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# WOMAN FIGURE IN TWO OTTOMAN MINIATURE PAINTERS

## LA FIGURA DE LA MUJER EN DOS PINTORES DE MINIATURAS OTOMANAS

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### ABSTRACT

This paper aims to display of woman figure in two 18<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman painters' works –Abdulcelil Levni and Abdullah Buhari– in terms of art, gender and cultural encounters. My thesis is that although these paintings reveal many important points about the period such as sexuality, gender, perception of woman, symbolic meanings of dresses, socio-cultural hierarchies, visual and contextual changes from past to 18<sup>th</sup> century and also within the century, it should be investigated that how we can scent out similarities of gender issue in focus of female figures in the Ottoman world with the other variations of it for example in Safavid and Greek women representations. In this way, it can be possible to explain this viewpoint with the concepts of encounter, mobility and connection. Thus, this paper's scope will consist of a struggle to reclaim historical, cultural and artistic perspectives over the main topic.

### KEYWORDS

Female figure; gender; Levni; Buhari

### RESUMEN

Este artículo aborda las figuras de mujeres en las miniaturas de dos pintores Otomanos del siglo XVIII, Abdulcelil Levni y Abdullah Buhari. Se analizarán estas pinturas en términos de arte, de género y de encuentro cultural. Se entiende que, si bien en ellas es posible apreciar muchos puntos importantes sobre el período –como la sexualidad, el género, la percepción de la mujer, los significados simbólicos de los vestidos–, las mismas deben ser investigadas comparativamente con otros esquemas de representación femenina relacionados con representaciones persas y griegas. De esta manera, es posible explicar e interpretar este punto de vista, enfatizando en los conceptos del encuentro, de la movilidad y de la conexión entre culturas diferentes. Así, el alcance de este artículo consistirá en articular diversos acercamientos históricos, culturales y artísticos en torno a un abordaje interdisciplinar y de género sobre la representación de la mujer en el arte otomano.

### PALABRAS CLAVE

Figura femenina; género; Levni; Buhari



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«Images are past ways of seeing and thinking.»  
Peter Burke (2001)

Thinking and studying about visual materials as part of history of art and architecture is a challenging attempt because it requires to be able to see what there is beyond the visible. After the process of seeing, we should think, rethink, interpret and expand our perspectives which surround our mentality. Images can be symbols and reflections of many things because they are reproductions of the artist and, then, of the audiences, and this circle is like an endless loop but in every gaze the meanings of the images gain multiple layers with time.

At first, I had many *images* from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which were produced by Abdulcelil Levni and Abdullah Buhari, to research about them and evaluate my findings. However, after I had started to think and read about my topic, I encountered with different *images* from different artists, cultures and periods. Then, I started to think about how different from each other they are and why I am searching for differences among them. I have realized that I should focus not only on distinctive features, but also on connections, transitions and reflections between them because the importance of connection, encounter, mobility and channels that take us to this journey should also be emphasized. One of my questions is: How different from each other are they? Related to that I can ask another question: Why did these differences get my attention before considering similarities, connections, relations and some crucial circumstances and processes during their realization in history? I will handle these two painters's works with a comparative and at the same time a comprehensive approach in terms of *gender* and *cultural encounter*.

