class women attributed great importance to their appearance by seeking out brand-new materials and embroideries of the finest quality. Such was the degree of rivalry among elite women that, according to Leyla Saz, they avoided wearing similar dresses and collected up all the pieces of the remaining material after a dress had been made for fear that other ladies would copy their models![36]

Soon middle-class Muslim women followed the example of the elites and adopted the new fashions. By the 1870s, upper-class women had already abandoned the traditional costume. Parisian creations, full of elegance and grace, became the norm for Ottoman princesses and women of noble descent who immediately started parading their new dresses. The crinoline was replaced by the *pouf*, which formed a bustle at the back of the dress.[37] Dresses had long trains and were often embellished with ribbons, flowers, and plenty of lace. The female appearance was completed by a number of accessories such as parasols, gloves and hats. Only the older and more conservative women, including those arriving in the capital from the provinces, still preferred the traditional embroidered *entari*, which continued to be used along with European modes of dress.[38]

Outdoor garments were also subject to European influences during this period: the *yashmak* became more and more transparent, while the *ferace* flew wide open as ladies walked along. Women's addiction to western fashion and ornamentation provoked the reaction of the more traditional segments of society. Many writers severely criticized the inappropriate dressing of women. For example, Ali Riza Bey commented that veils had become a means of ornamenting women's faces rather than concealing them,[39] while Basiretçi Ali Efendi argued in 1877 that women's unsuitable attire could have "dangerous religious implications" and demanded the intervention of the police to maintain social order.[40]

During the last decades of the 19th century, the *ferace* was replaced by the *çarşaf*, a large cape, covering the female body from head to toe, brought to the Ottoman capital by the wife of Suphi Pasha, who was governor of Syria.[41] Being subject to alterations under the influence of European fashion, the *çarşaf* was eventually cut in half to become a skirt, then a cape, and finally, part of the European suit. A thick black veil called a *peçe* covered Muslim women's faces.[42]

---

[36] Saz*, The Imperial Harem*, 264–265.

[37] Nora Şeni, "La mode et le vêtement féminine dans la presse satirique d'Istanbul à la fin du XIX^{e} siècle" in Natalie Clayer, Alexandre Popovic, and Thierry Zarconne (eds.), *Presse turque et presse de Turquie*, (Istanbul, Paris: 1992), 202.

[38] Görünür, *Kadın Giysileri*, 29.

[39] Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (New York: 2010), 299.

[40] Boyar and Fleet, *A Social History*, 301–302.

The textiles used to make the *çarşaf* were mainly satin, alpaca, and taffeta. As far as colours were concerned, similar to the *ferace*, young women preferred light-coloured *çarşafs* (purple, light green, turquoise, lilac), while older and more conservative women favoured darker colours, such as violet, dark blue, or black.[43]

Overall, European fashion was in high demand among the Muslim elites of the capital during the last two decades of the 19th century and the wives, daughters, and granddaughters of high-ranking Ottoman officials were dressed *alafranga*.[44] In the columns of women's periodicals of this period, one can find visual examples of the dress models that Ottoman Muslim ladies aspired to wear.

New Consumption Channels and the Fabric of Ethno-confessional Relations

In the multiethnic and multicultural Ottoman society, the different ethno-religious communities did not live completely isolated from each other but maintained—especially in the upper echelons—some channels of communication. In this regard, the dramatic transformation of the capital from an oriental to a modern city played an important role.[45]

In the 19th century, Istanbul had a solid infrastructure and an orderly urban fabric.[46] One of the main objectives of its 19th century reformers was the construction of an effective transportation system, capable of providing the inhabitants of Istanbul easy access to the capital's main meeting-points, connecting neighbourhoods scattered throughout the city, and making communication between the two shores of the Bosphorus possible.[47] Thus, it becomes obvious that communication and mobility were two fundamental principles not only in determining the evolution of clothing, but also in facilitating contact between members of different ethno-religious communities.

---

[41] Musahipzade Celal, *Eski İstanbul Yaşayışı* (Istanbul: 1946), 133.

[42] Koçu, *Giyim, Kuşam Sözlüğü*, 65.

[43] Ibid., 66.

[44] Görünür, *Kadın Giysileri*, 27; Micklewright, "Women's Dress", 155.

[45] Boyar and Fleet, *A Social History*, 271–327; Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul. Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkley: 1993).

[46] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 49–81.

[47] Ibid., 82–103.

There are numerous indications of these points of contact between different communities. Galata and Pera, for example, were two of the preeminent places in the 19th century, vaunting a sophisticated public space which bound the elites of many ethno-religious communities. The words of B. Bareilles in this regard are significant. For him, Pera was "the point where Asia makes contact with Europe, a centre of attraction for the masses who wanted to reach the spiritual life and were no longer rooted in the past. It can even be said that in the last century all the initiatives which have transformed Turkey started from this point."[48]

For instance, in Pera, the elites not only frequented clubs, sports associations, and Masonic lodges, but also restaurants, cafes and breweries, and often met at the theatre or opera.[49] However, these activities were not available to Muslim women, who led lives of isolation. At dances and balls, Turkish Muslim bureaucrats were not accompanied by their wives. In the street, Muslim women circulated in special carriages, protected from prying eyes by a curtain, and only leaving the house for errands.

How then, were these women so informed about the latest fashions? In some cases, men acted as transmitters of knowledge, describing the dresses worn by Christian women. In addition, Muslim women could attend certain events: the Nahum theatre, for example, had a space exclusively for women, where they were able to watch shows.

Furthermore, the press also contributed to the spreading of fashion. Magazines and periodicals, dress model catalogues and advertisements were all available to women who loved fashion. Particularly during the second half of the 19th century, fashion columns started to appear in major foreign language newspapers, such as *The Oriental Advisor*, whose Thursday edition included a section entitled "Courrier de la Mode."[50] In many cases, the clothes worn by Muslim women were copied from fashion magazines, which also often published dress patterns. According to Walker, the dress of the wife of a military officer was copied from an edition of *Modes Illustrées* (Fashion Illustrated).[51]

In addition to major newspapers, the illustrated press also played an important role in the promotion of women's fashion. Many newspapers and periodicals, such as the *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Ladies' Own Journal), published patterns and photographs of new styles together with small captions to inform its female readers.[52]

---

[48] Bertrand Bareilles, *Constantinople: ses cités franques et levantines* (Paris: 1918), 45–46.

[49] Boyar and Fleet, *A Social History*, 281.

[50] Micklewright, "Women's Dress", 198.

[51] Ibid., 198.

Most newspapers and periodicals published during the second half of the 19th century were printed in Galata or Pera. Educated polyglot Ottomans—both men and women—often read newspapers or periodicals published in diverse languages. For example, if one scrutinizes *Bosphoris*, a Greek women's periodical published in Istanbul between 1899 and 1907, it is apparent that Ottoman Greek women such as the periodical's editor Cornelia Preveziotou were reading *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*.[53]

However, far from favouring the dominant Ottoman culture, these intercommunal contacts went in both directions. Educational institutions are a good example of social spaces where there was a mutual influence between Muslims and non-Muslims. A look at the school catalogues of the imperial lycée, Galatasaray, reveals many Greeks, Armenians and other nationalities among its students. Conversely, it is also true that members of the Ottoman Muslim upper and middle classes attended communitarian schools. Such is the case of Ayşe Sıdıka and her sister Emine Behice, who studied at the Zappeion Greek girls' school.

After the Crimean War, the increased presence of foreign women—travellers and residents—in Istanbul constituted another factor in the diffusion of European, and particularly French, fashion in Ottoman society.[54] Wishing to satisfy their curiosity about the lives of Muslim women in the Ottoman Empire, many female European travellers came to visit the harems. It is no exaggeration to note that, according to available personal accounts, almost every 19th-century author describes at least one visit to a harem.[55] While in the early 19th century contacts remained quite limited due to language difficulties and variations, during the second half of the 19th century, communication was much easier because a large number of Muslim women began to learn French, which was seen as the language of modern civilization.

If any sort of communication were possible between European and Muslim women, then the education of children, cooking, and fashion must have been the main topics of conversation. During the visits of European women travellers, their clothing was inspected in detail: the women of the harem touched their counterparts' dresses to examine the fabrics, lifted their skirts to inspect their stockings and slips, and tried on their hats and coats. When Turkish Muslim women become more familiar with their visitors or wanted to impress them, they opened their wardrobes to them. Mrs. Edmund Hornby had the opportunity, in 1856, to see the wardrobe of a Muslim woman in her neighbourhood.[56]

---

[52] For the role of the illustrated Ottoman press in the creation of a consumer culture see Elizabeth B. Frierson, "Cheap and Easy: The Creation of Consumer Culture in Late Ottoman Society" in *Consumption Studies*, 243–260.

[53] This is my own observation; the opposite is also true.

[54] Micklewright, "Women's Dress", 196.

[55] Several examples of such visits are described by Leyla Görünür and Nancy Micklewright. Görünür, *Kadın Giysileri*, 17; Micklewright, "Women's Dress", 196–197.

For their part, the women of the Ottoman court could learn about the latest fashions through the relations they maintained with foreign queens and princesses. Lale Görünür mentions that Nakşıdil Sultan, the mother of Selim III (1789–1807), was the cousin of Napoleon's wife, Josephine. The relationship between the two women undoubtedly played a crucial role in the introduction of European dress styles to the Ottoman Empire in the early 19th century.[57] Moreover, royal visits to the Ottoman palace—as in the case of Empress Eugenie described above—constituted another channel of dissemination of western fashion in the imperial harem.[58]

The women of the court also received visits from Greek, Armenian, and French women, whose husbands dealt with the Sublime Porte in their capacity as, for example, merchants or interpreters. In his memoirs, Georgios Zarifis recounted that when Abdulhamid II (1876–1909) became sultan, he invited Zarifis's aunt, Tereza, to spend a week at the imperial palace in order to learn about the life of the harem. So that she would not be afraid among the many African eunuchs and slaves of different confessions, a friend, Eleni Mavrogenous, daughter of Doctor Spiridon Mavrogenis, accompanied Tereza. Zarifis's memoirs show that the women of the harem initiated young Christian women into the secrets of Ottoman music and cuisine and, in exchange, they asked the girls to perform European dances so as to have an idea of them. Tereza and Eleni danced the polka, waltz and, mazurka, and the court burst into applause at the end of each dance. Zarifis noted in this regard that "such was the thirst of those imprisoned lives to see something new in the monotonous life of the harem that they would not stop begging the dancers to continue their show".[59] In addition, the author related that his aunt was able to maintain a friendship with the sultan's two daughters, whom she visited every time she came to the city after her marriage. Thus, through their contacts with

---

[56] Micklewright, "Women's Dress", 197.

[57] Görünür, *Kadın Giysileri*, 42.

[58] Micklewright, "Women's Dress", 152–154.

[59] Georgios L. Zarifis, *Οι Αναμνήσεις μου. Ένας κόσμος που έφυγε: Κωνσταντινούπολη 1800–1920* [My Memories. A Lost World: Constantinople, 1800–1920], (Athens: 2002), 169–170.

Christian women—Greek or Armenian—the women of the harem learned of manners and European lifestyles such as dance and fashion.[60]

Moreover, Muslim women learned about European women's customs, habits, and activities—including clothing preferences—from the women mercers who wandered from one harem to the next selling fabrics, jewellery, accessories, cosmetics and other small items.[61] Available sources describe these women as Greek or Jewish and usually quite elderly. In addition to their trade, women mercers worked as agents for the transmission of information.[62]

Aside from women mercers, foreign house servants and especially English or French governesses also brought European lifestyles and manners directly to the Ottoman private sphere. Employed in the education of the children of the Muslim elite, foreign governesses flooded the Ottoman capital after the Crimean War and late 19th century newspapers were full of advertisements about their qualities and talents.[63]

Finally, wealthy Muslims learned about the latest styles in vogue from the many tailors, dressmakers, and milliners who took up residence in the city beginning with the 1840s.[64] These professionals played an essential role in transforming the appearances of Ottoman men and women.

In traditional Ottoman society, the role of tailors was relatively small because women were responsible for sewing and making clothes for the whole family. Their contact with tailors or merchant tailors was limited to the ordering of outerwear such as the *ferace* or the purchase of fabric. However, specialization increased towards the turn of the century when French commercial catalogues, such as *Annuaires Orientaux* from the 1880s and 1890s, indicate an expansion in the number of trades involved in the clothing business. Indeed, this specialization is the sign of a society in which appearance was highly developed.

Nonetheless, it is difficult to know whether the workshops of tailors and seamstresses were scattered throughout the city or were almost exclusively located in the centre. With only one source, the *Annuaires Orientaux*, information on this topic is limited. However, the large number of advertisements appearing in newspapers testifies to a high concentration of skilled tailors and seamstresses in Pera.[65] Because wealthy women received seamstresses, known as *modistralar*, in their homes, who sometimes stayed for several days, it is possible to imagine that it was during these times that seamstresses initiated the Muslim elite into the latest fashions.

---

[60] Zarifis, *Οι Αναμνήσεις μου.*

[61] Micklewright, "Women's Dress", 196.

[62] Ibid., 197–198.

[63] Several Muslim writers such as Basiretçi Ali Efendi severely criticized the exclusive use of foreign governesses by upper-class Muslim families. Boyar and Fleet, *A Social History*, 297–298.

[64] Micklewright, "Women's Dress", 202.

The Topkapı Palace Museum archive has a large number of letters sent by harem women to tailors, dressmakers, and milliners showing their lively interest in fashionable items as presented in European magazines such as *La Saison, Penelope*, and *l'Elégance Parisienne*. These letters also show that some Ottoman princesses sent detailed instructions to master tailors regarding the colours and style of the dresses to be made.[66]

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is obvious that the introduction of European goods—especially items of clothing—to Ottoman society created new consumption patterns and practices and led to new forms of identification. By the turn of the 19th century, all the members of the upper classes in Istanbul, regardless of the community to which they belonged, had adopted European fashion. Therefore, at that time, clothing no longer served as an indicator of religion or ethnicity, but of social status. An Ottoman society defined by ethnicity gave way to one delineated by social class and the passage from traditional to modern clothing meant a strengthening of relationships among the different ethno-confessional communities.

Moreover, this chapter argued that contacts between women of different cultures and religions played a crucial role in spreading information and thus, diffusing European fashion and lifestyles in Ottoman society. The extent, however, of interaction between Ottoman Muslim and non-Muslim women varied according to social class. Furthermore, the available evidence demonstrates that mostly Muslim women of the upper class along with, to a certain degree, those of the middle class had established contacts with women of the non-Muslim communities of the Empire as well as with European women travellers. In the end, both European and non-Muslim Ottoman women engaged in transcultural encounters, acting, in general, as mediators for the circulation and dissemination of ideas, and, in particular, as arbiters of fashion tastes and habits in the Ottoman Empire.

---

[65] Charles White, *Three Years in Constantinople, or, Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1844*, vol. 2 (London: 1845), 54.

[66] Hülya Tezcan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Son Yüzyılında Kadın Kıyafetlerinde Batılılaşma", *Sanat Dünyamız* 37, (1988), 45–51.

Bibliography

Barthes, Roland, *Système de la mode* (Paris: 1967).

Bell, Quentin, *Mode et société: essai sur la sociologie du vêtement* (Paris: 1992).

Bareilles, Bertrand, *Constantinople: ses cités franques et levantines* (Paris: 1918).

Boyar, Ebru and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (New York: 2010).

Çelik, Zeynep, *The Remaking of Istanbul. Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkley: 1993).

Davis, Fred, *Fashion, Culture and Identity* (Chicago and London: 1992).

Entwistle, Joanne, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge: 2000).

Falierou, Anastasia, "From the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic: Ottoman Turkish Women's Clothing between Tradition and Modernity", in Constanţa Vintilă-Ghiţulescu (ed.), *From Traditional Attire to Modern Dress: Modes of Identification, Modes of Recognition in the Balkans (XVIth–XXth Centuries)* (Cambridge: 2011), 175–193.

Falierou, Anastasia, "Réglementer, Identifier, Homogénéiser: Quelques réflexions autour de la modernisation vestimentaire ottomane", in Silvia Marton and Constanţa Vintilă-Ghiţulescu (eds.), *Penser le XIX*^{e} *siècle: nouveaux chantiers de recherche* (Iași: 2013), 273–293.

Faroqhi Suraiya and Christoph K. Neumann (eds.), *Ottoman Costumes From Textile to Identity*, (Istanbul: 2004).

Fontmagne, Baronne Durand de, *Un séjour à l'Ambassade de France sous le Second Empire* (Paris: 1902).

Frierson, Elizabeth B., "Cheap and Easy: The Creation of Consumer Culture in Late Ottoman Society" in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922 An Introduction*, ed. Donald Quataert (NewYork, 2000), 243–260.

Göçek, Fatma Müge, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire. Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York and Oxford: 1996).

Görünür, Lale, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Son Döneminden Kadın Giysileri Sadberk Hanım Müzesi Koleksiyonu* [Women's Costume of the Late Ottoman Era in the Sadberk Hanım Museum Collection] (Istanbul: 2010).

Gürtuna, Sevgi, "Osmanlı Kadın Giysisi" PhD dissertation, (University of Istanbul: 1997).

Jirousek, Charlotte, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the Late Ottoman Empire" in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922 An Introduction*, ed. Donald Quataert (NewYork, 2000), 201–241.

İpşirli-Argit, Betül, "An Evaluation of the Tulip Period and the Period of Selim III in the Light of Clothing Regulations", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 24 (2004), 11–28.

Konuk, Kader, "Ethnomasquerade in European-Ottoman Encounters", *Criticism* 46 (2004), 393–414.

Koçu, Reşad Ekrem (ed.), *Türk Giyim, Kuşam ve Süsleme Sözlüğü* (Ankara: 1967).

Kupferschmidt, Uri M., *European Department Stores and Middle Eastern Consumers: The Orosdi-Back Saga* (Istanbul: 2007).

Leyla (Saz) Hanımefendi, *The Imperial Harem of the Sultans: Daily Life at the Çırağan Palace During the 19th Century* (Istanbul: 1999).

Micklewright, Nancy, "Women's Dress in 19th Century Istanbul: Mirror of a Changing Society", PhD dissertation, (University of Pennsylvania: 1986).

Musahipzade Celal, *Eski İstanbul Yaşayışı* (Istanbul: 1946).

Pardoe, Julia, *The City of the Sultan and Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836* (Philadelphia: 1837).

Perrot, Philippe, *Les dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie: une histoire du vêtement au XIX^{e} siècle* (Paris: 1981).

Perrot, Philippe, *Le travail des apparences ou les Transformations du corps féminin XVIII^{e}–XIX^{e} siècle* (Paris: 1984).

Porter, David, *Constantinople and its Environs, In a Series of Letters* (New York: 1935).

Quataert, Donald, "Clothing Laws, the State and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720–1829", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 29 (1997), 403–425.

Roche, Daniel, *La culture des apparences. Une histoire du vêtement XVII^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècle* (Paris: 1989).

Scarce, Jennifer, *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East* (London: 1987).

Sevüktekin-Apak, Melek, Filiz Onat Gündüz, and Fatma Öztürk Eray, *Osmanlı Dönemi Giyimleri* (Istanbul: 1997).

Shaw, Stanford J., *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic* (New York: 1991), 78–79.

Şeni, Nora, "Ville ottomane et représentation du corps féminin", *Les Temps Modernes* (1984), 66–95.

Şeni, Nora, "La mode et le vêtement féminine dans la presse satirique d'Istanbul à la fin du XIX^{e} siècle" in *Presse turque et presse de Turquie*, Natalie Clayer, Alexandre Popovic, and Thierry Zarconne (eds.) (Istanbul, Paris: 1992), 189–209.

Tezcan, Hülya, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Son Yüzyılında Kadın Kıyafetlerinde Batılılaşma", *Sanat Dünyamız* 37, (1988), 45–51.

Tezcan, Hülya, "Fashion at the Ottoman Court" *P-Art, Culture, Antiques* 3 (2000), 3–49.

White, Charles, *Three Years in Constantinople, or, Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1844*, vol. 2 (London: 1845).

Yılmaz, Fehmi, "Osmanlı-Gayrimüslim Kıyafet Kanunu", *Tombak* 32, 2000, 22–26.

Zarifis, Georgios L., *Οι Αναμνήσεις μου. Ένας κόσμος που έφυγε: Κωνσταντινούπολη 1800–1920* [My Memories. A Lost World: Constantinople, 1800–1920], (Athens: 2002).

Zeyneb Hanoum, *A Turkish Woman's European Impressions* (New Jersey: 2004).

