Fabricating Identity:

‘Oriental’ Textiles in French Constructions of the Self and ‘Other’

in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

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Honors Thesis

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March 29, 2009

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Introduction

"It is by their apparel that types of society first become known…"[1]

The fabrics of societies are defined by their socio-political boundaries as much as their cultural materials. Within this warp and weft, personal and public identity is woven in complex, interdependent patterns. Over the course of history, boundaries may change and new patterns emerge, reflecting cultural, political, and economic transfer. The history of interactions between East and West can be chronicled as one of sartorial exchange. In this history, dress and its representations are subject to similar contextual constraints and expectations within society.[2] Therefore, the study of clothing and adornment in portraiture, while distinct from its study in lived society, is the place of greatest historical overlap between art and life. Yet costume remains a somewhat neglected aspect of painting, perhaps owing to its quotidian familiarity. It is this connection to social life that makes portrayals of clothing ripe with potential for art historians to contribute to the understanding of art's role in the expression of social, economic, and political behaviors and aspirations as well as the representation of identity. Such an examination also informs our ability to read and comprehend the material

[1] Fanon, Frantz. "Algeria Unveiled." In *Veil: Veiling, Representation, and Contemporary Art*, edited by David A. Bailey and Gilane Tawadros, 74-87. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003.

[2] Wrigley, Richard. *The Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France.* New York: Berg, 2002. p. 6.

narratives embodied in Western representations of other cultures, whose differences are experienced first through dress.

Essential to this cross-cultural dialogue in France, textiles in representations of women from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries document the visual language of shifts in political power to inform their changing meanings throughout history. These socio-political changes are exemplified by the portrayals and generalized images of Jean-Etienne Liotard, 1702-1789, and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, 1780-1867, considered in this analysis. In this period, the European traveler to the Ottoman Empire often brought back Turkish costumes and accessories and commemorated the journey with a portrait in 'Eastern' dress.[3] The itinerant artist Jean-Étienne Liotard was a prominent painter of such images, and his detailed rendering of costume was a source of information for nineteenth-century Orientalist paintings like those of Ingres.[4] Though Ingres never traveled beyond Italy, his visions of the Orient were deeply influential on European, especially French, impressions and expectations. For the above reasons, I have selected representations of women by Liotard and Ingres as exemplars of the changing international identity and resultant iconography of France as it emerged and established itself as a world imperial power in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In this analysis I reread established conventions of representation, considering the socio-political conditions in which they were developed and employed. Though the history of interactions between East and West is one of rich cultural exchange, the shifts of economic and political power in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries galvanized

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[3] Ribeiro, Aileen. "The Influence of Oriental Dress on Masquerade Dress in England in the 18th Century." In *The Dress Worn at Masquerades in England, 1730-1790, and Its Relation to Fancy Dress in Portraiture*, 217-248. New York: Garland Publishing, 1984. pp. 218-219.

[4] Ribeiro, Aileen. *Ingres in Fashion: Representations of Dress and Appearance in Ingres's Images of Women*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999. p. 5.

European colonial ventures and the supporting endeavors of Orientalism created a new and highly political vocabulary that is still in use today. In present scholarship, these terms, complicated by their culturally and politically charged origins, carry scant consistency in meaning across academic works and entire disciplines.

This complexity necessitates that I define for the reader my intentions in the use of the following words. In this essay, my single quotation of 'oriental', 'Orient', and 'Eastern' is meant to convey the Western construction of these terms and their significance to European understanding in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This construct, *Orientalism*, first put forth by Edward Said in his seminal work in postcolonial studies of the same title, describes the Western imperial discourse of scholarly disciplines that represented the 'Orient' as culturally inferior to further material possession and economic domination.[5] *Orientalism* is used here to describe the academic, literary, artistic, and scientific enterprises that fed an intense European, particularly French, social and political interest in the 'Orient' amongst scholars, elites, and the bourgeoisie. *Orientalist* describes a person interested in the 'Orient' as well as the intellectual and commercial products of that interest manifest in literature, science, fashion, theatre, and fine art. The terms East and Levant, while they reflect a Euro-centric position, are relevant in this analysis of how clothing mediated French constructions of self and *Other*. 'Other' operates here to signify the non-French identity asserted in Orientalist imagery. The meaning of the term *Islamicate*, borrowed from Marshall Hodgson, is an adjective

[5] Said, Edward W. *Orientalism.* New York: Vintage, 2003.

that refers to both the secular and religious "cultural complex historically associated with Islam" and the occupants, Muslim and non-Muslim, of its realm.[6]

In the following essay I will examine the historical role of Islamicate textiles in European, particularly French, society and their narrative function in representations of women. In the first section, I explore the social, political, and individual importance of Islamicate textiles in constructing a material narrative of identity, laying out the historical iconographic role of textiles and costume as a mediator of interactions between East and West as well as within European culture. Focusing on the shifts of political power, cross-cultural interaction, and opinion between France and the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, I analyze in the second section the narrative roles of clothing in commissioned depictions of European women.

Based on the transactional nature of portraiture, the individual represented exerts some influence on the artist's finished image as a construction of the self. I draw comparisons between the approach to the woman and her objects as constructing a feminine narrative by the artists Jean-Étienne Liotard and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres within the respective contemporary social and political climates of each, which reflect France's changing political, economic, and cultural relationship to the Islamic world. In the third section, I examine each artist's translation of these material narratives to Orientalist depictions of women. Dialogues from Colonialism, Orientalism, and gender studies are considered in the analysis of how 'oriental' textiles mediate feminine narratives in constructions of the 'Other.' In the conclusion, implications of these representations are discussed in relation to the persistent culturally polarizing imagery of

[6] Hodgson, Marshall G. S. *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977. p. 59.

dress in present-day cultural interactions between the Islamic lands and the West. The conscious rereading of European representations of women in my analysis allows a more informed and pluralistic understanding of the history of cultural interactions and exchange between East and West.

Section One:

Islamicate Textiles and French Identity

The history of power can be read in sartorial terms. In this history, clothing structures and defines political, social, and cultural identities as a powerful tool of public and personal propaganda. The cultural visibility of the clothed body makes the act of dress the sartorial means by which an individual relates to the material and social world. Dress and adornment therefore comprise a primary filter through which social identities and behaviors are constructed and experienced. As the body's public manifestation, clothing (re)presents the social self within a given cultural system. Historically, individuals have negotiated their positions in society and established cultural boundaries through dress.[7] In this way, costume takes on many meanings and levels of significance that can be applied to a variety of purposes for social, political, and individual gain. This symbolic function of dress often conflates the individual with cultural and political emblems.[8]

In France, the comingling of dress and identity is essential to early imperial interactions with the Islamic world. Consideration of the complex economic, social, and political history of exchange in textiles and clothing between East and West is relevant to understanding the symbolic significance of sartorial narratives in representations of

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[7] Crane, Diana. *Fashion and its Social Agendas: Class, Gender, and Identity in Clothing.* Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000. pp. 1-2.

[8] Wrigley.

French women from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Such a contextualization illuminates the visual foundations of persistent cultural stereotypes and binaries that accompanied the rise of French imperial power and reveals the different cultural frameworks in which the paintings of Jean-Étienne Liotard, 1720-1789, and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, 1780-1867, were produced.

Marked by great cultural transition, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French dress and adornment became sites of political and social contestation through which class identity was subject to acute scrutiny and instability. In this environment, clothing's ties to the Levant in pattern, production, and style were altered in a reflection of France's increasing weight in the political and economic balances of the late eighteenth century, both in relationship to the Ottoman Empire and within Europe. Capitalizing on the social significance of clothing, representations of French women took on a new political and cultural significance as the embodiments of the state in which emblematic dress like the Phrygian cap represented freedom from oppression as a direct reference to the antique as the bonnet worn by freed slaves in Rome and Greece (fig.1) and combined with classicizing Roman-inspired styles to define new Republican French ideals of equality, liberty, and virtue.[9] These were substantiated by contrasting portrayals of the ostensibly 'oriental' woman, who in turn came to embody French ideas of despotism, extravagance, indolence, cultural imprisonment, and lasciviousness.[10] Such contrasts in representation and approach betray cultural conflicts within France at the end of the eighteenth century

[9] Agulhon, Maurice. *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

[10] Porterfield, Todd. "Introduction," In *The Allure of Empire: Art in the Service of French Imperialism, 1796-1836,* pp. 3-11. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1998. pp. 3-5.

as well as a French sense of entitlement and economic design to possess the 'Orient.'[11] Interestingly, these characterizations of the 'oriental' were also implicated in the character of the 'Neopolitan' in Revolutionary French society—the parallels of which reveal the French need for unity by 'Other-ing' undesirable cultural characteristics.[12] This shift of power and corresponding changes in dress and its representations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, considered here in the art of Liotard and Ingres, respectively, are most profound when viewed in the context of Europe's historic reliance on the trade and possession of Islamicate textiles. From the Crusades (1095-1291) onward, trade in luxury fabrics and finished products between East and West introduced the peoples of Europe to the great cultural and material wealth of the Islamic world.[13] This interaction played a definitive role in the development of the financial, linguistic, and artistic history of Europe, planting the seeds of material culture that fueled commerce in the Renaissance[14] and later facilitated imperial and industrial power.

Throughout the history of Islamic world, textiles and dress have occupied a singularly important place in secular and religious contexts, and this significance underpinned the role of dress and adornment in Renaissance European society. For centuries, fabric production and trade was the prominent means of local and regional economic systems in the East. Within Islamic courts, the aristocracy was classed by the

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[11] Nochlin, Linda. "The Imaginary Orient." In *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society*, by Linda Nochlin, 33-59. New York: Harper & Row, 1989.

