

WOMEN AND FASHION IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD

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History

By

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For my family, as always

APPROVAL PAGE

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ABSTRACT

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WOMEN AND FASHION IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD

This thesis aims to examine the changing fashion of women's costumes during the Ottoman constitutional period in order to understand the effects of westernization / modernization on Turkish women's life. This thesis is mainly based on articles published in women's magazines, travel books which were written by Europeans and some novels. During the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire experienced a significant transformation which affected all parts of society. There is a clear picture of women's transformation with the westernization / modernization process. During the nineteenth century, Turkish elite women adopted European fashion. The goal of this thesis is to investigate the process of westernization within the Ottoman Empire and the changing of identities of women from the perspective of fashion transformation. This will help to understand social changes within the Ottoman society.

After the introduction which examines Ottoman clothing during the classical period, chapter one presents an overview of political and social history of the period. In addition, it discusses clothing habits of Ottoman women in the nineteenth century. The next chapter discusses women clothing habits in the Second Constitutional Period. Chapter three explores changes in the fashion as reflected in women's magazines and novels. The conclusion emphasizes the fact that the changing clothing habits of Turkish women reflect the changing identity of Ottoman society.

Key Words: Ottoman women, clothing habits, Ottoman women's dresses, Ottoman Constitutional Period.

KISA ÖZET

Yeliz USTA

Ocak 2009

MEŞRUTİYET SÜRECİNDE KADIN VE MODA

Bu yüksek lisans tezi, batılılaşma veya modernleşmenin Türk kadını yaşamının üzerindeki etkilerini anlayabilmek amacıyla, Meşrutiyet sürecinde değişen kadın modasını incelemektedir. Bu tez, öncelikle kadın dergilerinde yayınlanan makaleleri, Batılılar tarafından yazılan seyahatnameleri ve bazı romanları araştırmaktadır. Meşrutiyet sürecini içeren on dokuzuncu yüzyıl boyunca, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu toplumun bütün bölümlerini etkileyen değişimler yaşamıştır. Burada, batılılaşma veya modernleşme süreciyle kadının yaşadığı değişimleri ortaya koyan bir resim vardır. On dokuzuncu yüzyıl boyunca Türk kadını Batı modasına adapte olmuştur. Bu tez, sosyal değişimleri daha iyi anlamak için, Osmanlı içerisindeki batılılaşma sürecini ve değişen Osmanlı kimliğini, kadın modası perspektifinden inceleme amacını gütmektedir.

Osmanlının klasik dönemdeki kıyafetlerini inceleyen giriş bölümünü takiben, birinci bölüm, dönemin siyasi ve sosyal tarihi ile ilgili genel bir bakış sunar. Buna ek olarak on dokuzuncu yüzyılda kadın kıyafeti alışkanlıklarını tartışır. İkinci bölüm ise ikinci Meşrutiyet yıllarındaki kadın kıyafeti alışkanlıklarını tartışır. Üçüncü bölüm kadın dergilerini ve romanları temel alarak değişen modayı araştırır. Sonuç bölümü Türk kadınının değişen moda alışkanlıklarıyla birlikte değişen Osmanlı kimliğini vurgular.

Anahtar Kelimeler:

Osmanlı kadınları, kıyafet alışkanlıkları, Osmanlı kadın kıyafetleri, Osmanlı Meşrutiyet dönemi.

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INTRODUCTION

Women's Costume in the Classical Period

Clothing always had a political and social importance in the Ottoman Empire, because the color, style and type of clothing were significant indicators of the identity of people who lived in a multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural society. There is no doubt that difference in appearance made it easier to differentiate people's religion, race, job, richness and poorness. As far as the history of Ottoman dress is concerned, it will be appropriate to analyze in two periods: before and after the *Tanzimat* Edict of 1839 (İpşirli, 510). The nineteenth century was a period of change and reform and the Ottoman women had also experienced these changes. One cannot think Ottoman women apart from these changes and reforms. The clothing habits of Ottoman women had changed in accordance with these changes. It is important to analyze a changing society by looking at the clothing of its people. To understand the changes that women experienced during the Ottoman Constitutional Period, it is necessary to have a look at women's dress in the Ottoman classical period.

Costumes show differences among communities, religions, professions group, gender and age in the Ottoman Empire. Communities and individuals always used dress as a means to show their differences. They can show their belonging to a particular group or community or reject to be part of other groups with their dresses. People who did not obey the clothing rules were subject to warnings. Dresses generally showed the occupation of

the person who wore them. One could even understand people's age by looking at their clothes (Os, 2002).

When we look at the Ottoman habits of clothing, we see that different clothes were worn according to rank, status, and profession, as well as religious affiliation. Each person would wear the specific dress of his or her group. It was a well-known principle that Muslims and non-Muslims should not resemble one another physically (Argit, 2005: 170). Religious groups were supposed to wear different clothes according to rules of the Ottoman Empire.

According to the classical Ottoman clothing codes, Muslims were to wear yellow shoes, Armenians red shoes, while Greeks were supposed to wear black headgear and shoes; the Jews wore blue colored clothing. In 1580, during the period of Mehmed II, Jews were assigned red headgear and black shoes and Christians had to wear black headgear (Argit, 2005: 171). The Jewish people commonly wore yellow, Christians wore blue, Zoroastrians wore black and Turks wore white *turban* (Eliot, 2004: 336). The Jewish women's clothes were darker than Muslim women's clothes. They wore dark brown *ferace* outside, but their indoor clothes were the same clothes and headwear as Muslim women's clothes. (Ovadjo, 2000). These clothing regulations concerning Ottoman subjects were supposed to be obeyed, but it is understood that people sometimes ignored these orders.

Clothing laws were promulgated not only for non-Muslims, but also for Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire. The clothing of Muslims, Christians, Jews, clergy, tradesmen, state and military officials were strictly

regulated during the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent (1520-1526). However, in the seventeenth century, non-Muslims did not pay attention to the rules and they dressed as Muslims did (Argit, 2005: 172). The social and economic differences between the ruler and the ruled people also affected the clothing styles. While the palace and court displayed showy clothes, the ordinary people were only concerned with covering themselves.

Regulations of clothing which had been put in practice among statesmen and ordinary people were indications of social groups since the early periods. These regulations were made to differentiate people as groups which had special dress and knew their limits with respect to other groups. These regulations about clothing were sometimes made by the state and sometimes by Ottoman tradition. It is important that Suleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566) made many important, extensive regulations on dress and finery. After the sixteenth century, styles of dress had not changed until 1720. There were fewer changes in the fashion. From the beginning of the eighteenth century there appeared many regulations about dress and finery (Quataert, 2002: 214)

Clothing laws were generally based on religious distinction. The 1829 law, which was issued by Mahmud II (1808-1839), eroded the visible clothing distinction based on religion. With the introduction of the fez, and with the *Tanzimat*, formal equality of Muslims and non-Muslims before the law became accepted. This brought about non-religious uniformity and equality in the empire (Argit, 2005: 169).

In the classical period, women had been veiled with *ferace* and *yaşmak*. In the winters women preferred a special *ferace* which was made of *çuha*. Similarly in the summers, they preferred *ferace* that was made of *sof*. Therefore, it seems that women used different fabrics in accordance with the weather conditions. Their shoes, which were made of *sahtiyan*, were yellow. In addition, *ferace*'s color was generally dark green. Later, *ferace*'s color and fabric changed (Ali Rıza Bey, 2001: 107-109). Women began to wear purple and red *ferace* in the seventeenth century (Sevin, 1973: 102-103).

When we look at Ottoman Muslim women, they used to cover all their body outdoors. In the early periods they used to wear yellow dresses, which corresponded to *ferace* in the next centuries, and they had buttons from collar to skirt like *maslah* (but in fact *maslah* did not have buttons) in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. In addition, their clothes were long and tight in the street, and their head was covered with the *hotoz* (Sevin, 1973: 59, 63).

In the sixteenth century, the Turkish women used to wear *hotoz* which was like *fez*, and they wore dress-gown (*entari*) which had eight lined and cross lacing strap with white belt. *Yaşmak* which was the one of the symbols of Turkish women's clothes was first seen in the seventeenth century miniatures. *Yaşmak*, which had at least two and a half century historical background, appeared in many styles from the seventeenth century until the nineteenth century. In the sixteenth century women used to wear high *hotoz* embellished with jewelry. There was a thin cover of veil on the *hotoz* and they used the *hotoz* with the *yaşmak* to cover the face except the eyes. In this

period *ferace* was attached with densely fixed buttons to the belt. It had a wide collar and was made of *kendi* fabric (Sevin, 1973: 95, 96, 99).



Fig. 1. An Ottoman lady in *ferace* and *yaşmak*, from the postcard collection of Yeliz Usta.



Fig. 2. An Ottoman lady in *ferace* and *yaşmak*, from the postcard collection of Yeliz Usta.

Beginning from the Tulip Era (1718-1730), there appeared imperial regulations regarding clothing in the 1720s, 1750s, and 1790s. These decrees prohibited dresses which were very tight, bright and very colorful. The imperial decree dated 1792 observed that women were wearing very thin *feraces*; therefore, women were warned to avoid such clothing habits, which were regarded improper for the Muslim society. It was reported that non-Muslim people had been wearing yellow shoes for a few years. In fact, yellow shoes were supposed to be worn only by Muslim people (Quataert, 2002: 218). The ignorance among the people regarding imperial decrees on clothing resulted in the promulgation of Mahmud II's new codes on clothing in 1829. Accordingly, all statesmen had to wear *fez*. Religious men, who had their own clothes for religious ceremonies, were exempted from this application. However, this regulation did not touch upon the clothing habits of Ottoman women. In the physical outlook, there would not be anything to show profession, rank or religious affiliation. The regulation of 1829 was the harbinger of the following reforms in 1839 and 1856 which aimed to remove differences between Muslims and non-Muslims and provide equality among all Ottoman subjects (Quataert, 2002: 220, 221).

In the eighteenth century fur was very fashionable among the Ottoman elite women; they wore it even in the summers. *Üç etek* (three skirts) was also worn in this century. The dress-gown was graced with jewelry or lacework (*dantel*). Women used to wear belt with lacework and *hotoz* on their head (Sevin, 1973: 101). The women wore silk clothes in the palace. The women of the palace and concubines wore *üç etek* and *bindallı* during this

period; these clothes became popular in the nineteenth century. Not only had concubines worn *üç-etek* and *bindallı*, but other women in society wore these clothes. When we look at the wedding dresses, the upper part of wedding dress with baggy trousers showed the effect of western fashion and in terms of its outlook the bottom part of this dress showed the effects of Balkan fashion (Apak & Gündüz & Eray, 1997: 133, 137).

In general, we see that clothing had begun to be regulated since the classical period of the empire. With the westernization attempts, the degree of these regulations increased. Clothing styles among Ottoman subjects began to change by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Dresses of Ottoman Muslim Women: Some Detailed Descriptions

In this part, I would like to present some detailed descriptions of dresses of Ottoman Muslim women. These are not all the types of dresses which were worn in the Ottoman Empire; they are just the most common dresses which help us understand the clothing habits of Ottoman Muslim women in the empire.

The *ferace* was the cloth which was worn with the *yaşmak* outdoors before the advent of the *çarşaf* in the nineteenth century. The *ferace*, which had large arms and a large neckband was a large robe made of felt (*çuha*) and *sof* in early periods, but later it was made of fancy fabric. It had two pieces like the *yaşmak*, one of them was the garment (*roba*) which had long arms, and the other part was large and had big collar like a cloak. When

collars of the *feraces* became more elaborate, it caused imperial warnings and prohibitions. There were simple plain *feraces* and there were also *feraces* which had embroidered pockets and collars. Some of them were large and some of them were narrow according to the fashion of the time. Their colors were generally dark but red ones were also popular in the later decades of the empire. The *ferace* of Istanbul was usually made of green cloth or other stuff fabric, which was a long square cape quilted and covered with green silk. This dress was worn from the early periods of the empire until the end of Abdülhamid II's reign (Koçu, 1967: 108, 110).

Yaşmak was the gauze which was used with the *ferace* outdoors, and it consisted of two pieces. One of them covered women's hair and the other covered all of their face except eyes. These two pieces were fastened on the nape of the neck. The *yaşmak's* selvages were put under the *ferace's* collar. There were thick and thin styles of *yaşmak*. Women generally used thin *yaşmaks* in the later period of the Ottoman Empire (Koçu, 1967: 240,241). The Ottoman women used to wear *ferace* and *yaşmak* together and they wore yellow *çedik pabuç* as shoes.

The *maşlah*, which belong to the nineteenth century, was worn over the dress in the countryside and summerhouses but not in the town. There were many colors of this clothing and the most popular one was white. The *maşlah* was made of any suitable cloth and it had only one part. It was worn until the end of World War I (Koçu, 1967: 170).

Another piece of everyday clothing was the *libade*. It was a short cotton sweater after the *üç etek* period. The surface of the *libade* and its

furring (undercoat) were stitched with diagonal sewing. This sweater was short, choker and lined on waist, it had large arms, was worn before the advent of modern concepts of western fashion (Koçu, 1967: 168).

Yemeni was gauze which had flower embroidery on it as adornment, and was used to cover the head, especially inside the house. Its edges were adorned with lace and used in two different styles. (The first style, *kundak*, covered all head. The second style *salma*, covered the hair and let its parts on shoulder, was generally used by young girls inside the house) (Koçu, 1967: 246).

The çarşaf was a dress for being veiled after the *ferace*. It was seen for the first time in the *Çamlıca* district by Suphi Pasha and his family when they came back to Istanbul from Syria (Muhsipzade Celal, 1946: 133). The *çarşaf* had three pieces. These were the face shield, the cloak that covered the head and body to the waist, and the last one was a long skirt. The *çarşaf's* cloth changed according to women's wealth and it could have been taffeta, silk or wool. Its shape changed in accordance with the fashion of the time and it was sometimes made of European cloth. Its colors were generally dark. In later periods, the *çarşaf's* skirt got shorter, its face shield got thinner and it became fancy outdoor dress (Muhsipzade Celal, 1946: 65,66).