CHAPTER 7

Women in Merchant Families, Women in Trade in Mid-19th Century Romanian Countries

Nicoleta Roman

Starting with the 17th century, Greek merchants and, to a lesser extent, their Balkan associates became recognized in the Romanian territories by setting up trading companies in Sibiu (1636) and Brașov (1678) under the protection of the Austrian Empire. Citing local lore, Nicolae Iorga wrote that the Saxons intermediated between the Germans, representing the West, who never crossed the Carpathians, and the Turks, representing the East, who never left Bucharest.[1] To the Saxon intermediaries, were added Greeks, Romanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, and Macedonians. The Treaty of Sremski Karlovici (Karlowitz) (26 January, 1699) set the boundaries between Austria and the Ottoman Empire and emphasized the importance of transit spaces such as Transylvania, favourable to the development of flourishing economic activity and of an influential social class in the region. The 18th century brought changes in commercial policy and the newcomers gained certain rights and began to make a profit. Until that time, they were not permitted to bring their families to the Austrian Empire from territories under Turkish rule (*țara turcească*), were prohibited from selling products at retail prices and from having their own street shops.[2] However, political events such as the treaties of Požarevac (Passarowitz) (21 July, 1718) and Küçük Kaynarca (21 July, 1774) shaped new economic exchanges among the three neighbouring empires of Austria, Russia, and Turkey. These changes marked the decline of Ottoman influence and the rise of a Russian-Austrian rivalry in Balkan trade, which, in turn, brought new challenges regarding international commerce, merchant mobility, and immigration. Thus, Russia allowed merchants, particularly Greeks who benefitted the most, to settle down in its new ports (Mariupol, Taganrog, Odessa etc.), while in the

---

[1] Nicolae Iorga, *Brașovul și românii. Scrisori și lămuriri* (București: 1905), 12; Olga Cicanci, *Companiile grecești din Transilvania și comerțul european în anii 1636–1746* (București: 1981), 25; Ruxandra Moașa Nazare, *Sub semnul lui Hermes și al lui Pallas. Educație și societate la negustorii ortodocși din Brașov și Sibiu la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea* (București: 2010), 35–37.

[2] Nicolae Iorga, *Brașovul și românii*, 319–320.

© NICOLETA ROMAN, 2018 | DOI:10.1163/9789004355095_009
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

Austrian Empire, Maria Theresa (1717–1780) and Joseph II (1765–1790) passed legislation in 1777 and 1783 which gradually raised the interdictions against Balkan traders. When Greek merchants, as well as other merchants from the Ottoman Empire,[3] became members of the commercial Greek companies in Brașov and Sibiu, they also became Austrian subjects, which granted them free trade privileges and protection.[4] Saxon merchants did not approve of these measures, which were regularly disputed and reinforced.

Until the middle of the 19th century, in order to become a member of the two commercial companies mentioned above, a merchant had to meet the following requirements: to be an Ottoman subject, to have financial means for wholesale trading, to reside with his family in Brașov or Sibiu for several years, to have no estates in Ottoman lands and to be a respectable person without any judicial record. By becoming a member of such a company, the merchant automatically became a *sudit*[5] and was granted certain privileges a local did not have.[6] The Ottoman Empire itself reached an agreement with the Austrian Empire (and other Christian powers), which allowed *sudit* merchants to move freely in its territory and pay a one-off fee of 3 per cent merchandise tax at the customs house.[7] These measures originated from an old initiative of Emperor Leopold I (1658–1705), who sought to monopolize Austrian commerce in the Balkans and the Levant,[8] and lasted until after the Treaty of Edirne (1829). It is indisputable that these measures irradiated from Transylvania towards the two Romanian principalities and thus contributed to the development of a local Romanian merchant class, capable of integrating itself and the two existing posts of Sibiu and Brașov into the Balkan commercial network. Daniel Chirot's analysis on Wallachia (which also remains valid for Moldavia) shows the principality's shift from a proto-colonial economy, which dominated in the 17th and 18th centuries, to the status of a neo-colony in the 19th and early 20th centuries.[9] According to the paradigm of Immanuel Wallerstein—for whom the peripheries were the Americas, Southeastern Europe and other territories under Russian and Ottoman control—these two last powers developed their own "world economic systems".[10] Furthermore, and particularly after the Treaty of Edirne, the Turks became a periphery of the western world and, contrary to other works (especially from Romanian historiography), France was not influential in the area until the 1850s–1860s.[11] The Austrian expansion in the Balkans deepened at the beginning of 18th century, occupying western Wallachia (Oltenia) for two decades, a region that fully experienced their administrative and absolutist measures. Șerban Papacostea's documented work on this period endorses Chirot's argument and highlights the Austrian economic interests in basic resources and their initiative to control commercial activities through the newly established Bulgarian and Greek commercial companies.[12] They did not last as long as their counterparts in Brașov and Sibiu, but are another indication that the Balkan merchants were encouraged to expand their activities towards the Austrian Empire. The Romanians were part of this displacement, slowly emerging from their isolation via an economy based on handicraft and exports to the Ottomans.[13]

---

[3] Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans. Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, vol. I (Cambridge: 1983), 179–184; Patricia Herlihy, "Greek Merchants in Odessa in the Nineteenth Century", in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* vol. 3/4, part 1 (1979–1980), 399–400, shows that in time the commercial firms owned by foreigners represented a sixth of all those founded in Russia cf. Eadem, 405.

[4] Ruxandra Moașa Nazare, *Sub semnul lui Hermes și al lui Pallas*, 39–41.

[5] A foreign subject protected by Austrian law wherever he went and who had special status and privileged fiscal treatment; from the Italian word *suddito*.

[6] Ruxandra Moașa Nazare, *Sub semnul lui Hermes și al lui Pallas*, 42–43.

[7] Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 180; Andrei Oțetea, *Pătrunderea comerțului românesc în circuitul internațional* (București: 1977) 62–67, 70–71; *Documente turcești privind istoria României*, vol. II (1774–1791), ed. Mustafa A. Mehmet (București: 1983), 11–12, 42; Paul Cernovodeanu, Nicolae Edroiu (eds.), *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VI (București: 2002), 236.

[8] Ioan Moga, "Politica economică austriacă și comerțul Transilvaniei în veacul al XVIII-lea", in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională*, vol. II (1936–1938), 91.

In this context, the number of foreigners belonging to the Balkan merchant class was on the rise, while the absorption of foreigners through kinship with Transylvanians, Saxons, and Germans slowed down at the beginning of the 19th century. The Romanian merchant migration to and from Transylvania was always in flux depending on the political stability of the region.[14] This phenomenon coincided with an increase in the number of products made in Transylvania (*mărfuri brașovene* from Brașov and *mărfuri sășești* from Saxon towns and villages) which were then exported to countries in the Ottoman Empire such as the neighbouring principality, Wallachia. Dowry chests,

---

[9] Daniel Chirot, *Social Change in a Peripheral Society. The Creation of a Balkan Colony* (New York–San Francisco–London: 1976), 57–117.

[10] Ibidem, 59–60.

[11] Ibidem, 94.

[12] Șerban Papacostea, *Oltenia sub stăpânire austriacă (1718–1739)* (București: 1998), 120–122. These Bulgarian and Greek merchants were encouraged to settle in centres such as Craiova, Râmnic and Ocna.

[13] For further information about exports and the development of Romanian Danubian and Black Sea ports see the works of Constantin Ardeleanu and the results of the Black Sea Research Project https://blacksea.gr.

[14] Paul Cernovodeanu, Nicolae Edroiu (coord.), *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VI, 80.

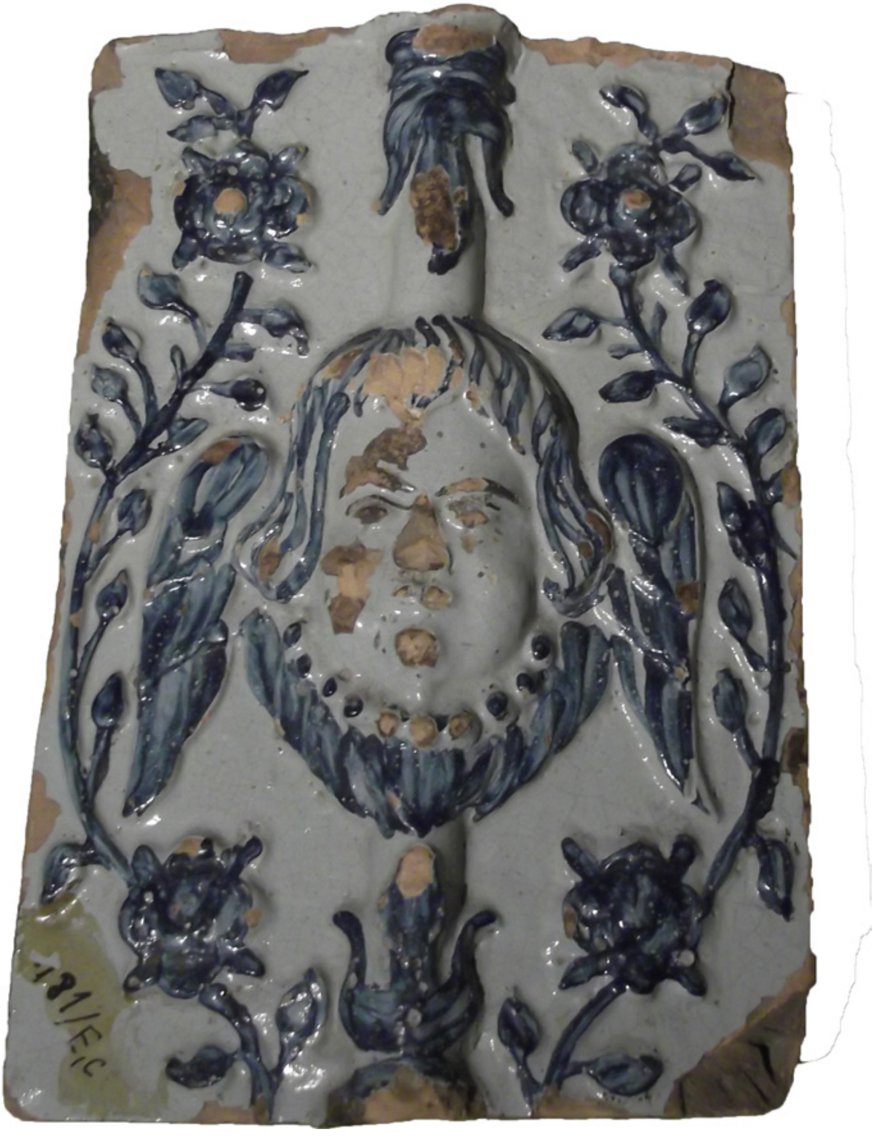


FIGURE 7.1 *“Győr” faience of Habana inspiration* (cahle habane)*, 18th century.* COURTESY OF URBAN CIVILIZATION MUSEUM, BRAȘOV.

furniture, painted stoves, Habana-inspired “Győr” faience, china, and textiles became ordinary goods in Romanian society, goods that were transmitted further on as the Balkan Orthodox merchants dominated the trade routes in both the Austrian and Ottoman Empires. [Fig. 7.1.]

In these circumstances of political, economic and social upheaval, the problem that we raise concerns the role of women in the Romanian trade between Transylvania and the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. Due to a variety of political and economic factors, their presence could not be as dominant or influential as in other parts of Europe. In 18th-century Russia, wealthy noblewomen represented almost 40 per cent of economically active individuals and by 1814, constituted a total of 4.4 per cent of the proprietors of industrial enterprises, a number that would grow in time.[15] In the German cities of Stralsund and Lübeck or Scandinavian cities such as Gothenburg and Oslo, women represented around 11 per cent of merchants, with variations linked to political change.[16] For the Romanian principalities, there were no favourable, stable socio-economic conditions to support such a presence. Besides living in Ottoman provinces, the local bourgeoisie was in its incipient stage[17] and the state did not have an industry where elites could operate and introduce monopoly into certain branches. Furthermore, legislation to encourage commercial activity was still lacking and the very image of the merchant—generally associated with privileged foreigners—was negative. Even so, women had an economic presence, but as silent contributors due to a domestic ideology that kept them in obscurity. Female heads of households were common to all social strata and women had their own survival strategies, family cooperation being the most commonly used.[18] Our analysis explores women's emergence as visible economic agents in Romanian trade, stemming from their family background. Two issues will be under discussion: first, women's role in merchant family strategies and, second, their initiation into trade and economic activities. Our hypothesis is that, due to an unstable political and economic environment which favoured Balkan trade, women emerged as merchants and entrepreneurs from their positions as temporary substitutes for men travelling away on business.

---

[15] Galina Ulianova, *Female Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth-Century Russia* (London: 2009), 2, 31, 54.

[16] Daniel A. Rabuzzi, "Women as Merchants in Eighteenth-Century Northern Germany: The Case of Stralsund, 1750–1830" in *Central European History*, 28, 4 (1995), 437–438, 441, notes 19 and 20.

[17] Alexandru-Florin Platon, *Geneza burgheziei în Principatele Române* (*a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea—prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*)*: preliminariile unei istorii* (Iași: 1997).

[18] Beatrice Moring, "Introduction", in *Female Economic Strategies in the Modern World* (London: 2012), 2–9.

The Woman in Merchant Families. The Merchant's Daughter: Seen, Liked, Married

In the case of merchants' daughters, marriages followed the same rules as for any other young woman: courtship, dowry contract, and the wedding ceremony. However, the conditions whereby a young man could gain entry into the family and the content of the dowry differed.[19] Dowries included not only precious luxury items, but also stalls, inns, shops or stock-in-hand and merchandise. For instance, Rudolf Orghidan, one of the most influential merchants in 19th-century Brașov, married Ana, the daughter of Alexe Hagi Petkoglu, a Wallachian merchant, whose dowry gift was a shop on Lipscani Street, in downtown Bucharest. Another example is Niculae Kiriloff, a wealthy Romanian merchant from Bessarabia, who settled down in the Wallachian capital and specialized in trading Russian furriery. His daughter, Iulia, received as dowry for her marriage with his former apprentice, Luca Lucasevici, the entire merchandise from Kiriloff's main shop, which the groom used to open his new business in the city centre, on Mogoșoaia Bridge (*Podul Mogoșoaiei*).[20] Thus, kinship ties included establishing a territory of action[21] that enabled geographical control of "the flow of goods, capital and information through trusted channels",[22] and created patterns of social mobility.[23]

When contracting a marriage, the active group of merchants of Balkan origin living in Brașov (Romanians, Armenians, Greeks, Serbs etc.) followed certain rules. These were similar to the Austrian regulations that foreigners needed to meet in order to join the ranks of the privileged merchants of the Brașov Commercial Company. Thus, the suitor to a merchant's daughter's hand had to be a foreigner from the same social background or a known and agreed-upon person. Whatever the choice, the young man had to be a business partner of one of the men in the family and, following a detailed examination of his past, must be deemed respectable. Even when love or desire played a role in the relationship, the parents still had ultimate control over who was chosen.

---

[19] Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, *În șalvari și cu ișlic: biserică, sexualitate, căsătorie și divorț în Țara Românească a secolului al XVIII-lea* (București: 2011), 148–183.

[20] Nicolae Angelescu, *Negustorii de odinioară* (București: 1931), 4–5, 12. This is not a bridge, but a wooden paved main road, which became the main avenue of the city by the 20th century.

[21] Gheorghe Lazăr, *Les marchands en Valachie* (*XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles*) (București: 2006), 172–174.

[22] Maartje van Gelder, *Trading Places. The Netherlandish Merchants in Early Modern Venice* (Leiden-Boston: 2009), 113.

[23] Susan Migden Socolow, *The Merchants of Buenos Aires, 1778–1810. Family and Commerce* (Cambridge-London-New York, 1978), 34.

For example, Antonie Leca, a young merchant at the start of his career, could not marry the girl he loved, Uțica, daughter of Boguci, despite their mutual feelings for one another. In 1799, after six years of courtship, he went to ask Uțica's parents for her hand in marriage. His request was brutally refused and he was told that he was not a suitable match for her. In his disappointment, he started frequenting pubs and considered resorting to witchcraft, particularly towards the end of Uțica's engagement to another man. He even approached Chiva, an eighty-year-old woman, but she would not help him:

> a young man named Antonie Leca, of German origins, started to tell me, a poor old woman, that he had been seeing for six years a young lady, Uțica, the daughter of the late Boguci, and that he would have liked to propose to her if her parents hadn't forced her to become engaged to another man. Therefore, burdened by the love he was feeling for her, he would have done something to her, something that brought about her death. I have also overheard these words from other people. But they asked me if I happened to know any woman able to undo black magic as he was thinking that somebody had done it to him. As I am serving God, I assured him I did not know any woman capable of this.[24]

Antonie also sent Uțica love letters, which were intercepted by her parents. When the relationship became public and Uțica died unexpectedly, Leca was considered the prime suspect. Five other men, who had also witnessed the discussion, confirmed Chiva's declaration. Moreover, the merchant Ioan Roată, from Brașov, added that the young man had been in deep despair and that his father, Răuț Leca, a trader well-known among Romanians, had wanted him to marry a merchant's daughter. The father had hoped that either Ioan Roată or Gheorghe Pop would accept Antonie as a son-in-law, but both merchants had replied, "they won't accept such a man as a groom for their daughters".[25] The remark may refer to his unsettled youth, particularly his habits, but also to the tacit knowledge of his relationship with Uțica Boguci; however, marriage to another merchant's daughter could wipe away a young man's sins and cast shame on the bride and her family. In such situations, marrying up or within the same class, even after rigorous selection, was not straightforward.

---

[24] Direcția Județeană a Arhivelor Naționale Brașov (Hereafter DJAN Brașov), Fund *Actele Magistratului*, 40/1800, 9.

[25] DJAN Brașov, *Actele Magistratului*, 40/1800, 27.

In 1825, another young foreigner sent a love poem to the young woman with whom he had fallen in love, eventually foreseeing her refusal:

Such a precious figure
In my dreams and life

With small dark brown eyes
Sparkling like diamonds under

The black curved eyebrows.
And your perfect small mouth

That makes me smile with every word
But not the others, as they stay mute,
Confronted with your spotless nature.

And if my voice is never heard
I would better ask your heart

To open widely at my short thought
And have you talk in your sweetest way.

Now I may kneel in front of you.
As my strong wish is to destroy

Any disturbance of your peace
This also brings me some relief
Cause I'm your servant man.[26]

For the Romanian merchants from Brașov, as well as for others, a potential suitor's poetic or artistic disposition was not an important attribute when considering whether to accept him into their family. Instead, such a youth had to be familiar with merchant activities[27] and have at least some entrepreneurial skills: to be a coordinator and manager, an opportunity-seeker, an innovator in his field, a decision-maker, a risk-taker, a negotiator and a team builder.[28]

In studying the process by which experienced merchants vouched for a particular trade debutant so that he could marry within this social class, we can discern several specific conditions. Coming from the Romanian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, he could not own land or a house there and must also show proof of significant capital—the equivalent of at least 2000 florins—with no financial obligations. In essence, he was expected to have economic freedom and trade experience in order to be considered for marriage, which would enable him to establish a base in the Carpathian commercial centre. Teodor Mihailovici was one such young man who fulfilled all these criteria and married Paraschiva, Gheorghe Hagi Radu's daughter. In 1808, we find him asking the town magistrate for official recognition as "a town dweller" and tax-payer.[29] He came voluntarily from the Ottoman Empire and at the time of his request, owned an equity capital of 3,500 florins.[30] If his request were approved, he would become not only a citizen of the city and a subject of the Austrian Empire, but also a full member of the Brașov merchant community.

---

[26] DJAN Brașov, *Actele Magistratului*, 1047/1825, annex no. 5, 13–14v.

[27] Louis Bergeron "Omul de afaceri" in Michel Vovelle (ed.), *Omul luminilor* (Iași: 2000), 88, includes a repertory of the knowledge an aspiring merchant should have: commercial laws and regulations (measures, quantities, and currencies), foreign languages and arithmetic, geography and local customs.

[28] Mark Casson and Catherine Casson, *The Entrepreneur in History. From Medieval Merchant to Modern Business Leader* (Basingstoke: 2013), 22–40.

As early as 1801, an entire group of Romanian Saxon merchants gave evidence of how the young Ghenea Radovici had fulfilled the conditions mentioned above before he was accepted amongst them; ever since his childhood he had worked for shop owners in Bucharest, including Gheorghe Ioan, his future father-in-law and business partner. Together, the two brought merchant goods to Wallachia and the capital he had gathered was put at the disposal of his father-in-law. Later on, when working for the benefit of "the royal trade" of the Austrian Empire, he sought to become a recognized subject of the state. As this was a lengthy process, who else but his business partner and relative was better placed to support him and pay his due tax for the year? Thus, marrying a merchant's daughter became an unwritten condition for acceptance into the business fraternity and wider community, and subsequently, for obtaining fiscal status. The daughter, on the other hand, could never gain freedom within marriage since, if she were widowed, she had to go and live with her brothers and/or father and take care of their households. Moreover, she could not manage her own house's financial affairs because her inheritance was controlled by her male relatives and former trade companions of her husband.[31] Thus, a woman born into a merchant family was less free than one who married into a merchant family. The daughter and the merchant's daughter-in-law existed

---

[29] In the 18th-century Austrian Empire, merchants were mentioned in the state's ledgers as fee payers (*taxaliști*) and their number grew steadily from 508 families in 1765/1766 to 632 families in 1785 and from 942 families in 1805 to 1220 families in 1821. They are generically called Greeks, although they also include other nationalities such as Bulgarians, Romanians, Macedonians and others cf. Paul Cernovodeanu, Nicolae Edroiu (coord.), *Istoria românilor*, vol. VI, 87.