[12] Ribiero, Aileen. *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France, 1750-1820*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995; Porterfield, p. 6.

[13] Mack, Rosamond E. *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300-1600*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. p. 15.

[14] Baker, Patricia L. *Islamic Textiles.* London: British Museum Press, 1995. p. 13

Caliph's gifts of *khila'* (robes of honor).[15] As the visual validation of court allegiances and prestige, textiles functioned as documents of the religious and political power of the potentate.[16] In the environment of the court, splendor was displayed as much through the wardrobes of its officials as it was in architecture. Tied to the court in its ceremonial display and production, political significance was woven into the very fibers of Islamicate textiles in clothing and environment.[17] Initially entering Europe as diplomatic gifts brought by ambassadors or as trophies of war seized from conquered cities—as was international custom—these textiles wielded a potent and internationally emulated propaganda.[18] Testifying to international value and emulation, striking similarities of social meaning and function were maintained when these Islamicate textiles and clothing entered the courts of Europe.

In the early stages of the Renaissance, Europeans looked Eastward for inspiration and to establish a civilized identity through the possession of worldly aesthetic objects. They sought cultural meaning in commodities traded and valued internationally to

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[15] Stillman, Yedida Kalfon. *Arab Dress, A Short History: From the Dawn of Islam to Modern Times.* Edited by Norman A. Stillman. Vol. 2. Boston: Brill, 2000. p. 40.

[16] von Folsach, Kjeld. "Textiles and Society: Some Social, Political, and Religious Aspects of Islamic Textiles." In *Woven Treasures: Textiles from the World of Islam*, by Kjeld and Anne-Marie Keblow Bernsted von Folsach, translated by Martha Gaber Arahamsen, 7-25. Copenhagen: The David Collection, 1993. pp. 16-7.

[17] Hillenbrand, Robert. *Islamic Art and Architecture.* New York, New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999. pp. 48-50.

[18] Musée du Louvre; Marie-Claire Guillard-Le Bourdellès, Christina Kékicheff, and Sophie Makariou. *Three Empires of Islam: Masterpieces of Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal Art from the Louvre Museum.* 2008. http://mini-site.louvre.fr/trois-empires/en/tapis-textiles.php (accessed March 22, 2009);

National Gallery of Art. *Glossary, Artistic Exchange: Europe and the Islamic World exerpted from Palace and Mosque: Islamic Art from the Victoria and Albert Museum.* http://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/2004/artexchange/artexchange_glossary.shtm (accessed March 22, 2009).

authenticate their own civility.[19] Silk, woven or embroidered with gold and silver threads, or embellished with pearl and gem appliqués, was the most costly and desired fabric, and its possession and display directly distinguished the wealth and social status of the owner.[20] The construction of clothing is a primary application of textiles, and the sumptuous materials, great variety, and ceremonial formality of Turkish dress was emulated by the courts and emerging merchant classes of Europe, particularly amongst the Italians, French, Spanish, and English.[21] These textiles functioned as the universal object of speculation and investment, the common currency between East and West, and the principal sources of technical and artistic transfer.[22] Indeed, the long history of Europe as an importer of Eastern goods was an established tradition, and Europeans relied on exchange and trade with the East for technical developments in production, especially with regard to textiles.[23]

The legacy of this trade has shaped the wardrobe of the West, in vocabulary and content. From the Renaissance onwards, much of the elite European's clothing was altered to contain items made of imported materials or by methods adopted from the East, and carried with them a readily recognized and desirable 'oriental' significance. Fabrics of cotton, taffeta, seersucker, damask, muslin, mohair, and cashmere were introduced to Europeans, and the cultural impact of their introduction is evident in the transliteration of these words from Arabic and Persian sources. Additionally, fabrics of velvet, satin,

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[19] Jardin, Lisa and Jerry Brotton. "Exchanging Identity: Breaching the Boundaries of Renaissance Europe." In *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West*, by Lisa Jardin and Jerry Brotton, 11-62. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000. p. 11.

[20] Mack, p. 27.

[21] Baker; Mack.

[22] von Folsach, p. 10; Mack, p. 27.

[23] Jones, Ann Rosalind, and Peter Stallybrass. "Composing the subject: making portraits." In *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, by Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, 34-58. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000. p. 57.

brocade, linen, chintz, and grosgrain were imported through the nineteenth century, with finely decorated velvets also entered Europe upon travelers' returns as specimens of Ottoman formal dress.[24] These luxury fabrics bore strong associations with the tremendous cultural and economic wealth and power of the Levant.

The affirmation of civilized identity by ostentatious display of prized possessions in Europe coincided with the emergence of a stratified, pluralistic and secular society founded on specialization, commerce, and a money economy.[25] Individuals navigated changing social systems and status with new hierarchies of dress that denoted professional, social, and cultural affiliations,[26] parallel to the established function of clothing in Islamic society.[27] In this cultural climate, conspicuous consumption becomes an essential part of participation in high society.[28] Throughout this period, the demand for prized Islamicate objects inspired ventures in manufacture within Europe that eventually reversed the balance of import and export of finished luxury goods and altered European views of the East.

In the centuries that followed, economic competition between East and West was charged, with Europe producing a variety of finished textiles specifically designed for the European or Ottoman market. In Venice and other parts of Italy, ostentatious public display of 'oriental' carpets was official policy. Symbolic of commercial success, power, and international connections, they were hung from windows, balconies, and parapets of

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[24] Baker, pp. 13; 153.

[25] Lapidus, Ira M. *A History of Islamic Societies.* Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2002. pp. 219-220.

[26] Crane, p. 3.

[27] Wibeke, Walther and Guity Nashat. *Women in Islam: From Medieval to Modern Times.* Princeton: M. Wiener, 1993. p. 187.

[28] Mack, p. 76.

private and state buildings for public processions.[29] While importation of fine Persian carpets persisted, oriental-style carpets were produced in Europe at centers in Spain, Flanders, Italy, and England from the fifteenth century onwards.[30] The domestication of woven textile production provided an opportunity for the adaptation of weaving methods introduced by the silk trade toward the articulation of distinctly European narrative purposes.

Figural tapestries displayed nascent European notions of civility and state identity and were the most highly prized form of imperial propaganda. As visual documents of supreme power and wealth, they were central to the self-presentation and sovereign legitimacy of European rulers by the sixteenth century.[31] These commissioned tapestries replaced the earlier role of captured Islamicate textiles as trophies of honor and military success, becoming the primary means of propaganda within European culture in peace and war. In the narrative tapestry cycles of Charles V (fig. 2), the juxtaposition of East and West was a recurring theme used to advance Habsburg supremacy and majesty by association and contrast with its Ottoman counterpart, the only polity of comparable magnitude in geographical, economic, and martial terms.[32]

While the Habsburgs sought identification as the counterpart of the formidable Ottoman Empire by contrast, the French court, as an adversary of the Habsburg Empire, fostered direct economic and political association from the early sixteenth century to further their economic interests in international trade. This identification with the economic and political power of the Ottoman Empire was apparent in the sumptuary

[29] Ibid, p. 77.
[30] Ibid, p. 91.
[31] Jardin, p. 63.
[32] Ibid, p. 76.

displays of the French court, in which dress was essential to cultural and political identity. Indeed, the relationship of identity and costume was perhaps nowhere more conflated than in the identity of the French queen, by definition a foreigner. For example, upon her marriage to Louis XIV, the Infanta Maria Theresa was ceremonially stripped of her national costume and entourage, which were replaced by French costume and servants, marking the transformation of her identity as Marie Thérèse.[33]

The broader significance of clothing in France finds its turning point in the restrictive realms of the seventeenth-century court of Louis XIV. To exert social control and express political uniformity and power, Louis XIV established an official court dress in 1664 for select gentlemen of the aristocracy. Their status was identified by the *justaucorps à brevet*, a special blue coat with flame colored lining, and the privilege to wear ornamentation of gold or silver embroidery, lace, or galloon.[34] Both the coat as a structural garment and its features of contrasting lining and metallic ornamentation are forms and elements introduced to France by interaction with the Ottoman Empire.[35] In the late seventeenth century, this court costume was followed with the establishment of a French state militia (Europe's first) funded by taxes and wearing a national uniform, both features of the Ottoman militia for centuries.[36] In the court of Louis XIV, the significance of costume to ceremony and formality mirrored the sumptuary function and restrictions of the Ottoman court[37] and reflects the French desire for imperial commerce and power. The extent of this economic aspiration is evidenced by the thriving French

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[33] de Marly, Diana. *Costume and Civilization: Louis XIV & Versailles.* New York: Holmes & Meier, 1987. p. 25.

[34] Ibid, p. 61.

[35] Jirousek, Charlotte. "Ottoman Influences in Western Dress." In *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, edited by Surayia Faroqhi and Christopher K. Neumann, 231-251. Istanbul: EREN, 2004.

[36] Ibid, 241.

