

**THE IMAGERY OF WOMAN IN NINETEENTH CENTURY  
ORIENTALIST PHOTOGRAPHY**

A THESIS

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MASTER OF ARTS

By

Nimet Elif Vargı

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NİMET ELİF VARGI

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I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

---

Assist. Prof. Dr. Mahmut MUTMAN (Advisor)

I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

---

Assist. Prof. Dr. Ahmet GÜRATA

I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

---

Assist. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Kalpaklı

Approved by the Institute of Fine Art

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Prof. Dr. Bülent ÖZGÜÇ,  
Director of the Institute of Fine Arts

## **ABSTRACT**

### **The Imagery of Woman In Nineteenth Century Orientalist Photography**

Nimet Elif VARGI

M.A. in Media and Visual Studies  
Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Mahmut Mutman  
January, 2010

This thesis aims to examine the photographic representation of the Eastern women, in nineteenth century. The theoretical framework of this study is based upon the formation of the representation of the "Eastern women" in the context of Orientalist discourse. The emergence of Orientalist studio photography is analyzed with the thematic classifications of the Eastern women in photography. In addition, how the Western subject constitutes himself through the agency of desire in terms of the images of the Eastern women is discussed.

**Keywords:** Orientalism, Orientalist painting, Orientalist studio photography, representation, colonialism, woman.

## ÖZET

### 19.YÜZYIL ORYANTALİST FOTOĞRAFINDA KADIN İMGESİ

Nimet Elif VARGI

Medya ve Görsel Çalışmalar Yüksek Lisans  
Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd.Doç Mahmut MUTMAN  
Ocak, 2010

Bu tez, Doğulu kadının 19. yüzyıldaki fotografik temsilini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmanın teorik çerçevesi "Doğulu kadın" temsilinin, Oryantalist söylem bağlamındaki oluşumuna dayanmaktadır. Oryantalist stüdyo fotoğrafçılığının ortaya çıkışı, Doğulu kadın fotoğraflarının tematik sınıflandırılmasıyla birlikte analiz edilmiştir. Bununla birlikte, Batılı öznenin Doğulu kadın imgeleri üzerinden kendisini arzu aracılığıyla nasıl kurduğunu tartışılmıştır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Oryantalizm, Oryantalist resim, Oryantalist stüdyo fotoğrafı, temsil, kolonyalizm, kadın.

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## INTRODUCTION

One of the most iconic images throughout the history of photography undoubtedly is the Afghan Girl which is taken by American photographer Steve McCurry in June of 1985. The photograph of the Afghan girl have created such a great impact that, in 2002 National Geographic team with the photographer McCurry traveled to Afghanistan to "search for the girl with green eyes" (Newman, 2002). As Rae Lynn Schwartz-DuPre (2007) states "In 1985 the Afghan girl was situated in a complex set of discourses feeding on a Western desire to rescue a beautiful, veiled girl from a country failing to protect her from Soviet communism" (p.433). The documentary film "Search for the Afghan Girl" was aired in 2002 and it was shown around the whole world.

This is an interesting issue of an American photographer's curiousness about to know the young Afghan girl's story after seventeen years later. Certainly, the curiousness of the photographer can not be reduced to a simple anxiety, rather can be conceived as a sequel of a

certain discourse. The photographer was haunted by the green eyes of the Afghan girl and he desired strongly to know her name and her life after he took the photograph. The article by Cathy Newman (2002) in National Geographic magazine titled "A Life Revealed: Her eyes have captivated the world since she appeared on our cover in 1985. Now we can tell her story" clearly exposes the desire of the Western photographer's story of the search for the Afghan girl. The satisfaction also reveals when Newman adds "Names have power, so let us speak of hers. Her name is Sharbat Gula" (Newman, 2002).

In the documentary film, the Afghan Girl saw for the first time of her photograph which was taken in 1985. Both the Afghan girl and the photographer knew each other on that occasion. She was wearing a purple burku where people tried to see the green eyes of the Afghan girl behind her veil's tiny orifices. This was to first moment when the mystery revealed by the demonstration of her veiled face. Actually, although the team strived to reach her, "to know her name", she always remained as "The Afghan girl", or the Other. As Rae Lynn Schwartz-DuPre (2007) states:

By Western standards, the Afghan Girl's all-encompassing purple veil might well be read as a signifier of Third World women's inferiority. This message of the Other's cultural inferiority and dysfunction is so widely

disseminated that when we in the West see a veiled woman, we presume her a victim of patriarchal culture or religion. The Afghan Girl is no exception; she is both a symptom and confirmation of beliefs depicting veiled women as universal and inferior (p.436).

The problem here is not to determine the genuine identity of the Afghan girl; in contrast she is the very embodiment of the constitution of the Western subject through the inferior Other. She was in a country waiting for a protection from Soviet communism. Is this story of the Afghan girl really "innocent"? Certainly, the Afghan girl is not the main concern of this dissertation, however there are such discursive practices which are at work in order to know, state, define and rule over the inferior Other. Thus, the story of the Afghan girl is not so diverged from the dissertation itself.

This thesis attempts to examine the photographic depiction of the Oriental women of 19<sup>th</sup> century in accordance with the Orientalist discourse. Orientalist photography emerges just after the invention of photography in 1840s, and it constitutes a vast array of images varying from architecture to portraiture. However, this dissertation will concentrate on the studio images of the Oriental women in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This topic is significant for such reasons. As can be conceived from the search story of the Afghan girl by the American

photographer, the origins can be found at the kernel of a complex and multi-layered set of discourses which are still at work. The photographic depiction of the Oriental women does not solely indicate "images of the Other" but rather it indicates how the Western image producer/subject constitutes himself. It is not a question of the other, but rather a question of the Western subject and of his desire. Therefore, the photographs of the Oriental women will be questioned and analyzed as well as with the ways in which the Orient is associated with femininity in terms of Orientalist discourse. The scope of the study is delimited with studio photography of 19<sup>th</sup> century since it was an era of colonization and exploration, the photography can not also be distinguished from such political practices. In addition, the influence of Orientalist painting's tradition is also discussed in relation with Orientalist photography which can not be ignored within this discussion. The primary source of this study are the photographs which are selected from major studies relevant to the topic: Malek Alloula's (1986) *The Colonial Harem*, Sarah Graham-Brown's (1988) *Images of Women: The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East 1860-1950* and the latest study by Ken Jacobson (2007) *Odalisques & Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925*. As a theoretical background, I

will use Edward Said's (1979) *Orientalism* and Meyda Yeğenoğlu's (1998) *Colonial Fantasies. Towards a feminist reading of Orientalism*.

The theoretical framework of this study is based upon of the formation of the Orientalist representation of the Oriental women. In the first chapter, Edward Said's study titled "Orientalism" will be examined with its basic arguments and contradictions. In relation to Orientalism, the emergence of Orientalist photography will be discussed. By following a historical line, the origins of the invention of photography with the genres of Orientalist photography will be mentioned.

In the second chapter, Orientalism will be considered as an art historical term and it will be dealt in the light of Orientalist discourse. This part of the study also offers a background analysis to demonstrate how the Orientalist painting's tradition nourish the composition, subject-matter of photography. Second, by focusing on some of the renowned pictures of French painters, the constitution of the imagery of women will be reviewed. The art historian Linda Nochlin's article titled "The Imaginary Orient" will be useful to handle the subject with regard to Orientalism.

The core of the thesis lies in the third chapter, where the photographs of the Oriental women will be analyzed and questioned in accordance with the Orientalist discourse. Said's argument was criticized by many scholars, and some problems are regarded as limited such as the determination of the cultural and sexual difference in Orientalist discourse. At this point, Meyda Yeğenoğlu's study will be helpful in order to discuss Orientalism by a feminist approach. In this chapter, first of all, a historical quest of the studio photography in the Middle East will be mentioned. Second, the reasons of the scatter of the photography studios and imagery of the Oriental women will be discussed. In addition, the photographic depiction of the veiled Oriental women will be analyzed in relation Meyda Yeğenoğlu's study. As can be conceived from the instance of the Afghan girl and 19<sup>th</sup> century Orientalist photographs, Yeğenoğlu's study will clearly expose how the Western subject constitutes his subjectivity in relation with the other, the Oriental women.

The last chapter can be considered as an attempt to criticize the major books that this research employs. These studies are the fundamental works of various researchers, writers that is related to Orientalist photography. The interrogatories that have generated



throughout the study will be argued in relation with the dissertation. Furthermore, which is the inevitable part of the study; there will be a brief discussion of the whole thesis. The complications that have risen throughout the study and the main concern of the thesis will be discussed together.

## **1.Orientalism and Orientalist Photography**

With the invention of photography in nineteenth century, a new medium was introduced into the field of visual arts. By its highly appreciated technical nature, it served as a document reflecting the natural environment as it is. Since the topic of this dissertation is Orientalist photography, it would be appropriate to begin with the Orientalist discourse. Taking Edward Said's discussion on Orientalism as a starting point, the first chapter of this dissertation will be delimited with Orientalist discourse and Orientalist photography.

### **1.1 Orientalism**

In his notable study titled *Orientalism*, Said establishes a critique of Western knowledge and conception about the East. Putting aside Germany, he focuses on British, English and American Orientalism to demonstrate how the Eastern world/subject is constructed by the Western subject (Said, 1979, p.19). Said did not only put a broad

assessment of Orientalism, but also originated the further criticisms.

The main points which Said determines will be discussed here. Firstly, taking it as a discourse, I will discuss his wide definition of Orientalism. I will analyze and discuss the localization of the Orient, how power and hegemony functions together in the discourse and the formation of representation. According to Said "Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and most of the time "the Occident" (Said, 1979, p.2). The East is established by a set of ideological, political and economical practices by the Western subject. This distinction that Said determines marks the East as an object of knowledge and with this marking operation the Western subject constitutes his identity.

As asserted by Said (1979), neither the Orient and nor the Occident are merely there (p.4). Mapping the world by determining a main local point derives a kind of strategical problem here. Since such *loci* are man-made, the West constitute its own locus and determine its location by claiming a superior position over to the Eastern world. "Dealing with it, by making statements

about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, by settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating it, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient " (Said, 1979, p.3). Orientalist discourse functions in such a way that the East is stated, thought, and defined by the Western subject.

Secondly, if the Orient is dominated, then it must be questioned in terms of power and knowledge relationship where Said utilizes Foucault's theory taken from his notable studies *Discipline and Punish* and *History of Sexuality*. "Ideas, cultures, and histories cannot be seriously understood or studied without their force, or more precisely their configurations of power, also being studied. To believe that the Orient was created -or, as I call it, "Orientalized" - and to believe that such things happen as a necessity of the imagination, is to be disingenuous" (Said, 1979, p.5). As indicated by Said, Orientalism, as a discourse, creates its own object of knowledge, thus the East becomes the object of knowledge. In advancing these points, he applies Foucault's notion of power in two different paths. First, Said follows the conception of power and examines how it operates, and second he pursues the argument that 'discourse' - the medium which constitutes power and through which it is

exercised- 'constructs' the objects of knowledge (Gilbert, 1997, p.36). As Foucault (1980) remarks:

It [Power]'s a machine in which everyone is caught, those who exercise power just as much as those over whom it is exercised. This seems to me to be the characteristics of the societies installed in the nineteenth century. Power is no longer substantially identified with an individual who possesses or exercises it by right of birth; it becomes a machinery that no one owns. Certainly everyone doesn't occupy the same position; certain positions preponderate and permit an effect of supremacy to be produced. This is so much the case that class domination can be exercised just to the extent that power is dissociated from individual might (p.156).

Foucault (1978) examines the forms of power, how it operates through channels, and how it penetrates and controls everyday pleasure in his study titled *The History of Sexuality* (p.10). His main aim is to demonstrate the "will to knowledge" that serves as an instrument of power. Then, one may assert that knowledge is connected to power. Foucault (1979) asserts:

We should admit that power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging it because it serves power, or by applying it because it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations(p.29).

Foucault develops a critical discussion by linking all forms of the 'will to knowledge', and all modes of cultural representation of the 'Other', or marginal

constituencies, more or less explicitly, to the exercise of power" (Gilbert, 1997, p.36). Therefore, the Other may be conceived as a product of power/knowledge relation. The other argument that Said borrows from Foucault other than the concept of power is 'discourse' which functions concomitantly with power. When Said (1979) asserts "the Orient is Orientalized", the East and the Eastern subject is produced within this discourse, because it is the West that have the competence in order to describe, define, rule and settle the East.

Another notion that he adapts from Foucault is the concept of hegemony which he owes to Gramsci. Moreover, with the power and knowledge operation that works within the colonialist discourse, there are also cultural forms which dominate each other. Said (1979) asserts that, it is the hegemony which gives Orientalism stability and strength (p.7). Said attempts to display how the Western system of knowledge and representation functions in order to construct the non-Western world. This cultural hegemony functions in such a way that it does not only determine the identities, but also constructs the identities within the discourse. Particularly, when he calls "us" and "those" it is the result of this hegemonic operation that determines the Western subject and also the non-Western subject. In the light of what has been

said before about this power and hegemonic operation, Orientalism which serves for the West, constructs the East as the inferior Other. In so doing the West also consolidates its position as being superior over the inferior Other. From Said's point of departure, the East is distinctively portrayed as exotic, erotic, static, and unreasonable; consequently by this hegemonic operation the West also constructs itself as reasonable, known and moral. The East gains its own character only by naming it, by talking on behalf of it within the Western knowledge and through the representation.