[30] DJAN Brașov, *Actele Magistratului*, no. 126/1809, 1.

[31] An example that can be followed over a long period of time is Tamuș Stamu's case, the sister and daughter of the merchants who founded the Greek Stamu commercial company. They arranged her marriage and managed what remained of her dowry after the death of her husband. They also managed her fortune and expressed their opinions regarding her children's education. She remained at home, in Metsovo, but could not sell her inherited property from Wallachia, complaining continuously to her brothers about the issue and the obstacles her father made to her initiative cf. Dumitru Limona, Natalia Trandafirescu (eds.), *Documente economice din arhiva Casei comerciale Ioan St. Stamu (1714–1876)*, vol. I (București: 1983).

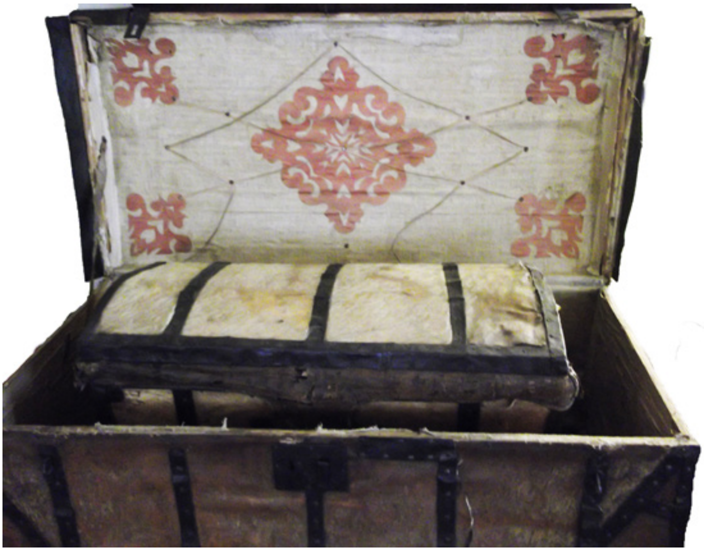


FIGURE 7.2 *Travel trunks, end of 18th century–beginning of 19th century.* COURTESY OF URBAN CIVILIZATION MUSEUM, BRAȘOV.

in a relationship of unequal power: the latter, being responsible only for her children, had greater opportunity to impose herself on the commercial world. [Fig. 7.2]

Merchant's Daughter, Merchant's Wife

Shortly before the wedding, daughters were provided with the most valuable goods from their father's shop, together with considerable amounts of money. The future son-in-law and the father signed the girl's dowry contract and the document entered the archive of the new family as a reference point for future discussions on the succession. Usually, after receiving her dowry, the girl lost her right to a share of her parents' inheritance, especially if there were sons yet to settle down and debts to be paid. However, wealthy merchants neither excluded their daughters from their wills nor considered their marriages as a breaking-point or the "end of responsibilities" as was the case for most brides. The girl was not a "stone in the house",[32] but rather, she continued to be seen as a "good", treasured, and, if necessary, was re-invested in. Towards the latter half of the century, some merchant families' dowry contracts included the stipulation that the newly-weds should reside with them for a period of no more than three or four years. In 1822, for example, Simeon Nicolau from Brașov even added that if his son-in-law was willing to go to Bucharest, he would increase the dowry by 1500 lei.[33] But, irrespective of the fact that Nicolau urged the young man to enter the trade world because of particular political-military events, involving potential repercussions for their family, this example emphasizes the role of the young woman in her own family. As shown in the practice of choosing her partner, the daughter of a merchant represented the instrument needed to consolidate her family's position within the same social class,[34] as well as offering the possibility of controlling her new husband. Her freedom of action manifested only as far as selecting one of these possibilities, and did not extend to any choices outside the family. Elena Duzi's case best illustrates this general rule. Being the only daughter of Răuț Leca from Brașov and coming from a family where all the male members ran businesses—she was therefore expected to marry someone from the same social class. This she duly did when her parents chose the Italian merchant Marco Duzi, a business partner of her brother Dumitrache, as her future husband. However, married life proved unhappy and, on the advice of her brothers, the couple separated. When Marco Duzi went on business to Iași, in Moldavia, and with their marital problems still unresolved, Elena Duzi moved out of her house and rented a place with Dumitru Moisiu's widow. This seemed to be a good solution while she awaited her husband's return and the women agreed to rent the place for a year. However, the brothers took Elena against her will from her new home, forcing her to leave her husband in order to return to the family residence to take care of their sick father.[35] After his death, her brother Ioan claimed to have restored her inheritance rights to her[36] but continued to deny her any entitlement to the parental home. Following a family feud in 1824, Elena complained to the authorities that she had been beaten and humiliated by her brothers, including being stripped of her rightful inheritance.[37] Despite the fact her

---

[32] Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, "'Să-mi ridic piatra de fată din casă'. Strategii matrimoniale și conflicte familiale în societatea românească (secolul al XVIII-lea)," in Sorina

---

Paula Bolovan, Ioan Bolovan, Corneliu Pădurean (eds.), *Om și societate. Studii de istoria populației României (sec. XVII–XX)* (Cluj-Napoca: 2007), 95–105.

[33] DJAN Brașov, *Succesiuni*, IV F 78, 685.

[34] Gheorghe Lazăr, *Les marchands en Valachie*, 258–266.

[35] DJAN Brașov, *Acte Diverse*, 502, 1.

[36] DJAN Brașov, *Acte Diverse*, 500, annex no. 1, 1.

[37] DJAN Brașov, *Acte Diverse*, 500, annex no. 1, 1. She even claimed that her brothers kept the jewellery she received as part of her dowry cf. DJAN Brașov, *Acte Diverse*, 502. Her husband, Marco Duzi, declared that when he learned of his father-in-law's death, he did not attend the opening of the will because he had appointed Dumitrache, his brother-in-law, as his representative and was confident in his judgement. He later learned his wife was

father had died in 1818, six years previously, she had still not received her share. It transpired that the brothers had forged the inheritance papers and declared, in court, a less valuable fortune than the existing one. Consequently, Elena decided to return to her husband and persuaded him to help her fight for her inheritance. Setting aside their own disagreements, she gave him power of attorney to represent her in court and, from that moment on, Marco was seen speaking on her behalf, although they both signed the relevant documentation.

Replacing their Husbands in Commercial Activities

In an entirely male-dominated world, women were not at the forefront of economic activities nor did they know how to be so. However, we find women of that time buying, selling, or bargaining in their own name or on behalf of their husbands[38] as in any other part of Europe.[39] It is men who invest women with the economic power necessary to turn them into economic substitutes. To play this role, they had to be sufficiently involved in the family business in order to know the language of negotiation and to be able to keep registers. Coming from a merchant family allowed women to have a good start; otherwise, they had to learn everything from experience. Unlike women involved in small trade, who expressed their intentions using their thumbprint, women from merchant families knew how to keep a ledger. Despite the fact that investment in education was minimal until the end of the 18th century,[40] their schooling was sufficient to raise them above the general average. Merchants found ways to acquire knowledge useful for their trade and they valued and invested in their children's education by sending their sons to boarding schools abroad and hiring tutors for their daughters. Some merchant wives benefitted from

---

supposed to receive 11,289 Hungarian florins as part of the inheritance, but by declaring a lower inheritance than the real one, her brothers denied her of her rightful share cf. DJAN Brașov, *Acte Diverse*, 538, 1–1v.

[38] George Potra (ed.), *Documente privitoare la istoria orașului București*, vol. I (1594–1821) (București,: 1967), 739–740; vol. II (1821–1848), 153–154, 434, 230–1; vol. III (1634–1800), 428.

[39] Evguenia Davidova, *Balkan Transitions to Modernity and Nation-States through the Eyes of Three Generations of Merchants (1780s–1890s)* (Leiden-Boston: 2013), 102; Fariba Zarinebaf, "From Mahalle (Neighborhood) to the Market and Courts: Women, Credit and Property in Eighteenth Century Istanbul", in Jutta Gisela Sperling, Shona Kelly Wray (eds.), *Across the Religious Divide. Women, Property and Law in the Wider Mediterranean (ca. 1300–1800)* (New York: 2010), 224.

[40] Alex Drace-Francis, *The Making of Modern Romanian Culture. Literacy and the Development of National Identity* (London: 2006).

the social prestige of their husbands, a prestige with religious nuances as they were called *hagiica.* Men gained the title (from the Turkish *hadji*) after a trip to the holy city of Jerusalem,[41] which reinforced their influence in the merchant community. Similar to the term *Kauffrau*, used in German cities, *hagiica* was constantly utilized in public by men and their wives alike.[42] It brought respectability, honour, and elevated womens' position within their class.

The Woman Runs the Shop While the Husband Travels

Women were not recognized as independent traders at that time because all their jobs were related to the domestic space and social welfare, from maids and governesses[43] to aglet needlewomen. However, a merchant woman could establish herself due to the slow changes affecting trade itself, which in the 19th century was moving towards incorporating new features that eventually ushered in the modern entrepreneur. In Wallachia, the number of female weavers[44] producing custom-made products and household items was considerable, while in Transylvania, Saxon cloth and aglets were also handmade and sold in large quantities by women.[45] Indeed, at the beginning of the 18th century, records of discussions between merchants and the local authorities in Brașov regarding the makers of raw materials, show that for certain products there was a tradition to involve the poor, widows, and children. It was stipulated that the price offered to them should take their circumstances into account, and should not be lowered by more than two or three units.[46] Luxury goods were mostly imports and most women were involved in a household industry, whose surplus was for sale, namely country cloth and homemade linen.

---

[41] Lazăr Șăineanu, *Dicționar universal al limbei române* ([Craiova]: 1922), 287; August Scriban, *Dictionaru limbii românești* (Iași: 1939), 585; *Documente turcești despre istoria României*, vol. II, 9–10.

[42] Daniel A. Rabuzzi, "Women as Merchants", 439.

[43] Nicoleta Roman, *'Deznădăjduită muiere n-au fost ca mine'. Femei, onoare și păcat în Valahia secolului al XIX-lea* (București: 2016), 191–255.

[44] *Eadem*, 244, the 1838 census lists a total of 145 women weavers for the Wallachian town of Câmpulung.

[45] In Brașov, in 1830, an aglet needlewoman who used to produce 6000 items for a price of 28 Hungarian florins per 1000 is mentioned. She was paid by Constantin Mincu, the son of a local merchant who lived in Ploiești. He also used to pay the "fat woman draper" who lived in Ulița Nouă Street, Brașov, for cloth. cf. *Catalogul Documentelor Grecești din Arhivele Statului de la orașul Stalin* (București: 1958), 701, 704.

[46] DJAN Brașov, *Actele Magistratului*, 2389/1803 where it is explained that the aglet, made from a small quantity of wool was quickly sold for money. In 1819, the merchants admitted in an act that widows and poor inhabitants of Brașov manufactured white and black thick

The way in which they managed the family business in the absence of men, who may be away or deceased, shows the business acumen of merchant wives.[47] There are certain instances where we can get a glimpse into how the wife is trained gradually by her husband to perform commercial activities in their shop. She starts by assisting him, then takes part in conducting low-risk transactions, and eventually has the confidence to act by herself. Thus, she trades products from her own local estate[48] and buys low-value products such as food or coarse textiles for household use. Finally, when she is better-acquainted with her husband's business partners, she is ready to represent him by conducting transactions herself. Because business skills were "tied up with masculinity, men and status",[49] women did not have the opportunity to pass directly from their separate, private sphere into the public domain despite having the "natural" ability[50] to manage their households. In order to maintain respectability and acquire business credibility, women needed to be initiated into trade exclusively by men within their own family.

In 1806, David Lupu and his wife, Eva, conducted business jointly, and often with other merchant wives; by 1809, however, we see Eva dealing alone with large quantities of grocery products: fish, Turkish tobacco, lemon juice, caviar, oil, raisins, figs, olives and many other items.[51] The wife of the rich Greek merchant Mihail Țumbru finds some business partners and trades cow leather and mackerel, turning a profit similar to her husband's: two parts share for her and one part share for her partner.[52]

A wife only took over her husband's entire business during periods of exceptional difficulty, on the basis of a tacit acknowledgement from members of the guild. During conflicts or military occupations, commodities were kept

---

twill cloth. It was also them that were used to produce small cloth accessories. cf. DJAN Brașov, *Acte administrative neînregistrate*, 27/1817.

[47] Hannah Barker, *The Business of Women. Female Enterprise and Urban Development in Northern England, 1760–1830* (Oxford: 2006), 171.

[48] DJAN Brașov, *Acte Diverse*, 47, 354.

[49] Deborah Simonton, *Women in European Culture and Society. Gender, Skill and Identity from 1700* (London–New York: 2011), 392; Béatrice Craig, *Women and Business since 1500: Invisible Presences in Europe and North America?* (Basingstoke: 2016), 44.

[50] Deborah Simonton*, Women in European Culture*, 391.

[51] DJAN Brașov, *Acte Judecătorești*, 263/1809, annex 6; *Acte Judecătorești*, 24/1811, annex no. 8; *Acte Judecătorești*, 33/1808.

[52] *Catalogul Documentelor Grecești*, 1204, 300.

hidden locally by the most reliable merchants, regardless of gender. For instance, during the 1788 war, the border areas between the Austrian Empire and the Romanian principalities were greatly affected by the Ottoman raids. Seeking shelter in safer areas with their families, many merchants left some of their goods behind and numerous shops and warehouses were destroyed, incurring a heavy financial cost. All knew the public speculation that resulted from this kind of situation and warehouse owners were often held accountable for merchants' losses. In the justifications that ensued, several women, widows and warehouse owners provided documentation to those who trusted them. Had she testified by herself, Safta Tudoroaia from Târgu Ocna—a town in Bacău county, Moldavia—would not have been believed. So, she turned for help to other merchants and inhabitants in the town. Assisted by the priest, she testified that all the goods left in her care, including the glassware merchandise of Dumitru Lazăr from Brașov, had been burned down. The customs officer, who was cited among the witnesses, also confirmed her testimony.[53] The uncertainty of commercial activities, with daily fluctuations in price, prepared women merchants to better deal with any cheating attempts. In 1813, Hagi Stoian's wife, Paraschiva, submitted testimony of transactions and prices paid for cotton purchased from various known or recommended Muslim merchants. The day after the Russian occupation of Ruse, she bought, directly from the manufacturer, eight sacks of Seres cotton at 90 *paras* for one *oka*, while a month later, she paid 115 *paras* for one *oka*. Another merchant, countryman Petru Cerniu, testified that the woman had reported the prices honestly as he had also purchased sixteen sacks at a price of 105 *paras* for one *oka*.[54]

Moreover, it would not be fair to regard a merchant's wife as incapable and indifferent to her husband's activities. Understanding market rules and the importance of price setting, as well as being aware of legal issues, legitimized her application to the court when fighting for justice and claiming compensation. In 1832, Zinca Titupoleos, a merchant's widow, brought Costache Fenerliu to the Court of Constantinople and accused him of fraudulent trade because the ledger had not been drawn up in accordance with "the proper procedure and the merchandising principles":

> when the commodities arrived from Constantinople (*Țarigrad*), the day and the month are illegible, as well as the ship and the paid rent; also,

---

[53] DJAN Brașov, *Actele Magistratului*, 1582/1789 and 1657/1792.

[54] DJAN Brașov, *Actele Magistratului*, 2452/1814.

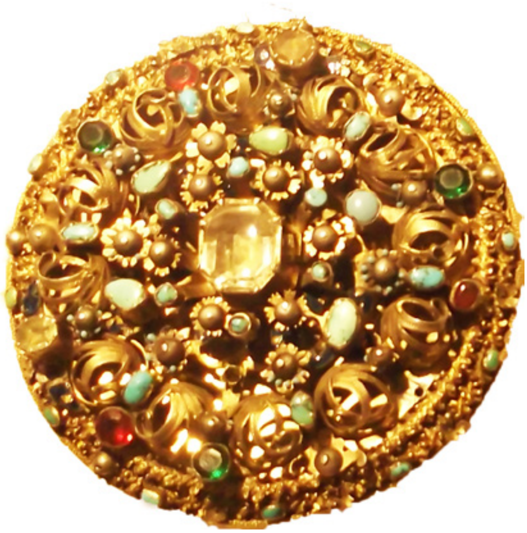


FIGURE 7.3
Women accessory made by jewellers of Brașov, 19th century.
COURTESY OF URBAN CIVILIZATION MUSEUM, BRAȘOV.

> there can't be seen the daily sold quantity, to whom and at what price they were sold, and to whom the most part of the goods was sold.[55]

The legal argument spans over four pages and shows how her husband's merchandise was transported not only to the Turkish Middle East, but also to various western ports, such as Marseille. Although a silent actor in public, Zinca knew everything about their business, proving that she was a skillful partner to her husband.

We can also observe a gradual inclusion of women in financial loan networks. In spring, 1821, and in the presence of Nicoleta, Ioan Lioliu's wife, Ioan Gima and his brothers signed an agreement to borrow from her, for the needs of their commercial association, 12,501 *groși* and 30 *paras*, which they pledged to repay at a rate of 1 per cent interest a month.[56] This was obviously a case where a wife merely represented her husband in a loan agreement, but there were instances where women acted alone, as shown by Zoița Alexandroaia's case, in 1823, when she lent 3800 *groși* to Ioan Dimitrie Constantin Bicu and his company "for business purposes".[57] [Fig. 7.3.]

---

[55] Dumitru Z. Furnică, *Din istoria comerțului la români, mai ales băcănia. Publicațiune de documente inedite: 1593–1844* (București: 1908), 379; George Potra, *Documente,* vol. I (1594–1821), 726–729.

[56] *Documente economice din arhiva casei comerciale Ioan St. Stamu, 1714–1876*, vol. I, 112.

[57] Ibidem, 132.

Merchant Widows and Business

Even though merchant widows abided by unwritten rules, their activities were recorded tacitly in documentation of the period. Like all other women, they were obliged to give alms for their late husband's soul and mourn him for a year; however, unlike other widows, whose main responsibility was to take care of the family, merchant widows also had to take care of their late husband's business. Low social class widows could even be compensated for their contribution to the prosperity of the family by inheriting half of the fortune. Some merchants even stipulated this in their wills, such as Dumitru Pană who bequeathed half of his wealth to Maria Leca because "we both have worked together to enjoy what we have now".[58] In merchant families, wills would not only refer to the widow's economic stability but also determined the power transfer. As everywhere in Europe, proprietorship was highly linked to household leadership and the best way to acquire both family and business authority was through inheritance.[59] The widow took over the business with all its assets and shortcomings until her children reached the age of consent or until the testator provided it. The inheritance always included the woman, as she became the head of the family and, after her retirement from economic life, she and her children could negotiate her share in the profits of the business, usually an amount that would grant her some comfort in life.

In the spring of 1824, Chirața Mincu from Ploiești was in dispute with her two sons, Gheorghe and Constantin, on this subject, as they refused to recognize the decision of their father, the late merchant Constantin Mincu Marinovici from Brașov (*Brașoveanul*). Only upon arriving in front of Teodor Mișu, the guildmaster, did the children and their mother reach an agreement. Being Austrian subjects (*sudiți chesaro-crăiești*), they asked the guildmaster for justice at the consulate in town. Each of the sons received one half of the store and three acres of vineyard. The rest of the vineyard, money, parental houses and two inns—one at the periphery of the city on the road to Poiana Câmpina—remained with the mother until her death. Afterwards, the brothers could share the remaining wealth between them: Gheorghe would get all the shops and Constantin all the other buildings. The daughters did not get anything since they had taken their dowry on the occasion of their marriages. Chirața Mincu ended her involvement in the businesses of Ploiești, and agreed to lend her sons the capital that she had accrued which amounted to 2,396 thalers. For the first year, the loan would be interest-free, after which her sons would be expected to pay her an annual interest rate of 5 per cent. A new contract was concluded between them[60] and the verdict made the woman happy in two respects: as a merchant, she solved all the inheritance disputes she had with her sons and recovered everything she owned from the inn while as a mother she gave her children enough time to adjust to their new position. If Gheorghe were to prove to be a good administrator, he could successfully run the family-owned inns, while Constantin would take good care of her by being in charge of the household's prosperity.

---

[58] DJAN Brașov, *Succesiuni*, IV F 27, 820.

[59] Galina Ulianova, *Female Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth-Century Russia*, 30; Evguenia Davidova, *Balkan Transitions*, 104.

A woman could be a temporary member of a company, which allowed her to represent and intervene for the man who would eventually take her place. She would be part of a fragile group by virtue of its small number, but accepted by the male community. In 1803 in Sibiu, a Greek trade company accepted Zamfirița, Teodor Mihai's widow, as a member after she took an oath to the Protector of the Faith, Emperor Francis II. Furthermore, she intervened to make her new husband, Constantin Bălan of Ioannina (Epirus), a new member of the company, arguing that they had equity and could bring new business.[61] Even though her involvement was temporary, widowhood and her name paved the way for her new husband's commercial activities, which was proof of the power a woman could hold.