[37] Baker, p. 93.

silk industry, which dominated the production of luxury woven textiles by the seventeenth century.[38]

The centrality of sumptuous fabrics and dress to court identity also extended to women, for whom the *grand habit* (fig. 3) was required by the 1670s.[39] Its bare shoulders and cap sleeve with boned bodice and a skirt pulled back to reveal the petticoat was instated by Louis XIV in his distaste for the fashionable *manteaux,* an unboned garment patterned after Indian gown construction. He deemed this unstructured garment inappropriate for the formality and grandeur of his court because its lack of rigidity suggested undress.[40] Interestingly, the introduction of this fitted bodice and gathered overskirt pulled back to reveal the dress beneath followed the visit of the Ottoman envoy Müteferrika Süleyman Ağa. The *grand habit*, a style of dress also referred to as *mode à la turque*, adapted the visual effect of gathering and draping the *kaftan,* as worn by Ottoman men and women, to the more controlled and tailored European aesthetic.[41] This elaborate court ritual of dress was immensely influential throughout Europe and characterized the French monarchy up to the Revolution, where the extravagant and, by then, greatly outmoded costume of the *ancient régime* represented uniformity and tradition in a court-centered society.[42] In this context, consideration of costume's role is important to understanding how France positioned itself historically in relation to the world and conceived of other cultures through dress.

Display of sumptuous clothing was also employed by the court in the pursuit and production of fantasy through historicizing costumes in extravagant masquerades. The

[38] Ribeiro, 1995. p. 42.
[39] de Marly, pp. 63-64.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Jirousek, p. 248.
[42] Ribeiro, 1995, p. 35.

legacy of opulence at the fancy dress balls of Versailles was emulated throughout Europe into the nineteenth century, in which participants staged elaborate performances dressed in the fashionable exotica of historical or cultural costumes.[43] At these events, the royalty and aristocracy would don costumes representing, for example, Roman, Spanish, Persian, Hungarian, and Turkish ethnic dress alongside sumptuous forms of peasant and occupational clothing types and fantasy characters that included deities, flora, and fauna.[44] This comingling of the historic and the foreign contributed to the conflation of the East and timelessness for Europeans.

In eighteenth-century fashions, many stylistic details of clothing were borrowed from European notions of 'Eastern' fancy dress. Facilitated by widely popular costume books and traveler's accounts, these stylistic imports from a variety of non-European cultures were essentialized by their foreign-ness as 'oriental' or 'Turkish' and pervaded everyday styles. In women's dress, such features as layering, especially revealed by looping through a sash or draping, light semi-transparent fabrics of muslin or gauze, and stripes were recognizable references to the 'Orient.' Decorative details like tight rows of delicate buttons, gold fringe, and pearls featured braided into the hair, on tassels, and as long, draped strands were also recognized as 'Eastern.'[45] More direct borrowings of entire garments with few adaptations were the short-sleeved overcoat of a luxurious, heavy fabric faced in ermine or sable and wrap-over informal garments (figs. 4, 5, & 6), as well as turbans and offset hats of velvet decorated with feathers, jewels, and flowers (figs. 7,8, & 9). These were all adaptations from the Ottoman court, widely disseminated by books like *Recueil de Cent Etampes representant differentes Nations du Levant,*

[43] de Marly.
[44] Ibid, pp. 69-79.
[45]Ribeiro, 1984.

written by the French Marquis and Ambassador to Istanbul, Charles de Ferriol, with engravings after Jean-Baptiste van Mour, and first published in France in 1714-15.[46] This and other picturesque compilations of costumes from cultures east of Europe visually emphasized differences between East and West through clothes and facilitated European imagination, allowing artists and writers to create an 'oriental' world of European fantasy.[47]

The popularity of costume books was complimented by the travel accounts of European visitors to the Ottoman court. By 1800, women frequently accompanied their husbands abroad, and their interactions with Ottoman women facilitated the exchange of fashion.[48] This made French styles popular amongst Ottoman women and in Europe influenced the vogue for Turkish dress in masquerade and the fashion for *turquerie* (costumes and/or accessories based on elements of Turkish dress). Their first-hand descriptions of the harem carried an ethnographic authority but were often conditioned by fantastic expectations of eroticism and violence popularized by Antoine Galland's *Les Mille et Une Nuits*, first published in 1704 and widely accepted as a factual account.[49] Visitors like Lady Mary Wortley Montagu exerted great influence on European artists, writers, and fashions. Her adoption of Turkish dress in portraits painted after her travels in 1717 popularized the fashion for *turquerie* in ladies' portraiture.[50] In both Istanbul and Paris, shopkeepers advertised their respective 'exotic' fashions with signs that

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[46] Ibid.
[47] Ribeiro, 1999. p. 204.
[48] Baker, p. 151.
[49] Roberts, Mary. *Intimate Outsiders: The Harem in Ottoman and Orientalist Art and Travel Literature.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.
[50] Ribeiro, 1984.

respectively proclaimed 'Frenkpesenk Frenk begendi' (as favored by Europeans) or 'Le Jardin Turc' and 'La Sublime Porte.'[51]

In the fancy dress balls of Paris, an entertainment in vogue into the nineteenth century, exaggerated ethnic accessories lent authenticity to the representation of cultural types, projecting onto the costume the constructed characterization of a distinctly 'Eastern' culture. The common conflation of these dress objects with foreign cultures in the public sphere introduced a new symbolic vocabulary that is central to understanding the politicized costume of Revolutionary France. In the late eighteenth century, the lavish costume of the *ancient régime* came to represent the 'idle caprices of an effeminate Court'[52] and patriots adopted simple, classicizing clothing (fig. 10) to assert visually their allegiance to a contrary political tradition.[53] This simplification of dress had the added utility of distancing the wearer from the aristocracy.

In this context, a political characterization of inherent traits was most profoundly manifest in public by the visual contrast of clothing. The consequently acute attention to dress in the Revolution's volatile political culture codified a discourse of appearances that substantiated ideas and beliefs on the contested sartorial space of the body and its adornment.[54] Alternatively, the virtues of the (deeply divided and unstable) French national image were embodied by the Revolution's classicizing and feminine allegorical figure of Marianne (fig. 11).[55] From this national symbolism, the wardrobe of the French woman was imbued with an additional layer of cultural significance. In this context,

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[51] Baker, p. 151; Ribeiro, 1999, p. 210.

[52] Mary Wollstone Croft, *An Historical and Moral View of the Origin and Progress of the French Revolution*, 1794, quoted in Ribeiro, 1995, p. 83.

[53] Ribeiro, 1995.

[54] Wrigley, pp. 4-7.

[55] Agulhon, Maurice. *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

women were faced with the burden of expectations to both regenerate French society by their virtue and to navigate fashionability within this code of moral austerity.

Fashion's associations with aristocratic pleasures and extravagance mixed uneasily with this republican ideal. Amongst the poor, new garments were unaffordable and owning more than one suit was uncommon. An index of clothing's value in Paris is revealed in records of arrests in 1780, where of 278 people incarcerated, just twenty-eight possessed more than one set of clothes.[56] By contrast, the official wardrobe of Marie-Antoinette was three times a year replenished with twelve of each form of formal attire: 'grands habits', 'petites robes dites de fantaisie', and 'robes riches sur panier pour le jeu ou le souper des petits appartements', not counting her numerous informal outfits.[57] The association of women with the virtues of the nascent republic and alternatively the established frivolity of fashion's excesses at court mediated the public image of women and enmeshed the potential for the expression of political rhetoric into the clothes they wore.

An unprecedented politicization of luxury dress during the Revolution altered the relationship of France with sumptuous clothing and adornment in the modern era. The historical ties of these luxury textiles to the East and contemporary competition within Europe for imperial wealth and power enabled an iconography of colonial ambition. Following the Revolution, images of new French ideals embodied in the classicizing female form and attributes of Marianne were lent definition by counter-representations of the 'oriental' woman. A detailed consideration of the feminine narratives of clothing and accessories in portraiture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries will highlight the

[56] Roche, Daniel. *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Regime.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. 87.

[57] Ribeiro, Aileen. *Fashion in the French Revolution.* New York: Holmes & Meier, 1988. 27.

persistent centrality of Islamicate textiles to changing French expression of self-identity and construction of a material account of social, political, and economic significance.

This long history of cultural exchange between East and West is woven into the very fibers of fabrics introduced from the Levant. In contexts of origin and import, these Islamicate textiles were central to the construction and expression of political and personal identity. In cross-cultural interactions, the iconographic tradition of portraying the self through raiment mediates Western encounters with the Islamic world and its representations throughout the modern era. In the subsequent sections, my analysis of these consequential concrete and symbolic aspects of dress in the representations of women by Jean-Étienne Liotard and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres contributes to the understanding of cross-cultural attitudes and exchanges on individual and collective levels in France's period of imperial transition, where perceptions of the 'Other' were first engendered by culturally distinctive appearances.

Section Two:

'Oriental' Textiles and Narratives of the Feminine in Portraits of French Women

Clothes were among an individual's most valuable possessions in preindustrial and early industrial society[58] and this status informs their importance in public self-presentation and portraiture. Meaningfully selected and placed by artist and sitter, textiles and accessories in commissioned depictions of French women from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries constructed a personal narrative that engaged with contemporary socio-political concepts of femininity. The portraits of French women by Jean-Étienne Liotard and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres embody different conceptions of art's role in representations of the feminine. Working within the French Academy, Ingres intertwined a dichotomous character of European virtue and 'oriental' sensuality within his portrayals of women. Liotard, in contrast, worked outside of the Academy and treats femininity consistently in his portrayals of both French and Ottoman cultures. Both artists were renowned for their talent in rendering the qualities and details of fabrics to an exacting standard, and each employed them toward their different feminine narratives. In the portraits of French women by Liotard, the verity with which he renders the clothing of his sitters is equal to his truthful representation of the sitter's likeness, while the painstaking objects in the portraits of Ingres serve to construct an idealized representation of the sitter with a range of material attributes that flattered her personal narrative.

[58] Crane, p. 3.