Furthermore, it is not possible for one to recognize the Western subject in the Orientalist literary texts, such as travel books, novels, poems and so on. The language used in literary texts points out to the inferiority of the Eastern world, so that it also inscribes the Western civilization as being superior. As hinted before, if one turns back to the hegemonic operation, the desire to know the Orient that produces knowledge posits the Western subject in an uppermost position, and constructs the Eastern subject as the Other. As Mutman (1992-1993) argues, it is the result of this hegemonic operation where the East is demarcated and discerned from the West.

Orientalism is the "way" or discourse in which the Western imperial subject hides itself. It is Western power which marks this difference

that can be marked only in and by language, so as to give way to language by erasing its face and letting its other rise in discourse in order to secure a space for itself where it alone is sovereign without even appearing, or appearing victorious only afterwards, once that space is guaranteed as neutral, blank. This marking transforms the possibility of a difference between the West and the East into an absolute necessity and gives it a direction: the Orient is where one is orient-ed (p.169).

In addition, another crucial aspect that Said formulates is the formation of representation of the Orient. Said (1979) also denotes that, he does not examine what is concealed in Orientalist texts, but he rather makes an examination of the text's surface, "its exteriority to what it describes" (p.20). Since the construction of the East is externally produced by writers, artists and so on, the main product of this external production is the representation. He asserts that those delineations of the Orient are not displayed as "natural" depictions, but as representations. Said questions and judges the knowledge that is produced on the Orient as wrong and biased, also he enquires how that knowledge is produced and the representation is circulated through Western culture. Said (1979) argues that " [...] that Orientalism makes sense at all depends more on the West than on the Orient, and this sense is directly indebted to various Western techniques of representation that make the Orient visible, clear, "there" in discourse about it" (p.22). It



can be concluded that since the Orient cannot represent itself, the West does it for the East by producing such representations. Another reason why he affirms on the exteriority of text is because what is consistently dispersed is not "truth" but representations. As Said (1979) states:

In any instance of at least written language, there is no such thing as a delivered presence, but a *re-presence*, or a representation. The value, efficacy, strength, apparent veracity of a written statement about the Orient therefore relies very little, and cannot instrumentally depend, on the Orient as such. On the contrary, the written statement is a presence to the reader by virtue of its having excluded, displaced, made supererogatory any such *real thing* as "the Orient" (p.21).

The language has a crucial function to state, to describe and to represent within its coded system, however Orientalism as stated by Said is a *misrepresentation*. Now, this is the point at which a certain contradiction arises in his argument and it is one of the crucial issues that have been criticized by many scholars. The reason why such a theoretical conflict appears is because Said fails to associate Foucault's power-knowledge relationship with the formation of representation in his argument. While he pursues the logic of discourse, he seems to recede Foucault's notion of power and knowledge. Said uses the concept of representation in classical terms where the Orient is misrepresented, however

Foucault's attitude to representation is that he deals with the production of knowledge and meaning through discourse. According to Foucault, it is the discourse that produces knowledge and it is associated with power. Thus, the subject is produced within the discourse. Citing from Foucault (1972) "Nothing has any meaning outside of discourse" and it must be subjected to discourse in accordance with power and knowledge operation. As Gilbert (1997) remarks, by following the logic of discourse theory where the Orient is constructed by Orientalism, Said admits that the West frequently misrepresented the Orient, thus implicitly conceiving of it in materialist terms as a real place which is independent of and prior to its representation by the West (p.41-42). Thus, the East becomes such a constructed and an imaginary space which is not objective and reliable. There emerges the contradiction of representation when Said states "the Orient is Orientalized", but also emphasizes at the same time "the Orient is not represented as it is" (Said, 1979). It must also be crucially added here that, Said is not interested in the "in the correspondence between Orientalism and Orient, but in the internal consistency of Orientalism and its ideas about the Orient" (Said, 1979, p.5).

One of the criticisms is expressed by James Clifford (1988). According to Clifford, Said does not explicitly define Orientalism, but rather qualifies and designates it from various distinct and not always compatible standpoints (p.259). The main points which have been discussed by Said in the introduction of *Orientalism*, are criticized by Clifford because of their ambivalence. According to Clifford (1988):

One notices immediately that in the first and third of Said's "meanings" Orientalism is concerned with something called the Orient, while in the second the Orient exists merely as the construct of a questionable mental operation. This ambivalence, which sometimes becomes a confusion, informs much of Said's argument. Frequently he suggests that a text or tradition distorts, dominates, or ignores some real or authentic feature of the Orient. [...] Yet Said's concept of a "discourse" still vacillates between, on the one hand, the status of an ideological distortion of lives and cultures that are never concretized and, on the other, the condition of a persistent structure of signifiers that, like some extreme example of experimental writing, refers solely and endlessly to itself. Said is thus forced to rely on nearly tautological statements, such as his frequent comment that Orientalist discourse "orientalizes the Orient", or on rather unhelpful specifications such as: "Orientalism can thus be regarded as a manner of regularized (or Orientalized) writing, vision and study dominated by imperatives, perspectives, and ideological biases ostensibly suited to the Orient" (p.260).

James Clifford's determination can also be criticized in the sense that he misses the main argument that Said puts forward. Mutman's (1992-1993) point of departure differs

here and directs the attention of the reader to the economy of the discourse:

It seems important to point out that my position differs from James Clifford's on this point. He finds a contradiction in Said between an argument of distortion or misrecognition (of a real Orient) and an argument of pure textual construction (of an idea of Orient) (260). But given that this contradiction is self-evident in his text, why, one needs to ask, does Said make this "mistake"? Should we not see the very economy of discourse here? Since the Orient is produced only insofar as it is displaced, Orientalism is also the production of the very difference between the real Orient and its concept, image, etc. There would be no Orient without this difference [...] The actual Orient is not a natural guarantee of a non- or anti-Orientalist knowledge, for, as the site of a struggle, it is always already contaminated by representation. This knowledge can only be a knowledge of struggle, which should be produced by a calculation and arrangement in each specific instance" (n.9, p.192).

Scholars like James Clifford criticize Said in the sense that he fails to harmonize various methods of cultural analysis which have distinct epistemology, social values and political assumptions (Gilbert, 1997, p.41). However, as Mutman argues, the attention must be drawn to the core of argument where Orientalism is the production of the very difference between the real Orient and its concept. According to Mutman (1992-1993), Said's formulation between the internal consistency of discourse and its referent (Orient) is also hard to examine:

It is a citational activity, an activity of referring to something that is "already there" and "different" or "other." Since there is a

split or division rather than a full meaning in the beginning or center of Orientalism, the production of the Orient is always a result or an effect of drawing a line, of referring to an "other". The Orient is thus born out of a shift or delay; it is both constructed and displaced. It is, at the same time, an object of knowledge and is characterized by a resistance to knowledge (p.171).

Yet another contradiction that arises in the text is the point where Said differs from Foucault. From a Foucauldian aspect, the object of discourse in a statement may change according to time and space. In the same manner one may notice that the statements about the Orient may be perceived as contradictory and meanings may oscillate within the texts. As Çırakman (2002) asserts, "However, in Said's account of Orientalist discourse, statements about the Orient in the West refer to a single object and its allegedly eternal nature which are formed once and for all and preserved indefinitely for a purpose or a tendency to rule over the Orient" (p.25). In addition, considering his methodology, "analyzing the relationship between texts and the way in which group of texts, even textual genres, acquire mass, density, and referential power among themselves and thereafter in the culture at large", one may discern that he conceives these texts in a unified form where they point out each other. (Said, 1979, p.20). However, according to Foucault statements that form texts have the features of

"plurality, disparity and controversiality" (Çırakman, 2002, p.26)

Furthermore, other major characteristic of Orientalist discourse where Said has been criticized by many thinkers is totalization and homogenization. When the Orient is put under a title and generalized by being inscribed as "the East" then one should also notice that, this operation does not function only in one direction. It is a kind of double operation when one generalizes the East, the Western side is also generalized, and homogenized under the same category. According to Said's argument, Orientalist discourse is produced by different national cultures such as Britain, France and the United States. In contrast to political alterations, he examines that all these form a unity through the discourse. As Gilbert (1997) states:

Said is justifiably accused of homogenizing the sites of enunciation of Orientalist discourse, and in the process of suppressing important cultural and geographical, as well as historical differences in the varied cultures of Western imperialisms. Indeed, in this respect it can certainly be argued that Said repeats in reverse alleged tendency of colonial discourse to homogenize its subject peoples, by implying that colonizing cultures 'are all the same' (p.45).

Scholars argue that Said occasionally refers to the same system of representations on the discussion of the

Orient, i.e "Oriental character, Oriental despotism, Oriental sensuality" (Said, 1979, p.203). Çırakman suggests that, Said reckons that the representation of the East is portrayed in a constant, silent field as if the Easterners were displayed all the same. According to Çırakman (2002):

It seems that, for Said, the distinctions made among the Orientals do not have much significance, since the Orient so far as it existed in the West's awareness had acquired meanings, associations and connotations none of which referred to the real Orient but the Orient as imagined. In other words, varieties of Oriental culture became categorically Oriental in the western imagination. (p.22)

On the whole, Orientalist discourse is a complex and multi-layered discussion which have been criticized by numerous times, however it would be appropriate to adapt Said's discussions on the analysis of Orientalist photography. Through this hegemonic operation, Orientalism demonstrates how the Western subject constitutes himself over the inferior Other. At this point, on the constitution of the Western subject, images also play a crucial role not only in the identification but also on the classification of Eastern types. Since the main concern of this dissertation is Orientalist photography, Orientalist photography will be examined in relation with previous argument.

## 1.2 Orientalist Photography

The origins of Orientalist photography can not be discerned from the birth of photography itself, since it is the consequence of a technical invention in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Orientalist photography can be conceived as a visual agenda within Orientalist discourse. Since the topic of this dissertation is Orientalist photography in the nineteenth century, the birth of photography will be mentioned briefly. Afterwards, the origins and the genres of Orientalist photography will also be discussed.

First of all, the invention of photography did not emerge abruptly; it was the product of a technical quest which has been going on for centuries. The pre-photographic optical observations and early experimentations date back to 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Mo Ti, a Chinese philosopher, described a pin-hole camera in this century, and then later in the 10<sup>th</sup> century an Arabian scholar, Ibn al-Haytham, studied the pin hole camera and *camera obscura* (Rosenblum, 1997, p.192). During the Renaissance era, *camera obscura* - which means dark chamber- became a frequent device used to depict the objects and space onto the surface of the canvas by various artists.



After these optical experimentations, the first fixed image was produced by Joseph Nicéphore Niépce in 1827. Apart from Niépce, Jacques Louis Mandé Daguerre was also interested in obtaining a permanent image; therefore the process was resulted signing of a partnership in 1829 to pursue the process together (Rosenblum, 1997, p.194). After Niépce's death, J.L.M. Daguerre continued on his experimentations and in 1839 the invention of daguerreotype was announced in French Academy of Sciences and Academy of Fine Arts. New models were designed by Daguerre and Alphonse Giroux and manufactured in France, Germany, Austria and the United States. Rosenblum (1997) notes that daguerreotype enthusiasts focused on monuments and scenery, and later on it was so wide spread in Paris that the French press characterized the phenomenon as a trand or "daguerréotypomanie" (p.18). This new device became so popular that about 9000 cameras were sold within the first three months. When photography became widespread, new studios were opened in Europe as well as in the United States. As the technological developments of photography went further, the new processes became popular such as calotype, collodion and albumen types (p.24-54). These new types of developments lead photographers to obtain more accurate images in terms of visuality as the time of exposuring shortened.

Secondly, in accordance with the history of photography, the origins of Orientalist photography coincide nearly with the birth of photography itself. Particularly, after Napoleon's invasion to Egypt, the Western scholars initiated a new interest in dealing with the Orient (Jacobson, 2007, p.15). It was not only photography became a means of Orientalism on producing such stereotypes, because Orientalism was already a fashion in the Western world when photography was invented.

Despite a visit to the East, [Lord] Byron's poetry thereafter depicted a passionate and often violent Orient based more on *Tales From The Arabian Nights* than reality. The painter, Eugene Delacroix, was much inspired by Byron's vision. Victor Hugo's enormously romantic portrayal in his series of poems, *Les Orientales*, further, heightened this fascination in European circles. In 1832, Delacroix accompanied an official delegation to Morocco. There the great Romantic artist of his generation made a remarkable series of Orientalist sketches. Meanwhile, members of the Neo-Classical school of art also found in interest in Oriental subjects. Ingres painted his renowned work, *Le Grand Odalisque*, in 1814 without ever setting foot in the East. (Jacobson, 2007, p.16).

As Ken Jacobson (2007) states in *Odalisques and Arabesque: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925*, the Western writers, painters and travelers established remarkable series of literary works and paintings in relation to the Oriental world which constitute the Oriental texts. After photography's invention, photographers were also

joined this group of scholars in order to capture the Eastern world to their frames.

One of the most renowned names among these photographers is Francis Frith, an English photographer, who had a trip to Egypt in nineteenth century. Frith and some of the other photographers also published the Egyptian and Near Eastern views by different formats and sizes titled in the book *Egypt and Palestine Photographed and Described* (Rosenblum, 1997, p.120).