In addition, there was a *cepken* which was a short jerkin waistcoat that had no arms. The *entari* was a simple dress which was very long and was made of cambric cloth. The *gömlük* (shirt) was another garment of Ottoman women which was ankle length. It was generally made of thin and soft cloth which was usually white, red, blue, or white with yellow figures

(Muhsipzade Celal, 1946: 125). The *hırka* was buttoned sweater and it was also used by both women and men. The *kaftan* was made of fur and it was worn on the *entari*. The *salta* was a short jacket. The *şal* was made of wool and was used as a belt scarf or throw. The *şalvar* was generally made of silk and its waist and ankle were tied by thread. The *yeldirme*, which was a cloak, was worn instead of the *ferace* in the countryside. Its arms were a little bit larger than the coat and *yelek* was another garment of women (Muhsipzade Celal, 1946: 129, 213, 215, 241).

Ottoman women also used some special headwear like the *fez* and the *hotoz*, which was some kind of a small hat. The *peçe* (veil) was used for covering the face except the eyes. This was used with the *çarşaf*. The *yaşmak* had long and rectangle two pieces, the first part of the pieces was to cover hair and other one was to cover face. The two pieces were hooked on nape. Another headwear was *Yemeni* which had lacework (Davis, 2006: 209).

The *fez* was seen as early as the sixteenth century and women wore *fezzes* which were adorned with pearls and diamonds, more than the *hotoz*. *Hotoz* was made of women's hair or colored cotton kerchief and it was covered with the *yaşmak* outdoors. On the other hand the *hotoz* replaced the *fez* in the nineteenth century. Since the *fez* became the official headwear for most bureaucrats in the nineteenth century, it ceased to be worn by women. Instead, women began to prefer the *hotoz* (Koçu, 1967: 116, 131, 132).

According to Davis, the clothing style of Ottoman women clothing style in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were not different from the

sixteenth and the seventeenth. In fact, they were not as interested in fashion as European women until end of the nineteenth century (Davis, 2006: 207).

Actually Ottoman women clothing had changed over time and it had also been regulated by state. This situation especially increased after the Tulip Era which was known as luxury period. Ahmet III, with an edict dated 1726 aimed to bring some limitations to women's clothing because their clothes had become similar to those of non-Muslim women. In addition, in the following period, Osman III (1754-1757) made orders which were related to color of clothing. There were even regulations about color and cloth type of the *ferace* during the reign of Mustafa III (1757-1774). With the imperial decree issued in 1791, tailoring the *ferace* with thin cloth, which was sewn with the British *şali* and the *Enguri şali*, was forbidden. Moreover, all regulations concerning *feraces* mentioned that its collar had to be narrow. We understand from these regulations that there were changes about clothing, and these changes increased during the nineteenth century. Women began to use ornaments on outdoor cloth, although earlier ornamented clothing was used only in indoor wearing (Yağcı & Genç, 2007: 229, 231).

According to Lady Montagu, there were wealth and glory not only in the palace but also in viziers' households. Women were free to wear what they wanted indoors, but they had to obey the state's rules outdoors. Garnish and ornament increased in the eighteenth century and women showed all their ornament especially at the festivals in Sâdâbâd, the entertainment center of the period. This attracted the attention of the state and it was then

forbidden to wear dress that was not allowed by state. The Ottoman authorities were opposed to the *feraces* that had long collars, and we know that Selim III (1789-1807), who was a fervent supporter of the reforms, issued a *Hatt-ı Hümayun* to forbid these kinds of *feraces*. In brief this *Hatt-ı Hümayun* mentioned that some women began wearing unsuitable and colorful *feraces* outdoors. These women and the tailors, who sewed these kinds of dresses, had to be warned (Refik, 1998: 78-80).¹ It seems that this decision did not work at all, because women continued to wear what they wanted. In addition Selim III forbade making the *ferace* with British alpaca and Ankara alpaca because it was very thin. If tailors did not obey the regulations, they would be executed in front of their shops (Davis, 2006: 217, 218).

The following is an example of such imperial decrees. This decree was conveyed to the *qadi* of Istanbul, Galata and Eyüp and Üsküdar, and to the chief of the janissary and the head of tailors in 1791. It orders that women of Istanbul must not be dressed in *ferace* which was made with thin fabric. It also prohibited the sewing the *ferace* from thin British fabric.

Although there were regulations during the eighteenth century, we see that women did not obey these rules and warnings continued in the nineteenth century.

¹ ... Nisa taifesi çarşı ve pazarda açık renk feraceler ile gezüp edepsizlik ettikleri mesmu ve manzurum oldu. Fîmâba'd açık renk ferace ve hadden ziyade yaka giymeyip herkes ırz u edebiyile olmasını iktiza edenlere tenbih ve terzilere dahi bu makule edepsizleri nefy-i bilâd eylemek lazım iken niçin bakmıyorsun? Her kim olur ise olsun men ve elbette def eyleyip halkı edebiyile gezdiresin.

According to Lady Montagu, there were not many differences and changes in the style of women's dress until the nineteenth century. With Mahmud II, the style of women's dress began to change in parallel with the European fashion (Davis, 2006: 215). Lady Montagu gives detailed information about Ottoman women's dress;. She wore Turkish dress and explained in her book, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, what it looked like.

The first piece of my dress is a pair of drawers, very full, that reach to my shoes, and conceal the legs more modestly than your petticoats. They are thin rose color damask, brocaded with silver flowers, my shoes of white kid leather embroidered with gold. Over this hangs my smock of fine white silk gauze, edged with embroidery. This smock has white sleeves hanging half way down the arm and is closed at the neck with a diamond button; but the shape and color of the bosom is very well to be distinguished through it. The *entari* is a waistcoat made close to the shape, of white and gold damask with very long sleeves falling back and fringed with deep gold fringe, and should have diamond and or pearl buttons. My caftan of the same stuff with my drawers is a robe exactly fitted to my shape and reaching to my feet, with very long straight-falling sleeves. Over this is the girdle of about four fingers broad which all that can afford have entirely of diamonds or other precious stones; those that will not be at that expense have it of exquisite embroidery on satin, but it must be fastened before with a clasp of diamonds. The *cüppe* is a loose robe they throw off, or put on, according to the weather, being of a rich brocade (mine is green and gold) either lined with ermine or sables. The sleeves reach very little below the shoulders. The headdress is composed of a cap, called *kalpak* which is in winter of fine velvet embroidered with pearls or diamonds and in summer of a light shining silver stuff. This is fixed on one side of the head, hanging a little way down with a gold tassel, and bound on either with a circle of diamonds(as I have seen several) or rich embroidered handkerchief. On the other side of the head the hair is laid flat and here the ladies are liberty to show their fancies, some putting flowers, others a plume of heron's feather and, in short, what they please; but the most general fashion is large bouquet of jewels made like natural flowers; that is the buds of pearl, the roses of different colored of rubies, the jessamines of diamonds, the jonquils of topazes, etc, so well set and enameled it is hard to imagine anything of that kind so beautiful (Montagu, 1993: 69, 70).

After she explained her dress in her letters she continues to tell more about women's hairstyles. She mentions that women's hairstyles were the most beautiful ones she had ever seen in her life. In addition, she wrote about the makeup of Istanbul women. She also gives information about the *ferace* and the *yaşmak*.

"No woman, of what rank so ever being permitted to go in the street without two muslins, one that covers her face all but her eyes and another that hides the whole dress of her head, and hangs half way down her back and their shapes are also wholly concealed by a thing they call a *ferace* which no woman of any sort appears without. This has a straight sleeve that reaches to their fingers ends and it laps all round them, not unlike a riding hood. In winter it is of cloth and in summer plain stuff or silk (April 1, 1717, Edirne), (Montagu, 1993: 70).

We have considerable information about women of the imperial palace. Lady Montagu visited Hafize Sultan, who was mistress of Mustafa II, and she was surprised with her dress and described it in detail;

She wore a vest called *dolaman*, and which differs from a caftan by longer sleeves and folding over at the bottom. It was of purple cloth straight to her shape and thick set, on each side down to her feet and round the sleeves, with pearls of the best water, of the same size as their buttons commonly are. You must not suppose I mean as large as those of my Lord- but about the bigness of pea; and these buttons large loops of diamonds in the form of those gold loops so common upon birthday coats. This habit was tied at the waist with two large tassels of smaller pearls and round the arms embroidered with large diamonds; her shift fastened at the bosom with a great diamond shaped like a lozenge, her girdle as broad as broadest English ribbon entirely covered with diamonds. Round her neck she wore three chains which reached to her knees, one of large pearls at the bottom of which hung a fine colored emerald as big as a turkey egg, another consisting of two hundred emeralds close joined together, of the most lively green, perfectly matched, everyone as large as a half crown piece and as thick as three crown pieces, and another of emeralds perfectly round. But her earrings eclipsed all the rest. They were two diamonds shaped exactly like pears, as large as a big hazelnut. Round her kalpak (headdress) she had four strings of pearl the whitest and most perfect in the world, at least enough to make four necklaces everyone as large as the Duchess of Marlborough's, and of the same size, fastened with two roses consisting of a large ruby for the middle stone and round them twenty drops of clean diamonds to each. Besides this, her headdress was covered with bodkins of emeralds and diamonds. She wore large diamond bracelets and had five rings on her fingers, all single diamonds, except Mr. Pitt's the largest I ever saw in my life. It is for the jewelers to compute the value of these things, but according to common estimation of jewels in our part of the world, her whole dress must be worth above £100,000 sterling. This I am very sure of, that no European queen has half the quantity and the Empress's jewels, though very fine, would look very mean near hers (Constantinople, 10 March 1718), (Montagu, 1993: 115, 116).

This definition of dress and jewels belong to a woman who belonged to the imperial dynasty, so she had very luxurious clothes and expensive jewels thanks to such detailed descriptions written by Europeans we have considerable observations on the dress of women who belong to the palace.

No matter what they wore indoors, they had to wear two garments outdoors, these were the *ferace* and the *yaşmak*.



Fig. 3. Ottoman ladies in *çarşaf* with umbrellas in Karaköy Square, in 1909, from the postcard collection of Yeliz Usta.

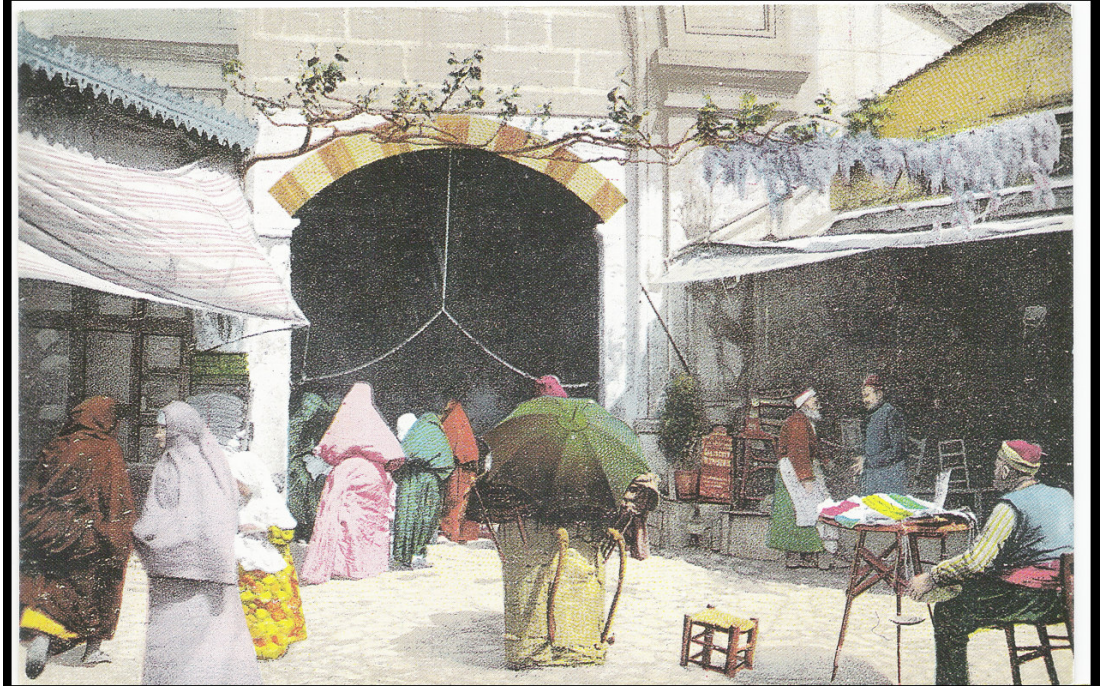


Fig. 4. Ottoman ladies in colorful *çarşaf* with umbrellas in Kapalıçarşı, from the postcard collection of Yeliz Usta.

CHAPTER 1

WOMEN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1.1 The Political and Social Situation of Istanbul

It is clear that in the Ottoman Empire, reforms and changes spread from central to periphery. Istanbul was the center of the Empire so it was the first place that changes occurred. In this frame, Ottoman modernization began in Istanbul and became a pioneer for the others. In this frame, it is better to examine Istanbul to show the changing of the Empire. To study the Ottoman women and their costumes in the nineteenth century Istanbul cannot be separated from other features of the history of Ottoman Empire. Social changes are intricately connected to the political and economic events of the period. For this reason we need to look at the Ottoman political and social situations in the nineteenth century to understand the changes concerning clothing habits better.

As İlber Ortaylı pointed out, the nineteenth century was the longest century of the Ottoman Empire. There were huge changes compared to the previous centuries of the empire. The nineteenth century was a period in which many changes took place in the Ottoman Empire. The social changes occurred in the nineteenth century, but the background of these changes and the need for change dates back to the seventeenth century and many bureaucrats in the state offices had long noticed the potential advantages of increased contact with the European powers.

During the classical period the Ottomans did not feel any need for the establishment of permanent representation abroad. On the other hand, conditions of the period had been changing. During the reign of Selim III, the first permanent embassy was set up in London in 1793. The embassies in Vienna, Berlin and Paris followed from 1796. The advent of the European lifestyle mainly started with Tulip period. More or less, the European lifestyle continued until the end of the empire (Quataert, 2000: 81). These were seen as the first significant steps for social transformation.

