Fez & Sherwani: Consumption, Self-fashioning and Ottoman Influence in South Asia, 1826-1911

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University of Washington

Abstract

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This dissertation examines how novel forms of 'South-South' transnational connection operating through image-print and popular consumption shaped a new ideal and aesthetics of modernizing manliness across a wide global geography during the later nineteenth century. It does so by tracing the rise and popularization across a swathe of late nineteenth century Asia of a particular style of male dress based around the fez and the long, high-buttoned coat known variously as the *istanbulin* or, in South Asia, *sherwani*. By documenting the origins, associations, and one particular trajectory of the fez and *istanbulin*/*sherwani* style's travel, from Ottoman Istanbul to the Indian city of Hyderabad, it shows how ways of thinking about identity and belonging across nineteenth century Asia became reshaped by novel circuits of globalizing visual and material interaction, and the new opportunities for mass consumption.

Drawing on over two years of fieldwork in archival, museum and library collections across Istanbul, Delhi, Hyderabad and London, it intervenes in debates around imperialism, gender and social reform by showing how localized renegotiations of identity, far from being restricted to a dialectic of colonial civilization versus proto-national tradition, exploited the opportunities of mass consumption to index intensely varied visions of aspirational personal modernity. As the popularization of a non-European, Ottoman style illustrates, changing constructions of urban class and gender were intrinsically transnational, formed in close relation to new epistemologies of global political knowledge, and a contemporaneously emerging globalizing aesthetics of urbane masculinity. While the fez and *istanbulin*/*sherwani* style was widely adapted across different groups and contexts to invoke different shades of association, its straight-lined symmetry and manly seriousness evoked a striking contrast with both more ornate earlier nineteenth century styles, and European-imperial male dress. Its adoption among many Jews, Christians, Hindus and varied other sects, moreover, problematizes generalizing paradigms like 'pan-Islam' by showing how claims to participation in a cosmopolitan global modernity cut across communal lines.

The dissertation brings together debates from art, transnational and literary history by highlighting novel of forms 'South-South' visual and material connectivity enabled by everyday technologies like the camera, lithographic press and sewing machine. Expanding transnational history's stress on trade and migration to emphasize movements of ideas and aesthetics, it explores how the development of a nascent global visual sphere operating through illustrated journals, photos and popular portraiture dramatically reshaped imaginations of the world among the non-travelling majority in Ottoman and Indian cities from the 1870s on. The transnational spread of Ottoman styles was predominantly a phenomenon of localized imitation rather than physical exchange, illustrating the power of imagery to generate internationalist identification. While histories of print and nationalism have emphasized literary-lingual communities, this project highlights the openness and ambiguity of visual transnationalism, and its close interrelation with material experience. This is exemplified by the fashion's evolution in the South Indian city of Hyderabad, where it became adapted to local fabrics and material sensibilities to emerge as the emblem of an assertively localized ideal of manliness and revitalized South Indian-Deccani regional identity.

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Introduction

Among the many revolutions and momentous affairs which reshaped the world map during the nineteenth century, we should not overlook those which unfolded within the quiet, comfortable confines of a weekday afternoon in the living room. If we were to cast our gaze for a moment, like those leisured late nineteenth century readers of the first illustrated journals, *Servet-i Fünun* say, or *The Graphic*, or *Awadh Punch*, across the pictures which appear in their pages, or glance up perhaps, at the portraits arranged decorously across the desk and/or walls beyond, there are some clear patterns that will likely strike the eye. Pictures of prime ministers and far-flung scenes mingle comfortably with those of acquaintances, family, perhaps a deity, and oneself. They are all in much the same format, and taken together present a domesticated, verisimilar vision of the world in which the personal and political, and the global and local, are becoming blended in ways quite different to only a few years before. Alongside the ubiquitous reproductions of monuments and ruins, moreover, there is a single, dominant genre that stands out.[1] Namely, single or group portrait images of solemn and well-dressed men.

If we go a step further and focus specifically on early photographs and lithographed pictures from across the southern rim of Asia, one is further struck by strong resemblances in the dress of many of the figures depicted. Again and again, in pictures spanning from Istanbul to Bombay and from Isfahan to Penang, however, it is not Europeanized dress that one encounters, but the fez, and with it the long, dark, short-collared coat known as the *istanbulin* or *sherwani*. The pictures do not lie. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, this distinctively Ottoman aesthetic of male dress centered on the fez and *istanbulin/sherwani* became widely popularized in cities across the Middle East and South, Southeast and Central Asia. In an era typically associated with European imperial hegemony and proto-nationalism, what explains the wide popularization of an Ottoman style across such a huge transnational geography? How did it traverse the vast distances across which it so swiftly appears in these years, even into distant regions and cities far inland? What kinds of meanings did it hold for those who wore it?

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[1] Ahmet Ersoy highlights the importance of monumental and archaeological images in early Ottoman illustrated journals, "Ottomans and the Kodak Galaxy: Archiving Everyday Life and Historical Space in Ottoman Illustrated Journals," *History of Photography* 40, no. 3 (2016): 330-357.

These questions provide the starting point for this dissertation, which at its core seeks to use everyday dress and imagery to tell a different story of nineteenth century globalization, rooted in the novel forms of worldly consumption and self-imagining which defined changing city life across Asia and Europe alike. It does so by documenting the origins, associations and wide transnational spread of a single, globally influential but neglected style of male dress: that of the fez and *istanbulin/sherwani*, and the emergent ideas of modernizing masculinity which cohered around it. This fashion of *istanbulin* with red fez first emerges in Ottoman Istanbul in the 1830s, becoming particularly prominent among members of the new civil bureaucracy that would go on to dominate Ottoman government and diplomacy in the mid-century *Tanzimat* reform period (1839-76). By the early 1870s, close variations of the style begin to appear across a range of other locales across South, Southeast and Central Asia and the Middle East (figures 1-5), and at the end of the nineteenth century it was well-established in cities across this region. In South Asia, and other places too, it again found particular popularity among well-lettered officials, social reformists and aspiring urban professionals, and was adopted widely across religious and communal boundaries.

While the fashion could carry many shades of political meaning and stylistic interpretation, often even within the same city, in almost all cases its aesthetic of straight-lined symmetry, simplicity and manly seriousness evoked a striking contrast with more ornate earlier nineteenth century styles, while also distinctively diverging from European-imperial male dress. Neither did its material form, dimensions and styling remain static, but became subtly adapted to the material needs, tastes, and politics of the various localities and communities where it appears.

To understand the fez and *istanbulin/sherwani* style's wide popularization, the dissertation follows one particular trajectory of its travel, in an arc of chronological and geographical progression from the early to late nineteenth century, and from Ottoman Istanbul to the South Indian city of Hyderabad. As it does so, it also uses the style as an anchoring point for bringing microhistorical social changes in these two rapidly globalizing, cosmopolitan late nineteenth century cities into dialogue with each other. Many global histories about this period have tended to emphasize the organizing power of imperialism, proto-nationalism and print-text. This study foregrounds how people's interrelation with those around them and the wider region and world became increasingly mediated and expressed through individual acts of consumption, whether of dress, new manufactured goods, or the pictures populating a living room wall. It argues that the fez and *istanbulin/sherwani* became associated with notions of urbane modernity emerging across the region in these decades, which sought to express a civilized, cosmopolitan, yet consciously non-Western identity through acts of discerning, globally-informed self-fashioning. As the popularization of a non-European, Ottoman style illustrates, changing constructions of urban class and gender were intrinsically transnational, formed in close relation to new epistemologies of global political knowledge, and a contemporaneously emerging globalizing aesthetics of urbane masculinity. By the last decades of the nineteenth century these were increasingly becoming shaped by novel visual and material forms of 'South-South' interaction and identification. The familiarity of Ottoman styles in South Asia and elsewhere reflected not only increases of trade and migration, but new dynamics of visual transnationalism enabled by lithography, photography and popular print. These technologies allowed internationalist awareness and solidarities to develop over huge distances and on an unprecedented scale, and were rooted not only in imperial networks, but also in local centers of print dissemination, intellectual life, and production. In this way, styles like that of the fez and *istanbulin/sherwani* illustrate how localized renegotiations of identity, far from being restricted to a dialectic of colonial civilization versus proto-national tradition, exploit the opportunities of mass consumption to index intensely varied, competing visions of aspirational personal modernity.

Scholarly Engagements

1) Technology and Everyday Transnationalism

The last decades of the nineteenth century witnessed an astonishingly rapid transformation in the tone and material experience of daily urban life, much of which was attributable to successive revolutionary innovations in logistical and communicative technology. The apogee of European imperialism in this period, as we well know, was founded on the capacity of steamships, railways, roads and telegraphs to bind colonized territories ever more closely into imperial networks of military and administrative control and economic exploitation.[2] Much of the transnational and Indian Ocean history produced in the last two decades has worked to further nuance and problematize paradigms of imperial techno-domination, showing the dynamism of pre-existing trans-Eurasian networks of trade and communication, and their adaptability and persistence into the twentieth century.[3] Steam and rail travel did not only serve the ends of empire, but also facilitated global movements of travellers, pilgrims, labourers, soldiers and revolutionaries on an unprecedented scale.[4] Scholars like Cemil Aydin, Nile Green and Sugata Bose, meanwhile, have challenged the dominance of imperial and nationalist intellectual narratives by affirming the dynamism, multiplicity and originality of Asian responses to European domination and the critical influence of intensified movement and interaction across Asia itself in this process.[5]

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[2] C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden: Blackwell, 2004); Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987); Thomas Metcalf, *Imperial Connections India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

This dissertation seeks to build on these interventions but shifts the focus away from the mobility of physical travellers, goods and artifacts that form transnational history's staple emphasis, to movements of ideas and aesthetics, and to the non-travelling majority at home in Ottoman and Indian cities. From around the 1860s to early 70s on, urban dwellers across both these contexts became able to access, almost simultaneously, a burgeoning array of textual and visual resources describing the world, and vastly expanding opportunities for the acquisition of personal consumer goods. Collectively, these new possibilities allowed for the exploratory material expression of novel, varied imaginations of identity and selfhood. For the growing circle who could afford them, industrially produced consumer goods, newspapers and photographs were among the most tangible, genuinely exciting signs of temporal modernity, even if the systemic exploitation inherent to the imperial economy remained looming in the background. Moreover, as various scholars have pointed out, new technologies and cultural forms, even if imperial in origin, were often readily readapted to local forms and uses.[6] Drawing on David Arnold's theorization of 'everyday technologies' particularly, the dissertation shows how innovations like the camera, sewing machine and lithographic press were not just tools of colonial control or Westernization, but were innovatively deployed to articulate new forms of globally-oriented knowledge and identification, including the anti-imperial.[7] The rise of the fez and *istanbulin/sherwani* style exemplifies how the new transnational possibilities such devices opened up were interwoven into the fabric of everyday social life, with sentiments of anti-imperial identification already becoming embodied in consumption and fashion choices decades before the celebrated boycott movements of the early 1900s.[8] More generally, it also suggests the rising importance of trans-Asian links and ideas of commonality, especially among late nineteenth century social and political reformists, much earlier than that resulting from Japan's 1905 defeat of Russia which is so heavily emphasized in the literature.[9]

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[3] Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); Claude Markovits, *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750–1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia". *Modern Asian Studies*, 31, 1997)735-762.

[4] Seema Alavi, *Muslim cosmopolitanism in the age of empire*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015); James L. Gelvin and Nile Green, *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print* (Berkeley: Univ of California Press, 2013); Michael Christopher Low, "Empire and the Hajj: pilgrims, plagues, and pan-Islam under British surveillance, 1865–1908." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40, no. 2 (2008): 269-290; Maia Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

[5] Cemil Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); Nile Green, *Bombay Islam: The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean, 1840–1915* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

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[6] David Arnold, "Global Goods and Local Usages: The Small World of the Indian Sewing Machine, 1875–1952," *Journal of Global History* 6, no. 3 (2011): 407-8; Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul : Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press 1986), 10; Mary Roberts, *Istanbul Exchanges : Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth-century Visual Culture* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 9; Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: The Social life of Indian Photographs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 91.

[7] Arnold writes in "Global Goods" that "in a globalizing world, a commodity could simultaneously both be demonstrably foreign in its form and provenance and also acquire a meaning specific to the economic, social, and cultural configuration of a local society. In other words, part of the utility of global history ought to lie in its ability to comprehend wider forces of dissemination and change while simultaneously addressing the multiplicity of local meanings and usages", 407-8. See also his *Everyday Technology: Machines and the Making of India's Modernity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); and T. Barlow et al., *The Modern Girl around the World : Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

[8] Christopher Bayly, "The Origins of Swadeshi (Home Industry): Cloth and Indian Society" in Arjun Appadurai ed., *The Cultural Life of Things*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986; Doğan Çetinkaya, *The Young Turks and the Boycott Movement: Nationalism, Protest and the Working Classes in the Formation of Modern Turkey* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014); Lisa Trivedi, *Clothing Gandhi's Nation: Homespun and Modern India* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007).

Above all, the dissertation draws attention to a nascent global visual sphere operating through illustrated journals, early photographs and popular portraiture which dramatically reshaped imaginations of the world from the 1870s on. The early spread of the fez and *istanbulin/sherwani* style highlights the importance of the first generation of illustrated news journals, cheap lithographed chapbooks and photographs especially in facilitating the development of new kinds of transnational identification. Recent interventions in the field of print history have challenged Andersonian assumptions of print capitalism as the handmaiden to national identity by showing how shared scripts and literary languages could also link together quite disparate peoples and geographies, as in the case of Persian, or even Urdu.[10] The capacity of visual images and forms of popular consumption to evoke shared values and identification, though, certainly outside of Europe, remains much less considered.[11]

The wide spread of Ottoman fashion in this era, however, was predominantly a phenomenon of localized imitation rather than physical exchange. That we find the terminology and physical tailoring and construction of the style varying widely across different contexts, even as the overall aesthetic was closely reproduced is further suggestive of the importance of visual media in its transmission, illustrating the power of mass image-production to generate internationalist identification. In contrast to the following decades, when global brands and advertising imagery became increasingly ubiquitous worldwide, this dissertation suggests that the key connective media of this early phase in colonial India were emerging Urdu and other illustrated vernacular news journals, *carte-de-visite* format photographs, and the dominant visual currency of the male portrait figure. The striking and dignified images of Ottoman statesmen who filled late 1870s Urdu newspapers and books on the subject are seen mirrored in the popular studio photographs which proliferated at this time. Consumption of foreign news images, especially, created a common pool of imagery and understanding which ran across traditional class lines, integrating the aristocrat and illiterate alike into a transnational visual sphere of immediately recognizable faces, places and things. Not only did these objects change perceptions of geographical space and difference, rendering foreign subjects near and far with photographic clarity, but they also changed the ways in which these knowledges were physically and socially mediated, in the acquisition, exchange and display of visual objects. The simultaneous expansion of affordable studio photography, especially, allowed a reflexive, self-conscious way of integrating one's own image into new verisimilar, portrait-oriented visions of the world. Lithographed journals, news imagery and photos thus not only operated as connective sources of new worldly visual awareness, but also as aspirational symbols of personal, critical participation in modernity and a means for the re-visualization of one's public self in relation to the/a rapidly globalizing world.

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[9] Aydin, *Anti-Westernism*; Bose, *Horizons*; Pankaj Mishra *From the Ruins of Empire: The Intellectuals Who Remade Asia* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012).

[10] Muzaffar Alam, "The Culture and Politics of Persian in Precolonial Hindustan" in Sheldon Pollock ed., *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Jennifer Dubrow, *Cosmopolitan Dreams: The Making of Modern Urdu Literary Culture in Colonial South Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2018), 11; Farina Mir, *The Social Space of Language: Vernacular Culture in British Colonial Punjab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 69; Ulrike Stark, *An Empire of Books: the Naval Kishore Press and the diffusion of the Printed Word in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2007), 449; Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, *Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism, and Historiography* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

[11] To some degree the impact of lower quality, popular visual media seems to have fallen into the cracks between art and print history. One of the few works which does seriously engage the early importance of print images is Anindita Ghosh, *Power in Print: Popular Publishing and the Politics of Language and Culture in a Colonial Society, 1778-1905*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006, 142-150; see also Thomas Smits, T*he European Illustrated Press and the Emergence of a Transnational Visual Culture of the News, 1842-1870* (London: Routledge, 2019).

2) Fashion and Material Culture

Over the course of the nineteenth century there is a marked decline in the salience of materiality and origin in assigning the social meanings of dress. The fashion histories of both countries note the growing disparity between rural populations, amongst whom dress and headgear predominantly continue to denote specific localities, with the accelerating fashion cycles and 'Westernizing trends' which characterized city life.[12] Alongside this, however, there is also a hollowing out of the appreciation and social value attached to different kinds of luxury fabrics and patterns which occurs through the mid-century in favor of a more purely visual-aesthetic vocabulary of sartorial forms and symbols. Partly this was influenced by the advent of mass-produced industrial textiles, along with the rapid globalization of fashion consciousness which occurs in both contexts, cutting off consumer goods from the networks and material appreciation of craft production.[13] But it is also influenced by rising domestic critiques of luxury fabrics and wasteful lifestyles going back to the eighteenth century, influenced by growing inequality, social disturbance and movements of moralistic religious orthodoxy. This is most clearly apparent in 1830s Istanbul, where reformist leaders deliberately sought to move away from older values vested in particular prestige fabrics, sites of production, and ritual investiture to a new official system of almost purely visual *nişan* markers which could be more cheaply and easily control (chapter 1). The issue of materiality and origin is also one in which we see a divergence between Ottoman Turkey and South Asia in the late nineteenth through twentieth centuries. While many regions of colonial India, including Hyderabad (chapter 4), see a consciously political return to use of local fabrics and traditions of craft production in opposition to imperial goods and aesthetics, the emphasis in late Ottoman and early Republican Turkey remains firmly on industrial self-sufficiency without any comparable movements of textile or craft-revival.[14]

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[12] Christoph Neumann and Suraiya Faroqhi eds. *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity* (Istanbul: Eren, 2004); Emma Tarlo, *Clothing matters: Dress and Identity in India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

[13] Donald Quataert ed. *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922: An introduction*. (New York: Suny Press, 2000)

In addition, the dissertation highlights the extent of sartorial experimentation and innovation which is seen in later nineteenth century Ottoman and Indian cities. Much existing literature on nineteenth century dress in South Asia has stressed the embedding of colonial power through racialized hierarchies of dress, and the quandaries posed by the association of imperial-Western dress with teleological modernity.[15] Approaches to late Ottoman dress, meanwhile, have tended still to follow contemporary sources in reading change in terms of an essentially bipolar conflict over the adoption of Western *alafranga* styles.[16] These approaches are very much borne out by written works of the period. The denial of any kind of true 'fashion' in the abundant European travelogues and memoirs which dominate the record was foundational for the intractable myth of unchanging Oriental civilization, and generally confirmed by an unthinking blindness to even recent sartorial changes (chapter 2). The same binary oppositions of Westernization vs. tradition and backwardness vs. modernity are also dominantly reflected in Ottoman and Indian writings of the period. Yet this is emphatically not what we find emerging from the visual record and surviving physical examples of nineteenth century dress, which, on the contrary, reveal phases of enormous creative experimentation in male fashion in both contexts. In Ottoman Istanbul, the high period of sartorial creativity falls across the 1830-40s, while in Hyderabad, and many other centers of imperial India, we find it in 1860-80s. While many different factors are in play across the two contexts, it appears that the massive upheaval created by the uprisings of the 1820s and sweeping creative destruction of Mahmud II's reforms may have significantly long-term trends of social and sartorial change in the case of Ottoman Istanbul.

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[14] Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-parti Yönetimi'nin Kurulması (1923-1931)* (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999); Erik Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 195-7.

[15] Partha Chatterjee, "The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question," in *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History* eds. Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990); Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

[16] Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 100.

The instability of style, and the diverse innovation which appears out of it in these moments was partly shaped by the discrediting of established elite fashions, and the aristocratic *nawabs* or *pashas* with which they were associated, amid the existential crises occasioned by rising European power. But it was also shaped by the profusion of globalizing influences, opportunities for mass consumption, and new methods of tailoring and construction which so rapidly proliferated in these years. The fez and *istanbulin/sherwani* style neatly illustrates how people drew on these new possibilities to marry different elements, combining invocation of new kinds of worldly knowledge, lifestyle and political subjectivity with those of more localized authenticity and material preference. As the dominant emphases in elite male costume shifted from displays of wealth, heredity, and material connoisseurship to dress as mirror of the individual man, the decision of what to wear also became a significantly more fraught and difficult process. Imperial-European fashion itself was similarly neither unitary nor restricted to European use, but inflected an array of visual, material and behavioral tropes, many of which blurred across the imperial boundary and were subject to varied interpretation and combination with other forms. Paradoxically, it may have been this very instability and ambiguity around the meanings of dress which informed the disjunct between the polemical discourses around dress and actual fashions. This was a time of rising social mobility, and with established hierarchies and sartorial vocabularies of social status becoming deeply disrupted by new educational, administrative and public spaces. Differences were often cast in highly categorical terms as people sought to establish different kinds of cultural ownership and legitimacy in relation to ongoing change. It is hence no surprise that in both contexts the late nineteenth century was also the heyday of literary satire and social caricature. The varied local evolutions of the fez and *istanbulin/sherwani* style also show far perceptions of coloniality, locality and authenticity manifested in the material as well as aesthetic dimensions of dress and self-fashioning. Beneath their respectably formal exterior, their construction allowed a looseness, lightness and material flexibility appropriate to Ottoman or *mughlai* as well as more Westernized social spaces and reflective of existing sensual preferences, social conventions and climate. Incorporating new textiles, tailoring techniques and machine sewing alongside a range of novel, globally and historically informed inspirations to shape ensembles that were recognizably modern yet distinctive, the fez and *istanbulin/sherwani* thus enabled their wearers to traverse the conflicting demands of rapidly modernizing imperial life with flexibility and comfort.

3) Manliness and Imperialism

Finally, the dissertation shows how far the cultural politics around late nineteenth century imperialism in contexts like Ottoman Turkey and South Asia was vested in asserting ownership in different visions of an increasingly globalized masculine modernity. Cemil Aydin has shown how far intellectual movements of pan-Asianism in this period responded to the exclusionary racial and cultural obstacles placed by Europe on who could imagine themselves a part of a liberal, rationalist world order.[17] The dissertation shows how far this struggle to affirm participation in the male civilized modernity pervaded everyday questions of self-fashioning and consumption. In the twentieth century, the pioneering *Modern Girl Around the World* project has demonstrated how popular visual media such as advertisements, print and early cinema can reveal globally interconnected movements of social change, in this case the spread of a distinctive 'modern girl' fashion image in the 1920-30s. Barlow et al. very effectively highlight how the assertive, stylish consumerism of 'modern girl' fashion went hand in hand with associations of feminine independence and sexual agency that challenged gendered expectations of tradition and nation, even as her precise appearances and politics varied in each setting.[18] The transnational spread of the fez and *sherwani* style poses a similar challenge to late nineteenth century assumptions of cultural Eurocentrism, showing the importance of cross-imperial connections and identifications, and of less tangible visual and symbolic goods in linking them together in new ways, even in the very earliest phases of a nascent transnational print-visual sphere and apogee of European imperialism.

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[17] Aydın, *Anti-Westernism*, 6-7.

Within South Asia, moreover, the visual and material referencing of worldly political engagement through discerning consumption was integral to the realignment of local class structures and articulation of new ideals of urbane, active manliness. Writers like Afsaneh Najmabadi and Mrinalini Sinha have long alerted us to the degree to which re-formation of gender roles and masculinity were bound up with other kinds or classes of men, and with highly specific socio-economic changes in working opportunities, family structure and sexual norms.[19] The strong association of fez and *sherwani* wearers with cities and their emerging social landscape of colleges, offices, railways, restaurants and societies for self-improvement illustrates how projections of cosmopolitan global knowledge were integral to postures of temporal modernity on the one hand, and of critical distance from the effeminizing taint of cultural Anglophilia on the other. Differentiation from the older, more rurally-oriented male social elite was not only asserted through rhetorical criticism of slothful, superstitious *nawabs* and decadent poetry, but a new aesthetics of straight, simple lines and anti-ornament which finds prominence almost simultaneously across emerging print visual media, male fashion and literary production in the 1870-80s, most notably in connection with the fez and *sherwani* style.

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[18] Barlow et al., *Modern Girl*.
[19] Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Sinha, *Masculinity*.

There is an anecdote concerning the introduction of the 'Turkish coat and fez cap' as the uniform of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College (MAOC) in Aligarh in the early 1870s – an important milestone in the spread of the style in South Asia - which illustrates well both the deep sensitivity to issues of dress and color to the outward expression of masculine identity, and the highly specific, relational ways in which changing ideals of manliness were becoming expressed through dress. According to the memoir of Abdul Haq:

> "Principal Beck [the first head of the college] had arranged for drill uniforms to be made out of material that was both colourful and delicate almost to the point of effeminacy. Having to parade and exercise in such coloured sherwanis and flimsy turbans was quite ludicrous… and the matter was diplomatically reported to Sir Syed."

Shortly after, in the inaugural Friday Honorary Lecture at the College, Sir Syed, after

> "holding forth on the role of a University… turned to the sense of identity and equality provided by a uniform and continued as follows: The apparel which is now yours, that is, a Turkish coat and fez cap and English shoes is an elegant dress. It would be desirable if all your coats were of the same dark color. In the court of the Turkish sovereign all nobles

> and attendants also wear shoes and the red fez, and this is the dress we have chosen for you. Even our English Government here has allowed the wearing of boots and shoes in court circles. Only those Englishmen who are short sighted or who are arrogant and lack vision would object to your wearing this dress, because they would like to insult or disgrace Indians…. the loud cheers that greeted these remarks were never to be equaled at any time… the students rushed joyously to their rooms to cut up their multi-coloured drill uniforms and redo them into vests, table cloths or even window curtains."[20].

At first sight the conflict here might seem quite straightforward, comfortably explained by Bernard Cohn and David Cannadine's arguments around the British Empire's deliberate maintenance of a clear sartorial-civilizational divide in costume.[21] However, closer attention reveals many more nuances. The recently established MAOC was an explicitly pro-imperial institution, focused on producing a new generation of Muslim social leaders equipped for modern governmental responsibility and community leadership. Sir Syed himself was seen as a pillar of the establishment, knighted for his reformism and staunch support for British rule. In the case of Beck, David Lelyveld shows him to have otherwise overseen a distinctly Macaulayan regime at the College, encouraging Anglophile interests, sporting ability and gentlemanly 'character' among the students.[22] The students' own objections, meanwhile, were not limited to the 'flimsy' uniforms, but the militaristic drill exercises, which were felt to be pointless, demeaning and often beneath their social station. Clearly, the flashpoint of color partly speaks to the associations of dark shades with emerging ideals of manly, intellectual serious and its deliberate mobilization by the British more widely as a marker of civilizational difference. Sir Syed's speech puts forward a common preference for 'dark' yet 'elegant' clothing and practical shoes as a sign of cultured equivalence between reformist Indian and British elites. Within the context of 1870s India, however, male use of ornamentation and color was deeply entangled with ongoing tensions over the definition of elite social identity among social and religious reformists, established, rural and new professionalizing urban elites, different regional centers, and all stripes of political opinion.[23] In particular, it referenced a growing cultural divide between increasingly serious, politically engaged postures of public figures within British India and the more regal, luxuriant aesthetics of the semi-autonomous 'princely states' – generally decried by the former as decadent, effeminate and backward.[24] In this case, the infatuation with the 'feudal' magnificence of princely states like Hyderabad betrayed by Beck in his own memoirs suggests his insistence on color and drill was motivated less by a conscious desire to emasculate the college's students, than to reproduce the classist ideals of old-world aristocracy he saw in it.[25]

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[20] Syed Tanvir Wasti, "Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the Turks." *Middle Eastern Studies* 46, no. 4 (2010): 531.

[21] David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London: Penguin Press, 2001), 43; Bernand Cohn, "Representing Authority in Victorian India", in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012 [1983]).

[22] David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 227.

On the other hand, the centrality of sober dress to Sir Syed's, and the more general Aligarhite, assertion of cultural difference from princely manhood can be seen in a subsequent incident in which his planned audience with the College's biggest donor, the Nizam of Hyderabad, had to be cancelled when he adamantly refused to put on Hyderabadi court dress in place of his habitual 'Turkish coat and fez cap'.[26] From the other perspective, as chapter four documents, Hyderabad itself saw a movement in the 1880s to reclaim tradition male aesthetics including the use of luxury fabrics and color as a marker of local identity and differentiation from not only British imperial fashion, but the claims to all-India cultural and political leadership increasingly put forward by Aligarhite and other reformers.

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[23] For changing ideas of *ashrafi* and other kinds of urban class identity in this period see Margrit Pernau, *Ashraf into Middle Classes: Muslims in Nineteenth-century Delhi* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[24] The MAOC's position was particularly conflicted as it was substantially funded and populated by the sons of princely and other established noble families, even as many of its leading figures sought to disassociate themselves from princely aesthetics and lifestyles.

[25] David Cannadine elaborates on this general tendency, *Ornamentalism*, 122-3.

[26] Server ul-Mulk, *Karnama-e Serveri, Sawanih Khud-Nawast* (Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University Press, 1933 [1898]), 197.

At the same time, Abdul Haq's anecdote points toward the limitations of overarching paradigms of religious revival or, at the international level, pan-Islam, in understanding changing forms of male identification in the late nineteenth century period. The dissertation shows how nineteenth century movements of orthodox piety and revivalism were of critical importance to the realignment of elite male aesthetics and social values in both the Ottoman Empire and South Asia. Indeed, it shows how the rising influence of Naqshbandi critiques of luxury consumption, courtly display, and personal morality in the late eighteenth century in both contexts drove a growing emphasis on serious, moralistic manliness which closely paralleled the contemporaneous 'great masculine renunciation' in European fashion. However, by taking patterns of dress and consumption as its point of departure, rather than a particular community, class or figure, it also shows how ideas of personal religious or spiritual affiliation found expression in enormously varied forms, and in constant combination with other kinds of personal, social and intellectual identification. We see in the anecdote above how Ottoman leaders were a key reference point for reformers like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. But the Ottoman sultan is invoked here not as the fount of spiritual or caliphal authority, but a non-European exemplar of modernizing male gentility that legitimizes Sir Syed's own claims to civilized equivalence.[27] Adoption of the fez and *istanbulin/sherwani* style among many Jews, Christians,

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[27] Sir Syed was in fact noted for his firm opposition to the principles of pan-Islam proper, that is of the Ottoman sultan as Caliph with symbolic and spiritual authority over the world's Muslims. Wasti, "Sir Syed", 133.

Hindus and varied other sects, moreover, illustrates how in practice sartorial claims to participation in a cosmopolitan global modernity could easily cut across communal lines.

Sources and Methods

The dissertation's findings are based on two years of fieldwork conducted in archives, museums and library collections in India, Turkey and the UK, and further ongoing work with published sources and digital collections besides. In Turkey my main field sites were the official Başbakanlık Ottoman Archives, along with the Boğaziçi University, Koç ANAMED and SALT Research libraries. In the UK, I mostly worked in the British Library, especially with the India Office collections of Photography, Prints, Drawings and Paintings, and late nineteenth century vernacular print materials, along with the V&A Museum's collections of historical costume and prints and drawings. India accounted for by far the longest and most challenging portion of my fieldwork in terms of locating and accessing materials, but also most rewarding in terms of what I was able to find. My time there was overwhelmingly spent in Hyderabad, including particularly the Salar Jung Museum, Telangana State Archives, and Chowmahalla Palace, along with numerous other smaller libraries and private collections of costume, early photography and late nineteenth century lithographed print. Beyond Hyderabad I was also able to utilize the National Museum's costume collection and historical photography at the Indira Gandhi National Center for the Arts in Delhi, and the archives and Maulana Kalam Azad Library at Aligarh Muslim University.

Methodologically, the dissertation research reflects an interdisciplinary approach that draws on sources and analytical approaches from across history, costume studies, art history and literary analysis. Focusing on patterns of sartorial and print consumption was envisaged as a way of combining deep, microhistorical understanding of localized social change with attention to much wider global shifts of transnational connectivity, material production, and new forms of worldly knowledge and self-visualization. It also represents a deliberate departure from the tendency of intellectual histories to cohere around textual canons of select individuals or communities, allowing for the emergence of common patterns of self-fashioning which cut across established communal or class paradigms in unexpected ways, both transnationally and within the key contexts of the study. Heavy use of relevant textual materials remains present, particularly contemporary memoirs and literary works which are able to shed light on the kinds of associations and tensions which cohered around particular kinds of dress and appearance, especially in chapter one. However, the study also seeks to follow the example of medieval and early modern historians like Philip Wagoner and Finbarr Flood, whose work shows how close study of individual objects and visual desiderata can reveal wide histories of transnational interaction, social practice and material culture.[28] Applying such highly focused visual and material analysis to the transnational movement and evolution of the fez and *istanbulin/sherwani* style was intended to yield a similarly unconventional picture of long-distance connectivity and the social uses of consumption in the modern period.

The main sources drawn on for this approach are collections of popular photographic studio portraiture, late 19th century lithographed print works and newspapers, memoirs, and physical specimens of surviving dress. Over the course of my fieldwork, I was able to build up a digitized collection of some thousands of historical images documenting changing appearances across South Asia and the central Ottoman domains, mostly comprising individual and groups portraits and street scenes. This was the main source for documenting evolutions in style and consumption, including the appearance of many new kinds of imported finished goods, fabrics and accessories and for identifying the chronology and path of the fez and *istanbulin/sherwani*'s appearance and spread within India. Parallel study of the appearance and early spread of news illustrations, lithographed portraits of foreign leaders and cities scenes, advertisements, and other new visual media in early Urdu print, especially of Ottoman subjects, along with the excitable print debates which often surrounded them provided the foundation for analysing the impact of rapidly expanding visual consumption. At the same time, study of historical examples of physical costume from India and Europe helped to flesh out understandings of the different cuts and construction of various garments, their evolution, and material characteristics of weight, texture and fall. The much deeper appreciation of the physical characteristics of use associated with these garments that this allowed was critical to the development of arguments concerning the practical characteristics of the *sherwani* relative to other garments in chapter four. For the first chapter I also drew heavily on royal edicts and other archival documentation, and rarely used early nineteenth century annals and memoirs by the likes of Hafız Ilyas Agha and Abdülhak Molla to illuminate changing official attitudes towards dress and social order within Ottoman government.

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[28] Finbarr Flood, *Objects of translation: Material culture and medieval "Hindu-Muslim" encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); Phillip Wagoner, "Sultan among Hindu Kings": Dress, titles, and the Islamicization of Hindu culture at Vijayanagara," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 4 (1996): 851-880.

Summary of Chapters

The body of the dissertation is envisaged not as a single linear narrative broken up into sections, but as a series of four interconnected essays, each motivated by their own internal arguments. Together they document development and spread of the fez and *istanbulin/sherwani* style, while generating a collective set of arguments about how ideas around dress, image, manliness and internationalism were changing in these contexts over the course of the nineteenth century. The first chapter shows how dress became a deeply symbolic, politically-charged field of contestation in early nineteenth century Istanbul as janissaries, reformist officials and *ulema* and other social forces fought to control the path of Ottoman administrative, military and social reinvention. Organized around a close critical analysis of the seminal 1829 edict on dress reform, it shows how Mahmud II and other key leaders sought to use forcible changes to dress and consumption habits to remake the body politic in modernized, martial form following the violent destruction of the janissaries in 1826. In contrast to the existing literature built up around this moment, which has seen it as a moment of summary Westernization, the chapter shows how the edict's essential concerns with overconsumption and social disorder reflected long-held political concerns stretching back well into the eighteenth century. The idealized image of martial pious manliness and abnegation of luxury which emerge from this moment, moreover, were less reflective of European influence than rising movements of Naqshbandi religious moralism and neo-Ibn Khaldunian thought in the Ottoman capital.

The second chapter focuses squarely on the origins and emergence of the fez and *istanbulin* style in 1830s Istanbul. It shows how, far from having been any kind of sultanic invention or prefab import of European forms, the early style displayed strong aesthetic and material consistencies with late eighteenth and early nineteenth century fashion trends. The chapter documents its appearance in close association with the new generation of serious, technocratic officials in the reformed *mülkiye* civil administration who ultimately fill much of the political and symbolic vacuum left by the upheavals of the 1820s. At the same time the style evolved to aesthetically and materially embody key elements of emerging ideals of urbane '*efendi'* gentility that would define mid-century Istanbulite elites, in ways which diverged in key ways from both contemporary movements of European fashion and sultanic dress.

With the third and fourth chapters the focus shifts to South Asia. The third chapter follows the explosive expansion of an illustrated Urdu print sphere of newspapers and cheap chapbooks in 1870-80s India, showing how the sensational, vividly-illustrated coverage of the 1877-8 Russo-Turkish War drove a surge in consumption of Ottoman-themed books and dress in South Asian cities. Showing how the proliferation of new visual and news media generated a Turkophilia in many Indian cities which was closely reflected in the appearance of Otttoman-influenced patterns of self-fashioning at this time, it highlights how expanding vernacular print-visual spheres intersected closely with ongoing transformations of lifestyle, status-identification and urban space.

The final chapter places those wider South Asian developments in a specific regional context by following the development of the distinctively Hyderabadi dress style of *sherwani* and *rumi topi* in the last decades of the nineteenth century. While these garments and the style which developed around them were heavily influenced by the Ottoman *istanbulin* and fez, this chapter shows how they were also adapted to local tastes, textures and lifestyles, as well as the contingencies of negotiating imperialism in a 'princely state,' and the particular social politics which accompanied Hyderabad city's rapid late 19th century development. By the end of the century the *sherwani* and *rumi topi* style had become one of the defining emblems of a revitalized Hyderabadi 'Deccani' regional identity. Not only had it become closely tied to local fabrics, craft revivalism and a buy-local consumer movement, but, in its uniform adoption across communal boundaries, it was championed as a defining symbol of the culture of communal harmony particular to the historical Deccan, in which Hindus and Muslims could not be distinguished by their appearance.

Figures for Introduction

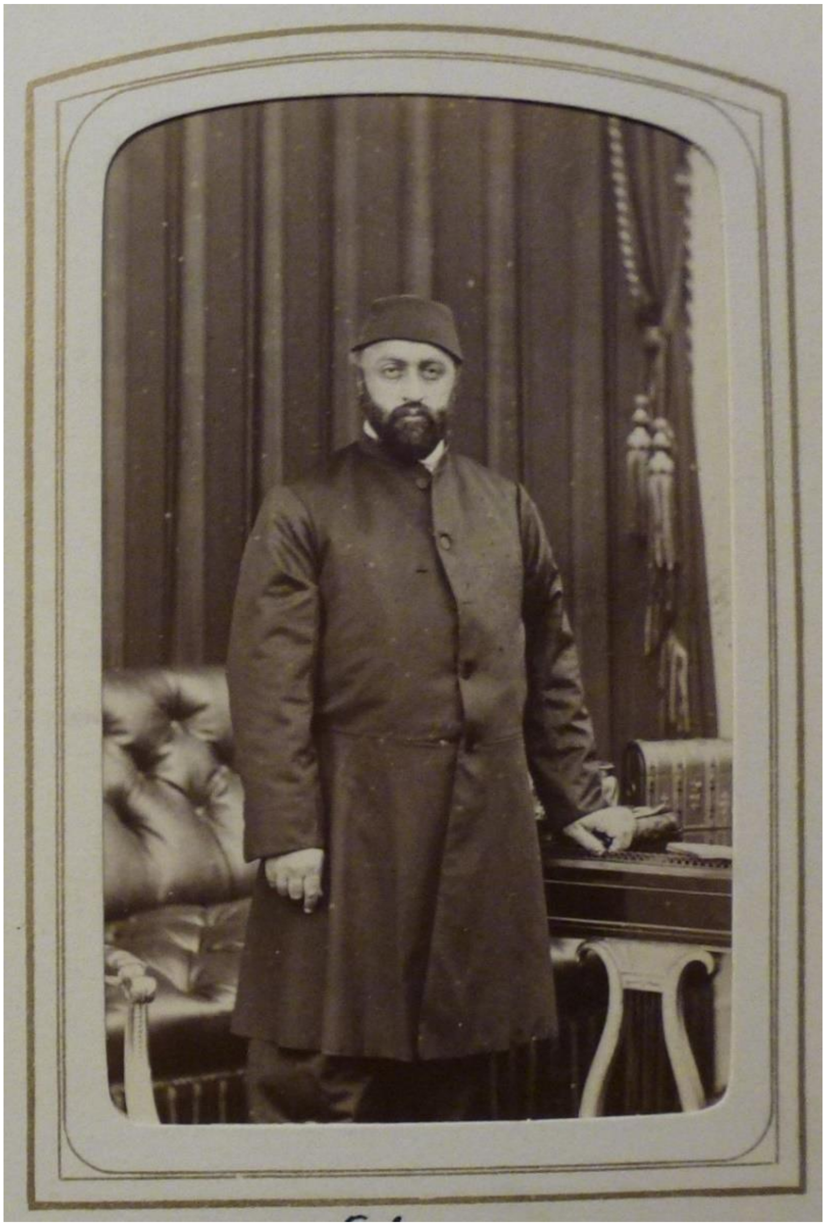

Figure 1: *Sultan Abdul Aziz,* W & D Downey, Albumen print, 8.1 x 5.3 cm, 1868, Royal Collection.

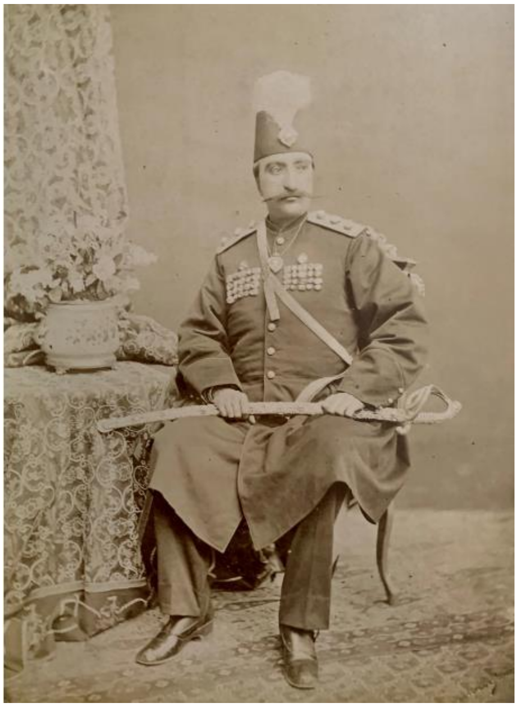

Figure 2: *Naser al-Din Shah Qajar*, Dmitri Ivanovich Ermakov, albumen print, late nineteenth century, the Nelson Collection of Qajar Photography.