### **1.2.1 The Genres of Orientalist Photography**

The visual genres of Orientalist photography display a great variety in terms of the photographs taken in the nineteenth century. The themes can be categorized as follows: landscape, architecture, people and portraits of the Orient. At this point, it would be vital to stress on the photography studios that held a crucial impact on the production of portraits.

Landscape and architecture photography are one of the most iterative genres which depict the environmental nature of the Eastern geography. As hinted before, after the Napoleon's invasion, most Western photographers recorded the monuments, both interior and exterior

architectures in Egypt because due to the advantage of long exposure time. (Jacobson, 2007, p.24). The landscape and architectural photography were not only limited with Egypt; the Far Eastern countries such as India, China and Japan were also photographed (Rosenblum, 1997, p. 122).

In addition to the landscape and architecture photography, another theme which has been repeated various times is the photographs of the indigenous people and portraits from the East. By the 1870s the portraits of the Eastern people became widespread. The aim of those photographs were both as a study aid for artists, historians and ethnographers and as souvenirs for tourists. The depictions of indigenous people were produced at all levels of quality, proliferated (Jacobson, 2007). As hinted from Said, by depicting the indigenous people, the Western photographer deals and describes the Orient visually. These photographs are used as a tool for the Westerners to reveal the Orient. If one meticulously remarks the Fritz's book *Egypt and Palestine Photographed and Described*, Orientalist discourse here also functions in such a way that the East is visually defined by the Western photographer. "[...] there emerged a complex Orient suitable study in the academy, for display in the museum, for reconstruction in the colonial office, for theoretical illustration in

anthropological, biological, linguistic, racial, and historical theses about mankind and the universe, for instances of economic and sociological theories of development, revolution, cultural personality, national or religious character." (Said, 1979, p.7-8). Citing from Said, publishing the photographs of the Orient by these photographers, presenting the East and the Easterners as an object of knowledge, constructs the idea of the Orient with in the Orientalist discourse.

As stated before, besides the views from the streets and cities, the studios held a crucial importance in Orientalist photography. There were remarkable professional daguerreotype studios in the 1840s and 1850s in Istanbul and Algiers. The earliest examples of Orientalist photographs taken by daguerreotypes are rare, and most of them are vanished due to the technical process of daguerreotyping (Jacobson, 2007, p. 21). The commercial studios in the Middle East and North Africa were slower in contrast to the European studios in the midst of 1860s. However, after the early period of these studios, some of them became preeminent names among the others, Such as Alary&Geiser (later J.Geiser) in Algiers, Antonio Beato in Egypt, Felix Bonfils in Beirut and Pascal Sebah and the Abdullah Freres in Istanbul. Jacobson (2007) argues that those studios were so large

that they often employed assistants and became big companies such as Ford Motor Company and Microsoft (p.34). These photographic studios expanded their businesses and became the most leading establishments among the other small sized studios.

On the whole, it is not surprising that the origins of Orientalist photography coincide with the birth of photography, since Orientalism was already in the Western literature and arts. It can also be stated that photography nourished the Orientalist discourse and also created a visual agenda together with the Orientalist painting.

In the next chapter, Orientalism will be discussed with regard to the images of women in the Orientalist painting. Since one of the major figures in these photographs is woman, the matching compositions between paintings and photographs should not be surprising. It is the painting's tradition which makes these photographs popular, a visual continuity may be examined which derives its roots from painting. The photographs which were taken by the Western artists portrays a more exotic and erotic Eastern world compared to Orientalist painting, i.e. the Orient is Orientalized by these photographs.

## **2. Images of Women in Orientalist Painting**

Said's argument, that composed of varied texts from politics, literature to art, forms a turning point and a crucial background for postcolonial studies. It should be necessarily added here, it is not only colonial or cultural studies practiced upon this debate, but also art history has challenged the Orientalist discourse. In this chapter, it might be appropriate to recall Said's argument on Orientalist discourse in relation to Orientalist painting. Since the topic of this chapter, imagery of women in Orientalist painting, it would be useful to handle the Orientalism as an art historical term with regard to its own history. Second, Orientalist painting's tradition will be mentioned with regard to Orientalist discourse. Lastly, I will discuss how the imagery of women is constituted in these paintings which can be clearly seen in Orientalist photographs.

To begin with, Orientalism is one of the major movement in art history and it is also an art historical term (MacKenzie, 1995, 43). The main traits of Orientalism

also find its embodiment upon visual arts in Orientalist paintings. A serious number of preeminent Western artists, especially French and British, scrutinized the Orient from various aspects in order to illustrate and display it explicitly. According to MacKenzie (1995), apart from these known artists there were remarkable numbers of amateurs, imitators who produced such works such as souvenir, postcards, painting for the market in nineteenth century (p.44). Some of these artists visited the East, such as Jean-Léon Gérôme, Eugène Delacroix, and sketches were made in order to depict them for further works. The ethnographic materials, landscapes, portraits, street scenes of the Orient, baths, and the depiction of harem were the main themes in these artists' works.

If one may notice, the Eastern figures and scenes can be seen before nineteenth century in Renaissance and Baroque era in the works of such artists as Bellini, Veronese, and Rembrandt. Although there were remarkable contacts between the East and the West in these periods, Orientalism had its significant power in the nineteenth century. As MacKenzie (1995) states, in twentieth century, some of the artists became outmoded that some of the galleries sold off their holdings, and many of the pictures were lost (p.44). However, it should also vitally noted here that the influence of Orientalism



continued in various forms that can be seen in many artists' works such as Matisse, Renoir, Kandinsky, Klee in twentieth century. The revival of Orientalism both in art market and art criticism began to take place in 1970s and 1980s. MacKenzie (1995) asserts that series of exhibitions, that were held in Munich, London, Rochester, and in New York brought them back to public notice (p.44).

## **2.1 The Tradition of Orientalist Painting**

The rediscovery of the Orientalist paintings in twentieth century have brought a new argument in art history. Radical art historians who revalued the Orientalist paintings in the light of Edward Said's argument have created a new aspect. It might be useful to discuss Orientalist painting's tradition in relation to Orientalist discourse with one of the intriguing articles written on this issue titled "The Imaginary Orient", by Linda Nochlin.

As Nochlin (1989) critically argues that, Orientalist pictures have to be analysed in relation to political domination of West over the East and ideology. Since most of the traditional art historians scrupulously neglect

the ideological and political aspect of such works, Nochlin suggests that the history of art also needs to be repoliticised.

The depiction of the East is crucially discerning and at the same time creating such prototypes that can clearly be identified. Oriental despotism, barbarism, lust, idleness, technical backwardness is denoted in order to justify the hegemonic attitude of the West and the imperial ideology (MacKenzie, 1995). In addition to that, the racial oppositions (black woman/white woman- white woman/black man) are also highly marked that indicate an exaggerated eroticism. Nochlin (1989) states a vital point that the Oriental canon is marked by its absences, i.e. "the absence of history, the Western colonial presence, and the art" (p.35).

In advancing these discussions, it would be useful to examine some of the examples in order to give a detailed framework of Orientalist painting's tradition with regard to Nochlin's argument. As Nochlin (1989) asserts, mainly in Gérôme's paintings, the absence of history is represented in such a way that "the Oriental world is a world without a change, a world of timeless, atemporal customs and rituals, untouched by the historical processes" (p.36). Gérôme's best known paintings such as *Snake Charmer (1880)*, *The Carpet Merchant (1887)*, *A Chat*

by the *Fireside* (1881), *A Street Scene in Cairo* (1870-1871) and the others may be given as an example (Figures 2.1-4). The reason why these pictures lack of a sense of time and history is because of the "picturesque" quality of the painting. By the "licked finish" technique, which means impossible to notice artist's hand on canvas, suggests to the viewer that is no longer a picture, but just a reflector that projects the objective reality (MacKenzie, 1995). Although there was a drastic change in the Middle East in nineteenth century, Orientalist artists meticulously designated the schema of their paintings to represent a constant, atemporal world.

Furthermore, it is impossible to conceive the Western colonial presence in Orientalist pictures, however by marking the absences the Westerner is already there without positing himself on the picture. When the Westerner tries to display the Orient implicitly, then there arises another absence in relation to Orientalist tradition. "Part of the strategy of an Orientalist painter like Gérôme is to make his viewers forget that there was any "bringing into being" at all, to convince them that works like these were simply "reflections," scientific in their exactitude, of a preexisting Oriental reality" (p.37). As Nochlin (1989) argues, the Westerner is the controlling gaze, the gaze that brings the

Oriental world into being, the one that makes the Orient conspicuously visible, clear and seen.

Another point is the absence of art which can be related to the previous entry. The diffusive details of the pictures which were enhanced by the painter, provides the painting to represent a presumed Oriental reality. It should not be surprising that, Gérôme was fond of photography in order to make use of them for further works. The principal purpose of these photographs was to provide more accurate details about the Orient (Jacobson, 2007). The accurate depiction of a painting deludes the viewer in the way that it is not a painting, but a reflection of the real as it is. The elaborated delineation of the places, figures in Gérôme's paintings may make the viewer forget that the picture is a work of art by his illusory illustration technique. The ill-repaired architectural forms (such as the fallen pieces of a tile patterns), the Arabic inscriptions on the walls and such minutiae details are also a part of this imperial agenda, because these pictures serve themselves as a visual evident for the West's hegemonic and imperial claims within the Orientalist discourse. The East becomes so visible that the West posits itself in superior to Other/the East, and hence the absences of the East points out the presences in the West. The idleness, laziness,

cruelty, being neglected, technical and scientific backwardness are constantly marked in order to justify the Western presence in Middle East and also locate itself to an upper position. Therefore, the East is portrayed as static, it is watched, confined. As Said (1975) makes a vital point about Flaubert's texts written on the Orient. "The Orient is watched, since its almost (but never quiet) offensive behavior issues out of a reservoir of infinite peculiarity; the European, whose sensibility tours the Orient, is a watcher, never involved, always detached" (p.103).

Consequently all these visual traits can be aggregated under the picturesque quality of Orientalist painting. According to Nochlin (1989), the notion of picturesque is premised on the fact of destruction (p.50). What is meant here by destruction is to again imply the West's superiority, and thus the East is portrayed as destroyed, decayed. While these painters depict the modes of Eastern life, daily and religious practices, including all ethnographical items, they also suggest the West's superior position, the one that confines and at the same time depicts the disappearing ways of the Eastern culture.

Another important function, then, of the picturesque, -Orientalizing in this case- is to certify that the people encapsulated by it,

defined by its presence, are irredeemably different from, more backward than, and culturally inferior to those who construct and consume the picturesque product. They are irrevocably "Other" (Nochlin, 1989, p.51).

As quoted from Nochlin, the representation of the Orient and its Otherness is constructed by the very presence of imperial Westerner. These paintings also produce meanings, and painting provides a fruitful arena where Orientalism can find its embodiment upon visual arts (Nochlin, 1989).

## **2.2 The Imagery of Women in Orientalist Painting**

As it is stated in previous entry, the depiction of the Orient is illustrated as a place for delectation and excessive sexuality. The Western painter wants to display all hidden places, moments of the Orient, and hence the quarters of Eastern women are depicted in numerous times. The modes of daily life in the Orient, including harem and bath scenes, and the portraits are the iterative themes among this genre. In order to comprehend the imagery of women, it might be useful to see some examples.

To begin with, Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres's one of the best known painting is *Turkish Bath* may be given as a preeminent example (Figure 2.5). If one considers that Ingres did not see the rest of the world beyond Italy, this painting can be conceived as a product of his fantasy (Benjamin, 1997, p.70). Plenty of women which are depicted like still lives of flesh are located in a bath, and they display various kinds of gestures, postures and movements. The desire that works in this picture can be asserted as state of a voyeurism. The form of the canvas, resembling a keyhole, locates the spectator on the other side of the painting, and thus women are being watched by the viewers and women also are not aware of being watched.

Another interesting contradiction in the picture, although it is named as *Turkish Bath* many of the women are not on the act of bathing. They are all shown in different gestures which invite the dominating Western male gaze, and hence they do not get in contact with each other. The state of laziness and idleness are represented upon the bodies of these women and they are portrayed as the objects of desire.

Ingres had his inspiration from the old prints imaging the lives of Ottoman women, and mainly from letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu who visited Istanbul and wrote

the minutiae details of the baths. It should also be essentially added here that the point of view that Lady Montagu writes is also questionable in terms of Orientalist discourse. She had the chance of entering such a place where male travelers only can speculate and delineated the every minute detail of the bath in her letters.

I perceived that the ladies with the finest skins and most delicate shapes had the greatest share of my admiration, though their faces were sometimes less beautiful than those of their companions. To tell you the truth, I had wickedness enough to wish secretly that Mr. Jervas could have been there invisible. I fancy it would have very much improved his [Mr.Jervas] art to see so many fine women naked in different postures, some in conversation, some working, others drinking coffee or sherbet, and many negligently lying on their cushions while their slaves (generally pretty girls of seventeen or eighteen) were employed in braiding their hair in several pretty manners.<sup>1</sup>

As quoted from a piece from the letters, the masculine character of Lady Montagu can be noticed from detailed descriptions of the women in Turkish bath. Lady Montagu must have been aspired to see those women in Jervas's paintings and she wished that Jervas really could have been there to observe the bathing scenes of

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<sup>1</sup> Wharncliffe., & Thomas, W. (1861). *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, retrieved January 17, 2009, from <http://www.ic.arizona.edu/ic/mcbride/ws200/montltrs.htm>



plenty of women. If one may recognize, the description that Lady Montagu fancies finds its visual embodiment in Ingres painting.