As compositions of individuals, portraits are unique in art for their synthesis of the visions of the artist and the sitter. The portrait is the product of a commercial transaction in which the commissioner and the artist both have a personal stake in the image production. For the sitter, the portrait functions to present his or her (most flattering) likeness to society and preserve it for posterity; for the artist, the successful portrait is a financial opportunity to build a reputation leading to more work and sustaining their own creative pursuits. Costume in these representations plays an essential role in communication of the personal and social, as well as artistic, merit. For these reasons, the portrayal of an individual engages directly with the specific contemporary cultural context and social expectations as a construction of the self to which clothing lent definition.

Historically, women's clothing has always been laden with significance. By the eighteenth century, consumption took on a gendered significance in which clothing constructed and mediated the woman's social role; her wardrobe and environment was a testament to the wealth and power of her male provider.[59] Indeed, the perpetually shifting manifestations of fashionability in dress and ideal facial features functioned in portraiture to display women as decorative objects in a catalogue of consumerism.[60] In France, this objectification reflected the social construction of an essentialized and emblematized femininity defined by fashion and appearances in a society for which clothing was vital to "economic production, social distinction, and cultural identity."[61]

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[59] Crane.

[60] Ribeiro, 1995. p. 7

[61] Crowston, Clare Haru. *Fabricating women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675-1791.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.

In this period dress also engaged in a dialogue of personal aspirations and fantasies, projecting into society the dreams and fancies of the wearer and immortalizing in portraiture a romantic, often orientalizing, celebrity. From the late seventeenth century, increased interactions with the Ottoman Empire and French presence in Istanbul sparked a profusion of interest in the 'Orient' that was a constant creative and cultural force throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[62] Physically accessible, the apparent cultural remoteness of the Levant conducted a sensual and mythic charge for Europeans. Particularly pervasive in France, the depth of interest in this 'Orient' is reflected in its infusion into fashion, interior decorating, and curio collecting[63] and in the popularity of Turkish dress at masquerades and in fancy dress portraiture discussed in the previous section.[64] French interest in a culturally remote 'Orient' signifies the more general economic positioning of France as a powerful presence in international trade which was incorporated into the visual culture of the feminine that manifested in fashion and fine art as is often represented in the portraiture of the period.

The art and career of Jean-Étienne Liotard is made remarkable by his unconventional approach and contemporary international success in portraiture. Born in 1702 to a French merchant tailor in Geneva, Liotard began his artistic career as an apprentice to a miniaturist, and elements of this craft infused his portraits and use of color for the rest of his career.[65] In 1723 he moved to Paris and studied under the academician

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[62] Ribeiro, 1984, p. 217.

[63] Grabar, Oleg. "Roots and Others." In *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America, 1870-1930*, edited by Holly Edwards, 3-9. Princeton: Princeton Univeristy Press, 2000.

[64] Ribeiro, 1984.

[65] Marandet, François. "The Formative Years of Jean-Etienne Liotard." *The Burlington Magazine*, April 2003: 297-300.

Jean-Baptiste Massé (1687-1767).[66] Liotard developed his artistic style during this formative time in France, from 1723 to 1735. His travels and the making of his international career were instigated by the French Royal Academy's rejection of his bid for admission in 1735.[67] Traveling extensively in Europe and the Levant, Liotard returned several times to France, spending a total of eighteen years in Paris, where his art thrived despite hostility from the French academicians. As an itinerant painter, his great success in the courts of European powers was unencumbered by his lack of professional association with an academy or having a studio of followers.[68]

In his faithful portrayals of individuals, Liotard sought to be true to Enlightenment principles of science and reason. Espousing these concepts in his 1781 Treatise on the Principles and Rules of Painting, Liotard self-publicized as 'the painter of truth' and became known by this moniker amongst his contemporaries.[69] Going against established portrait convention, Liotard sought frankness in his representations of sitters.[70] He often eschewed honorific props and attributes, and elaborate settings or situations that added narrative to the sitter's likeness, which he believed to be fabrications

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[66] Jeffares, Neil. "Jean-Etienne Liotard." In *Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800*. London: Unicorn Press, 2006.

[67] Roethlisberger, Marcel. "Liotard and Europe." In *Jean-Étienne Liotard, 1702-1789: masterpieces from the Musées d'art et d'histoire of Geneva and Swiss private collections*, edited by Cathy Lenihan, translated by Charles Penwarden and Toby Alleyne-Gee, 9-12. Genève: Musées d'art et d'histoire, 2006.

[68] The Frick Collection . "Jean-Etienne Liotard (1702-1789): Swiss Master." *Archived Press Release.* 2006. http://www.frick.org/assets/PDFs/Press_2006/Liotard_Archive.pdf (accessed March 22, 2009).

[69] Ibid; Menz, Cäsar. "Surprising Liotard." In *Jean-Étienne Liotard, 1702-1789: masterpieces from the Musées d'art et d'histoire of Geneva and Swiss private collections.*, edited by Cathy Lenihan, translated by Charles Penwarden and Toby Alleyne-Gee, 7. Geneva: Musées d'art et d'histoire, 2006.

[70] Bleeker, Isabelle Félicité. "Court Portraits." In *Jean-Étienne Liotard, 1702-1789: masterpieces from the Musées d'art et d'histoire of Geneva and Swiss private collections*, edited by Cathy Lenihan, translated by Charles Penwarden and Toby Alleyne-Gee, 66-80. Geneva: Musées d'art et d'histoire, 2002. p. 66.

of character.[71] His time living in Istanbul incorporated the thread of Orientalism into his personal and professional life and had a profound influence on his art.

Liotard adopted a number of Ottoman customs during his four years in the Levant and maintained these upon his return to Europe where he gained notoriety for his long beard and Turkish clothes as 'le peintre turc.'[72] He met with success throughout Europe, forming particularly close ties with the Habsburg and English courts while maintaining important connections amongst the aristocracy in Geneva. In France, he produced portraits for the court of Versailles and French high society[73] where his knowledge of Ottoman dress was consulted in the design of Turkish costumes for a portrait of Adrienne Lecouvreur commissioned by Maurice de Saxe.[74] Liotard's interest in Turkish dress was shared by much of the French aristocracy, who sought to be painted in 'oriental' costumes (of which Liotard owned several) known as *turquerie*.

This Turkish reference is evident in some of his own portraits of French women, though the degree to which the sitter is orientalized by her costume varies. Today, the seeming innocuous details of eighteenth-century fashions, mentioned in the preceding section, were recognizable European references to the East within contemporary society. Liotard's representations of Ottoman dress are informed by his costume studies and portraits of Ottoman and European elites made while living in Istanbul and exhibit a level of detail that attests to his direct observation. In portraits like *Madame Jean-Jacques-André Boissier*, 1746 (fig. 12), the sitter wears a sumptuous overcoat of blue velvet

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[71] Stoullig, Claire. "Self-Portraits." In *Jean-Étienne Liotard, 1702-1789: masterpieces from the Musées d'art et d'histoire of Geneva and Swiss private collections.*, edited by Cathy Lenihan, translated by Charles Penwarden and Toby Alleyne-Gee, 24-33. Geneva: Musées d'art et d'histoire, 2006. p. 24.

[72] Fosca, François. *La Vie, les Voyages et les Œuvres de Jean-Étienne Liotard, Citoyen de Genève, dit Le Peintre Turc.* Paris: la Bibliothèque des Arts, 1956. pp. 28-32.

[73] Bleeker, p. 66.

[74] Ribeiro, 1984, p. 231.

trimmed with ermine over a creamy bodice resembling a *kaftan* (fig.13) in its deep neckline and its row of tiny pearl buttons down the center. A diaphanous underdress of luminous gauze billows out from the embellished 'Turkish' belt at her waist to frame her seated figure in an ethereal cloud. To this ensemble is added a dark feather, affixed to her hair by a ribbon or flower of blue velvet to match her overcoat. While this outfit is not a reproduction of Ottoman costume, it is an obvious reference to 'oriental' themes that would not have been lost on contemporary viewers who were exposed to this imagery in paintings, fashion plates, literature and travel books like the previously mentioned *Turkish Embassy Letters* of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 1763, in which the costumes of Ottoman women are described in great detail.[75]

A subtler treatment of orientalizing costume than that seen in the portrait of *Madame Boissier* is observed in Liotard's presumed portrait of the *Vicomtesse de Nettine*, ca. 1750, (fig. 14) in which she is seen in near-profile wearing a blue velvet coat faced in sable and offset cap decorated with a red feather affixed by a large jewel. Both images present the character of the individual isolated from visual context, her clothes framing her likeness in a warm, neutral space that typified Liotard's approach and background as a miniaturist. For the fashionable European woman, these Oriental details conjured a host of associations that enhanced her feminine allure. Despite this romanticizing tendency in contemporary European notions of the 'Orient', Liotard's cultural approach to the costume and pose of his female sitters is constant between his portraits, regardless of orientalizing dress, revealing the dignity with which he regarded both.

[75] Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley. *Turkish Embassy Letters.* Edited by Malcom Jack. London: William Pickering, 1993.