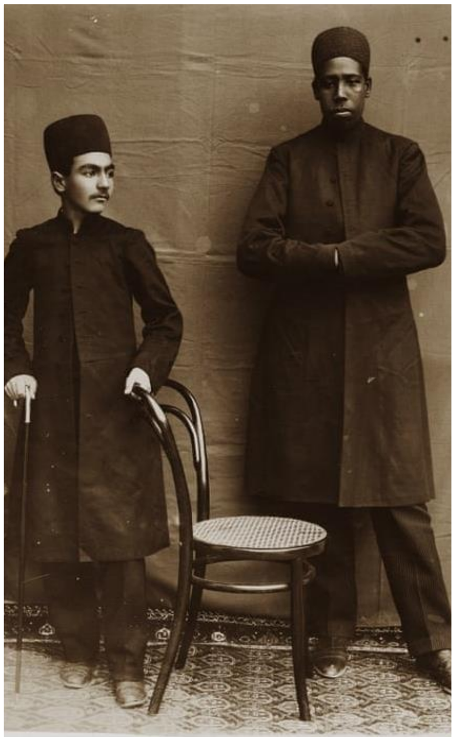

Figure 3: Studio portrait,1880s Isfahan, Institute of Iranian Contemporary Historical Studies.

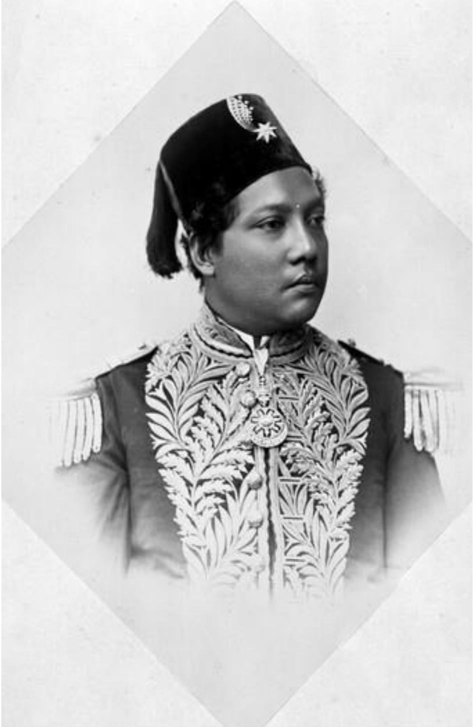

Figure 4: The Sultan of Siak, photograph, 1890, Dutch National Museum. The jacket here closely imitates the dress uniform of contemporary Ottoman pashas.

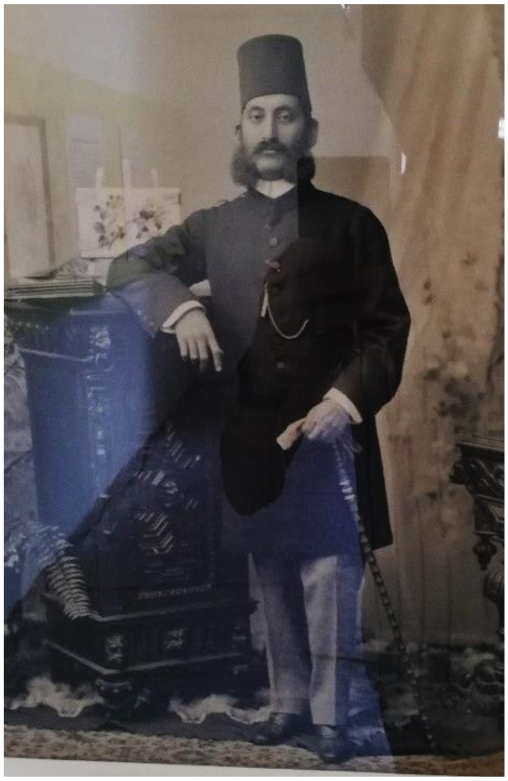

Figure 5: The sixth Nizam Mahbub Ali Khan, photograph, 1889, courtesy of the Chowmahalla Palace Collection.

Chapter 1

Fashioning a Moral Order: Sartorial Reform as Ottoman Social Project and the 1829 Edict on Dress

In approaching mid-nineteenth century changes in fashion, social etiquette and aesthetics in the Ottoman Empire and Istanbul, it is impossible not to engage the impact of Mahmud II's seminal 1829 dress reform edict, which looms so large in both the historical record and subsequent historiography of the period. One of the most widely remembered events of Mahmud's reign (1808-39), along with the 1826 destruction of the janissaries, the abolition of traditional costumes of government it mandated marked a decisive symbolic break with the old order of Ottoman rule.[1] Promulgated in conjunction with wider ongoing reforms of military organization, ceremonial practice and administrative organization, the new official dress styles offered a tangible, highly visual metaphor for enlightened, modernizing rule that was seized upon by both contemporary European writers and early historians of the period.[2] Subsequently the 1829 law became well-established as one of the great staging posts in the classic narrative of nineteenth century Ottoman modernization and engagement with the West.[3] Duly referenced in almost every general history and introductory textbook on Middle East and Ottoman history, it remains a powerful a shorthand symbol for the radical reformism and Europhile tastes seen as characterizing Mahmud II personally and his government as a whole after 1826.[4] Bernard Lewis, whose early engagement with Mahmud's sartorial reforms in *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* did much to cement their prominence in the historical imagination, saw them as an impulse of decisive, if superficial, Westernization, writing that "it is a measure of the impact of European power and prestige on Selim III and Mahmud II that they should once again have attempted to breach the defences of sartorial conservatism."[5] While Lewis' framework of civilizational conflict and Western imitation has since been thoroughly challenged, the seductive symmetry of 'the century of the fez' he puts forward, spanning from Mahmud's reforms to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's own 'hat law' banning the fez in 1925, has proved highly durable, generating a strong historical twinning of these two figures and their respective clothing laws that has continued to decisively shape perceptions of the 1829 reforms.[6] Ideas about the 1829 law have been further influenced by Donald Quataert, who in his seminal article "Clothing Laws, State and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829", described it as "a quite radical measure…to eliminate clothing distinctions that long had separated the official from the subject classes and the various Ottoman religious communities from one another." Rather than Westernization, Quataert asserted the significance of new costumes as a proto-constitutionalist measure towards social equality and a common Ottomanist identity which "anticipated by a full decade the Tanzimat (1839-76) commitment to the formal equality of all before the law."[7]

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[1] Donald Quataert, for instance, describes the 1829 law as one "whose drama actually matches that of the destruction of the Janissaries", "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720–1829," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29, no. 3 (1997): 412.

[2] James De Kay, *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832 by an American* (New York: J & J Harper, 1833), 227; Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968 [1960]), 101-2; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Life of the Right Honourable Stratford Canning…From his Memoirs and Private and Official Papers*, Vol. II, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1888), 73; Ahmed Lutfi Efendi, *Vak'anüvis Ahmed Lütfi Efendi Tarihi* (Istanbul Tarih Vakfı-Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), II-III, 425, 509-512; Julia Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan; and the Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836*, vol. I (London: Henry Colburn, 1837), 6-7.

[3] Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (London: Hurst and Co., 1998 [1964]), 123-4; Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968 [1960]), 101-2.

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[4] William Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *History of the Modern Middle East* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2009), 78-9; Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream, The History of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 442.

[5] Lewis, *Emergence*, 100. His interpretation draws strongly on the account of Adolphus Slade, who opined that "In [Mahmud II's] ideas, the Oriental usages in eating, dressing, &c. were connected with the Janizzaries, had been invented by them, and therefore he proscribed them, prescribing new modes. He changed the costume of his court from Asiatic to European", *Records of travels in Turkey, Greece, etc. : and of a cruise in the Black Sea with the Capitan Pacha in the years 1829, 1830, and 1831* (Philadelphia: E.L.Carey & A. Hart, 1833), 140.

[6] Finkel, *Dream*, 442; Eric Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: IB Taurus, 2004), 173.

[7] Quataert, "Clothing Laws", 404-405.

While these and other analyses have tended to read the importance of Mahmud's clothing reform retrospectively in terms of later nineteenth questions of communal tension and *Ala Franca* lifestyles, however, the contents and language of the edict itself reflect a very different set of socio-political tensions and preoccupations. Its repeated injunctions against waste and luxury fashion, and the restrained character of the new costumes themselves closely echo worries about overconsumption, social dissipation and economic drain found across learned writings and sultanic edicts of Selim III's reign (1789-1807).[8] Insofar as the edict seeks to reign in imports of luxury goods, particularly from India, reduce retinues, reassert centralized sultanic control over status markers, and return a semblance of ordered harmony to the capital, it can in fact be seen as a final realization of long-held goals of socio-economic re-ordering in the post-janissary moment. Clothing legislation continues to be understood as a key means of representing and producing the desired governmental, social and moral order, and the new costumes listed out still retain earlier principles of embedding hierarchy in the color, appearance, and material qualities of clothing. In other ways, however, it breaks with the traditional image and ideals of Ottoman socio-governmental organization more radically than any document of the 1790-1820 period.

Promulgated at a time of acute ongoing crises engendered by the Greek uprising and secession in the Morea (1821-26), disastrous war with Russia (1827-8) and continuing rivalry with Mehmed Ali Pasha of Egypt, the aspirations of the 1829 edict go far beyond an aesthetic statement, seeking to comprehensively reform and reimagine the governmental and social elite of Istanbul itself. Far from European or proto-constitutionalist principles, the intellectual framework and particular vision of societal renewal presented by the document are strongly shaped by currents of Naqshbandi morality and neo-Khaldunian ideas of quasi-messianic martial renewal that gained strong currency in the capital through the turn of the nineteenth century and emerged ascendent amid the acute military and domestic crises the 1820s.[9] While the development of a new, modernized army was prioritized by state leadership, the 1829 edict illustrates how military reform was not approached in isolation, but conceived as part of a much wider project of militaristic social reform which sought to propagate a machinistic, disciplined dedication to *din u devlet* [religion and state] through wider society through enforced changes of dress, space and lifestyle. By doing away with ceremonial pomp and the courtly social culture of ostentatious display, the new costumes formed the centerpiece of a project to remake Ottoman bureaucrats and bureaucracy into an industrious, dedicated collective, unified by shared Islamic-Khaldunian patriotic fervor and pious, simple lifestyle. At the same time, by transfering the burden of official differentiation away from the easily-imitated older luxury costumes to a limited range of new official medallions and insignia, Ottoman leaders sought to decisively reassert state control over the markers of social status.

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[8] An overview of these preoccupations in Selim's reign can be found in Betül Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 83; Marinos Sariyannis & Ekin Atiyas, *A History of Ottoman Political Thought up to the Early Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 373-4.

Such an ambitious state project of masculine social renewal calls into question not only the linear parallels made between the 1829 edict and later Tanzimat and early Republican laws governing dress and citizenship, but also the wider tendency to approach the 1826-39 era and the fashions and social patterns which emerged out of it as the result of an essentially bi-polar encounter of hegemonic European and defensive Ottoman or Islamic culture. Recent revisionist histories of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century empire by the likes of Christine Philliou and Ali Yaycioglu have highlighted the internal dynamism and inter-regional and factional influences within the empire.[10] The latter has also persuasively argued for considering Ottoman experiences in that era as part of a much wider late 18th century ‘age of revolution’.[11] The ideas and debates that emerged around post-janissary measures for clothing reform similarly suggest the need to view them within a much wider trans-continental canvas of aesthetic and intellectual change. As well as the continued prominence of South Asian commodities in Ottoman fashion and political thought, the growing sway of moralistic Naqshbandi-influenced critiques of luxury, inequality and courtly culture illustrates the enduring strength of Ottoman intellectual and material connections with developments across the wider Middle East and Central and South Asia. Indeed, the politicization of consumption and gaudy conspicuous display glimpsed in this document finds striking parallels not only in post-regency Britain but also several early nineteenth century South Asian courts.[12] Within the Ottoman context this suggests the need to see emerging ideas of *efendi* gentility and restraint in male dress that take shape in 1830-40s not as just aping developments in European masculine aesthetics and culture, but having their own much longer roots in the popular fashions and internal social politics of Istanbul and the wider empire which form the focus of chapter 2.

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[9] Buṭrus Abu-Manneh, *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century, 1826-1876* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2001), 9.

First, in order to gain a deep understanding of how dress reform was being thought about and enacted from the perspective of the Ottoman state and governmental elite in Istanbul in the early nineteenth century this chapter is organized around a close textual analysis and contextualization of the 1829 edict on dress itself. It proceeds by first giving a brief background and translation of the document itself. The first of two main sections of the chapter then explores the key intellectual themes that appear in the document's prologue, closely contextualized within the intense and ongoing attention to sartorial reform seen in governmental debates of the 1790s and early 1800s. The second then analyzes the material and aesthetic qualities and politics operating through the new costumes themselves.

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[10] Christine Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Ali Yaycioglu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).
[11] Yaycioglu, *Partners*, 1.
[12] Margrit Pernau, *Ashraf into Middle Classes: Muslims in Nineteenth-century Delhi* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 53. For a detailed analysis of similar trends in the specific context of Hyderabad see chapter 4.

Political Context

The prominent reforms to military and official dress promulgated over the years 1827-9 formed part of a major reorganization and reconceptualization of the Ottoman military and administration which followed the destruction of the janissaries in 1826. Recurring problems of military ineffectiveness and fiscal and administrative difficulty had seen a wide range of proposals for reform variously proposed and initiated by statesmen since at least the later eighteenth century, most notably Selim III's *Nizam-ı Cedid* [New Order] program of 1789-1807.[13] However, the janissaries' deep suspicion of changes to state and military organization, and their ability to mobilize large movements of popular opposition in the capital allowed them very effectively to oppose measures they saw as threatening. Janissary interventionism had reached a high pitch in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Violent insurrections in 1807 and 1808 forced the end of the *Nizam-ı Cedid* initiative and deposition and death of both Selim III and Alemdar Mustafa Pasha, while in 1821 the unprecedented participation of janissary *ustas* was forced on the imperial council itself.[14] The final conflict of 1826 culminating in their brutal repression and dissolution – known to Ottoman annals as the *Vaka-ı Hayriye* [auspicious event] -

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[13] For a detailed account of the *Nizam-ı Cedid* era see Yaycioglu, *Partners*. For the intellectual underpinnings of Sariyannis & Atiyas, *Ottoman Political Thought.*

[14] H. Şükrü Ilicak, "The Greek War of Independence and the Demise of the Janissary Complex: A New Interpretation of the 'Auspicious Incident'", *Political Thought and Practice in the Ottoman Empire*, Halcyon Days in Crete IX (2019), 486.

was again triggered by a rebellion over proposed miliary reform.[15] Throughout this period the janissaries showed themselves acutely sensitive to changes in military and official dress and ceremonial protocol, with the denunciation of new-style uniforms as foreign or infidel dress forming a major part of their political rhetoric.[16] This position was often held up by contemporary Ottoman chroniclers and European observers, as well as many twentieth century historians, as confirmation of an innately ignorant and obstructive conservatism.[17] Yet the janissaries had good reasons for being protective of the formal appearances of tradition. Their privileged place in Ottoman society was historically premised on a close and direct relation to the figure of the sultan, drawing on long-established patrimonial and embodied ideas of state and social order, enshrined in myriad formal observances of palace space, ceremony and dress.[18] Moreover, as a large and diffuse corporatist organization with close links to craft guilds and many other lower urban strata, as well as key political factions, they saw themselves as rightful protectors of popular rights and interests versus an overweening state.[19] They also had substantial economic interests of their own, including in the trade and production of textiles, foodstuffs and other commodities.[20] Dress was thus an issue at once highly symbolic, but also tying together several key threads of janissary collective identity, interests and tension with the state.

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[15] Mehmet Mert Sunar, "Cauldron of Dissent: A Study of the Janissary Corps in 1807-1826" (PhD Diss., Binghampton University, 2006), 200.

[16] Hakan Karateke, *Padişahım Çok Yaşa! Osmanlı Devletinin Son Yüzyılında Merasimler* (Istanbul: Iş Bankası Yayınları, 2015), 4; Sunar, "Cauldron", 146; Ali Yaycıoğlu, "Guarding Traditions and Laws—Disciplining Bodies and Souls: Tradition, Science, and Religion in the Age of Ottoman Reform," *Modern Asian Studies* 52, no. 5 (2018): 1560.

[17] Anonymous, *Koca Sekbanbaşı Risalesi* (Istanbul: Büyüyen Ay Yaynları, 2017 [1803]), 114-115; Lutfi, *Lütfi Tarihi*, I, 99; Lewis, *Emergence*, 101; Charles Macfarlane, *Constantinople in 1828* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1829), 19.

[18] Karateke, *Padişahım*, 65; 93; Metin Kunt, "Sultan, Dynasty and State in the Ottoman Empire." *The Medieval History Journal* 6, no.2 (2003): 227-8.

[19] Philliou, B*iography*, 72-3; Sunar, "Cauldron", 21-2; Yaycioglu, *Partners*, 62.

[20] Yaycıoğlu, "Guarding Traditions", 1549-50; Lutfi, *Lutfi Tarihi*, I, 190.

From the state perspective, or at least among proponents of *Nizam-ı Cedid*, official and public dress was also inescapably bound up with ideas of order and legitimacy, as well as pressing practical questions of economy, control and supply of textiles, and military efficacy. From at least the fifteenth century, extensive sumptuary regulations demarcating the boundaries [*hadd*] of different classes of society were established as a key manifestation of idealized Ottoman world order [*nizam-ı alem*] in classic philosophies of statecraft, with the maintenance of such proper order amongst the foremost duties of enlightened sultanic rule.[21] While the actual markers and boundaries of social difference appear to have evolved considerably over time, the essential principle of publicly demarcating classes through the color and quality of their costume retained strong rhetorical currency, at the least, right up to the earlier nineteenth century.[22] The distinctions themselves variously emphasized both strongly hierarchical divisions between the classical *askeri* governmental elite (including the janissaries) and *reaya* population, or between different classes of official, and horizontally between different confessional and professional communities.[23] Although over the longer term it is questionable how consistently sartorial laws were really observed in practice, several historians note a markedly rising preoccupation with them in the eighteenth century as sultans became increasingly domestic in their focus, with their authority increasingly tied to social stability rather than conquest.[24] Tülay Artan points out how this shift also went hand in hand with a renewed emphasis on the history of the Ottoman dynasty itself and the visual and material evocation of the sixteenth century ‘golden age’ order in royal iconography, of which classical ideals of sartorial and social order were key signs.[25] It may be that the increasingly enraged and vindictive tone that characterize many late eighteenth and early nineteenth century royal *hatt* on public dress were not only a reflection of dedication to sartorial tradition, but also successive sultans’ growing frustration at having their legitimacy tied to a system of public fashion over which they had little real control or political means of doing away with.[26]

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[21] Gottfried Hagen, "World Order and Legitimacy" in Hakan Karateke & Maurus Reinkowski, eds. *Legitimizing the Order: Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power* (Leiden: Brill, 2005): 55-83; Sariyannis & Atiyas, *Ottoman Political Thought*, 447-9.

[22] Ahmet Refik, *Onuncu asr-ı İstanbul Hayatı (1495-1591)*, 72-3,77-8, (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988); *Onbirinci Asr-ı Hicride İstanbul Hayatı (1592-1688)* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988), 28, 52; *On Üçüncü Asr-ı Hicride İstanbul Hayatı (1786-1882)* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988), 9; Quataert, "Clothing Laws", 410.

[23] The strength of association between official classes and dress can be seen in use of costume to refer to them, for instance the use of *elbise-i divaniyye* for men of the divan and destar-i adi for others/commoners in the 1801 order BOA, HH 15693.

[24] Quataert, "Clothing", 411; Başaran, *Selim III, 4*.

After many decades of tense, factional political struggle, the comprehensive victory of the sultan and supporters of military-governmental reform over janissaries and other opposition in 1826 appeared to open up a unique field for the dynamic alteration of Ottoman state and society, in which reforms of dress and tradition were immediately prominent. Changes first appeared in the royal household and military spheres. The rapid abandonment of the Topkapı Sarayı royal palace, and with it many of the rhythms, ceremonies, symbols and institutions of the classical empire marked a sharp break with the old order, while contemporaries noted an immediate, enthusiastic experimentation in sultanic dress and image.[27] The creation of a new, modern military was made imperative by ongoing threats of regional unrest and Russian invasion and the recent abolition of the empire’s core troops, but was also closely tied to issues of imperial image, prestige and politics. This importance was underlined by the close personal participation of Mahmud II in the organization, design and even drill of the new troops.[28] Changes to the arrangement and appearance of the sultan's retinue over 1826-8, including the formation of a nascent special corps [*piyade/süvari-i hassa*] out of the palace *enderun,* and the *rikab hademesi*, a new select retinue of young officer-attendants to the sultan, drew strongly on the new military aesthetics and preoccupation.[29] Though the first sets of reformed army uniforms closely resembled those of earlier *Nizam-ı Cedid* troops, these were swiftly superseded by fresh designs laid out in successive 1827-1828 *kanuname* establishing the new *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyye* [Victorious Soldiers of Muhammad] troops, which drew on the more fitted and practical uniforms of European and especially Mehmed Ali's reformed Egyptian troops as a model.[30] In 1827 a tall, blue-tasselled form of plain fez was further adopted as the new army's headgear and began to be distributed in early 1828.[31] Documents and discussions surrounding these changes make clear that questions of economy, procurement and production were paramount in the design of new uniforms.[32] While the destruction of the janissaries had created major disruption of existing supply networks, the government sought to centralize and establish domestic, state-controlled production to the greatest extent possible, most prominently in the establishment of a fez *naziri* [minister] and establishment of the famous *feshane* factory in

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[25] Tülay Artan. "Royal Weddings And The Grand Vezirate: Institutional And Symbolic Change In The Early Eighteenth Century." in *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires*, Ed. Kunt et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 345-46; 353.

[26] For example BOA, HH, 13663 of 18.8.1792: “every instance of wearing clothes reserved for the genteel such as shawls, floral patterns and fur that I see I will have executed. Even you will not be able to answer!”; BOA.HH.8450 of 9.9.1790; see also Madeline Zilfi. *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire: The Design of Difference* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 91.

[27] Karateke, *Padişahım*, 4; Lutfi, *Lutfi Tarihi*, 109; 112; Macfarlane, *Constantinople*, I, 500-503.

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[28] Lutfi, *Lutfi Tarihi*, I, 109; 140-41; Macfarlane, *Constantinople*, I, 505; Gültekin Yıldız, "A Sultan in Uniform: Mahmud II," in *II. Mahmud: Yendiden Yapilma Sürecinde İstanbul*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz. (Istanbul: Istanbul 2010 Avrupa Kultur Baskenti Ajansi, 2010), 109.

[29] Hafız Hızır Ilyas Agha, *Osmanlı Sarayında Gündelik Hayat: Letaif-i Vekayi-i Enderuniyye* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2011), 414, 475; Karateke, *Padişahım*, 5; Tayyar-Zade Ata, *Osmanlı Saray Tarihi*: *Tarih-i Enderun* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2010), III, 150-1.

[30] Yüksel Çelik, *Şeyhü'l-Vüzeaâ Koca Hüsrev Paşa: II. Mahmud Devri'nin Perde Arkası* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2013), 306-311; Mübalat Kütükoğlu, "Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyye Kıyafeti Malzemesinin Temini Meselesi" in *Dilbilim Dergisi - Doğumunun 100. Yılında Atatürk'e Armağan*, VI (1981), 536; Gültekin Yıldız, *Neferin Adı Yok: Zorunlu Askerliğe Geçiş Sürecinde Osmanlı Devleti'nde Siyaset, Ordu ve Toplum, 1826-1839* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2009), 382.

[31] Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Asakir-i Mansureye Fes Giydirilmesi Hakkında Sadrazam Takriri ve II. Mahmut'un Hatt-ı Hümayunu", *Belleten*, XVIII/70 (1954), 224-6; Yıldız, *Neferin*, 384.

[32]; Kütükoğlu, "Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyye", 544-595; Uzunçarşılı, "Fes Giydirilmesi", 230.

Eyüp.[33] The mixed success of these ventures and continuing issues of procurement and military practicality, however, saw continued piecemeal alterations to military dress persist well into the 1830s.[34]

The immediate context for the 1829 order was provided by the royal household's relocation out of Istanbul to the Rami Kışlası barracks in Eyüp on 15th September 1828, following the outbreak of war with Russia. The move was intended to be highly symbolic, with Mahmud II mirroring earlier Ottoman traditions of sultans-in-the-field by taking with him the holy standard [*sancak-ı şerif*] and often deploying a tented royal encampment in his frequent touring of the immediate region during 1828-30.[35] The move commenced with a grand public procession of sultan, officials and reformed retinue out of the city, showcasing not only new military attire but also novel travelling clothes [*esvab-ı seferiye*] for the viziers and senior officials who wore fine shawls wrapped around *şubara* caps, scarlet cloaks [*al kaput*], Quran-purses [*en'am-ı şerif kisesi*] and swords in place of their usual dress.[36] While two eyewitness sources, Hafız Ilyas Agha and Abdülhak Molla, both emphasize the positive public response to the spectacle (though they would hardly say otherwise), the former also notes the *enderun* staff's discontent with the uniformity of their plain new *minten* jackets and their subsequent relegation to the fringes of the first Friday *selamlık* ceremony at Rami.[37] The nizamname itself was officially promulgated some months later as part of the annual announcement of appointments

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[33] Philliou, *Biography*, 110; Kütükoğlu, "Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyye", 571-590.

[34] Çelik, *Hüsrev Paşa*, 110-12; BOA, HH, 1582 of 21.6.1830; HH.1582.4 of 21.6.1830; A..{DVNS.BUY.ILM.d.00002, p126-7.

[35] Karateke, *Padişahım*, 165; Lutfi, *Lutfi Tarihi*, II, 342.

[36] Ata, *Tarih-i Enderun* 152; Abdüllhak Molla states that even the ulema wore cloaks and swords along with a kavuk known as a *gicelik*, and that the sultan additinally wore a rich sable fur and jeweled aigrette. *Tarih-i Liva* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2013), 5. It is also widely noted that the retinue wore their swords naked, without sheathes.

[37] Ilyas Agha, *Letaif-i Vekayi-i Enderuniyye*, 483-5; Abdüllhak Molla, *Tarih-i Liva*, 5.

[*tevcihat*] at the end of Ramazan in 1244 (April 1829), with the new design and hierarchy of dress it mandated already first appearing at the annual *hırka-ı şerif* ceremony on March 30th 1829, followed closely by the Id celebrations of 4th April at Rami, and then much more publicly at the Kurban Bayram celebrations of June 12th 1829 held in Büyükdere.[38] Ilyas Agha records that in advance of the order in Ramazan 1244 the *silahdar* was dispatched to the Topkapı Sarayı to announce the elimination of the traditional palace dress and headgears, forcibly implement new styles and marking the effective end and final dissolution of the classical Ottoman palace order based around ceremonially formalized patrimonial ties and the *enderun*.[39]

The 1829 *Nizamname* on Civil Dress – Prologue and Intellectual Orientations

Though not the first measure aimed at regulating non-military official dress after the *vaka*, the 1829 *nizamname* stands out as a substantial and detailed piece of legislation, loosely comparable to the military *kanunname* of 1827 in its laying out of a clearly delineated, visual and material hierarchy of costume for different ranks and offices. Some of its concerns were already presaged in measures which "relieved the heads of [both] great and low ranks from the weight of the *kavuk* [the large turban that hitherto marked out senior *ulema* and officials]", and outlawed many of the traditional tall *külah* and *serpuş* headgears of the royal household, especially those associated with janissary use.[40] Key orders passed in 1243 (1827-8) decried the deterioration of the classical sartorial system into ugliness and disorder [*öteden beri her sınıfa mahsus olan*

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[38] Ilyas Agha, *Letaif-i Vekayi-i Enderuniyye*, ; Lutfi, *Tarih*, II, 425-6; Abdüllhak Molla, *Tarih-i Liva*, 80-82. The Büyükdere ceremony was also seen by many Europeans, as in Macfarlane, *Constantinople*, II, 349, and in conjunction with reception of the English ambassador Sir Robert Gordon, also in Büyükdere, shortly after.

[39] Ilyas Agha, *Letaif-i Vekayi-i Enderuniyye*, 502. Remaining enderun staff were steadily pensioned off and released in the ensuing months and years, including the venerable offices of sarıkcıbaşı, cuhadar etc. Lutfi, *Tarih'*, IV, 753, 785S; Hülya Tezcan. *Tailors to the Court*. (Istanbul: Sadberk Hanim Müzesi, 2008), 33.

[40] Lutfi, *Tarih'*, I, 199; Ilyas Agha, *Letaif-i Vekayi-i Enderuniyye*, 474.

kalensüvelerin…ekserisi bed olduğundan…] and a tendency to wasteful indulgence [*masarifi mucib etvar-ı sefihane*] in dress among both officials and the wider public.[41] However, a lack of clarity over what should replace the abandoned costumes only aggravated appearances of sartorial disorder.[42] The 1829 edict hence sought to lay out a definitive, systematic vision of official aesthetics and material hierarchy, one that would provide the foundation for a conspicuously new era in Ottoman governance. It is composed of two clear sections, opening with a prefatory statement explaining the need and reasoning for the changes, followed by a long enumeration of the classes and particulars of the new dress itself. The preface states that:

> "In a manner which is known to everyone, while originally the clothes and dress of the community of Islam were free from waste and prodigality [*seref u telef*] and sufficient merely to protect the body in accordance with established custom [*vech-i vecih-i şeri'*], with the passage of time and being overcome by the habits of urban life [*galebe-i tabiat-i hazariyyet*] everybody became covetous and desiring of splendour and adornment and, each one competing with another [*biri birine bakarak*], became addicted to diverse ostentation and all kinds of waste [*israfat*], with ordinary clothes and especially ceremonial clothing and *divan* dress violating conventional (religious) values [*kadr-ı maluf*] and the bounds of *şeria*. While it was the case that, thanks be to God, the respect and honor of men of the senior *ulema* [menasıb-ı ilmiyye] and officers of the military [seyfiyye eshabı] and other servant-officials due to their high ranks in the majestic imperial shadow [is already such that] has no need of ornamentation of dress. And indeed, in their [ie the sultan's?] opinion it is clear and evident that the esteem for the self [*izzet-i nefsi*] of the whole community of Islam is attained

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[41] Ilyas Agha, *Letaif-i Vekayi-i Enderuniyye*, 474; Lutfi, *Tarihi*, I, 199.
[42] Lutfi, *Tarihi*, II, 425.

> with the noble appearance of *Islamic life* [*hilye-i sefaret-i Islamiyyet*] and a clothing of Godliness and piety. Yet it was as if luxurious clothing had attained a status of addiction. Yet while things were in this way, thanks to almighty God, with the renewal of the ceremonies [*rüsum*] of the exalted state and the laws and rules of the civil administration [*kavaid-i mülkiyye*], the entirety of the manner of organization [usul-ı nizamiyye] and absence of ornamentation which is being engaged upon [is] being given a pleasing form [*hüsn-i suret*] in a manner which will provide the necessary ease and lightness in war/campaign and peace and be the cause of economic and bodily benefit to each and all, along with the removal of the burden of expectations present in the matter of dress, in close relation with [/through??] the establishment of the beneficial intent of pure *cihad* and *gaza* and, with the almighty's grace and help, the purpose of performing and displaying the original observances/rules of Islam in all conditions, along with the bringing about of the style of *bedeviyyet*. [This being so] let the official/ceremonial dress which was decided upon with the united opinion and approval of men of consideration and proscription [*ashab-ı akl* u *nehy*] with an imperial rescript, founded on the religious and governmental necessity of removing the wastage and dissipation which both reason and religion condemn, and above all the protection of those people who are [included] in official/ceremonial occasions from the superfluous expenditures which are compelled by custom, be pronounced and explained and proclaimed as enumerated/laid out below."[43]

There are some immediately striking elements to this passage. First of all, the issue directly prompting this edict and necessitating the reorganizing of state dress is not stated to be any particular drive for modernization, but to address the problem of 'waste'. While this might sound a minor question, by the late 1820s the concept of *israf* was one that immediately invoked long-running debates around the empire's economic and fiscal troubles. Going back to at least the early-eighteenth century, numerous edicts on dress and consumption and many of the most prominent writings on politics and reform had identified the wastage of resources due to excessive public consumption of luxury goods as one of the most pressing issues facing the state.[44] One can draw a direct line from the language around 'addiction' and 'diverse ostentation' in the 1829 edict to that of repeated earlier complaints over 'dissolute dispositions' [*etvar-ı sefıhane*] and the endemic imitation of higher social groups by "profligates of every class [who], removing their specified costumes … put on whatever extravagant clothes came to their minds".[45] The reference to the "superfluous expenditures which are compelled by custom" similarly connects to enduring official disgruntlement with the extravagant spending associated with *bayrams*, weddings and other celebrations, especially in the households of government officials.[46] These forms of overconsumption were seen as driving high rates of bankruptcy and impoverishment, reduced tax intake, and the bleeding of specie out of the economy due to both the melting down of gold and silver for fashionable *sırmalı* precious metal embroidery, and the excessive purchase of foreign luxury goods.[47] Many of the most prominent political writers of the *Nizam-ı Cedid* period, including Penah Efendi, Behic Efendi and Ömer Faik Efendi, expressed deep and repeated concern at "scribes and other officials buy[ing] luxury goods in foreign coinage" and advocated strongly for the curbing of imports and state establishment of workshops and factories and estates for the domestic production of important goods.[48] In both edicts and writings on the issue of imports, it was above all the fashion for Indian shawls and cotton fabrics that were decried as problematic, with Russian furs, Iranian textiles and, by the turn of the century, European goods also being cited.[49] High officials were particularly blamed for their immoderate spending, needlessly large retinues and encouragement of gaudy, competing displays of fashion.

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[43] Lutfi, *Tarihi*, II, 509-12.

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[44] *Asim Efendi Tarihi,* 376.

[45] Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, *Tarih-i Cevdet* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2013), II, 51; Refik, *Üçüncü,* 9.

[46] A clear connection can be seen in this to very similar contemporary strictures over expenditures, extravagant weddings and the like in early nineteenth century India.

[47] Cevdet, *Tarih,* II, 51; Sariyannis & Atiyas, *Ottoman Political Thought,* 357-8.

[48] Sariyannis & Atiyas, *Ottoman Political Thought,* 353-4; Selim himself famously complained "I always wear cloth made in Istanbul or Ankara…but my own officials wear Indian and Iranian cloth. If they'd wear Ottoman-made

Nizam-ı Cedid era critiques had not been limited to economic dimensions, but also connected waste and overconsumption to wider and more abstract issues of character, military efficacy and the breakdown of proper social order. The effervescent public social life that Shirine Hamadeh has documented in 18th century Istanbul, from its ubiquitous coffee-houses to the pleasure-gardens of Kağıthane, Küçük Çekmece etc., undoubtedly played into perceptions of the capital's population as hopelessly dissolute, with officials, bureaucrats and citizens all seen as too caught up in pleasure-seeking to perform their duties properly or engage the unfolding crises of empire around them.[50] Several of the abovementioned writers complained that when war broke out, even senior officials had already expended their purses so much in frivolous pursuits that they were unable to properly contribute to the war effort, while lower down the social ladder, involvement of the soldiery in the urban economy made them militarily unfit for purpose.[51] It was no coincidence that the new *Nizam-ı Cedid* and later *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* troops were sought to be raised from among rural peasants uncorrupted by

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materials, the country's goods would be in demand". Madeline Zilfi, "Whose Laws? Gendering the Ottoman Sumptuary Regime," in Christoph Neumann and Suraiya Faroqhi eds. *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*. (İstanbul: Eren, 2004), 138.

[49] BOA.HH.13663 of 18.8.1792; HH.16336 of 25.1.1811; Cevdet, *Tarih*, II, 51; Refik, *On Üçüncü*, 11; Sariyannis & Atiyas, *Ottoman Political Thought*, 353-4.

[50] Shirine Hamadeh. *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 132; Enver Ziya Karal, *Selım III'un Hat-tı Hümayunları – Nizam-ı Cedit – 1789-1807* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), 104; Lutfi, *Tarihi*, II, 447.

[51] Sariyannis & Atiyas, *Ottoman Political Thought*, 357-8, 422.

contact with the city, nor that the post *vaka* environment saw almost immediate measures to close down coffee-houses, restrict the retinues of high officials and curb licentious public socialization.[52] Sumptuary legislation from this period, moreover, makes clear how far the visual spectacle of this vibrancy in the city's public life was interpreted as a sign of social chaos and serious breakdown in the proper ordering of the realm. A royal edict/*hatt-ı hümayun* of 1792 - one of several prominent laws on dress that appear among the early *nizam-ı cedid* reforms – reiterates that "People not dressing above their station, and everybody [by] behaving in accordance with their condition …and every class being placed in their proper station are the deepest essence of the order of my state" yet "the people are in a state of proclivity toward waste and dissipation and this appearance has been the cause of … the corruption … of the whole order."[53] Such edicts and expressions of exasperation persist largely unchanged throughout the remainder of Selim III's and first two decades of Mamhud II's reign.[54] A striking number reference the discomfort caused by specific instances of personal sight and experience of sartorial disorder in prompting their promulgation.[55]

One finds further strong continuities between *Nizam-ı Cedid* era measures around dress and the 1829 edict in the idea of public dress not only as a key index of societal breakdown, but a tool for the remedial disciplining of characters and bodies. Betül Başaran has shown how late eighteenth century reforms incorporated far-reaching efforts to reestablish control in the capital by curbing currents of geographic and social mobility that were seen as dangerous and destabilizing.[56] In conjunction with a large-scale program to enumerate and classify the population and expel 'troublesome' and unproductive elements, this saw a major effort to reorganize public dress regulations and place them on a sound administrative footing.[57] New laws sought to definitely clarify and enforce sartorial distinctions across a series of social axes, including between military and civil state officials;[58] between soldiery, the *esnaf* and artisans, and the general population[59]; within the military[60]; and between different confessional populations.[61] Women's and public dress was also targeted, and threats of extreme (and often arbitrary) official punishment, up to and including summary execution, were repeatedly publicized for both consumers and any artisans daring to supply restricted goods.[62] The imposition of orderly identical uniforms and drill in the military, and proper social distinctions enforced through dress outside, it was hoped, would not only reassert proper order and state control over society, but foster a general rise in discipline and efficiency. In many ways it was this project to remake the character of the social body that was at the heart of the controversy created by the *Nizam-ı Cedid* reform project.[63] It was precisely the self-abnegating, constrictive bodily disciplining of the new tight uniforms and repetitive exercises that was so viscerally objectionable to many janissaries, whose traditions were built around sharply contrasting philosophies of intertwined martial and spiritual training, individual valour, camaraderie and sacralized bodily perfection.[64] Under both Selim III and Mahmud II, the desire for bodily disciplining of the social body was expressed by deploying long-established language of developing control of the *nefs* or self through spiritual rigor and self-denial. In the 1829 edict, the reference to 'the esteem for the *nefs* of the true community of Islam' ties it closely to what was by now a well-developed project for the suppression of the self [*ıslah-ı nefs*] to create a renewed hierarchy of obedient, active soldiers, scribes and subjects.[65] It also recalls the similar emphasis on disciplining the *nafs* through spiritual training and dress seen in ideals of Mughal manliness.[66]

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[52] Yaycioglu, *Partners,* 41; Lutfi, *Tarihi*, I, 200.
[53] BOA, HH, 13663 of 18.8.1792.
[54] Cevdet, *Tarih*, II, 51; Lutfi, *Tarihi*, I, 99; Refik, *On Üçüncü*, 11.
[55] For example BOA, HH, 16336 of 25.1.1811 "açık renk ferace görmekteyim erkeklerden dahi ekseri şal sarınmaktadır…niçin böyle gezerler tenbih olunmadı" etc; Refik, *Onuncu*, 72-3.

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[56] Betül Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 25, 72; Madeline Zilfi. *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire: The Design of Difference* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 76.

[57] Başaran, *Selim III,* 83, 105. There is, for example, a concerted effort to clarify precise sumptuary rules in the ambiguous area of officials' retinues and descendants [*beyzadeler*], and around the vexed question of exemptions for certain non-Muslim officials and translators. BOA.HH.54918; BOA.HH.8450 of 9.9.1790.

[58] BOA.C..AS..51848 of 1.3.1784.

[59] BOA. HH. 54915 of 9.9.1790; HH, 13663 of 18.8.1792; C..NF..773 of 29.4.1796.

[60] BOA. C..AS.. 44553 of 7.8.1793; C..DH..1628 of 20.12.1795;

[61] BOA.HH.54918;HH.8450 of 9.9.1790; HH. 13321 of 27.7.1794

[62] BOA. HH. 54915 of 9.9.1790; AE.SSLM.III.24208 of 29.5.1807; BOA.C_DH_00147_07349 of 24.4.1828; Zilfi, *Women,* 91.

[63] As Ali Yaycioglu notes "the New Army was a disciplined army, but it also promised an agenda for… an orderly coordinated, precise, punctual, mechanical and regularly monitored kind of life" which "resonated globally in the 1790s", *Partners,* 51.

Ideals of spatial and material organization were similarly integral to the contrasting visions and claims to the empire's earlier history that dominated political propagandizing around the New Order. While the janissaries and their allies presented themselves as the natural heirs to the tradition and spirit of glorious earlier phases of conquest, the visual and symbolic invocation of renewed Süleymanic golden-age order was central to Selimian efforts to legitimize reform.[67] In addition to invoking a revitalization of the idealized society of the 16th century past through enforcing of proper sartorial distinctions, there was a concerted effort to re-assert the sanctity and spatial hierarchy of the Topkapı Sarayı and household.[68] An 1801 edict, for instance, sought to reiterate the exclusivity of the Topkapi's outer confines, strictly limiting access on divan days to members of the court, who must themselves observe the proper dress and ceremonial order of entrance and protocol.[69] It is also evident in the deliberate construction and location of new barracks to physically separate off and distance soldiery from the general population.[70] A good sense of how appearances of sartorial and spatial hierarchy were deployed to generate an idealized image of renewal around the New Order can further be seen in the official iconography of the period. The famous portrait of Selim III's enthronement ceremony [*cülus töreni*], commissioned in his early reign from court artist Konstantin Kapıdağlı (fig. 1), is novel in its large dimensions and technical aspects, yet presents a strikingly traditional vision of harmonious sultanic order.[71] Selim appears enshrined at the centre of an ornate, flawlessly ordered universe of dependent officials. The recognizable individuality of all other figures apart from the sultan are more or less lost in the minute detailing of architecture, costume and regalia, while the setting and detail invoke explicit continuity with the long lineage of sultanic rule reaching back to the early 16th century. The genre of *cülus* painting, the setting in front of the *Bab-us Saadet*, sacralization of the Topkapı's inner space, many of the official costumes depicted and details the ceremony itself all bear close resemblance to those actually found in *Süleymanname* (fig. 2), as well as numerous earlier 18th century works.[72] The mingling of such evocations of tradtional sultanic authority with visual allusions to Selim's 'modernizing' reforms to the military, naval and administration across Kapıdağlı's other many portraits of him suggests that reformist elements were not seen as necessarily incongruous, but as complimentary components of the Ottoman New Order.