Having inherited her husband's authority, an authority reinforced by her sons, women of the period could remain in the same field of business, strengthening the family's prestige and good governance. This enabled them to gain a local reputation that facilitated a move towards the broadening of trade relations. The wife of Voicu Ciopală from Săcele appears constantly in the documents of the great merchant Mihail Țumbru as one of his most reliable providers, her entrepreneurial abilities exceeding those of her late husband. Continuing the business partnership, she specialized in obtaining the fine leather used in leather goods,[62] overseeing customs procedures and ensuring efficient distribution to Țumbru's shops in Wallachia. The merchant's archive shows how she ran her business: her sons took care of local transportation and distribution while she established the terms and conditions of sale, and arranged payment. She was also responsible for the acquisition of complementary tannery products[63] and other raw materials, including the goat thread necessary for producing footwear. Being an intermediary and a provider, she always received one part share of the profit whereas Țumbru got two. The cash or bank payments[64] collected by the bank in Sibiu[65] show her familiarity with, and knowledge of, financial terms and records. Women took over trade activities as well as a share of income, becoming as equal a partner as their late husband, in line with his social status. For instance, Voiculeasa Ciopală transformed herself from a subordinate position as a worker and producer of goods into a supplier, distributor, and entrepreneur. At the end of the 18th century, only a limited number of women in the Romanian business world achieved this level of success as it was not yet possible for them to become merchants without the support of men.

---

[60] DJAN Brașov, *Succesiuni*, IV F 74, 442.

[61] Dumitru Limona (ed.), *Catalogul documentelor referitoare la viaţa economică a Țărilor Române în secolele XVII–XIX: documente din Arhivele Statului Sibiu*, vol. I (București: 1966), 419.

[62] In the original text, they are named *cordovane* or *sahtiane*, goat or sheep skins of high-quality leather, used for making luxurious shoes and accessories.

This transition is gradual, balanced, well-accepted and integrated into the practices of the Romanians and other merchants from Brașov where we encounter cases of wives and widows as substitutes. In Moldavia and Wallachia, in the absence of a strong local merchant class, women's business opportunities increased, but only within the limits of a model that did not challenge established trading practices in the male world. Merchant women became more and more independent due to the gradual changes affecting the profession itself during the 19th century. Thus, the emancipation and recognition of women as entrepreneurs, merchants, and professionals in other fields of activity came with the imposition of a new male standard of training and personal development as a consequence of economic liberalization and the technological and industrial revolution. In becoming factory owners, old merchants empowered women to trade goods, especially textiles and luxury products. By the end of the 19th century, women become owners of fashion houses, stores, upscale shops and even small linen factories. However, even when this new threshold was reached, gender differences continued to exist. Widows enjoyed a privileged situation among other women as they carried with them the prestige of the family and the economic success of their late spouse. This afforded them relative freedom, a spirit of initiative, and distinct economic momentum. If children were involved and expected to take over the family business, their commitment and ability to increase profits could not always be guaranteed. In 1859, Ilie Zamfirescu's trade was affected by the bankruptcy of Nicolae Hristu, a banker in whom he invested a great deal of money. When he died in 1862, he left behind diminished earnings and two commercial partners in distress. His wife, Maria, took over the business as the legal guardian (*tutore*) of their children. She not only managed to have a good relationship with her husband's partners, but, by 1873, when her son returned from studying in Vienna, she had increased the capital.[66] Another example is Alexandrina Assan, who was a merchant and an entrepreneur. Her husband, George Assan (1821–1866), had several pharmacies and wine shops from which he gained a sufficient amount of money to buy modern machinery from Vienna and construct a steam mill on the outskirts of Bucharest in 1853. After his death, Alexandrina ran the firm and the steam mill for 20 years, until their sons took over the business in 1884. The Assan steam mill was one of the first Romanian industrial establishments, active into the 20th century,[67] and the family represents the perfect example of a gendered evolution within their social class. The husband transformed from a classical merchant to a modern entrepreneur, owner and administrator of an industrial firm heavily involved in the national economy.[68] The wife became visible, ceasing to be a substitute and secondary actor, and proved herself to be as equally capable as her late husband in the same role.

---

[63] The word is *scumpie*, the skin and the leaves of this shrub were used in tannery and dyeing.

[64] *Banco-țidulele* were small pieces of paper serving as proof of receipt. A kind of cheque.

[65] *Catalogul Documentelor Grecești*, 251–253, 255, 258, 261, 265, 267, 271, 273. There are similar cases such as Ivănoaia Buzatu or that of the widow of Oprea Țârcă cf. Ibidem, 262.

A Case Study: The World of Safta Castrișoaia

In late 18th-century Brașov, part of a significant community of Balkan merchants, including Greeks, Macedonians, Bulgarians, Serbs etc., who managed to achieve status and economic influence, Gheorghe Castrișiu, a young Macedonian trader, started to make a name for himself. Coming from Greece to Bucharest in 1796, with a small, but still prosperous business, he entered a commercial partnership with brothers Elefterie and Mărgărit Ioan, and more significantly, with the experienced merchant Mihail Țumbru from Brașov. Planning to develop a transportation network, Țumbru was looking for new partners and was very content with Castrișiu whom he described as "an able and good young man"[69] who put all his efforts into transporting their products. Shortly after, Castrișiu proved to be a serious merchant and extended his contacts. After several years, he was able to bring high-quality products to his shop from Bucharest. For instance, banker and businessman Nicolae Hagi Moscu sent him boxes of gold cigarette cases set with diamonds and precious stones from Vienna, via Țumbru, with the help of the Austro-Hungarian stagecoach;[70] Rizu Dormuși and Sons company from Budapest sent him bales of coffee, cloth, furrier's trade products and chests with muslin;[71] and, Safranu and Manicati Sons company from Sibiu sent him barrels of sugar, natural dyes, and fine fabrics.[72] Because he had a good reputation as a tradesman, the G. K. (Gheorghe Castrișiu) brand also accompanied any merchandise sent to the Habsburg area from 1802 onwards.[73]

---

[66] Nicolae Angelescu, *Negustorii de odinioară*, 8.

[67] Dumitru Z. Furnică, *Din istoria comerțului*, 536–538; Basil G. Assan, *1853–1903: o jumătate de secol de la introducerea mașinei cu aburi în industria română de către George Assan. Conferință susținută la Societatea Geografică* (București: 1904), 8.

[68] Louis Bergeron, "Omul de afaceri", 90.

[69] *Catalogul Documentelor Grecești*, vol. 1, 525.

Even though sources about his family have not yet been uncovered, we know the merchant died in Bucharest around 1810 and his Macedonian widow, Safta, inherited his entire fortune. Under his widow's management, the fortune that had built around several shops owned by Gheorghe Castrișiu in Bucharest was completely transformed. With the arrival of the Russians in Wallachia (1829), Safta declared herself subject to their rule and the business benefitted from this new status. The first census, from 1838, shows her living in a large house in the Saint Dimitrie suburb of Bucharest. With a Jewish tailor and a Serbian innkeeper as neighbours, Safta Castrișoaia declared herself Romanian in front of the authorities who wrote down her age as 45[74] and noted that she was living in the house situated at number 1680 together with her 70-year-old father-in-law, Constantin Castrișiu. Besides three gypsy slaves (*robi*), she also had a large number of servants (two coachmen, three valets, three servants, two cooks and a washerwoman etc.) as well as a soldier and an Albanian (*arnăut*).[75] The fact that an innkeeper and a barber were registered at the same house,[76] as well as double the usual number of people in domestic service, denotes the existence of a tavern. Her prosperity had already been apparent and her late husband's elder brother, Constantin Castrișiu, had also settled down in Bucharest and become a copyist, thus occupying the last boyar rank.[77]

---

[70] Ibidem, vol. I, 563, 582–3, 601.

[71] DJAN Brașov, *Actele Magistratului*, 125/1802 and *Catalogul Documentelor Grecești*, vol. I, 583–4.

[72] *Catalogul Documentelor Grecești*, vol. I, 94, 534, 556, 592.

[73] *Catalogul Documentelor Grecești*, vol. I, 604.

[74] Her birth year, 1782, is mentioned on the upper side of her anonymous portrait, which means she was 11 years older than the age recorded by the census taker.

[75] The term makes a reference to mercenary soldiers of Balkan origin employed as personal guards. Associated first with Albanians, this is a generic term including Greeks and Serbs.

[76] Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale (Hereafter ANIC), Fund *Catagrafii*, I-82, 366.

During the Organic Regulation period, Safta's reputation as a female merchant was already consolidated and she became a great owner and philanthropist. While initially benefitting from the protection of her husband's name, she later made herself visible and by 1850, few still remembered him while everyone knew her. She owned numerous properties and all her trade shops were located in the central area of Bucharest. In 1826, when she needed to expand, she bought several shops in Zamfir's Inn and, in addition to those held in the Izvor quarter, she also developed an entertainment area with a terrace. The latter seems to have been a place of refuge for participants in the 1848 Wallachian revolution, being also reputed to tolerate prostitution. However, located on the Mogoșoaia Bridge—a luxury commercial avenue—the inn was her most important property. Foreign travellers, consuls, boyars and their equipages often took this road which was to become the main shopping street in the capital, often compared with the French Champs-Élysées. Safta Castrișoaia's inn did not only have a restaurant with hosting rooms, but also a space incorporating shops. Situated between the passage built by the architect Xavier Villacrosse and Doamnei Street, with one side bordering Lipscani Street, the inn was close to three other similar establishments (Câmpineanu Inn, Filipescu Inn, and Greceanu Inn), of which only one was held by a woman, Câmpineanu's widow.[78]

In fact, the entire area was cosmopolitan and some parts of adjoining properties held by Safta Castrișoaia displayed a strong Macedonian imprint. Two other rich Macedonians lived nearby, one of whom was called Petrovici-Armis. By the end of the 19th century, he kept an Albanian guard in front of his house, wearing a kilt, a fez hat, and guns at his girdle.[79] In this way, the whole urban community tacitly agreed to present an ethnic identity within a commercial zone that was highly frequented in Bucharest. Just like all merchant families, the Castrișius wished to create a dynasty to rival some of their acquaintances. But destiny had been unkind to them. Son Dimitrie died young, at only 31 years of age, and the epitaph on his grave in the yard of the Saint Dimitrie Church of Bucharest shows the aspirations that his mother, the widow Castrișoaia, nurtured for him:

---

[77] Paul Cernovodeanu, Irina Gavrilă, *Arhondologiile Țării Românești de la 1837* (Brăila: 2002), 72. The *conțepist* rank is part of the last category, the 9th one, making up the boyar ranks in the Romanian region. Constantin Castrișiu (or Castriș), acquired this rank in 1856.

[78] Gh. Crutzescu, *Podul Mogoșoaiei: povestea unei străzi* (București: 1986), 104.

[79] Ibidem, 110.

> In my youth when happiness was above everything,
> And everything seemed to be so promissing,
> I used to be the pillar of my family, my mother's sense of gratitude
> But the cruel razor cut this pillar
> that blew away the flame of hope
> In front of which my mother's tears are quietly pale.[80]

Without doubt, Dimitrie's death led to Safta Castrișoaia's subsequent focus on her philanthropic activities. Fragments of the widow Castrișoaia's will, lost today, were incorporated into the correspondence exchanged between the legal guardians (*epitropi*) after her death in 1862. These extracts reveal to us her intentions regarding her own carefully maintained wealth. The terrace from the Izvor quarter had been sold as early as 1850 to William Oppler, who built one of the most notorious breweries of the Romanian Old Kingdom there, incorporating, next to the terrace, a restaurant and small entertainment theatre.[81] Six shops and a coffee house remained under her management, but, over the years, due to her age, Safta Castrișoaia opted to rent them out. Similarly, the five estates—Grosu, Măgura, Plosca, Gurueni and Călinești—were leased out.[82] It seems that she was particularly fond of the one in Măgura, Teleorman county, as she decided to build a church there in 1846.[83] As she didn't have any children, she arranged that her nephew, Vasile Paapa (1819–1884), should inherit half of her fortune, the other half being given away, with conditions attached, to the state. The rural churches and schools were to remain in Paapa's care to be repaired and maintained. The guardianship (*Epitropia*), instituted by the state to administer her fortune, was intended to pay off her debts to her relatives,[84] after which it was to be used, through the managements of assets, to support the following causes: a student in Paris; seven hermitages and the priests from the Saint Dimitrie Church in Bucharest, where her son was buried; local hospitals; a girl's dowry; and, not least, annual Easter and Christmas donations to the poor.[85] The will included the caveat that the benefits granted to the poor should give priority to all those who had come to know Safta Castrișoaia and receive aid from her, when she was still alive. Many of those who claimed assistance mentioned the woman's past generosity.[86] As for the medical institutions, which received an annual income of 500 *thalers*, Filantropia Hospital in Bucharest treated ten sick patients while the hospital in Ploiești took care of six individuals. Safta Castrișoaia's gestures reflected the three philanthropic directions of Romanian society: religious, towards the churches close to the donor, education and training and, equally important, medical. At the same time, her generosity also reflected a society transitioning from pity to charitable feelings,[87] undoubtedly crucial for the formation of citizenry. From 1833 onwards, the widow also sponsored Romanian national and cultural institutions through annual fixed contributions to the first national theatre.[88]

---

[80] Ibidem, 74; Gheorghe Bezviconi, *Necropola Capitalei* (București: 1972), 87.

[81] Hans Kraus, L. Bachelin, *Bucarest et la Roumanie* (Bucharest: 1902), 165.

[82] ANIC, Fund *Safta Castrișoaia*, 4/1868.

[83] Gheorghe I. Lahovari, *Marele Dicționar Geografic al României*, vol. 2 (București: 1899), 49.

[84] ANIC, Fund *Safta Castrișoaia*, 3/1862, 2v. The debts were to be paid to her sister-in-law; nieces and nephews from her husband's side; and her brother-in-law's children, numbering five girls and one boy. Three of the nieces had come to Bucharest, two were in Salonic, while the elder boy had left for Alexandria, Egypt.

[85] ANIC, Fund *Safta Castrișoaia*, 3/1862, 4v.–5; 4/1868, 63.

At the end of the 19th century, memories of the woman merchant who had acted so firmly but discreetly within the Bucharest market, and whose commercial activities had led to such philanthropic gestures, were still strong. Although the luxury trade artery of Mogoșoaia Bridge (today Calea Victoriei) had had its ups and downs, Safta Castrişoaia had been wise enough to invest in spaces that could preserve the legacy of her business. Although elegant and fashionable shops replaced the inn and pharmacies that she had run, she still remained part of the urban memory of the place. Her husband's vision also made a lasting impact by successfully bringing fine and expensive goods from European capitals and, to a lesser extent, Constantinople. Furthermore, she remained in the consciousness of the community as a philanthropist who wanted to share her prosperity with the poor. She also directed her attention towards the church, and, in the middle of the century, when modernization of society took place and education became a priority, she was among the first to devise a private economic system built around her shops and properties in order to support those in need. Her example is inspired by the activities of another widow, Safta Brâncoveanu, a famous boyar, who had laid out the legal foundation of Brâncoveanu Establishments.[89] They included hospitals and schools which were subsidized by the income from her estates, surviving more than a century into modern times. This philanthropic direction of the merchant class that favoured schools and hospitals over religious foundations was visible by the end of 17th century and is explained by its need for social recognition and development.[90] The aspiration of merchant families was to enter into the boyars' circle, and to frequent it until, finally, they became part of it.

---

[86] ANIC, Fund *Safta Castrișoaia*, 3/1862, 4; 5/1869, 93, 98.

[87] See Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, *De la milă la filantropie: instituții de asistare a săracilor din Țara Românească în secolul al XVIII-lea* (București: 2001) and Nicoleta Roman, "Ancien orphelin, futur citoyen de l'État. L'abandon infantile et l'assistance sociale entre initiative privée et autorité de l'État dans la Valachie moderne", in *Penser le XIX^e siècle: nouveaux chantiers de recherche*, eds. Silvia Marton, Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu (Iași: 2013), 125–152.

[88] I. Xenofon, *Filarmonica de la 1833. Centenarul primei reprezentații de teatru național în București* (București: 1934), 19.

[89] Emil Vârtosu, Ion Vârtosu, *Așezămintele Brâncovenești. O sută de ani de la înființare (1838–1938)* (București: 1938).

The portrait of Safta Castrișoaia shows the impact of western influences on her life; the detachment of widowhood, and the absence of mourning clothes. Looking directly at us, with conjoined eyebrows in keeping with old oriental fashion, she exudes a strong personality and harsh traits. While the turban and the veil are reminiscent of the Orient, the ribbons in her hair highlight a western style. The white silk gown in an empire-line style, with floral embroidery and designs, discreetly emphasizes a low neckline and the main accessories (earrings and a necklace) contain pearls, a symbol of widowhood. The hallmark ring underlines both her importance and her position as head of the family. [Fig. 7.4]

However, in spite of her business activities, posterity remembers Safta Castrișoaia as a philanthropist, an aspect she would have considered of secondary importance, her portrait including only a short posthumous foreign note regarding her donations to hospitals. She clearly had "a sense of belonging to an important stratum of society"[91] and followed in the footsteps of many merchants who included symbols of their trade and specialization in their portraits. Perhaps, had she had the choice, she would have included the inn from the centre of Bucharest as a landmark of her work and as a background in her portrait. In doing so, she would have rivalled Apollonia Hirscher (?–1547), the wife of a merchant and high official from Brașov, who was the founder of the Merchants' House (*Casa Negustorilor*) in the Transylvanian town and who completed its commercial centre around the current main square.[92]

As Joseph Adalbert Krickel showed in 1827, both locals and travellers, particularly in the 19th century, remembered the significant role Appolonia played in the Braşov trade:

> A new type of building became home for me, a big house with a floor, built around 1545 by Apollonia Hirscher, the wife of a high official. Since the fire of 1809 the building no longer had glass panes. I climbed 15 steps of the stairs and I arrived at a multitude of corridors with small shops

---

[90] Gheorghe Lazăr, "Negustori mecena în Țara Românească", in *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, 2005, 160–161.

[91] Lina Bernstein, "Russian Eighteenth-Century Merchant Portraits in Words and in Oil", in *The Slavic and East European Journal*, 3 (2005), 410.

[92] The building now hosts one of the most celebrated restaurants: "Cerbul Carpatin".

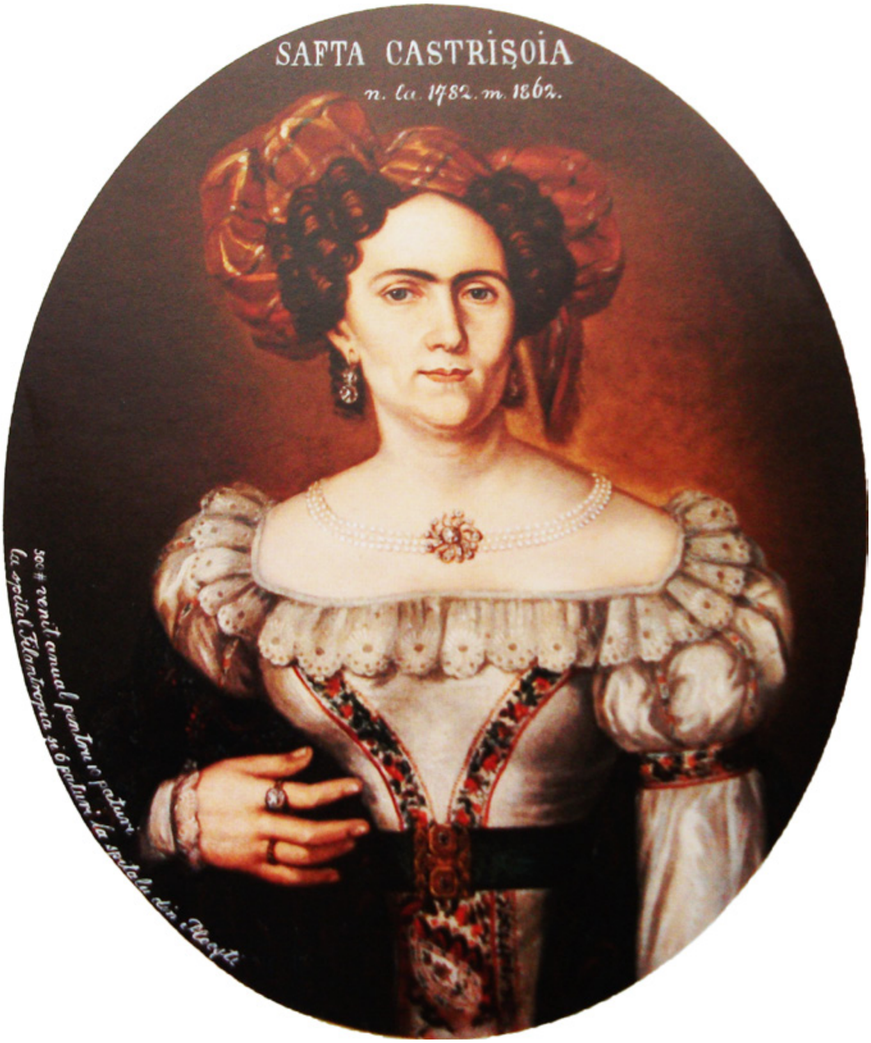

SAFTA CASTRIŞOIA
n. la 1782. m. 1862.
300 # venit anual pentru 10 paturi
la spital Filantropia şi 6 paturi la spitalu din Ploeşti

FIGURE 7.4 *Safta Castrișoaia, wife of merchant Gheorghe Castrișiu, the Macedonian* (*Bucharest, Wallachia, around 1850–1860*), in Mariana Vida, Elena Olariu, Epoca Biedermeier în Țările Române (1815–1859) (București: Editura Muzeul Național de Artă al României, 2014).

where hundreds of merchants were offering their goods for sale. This large number of people—Saxons of Transylvania, Hungarians, Armenians, Greeks, Turkish, Romanian boyars, Jews from Turkey, Gypsies—as well the bustling people, reminded me that I was in a significant trade town. In the market of the town and around the House of Commerce, I noticed

> Turkish usurers staying at a little table on which there was a little gridded box comprising rolls of Austrian and Turkish silver and golden coins.[93]

Both Apollonia and her husband, Lucas Hirscher, are depicted in portraits with the Merchants' House in the background and, respectively, St. Martin Church and Bran Castle, all three having benefitted from their financial support.[94] The widow of Saxon origins seems to be an exception in her era and her portrait encompasses her entire desired identity, just as Safta Castrișoaia represents a Romanian counterpart on a smaller scale.