A contemplative introspection also characterizes his full-length portrait of *Marie Adélaïde of France,* 1753 (fig. 15), daughter of Louis XV, in which the princess is portrayed in full Turkish dress seated on a divan reading. Liotard pays careful attention to the relationship of dress to the body where movement, otherwise indiscernible, is suggested in the play of light on fabrics. The simple, cool interior in which she sits is suggestive of genre, but its stillness and quiet narrative possess more of an observed quality. Her right arm raised in holding a book closes her body from the viewer and though seated on an unstructured divan, there is nothing languorous about her comfortable posture. Liotard recycled this figural composition from several earlier Orientalist studies of generalized, presumably European or Frankish (of European descent living in Istanbul), women. As Marcel Roethlisberger suggests, this figural composition was likely inspired from an Orientalist genre painting by Boucher[76] in which the body of a richly dressed woman reading on a divan is fully integrated with the heavily draped room where an oude lies abandoned at her feet. In this image, the instrument's promise of entertainments to come acts as a narrative link that establishes the woman's availability to the three turbaned men who conspire at the open entrance (fig. 16). Despite the similarities in pose and genre, in Liotard's interpretation the image refuses these suggestive and stereotypically 'oriental' narratives by omitting them entirely from his light, inviting, but closed-off composition.

The fluidity of Liotard's compositions between depictions of the Orient and the royal European woman reveals the dignity with which he approached his subjects. This similarity of treatment testifies to the depth of cultural appreciation Liotard developed

[76] Roethlisberger, Marcel and Renee Loche. *Liotard: Catalogue, Sources et Correspondance.* Vol. 2. 2 vols. Doornspijk: Davaco, 2008. Plates 314-318.

during his time in the Levant and distinguishes his representations from those fashioned exclusively in the studio, which were frequently given over to the generalizations and fantasies prevalent in even the most 'scientific' of sources as is exemplified by the overtly sensual approach that typified most Orientalist works, like those of Ingres.

A member of the French Academy and student of the academician Jacque-Louis David, Ingres was firmly grounded in the academic constraints of neoclassicism that characterized the early nineteenth century. Neoclassical idealization was an essential aspect of visual politics and portraiture in the periods following the Revolution, and this coupled with an overt sensuality marked the academic approach of Ingres. In his Orientalist works, accessories from the East support a narrative of exotic and idealized femininity that operate similarly, but on a subdued scale, in his Orientalizing portraits to create a sensual allure.

In his representations of women, Ingres uses clothing to create an essential and irresistible feminine narrative, reinventing and manipulating fashions to express a simultaneously sumptuous and ambivalent sensual environment. His more daring boudoir portraits negotiate the boundary between this timeless sensuality and the proper, fashionable European lady. Indeed, it is in his portraits that the intersection of feminine and fantasy are most apparent and where his conflation of the woman and myth are most readily experienced. Ingres had reigning control of this world, where he involved himself in fabricating costume and environment down to the minutest detail. The fruit of his endeavors, his women were often likened to goddesses by critics, and he was often admired for the concordance between character and costume in his portraits.[77]

[77] Ribeiro, 1999. pp. 123-125.

In the portrait of *Betty de Rothschild, Baronne de Rothschild*, 1848 (fig. 17), Ingres draws on orientalizing elements to construct an image that shocked its contemporaries for its indiscretion.[78] An admirer of Liotard's detailed rendering of clothing, Ingres reversed the pose from the artist's candid portrait of *Louise-Florence d'Esclavelles, Madame La Live d'Epinay*, 1759 (fig. 18), for his composition of the *Baronne*. Ingres draws an association between the social presence of Madame d'Epinay and Betty de Rothschild, both famous salon hostesses and energetic women, by his mirroring of Liotard's lively pose.[79] In Ingres' composition, the *Baronne*, her skirt pushed up against the frame, leans forward, engaging the viewer and shortening the visual space with an informality that was striking in the portrait of a prominent and proper European woman. In this portrait of the *Baronne de Rothschild*, Ingres asserts her presence and femininity with references to the 'Orient' which were in accord with contemporary romanticized stereotypes of Jewish women as symbols of an 'oriental' beauty and sensuality derived from romantic notions of the 'Orient' as timeless and Biblical in nineteenth-century France.[80] As discussed by Sarah Betzer, Ingres and his studio often reflected this fetishization of the antique in portraiture, conflating the 'oriental' with the mythic and Biblical. In these works, Ingres relies on the construction of environment to sustain an allegorical emphasis that mythologizes the sitter by treating the individual with a decorative abstraction, which in depictions of Jewish women

[78] Ockman, Carol. *Ingres's Eroticized Bodies.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995. p. 67.
[79] Ribeiro, 1999. p. 150.
[80] Ockman, pp.70-1.

suggested a simultaneously classicizing and exoticizing 'oriental' antiquity readily recognized by French contemporaries.[81]

This narrative was woven into the colors and fabrics of the *Baronne*'s costume and environment where Ingres creates an interior that is subtly reminiscent of his Orientalist settings. In this picture, the rich fabric treatment on the walls has an abundant foliate pattern. Combined with the plush divan-style velvet couch in a rich garnet red with tasseled cushions and the abundance of her deep rose-colored dress, the fabrics in the room construct a vibrant and sumptuous environment that evoke narratives and tactile senses in ways similar to his Orientalist images, where violent color combinations and rich textures were associated by the French audience with sensational hedonism and opulent impropriety. These references were not lost on his audience and critics, who described the *Baronne*'s features with allusions to orientalist imagery.[82] Indeed, the vivid rose color of the *Baronne*'s *robe de bal* was at the height of fashionability in 1848, noted in the January *Lady's Newspaper* as 'African pink'. This color was of the artist's later choosing, which he painted over the original blue hue of the dress without consulting his sitter.[83] This artistic license testifies to the paramount place of idealization and fantasy in Ingres' representations of women.

Similar romantic and Oriental motifs are at work in the narrative of Ingres' earlier portrait of *Marie Marcoz, Vicomtesse de Senonnes*, 1814 (fig. 19), where he constructs a timelessly feminine sensuality. Sequestered within an environment of fabrics, the *Vicomtesse* leans forward in a way that enhances her figure while the luscious saffron

[81] Betzer, Sarah. "Ingres's Studio Between History and Allegory: Rachel, Antiquity, and Tragedie." *The Art Bulletin*, 2006: 525-553.
[82] Ibid, pp. 67-70.
[83] Ribeiro, 1999, p. 153.

yellow satin cushions lend her posture the suggestion of indolence. The evenness of her face, almost unmodelled, and introspective gaze lend her features an idealized quality that is amplified by her 'timeless' dress of red velvet. The 'Renaissance' slashed sleeves and ruff of ethereal lace add layers of texture and complexity to her clothing. The sheer film of her bodice and large gold tasseled sash reference established elements of 'oriental' fancy dress and the fine cashmere shawl imported from India that twists behind the *Vicomtesse* was a prized item in the period.[84] The treatment of this shawl in an undraped manner creates an undulating horizontal movement and recalls the bunched bedclothes often included in Ingres' representations of bathers and odalisques.

In these portraits, Ingres capitalizes on the nineteenth-century Frenchman's displacement of sexual desire in the fetishization of women's fashion through which clothing and accessories were transformed into evocations of eroticism.[85] These subtle references to an 'Eastern' sensuality in Ingres' representations of European women worked to flatter the sitter, creating an alluring feminine narrative. This narrative becomes heavy and overt in Ingres' Orientalist works where the exacting details of 'oriental' materials and objects authenticate his idealized visions and substantiate his surreal feminine forms. The cultural seamlessness of Liotard's representations of women does not conform to the iconographic standards of the 'Orient.' Instead his representations of Eastern fabrics and costumes authenticate his professed ties to Ottoman customs with an earnest sincerity that is remarkably distinct from his European context.

[84] Ribeiro, 1995.
[85] Ribeiro, 1999. p. 175.

Section Three:

Textile Narratives in Orientalist Depictions of Women

Working in different periods and political contexts, the art of Jean-Étienne Liotard, 1702-1789, and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, 1780-1867, differ in relationship and approach to their oriental subject. For Liotard, his proximity to the Ottoman and European elites of Istanbul during the years he spent there and his maintenance of Turkish customs and dress upon return to Europe is a marked contrast from the studio relationship of Ingres to his imaginary 'Orient.' Ingres' visions, developed from contemporary and historical literary, visual, and 'scientific' sources, combined personal and collective fantasy in a reflection of nineteenth-century France's socio-political investment in the commercial materiality of the East and the desire for economic possession. This marked difference in association to their 'oriental' subject goes hand-in-hand with the important changes in social, economic, and political relationships of power between Europe and the Ottoman Empire from the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries. In the paintings of both artists, this distinction is apparent in the constructed relationship of dress and adornment and its narratives to the disparate representations of the ostensibly 'oriental' woman made by each artist. For both artists, Orientalist images comprise a small part of their œuvres, but their depictions of the Levant remain some of their most striking and memorable works.

Liotard and Ingres engage in visual techniques of portraiture, using textiles and dress to define the identities of women in their Orientalist representations. In these images the meticulous rendering of 'oriental' textiles functions to establish the authenticity of the artist's vision. Whether based in experience, as in the case of Liotard, or imagination, on the part of Ingres, each artist fabricates a dichotomous set of 'Eastern' narratives in highly detailed representations of cultural objects. Emboldened by the fantasy of the East, Ingres indulges in a surreal and absolute sensuality that is unlike the more subtle treatment in his boudoir portraits of the proper French lady, whereas Liotard maintains an humanistic approach across his European and Ottoman subjects, portraying each with an essential respect whether a portrait or generalized image.