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[64] Yaycioglu. "Guarding traditions", 1560.

[65] This included the use of orthodox religious texts to achieve in the New Order army training. Yaycioglu, *Partners*, 50. As with other aspects of more explicitly pious, Naqshbandi-influenced language, the preoccupation with the *nefs* comes into particular prominence with the Greek crisis. See also BOA.HH 25689, quoted in H. Şükrü Ilicak, "A Radical Rethinking of Empire: Ottoman State and Society during the Greek War of Independence (1821-1826), (PhD Diss., Harvard University, 2011), 117-118.

[66] See also chapter 4. Rosalind O'Hanlon, "Manliness and Imperial Service in Mughal North India." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42, no. 1 (1999): 52-3; Yaycioglu, *Partners*, 50.

[67] These competing attempts to lay claim to the true old order are well illustrated in the populist *Koca Sekbanbaşı Risalesi*, 170-171; Yaycioglu, *Partners,* 40.

[68] Old sections of city were traditionally often considered an extension of the palace. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: the Topkapi Palace in the fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries*. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991). Karateke also gives a number of compelling examples of the ways in which ceremonial practice and the inscribing of patrimonial relations through eg *hilat* bestowal were intimately bound up with the environment of the Topkapı Sarayı, *Padişahım*, 169.

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[69] BOA.HH.15693 of 13.5.1801. "While before nobody…was able to enter through the orta kapı on divan days except men of the court (elbise-i divan), without it having been attended to for some time... there is now no respect for my high court officials with old and young serseri wandering around as though it is a public road or promenading space.., absolutely no one from outside with common turbans [dastar-ı adi] and suchlike kisve will be permitted to enter the orta kapı." Similar edicts also appear through Mahmud II's earlier reign. BOA, HH 16336, 25.1.11; BOA, HH 32290, 31.3.1815; Refik, "On Üçüncü," 11.

[70] Yaycioglu, *Partners,* 52.

[71] Measuring some 205 by 152cm, it was likely intended for hanging in one of the palace's audience rooms, an enormous change in itself from established practices of Ottoman artistic display and appreciation. Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda and Tanındı Zeren, *Ottoman Painting*. (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism Publications, 2010), 284-5.

[72] The golden throne seen here, for example, detailed by Karateke as having been the *Shah Ismail tahtı* acquired in the conquests of Selim I, reappears again and again, even in more abstracted 18th century portraits of sultans, including many others of Selim III. *Padişahım,* 49.

It is here, however, that we begin to find a quite radical divergence of approach in the 1829 edict compared to the 1790-1820 period in how to address perceived problems of economy and social disorder. While earlier the overarching issue had been largely expressed in terms of the degradation of social networks and supply chains, the 1829 prologue identifies the traditional apparatus of sultanic rule itself as part of the problem. Tactfully refraining from overt criticism of officials themselves for their overconsumption, it calls for "the removal of the burden of expectations present in the matter of dress" and even more specifically for "the protection of those people who are [included] in official/ceremonial occasions from the superfluous expenditures which are compelled by custom." In their theoretical rejection of material luxury as a marker of state privilege and membership of the royal-governmental body, these statements are perhaps the most controversial and revolutionary element of this document. The trappings of material luxury are portrayed as not only inimical to the cultivation of proper morality, collective unity, and dedication to state service, but unnecessary seeing that "the respect and honour of men of the senior *ulema* and officers of the military and other servant-officials due to their high ranks in the majestic imperial shadow [is already such that] has no need of ornamentation of dress". The emphasis on the fact of rank and of the high character of officials themselves as sufficient to justify their position departs from an array of centuries-old conventions in which official status was materially and ceremonially inscribed in the exclusive production, bestowal and display of *hilat* and other forms of uniform and material provision.[73] It was also reflected, as we will see below, in the material mundanity of many of the new costumes that the edict prescribes.

This stress on simplicity and morality in the 1829 edict goes hand in hand with a dramatic shift in the conceptualization of the essential nature of the historical Ottoman state. Dress is still seen as a vehicle for re-kindling the fire and unity of the early empire, but not by invoking the lineage of Selim I and Süleyman, nor indeed the frameworks of Western-influenced modernization or rights-oriented constitutionalism put forward by Lewis and Quataert. Rather it presents a quite novel vision of martial, Ibn-Khaldunian, Islamic renewal. There are recurring references to 'the original clothes and dress of the community of Islam', 'performing…the original observances/rules of Islam in all conditions' and idealization of 'the personal esteem [*izzet-i nefsi*] of the community of Islam [which] is attained with the noble appearance of Islamic life'. The language of these statements, and the many references to piety and *sharia* law are dramatically out of keeping with the longer history of Ottoman sumptuary legislation, which since the 16th century itself had been overwhelmingly couched in a discourse of sultanic law and established custom [*adet-i kadim, usul-i kadim, kanun-i kadim, merasim-i adab* etc.].[74]

This highly religious language - which also characterizes several other reforms of the immediate post *vak'a-ı hayriye* environment like the *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyye* – has long tended to be dismissed as merely giving "the veneer of a return to the precepts of Islam" to Mahmud's otherwise largely westernizing reforms.[75] Historiographic skepticism of the Islamic credentials of Mahmud II's reforms has been partly rooted in the idea of him as '*gavur* sultan' [the infidel sultan], an image substantially derived from the visual aspects of his reforms, particularly his adoption of European (military) clothing and exploration of new kinds of lifestyle and public image-making.[76] Within the context of the early nineteenth century, however, such appearances were not necessarily seen as being as mutually exclusive with Islamic identification, and downplays the influence of deep contemporary tensions between differing ideals of Islamic culture. Butrus Abu-Manneh has highlighted the expansion and rising influence of Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi networks in the capital over the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[77] Naqshbandi doctrine strongly emphasized Sunni-Orthodox religious practice, the supremacy of sharia law, observance of properly pious, Islamic lifestyle, and the active pursuit of political influence to bring about social changes, with its traces are already clearly evident in the emerging eighteenth century critiques of luxury and licentious behavior seen above, as well as the language of the 1829 edict.[78] Membership of the Naqshbandi order in early nineteenth century was also particularly concentrated in the upper strata of society, including amongst senior government officials, ulema and many of the chief architects of the *Nizam-ı Cedid,* and Mahmud II's government.[79] In the case of the New Order, Ali Yaycıoğlu points to the strong convergence between cosmopolitan adherents of late eighteenth century 'military enlightenment' thought and Islamic activists in driving the reform project, who shared common intellectual values of universality, science and discipline, versus the defenders of janissary independence and Bektashi religious heterodoxy.[80] In spite of the recriminations suffered by prominent Naqshbandis and *Nizam-ı Cedid* proponents during the 1807-8 deposition of Selim III, the convergence of military-modernizing, social reformist and Naqshbandi-influenced ideas and adherents was again central to the successful anti-janissary mobilization of 1826.[81] Not only many ulema but key reformist ministers like Pertev Pasha and Hüsrev Pasha had strong links to Naqshbandi lodges, while Ilyas Agha documents Mahmud's own personal sympathy to Naqshbandi ideas and promotion of known Naqshbandi affiliates.[82] The polemical denunciations of the janissaries as un-Islamic, immoral and depraved which characterized official discourse in the run-up to and especially the aftermath of the *vaka* reflected the powerful influence of a growing anti-janissary and Bektashi consensus.[83] The reference to "removing the wastage and dissipation which both reason and religion condemn" along with the other Islamic/sharia references in this document can hence be understood not as a religious-populist window-dressing, but expression of the ideological ascendency of enlightened-reformist groups in the period immediately after 1826.

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[73] Finbarr Flood argues that hilat ceremonies were not simply an example of "personal largesse but also constituted a ritual incorporation into the body politic." *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 77; Philliou, *Biography*, 43-4; Hakkı İsmail Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1984), 461-62; Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 26; See also the innumerable recurring descriptions of *hilat* bestowals and other ceremonies relating to dress in Ilyas, *Letaif-i Vekayi-i Enderuniyye*.

[74] See the eighteenth century laws along with earlier ones from Ahmet Refik's collections already cited above. The exception to his was laws addressing female public clothing and occasionally inter-communal distinctions which did occasionally deploy the language of religious law. Whereas women's public costume and behaviour was typically framed as a question of public morality, it seems then that attempts to regulate male public costume were perceived more in terms of and political discipline, economic function and political loyalty.

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[75] Philliou, *Biography,* 61.
[76] a favourite cliché of nineteenth century European accounts. also Lewis 'superficial' and Berkes on visual
[77] Abbuh-Manneh, *Studies*, 9-11.
[78] Abu-Manneh, *Studies* 8.
[79] Abu-Manneh, *Studies* 43.

The dramatic foregrounding of Naqshbandi-Khaldunian ideas and imagery that marks out the 1829 edict from earlier laws can be traced to the early 1820s, and was strongly influenced by the febrile political environment created in the capital by the outbreak of the Greek rebellion in 1821 and ensuing war with Russia over 1828-9. The Greek crisis came as a sharp shock to the government establishment and drastically shook faith in the loyalty of the empire's Christian subjects, including the Greek Phenariots who traditionally held prominent roles in regional government and diplomacy.[84] The perceived perfidy of the Greeks both opened the way for the intellectual repositioning of imperial identity around a more explicitly Muslim identification, and, in conjunction with ongoing outbreaks of fire, epidemic and shortage in the capital, fed into an apocalyptic atmosphere shot through with talk of quasi-messianic deliverance and renewal in the capital.[85] The sense of Muslim beleaguerment and recourse to rhetoric of religious struggle and *cihad* was further incited by the open support of the Greek uprising, and perpetual discussion of it in terms of religious war and difference, by the European powers.[86] H. Şükrü Ilicak, meanwhile, highlights how the nationalist fervor and courage of the Greek insurgents themselves deeply impressed the sultan and leading officials, who sought to replicate its effects within their own population, but interpreted within a deeply Ibn Khaldunian framework of decay, collapse and renewal.[87] The result was a concerted campaign by Mahmud II to "transform his Muslim subjects under an identity that would transcend religion and rally Muslims loyalties to the state under a constant state of mobilization by homogenizing Muslims and molding them "back" into the militaristic ethos of the ancestors."[88]

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[80] Yaycioglu. "Guarding traditions", 1544. The janissaries, meanwhile, may have seen themselves not only as defenders of society against tyrannical state extractions, but also of more customary and ecstatic popular religious practices against a rising movement of Naqshbandi-influenced Sunni-scripturalist orthodoxy among senior ulema and lettered elites.

[81] Abu-Manneh 51 quote ; Ilicak shows that senior ulema were front and center of the move to abolish the janissaries, "Rethinking", 285. Janissary chants of 'death to the kavuk-wearers' during 1826 revolt similarly illustrates their own strong anti-ulema sentiments and salience of dress as marker of social categories, Howard Reed, "The Destruction of the janissaries by Mahmud II in June, 1826" (PhD Diss., Princeton University, 1951), 195.

[82] As Ilyas' account makes clear, Mahmud's enthusiastic exploration of new dress and lifestyle possibilities after 1826 certainly did not preclude him having a well-developed sense of his own piety, *Letaif-i Vekayi-i Enderuniyye*. 484; Abu-Manneh also argues that the aggressive expansion of the Khaliddiya branch of Naqshbandi order in 1820s also helped to spread anti-Bektashi sympathies among the general population, *Studies*, 44.

[83] Lutfi, I, 7.

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[84] Ilicak, "Rethinking" 187; Philliou, *Biography*, 102-3.
[85] Ilicak, "Greek War", 490. The fear of an internal Christian 'fifth column' in the service of Russia that the Greek uprising created also fed directly into the expulsion of the Armenian Catholic population of Galata in 1828.
[86] Uriel Heyd, "The Ottoman 'Ulema and Westernization in the Time of Selim III and Mahmud II" in Albert Hourani, Philip Khoury, & Mary Wilson eds., *The Modern Middle East: A Reader* (London: Taurus, 2004), 50.
[87] Ilicak, "Rethinking"
[88] Ilicak, "Rethinking", 18; also Esad Efendi's disc of Khaldunian ideas in relation to the janissaries' demise in *Uss-I Zafer*

This initiative to remake the capital's Muslim population in a spirit of dedicated martial unity drew deeply on the long-established dissatisfaction with the lifestyles of "the pack of good-for-nothings known as 'the people of Istanbul'" [*Isanbul* [sic] *halkı denilen herifer*] seen already, and was channeled into an aggressive new campaign for sartorial reform.[89] In response to the Greek crisis, March-April 1821 saw promulgation of a rash of edicts intended to incite the male, Muslim population of Istanbul to abandon their divisions and urban degeneracy [*hazariyet*] and adopt a state of *bedeviyet*, described as entailing the total unity of purpose, observance of sharia, renunciation of luxury and embrace of the spirit of *cihad* which had characterized the earliest conquests of Islam.[90] Ilicak notes though that "the qualities of being a *bedeviyet* were taken quite literally and Muslims were compelled to carry out seemingly stylistic measures."[91] These included not only "bear[ing] arms at all times" with state officials "in addition to the dagger which was imposed upon everyone… to bear two pistols, ration-bags, and either a scimitar or a sword", but also adoption of a uniform clothing of *bedeviyet* of coarse *şalvar* and *orta* headgear.[92] In this case the experiment proved abortive. The distribution of weapons and calls to arms of the general Muslim population produced chaos in the capital, including widespread violence against non-Muslim inhabitants, which was brought under control again only with difficulty.[93] However, further attempts to reshape Istanbul's population within a state of pious *bedeviyet* through forcible dress reform continued throughout the 1820s. An 1823 law on public dress strongly anticipates the language of the 1829 edict in declaring "the pious avoidance of waste and extravagance being the sacred duty of the people of Islam" and calling for "unity of hearts" and renunciation of luxurious clothes and behaviors "contrary to the style of *bedeviyet*", whilst also still retaining earlier preoccupations with Indian imports and 'all classes breaking with the appearance and order of their class".[94] By the time of the 1829 edict, even these lingering references to the legitimacy of the old *nizam-i alem* are gone and we are left with a quite unambiguous project to "establish… the beneficial intent of pure *cihad* and *gaza* …, the purpose of performing and displaying the original observances/rules of Islam in all conditions, along with the bringing about of the style of *bedeviyyet*." With the pressures of janissary sensitivity gone and the Russian war generating a fresh crisis of survival, the prologue lays out a radically reimagined vision of the historical and philosophical basis of a reformed administration. The Ottoman origins story is relocated to the early days of Islam, while the old critiques of luxury and decayed golden-age order are now completely transposed to a thoroughly Khaldunian narrative of "being overcome by the habits of urban life" [*galebe-i tabiat-i hazariyyet*], with the dress itself no longer carrying the burden of re-instituting old order, but a vehicle for a social and governmental rebirth. Indeed, the new uniforms are to bodily and materially force officials to give up their old habits and appearances and embrace the new efficient, disciplined, pious, martial unity of a modern-day Ottoman *bedevviyyet*.

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[89] Lutfi, II, 406.

[90] Abbu-Manneh, *Studies*, 45; Ilicak, "Rethinking", 128-9; 151.

[91] Ilicak, "Rethinking", 151.

[92] Ilicak, "Rethinking", 153-4; CHECK ILYAS

[93] Ilicak, "Rethinking", 133; 150.

The visual contrast between the New Order envisioned in the Selimian era and that of the immediate post *vak'a* years can be seen in fig. 3, the only image that I have been able to find that is roughly contemporary with this edict, and which echoes the aesthetic and intellectual values it expresses.[95] The painting is of the troops of the *Süvari-i Hassa*, the elite household cavalry unit formed from members of the *Enderun* in the immediate aftermath of the *Vaka*. Although these were technically military troops and are not explicitly mentioned in the 1829 edict, it shows some specific details in use, like the tall fezzes with star-pattern stripes in the foreground, and there is a correspondance of subject with fig. 1 in its depiction of an idealized vision of a reimagined royal household. Whereas fig.1 remains deeply rooted in the aesthetics, space, ceremony, patrimonial ties and material culture of classical empire, however, the setting and aesthetics of this project a dramatically different vision of Ottoman sovereignty. There is still a strong projection of uniformity, discipline and implicit loyalty in the perfectly aligned rows of troops, but the setting is tellingly transposed away from the traditional confines of the Topkapı Sarayı – indeed from the city of Istanbul itself- to the shores of Beşiktaş where Mahmud's preferred palace and barracks were located.[96] In this abstracted setting, and with the diverse, luxuriant costumes of earlier portraiture also stripped away, the military aesthetics of the picture stand out, with the orderly cavalry, naval ships offshore and cannons in the foreground all contributing to the martial imagery. European influences are evident in the arrangement of the soldiers, flags, and nascent Ottoman coat of arms in foreground, yet the slender, trim, closely-dressed physiques of the figures and plentiful *ay-yıldız* [star and crescent] are also consistent with the ideals of aesthetic simplicity and modernized martial *bedevviyyet* put forward in the document.[97] Meanwhile, at the focal point of the image, in place of the figure of the sultan in figs. 1-2, a new sun is rising over the Bosphorus' eastern shore with the name of God inscribed at its center. And yet, though not visible, Mahmud himself remains present through the association of own ubiquitous personal icon of the rayed sun, his authority implicitly melded with that of the abstracted glare of divinity at the center of the painting.[98] When compared with figs. 1-2, the overall effect is a complete symbolic transference of the bounds of loyalty and authority away from the old patrimonial-sultanic ties and ceremonies to a purified spiritual zeal, embodied in the perfect discipline of these reimagined servants of state and with Mahmud as its agent.

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[94] Sahhaflar Şeyhi-Zade Seyyid Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, *Vaka'nüvis Es'ad Efendi Tarihi* (Istanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 2000), 116-7.

[95] There are several extant images of the sultan himself which have not been precisely dated. However, they are less helpful in any case given that this document does not concern personal sultanic image, but a vision for his government apparatus.

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[96] While the image here is in fact accompanied by a representation of the names of all the members of this unit, any hint individuality in appearance is completely expunged from the picture.

[97] The use of the *ay-yıldız* in Ottoman iconography was introduced during the New Order era, with its use then dramatically expanded again in the late 1820s. Tulay Artan and Halil Berktay, "Selimian Times: A Reforming Grand Admiral, Anxieties of Repossession, Changing Rites of Power" in Elizabeth Zachariadou ed. *The Kapudan Pasha: His Office and His Domain: Halcyon Days in Crete IV (*Rethymnon: Crete University Press,2002); Lutfi, *Lutfi Tarihi*, I, 177, 187.

The Dress Itself

The second and much longer part of the 1829 edict concerns the details of the new dress itself and essentially comprises a long enumeration of what the various different ranks and offices of the administration will wear henceforth. The offices included confirm the intent of the preface insofar as it does not engage either military or popular usages, but is focused on laying out comprehensive new costumes, and especially ceremonial costume, for "all viziers [*vüzera*], senior officials [*rical*] and men of ceremony [*erbab-ı resm*] who are considered the servants of the sublime state", with this formulation also evidently encompassing all senior *ulema*. While the varied, sometimes overlapping terminology used for different ranks and classes offer challenges for translation and understanding how the administrative organization was being conceptualized at this moment, a follow-up *Hatt* concerning the new law's application is more explicit in describing it as governing formal and ordinary clothing [*esvap-ı resmiye ve elbise-i adi*] of the civil administration [*mülkiye*], and royal ceremonial protocols [*teşrifat-ı hümayun*].[99] The emphasis on *teşrifat* is significant given how far these ceremonies still constituted the official face of the Ottoman royal state and a ritual and material repository of its historical identity, especially in view of the revolutionary degree of change entailed in the dress itself.[100] It is notable that although the changes of dress laid out concern only the 'servants of state', the edict's wide publicization - "being printed and copied [it] was circulated and announced to all corners" [*tab' ve temsil ile her tarafa neşr ve 'ilan olunması*] - suggests a much wider intended audience for the changes, signalling and perhaps justifying its dramatic and austere reimagining of state tradition.[101] The ceremonies specifically cited as important at the start of this section – "the *hırka -ı şerif* and the visiting ceremonies [*muayede*] of the two eids and the reading of the prophet's birth [mevlid-i şerif kıraati] and ceremonial processions [*rıkab-ı hümayun resmleri*]"- are notable for their heavy emphasize Ottoman religious rather than dynastic traditions, while many of the new costumes themselves also reflect Naqshbandi-oriented values of simplicity and piety. Together these aspects confirm the edict's overall intention of using dress to quite radically reimagine the public appearances and identity of the state and dynasty on the one hand, and reform the personal proclivities of its servants on the other.

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[98] Tayyar zade states that new uniforms of asakir-i hassa adopted at Rami had the sun as their nisan, some with the tughra set in the middle, *Saray*, III, 152.

[99] BOA. HH. 42871 of 12.4.1829. Certain inconsistencies within and across these two documents suggests that, given the pace of administrative and other reforms, there was a degree of ongoing confusion among contemporary officials as well. For instance, the original edict declares ordinary (non-*hacegan*) scribal officials at the

The new costumes which are laid out combine important continuities of hierarchical principle, visual differentiation and certain selected fashion elements with a sweeping shift in the aesthetic and above all material qualities of official dress. Gone are the *kavuk, cübbe*, '*bol yenli erkan kürk*' ['ample-sleeved great furs'- the Ottoman court's signature form of elite *hilat*], silk kaftan (with one limited exception) and other luxuriant garments that had defined palace

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sadrazamlik/Porte to not be of immediate concern as they are not men of ceremony, yet the follow-up declares that all '*memur*' have in fact also changed their dress in accordance with the order.

[100] On *tesrifat* see Hakan Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol Register: Containing Ceremonies from 1736 to 1808: BEO Sadaret defterleri 350 in the Prime Ministry Ottoman State Archives, Istanbul* (İstanbul: The Royal Asiatic Society, 2007), introduction *Padişahım,* XIX-XX, 236-240.

[101] BOA. HH. 42871 of 12.4.1829.

costumes since time immemorial, to be replaced by a strikingly uniform and mundane new aesthetic centered around use of the ordinary plain fez [*adi fes*] and *çuha* [broadcloth] *harvani* [a new innovation, similar to a long, collared cloak or mantle].[102] This represented a radical equalization in the material aspects of official dress, with the heads and bodies of all officials, from the *Sadrazam* and *Şeyhulislam* down to the meanest scribe, now nominally clad in the same ordinary cloth. While ranking members of the *ulema* are allowed a greater leeway in retaining the forms allowed to them by tradition, including wearing *imame* or *dülbend* turbans rather than fez, along with the *ferace* [long robe] and *kuşak* [waist sash], they are strictly forbade all forms of embroidery, decoration, delicate fabrics like *sof* [mohair] or other forms of material or decorative luxury. Further strictures against luxury and ornament continue throughout the remainder of the edict. The explicit and repeated forbidding of that most vilified foreign commodity, the shawl, throughout the second part again highlights the strong economic rationales for these changes in material quality. Compared to the previous sumptuary regime, the new costumes are exceedingly cheap, and not only in terms of their raw materials. In contrast to the multifarious arrangements of highly-skilled artisanal production that had enabled the traditional costume regime, the new civil dress was centred around a few basic materials like broadcloth and felt - the very same commodities that were already the foundation for the new military uniforms, and for which the Ottoman state was then urgently seeking to set up factory-based domestic production.[103] With the exception of some Polish riding equipage, foreign-manufactured goods and products are entirely absent from the new dress.

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[102] The *harvani* is central to the new vision of the edict, but quite hard to pin down as a garment. It's use was quite short-lived, basically spanning from the late 1820s until its use was abandoned in around 1838 (Lutfi, *Tarihi*, V, 919). From the early 1830s it also replaced *hilat* robes in royal gifts and ceremonies, including to foreign envoys. Definitions vary, perhaps suggesting some evolution in form, but at this time it appears to have been a longish gown not entirely dissimilar to a *biniş*.

At the same time, the new guidelines entail a significant abnegation of material hierarchy in the new ceremonial and administrative order, whilst embodying the qualities of austerity, simplicity, uniformity and collectivity which are so emphasized in the prefatory section. The edict is explicit that the new clothes will bring not only economic but also “bodily benefit to each and all”. *Ulema* excepted, there is a decided shift away from the loose outlines and voluminous, layered fabrics which had traditionally characterized Ottoman elite dress in favour of more fitted profiles and economical cuts, as visually suggested by the idealized figure-outlines in fig. 3, which depart so strongly from Ottoman artistic convention. The ordinary fabrics and plain designs reinforce the heavy rhetorical emphasis on clothing as functional necessity - “sufficient merely to protect the body” and “provide the necessary ease and lightness in war and peace” – deliberately encouraging the pious renunciation of sensual luxury, and unity and vigor of purpose desired in the new costume’s wearers.

The strong material similarities between the new ceremonial-civil dress and the military uniforms of the *asakir-i mansure* further underscores the militaristic qualities of the re-envisioned ideal of Ottoman society and administration being put forward at this moment, disciplining the body and the *nefs*/self through the new dress. There is an interesting emphasis on plain white dress running across the new designs, found in the *Sadrazam* and *Şeyhulislam*’s ceremonial clothes and the summer uniforms of the *asakir-i mansure* that recalls the values of martial simplicity and dedication often associated with contemporary *Mughlai* nobility's use of plain white cotton or muslin *jama* in South Asia (see chapter 4).[104] In addition, the costumes mandated here mark an important milestone in the nineteenth century bifurcation of fashion and sartorial association between men and women, and between men of state and men of religion.[105] While documents of the period, including this, heavily deploy the classic formula of *din u devlet* [religion and state], the two branches would now become increasingly separated off in their appearances and status.[106] Meanwhile, where the outlines and many garments of male and female dress had hitherto retained much commonality, wrapped garments like the *ferace* and use of accessories and decorative elements like precious metal embroidery [*sırma*], jewellery, luxury waist ties and shawls now became increasingly exclusive to female dress.[107] This efeminization of ornament was actively championed by the Ottoman state via its long-running campaign against specifically male self-decoration in late eighteenth and nineteenth century sumptuary edicts, highlighting the deep domestic roots of the project to refashion Ottoman masculinity in more serious, dedicated, martial form.[108]

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[103] Önder Küçükerman, *Feshane: Defterdar Fabrikası* (Istanbul: Sümerbank Yayınları, 1998), 15; Lutfi, *Tarihi*, I, 188-90; Tezcan, *Tailors*, 33. Ironically, the limited success of these ventures would leave them still dependent on large-scale imports of unfinished and finished products like broadcloth and fezzes, primarily from Europe, for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

Alongside these changes, there are also notable continuities in the underlying principles and markers of visual differentiation in the new dress. The immediate post *vaka'* years saw continuing orders re-affirming principles of communal and class differentiation through dress among the general populace, and strictly forbidding the adoption of new *asakir* military dress among non-military officers.[109] Likewise within the 1829 edict itself, though the form and quality of the new garments barely change, the second section is still meticulously detailed in prescribing the markers of different ranks and offices. However, this differentiation is now increasingly manifested in small differences of decoration and detailing. Color remains a key consideration, with many of the new visual distinctions being based around shade of *harvani*, with the *sadrazam* to wear white, the *kaymakam* puplish-red [*güvez*], the *serasker* green, *kethüda* light green, senior *ağa*s light blue etc. The various ranks of senior *ulema* have their *ferace* color-coded in the same manner. Light and pale colours remain markers of exclusivity, as do the use and equipage of horses, and wearing of colored *çizme* [soft leather boots], though the latter are now to be red not yellow.[110] The other main way in which differences of civil rank are now communicated is in the subtle use of gilt embroidery and decorative patterns [*kenarı sırma işleme/ yakası som sırmalı*] at the edges of more senior officials' – but not *ulema*'s- fezzes and *harvani*. Overall, the general aesthetic is one of striking plainness and decorative minimalism, whilst also being still defined by colorful, varied appearances, with no obvious shift as yet in this document towards the dark shades of elite dress that begin to increasingly predominate through the 1830s.[111]

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[104] For the summer uniforms Macfarlane, *Constantinople*, I, 162; Lutfi, *Tarihi*, I, 189.
[105] Zilfi, *Women*, 92.
[106] Berkes, *Secularism*, 112, 124.
[107] Charlotte Jirousek, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the Later Ottoman Empire" in Christoph Neumann and Suraiya Faroqhi eds. *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*. (İstanbul: Eren, 2004), 212.
[108] BOA.C_DH_00147_07349 of 24.4.1828, for instance, is explicit in calling for officials to 'abandon their womanly appearance' that 'henceforth no one apart from women should wear garments like gold and silver-adorned *entari*, wire-embroidered *biniş* and *çübbe* and *kılıbdanlı* [gilt-decorated] *fermene* [a short braided jacket].

In the systematic introduction of differentiation by minor decorative-symbolic distinctions we can again see the influence of new systems of military hierarchy and uniform, but perhaps also an attempt to re-centralize and re-assert sultanic monopoly over the production and allocation of official status markers. It is precisely at this time, beginning with the new military uniforms of 1827, a new system of official medals [*nişan*] and insignia was also introduced.

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[109] BOA.HH.22800 of 28.4.1835; HH.52401 and 52402A of 14.8.1825.

[110] BOA. HH. 16336 of 25.1.1811.

[111] See chapter 2.

Edhem Eldem in his study of Ottoman medals and decorations notes that this earliest generation of these *nişan* were overwhelmingly used and understood as markers of rank and office, rather than as rewards for meritorious action.[112] Following the promulgation of the 1829 edict the new civil dress regime was further given its own counterpart to military rank-*nişan* in the form of a new system of fez-badges [*fes alametleri*].[113] These new systems of official dress went hand in hand with a shift in the locus of production of status markers away from the *esnaf* to directly state-controlled workshops like the royal mint [*darbhane-i amire*], royal clothing workshop [*dikimhane-i amire* – newly founded in 1827], and palace *terzihane*.[114] Given the consistent frustration at being unable to adequately control the exclusivity of elite status markers under the old more materialist regime of fur, headgear, colored boots etc. expressed in decades of antecedent sumptuary laws, and the drastic recentralization of power generally pursued by Mahmud II, it seems highly likely that the new system was also driven by a desire to firmly re-establish sultanic control over the signs and boundaries of social status.

Finally, any discussion of the new costumes in the 1829 edict must necessarily engage the question the fez. In twentieth century historiography the law's significance was often primarily understood in terms of the fez's forcible introduction and in terms of a universal male headgear, perhaps since this was the aspect most immediately remarked on in contemporary European accounts, and given the fez's subsequent importance as a key national symbol.[115]

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[112] Edhem Eldem, *Pride and Privilege: A History of Ottoman Orders, Medals and Decorations* (Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2005), 82-85.

[113] Lutfi, V, 877, VI, 1033. The use of fez *alamet* as rank markers in fact begins well before this date. BOA.HH.23987 shows that it was already introduced to differentiate Tatars from other soldiers in 1820.

[114] BOA.HH.17614 of 2.7.1829; Tezcan, *Tailors,* 33; Lutfi, *Tarihi,* I, 144.

[115] Most expressed a deep, orientalist regret at the passing of the old sartorial order. Julia Pardoe, for instance, is scathing in her opinion of "the hideous and unmeaning *fez*, which has almost superseded the gorgeous turban of muslin and cachemire". *The City of the Sultan and the Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836* (London: Henry Colburn, 1837), vol. 1, 6.

However, while 1829 edict does establish the fez as standardized headgear of all members of the civil administration, it is not clear that this was immediately perceived to be as radical and controversial as has sometimes appeared in retrospect. In Ottoman documents of the 1830s and 40s the law is usually remembered and referred to in terms of the removal of the *kavuk* [*kavuk kaldırışı*] or as the banning of the shawl [*şal yasağı*] rather than the fez's imposition and, as noted, the 1829 *nizamname* itself did not at all engage public costume. Moreover, a coarse form of the red felt fez had been popularizing in Ottoman domains for many decades already.[116] By the early 1820s it was already in use in the military uniforms of certain troops, as well as among many *esnaf*.[117] There were, as ever, some voices that denounced the official adoption of the fez as a godless innovation.[118] However, the extent of overall public controversy and resistance created by the fez may have been overstated by Quataert and others.[119] Gültekin Yıldız is likely much closer to the mark in suggesting the fez was actually rapidly understood and embraced in the post-*vaka'* environment as an anti-janissary symbol of loyalty to the new political order.[120] This is consistent with the recurring and often summary reprisals against those caught wearing janissary associated dress over 1826-30, and the wide appropriation and display of other key symbols of the new regime like the *ay-yıldız* among the general population during the same years.[121]

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[116] Youssef Ben Ismail. "A History of the Ottoman Fez before Mahmud II (ca. 1600–1800)" *Muqarnas Online* 38, no. 1 (2021): 175.

[117]BOA. C..AS..13549 of 29.8.1791; C..AS..50915 of 1.3.1784; C..AS..5747 of 20.12.1803. The issue of wrapping the fez a shawl may also have been less associated with resistance than Quataert suggests, given this practice is actually mandated for scribes and members of certain retinues in the 1829 edict itself (though an 1835 law then later complain about the unflatteringness of this practice and seeks to put a stop to it. BOA.HH.35654).

[118] Karateke, *Padişahım*, 9.

[119] Quataert's assertion of wide resistance to the fez has been widely accepted but is problematic in its almost sole reliance on Reşat Ekrem Koçu's dictionary of historical dress, which, though rich, gives no indication of sources and is historically unreliable. While there were objections, I have seen little in contemporary sources to suggest outright popular unrest or outrage on anything like the scale prompted by the 1927 hat law.

[120] Yıldız, *Neferin*, 390.

There are similar problems with the idea of the fez as an early equalizer of visual status among the wider population, given that the public marking of non-Muslims was swiftly built into the new system of fez badges.[122] While there is evidence to suggest a renewed effort to build bridges and integrate non-Muslim political and religious leaders into the civil elite through equalization of dress in the early 1830s after the conclusion of the Greek and Russian wars, this did not extend beyond the political hierarchy.[123] Ultimately, with the fez as with the wider sartorial reforms introduced by the edict, the goal was less equality, than to tame Istanbul's effervescent public life with a new aesthetic and behavioral ideal of orderly and plain uniformity.

Conclusion – Concerning Dress and Westernization/the Westernization Debate

There is a passage in Ahmet Lutfi Efendi's official chronicle of these years, written in the 1870s, concerning the controversy occasioned by two Serbian *vekil* [representatives] who, as negotiations with Russia were at a crucial point around 1832, appeared in Istanbul dressed in long *entari* robes, shawls and *çakşır*. At a loss to explain the drama that their appearance provoked, Lutfi finally exclaims "what [was] the meaning of getting into such a completely unnecessary struggle? Had the Porte finished all its other business, that it could busy itself so much with the dress of two Serbian representatives, to the point of even bothering the sultan himself with such a Hatt-i Hümayun about it?”.[124] While the Hatt itself betrays considerable uncertainty as to the proper application and enforcement of the new dress laws by officials, Lutfi’s exasperation illustrates how much ideas about the role and significance of public dress had changed, even within Istanbul itself, in the few decades that had elapsed between the event and his writing. For all that the 1829 edict sought to reimagine the Ottoman system of sartorial social order in a more modernized, disciplined form, it also marked the beginning of the end for the principles of the old sartorial and ceremonial system. In practice, most of the new uniforms set out by the 1829 law were superseded within a few years. By the end of the 1830s, and especially with the more liberal, bureaucratic atmosphere of Abdulmecid I’s early reign, many old rules and categories of public differentiation fell into abeyance, and with them the wider principle of the government’s stake in enforcing a certain ideal of visual and material public order. The politics of meaning vested in public dress waned away from material qualities of textile, production and intrinsic value to more dominantly visual-symbolic codes of hierarchy and cultural difference, particularly in relation to the growing global hegemony of European cultural forms.

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[121] Lutfi says that the *ay-yıldız* was painted onto boats, carriages, buildings etc to such an extent that it was felt necessary to issue a *hatt* restricting the practice. *Tarihi*, I, 187.

[122] BOA. ..{DVNS.BUY.ILM.d.00002, p126-7; Lutfi, *Tarihi*, V, 877. Pardoe corroborates that many fezzes bore what she describes as an 'ornament of cut paper', *City*, 6.

[123] Abdülkadir Özcan, "II. Mahmud'un Memleket Gezileri" in Mübalat Kütükoğlu ed., *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan* (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1991), 367.

In retrospect, the speed of these changes did much to shape later perceptions of Mahmud II’s dress reforms, and of the 1829 edict in particular, whose nuances became dimmed away beneath the long, backward shadow of imperialism and the Westernization debate. The changes they implemented were undoubtedly intended to signal a clear, radical break with the old order to a wide audience, yet the deeply visual nature of the alterations in many ways played into interpretations of them as a fundamentally Westernizing impulse. In a city where so much remained obscure to the new generation of European travelers just beginning to arrive in it, dress changes presented a tangible, familiar symbol of change that they felt confident in engaging. Convinced of the unchanged historical nature of Oriental dress, the copious travelogues and commentaries that publicized their impressions were at one in judging that the new costumes' novelty could not be other than a vain striving for the lamplight of European progress. Yet the 1829 edict itself, and the wider late eighteenth and early nineteenth century debates around dress that form its context really show how far this was not really the case, highlighting the much wider material and intellectual geographies that continued to shape the Ottoman dress regime. As those travelogues themselves confirm, European industrial goods and fashions were in the 1820s only just beginning to proliferate in the capital, and even then only among very specific neighborhoods and social strata.[125] While European influences can certainly be discerned in the era's dress reforms, they are still discussed in very functional terms and in relation to specifically military issues. The 1829 edict is not marked by any real sense of cultural Europeanization as an existential threat or wider terrain for political-civilizational struggle. Rather, its concerns around dress and order continue to be overwhelmingly determined by the domestic politics of reform and the re-vivifying of Ottoman centralized power and military ability. Indeed, it illustrates how ideas of military reform were not restricted to the new army itself, but continued to be tied to wider projects of social disciplining and militarization going back to *Nizam-ı Cedid*, and the dominant domestic conflict with the janissaries, whose lawlessness and religious heterodoxy still supplied a very immediate other to Naqshbandi-influenced scientistic-pious reformers. In many ways the 1829 edict is a very transitional document, feeling out for a new way forward for imperial organization, aesthetics and identity in the post-janissary era. It reflects a clear sense of the old sartorial order as outdated and irredeemably broken-down, and of the laying of foundations for a new and dynamic era.[126] Its vision for the new administrative and ceremonial order though continues to be shaped by deep engagement with ideas of Ottoman history and social organization, and a wide intellectual geography rooted in Persianate political vocabularies of order and statecraft. The strong emphases on Naqshbandi-Mujjadidi and Khaldunian thought illustrate the continued close interconnection of Ottoman intellectual developments with South and Central Asia, Egypt and the empire's other Arab provinces. Similarly, the dominant influences in fashionable Istanbul society continued to be centred on Kashmiri shawls and other Indian and Iranian fabrics, tying in with comparably trans-continental networks and geographies of trade and shared habits of lifestyle, fashion and material culture.

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[124] The passage itself suggests some possible reasons. The Serbs’ costume was clearly viewed as politically provocative at a moment when the status of the Serbian provinces was under tense discussion, openly challenging the legitimacy over them of the new centralized political order. It may also be that, given Mahmud’s deep personal sensitivity to dress questions, the extent of recent political upheaval and lack of precedent for dealing with high level contraventions of the new dress system that officials had little choice but to deal with the issue in this manner.

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[125] Macfarlane, *Constantinople*, vol. I, 191, vol. II, 25.

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[126] See Karateke, *Padişahım,* 5, 100 for this sense in relation to royal ceremonial.

Figures for Chapter One

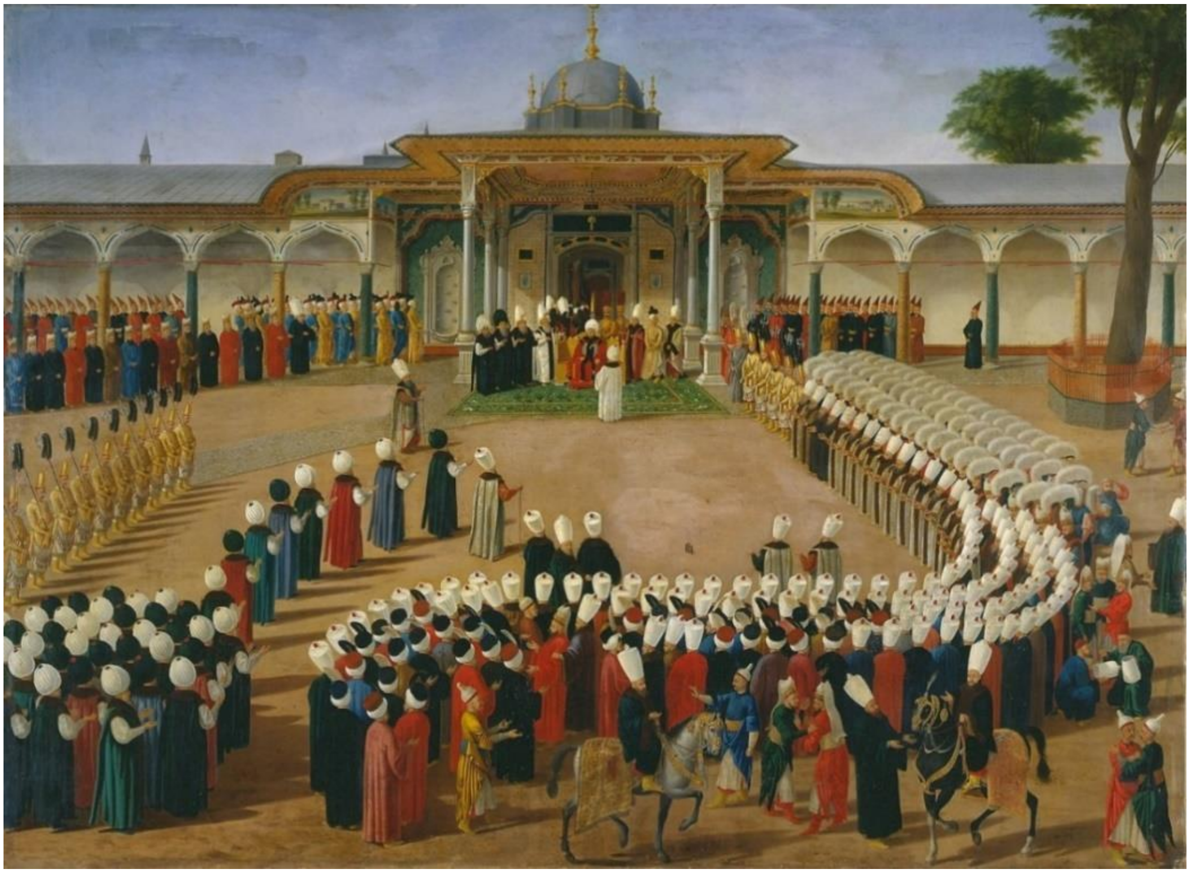

Figure 1, Konstantin Kapıdağlı, III. Selim'in cülus töreni, oil, 1790s, Topkapı Palace Museum Collection.