The other paintings by Ingres *The Valpinçon Bather* (1808), *La Grande Odalisque* (1814) and the *Odalisque with a Slave* (1839) can be examined through Orientalist discourse (Figures 2.6-8). The depiction of lazy, idle and passive nude women visually defines the social and cultural function of gender hierarchy. It might be useful to remember John Berger's remarks about this discussion. As Berger (1972) argues, a man's look is directed others, whereas a woman's looks herself.

Men act and women appear. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at. This determines not only most relations between men and women but also the relation of women to themselves. The surveyor of woman in herself is male: the surveyed male. Thus she turns herself into an object- and most particularly an object of vision: a sight (p.46-47).

As quoted here, the nude paintings of Eastern woman, including odalisques, harem and bath scenes, establish the visual agenda of Orientalist discourse. The nude or half-nude depicted woman is enriched by the scrupulous illustration of ethnographic materials such as embroidered fabrics, waterpipes, shiny jewels, coverlets that invites the spectator's gaze into the picture.

According to Rana Kabbani (1986), the woman becomes as an isolated object that displaces the set notions of the bourgeois interior, and hence the woman's demonstrated body becomes startling, arousing in contrast with a well-dressed room (p.70). The desire of the male Western painter functions in such a way that the nudity of the Eastern woman becomes unusual, different and deviant.

Moreover, the depiction of black and white figures is also another theme which is repeated in various forms that can be seen in bath scenes. Gérôme's *Moorish Bath* or Edouard Debat Ponsan's *The Massage in the Harem* may be given as an example (Figures 2.9-10). As Nochlin (1989) suggests, the contrast of the black servant enhances and reveals the white figure (p.49). The active black woman is shown as a slave, and the white one is the mistress who is displayed as passive. The juxtaposition of two different figures implies here a racial and sexual interpretation. The dominating Western male gaze's fantasy operates the meaning of the whole picture. The erotic relationship which is illustrated in these pictures between these two racially diversified figures also denotes the lesbianism that enriches the imagination of the Western male spectator. As Benjamin (1997) states "By the mid-19th century, scientific discourse associated the sexual appetite of the black woman with lesbian

sexuality. This association was further enhanced by the belief, commonly held by western audiences and fostered by numerous European travel accounts, that lesbian relationship occurred in the women's baths" (p.100).

In advancing these discussions, it should also be crucially added here, power and desire functions concomitantly in Orientalist paintings. As can be conceived from the paintings, the power of Western man controls the whole authority of the painting. As Nochlin suggests, there are two ideological assumptions about power. "one about man's power over women; the other about the white men's superiority to, hence justifiable control over, inferior, darker races, precisely those who indulge in this sort of regrettably lascivious commerce" (p.45). The Western painter organizes his picture in an ideological frame where he both establishes his authority and hegemony over the Eastern women and the whole Oriental world. The theme of *Slave Market* can be given as an example in order to show how this power/desire relation functions.

To sum up, the Westerner desires to penetrate the East by the depiction of a woman or even a young boy (*The Snake Charmer*). He steps into the Oriental world by penetrating a harem or a bath, observing the intimate moments of the daily lives of the Easterner women. As quoted from

Nochlin before, painters also produces meanings and the Western subject marks himself superior to Eastern subject, also produces knowledge and defines the East by marking the absences. Therefore, it can be stated that Orientalist art establishes a visual library in Orientalist discourse. The dominating, Western male constructs the representation of the Oriental world whereas women are completely demonstrated as submissive, idle, i.e., they become the objects of desire.

In the next chapter, images of women in Orientalist photography will be discussed with regard to this chapter. A general historical survey of the studio photography in the Middle East will be mentioned. Then, the reasons of the scatter of the photography studios and imagery of the Oriental women will be discussed. In addition, the photographic depiction of the veiled Oriental women will be analyzed in relation to Meyda Yeğenoğlu's study.

### **3. Images of Women in Orientalist Photography**

Nineteenth century was considered as an age of colonization and exploration with an expeditious growth in science and technology. As the technology developed, photography presented a vast array of images that differs from each other, such as architecture, street life and portraiture. Among these, the imagery of women is one of the most iterative theme within Orientalist photography as well as with the painting. The remarkably detailed visual description of the Oriental women and the depiction of the Eastern ambience establish a system of representation where women are racialized and sexualized. It should also be noted here that, the East as the domain of the 'other' was often conceived of as female. For instance, according to Jules Michelet, the Orient was the 'womb of the world' from which the cultured male emerged (Graham-Brown, 1988, p.7). It is not only Michelet, but also some disciples of Saint-Simon consider the East as female. Brown (1988) quotes from Mary Harper's article, some followers of Saint-Simon went to Egypt on a visit which one of them pronounced to be "no longer a voyage to

the Orient, but a voyage towards Woman. The knights crusaded to free the tomb of the Christ, we, the guild of Woman, are going to Orient to seek not a tomb, but life" (p.7). As stated here, the image of the Orient was considered as both a seductress, and a fertile woman. For this reason, this dissertation considered the photographic depiction of the Oriental women necessary.

It should be also remarked that photography has a promise of delivering true knowledge or information about these 'Oriental' societies, and hence it visually constructs a world displaying the things *as real as it is*. The factual state of the photographic sign can be conceived as an accurate capture of oriental reality in comparison with painting. In the previous chapter, the tradition of Orientalist painting is discussed as an art historical term with regard to Orientalist discourse. Furthermore, how the imagery of women is constituted in these paintings is also examined which has a discernible influence on Orientalist photographs.

In the following discussion, the main argument will revolve around a classical approach to Orientalism where these photographs have in no way stopped the production of stereotyped images. Drawing on this theoretical assumption as well as Meyda Yeğenoğlu's influential

study, I will examine the photographic depiction of Oriental women in this chapter.

Since these photographs can amply be found in the early photographic histories, the analysis of this dissertation mostly will be in the scope of studio photography in relation with the photographic depiction of the Oriental women.

### **3.1 The Boom in Studio Photography**

In the following discussion, a general historic survey of the emergence of studio photography in the Middle East will be mentioned. Second, the reasons why these studios became widespread and the depiction of Oriental women in studio photography will be argued.

To begin with, the Middle East became an area of exploration that also coincides with the birth of photography when France occupied Algeria in 1830. As stated in previous chapters, the East became both an area of colonization, exploration and also exposition. The demands of photographic and touristic tours were highly in demand since the Orient was marked as exotic. The first touristic trips of Palestine began in the 1850s and later Thomas Cook's tour was organized in Egypt in 1868

(Brown, 1988). With the opening of the Suez Canal a year later, the tourist trades and thus the photography market became popular. The aspirations of the early shootings were used both as a document, and mostly for touristic purposes such as postcards, stereoscopic slides, loose prints to be mounted in albums. Therefore, these photographic studios constituted one of the most crucial parts in the development of the commercial market. However, the increase of these commercial studios in the Middle East and North Africa in comparison with Europe and the United States were much slower to follow in 1860s. According to Ken Jacobson (2007), the remarkable photographers may be stated as Alary & Geiser (later J.Geiser) in Algiers, Antonio Beato in Egypt, Félix Bonfils in Beirut, Pascal Sebah and the Abdullah Frères in Istanbul (p.34).

Furthermore, it should also be indicated here that these professional studios became widespread because of the need of taking close-ups shots of the people. One may conceive that, it was easy to capture the city views; however the Western photographer had difficulties when taking the photos of women. Therefore, most of these stereotyped images of the Eastern women have taken in the professional studios. Besides, these images were not only produced in the East, but also they were created in



European studios. Since there was a demand for authentic Oriental images, the Western photographers created such scenes in their studios. Photographs such as produced by Louchet (Figure 3.1), and Roger Fenton's Eastern décor accompanied with a feigned Eastern woman (Figure 3.2) who is setted by himself in his studio can be displayed as an example (Perrez, 1988, p.102). These studios were used like a theatrical stage in order to show the women in various postures, gestures and poses. The Eastern women who appear with veils in the streets displayed unveiled, naked, visible, and at the same time by means of commercial photography they became approachable and accessible.

### **3.1.1 The Depictions of the Oriental Women in Studio Photography**

In this type of photography, the eroticized Eastern women become an object of gaze of the Western spectator. The authentic Oriental décor especially with a lying semi-nude/nude woman in the foreground suggest viewers sensuality, sexual availability and also at the same time primitiveness (Brown, 1988). Studio photos of indigenous types such as African women (Figure 3.3), Algerian Kabyles, Zulus, Bedouins (Figure 3.4) may be shown as an example. It would be necessary to recall Said's argument

here in relation to these photographs. Designating the Oriental woman in such a descriptive primitive frame, the Western photographer also constructs his own identity by inscribing himself as being superior to the Other/the Eastern subject. Through the medium of photography, the photographer at the backside of the camera "pushes the Other back in time" by displaying it in such a backward atmosphere (Fabian, 1983). Posing the naked African and the Bedouin women in front of a painted backdrop suggests the viewer that this environment is a frame from jungle or an unidentified primitive space. The frame which determines this story constructs the idea of the Orient and the Oriental women to the viewer.

Moreover, another sub-category of studio photography is the semi-nude lying women, in other words the odalisque photos. The odalisque photographs constitute the most significant part of the Orientalist photography (Figures 3.5-14). These languorous women bedecked in ornamented costumes with various jewelries were placed in a plain décor (mostly connoting a harem setting) or they were posed with the ethnographic paraphernalia such as narghile, coffee set by the photographer on the foreground. She constitutes the focal point of the photograph and invites the gaze of the colonizer to the sacred place which is harem. The word *harem* in Arabic

means sacred, inviolable place and also the female members of the family. This area was segregated from the house itself and secluded from the other men except husbands and relatives (Brown, 1988). As Alloula (1986) asserts, "above all the others, the odalisque figure is the very symbol and the highest expression of the harem" (p.74). These odalisque photographs imply their viewers a harem scene, but at the same time a kind of setting that is scrupulously arranged by the Western photographer. The lethargic figure of this sacred, protected space becomes revealed, demystified, and hence by the photographic view the Oriental woman becomes accessible, available for the viewer. The Western photographer dresses the model up in miscellaneous apparels with the ethnographic appurtenances, and she becomes ready for voluptuous poses. Now, through the act of arrangement and appropriation with the photographer's imagination, this inviolable figure turns into a flexible, lascivious toy in photographer's studio. According to Alloula (1986), "the odalisque has become the goal of the photographer, and she is the very personification of the phantasm, its fermata" (p.78).

In advancing these discussions, it would be vital to stress more on the last photograph (Figure 3.14). This last photograph titled "Scenes and types. Moorish woman

in her quarters" may remind the paintings of Eugene Delacroix's *Woman of Algiers in their Apartment* which are painted in 1834 and in 1849 (Figures 3.15-3.16). There is a discernible resemblance between the reclining woman in the photograph and in Delacroix's paintings who is posited on the left side of the picture. As stated in the previous chapter, the visual tradition of these photographs can obviously be found in nineteenth century Orientalist paintings. Brown (1988) also asserts that these paintings had a considerable influence on the Orientalist studio photographs (p.40). The subject matter, the juxtaposition of items and the figures, the style of the poses, gestures are the common features that can be found between photos and paintings. Although there is a transition of painting's tradition to photography, there are also major distinctions between two different mediums.

At this point, it would be necessary to revisit Assia Djebar's book "Woman of Algiers in their Apartment" that covers the short stories of the lives of women of the Algeria. Djebar's texts display the strive of the Algerian women in terms of their domestic space where readers can find past and present, convention and innovation, and multiplicity of voices and discourses together (Best, 2002, p.875). As Best (2002) argues,

"Domestic space in Algeria is precisely where culture and history meet, where the historical fallout of war and revolution engages in battle with cultural tradition and the religious and ideological significance of women" (p.875). Djebbar analyzes two representations of harem, the domestic space of Algerian women, which is painted by Delacroix, and later by Picasso. Djebbar (1999) asserts that Delacroix's genius makes these women enigmatic to the highest degree because of being near and distant to the spectator at the same time (p.136). She contemplates that the women's enigmatic position seems to be present and absent at the same time. Then, how does the painter ensure this enigmatic presence/absence play to the spectator according to the author? Djebbar (1999) remarks and portrays crucial points in the second canvas which is less embellished and vision's angle has been widened in contrast to the first painting in 1834:

This centering effect has a triple result: to make the three women, who now penetrate more deeply into their retreat, more distant from us; to uncover and entirely bare on of the room's walls, having it weigh down more heavily on the solitude of these women; and finally to accentuate the *unreal quality of the light*. The latter brings out more clearly what the shadow conceals as an invisible, omnipresent threat, through the intermediary of the woman servant whom we hardly see any longer, but who is there, and attentive (emphasis added, p.136).