Political shifts of balance between the Ottoman Empire and Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries manifested in the general trends of art and shaped the artistic contents and careers of the period's artists, as exemplified by Liotard and Ingres. The 'Orient', always an outlet for European imagination and fantasy, took on a newly charged significance as European powers responded to the weakening Ottoman state with ambitious design. In nineteenth-century France, a key component for official justification of colonial campaigns in the East was to present the domestic French audience with 'facts' about the nature of the 'Orient' that appealed to reason and science.[86] This approach combined interdisciplinary efforts from anthropological, literary, intellectual, political, and artistic efforts that worked in concert to serve a variety of national interests. From disparate disciplines, armchair fantasies, and intrepid travels, the men and women of France viewed the 'Orient' with a complex combination of emotions across a spectrum of fascination, desire, and scorn.

[86] Porterfield, p. 3-5.

The artistic representations of this 'Orient' interlace collective socio-political cultural understanding with individual fantasy and project it onto the female body. Within this construct, the commingling of dress and identity in France is essential to representations of the East. Unlike the boudoir portrait of the proper European lady, these representations of 'oriental' women are defined by their fine surroundings and clothing in an emphatically different way, by authenticating cultural contrast in ambiguous images that satisfied the viewer's predetermined expectations.

This tradition of representation arose from the zealous interest in the 'Orient' of *Les Mille et Une Nuits*, first printed in 1704. Translated and embellished by Antoine Galland, the French ambassador in Istanbul and antiquary to Louis XIV, the collection was presented as a scientific document, extending to readers in its introduction an invitation to penetrate the East and experience its forbidden spaces and private realms.[87] French painters reinforced this 'scientific' endeavor in their gendered representations of visual politics. They achieved this feminization through painstaking attention to cultural objects in their pictorial constructions of the East.[88] In this context, the history of portraiture in Europe informs the careful selection and rendering of textiles and accessories in Orientalist depictions of women.

Both the Ottoman and French states in the nineteenth century made causal connections between women's clothing and the economic and political state of the Empire.[89] In mid-nineteenth-century France, Republicans renewed eighteenth-century

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[87] Galland, Antoine. *Les Mille et Une Nuits: Contes Arabes.* Paris: Flammarion, 1965.

[88] Boer, Inge E. *Disorienting Vision: Rereading Stereotypes in French Orientalist Texts and Images.* Edited by Mieke Bal. New York: Rodopi, 2004.

[89] Zilfi, Madeline C. "Whose Laws? Gendering the Ottoman Sumptuary Regime." In *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi and Christopher K. Neumann, 125-141. Istanbul: EREN, 2004.

associations with feminine luxury and the moral and domestic decay of French society and the failure of the Second Republic (1848-1852), taken over, they claimed, by the frivolity, unbridled luxury, and artifice of the courtesan.[90] In an effort to disassociate the new French Republic from extravagance, these reviled characteristics were repeatedly projected onto the 'Other' where they served domestic and international political interests. Interestingly, the indolence portrayed in Orientalist paintings was parallel to the contemporary habits of aristocratic and bourgeois women in French society of this period (those who could afford to have their portraits painted by contemporary artists like Ingres), necessitated by the social requirement that proper women must be removed from any association with vulgar labor.[91] Historically, social control of female sexuality, representative of virtue and purity, has proven integral to national and ethnic identity. Indeed, gender and sexuality are integral components of colonial and postcolonial discourses, where representations of women function as the primary metaphor for state and society.[92] In art, control of this constructed social and ethnic distinction materialized in the portrayal of 'oriental' costumes and textiles.

In his Orientalist representations of women, Ingres employed visual research and the iconographic techniques of portraiture to construct a narrative through the composition of finely rendered culturally defining accessories and supporting objects. In his paintings, Ingres' meticulous visual research on clothing and environments functioned

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[90] Nord, Philip. "Republican Politics and the Bourgeois Interior in Mid-Nineteenth Century France." In *Home and its Dislocations in Nineteenth-Century France*, edited by Suzanne Nash, 193-214. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993. pp. 193-197.

[91] Thornton, Lynne. *The Orientalists: Women as Portrayed in Orientalist Painting.* Vol. 3. Paris: ACR Edition Internationale, 1985. pp.38-39.

[92] Williams, Patrick and Laura Chrisman. "Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: An Introduction." In *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, edited by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, 1-20. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

to create authentic settings that were the underpinnings of his classical history paintings, genre scenes, and portraits.[93] Ingres used clothing in his portraiture to create an irresistible allure, reinventing and altering fashions to express a simultaneously sumptuous and ambivalent sensual environment.[94] As in his portraits, Ingres carefully selects accessories as extensions of the individual's character in his Orientalist depictions.[95] These manipulations, subtle (by comparison) in his portraits of the *Baronne de Rothschild* and the *Vicomtesse de Sennons* discussed in the previous section, become the focus of his visions of 'oriental' women. In Ingres' *Grande Odalisque,* 1814 (fig. 20), and his *Odalisque with Slave,* 1839 (fig. 21), the interweaving of these approaches establishes a sensual 'oriental' identity through the juxtaposition of richly colored and textured 'oriental' fabrics, discarded clothing, and accessories in her environment that evoke a tactile response in the viewer to caress the skin of his odalisques.

The *Grand Odalisque,* 1819, was commissioned from Ingres by Queen Caroline Murat of Naples, the sister of Napoleon Bonaparte. It was a pendant to Ingres' *Sleeper of Naples,*1808 (fig. 22), which only survives in preparatory drawings.[96] These drawings reveal a frontally nude figure in the throes of relaxation on a draped divan positioned closer to the viewer than the *Odalisque with Slave,* which recycles the reclining woman's figural composition. The two pendants existed as compositional foils; the *Sleeper* languishes, exposing her body without acknowledging her audience, while the *Grande*

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[93] Stevens, Mary Anne. "Western Art and its Encounter with the Islamic World, 1798-1914." In *The Orientalists: Delacroix to Matisse: The Allure of North Africa and the Near East*, edited by Mary Anne Stevens, 15-22. London: Royal Academy of Arts in association with Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984. pp. 16-17.

[94] Guégan, Stéphane. *Ingres: Erotic Drawings*, translated by David Radzinowicz. Paris: Flammarion, 2006. p. 48.

[95] Ribeiro, 1999. p. 178.

[96] Ockman, pp. 33-35.

Odalisque twists actively to gaze on the viewer without revealing her primary sexual characteristics. Murat had purchased the Sleeper of Naples in Italy, and Ingres solicited her to exchange it for another work, which she refused. His repeated recycling of the figural composition in two versions of the *Odalisque with Slave* communicates his affliction when it was lost.[97] The later rendition of the frontal figure in the enveloping Oriental décor of *Odalisque with Slave* from 1839 will be considered here. The narrative role of 'oriental' textiles is important to both the *Grand Odalisque* and the *Odalisque with Slave*, providing a sufficient cultural distance to allow the overt display of an ostensibly real eroticism not otherwise conceivable in Western representations of women.

The manner in which Ingres employs these props of studio Orientalism enabled the highly erotic representations of the European who posed as the unobtainable woman of the harem in his odalisques. In accordance with the attitudes of Orientalism as an academic discipline, Ingres informed the construction of his visions of the East with visual research, using the art of Liotard and the *Turkish Embassy Letters* of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, among other resources.[98] From these visual and textual sources, which advocate a different characterization of the Levant and describe it from primary experiences in Ottoman culture, Ingres extracted exclusively descriptive elements to authenticate his formal experimentations in the surreal visions of his studio Orientalism. It is the realistic portrayal of these that lends authenticity the Western construction of an eroticized 'Orient' in his work. Indeed such images, despite the unmasked European characteristics of the women, were encouraged by the French state, which sponsored the

[97] Ibid
[98] Ribeiro, 1999.

imperial propaganda and moralizing messages of these representations of the East in public buildings and at the Salon.[99]

In both Ingres' *Odalisque with Slave* and *Grand Odalisque*, the presence of discarded 'Eastern' clothing mediates the difference between the classically nude figure and the naked woman. The gauzy white shift, pooling loosely around the hips of the *Odalisque with Slave* and crumpled beneath the *Grande Odalisque* is the most intimate layer of dress. Its filmy presence gathered under the *Grande Odalisque* suggests its closeness to the skin and the discarded jewel-encrusted belt evokes European fantasies of the Sultan's seraglio and his favorite slaves[100] to represent the French desire for economic possession of the East's riches. It is this 'oriental' context, established through textiles and accessories, which enable the *Odalisques'* evocative state of undress.

At the Salon of 1819, the public and critics alike received the distorted anatomy of the *Grand Odalisque* with a controversial mix of pleasure and horror.[101] Her unnatural form, recognizably descended from the great Renaissance nudes, was at once sensual and sinister.[102] In these visions, Ingres transposed the Western feminine ideal by a disjunctive treatment of the female body into an exercise in decoration as the undulating *arabesque*. This ornamental treatment draws on the French rococo, a style of ornamentation that encompassed all forms of decoration from fashion to furniture and architecture and was popular throughout Europe in the first half of the eighteenth century.

In Ingres' *Odalisques*, this sinuous line controls the sensual, molding the female body into forms unseen in nature. In this way, Ingres' love of the female form and its

[99] Porterfield, pp. 3-5.
[100] Ribeiro, 1999. p. 230.
[101] Ockman, pp. 2-3.
[102] Ribeiro, 1999, p. 228.

aesthetic 'oriental' meditations takes on the qualities ascribed to the artists of the arabesque by Ernst Kühnel, "He did not create from the memory of what he had seen or experienced but he transferred what we sense to be the natural laws into unreal forms."[103] In the case of Ingres, this fetishizing control of the flesh is made tactile and pleasurable through the fabrics that clothe and surround the ornamented female body.[104] It is the 'oriental' setting, established by these fine 'oriental' textiles, which allowed Ingres to experiment with compositions and forms that were in conflict with the established neoclassical tenets of academic art.