#### THE 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY OTTOMAN MINIATURE

The history of Ottoman painting in the 18<sup>th</sup> century comprises certain remarkable features. For this reason, I have been interested to study this issue in order to see some features of transition from a rooted and traditional miniature painting to an opener version of Ottoman painting that synthesizes Western and settled Ottoman components. At this point, *transition* can be a key word because the 18<sup>th</sup> century is a period of changes in the social life together with an increasing and observable contact with the Western world. Thus, many scholars interpret that an evident change came true in the manners of painting and miniature as parallel to these social changes. Technically, we can think about the issues of perspective and dimension about painting. However, an interesting statement of Ersoy, which I found in the thesis of Serkan Ilden (2011), is that the principle of unity in the compositions as a characteristic of classical period in the art disappeared in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, distinct, independent and scattered scenes started to reflect to painting as a sign of disorder and complexity in the social life. In order to understand what was happening in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman painting, for example, going back to the 16<sup>th</sup> and then 17<sup>th</sup> centuries will be reasonable. On account of that, I reached this technical detail by making a painting composition from only one viewpoint and a certain distance. However, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century miniatures, for example in Levni's, Buhari's and their successors' paintings, we start to see the scenes from a closer distance and different places (Ilden, 2011). In the issue of content of the 18<sup>th</sup> century paintings, we can see a transition from external to internal curiosities about people. For instance, it can be said that there was a parallelism on this subject between painting and literature. From the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, an increasing interest for in ordinary daily life of people in literature began to show itself in the world of painting and brought more visible reflections to the scenes which were visualized (Ilden, 2011). All these transitions have a culturally originated root as a backbone to constitute this framework, but I will mention this aspect under the title of cultural encounters.

To look at the history of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman miniature we should observe this period in the light of historical interpretations. Firstly, Günsel Renda (1977) asserts that the Tulip Period, namely the period of Ahmed III, was the last active period for Ottoman miniature because Ottoman miniature, which have come to a standstill in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, started to flourish again. This flourishing came to the stage with Levni. In this century, new topics such as single male and female figures in various clothes while drinking, dancing, playing music, adjusting hair, reading a book, holding an object, having a bath, smelling a flower, and making love became dominant, thus Levni used most of these

topics. Then, some ambassadors in Istanbul started to get some dress albums introducing various Ottoman clothes to the West prepared. Concerning this issue, I will mention Jean-Baptiste van Mour as a remarkable painter, which will explain Levni's life and works. When we came to the period of Mahmud I, we see Abdullah Buhari as the most famous painter. He also used many of these scenes but he tried to draw his own path in this new figuristic fashion. In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, we can encounter with Enderunlu Fazil and his most famous works as *Zenanname* and *Hubanname*, which show male and female beauties of various countries. According to Renda (1977), it has also a feature as dress album with the local characteristics of the figures. The concept of dress album and some remarkable examples of it became very helpful for me to evaluate Levni's and Buhari's works in a complementary viewpoint. I will start to handle the issue of women figures in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in order to continue my way towards this paper's target.

### WOMEN FIGURES IN THE 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY OTTOMAN MINIATURE

When the Ottoman Empire gradually started to come open to the West in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, new tastes emerged inside and outside the palace. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century the figure of woman among the paintings of albums mostly took place in the interior spaces, however in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, we can see these figures in some different contexts.

If we go to the previous period from Levni, Hesna Haral (2006) states that before Levni woman figure had been described as religious, literary and social types in the Ottoman miniature. For example, they were delineated as some components of hagiographies and also as famous and imaginary lovers like Leyla and Irin. How and why did this change emerge in this period? As an answer to this question, Begüm Özden Firat (2008) summarizes Renda's statements in his thesis that in the 17<sup>th</sup> century there was an observable increase in depiction of women figures because some miniaturists started to work outside of the imperial atelier, so they started to depict the everyday lives of ordinary people. Therefore, we encounter an evident change in figural representation in an expanded scale of themes. In addition, he gives this quotation from Renda that female figure «rarely encountered in previous centuries, had now become a subject in its own right» (Renda in Firat, 2008: 67). Together with this development, another fashion including erotic and nudist themes started to become more spread in a certain circle that symbolizes a private matter, for this reason it was allowing an underground circulation of books. It is possible to see even some books as *Bahnames*. They consisted of various illustrations of intercourse positions (Firat, 2008). Another important statement comes from Tülay Artan. She remarks that we can see common transformations of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman society in the miniatures, and they can show «women with décolleté dresses entertaining themselves in the presence of men in intimate (*mahrem*) spaces from baths to houses» (Artan in Firat, 2008: 68). Thence it is likely to say that a gliding was experienced about the concept of space. Women's role in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman society is a key point to understand this reflection of changing dynamics. Whether the woman belongs to court or public in the miniatures, she can be a reflection of the period in terms of her clothes –design–, and her beauty both in any kind of place such as home or bath. If we refer to a foreign viewpoint about Ottoman woman, the first name that comes to my mind is Lady Montague. In the article of Yücel Özkaya written about Turkish women according to Turkish authors and European travelers, I have found a part of Montague's account about description of Turkish women. She sees a bath in Sofia and writes a letter in 1717. Her observations are about their beauty, white skins, nice hair as decorated with pearls and ribbons, so she likens them to fairies of beauty (Özkaya, 2008). Especially on the subject of beauty, Rukanı and Karaka give these details:

A beautiful woman is generally painted with thin eyebrows, a little mouth, eyes like almond and long hair. The necessity of drawing the figures smaller if they are in the background is not emphasized and attracting attention to an important figure is provided by drawing it bigger (2008: 2).

I have seen a parallelism between the paintings of Levni and Buhari and Montague's accounts in terms of their emphasis on physical description of women with various jewels and decorating objects after I examined the miniatures and representations of women as detailed.

Apart from this kind of description of Ottoman women, there have been two important topics about

them, slavery and their social roles, which had been written by the most of European travelers. In that point, we of course should take their Orientalist point of view into consideration to understand a layer of their interpretation. According to Özkaya, few of these travelers pointed out harem as a domestic order that requires diligence, frugality and farsightedness instead of only sexual tastes. So, there had been a change in Eastern woman's image as a member of family and the spouse of the man as an individual, if it is possible to say like that (Özkaya, 2008). Related to this issue, the article of Nancy Micklewright (1997) is very important to evaluate their roles because she examines these miniature paintings in order to determine exactly how and in what circumstances women appeared. Therefore, it will allow us to increase our current limited awareness of women's place in Ottoman painting. Her main concern is about musicians and dancing girls's images in Ottoman painting, and this theme is common among Levni's and Buhari's paintings. Because she asks this question that can we learn anything about the role of women in the Ottoman society from these images, we can definitely bring some possible answers for it as I have tried to mention above. After that, we should consider the issue of discourse on gendered space in Ottoman society together with indoor and outdoor issues about women's presence. Concerning this, she asks how they used and occupied space in the Ottoman world over their positions in the paintings. After these statements and interpretations about the place of women figures in the paintings, moving respectively from Levni's and Buhari's paintings as being a little more detailed will be helpful for me in order to transpose my evaluations.

#### LEVNI AND HIS WORKS

Many art historians describe Levni (d.1732) as the most famous painter in the period of Ahmed III. His original name is Abdülcélil Çelebi and he was born in Edirne. He is not only a painter but also an illuminator and poet. His title, Levni, symbolizes his status as well educated and reputable because it means multicolored and versatile. After he came to Istanbul, he learnt miniature and music. Together with his graduation from *Nakka hane*, he became a master in Ottoman decorative arts. There are three important works that belong to him: *Silsilename* (consisting of sultan portraits) in Topkapı Palace Library, *Surname-i Vehbi* (including 137 miniatures in the manuscript which is about a circumcision festival in 1720 of four sons of Ahmed III) and *an album numbered H.2164* done between 1710 and 1720 (bearing male and female European and Persian figures in various clothes as drinking, dancing, playing music, adjusting hair, smelling a flower, showing fondness of luxury and entertainment in the court life). Among his miniatures, my main concern is his female figures and his technical attitude to create some changes from the previous period. As Banu Mahir (1998) states, Levni is known as an artist who tries to give the effects of light and shadow and takes some previous miniaturists' struggles for bringing perspective to the Ottoman painting. In fact, apart from these techniques, finding a parallelism between painting and literature in terms of context is possible. In that point, Bulut likens Levni's usage of woman figure to Nedim. She evaluates about the emergence of this preponderance of woman figure in the paintings of Levni as similar with the themes of individuality such as love, woman and drinking in Nedim's poems (Bulut, 2001). Another common point between Nedim and Levni is breaking privacy about their body and beauty as we see about deep cleavages of their clothes in Figure 1.