As Djébar underscores, the key point is this *unreal quality of light*, which is mystifying and oneiric at the same time. From Djébar's (1999) point of departure, the light that Delacroix uses makes these women "foreign but terribly present in this rarified atmosphere of confinement" (p.135-136). The French painter enters the harem as a trespasser and experiences the state of being in a real harem. According to Djébar (1999) the reason why this picture is fascinating is because "by placing us in the position of onlookers in front of these women, it reminds us that ordinarily we have no right to be there. This painting is itself a stolen glance" (p.137). The stolen glance of the painter unveils the women in their own private quarters, however the relationship between the women and the spectator is forbidden. The Algerian women do not invite the onlookers such as in Gérôme or Ingres's paintings. "Women always waiting. Suddenly less sultanas than prisoners. They have no relationship with us, spectators. They neither abandon nor refuse themselves to our gaze" (Djébar, 1999, p.136). As stated here, they do not seem interrupted by the gaze of the painter/spectator. This is the point where Djébar tries to state *being near and distant at the same time*. Another crucial point which should be added here that Djébar assumes those two women are whispering each other and she

reconstructs the conversation of the Algerian women in their confinement. As Mortimer (2005) argues:

To restore speech to Algerian women, the writer must lend her ear to the whispers in the harem. Although this specific enclosure, the harem, no longer exists as a physical reality in Algeria today, she reminds her readers that its psychological walls are still present. Therefore, she assumes the task of writing in praise of Algerian women who have found the courage to construct a life beyond the sealed off chambers ruled by the patriarch, as she has done (p.59).

From Djébar's aspect of view, Delacroix's painting displays a feminine version of the Orient, a preeminent example in the field which also inspired other artists as well as photographers. In order to recall the main argument, it would be appropriate to review figure 3.14 again titled "Scenes and types. Moorish woman in her quarters". As hinted before, the transition of painting's tradition to photography may well be seen in this photograph; however there seems to be some distinctions. Although the photograph has a chiaroscuro effect and the absence of erotic connotation, the photographer's fetishism interferes with his inappropriate action by putting the narghile just in the foreground which interrupts the vision of the legs (Alloula, 1986). Perhaps, the photographer contingently aimed to get a pictorialist effect, however with his haste and haphazard disposal he turned the photograph into a cheap image.

This is exactly what Alloula (1986) states "this tawdriness that keeps reappearing is beyond the control of the postcard. It is its original sin, its mark of infamy, in sum, its signature at the bottom of a counterfeit" (p.78).

In relation with the odalisque photos, the photographs that feature the ceremonials of harem scene, such as coffee drinkers, narghile smokers, belly dancers may also be displayed as an example. These photographs as well as with the odalisque images constitute the archive of Oriental imagery. The harem scenes which are meticulously constructed by the photographer enriched with other daily practices.

In this reiterated ceremony, spectators see women serving/pouring coffee in various postures yet in a constructed setting (Figures 3.17-3.22). In addition to its visuality, the odor and flavor of coffee and narghile is also aimed to stir the senses of the spectator. Coffee may be conceived as the "sublimation of the aromatic soul of the Orient" both for the photographer and spectator (Alloula, 1986, p.74). These scenes are so awkwardly designed, also repeated numerous times in the same manner, the photograph or the postcard reaches the deadly



end, and thus the image turns into a stereotype (Alloula,1986).

Another indispensable sub category is the narghile smokers related to harem scenes. Narghile as an Orient based object has always been subjected to paintings as well as photographs (Figures 3.23-24). Since narghile was an inevitable object of the coffee houses both in Ottoman Empire and the Near East, these items were frequently associated together in the same image. Therefore, in these repeated settings, women who lethargically lie on sofa are predominantly complemented with narghile and coffee tables. Narghile is also associated with hashish that bemuses the senses of the women (Alloula,1986). These Oriental women smoking narghile with blank stares and expressions suggest the spectator that "they are no longer of this, the observable, world: they move in the ethereal space of the harem" (Alloula, 1986, p.74). Accordingly, one may associate the suggestions of Alloula, *the observable world* as the West, *ethereal space* as the East. In advancing these discussions, it would be appropriate to visit Şebnem Timur's (2006) article titled "The Eastern Way of Timekeeping: The Object and Ritual of Narghile" where she analyzes narghile smoking behavior and the related leisure within the concept of time. Timur analyzes the Western conception of time on the basis of

clock that standardizes and rationalizes the duration of a day. Quoting from Lewis Mumford, she suggests that clock has created a mechanical sense which is different from organic conception of time that is associated with the growing of hair, the time between sowing and harvest. On the other hand, the Eastern conception of time is associated with the organic apprehension, such as observing the planets and nature. She exemplifies this issue by stating the mechanical practice of the oldest clock in China which is designed to mimic the movements of the planets. "The difference is that, while the European conception of time is to control, the Chinese version is to move with it" (Timur, 2006, p.22). Then, she develops her argument by remarking the activity of narghile smoking as a bodily experience that locates the body in space and time where body remains in the stillness of the stay. Timur (2006) asserts that:

Inhaling time with the body is the kind of bodily experience that a narghile offers. It also is visual; the movement is actualized in the movement of the water, indicating that something invisible is passing through. It demands a certain slowness against the mechanically accelerated pace of life (p.25).

Consequently, now one may accommodate *the observable world* as the Western conception of time whereas *the ethereal space* of harem is the Eastern conception of time in relation with Timur's and Alloula's arguments. The

world becomes more accurate, rational and observable by standardizing it through clocks, calendars and such. On the contrary and as hinted before, the absence of history is illustrated in such a way that the Orient is represented as a changeless, timeless or a sluggish world which is untouched by the historical processes (Nochlin, 1989). Apart from its decorative disposal, narghile with its stereotypical implication to the Orient also connotes the timeless, sluggish and ethereal space of the harem. It is a kind of object that "accompanies the passing of time, but not rushing, counting, or fighting against its passing" in contrast with clock (Timur, 2006, p.23). The Eastern women smoking narghile just sit and wait mostly posed in vacuity in this unworldly space. They inhale the time with their bodies and also remain motionless. As quoted from Djebbar (1999) before "Women always waiting" (p.136). These women are posed "in the act of waiting; waiting with time, not against it; and not by rushing, competing, or trying to count it" (Timur, 2006, p.25). However, the photograph again fails to accomplish its target due to the photographer's awkward and hastily organization. As Alloula (1986) states "In this flea-market décor, the hookah becomes an embarrassment of serpentine pipes from which the model does not know how to extricate herself. One of the "charms of the Orient" turns into a silent-movie gag" (p.74).

Another sub-theme is the photographs of belly dancers which establish together with the coffee and narghile ceremony. Before beginning to discussion, it should be appropriate to give a general summary of what has been stated before in previous paragraphs. One may now conceive, together with the odalisque images; coffee, narghile ceremonies, and belly dancers constitute the harem scenes. These reconstructed scenes, most particularly with the odalisque figure, establish the kernel of the depictions of the Oriental women in studio photography. Since harem provides an area of concupiscent imagination, it nurtures the voyeuristic desire of photographer and the Western spectator. However, the projected desire of these images can never be satisfied because of the voyeuristic fetishism of the photographer. Apparently, as far as the Oriental woman is concerned these images were repeated numerous times and replicated by other photographers that constitute the Orientalist visual agenda in different repetitions.

Belly dancers (almehs and bayaderes) are another sub theme of Orientalist photography that constitutes another essential part of the Orientalist photography (Figures 3.25-3.33). This time spectators perceive the Oriental women dancing together, playing musical instruments yet

in suggestive, licentious poses suggesting a sexual availability. Unlike the harem scenes, since these women were displayed as a part of entertainment, they were some extent visible to outsiders, and also these dancers were mostly associated with prostitution. Among these the Ouled Nail, a tribe of women dancers who worked and danced in the town of Biskra on the Algerian desert, may be displayed as an example (Figures 3.25-3.26). This town became a popular city famous for its entertainment and prostitution in the early years of French occupation (Brown, 1988). These Ouled Nail women gathered in the places called *cafés mauresques* bedecked costumes with ethnographic jewelries where they performed Oriental dance shows (Figure 3.27). As may well be seen in these figures, the photographic depiction of the Ouled Nail women differs from each other. In figure 3.25, spectators perceive adobe houses where seems to be the street of prostitutes. The Western photographer (Alexandre Leroux) might captured them waiting or called them to do so, however in both cases these Ouled Nail women seem to wait for their clients/spectators, suggesting a sexual availability for them. In figure 3.26, spectators see these Ouled Nail women bathing in Biskra, however this image arguably does not seem to be a constructed setting, yet it seems to be an original shot implying a backward, primitive space. As well as with these images, in figure

3.27 this time spectators see two Ouled Nail women hinting an Oriental sapphism that differs from other images.

Both Ouled Nail women and Algerian dancers provided a stock archive for touristic guides. In contrast with lying odalisques, coffee and narghile ceremonies, the Algerian dancers display an enjoyment with swinging gestures and mimics to the spectator (Figures 3.28-3.33). The last five images of the dancer series were shot in a constructed setting that is the studio of the photographer. Apart from the images of Ouled Nail women (such as, figures 3.25-3.26), these figures do not seem to perform their dances to an audience.

As Alloula (1986) states "they [the dancers] perform the obligatory figures of a ritual whose hieratic nature suggests the idea of a place and a feast outside space and time" (p.89). It is a kind of sexual fest where the dancing bodies express the apex of erotic delectation through their rhythmic gestures. In addition with the musical instruments, photographs connote the licentious voices or songs of the women who invite their spectator to their feast. The noteworthy issue which is underscored by Alloula "the idea of a place and a feast outside space and time" can also be associated with the previous

discussion. In these studio photographs, photographer constructs and unwittingly delineates a kind of *timeless and spaceless* image where the spectator can not have the exact idea of the real place and time. As an exercise of body and voice, this feast that is outside of space and time visually connotes the ethereal space of the harem.

What is beyond these images altogether with odalisque figure, harem ceremonies and dancers is the colonial gaze that appropriates and arranges the Oriental women in order to represent the Orient as an area for sexual fantasy, a salacious dreamland. As hinted from Said in previous chapters, Orientalist discourse functions in such a way that the East is stated, thought and defined by the Western subject. This plethora of photographs that illustratively constructs the idea of the Orient, also establishes the visual archive of the discourse. However, it should also be crucially added here that these photographs are incapable of representing the real feast, and once again these studio installations are failed to accomplish its mission (to show the things *as real as it is*), thus the image turns into a cliché, a stereotype. The creator of this clichés, the photographer, a component of the colonial project dresses up the Oriental women in miscellaneous types in his imaginary harem, studio. With the sub titles "Scenes and Types", the

colonial gaze first defines, classifies and then represents the Eastern women in new multifarious titles again. Figures 3.34, 3.35 and 3.36 may be displayed as an example for the rearrangement of the same figure. The same woman wearing the same costume labeled as "Young Beduin woman", "Young woman from the south" and "Young Kabyl woman" in the same studio, probably by the same photographer. As stated before in previous discussions, the Algerian woman becomes a flexible toy who can easily be related to a location and endow with identity. By its technical process and with the installations, photography has a claim to display the things as the real as it is, but in this case it deludes its viewer. Thus, the artistic and usually illusory compositions of the photographer turn into evidence that show the lives, and manners of the Eastern people. The Eastern woman in these images (Figures 3.34, 3.35, 3.36) is appropriated to reflect a supposed reality. Whether she is from Kabylia or south, she becomes a figure of the obsession to penetrate Algerian society which haunts colonialism, and hence she becomes the figure of the desire for transparency (Alloula, 1986, p.64). Through these images, one may well conceive both the borders of the French colonialism that have reached through these labels, and how those figures are revealed for the Western spectator in order to justify the colonialist presence. Though the



photographer wanted to aggrandize the diverseness of the "types" and "scenes", the differences are so oversimplified with a reductive movement that the repeated scenes, this *ad nauseam*, turns into a banal cliché.

The collection of these images, especially the French postcards can be conceived as a visual encyclopedia that categorizes the "types" and "scenes", and hence the Eastern women is also appropriated by the photographer for the Western viewer on the basis of colonialist hegemonic operation. Alloula (1986) states:

Brimming over with connotative signs, every photographer's studio thus becomes a versatile segment of urban or geographic landscape. Whereas the model is a figure of the symbolic appropriation of the body (of the Algerian woman), the studio is a figure of the symbolic appropriation of space (p.21).

As may well be seen in the figures, with all the ethnographic paraphernalia and the women's suggestive, submissive poses construct the very idea of the East. The differences are ignored and reduced to a set of props impervious to historical changes to display a timeless imaginary East. Undoubtedly, the collection of objects had a function to suggest a realistic frame which is touched by authenticity (Alloula, 1986).

The desire of the voyeuristic gaze rearranges the harem setting in such a way that there lies a contradiction of veiling and unveiling at the same time. The photographer delineates a feigned realism and enters the inviolable place whom as a Western male never entered before. Thus he creates an image to reveal the mystic secrets behind the closed doors of the sacred space in order to justify his presence, but at the same time this created and circulated image demystifies the harem, and loses its enchantment. As Alloula (1986) asserts:

The harem, though opened up by the photographer, must remain symbolically closed. For the phantasm, a public harem is inconceivable. This apparent contradiction between what the postcard unveils and displays and what desire wants to keep secret is resolved by the photographer through a more elaborate staging. This means that the studio is redecorated with trompe l'oeil or moved to locations that have typical harem "architecture." Both the trompe l'oeil and the natural decor (arcades, colonnades, inner courtyards, etc.) must suggest an inaccessible depth, a mystery beyond what is represented. What the card brings to light, then, may suffice for purposes of jubilation, but it is by no means all. This all is, in any case, out of the frame (p.69).