From the time of Mahmud II through the rest of the century, Ottoman bureaucrats looked to Europe to supply military, bureaucratic as well as personnel models to help carry out the changes decreed by the government. (Micklewright, 1986: 52).

On the other hand, the nineteenth century was a period of reform which was generally applied consciously. These reforms affected the structure of society. Westernization was not only formed by external power, but also Ottoman state men who thought that this situation was necessary for the continuity of the state (Ortaylı, 1999: 26).

The period of reforms, known as the *Tanzimat* (the Reorganization) began with the proclamation of the imperial rescript or the *Gülhane Hattı Hümayun* (Noble Rescript of the Rose Chamber), read publically on November 3, 1839. The imperial edict was written by the leading reformer and Foreign Minister Mustafa Reşit Pasha, but promulgated in the name of the new sultan. This Noble Rescript proclaimed such principles as the security of life, honor, and property of the subjects, the abolition of tax-

farming and all the abuses associated with it, regular and orderly recruitment into the armed forces, fair and public trials of persons accused of crimes, and equality of persons of all religions in the application of these laws. These changes especially shocked Muslims in the empire. (Lewis, 1966: 105).

The events and conjunctures of this period caused these changes in the empire. Intellectual men aimed for more freedom and a freer life from the state. The reforms, which were formed for regime, affected education, intellectual and social life. Women began to participate in social life. At the end of the nineteenth century, women began to work as teachers. These changes inevitably began debates. Because modernization was shaped according to western models, these changes were unavoidable. because last events which Ottomans experienced prepared these situation (Ortaylı, 1999: 26, 27).

Despite all difficulties, the *Tanzimat* Edict held an important role for the modernization and progress of Turkey. We see the tragedy of this period because there was both collapse and progress; for this reason this period was the longest century of the Ottoman Empire. Turkey's destiny was shaped in this century (Ortaylı, 1999: 31).

If we look at the important events of the period, there were revolts in the provinces of Balkans, Arabs and Anatolia to depart from the Ottoman Empire to establish independent states in the nineteenth century. The great powers of Europe supported these revolts against the Ottomans. Thus, these revolts and rebellions resulted in territorial loses in the Ottoman Empire. The Greek War of Independence (1821-1830) was the one of the most significant

events of the nineteenth century. In addition, the Ottoman Empire continued to lose territory in 1877-1878 war against Russia. Russia reached to the outskirts of Istanbul (Quataert, 2000: 57, 58). In the following years, the Ottoman Empire was defeated in Tripoli in 1911-12 and in Balkans in 1912-1913.

When Abdülhamid II accessed to the throne after the murder of Murat V, the Ottoman Empire had great troubles such as Bosnian, Bulgarian, Serbian and Montenegro revolts. The Ottoman had to fight against Slavs who wanted separate from Ottoman administration (Karal, 1996: 14, 25). In the eastern of Ottoman territory there was the Armenian question. The great powers of Europe interfered with the Armenian question in 1880.

Under these circumstances, the first Ottoman constitution, the *Kanun-i Esasi*, was declared in 1876. This period was an unavoidable part of the westernization of the Ottomans.

By this time, the treaty of Berlin had been signed and the internal political situation in Istanbul had changed radically. Elections for an Ottoman parliament had been held in December 1876 and January 1877 and the first Ottoman parliament had been opened officially on 19 March. However, the sultan postponed the parliament indefinitely on 14 February 1878 due to the ongoing Ottoman-Russian war. At the same time the constitution was suspended (Zürcher, 1994: 80). The criticism has often been made that the constitution of 1876 did not represent any real desire to reform or change the government of the Empire, but was a just a piece of window-dressing, a plan intended to throw dust in the eyes of the Western powers and to circumvent

their plans of intervention in the interest of the subjects peoples (Lewis, 1966: 161).

The new generations were trained in schools like the Civil Service Academy and the War Academy and they were attracted by the liberal and constitutional ideas. In the course of time, four students of the Military Medical College founded the Society for Ottoman Unity (*İttihad-i Osmani Cemiyeti*) in 1889. Later Ahmet Rıza, together with other émigrés, founded a small committee called the Committee of Union and Progress, (CUP) (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) which was referred to as the Young Turks in France. The CUP was against the autocratic rule of Abdülhamid II. The Constitutional revolution of July 1908 occurred as the result of the actions of the Unionist of the Third (Macedonian) and Second (Thracian) Army (Zürcher, 1994: 94- 97). Thus, the Young Turk Era that began in 1908 continued until 1950 in Turkey.

These political changes brought some social and cultural changes together. Beginning with the *Tanzimat*, there had been cultural and social changes in the Ottoman Empire. Throughout the nineteenth century the provision of an adequate educational system was the main priority of the government. Mahmud II plan was to take the first step in the establishment of an empire-wide system of secular education. But there were not permanent changes in education. Actually, new secondary schools (*Rüştiye*) were founded in 1838 in Istanbul and the number of these schools increased in the *Tanzimat* period (Berkes, 2002: 183,184). Education for women had a variety of forms; there were expensive private schools, technical schools, art schools, government schools for orphans, schools organized by minority

communities, and large numbers of private tutors and governesses, many of whom had come from Europe. (By the last decades of the nineteenth century the women of Istanbul, especially those of the wealthy elite, were better educated than their mothers or grandmothers. They were much better able to follow the political events of the day through their exposure to European women literature and goods well aware of contemporary literature, music and fashion of Europe) (Micklewright, 1986: 70, 71). These well-educated women were ready to take their place in public life but their lives remained as limited as ever.

The *Tanzimat* period had begun with the imperial guarantee of people's life and their personal properties. This period continued with legislation. Westernization concerning the regime of the empire affected institutions, education and intellectual life. In addition, women's participation in social life was one of the biggest changes in the empire. People's interests in arts, architecture and music had changed. They were not interested in traditional arts anymore and they turn towards Western style of arts. These changes affected traditions too (Ortaylı, 1999: 26-30)

During the course of the nineteenth century, the European presence in Istanbul became both more visible and more penetrating. As the number of Europeans living in Istanbul increased, so shops which provided them with the goods and services they required. Stores selling Europeans toiletries, clothing, canned goods, patent medicines and other necessities, multiplied; European newspapers became more readily available. Tailors, milliners, bookmakers, governesses and others came to the city in search of work.

This wider awareness of European customs and styles was paralleled by an increased understanding of European literary and scholarly traditions. Beginning in 1859, with the first translations into Turkish of French fiction, the educated elite had many opportunities to read first translations of European literature, and later the originals which made their way to the empire. Tourism and war brought two different groups of adventurers to the Ottoman capital, followed by merchants and tradesman. European influence in political and cultural matters was paralleled by their involvement in the economic life of the Empire (Micklewright, 1986: 62,63).

1.2 Women's Clothing in the Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century was a period of transformation in the Ottoman Empire as it was the case all over the world. This transformation was much more visible in the Ottoman coastal cities, especially in Istanbul. The changes, which Ottoman society had experienced, also affected women's clothing. The changes concerning clothing were particularly seen in the capital city of the Ottoman Empire. The color, style and type of cloth and even the form of the gauze which was worn by women outdoors, were significant in showing the socio-economic conditions of the people. By looking these features of clothing we can evaluate the circumstances of the period and the empire. The changes that the nineteenth century Ottomans had lived affected clothing of not only Muslim men and women but also those of non-Muslims.

The European influence can be seen in the eighteenth century with the increased popularity of imported textile fabrics. Whatever happened, European fabrics, style and construction techniques became more and more conspicuous during the nineteenth century (Micklewright, 1986: 145).

The clothing regulations of Mahmud II (1808-1838), focused on men's clothing and Western styles were taken up as models in these regulations. However westernization or modernization of women's clothing had a transition period and this was only then that women began to wear western style clothing (Tezcan, 2006: 230-234). During this period, it was important for officers or civilians to dress like Western people. Western style clothing was an important sign of modernization and it provided important social status for them (Meriç, 2000: 52). One of the most significant characteristics of Ottoman modernization is that it was imposed by the ruling elite in a top-down manner. This feature is also valid for the changes in Ottoman clothing habits. The men of *Tanzimat* acted as the pioneers of westernization of Ottoman clothing. In this regard, the earliest consequences of this westernization can be seen in the clothing of Ottoman bureaucrats and military officers. However, the way that the women's clothing was westernized was different from that of the men. The idea of fashion, rather than imperial decrees, played the leading role in this context. It was in the nineteenth century that following fashion was gradually regarded as an indispensable element of being civilized.

Since the interest in fashion and clothing in accordance with the fashion of time required considerable material wealth, changes in women's

clothing was naturally more visible among the women of elite class and these clothes were used first at homes, rather than in outdoors.

The event that quickened transition period between 1850 and 1870 was the increased human mobility and therefore increased interactions between the Ottomans and the Europeans. When we look at the Ottoman side of the coin we see that in the mid nineteenth century, unlike the previous Ottoman Sultans, Abdülaziz visited not only the provinces of his empire but he also made a visit to Europe in 1867. This certainly increased the publicity-visibility of the Ottoman Sultan and his entourage among the provincial population of the empire and the European people. On the other hand, thanks to the developments in communication and transport facilities, the number of European travelers and statement increased significantly. The French Queen Eugenie was perhaps the most notable of European elite women to visit the Ottoman Empire in 1869. The French Queen Eugenie was invited by Abdülaziz for the opening ceremony of the Suez Canal. Before participating in the opening ceremony in Egypt, she spent some time in Istanbul and her visit had significant influence on elite Ottoman women. Women of the palace greatly liked her dresses and they began to adapt the fashions of Paris in Istanbul. *Hanım* Sultans wore the *ferace* and the *yaşmak* with their western fashion dresses (Tezcan, 2006: 235, 236).

European fashion had not expanded even in the periphery of the palace at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Davis, 2006: 216). According to Enver Ziya Karal, important changes concerning clothing began in the era of Abdülmecid (1861-1876). The reign of Abdülmecid included the

application of “the *Islahat* (reform) Edict”. After his European travel he was especially influenced by the Western lifestyle (1996: 119). Although Ottoman women began to dress like Western women in the 19th century, the most important changes concerning women’s clothing appeared in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

In addition, when we look at the changes in the Ottoman women’s clothing, it can be said that women did not change their whole style immediately and totally. The transition from traditional to European styles included the creation of dresses which were partly traditional and partly European in design. As an example, European fashion included accessories such as gloves. The corset appeared in the palace first and then expanded among the pashas’ houses. Especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, Ottoman women mixed traditional and European fashion. Women began wearing high-heeled shoes as European women did but they did not stop wearing jewelry (Davis, 2006: 216).

“Emmeline Lott, an English governess who lived within the royal household, described two princesses from the court of the Egyptian Khedive who visited the mother of the Ottoman Sultan at *Dolmabahçe* Palace in the 1860’s. Women of the places wore elaborate European style costumes. Lott narrated that they wore veils of Brussels lace, white silk stockings, white satin shoes embroidered with silk, pearls and gold thread and carried silk and satin parasols; over everything they wore Turkish cloaks and yellow leather boots (Micklewright, 1986: 154).

It seems that Greek and Armenian women took the lead in adopting European dress, given that their contacts with the foreign community were the strongest. Greek and Armenian women were the first to wear Western clothes in the Ottoman Empire then Muslim women began to wear these clothes (Micklewright, 1986: 146). As an example, the black shoes of Jewish women became blue, and Christian women began to wear shoes of all kinds of colors. In addition, in the late Ottoman, well- to-do Armenian ladies would, just like Turkish ladies, wear *feraces* in all colors. Their *yaşmaks* were of silk, while Turkish women's were made out of gauze. The relatively poor Armenians wore black *feraces* and their faces would be completely veiled with the *yaşmak*, rather like sacks (Leyla Saz, 1999: 242). In this sense, these changes had occurred among Turkish women more slowly, compared to the non-Muslim Ottoman women.

Regarding this issue, David Porter's travel book (1835) mentions that, "many of the Armenians, however, have ever since, I have been here, thrown off their national costume and adopted the French dress, except the turban, which the females continue to wear, it being too beautiful to discard (Porter, 1835: 130, cited by Micklewright 1986: 149)". Micklewright also said that the Greek and Armenian women had also adopted the Victorian custom of dressing the bride in white (1986: 149). It is understandable that Greek and Armenian women, who had contacted European people, followed Western fashion easily.

The changing faces of Turkish women were seen on the streets of Istanbul at this time. Edmondo de Amicis, an Italian who visited Istanbul in

1874, presented his observation in his book. According to him, in 1874, Turkish women were seen everywhere at all times in Istanbul as if they were in European cities. Any foreign visitor who saw Turkish women who were veiled with white the *yaşmak* and covered with the colorful *ferace*, could not understand if they were masked, a priestess or crazy. In this period, the faces of Turkish women were not a secret anymore because their veils generally allowed their faces and hair to be publicly visibility. Young women especially veiled their *yaşmak* in a way that showed their beauty. Even if their *feraces* looked like a big sack, they seemed beautiful with their stilted *yaşmaks*. According to Amicis women were interested in fashion because they did not have any work to do, and they dressed as European women in their houses. He really liked the Turkish dress and if the *ferace* disappeared, there would be just Turkish women in European dresses (Amicis, 1874: 195, 197, 211, 212).

During the first part of the nineteenth century, women's fashions continued to change. For example, the clothing of the Ottoman women became softer and, the *şalvar* was wider, the fabric of *gömlek* was even finer and more transparent and the *entari* or *kaftan* was longer (Micklewright, 1986: 144).

There were conspicuous changes relating to the *ferace* in form and in color. The *ferace* now had a large square collar which extended down the back, almost like a cape, varying in length from a few inches to the entire length of the coat. The *ferace* fell all the way to the ground, with a square collar nearly as long trailing on the ground.