The realistic rendering of material qualities in the surroundings of both odalisques conflates reality, representation, and the surreal to eroticize the viewer's gaze with an illicit and dreamlike quality. This position between reality and fantasy is manifest most directly in images that combine an overt sensuality with the accuracy of the surroundings, painstakingly crafted in illuminating detail to render an 'oriental' truth.[105] In Ingres' *Grande Odalisque*, the convincing rendering of the weight, texture and sheen of sumptuous fabrics like silks, satins, gauzy linens and furs compete with the distortions of her unclothed body and offer a material context that imitates life to authenticate her attenuated figure.

This persuasive contrivance of reality is dramatized for the viewer, where the heavy draperies part to reveal the painting as an exotic stage that distances the display of contemporary Frenchmen's forbidden passions, sense of entitlement, and control over

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[103] Kühnel, Ernst. *The Arabesque: Meaning and Transformation of an Ornament.* Translated by Richard Ettinghausen. Graz: Verlag für Sammler, 1977. p. 7.

[104] Ribeiro, 1999. p. 4.

[105] Edwards, Holly. "A Million and One Nights: Orientalism in America, 1870-1930." In *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America, 1870-1930*, edited by Holly Edwards, 11-57. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. p. 11.

women.[106] Both pendants, the *Grande Odalisque* and the *Sleeper of Naples* use the classic motif of a parted curtain to establish voyeuristic pleasure.[107] Confronting the viewer's gaze, the *Grande Odalisque* reaches for the curtain with her attenuated arm, curling her elongated body into a seductive serpentine line before drawing the curtain on the viewer's pleasure.[108] The composition of *Odalisque with Slave*, quoting the figure of the *Sleeper of Naples*, functions in a similar theatrical way. In this image, the balustrade draped with curtains and the flattened, richly patterned background frames the odalisque and her slave on an intimate stage, passively inviting the viewer to watch as the drama unfolds.

Drawing on the figural composition of the *Sleeper of Naples*, the expanded composition of *Odalisque with Slave* increases the scope and decorous details of the image to provide a more elaborate and distanced reality. As in the *Grande Odalisque*, the sinuous line of the feminine form is controlled on all sides by an enveloping ornamentation in a room hung heavily with fabrics. These textiles create an 'exotic' atmosphere of ambiguity filled with dark and impenetrable corners. The female figure, placed in this context, is catalogued by the viewer as an *objet de luxe*, "integrated within a presumably defining and overtly limiting décor."[109] The elaborate variation of pattern and texture in *Odalisque with Slave* emphasizes the bare skin and controlled arabesque line of the *Odalisque* to reinforce a narrative of her containment in a lavish, sequestered environment.

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[106] Nochlin, p. 42.
[107] Guégan, pp. 58-59.
[108] Ockman.
[109] Nochlin, pp. 50-51.

Though 'oriental' textiles are rendered with an equally exacting detail in the Orientalist art of Liotard, it is their relationship to the female figure in the depicted environment that distinguishes their narrative function from those of Ingres and attests to the differences in political and personal relationship to the Levant between these artists. As in his uncompromising realism in portraiture, where he eschewed the fashionable environmental treatment of the rococo and its tendency to idealize sitters, Liotard's depictions of generalized women in Turkish costumes are presented in simple surroundings.[110] In *Woman with a Tambourine Dressed in Turkish Costume,* 1738 (fig. 23), Liotard dispels the temptation to Oriental fantasy by controlling the narrative potential of the painting by limiting environmental description in a static, obviously posed, figural composition. The omission of narrative-sustaining objects and environments in his depiction inhibits European fantasies of the 'Orient' to focus exclusively on the costume of an anonymous individual. Liotard's sensitive gaze combines with his talent for rendering the qualities of things to reveal an essential humanity even within the representation of costume. In these images, truthful description and representation are magnified by the simple fact that the women are fully and formally clothed in indoor dress.

The relationship between clothing and body in *Woman with a Tambourine* is radically different from the studio Orientalism exemplified by Ingres. A high collar, arms sleeved to the wrist, and barely perceptible ankles above shod feet offset the plunging neckline of the caftan. A lightweight layer between this outermost garment and the skin combines with a band of metal medallions to cross the chest, hindering a complete view of her breasts and further closing off her contained pose. The woman,

[110] Roethlisberger, p. 12.

clothed and rigidly erect, does not relate an idea of pleasurable insouciance despite the associated presence of tambourine and pipe. Her stiff pose, arm raised in a restrained, unnatural gesture communicates visually the composed reality of the representation. This succeeds in allaying any accentuation of the potentially atmospheric, pleasurable qualities of a musical, environmental experience in an image that finely renders the details of her surroundings.[111]

Liotard's avoidance of elaborate, heady environments in the handling of his subject confers a documentary quality to his representations of women in Turkish dress. The empty background of the drawings in *Frankish Woman from Pera, Constantinople,* 1738 (fig. 24), and similarly stark setting of *Frankish Woman and her Servant,* 1742 (fig. 25), prevents his women from being catalogued as decorative objects by an inability to integrate them into the treatment of the room. Where the weight of Ingres' elaborate, richly draped settings envelope his women, establishing a defining narrative that asserts their confinement within the harem, Liotard's rosy, light-filled backgrounds are the same treatment he gives to his European subjects and portraits, which function to focus attention on the individual.

The choice to portray the full-length figure of these costumed women is an important distinguishing feature that departs from Liotard's almost exclusive use of bust-length portraits to frame the face and emotional character of his sitters. This compositional difference reflects the function of these drawings as costume and genre studies that likely informed the *turqueries* for which he became famous upon his return to

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[111] Stoullig, Claire. "Liotard Orientalist." In *Jean-Étienne Liotard, 1702-1789: masterpieces from the Musées d'art et d'histoire of Geneva and Swiss private collections*, edited by Cathy Lenihan, translated by Charles Penwarden and Toby Alleyne-Gee, 54-63. Geneva: Musées d'art et d'histoire, 2006. p. 56.

Europe. In his Orientalist images, the suggestion of an interior, stillness of pose, and full-length portrayal of the women, also characteristic of costume books and fashion plates, directs the viewer's focus to the costume as a subject unto itself by distancing the viewer from individualistic features, working to generalize the woman with a genre-esque quality.

In these quiet interiors, Liotard carefully renders the natural qualities of fabrics in crisp, luminous colors that eschew the dense theatricality fashionable in his own time and which later typified the Orientalism of the French Academy and Ingres. His colors captivate the viewer's attention and his study of light's effects carries the eye over the rich folds and many textural layers of the fabrics. The accurate representation of the way this multi layered, elaborate tailoring interacts with the woman's figure substantiates his observations. Liotard's delicate rendering of the ornamental patterning in the embroideries, woven motifs, and appliqués of the Turkish costume creates a rich and complementary composition of elegantly varied form and color. In both *Frankish Woman from Pera* and *with Servant,* this treatment suggests Liotard's faithfulness to the traditional Turkish costume in simply composed images that recycle the gentle, restrained pose of the costumed woman.

The figural motif of *Frankish Woman with Servant* is somewhere between action and inaction in a diminutive gesture that is just perceptible as one of rhetoric. This aspect of a natural, mid-action pose is one he advocated in portraiture.[112] By focusing on an isolated moment within an ambiguous but innocuous action, Liotard eschews the theatrical by simultaneously limiting the narrative possibilities and sustaining the documentary quality of his images. Liotard's *Frankish Woman from Pera* also avoids the

[112] Stoullig, p. 24.

narrative content common in genre scenes, portraying a woman seated comfortably on a divan that successfully avoids the open postures which were the standard in depictions of 'oriental' women, as seen in widely circulated depictions after Jean-Baptiste van Mour (fig. 26). Here, textiles authenticate the artist's capacity for respectful, perceptive observations of his *Frankish Woman* and her Turkish costume. Indeed, Liotard's images of the East forestall moralizing judgments and ethnocentrism to a degree that his compositions were appropriate for use in turqueries (portraits in Turkish dress) of prominent European women like *Maria Gunning, Countess of Coventry* (fig. 27) and *Princess Marie-Adélaïde of France* (discussed in the previous section, see fig. 15) and generalized versions (fig. 28). Liotard's maintenance of Turkish dress and customs upon his return to Europe testifies to his particular emotional connection to Ottoman culture, one that marked his professional and personal life.

Working outside of an Academy and without a studio or followers, Liotard's art is distinct and diaphanous in its visual and cultural clarity. His images of the East do not sustain the fantasy of the 'Orient' as artists like Ingres who painted *turqueries* from afar and within academic convention. In his images, textiles work to authenticate the artist's experience and observations from his life in Istanbul. Liotard's personal intimacy and respect for his subject comes across in his faithful renderings of a quiet elegance that is at once culturally remote and akin to Europe. Though presentation of another culture by an outsider is inherently unauthentic, Liotard's reserved, quiet images of women in Turkish dress reflect his receptiveness and dedication to careful representations that do not betray the dignity of his subject. In his time and today, this display of open-minded respect is

something to be contemplated, revealing the beauty that comes from embracing the universal humanity that underlies cultural differences.