There are important works for researching Levni's work and all of them point out that we can see the influence of the Tulip Period in his paintings such as Turkish Rococo in the carpets, rugs, tents that take place in the background of his compositions. In the issue of color, Elif Apaydın (2011) writes that the artist mostly used hot colors as red and yellow, also light purple and lilac. Süheyl Ünver (1951) is another important person who studied about Levni. He writes in his book that Levni is the product of the Tulip Period's prosperity and peace, for this reason he reflected and kept alive the pomp and the magnificence of his own times in his paintings. Ünver also mentions the effects of Persian, Indian, and previous Turkish schools on his style, however he strongly emphasizes that the uniqueness of Turkish character on his paintings are observable because he adapted all different components with a Turkish character, for this reason he is important as a person who achieved this transmutation.



KARANFILLİ KADIN  
(Kat.No. 7)

Figure 1. *Woman with Carnation*, Levni

#### BUHARI AND HIS WORKS

Abdullah Buhari is an important Ottoman painter during the period of Mahmud II. It is difficult to find detailed encyclopedic knowledge about his life but there is a common view stated due to his sign and dates in the paintings that he produced his art works between 1735 and 1745. His works take place in Istanbul University, Topkapı Palace Museum Library and Edwin Binney Collection. He is considered to be the last painter in the transition period from traditional miniature patterns to Western techniques and genres. He approaches the patterns of Western art towards his novelties on the clothes of his figures. In addition, like Levni, he tries to achieve the illusion of three-dimensional style of Western artistic tradition.

Ehnaz Yalçın (1999) states that these paintings are collected in some albums—including twenty-two male and female figures— which had been prepared for the court and its surrounding. Yalçın writes that these figures are made as looking at a certain model unlike Levni. This question can come after these evaluations: What do these descriptions mean? Certainly, they have an important role due to their documentary quality in terms of indoor woman fashion and clothing style of different ethnic groups. Other details about decorative components of his paintings are realistic flowers with high

coloring technique and also the compositions of small parts of landscape are remarkable features of his art. In order to understand his descriptions in a detailed way as much as possible Yalçın explains all parts of women's clothes and accessories such as *ferace*, *yasmak*, *yeldirme*, *ma lah*, *pazubent*, and the meanings of their shoes' color (Yalçın, 1999).

It is known that festivals, which had an important role in the society, were started to describe in a changing way in the 18<sup>th</sup> century with Levni apart from *Surnames*<sup>1</sup>, so we can come across with the dancer and musician women with the detailed descriptions of their clothes. Figures have certain social typical features as musicians and dancers as *rakkase* and *çengi*. In addition to these, even though we start to see issues like those kinds of female figures, love scenes and daily life practices, the distinction between man and woman as *haremlik-selamlık* were going on to live in the miniatures as a remained feature of traditional understanding (Yalçın, 1999). However, their handling start to change and become more dominant as a reflection of the search for ideal woman type and body because Yalçın explains this statement that we cannot see any elder women or a very young girl. It can be another key point to understand the perception of woman in this period. Therefore, the first works as in the quality of album started to occur. After that, this trend continued with Buhari but he added different compositions such as the bath scene in Figure 2, love scene and the first naked figure.