Another change was concerning the *ferace* was the color, which was usually dark. Starting in the last quarter of the nineteenth century women began to wear pink, purple and red colored *feraces*, which were ornamented with lace, even though the state forbade wearing these colors. They adopted European fashion sense to the *feraces* in this way and they ordered tailors to modify European coats to resemble the *ferace*. At the end of the nineteenth century, Ottoman women adapted their clothes to Paris and London fashions. The fashion style in Paris and London could be seen in Istanbul in two or three years (Sevin, 1973: 121, 129). The changes to the *feraces* continued and women began wearing European clothing eventually. Concerning this issue, Lady Harriet Dufferin, who was the wife of the British Ambassadors to Istanbul from 1881-1884, drew the attention to the European dress of Turkish women:

When we came back we saw two such very smart Turkish ladies in a caique. Their *yaşmak* were of the thinnest white muslin, their dresses Europeanized as much as possible. But I heard of a lady of good family being taken up by the police the other day because she allowed her *ferace* to fly open as she walked, in order to display a beautiful Parisian dress... (Harriet Dufferin and Ava, *My Russian and Turkish Journals*, 1917: 105 cited by Micklewright, 1986: 155).

We understand from this passage that women had worn European clothing and had made some changes to their *ferace* and *yaşmak*, this still was a problem for the state in this period, the early 1880s.

As it was mentioned about the nineteenth century, it was popular among Western people to visit oriental cities. Some of these people combined their observations in traveler books which give considerable information about changes in clothing. Mrs. Max Müller, who was the wife of a British MP, had been to Istanbul in 1893 to visit her son, who worked at the

British Council. She presented her observations about women's clothing in this period in her book.

The numbers of women among men on the Galata Bridge were also much more than that she guessed. She was surprised against to women's, who show off white, red, blue, green and purple colored dress and with thin, behavior that they can walk around without any fear. Mrs. Muller defined their dresses as colorful and shapeless and their gestures were not gracious. Whereas European people who wore their last fashion dresses appeared in Beyoğlu (Pera) like people in Boulevard (Müller, 1978: 21).

It is necessary to look at the middle and lower classes of society to make a comment about the clothing habits of the Ottoman society. In the Ottoman Empire, it was possible to see European effects on the upper class but the situation about lower and middle class was different (Müller, 1978: 24, 25).

The most popular places for Turkish women were the *Mesire* places where they could have a picnic. Mrs. Müller saw Turkish women in white dress with veils in these places. Women of lower classes used to wear white gauze while these of upper classes wore silk gauze, according to Müller (Müller, 1978: 41). A young and dressy woman said that she had coveted European women's clothes without the veil and had complained about European clothes because Ottoman women's clothes heated very much (Müller, 1978: 95). Müller tells of a woman wearing an elegant European styled dress who met with her in a Turkish minister's house that she visited she also noted that the women who lived in the Harem of the palace wore traditional clothes of the nineteenth century. In this period men began to dress western so women also wanted to wear European clothes like the Ottoman men (Müller, 1978: 149, 156).

The most important change to the *ferace* and the *yaşmak* occurred in the late nineteenth century these clothes disappeared. The *çarşaf* took these garments place during the reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909) (Os, 2002: 36). Although the *çarşaf* replaced the *ferace* among women, palace and upper class women did not prefer this garment. Even though it covered all of the body, it seemed unsuitable clothing for women. Abdülhamid II forbade the wearing of the *çarşaf*, but this ban did not continue for a long time. In the beginning, women could not use the *çarşaf* in a suitable form, in the course of time they made it dressier (Davis, 2006: 219). Women might have preferred using the *çarşaf* because it was more practical than the *ferace* and women could wear European clothing under the *çarşaf* easily.

Although, *çarşaf* was made of *şayak* and *alpak* fabric in the beginning, later European fabrics became more fashionable for women. Almost all colors were used for the *çarşaf* but conservative women continued to prefer dark colors for their *çarşaf*. In the Young Turk Era, women ceased wearing the bottom part of the *çarşaf*, which consisted of two pieces, and they used upper part of the *çarşaf* as a cape. Women who ignored official warnings continued wearing the *çarşaf* like that. In addition, the *peçe* became as thin as the *yaşmak*. Hats were not popular instead; the *hotoz* generally was used in this period. Women who followed Western fashion in Istanbul became pioneers for women who lived in other cities of the empire (Davis, 2006: 220, 221).

At this time Ottoman women had different ways to see and apply European fashion to their clothes. Ottoman Muslim women began to be

interested in Western fashion thanks to increasing trade and diplomatic relations between Ottoman and Western states. Europeans frequently visited the Ottoman Empire because of commercial and political relations. However trade and politics were not the only reasons during this period, as traveling to the east became more and more fashionable among European people. In this century, tourists in Istanbul affected clothing habits as much as European imported goods. European women visited Turkish *Harem* and some of them wrote their observation in their travel books. Upper class Turkish women competed with each other to invite these European women to their house. In this way they could see European fashion up close and these new fashion styles spread among upper class women (Os, 2002: 135).

Born as a Greek Ottoman in Istanbul, Demetra Vaka (1877-1946) moved to America where she became a journalist and novelist, and came back to Istanbul to write several books about the twilight of the Ottoman Empire and the emergence of the Turkish Republic. Her first book, *Haremlik: Some Pages from the Life of Oriental Women*, was published in 1909 and was based on experiences from 1901 when modernization had made inroads into Ottoman domestic life and the *harem* was becoming a thing of the past. We can find some observation concerning clothing in this time; the writer narrated the clothing of a woman whom she visited in her *harem*: “Mihrimah, in a loose, pale-blue silk garment- looking as cool as the European women looked hot and uncomfortable in their tight clothes” (Vaka Brown, 2004: 32).

She described another woman’s clothing: “I thought how a French writer would have loved to describe her. Her immaculate yashmak,

transparently gauzy, let me see her beauty, resplendent, yet some how softer than I remembered it” (Vaka Brown, 2004: 63).

Küçük Gül opened the Persian shawl, and as she unfolded each garment she paraded it on her slim shoulders. In my childhood I was put to sleep with oriental tales, where the princes wore magnificent clothes that only a fairy queen’s wand could produce those garments belonged to that category. Bright silks represented sky and stars worked with silver and gold and fastened with precious stones. There was one of dark red on which were embroidered with silver thread white chrysanthemums, and the heart of each flower on the front border was a tapaz! (Vaka Brown, 2004: 126).

There is another point in changing process during the reign of Abdülhamid II. Women had education rights; this meant a new opportunity to attend to social and public life. Becoming visible in social life caused that Ottoman women imitated Western clothing but they could wear this kind of clothing in private place. On the other hand they continued wearing western clothing under their *çarşaf* in the street (Meriç, 2000: 55).

In addition, upper class and educated Turks were especially affected by the European lifestyle. Well-to-do people had governesses in their houses for their children. Their children were educated by French, German, or English governesses or at European school. While being taught French or English, their clothing habits were affected. Ottoman women had information about Western fashion from these governesses. In addition they had an opportunity to read European books and magazines. In this way they could see European dress and adopt it to their clothing style. Moreover, in the late 19th century, styles from Paris fashion were seen in Ottoman Women magazines. Tailors, who had workshops in Pera, contributed to Ottoman Muslim women wearing Western fashion clothes (Os, 2002: 135, 136).

The adoption of western clothing was seen generally among the upper class women. This adaptation led to the gradual disappearance of traditional clothing. Women who lived in Ottoman imperial Palace wore Western clothes for the first time. They did not adopt all European clothing to their life; it began with the use of accessories such as gloves and socks. Then the European jacket took the traditional jacket's place. Upper class women and women of the palace were the first women who wore western clothing. The richest women went to Europe to buy clothing. The others who did not have the opportunity to go to Europe bought their clothing from foreign tailors in Istanbul (Os, 2002: 136).

Ayşe Osmanoğlu, who was the daughter of Abdülhamid II, presented her observation about the clothing of palace women in her book. With the help of this observation, we can see the old and new style together in the palace. To illustrate, Osmanoğlu narrated a wedding ceremony; at this ceremony Zekiye Sultan wore a long dress made of white cashmere, which graced with a crown on her head. It was Naime Sultan's wedding and she wore an old style wedding dress which was long and had "four skirts". Over this wedding dress she wore a fur which was graced with pearls and lacing. The front part of her dress was fixed with ice buttons and she wore belt which was graced with jewelry. Osmanoğlu mentioned that the white color of the dress was criticized by some reactionary people because all women had worn red wedding dresses until this wedding (1960: 62-63).

For another example of wedding dresses during this period was mentioned by Leyla Saz (1845-1936), who had lived under Mehmet IV,

Mehmet V, Abdülhamid II, Murat V, Abdülaziz and even Abdülmecid in the Ottoman Empire. Her observations were about women who lived at the Çırağan Palace in general, and gave information about the wedding dresses of Refia, Cemile and Münire Sultans. Refia Sultan's wedding dress was deep blue silk embroidered with golden flowers of pearls and diamonds. Its skirt consisted of three trains and the edges were bordered with golden thread, pearls and lace. The blouse was of light silk. In addition, she says that the influence of European fashion was just beginning to make itself felt in Istanbul. Leyla Saz stated that these wedding dresses, all the same style, were in different colored silk. Cemile Sultan's was of a pansy color, while that of Münire Sultan's was yellow (Leyla Saz, 1999: 232, 233; Akyıldız, 1998).

Moreover, Ayşe Osmanoğlu presented another example from a festival in the palace. She mentioned that women of the palace wore décolleté dresses which were made of silk cloth inside, and they wore their *ferace* and *yaşmak* when they were outside for this festival ceremony. Osmanoğlu wrote that she wore pink and ornamented *ferace* and a *yaşmak* for the first time when she was fourteen years old and was so excited to be veiled (Osmanoğlu, 1960: 112). Concerning this, Zeyneb Hanoum, who was born into Muslim elite, but had a Western style education, presented her thoughts about being veiled in her letters; "hojca said to me, you are twelve years old; you must be veiled. You can no longer have your hair exposed and your face uncovered you must be veiled" (Zeynep Hanoum, 2004: 88, 89). She thought that she would be like a slave because she could not even play

in the garden unveiled. She was unhappy when she was veiled by the *ferace* and *yaşmak*. Different people behaved in different ways in the same case.

As It was mentioned, the most important change during the reign of Abdülhamid II was that the *ferace* turned into the *çarşaf* which was used with the *peçe*. Until the Second Constitutional Period, this clothing was made of silk and it had a dark color but, young girls preferred to wear a light color *çarşaf*. Within the Second Constitutional Period, women had relative freedom which provided them with more types of clothing. The *çarşaf* was adapted to the fashion of the time and women of the period changed the shape of the *çarşaf* making it shorter and narrowing its skirt. Some women did not even use the skirt part of the *çarşaf*, they just used its upper part as a cloak. This would turn into a European style coat after WWI, and for their head a hat would be used (Os, 2002: 136). Moreover, women's clothing would continue to change during the armistice period. When Demetra Vaka visited Turkey in 1921, she was surprised to see the unveiled ladies of Istanbul:

Turkish women, with uncovered faces, and clad in gray trousers, were sweeping the streets. They were almost the only street-cleaners at the Ottoman capital, as I learned afterwards, and if one took the pains to bestow attention upon them, as they bent over their hard task, one saw that many of them were young and pretty faces. The sight of these feminine street-sweepers never lost its poignancy (Vaka Brown, 1923: 12).

She emphasized an old Turkish saying that “when Turkish women uncover their faces and wear trousers, the power of the Ottomans is broken” (Vaka Brown, 1923: 9).

Twenty years ago a Turkish woman who married a Christian would have been turn into pieces by the fanatical mob. Today she walks openly with her life's partner in the streets of Pera, and Turkish police watch her pass, afraid to say a word to her. Then a Turkish woman showed little of herself to men, at home or abroad. Today her face is uncovered, and she features her legs like her Christian sisters (Vaka Brown, 1923: 28).

In addition to regulation which occurred in the eighteenth century, there were these kinds of regulation in the nineteenth century. We have some information about women clothes and regulations with the help of the *Tasvir-i Efkâr* newspaper. There is an official regulation for women's clothes from this newspaper's September 22, 1862 issue. It declares that women must not wear colorful and décolleté dresses in daily life in the street, and dressmakers must not tailor such kinds of clothes (Hayta, 2002: 358, 359). Otherwise, they will be punished (Hayta, 2002: 359, 360). On May 26, 1864 and April 10, 1865, there were similar imperial warnings. The repeats of similar official warnings were important to show that women had not obeyed the rules, and they had worn forbidden dresses in daily life in the street.

All these changes are evaluated as a part of a transition of Ottoman society in the nineteenth century. Women encountered changes concerning their clothing during the modernization or westernization period along with the social transformations of the Ottoman Empire. The European influence drastically increased in the nineteenth century. The Europeans were in the Ottoman Empire with their goods, fabrics and as tourist or travelers. Although these fabrics were used for Ottoman women's clothing, the traditional clothing did not disappear immediately and Western and Ottoman style clothing were worn concurrently. This caused combinations of costume elements. These changes affected women's role and status in the society and affected religious or ethnic identity differences among women in terms of

clothing. The clothing of women was in parallel with the modernization process of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER 2

CLOTHING DURING THE SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD

In the late nineteenth century, various kinds of indoor clothing changed into outdoor clothing. When we look at this period dresses had puff sleeves, as Europeans dresses, for this reason the *ferace* was not suitable to be worn with this kind of dresses. The *çarşaf* was the best way to wear puff sleeves dresses and women made the *çarşaf* suitable for European fashion (Toprak, a: 1998: 58). The *çarşaf*, of course had not been accepted immediately by everyone. Before the second Constitutional Period there was some opposition to the *çarşaf* in different ways. Conservative people were opposite to the *çarşaf* for not being suitable for religious clothing. There were different applications in the society, with the order of the ruler, police forces in the street cut the skirt of the *çarşaf* with scissors. Rulers could not prevent the wearing of the *çarşaf*, which was regarded part of the fashion at that time, and eventually it replaced the *ferace* (Toprak, a: 1998: 56). In the end, the passion for fashion won against the control mechanism of the state.

The women's clothing movement caused opposition from conservative people even in the Second Constitutional Period. Muslim women who followed fashion changed the style and color of the *çarşaf* and this caused a reaction in society. During these years the *çarşaf* and veil (*peçe*) became a symbol of women's fashion outdoors. The *çarşaf* was generally made of silk fabric until the Constitutional Period. It was dark colored, had a thick veil and

looked like a poke (*torba*). Young girls' *çarşafs* were light colored. The veil absolutely was black until 1908 (Toprak, a: 1998: 56.)