By this hegemonic operation, one may state that to display the Orient in visual terms is not different from producing knowledge about the Orient in literary terms. Since the Eastern women who were revealed as in these postcards were inaccessible to the Western male spectator, through this typological operation, these

plethora of images construct and produce a world view of the Eastern world, rather than reflecting the reality (Schick, 1990, p.350).

### **3.2 The Problematization of the Photographic Depiction of Veiled Women**

Another crucial issue related with Orientalist photography is the photographic depiction of the veiled/unveiled women that has been repeated in numerous times. Although veil, which can be stated as a kind of "portable seclusion", was mostly an urban phenomenon, it was not commonly used by the women in rural parts of the city (Brown, 1988, p.134). The Westerners was first shocked and also amazed by veil which provided the Eastern women being seen and unseen at the same time. These women covered by this piece of cloth made an ambiguous, threatening but also a mysterious impression on the Western spectator's imagination. Writers, travelers and also artists practiced upon veil and it should be also noted here that veil had much more significance than any other themes in Orientalist photography.

In order to elucidate this debate, it would be appropriate to recall Said's argument before starting to

discussion. As stated before in previous chapters, Said's argument submitted a vital point on the discursive representation of the Orient. The Orient was created through this discourse in order to legalize the Western presence (economically, culturally and socially) and reconstruct the Western identity by claiming a superior position over the East. In this discourse, the status of the Eastern women remains ambivalent. These women depicted both in literary and artistic terms mysteriously, obscure and enchanting. By following the Oriental literary texts, Said (1979) affirms that the "Orientalism was an exclusively male province; like so many professional guilds during the modern period, it viewed itself and its subject matter with sexist blinders" (p.207). Furthermore he adds "This is especially evident in the writing of travelers and novelists: women are usually the creatures of a male power-fantasy. They express unlimited sexuality, they are more or less stupid, and above all they are willing" (p.207). Although he affirms, Said delimits his study on the question of sexuality and how sexual and cultural difference was functioned through the discourse on a discussion where he analyzes the representation of the Eastern women, Kuchuk Hanem, in Flaubert's novel. Said (1979) states:

Woven through all of Flaubert's Oriental experiences, exciting or disappointing, is an almost uniform association between the Orient and sex. [...] Why the Orient seems still to suggest not only fecundity but sexual promise (and threat), untiring sensuality, unlimited desire, deep generative energies, is something on which one could speculate: it is not the province of my analysis here, alas, despite its frequently noted appearance. Nevertheless one must acknowledge its importance as something eliciting complex reasons, sometimes even a frightening self-discovery, in the Orientalists, and Flaubert was an interesting case in point (p.188).

Meyda Yeğenoğlu's study titled "Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism" (1998) focuses on the question of sexuality which was neglected by Said, and also demonstrates how the cultural and sexual difference was functioned in the Orientalist discourse. The departure point of Yeğenoğlu's study is the distinction that Said makes on Orientalism which is called *latent* and *manifest* Orientalism. Said (1979) states that latent Orientalism "almost unconscious (and certainly untouchable) positivity", and manifest Orientalism as "the various stated views about Oriental society, languages, literatures, history, sociology, and so forth" (p.206). By using Said's definition of latent Orientalism as an axis of her study, Yeğenoğlu subjects the discourse to a more sexualized reading in order to demonstrate to cultural and sexual modes of

differentiation (p.26). Drawing such a theoretical framework she states that:

The Western acts of understanding the Orient and its women are not two distinct enterprises, but rather are interwoven aspects of the same gesture. Thus, in referring to the scene of the sexual and the site of unconscious, I do not simply mean the ways in which the figure of the Oriental woman or Oriental sexuality is represented. I am rather referring to the ways in which representations of the Orient are interwoven by sexual imageries, unconscious fantasies, desires, fears, and dreams. In other words, the question of sexuality cannot be treated as a regional one; it governs and structures the subject's every relation with the other. Understanding this (double) articulation in Orientalist discourse therefore requires an exploration of the articulation of the historical with fantasy, the cultural with the sexual, and desire with power. (Yeğenoğlu, 1998, p.26)

The principal issue of Yeğenoğlu's study revolves around the figure of veiled Oriental woman which would be appropriate to utilize in this discussion. By using the Lacanian notion of fantasy, she examines how the unconscious fantasies, dreams and desires of the Western subject structures his relation to the Oriental other (Yeğenoğlu, 1998, p.11).

At this point, it would be appropriate to take a glance at the images of the photographic depiction of the veiled Oriental women in relation with Yeğenoğlu's argument. As can be seen in the selected figures, veiled women captured both in outdoor and studio photography in

various forms, but mostly in the same manner (Figures 3.37-3.51). In contrast to the conspicuous photographic delineation of the Oriental women that stated before (such as harem ceremonies, the odalisque figure), veiled women demonstrate inaccessibility and an annoying repulse for the Western male spectator. As Alloula (1986) asserts:

The opaque veil that covers her intimates clearly and simply to the photographer a refusal. Turned back upon himself, upon his own impotence in the situation, the photographer undergoes an *initial experience of disappointment and rejection*. [...] the Algerian woman discourages the *scopic desire* (voyeurism) of the photographer. (emphasis added by author, p.7)

Although Alloula frequently underscores the position of the photographer in her study, it should be vitally remarked here that this refusal can not be conceived as something that only occurs on the photographer's side. Since the Western photographer is also a constituent of the colonial project, his position can not be privatized in this sense. In addition, it should be crucially added here that, veil can not be simply comprehended as something that hinders the gaze of the Western male/colonizer, but also the very embodiment of the "Algerian resistance" (Yeğenoğlu, 1998, p.40). Quoting from Fanon, "If we want to destroy the structure of Algerian society, its capacity for resistance, we must

first of all conquer the women; we must go and find them behind the veil where they hide themselves and where the men keep them out of sight" (Yeğenoğlu, 1998, p.40). The Western colonizer does not only mean to conquer Algeria, but also a conquering towards women. As stated in the beginning of the chapter, the assertion of the followers of Saint-Simon "no longer a voyage to the Orient, but a voyage towards Woman" coincides with the assertion of Fanon here.

Veil also ensures anonymity where women can not be distinguished from each other (Figures 3.37-3.40). As it is discussed before, the artistic delineation of the Orient is also provided by sameness where women are not diverged from each other. Veil in this sense conceals and disrupts the sight of the Western spectator where he desires to penetrate and imagine the body of the women behind veil. According to Yeğenoğlu, "the fantasy of penetration is only one aspect of a more complex ideological-subjective formation which oscillates between fascination and anger and frustration" (p.44).

The question of what behind veil becomes a mystery. Following the approach of psychoanalysis of Lacan, Yeğenoğlu (1998) states that "Orientalist writing is the European imagination at work in the field of other"



(p.44). Since veil grabs the attention of the Western male spectator, it perturbs the spectator to imagine of the hidden face/body that is behind veil.

The literary text of Edmondo de Amicis's titled "Constantinople" finds the very embodiment of veil's frustration when he confronts with the Ottoman women in Istanbul. Amicis's text reveals the first ambivalent moments of the first encounter very odd, get suspicious whether all these women enveloped in white veils, colorful mantles are nuns or masqueraders or lunatics (Amicis, 1896, p.9). As Yeğenoğlu analyzes, the figure of *masquerading* is accentuated by other writers, novelists. Then, one may conceive veil, as an "act of concealment". If the Oriental woman veils herself, then there should something behind veil that needs to be hidden. She can see the Western spectator, but does not let herself to be seen, captured. Veil becomes the very concrete barrier that disrupts the desire to penetrate.

Figures 3.47 and 3.48 are intriguing examples in relation to this discussion. In contrast to veiled woman's photographs, spectators see two women all covered with drapery. One may not even comprehend whether these two bodies are woman or not. The scene is constructed in such a way that, the spectators motivated

to imagine that these are *women*, and now they do not even conceal their eyes, but also whole face. Nothing can be guessed from the covered bodies and faces; the photography allows to imagine and to speculate about this image to their spectator. The Western spectator's fantasy and desire are in the act of unveiling the veil. In advancing the discussion, Yeğenoğlu's argument that follows the Lacanian approach would expound how fantasy and desire are at work in the act of unveiling the veil in relation with the Western subject. In the collected seminars of Jacques Lacan titled "The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis", he mentions the *objet petit a* as the expression of the cause of the desire, and he adds "the objet a in the field of the visible is the gaze" (Lacan, 1988, p.105). That is to say, in accordance with this discussion, veil is the cause of desire in Lacanian sense (Yeğenoğlu, 1998, p.46). Adopting the idea from Hegel and Alexandre Kojève, Lacan states the formula as "man's desire is the desire of the Other". One may state this formula as, "desire to be the object of another's desire and desire for recognition by another". However, it should be crucially added here that, desire can not be related to an object, but rather can be related to lack (Evans, 1996). According to Lacan, one may state that the object does not only desire to be the object of another's desire,

yet the object desires for the cognizance by another object. "[...] by desiring that which another desires, I can make the other recognise my right to possess that object, and thus make the other recognise my superiority over him" (Kojève, 1969 as cited in Evans, 2005, p.39). As Yeğenoğlu states, any object may be *object petit a* which is nourished, supported by fantasy. Then, how can one accommodate this discussion to the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized? In order not to digress from Yeğenoğlu's argument and accommodate the debate in relation with the photographic depiction of the veiled women, one may state that the Western colonizer establishes fantasy through the Oriental women, thus *object petit a* transferred into the image of the women (Yeğenoğlu, 1998, p.46).

Figures 3.49 and 3.50 are the arresting examples related to this issue. In figure 3.49, spectators see a black veiled woman whose breasts are lay bared by the photographer. As it is mentioned before, with its technical superiority over other arts, photography leads the photographer to construct the imaginary space in relation to Oriental women that nurtures and also constitutes the visual agenda of the Orientalist discourse. In Alloula's words, if the photographer undergoes an initial experience of disappointment and

rejection, then he would overcome this situation this by means of a "double violation" (Alloula, 1986). The photographer unveils the veil and gives figural representation to the forbidden, which is the face of the woman (Alloula, 1986, p.14). In figure 3.50, the head covering makes more explicit of the nakedness of the Oriental woman. In both figures, spectators see the extreme limits of the photographer's construction yet within cliché disposals that suggest a kind of violence.

Yet another image which would be interesting to discuss is the last figure of this study. In this image, there are two women one of them is veiled, whereas the other one is unveiled. The image is titled as "Moorish Woman and Black Woman" that suggests both sexual and racial difference. The juxtaposition of black servants or slaves with white master is also an iterative theme which is painted numerous times particularly by French painters. The most of the black slaves who were brought from Africa were treated badly and offered sexual abuse, but on the other hand these black servants were usually had an act of mediating for those secluded women with the world outside the harem (Brown, 1988). Here, this photograph implies both the unequal relationship of class and power between them in addition with the problem of veiling and unveiling at the same time. In

this image, the photographer does not only place a veiled woman, but he also places an unveiled black servant in order to make a sexual and racial contrast. The photographer's fantasy leads him to construct such endless settings in order to expose the truth behind the veil. As Yeğenoğlu (1998) meticulously demonstrates:

In Orientalist writing, discourses of cultural and sexual difference are powerfully mapped onto each other. What is crucial in this process is that the very act of representing the veil is never represented; the desire that represents the veil can not be represented. The subject can not represent (see) himself representing (seeing) himself. The metaphorical excess of the veil is thus an effacement of the *process of production* of the subject (emphasis added by author, p.46-47).

At this point, the question of what is behind the veil becomes more crucial. As Yeğenoğlu (1998) argues it exceeds its reference, thus becomes the very idea of the Orient (p.47). Here veil does not only conceal the body of the Oriental woman, but also conceals the reality and the truth behind the Orient. Since the Orient presents itself in a deceptive manner, in the act of concealment, the Westerner never grasps the essence of the Orient (Yeğenoğlu, 1998). As Yeğenoğlu (1998) asserts "the veil represents simultaneously the truth and the concealment of truth. The truth of the Orient is thus an effect of veil; it emerges in the traumatic encounter with its untruth, i.e veil" (p.48).

Therefore, the discussion above leads to demonstrate that the thing behind the veil basically is not the main problem in this discourse. The crucial function of the veil is to assure the constitution of the Western subject through the Lacanian *object petit a* (Yeğenoğlu, 1998). The Western subject establishes his subjectivity by claiming a mastery over the Other. Yeğenoğlu (1998) elaborately states how the Western subject produces his identity through this operation of difference:

In imagining this hidden Oriental/feminine essence behind the veil as the repository of truth, the subject turns the Orient into an object that confirms his identity and thereby satisfies his need to represent himself to himself as a subject of knowledge and reason [...] The attempt to represent what is concealed behind the veil and what the veiled being of the Orient/feminine is, is one that starts and ends with the subject of representation(p.49).

On the whole, the problematization of the photographic depiction of the veiled Oriental women can be related to the core of the problem of sexual and cultural differentiation within the Orientalist discourse. It should be appropriate to sum up that, altogether with the categorized images in this study; Orientalist photography has become a means of justifying and also constructing the very idea of Orient. Although the photography has a premise on displaying the world as it is, these Orientalist photographs have in no way stopped the stereotyped images. Nourishing from the tradition of

painting, Orientalist photography can be also conceived as a sequel of Orientalist painting. As it is stated before, Orientalism constructs the Oriental society as a place without history, timeless and changeless. This production of changeless and timeless Orient is in the very core of the Orientalist discourse.