Conclusion

In the eyes of their men, women from merchant families represented a valuable human resource and a powerful social tool for attracting new family members as well as new business partners. While their daughters enjoyed domesticity, wives had to learn the skills needed to replace men in trade activities if necessary. They assisted their husbands, participated in negotiations, and proclaimed the right of representation, reception, and business management. Being a member of a merchant family came with conditions and, although, ideologically, society operated within a separate sphere, the reality was different as it entailed various social class necessities. According to Evguenia Davidova, there was a coexistence with the other more nuanced concepts of "joint" and "segmented" spheres.[95] We will push the nuance even further and argue that, within the merchant and entrepreneurial group, at least for the Romanian case, widowed women were on an equal footing with men until their sons took over the business. Yet, they were still not mobile actors since they did not have the opportunity to move freely from one sphere to another as their merchant husbands did. Merchant women learned to act and manage commercial activities through men and therein lies their greatest personal and public achievement. At that time, they were at the periphery of Balkan economical activities in the same way that the Balkans were perceived to be at the periphery of civilized Europe. Their situation progressed slowly following the influence of western ideas, movements and the examples of women travellers, explorers and feminists; some of whom came to the Romanian territories. To assess the two centuries which followed, further research is needed to explore women's presence in the economy as more active traders and their utility for the industrial sector. Access to state and, sometimes, private education paved the way for women to achieve these objectives.

---

[93] *Călători străini despre țările române în secolul al XIX-lea: serie nouă*, vol. II, (eds.) Paul Cernovodeanu, Daniela Bușă, (București: 2005), 225. There is a similar paragraph in Adolf Schmidl in 1835, in *Călători străini*, vol. III, 300.

[94] Apolonia des Kroner Richters Lucas Hirscher / Wittwe Stifterin dieses Zunftgebäudes. / das Originalgemähdle befindet sich auf dem Rathause in Cronstadts (Apolonia, widow of the high official, Lucas Hirscher, the founder of the Guild House, original painting found in Casa Sfatului of Brașov according to note 7 of Radu Popica, "Portretele patriciatului săsesc din Brașov. Un capitol de arta transilvană", in *Portretele Patriciatului Săsesc din Brașov. Un Capitol de Artă Transilvană. Catalog* (Brașov: 2013), 13.

[95] Evguenia Davidova, *Balkan Transitions*, 128.

Bibliography

Archival Materials

Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale [National Archives. Main Headquarters].

Direcția Județeană a Arhivelor Naționale Brașov [National Archives. Brașov County].

Funds *Acte Administrative neînregistrate, Acte Diverse, Acte Judecătorești, Actele Magistratului, Succesiuni* [Unregistered Administrative Papers, Various Papers, Judicial Documents, Magistrates' Papers, Successions].

Funds *Catagrafii* and *Safta Castrișoaia* [Tax Ledgers and Censuses Fund and Safta Castrișoaia's Personal Fund].

Other Primary Sources

Travel Accounts

Călători străini despre țările române în secolul al XIX-lea: serie nouă [Foreign Travellers to the Romanian Countries in the 19th century], (eds.) Paul Cernovodeanu and Daniela Bușă, Vol. I–IX (București: 2004–2015).

Published Documents

Catalogul Documentelor Grecești din Arhivele Statului de la orașul Stalin. [The Greek Documents Catalogue from State Archives] Vol. I (București: 1958).

Catalogul documentelor referitoare la viaţa economică a Ţărilor Române în secolele XVII-XIX: documente din Arhivele Statului Sibiu, [The Documents Catalogue on the Romanian Principalities' Economic Life in the 17th–19th Centuries] Dumitru Limona ed. Vol. I (București: 1966).

Documente economice din arhiva casei comerciale Ioan St. Stamu, 1714–1876 [Economic Documents from the archive of Ioan St. Stamu Commercial Company], eds. Dumitru Limona, Natalia Trandafirescu. Vol. I (București: 1983).

Documente privitoare la istoria orașului București [Documents on the History of Bucharest], ed. George Potra. Vol. I (1594–1821) (București: 1967).

Documente turcești privind istoria României [Turkish Documents About the History of Romania], ed. Mustafa A. Mehmet. vol. II (1774–1791) (București: 1983).

Secondary Sources

Assan, Basil G., *1853–1903: o jumătate de secol de la introducerea mașinei cu aburi în industria română de către George Assan. Conferință susținută la Societatea Geografică* [1853–1903: Half a Century Since the Introduction of Steam Machinery to Romanian Industry by George Assan. Conference held at the Geographical Society] (București: 1904).

Barker, Hannah, *The Business of Women. Female Enterprise and Urban Development in Northern England, 1760–1830* (Oxford: 2006).

Bergeron, Louis, "Omul de afaceri" [The Businessman] in *Omul luminilor*, ed. Michel Vovelle (Iași: 2000).

Bernstein, Lina, "Russian Eighteenth-Century Merchant Portraits in Words and in Oil", in *The Slavic and East European Journal*, 3 (2005), 407–429.

Casson, Mark and Catherine, *The Entrepreneur in History. From Medieval Merchant to Modern Business Leader* (Basingstoke: 2013).

Cernovodeanu, Paul and Irina Gavrilă (eds.), *Arhondologiile Țării Românești de la 1837* [The Wallachian Boyar Ledger from 1837] (Brăila: 2002).

Cernovodeanu, Paul and Nicolae Edroiu (eds.), *Istoria Românilor* [The History of Romanians]. Vol. VI (București: 2002).

Chirot, Daniel, *Social Change in a Peripheral Society. The Creation of a Balkan Colony* (London: 1976).

Cicanci, Olga, *Companiile grecești din Transilvania și comerțul european în anii 1636–1746* [Greek Companies in Transylvania and European Trade from 1636–1746] (București: 1981).

Craig, Béatrice, *Women and Business since 1500: Invisible Presences in Europe and North America?* (Basingstoke: 2016).

Crutzescu, Gh., *Podul Mogoșoaiei: povestea unei străzi* [Mogoșoaia's Bridge: The Story of a Street] (București: 1986).

Davidova, Evguenia, *Balkan Transitions to Modernity and Nation-States through the Eyes of Three Generations of Merchants (1780s–1890s)* (Leiden: 2013).

Drace-Francis, Alex, *The Making of Modern Romanian Culture. Literacy and the Development of National Identity* (London: 2006).

Fulga, Ligia and Lia, Maria, Voicu, *Ceramica de tradiție habană: istorie, mentalități și relații comerciale în secolul al XVIII-lea* [Haban-Tradition Ceramics: History, Mentalities and Trade Relations in the 18th Century] (Brașov: 2013).

Furnică, Dumitru Z., *Din istoria comerțului la români, mai ales băcănia. Publicațiune de documente inedite: 1593–1844* [From the History of Commerce to the Romanians, Especially Groceries. Original Documents, 1593–1844] (București: 1908).

Gelder, Maartje van, *Trading Places. The Netherlandish Merchants in Early Modern Venice* (Leiden: 2009).

Herlihy, Patricia, "Greek Merchants in Odessa in the Nineteenth Century", in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* vol. 3/4, 1 (1979–1980), 399–420.

Iorga, Nicolae, *Brașovul și românii. Scrisori și lămuriri* [Brașov and the Romanians. Letters and Information] (București: 1905).

Jelavich, Barbara, *History of the Balkans. Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Vol. I (Cambridge: 1983).

Kraus, Hans and L. Bachelin, *Bucarest et la Roumanie*, Bucarest: Socec, 1902.

Lahovari, Gheorghe I., *Marele Dicționar Geografic al României* [The Great Geographic Dictionary of Romania]. Vol. 2 (București: 1899).

Lazăr, Gheorghe, "Negustori mecena în Țara Românească" [Mecena Merchants in Wallachia] in *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, XXIII, 2005, 159–168.

Lazăr, Gheorghe, *Les marchands en Valachie* (*XVII*^{e}*–XVIII*^{e} *siècles*) (București: 2006).

Livadă-Cadeschi, Ligia, *De la milă la filantropie: instituții de asistare a săracilor din Țara Românească în secolul al XVIII-lea* [From Pity to Philanthropy: Welfare Institutions for the Wallachian Poor in the 18th Century] (București: 2001).

Migden Socolow, Susan, *The Merchants of Buenos Aires, 1778–1810. Family and Commerce* (Cambridge: 1978).

Moașa Nazare, Ruxandra, *Sub semnul lui Hermes și al lui Pallas. Educație și societate la negustorii ortodocși din Brașov și Sibiu la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea* [Under the Hermes and Pallas Sign. Education and Society Among Orthodox merchants from Brasov and Sibiu from the End of the 18th Century to the Beginning of the 20th century] (București: 2010).

Moring, Beatrice (ed.), *Female Economic Strategies in the Modern World* (London: 2012).

Oțetea, Andrei, *Pătrunderea comerțului românesc în circuitul international* [The Emergence of Romanian Commerce in the International Market] (București: 1977).

Papacostea, Șerban, *Oltenia sub stăpânire austriacă* (*1718–1739*) [Oltenia under Austrian rule (1718–1739)] (București: 1998).

Platon, Alexandru-Florin, *Geneza burgheziei în Principatele Române* (*a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea—prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*)*: preliminariile unei istorii* [The Emergence of the Bourgeoisie in the Romanian Principalities (Second Half of the 18th century to the First Half of the 19th Century)] (Iași: 1997).

Popica, Radu, "Portretele patriciatului săsesc din Brașov. Un capitol de arta transilvană" [Portraits of the Saxon Nobility of Brașov. A Chapter on Transylvanian Art] in *Portretele Patriciatului Săsesc din Brașov. Un Capitol de Artă Transilvană. Catalog* (Brașov: 2013).

Rabuzzi, Daniel A., "Women as Merchants in Eighteenth-Century Northern Germany: The Case of Stralsund, 1750–1830" in *Central European History*, 28, 4 (1995), 435–456.

Roman, Nicoleta, “Ancien orphelin, futur citoyen de l’État. L’abandon infantile et l’assistance sociale entre initiative privée et autorité de l’État dans la Valachie moderne”, in Silvia Marton and Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu (eds.), *Penser le XIX*^{e} *siècle: nouveaux chantiers de recherche* (Iași: 2013), 125–152.

Roman, Nicoleta, *‘Deznnădăjduită muiere n-au fost ca mine’. Femei, onoare și păcat în Valahia secolului al XIX-lea* [‘There was No Other Woman as Hopeless as Me’. Women, Honour and Shame in 19th century Wallachia] (București: 2016).

Scriban, August, *Dictionaru limbii românești* [Dictionary of Romanian language] (Iași: 1939).

Simonton, Deborah, *Women in European Culture and Society. Gender, Skill and Identity from 1700*, (London: 2011).

Șăineanu, Lazăr, *Dicționar universal al limbei române* [Universal Dictionary of Romanian language] (Craiova: 1922).

Ulianova, Galina, *Female Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth-Century Russia* (London: 2009).

Vârtosu, Emil and Vârtosu, Ion, *Așezămintele Brâncovenești. O sută de ani de la înființare (1838–1938)* [Brâncoveanu Establishments. A Hundred Years From Their Founding (1838–1938)] (București: 1938).

Vida, Mariana and Olariu, Elena, *Epoca Biedermeier în Țările Române (1815–1859)* [The Biedermeier Period in the Romanian Countries (1815–1859)] (București: 2014).

Vintilă-Ghițulescu, Constanța, “Să-mi ridic piatra de fată din casă”. Strategii matrimoniale și conflicte familiale în societatea românească (secolul al XVIII-lea).” [Matrimonial Strategies and Familial Conflicts in Romanian Society (18th Century)] in Sorina Paula Bolovan, Ioan Bolovan and Corneliu Pădurean (eds.), *Om și societate. Studii de istoria populației României (sec. XVII–XX)*, 95–105 (Cluj-Napoca: 2007).

Vintilă-Ghițulescu, Constanța, *În șalvari și cu ișlic. Biserică, sexualitate, căsătorie și divorț în Țara Românească a secolului al XVIII-lea* [In shalvari and with islic. Church, Sexuality, Marriage and Divorce in 18th-Century Wallachia] (București: 2011).

Zarinebaf, Fariba. “From Mahalle (Neighborhood) to the Market and Courts: Women, Credit and Property in Eighteenth Century Istanbul”, in Jutta Gisela Sperling and Shona Kelly Wray (eds.), *Across the Religious Divide. Women, Property and Law in the Wider Mediterranean (ca. 1300–1800)* (New York: 2010).

CHAPTER 8

Women Travellers as Consumers: Adoption of Modern Ideas and Practices in 19th-Century Southeast Europe

Evguenia Davidova

> *… although I have never left Sofia before,*
> *I believe that I will learn how to live in other places.*[1]

∴

The epigraph to this chapter is an excerpt from a letter written in 1862 by the Bulgarian philanthropist and activist Iordanka Filaretova (1843–1915), the wife of a Russian civil servant, before travelling to Constantinople (Istanbul).[2] She addressed a friend who had already visited the city and described to her its splendours. The quote captures the prospects of spatial mobility that opened to educated middle-class women and their responsiveness to such new opportunities. Women's travel in the 19th century was still quite limited with the exception of teachers, pilgrims, Greek diaspora women, some merchants' wives, and the spouses of new professionals, such as engineers and doctors. Filaretova's later trips and deeds in the Ottoman Empire and Russia certified her keenness to adopt new ideas. For instance, after living in Constantinople between 1862–1867, she moved back to Sofia where she was among the initiators of a women's society (1869).[3]

This chapter explores various case studies of women travellers who traversed the Ottoman Empire, the Balkan states, Russia, and other European countries in the course of the long 19th century. It also pays attention to ways of adopting and disseminating material objects, services, and ideas as part

---

[1] Bulgarian Historical Archive at the National Library "Sts. Cyril and Methodius", hereafter (BIA-NBKM), f. 22, a.e. 90, p. 1. Iordanka Filaretova to Maria Gerova, 17 May 1862. All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are mine.

[2] Both names are used interchangeably throughout the text.

[3] Khristo Tsekov, *Iordanka Filaretova Gospozhata* (Sofia: 2009), 54.

© EVGUENIA DAVIDOVA, 2018 | DOI:10.1163/9789004355095_010

This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

of diverse consumption practices. I suggest that women's physical mobility, a form of consumerism in its own right, not only exposed them to different lifestyles, but also offered them novel ways of constructing gender and class identity. Both travel and consumption were intimately related to the market and women's exposure to the expanding commodification of culture (with an emphasis on progress) fostered a cultivation of new modern sensibilities and secular perceptions.

Since the 1990s, when Jan de Vries introduced the notion of "industrious revolution", researchers have argued in favour of the centrality of consumption to modern identity construction.[4] Alongside studies on *homo faber, homo economicus*, and other "men", scholars began research on *homo edens*, the consumer, and showed how the world of goods shaped men and women.[5] Moreover, the "gendering and the meanings of bourgeois consumption" changed throughout the 19th century.[6] It was also in the 1990s when the cultural approach "reached" the Balkan national historiographies and class began to be interpreted as a broad "set of cultural relations" interwoven with other categories, such as gender, perceptions and representations, daily practices, and human agency.[7] There were multiple meanings of consumption that were negotiated and appropriated by different groups within specific contexts.[8] Thus, gendered consumption became an integral part of asserting not only middle-class lifestyles, but also a tool for exercising social influence within and across various ethno-confessional communities.

---

[4] Earlier research paid more attention to the "exchange of values" as a politically mediated process. See, for example, Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, (Cambridge: 1986), 4–6. More recent scholarship focused on both social and gender aspects. See Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough (eds.), *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley: 1996); Mary Louise Roberts, "Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture", *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 3 (Jun.,1998): 817–844. For the Ottoman Empire, see Donald Quataert, (ed.), *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550–1922. An Introduction* (New York: 2000).

[5] John Brewer and Roy Porter, "Introduction", in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: 1993), 3.

[6] Leora Auslander, "The Gendering of Consumer Practices in Nineteenth-Century France", in *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*, 79.

[7] Thomas Gallant, "Long Time Coming, Long Time Gone: The Past, Present and Future of Social History", *Historein*, 12 (2012): 12–13; Yannis Yannitsiotis, "Social History in Greece: New Research on Class and Gender", *East Central Europe* 34, no. 1–2 (2007): 105–138.

[8] Haris Exertzoglou "The Cultural Uses of Consumption: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers during the 19th Century", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35 (2003): 77.

Most research on travel has been focused on western travellers visiting the Balkans, either within the framework of Orientalism, Balkanism, or both. Only recently, a few studies have "reversed" the gaze and explored the agency of "travellers *from* the region, and not only *to* [emphasis in the original] it".[9] Moreover, Wendy Bracewell has coined the felicitous neologism—*domopis* (homeland writing)—travel accounts from within that encompass both ideological and entertaining functions.[10] In this chapter, I will discuss the itineraries and interactions of women who lived in the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan states, and their travels both within and outwith the region. Whenever appropriate, I will refer to comparisons with well-known foreign women travellers.

Western female travel writing on the Balkans has a meagre tradition exemplified mostly by the 18th-century travels of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1716–1718) and of Lady Craven (1785–1786), both written in epistolary form. They established an aristocratic tradition of the Grand Tour in seeing themselves as members of a superior culture who either described the picturesque landscape and pristine peasant life or saw women in the Ottoman Empire as freer than their European counterparts.[11] In the 19th century, middle-class women such as Georgina MacKenzie and Adeline Irby, influenced by Victorian philanthropy, set off to educate the oppressed Slav population, defying the official British policy of support for Ottoman integrity. They, together with the Russian M[aria] Karlova and the Briton Mary Adelaide Walker, ventured to cross cultural borders, but not class boundaries. They all claimed to be free in their choice of visits and asserted singularity through the ability to enter baths, harems, and houses.[12] In doing so, they continued the female writing tradition of "desexualizing" the harem and expanded the travel narrative by penetrating the family private sphere.[13] Yet, they still maintained a distance from the local conditions.

---

[9] Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis, (eds.), *Balkan Departures. Travel Writing from Southeastern Europe* (New York: 2009), 5; Wendy Bracewell (ed.), *Orientations. An Anthology of East European Travel Writing, ca. 1550–2000* (Budapest: 2009).

[10] Wendy Bracewell, "Travels Through the Slav World", in Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis (eds.), *Under Eastern Eyes: A Comparative Introduction to East European Travel Writing on Europe* (Budapest: 2008), 192–194; Id., *Orientations*, XVII, 129.

[11] On comparisons between both travellers, see Efterpi Mitsi, "Lady Elizabeth Craven's Letters from Athens and the Female Picturesque", in Vassiliki Kolocotroni and Efterpi Mitsi (eds.), *Women Writing Greece. Essays on Hellenism, Orientalism and Travel* (Amsterdam: 2008), 19–37; On aristocratic women travellers who preceded Lady Craven's journey, see Matei Cazacu, *Des Femmes sur les routes de l'Orient. Le voyage à Constantinople au XIX^{e} siècle* (Genève: 1999), 7–30.

[12] Evguenia Davidova, "Gender and Culture in the Turkish Province: The Observations of a Russian Woman Traveler (1868)", *Aspasia* 6 (2012): 79–95.