Although western style clothing was criticized for not being suitable for Islam, women continued to wear this kind of clothing during the Constitutional years and in time the conservative opposition began to weaken. There was another argument, from those opposed to western style clothing which claimed that importing western clothing caused economic damage.

Especially after the Second Constitutional Period, women's clothing in Istanbul became more similar to western style. Women had made significant changes with the *çarşaf's* shape during the Second Constitutional Period. The length of the skirt become shorter and the veil of the *çarşaf* became thinner. With these changes, the cloak part of the *çarşaf* became shorter, and women began to wear gloves to cover their hands. The skirt of the *çarşaf* began to become narrow during this time. The yellow *çarşaf*, which was referred to by people as tango *çarşaf*, became popular between 1918 and 1921 (Özer, 2005: 339).

There was relative freedom in the Young Turk period and the *çarşaf* was made of every type of clothe during this period. The color of veil was matched the *çarşaf* in this period. With the Second Constitutional Period, puff sleeves went out of fashion. It was time to incorporate buttons on dress with buttons. Another change was that first the veil (*peçe*) became thinner and then it disappeared. Some women wore cloaks and some others used an umbrella to hide their faces (Toprak, a: 1998: 61)

By 1909, wide skirts were not used by women any more and cloaks became shorter. Women began to wear the *çarşaf* which had a close fitting skirt. These changes continued during World War I, that is why, fashion would be determined in accordance with the period. Because of economic troubles, women wore only what they needed, ornament was not important anymore. They just wore a cloak over their daily dresses, and a veil with the *çarşaf* was not worn anymore (Toprak, a: 1998: 62).

The Young Turk period was a time of rising aspirations for Ottoman women. Seclusion and veiling were challenged in this period. Ottoman women became increasingly more integrated into public life. Fashionable women especially began to substitute the thin veil for the traditional covering. After the Second Constitutional Period, the veil not covered the face but was thrown off to one side and the fabric was no longer always black. After the Second Constitutional Period, young women preferred to wear a light colored *çarşaf* within this relative atmosphere of freedom (Os, 2002: 136). During World War I, many women simply wore a scarf and they gave up wearing veil. Their *çarşaf* turned into a European coat (Toprak, 1991: 446).

All these changes concerning women's clothing were due to the conjuncture of the period and Turkish women tried to follow the new conjuncture. Women were not exempt to the changes which occurred after the *Tanzimat* Period and continued during the Constitutional Period (Toprak, a: 1998: 52).

Urban life has always influenced women's desire to fashion. This was not different in the Constitutional Period. For this reason, the act of covering turned into a matter of fashion (Toprak, a: 1998: 54).

In addition, women's education was necessary with the reforms of the *Tanzimat* Edict. On the other hand, some people thought that women were fragile and should not have cogitated themselves. Not every job was proper for women. Therefore, home economics was the best field for them (Toprak, 2002: 16).

In this context, one of the main factors that changed women's roles in the society was the increased opportunity for women's education. The number of secondary schools increased during the reign of Abdülhamit II (1786-1909), these schools were often run according to the French educational systems and teacher training facilities for women were expanded from 1870 on. In addition to the state schools, different nationalities also ran their own schools. These schools were brought under state control after 1869. Moreover, in the Second Constitutional Period, higher education opportunities for women increased, though with limited access, with women-only classes at the university in Istanbul. In 1914, a university for women (*inas darülfünunu*) was founded. And women were allowed to attend schools of higher education. Training for women in the fine art and music started in 1917 (Lewis, 2004: 80). Discrimination in education based on gender was lifted with the coming to power of a number of enlightened ministers of the time (Toprak, 1991: 446).

Concerning women's education, Elizabeth B. Frierson mentions that "many late Ottoman women used tradition to write their own contracts with modernity and they were able to make these attempts because of patriarchal reforms instituted from above, notably a vast expansion of schools and workshops for girls and women with this education increased economic and public rights and responsibilities." In this way late Ottoman women's role replaced among modern subjects of the Ottoman Empire (1995: 57).

An increasing number of women now began to professions. The moderately more liberal atmosphere of the Constitutional Period facilitated the participation of educated women in civil associations (İnankur, 2001: 2). Education has always had the power to change issues such as women's social life in the Ottoman society.

The Second Constitutional Period saw an increase in the number of women employment outside the home, but public and political anxiety concerning their dress and demeanor remained properly modest (Lewis, 2004: 80)

Despite all these changes, Ottoman men still dominated the public sphere. In 1908, modernization became one of the most important issues. Modernization meant being like the west during this period and women had to participate in social life and work outside the home. The roles of the Balkan Wars and WWI are undeniable in forcing Ottoman women to work outside their homes. While men were fighting at the battlefield, women replaced them in the workforce as, tailors in the factory, street cleaners or barbers. In these conditions women's clothing changed and the *çarşaf*

changed too. Urban women dressed like western women during this period. Turkish women figured out and heeded themselves as individuals being socialization. In addition they followed London and Paris fashions of clothing and hair style (Toprak, 2002: 17). Paris set fashion trends in Istanbul as it did throughout the world. Turkish women read British and French magazines (Toprak, a: 1998: 60).

In these conditions, the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) had 40 female members in Rumelia in 1908. Emine Semiye, who was one of these female members of the CUP, made a speech representing the female branch of the CUP at a conference in Salonika in 1908. In her speech she criticized the pressure regarding the veiling of women and argued that Islam did not require the kind of veiling which was seen in late Ottoman. It was not necessary to cover the whole face with the veil (Zihinoğlu, 2003: 54). These women aimed to make new style of clothing for women. Covering the face of women was an injurious act according to these women.

Under these conditions women demanded more freedom. They wanted to have a job, be an individual and live a public life. For this reason their clothing had to be suitable for their new lifestyle. Integration with the public life and being individuals resulted in significant changes in women's clothing (Zihinoğlu, 2003: 177).

The presence of women in the public sphere caused radical changes to women's clothing. These changes brought some arguments together. Sabiha Sertel claims, that, "Turkish women had such a pretty dressing to

become acceptable in the new life and to show their grace... Native Christians and foreigners were admirer to Turkish women's dressing."

Discussions about dressing (*telebbüs*), veiling and covering (*tesettür*) was frequently on the agenda of the era's newspapers and journals. The opposition argued that this style of dressing was not suitable to Turco-Islamic traditions. The preeminent supporter *tesettür* was *Tasvir-i Efkar* Gazette. On the other hand, Sabiha Zekeriya Sertel, in her articles in *Büyükmeclua* claimed that *tesettür* was a matter of art, more than religion (Toprak, b: 1998: 9).

With the Second Constitutional Period, a search for national nature in every change as it was in clothing was an agenda. Changes in clothing seemed necessary but it was discussed whether it should be in the context of western style of clothing as a whole or not. It was thought that there had to be a national identity in Turkish clothing. In addition the feminist movement was opposed to the *çarşaf*, and feminists supported wearing a coat with scarf to cover the head and that was enough for them (Toprak, a: 1998: 62).

Magazines and gazettes of the period were quite interested in the changes in the fashion, and gave information to the general public about new styles in fashion. These magazines had models and fashion plates that enabled Ottoman women to follow western fashions. Being fashionable meant being civilized in this period.

People who supported Islamic thought on fashion claimed that western styles were not suitable to the Islamic religion. On the other hand, nationalists with an anti-imperialist motto criticized western style of clothing and were

against wearing this kind of clothing because they were not suitable to Turkish culture and traditions (Özer, 2005: 335). For these people, Turks should wear clothes that were suitable and unique to Turkish identity and traditions.

In this period, there were articles that put forward proposals for the creation of national dress for women. These articles appeared in women's magazines such as *Kadınlar Dünyası* in 1329 (1906-1907). Another idea proposed by this magazine was to create a law regarding women's outdoor clothing. This proposal was first articulated in an article in *Osmanlı Müdafası Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* (Association for the Defense of Women's Right).

Articles from *Kadınlar Dünyası* asserted that their suggestion would be suitable for working life even from an Islamic perspective. Since the economy was getting worse due to the extravagant consumption for dressing, articles of these women magazines supported national clothing.

The changes in clothing style, especially the abolition of the veil in outdoors, were important issues for women's individualities. They requested clothing that was suitable for working and wanted to uncover the veil and the *çarşaf* in modern style (Çakır, 1996: 179).

Dressing of Ottoman women in Parisian style became a symbol of subversion in Ottoman culture and this was reflected in the cartoons. In these cartoons, the critical message of European fashion went beyond desirable and elegant. In fact, dress represented the hierarchies of power and the ability of the empire to control its own social customs. European fashion was used to illustrate the loosening of Ottoman women onto the streets

and the exposing of their faces and hair to the male gaze. (Brummett, 1995: 444)

Here is an example concerning cartoon in magazines to criticize fashion of time. Sedad Nuri, one of the most innovative cartoonists in the press of the revolutionary period, summed up the equation for women, torn between old values and European styles, in a cartoon lampooning women's options. It was titled: "Either prisoner of the Harem or slave to fashion." But there was a third option for the Ottoman women in the revolutionary cartoons: that of symbolizing the honor of the nation and the unity of the Ottoman people against the unjust aggressions of the European "other." Such images are found in cartoons on the boycott of Austrian goods launched in autumn of 1908 as a response to Austria's annexation of Ottoman territory. In this setting, the image of as women as thoughtless consumers of European fashion was subverted into another image of women as patriotic consumers, preserving the honor of the state (Brummett, 1995: 446)

In 1908, the presence of women and men together in Istanbul was viewed by some as signifying freedom, modernity or progress; on the other hand, it was viewed as signifying license, immorality by many others (Brummett, 1995: 444). Women continued to be dressed in half eastern fashion and half western fashion.

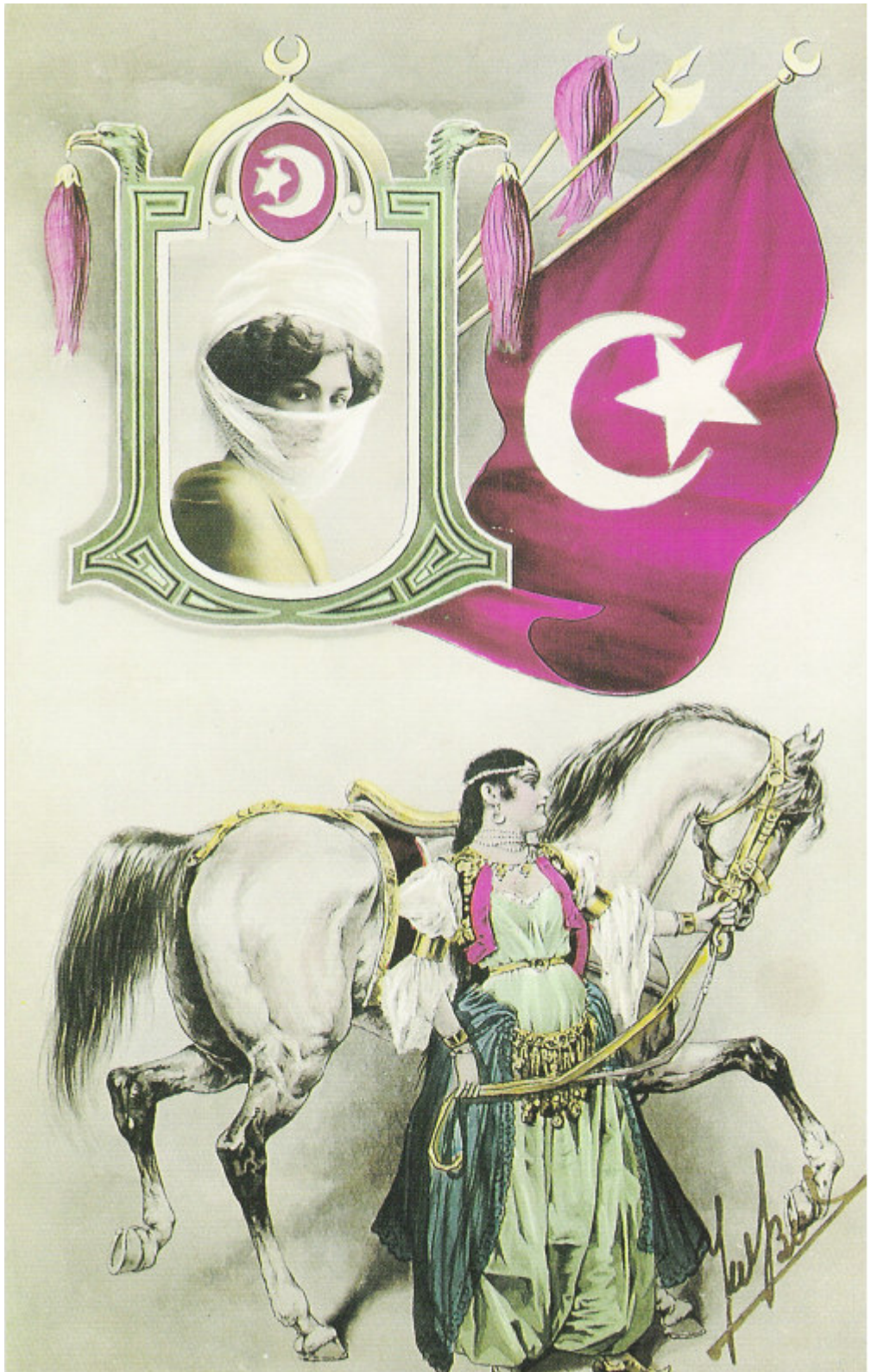


Fig. 5. Ottoman lady in 1908, from the postcard collection of Yeliz Usta.



Fig. 6. Ottoman lady in 1908, from the postcard collection of Yeliz Usta.

CHAPTER 3

WOMEN AND FASHION IN THE OTTOMAN DAILY LIFE AS REFLECTED IN THE PRINTED SOURCES OF THE SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD

3.1 Fashion in the Ottoman women's magazines

In the nineteenth century there were quite important women magazines which gave information concerning women's fashions. These magazines sometimes described fashion of the day and gave examples of dresses. These magazines gave patterns to women for sewing the same dresses. They described how to sew dresses with pictures. These magazines aimed to show fashion of day to female readers.

Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete was one of the leading women magazines. It gave supplements almost every week for new style of dressing. It presented new clothes, style, color and patterns. Women could follow the fashions of the day and sewing new dresses with the help of these supplements from magazines.



Figure 7- Skirts, From the journal of *Mehasin*, (Eylül 1324), no: 1, p.20.

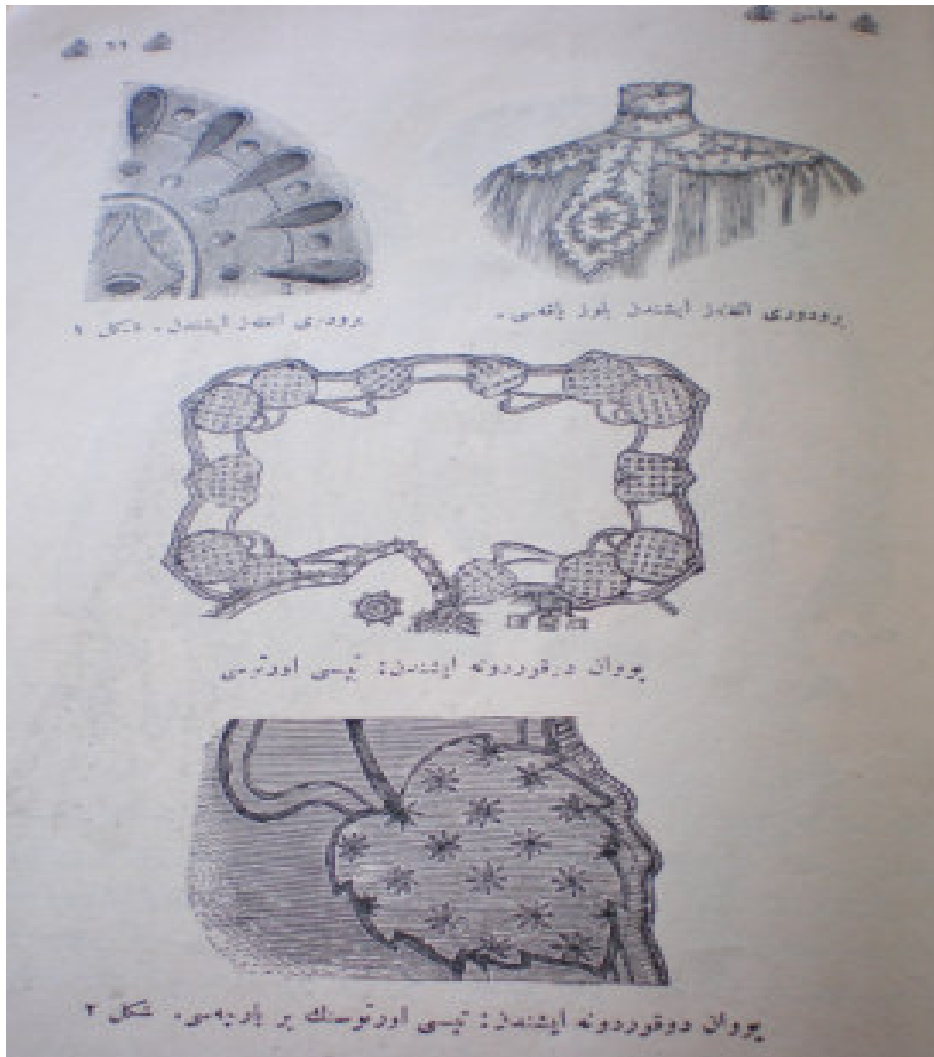


Figure 8- From the journal of *Mehasin*, (Eylül 1324), no: 1, p.22.

Some magazines gave special recipes for hair care cream which women could make at home. *Hanımlar* (women) was a similar kind of magazine. It gave recipes of pomade for the hand and lips. In addition, these magazines showed some kind of hairstyles.



Figure 9- a hairstyle, from the journal of *Mehasin*, no.2 (Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) , p.79.

Additionally we see some articles on fashion and clothing habits. In these articles the question of clothing or veiling was frequently discussed. Writers from these magazines presented discussions on veiling, dresses, and clothing habits and criticized fashion positively and negatively.

Semiha Nihal an author who discussed fashion in her article “What is Fashion (Moda Nedir?)” in *Kadınlar Dünyası*. According to her ornament was excessive:

Women had to wear what dresses were suitable, and they should not have copied other women’s clothing. Women could be attractive by wearing simple dresses.² Some dresses were very suitable for some women but not for every one. If dresses were not suitable, they could make women ugly. Women had to wear the proper clothing for their bodies. They have to protect simplicity themselves. Instead of spending money for ornaments, women should have spent money for their children’s education.³

She argued that it is absurd to avoid wearing the same dresses in different places. It is not necessary to follow fashion to be lady.⁴ Being a lady did not mean following fashion and being dressy. It was necessary to be educated and have good manners to be real ladies, rather than following fashion.⁵

² *Süs de ifrat değil midir? Süs de ifrat hangi millette görülmüş ise o millet fakr u zarurete düçâr olmuştur. Süs hususunda insan kendi re'iyine tâbi' olmalıdır. Filan hanım şöyle giyinmiş diye hemen onu taklide heves etmemeliyiz. Vücudumuza, tenasübümüze, endamımıza göre giyinir isek bütün ma'nâsyla zarafeti muhafaza etmiş oluruz. Sadeliği iltizâmda ayrıca letafet, menfa'at vardır.* (“Moda Nedir?”, *Kadınlar Dünyası* no:1 4 Nisan 1329 / 17 Nisan 1913 , p. 3)

³ *Görmüyor muyuz?... Bazı hanımların letafetine letafet katan bir elbise, bazı vücutları ne kadar çirkin gösteriyor. Meyil daima ihsana ise vücudumuza göre giymeliyiz, had ve itidal haricinde çıkmayarak daima sadelikteki letafetini muhafaza etmeliyiz. Paramızı süse vereceğimize evlatlarımızın terbiyesine hasr etsek daha iyidir. Süse iptila ah, daima felakettir!.. Ibid.*

⁴ *Bu düğünde giydiğimiz elbiseyi neden başka düğünde de giymeyelim. Canım, hanımefendi demek mutlaka modayı çok icra etmek demek midir? Ibid.*

⁵ *Hayır, hayır, bizce hanım, hanımefendi süs, moda demek değildir. Hanım, hanımefendi olmak için hanımca terbiye, hanımefendice nezâket sahibesi olmak lazımdır. Bir hanımda*

Fashion was frequently discussed in women magazines. The article entitled “How Was Fashion Created (Moda Nasıl Vücuda Gelir?)” discussed fashion in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*. It discussed the changing nature of fashion every year. The question was why women did not wear dresses which they wore in previous years. It was not necessary to wear new dresses ever year.⁶

The dress which was beautiful the previous year could not be inelegant in one year. European women especially spent a lot of money for new dresses in order to follow fashion. Women vied with other women in fashion; thus, they changed their dresses every season.⁷ In this competition, tailors offered new style of dresses to women and they created new fashions for women. After they created new creation they had to advertise new goods. Paris was the most important place to present their creations to women.

bunlar olunca, terbiye ve nezâket ile tezyin edince herkesin hürmet ve ta'zimine layık olur. Ibid.

⁶ *Moda niçin seneden seneye, mevsimden mevsime tebdil ediyor? Niçin geçen sene omuz tarafından dar, bilek tarafından geniş olan kollar bu sene bilakis omuz tarafından gâyet bol oluyor da yeniler gayet dar yapılıyor? Eteklikler evvelce sıkı iken şimdi neden darlaşıyor? Velhasıl moda mübtelâsı olan Avrupa nisvânı geçen sene kemâl-i heves ve iştiyâk ile giydikleri elbiseyi bu sene niçin nazarlarından düşürerek sandığın bir köşesine atıyorlar (“Moda Nasıl Vücuda Gelir?”, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, No:541, 1323 Zilkade/1321 Kanun-ı evvel / Aralık 1905 15, p. 1-2).*

⁷ *Geçen sene muvaffak zevk-i selîm olan bir tarz-ı telebbüsün bu sene zarâfetten ârî olması mümkûn değildir. Zarâfet fi'l-asıl tabiat-ı eşyada mevcûd bir hassa olduğundan zaman ile tağyir etmemek icâb eder. Avrupa nisvânı her mevsimde yeni elbise yaptırarak terzisine hayli paralar verdiğini, tuvâletine her sene aile bütçesinde büyük bir yükün tahsîs olunduğunu ancak modaya tab'iyet etmekle modaya muvâfık bir tarzda telebbüs etmekle ısbat edebilir. Böyle her mevsimin modasına göre giyinmiş, ya'ni her mevsimde ayrı elbise yaptırdığını bi'l-fi'il i'lân eden bir madamın diğer kişilerinden daha aşağı görünmemek hevesiyle müsâbakaya kalkışacaklarından işte bu suretle hâsıl olan rağbet-i umûmiye modayı tevlîd eder. Ibid.*

Fashion gazettes and magazines helped in advertising fashion. Women from all over the world could follow fashion by this way.⁸

Women dressed fashionably even though they felt ugly. Therefore, clothing was not just a need, but it became an unnecessary accessory and luxury. “*Elbise (Clothing)*” is an article in *Aile* magazine which discussed fashion of the day. Human being needs to dress up but sometimes dresses had very exaggerated accessories. For this reason, it became weight for people.⁹ Dresses should have been simple for women like men’s clothing. Accessories should be limited for women, when it was simple it could be more elegant.

Perihan, in her article “*Fashion (Moda)*” in *Türk Kadını* claimed that war upset many things but fashion. Women continued to follow fashion as much as they could. Dresses which were fashionable in Istanbul were already out of fashion in Europe. When women noticed that these dresses were out of fashion in Europe they tried to have new dresses and spent a lot of money for the sake of fashion.¹⁰

⁸ *Yavaş yavaş zâil olmaya başlar, işte bu suretle eski albümlerin mu’avenâtı, mâhir bir nakışçının yahûd zevk-i selîme mâlik bir terzi kızın elzemim mahâretiyle büyük bir terzi modayı icâd eder. Moda vücuda geldikten sonra bunu herkese tanıttirmek lazım. Paris gibi bir şehirde bundan kolay bir şey olamaz. At yarışları, resim sergileri, tiyatrolar vesaire gibi yerler. Bu mahallerde görülünce ikinci, üçüncü ve hatta dördüncüde terziler moda gazeteleri muharrirleri fotoğraf altlarıyla beraber hemen etrafına toplanırlar. Ferdası günü çıkan moda gazeteleri bu kostümün kâffe-i tafsilât ve teferru’âtını resimleriyle beraber dünyanın her tarafına neşr ve ilan ederler. Şık giyinen kadınlar son modanın mühl-i zuhur ve icadını keşf ve tahkik ederek müsabakatkarane bir gayretle oraya şitâb ederler. Ibid.*

⁹ *Elbise kullanmakla zenginlik izhâr etmek tefhir cahilesine de görünen ve modaya münzem olarak, ba’zı defa’ hayallere sığmayacak garip garip eşkâlde elbise icâd olunur ki çok defa’ insanı sokakdan muhafaza edecekken bir de üstünde ağır bir yük olmaktan başka bir şeye yaramaz. (“Elbise”, *Aile* no: 2, 24 Cemaziyel Ahir 1297/27 Mayıs 1880, p. 28-30)*

¹⁰ *Harb her şeyi az çok sarstığı halde modaya hiç işlemedi. O yine br bahar havası, bir sinema perdesi gibi renkten renge biçimden biçime girip duruyor. Hatta garip bir ‘aks tesirle*

National fashion was one of the topics which was discussed in women magazines. Zehra Hakkı discussed this issue in her article entitled “National Fashion (*Milli Moda*)” in *Yeni İnci*.

Fashion became an important issue in Turkish women’s life. Turkish women were seen in daily life, in the streets, education life, offices. Changes in social life affected women’s clothing. Women had to make these changes concerning clothing to be participated and keep up social life.¹¹

Veiling was not related to Islam but traditional according to Zehra Hakkı. She argued that:

Veiling came from Persians and Greeks. It can be valuable because it was related to custom not religion. For this reason tradition could change. Social changes required changes in the veiling and clothing habits and this was unavoidable. From the beginning of *Tanzimat* period Ottomans had great changes and reforms in many fields which caused modernization. Because of the World War I conditions women had to adapt new life. They had to participate into new life and this changed their clothing habits.¹²

On the other hand it was necessary to change clothing habits but copying Western fashion was not the proper way. It was better to create national fashion instead of copying western fashion. Turkish culture had quite

modanın daha çok yükseldiğini, görüyoruz. Fi’lhakika bizde moda diye kabul edilen renkler ve şekiller ekseriya Avrupa’da modası çokdan geçmiş olan şeylerdir. Kadınlarımız (Paris) ve (Viyana) gibi moda gibi moda merkezlerinin yeni diye ifâ ettikleri biçimi olduğu gibi kabul etmekte ve biraz sonra bunun değiştiği hayretle görerek sık ve ağır masraflara ihtiyarene mecbur kalmaktadırlar. (Perihan, “Moda: Şehrazad”, Türk Kadını, no: 2, 6 Haziran 1334, p. 26-28)

¹¹ *Moda, Türk hanımının hayatında mühim bir amel olmağa başladı. Yeni hayatın telakkilerimizde ika’ ettiği tebdiller, kıyafetlerimize te’sirden hali kalmıyor. Bugün Türk kadını sokakta, çarşıda, mektepte, resmi dairelerde hatta uzun saatlerde görüyoruz. (Zehra Hakkı, “Milli Moda”, Yeni İnci no: 1 Şubat 1919, p.45).*

¹² *İslam diniyle alakası olmadığını bilakis bize Rumlardan ve İranlılardan geçtiği ‘alemin kâti’ şahadetıyla sabit olan tesettür ‘ananesinin arkamızda yaşadığı müddetçe yalnız bir ‘adet olarak devam etmesine şiddetle taraftarız. Hâlbuki adetler ırkın tebdiliyle değişir. Bu da zamanla olur. Ben yalnız kıyafetlerimizin değişmesinde bizim irade ihtiyarımızın değil, fakat hayatın yeni istikametlerde inkişaf etmekte olmasının da dahili bulunduğunu söylemek istiyorum. Tanzimattan beri yaşayış tarzımızda sarsıntılı inkılablar vukû’a geliyor. Asrileşiyoruz. Umumi hayata karışan Türk kadınının yeni muhitine tatbik etmeğe çabalamasından ileri geliyor. Ibid.*

sufficient richness to create a new national fashion. This fashion had to be totally original.¹³