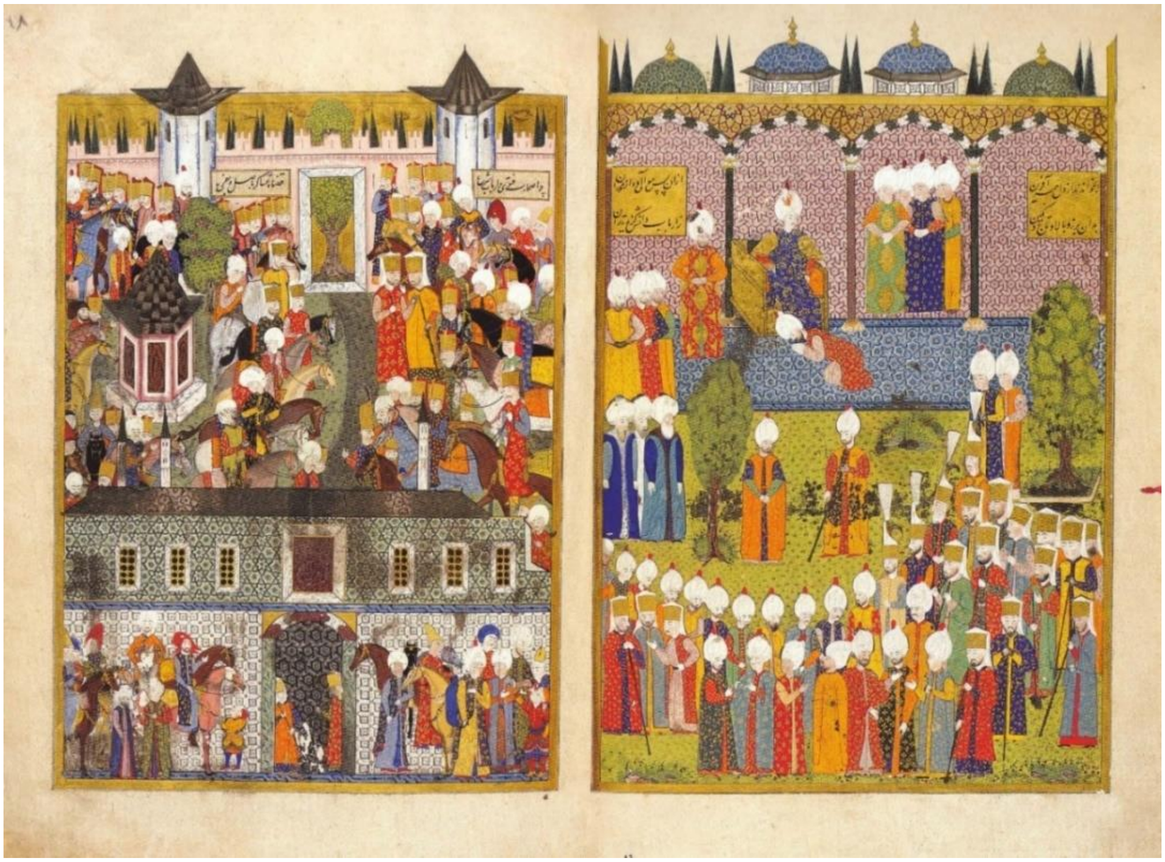

Figure 2, Illustration from the Süleymanname, illuminated manuscript, 1558.

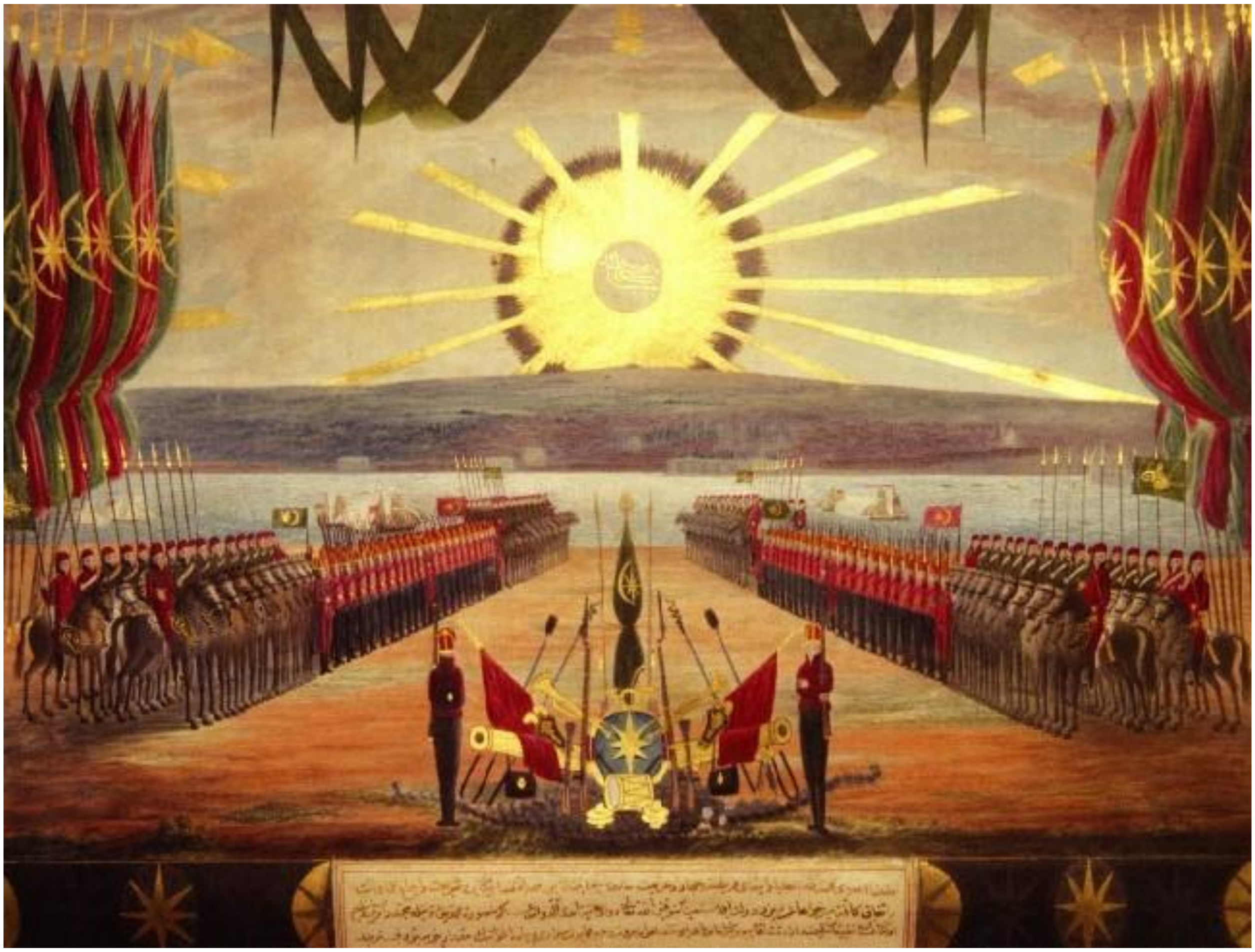

Figure 3: Unknown artist, troops of the Süvari-i Hassa*, c.1830, Topkapı Palace Museum Collection.*

Chapter 2

Male Style and Manners in Istanbul's Age of the *Efendi*

The early twentieth century Turkish novelist Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, in the opening to his first novel *Kıralık Konak* [Mansion for Rent] reflects evocatively on the disappearing values and lifestyles of his grandfathers' generation. Recalling the ubiquitous fashion of *istanbulin* jacket and fez that characterized those late nineteenth century Ottoman gentlemen, he writes that:

> At no time were the Ottomans ever as graceful, trim and refined as in this era of the *istanbulin*. The greatest product of the Tanzimatı Hayriye was the *istanbulin*-wearing *Istanbul Efendisi*.[1] This garment introduced to the world a new type of person, and in this garment the Turks appeared for the first time as a quite distinct new nation [*gayet hususi yeni bir millet*] between wild Asia and rough Europe… Which seed of this soil, trampled by the iron sandals of dense janissaries with their heavy headdresses and many hues, which atmosphere gave forth this flower? Because these white-trousered, white-vested, lustrine-booted Turks, with their figures of slender rope, bore no resemblance to these gnarled men of shortly before... And all of them chary of common work, restrained in their speech and pleasures, virtuous family fathers and respectable mansion-owners.[2]

Although the passage is tinged with nostalgia, it points to a key transition in the idea and expression of Ottoman elite manliness which occurred around ideals of *efendi* identity, or *efendilik* over the course of the nineteenth century. The figure of the *istanbulin*-clad 'Istanbul efendisi' described here is an ever-present in mid to late nineteenth century accounts of Ottoman Istanbul, from the endless summits, receptions and balls of the new diplomatic domain to the proliferating *salons* and societies of polite Istanbul society.[3] Across the new scientific and illustrated journals and *carte de visite* photographs which proliferate from the 1860s on, his neatly-bearded image stares out, framed by high dark collar and fez.[4] The extent of the transformation can be seen in figure 1, an 1868 photograph of the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Aziz, probably taken in London and presented as a diplomatic gift during his European tour of that year. The sultan appears entirely shorn of the luxurious emblems of royal privilege of only a few decades before, barely distinguishable at a glance from the most unremarkable scurrying bureaucrat of the Porte. Taken in an era of painstakingly self-conscious photographic arrangement, the portrait's ordinary format and dress project the ruler in terms of the plain tastes, quiet administrative capability, and the urbane, distinctively Ottoman gentility associated with the now well-established *efendi* image. Though points of cut and detailing continued to evolve in the decades that followed, the idealized figure of the *istanbulin* and fez-wearing *efendi* would continue to hold powerful sway endured right up until the First World War - a recurring counterpoint to the over-Westernized *züppe* fop of innumerable novels and caricatures, and an instantly recognisable marker of the Istanbul-educated in the provinces.[5]

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[1] The Tanzimatı Hayriye – literally 'auspicious reorganisations' – was a period of far-reaching reforms in government administration, legal rights and lifestyle driven by senior Ottoman statesmen, typically dated as running from the promulgation of the Gülhane Hatt-ı Şerif charter in 1839 to the accession of Abülhamit II in 1876.

[2] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2016), 10-11.

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[3] Carter Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 37; Zürcher, *Turkey*, 66. See also illustrated coverage of key diplomatic summits and other Ottoman events in contemporary journals like *L'Ilustration, Illustrated London News* etc.

[4] Özendes Engin. *Abdullah Frères : Ottoman Court Photographers*. Art, 35. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 1998; Öztuncay Bahattin. *The Photographers of Constantinople: Pioneers, Studios and Artists from 19th Century Istanbul* (Istanbul: Aygaz, 2006).

[5] One could argue that this ideal remained salient until well into the 20th century if we take into account the importance of 'effendiyya' culture in much of the post-Ottoman Arab world, albeit with some modifications in the style. See Michael Eppel, "The elite, the effendiyya, and the growth of nationalism and pan-Arabism in Hashemite Iraq, 1921–1958," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 2 (1998): 227-250; Lucie Ryzova, *The Age of the Efendiyya: Passages to Modernity in National-Colonial Egypt* (Oxford: OUP, 2014).

As Yakub Kadri looks back on this figure from the vantage point of the 1910s, it is striking both how much he defines the essence of *efendilik* in terms of a particular kind of taste and sensibility, and as representing a sharp break with the Ottoman elite culture of 'shortly before'. More than putative military prowess, patron or lineage, the elite status of the ‘Istanbul efendisi’ is justified by reference to an innately Ottoman vision of elevated manners, moral rectitude, and instinctively restrained self-fashioning which marked them out not only from the 'gnarled' Ottomans of earlier times, but as the equal, or even superior of their 'rough' European counterparts. Qualities of *efendilik* were outwardly marked, moreover, by clear embodied qualities of restrained sober fashion and active, virtuous physique. The passage dwells repeatedly on the 'graceful, trim' bodies of this new breed of gentlemen 'with their figures of slender rope', while making it quite clear that the true *efendi* could not be imagined apart from his habitual costume of *istanbulin* jacket, smart black shoes and fez.

In a sense, this chapter sets out to explore the question which Yakup Kadri poses here – that is, where does the fashion aesthetic of fez and *istanbulin* and the elite male identity of *efendilik*, which seemed to provide such a sudden contrast with the previous generation, come from? The evolution of nineteenth century Ottoman dress, especially male dress, has been the subject of very little historical study, perhaps surprisingly given the centrality of fashion to the cultural politics of imperialism and nationalism in the empire's final decades, and in the early Turkish and other post-Ottoman republics.[6] Partly this reflects the enduring conception of male Ottoman dress as a historical space somehow outside of fashion, determined first by rigid imperial sumptuary laws and then the *de facto* summary Westernization of Mahmud II's 1829 reforms and a new Francophile ruling cadre, which rendered any further investigation (fez excepted) as moot. The *istanbulins* and suave manners of mid-century Ottoman men of letters were habitually read as imitations of European gentility and frock coats by contemporary visitors, while the social values described here by Yakup Kadri - settled family, sobriety, professional-managerial work– are perhaps a little too familiar to us from histories of the European bourgeois to have excited much independent scrutiny.[7] Yet key elements of the evolution in Ottoman self-fashioning towards ideals of *efendilik* occurred quite contemporaneously with the 'great masculine renunciation' of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century described in European histories of fashion. Chapter one how already shown how emerging critiques of conspicuous consumption and courtly display long-predated the ruptures of the 1820s. From a longer perspective, the much-remarked similarities of nineteenth century Ottoman and European male dress are hardly surprising when contextualized within preceding centuries of mutual aesthetic influence, trade and dialogue, of which this was in many ways only the latest episode. We might also note the common impacts of wider structural changes associated with the 'age of revolutions', including social instability, inequality, the intensification of trading and macroeconomic ties, and the rise of textual-orthodox movements of religious piety and social critique across European and Ottoman domains alike.[8]

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[6] The history of Ottoman female dress, though still limited has been better studied, notably in the works of Madeleine Zilfi, *Women*; “Whose Laws”; “Goods”. Houchang Chehabi, "Dress Codes for Men in Turkey and Iran" In Touraj Atabaki and Erik J. Zürcher eds., *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization Under Atatürk and Reza Shah*, (London: I.B.Tauris, 2004) 209–237; Julia Phillips Cohen "Oriental by Design: Ottoman Jews, Imperial Style, and the Performance of Heritage" *The American Historical Review* 119, no. 2 (2014): 364-98; Lewis, *Emergence, 267*; Camilla Nereid, “Kemalism on the Catwalk: The Turkish Hat Law of 1925”, *Journal of Social History*, 44:3 (Spring 2011), 707-28.

To probe the origins and associations of the *istanbulin* style, the chapter's main focus is on using a combination of visual portraiture and archival and narrative sources to explore changes in Ottoman male dress and manners over the 1830-40s, which appear as the critical period in the nineteenth century evolution of fashion and social structure in Istanbul.[9] Visual and descriptive sources both confirm the main elements of the *istanbulin* and fez style to have been well-established by the early 1840s. Indeed, within a decade of the seminal 1829 *nizamname* on dress observers noted a new "national costume…consisting of jacket buttoned up to the throat, very loose silk trowsers confined at the ankle, silk stockings and European shoes".[10] Detailed work on the social and adminstrative changes of these critical years is lamentably thin and beyond the scope of this study.[11] But some points can be drawn from the patterns of self-fashioning and sartorial legislation available. There can be no doubt that the drastic changes to state organization, dress and ceremony implemented by Mahmud II were a key catalyst in shaping the style's emergence at this time. This chapter argues, however, that the *efendi* style, manners and morality which would go on to become so influential both domestically and abroad later in the century were not dictated by these years' authoritarian reforms, but emerged with the consolidating influence and corporate identity of the emerging official class associated with the old *kalemiye* and, in the 1830s, reformed *mülkiye* civil administration,

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[7] Marxist historians have tended to find the idea of an Ottoman bourgeoisie doubly problematic given the lack of an industrial-economic basis for one in the nineteenth century. For a thorough discussion of the issue Edhem Eldem, "(A Quest for) the Bourgeoisie of Istanbul: Identities Roles and Conflicts" in Ulrike Freitag and Nora Lafi eds., *Urban Governance Under the Ottomans: Between Cosmopolitanism and Conflict* (London, Routledge, 2014), 159-186.

[8] See chapter 1.

While the form and tailoring of the *istanbulin* presented a strong contrast with earlier styles, it also perpetuated elements of length, high front-buttoning and loose, unfitted outline that were historically key marks of elite distinction from the common population. Its simplicity and sombre tones were likewise certainly influenced by engagement with the post-Napoleonic world of politics and diplomacy, and globally-oriented movements of scientific rationalism, but also need to be understood in relation to the deep reorientation of Istanbulite social organization and official hierarchy shaped by the revolts and crises of the early nineteenth century. The associations of orthodox piety, self-discipline and well-lettered professional competence that defined the mid-century *efendi*'s dress also served to mark out and legitimize a new generation of administrators against the disgraced janissaries, self-serving pashas, and even the palace itself. Key elements of the aesthetic which settled around the *istanbulin* reflected a move not towards, but away from the more military-European aesthetic of dress pursued by both Mahmud II and Abdulmecid I, and the lingering uses of jewelery, gold-embroidery and ornament in the dress of these two sultans themselves.[12] In this sense, the *efendi* style also illustrates how, for all the dramatic spectacle of the 1820s' political reform, the social changes that flowed out from them were also a product of pre-existing long-term trends, in the material production and consumption of dress, new patterns of urban sociality and the long rise to political and cultural preeminence of the scribes and bureaucrats of the civil administration. It was partly from these elements of material and stylistic continuity that the style derived its enduring aura of cultural authenticity.

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[9] Philliou, *Biography*, 13.

[10] Sir David Wilkie made this comment in the late 1830s after painting a life portrait of sultan Mahmud II. Catalogue to the Searight Collection of pictures at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[11] There remains very little work other than that of Ali Akyıldız, *Osmanlı Bürokrasisi ve Modernleşme* (Istanbul: Iletişim, 2004) and Carter Findley, *Civil,* and *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

The chapter proceeds by firstly briefly exploring typical representations of early nineteenth century Ottoman dress before going on to document some of the historical continuities of fashion inherent in the *istanbulin* style. The impact on fashion and hierarchy of the ruptures of the 1820s is then considered, and finally the emergence and hallmarks of *efendi* dress and culture.

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[12] Christopher Breward, *The Suit: Form, Function and Style* (London, UK: Reaktion Books, 2016), 20; Brent Shannon, *The Cut of His Coat: Men, Dress, and Consumer Culture in Britain, 1860-1914* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006), 30.

Representations of Early Nineteenth Century Ottoman Dress

There is a recurring paradox in early nineteenth century European travelogues to the Ottoman Empire that while Istanbulite men are repeatedly described as ‘vain’ and having an ‘excessive love of dress and show’, there is, at the same time, an absolute insistence on the historically unchanging forms of Ottoman, or Muslim, male dress prior to Mahmud II’s reforms.[13] The American tourist James de Kay, commenting on new dress styles in Istanbul in 1833 was struck by the ‘disappearance’ of “the turban, that hitherto invariable emblem of the Turk… [which] carries us back to the savage times of the cut-throat crusaders, when literature and true religion were trampled under foot, and robbery and murder were considered as the most honourable mode of subsistence”.[14] A full forty years later, Edmondo de Amicis, wrote in the same vein that

> every aspect…of the conflict which is being waged between ancient and modem Turkey is faithfully reflected in the dress of her people. The old-fashioned Turk still wears his turban, his caftan and sash, and the traditional yellow morocco slippers, and, if he is one of the more strict and precise kind, a veritable Turk of the old school, the turban will be of vast proportions. The reformed Turk wears a long black coat buttoned close up under the chin, and dark shoes and trousers, preserving nothing Turkish in his costume but the fez… Between these and those, the wearers of the caftan and the wearers of the coat, there is a deep gulf fixed. They no longer have anything in common but the name of Turk, and are in reality two separate nations. He of the turban still believes implicitly in the bridge Sirat,

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[13] De Kay, *Sketches,* 210; Macfarlane, *Constantinople,* I, 101; Pardoe, *Beauties,* 73.
[14] De Kay, *Sketches*, 159.

> finer than a hair, sharper than a cimeter, which leads to the infernal regions; he faithfully performs his ablutions at the appointed hours, and at sunset shuts himself into his house. He of the frock-coat, on the contrary, laughs at the Prophet, has his photograph taken, talks French, and spends his evening at the theatre.[15]

Both passages present familiar, classically Saidian modes of Orientalist representation, with the intrinsically conservative, unchanged nature of true Ottoman society confronted by the emanation of dynamic European culture. The two authors likewise declare themselves witness to the critical moment of Ottoman encounter with Western-hallmarked modernity, regardless of the several decades of prior tumultuous upheaval. What is more notable, though, is how far the final proof of the Orientalist oppositions in such accounts is repeatedly found in male dress. The conviction that Ottoman costumes remained unchanged since 'the savage times of the crusaders' (or other time immemorial) was held to bear out much wider truths of Oriental society and political structure. Known to have been determined in perpetuity by the rigid strictures of Islamic law and the empire's own antique sumptuary statutes, dress presented a tangible proof of the innately passive character of 'the Turk', and of the despotic political authority to which he was historically beholden.[16] The expression of individual or collective tastes, or evolutions of popular fashion thus became almost a contradiction in terms, acknowledged only as a vexing deviation from proper norms by those expert European writers who "could point out to them the chapter in the Koran where they are strictly prohibited adorning their persons".[17]

Perceptions of Ottoman costume as historically unchanging were further reinforced by the growing circulation of print visual works on the Ottoman Empire, above all of costume albums. These works, which reached the height of their popularity through the late eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries, comprised a series of stylized type-portraits of different Ottoman ranks, occupations and religious communities.[18] As a genre they tend to follow a strong set of self-referencing conventions, with the portraits often highly anachronistic and bearing closer relation to accounts of the 16th century empire than contemporary usage.[19] While their classicalism may have held an appealing nostalgia to contemporary Ottoman consumers amid the deep uncertainties of the period, to European viewers they visually confirmed both the inherent exoticism of Ottoman dress, and the abstraction of its essential forms from any kind of lived social and material context.[20] That production of Ottoman costume albums by European artists continued unabated into the mid-nineteenth century, in spite of the formal abolition in 1829 of most of the costumes they depicted, janissaries and all, only confirms how far the image they perpetuated was independent of real fashion.[21]

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[15] Edmondo de Amicis, *Constantinople*, trans. Maria Lansdale (London: Merrill and Baker, 1896 [1877]), 171-2.

[16] 'Passive' is a particularly recurring term. Francis Herve, A Residence in Greece and Turkey (London: Whittaker& Co., 1837), 174-5; Pardoe, *Beauties*, 73.

[17] Macfarlane, *Constantinople*, 503.

Given this apparently wide documentary foundation, it is hardly surprising that almost any tangible changes of Ottoman dress, lifestyle and consumption were construed as a mere grafting-on of European cultural forms, devoid of innovation and necessarily antithetical to the true Ottoman tradition. This tendency is seen nowhere more clearly than in the case of the *istanbulin* style, which is interpreted almost without fail as an “ill-cut frock coat” or “semi-

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[18] Octavian Dalvimart, *The Costume of Turkey, Illustrated by a Series of Engravings With Descriptions in English and French* (London: William Miller, 1802); Fenerci Mehmed, *Osmanlı Kıyafetleri* (Istanbul Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 1986); Leslie Schick. "Meraklı Avrupalılar İçin Bir Başvuru Kaynağı Osmanlı Kıyafet Albümleri." *Toplumsal Tarih* (2003): 18; Jean-Baptiste Van Mour, *Lale Devri Ressamı Van Mour'un Çizimleriyle Osmanlılar Kıyafet Albümü: An Album of the Wardrobe of the Ottomans with Illustrations by the Tulip-Era Artist Van Mour* (Istanbul: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Culture, 2013).

[19] The descriptions of popular dress found in the frequent sumptuary legislation of these decades is often sharply at odds with the portrayals of costume albums.

[20] Suraiya Faroqhi, “Introduction,” in Christoph Neumann and Suraiya Faroqhi eds. *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity* (İstanbul: Eren, 2004), 40.

[21] Jean de Brindesi

European dress" which "preserv[ed] nothing Turkish...but the fez".[22] The jarring contrast the style presented to many visitors' expectations, and its near-ubiquity among the well-educated scribes, bureaucrats and other professionals with whom they were principally in contact was highly determinative of caricatures of Ottoman society as characterized by 'two separate nations' with a 'deep gulf' between, as we see only too clearly in de Amicis' account.[23] De Amicis is in fact as unwilling to acknowledge any trace of actual fashion or originality in the 'reformed Turk' as in the 'ancient', seeing only an equally passive and uncritical chasing after European forms. Indeed, his language is perhaps even more scornful. While the gaudy and impractical yellow slippers and turban 'of vast proportions' are made emblematic of a hidebound piety and unthinking opposition to change, the 'reformed Turks' are cast as Godless, petty Europhiles, made ridiculous by their imitative behavior even as they are cut off from their own culture. Nor are such perceptions confined to contemporary accounts. Even in the secondary literature, the tendency to perceive nineteenth century dress as a binary expression of cultural politics continued to underwrite narratives of conservative-reformist opposition. In the twentieth century, Bernard Lewis' summary of Ottoman fashion as ruled by a "general feeling that to abandon one's own form of dress…was an act of treason and of apostasy" cast a particularly lasting influence on perceptions of historical fashion.[24] His characterization of the new generation of *istanbulin*-wearing officials as "ignorant, superficial, corrupt, and separated from those over whom they ruled by a widening gulf" likewise reproduces nineteenth century European language almost verbatim.[25] While more recent work has generally sought to move on from the modernization paradigms of Lewis, Berkes etc., there remain a strong tendency to generalize discussions of male dress over the whole period of 1826 to 1908, to consider it almost exclusively in relation to political developments to the exclusion of any consideration of fashion, and to take the costumes of previous eras more or less as read.[26]

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[22] De Amicis, *Constantinople,* 171-2; Pardoe, *Beauties*, 73.
[23] De Amicis, *Constantinople,* 171-2.
[24] Lewis, *Emergence,* 101.
[25] Lewis, *Emergence,* 127.

Antecedents of the *Istanbulin*

These assumptions of unchanging tradition go some way to explaining why nineteenth century writers were so entirely unable to see the strong elements of continuity between the *istanbulin* style and earlier forms of male Ottoman dress, and indeed the strong historical Ottoman influences on European male clothing itself. Many of the defining elements of the *istanbulin* jacket, including its length, short collar, long series of front-opening buttons reaching up to the neck and straight, solid outline can be seen established in Ottoman fashion well before. As early as the sixteenth century, depictions of janissary uniforms already display striking similarities to later forms of male coat. The janissary officers depicted in figures 2-3, for instance, both wear characteristic examples of *kaftan* or *entari* as their outmost layer.[27] These long outer garments, also commonly seen in sleeveless form, typically extend to the ankles and are tightly fitted across the chest with a central row of buttons, usually fabric, and a waist sash [*kuşak*]. Hanging loose from the waist, its lower tips were often tied diagonally back into the waist (as in fig. 3) both for ease of walking and stylistic display of the interior garments.[28] These typically comprised a medium length shirt or tunic (*gömlek),* loose *çakşır* drawers and *çizme* boots. The pointed fold-down collar might form part of the caftan/*entari* itself (fig. 2) or the interior *gömlek* (fig. 3), while flexibility of the arms appears to have been accommodated by the inclusion of additional fabric which was allowed to bag at the armpits and sleeves, with the latter tightly closed at the wrist to prevent it descending over the hands.

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[26] Chehabi, *Dress Codes,* 210; Hanioglu, *Brief*, 27; Jirousek, "Mass Fashion System", 209; *Ottoman Dress & Design in the West: A Visual History of Cultural Exchange* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019), 179; Katja Jana, "Loyal and Elegant Subjects of the Sublime State: Headgear and the Multiple Dimensions of Modernizing/-ed Ottoman Identity", PhD diss. (Georg-August-Universitat, 2016), 41.

[27] The distinction between *kaftan* and *entari* is hard to make out consistently. The latter term seems to have begun to be more often applied to female dress in the 18th century, but references to male *entari* remain, as in Ilyas Agha. It seems that *kaftan* were often somewhat looser in fit, sometimes padded, and more likely to denote showy outer garments of brocade or silk, while *entari* may have come to denote the anterior garment worn beneath an outer *biniş, cübbe* or *ferace*.

[28] Jirousek highlights this layering effect as one of the defining characteristics of historical Ottoman male fashion, "Ottoman Influences", 239.

At the early eighteenth century, the *kaftan/entari* was one of the foundations of Ottoman formal dress and uniforms, as can be seen in figure 4, a leaf from the *Surname* – an illustrated manuscript depicting the circumcision festival held for Ahmed III's sons in 1720. In this picture, which depicts a procession of guilds come to present gifts to the sultan, we find not only the palace officials in the upper right leaf but also many guild members wearing long *kaftan*, while lower ranked servants and apprentices are mostly clad in shorter jackets. There are also several examples of the loose over-robes - *biniş* or *cübbe* - worn by *ulema* and in luxuriant fur-lined or silk versions that were (in theory) reserved solely to the most favored and senior officials.

A striking aspect of the *entari* seen here and in the *Surname* generally is that they are almost entirely of plain, un-patterned fabric and pale colors, with bolder patterned and colored fabrics largely restricted to inner clothing and the furnishings of the royal tent. The highly ceremonial, prescriptive nature of the occasion depicted would have mandated formal headgears and costume, and, perhaps predictably in an object intended for royal consumption, there is little sign of the rogue fashions of which sartorial edicts complain. However, these patterns are broadly supported across other examples of eighteenth-century portraiture like figures 5-6. Figure 6, a rare life-portrait of an Istanbulite noble in non-ceremonial dress, is particularly interesting for the overgarment of patterned pink silk, whose stitching around the collar and few large, embroidered buttonholes and use of an inner lining strongly foreshadows those elements in the *istanbulin* and is suggestive of the introduction of new tailoring techniques and styles. The use of a gold-clasped belt over the waistsash also anticipates later nineteenth century ways of wearing ceremonial *setre* jackets, while the ensemble overall emphasises elegant contrasts of pattern and texture and a broad, imposing profile reflecting a surfeit of rich fabric. The rising, flat-topped, gently broadening inner component of the typical *katibi* or *paşalı* types of *kavuk* formal headgear visible in figures 5, 6 and 17-19, in which the wrapped turban fabric is limited to the lower part and sides, also bears strong resemblance to the shape of earlier *Mahmudiye* forms of official fez in the 1820-30s.

If many of the garments depicted in figures 2-6 also seem reminiscent of Western European dress, it is no coincidence, but a reflection of centuries of closely intertwined developments in aesthetic and material culture and the strong Ottoman influence seen in European fashion in the 17-18th centuries particularly.[29] Historians of European dress widely accept Iranian and especially Ottoman styles as a formative influence on the emergence of garments like the suit and shirt. Charlotte Jirousek notes the keen interest taken by 16th century European monarchs in the court of Süleiman the Magnificent and the many sartorial borrowings which appear in portraits and costumes of that era.[30] Christopher Breward meanwhile has argued for Charles II's adoption of the 'Ottoman vest' in 1666 as "the pivotal moment in the birth of the modern three-piece English suit" and one which ultimately "achieved an unprecedented and welcomed uniformity among elite and middling civilian ranks" in Britain.[31] The classic form of the European frock coat, which so many early nineteenth century commentators assert as the true original of the *istanbulin*, itself also betrays the ongoing influence of Ottoman male style in its fold-down collar, length to the thigh and diagonal cutaway towards the rear in its lower portion to reveal layered inner garments, typically an undershirt, waistcoat of matching fabric or brocade – also of thigh length for much of the eighteenth century - and pantaloons (figure 7). We should also bear in mind that the relation between Ottoman and European male fashions was far from binary, and was shaped within a wide transcontinental context of migration trade and cultural interaction. By the late eighteenth century new colonial linkages and intensified trade were bringing unprecedented quantities of South Asia commodities and textiles in particular to European and Ottoman markets, contributing to accelerating fashion cycles in both and a common mercantilist preoccupation with the level of imports from the East.[32]

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[29] Nebahat Avcioglu, *'Turquerie' and the Politics of Representation, 1728-1876* (London: Ashgate, 2011); Jirousek, "Ottoman Influences", 236; *Ottoman Dress*.
[30] Jirousek, *Ottoman Dress*, 97-100.
[31] Christopher Breward, *The Suit: Form, Function and Style* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), 40.

The long historical interplay of influences is equally apparent in the of military uniform, and especially the dress and ceremonial varieties whose development was so closely related to nineteenth century evolutions in royal and court dress. The janissaries in their all-conquering 15th and 16th century pomp were famously the continent's first salaried standing army and provided a key inspiration in the formation of the first European professional armies and uniforms in the late 17th century.[33] Even in the early nineteenth century, clear Ottoman influences are discernable in many French uniforms, which themselves provided and important model for those of the new *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyye* troops. The uniforms of the Napoleonic grenadiers in figure 8, for instance, again exhibits the classic length and diagonal cutaway typical of janissary uniforms and decidedly *kavuk*-like caps with plumed aigrettes. The pelisse of the mounted hussar to the right is also unmistakably Ottoman in its fur lining, hanging sleeves and horizontal gold embroidery running across the buttons on the chest – all absolutely defining features of Ottoman royal and ceremonial court *caftan* (figure 9). Many of these elements are not restricted to French army but seen widely across European uniforms of the era.

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[32] Breward, *Suit,* 84-89; Halil İnalcık, *Studies in the History of Textiles in Turkey* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010); Jirousek, *Ottoman Dress,* 146-8; Quataert, "Clothing", 404.

[33] Jirousek, *Ottoman Dress,* 133-4.

Ottoman Male Fashion in the Early Nineteenth Century

In light of these common antecedents, the correspondences of form between the new Ottoman military and civil dress seen in the immediate post-*vaka'* era and European male dress is hardly surprising. Even the new Ottoman military uniforms of the late 1820-30s, the nominal ground zero of Ottoman nineteenth century Westernization, there are many elements which can as easily be related back to Ottoman military as European dress. In figure 10, a sketch of two military officers from the second half of the 1830s, drawn by the visiting military attaché Helmut von Moltke, the outline of the long jackets worn bear strong resemblance to the *caftan* of earlier generations (as in figs 2-4) in their long front opening design, looseness from the waist and belting of the waist (as in figs 5-6) by the leftward figure, even as other details like the cloth shoulder epaulettes and stitching of the shoulders are suggestive of more specifically European influence. Likewise the *harvani*, a “cloak or mantle” introduced as one of the defining markers of military officers and the new ceremonial dress by Mahmud II bears, in its coming right across the shoulders to cover much of the front body, as much resemblance to the tradition *cübbe* as a European military cloak, as in figures 11-12.[34] While the first impression of the Abdulmecid I’s portrait here would seem to confirm the monarch’s Francophile reputation in its typically European composition, format and aesthetic, his dress retains distinctively Ottoman elements that go well beyond the fez, plumed aigrette and prominently curved dress sword. His rich, possibly silk *harvani* is characterized by sleeves and a long diagonal gathering of folds at the back that bear resemblance to that of the nobleman in figure 6. Underneath he wears a typical example of almost knee-length embroidered formal coat established as the proper ceremonial costume for senior civil officials in the 1830s, characterized by gold *sırmalı* embroidery and a gold waistbelt, often adorned with a *nişan* or insignia at the buckle, and worn outside the coat.

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[34] Macfarlane, *Constantinople*, 53.

The continuities of form of the *istanbulin* and *Mahmudiye* fez with existing kinds of Ottoman male garments may also go some way to explaining the apparent lack of controversy raised by style. The official archives for the 1830s are full of petitions and negotiations around new decorations and insignia, and older palace staff and members of the *enderun* are known to have objected to have objected to the abolition of the traditional official ceremonial and hierarchical costumes, to which their own careers were so materially tied.[35] But there is very little evidence concerning contemporary Ottoman opinions or reactions to the new style of *setre* coat – forbear of the *istanbulin*- which become quietly ubiquitous among the literate scribes and officials who made up the emerging civil and military elite in the 1830s. Already in the early part of the decade there is evidence of the wide coalescence of the style among senior civil officials. Figure 13, a portrait of Kazaz Artin Amira Bezciyan, the superintendent of the royal mint, can be dated to 1832-33 and already shows key elements of the style coming together in the form of the tall, slightly broadening felt *Mahmudiye* fez, black coat with short standup collar and new official rank *nişan* hanging around the neck and on the left side of the fez. The hanging decoration is one of the first *tasvir-i hümayun*, a new mark of especial rank and favor bearing the sultan's own image, first introduced in 1832.[36] While short standing collars of fabric are a characteristic of many historical Ottoman *cübbe*, the more structured standing collar which appears in this era, along with new elements of stitching seen in the collar and sleeve attachment are likely influenced by French fashion of the era (figüre 14). The wearing of the jacket open, over what appears to be a European-style dress waistcoat and cravat, might reflect the sitter's identity as an elite Istanbulite Armenian, who were reported to be in closer contact with the growing diplomatic community in Pera and open to incorporating elements of European style in these years. However, the similarity to existing Ottoman styles of wearing the *biniş* open in this way (figs. 18-19) should also not be overlooked. At the same time, the picture is suggestive of Mahmud's attempts to reintegrate non-Muslim elites in these years, not least through incorporation into the new regime of official status markers, and also, given that the image was likely commissioned for private home display, of the active adoption and use of new *nişan* and the early *istanbulin* style among non-Muslim officials.

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[35] Ilyas Agha, *Letaif-i Vekayi-i Enderuniyye*, 483-5; Eldem *Pride,* 127.

[36] Eldem, *Pride*, 127. Bezciyan remained in the post only until 1833 (upon which he would have had to have return the *tasvir*) and died in 1834, allowing confident dating of the image to these years. The prominence of the *tasvir* here likely references not only exclusive rank and royal confidence, but also his position as the head of the royal

While there are very few other surviving images of non-military or ceremonial dress from the 1830s, multiple writers in the second half of the decade attest to the wide use of 'frock coats', and there are a number of portraits from the early 1840s which indicate the style of fez and proto-*istanbulin* was already widely settled by that date (figs. 15-16).[37] These two images, depicting two of the most senior and influential pashas of the day, are notable for their studied plainness, including the absence of almost any adornment on fez, collar or jacket hems and use of simple, matching black cloth buttons which contrast with the more ornate large metal or even jeweled ones seen in depictions of sultanic and military dress costumes of the same era. In both cases the coats are worn without any visible interior shirt collar and loose at the neck. Reşid

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mint, which played a key role in the design and production of many of the new decorations, royal gifts and rank markers, including the *tasvir-i hümayun* which marked out the new era.

[37] Herve, *Residence*, 82; Pardoe, *Beauties*, 73.

Paşa’s chest features the classic horizontal bands of embroidery seen in earlier Ottoman court *caftan* and, increasingly by this time, European dress uniforms, but again in plain black fabric. The apparently quite unique character of this usage - I have not found any other textual or visual instance to such decoration- applies to quite a number of fleeting forms of garment or decoration in this period which surface only once or twice in documents or portraits without being seen again.[38] Partly this reflects the paucity of sources in this period, particularly contemporary Ottoman voices on fashion and visual depictions other than royal portraiture. However, it is also suggestive of a notable acceleration in the evolution of Ottoman male fashion, and an instability of sartorial form and meaning which allowed for considerable innovation and experimentation as the elements of a new dominant style gradually coalesced.

The fragmentary visual evidence and many sumptuary laws promulgated in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century suggest that important evolutions of taste and fashion were underway in Istanbul well in advance of the upheavals of the 1820s, partly spurred by long-term trends of urbanization and rising social mobility. Chapter one has already shown the exasperation of successive eighteenth and early nineteenth century sultans at the fashion consciousness and conspicuous consumption seen ‘among high and low alike’ in the capital’s streets.[39] Foreign accounts often echo their laments over the decline in traditional dress observances. Macfarlane complains that “Each class … was losing the characteristic markings of its caste or nation: there was no spirit, no raciness in either.”[40] Francis Herve relates a few years later that:

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[38] The *harvani* would be another obvious instance of instability in both form and terminology. Its form varies, as in FIG, and Lutfi says it only lasts a decade or so, despite continuing visual appearance.

[39] BOA, HH, 13663 of 18.8.1792; Enver Ziya Karal, *Selim III’un Hatt-ı Hümayunları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999), 102.

[40] Macfarlane, *Constantinople,* 52.

> The different costumes in Constantinople, indicating the various parts from which the wearers come, are quite an interesting and difficult study. I … thought I was very learned; and as we were returning home, when we took water, observing our boatman had green wound round his red cap, I remarked he was a Turk, determined to prove I had not forgotten my lesson; but it appeared I was mistaken, for he was Greek …This, and several other blunders of the same description, made me relinquish the attempt at discovering people's countries by their costume.[41]

Multiple sumptuary edicts further complain of the decline of proper hierarchy in costume and an attendant devaluation of traditional rank markers that resulted. Several promulgations appear over the course of Selim III and Mahmud II's reigns which suggest that even among senior viziers there was a growing reluctance to observe the proper costumes dictated by their position.[42] A volley of edicts in 1815 complained that 'respected senior viziers have made it their custom to wrap shawls on their heads' in place of their proper *kavuk* when in public, and that 'this usage is entirely contrary to the customs of vizieral office…and the cause of lasting damage to the symbols of sultanate's magnificence'.[43] The same orders further suggest that customary seasonal changes in costume and official protocol in vizieral offices [*daireleri*] were not being observed.[44] Other edicts concerning the declining honor of the *kavuk* complain both about the reduced size of vizieral *paşalı kavuk* being worn, and the growing popularization of these small *paşalı kavuk* among the wider population, a trend also suggested by the frequency with which *katibi* or *paşalı kavuk* occur in pictures of public or street scenes of the period, like the 1809 image of the bazaar in figure 17.[45]

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[41] Herve, *Residence*, II, 215.

[42] BOA.HH.15693 of 13.5.1801; Karal, *Hatt*, 102.

[43] BOA. C..AS..50915 of 1.3.1784; C..DH..13873 of 15.01.1815; HH. 32290 of 28.02.1815; HH. 34228 of 14.02.1815.

[44] C..AS..50915 of 1.3.1784.