By contrast, Balkan women teachers, merchants' and professionals' wives left less dramatic, but nonetheless significant impressions from their travels and evidence about how those experiences transformed their daily lives. Selected case studies will be examined to interpret social transformations within a multiethnic and national framework. One group of women kept diaries, such as Natalija Matić Zrnić (1880–1956), a Serbian teacher married to a railway engineer, who followed her husband's peripatetic life, living in Arandjelovac, Paraćin, Čuprija, Valjevo, Šabac, and Vranje between 1904–1911.[14] Ekaterina Karavelova (1860–1947), who travelled in Russia, Bulgaria, Europe, and America, was a teacher, translator, diarist, and the wife of the three-time Bulgarian prime minister.[15] Another set of women wrote autobiographies or memoirs. This group includes Rada Kirkovich (1848–1941), a Bulgarian teacher and doctor's wife who studied and lived in Russia, the Ottoman Empire, and Bulgaria;[16] and Anastasia Tosheva (1837–1919), married to a merchant, who also studied in Russia and then became a teacher in many towns of the Ottoman Empire and independent Bulgaria.[17] A third group of women travellers who produced diverse correspondence comprises the aforementioned Filaretova, and Sotiria Cléoménous-Alibertis (1847–1929), a Greek teacher, journalist, and deputy-principal of the private school for girls, Zappeion, in Constantinople, who travelled across southeast Europe on her own or accompanying her husband.[18]

---

[13] Billie Melman, "Desexualizing the Orient: The Harem in English Travel Writing by Women, 1763–1914", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4, no. 2 (December 1989), 313.

[14] Jill A. Irvine and Carol S. Lilly (eds.), *Natalija. Life in the Balkan Powder Keg, 1880–1956* (Budapest: 2008), 1–21.

[15] Ekaterina Karavelova, *Spomeni na Ekaterina Karavelova* (Sofia: 1984); Fani Drenkova, comp. *Kato antichna tragedia. Sŭdbata na Ekaterina Karavelova i neinoto semeistvo v pisma, dnevnitsi, fotografia* (Sofia: 1984).

[16] Rada Kirkovich, *Spomeni* (Sofia: 1927).

[17] Anastasia Tosheva, *Avtobiografia* (Stara Zagora: 1911).

[18] Efi Kanner, *Emphyles koinonikes diekdikiseis apo tin Othomaniki autokratoria stin Ellada kai stin Tourkia. O kosmos mias ellinidas christianis daskalas* (Athens: 2012); Efi Canner, "Embourgeoisement, réseaux sociaux et identitiés de genre dans les Balkans de la deuxième moitié du XIX^e^ siècle. Le cas de Sotiria Cléoménous-Alibertis", *Turcica* 39 (2007), 175–199.

Others, like Jelena Dimitrijević (1862–1945), the wife of a Serbian officer, was a feminist writer and journalist who published a travelogue in epistolary form.[19] She followed her husband's military career and lived in Niš, Kraljevo, and Pirot until they settled in Belgrade. Later in life she visited India, Egypt, and America. Lastly, a few women published travelogues in English for European audiences. Such was the case of the Greek Demetra Vaka (1877–1946), a novelist and journalist, who visited Albania, Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece in 1898 while accompanying her brother, who had been sent by the Ottoman government to inspect the region.[20] Similarly, Melek Hanım (1816/1818–1873), a Levantine of Greek, Armenian, and French origin, was one of the wives of Kabrızlı Pasha, three times grand vizier, and travelled with him in many provinces of the Ottoman Empire.[21] Lastly, Halidé Edib (1884–1964), daughter of an Ottoman high official, was a teacher, translator, journalist, and writer who worked in Syria and Lebanon and later lived in England and France. In order to "reach the world", she decided to write her memoirs in English.[22] In other words, most of those women travelled to study, teach in various localities, or follow the peripatetic life of their husbands.

This chapter is organized around three main themes: the relationship between travel and material consumption; channels of change; and social perceptions of the "woman question". It draws on a variety of primary sources and proposes to read travel experiences not only through nationalist lenses, but also through the notion of shared social space where dynamic exchanges and consumer practices, both old and new, were produced and re-constituted in fluid social milieus. The chapter addresses two different, yet interrelated issues, and shows how women travellers described the local societies and how they interacted with or intervened in local contexts. By bringing together travel and gender as categories of analysis, with this chapter, I join the conversation that has identified consumption as central to multiple social changes and complex transitions: rural/urban, illiterate/literate, pre-industrial/industrial, empire/nation-states, religion/secularism, subjects/citizens, and pre-modern/modern.

---

[19] Jelena Dimitrijević, *Pisma iz Soluna/Epistoles apo ti Thessaloniki*, eds. Dejan Aničić and Vladimir Bošković (Lozniza: 2008); See also Celia Hawkesworth, "A Serbian Woman in a Turkish Harem: The Work of Jelena Dimitrijević (1862–1945)", *The Slavonic and East European Review* 77, no. 1 (Jan., 1999): 56–73.

[20] Demetra Vaka (Mrs. Kenneth-Brown), *The Heart of the Balkans* (Boston: 1917).

[21] One should bear in mind that her so-called memoirs are considered to be highly fictionalized. Melek Hanım, *Thirty Years in the Harem; or, the Autobiography of Melek-Hanum, wife of H. H. Kibrizli-Mehemet-Pasha* (New York: 1872).

[22] The book was originally published in English in 1926 and appeared in Turkish in 1955 and 1963. Halidé Edib, *House with Wisteria. Memoirs of Halidé Edib* (Charlottesville: 2003), XII–XIII.

Material Consumption and Travel

Vivid descriptions of houses, shops, and hotels were a standard staple in most western travelogues, written by both male and female voyagers. For example, the seasoned traveller Mary Walker made the following comment: "Travellers accustomed to the luxurious hotels of civilized Europe, can form no idea of what must be endured in the search after the picturesque in the interior of Turkey."[23] Along the same lines, most of M[aria] Karlova's remarks were related to material markers of what she perceived as European expressions of progress and modernity, such as furniture, female attire, hairstyles, home frontages, shops, and various commodities. For instance, in Ottoman Macedonia, "Almost everywhere the Hoffman drops [bottles] decorate the shelves of the Bulgarian and Albanian *hans* [inns] and their German labels are the only representatives of European culture."[24]

Some Balkan women travellers internalized this patronizing attention to visible signs of western material objects and services as a criterion to justify or reject degrees of modernization and progress. Thus, Demetra Vaka wrote about Serbia: "The standards, the attitude toward life, even the material comforts were of a different world. It was the Balkans still, far behind the rest of Europe."[25] Similarly, Melek Hanım described Belgrade in the 1860s in condescending materialistic terms: "Belgrade then was an ill-built town; its streets were narrow, dirty, and ill-paved. The shops were numerous, but they offered no attractions."[26] Ekaterina Karavelova also shared the discomfort she experienced after returning from Moscow to her native town where there were no European amenities. Consequently, the next morning, she bought a bed, table, mirror, and "three Viennese chairs".[27] These quotes equate progress and modernity with timid consumption of products representative of European lifestyles.

---

[23] Mary Adelaide Walker, *Through Macedonia to the Albanian Lakes* (London: 1864), 86.

[24] M. Karlova, "Turetzkaya provintziya", *Vestnik Evropȳ* 5, no. 3 (1870), 731.

[25] Vaka, *The Heart*, 110. On Vaka's complex identity, who wrote as an orientalist writer but also subverted the genre, see Duygu Köksal, "Escaping to Girlhood in Late Ottoman Istanbul: Demetra Vaka's and Selma Ekrem's Childhood Memories", in Benjamin C. Fortna (ed.), *Childhood in the Late Ottoman Empire and After* (Leiden: 2016), 250–274.

[26] Melek Hanım, *Thirty Years*, 111.

[27] Karavelova, *Spomeni*, 62–63; Drenkova, *Kato antichna tragedia*, 54–55.

When other women from southeastern Europe travelled, they also expressed concerns related to the material comforts of daily life.[28] For instance, Natalija Zrnić's diary reveals how the expanding urban middle class paid close attention to possessions at the turn of the century. When Zrnić moved to study in Belgrade, she described her aunt's apartment as consisting of "two clean and sunny rooms, with a kitchen and shed some distance away". Later, she noted the changes she made in her own home in Valjevo: "I picked up and cleaned the guest room in preparation for the *slava* celebration. We're in the process of painting the kitchen."[29] Jill Irvine and Carol Lilly commented on these social transformations in the context of "separate sphere": "As men moved into the wage labor force, middle-class women were increasingly confined to the private sphere of the home, where they were expected to maintain order, create a pleasant atmosphere, and pass on important national and family traditions and values."[30] Although women's material consumer habits have been highly criticized by contemporaries, this phenomenon cannot be divorced from the consumption of their husbands, children, and households.[31]

Similar pride in keeping "managerial status within the home"[32] is evidenced in the correspondence of Rada Kirkovich. She wrote to her aunt from the Orlov area in Russia where her husband worked as a doctor: "We are preparing for the winter and workers covered with oilcloth all the furniture: 2 big divans, 8 armchairs, 15 chairs, 5 tables. All the housework, including cleaning, laundry, and cooking, was done by the maids." The mention of servants was an important attribute of bourgeois status. She also shared: "Now I have a cookbook and sometimes I prepare new meals on the Russian stove."[33] As others noted, domestic consumption—that of the family's daily interaction with the market—was mainly a female responsibility.[34] Moreover, the Kirkovichs' lifestyle included regular social interactions with the local gentry (*pomeshchiks*).[35]

---

[28] In 18th-century England the notion of comfort became a middle ground between necessity and luxury. Joyce Appleby, "Consumption in Early Modern Social Thought", in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 169.

[29] Irvine and Lilly, *Natalija*, 43, 67.

[30] Irvine and Lilly, *Natalija*, 17.

[31] Amanda Vickery, "His and Hers: Gender, Consumption and Household Accounting in Eighteenth-Century England", *Past and Present* (2006) Supplement (Vol. 1), 35.

[32] Auslander, "The Gendering of Consumer Practices", 83.

[33] BIA-NBKM, f. 22, a.e. 886, p. 14–15. Rada Kirkovich to Maria Gerova, 16 September 1876.

[34] Carol E. Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France. Gender, Sociability, and the Uses of Emulation* (Oxford: 1999), 13.

[35] Kirkovich, *Spomeni*, 55.

These examples suggest a close connection between home management and class sociability through consumption of material objects. In contrast to the above-cited western travellers, these travelling women paid attention to possessions, family property, and middle-class status as a daily occurrence, not as an exotic anecdote or a civilizational achievement.[36]

Another widespread form of material consumption concerns female attire. During their schooling abroad, many female students acquired modern cultural habits, such as a taste for fashionable clothing, home furnishings, and leisure activities. For instance, Kirkovich wrote about her first visits to Shakespeare's plays such as "King Lear", "Macbeth", and "Othello" in Kiev and Odessa. When she was in Odessa as a guest of the merchant Nikolai Mironovich Toshkov, she and the other boarding students borrowed and wore the clothes of his wife who owned a rich dress collection.[37] Another student, Karavelova, also experienced the lifestyle of the well-to-do aristocratic family in Moscow she lived with, such as conversing in French, wearing fashionable outfits, travelling by carriage, and going to spas abroad.[38]

Clothing, however, had not only materialist but also political dimensions. For example, the Serbian writer Jelena Dimitrijević, together with her husband, visited Thessaloniki a month after the Young Turk Revolution started in 1908.[39] There, she met with several women, especially wives of officers, and enquired about the disposition of women to "unwrap (*razviat*) themselves" or remove the veil and cover dress. She divided these harem women into two groups: "old" and "new," according to their home location and lifestyle. The "new" ones wore a cover (*çarşaf*) with a "European cut following the new Parisian fashion" and a scarf (*écharpe*). She met a woman who had a "coiffure à la dernière mode parisienne" while others used the perfume "Heliotrope" and French makeup. Many houses were huge and filled with European furnishings. Yet both groups—old and new—did not talk on streets and avoided crowded public spaces.[40] Dimitrijević also visited Gülistan Hanum—a "European educated woman"—who had a European nanny, studied at the American college in Istanbul, spoke six languages, owned European furniture, a piano, and shelves with books in English and French. She was a member of the Committee of Union and Progress and a translator of articles from foreign newspapers. And still none of those harem middle-class women voiced any support for the removal of *çarşafs*. It was only a few women of humble origin who talked to Dimitrijević on the street and expressed their desire to be free and without any cover.[41] These impressions further substantiate the thesis that consumption of western goods does not always lead to the adoption of western values.[42]

---

[36] For instance, Genov's pharmacy in Skopje furnished local middle-class women from multiethnic backgrounds with: "brosse à dents, savon au goudron, milk soap, hair dye, crème Narziss, Ess. Bouquet perfume, viola vernis, lait virginale, one box pink poudre." Drzhaven Arhiv na Republika Makedonija, Skopje, f. 725, box 2, 45, 181.

[37] Kirkovich, *Spomeni*, 20–23.

[38] Karavelova, *Spomeni*, 21.

[39] Hawkesworth, "A Serbian Woman," 68–69.

[40] Dimitriević, *Pisma*, 21–30.

An interesting example of the clash between traditional rural life and cosmopolitan urban culture is provided in the memoir of Mikhail Madzharov, a late 19th-century Bulgarian politician. On the way to Jerusalem, his family stopped in Constantinople, where his father carried out a business with a Greek partner. The latter invited them to a dancing party at his home. The visit profoundly shocked Madzharov's mother because the Greek women wore low-necked dresses, used makeup, danced and, above all, seemed "free and self-confident and even sometimes with loose morals".[43] The language used in describing the mother being scandalized is suggestive of the divergent consumption tastes and cultural behaviours within the same merchant milieu. It was through travel that both groups who kept such diverse lifestyles encountered each other.

This story of the cultural gap between Madzharov's mother and her Greek counterparts in the Ottoman capital was not an isolated case. Many articles from the newspapers of the 1860s and 1870s launched furious attacks against crinolines and considered female self-confidence as immoral and ostentatious.[44] Ironically, women were targeted for "parroting" European fashion during a time when men themselves were dressed in a European manner.[45] In the case of Greece, which resented its dependence on the Great Powers, the imposition of western behaviour by both the Bavarian court and the diaspora led to the reinforcement of traditional gender roles and morals as a form of resistance to the "cultural hegemony of the West".[46] In the Romanian principalities, attacks against the "corrupting" impact of the West began after the revolutions of 1848.[47] In a similar manner, the late Ottoman cartoons lampooned women dressed in European fashion, implying that with the "benefits of material culture come economic subservience and social disarticulation".[48] The 19th-century Ottoman novels also expressed an ambivalent attitude towards European culture and its consumerist aspects by highlighting the character of the young spendthrift. The latter adopted *alafranga* (western) consumption tastes but with a superficial understanding of European cultural values.[49] Likewise, Vaka described a visit to the family of an old general in Sofia whose granddaughter she ridiculed: "She had a smattering of French and paraded it shamelessly. She spoke of their eating room as 'our library', because it contained a shelf full of yellow-backed [cheap] French novels."[50] Halidé Edib noted the issue of imitation in a less sarcastic manner. In Syria, the rich Christian nobility displayed an Arab imitation of the Parisian world: "Strange to say, they still had something of their own which they tried hard to hide."[51] As Haris Exertzoglou reminds us, new consumption patterns provided one of the multiple arenas for shaping and negotiating social identities.[52] Such examples of appropriation of western material objects, satirized by European travellers or adapted to local settings, show how women conceived of themselves and aspired to belong to an easily identifiable group.

---

[41] Dimitrievič, *Pisma*, 38–40, 45, 67, 71.

[42] Donald Quataert, "Introduction", in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550–1922*, 5.

[43] Mikhail Madzharov, "Na Bozhi grob predi 60 godini", in Svetla Giurova and Nadia Danova (eds.), *Kniga za bŭlgarskite hadzhii* (Sofia: 1995), 47–48.

[44] Canner, "Embourgeoisement", 186.

[45] Exertzoglou, "The Cultural Uses", 86. There is an interesting connection between the theories of biological evolution and the expansion of critiques of blind fashion imitation that was compared to apes' behaviour ("thoughtless aping of Europeanization"). See Artemis Yagou, "Dress, Modernity and Theories of Biological Evolution in 19th Century Greece", in Constanţa Vintilă-Ghiţulescu (ed.), *Traditional Attire to Modern Dress: Modes of Identification, Modes of Recognition in the Balkans* (*XVIIth–XXth Centuries*) (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: 2011), 198–206.

Female garments became not only a symbol of modernity and influence from the West, but mostly a challenge to the patriarchal social order and traditional economy. On the one hand, many traditional craftsmen felt threatened by the increased consumption of imported commodities and, around the middle of the century, a new profession appeared, the *frenk terzi*, a European-style tailor serving the incipient middle-class taste. On the other hand, the popularity of imported goods stimulated the production of local imitations on such a scale that the shoemaking industry in Istanbul stopped manufacturing traditional footwear and began producing European-style shoes.[53] Yet, such shifts were gradual and affected mostly urban strata.

---

[46] Eleni Varikas, "National and Gender Identity in Turn-of-the-Century Greece", in Sylvia Paletschek and Bianca Pietrow-Ennker (eds.), *Women's Emancipation Movements in the Nineteenth Century. A European Perspective* (Stanford: 2004), 265–266.

[47] Angela Jianu, "Women, Fashion, and Europeanization: The Romanian Principalities, 1750–1830," in Amila Buturović and Irvin Cemil Schick (eds.), *Women in the Ottoman Balkans. Gender, Culture and History* (London: 2007), 203.

[48] Palmira Brummett, "Dogs, Women, Cholera, and Other Menaces in the Streets: Cartoon Satire in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–11," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2, no. 4 (1995), 448.

[49] Suraiya Faroqhi, "Research on the History of Ottoman Consumption: A Preliminary Exploration of Sources and Models," in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550–1922*, 21.

[50] Vaka, *The Heart*, 196.

[51] Halidé Edib, *House*, 370–371.

[52] Exertzoglou, "The Cultural Uses", 78.

Cities also became sites of European educational impact. In the second half of the 19th century, women's education was a subject of extensive debate among Greeks and Bulgarians.[54] According to Eleni Varikas, women's education was closely interwoven with processes of urbanization, westernization, and the emergence of the fluid category of the middle class. While for men it served as a tool for social mobility, for women, education turned into a form of conspicuous consumption, especially visible among the well-to-do urban stratum. The latter was the group who could afford private secondary education for their daughters because the Greek state did not provide public secondary education.[55] Diaspora women, too, were expected to attain "cultural skills", such as proficiency in French and music through private lessons, as an expression of their family's status. The same was true for wealthy Muslim families in Istanbul.[56] Therefore, women's education became both a commodity and a tool for acquiring "European" taste, which involved adoption of cultural habits and material objects.

Moreover, women's education, a form of cultural capital for middle-class women, also had an impact on more traditional forms of consumption: it gradually undermined the importance of dowries. For example, Zrnić studied at the Women's High School in Belgrade and became a teacher. She got married without a dowry. Her aunt was jealous that she was getting an education while her own daughters were not and expressed this sentiment: "They do not need it [education]. Dowries are ready for them, so we'll be able to pick our sons-in-laws without it."[57] The few female teachers were not only geographically mobile but also implemented new practices in their teaching and communication with parents. Many of these ideas were adopted during their own studies and impacted women's lifestyles.

---

[53] See the cited literature in Kate Fleet, "The Powerful Public Presence of the Ottoman Female Consumer", in Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet (eds.), *Ottoman Women in Public Space* (Leiden: 2016), 117.

[54] Alexandra Bakalaki, "Gender-Related Discourses and Representations of Cultural Specificity in Nineteenth-Century and Twentieth-Century Greece", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 12, 1 (May 1994), 77; Krassimira Daskalova, "Bulgarian Women in Movements, Laws, Discourses (1840s–1940s)", *Bulgarian Historical Review* 1–2 (1999): 180–196.

[55] Eleni Varikas, "Subjectivité et identité de genre. L'univers de l'éducation féminine dans la Grèce du XIX^{e} siècle," *Genèses* 6 (1991), 29–33.

[56] Ioanna Minoglou, "Women and Family Capitalism in Greece, c. 1780s–1940," *Business History Review* 81 (Autumn 2007), 521–522; Exertzoglou, "The Cultural Uses", 93.

Channels for Adopting Consumer Practices

New expressions of women's visibility and gendered consumption in the Ottoman Empire were diffused by a variety of means, such as contact with foreigners, travel to Europe, western-style shops, diaspora lifestyles, education abroad, advertising, and photography. For example, famous women who visited the Ottoman capital caused a vogue of imitation. One such person was Empress Eugénie, the wife of Napoleon III, whose arrival in 1869 initiated a "craze for *everything* French".[58] Women who went to Europe, such as Melek Hanım, also became sources of information about the western way of life. She described the curiosity and thirst for knowledge of the second wife of Sultan Mahmud and sister of Sultan Abdülmecid:

> Knowing that I had been in Europe, she interrogated me as to the manners and customs of the Christians, the way the towns were built, the balls, theatres, systems of lighting by gas, architecture of the palaces, and a thousand other matters unknown to Oriental women.[59]

While her remarks are condescending, they are also indicative of the informal ways of exchanging information that shaped consumer taste.