Conclusion

The history of clothing is nothing if not political; as a social construct, dress reifies social symbols and value hierarchies.[113] Both within and between the cultures of East and West, the social utility of dress has visually codified social distinctions within society and established cultural boundaries without. Awareness of the parallel meanings and functions of clothing in both cultures in the construction of social identity and their Islamicate contexts of origin informs their symbolic significance in cultural iconography. Within Europe, the impact of this visual legacy of dress in cross-cultural exchanges between East and West is documented in representations of the self and the 'Other.' Constructed of the same materials, these images often fabricated opposing identities which lent mutual definition. From the seventeenth century, French rituals and hierarchies of dress defined the aristocracy, distinguishing them domestically and internationally.[114] The commingling of dress and identity in France during this period is essential to understanding the relationship between representations of women and early imperial interactions with the Islamic world.

In the art of this period, depictions of women often conflated mythological and idealized forms. The female body became the allegorical emblem of political ideals

[113] Martin, Richard and Harlod Koda. "Introduction." In *Orientalism: Visions of the East in Western Dress*, by Richard and Harlod Koda Martin, edited by John P. O'Neill and Barbara Cavaliere, 8-13. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994.
[114] Ribeiro, 1995.

which were communicated through clothing and material objects imbued with symbolic attributes. In shifting political conditions, the citizens of France were acutely attuned to this visual language and deciphering it's public and depicted manifestations.[115] Promoted in art by all sides of political debates, these sartorial and environmental constructs of identity created a material narrative of the feminine. The artists Jean-Étienne Liotard and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres employed meticulously rendered clothing and accessories toward different narratives in their boudoir portraits of European women which often contained a thread of materiality and desire to emulate the East. The relationship of these narratives to their Orientalist depictions of women is, for Ingres, one of idealization and an exaggerated, surreal sensuality, while the verity of Liotard's portrayals, whether portrait or generalized woman, are culturally seamless in their quiet dignity.

Perhaps it was Liotard's wanderlust, never fully assimilating into any one community that allowed him this political and artistic freedom of expression. In the eighteenth century, this may have simply been the result of his independent status as an artist, not recognized by the French *académie royale*. For in this period of nascent colonial expansion and the later national instability and imperial ambitions it engendered, the twin thrust of art and the French state were deeply engaged in a political iconography that conflated the identities of individuals and entire cultures with emblematic dress. Within this context, the gendering of visual politics lent the power of imagery to a discourse of Western penetration and possession of the East. Sequestered in the intimacy of a luxurious and erotic domain, the 'oriental' woman and her associated objects, as

[115] Wrigley, pp. 3-6.

portrayed by Ingres, were the emblems of the insouciant and lascivious virility of Islamic culture in Colonial discourse.

The reliance on cultural objects to reinforce stereotypes about the 'Orient' and Islamic culture is a continuous thread woven throughout Western interaction with the East. In these Orientalist paintings, scholars have pointed to the feminine space of the harem and access to its forbidden boundary as symbolic of Europe's feminization of the 'Orient' as a whole.[116] The legacy of this reductive conception of clothing has shaped Western representations of Islam, conflating the veil and women with Islamic culture to reinforce stereotypes.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, citizens of the Ottoman Empire and the territories of North Africa colonized by Europeans engaged this visual language, speaking back to the Western stereotypes and representations of Islamic culture as backward, erotic, and despotic. Artists like Osman Hamdi Bey, trained in the French Orientalist school under Gustave Boulanger and possibly Jean-Léon Gérôme, engaged in counter-representations of Ottoman culture. His Orientalist scenes manifest an intellectual contestation of the French mode of representation, directly confronting the fantasy motifs with an elegant and critical treatment of the subject.[117] Zeynep Çelik points to the row of books in the alcove in Osman Hamdi Bey's *Girl Reading*, 1893 (fig. 29), as the key element amidst "the familiar collage of Orientalist details" that returns

[116] Boer, p. 8.

[117] Çelik, Zeynep. "Speaking Back to Orientalist Discourse at the World's Columbian Exposition." In *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America, 1870-1930*, edited by Holly Edwards, 77-97. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. p. 82.

intellectual life to the Ottoman girl, challenging its omission in Orientalist representations.[118]

Liotard also compiled a contemporary costume book published in 1873for the International Exhibition in Vienna. Here he used the conventional European costume book as a template to celebrate the Ottoman Empire's diversity and simultaneously refute mistaken European characterizations.[119] He similarly presents the fashionable range of costumes worn by women in his painting *Feraceli Kadınlar*, 1887 (fig. 30), an image that asserts the social presence and interaction of unchaperoned women in Istanbul's public spaces.[120] These images showed the hybrid fashions of modern urban Ottoman women, who much like their European counterparts, combined elements of Turkish and European dress.

This contested state of clothing and culture was also manifest in the commission of portraits by Muslim women from European women artists. The conflicting desires of cultural representation between artist and patron in the portraits of Fatma Sultan by Mary Walker are recorded in the artist's letters which chronicle their sartorial disputes. Fatma Sultan wished to be portrayed in the most current Parisian fashions while the artist's desire was to paint a romantic image of Fatma as odalisque, fashioned by her Orientalist preconceptions.[121] Ultimately, Fatma Sultan's agency as patron successfully controlled the portrayal of her self-image by Walker.

The Ottoman women writers Edib, Demetra Vaka Brown, Zeyneb Hanim and Melek Hanim, also engaged directly with occidental stereotypes of the 'Orient.' In this

[118] Ibid, p. 83.
[119] Roberts, p. 118.
[120] Ibid, p. 117-8.
[121] Ibid, pp. 115-121.

endeavor, they sometimes used the Orientalizing descriptive motifs of female costumes and beauty in their writings to explain specific ethnic and racial identities assumed to be unfamiliar to their Occidental readership.[122] This dialogue reveals the complexity of cross-cultural interaction and representations of women.

Understanding the common origins and meanings of textiles and clothing in cultural exchanges between East and West is important to reevaluating the socio-political role of dress and identity in the modern era. The legacy of this reductive conception of clothing has shaped contemporary Western representations of Islam, conflating the veil and women with Islamic culture to reinforce stereotypes. Like the 'oriental' textiles employed in propaganda of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, today's saturation of imagery of veiled women is invoked to visually polarize an East-West dichotomy. The process of consciously rereading the iconography of feminine narratives present in European portraits and Orientalist images allows a more informed, pluralistic, and critical view of cultural interactions and exchange. With this nuanced historical understanding, we can confront contemporary stereotypes based on centuries of negative representation to rip out, one by one, the reductive stitches of the Orientalist tradition.

[122] Lewis, Reina. *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel, and the Ottoman Harem.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004. p. 142.

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grand habit, ca. 1682.
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Jean-Étienne Liotard, *Madame Jean-Jacques-André Boissier*, 1746. Pastel. 61 x 47.5 cm. private collection. Image from Roethlisberger.

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fig. 20.
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fig. 21.
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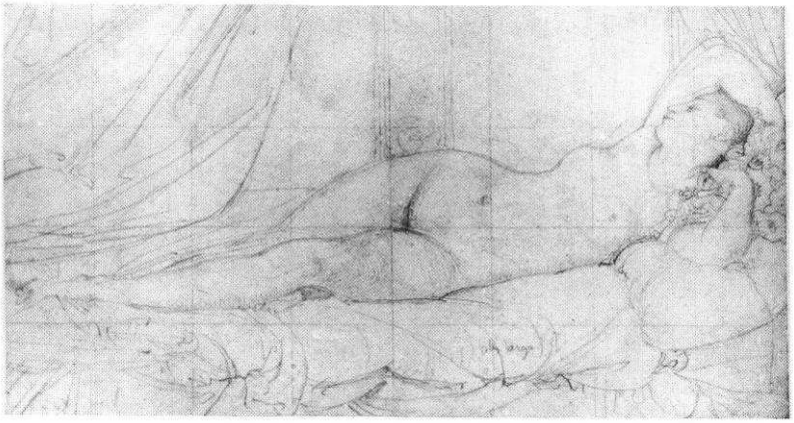

fig. 22.
J.-A.-D. Ingres, *Reclining Odalisque*, (drawing for lost *Sleeper of Naples*, 1808), Graphite, 12.4 x 22.3 cm. Private collection. Image from Ockman.

fig. 23.
J.-E. Liotard, *Woman with a Tambourine Dressed in Turkish Costume*, 1738. Pastel. 61.6 x 47 cm. Image from Roethlisberger

fig. 24.
J-É. Liotard, *Frankish Woman from Constantinople*, ca. 1738. Drawing. Image from de Hert.

fig. 25.
J.-E. Liotard, *Frankish Woman and her Servant*, 1742. Pastel. 71 x 53 cm. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva. Image from Roethlisberger.

fig. 26.
Le Hay engraving after J.-B. van Mour, *Princess Reclining Turkish Woman*. From *Recuil de Cent Estampes representatn differentes Nations du Levant*, by Charles de Ferriol, ca. 1714. Image from Historical Picture Archive online: http://pro.corbis.com/search/Enlargement.aspx?CID=isg&mediauid={CC0CD9A9-7DE0-4BB6-A713-5A7D5F11EC7B}

fig. 27.
engraving by Houston after J.-E. Liotard, *Maria Gunning, Countess of Coventry*. The British Museum. Image from Roethlisberger.

fig. 28.
J.-E. Liotard, Dame pensive sur un sofa. Pastel. 23.5 x 19 cm. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva.
Image from Roethlisberger.

Conclusion.

fig. 29.
Osman Hamdi Bey, *Girl Reading*, 1893. Oil on canvas. Private collection. Image from Çelik.

fig. 30.
Osman Hamdi Bey, *Feraceli Kadınlar*, 1887. Oil on canvas, 81 x 131 cm. Yapı Kredi Painting Collection, Istanbul. Image from Roberts.