#### 4. CRITICISM AND CONCLUSION

The major works from which this thesis benefited are Malek Alloula's "Colonial Harem", Sarah Graham Brown's "Images of Women: The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East 1860-1950" and Ken Jacobson's "Odalisques & Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925". The complex and problematic implications of Orientalist representations are already critically discussed in Edward Said's groundbreaking study as well as by various other scholars in the field of postcolonial studies. As stated in the previous chapter, Said strongly underlines the visualizing aspect of Orientalism: "the Orient is watched [...] the European, whose sensibility tours the Orient, is a watcher, never involved, always detached" (Said, 1979, p.103). Although Said's study has been rightly criticized by other scholars for its various shortcomings and reductionism, it is still a major reference for a critical approach to Orientalism. Said presented a wide range of Orientalist texts varying from literature to history. However, although he emphasized the visualizing aspect of Orientalism, he did not



particularly focus on it. This was later taken into consideration by art historians. A major work is Linda Nochlin's well-known essay titled "The Imaginary Orient", published in 1983. This was followed by works such Malek Alloula's and Ken Jacobson's. However I would like to make a criticism of especially these two authors in my conclusion.

As I have stressed in the previous chapters, photography has the premise to display the world of things as it is. This has an important implication in my context. The factual status of the photographic sign may be seen as guaranteeing a precise capture of oriental reality, particularly compared with painting. However, we have seen that the case is exactly the opposite: the oriental scenes have a clearly constructed and theatricalized nature. Indeed we may say in conclusion that Orientalist photography theatricalized the Orient in a much stronger fashion than Orientalist painting.

Malek Alloula's work on "The Colonial Harem" focuses on the French postcards categorized by their themes. Throughout the book, he underscores the position of the photographer where his studio becomes "a pacified microcosm where his desire, his scopic instinct can find satisfaction" (Alloula, 1986, p.14). Certainly, the

argument that Alloula submits to the field can not be ignored. He meticulously focuses on the images in order to display how the visual conception of the East is gendered and strongly underlines how these scenes are reconstructions rather than reflections of reality. However Alloula's contributions end in the photographer's studio. He seldomly mentions about the consumers of the images and does not elaborately take the commercial market into consideration. According to Jacobson, the photography studios had a great significance in the overall system of production and distribution, especially in terms of their longevity. They were all big companies:

In some ways, it might be accurate to think of each of these studios as the Ford Motor Company or Microsoft of their particular region, rather than as individual toiling artists. They eventually became so large and successful that they often employed many assistants and dominated the opposition (p.34).

As far as the postcard is concerned in Alloula's book, one expects a stronger expectation of the circulation of these images in the French public. Can this pacified microcosm only be limited to the photographer's studio? The readers are not well informed once these postcards enter the market. Irvin Cemil-Schick criticizes Alloula from this aspect. According to Schick (1990), Alloula ignores to conceive the Orientalist photographers as producers of commodities for the market, rather narrowly

perceiving them in voluntaristic terms (p.353). As Schick (1990) writes:

Such ahistorical psychologizing can hardly explain the mass phenomenon that was orientalist photography. Although this kind of argument may conceivably explain the motivations of a given photographer, it is untenable to suggest that an entire industry owed its existence to the photographers' collective scopophilia. Nor am I inclined to believe that a pimp conducts his sordid business as a vicarious means of satisfying himself, rather than as a matter of economics based upon the exploitation of women's bodies (p.353).

Alloula underscores the position of the photographer, but he also isolates him by overemphasizing his subjectivity. Surely Alloula is aware that the Western photographer can not be taken in isolation from the colonial project. Even though Alloula highlights the photographer's subjectivity frequently, he does not fail to underline that the photographer is not important as an individual, but he plays a social role.

It is as if the postcard photographer had been entrusted with a social mission: put the collective phantasm into images [...] The true voyeurism is that of the colonial society as a whole. The postcard photographer is not important as an individual. *He never goes beyond the stereotype* [...] Hence, in this essay, the recourse the generality: I always speak of *the* photographer and never photographers. (emphasis added by author, Alloula, 1986, p. 131, n.26).

As Schick (1990) criticizes however, Alloula does not elucidate precisely this process "by which the colonizing

society supposedly commissions the photographers to reify its voyeuristic fantasies" (p.354). In other words, he fails to show the strong role played by the political and economical background of the Orientalist photography.

Another major study related to this subject is Ken Jacobson's book "Odalisques & Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925". In contrast to Alloula, Jacobson offers a wider historical scope by focusing on the photographic depictions of the Orient from the invention of photography to 1925. Jacobson's study gives exhaustive information about the 19.th century Orientalist photography. It is not limited to the imagery of women, and offers multifarious examples from the various themes and sub-themes of the field. His book is an excellent source for those who need detailed historical information, especially how artists practiced photography in order to create Orientalist art works as well as the historical background of Orientalist photography. Jacobson also gives useful biographical information about the Orientalist photographers who produced such photographs in the Middle East and North Africa.

At the end of his study, he brings up the question of morality in Orientalist photography, especially with regard to postcolonial studies. However, Jacobson

criticizes the postcolonial criticism from various aspects, especially emphasizing its cliché dimension.

Jacobson (2007) asserts that:

Saidist analysis stereotypes Westerners, falling into the same trap that they criticize in the work of others, which is to 'essentialize' all Westerners into types rather than individuals. This approach tends to ignore those who are highly complimentary about, or even deeply moved by, the Oriental way of life. It renders all non-natives of the East incapable of independent thought and forces Westerners into a condition of original sin (p.86).

Jacobson's above statement seems to be a defense of the West and Westerners, trying to protect them from what he thinks as Said's unfair attack. He criticizes Said's approach as "essentializing" the West; according to him, Said himself conceives Westerners as "types" rather than as "individuals" and sweepingly marks every Western individual as colonialist and imperialist. As I have already argued in the previous chapters however, although there is sometimes a reductive tone in Said's approach, this kind of critical response tends to miss the very point of his critical analysis. After all, it would be rather unfair to say that Said simply blames the Westerners. Jacobson himself fails to see the question of Orientalism as a matter of the *construction* of the Western subject.

Jacobson also suggests that we use traditional methods to analyze the Orientalist photography by bringing the aesthetic, documentary and historical aspects in the foreground:

The many misconceptions inherent in postcolonialist analysis, suggest a return to more traditional methods desirable for the study of 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century photography in North Africa and Near East. [...] In this particular work, for example, a wide variety of Oriental photographs have been considered, there exists an unmistakable predisposition towards imagery that, in the author's opinion, has notable aesthetic, as well as documentary and historical merit (p.88).

According to Jacobson, "theoretical" approaches such as postcolonial criticism provide a narrow range of explanations which are insufficient to interpret Orientalist images. Fond of historical records and appreciating Orientalist photography only in terms of its aesthetic, documentary and historical merits, Jacobson completely ignores the Orientalist debate. Indeed it was this debate that ensured and enriched our understanding of the visual encyclopedia and the visual agenda of Orientalist discourse. This seems to be the very point that traditional art history of Jacobson's is missing. To put it in Nochlin's words, art critical discourse has a hard time in avoiding the "celebratory mode" (Nochlin, 1989, p. 56) and get into a genuinely critical one. Narrowly appreciating these images in artistic terms

prevents the readers or spectators to conceive the colonial ideology within or behind these photographs.

Overall, this thesis was an attempt to demonstrate the photographic depiction of the Oriental women of 19<sup>th</sup> century in accordance with the Orientalist discourse. Since there was a great demand in the Oriental countries when photography was invented, these photographs can not be isolated from Orientalist discourse and representation. More than their aesthetic value, these images were the reconstructions of a feigned realism. In the early years of its invention, photography opened up a new horizon to display the things as they are, connoting the idea of "It is.../There is..." Although it had a promise of delivering true knowledge, and hence for instance demonstrating information about the East, the photography did maintain the Orientalist activity of stereotyping the Orient. I should add, however, that the photographic desire to represent the Orient is not simply colonial here, but in articulation with the gender difference. The photographic scenes I have discussed are reconstructions of the Western photographer who is himself produced and constructed by the double articulation of the colonial and patriarchal gazes. As Yeğenoğlu (1998) succinctly put it: "...understanding this (double) articulation in Orientalist discourse therefore requires an exploration

of the articulation of the historical with fantasy, the cultural with the sexual, and desire with power" (p.26).

In the first chapter, I have constructed a theoretical framework for studying the depiction of Oriental women in photography depending on Edward Said's study. Since Said's study involved a number of shortcomings, this required a careful examination of its basic arguments as well as the criticisms it received. I have then focused on the invention of photography and the role of Orientalist photography played in its early history as well as the various genres of Orientalist photography.

I need to emphasize in conclusion once more that the photographic depiction of Oriental women played a fundamental role in the passage from Orientalist painting to Orientalist photography. In the second chapter, I have examined Orientalism as an "art historical" term and focused on the imagery of women in Orientalist paintings especially by preeminent French painters, as these scenes constituted the "model" for Orientalist photography. With this purpose, I have supplemented Said's argument with Linda Nochlin's art-critical perspective in her well-known essay, "The Imaginary Orient". In fact, these painters were very successful in producing what Nochlin aptly calls the "imaginary Orient" by a plethora of



paintings long before the invention of photography. Since the photographers basically took these paintings as their model for the scenes they constructed, it is entirely plausible to conclude that the tradition of painting nurtured the photographic tradition and instructed the visual reconstruction of the "Orient".

Next, in the third chapter, which is the crucial part of the dissertation, I have focused on the photographic depiction of the Oriental women with regard to Orientalist discourse. Since Said's argument neglected the aspect of gender and sexual difference in Orientalist discourse, Meyda Yeğenoğlu's study was helpful in order to examine Orientalism through a feminist reading. I have showed by a general historical survey that Orientalist photography came to appear by the emergence of studio photography in the Middle East, and I have discussed the reasons for the expansion of the studios and the depiction of Oriental women with regard to studio photography. The images were grouped around two basic themes: the harem (coffee drinkers, narghile smokers and belly dancers) and the odalisque figure. I have also focused on the problematization of the photographic depiction of the figure of the veiled Oriental women. The imagery of the veiled women is also an iterative theme in both painting and photography. In the analysis of these

images, I have used Yeğenoğlu's study in order to demonstrate how the Western subject constituted his "self" in relation to the "other", the Oriental women. In addition, beyond the photographic representation of the veiled women, Yeğenoğlu's study points out how the veil exceeds its reference, thus becomes a metaphor for everything that is related to the Orient, and reveals, in this way, what she called "the feminization of the Orient".

To sum up the whole discussion, it should be appropriate to state that my thesis was an attempt to give a survey of the photographic depiction of the Oriental women. I aimed to demonstrate the visual reconstruction of the Oriental women in the particular medium of photography. Photography has been a challenging medium and topic in the field of critical studies on Orientalism. From the first day of its invention, it has always been regarded as a record of 'what happened' and 'what is there'. The analogical and strongly realistic power of photography sharply distinguished it from painting. But the practice of Orientalist photography shows that the "reality" photography is supposed to deliver may also be constructed in an imaginary space prepared in the studio, and thus photography's premise turns into a "feigned realism".

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## APPENDIX

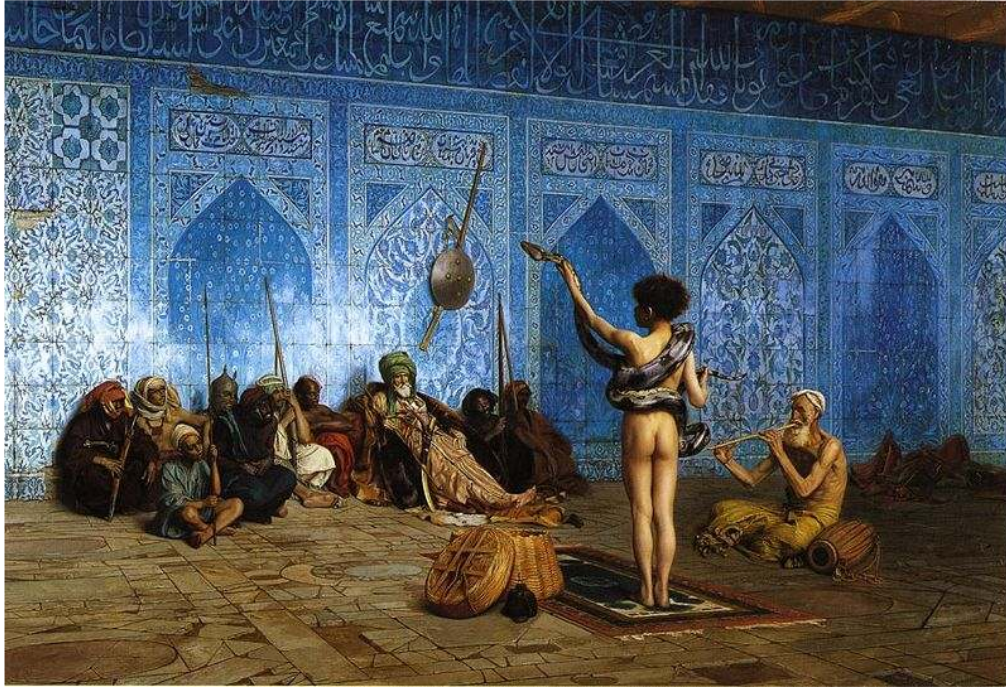


Figure 2.1

Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904)