Levantines in the big cities were the first to encounter European visitors to the Ottoman Empire. For example, the type of clothing shops, listed in the Constantinople almanac of 1881, evidenced that most of the "*bijoutiers, couturiers, dessinateurs, modistes*, and *pelletiers*" were either Europeans or non-Muslims. However, as Onur Inal argued, the process of consuming European fashion and lifestyles was more complex involving borrowing, appropriation, and adaptation.[60] Elizabeth Frierson also suggested that veneration of western culture went hand-in-hand with resistance and subversion through selection and display of consumer goods in shops.[61] All previously cited women travellers attested to the trend of mixing traditional and western clothing, furnishings, and manners.

---

[57] Irvine and Lilly, *Natalija*, 47.

[58] Fleet, "The Powerful Public Presence", 116; For more examples, see Anastasia Falierou, "From the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic: Ottoman Turkish Women's Clothing between Tradition and Modernity", in Constanţa Vintilă-Ghiţulescu (ed.), *Traditional Attire to Modern Dress: Modes of Identification, Modes of Recognition in the Balkans* (*XVIIth–XXth Centuries*), 180–184. See also Falierou's chapter in this volume.

[59] Melek Hanım, *Thirty Years*, 121.

In the Ottoman Balkans, male merchants were often in charge of purchasing women's accessories. Several memoirs mention that men were buying female dresses and scarves in Istanbul to show off that they had earned money. The *abacıs* (producers of rough woollen fabric) that traded in Anatolia would make a special stop in the Ottoman capital to buy clothes for their wives and thus "men introduced female fashions" in Koprivshtitza.[62] As previously noted, Madzharov's mother's negative reaction to Greek women's fashion in Constantinople, however, showed that their husbands were not too open-minded in their tastes. A similar case comes from the Arie brothers, merchants in Samokov, who had an "oral contract" with Mehmed Emin ağa, a local notable. The latter agreed to buy everything he needed for his harem from Avram's *dükkân* (shop).[63] The ledger of *hacı* Khristo Rachkov, a trader in Gabrovo, also discloses expenses for his wife's clothes, such as three fur coats and a dress, upon his return from Jerusalem.[64] The acquisition of the title *hacı* (given to pilgrims) meant that he obtained a higher social status, which enabled him to purchase more expensive clothes for his wife. Rada Kirkovich also remembered that during her stay in Constantinople a certain merchant bought clothes for three female students returning from Russia to "look more decently". This occasion allowed them to visit Pera and "all shops and European houses".[65]

---

[60] Onur Inal, "Women's Fashions in Transition: Ottoman Borderlands and the Anglo-Ottoman Exchange of Costumes", in Constanţa Vintilă-Ghiţulescu (ed.), *Traditional Attire to Modern Dress: Modes of Identification, Modes of Recognition in the Balkans (XVIIth–XXth Centuries)*, 162–167. See also Charlotte Jirousek, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the Later Ottoman Empire", in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550–1922*, 227–228.

[61] Elizabeth B. Frierson, "Cheap and Easy: The Creation of Consumer Culture in Late Ottoman Society", in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550–1922*, 246.

[62] Mikhail Madzharov, *Spomeni* (Sofia: 1968), 210.

[63] Mizei Samokov-Nauchen Arkhiv, Inv. No. 11, a.e. 1, 51–52.

[64] Evguenia Davidova, *Balkan Transitions to Modernity and Nation-States through the Eyes of Three Generations of Merchants (1780s–1890s)* (Leiden: 2013), 191–192.

[65] Kirkovich, *Spomeni*, 24.

Not surprisingly, advertising in Bulgarian newspapers in the 1860s and 1870s was targeting men even when the commodity was intended for women.[66] While such examples are reminiscent of Thorstein Veblen's concept of "conspicuous consumption", the picture was more nuanced. Respectively, concerns were voiced that a husband's consent to buying luxurious items not only ruined the family's budget, but also elevated and reversed the position of women in the decision-making process within the family.[67] The above-mentioned cases, referring to small provincial towns, though, do not seem to corroborate such patriarchal angst. In fact, they reduce female agency to consumption filtered through male perceptions of respectability. Dora d'Istria, a cosmopolitan European aristocrat of Albanian origin, also criticized women in the district of Laconia because they danced national dances and wore crinolines with fezzes on their heads. The latter addition to their "elegance" was attributed to their husbands' requests.[68]

Contact with diaspora merchants constituted another channel for transmitting fashionable trends and manners, especially in bigger urban centres. As Ioanna Minoglou has argued, not only businessmen but also women in Greece "looked to the diaspora for inspiration".[69] Residents of Constantinople emulated the diaspora's cosmopolitan lifestyle. On a provincial level, the Russian Karlova described middle-class women with exposure to European material culture in Ohrid. She depicted her hostess, the wife of a local merchant, as "quite a charming young Bulgarian *kokona* (*dama*), well-dressed in a European garb".[70] This is a good example of what Alan Hunt called "vicarious consumption", the trickling down of fashion from upper to lower strata.[71] However, this picture of top-down change is more complicated. For instance, the Tanzimat (1839–1876), the period of modernization in the Ottoman Empire, among other reforms, introduced a new dress code for men. As men began to follow the state regulations requiring European dress, women, who were outside the purview of the state, also experimented with such garments.[72]

Moreover, upon their return from studies abroad, many women brought new social manners, especially with respect to leisure. Such was the case of Karavelova who rode a horse borrowed from the wife of a French engineer in the town of Russe. This behaviour did not pass unnoticed and the local newspaper criticized the new teacher who "spreads debauchery by riding a horse and using makeup".[73] She also started teaching other women Russian and French, and dances such as the waltz and mazurka.[74] The issue of women's consumption is broader, though, and reflects discourses on gender, education, motherhood, and nationalism. In Greece, for example, there existed two opposing, but nonetheless, negative stereotypes: the illiterate, backward woman and the girls' school graduate, who was "conceited, frivolous, vain, full of useless knowledge, forever parroting foreign modes, of suspect sexual morality, and, of course, highly unreliable as a mother".[75]

---

[66] Ivan Ilchev, *Reklamata prez Vŭzrazhdaneto* (Sofia: 1995),189.

[67] Exertzoglou, "The Cultural Uses", 88.

[68] Dora d'Istria, *Excursions en Roumélie et en Morée*, Vol. 1 (Zurich: 1863), 554–555.

[69] Minoglou, "Women", 527.

[70] Karlova, "Turetzkaya provintziya", no. 4 (1870): 181.

[71] Cited in Jirousek, "The Transition to Mass Fashion", 226.

[72] Jirousek, "The Transition to Mass Fashion", 228.

Women teachers worked diligently to change the perception of education, hygiene, and motherhood. In her *Avtobiografia*, Anastasia Tosheva wrote that "A lot of effort was needed to fight against the prejudice that women can do without education. It was necessary to convince primarily the mothers in its usefulness." Tosheva received a Russian state scholarship and studied at a boarding school for girls that belonged to the lesser nobility in Odessa. As a teacher in Stara Zagora in the 1860s, she used to invite her students' mothers to the school to re-read and re-interpret the Gospel after the church service. These meetings were accompanied by a short lecture about women's education and child-rearing.[76] Similarly, after she had to cut her students' hair very short because of lice, the Serbian teacher Natalija Zrnić began lecturing the mothers on issues such as hygiene, household chores, and childcare.[77] Even though her actions incurred the wrath of the parents in the village of Topola, this example shows how attempts at implementing local changes were inspired by knowledge acquired during female teachers' formative years. Both these cases promote not only women's education and modern hygiene, but also notions of respectability embedded in family and marriage.

Women's consumption was also shaped by the rise of the press and photography. Newspapers, such as *Hanımlara Mahsuz Gazete* (1895–1908), displayed advertisements for European season-specific fashion for young and middle-aged women, and children.[78] The *Gazete* was the longest lasting women's journal in the Ottoman Empire and, like its Greek counterpart *Ladies' Journal* (1887–1907), it was read by a multiethnic audience. Among Bulgarian women, *Zornitsa* (1864–1871), a Protestant missionary magazine, became popular. Its attraction was derived from its focus on women's duties and an emphasis on the mother's role as "nurturer and teacher", both conceived of as a national task.[79] In other Bulgarian newspapers, the "European origin" of most advertised commodities or services was underscored.[80] When it comes to photography, in the 1860s, one could read sporadic advertisements about women photographers who offered to take pictures in local harems.[81] By the 1880s, though, family portraits, especially among the Muslim upper class, were a common occurrence and younger women from that group were often photographed without a veil and in European garb.[82]

---

[73] Karavelova, *Spomeni*, 64–65.

[74] Karavelova, *Spomeni*, 71.

[75] Bakalaki, "Gender-Related Discourses", 81.

[76] Tosheva, *Avtobiografia*, 14–15. She promoted female education "in the name of the nation" and progress. She may have been influenced by her education in Russia and missionary ideas about the status of women in society to pioneer the debate on the "woman question" in the 1860s. See Barbara Reeves-Ellington, "A Vision of Mount Holyoke in the Ottoman Balkans: American Cultural Transfer, Bulgarian Nation-Building and Women's Education Reform, 1858–1870", *Gender & History* 16, no. 1 (April 2004), 158–159.

[77] Irvine and Lilly, *Natalija*, 50–51.

Another channel for spreading information about material acquisitiveness was provided through women pedlars (*bohçacı kadın*) who sold linen, apparel, and services.[83] As Frierson has suggested, this old form of distribution continued within the evolution of new forms of merchandising.[84] Thus, elements of the intermixing of the European and the local could be traced at all levels of production, distribution, and consumption. Despite the penetration of various new practices, the patriarchal culture remained prevalent; many women fought hard against it, and tried to dissuade their compatriots from harbouring traditional views.

Shifting Perceptions of Women's Roles

Most foreign women travellers to the Balkans described women's position as undervalued and submissive. D'Istria eloquently articulated the issue of gender discrimination as the "Asiatic prejudices that reign in the peninsula against our sex".[85] Walker also noted the discrepancy between European gender superiority based on class, education, and manners and women's treatment. For example, she depicted the Jewish "aristocracy" in Salonica (Thessaloniki) as having:

---

[78] Fleet, "The Powerful Public Presence", 117–118.

[79] Barbara Reeves-Ellington, *Domestic Frontiers. Gender, Reform, and American Interventions in the Ottoman Balkans and the Near East* (Amherst: 2013), 82–87.

[80] Ilchev, *Reklamata*, 168.

[81] *Dunav*, II, N 105, 4 August 1865. Cited in Ilchev, *Reklamata*, 105–106.

[82] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan. Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London: 2007), 258.

[83] Faroqhi, *Subjects*, 113.

[84] Frierson, "Cheap and Easy", 256.

[85] Dora d'Istria, *Des femmes par une femme*, Vol. 2 (Paris: 1865), 124.

> … higher position in society than their brethren of Constantinople, for which they are perhaps partly indebted to the elegant refinement of their wives. Most of the fair Jewesses are from Florence. They are lovely, accomplished women, their houses are filled with every luxury which art and taste can furnish, and their dresses might excite the envy of many Parisian *elegante*, but yet their lives can rarely be happy. They are betrothed in infancy, and afterwards married to men in every way inferior to themselves, and often of double their own age; men of little education, and few ideas beyond the accumulation of wealth, and whose treatment of their young wives is said to be frequently the reverse of gentle.[86]

If Walker wrote about the accomplished yet unhappy lives of Jewish women in Salonica, Karlova, on her part, was critical of "Turkish ladies (*madamy*)", because they "lead life in complete idleness and they cannot read and write".[87] Her attention to literacy probably reflected the essence of the Russian "woman question" in its early phase, namely the education of women.[88]

In the Balkans, however, nationalism permeated the discourse of women's education. In Greece, the philanthropist, the teacher, and the writer were the publicly accepted vocations for middle-class women at the turn of the 19th century; all these pursuits were intimately related to the concept of patriotic motherhood during a time when women constituted the category of "non-citizens", bound by duties but without rights.[89] Consequently, their education became an important battleground between arguments about tradition and calls for progress and modernization. These new meanings of patriotic motherhood, however, both legitimized and undermined the male-dominated public space. Therefore, most educated women expressed support for women's

---

[86] Walker, *Through Macedonia*, 57–58.

[87] Karlova, "Turetzkaya provintziya", no. 3 (1870), 751.

[88] Richard Stites, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia. Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860–1930* (Princeton: 1991), 30.

[89] Efi Avdela, "Between Duties and Rights: Gender and Citizenship in Greece, 1864–1952", in Faruk Birtek and Thalia Dragonas (eds.), *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey* (London: 2005), 117–122. On legal rights see also Evdoxios Doxiadis, *The Shackles of Modernity. Women, Property, and the Transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Greek State (1750–1850)* (Cambridge: 2011), 179–255.

education charged with a social and national mission. The importance of education solidified the perception of women teachers as significant actors in the nationalist discourse and provided new opportunities for them to find support among a larger segment of the population. Leading Bulgarian journalists, such as Petko Slaveikov and Liuben Karavelov, wrote multiple articles in support of women's education, while in Greece women's teaching in the unredeemed territories was highly encouraged.[90] Thus, women's education was valourized within the framework of nationalism and to a much lesser degree as an emancipating project.

Along those lines, Walker was critical of Greek treatment of pre-marital girls. She wrote that "amongst old-fashioned Greek families" girls were kept in seclusion: they stopped attending school after the age of twelve or fourteen, they did not go abroad, and they did not go to church more than two times a year. Thus, this "complete imprisonment" made them look forward to early marriage as the "only hope of emancipation".[91] Some researchers echo criticism of this mode of confinement, especially with reference to middle-class families in Greece.[92] The phenomenon of the "separate sphere" involved class, gender, and notions of domesticity, which became mutually constitutive in the formation of middle-class identity.[93] Natalija Zrnić's diary also illustrates how Serbian middle-class women embraced the cult of domesticity: "When we started we had nothing but our enduring and sincere love for each other, and thank God we now have everything we need."[94] She valued meritocracy, upward social mobility, and material accumulation at the expense of her gender opportunities and individual freedom. The internalization of the "separate sphere" mentality could also be seen in the previously cited letter by Kirkovich from Russia, another middle-class mobile and educated woman, who wrote with a sense of pride about managing housework and domestic consumption.

Yet the "woman question" or the critique of conditions for women from within, was expressed in several letters "sent" from Thessaloniki by Jelena

---

[90] Krassimira Daskalova, ed. *Ot siankata na istoriata: Zhenite v bŭlgarskoto obshtestvo i kultura (1840–1940)*, (Sofia: 1998), 43–65; Eleni Varikas, *I exegersi ton kyrion. I genesi mias pheministikis syneidisis stin Ellada 1833–1907* (Athens: 1987), 97–103, 182–188.

[91] Walker, *Through Macedonia*, 257–258.

[92] Varikas, "Subjectivité", 33. Recent research, though, nuances that picture and demonstrates that women exercised much more influence. See Evdoxios Doxiadis, "Women, Wealth, and the State in Greece (1750–1860)", in Evguenia Davidova (ed.) *Wealth in the Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Balkans: A Socio-Economic History* (London: 2016), 19.

[93] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes. Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780–1850*, Rev. ed. (London: 2002), 30.

[94] Irvine and Lilly, *Natalija*, 97.

Dimitrijević. As noted before, she went there to explore whether women wanted to liberate themselves by removing their veils. When talking to various women—mostly middle-class wives of Young Turks' officers—she was struck by the dissonance between their European education and possession of western goods, and their conservative desire to maintain the status quo. Furthermore, Dimitrijević was told that the idea for women's liberation, as a corollary to the restoration of the Constitution, came from foreigners. She felt sad because she could not do anything to help "our Muslim sisters" who were subjugated and on whom their husbands imposed only duties.[95] As a feminist, Dimitrijević was disappointed by the women's reluctance to seize the political opportunity to achieve gender-based gains.

Other early feminists, such as Sotiria Cléoménous-Alibertis, a transnational teacher and one of the founders of the first feminist magazine *Ladies' Journal* (1887–1907) in Greece, offer an example of how teaching could be turned into a breadwinning profession. She spent her life travelling between three capitals: Athens, Constantinople, and Bucharest. She and her colleagues illustrate the possibilities of geographical and social mobility that established a trans-balkanic gender network and fostered professional identity as autonomous wage earners. It was in their capacity as independent working women that they were able to insert themselves within the helenophone elite in Istanbul.[96]

The "woman question", though, had multiple facets and many women were involved in redefining the notion of domesticity in the social space by appropriating and reproducing the tropes of nationalism and progress.[97] Efi Kanner analyzed the emergence of a "philanthropically conceived education" and its politicization during the second half of the 19th century in the Ottoman Empire. Middle-class women tried to assert themselves in the field of civil society, what Kanner called the "respectable public sphere", by forming associations that promoted education, jobs, health, hygiene, and philanthropy.[98] While travelling and living abroad, many women became familiar with organizations, aimed at furthering civic goals and general prosperity, and transferred such experiences to home. For example, Karavelova, as a student in Moscow, kept the correspondence of her female benefactor who chaired several philanthropic organizations. This early exposure stimulated her later to participate in numerous Bulgarian and international women's associations.[99] Similarly, Filaretova was impressed by a homeless shelter in Moscow and donated money for building such an institution in Sofia.[100]

---

[95] Dimitrijević, *Pisma iz Soluna*, 51.

[96] Canner, "Embourgeoisement", 175–199. Kanner, *Emphyles koinonikes diekdikiseis*, 53–178.

[97] Exertzoglou, "The Cultural Uses", 86.

[98] Efi Kanner, "From 'the Sick,' 'the Blind' and 'the Crippled' to the Nation of 'Toiling People': Visions of the Poor in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic", in *Wealth in the Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Balkans: A Socio-Economic History*, 126–132.

The proliferation of various female societies and clubs absorbed some of the donations that would have otherwise gone to the church during the first third of the 19th century.[101] Thus, wills from this period showed bequests going to monasteries, orphanages, schools, and charities organized by the church.[102] In the second half of the century, however, the structure of donations changed and refocused on secular sociability that impacted consumer behaviour. Middle-class women, such as Dimitrijević and Zrnić, participated in associations not only in their ethno-national communities, but also in multiethnic ones, such as Kirkovich. In 1878, when the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia was established, the latter moved to its capital as a teacher and was consequently elected secretary of the new philanthropic association, which consisted of "women of all nationalities".[103] Even though women's social organizations actively supported local initiatives to promote education, jobs, hygiene, and the alleviation of poverty, most of those societies did not challenge the ideology of domesticity and bourgeois respectability. For instance, Halidé Edib's memoir described the establishment of the first Turkish women's club, in 1912, in Istanbul. The founders were teachers and "some educated Turkish women" and the club promoted the cultivation of its members by offering lessons in French, English and Turkish, and classes in domestic science and child-rearing. Despite having a "feministic tendency", the club remained well within the bounds of philanthropy and pragmatism.[104] Similarly, as Carol Harrison argued, associations in France, both in practical and rhetorical terms, drew the boundaries of the new bourgeoisie and secured the transition from the *ancien régime* to the post-revolutionary society. Moreover, the gendering of the middle class happened mainly through cultural practices, including consumer behaviour and sociability, which were also constitutive parts of the new social hierarchy.[105]

---

[99] Karavelova, *Spomeni*, 41.

[100] Tsekov, *Iordanka Filaretova*, 140–145.

[101] There were 61 women's organizations, founded between 1857–1878, in present-day Bulgaria. Margarita Cholakova, "Mezhdunarodni kontakti na bŭlgarskite zhenski druzhestva (1857–1878)", in Krassimira Daskalova and Raina Gavrilova (eds.), *Granitsi na grazhdanstvoto: evropeiskite zheni mezhdu traditsiata i modernostta* (Sofia: 2001), 108; Kirkovich, *Spomeni*, 43.

[102] See, for instance, the will of Irina, who donated 1,870 kuruş in 1789. Davidova, *Balkan Transitions to Modernity*, 124.

[103] Hawkesworth, "A Serbian Woman", 72; Irvine and Lilly, *Natalija*, 107; BIA-NBKM, f. 22, a.e. 886, pp. 48–49. Rada Kirkovich to Maria Naidenova, 1 October 1878.

[104] Halidé Edib, *House*, 275–276.

Conclusion

In sum, I assigned consumer agency to individual middle-class women travellers and presented the social impact they had on conceptualizing the respectable family model, national education, and public gender visibility. Such cases were not isolated and indicate parallels to similar trends in the rest of Europe. As Leora Auslander has suggested, in the long 19th century, women's consumption passed through three "stages" which also coexisted. In the first half of the century, consumption revolved around the constitution and representation of the family and class. Around the 1850s, references to the nation were emphasized, and towards the 1880s, consumer identity construction was refocused on the self.[106]

This chapter proposed expanding the notion of "consumption as a literal act" by examining elements in the "commodification of culture as a process".[107] The increased mobility of 19th-century society, a quintessential characteristic of modernity, became commodified. Balkan women travellers tried both to emulate and to adapt some of the ideas, manners, and material objects they attained through their travels and promoted tastes and behaviours that allowed for the repackaging of traditional and modern duties, often at the expense of women's rights. Therefore, notions of respectability both upheld the status quo and promoted cultural and moral change that gradually undermined patriarchy. It was the next generation that embraced the political and social justice aspects of the "woman question".