There are additionally many complaints over the widening use of furs, light colours, yellow boots and other nominally exclusive markers of elite official status among lower ranks, scribes, artisans, members of retinues and Christians.[46] We also see over the course of the eighteenth century a growing invective against tailors [*terziler*] and other artisanal *esnaf* for supplying the demands for excessive and forbidden forms of consumption and display.[47] Though the limited evidence makes it hard to draw definitive conclusions, these trends are suggestive of a growing population of aspirational consumers in the capital, encompassing successful artisans and bazaar keepers, retainers of elite households, European consulates and trading enterprises, who were increasingly able to access and afford the material symbols of elite *askeri* status.[48] The preference for new status symbols like luxury imported *şal* and reticence at wearing their *paşalı kavuk* in public among the elite themselves might accordingly reflect a shift to new expressions of exclusivity. The South Asian *şal* itself, an item of considerable foreign cachet and graduated quality and price running up to huge sums for the finest Kashmiri and Lahori examples, offered a fitting object for contemporary, truly elite connoisseurship.[49] It may be that traditional palace costumes like the *kavuk* were also felt to be increasingly outmoded within the social world of Istanbul itself among the *kibarlı* [the well-mannered] of Istanbul. Such sentiments would in fact be entirely consistent with the atmosphere of relieved liberation which pervades accounts of reformed palace life under Mahmud II after the *vaka-ı hayriye*.[50]

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[45] BOA. HH. 54915 of 9.9.1790; Karal, *Hatt*, 102.

[46] BOA, HH, 13663 of 18.8.1792; De Kay, *Sketches*, 66.

[47] BOA. HH. 54915 of 9.9.1790; AE.SSLM.III. 24208 of 29.5.1807; C..DH..7349 of 24.4.1828.

[48] Başaran, *Selim III*, 22; Shirine Hamadeh. *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 6.

[49] De Kay estimates that prior to the shawl ban the finest examples would have fetched $800-1000, *Sketches*, 211.

There are further ways in which elite male self-fashioning in the early nineteenth century appears to significantly diverge from the caricatures of costume albums and travelogues. For one thing there appears to be strikingly little use of decorative ornament from long before the reforms of the late 1820s. The *biniş* and *cübbe* that are habitually worn as an outer layer in public are almost always of plain fabric and, sultan aside, there is barely any use of jewelry apparent.[51] In European accounts the prominence of color in male dress is always one of the defining features of Oriental difference. Yet, as we have seen in several images already, (figs. 4-6, 18-19) by the later eighteenth century use bright colors and bold fabrics in elite Ottoman dress tended to be limited to specific areas like the headdress, waist sash and an only partially visible inner *gömlek* or *caftan*. There is also a growing appearance of grey and other darker colors in pictures such as figures 18-19, a very rare depiction of a late eighteenth century man of letters, Fazl Enderuni, and the nineteenth century vizier Mehmet Aga Salam in figure 20. The kind of simplicity of dress seen in FIG among leading Ottoman statemen is remarked on in European accounts (if not their generalizations). Macfarlane's description of Yusuf Pasha is characteristic: "His dress was very simple; his beneesh, or outer garment,which entirely enveloped his figure as he sat cross-legged on the sofa, was of plain, fauncoloured French cloth, without gold or embroidery, but he wore a magnificent cashmere [ie a *şal*]."[52] We also already see the entwining of restrained aesthetic sensibility and mannered character which would define the mid-century

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[50] According to Karateke the wide changes to royal ceremonial life made after 1826 similarly seem to have excited little controversy but were readily accepted as less of a break than a necessary updating in reflection of the times. *Padişahım*, 168-9.
[51] Macfarlane, *Constantinople*, 180.
[52] Macfarlane, *Constantinople*, 180.

tanzimat Ottoman gentleman in the acknowledgement that he was "advanced in the vale of years, but his appearance was healthy and imposing, his manners were graceful and dignified, mild, yet firm; in short, what ought to be expressed by the proper and high term, gentlemanly".[53]

Collectively these points are suggestive of greater continuity of values in male self-fashioning, and to some degree the forms and stylings of garments, across the political ruptures of the early nineteenth century, and across Ottoman and European fashions than has often been recognized. In Britain, the fashion historian David Kuchta has argued that "in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, aristocratic and middle-class men furthered the great masculine renunciation by attempting to demonstrate their own modesty in contrast to the presumed luxury and effeminacy of their political opponents."[54] While Ottoman Istanbul presents a quite different and equally localized set of social and political tensions to those of Britain or France, there are at least common themes of rising consumption, accelerating fashion cycles and moral and mercantilist hand-wringing that emerge across both contexts in the later eighteenth century.[55] The fashionable extravagance of upper class Ottoman female dress noted by Zilfi and Jirousek, with its ornate *hotoz* headgears, and the endemic use of *sırmalı* embroidery and other expensive decorative elements so emphasized in dress edicts are largely absent from whatever portrayals of elite male self-fashioning are available.[56] Where such decoration is very commonly found is in surviving examples of short *cepken* jackets or sleeveless outer *yelek* of a kind associated with the servants, retainers, caique-oarsmen etc of wealthy households and officials, women, children and perhaps also increasingly among the city's wider public spaces (figure 21, see also the figure on the right of fig. 17). This is consistent with the royal resentment at the size and public assertiveness of wealthy ministers' retinues, and concern with wasteful and expensive tastes among the general public apparent in dress laws. Scholars like Afsaneh Najmabadi have shown how nineteenth century male fashion in contexts across the Middle East and South Asia was influenced by the intensifying encounter with European ideas and discourses of Eastern effeminacy.[57] However, in the Ottoman context, as seen in chapter one, we already also find emerging critiques of effeminacy within Ottoman archival documents in the late 18th century which are at least partly influenced by preoccupations with societal decline, military weakness and Naqshbandi ideas of personal piety. Just as aristocratic class anxiety and renunciation of ostentatious display in Europe was also jolted forward by the French Revolution, it is likely that the revolutionary political changes and recurring social violence which characterized the first quarter of the nineteenth century in Istanbul may also have accelerated such trends.[58]

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[53] Macfarlane, *Constantinople*, 180.

[54] David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 6.

[55] Quataert, "Clothing", 409-410; Jirousek, "Mass Fashion System", 206

[56] Jirousek "Whose laws", 129-131;.Zilfi, *Slavery,* 85-6.

Sartorial Dis-order in the Time of Authoritarian Reform

The turmoil of the 1820s, in which Istanbul was wracked by successive episodes of war, rebellion, disease and fire, left dramatic changes in its wake which could not but affect patterns of social relations and self-fashioning. The violent end of the janissaries in 1826, along with the outlawing of the Bektashi sect, vilification of non-Muslim subjects, summary exiling of whole populations from the capital, and instigation of a radical political reform agenda brought profound upheaval along almost all social axes, with effects which would only become gradually apparent. At the top of government, Mahmud II's determination to re-assert sultanic authority and rejuvenate the empire shaped a campaign to quash the power of provincial and governmental grandees and fundamentally reform the structures of governmental administration.[59] As we have seen in Chapter one, sweeping changes to traditional dress and ceremonial were central to the Mahmudian project to remake the Ottoman governmental elite in more disciplined, militaristic form, while the destruction of the janissaries and Bektaşi order entailed the further summary erasure of their own deeply embedded repository of symbols, dress and political authority. The abrupt tearing down of so much of the old order led to a massive and often chaotic re-allocation of physical and financial resources and political authority in the years which followed, and a rupture of the established systems and signs of official and social hierarchy.[60] However, while the Sultan and key ministers were signally successful in marking out the end of the old era, the degree to which they were able to impose their vision on what emerged was in many ways much more limited.

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[57] Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

[58] Yaycioglu, *Partners* for the common revolutionary characteristics of the era and events of 1807-9 particularly.

The chaotic character of the decade which followed the *vaka* is well illustrated by the path of dress reform and fashion in the early 1830s. Although the 1827 *kanunname* that established new army uniforms and 1829 edict on official and ceremonial dress were clearly intended to be definitive, the years of practical difficulties in which both were immediately embroiled proved them to be anything but. Even the most obviously successful of the new clothing decrees – the fez – was more complicated than at first appears. The *Mahmudiye* fez adopted by the new laws provided an imposing spectacle with its tall, slightly bulbous body of molded felt and *püskül* [tassel] of unspun silk (15-16), but proved highly problematic to manufacture and maintain.[61] The unspun *püskül* were so prone to tangling that "The damage that befell their threads from the wind, the rain, and other vile things made it an urgent necessity to have the tassels combed every day… These silken tassels rightly came to be called by the people 'the tasselled curse'… [and] it was a matter involving much trouble both for the military and for civilians".[62] The moulded felt of the body required similarly intensive upkeep. Julia Pardoe observed that "Nothing requires more management than a *fez* … As worn by Turkish soldiers, it were impossible to conceive any thing more hideous; generally nearly black, and always more or less greasy; some fling it down into their necks, where it forms a deep fold, others drag it over their eyebrows, and others again bury their whole heads in it, till it takes the form of the skull, and looks like a red clay basin."[63] As late as 1845 adjustments were still having to be made to its official form and usage.

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[59] Hanioglu, *Brief*, 60-2.

[60] Abu-Manneh, *Studies*, 68**;** Philliou, *Biography*, 110.

[61] Kütükoğlu, "Asakir"; Tezcan, *Tailors*, 33.

The fez also illustrates the continued limits of the ability of governmental ability to dictate wider usages of fashion and consumption. Use of the *Mahmudiye* fez and other dictates on costume remained more or less confined to formal members of the army and administration, with street and city scenes from the 1830-40s showing little obvious changes in dress style until significantly later in the century.[64] The impact in other centers of the empire outside of Istanbul also remained limited during Mahmud's reign. When Pardoe visited nearby Bursa in 1836 she was gratified to find it "infinitely more oriental in its aspect than Stamboul… the Turks themselves almost look like men of another nation. I do not believe that, excepting in the palace of the Pasha, there are a hundred *fez*-wearing Osmanlis in the whole city."[65] While De Kay suggests the 1829 *nizamname* had a significantly greater success than earlier edicts in banning the *şal*, use of supposedly banned status symbols like fur and *şal* still continued until well into the Tanzimat era, especially in more private spaces.[66]

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[62] Lutfi viii, Bernard Lewis' translation, *Emergence*, 102.

[63] Pardoe, *Beauties*, 234-5.

[64] Faroqhi, "Introduction", 32. Sir David Wilkie's street scenes from the late 1830s, for instance, remain quite consistent with the appearances of earlier examples except for intrusion of new military and official figures.

[65] Pardoe, *Beauties*, II, 38.

Even within the ranks of formal administration, the attempt to establish a new symbolic foundation for official hierarchy through rank-medals and fez *nişan* was almost immediately engulfed in a morass of confusion, subversion and readjustment. The official archives reveal a whole blizzard of petitions, objections, queries and requests over the 1830s as varied officials, notables, military units and other groups sought protect or carve out new markers of distinction for themselves within the new regime. Edhem Eldem in his study of early Ottoman decorations summarizes that "practically every rank and position with a claim to some official recognition was likely to request, and eventually be rewarded with, a personalized decoration."[67] It did not help that the new system of symbols was introduced at the same time as wide-ranging structural changes were being made to the governmental structure, or that the same system was also made to encompass wider differences of public community as well.[68] The resulting confusion is captured well in an 1836 newspaper report which recounted that

> "many Mohammedans are wearing the uniform of higher ranks, and that the *rayas* [non-Muslims] have take the liberty, under diverse pretexts, to wear the same fezzes, caps and garments as the Mohammedans; so much so…that one can no longer distinguish the rich from the poor, nor the Mohammedans from the *rayas.* Initially it was thought that civil servants and other individuals should be allowed to wear military uniforms; from now on this uniform will be reserved to a few high-ranking officials. Private individuals have to wear simple cloaks and

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[66] Pardoe, *Beauties*, I, 112, 259, 356; II, 423. There are also a number of early portrait photos which show the use of fur-lined coats.

[67] Edhem, *Pride*, 89. 83-89 details many examples.

[68] Almost everyone to write on this period notes the huge churn in ranks and offices of both civil and military officials. Ali Akyıldız, "Mahmud Döneminde Merkez İdaresinde Yapılan Düzenlemeler", in Yılmaz ed. *II. Mahmud*; Findley, *Civil*, 23; Lutfi, *Tarih*, IV, 786.

garments, with only one row of buttons made of cloth, silk or black horn. As to the *rayas*, those belonging to some corporation may wear the fez by attaching to it the sign of the corporation leader; others should go on wearing their national costume."[69]

If such measures indicated a continued instinctive desire for clear public differentiation in some quarters, it seems that the new clothing regime was barely more efficacious than that which had held sway prior to 1826.

Matters were not helped by policy inconsistency and the continued retention of certain elements of the old sartorial system based around clothing materiality, color and headgear type alongside the new one. The 1829 edict, for instance, had been explicit in seeking to mark out the followers [*etba*] of senior *ulema* from ordinary servants [*hizmetkar*] by allowing them to wrap various turbans (*dülbend, sarık, ahmediyye* or *kuşak*) on top of their fezzes. While this provision was logically consistent with the exception allowed the *ulema* themselves to continue wearing their traditional turbans and robes/*cübbe*, we find it being reversed only a few years later. An edict in April 1835 complained that the common wearing of traditional *imame* turbans by *ulema* and their followers [*etba*] now made it impossible to tell the *efendiler* – that is, the respected holders of office – from their servants [*hizmetkar*], so that the latter should now just wear the fez (like other *hizmetkar*).[70] Another issued on the same day sought to reign in exactly the practice of wrapping *yemeni* and other similar turban fabrics around their fezzes by ordinary scribes and bureaucrats [*memurları ve ketebe-i aklam*], among whom the practice had clearly become widespread.[71] The complex interests and tastes at play in these transitions are further shown by the discomfort felt among certain sections of the *ulema,* and indeed other Ottoman religious leaders, at the sanction granted them to retain their traditional appearances. There are a number of early photographs and other images from the mid-nineteenth century showing leading *ulema*, sheikhs, priests and rabbis with the patterned gold embroidery that marked out the dress uniforms of the military top brass and ministers also embroidered across their chests (figures 22-23). Archival documents confirm that these signs of senior rank-equality were actively petitioned for by religious leaders, who evidently feared their own marginalization from the centralized hierarchy of government within the new system.[72]

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[69] David Urquhart, quoted in Edhem, *Pride*, 88.

[70] HH 22800 of 28.4.1835. Interestingly, even the phrasing used – eg "*birbirlerinden fark ve imtiyazları yok gibi…oldu*" still continues to strongly echo pre-1826 sumptuary edicts.

[71] HH 35654 of 28.4.1835 One wonders if the popularity of this practice among members of the *kalemiye* reflected a continued affection for the now-forbidden form of *katibi kavuk* formerly ubiquitous among them, which might be closely mimicked in appearance by the wrapping of *mahmudiye* fez in a plain *Yemeni*.

Emergence of the Efendi and the *Istanbulin* Style

These instances illustrate both the complex, often conflicted shifts of fashion and meaning which accompanied the frenetic upheavals of the 1820-30s, and the enduring limits of sultanic ability to determine consumption patterns, even at the modern high-water mark of centralized royal authority. When looking at the fashion aesthetic of *istanbulin* and fez which already begins to emerge with some clarity in the late 1830s, it is striking how its key details already diverge from the more actively Westernizing styles which characterize the earliest new uniforms and royal public dress of the immediate post-*vaka* period. Ironically, the re-assertion of sultanic power and vision for a reborn, disciplined, militarist administrative elite found in documents like the 1829 *nizamname* on dress barely survived the end of Mahmud's reign in 1839. What we find instead is the consolidation of political and trendsetting power among the new emerging bureaucratic elite of the Porte and other reformed governmental offices.[73] Just as *tanzimat* history describes governmental control shifting decisively to a new generation of refined diplomat-administrators like Mohammad Reshid, Ali and Fuat Pashas, we find even royal male fashion being increasingly determined by the tastes and sartorial values of the emergent bureaucratic elite. By 1850s, the Istanbulite *efendi* gentleman was a well-established figure – one who was almost certainly a state employee, and was marked out by widely-recognized patterns of lifestyle, dress, interests and social habits.[74] Far from representing a 'semi-Westernized' or 'hybrid' fashion and culture, the mid-century *istanbulin* style represented an expression of the urbane tastes and material preferences of these men, who were increasingly as well-versed in the language and conventions of globalizing diplomacy, aesthetics and consumption as in the well-lettered tastes of elite Ottoman sociality.[75]

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[72] BOA.A.}AMD.7.61 of 16.04.1849.

[73] Hanioglu, *Brief,* 63, 73.

In some ways, the turmoil created by the events and reforms of the 1820-30s can be seen as having accelerated and consolidated longer-term trends of elite taste and the rising influence of the *kalemiye* bureaucracy in the imperial administration. Studies of the eighteenth century have pointed to a growing autonomy and sense of corporate identity among members of the *kalemiye,* who increasingly began to predominate in higher administrative positions at the expense of palace *enderun* graduates and to "develop… a common and self-conscious culture that praised its own role in the government of the empire".[76] The project to create a new regularized, disciplined governmental elite under Mahmud II after 1826 included dramatically expanding the formal bureaucracy, now increasingly referred to as the *mülkiye,* and did much to cement its importance and cohesiveness within government.[77] Measures included cracking down on retinue and patronage systems as a source of recruitment, standardizing salaries, ranks and appointments, establishing new educational and training programs, and an active attempt to source new recruits and key officials from outside established networks of power, often elevating loyalists of humble origins.[78] The end of the janissaries, downfall of powerful grandees with their own extensive networks like Pertev Pasha, and marginalization of the Greek Phenariots, hitherto so influential in provincial government and foreign relations, all opened up vacuums of position and power which substantially filled by the expanding *mülkiye* administration.[79] There is also a renewed rhetorical emphasis on meritocracy which emerges in these years, reinforced by new systems of examination and promotion, reflective of both the strong political will (albeit not always so evident in practice) to promote ability and efficiency, and a desire among many of the newly elevated officials, perhaps, to legitimize their own rise.[80] Collectively, these changes seem to have laid the foundation for both a reinforced sense of collective professional identity and purpose among members of the reformed *mülkiye*, and the growing prioritization of individual accomplishments, manners and abilities over heredity and connections in legitimizing officeholders.[81]

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[74] Edhem Eldem, "An Exercise in Ottoman Sartorial Micro-History: The Many Breeches, Shoes, and Fezzes of Mehmed Cemal Bey, 1855–1864." In Ulrich & Wittmann eds., *Fashioning the self in transcultural settings: The uses and significance of dress in self-narratives* (Wurzberg, Ergon Verlag, 2015), 93-116.

[75] Hanıoğlu emphasizes how far mastery of the complex upper registers of Ottoman langauge was a defining factor in elite bureaucratic culture and group identity, *Brief History*, 35.

[76] Sariyannis & Atiyas, *Ottoman Political Thought*, 331, 452.

[77] Findley, *Civil*, 6.

It is probably no coincidence that it is around this time that the term 'efendi' itself acquires growing prominence, along with the emerging ideals of male gentility which would define the tanzimat *mülkiye* officials. Mehmet Zeki Pakalin, Reşat Ekrem Koçu and more recently Carter Findley all point to the widening prevalence of *efendi* as the standard honorific [*unvan*] of civil officials by the mid-nineteenth century, its growing recognition in sultanic discourse [eg *efendilerimiz*], and strong associations with educated literariness, refined manners

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[78] Many of new generation of officials were in fact drawn from former slaves of clients of Mahmud or Husrev Pasha. Philliou, *Biography*, 109-14. Findley, *Civil*, 26; Göçek, *Rise*, 23, 32; Zurcher, *Turkey*, 41; Lutfi, *Tarih* IV, 786.
[79] Findley, *Civil*, 77; Philliou, *Biography*, 30.
[80] Lutfi, *Tarih*, 857, 865-6, 918.
[81] Findley's study of civil official biographies notes a decline in heredity, *Civil* 47; Lutfi, *Tarih* IV, 786.

[*'terbiyeli, edib, vekar sahibi'*] along with an affluent yet restrained lifestyle.[82] It was an ideal and term, moreover, which was able to comfortably include non-Muslims of the appropriate rank and manner.[83] Koçu further emphasizes how this ideal was strongly geographically centered in Istanbul.[84] Twentieth century historiography has tended to see these men in terms of Westernization, characterized by a 'culturally split-personality.' [85] However, notwithstanding a growing, inescapable awareness of the European gaze, contemporary accounts do particularly suggest that participation in the Francophone social-diplomatic life centered in Pera, or new forms of globalizing commodity or news consumption was felt to be in contradiction with established social and literary habits. Interest in novel forms of technology and scientific thought was after all already becoming well-established in the late eighteenth century in close connection with evolving modes of consumption and manners among supporters of the New Order, a pattern that persists well into the nineteenth century.[86] So integral did poetic appreciation and composition remain to *efendi* culture that, as Findley notes, "İnal's compendium of late Ottoman 'poets' lives is one of the premier bibliographical sources on civil officials." [87] Many *efendi* bureaucrats evidently also had little trouble in maintaining varied and fulfilling spiritual lives and connections alongside their evolving professional roles. The long-term influence of Naqshbandi ideas of individual morality, propriety and discipline discussed in chapter one was certainly an important factor in the post-*vaka* coalescence of *efendi* identity. At the same time, participation in more mystical sufi practices and fraternities persisted, as illustrated by the memoirs of Ascı Dede, a late nineteenth century civil official in the Ministry of War, who "[i]n discussing one of the spiritual infatuations of his early days in the Ministry of War… quotes a colleague saying that all the clerks in the office had "eight or ten ships on the sea of love" ["*bizim odada olan efendilerin her birisinin bu derya-ı işkte sekiz on kıta var"*].[88] Findley further admits Ascı Dede to have been far more preoccupied by ongoing conflicts between sufi *tarikat* and religious reformers than issues of westernization, illustrating the diverse other parameters of identification than merely Ottoman-Western to have shaped later nineteenth century ideals of Ottoman modernity.[89]

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[82] Findley, *Civil*, 26; Reşat Ekrem Koçu, "Efendi" in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Koçu Yayınları, 1958), 4943-4; Mehmet Zeki Pakalin, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* (Istanbul: Millii Eğitim Basımevi, 1971), 505-6.

[83] Eldem, "Bourgeoisie", 175.

[84] Koçu, "Efendi", 4943. The period saw a corresponding decline in certain other forms of tradition title and address. Pakalin suggests that 'agha', formerly in wide use for holders of palace and janissary positions, in fact became a slightly mocking form of address for unlettered or illiterate lower officers. *Deyimleri,* 505-6.

[85] Berkes, *Secularism*, 107.

[86] Yaycioglu, *Partners,* 53.

[87] Findley, *Civil,* 13.

The *istanbulin* and fez style in many ways embodied the particularly Ottoman Istanbulite articulation of urbane modernity that was integral to the emerging image and ideal of *efendilik* in the 1830-40s. In comparing the form of the early *setre* or *istanbulin* jackets which appear in images and descriptions of leading officials from this period, it is telling that they differ from both contemporary European trends in menswear, and Ottoman royal dress of the period in ways which are quite specifically in keeping with pre-existing Ottoman tastes and material preferences. The male jackets in the 1829 plates of French fashion (which the Ottomans continued to be mostly closely connected with of European states) in figures 24-25 display clear correspondences with 1830s *setre/istanbulin* in their front buttons, dark color and length down to the lower thigh. We can also make out enduring Ottoman-style elements in the cutaway of the open coat around the back of the waist, the furl at the lower opening of the closed (see fig.25) and use of more colorful interior layers to provide decorative contrast to the ensemble (fig. 24), including the classically Ottoman use of striped fabric on the legs in fig 24. However, their clothes also provide a striking contrast in overall form, especially in the pronounced tapering of the jackets to accentuate the wearers' waists, long open collar to the chest, elongated lapels and tight fitting in the middle third.

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[88] Findley, *Civil*, 186. Findley also concludes from the account that assumptions of the opposition or contradiction between affiliation to Naqshbandi and other orders has tended to be overexaggerated.107
[89] Findley, *Civil*, 179.

Similar contrasts of form can be found with the new ceremonial dress and early uniforms of the royal household and soldiery in the post-*vaka* period. While caricatures of Mahmud II as the arch-Francophile '*gavur sultan*' are wide of the mark, there is no doubt that he drew directly on contemporary European military costumes and royal imagery in re-imagining his own dress and public image in the late 1820s and early 30s. In these years he is alone in his public use of, and depiction wearing, unambiguously European military dress, as exemplified by the tightly-fitted, high-waisted dress and typically European composition and format of the portrait in figure 26.[90] The desire to draw on European forms and modes of male clothing for new uniforms, particularly the more flexible, form-fitting and practical elements of construction seen as necessary for modern military activity, is also attested to by the importing of samples and tailors from Europe specifically for this purpose.[91]

However, just as the new system of *nişan* signs was disrupted by the ambitions and preferences of those who wore them, the emerging *istanbulin* and fez style formed among members of the *mülkiye* in the 1830s represent a steady subversion of new official and ceremonial dress forms put in place by the state. Chapter one has already shown how Ottoman leaders including Mahmud II sought to exploit the end of janissary opposition by fundamentally reshaping Ottoman officialdom to a more self-disciplined, martial ideal, partly through forcible changes to dress and consumption habits. The degree to which this vision also shaped reforms to the civil administration was reflected in the soldierly new uniforms assigned to the royal retinue and servants, the shorter, tighter form of *setre* jacket established for official ceremonial wear (fig. 11), and indeed the fez which was first and foremost the headgear of the new army.

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[90] The Egyptian khedive Mehmed Ali Pasha, for instance, who was a key influence on Mahmud's reforms to military and state in this period, sat for multiple portraits with European artists, but never himself adopted European-style uniforms or dress in this way.
[91] Lutfi, *Tarih,* I, 144; II, 444.

Traces of this military reimagining can be seen in the *istanbulin* style, particularly in the use of standing collars, high buttoning up to the neck and occasional adornment with medal-style *nişan*. It's inherent plainness of form, fabric and decoration is likewise quite consistent with the rising influence of Naqshbandi-influenced ideas of restraint and individual morality in early nineteenth century Istanbul and particularly among many officials.[92] Where the style does markedly diverge is in its quiet abandonment of the tight tailoring, form-fitting outline and decorative elements which were the most essentially European elements of the new official dress. One of the defining features of the *istanbulin* is its lack of fitting at the waist so that it hangs quite loosely over the abdomen and especially the legs. Not only does this echo the classic elite male silhouette given by the *biniş* or *cübbe*, but made it particularly suited to the practical needs of *mülkiye* office work. Ottoman offices, writing, eating and socialization in the 1820-30s remained overwhelmingly characterized by cross-legged seating on a raised platform or covered floor (as in fig. 18).[93] The loose cut and greater length of the *istanbulin*, the latter concealing loose drawers at the waist, retained the material flexibility necessary for ground-seating in a manner which would have been made impossible by tightly fitted European garments.[94] The length of the *istanbulin* down to around the knee would become an even more distinctively

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[92] See chapter 1.

[93] Hanıoğlu, *Brief History*, 106.

[94] Karatake makes plain the practical extent of this issue when he records that Sultan Abdulhamid II had to change trousers four times a day as they got so creased doing namaz. *Padişahım*, 24.

Ottoman feature as European jackets became steadily shorter from the 1840s on.[95] The high-buttoned neck, meanwhile, obviated the need for any kind of European-style shirt or starched collar, which was anathema to Ottoman ideas of sartorial comfort. The loose collars of Ottoman dress were widely noted - “for a Turk must expose his neck”- and the habitual wearing of the *istanbulin* closed to the collar allowed it to be worn over a simple vest with no shirt underneath.[96] The shift away from the large, unreliable *Mahmudiye* fez to the more diminutive half-cone that would predominate in the second half of the century also begins to appear among pictures of officials well before the *Mahmudiye*’s official abandonment. This shape in fact became referred to as the *efendi biçim* [efendi shape] or *efendivari* type, its compact stability and lightness again making practical sense in a context where headgear was retained at all times, including all in all office and work spaces, societies, places of worship etc.[97]

Perhaps the most critical, and underestimated, distinction of the *istanbulin* style though lay in the matter of trousers. The enduring Orientalist fixation with headgear has left unappreciated the degree to which for centuries it was, from the Ottoman perspective at least, legwear which constituted the defining difference between Ottoman and European male fashions. From the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, when first hose and then breeches and stockings reign supreme in Europe, European men’s insistence on exposing the waist and especially legs to open view stood in complete contrast to Ottoman ideas of manliness, class and male propriety.[98] So pronounced was this distinction that even Istanbul’s stray dogs were attuned to it. Early nineteenth century travelers still complain bitterly that the city was “infested with dogs, who always beset every one in the Frank dress with unmeasured fury," while Ahmet Rasım recalls that even in his own childhood (the 1870s) the dogs of certain neighbourhoods were known to attack European-style *pantalon* on sight.[99] Little surprise then that tight, visible legwear should have been among the most politically contentious element of the new Ottoman uniforms and clothing regime of the 1820-30s. Macfarlane, as ever, is quick to note a continuing amplitude of the leg even in the new military uniforms, professing that

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[95] Breward, *The Suit*, 20; Brent Shannon, *The Cut of His Coat: Men, Dress, and Consumer Culture in Britain, 1860-1914* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006), 30.

[96] Macfarlane, *Constantinople*, 366. This habit of wearing the *istanbulin* shirtless would also explain the curious lack of shirts noted in Cemal Bey’s wardrobe by Eldem in “Sartorial”, 100.

[97] Pakalin, *Deyimleri*, 505-6.

[98] Jirousek, *Ottoman Dress*, 97.

> "I might find fault with their widfe, baggy trowsers, which, confined above the knees, hang about the "nether man" in a loose, slovenly manner, and should seem to impede the freedom of motion. But the Turks have always been attached to an amplitude in that portion of their toilette."[100]

That the same garment was referred to by contemporary Ottomans as *sıkma*, that is, by 'squeezing' or 'constricting' suggests either that even these "baggy trowsers" represented a new and uncomfortable tightness, or that they were already being widely worn or adjusted back towards older habits. The degree to which the adoption of true trousers was radically controversial in 1820-30s Istanbul is illustrated in a further anecdote given by Lutfi Efendi. He records that as the adoption of more properly European *setre pantalon* was being contemplated in 1828, the authorities were so concerned about the public reaction that they determined to test the water by making two officers enter the bazaar while wearing them. Their apprehensions were not misplaced. Their appearance was so offensive to the public eye that the unfortunate officers were immediately exiled from the capital on charges of eating and drinking in Ramadan 'and the perpetration of other great sins.' [101] In the case of new sultanic representations like fig. 26, we should be in no doubt that to Mahmud's critics, it was the tightly cut, high-waisted trousers and visual break at the waist which most distinguished Mahmud II from his contemporaries and even his own earlier self-image, betraying him as having truly given in to European tastes.[102]

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[99] Herve, *Residence*, 115.
[100] Macfarlane, *Constantinople*, 163; See also De Kay, *Sketches*, 225.
[101] Lutfi, *Tarih*, II, 439.

This question of legwear exemplifies the ways in which the *istanbulin* style and the figure of the *efendi* were able to quite successfully engage the increasingly politicized, globalizing movements of fashion and modernizing manliness which characterized the mid-nineteenth century. Defiance of the trend towards visible waists and tailored *pantalon* in the *istanbulin* style was entirely consistent with the plain, practical seriousness and modest concealment of bodily form which were already defining of elite Ottoman male dress, and became even further accentuated among the new generation of scholarly, technocratic civil officials who emerged from the 1830s. It exactly was this tangible Ottoman-ness which allowed mid-century *Tanzimat* officials to so effectively navigate the different spaces, expectations and audiences of the changed urban and political landscapes. Although European visitors are disparaging of 'Turks' as a whole, they often cannot but be impressed by the quiet dignity and capability of the individual officials they encounter.[103] As the universal scorn reserved for the overtly Europeanized *züppe* dandies of the Hamidian period suggests, it was the ability of the *istanbulin* and fez-wearing *efendi* to embody a commonly recognized, globally-engaged set of masculine ideals within a distinctively different, localized form which commanded them a wide respect.[104] It is also illustrative of how codes and readings of around male dress in particular were themselves changing across these decades. The ruptures of social and administrative structure triggered by the Greek uprising, *vaka-ı hayriye* and ensuing reforms in many ways served to accelerate the transition away from older sartorial codes of origin, category and consumption power. In their place a regime of increasingly visual-symbolic markers and globalizing political references appeared. With the social referents for elite status now divorced (at least theoretically) from personal connections, lineage and patron networks, there was also a raised emphasis on individualized qualities of morality, taste and lifestyle which found reflection in fine details and an aesthetic of deliberate restraint. The issue of legwear again shows how far the differences of social meaning being projected onto elite Ottoman male dress were by the middle of the century becoming increasingly subjective and subject to fine margins of interpretation. In Ahmet Midhat Efendi's celebrated novel of social modernization *Felatun Bey ile Rakıp Efendi*, the ridiculously overtight trousers of the former are a recurring emblem of his absurd over-Westernization and inherent shallowness of character.[105] It is not that his opposite number, the sincere, authentic official *Rakıp Efendi* is not wearing *pantolon*, however. Rather, their implicitly looser tailoring and unremarkable form mirror his own modest, consumately *alaturka* character.

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[102] Textual accounts, however, which describe the sultan wearing 'cossack trousers' cast doubt on even his use of full *pantalon* beyond such portrait sittings, which may have partly been directed towards a European diplomatic audience. Lane-Poole, *Stratford Canning*, 75.

[103] Pardoe, *Beauties*, I, 182, 252; William Nassau Senior, *A Journal Kept in Turkey and Greece in the Autumn of 1857 and the Beginning of 1858* (London: Brown, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1859), 15, 109.

[104] Palmira Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908-1911* (Albany: Suny Press, 2000);Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem, *Araba Sevdası* (Istanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2012 [1985]).

Conclusion

The period spanning from Mahmud II's last years to the end of the nineteenth century is really the age of the efendi in Istanbul. In these decades, the modestly fezzed, typically *istanbulin*-clad figure of mannered Ottoman gentility is dominant in the political and social life of the city. It was this distinctively Ottoman *efendi* image that, as we will see in the following chapters, would become globally influential in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, relayed through the new globalizing apparatuses of mass image production, international news and photography. Within the Ottoman context, though, as this chapter has shown, it is an image and an ideal that really takes shape in the 1830s. While the dearth of detailed social histories of this decade makes it difficult to contextualize the coalescence of *efendi* culture as closely as one would like, the available evidence points to the *istanbulin* and fez fashion emerging in close association with the rising generation of civil officials who would go on to dominate the *Tanzimat*.

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[105] The author leaves no doubt that Felatun bey's dress and lifestyle are not just in bad taste, but emblematic of deep moral failings of character, ultimately attributable to the ease afforded by his hereditary wealth and position. Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felatun Bey ile Rakıp Efendi* (İstanbul: Özgür, 2008).

These men were not a product of any particular law or reform, nor yet the new military or medical academies, but emerged from the engagement of Istanbul's lettered classes and particularly the already-professionalizing officials of the *kalemiye*-Porte with the social and sartorial upheavals created by Mahmud II's reforms. Materially and aesthetically, the early *istanbulin* and fez style embodied an ethic of cultured, moralistic seriousness well-suited to the practicalities of bureaucratic office work and reflective of the self-disciplined ideals of Naqshbandi-influenced orthodoxy and literate, worldly intellectualism which were defining of emerging currents of Ottoman elitism. It was a style which crucially differentiated its wearers from their European counterparts at diplomatic summits. But also, and perhaps more immediately, articulated a new, modernizing vision of elite Ottoman masculinity which simultaneously marked out their values from the old generation of political grandees and palace and janissary *aghas*; from the illiterate lower classes in their short, gaudy *cepken*; and increasingly also from women, whose dress of *entari, ferace* etc remained much more consistent with the form and ornament of earlier styles. Ultimately, for all its apparent simplicity, the *istanbulin* and fez style also constituted a deep political statement. Its very simplicity clothed a new social reality in which scribe and sultan were barely distinguished by their dress, projecting a unity of purpose and common invocation of selfless administrative competence. In shaping this vision, the rising *efendiler* of the Porte emerged to fill the cultural and symbolic gap left by the erasure of the janissaries and palace administration, and who become the new, defining referent of official Ottoman identity, internally and externally, for the remainder of the century.

Figures for Chapter 2

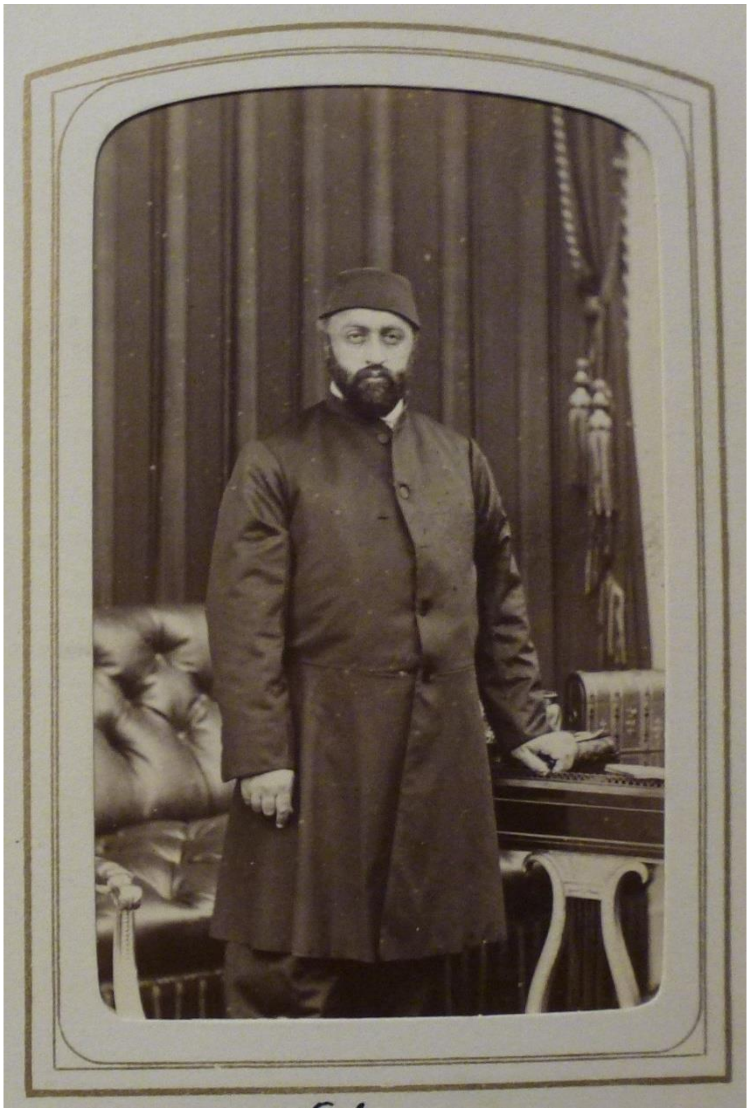

Figure 1: *Sultan Abdul Aziz,* W & D Downey, Albumen print, 8.1 x 5.3 cm, 1868. Royal Collection.

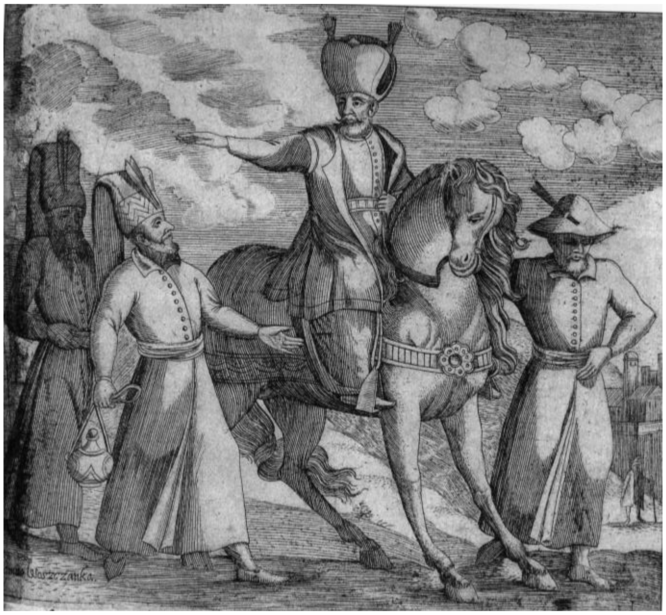
Woszczanka.

Figure 2: *Sadrazam*, Maximilian Woszczanka, Woodcut, 1678, S*avaş Ve Barış: 15-19 Yüzyıl Osmanlı-Lehistan Ilişkileri* (Istanbul: Fako İlaçları, 1999), 65.

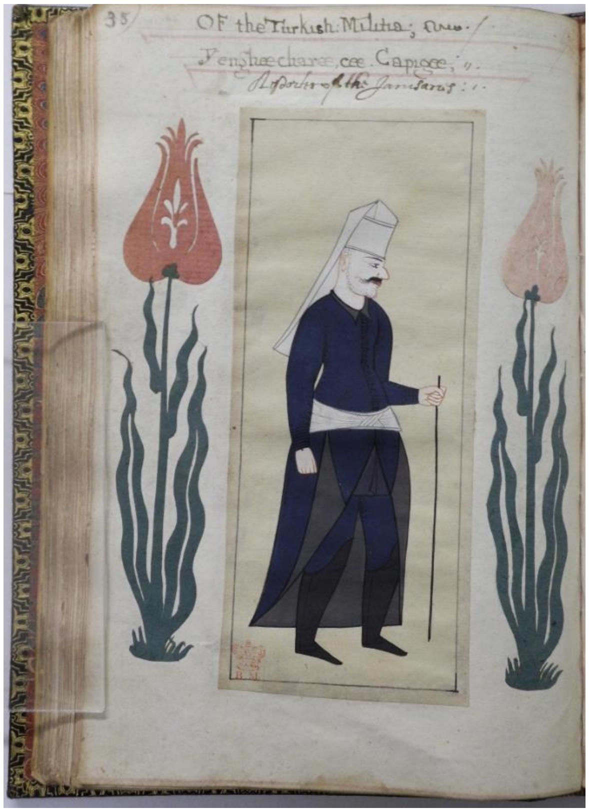
35
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Figure 3: *A Janissary Kapıcı*, leaf from *A briefe relation of the Turckes, their kings, Emperors, or Grandsigneurs, their conquests, religion, customes, habbits, etc,* 1618. British Museum Collection.