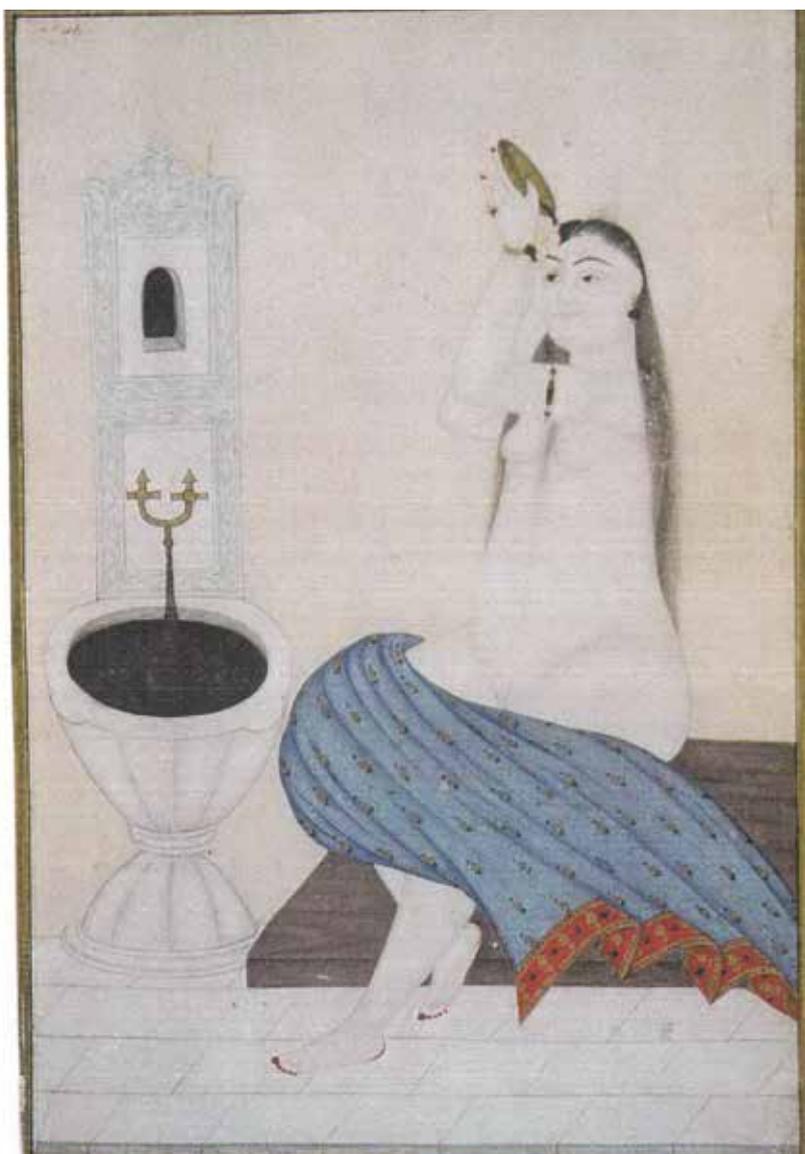


Figure 2. *Woman in the Bath*, Buhari

It can be said that after Levni, Buhari achieved to constitute his own genre, and he mostly chose curvy and plump women. In his paintings, it is possible to see erotic themes. Despite an Islamic cultural atmosphere, he achieved to make his own synthesis. In his works based on single woman appearance, there are women making music, sitting, looking at the outside from the window, holding a flower, taking a bath and so on. Especially the bath scene was an important theme for the Western artists and they used this theme as an Orientalized tool in their works of art. Later, we start to see some distinctive woman compositions as giving birth, applying their daily practices and in some different dramatic scenes (Yalçın, 1999).

To sum up, daily and periodic descriptions were successfully given. Apart from the artistic techniques of the miniatures, my main concern will be about the demonstration of the women with their portraits, postures, social status, clothes and accessories in order to find some symbolic connections with their previous and contemporaneous examples from Safavid and Greek paintings. Before I mention the paintings of two artists in a general framework, firstly I would like to make a comprehensive comparison between Levni's and Buhari's women. After that, in order to make my perspective expand, I can compare Levni's works with some previous Persian paintings and Vanmour's drawings, and Buhari's paintings with some descriptions of Greek women in the dress albums, broadly within the framework of center and periphery due to a main land and island connection in the Greek part of the story.

#### COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO LEVNI'S AND BUHARI'S FIGURISTIC WORKS

I have thought about why this comparison is necessary and important for me to write because finding connections between their paintings and their way to evaluate their period they lived attracted my attention. When I looked at their paintings at first sight, I realized similar concepts but different perceptions. For example, both of them used certain themes such as a woman holding a rose or carnation, musician woman, dancing woman, and veiled woman but apart from their techniques, their interpretations are quite different. This difference is visible on the clothes, poses, standing and expressions of women. In order to make my point clearer, I would like to evaluate two figures by Buhari which have the same theme: woman with a carnation. Under the same title, we can see many differences such as women's body size, facial expressions, style of dresses, their drapes, selection of colors, fabrics and patterns, their hairdressings, accessories, and shoes.