As it has been argued elsewhere, the meanings of cultural identity are the result of a long process of interethnic contacts, mutual influences, and multilingualism. Westernization played a dual role that not only triggered nationalism but also contributed to some homogenization.[108] It is at the nexus of those two processes—convergence and divergence—that consumption can be situated. This chapter focused on a transitional period when the formation of the regional middle classes was in the making, in tandem with urbanization and modernization. Those socio-economic and cultural processes were politicized, secularized, and glued together by nationalism. The adoption of new ideas, practices, and goods, many of them disseminated through travel, allowed educated women to insert themselves into both the public and private spheres and the grey areas in between.

---

[105] Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen*, 3, 8.

[106] Leora Auslander, "The Gendering of Consumer Practices", 79.

[107] Roberts, "Gender", 843.

[108] Raymond Detrez & Pieter Plas (eds.), *Developing Cultural Identity in the Balkans. Convergence vs. Divergence* (Brussels: 2005), 13–14.

Acknowledgment

I am grateful to the anonymous reviewers for their very helpful comments and suggestions.

Bibliography

Appadurai, Arjun, (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: 1986).

Appleby, Joyce, "Consumption in Early Modern Social Thought", in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: 1993), 162–173.

Auslander, Leora, "The Gendering of Consumer Practices in Nineteenth-Century France", in Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough (eds.), *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley: 1996), 79–112.

Avdela, Efi, "Between Duties and Rights: Gender and Citizenship in Greece, 1864–1952", in Faruk Birtek and Thalia Dragonas (eds.), *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey* (London: 2005), 117–143.

Bakalaki, Alexandra, "Gender-Related Discourses and Representations of Cultural Specificity in Nineteenth-Century and Twentieth-Century Greece", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 12, no. 1 (May 1994), 75–106.

Bracewell, Wendy, "Travels Through the Slav World", in Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis (eds.), *Under Eastern Eyes: A Comparative Introduction to East European Travel Writing on Europe* (Budapest: 2008), 147–194.

Bracewell, Wendy (ed.), *Orientations. An Anthology of East European Travel Writing, ca. 1550–2000* (Budapest: 2009).

Bracewell, Wendy and Alex Drace-Francis, (eds.), *Balkan Departures. Travel Writing from Southeastern Europe* (New York: 2009).

Brewer, John and Roy Porter, "Introduction", in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: 1993), 1–15.

Brummett, Palmira, "Dogs, Women, Cholera, and Other Menaces in the Streets: Cartoon Satire in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–11", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27, no. 4 (1995), 433–460.

Canner, Efi, "Embourgeoisement, réseaux sociaux et identitiés de genre dans les Balkans de la deuxième moitié du XIX^e^ siècle. Le cas de Sotiria Cléoménous-Alibertis", *Turcica* 39 (2007), 175–199.

Cazacu, Matei, *Des Femmes sur les routes de l'Orient. Le voyage à Constantinople au XIXe siècle* (Genève: 1999).

Cholakova, Margarita, "Mezhdunarodni kontakti na bŭlgarskite zhenski druzhestva (1857–1878)", in Krassimira Daskalova and Raina Gavrilova (eds.), *Granitsi na grazhdanstvoto: evropeiskite zheni mezhdu traditsiata i modernostta*, (Sofia: 2001), 108–120.

Daskalova, Krassimira, "Bulgarian Women in Movements, Laws, Discourses (1840s–1940s)", *Bulgarian Historical Review* 1–2 (1999): 180–196.

Daskalova, Krassimira (ed.), *Ot siankata na istoriata: Zhenite v bŭlgarskoto obshtestvo i kultura (1840–1940)*, (Sofia: 1998).

Davidoff, Leonore and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes. Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780–1850*, Revised Edition (London: 2002).

Davidova, Evguenia, *Balkan Transitions to Modernity and Nation-States through the Eyes of Three Generations of Merchants (1780s–1890s)* (Leiden: 2013).

Davidova, Evguenia, "Gender and Culture in the Turkish Province: The Observations of a Russian Woman Traveler (1868)", *Aspasia.* 6 (2012), 79–95.

Detrez, Raymond & Pieter Plas (eds.), *Developing Cultural Identity in the Balkans. Convergence vs. Divergence* (Brussels: 2005).

Dimitrijević, Jelena, *Pisma iz Soluna/Epistoles apo ti Thessaloniki*, eds. Dejan Aničić and Vladimir Bošković (Lozniza: 2008).

Doxiadis, Evdoxios, "Women, Wealth, and the State in Greece (1750–1860)", in Evguenia Davidova (ed.), *Wealth in the Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Balkans: A Socio-Economic History* (London: 2016), 9–29.

Doxiadis, Evdoxios, *The Shackles of Modernity. Women, Property, and the Transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Greek State (1750–1850)* (Cambridge: 2011).

Drenkova, Fani, Comp., *Kato antichna tragedia. Sŭdbata na Ekaterina Karavelova i neinoto semeistvo v pisma, dnevnitsi, fotografia* (Sofia: 1984).

d'Istria, Dora, *Excursions en Roumélie et en Morée*, Vol. 1 (Zurich: 1863).

d'Istria, Dora, *Des femmes par une femme*, Vol. 2 (Paris: 1865).

de Grazia, Victoria and Ellen Furlough (eds.), *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley: 1996).

Exertzoglou, Haris, "The Cultural Uses of Consumption: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers during the 19th Century", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35 (2003), 77–101.

Falierou, Anastasia, "From the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic: Ottoman Turkish Women's Clothing between Tradition and Modernity", in Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu (ed.), *Traditional Attire to Modern Dress: Modes of Identification, Modes* *of Recognition in the Balkans* (*XVIIth–XXth Centuries*) (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: 2011), 175–192.

Faroqhi, Suraiya, *Subjects of the Sultan. Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London: 2007).

Faroqhi, Suraiya, "Research on the History of Ottoman Consumption: A Preliminary Exploration of Sources and Models", in Donald Quataert (ed.), *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550–1922. An Introduction* (New York: 2000), 15–44.

Fleet, Kate, "The Powerful Public Presence of the Ottoman Female Consumer", in Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet (eds.), *Ottoman Women in Public Space* (Leiden: 2016), 91–128.

Frierson, Elizabeth B., "Cheap and Easy: The Creation of Consumer Culture in Late Ottoman Society," in Donald Quataert (ed.), *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550–1922. An Introduction* (New York: 2000), 243–260.

Gallant, Thomas, "Long Time Coming, Long Time Gone: The Past, Present and Future of Social History", *Historein* 12 (2012), 9–20.

Harrison, Carol E., *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France. Gender, Sociability, and the Uses of Emulation* (Oxford: 1999).

Hawkesworth, Celia, "A Serbian Woman in a Turkish Harem: The Work of Jelena Dimitrijević (1862–1945)", *The Slavonic and East European Review* 77, no. 1 (Jan., 1999), 56–73.

Ilchev, Ivan, *Reklamata prez Vŭzrazhdaneto* (Sofia: 1995).

Inal, Onur, "Women's Fashions in Transition: Ottoman Borderlands and the Anglo-Ottoman Exchange of Costumes", in Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu (ed.), *Traditional Attire to Modern Dress: Modes of Identification, Modes of Recognition in the Balkans* (*XVIIth–XXth Centuries*) (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: 2011), 144–174.

Irvine, Jill A. and Carol S. Lilly (eds.), *Natalija. Life in the Balkan Powder Keg, 1880–1956* (Budapest: 2008).

Jianu, Angela, "Women, Fashion, and Europeanization: The Romanian Principalities, 1750–1830", in Amila Buturović and Irvin Cemil Schick (eds.), *Women in the Ottoman Balkans. Gender, Culture and History* (London: 2007), 201–230.

Jirousek, Charlotte, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the Later Ottoman Empire," in Donald Quataert (ed.), *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550–1922. An Introduction*, (New York: 2000), 201–241.

Kanner, Efi, "From 'the Sick', 'the Blind', and 'the Crippled' to the Nation of 'Toiling People': Visions of the Poor in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic", in Evguenia Davidova (ed.), *Wealth in the Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Balkans: A Socio-Economic History* (London: 2016), 117–136.

Kanner, Efi, *Emphyles koinonikes diekdikiseis apo tin Othomaniki autokratoria stin Ellada kai stin Tourkia. O kosmos mias ellinidas christianis daskalas* (Athens: 2012).

Karavelova, Ekaterina, *Spomeni na Ekaterina Karavelova* (Sofia: 1984).

Karlova, M., “Turetzkaya provintziya,” *Vestnik Evropȳ* 5, no. 3 (1870): 721–751; no. 4 (1870), 150–190.

Kirkovich, Rada, *Spomeni* (Sofia: 1927).

Köksal, Duygu, “Escaping to Girlhood in Late Ottoman Istanbul: Demetra Vaka’s and Selma Ekrem’s Childhood Memories”, in Benjamin Fortna (ed.), *Childhood in the Late Ottoman Empire and After* (Leiden: 2016), 250–274.

Madzharov, Mikhail, “Na Bozhi Grob predi 60 godini”, in Svetla Giurova and Nadia Danova (eds.), *Kniga za bŭlgarskite hadzhii* (Sofia: 1995), 31–75.

Madzharov, Mikhail, *Spomeni* (Sofia: 1968).

Melek Hanım, *Thirty Years in the Harem*; or, *the Autobiography of Melek-Hanum, Wife of H. H. Kibrizli-Mehemet-Pasha* (New York: 1872).

Melman, Billie, “Desexualizing the Orient: The Harem in English Travel Writing by Women, 1763–1914”, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4, no. 2 (December 1989), 301–339.

Minoglou, Ioanna, “Women and Family Capitalism in Greece, c. 1780s–1940”, *Business History Review* 81 (Autumn 2007), 517–538.

Mitsi, Efterpi, “Lady Elizabeth Craven’s Letters from Athens and the Female Picturesque”, in Vassiliki Kolocotroni and Efterpi Mitsi (eds.), *Women Writing Greece. Essays on Hellenism, Orientalism and Travel* (Amsterdam: 2008), 19–37.

Quataert, Donald, “Introduction”, in Donald Quataert (ed.), *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550–1922. An Introduction* (New York: 2000), 1–13.

Reeves-Ellington, Barbara, *Domestic Frontiers. Gender, Reform, and American Interventions in the Ottoman Balkans and the Near East* (Amherst: 2013).

Reeves-Ellington, Barbara, “A Vision of Mount Holyoke in the Ottoman Balkans: American Cultural Transfer, Bulgarian Nation-Building and Women’s Education Reform, 1858–1870”, *Gender & History* 16, no. 1 (April 2004): 146–171.

Roberts, Mary Louise, “Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture”, *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 3 (Jun., 1998), 817–844.

Stites, Richard, *The Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia. Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860–1930* (Princeton: 1991).

Tosheva, Anastasia, *Avtobiografia* (Stara Zagora: 1911).

Tsekov, Khristo, *Iordanka Filaretova Gospozhata* (Sofia: 2009).

Vaka, Demetra (Mrs. Kenneth-Brown), *The Heart of the Balkans* (Boston: 1917).

Varikas, Eleni, “National and Gender Identity in Turn-of-the-Century Greece”, in Sylvia Paletschek and Bianca Pietrow-Ennker (eds.), *Women’s Emancipation Movements in the Nineteenth Century. A European Perspective* (Stanford: 2004), 263–279.

Varikas, Eleni, “Subjectivité et identité de genre. L’univers de l’éducation féminine dans la Grèce du XIX^{e} siècle,” *Genèses* 6 (1991), 29–51.

Varikas, Eleni, *I exegersi ton kyrion. I genesi mias pheministikis syneidisis stin Ellada 1833–1907* (Athens: 1987).

Vickery, Amanda, "His and Hers: Gender, Consumption and Household Accounting in Eighteenth-Century England," *Past and Present* (2006) Supplement (Vol. 1), 12–38.

Walker, Mary Adelaide, *Through Macedonia to the Albanian Lakes* (London: 1864).

Yagou, Artemis, "Dress, Modernity and Theories of Biological Evolution in 19th Century Greece", in Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu (ed.), *Traditional Attire to Modern Dress: Modes of Identification, Modes of Recognition in the Balkans* (*XVIIth–XXth Centuries*) (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: 2011), 194–211.

Yannitsiotis, Yannis, "Social History in Greece: New Research on Class and Gender", *East Central Europe* 34, no. 1–2 (2007): 105–138.

Index

accessories 65–66, 69–70, 75, 89, 106, 118, 133, 135, 144, 146, 155–156, 160, 165, 182, 186, 193, 212
  combs 3, 106–107
  cosmetics 126, 153, 160
  fans 23, 66, 70
  gloves 70, 105, 126, 156, 160
  mirrors 3, 104, 106–109, 116–117, 205
Aegean (sea/islands) 57, 97, 105, 112, 151
Ali Pasha 121–122
Anatolia 212
Averoff Collection (Metsovo) 109, 122

Balkans, the 202, 205, 212, 215–216, 222–225
Balkan merchants 96, 171, 188
Balkan trade 169–170, 173
Balkanism 19, 202
Belgrade 204–206, 210
belt-buckles 69, 71, 106–107, 154, 159
Benaki Museum (Athens) 109, 114
Beyoğlu 153, 158
Black Sea 7, 114, 171
Boguci, Uța 175
Bonaparte, Napoleon 16–18, 40, 164, 211
Brașov 124–125, 139, 169–179, 181, 183–185, 187–189, 193
Bucharest 3, 5, 9, 107, 131, 134, 137, 139, 148, 169, 177, 179, 188–194, 218
Bulgaria 203–204

Castrișiu Safta 188–195
Chests 71, 107–109, 117, 171, 189
Choiseul-Gouffier, Marie-Gabriel-Florent-Auguste de 102–104
Cléoménous-Alibertis, Sotiria 203, 218, 222
clothes
  clothing artefacts 77, 80, 90
  clothing code 151
  clothing culture 85, 90, 146
  clothing habits 158
  clothing laws 15, 133–134
  clothing style 90
  liturgical vestments 66, 80
  indoor garments 154
  outdoor garments 160
  sumptuary laws 6, 15, 65, 70, 71, 90, 91, 113, 133–134, 144, 146, 152
  and items
    biniș 134
    çarşaf 160–161, 207–208
    cepken 15
    çevre 112, 128
    corset 88, 158
    crinoline 158–160, 208, 213
    cüppe 134–135
    décolleté 157
    entari 156
    ferace (*feredjé*) 154, 160, 165, 175
    fez 22, 190, 213
    fur 20, 22–24, 40, 106, 114, 127, 133–134, 142, 146, 154, 212
    gömlek 153–154
    kaftan 143, 154
    kashmir 14–15, 20, 22, 28, 40
    lace 65–66, 69, 71–77, 83, 89–90
    shawl (*schals*) 5–6, 15, 28, 112, 128
    şalvar 153, 157–159
    turban 5, 20–22, 28, 86, 135, 193
coffee ritual 20–21, 26, 28, 127–128, 189, 191
comptoirs 91
Constantinopol v. Istanbul
consumption
  consumption still 91
  cultural consumption 8, 137
  travel and material consumption 204
  western consumption 145–146, 209
Coronelli, Vincenzo, Maria 102
Craiova 126
Craven, Elizabeth (1750–1828) 202, 224

Dalmatia 19, 65–90
Damascus 127–128
Danubian Principalities 98
Dimitrijević, Jelena (1862–1945) 204, 207–208, 218–219, 222–223
d'Istria, Dora (1828–1888) 213, 215, 222
d'Ohsson, Mouradjea 14, 26–30, 40, 42–43
Dragoman 5, 25–26, 42, 57–59
dowry list 3, 6, 127–128
Dubrovnik 65–67, 69, 80, 82, 84–85

Echelles 47–48, 50, 52–56, 58–61
Erotokritos 4, 110–111

Fâzıl, Enderûnlu (1757–1810) 113
fashion
  European fashion 152–158, 161, 166, 208–209, 211
  French fashion 127, 135
  Oriental fashion 193
  Ottoman fashion 129, 158
Ferrario, Giulio 12, 14, 16–19, 21–23, 25–26, 28, 31, 40, 41–42
Filaretova, Iordanka (1843–1915) 200, 203, 219, 224
Filiki Etaireia 99
Filipescu, Tarsița 135

Galata 163
Gennadius Library (Athens) 112
Ghetaldi, Sarako, Ana 80–81, 84
Greece 18, 95, 100, 105–106, 108–110, 112, 114, 117, 188, 204, 208, 213–214, 216–218, 221–222, 224–225

Habsburgs 4, 16–17, 43, 66–67, 189
Hairstyle 7, 84, 159, 205
Halidé, Edib (1884–1964) 204, 209, 219
Hanım, Melek 211
harem 28, 30, 155–159, 163–166, 202, 207, 208, 212, 215, 223, 224
Hilaire, Jean-Baptiste 102–104

Iaşi 3, 17, 111, 134, 136, 139, 143, 179
Irby, Adeline P. (1831–1911) 202
Istanbul (Constantinople) 6, 13–16, 20, 68, 87, 97–98, 111–114, 125, 140, 150–151, 153, 155, 158–159, 161, 163, 166, 200, 207, 210, 212, 218–219, 224
Izmir v. Smyrna

Jewellery 6, 9, 28, 69, 71, 83–84, 89–90, 106, 108, 126–127, 146, 165
  filigree earrings 71, 84
  diamond girandoles 84
  girandole earrings 84

Karavelova, Ekaterina (1860–1947) 203, 205, 207, 213, 218, 222–223
Karlova, M[aria] 202, 205, 213, 216, 224
Kasos (island) 105, 107
Kiev 207
Kirkovich, Rada (1848–1941) 203, 206, 207, 212, 217, 219, 224

Levant 47–50, 52–54, 56–60, 87, 170
Livorno 51, 87
Lomaca, Elisabeth, Madame de Chenier 25

MacKenzie, Georgina M. (1833–1874) 202
Maria Theresa 66–67, 85, 170
Marseille 50, 57–58, 184
Mavrogenous, Eleni 164
Madzharov, Mikhalil 208, 212
Magazins and Journals
  Albina Românească (Romanian Bee) 141
  Annuaires Orientaux 165
  Bosphoris 163
  Elégance Parisienne 166
  Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete (Ladies' Own Journal) 163
  Le journal des modes 7
  Mercur 137
  Modes Illustrées 162
  The Oriental Advisor 162
  Penelope 166
  Predicatorul Ecleziastic (The Ecclesiastical Preacher) 140
  La Saison 166
  Zornitsa 215
Moldavia 5, 7, 129, 141–142, 170, 173, 176, 179, 183, 187
musical instruments 3, 89, 104, 106, 109, 116–118, 140
  guitar 136–137
  piano 135–137, 142, 146, 207
  tambouras 3, 104, 109–110
Modernity 7–9, 20, 118, 128, 146, 205–206, 209, 220
Modernization 6, 9, 95, 145, 151, 192, 205, 213, 216, 221
Moscow 205, 207, 218–219

Odessa 169–170, 207, 214
opium 20, 26, 28
Organic Regulations 142, 190
Orientalism 202, 224

von Parish Hermine 101
von Parish Kostümbibliothek (Munich) 101
Pera 24, 151, 162–163, 166, 212
Phélypeaux Jean Frédéric, compte de Maurepas 50, 52–59
philanthropy 202, 218, 219

Russia 110, 116, 125, 129, 200, 203, 206, 212, 217, 224
Renaissance 12, 14, 17, 65
Republic of Venice 4, 6, 27, 49, 51, 66–68, 70, 77, 85, 90, 108, 110, 111–112, 116, 124
Righi, Budmani, Katarina 80–84

Santorini (island) 103
Saz, Leyla 157–158, 160
Serail 27, 30, 157
Serbia 189, 204–205
Smyrna (Izmir) 25, 47, 51, 54, 57, 60–62, 97, 105, 116, 140
von Stackelberg, Otto Magnus 101–102, 105, 107
sudit 170, 185
Știrbei, Catinca 126–127, 131

Tanzimat (1839–1876) 131, 151, 213
Thessaloniki (Salonica) 47, 116, 207, 216–217
Tinos (island) 103, 105, 110
tobacco 20, 26, 28, 127, 182
Topkapı Palace Museum 166
Tosheva, Anastasia (1837–1919) 203, 214, 224
traditional costume 160
Transylvania 169–171, 173, 181, 193–194
Țumbru, Mihail, Romanian merchant of Brașov 182, 186–189

Vaka, Demetra (1877–1946) 204–205, 209, 224
Vanmour, Jean-Baptiste 114

Wallachia 4–5, 7, 127, 170–171, 173–174, 176–177, 181, 186–188, 189, 190, 194
Walker, Mary Adelaide 202, 205, 216–217, 225
Weigel, Christoph, the Elder 102
Wortley, Mary, Montagu 24, 202

Yannina 98, 112

Zadar 65, 73–75, 77
Zagreb 65, 77–79, 86
Zarifis, Georgios 164
Zenân-Nâme (The Book of Women) 113
Zrnić, Natalija Matić (1880–1956) 203, 206, 210, 214, 217, 219