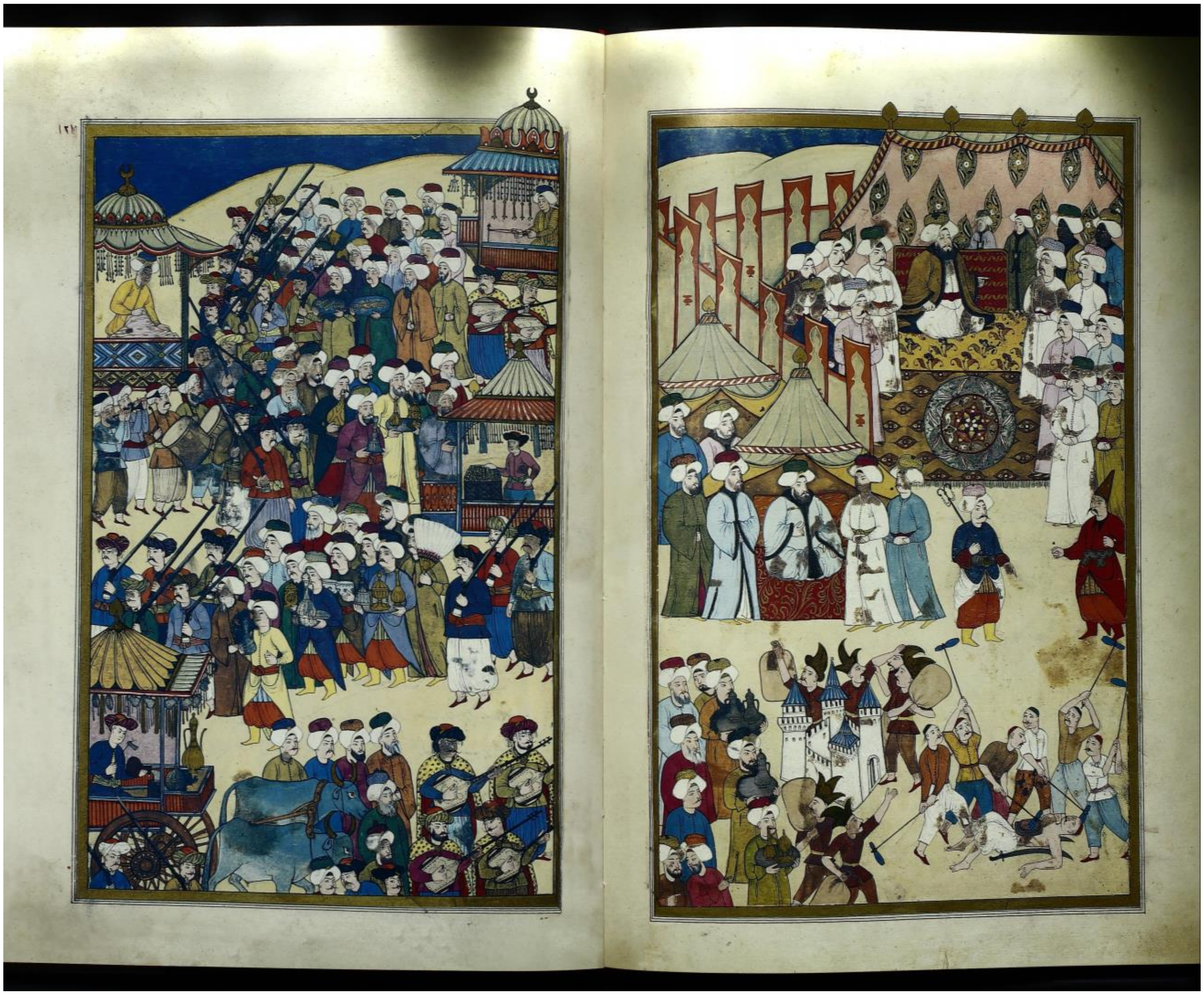


Figure 4*: Procession of the Guilds*, Levni, 1720, from, Esin Atıl. *Levni and the Surname: The story of an Eighteenth-century Ottoman Festival* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 1999), 154.

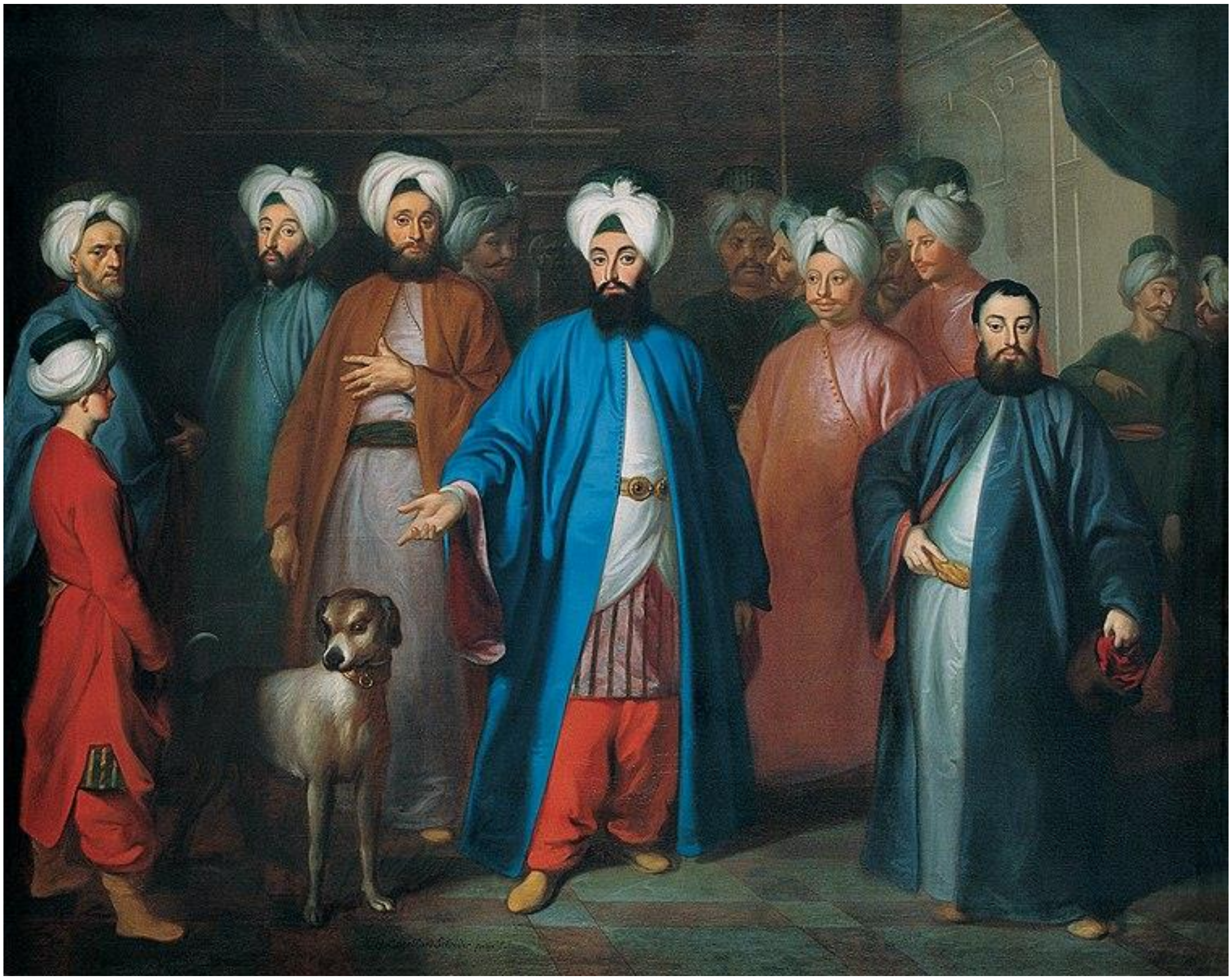


Figure 5: *Mehmed Said Efendi ve Maiyeti*, George Engelhardt Schroder, around 1732, Pera Museum.

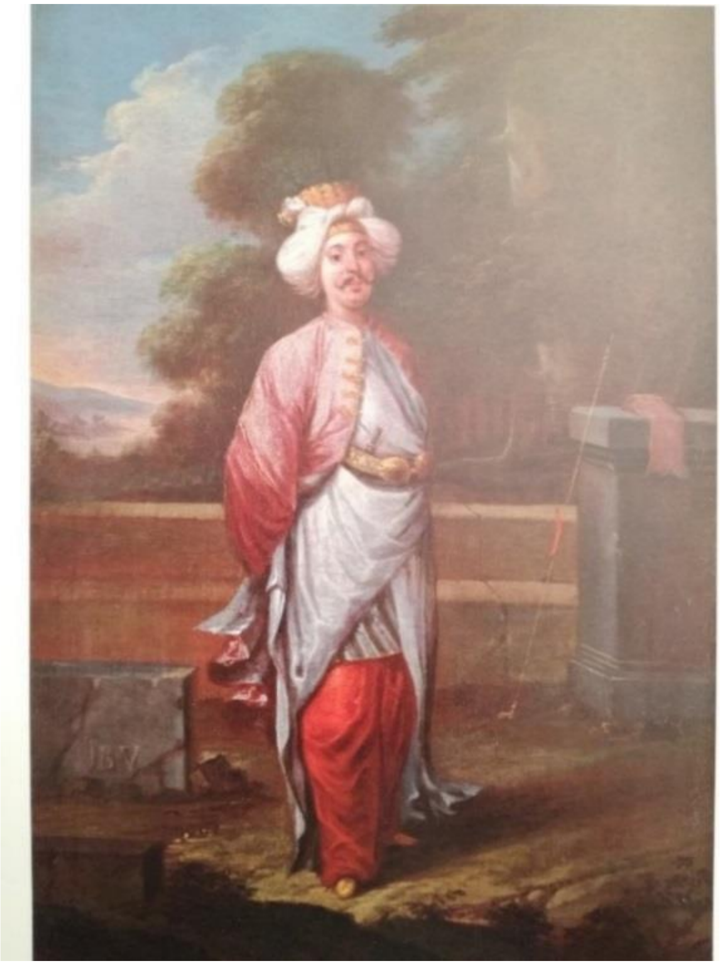


Figure 6: Jean-Baptiste Vanmour *Nobleman in the Garden*, oil, c.1730, from Olga Nefedova, *The World of the Ottomans: The Art of Jean-Baptiste Vanmour*, (Milan: Skira, 2009).

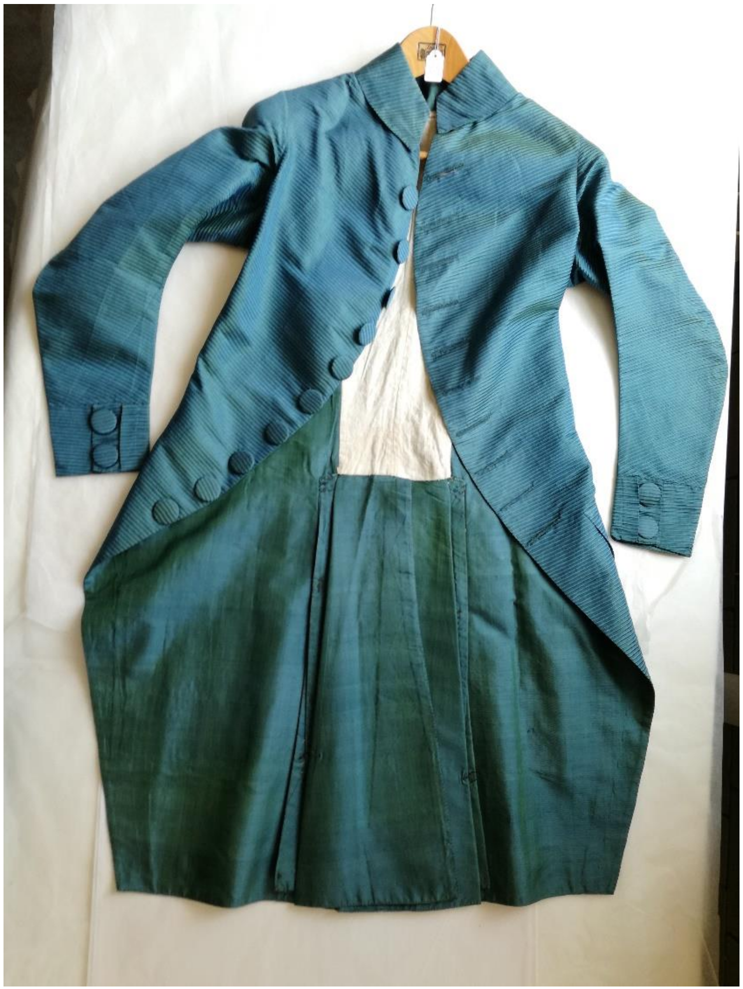
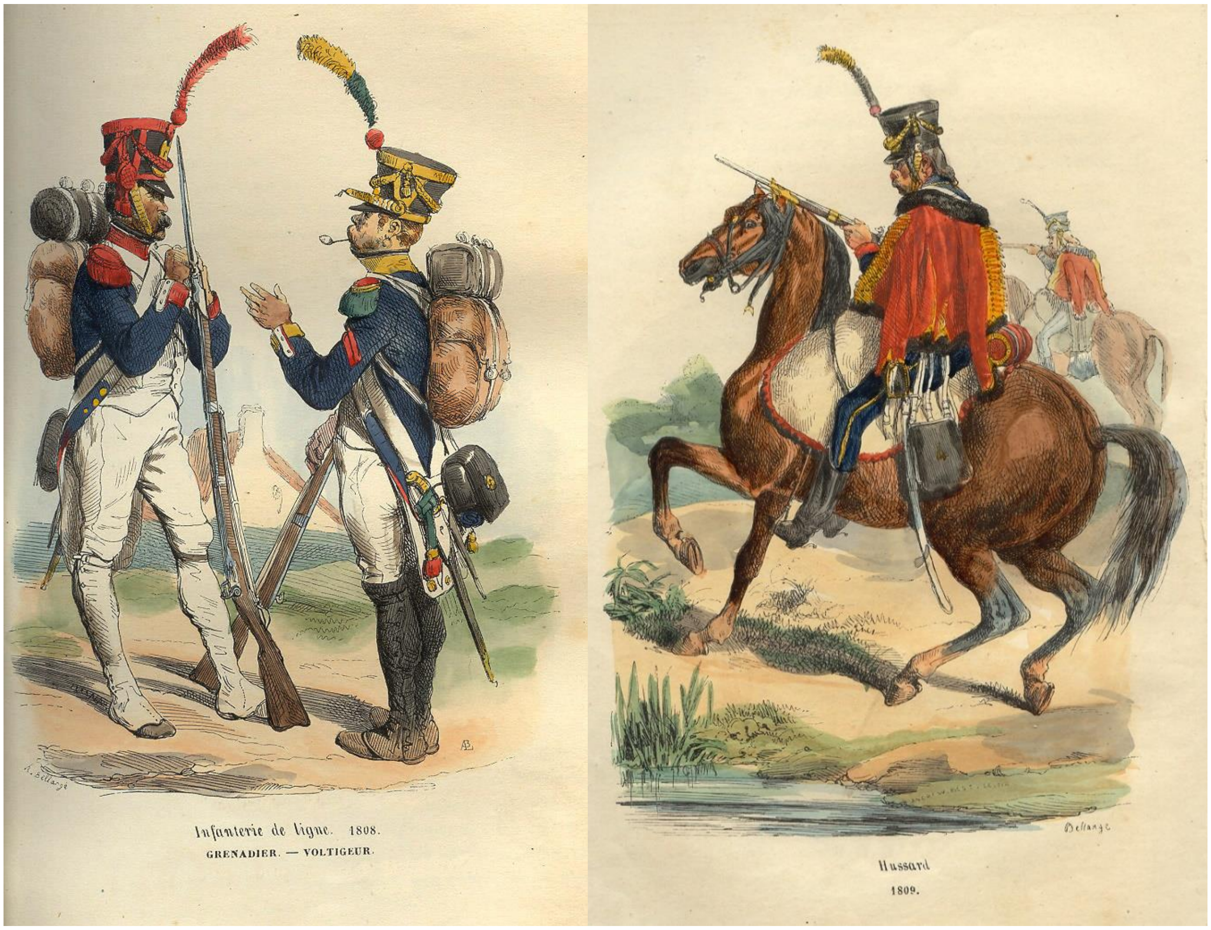


Figure 7: An 18th Century British frock coat from the V&A museum collection.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Figures 8-9: *Grenadiers of 1808* and *French Hussar of Napoleon troops in 1809*, Bellange, from Laurent de L`Ardeche, *Histoire de Napoleon*, (Paris: J.J.Dubochet, 1843).

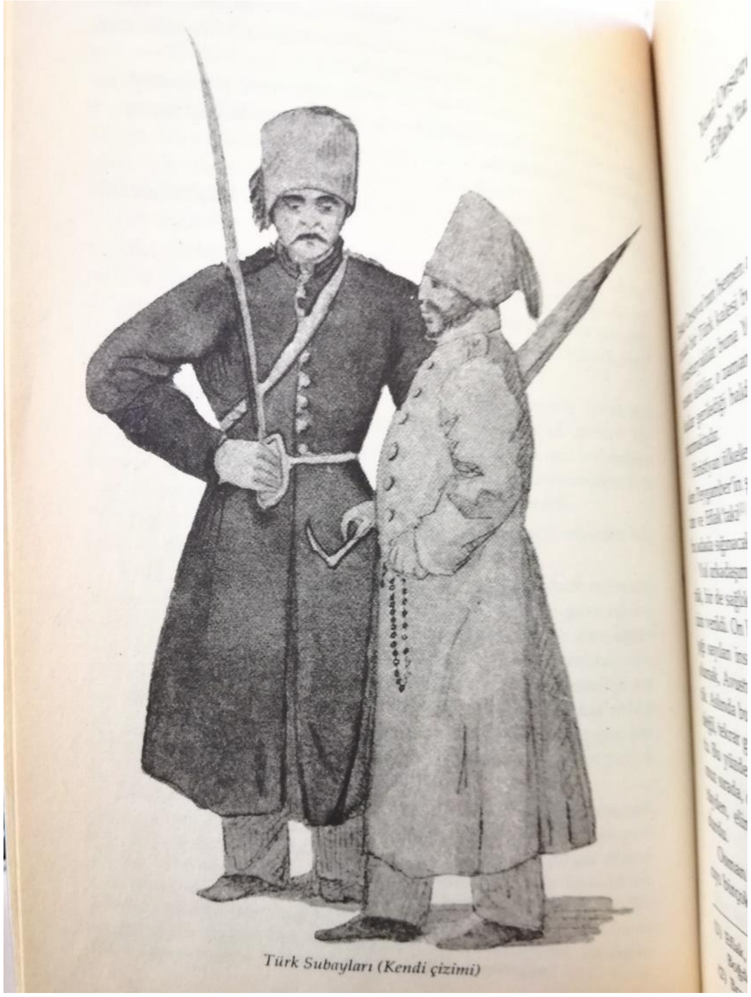
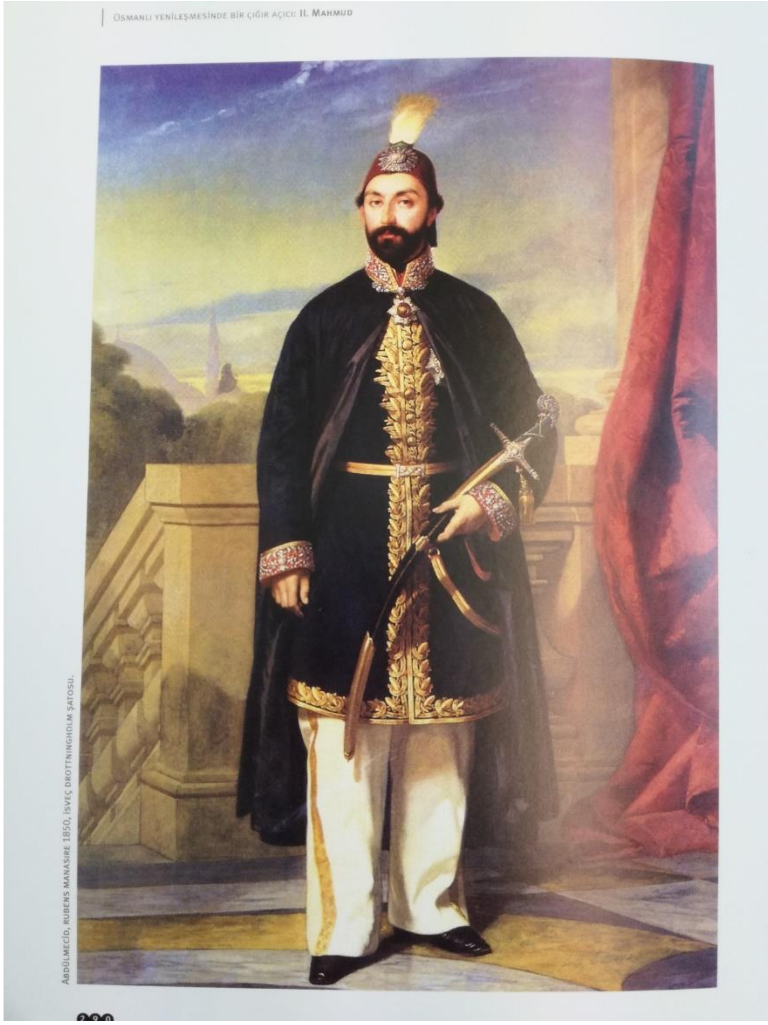

Türk Subayları (Kendi çizimi)

Figure 10: *Turkish Officers*, *H*elmuth Von Moltke, late 1830s, from *Moltke'nin Türkiye Mektupları* (*İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi*, 1969).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ABDÜLMECİD, RUBENS MANASIRE 1850, İSVEÇ DROTTNINGHOLM ŞATOSU.
290

Figure 11: *Sultan Abdul Mecid I*, Ruben Manasire, 1850, from *II. Mahmud: Yendiden Yapilma Sürecinde İstanbul*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz. (Istanbul: Istanbul 2010 Avrupa Kultur Baskenti Ajansi, 2010), 290.

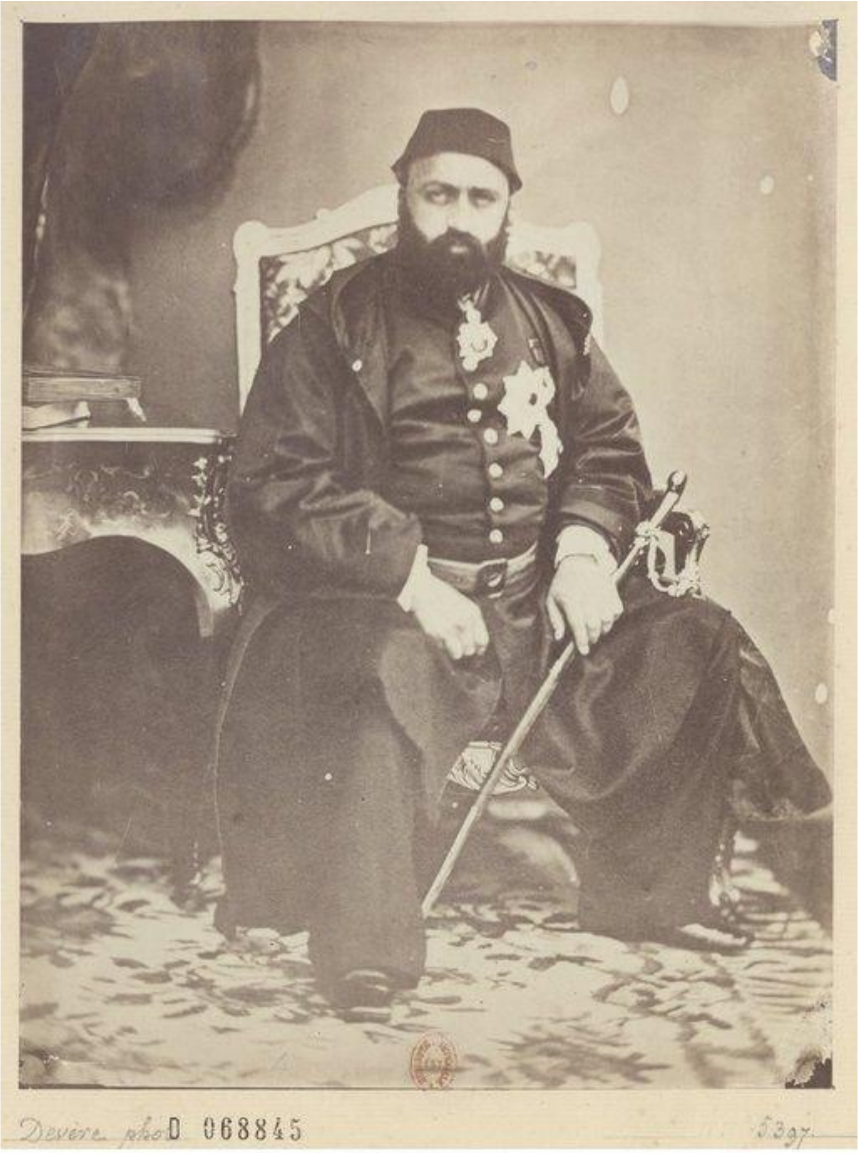
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Figure 12: Sultan Abdul Aziz, Photograph, Collection of the Biblioteque Nationale de France.

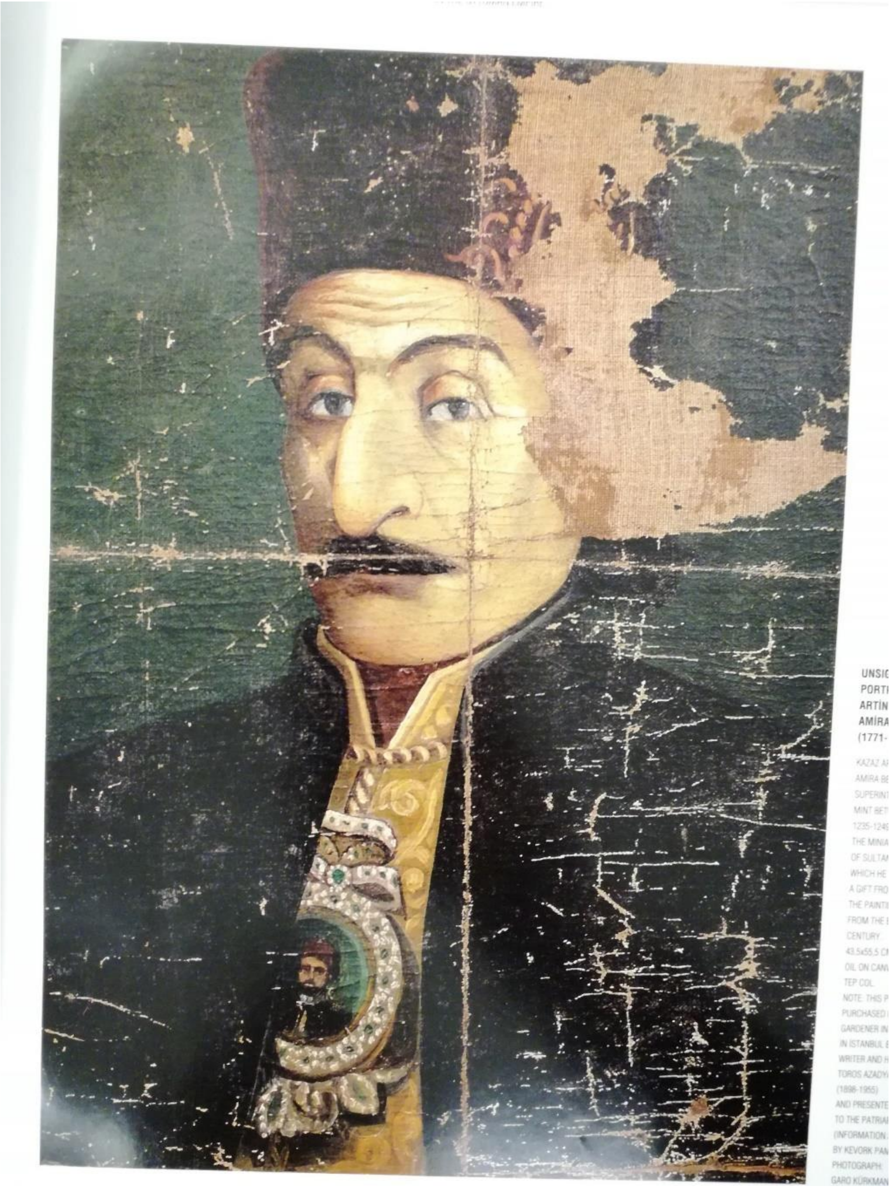
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Figure 13: Kazaz Artin Amira Bezciyan, anon., oil on canvas, c.1832, from Garo Kürkman, *Armenian Painters in the Ottoman Empire 1600-1923* (Matusalem, 2004).

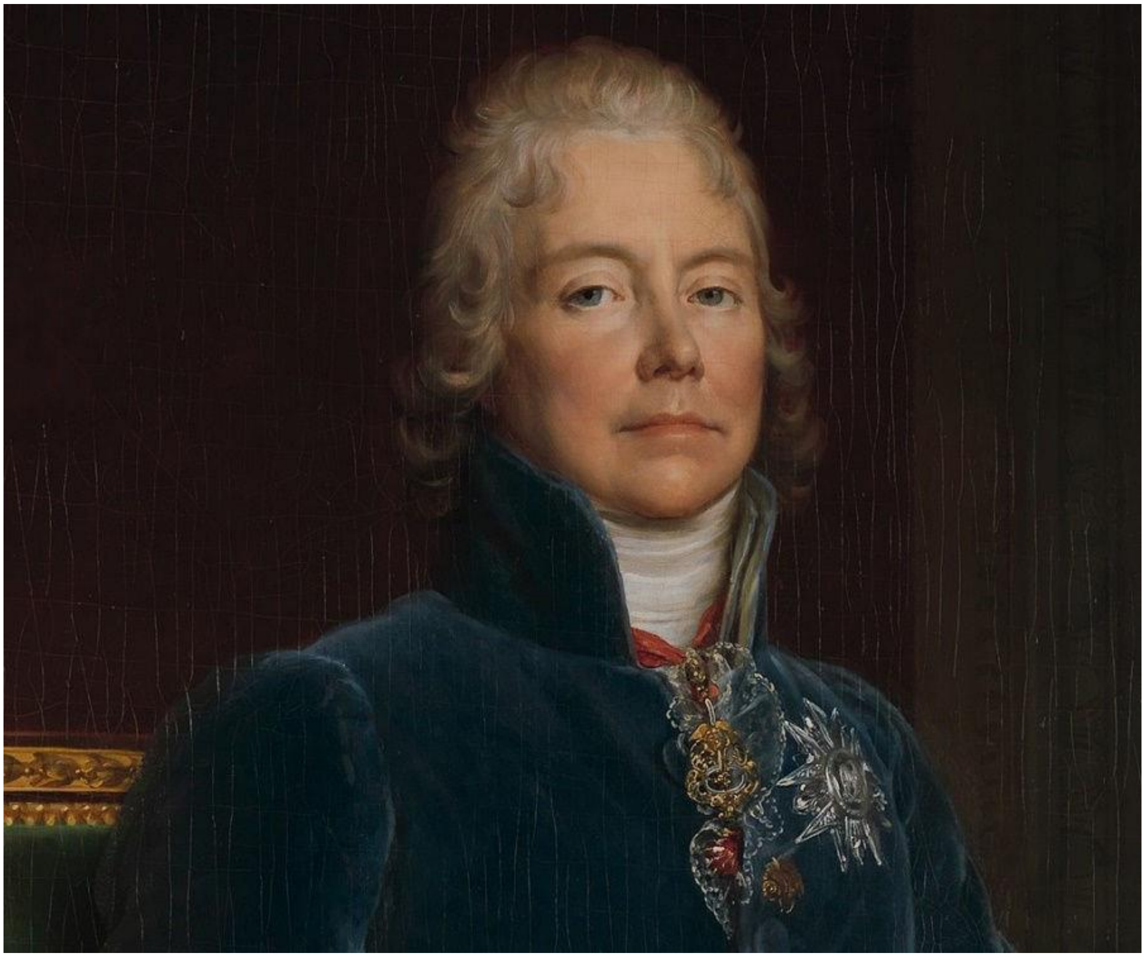

Figure 14: Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, François Gérard, oil on canvas, 1808, The Met Collection.

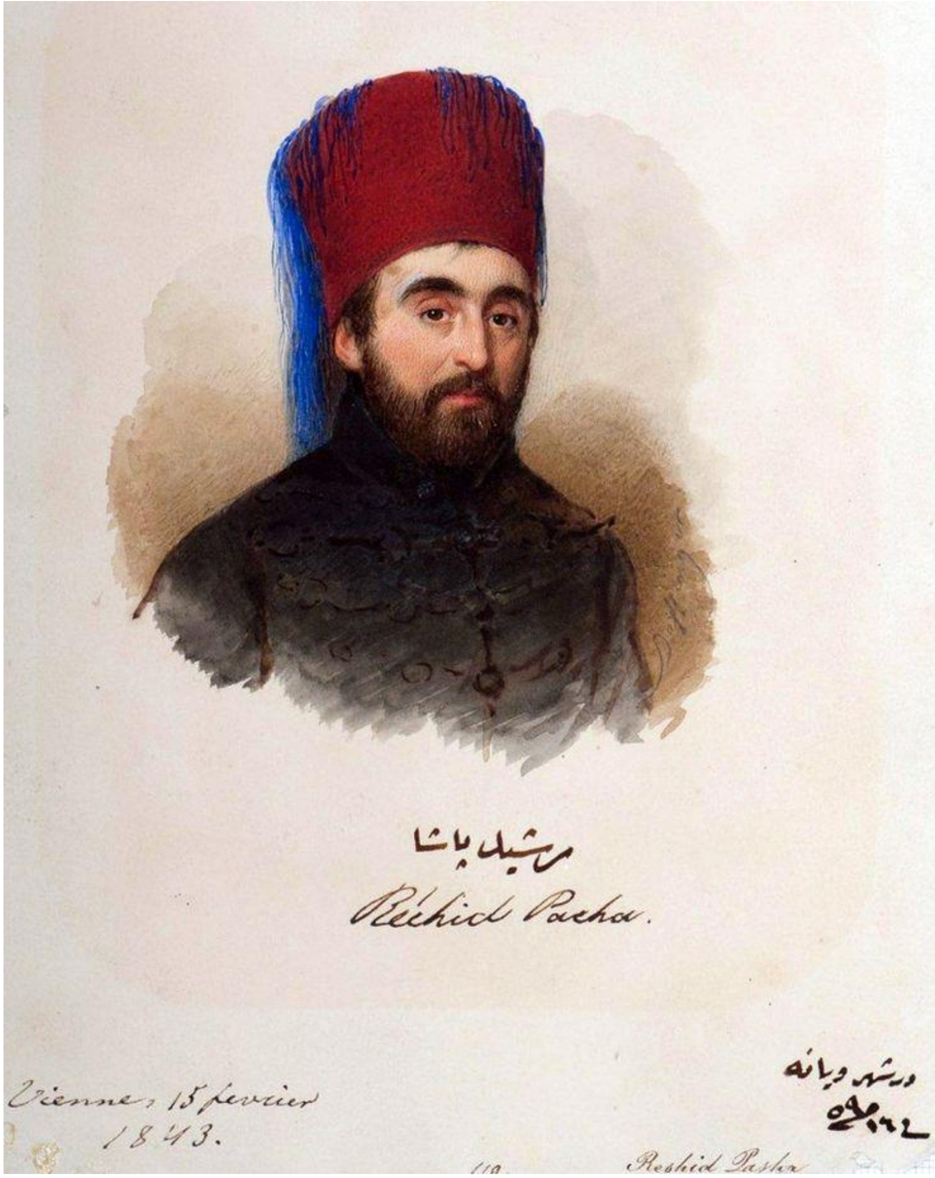
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Figure 15: Reschid Pacha, Moritz Michael Daffinger, 1843, V&A Museum Collection.

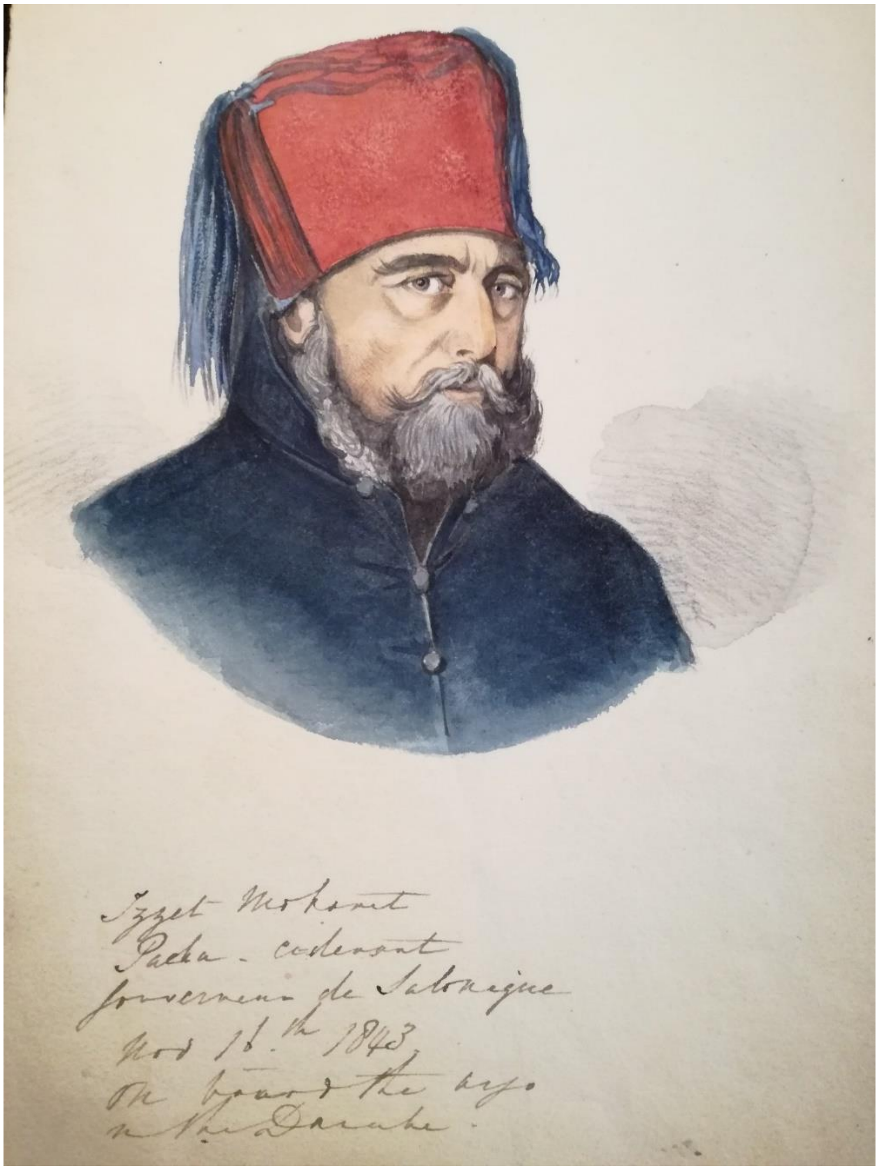
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Figure 16: Izzet Mohammed Pasha, Godfrey Vigne, 1843, V&A Museum Collection.

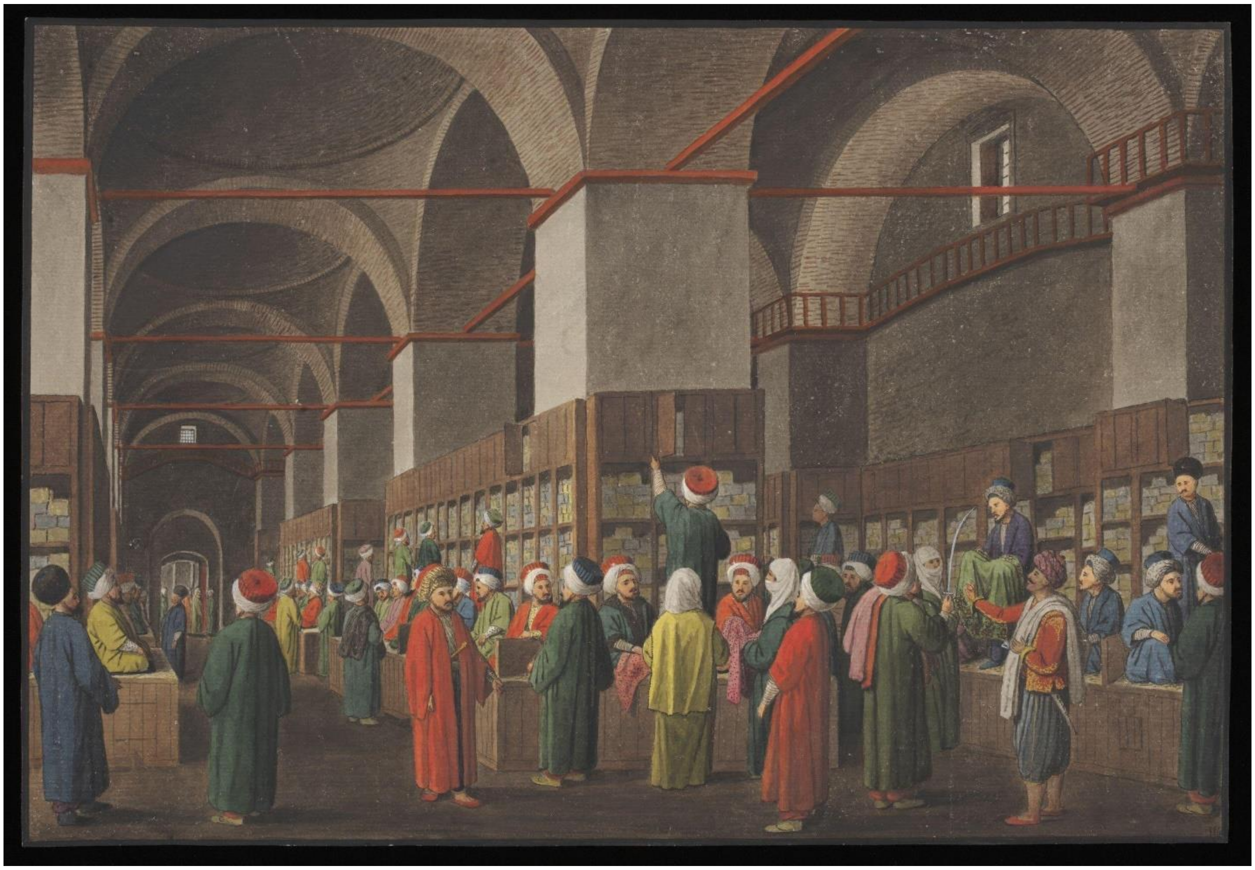
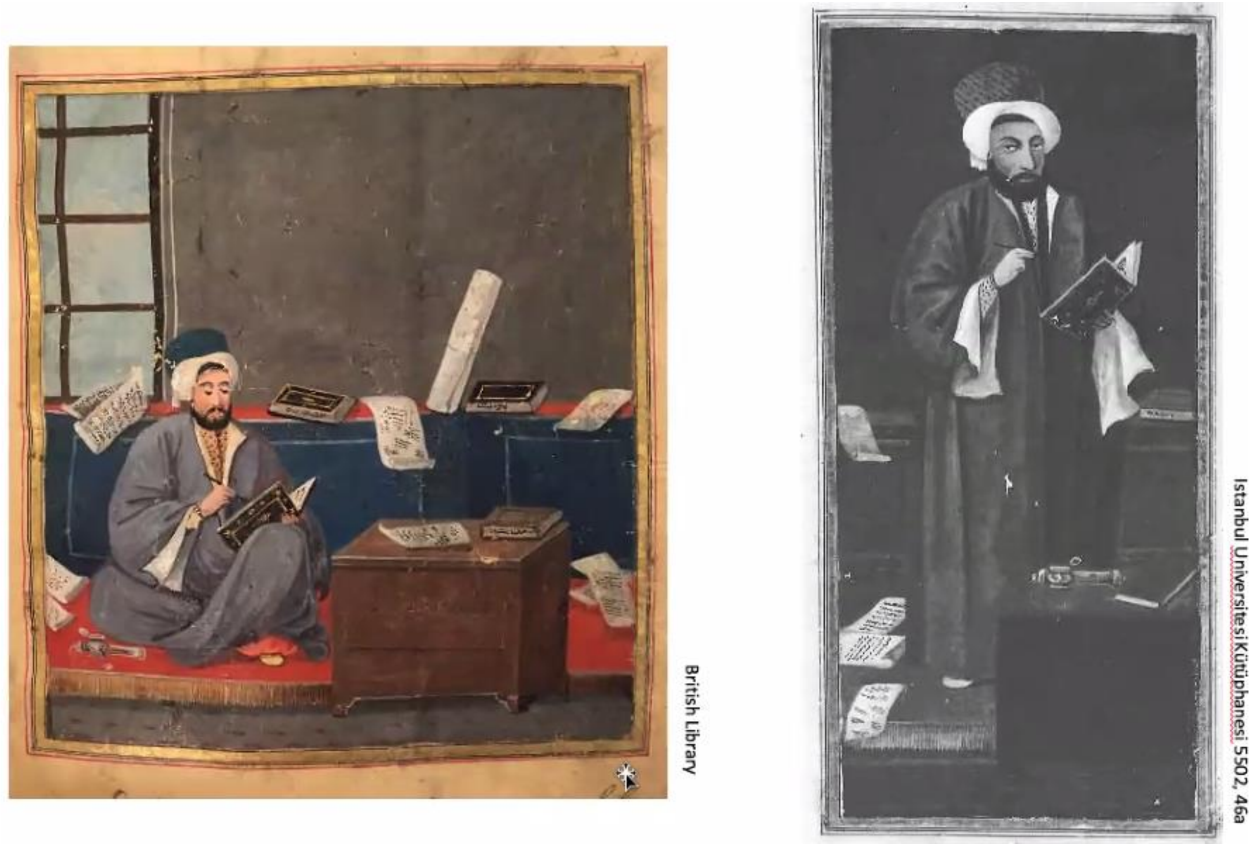


Figure 17: Sandal Bedesteni, or Silk Bazaar, anonymous Greek artist, c.1809, watercolour, V&A Museum collection.