Firat's thesis became so helpful for me to see some scholars' interpretations about the comparison of these two names in a larger perspective. Renda argues that Buhari's «renditions convey more volume, definition and weight» (Renda in Firat, 2008: 62). According to her, «Buhari succeeded in freeing figures from representational prototypes by appropriately placing his modeled figures in space» (Renda, 1980: 65-66). Moreover, Mahir asserts: «Buhari may have used a real-life model in making his single-figure miniatures» (2004: 80). «She, like the women in other miniatures of Buhari, is an unidentified woman who just happens to be bathing herself.» (Firat, 2008: 62). On the contrary, in some paintings of Levni, we can see a background as a story about the women because in some of them their names or nicknames are written. On this subject, Tülün Değirmenci (2015) evaluates that these women could be characters of some certain stories, for example, a veiled woman (with *ferace*) is described as convenient for outdoor space with her face cover. On the other hand, there is a remarkable detail about her identity that is the note written about her name: «*Menekşe Tuti*». Değirmenci likens this to a cheerful name as well as it can be used for *alüfte* or *aşifte*, namely for wantons. This can show that even though these women are described in an appropriate way to public sphere, they can have unapproved or immoral features, and it is given in the painting in a surprising way with a small note in Levni's paintings. In this case, these women figures can be evaluated as types created by inspiring from the real life (Değirmenci, 2015).

Another remarkable point comes from Betül Ipsirli Argit:

In individual miniatures appearing in his album, Levni draws women wearing *yashmaks*, which are more transparent than those women appearing in the *Sumame-i Vehbi*. In these miniatures, Levni may have represented a group of attractive women who wore transparent *yashmaks* in order to reveal their beauty or he might just have used his initiative or imagination as an artist. Therefore, it would be wrong to generalize that women appearing in this series are representative of the way all Ottoman women appeared in public

Of course, avoiding from generalizations will provide a more objective viewpoint about the identities of the women in his paintings, but at least it is possible to say transparency in their clothes is an attractive feature about their idealized descriptions.

Another difference is pointed out by Güner İnal (1982) that Buhari's paintings are evaluated with smartness and variegation in the technically description of figures, for this reason she asserts that in comparison with Levni's paintings, Buhari's paintings have more features of portraiture. It can be possible to associate this idea with the reason for evidently visual multitude of details in women's clothes.

## GENERAL EVALUATION

I would like to consider my topic together with two subtitles: *Gender and Cultural encounter*.

### Gender

In order to evaluate the gender issue on these paintings, I should have explained male figures which were constituted in that period but I could catch some small details when I slightly looked at them, for example in Buhari's paintings there are some male figures as the portraits of sultans or some men from the court environment. In daily life figures, they are represented reading books, for example. There is not any kind of moral or sexual attribution to them. On the other hand, we can see women as sexual objects with their nude and plumpy bodies, immoral characters as *aşüfte* or *alüfte* being wanton or a component of enjoying life with flowers, as dancing and playing instruments. With their clothes, their social borders and roles were easily drawing because she had to wear something indoor and another outdoor. Whether they obey or do not obey these socially constructed rules, their characteristics as being loose for example cannot be change and are emphasized from the perspectives of these male artists.

Maybe only going on from the concept of body can be persuasive my viewpoint about this gender issue in these paintings. Moreover, if I give some quotations considering my topic methodologically and theoretically which are also previously used in the thesis of Firat, it will provide a stronger background for the issue. He firstly proposes: «The miniature encourages a spatial, embodied, haptic, and erotic intimacy that plays on the boundaries between knowing and not-knowing the other's body» (Firat, 2008: 62). It can be said that to know the unknown body and to interpret this in an idealistic framework, privacies such as the scenes as sleeping or having a bath in the interior space with naked or lownecked dressed bodies started to break. Then, these interventions were completed with pre-cut social roles for women. For this reason, Firat rightly consults Inge Boer's concept «palimpsestic reading» as a reworking of Roland Barthes's notion of rereading (1981), to stress a necessity to evaluate these miniatures with their multilayered natures in terms of changing meanings of every component of them with time (Firat, 2008).