*The Serpent Charmer*, 1880, Oil on canvas, 84 x 122 cm.,

Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown,  
Massachusetts, USA

<http://www.artrenewal.org/asp/database/image.asp?id=161>



Figure 2.2

Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904)

*The Carpet Merchant*, 1887, Oil on canvas, 83.5 x 64.7 cm.,

The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, USA

<http://www.artrenewal.org/asp/database/image.asp?id=192>





Figure 2.3

Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904)

*A Chat by the Fireside*, 1881, Oil on canvas, 46.4 x 38 cm.,

Museum of Art, University of Kansas

<http://www.artrenewal.org/asp/database/image.asp?id=148>





Figure 2.4

Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904)

*A Street Scene in Cairo*, 1870-1871, Oil on canvas, 59 x 92.7 cm.,

Private collection

<http://www.artrenewal.org/asp/database/image.asp?id=130>



Figure 2.5

Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780-1867)

*The Turkish Bath*, 1862, Oil on canvas on wood, diameter 108 cm.,

Musée du Louvre, Paris

<http://www.artchive.com/artchive/I/ingres/turkbath.jpg.html>



Figure 2.6

Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780-1867)

*The Valpinçon Bather*, 1808, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

[http://www.artchive.com/artchive/I/ingres/ingres\\_valpincon.jpg.html](http://www.artchive.com/artchive/I/ingres/ingres_valpincon.jpg.html)



Figure 2.7

Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780-1867)

*La Grande Odalisque*, 1814, Oil on canvas, 91 x 162 cm.,  
Musée du Louvre, Paris

<http://www.wga.hu/>





Figure 2.8

Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780-1867)

*Odalisque with a Slave* , 1840, Oil on canvas mounted on panel, 89.66 x 162.05 cm.,

Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

[http://www.artchive.com/artchive/I/ingres/ingres\\_odalisque.jpg.html](http://www.artchive.com/artchive/I/ingres/ingres_odalisque.jpg.html)

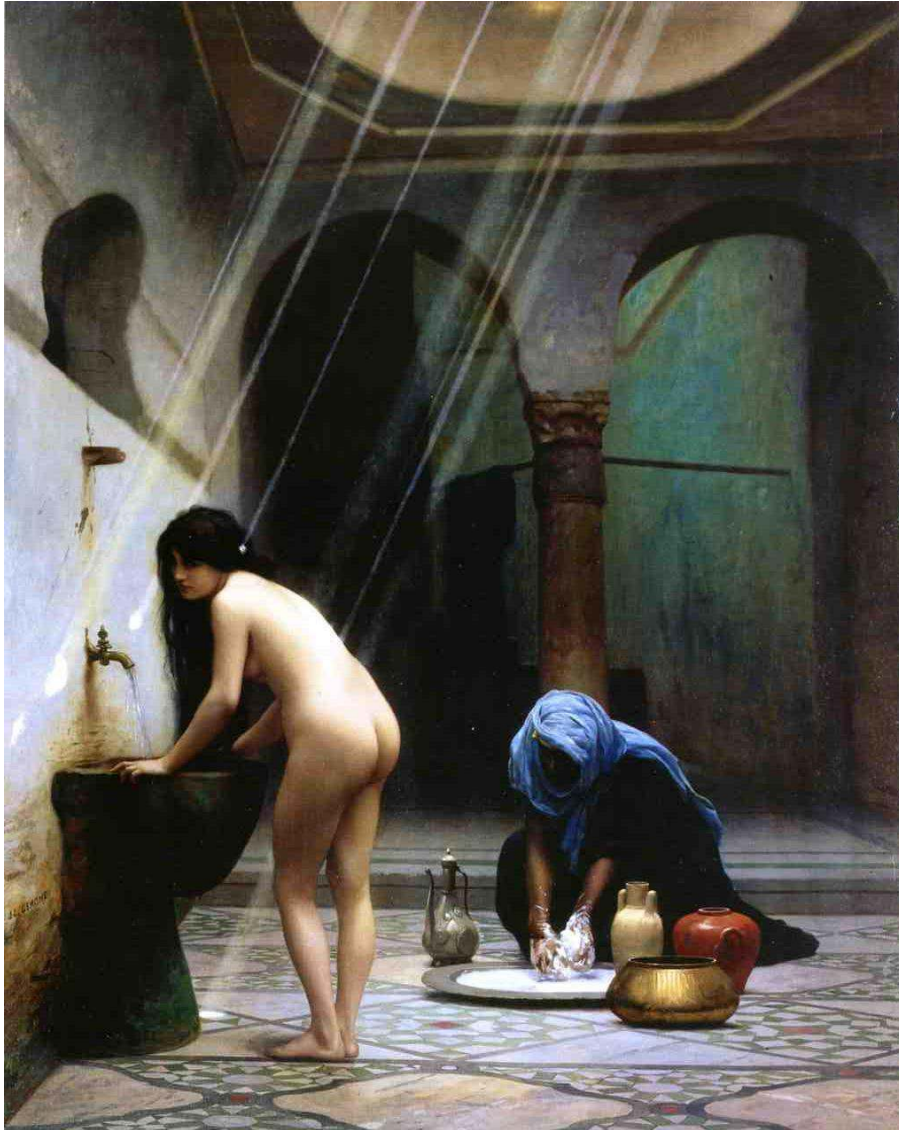


Figure 2.9

Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904)

*A Moorish Bath aka Turkish Woman Bathing*, 1874-1877, Oil on canvas, 81.5 x 65.5 cm., Private collection.

<http://www.artrenewal.org/asp/database/image.asp?id=193>



Figure 2.10

Edouard Bernard Debat-Ponsan (1847–1913)

*The Massage in the Harem*, 1883, Oil on canvas, 127 x 210 cm.,

Private collection.

<http://www.artrenewal.org/asp/database/image.asp?id=341>



Figure 3.1

"Louchet. *Almée*. Late 1840s. Half a stereo daguerrotype. Internation Museum of Photography, Rochester, New York"

PERREZ, N. N. (1988). *Focus East. Early Photography in the East (1839-1885)*. New York: Harry N.Abrams. Inc., : 100.





Figure 3.2

"Roger Fenton. Courting Couple, 1860s. Albumen Print. The Israel Museum, Jerusalem"

PERREZ, N. N. (1988). *Focus East. Early Photography in the East (1839-1885)*. New York: Harry N. Abrams. Inc., : 101.



Figure 3.3

"African woman. Studio portrait, Late nineteenth century."

Brown, G.S. (1988). *The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East 1860-1950: Images of Women*. New York: Columbia University Press:41.



Figure 3.4

" 'Group of Bedouin from East of Jordan'. Bonfils, late nineteenth century"

Brown, G.S. (1988). *The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East 1860-1950: Images of Women*. New York: Columbia University Press:42.



Figure 3.5

"Claude-Joseph Portier. *Odalisque, Algiers, c.1870s*"

Jacobson, K. (2007). *Odalisques and Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925*. London: Quaritch:47.



Figure 3.6

"Circle of Marville. Two women, one sleeping, Algeria, salt print, c.1854"

Jacobson, K. (2007). *Odalisques and Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925*. London: Quaritch: 105.





Figure 3.7

"Gustave De Beaucorps. *Odalisque, Algeria, c.1850s*"

Jacobson, K. (2007). *Odalisques and Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925*. London: Quaritch:125.



Figure 3.8

"Maison Prod'hom. 'Juive de Guelma', Bône, c.1870s".

Jacobson, K. (2007). *Odalisques and Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925*. London: Quaritch:147.



Figure 3.9

" Unidentified photographer. Odalisque, Algeria, c.1870"

Jacobson, K. (2007). *Odalisques and Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925*. London: Quaritch:153.





Figure 3.10

"Semi-nude woman lying on a divan. Stereoscopic daguerrotype, c.1852"

Brown, G.S. (1988). *The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East 1860-1950: Images of Women*. New York: Columbia University Press:4.



Figure 3.11

"Scenes and types. Reclining odalisque"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:82.



Figure 3.12

"Scenes and types.Moorish woman"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:79.



Figure 3.13

"Young Moorish woman"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:73.





Figure 3.14

“Scenes and types. Moorish woman in her quarters”

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:83.



Figure 3.15

Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863)

*Women of Algiers in their Apartment*, 1834, Oil on canvas,  
180 x 229 cm

Musée du Louvre, Paris

<http://www.artrenewal.org/asp/database/image.asp?id=354>



Figure 3.16

Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863)

*Women of Algiers in their Apartment*, 1849, Oil on canvas,  
84.14 x 111.13 cm

Musee Fabre, France

<http://www.the-athenaeum.org/art/detail.php?ID=21741>



Figure 3.17

"Arab woman in her quarters"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:69.





Figure 3.18

"Algeria. Beautiful Fatmah"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:34.



Figure 3.19

"Woman from southern Algeria"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:70.



Figure 3.20

"Moorish woman pouring her kaoua"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:71.



Figure 3.21

"Scenes and types. Kaoua"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:72.



Figure 3.22

"Algiers. Arab women having coffee"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:73.





Figure 3.23

“Algeria. Moorish woman smoking a hookah”

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:75.



Figure 3.24

"Arab women"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:76.



Figure 3.25

"Alexandre Leroux. Street of Ouled Nail prostitutes, Biskra, c.1880s"

Jacobson, K. (2007). *Odalisques and Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925*. London: Quaritch:160.





Figure 3.26

"Alary & Geiser. Ouled Nail woman bathing, c.1860  
(printed c.1870s)"

Jacobson, K. (2007). *Odalisques and Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925*. London: Quaritch:34.



Figure 3.27

"Lehnert & Landrock. Two Ouled nail women, Algeria, photogravure"

Jacobson, K. (2007). *Odalisques and Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925*. London: Quaritch:181.



Figure 3.28

"Algerian types. Moorish woman. (Written on card: I am sending you a package to be picked up at the railway station. The babies are doing well, they have just taken a walk by the beach. I shall write you shortly at greater length. Warm kisses to all of you. [signed:] Martha.)"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:26.



Figure 3.29

"Scenes and types. Young woman"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:90.





Figure 3.30

"Moorish women. The dance"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:91.



Figure 3.31

"Algiers. Moorish women in housedress. Dance of the almehs"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:87.



Figure 3.32

"Algeria. Dance of the veil"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:92.



Figure 3.33

"Moorish dancer"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:94.





Figure 3.34

"Young Beduin woman"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:62.



Figure 3.35

"Young woman from the South"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:63.



Figure 3.36

"Young Kabyl woman"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:65.



Figure 3.37

"Scenes and types. Moorish women taking a walk"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:8.



Figure 3.38

"Algiers. Moorish women on their way to cemetery"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:9.



Figure 3.39

" 'Femmes allant au bain'-Women Going to the hamam (Public Baths). H.Béchar, Cairo, late nineteenth century"

Brown, G.S. (1988). *The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East 1860-1950: Images of Women*. New York: Columbia University Press:87.





Figure 3.40

" 'Moorish Women of Algiers'. Gervais Courtellement et Cie, Algiers, before 1895."

Brown, G.S. (1988). *The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East 1860-1950: Images of Women*. New York: Columbia University Press:75.



Figure 3.41

"Moorish woman taking a walk"

Alloula, M. (1986). *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:14.





Figure 3.42

"Jean Geiser. Woman in outdoor costume, Algiers, large-format print, c.1870s"

Jacobson, K. (2007). *Odalisques and Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925*. London: Quaritch:48.



Figure 3.43

"Woman with three vases (displays atypical Arnoux signature), c.1870."

Jacobson, K. (2007). *Odalisques and Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925*. London: Quaritch:207.



Figure 3.44

"Ludovico Hart. Wealthy women of Cairo, c.1860s."

Jacobson, K. (2007). *Odalisques and Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925*. London: Quaritch: 119.



Figure 3.45

"An Egyptian woman. Zangaki. Studio portrait. Port Said, Egypt, probably 1870s"

Brown, G.S. (1988). *The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East 1860-1950: Images of Women*. New York: Columbia University Press:42.



Figure 3.46

" 'Femme arabe, femme turque' - Arab woman and Turkish Woman. Zangaki, Port Said, 1870-80".

Brown, G.S. (1988). *The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East 1860-1950: Images of Women*. New York: Columbia University Press:119.





Figure 3.47

"Maison Bonfils. Syrian Muslim women in outdoor dress, Beirut, c.1880s"

Jacobson, K. (2007). *Odalisques and Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925*. London: Quaritch:54.



Figure 3.48

"George Washington Wilson & Co.. Woman in Moroccan dress, Tangiers, c.1870s"

Jacobson, K. (2007). *Odalisques and Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925*. London: Quaritch:178.



Figure 3.49

" 'Scenes and Types- Arabian Woman with the Yashmak'. Probably Nureddin & Levin, Cairo. Postcard, late nineteenth century".

Brown, G.S. (1988). *The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East 1860-1950: Images of Women*. New York: Columbia University Press:136.





Figure 3.50

" 'Fellahmädchen, nacht' - peasant girl, naked. [ ? Egypt]  
Printed in an unknown German publication, 1908"

Brown, G.S. (1988). *The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East 1860-1950: Images of Women*. New York: Columbia University Press:136.



Figure 3.51

" 'Maaresque et mulatresse' - Moorish Woman and Black Woman. Probably Algiers, before 1895"

Brown, G.S. (1988). *The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East 1860-1950: Images of Women*. New York: Columbia University Press:79.