British Library

Istanbul Universitesi Kütüphanesi 5502, 46a

Figures 18-19: Two pictures of Fazıl Enderuni from late eighteenth century manuscripts of the *Hubername*.s The left image is suggestive of a comfortingly familiar writing process to the dissertation he here appears in.

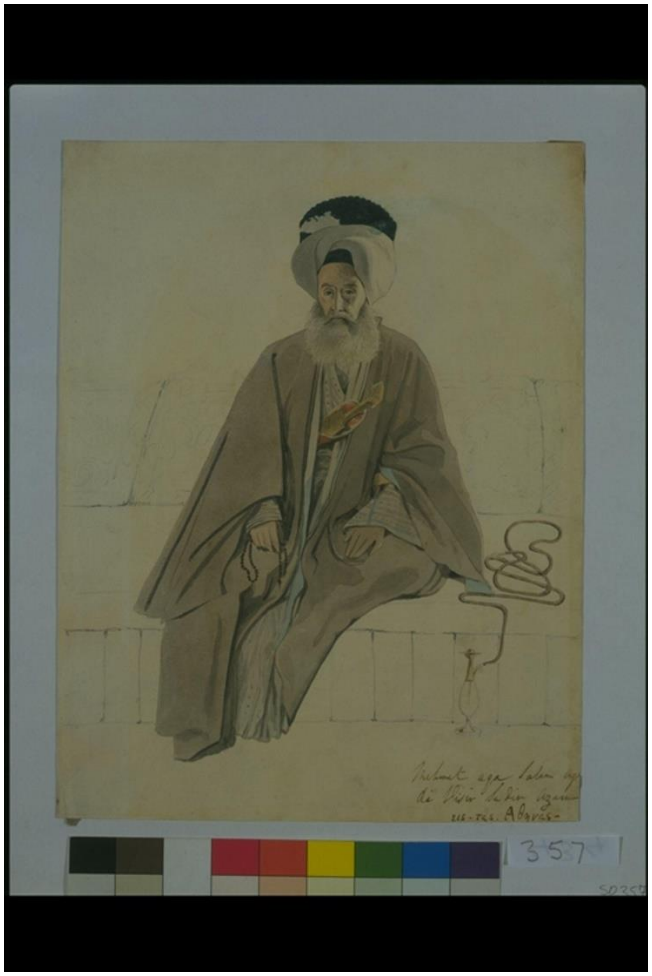


Figure 20: *Mehmet Aga Salam*, Louis Dupres, pencil and watercolour, 1819, V&A Museum collection.

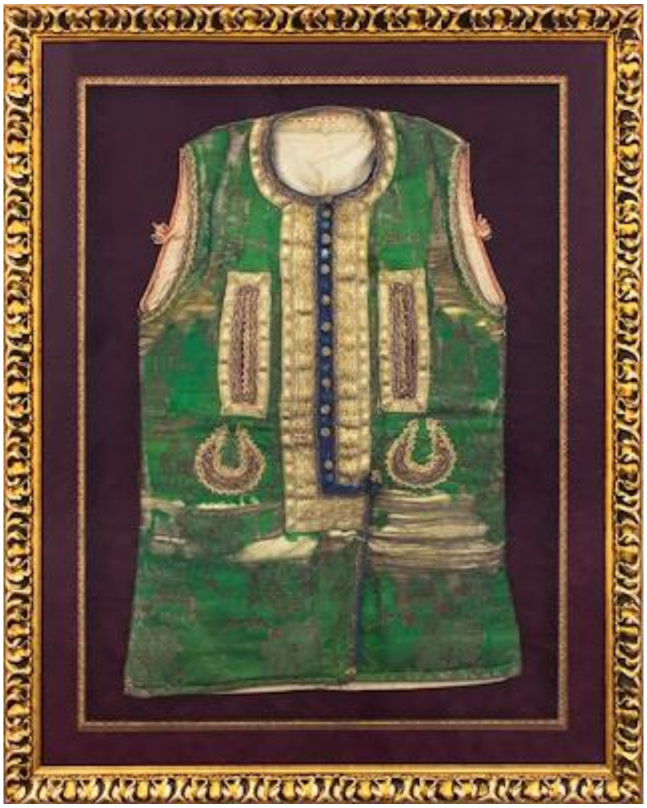
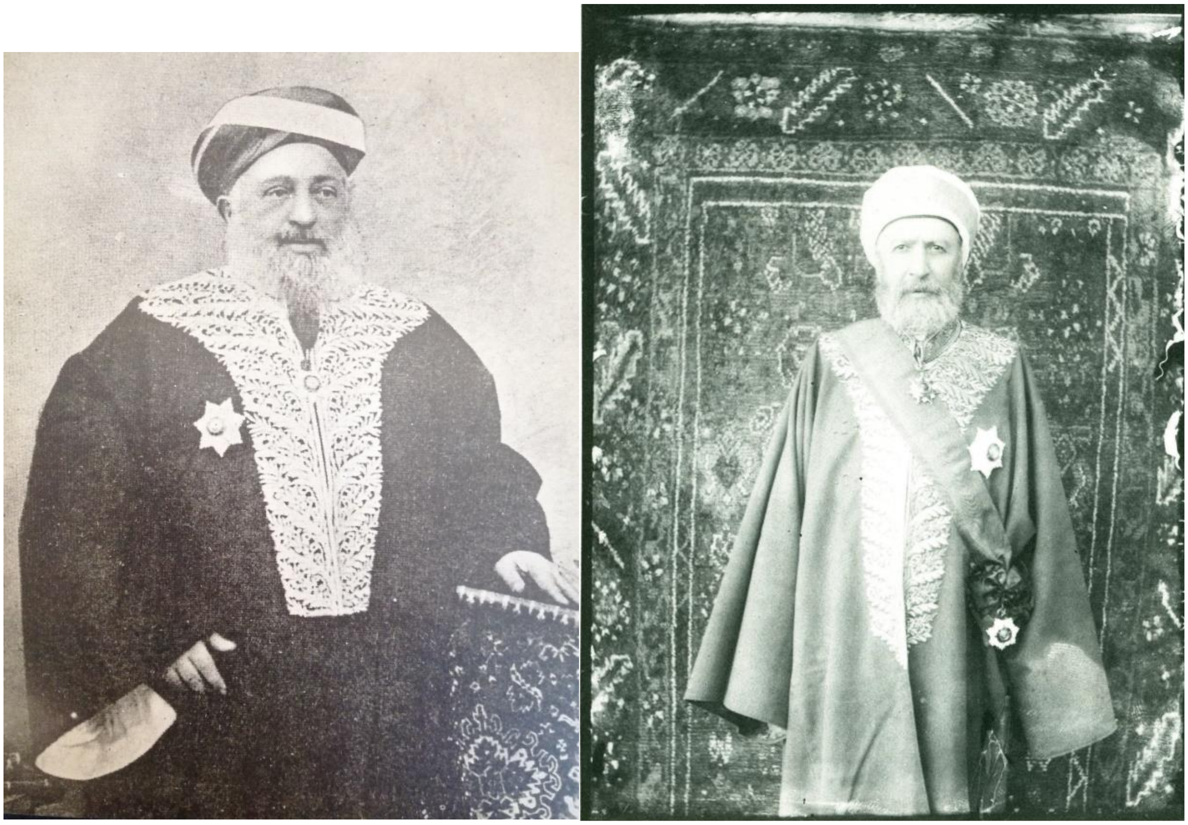
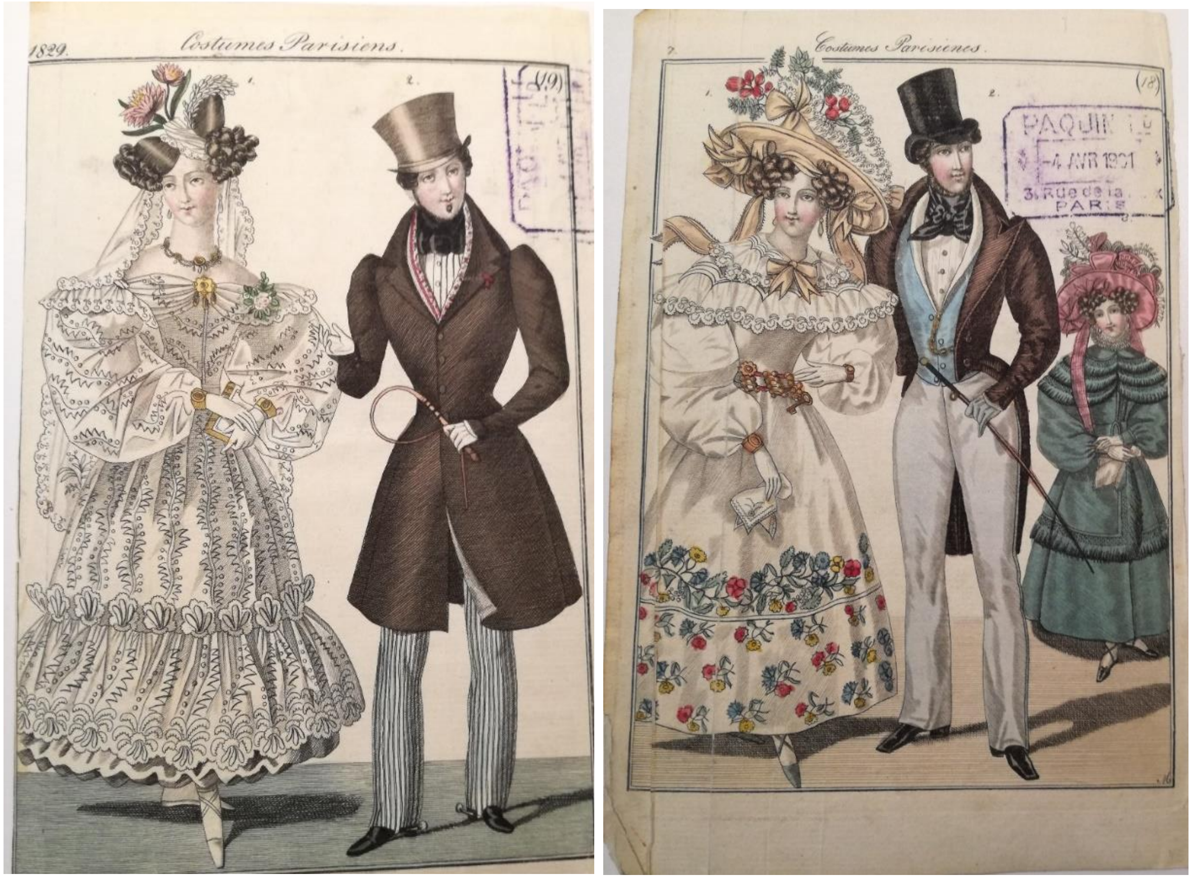


Figure 21: Child’s *cepken*. Precıous *sırmalı* and gold embroidery on green silk velvet. Probably earlier nineteenth century, Ankara Antikacilik collection.



Figures 22-23: Two late nineteenth century photographs of Ottoman officials. Chief Rabbi from Edhem Eldem, *Pride and Privilege: A History of Ottoman Orders, Medals and Decorations* (Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2005), and a senior *ulema* from Engin Çizgen, *Photographer Ali Sami, 1866-1936* (Istanbul: Haset Yayinlari, 1989), 75.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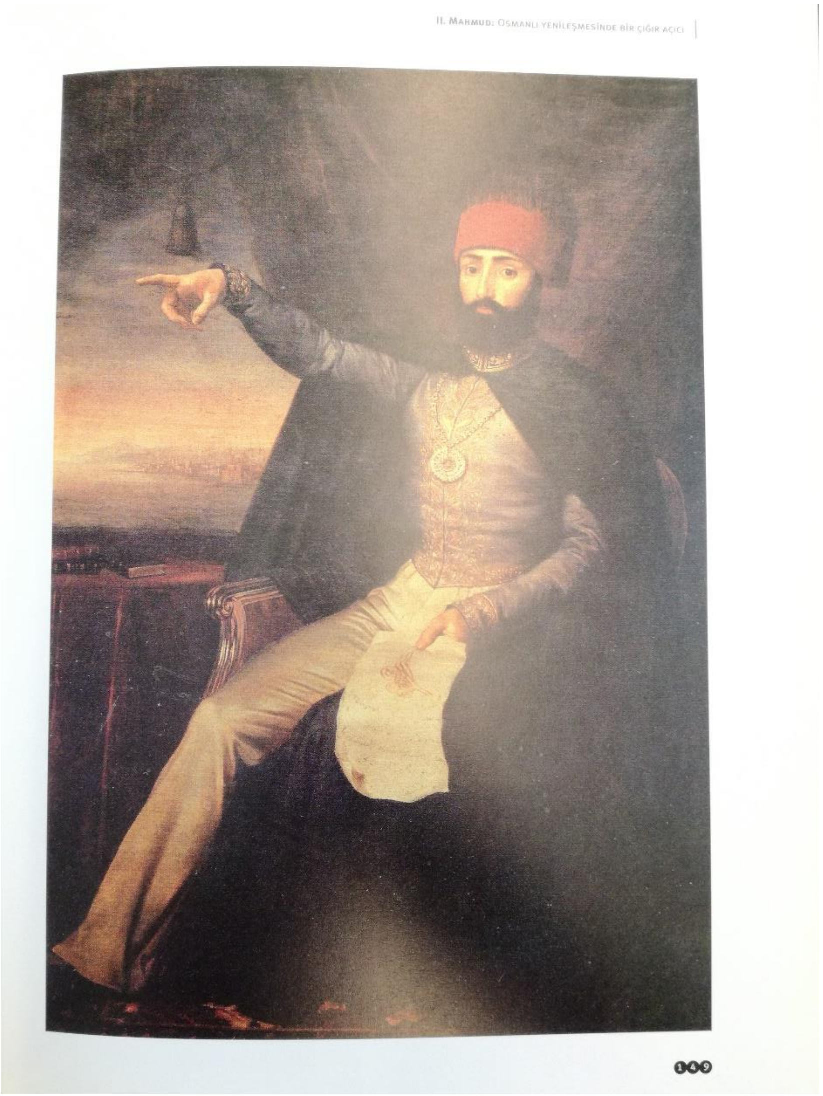
Figures 24-25: Images from the 1829 *Fashion Gazette*, V&A Museum collection.



II. MAHMUD: OSMANLI YENİLEŞMESİNDE BİR ÇIĞIR AÇICI

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Figure 26: *Mahmud II*, Anon. 1830s, Topkapi Museum Collection, from *II. Mahmud: Yendiden Yapilma Sürecinde İstanbul,* ed. Coşkun Yılmaz. (Istanbul: Istanbul 2010 Avrupa Kultur Baskenti Ajansi, 2010), 149.

Chapter 3

Picturing the Ottomans: Illustrated News and Transnational Consumption in the 1877-8 Russo-Turkish War

The wide transnational spread of the Ottoman fashion of *istanbulin*-style jacket and fez during the last decades of the nineteenth century was substantially enabled by new technologies and networks for the dissemination and circulation of imagery. Driven by the twin heralds of mass visual production, photography and lithographic print, and the steam-and-steel arteries of imperial global connectivity, the 1860s-90s saw an explosive rise in the availability and movement of pictures around the world, with wide-reaching implications for global knowledge, imagination, popular fashion and consumption.[1] In order to understand how the development of a transnational visual sphere facilitated and shaped the spread of the *istanbulin* and fez style outside of the Ottoman Empire in these decades, this chapter focuses on changing forms of news and visual consumption seen in South Asia in connection with the 1877-8 Russo-Turkish War. Although the first versions of *istanbulin* and fez style had begun to appear in the preceding years, notably in Bombay, Hyderabad and Aligarh, its spread rapidly accelerated in the wake of the 1877-8 conflict, which aroused an unprecedented interest in the Ottoman cause in towns and cities across South Asia.

By focusing on the relation between new modes of worldly and visual knowledge produced in the Russo-Turkish War with changing patterns of urban consumption and self-fashioning, the chapter has two main aims. Firstly, it seeks to explore the new ways of understanding and consuming the world which emerged out of the technological and social changes seen in 1870s-80s Indian society. Secondly, by applying some of the methods and concerns of print and art history to understandings of transnational and imperial history, which have long prioritized physical flows of migrants, militaries and goods to the neglect of the homely armchair-traveler, it looks to highlight the importance of visual and sartorial consumption as modes of transnational investment, identification and cosmopolitan aspiration in this period.[2]

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[1] Within Europe the development of a mid-late nineteenth century transnational visual culture through newsprint is the subject of a recent work by Thomas Smits, T*he European Illustrated Press and the Emergence of a Transnational Visual Culture of the News, 1842-1870* (London: Routledge, 2019).

The Russo-Turkish War itself lasted from April 1877 to March 1878 and saw Russia invade the Ottoman Empire and seek, ultimately successfully, to occupy and 'liberate' large swathes of its territory in the Balkans and Caucasus.[3] Occurring just as a whole set of logistical and administrative innovations, including the telegraph, steam-packet, and reformed postal service were poised for a transformative expansion in the accessibility of print news, it has a good claim to be the first properly national media event in modern South Asian history. It was certainly the first news event to be widely and realistically illustrated. Officially neutral in the conflict and mindful of over-forcefully censuring discussion of a matter arousing high emotions and which had little direct bearing on Britain's own imperial status, the colonial administration was relatively tolerant of public debate of the war while it lasted.[4] The enormous public interest the war generated was thus the catalyst for a dramatic and immediate expansion in the sale and circulation of newspapers of all kinds, including the nascent vernacular illustrated press represented by the upstart *Punch* magazines, as well as of more specifically Ottoman themed books and illustrated works in the years which followed. The chapter argues that these patterns of rising consumption and emotional investment which rippled out from coverage of the Russo-Turkish war were partly shaped by the sheer novelty of breakthroughs in news and visual communication at this moment, with each clash and sally from the front reported in vivid, verisimilar detail almost in real-time. But it was also shaped by the nature of the 1877-8 conflict itself, in which the heroic, anti-imperial narrative of Ottoman struggle offered a basis for reimagining wider world and imperial politics, and a vicarious outlet for suppressed anti-colonial energies.

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[2] Recent examples of Indian Ocean oriented transnational history are Seema Alavi, *Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015); Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: the Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); James Gelvin and Nile Green, eds., *Global Muslims in the age of Steam and Print* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014); Thomas Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860–1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

[3] Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 352-360; Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 117-123.

[4] However, it was swiftly succeeded by the notoriously repressive Vernacular Press Law almost immediately after. Amelia Bonea, *The News of Empire: Telegraphy, Journalism, and the Politics of Reporting in Colonial India, C.1830–1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 215.

The war's significance within South Asian history has hitherto been largely considered almost exclusively in relation to themes of 'pan-Islam' and early Muslim nationalism.[5] Yet its consequences in many ways reached far beyond purely religiously or indeed strictly imperially defined parameters. While it certainly did elicit a particularly emotional response among many prominent Muslim reformists (and indeed the phalanx of colonial commentators who refused to view Indian society in any other than religious terms), intense interest and debate was reflected across a whole range of publications and regions, and with an attitude of such overwhelming support for the Ottoman cause that "such a unanimity in the vernacular newspapers was never noticed before on any other subject." [6] Beyond religious sentiments contemporary commentators further observed the influence of anti-imperial sympathies with the Ottoman cause and trans-Asian sentiments, indicating how expansion of commercial of print and illustration in these years facilitated not only proto-nationalist and imperial forms of imagination, but diverse possible forms of trans-regional ties and identification.[7] While transnational knowledge and interaction across the Indian Ocean, Persianate and Middle East regions were of course not new in themselves, the Russo-Turkish War's reception highlights how visual and geo-political imaginations were significantly reshaped and 'democratized' by the rise of mass-produced text and pictorial media, introducing naturalistic pictures, accounts, facts and maps of the wider world to a rapidly broadening urban audience.[8] The fashion for fez and 'Turkish frock coat' or *sherwani* itself was initially often criticized as an Anglicizing innovation by the more traditionally minded, and defended on the grounds of its Turkish use by its often more reform-minded champions.[9] Meanwhile, the spillover of the media frenzy around the war into the realms of self-fashioning and debates over social modernization and appearance further shows the degree to which the novel spheres of newspaper reading, political discussion and visual discernment were themselves becoming key status markers amid the rapidly shifting urban class, professional and social structures in these years. The spread of the fez and *istanbulin*-style jacket exemplifies how people drew on the new world of news-awareness and mass imagery to reimagine themselves in simultaneous relation to changing urban and social environment and an increasingly globally and regionally imagined politics of imperialism and modernity.

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[5] Azmi Özcan, *Pan-Islamism: Indian Muslims, the Ottomans and Britain, 1877-1924* (Leiden; Brill, 1997); M. N. Qureshi, *Pan-Islam in British Indian politics: A study of the Khilafat movement, 1918-1924* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

[6] *Sadharani* of the 23rd September, from Bengal *Report of the Native Papers* for the Week ending the 6th October 1877, 3.

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[7] The conflict's importance for the development of Urdu periodical culture has been noted by Francis Robinson, "Technology and religious change: Islam and the impact of print," in *Islam and Muslim History in South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 74, and Ulrike Starke, *An Empire of Books: the Naval Kishore Press and the diffusion of the Printed Word in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2007), 362. *Report on Native Papers*, Bombay, 29th September 1877, 9.

[8] Anindita Ghosh, *Power in Print: Popular Publishing and the Politics of Language and Culture in a Colonial Society, 1778-1905* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 140-1; For earlier transnational connections Alavi, *Muslim*; Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[9] Syed Tanvir Wasti, "Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the Turks" *Middle Eastern Studies* 46, no. 4 (2010): 532-6.

In considering these changes, the chapter will first provide a short overview of the development of news and popular visual culture during the first half of the nineteenth century before proceeding to focus on the coverage and impact of the Russo-Turkish War in South Asia, including its specifically visual dimensions. The second half of the chapter then explores rising consumption of Ottoman-oriented print books, images and dress in South Asia in the years following the war to illustrate some of the ways in which access to transnational media intersected with changing vocabularies of class, status and identity.

News and Visual Consumption in earlier nineteenth century South Asia

At the opening of the nineteenth century most regions of South Asia were already characterized by long and rich traditions of visual and news culture.[10] While access to many of the most prominent forms of traditional visual production, including hand-illustrated manuscripts, *muraqqa* picture albums (figure 1) and *kalamkari* cloths (figure 2) were restricted to the courtly social sphere and very wealthiest consumers, there were also rich local folk traditions of mostly literary and mythic depiction.[11] Meanwhile the sophisticated inter-court networks of resident news-writers and *akhbarat* newsletters established during the Mughal era remained a key system of trans-Indian news throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, supplementing other forms of news transmission through trans-regional migratory movements.[12] Knowledge and conceptions of the contemporary wider world evidently also circulated widely in anecdotal and oral form at most levels of urban society, often mingling with more fantastical literary narratives of exotic lands and journeys.[13]

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[10] Gagan Sood, *India and the Islamic Heartlands: An Eighteenth-century World of Circulation and Exchange* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Yael Rice, “The Global Aspirations of the Mughal Album,” in *Rembrandt and the Inspiration of India*, ed. Stephanie Schrader. (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2018), 70.

[11] Francesca Orsini has written of South Asia as “a society habituated to oral and visual entertainment”, *Print,* 9. See also the examples in Jyotindra Jain, ed., *Picture Showmen: Insights into the Narrative Tradition in Indian Art* (Mumbai: Marg, 1998); Marika Sardar, “The Courtly Tradition of Kalamkaris” in Navina Haidar and Marika Sardar eds., *Sultans of Deccan India, 1500-1700: Opulence and Fantasy* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2015), 274.

The early growth of a vernacular print industry in India was significantly facilitated by the relative ease, inexpensiveness and aesthetic possibilities of the new lithographic printing method introduced in the early nineteenth century.[14] Publication of vernacular papers and books in various languages began to proliferate from the 1830s on, though still reflecting a very limited readership and a high turnover of titles and publications.[15] The earliest vernacular newspapers and periodicals were strongly influenced by the networks and conventions of both the pre-existing *akhbarat* system, as well as the expanding colonial print sphere.[16] The number and circulation of English language 'Anglo-Indian' papers had grown steadily since the founding of the *Bengal Gazette* in 1780, but were still largely limited to a colonial readership through the early nineteenth century, and were typeset-printed.[17] By 1830 Calcutta had 33 English newspapers (with a total of 2205 subscribers), along with sixteen Bengali and one Persian paper.[18] The most notable early Urdu periodicals, including the *Delhi Urdu Akhbar* (est. 1837),

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[12] C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 31-36; Gail Minault, "From Akhbar to News: The Development of the Urdu Press in Early Nineteenth Century Delhi," in *A Wilderness of Possibilities: Urdu Studies in Transnational Perspective*, ed. Kathryn Hansen and David Lelyveld. (Delhi: OUP, 2003), 111; Gagan Sood, "Circulation and Exchange in Islamicate Eurasia: A Regional Approach to the Early Modern World," *Past & Present* 212, no. 1 (2011): 139.

[13] Mana Kia, "Accounting for Difference: A Comparative Look at the Autobiographical Travel Narratives of Hazin Lāhiji and 'Abd-al-Karim Kashmiri," Journal of Persianate Studies 2 (2009): 212; Kumkum Chatterjee. *The Cultures of History in Early Modern India: Persianization and Mughal Culture in Bengal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) 160.

[14] Orsini, *Print,* 14-15; Stark, *Empire,* 45-9.

[15] Orsini, *Print,* 36; Stark, *Empire*, 44.

[16] Margrit Pernau, "*The Delhi Urdu Ahkbar* between Persian *Akhbarat* and English Newspapers," *The Annual of Urdu Studies,* 18 (2003): 109; Gail Minault, "From Akhbar to News: The Development of the Urdu Press in Early Nineteenth Century Delhi," in *A Wilderness of Possibilities: Urdu Studies in Transnational Perspective*, ed. Kathryn Hansen and David Lelyveld. (Delhi: OUP, 2003), 104.

[17] Bonea, *News of Empire,* 152.

[18] Minault, "Akhbar", 106.

Akhbar-i Delhi (est. mid 1830s) and *Sayyid ul-Akhbar* (est. 1841), were all weeklies and developed fairly directly out of the Mughal *akhbarat* court bulletins of 1820s-40s Delhi, mostly containing a mix of local and court news, poetic compositions, coverage of significant cultural and literary events, and some broader editorial opinion and news pieces.[19] Although circulation of vernacular periodicals in the 1840-50s still rarely exceeded 150 subscribers at most, Margrit Pernau argues that the journals of this time constituted a turning point by linking "traditional local public opinion, expressing itself in festivals, processions and public ritual, and the new public, which was no longer based on direct interaction but on imagined communities."[20] Titles like the *Delhi Urdu Akhbar* increasingly diversified their topical contents, established more independent editorial voice and perspectives, and in both their production and readership engaged a growing class of men, often graduates of Delhi College and other new institutions, who made part of their livelihood through education, knowledge and enterprise.[21]

Up to the 1860s almost all papers, English and vernacular, were unillustrated except for the occasional advertisement stamp, with the vernacular papers still containing much more limited advertisements than their English counterparts.[22] The official report on The Native Presses in the North Western Provinces for 1849 does note the inclusion of illustrative woodcuts in one periodical, the '*Oomdut-ool-Akhbar'* published by the Bareilly School. However, this appears to have been quite exceptional and the paper's high cost and emphasis on educational improvement meant it did "not appear to be much appreciated by the Native community".[23] Like many other 'improving' publications sponsored by colonial and reformist organizations seeking to uplift and educate the public, it acquired very few subscribers and was soon discontinued.[24] Many of the early Urdu papers did, however, devote considerable attention to news from other regional courts in India and from abroad. Many of these pieces were derived and translated from the English language Anglo-Indian papers, or sometimes directly from imported European periodicals, but some were also derived directly from other sources.[25] In contrast to the Anglo-Indian papers, most contained few articles relating to Britain or Europe, focusing much more on more traditional regions of interest, including Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan, Russia, the Middle East and China, indicating how far the mental geographies and interests of editors and readership remained predominately those of 'old Hindustan' and its neighbors rather than British India.[26] However, the establishment of a weekly paper in 1844 Delhi, the *Nur-i Mashriqi* [Light of the East] in pointed critical opposition to another title, the *Nur-i Maghrebi* [Light of the West], is suggestive of growing conceptions of regional collectivity in opposition to that of Europe or the West.[27]

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[19] Minault, "Akhbar", 104; I.H. Qureshi, "Two Native Papers from Pre-Mutiny Delhi," *Indian Historical Record Commission. Proceedings of Meetings*, XVIII, (1944), 258; Pernau and Stark also points to the influence of ulema ideals of preaching and representing truth and conduct in the attitude and contents of many early Persian and Urdu papers, *Ashraf into Middle Classes: Muslims in Nineteenth-century Delhi* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 121; Stark, *Empire*, 30.

[20] Pernau, "Akhbar," 115; See also the circulation data in *Selections from the Records of Government: North Western Provinces*, Vol. III (Agra: Secoondra Orphan Press, 1855), 237-402.

[21] Pernau, *Ashraf*, 116, 123.

[22] Holloways pills, whose ubiquitous logo is among the very earliest seen in many 1860-70s vernacular journals was evidently a trailblazer in this regard. However, as such routine images-logos were reproduced by use of a regular moulded stamp, similar to those used for ornate journal titles, and tended to be small and simplistic in formatuntil late in the century they are not considered as original illustrations proper here.

Similar trends can be seen in the realm of visual consumption over the first half of the nineteenth century, with a significant increase in the production and availability of visual media seen in many regions, but often still limited to a relatively small array of consumers. The appearance of nascent popular markets for consumer images is evident in the burgeoning production of affordable Kalighat *pat* paintings and popular woodcut prints which drew on them in early 19th century Bengal. These depicted not only religious-mythic, literary and erotic subjects, but increasingly also satirical social and even colonial scenes.[28] Ashit Paul has pointed to this production as significant both for its introduction of realist subject matter to popular production, and for its separating off of individual images from ritual and performative functions as decorative, stand-alone consumer items.[29] The considerable quantity and increasingly generic style and quality of many miniature portraits of nobles, sultans and other famous historical figures produced in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Hyderabad is similarly suggestive of growing mass hand-production of images, spurred by rising colonial but also local consumer demand.[30] Though it is hard to tell how far such developments were also seen in other regions than these, the shift away from court and temple patronage systems to more commercialized workshop production of images for sale bears considerable resemblance to the contemporaneous shifts in illustrated manuscript and costume album production already seen in Istanbul in chapter 1. Portraits like those in figure 3-4, of Mohammed Ali the Khedive of Egypt, however, indicate how far the rare images produced of foreign figures still tended to remain products of artistic imagination, even if the figures themselves were known of.[31] While imported European works illustrated with woodcuts, and even a handful of domestically produced ones, do also begin to appear in this period, they remained affordable only to the very wealthy and had little circulation outside colonial society and institutions.[32]

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[23] *Selections from…North Western Provinces,* 257.
[24] *Selections from…North Western Provinces,* 257.
[25] Pernau notes that the editor of 1843-founded *Mazhar ul-Haq*, for example, was able to draw on his own correspondents in Baghdad, among other locations, for coverage, *Ashraf,* 199; Stark similarly notes Munshi Naval Kishore's extensive use of newswriter networks for *Awadh Akhbar*, *Empire*, 365.
[26] Minault, 111; Pernau, "A*hkbar*, 123; Qureshi, "Two Native Papers", 258.
[27] Qureshi, "Two Native Papers", 258.

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[28] Anindita Ghosh, *Power in Print: Popular Publishing and the Politics of Language and Culture in a Colonial Society, 1778-1905*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006, 142-150; Ashit Paul, ed., *Woodcut Prints of Nineteenth Century Calcutta* (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 1983). The contributors to this volume argue that woodcuts remained mostly limited to book illustration until the 1850s, when ‘large’ standalones began to be produced and sold out of Battala, 30-31, 72, 90.

[29] Paul, *Woodcut,* 8.

[30] For example, British Library, Prints and Drawings: Add.Or.4396-4470; Add.Or.1912-1947; Salar Jung Museum Library: Acc. No. 4289, MSS no. 85; Acc. No. 4402, MSS no. 100 and others on display.

[31] Even the portrait of the young Queen Victoria found in the same album bears little resemblance to contemporary European pictures and looks as though it may even have been based on a coin.

With the second half of the nineteenth century, development of print-news and visual spheres in both Europe and India began to gather growing momentum, bolstered by steadily increasing demand for news, textbooks and images alongside a series of transformative logistical and technological innovations. By the early 1850s the number of presses and newspapers in operation in India was steadily increasing across most major cities and towns.[33] The number of presses being operated in the North-Western Provinces grew from 17 to 23 and papers from 15 to 26 in 1848-9 alone.[34] The circulation of certain new kinds of imagery, especially those deemed as being of scientific or educational value by colonial authorities and nascent reform societies, such as cartographic maps, also began to proliferate via mass-produced textbooks, Anglo-Indian scientific journals and even some commercial presses.[35]

The bilingual English-Gujarati *Parsee Punch*, founded in Bombay in 1854 and loosely modeled on the 1841-founded British magazine *Punch, or The London Charivari*, has a good claim to be the first illustrated vernacular periodical to appear in South Asia. However, like the handful of mostly short-lived Anglo-Indian comic magazines like the *Delhi Sketch Book* which also appeared in these years, it appears to have remained a relatively isolated and low-circulating instance of an illustrated periodical for some years, until other regional *Punch* magazines began to proliferate in number and importance from around the 1870s on.[36] While information on commercial image production in these decades is generally scant, Anindita Ghosh points a surge in commercial image production in Bengal over the 1860-80s, with tens of thousands of cheap woodcut, lithograph and painted pictures for home hanging and perusal were being produced in Calcutta's Battala book market.[37]

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[32] Priya Joshi, "Trading places: The novel, the colonial library, and India," in *Print Areas Book History in India*, ed. Swapan Chakravorty and Abhijit Gupta. (Delhi Permanent Black, 2004), 18.

[33] *Selections from the Records of Government: North Western Provinces*, Vol. III (Agra: Secoondra Orphan Press, 1855), 247-254.

[34] *Selections.. North Western Provinces*, 247.

[35] Sumathi Ramaswamy, "Visualising India's Geo-body: Globes, Maps, Bodyscapes." *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 36, no. 1-2 (2002): 166; *Records of Government: North Western Provinces* records the Noor-ul-Absar Press producing over 500 maps of Hindustan and of the North-Western Provinces, all of which were sold, 389-90.

The Crimean War of 1853-6, which saw Britain and France joining the Ottoman Empire to campaign against Russian depredations around the Black Sea and Balkans, was an important turning point for news consumption, whose coverage and intra-imperial politics in many ways presaged those of the 1877-8 Russo-Turkish War. Within British and European press history the Crimean War has been noted as a transformational episode in the development of mass news media, and especially for illustration.[38] The unprecedentedly rapid transmission of bulletins from the front and coverage by a new array of on-the-scene reporters, special artists and the first news photographers generated unprecedented public interest, more than doubling the circulation of many titles.[39] The panoply of wood-engraved, lithographed and, by 1855, photographic images of the war which filled metropolitan exhibitions and the popular illustrated press further reshaped modes of news perception and consumption, prioritizing narrative and visual forms that mimicked first-hand experience.[40]

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[36] Mushirul Hasan, *Wit and Wisdom: Pickings from the Parsee Punch* (New Delhi: Niyogi Books, 2012), 15; Mitter, Partha, "Punch and Indian Cartoons: The Reception of a Transnational Phenomenon," in *Asian Punches: A Transcultural Affair*, eds. Hans Harder and Barbara Mittler. (Heidelberg: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2012), 57.

[37] They were even offered as 'free gifts' with certain titles to encourage book sales and included both religious and secular works, with satirical and erotic works particularly popular. Ghosh, *Power*, 128, 140-143.

[38] Smits, *European Illustrated Press*.

[39] Teukolsky, Rachel. "Novels, Newspapers, and Global War: New Realisms in the 1850s." *Novel : A Forum on Fiction* 45, no. 1 (2012): 35-6; Ulrich Keller, *The Ultimate Spectacle: A Visual History of the Crimean War* (Oxford: Routledge, 2001), xxii.

[40] Keller, *Ultimate Spectacle*;. Charlotte Mullins, "The World on a Plate: The Impact of Photography on Travel Imagery and its Dissemination in Britain, 1839-1888 (PhD diss., University of Sussex, 2012), 61. For the popular reach of such images see Smits, *European Illustrated Press*, 2.

The direct, abundant availability of information from the war's theatre is further credited with expanding the range of voices and political influence of newspapers in these years. Ulrich Keller argues that "during the Crimean War years a dense network of novel technologically defined channels, media and genres of communication… emerged which, perhaps for the first time, held out the promise for quite diverse groups across society to engage in intense efforts to of constituting their own histories through a process of competitive, controversial representations."[41] While India remained at some remove from many of the new reportage networks formed during the war there was nonetheless wide awareness of the progress of the Crimean War, and already early instances of public organization and fundraising were seen in support of its cause.[42] The then Governor General of India, Marquis Dalhousie, wrote in 1854 that "great interest and excitement are felt by all the Mussulman population in India, especially on the Western frontier. They are greatly pleased at England taking the part of the "Sooltan or Room."[43] Although others opined that public engagement with the Crimean War was still 'comparatively dim and uninformed', these early patterns of interest and organization strongly foreshadowed the events which would accompany the Russo-Turkish war some twenty years later.[44]

The decades of around 1860 to 1880 saw further radical changes in the ways in which news and imagery were produced, circulated and consumed in South Asia which drastically expanded the availability of print and visual information about the world.[45] Technical refinements in lithographic and photographic reproduction and the declining cost of key materials like paper allowed a rapid proliferation of entrepreneurial, small-scale presses and photo studios, while new rail and other infrastructure and the dramatic reduction in postage charges from 1871 allowed vernacular papers to reach significantly larger and more geographically dispersed readerships.[46]

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[41] Keller, *Ultimate Spectacle,* xiii.

[42] Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan, 1857-1964* (Oxford, OUP, 1967), 124; Ozcan, *Pan-Islamism,* 15; Halide Edip also records the positive attitudes to the British in many regions, particularly the North-Western provinces as a result of Britain's support of Turkey in that conflict. *Inside India*, (London: George Allan & Unwin, 1937), 146.

[43] J. G. A. Baird (ed.), *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie* (London: William Blakwood and Sons, 1910), 295.

[44] Sir Richard Temple, quoted in Ram Lakhan Shukla, *Britain, India, and the Turkish Empire, 1853-1882* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1973), 120.

By the 1870s, the subscriptions of leading vernacular papers were joining established English titles like the *Times of India* and *Pioneer* in attaining a wide national distribution.[47] Meanwhile, the proliferation of small commercial printers and photographers was providing the foundation for a mass expansion in the production of visual media. By 1860 there were said to be around 50 presses[48] and 130 Bengali photographers already operating in Calcutta,[49] while 1868 saw 600,000 Urdu and Hindi books recorded as being printed in Northwest Provinces and Oudh, and more than 50 private and commercial presses.[50] These figures further expanded at an explosive pace through the 1870s and 80s.[51] While a significant statistical proportion of textual and visual material produced continued to derive from governmental production and imports, the multiplication of commercial producers also brought a wide diversification in the range of genres and forms published to meet the tastes of local consumers.[52]

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[45] While there were many attempts to found Urdu periodicals through the mid-19th century, they found very limited commercial success and were mostly shortlived prior to 1860s. Bengal is a slightly different case, but even there Ghosh argues that the expansion of a commercial and popular print sphere also only really took hold from the 1860s. Anindita Ghosh, "An Uncertain "Coming of the Book": Early Print Cultures in Colonial India," *Book History* 6, no. 1 (2003): 47; Stark also points to the continued lack of a consumer base sufficient to support commercial publishing in Calcutta up to the 1850s, *Empire,* 62.

[46] Mail order was key to book and periodical distribution networks, and also for the private exchange and delivery of images via photographic *carte de visite*, postcards and similar. Orsini, *Print*, 231; Stark, *Empire*, 168, 357.

[47] Dubrow, *Dreams*, 2; Starke, *Empire*, 358-9.

[48] Ghosh, *Power,* 118.

[49] Judith Gutman. *Through Indian Eyes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 99.

[50] Stark, *Empire*, 65.

[51] Calcutta, for example, was recorded as having three thousand printers in 1881. Ghosh, *Power*, 109.