A foreign writer Juliette Edison mentioned her observation in Istanbul and *Seyyale* magazine published her article. She mentioned that women in Pera were quite free. On the other hand, women who were in Fatih, Topkapı, Edirnekapı seemed more uptight and they were veiled. They seemed to be real Muslim women.¹⁴

Accessories were also discussed in the articles of the magazines. Güzide Ferit was one the writers who criticized accessories of women in her article entitled “Modanın Tecavüzüne Uğramayan Bir Şemsiye Sapları Kalmıştı” in *Hanım*. She criticized new fashion which was being created in Paris. There were heavily decorated umbrellas in Paris and she was afraid of the spread of this kind of umbrellas to Istanbul.¹⁵

Fatma Nevber criticized wearing rings on gloves in her article “Eldiven Üzerine Yüzük Takmak da Ne Oluyor, Bu da mı Moda?” in *Şüküfezar*. She

¹³ *Fakat bu kıyafetin değişmesini zaruri görmekle beraber Türk kadınının doğrudan doğruya garb modasına teveccüh etmesini tabi'ad edemiyorum. Pek eski medeniyetlerin tecelligahı olan şark, bilhassa Türk harisi, bize nispeten orijinal bir moda ilham bir moda ilham edecek zenginliklerle doludur. Bu zenginlikleri keşf eder onlardan istifade, onlardan istifade yollarını bulursak garb modasını, maymun gibi farksız taklid etmekten kurtuluruz. Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Beyoğlu taraflarında gördüğüm Türk hanımları gayet serbest ve laubali meşreb bulduğumdan hepsini böyle zannediyordum. Lakin İstanbul tarafında ve bilhassa Topkapı, Fatih, Edirnekapı civarlarında ekseriyetle gayet kapalı olarak gördüğüm kadınların ahvalinden akıldaki asıl Müslüman kadınları ve daha doğrusu hakikaten milletini seven Türk hanımları İstanbul tarafında imiş. (Juliette Edison, “İstanbulda Gördüklerim: Türk Hanımları”, *Seyyale*, no: 1, 22 Mayıs 1330/4 Haziran 1914, p. 7,8).*

¹⁵ *Dua ediyorum ki İstanbul'a bu menhus moda sirayet etmesin. Şemsiyenin kamasına ve ufak toparlak cismine kadar taraftad isem de, elimde güzel bir ziynet takı ederek yz başı gezdirdiğim şemsiyemin sapına dokunmasını hiç arzu etmiyorum. Paris'te çıkan meşhur bir moda gazetesinden iktibas ettirdiğim bu resim ne kadar çirkin şemsiye saplarını gösteriyor. Japon işi heykeltiklerden tutunuz da fil ve horoz başına ve yılan kafasına kadar hepsi var. (Güzide Ferit, “Modanın Tecavüzünü Uğramayan Bir Şemsiye Sapları Kalmıştı”, *Hanım*, no: 39, *Teşrin-i Evvel 1337/Ekim 1921*, p. 11).*

asked why women wore their rings on gloves. Women wore gloves to protect and hide their hands, but if gloves were very thin wearing gloves would be meaningless. Some women wanted to show their wealth thus they wore rings on their gloves. Unfortunately this situation showed they were parvenus.¹⁶

During the constitutional period there were critiques against clothing habits both positive and negative. Intellectuals of the period gave their opinions in the magazines.

Sadık Albayrak compares a few magazines which were published in the constitutional period in terms of women and social changes. *Sebilü'r-Reşad*, *İslam Mecmuası* and *İçtihad* were compared and contrasted in his book. We see opposing ideas in these magazines. In addition Mustafa Gündüz also evaluates *İçtihad*, *Sebilü'r-Reşad* and *Türk Yurdu* in his book. Each journal had a world view, and in accordance with that world view they created their stand against women clothing habits.

According to *Sebilü'r-Reşad*, women began to ignore Islamic regulations on clothing with the declaration of the first Ottoman Constitution (*Kanun-i Esasi*) (Albayrak, 2002: 69). *Sebilü'r-Reşad* emphasized that women have to be veiled and cover their hair when they are with men

¹⁶ *Ey şık hanımlar! Kağıt gibi incecik olan deriden mamul bir eldiven hiçbir vakit eli tesir-i bürüdetten muhafaza edemez. Zira bunu bir zaman biz de tecrübe ettik. Ancak mesele eldiven takmak hususuna ait olmayıp eldiven üzerine yüzük takmak tabiatsizliğine dair olduğundan bir şık hanımdan münhasıran bu hususa dair bir cevap isteriz. Çekinmezler de ne derler. "Allah Allah sizin ne vazifeniz? Parmağımdaki yüzüğün tasası size mi düşmüş, yüzüğünüz varsa siz de takınız çok şey! Artık bu kadar kâmillik de hiç görmedik." Bundan anlaşılır ki hanımlarımız zevk-i selim ashabına nefret bahşolan bu adeti, mücerret kıymetli yüzüklerini âleme göstermek ve bu cihetle zengin olduklarını anlatmak için iltizam ediyorlar. Halbuki bu hal, bilakis kendilerini "sonradan görme" ve şayet böyle olmasalar bile bu nâm ile tavsit ettireceğini hiç hatır ve hayale getirmiyorlar. (Fatma Nevber, "Eldiven Üstüne Yüzük Takmak da Ne Oluyor Bu da mı Moda?", Şüküfezar, no: 3 (1303/1887, p. 43-47)*

according to Islamic law (Shari'a). In addition, it was written in this journal that women must stay at home and look after their children. People who follow European fashion and criticize veiling are not right in this context (Albayrak, 2002: 73-77).

Abdülaziz, who is one of the writers of *Sebilü'r-Reşad*, argued that the westernization movement affected women's clothing as in other fields. It was necessary to preserve and continue wearing old style of clothing to escape western effects on clothing habits (Albayrak, 2002: 242, 248.)

Additionally, *Sebilü'r-Reşad* criticized the CUP government's policies about religion. According to this magazine, they were playing tricks on women's honor and if women did not fall for these tricks, Islam would not lose (Albayrak, 2002: 250, 251).

There were debates and discussions on veiling in the magazines. In these articles the authors discussed whether veiling was a religious or moral matter. Besides, they discussed whether veiling was religious duty or not. Writers of *Sebilü'r-Reşad* advocated that veiling was a religious duty and it is not part of the custom. Hence, women have to obey this religious obligation (Albayrak, 2002: 256- 266).

F. Latife, who is one of the writers of *Sebilü'r-Reşad*, criticized the articles which published in *İçtihad* because they praised Russian Muslims' clothing. According to author, the most important problem about Islam was protecting veiling. It was not necessary to change clothing, it was significant to obey Islam (F. Latife, 1329: 329).

Fatma Zehra was another writer of *Sebilü'r-Reşad* who supported veiling in her articles. She argued that Muslim women did not complaint veillin thus men could not try changing clothing habits of women (Fatma Zehra, 1329: 278).

During the constitutional period Muslim women's *çarşaf* gradually changed, and women began to wear hats instead of the *çarşaf*. This was also criticized in the *Sebilü'r-Reşad* (Albayrak, 2002: 272-281).

On the other hand, writers of *İçtihad* put forward opposite thoughts against *Sebilü'r-Reşad*. They were in favor of westernization and thought that veiling was not necessary for Muslim women. They believed that women faced more important questions than veiling. It was necessary to evaluate women's issues, not the veiling question. Women have to escape veiling in the process of westernization according to *İçtihad*. Moreover, the writers of *İçtihad* asked that women who did not veil their face or hair should not be declared as dishonorable. (Albayrak, 2002: 397-401).

Abdullah Cevdet was one of the writers of *İçtihad* who defended the idea that there was no place for veiling in real Islam. He believed that according to Islam people could be evaluated by their general behavior, not their clothing. Women should not wear the *çarşaf* (Abdullah Cevdet, 1327: 810, 811)). It is clear that the *çarşaf* which women chose to wear for the sake of fashion was one of the biggest issues in the field of fashion. Women chose the *çarşaf* instead of the *ferace* because they could wear European clothing easily under the *çarşaf*. However women wanted to leave the *çarşaf* in a quite short time.

Occidentalists believed that veiling was a social question. Rıza Tevfik was one of the *İçtihad* writers who argued that veiling of tulle and the *yaşamak* passed from the Byzantines to the Turkish people. In this context it was not a religious obligation, but it was a customary habit. He evaluated the clothing question impartially. According to him it was not necessary to be veiled for honor and good manners. The most important thing was that women should not attract attention with their dresses. For example, a woman who wore the *çarşaf* in a European city would attract attention and this situation was not suitable for woman. He continued to argue that a piece of clothe could not protect women's honor; thus, veiling was not rule of belief in Islam. In addition, he argued that to save the state it was necessary to educate women. (Rıza Tevfik, 1329: 2101).

Writers of *İçtihad* thought that the question of clothing had to be resolved in a very short period of time. Kılıçzade Hakkı was one of these writers. According to him, women could be educated, and they should participate in social life without veiling. *İçtihad* framed the clothing question only in regard to veiling (Kılıçzade Hakkı, 1329: 2067)).

Türk Yurdu, another well-known journal of the Second Constitutional Period, gave less importance to the clothing question, when compared to *İçtihad* and *Sebilü'r-Reşad*. Writers of *Türk Yurdu* considered clothing as a national issue. Turkish women had to wear national Turkish clothing instead of imitating European clothing according to this magazine (Gündüz, 2006: 537).

There were religious disputes on the veiling of women in these magazines. Some writers supported the opinions of religious men in their articles. In this way, they aimed to prove that veiling was not a duty according to Islamic rules. *Siyaset* claimed that women escaped the chains of veiling. *Sebilü'r-Reşad* criticized this argument strongly and defended veiling for Muslim women. *Sebilü'r-Reşad* answered the arguments with a verse of Koran. "O Prophet! Tell thy wives and daughters, and the believing women, that they should cast their outer garments over their persons (when abroad): that is most convenient, that they should be known (as such) and not molested. And Allah is oft-forgiving, most merciful (Ahzab 33/59)".¹⁷

There were some claims about clothing habits of Muslim women. One of these claims was that if Muslim women had obeyed the Islamic obligations regarding clothing the Ottomans would have won the Balkan war. Another one claimed the opposite idea. It is said that if women had not veiled we would have won Balkan war. These kinds of ideas were illogical in fact. Veiling was not an obstacle for progress and it was a certain order of Islam (Albayrak, 2002: 532-535). Instead of trying to escape veiling, it was necessary to educate women correctly in order to progress.

These magazines explained reasons for decline in the context of clothing. According to *İçtihad*, women could not participate in social life because of veiling. Veiling could not stop immorality; it serves just to hide it. It is important that women should have good spirits and good manners, veiling

¹⁷ "Ey Peygamber! Eşlerine kızlarına ve müminlerin hanımlarına üstlerine örtü almalarını söyle. Bu, onların hür ve namuslu bilinmelerini, ve bundan dolayı incitilmemelerini daha iyi sağlar. Allah bağışlar ve merhemet eder".

was not necessary. Additionally, *Sebilü'r-Reşad* opposed these ideas. It accepted political decline but veiling was not the reason for this decline. *Türk Yurdu* assessed the veiling issue in terms of morality not religion. Nation, place and education were more important according to this magazine (Gündüz, 2006: 539).

3.2 Women's Dresses in Turkish Novels

There are many kinds of sources, especially if we study the history of social life. At this point Turkish novels, which were written in the late of nineteenth century and the beginning of twentieth century, are quite important sources to describe and understand women's clothing and the change in the clothing habits as the results of Westernization or modernization. They also offer reflections of the social, economic and educational positions of Turkish women of the period. The nineteenth century had many changes in itself and these changes continued to increase throughout the twentieth century. This period is also known as the beginning the Turkish novels.

It is quite clear that Turkish women warmly welcomed European fashion, and began to imitate the European women in their outlook. First, women who lived in the palace copied and adapted European fashions and then these fashions spread among ordinary people. Herein, Turkish novels give us significance in how Turkish women accept the new life style and their reflections in daily life.

At this juncture, “*Batılılaşma açısından Servet-i Fünun Romanı*”,(Servet-i Fünun Fictions in Terms of Westernization) which was written by Cahit Kavcar (1985), is a significant work that examines some of the novels such as, “*Mai ve Siyah*” (Blue and Black), “*Ask-ı Memnu*” (Illicit Love), “*Ferdi ve Şurekası*” (Ferdi and His Partners), “*Eylül*” (September) and “*Genç Kız Kalbi*” (The Heart of the Young Girl). In this work, the author evaluates westernization according to these novels. There is also some information about fashion and its reflections on people. During the reign of Mahmud II, there were significant changes in clothing habits especially for men. Following these changes, women’s clothing changed too. They could not stay away from these changes.

It is clear that all the characters in the nineteenth century novels copied the behaviors Western people, and authors of these novels criticized these behaviors. The women and the men in these novels seem quite fashionable. Additionally, there were not only fans of European fashions but also people who criticized these fashions that come from West. Evidently this sort of work reflects the situation of their period and shed light on people’s thoughts.

In the works of H. Ziya Uşaklıgil, (*Aşk-ı Memnu*, *Ferdi ve Şurekası*, *Mai ve Siyah*) we see the examples of the above mentioned situations. Women are total fans of European fashion. Their dresses are formed with tulle, lace work and silks in these novels. These kinds of dresses drew the attention in the late period of Ottoman Empire. The author mentions tragicomic situations concerning women’s interests in fashion. While Turkish

women tried to dress like Western women, they wore both Western and Turkish style clothing together. Such situations caused comic conditions. At the same time, women exaggerate their dressing and makeup. With these costumes they neither stayed “Turkish women” nor looked like real Western women in appearance. The authors usually described such situations with irony.