### Cultural encounters

This part is very important to enlarge this framework and to show some connections that I have realized in the light of readings. Firstly, I would like to start with a different album I examined that is *Ralamb Costume Book* in 1657 because this is a previous example for my main actors, Levni and Buhari. This album is produced for selling to tourists, and they were probably copied a master set. In many figures, there are some remarkable women representations considering their ethnic identities as Turkish, Armenian, Greek [Figure 3], Persian; their standings as dancing (*çengi*), playing an instrument or holding a flower. These representations are naturally void of a very detailed composition about their clothes, facial and bodily expressions, and more importantly sexual attributions with décolletages but it is important to see how this evolution had come true from that period to the 18<sup>th</sup> century.



Figure 3. *Greek Girl*. Ralamb Costume Book, 17<sup>th</sup> century

Another important collection including very attractive paintings belongs to Jean Baptiste Vanmour (1671-1737), which is quite significant to compare with Levni's paintings because many scholars assert that it can be possible to find some connections and similarities among their paintings. He came to Istanbul in 1699 and it is known that he did not leave the city until his death in 1737. Under the title of *Illustrations of Turkish Civilians*, we can see Turkish women's representations as resting on the sofa, having a bath [Figure 4], playing canon, and dancing. Gül İrepolu (1999) considers a possible similarity between Levni's and Vanmour's paintings in terms of postures and expressions of figures. Moreover, she emphasizes the traditional attitude of Levni in his paintings as a difference but despite that, she asserts that Vanmour and some other foreign painters come to Istanbul can make Levni's viewpoint expanded due to their paintings' robust stances.

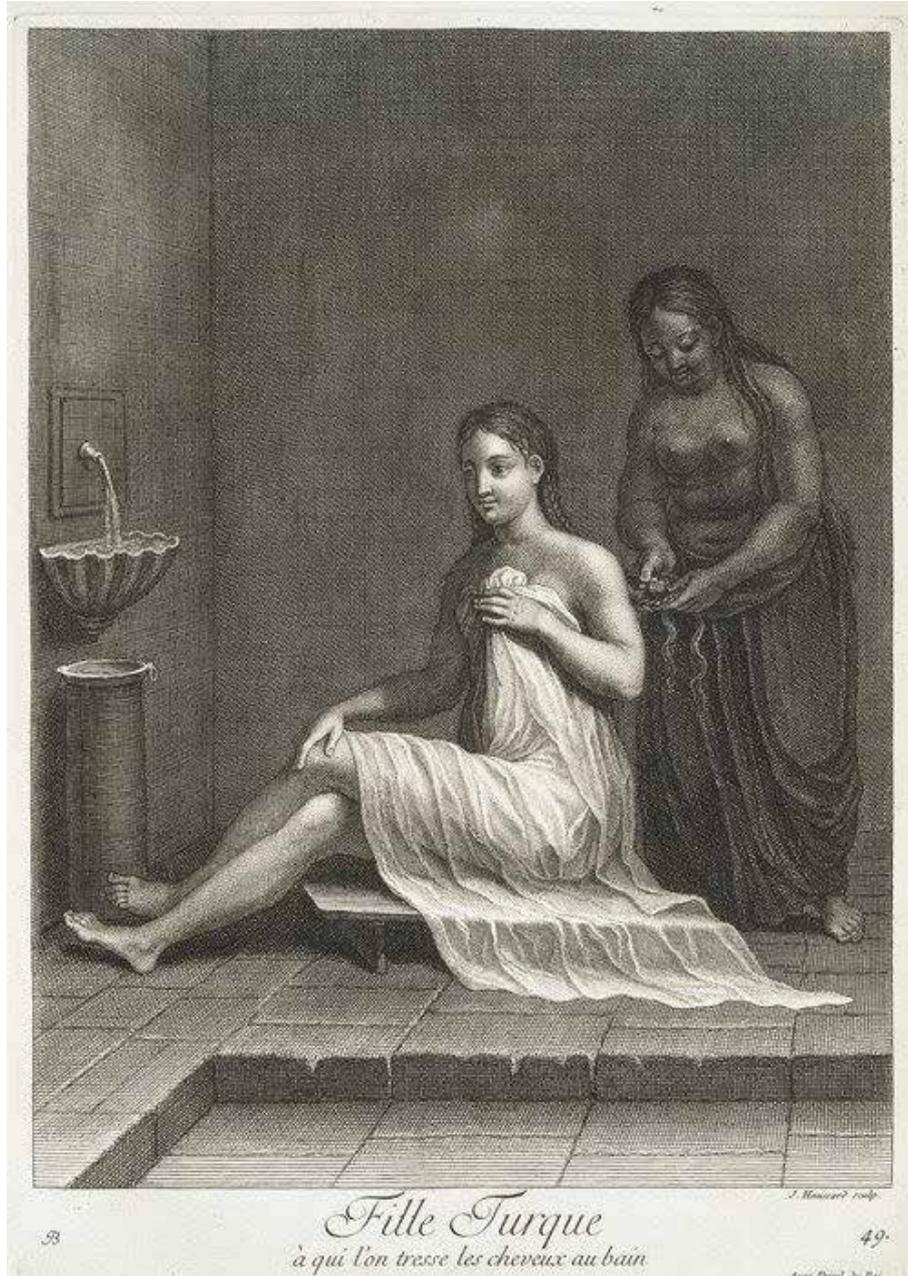


Figure 4. *Turkish girl whose hair is braided at the bath*, in *Illustrations of Turkish Civilians* (1714), Jean-Baptiste Vanmour

Another cultural encounter that we can find in the paintings of Levni is Persian influence. As we know Persian miniature art is very important in the miniature tradition. It is quite possible to see some interactions due to cultural encounters. In this issue, İnal (1982) asserts that the idea of an album including figural representations on miniatures is seen in Safavid Iran. More importantly, she points out that there are some copies from Safavid examples show a kind of Iranian impact on Ottoman painting. This figuristic painting started a fashion in itself in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and some other important painters Sadiki Bey, Ali Naqi, Gürcü Siyavuş, Rıza-i Abbasi, Muhammed Kasim ve Muhammed Yusuf produced numerous works in the field of painting, and they continued to use miniature techniques. More specifically, İrepoğlu (1999) points out that Levni, in some paintings regarding Persian types, can be influenced by the school of the figures of Rıza Abbasi whose paintings are also in Topkapı Palace Museum Library.

The last encounter that I have reached is the evolution of this cultural encounter. As a last example, in the paintings of Octavien Dalvimart, we can see some descriptions of Turkish and Muslim women with some certain similar dresses. He came to Turkey in about 1798 and made his drawings. In his album titled *The Costume of Turkey*, he describes an odalisque, a sultana, Turkish women with provincial dress and in typical costume of Istanbul [Figure 5], and Muslim dancer woman. On the other hand, he also made paintings about Greek women from different islands with their local clothes, hair dressings and accessories.



Figure 5. Muslim woman dancer from Istanbul (1802), Octavien Dalvimart (d'Alvimart), in *The Costume of Turkey*

## CONCLUSION

As a conclusion of this paper, looking at the visual sources from the perspective of only similarities and differences between styles of artists is a quite narrow viewpoint. So, for a wider framework, these works should be considered in terms of historical evolution of these paintings into dress albums, and developments of figural descriptions together with their physical and identificational representations.

Finally, another important source, the book of Jennifer Scarce (2003) is helpful to emphasize the importance of looking at the issue from many different sides. Her emphasis on the lack of officially defined and recognized feminine public roles, necessity to see Byzantine-Ottoman inheritance in order to understand Greek connection, and thinking about the possibility that Muslim women's clothes have been influenced by the Christian and Jewish costumes have been creating the other open-ended questions to improve this paper in a future time.

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#### NOTA

1 *Surname* means narratives of circumcisions of Sultans' sons.