If we look at another work Yakup Kadri mentions in his novel “*Kiralık Konak*” (Leasehold Mansion), which focuses on the Second Constitutional Period, it shows the differences between three generations the effects of westernization on these people. In this novel, life in Istanbul is divided into two periods which are *Istanbulin* and *Rodingot*. In fact, these are the names of some kind of clothing. In the “*Istanbulin*” period people were quite kind and their clothing was smart-fashionable. In this period people know how to dress up. On the other hand, in the “*Rodingot*” period, people didn’t know how to dress up smartly. Men and women tried to dress like Western people but they became unsuccessful. That is to say, they wore semi-Western and semi-Turkish style clothing and as imagined this situation makes them comic. According to Yakup Kadri, people began to ignore traditions and they seem to be pharisaical people. They forgot where they came from and tried to become someone else (1986).

An interesting example from this novel shows the the change: the female characters in this novel use the *maslah* in the *Mesire* (picnic) places and when they have a picnic they throw their *maslah* on the grass. It is clear

that they didn't attach importance to cover their hair or shoulders anymore (Karaosmanođlu, 1986)

Furthermore, Peyami Safa's "*Sözde Kızlar*" (*Pretended Girls*) tells the story of Müberra who came to Istanbul to find her father and her new life in this city. All the characters in the novel were affected Western life style and they are fan of this kind of life and by the Western clothing. They often spent their time at the parties. In the house, women dressed very fashionable of course in Western style and they attend the parties wearing these clothes and with make up on their face. On the other hand, when they were outside they had to wear their *carsafs*. We see that the novel's characters think that European dressing is more fashionable and all women should dress like them in general. (1995)

In this novel Müberra is not a girl who follows western fashion and life style but in the course of the time she begins to dress up in western clothing like her relatives. This shows us that following European fashion of dressing is unavoidable. Turkish women adapt in this way quite quickly.

Additionally, if we look at Şemsettin Sami's work, "*Taaşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat*", (*Love of Talat and Fitnat*) we can find some information concerning women's clothing. In this novel there is a conversation between two old women. This conversation sheds light on conservative people's opinions about changes. They talk about women and their clothing. They criticize women's *yaşmak* and *ferace* because they are very thin and unsuitable. They believe these kinds of women and their clothing styles are gangrene. Women who wore unsuitable dresses were perceived as flighty women in this period.

These two old women are afraid of losing their sons because of these women who wear such thin and unsuitable clothing in the outside (2004: 8).

Another example from this work concerns at what age girls should cover their hair. In the novel it is emphasized that when girls become ten or eleven they have to wear the *yaşmak* and the *ferace*. The novel implies that this is a tradition for girls of the Ottoman Empire. They cannot get out without this clothing. Additionally, women used umbrellas outside during this period. The novel tells the story of a girl who is eleven years old and her difficulties concerning covering. Her family explains to her that she has to be covered with the *yaşmak* and the *ferace* in accordance with Islamic beliefs (Şemsettin Sami, 2004).

Moreover, Mehmet Rauf's novel "*Genç Kız Kalbi*" (*The Hearth of a Young Girl*) is about Istanbul of 1919. The main character is Pervin who stays with her uncle for a while. She thinks that her uncle is narrow minded because he doesn't follow new fashions and the Western life style. Actually she criticizes all the members of her family because of their life style. In her opinion, they have to leave the old-fashioned life style and adapt to the West. She does not like her cousin; she thinks she is an outdated person and her clothing and hair are not fashionable (2004).

Furthermore, Pervin says that when they go out with their *çarşaf* and *yaşmak*, her uncle controls their clothes whether they are suitable or not before they go out. She also hates this situation. When Pervin tells about *çarşaf* she describes them as bell-shaped and like a sack and in her opinion, it is completely out of fashion. (Rauf, 2004: 29)

The novel also includes some arguments about clothing such the *ferace* and the *çarşaf*. Conservative people support wearing the *ferace* but people who follow fashion and novelties support wearing the *çarşaf*, because it is more suitable than the *ferace* and the *yaşmak*. In addition, Pervin thinks the *çarşaf* covers the body more than the *ferace* (Rauf, 2004: 61,62). These arguments occur among the novel's characters. Pervin support this clothing and she says that if a woman is ugly there is no problem, but if she is beautiful the problem shows itself. She believes women always dress in what men want. She argues that clothing has very more to do with the tradition rather than religion, and it is the men who have determined the traditions.

In addition, in the work of Mehmet Rauf, "*Eylül*" (*September*), we see the lifestyles of quite rich people. The main characters of the story have western lifestyles or just imitate them. Concerning women's clothing, we can see a few details. During the Second Constitutional Period, we see that women, especially rich women, always wear gloves and carry umbrellas when they are outside (2005).

Lastly, in the work of Peyami Safa, "*Fatih-Harbiye*", we see the differences between two regions of Istanbul. This work shows that the effects of leaving tradition and Ottoman civilization and of adapting Western life styles on families society. Fatih represents the tradition of Ottoman-Islam and on the other hand Harbiye represents the Western life style. We see the effects of Westernization in this novel. Neriman is the main character of the novel and she tries to live like western people. She likes to attend balls and dress fashionable.

In brief, these novels offer us considerable information concerning women's clothing styles in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This thesis limits its examination to a few novels which are typical samples of Second Constitutional Period. Of course it is possible to see this kind of example in other novels which are not examined here. In addition, we can see different approaches to clothing which shed light on people's opinions and thoughts relating to fashion, novelties and western lifestyle. There have been great arguments and discussions on fashion –dressing in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. These arguments affected the stories in the novels and they showed themselves in these works. There were quite important changes in social life and of course novels of this period would not stay away from this topic.

CONCLUSION

Costumes as the reflection of Identity

Is a fashion a particular style which belongs to a specific group in a specific period? What and who creates fashion? These questions have been asked frequently. Today fashion is a popular issue. We have to evaluate fashion in its period. When we look at the nineteenth century we have to discuss fashion relating to the conditions of that time. What made fashion important for the Ottoman women in the constitutional period? What did they wear at this time?

Fashion is more visible in the cities of industrialized societies. After the French Revolution and Industrial Revolution, fashion changed significantly. New ones were fashionable. It made people “civilized”. In this context, there are close relations between fashion and mentality of people. (Barbarosoğlu, 1995: 28). Clothing is related to determine the identity of a particular person. Transforming of clothing and covering to be fashionable meant double minded as it was for the Ottomans from the examples given. (Barbarosloğlu, 2002:115)

Clothing is a mirror which reflects the identity of people. Especially in the Ottoman Empire, clothing was like an identity card. Although huge changes came about in the late Ottoman era, it was easy to separate people’s identities from each other just by looking at their clothing. There were many changes which caused changes in the clothing habits during the

constitutional period. This change also represented significant clues regarding the changes in personal identities. Ottoman elite women followed European fashion. By imitating European fashion, they also copied European identities. Ottomans lost their own authentic clothing style. During this period Ottomans could not determine their own culture, so they copied Western style (Barbarosoğlu, 1995: 111)

When we interpret clothing, we have to be careful because clothing might have different meanings in different time. The messages of clothing change every year. Clothing and styles have great meanings according to the individual who wears it, the situation, the place and society (Davis, 1997: 18, 19). Consequently, different groups in the same society react to clothing styles in different ways (Davis, 1997: 25).

Ottoman women's clothing habits changed with these social changes. In the nineteenth century, there were many changes in daily life, especially in the lives of the elite people as we saw in novels of the period. Furniture at home changed. Rich people used European style furniture which was usually imported from France. Later, master craftsmen in Istanbul began to manufacture tables, nightstands or chairs. (Faroqhi, 2002: 302). The daily lifestyles of people changed with these social transformation and these changes affected their identity as well. The understanding of beauty changed too. Women who wore Western clothes were considered to be beautiful but others not. Fashion spread as a part of social statue in the society. (Barbarosoğlu, 1995: 120)

Women socialized in the Second Constitutional Period, and this brought modification of identities in the society. During this period women began to articulate a demand for relative freedom. This was positive progress for Turkish women according to Berktaş (2006: 97).

Viewed from a different perspective, clothes in the Ottoman Empire – and in other parts of the world as well- formed an essential part of the presentation of self. The images of clothing can be taken as statements of official position, wealth, modernity or sophistication. Moreover clothes might refer to cultural relations with the outside world that the wearer either was involved in or that he/she wished to advertise. Thus during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries certain Ottoman Christians began to dress in European clothes, not only during their visits to western Europe and but also in the empire's major cities (Faroqhi, 2004: 16).

In the Ottoman period, clothing as worn in streets, market places or picnic grounds was regarded as part of the public order as sanctioned by religion. From the 1870s and 1880s onwards, upper class women; princesses included, first incorporated features of European fashion into their own clothing and by the end of the century, usually wore European-style dresses and hairstyle at home and also when socializing with friends and relatives. Where clothes and the Ottoman administration were concerned, the social order was a public order (Faroqhi, 2004: 23, 24).

Dress reflected both personal tastes and cultural values of the society, in the case the Ottoman society. A great deal has been concerning influences of western fashion in the Ottoman Empire.

Dress and fashion are different from each other. Dress is, in fact, a part of everyone's daily life and has its own culture. The term 'fashion' has a specific meaning. We should distinguish that term from more general terms like 'clothing' or 'dress'. Rapid change of styles is a characteristic of a fully-developed fashion system, but dress in a traditional society tends to change much more slowly. Fashionable dress emerged first in urban centers that enjoyed economies able to support surplus production of goods and a consumer class with the means necessary to acquire luxuries. Particularly in periods prior to the twentieth century fashion was established by elites, and then gradually diffused its forms into the dress of the general population, through various mechanisms. (Jirousek, 2004: 231)

The Ottoman Empire experienced enormous changes in many fields and women were affected by these changes. The Ottoman Empire had been changing its structure. The identity of people had been modified with these conditions as well. There is no doubt that Europe was a model for Ottomans for sartorial changes.

The changes which took place in women's costume during the Constitutional Period reflected social changes. The westernization and social changes brought important changes to Istanbul women's lives especially to their style of dressing. The European and Ottoman clothing traditions and habits had completely different conceptions of dress and style. The adaptation of European clothing by Ottoman women brought very different type of clothing.

Ottoman clothing required that the body should be well covered by clothing. On the other hand, European clothing was totally different. It was fitter and more fashionable when compared to that of Ottoman. When Ottoman women chose to wear European dress instead of the *ferace*, the *yaşmak* or other traditional Ottoman clothing, they were choosing not just fashionable dressings, but they also chose the whole western costume tradition. In addition they opted to change their identities.

The adaptation of European costume did not take place at the same time among all women in the Ottoman Empire. European dress spread among rich people. Some women were able to afford many fashionable dresses but most were not. In this term, social position played a significant role. Thus, women of the non-Muslim communities adopted European fashions more quickly than Muslim women. Because these non-Muslim women were in close contact with foreign visitors. In addition, the adaptation of clothing was easy for them as they were Christians too. Although Greek and Armenian women adopted European clothing more quickly than Turkish women, the latter could not stay away from these changes.

The adaptation of European clothing by the women of Istanbul was a reflection of the changing values of Ottoman society. Clothing showed people's identity in the Ottoman society, but after these changes, their appearances mixed with that of non-Muslim and Europeans.

Changing of clothing was initially related to the presence of Europeans in the Ottoman Empire. During the nineteenth century, many European visitors came to Istanbul, additionally; Istanbul had numerous foreign

residents. Another reason for these changes was that European literature and magazines circulated widely in Istanbul. Women began to learn foreign languages and they could follow these publications. In the late nineteenth century, the numbers of educated women increased tremendously and they participated in the public life. All these changes of clothing were seen at home and then in the street, even the wedding dress.

Turkish elite women willingly took on the dressing style of European women, mostly Parisian trends. This thesis is an attempt to explain how the concept of fashion began to develop among Ottoman women and how the cultural interaction between Ottoman and European world was reflected to the clothing habits of the Ottoman women, as they encountered the challenges of modernization / westernization.

Appendix

İstanbul kadısına ve Galata ve Eyyüb ve Üsküdar kadılarına, yeniçeri Ağasına, Derzi başıya.

Nisa taifesinin esvak ve bazarda etvarı müştehiyye ile keştü güzarlari öteden beru memnu olduğundan ve İngiliz şalisi çuka begayet rakayk olmak mülâbesesile o makule çukadan ferace iktisa iden nisanın ferace altına giydiği sair esvabı hariçden gereği gibi fark olduğundan fimaba'd nisa taifesi İngiliz şaisi çuka ferace kesdirmekden men-i şedid ile men olunmuş idi. Elhaletü hazihi Enguri şalisi iktisasının vakti tekarrüb idüp oldahi ince ve rakıyk olduğuna binaen Enguri şalisi ferace ile keştü güzarin feracesiz gezmekten hiç farkı olmamağla bu husus mukaddemlerde ba fermanı âli kiraren men olunmuşken aralıkda bazı hayasızlar yine Enguri şalisinden ferace kesdirüb giydikleri mesmu ve meşhud olmakdan naşi bu maddenin dahi bu defa müceddeden men'i lâzım geldiğin fimabaad nisa taifesinin Enguri şalisinden ferace kesdirüb giymemeleri ve derziler dahi badezin o makule şalisinden ferace giymekden ve derziler dahi o misüllü şaliden ferace kesüb dikmekten men'ü tezhire ihtimam ve dikkat ve bu hususa daima siz dahi nezaret eyliyesiz. Şöyleki bu tenbihden sonar hangi derzi Enguri şalisinden taifei nisaya ferace kesüb dikmeğe cesaret eder ise bilâ emanin dükkânı önüne salb olunacağı ve derzileri itma' ile kedirmeğe cesaret edenler dahi badettahkıyk te'dip ve güşmal kılınacağı ve u nizam aleddevam düsturülamel tutulub hilafına bir noktada ruhsat verilmeyeceği malumunuz

olarak ana göre keyfiyeti cümleye ifade ve tefhime mübaderet ve hilafına iradeti ruhsatdan begayet tevakki ve mücanebet eyleyesüz deyu Fi selhi s 1206 (Refik, 1988).

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