[52] Textbooks and other forms of official printing were produced on an enormous scale throughout this period, Stark, *Empire,* 50. The actual level of imports of visual media hard to say, but European producers of both books and commercial images certainly sought to exploit the colonial market, Ghosh, *Power,* 138; Partha Mitter, *Art and*

At the same time, the kinds of news and content prioritized by newspapers was becoming reshaped by a marked acceleration of, and deepening incorporation of India into, imperial-global networks of information, trade and migration. Many of the very earliest vernacular journals, as noted above, already maintained a strong interest in reporting trans-regional events, which was further expanded and transformed by successive advances in long distance transportation and logistics in these years. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the associated shift in oceanic shipping to propeller-driven iron steamships cut the journey time for dispatches between Britain and India from months to weeks, while the completion of the Indo-European telegraph line between Britain and India in 1870, allowed essential news to be transmitted from London to Bombay in a matter of hours.[53]

These were revolutionary changes, whose political and commercial opportunities were exploited with alacrity by South Asian newspaper editors and publishers, who redesigned their papers' formats to prioritize the latest telegraphic bulletins and other news headlines, with literary content increasingly relegated to the later pages.[54] The considerable time lag that elapsed between the transmission of skeleton facts and news-stories through telegraph and the arrival of the more fleshed out stories in the papers and missives of the mail packet saw special sections set aside for telegraph news or '*tar baraqqi*'. This disjuncture resulted in a good deal of the detail in fact arriving after the window of public interest had passed, contributing to the shift towards a more

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Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922: Occidental Orientations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 174; Priya Joshi, "Trading places: The novel, the colonial library, and India," in *Print Areas Book History in India,* ed. Swapan Chakravorty and Abhijit Gupta. (Delhi Permanent Black, 2004), 18.

[53] Amelia Bonea, "Telegraphy and Journalism in Colonial India, C. 1830s to 1900s." *History Compass* 12, no. 5 (2014): 393; Precise reduction in time is hard to exactly quantify given that journey times continued to vary, but the distance of travel between Liverpool and Bombay was reduced from 11,560 to 5777 nautical miles. Max Fletcher, "The Suez Canal and World Shipping", *Journal of Economic History*, 18, No.4 (1958), 559.

[54] Stark, *Empire*, 364-366.

recognizably journalistic style driven by facts, headlines and clipped, direct language.[55] Although most vernacular papers continued to draw most of their international news from leading Anglo-Indian publications like the *Pioneer* and *Times of India*, whose privileged relationship with the colonial government allowed them direct access to telegraphic news, they were also increasingly accessing Ottoman and other foreign publications directly as well.[56] Indeed some papers seem to have deliberately sought to show off the extent of their networks and cosmopolitanism through the diversity of geographical sources from which they sourced articles and content.[57]

It was not only the global span of news access, but the sense of contemporaneity it carried which was particularly exciting to readers, who were able to feel they were now following far-flung events in real time. The most successful Urdu newspaper of this era, the Lucknow-published *Avadh Akhbar* "prided itself on being able to cover 'the whole world.'" while an 1870 reader's letter praised the same paper for providing the "latest news from provinces near and far" in record time, exclaiming that "even letters from London don't reach within six days, while your paper gives readers information on the sixth day!" [58] Even primarily satirical journals, like the regional *Punches* that began to spring up at around the same time, carried a heavy admixture of international news reproduction.[59] The global orientation of the most prominent of these, *Avadh Punch* (est.

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[55] See the literature on the late nineteenth century 'new journalism' in Britain, particularly Andrea Korda, *Printing and Painting the News in Victorian London: The Graphic and Social Realism, 1869–1891* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 79.

[56] Bonea, *News of Empire,* 216. However, *Avadh Akhbar* still also made widespread use of more traditional newswriter-correspondents for much domestic news; *Report on the Native Papers in the Madras Presidency*, month of January 1880, 6; July 1880, 6-7; Starke, *Empire,* 365.

[57] This seems to have been particularly pronounced in the case of *Decan Punch*, late 1880s issues of which often claimed to derive its material from a whole plethora of sources, including as far afield as German and Russian publications.

[58] Starke, *Empire,* 360. The writer is evidently referencing the impact of the 'Turkish line' completed in 1865 which connected Karachi with the Ottoman Empire and reduced news transmission times to six days. Bonea, "Telegraphy", 393.

[59] According to Mushirul Hasan at least 70 Indian Punches were established across India in the last quarter of the 19th century. *Wit and Humour in Colonial North India* (Delhi: Niyogi, 2007), 12. Several other examples than *Avadh Punch* are also detailed in Hans Harder and Barbara Mittler eds., *Asian Punches: A Transcultural Affair*. (Heidelberg: Springer, 2013).

1877), was made plain in one of its first frontispieces in which representatives of various regions sit around a table with Avadhi Punch at its head, surrounded by elaborate title and borders playfully constructed from exotic animals, acrobats, figures and scenery (fig. 5). The carefully delineated dress and hair of the seated figures collects the traditionally familiar wider region of India, Persia and the Ottoman Middle East plus England, with the outsize figure of Avadhi Punch positioned as principal at the head of the table, privy to a globalized array of interlocutors that he can engage at his pleasure.[60] All together, these changes meant that news, goods and imagery could now travel both globally and across Indian itself at a hitherto almost unimaginable speed and were becoming accessible to a dramatically widening cross-section of the urban population.

The Russo-Turkish War as a Mass Media Event

The Russo-Turkish War was fought between Russia and the Ottoman Empire from April 1877 until March 1878 and was both preceded and followed by protracted public diplomacy and political grandstanding with the other 'great powers' of Europe, particularly Britain and France, who closely engaged themselves despite remaining formally neutral in the conflict itself. The war originated in European public outrage prompted by reports of the 'Bulgarian horrors' perpetrated by the sultan's forces while putting down a rebellion in the Ottoman Empire's Balkan provinces, with Russia invoking the defense of its Slavic co-religionists as a pretext to declare war in pursuit of long-standing strategic and territorial ambitions in the Balkans and Caucasus.[61] While the Ottoman armies enjoyed some early successes, by late 1877 the Russians were firmly ascendant, although the months-long resistance of Osman Pasha in the fortress of Plevna made him internationally famous and shaped a narrative of heroic resistance even in defeat.[62] In early 1878 Russian forces were able to advance directly on Istanbul and a truce was mediated by Britain. The following months of negotiations resulted in the successive 1878 treaties first of San Stefano, and then of Berlin, in which the Ottomans were forced to make major territorial concessions, including ceding almost all its remaining Balkan provinces to occupation or independence, and Cyprus to the British.[63]

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[60] See also Dubrow, *Dreams*, 68.
[61] Hanioğlu, *Brief History*, 117-8.

Coverage of these events generated unprecedented excitement in South Asia. Regular daily updates of events from the front lines or latest grand diplomatic summit were avidly awaited as they arrived by telegraph, with news of any Ottoman victory or diplomatic defiance greeted with particular excitement. A letter to the *Civil and Military Gazette* published in July 1877 described how:

> "The Mussulmans of Amritsar are so much absorbed … that nearly three hundred of them go daily to the railway station, and when the mail train which brings your widely circulated journal arrives at the station the heart of every individual palpitates, and all is hustle and bustle. The crowd assembled listens with great eagerness. The air rings with their loud acclamations and cheers whenever any victory is gained by their brave and patriotic brethren is read to them."[64]

The surge of interest in news and newspapers was itself the subject of widespread comment. The colonial press translator for Madras observed in his October report that "The papers… are as usual crammed with war news. All the leaders of the *Madras Mail* on the war are translated into them, and all the war news from the *Overland Mail*. The circulation of the Hindustani papers is, I hear greatly increasing owing to the war. More than 250 copies of the *Shams-ul-Akhbar* are now circulated to up-country subscribers alone."[65] His counterpart in Calcutta similarly commented on the "large class of the natives…who never cared to read the papers before most eagerly apply[ing] for them", while nearby the *Civil and Military Gazette* noted that "we hear of the telegrams from Europe and the latest war news in the Anglo-Indian newspapers being translated into the vernacular papers and being read in bazaars and villages throughout the country." [66] The scale at which circulation of vernacular periodicals rose during the conflict is indicated by colonial statistics for subscriptions. By the end of 1878 the total number of periodical subscriptions enumerated in the weekly *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Central Provinces* had risen to 13,525, from 7317 at the beginning of 1877.[67]

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[62] Ozcan, *Pan-Islamism*, 66.
[63] Hanioğlu, *Brief History*, 121-3.
[64] 'Mahomedan Feeling in India', *Civil and Military Gazette,* 26 June 1877, 3.

It was the intense public interest and demand for news occasioned by this conflict which also allowed *Avadh Akhbar* to make the commercial jump to becoming the first Urdu daily in 1877.[68] The paper's circulation went on to reach its nineteenth century peak of 800 subscribers as it made the war news central to its offerings, bringing telegraphic news into even greater front-page prominence and introducing a host of new features, including a daily column on 'the latest news from the front,' special supplements and periodically even illustrated scenes and maps.[69] Although print runs of individual titles still appeared numerically quite limited, individual copies often reached a much wider audience as they were read out and passed around the homes, libraries, clubs, train carriages, restaurants and other social spaces of the late nineteenth century city.[70]

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[65] *Native Papers in the Madras Presidency*, month of October, 1877, 4.

[66] 'Mahomedan Interest in the War', *Civil and Military Gazette*, 12 July 1877, 4; *Report of the Native Papers*, Bengal, October 1877, 4.

[67] *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Central Provinces,* Saturday January 13th, 1877, 12-14; 21st December 1878, 1055-8.

[68] Francis Robinson, "Technology and religious change: Islam and the impact of print," in *Islam and Muslim History in South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 74; Starke, *Empire,* 362.

[69] Starke, *Empire,* 362.

Interest in the war and the feverish consumption of news concerning it was not confined to a particular group or province but was widely recorded across many of South Asia's regions and populations. In spite of strong misgivings in some quarters over the lurking threat of pan-Islam, the colonial authorities held back from intervening too closely in the coverage of the war while it was progressing, citing a desire not to unnecessarily arouse hostile feelings by shutting down a public debate which was for the most part not intrinsically anti-British, and the value of an open press as an index of public opinion.[71] However, as will be seen in the example of the *Dnyan Prakash* below, editors still had to tread a very careful line and commercially minded presses like that of Naval Kishore were at pains to advertise their pro-British politics.[72] However, while a certain latitude of expression was allowed during the Russo-Turkish war, debates in the vernacular press were extremely closely monitored and it is no coincidence that one of the most repressive censorship laws of the colonial period, the Vernacular Press Act, was instituted almost immediately after the war's conclusion in March 1878.[73]

Most scholarly analyses of the impact of the Russo-Turkish war and its coverage in South Asia have emphasized it as a primarily or even exclusively Muslim phenomenon, motivated by pan-Islamic sentiments, and there can be no doubt that the cause of the war, and the wide invocation of the Ottoman sultan as Caliph and guardian of the holy cities by many prominent Muslim leaders at this time did exercise a particularly strong emotional response among many

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[70] Dubrow, *Dreams* 1-2. Starke quotes an 1874 subscriber to *Avadh Akhbar* who complained that the servants of the post office not only opened read his copy themselves, but also circulated it to all their friends before passing it on to him, *Empire*, 361.
[71] Ozcan, *Pan-Islamism*, 71-2.
[72] Stark, *Empire*, 226-8.
[73] Bonea, *News of Empire*, 215.

Muslim Indians.[74] However, approaching South Asian responses to the war as a fundamentally pan-Islamic or Muslim phenomenon obscures its many other dimensions, and the sophistication of geopolitical and diplomatic understanding and analysis evinced by much of the vernacular print debate. Most news periodicals of this era were not defined by an exclusively religiously-defined mission or readership but were primarily commercial ventures, with staff and readerships hailing from varied backgrounds.[75] Moreover, colonial vernacular press reports from these years further show how engagement with the war was a nationwide phenomenon, splashed across the pages of vernacular publications of diverse languages and origins across not only the Punjab, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, but also Bengal, Bombay and its hinterlands, and south India.[76] Although there was of course a wide range of perspectives represented across these many papers, they were overwhelmingly supportive of the Ottoman cause and typically presented the war as a struggle between Russian colonial aggression and brave Ottoman defiance. "Such a unanimity in the vernacular newspapers" it was said "was never before noticed on any other subject." [77]

Debates across late 1870s papers expound varied reasons for supporting the Turkish cause, often tied to considerable awareness of the deeper imperial politics which informed public discussions around it. The indefatigable resistance of British commentators and officials to conceive of Indian society, or of broader imperial politics, in any other terms than broad religious differences - a determining factor in generating narratives of 'pan-Islam' or

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[74] Qureshi, *Pan-Islam*, 101; Ozcan. 65; Francis Robinson, *The Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia*. New Delhi : Bangalore: Permanent Black ; Distributed by Orient Longman, 2001, 110.

[75] Stark, *Empire*, 72-4; *North Western Provinces,* Vol. III, 237-402.

[76] Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers/Reports of the Native Papers for Bengal; Bombay; Madras; and the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Central Provinces, 1877-8.

[77] *Sadharani* of the 23rd September, from Bengal *Report of the Native Papers* for the Week ending the 6th October 1877, 3.

‘Wahabbism’ - was itself commented on by vernacular editors and columnists. An 1877 article in the Bengali paper *Sadharani*, “Why are we on the Side of Turkey?”, observed that

> “there is only one opinion expressed in the Native Press regarding this Russo-Turkish war. As it is, the subject has attracted the attention of the Anglo-Indian prints, who do not seem to like this this attitude of the native editors. ... we do not believe those English editors who describe the Turks as oppressors and tigers in human shape; for oftentimes they forget all about truth when they speak of a Mahomedan. Once, when in this mood, they fearlessly proclaimed to that world that, under Mahomedan rule, anarchy prevailed in Oudh to such an extent as was never before witnessed anywhere else. But … They themselves now say that the condition of the people has, at the present day, become worse than what it was under the Mahomedans. In India they have proclaimed such untruths a hundred times over; thus leading us to the conclusion that whether consciously or unconsciously, it is a morbid characteristic of a section of their people to say what is untrue regarding Mahomedan rulers.[78]

Similarly, a long front page article in the Bombay *Dnyan Prakash,* entitled “The Hindu Feeling about the War,” argued that

> the Natives of India, not only Mahomedans but Hindus as well, heartily sympathize with the Turks, and wish them success in the struggle which is now going on between them and the Russians. The feeling of the Hindus in favour of the Turks appears to be a great mystery to Englishmen, and they cannot account for it. They say that the sympathy of the Mahomedan population of India for the Turks is intelligible, on the ground of religion and history. But

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[78] Bengal *Report,* 6th October 1877, 3.

> neither of these grounds exist in the case of the Hindus to account for the sympathy in question.

The article goes on to examine the different reasons for the widespread feelings of affinity with the Turks. The first and lengthiest of these is likely more intended for the colonial censor's eyes than the paper's readership, arguing that "the Hindus think that Russia is a natural enemy of England, and, therefore it is their enemy also" on account of "the numerous great and important blessings they have already obtained and of the many more they have good reason to hope to obtain in the course of time under this wise rule" (though also acknowledging "the people of India are not without their grievances and complaints under the British rule").[79] This done, however, the writer continues that:

> The second ground of the Native sympathy for the Turks, is the justice of their cause. Russia is notoriously an aggressive power. Its policy is guided by a guilty greed and an unjustifiable desire of universal conquest. The sympathy it shows to the oppressed Christians of Bulgaria and other provinces of Turkey, is a mere sham set forth to cover guilty ambition. Russia is ready to swallow up states, both Christian and Mahomedan, as is proved by the fate of Poland and other Christian kingdoms which she has absorbed. She is not less cruel or barbarous than Turkey, as her past history shows. The Natives know all this, and, therefore, they cannot wish any success to such an unrighteous power. The third ground of the Native sympathy for the Turks is that, they are an Asiatic power, and the unexpected and brilliant deeds of valor and military skill with which the despised Turks have been astonishing the world and extorting the admiration of the great countries of

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[79] *Report on Native Papers*, Bombay, 29th September 1877, 9.

> Europe, naturally excite a sympathetic feeling in the hearts of the Natives, who also are Asiatics and feel pride in the good fortune of a nation of their own continent.[80]

Not only does the analysis evince deep acquaintance with the details of recent European history and geopolitics, but argues that public involvement in the war drew on an affinity with the Ottomans grounded in a deep sense of common opposition to European imperial aggression and hypocrisy, and trans-regional 'Asiatic' commonality.[81]

In many ways the sentiments outlined here and in other newspaper comments of the time strongly resemble those which have been identified in connection with the later 1905 Russo-Japanese war, when Japan's victory over the Russians provided a wave of anti-colonial inspiration in nations around the world.[82] Cemil Aydin has written of that conflict that it provided "a global moment of reflection on the legitimacy and structures of the imperialist world order."[83] If not as widespread and well-defined as in the global reverberations created by the 1905 conflict, engagement with the Russo-Turkish war was already setting similar responses in train, sharpening popular conceptions of trans-regional geography, imperial geopolitics and provoking deepening reflection on transnational commonalities of colonial behavior and experience. At the height of Ottoman successes in the war, as they held off the Russian advance and inflicted heavy casualties in the early Autumn of 1877, their victories were almost openly celebrated as a signal defiance of the pieties of the European-dominated imperial world order. *Sadharani* wrote that:

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[80] *Report on Native Papers*, Bombay, 29th September 1877, 9.

[81] Cemil Aydin for The disjunct between liberal ideas and principles and actual behaviour in the construction of the concept of 'the West' is discussed by Cemil Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 71.

[82] Pankaj Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire: The Intellectuals Who Remade Asia* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012), 1-4.

[83] Aydin, *Anti-Westernism*, 71.

> Turkey, which was described as the impoverished and dying sick man, is now found to be steady, strong, hopeful, discreet, and brave in battle. The Turks possess self-reliance; a pride which is worthy of the gods; feel pleasure in self-help; possess versatility and steady perseverance. We now find that even in warfare the most powerful Russian may take a lesson from the Mahomedan. Hence we have thought that, since a large portion of what Mr Gladstone's party have said of the Turks has proved to be groundless, there need be no wonder if much of the remaining allegations prove equally so?[84]

The subsequent sharp reverses and ultimate defeat of the Ottomans considerably dampened such sentiments, especially in terms of the empire's military capabilities. However, interest and knowledge of Ottoman affairs was increasingly was also not limited to the Russian conflict itself but also extended to wider questions of reform, administration and social organization within an international framework. The Ottoman government was praised for its success in reforming its education system, in particular, along with many other measures for public utility and general welfare.[85] The *Vakil-i Hindustan*, for instance, published a long piece critically comparing the treatment of prisoners by the British Indian and Ottoman governments, asserting that

> the unhappy life of the Indian prisoner…is far worse than that of any slave. He suffers great violence and oppression at the hands of the jail authorities… Look at the condition of a prisoner in Spain or Turkey. There are schools in those countries to educate him and thus to reclaim him. He is made to work at a trade or manufactory, and his accumulated earning

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[84] Bengal *Report*, 6th October 1877, 3.

[85] *Native Papers in the Madras Presidency*, month of October, 1877, 6; See also Shibli Numani, *Safarnama*-i *Rum wa Misr wa Sham* [Travelogue of Turkey, Egypt and Syria] (Lahore: M. Sana Allah Khan, 1964 [1894]), 8, 48-66.

> are made over to him on his release to set him up in life. In no country is the life of a prisoner so miserable as in India."[86]

Within the Ottoman Empire itself, awareness of India and its importance to trans-imperial politics was similarly rapidly growing, not least driven by the reporting of Indian excitement at the war and the generous financial donations being made in the Istanbul press.[87] Meltem Toksoz has shown how India was also dwelt on at length in Mehmet Murad's new Ottoman history textbooks of 1881-2 as a case study in European duplicity, colonial aggression and commercial exploitation.[88] The changing nature of 'news' and the rapidly expanding public print sphere in both contexts was thus key to increasingly linking together disparate locations and audiences, while generating novel imaginations of community, region and world and the intrinsically transnational nature of imperial politics, in which diplomatic reverses for Britain over 'the Eastern question' could hold deep consequences for freedoms and government in South Asia and vice versa. As a result they were also increasingly intimately entwined with changing patterns and politics of visual, material and sartorial production, meaning and consumption.

The Russo-Turkish War and the Emergence of an Illustrated Print Sphere in South Asia

In addition to the speed and sensationalism enabled by new kinds of news transmission, media coverage of the Russo-Turkish war was also characterized by much expanded use of visual depiction by lithographed vernacular papers, which was in turn key to the popular excitement it generated. As print pictures of foreign and domestic leaders, war scenes, and other images began

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[86] *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Central Provinces*, 10th February 1877, 88.

[87] Gokhan Cetinsaya, "II. Abdulhamid Doneminin Ilk Tillannda "Islam Birligi Hareketi"", (M.A. thesis, University of Ankara, 1988), 99-101; Ozcan, *Pan-Islamism*, 78.

[88] Meltem Toksöz, "The World of Mehmed Murad: Writing Histoires Universelles in Ottoman Turkish" *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 40 (2002): 356.

to proliferate in vernacular periodicals and cheap books, they opened up pictorial consumption and knowledge of the wider world to a hugely increased segment of the urban population, shaping new forms and values of visual appreciation. The diversity of often short-lived titles that appeared in the second half of the 19th century and scarcity of surviving runs makes it hard to track the early appearance and development of illustrations in vernacular periodicals with much precision. There are isolated examples like *Parsee Punch,* as well as low-number but influential circulation of European and especially British illustrated magazines to South Asia, whose presence is attested to by regular references in the Anglo-Indian press and in the evident influence of the approach and visual design of the *ILN* and *Punch* on early vernacular illustrated papers. It is only into the 1870s however, that a new generation of illustrated periodicals began to proliferate and attain significant circulation.[89]

The satirical Anglo-Indian magazine *Indian Charivari* published from Calcutta in 1872 was one of the first of the new *Punch* magazines to be founded, and while it was firmly aimed at, and largely limited to, a colonial audience, its wider visual influence is evident in the common elements of its own cover (Fig. 6) and that of *Avadh Punch* in Fig 5.[90] By the middle of the decade more mainstream vernacular newspapers like *Avadh Akbar* were also beginning to very periodically incorporate large lithographed pictures, including portraits, maps, news-scenes and occasionally caricatures, though still tending to be in the educational/uplifting mode.[91] In mid-1879, for example, when the paper began to introduce a regular weekly full-page illustration for the first time, the month of August saw five prominent pictures included, along with a long illustrated article on magnetism. Of the five main images, all were of foreign subjects. While two were obituary-portraits, the three other full-page images were of a pair of nesting sparrows, a thoroughbred horse and an Afghan village scene, all of them drawn from recent copies of the *ILN*.[92] The extensive accompanying commentaries on the latter three, while generally bemoaning the lack of serious interest in ornithology or geography seen in India, nevertheless repeatedly extolled the inspirational power of images for awakening curiosity and allowing learning about the world. One proclaimed that "seeing pictures like these whips up the steeds of desire for travel, and one uncontrollably wants to make a journey and see the styles and manners of the men and women of different countries", further emphasizing the importance accorded to new visual possibilities of publishing for both public education and the opening up of vivid new perspectives on the rest of the world.[93]

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[89] The satirical illustrated Bengali magazines *Harbola Bhar* and *Basantak* were both founded in 1874. Mitter, "*Punch* and Indian Cartoons", 59.

[90] The correspondence is particularly notable in the central illustration of Punch with other figures at a table and half circle acrobat-letters above. *Indian Charivari Album*, (Calcutta, 1875), 1.

[91] Advertisements in Urdu and most English titles remained visually negligible until well into the 1880s, consisting only of a few highly simplistic and routinely reused brand-stamps, and as such do not form part of the discussion here and below.

It was the springing up of a whole array of new *Punch* periodicals in the second half of the 1870s, however, which introduced the illustrated paper proper to India. Proliferating rapidly across diverse languages and regions and swiftly finding broad commercial appeal through a blend of humorous satire, news and illustration, the last quarter of the 19th century saw over 70 different *Punch* magazines founded across at least twelve different cities in India, with a number of the most prominent making their first appearance in the late 1870s-early 1880s.[94] In combination with the exigencies and popular demand for Russo-Turkish war coverage, they brought about a sudden and dramatic increase in illustration. Typically published as weeklies, these *Punches* contained a large quantity of news and comment alongside their satirical content and were far more heavily illustrated than any other papers hitherto. A typical issue of the Lucknow-published *Avadh Punch*, perhaps the most famous late nineteenth century example, usually contained at least two or three and up to six large illustrations per issue, including at least one full-page – an almost unprecedented quantity when it first appeared. In addition, the new *Punch* magazines were distinct from the purely comic earlier Anglo-Indian sheets like the *Delhi Sketch Book* or *Indian Charivari* in that these included both news illustrations and cartoons and caricatures, making them significant not only as vehicles of satire and social comment, but also as the first iteration of an 'illustrated press' in India, with a role partly corresponding to contemporary European titles like the *Illustrated London News* (*ILN*) or *Graphic*, from which - they evidently took at least as much inspiration as from *Punch* itself.[95] Like the *ILN* and *Graphic*, and in contrast to the mostly domestically-oriented *Punch* of the same era, many of the Indian *Punches* were also highly international in their orientation and included a high proportion of news illustration of world figures and events.[96] While there were often a good many entirely original humorous sketches or cartoons included, during the early years of these journals' production, and even thereafter, these often tended to be smaller and more quickly sketched, with larger, more detailed inclusions often drawing on illustrations from the British illustrated press which were adapted and hand-copied by in-house lithographic artists. A high proportion were directly from the *ILN* itself, with others taken from the *Graphic*, a number of cartoons from *Fun* and a smattering from *Punch* and a few other sources (Figs 7-10).[97]

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[92] *Avadh Akhbar*, 2nd August 1879, 2; 3rd August 1879, 5; 9th August 1879, 2; 14th August 1879, 2-4; 16th August 1879, 2; 23rdst August 1879, 2.
[93] *Avadh Akhbar*, 30th August 1879, 4.
[94] Hasan, *Wit*, 12; see also the lists of publications recorded in the various Native Newspaper Reports for these years.

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[95] Within the Victorian British press there was a recognized distinction between 'illustrated press' titles like the *Illustrated London News*, which catered to a more popular mass-readership and more self-consciously serious, text-heavy titles like the *Times*. The satirical aspects of the Indian Punches are discussed in Dubrow, *Dreams*, 63-9, as well as Hasan, *Wit*. The circulation of *Avadh Punch* rose swiftly from 250 at first to over 500 by the early 1880s – only 200 short of the enormously better resourced *Avadh Akhbar*. Hasan, *Wit*, 36.

[96] *Punch*, Vols LXXI-LXXV, (London: Punch, 1876-81).

[97] In these years at least, the proportion of actual cartoons drawn directly from *Punch* is surprisingly low, perhaps because those in Punch were mostly concerned with British politics and society and held little interest for Indian audiences.

At the same time, the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war and the quickening appetite for world news and newspaper consumption it brought greatly accelerated the incorporation of South Asia into a transnational visual sphere of news and portrait illustration. While the Crimean War might have been handmaiden to the early popular illustrated press in Europe, it was the Russo-Turkish War's coverage which in Europe and South Asia alike showed the power of illustrated news coverage to shape the public politics of war and diplomacy itself.[98] Graphic images of 'the Bulgarian horrors' committed by Ottoman irregular troops appeared widely in European illustrated journals in 1876-7, and were a key factor in generating the public outcry and anti-Turkish sentiments which formed the political and diplomatic maneuverings leading to the war.[99] In Russia such images were central to provoking outrage and fomenting support for a 'holy war' to defend the Ottoman Empire's Orthodox Christian populations. In Britain they helped empower the Liberal opposition leader William Gladstone to force British withdrawal from earlier promises of support to the Ottomans made in the aftermath of the Crimean War, opening the way for Russian invasion.[100]. Both Russian and Ottoman governments also took considerable pains to try and control public circulation of imagery throughout the course of the war itself to create favorable narratives for their cause.[101] In India, images of the war and its main protagonists along with caricatures of surrounding politics and diplomacy became crucial to the expanded coverage of the conflict offered by many journals. It was as part of its expanded dedicated coverage of the war that *Avadh Akhbar* began to include more regular news illustrations of maps and figures from the conflict.[102] The swelling demand for information about the war and its protagonists was similarly highly instrumental in the early success of *Avadh Punch*, which dedicated a large amount of its coverage to the war and its aftermath during the first years of its publication.

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[98] Smits, *Illustrated Press,* 2.

[99] Martina Baleva, "The Empire Strikes Back. Image Battles and Image Frontlines during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878," *Ethnologia Balkanica* Vol. 16 (2013): 281-2.

[100] Baleva, "Empire," 283; Stephen Norris "Depicting the Holy War: The Images of the Russo-Turkish War, 1877–1878," *Ab Imperio* 2001, no. 4 (2001): 142.

[101] Baleva, "Empire," 283-5; Norris "Depicting", 143-157.

[102] Stark, *Empire,* 362.

Although in reality the access of these publications to news and imagery of the war and other international events remained quite limited, and heavily dependent on the tastes and networks of imported imperial media like the *ILN*, vernacular editors often displayed considerable ingenuity in adapting the available material to the interests of their own readerships. The choice of illustrations to reproduce was highly selective, often incorporating and reassembling material according to the paper's own priorities, with international news stories and images heavily weighted toward the familiar geography of the Ottoman Middle East, Afghanistan, Iran and Britain, or exoticizing images of other, less familiar parts of the world, with very few of the plentiful European images found in British papers making the cut. If those in a more exoticizing ethnographic vein, like the Afghan village scene, or various images from South Africa published in *Avadh Akhbar* in 1879 (figure 10) often reproduced contemporary racist-colonial attitudes and visual tropes, the more politically critical publications like *Avadh Punch* also had little difficulty in setting out their own narrative and perspective from the material available.[103] Closer inspection of the war scenes in figures 7-8 for instance, reveals how the original image has been considerably adapted to the far more pro-Ottoman concerns of *Avadh Punch*'s readership (just as indeed the *ILN* itself routinely manipulated its own original visual material).[104] The scene as published in the *ILN* includes the Ottoman cavalry only as faint sketches in the background, largely as the object of, and a chaotic visual counterpoint to, the thunderous charge of the Russian dragoons whose splendidly disciplined double-rank dominates the frame, unwavering even as their comrades fall in the foreground. The illustration in *Avadh Punch*, though clearly drawn from the first image, presents a very different kind of scene. While still conveying the thrill and clamor of battlefront engagement, it portrays a much more even struggle, with the hero of the piece clearly now the Circassian horseman in the foreground, who remains calmly intent on his shot even as the sword of the charging dragoon to the right is raised above him. The Russian body in the foreground and the second dragoon dropping his sword as he is felled from his horse are similarly repurposed as signs of the many casualties inflicted by the implacable Ottoman cavalry. It is hence not only the balance of success on the battlefield itself which is being visually repurposed, but also the innate characters of the two armies and sets of protagonists who are being portrayed.

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[103] For example the picture text in the issues of April 7th or 30th August, 1877.
[104] Baleva, "Empire," 276-81.

The captions to the illustration are also significantly altered. The *ILN*'s describes the caption only briefly as "the charge of the Astrachan Dragoons and Kiev Hussars, under Prince Eugene von Leuchtenberg, cutting their way through a mass of three thousand Circassian horsemen that menaced the rear of General Gorko's force." [105] *Avadh Punch*'s caption, however, again emphasizes the actions and successes of the Circassian horsemen who are described as launching a sudden attack on the rear of the Russian forces and themselves scattering Lieutenant Leuchtenberg's cavalry.[106] That the text also inadvertently mislabels the image, confusing which side of the image each of the two sets of troops are on, is likely due to miscommunication between the artist and calligrapher, and is a reminder of how new both the visual reproduction process and imagery itself were still at the time of this picture's publication. Another example, illustrating how the ultimate defeat of Ottoman forces in the Russo-Turkish war was recast around the heroic resistance of the fortress of Plevna is an image taken from the *Graphic* of January 5th 1878 showing the Osman Pasha's final surrender was enlarged into an almost unprecedented double-page spread of the heroically wounded general being saluted by the Russian Czar himself as he was carried from the fortress (figure 13). The treatment of imported periodicals as raw material for repurposing is equally pronounced in production of the paper's satirical content, with cartoon designs continually being readapted to meet the needs of the day. Figure 15's reuse of a *Punch* cartoon from fully nineteen years before (figure 14) suggests that the *Avadh Punch* illustrators kept a large supply of ready back issues from which to draw visual inspiration.[107]

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[105] *Illustrated London News*, August 25, 1877, 187.
[106] *Avadh Punch*, October 9, 1877, 7.

The rapid expansion of illustrated publications and content at the time of the war was further shaped by several wider practical and political considerations. The predominance of lithographic print methods in Urdu publications, which could be easily adapted to flexibly incorporate decorative elements and illustrations alongside text, facilitated the swift inclusion of pictures.[108] Indeed, with the exception of a few specifically illustrated Anglo-Indian titles like the *Indian Charivari*, the Urdu press in India became illustrated considerably in advance of the English-language one, whose transition to illustration was impeded by greater difficulty of incorporating pictures into the typeset process.[109] However, there remained considerable practical challenges. One of the biggest was in managing the gap that elapsed between the arrival of telegraphic news and of the physical illustrated papers that actually depicted it. As a weekly publication, *Avadh Punch* maintained the narrative excitement of daily updates in its war coverage by presenting the latest in a series of dated telegraph bulletins rather than a digest, but news illustrations typically lagged five or six weeks or even longer behind the headlines, often necessitating a certain amount of editorial ingenuity in integrating the paper's different sections.[110] A map of the new national borders of the Treaty of San Stefano which followed the Russian victory, for example, take from the *ILN* of 16th March 1878, was reprinted in *Avadh Akhbar* three months later on 11th June, just as the proposed San Stefano borders came under heavy revision at the Congress of Berlin (figs. 16-17). In general, long-running conflicts like the Russo-Turkish war also provided an easier subject for delayed reproduction than some other kinds of news. Not only did war narratives tend to provoke more intense and sustained public interest, but as long-term news events with a recurring cast of key characters and locales, many of their original illustrations, particularly of portrait and 'scenes from the front' types, retained their currency well even after some time had elapsed.

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[107] Further examples of this practice can be seen in Mitter, *Art and Nationalism*, 160-161 and Hasan, *Wit*, 162.

[108] For the technical aspects of the lithographic process Stark, *Empire*, 184-6 and Ulrich Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 13-18.

[109] *Times of India* and *The Statesman* (formerly *Friend of India*) remained unillustrated, with the exception of a few simplistic an long-reused advertising stamps, until late in the century.

[110] See for example the issue of 9th October, 1877.

In addition to a critical quantitative expansion in the availability and circulation of imagery the rise of illustration in early illustrated vernacular papers was also significant in popularizing a new visual style premised on values of realism and verisimilitude.[111] Wood engraving (as employed by the *ILN*) and lithography allowed for a fineness of line and texture in mass-printed images which went far beyond that of woodcuts or any other earlier visual technology, facilitating the shift toward perspectival realism in printed illustration and bringing imagery of national and world events to a South Asian mass market with unprecedented clarity. Coverage of the Russo-Turkish war was a key event in the introduction of these new visual conventions around 'news' which mimicked the first-hand experience and perspective of on-the-spot-reporters, sketch artists and war photographers. Even if, as seen, the illustrated press in fact frequently took considerable creative liberties in the interpretation and reproduction of original photos and sketches in their pages, compositions like those of figures 7-8 and 11-13 offered a novel sense of seeing a true and accurate visual reproduction of the front-line scenes with close-up, naturalistic, apparently uncomposed composition, and communication of human drama and experience from within the scene itself.[112] The apparent realism of the figures and scenes depicted was only heightened by the aura of dispassionate technological accuracy bestowed by association with photography, and the eyewitness documentation of on-the-spot special artists and reporters. In many instances such pictures are specifically captioned as originating with special artists [*khas musavvir*], being ‘drawn from photographs’ [*ba mujib tasvir-aks*] (particularly portraits) or the ‘London News’.[113] War scenes and other event pictures often include the specific date and many further factual details of what is shown. The prominent and early reproduction of maps of the Russo-Turkish and other wars meanwhile brought an additional sense of precision, allowing readers to carefully pinpoint the localities cited in the telegraphic news and establishing a mental canvas for visualizing the conflict’s spatial dimensions (fig. 17).

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[111] Stark argues that the print 'revolution' in India was in many ways "a quantitative rather than qualitative or generic shift", *Empire*, 19. However, this cannot be said for print's visual dimension, which also experienced a highly qualitative change.

This collective reproduction and circulation of news imagery, and to some degree also caricature and satire (fig. 18), generated a common fund of recognizable figures, faces, buildings and other visual tropes. Coverage of the Russo-Turkish war rapidly familiarized readers with a whole series of hitherto obscure Ottoman ministers, generals and princes whose exploits and fluctuating fortunes could be avidly followed in the latest bulletins from the distant front lines or diplomatic summit. These figures could now be clearly pictured thanks to the regular flow of illustration and were further solidified by the steady drip of editorial analyses and feature pieces on the course of the war. An issue of October 9, 1877, for example, supplemented its usual coverage with an extensive feature on the Ottoman general Mehmed Ali Pasha, including a detailed biography of his life and career and a prominent, dignified portrait (fig. 10). The effect was likely only heightened by these portraits' photographic, *carte-de-visite* style, derived from the dominant consumer format of the popular photographic studios then mushrooming across both Europe and South Asia. Just as stylized photo-portraits of family and friends mingled with those of revered or famous figures as they spread across the walls, desks and tables of the late 19th century household, these print news-images could carry an increasingly tangible sense of acquaintance. Christopher Pinney writes of Sorabji Jehangir's 1889 photographic compilation *Representative Men of India* that it "marks out a historical moment during which photographic technology was able to retrospectively supply the 'frame and face' of those who had made history, but up till then invisibly and in a disembodied way."[114] The enthusiasm for print pictorial consumption in late nineteenth century Indian cities strongly suggests that this coming of 'frame and face' applied not only to historical figures and the colonial-metropolitan market at which *Representative Figures* primarily aimed, but much more widely to the changing perceptions of the contemporary world and India's relation to it accessed through globalizing networks of news and other imagery from the 1870s on.

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[112] Baleva, “Empire”, 276-9; Charlotte Mullins, “The World on a Plate: The Impact of Photography on Travel Imagery and its Dissemination in Britain, 1839-1888 (PhD diss., University of Sussex, 2012), 62.
[113] *Avadh Akhbar*, 3rd August 1879, 4.

Readily identifiable, consumable and possessing an enduring relevance that could outlast individual news events, individual portraits were an essential currency of the late nineteenth century industrialization of image-production, routinely filling the pages of both British and Indian illustrated journals.[115] To a significant degree it was through the cumulative constellation of such framed faces, each indexing particular locations and associations, that new imagined geographies of the wider world were constructed, linking together geographically and socially disparate readers through a common pool of information, dialogue and imagery. Jennifer Dubrow, pointing to the formation of an ‘Urdu cosmopolis’ in this period around the circulation of Urdu literary texts and forms – “a shared cultural idiom …that travelled along telegraph lines and railway tracks” - has shown how such print spheres could transcend regional and national boundaries.[116] In addition to these lingual-literary communities of readers, early illustrated periodicals like the *Punches* were also critical in integrating widely dispersed readerships into an emerging imperial-transnational sphere of news and imagery. Pinney further notes how the ‘mechanization of perception’ effected by photography introduced a ‘sense of sameness in the world’.[117]

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[114] Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photographs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 99.

[115] Pinney talks of photographic portraits as offering "a visual record of an elevated and intensified identity", *Camera*, 75. To a lesser degree pictures of certain emblematic buildings and monuments were also popular subjects which functioned in this way.

In some respects there was also a certain equalization in access to global knowledge between metropole and colony that came with the proliferation of news, mass text and imagery, and a demystification of difference rendered by the accessibility and common format of their images. And while the transmission and production of such images might have still depended heavily on integration into national and transnational imperial logistical networks, the production, consumption and influence of the periodicals themselves remained deeply rooted in local urban centers and social networks across South Asia itself.

Awareness, Activity and Consumption

The popular excitement provoked by coverage of the 1877-8 Russo-Turkish War had important and lasting political and social effects in many South Asian cities, and highlights the growing intersection between the spread of illustrated news media, transnational awareness and changing forms of self-fashioning, social activism and political engagement in these years. Its wider effects were most immediately evident in the extensive political organization and fundraising which was initiated by the cause of the Russo-Turkish War. Societies were founded, large rallies were held to show support and pressure British policy, and fundraising drives raised considerable sums to be remitted to the Ottoman government for the cause.[118] Ottoman accounts indicate that over a million rupees were collectively received from Indian donations – a very considerable sum, more than four times that which had been raised for the foundation of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh by the same date - indicating the degree of enthusiasm aroused by the war's cause.[119] It was also notable as a catalyst for the rapid expansion and consolidation of local and national networks of organized political action, establishing patterns of mobilization, activism and communication which would characterize diverse further causes in the years which followed.[120] Several figures who would go on to become nationally-known leaders, writers and organizers in the decades which followed, such as Shibli Numani, cut their organizational teeth during the conflict.[121] Much of this activism was organized and incited through vernacular newspapers, including their debates over rationales for whether and how to support the Ottoman cause, calls for fundraising and donations, publicization of meetings and the circulation of important meetings, speeches and events concerning the issue.[122] At the same time, the Ottoman Empire and trans-imperial issue of the 'Eastern question' were firmly cemented as topics of national interest, with each of the many successive late nineteenth century Ottoman wars and summits arousing similarly animated responses in South Asia, ultimately culminating in the mass action of the early 1920s Khilafat Movement.[123]

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[116] Dubrow, *Dreams*, 11.
[117] Pinney, *Coming of Photography*, 59.

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[118] Qureshi, *Pan-Islam*, 30; Robinson, *Farangi*, 110.
[119] Takashi Oishi, "Muslim Merchant Capital and the Relief Movement for the Ottoman Empire in India, 1876-1924." *Minamiajiakenkyu* 1999, no. 11 (1999): 101.
[120] Qureshi, *Pan-Islam*, 29-34.
[121] Numani, *Safarnama*, 94; Ozcan, *Pan-Islmaism*, 65.
[122] Innumerable instances of this are recorded in the various *Native Press Reports* for 1877-8.

While the fundraising and political activism seen at this time has been well documented in the literatures on pan-Islam and early Muslim nationalism in South Asia, the impact of the Russo-Turkish conflict on social habits and consumption patterns has been less remarked. Yet we see in the years during and after the war how the interest it generated also carried over to influence changing patterns of literary and sartorial self-fashioning and vocabularies of social difference. The growing interest in world affairs which the Russo-Turkish war fed into was not only to be seen in increased news consumption, but also in the expanded production and sale of books and other publications concerning Turkey and other global regions in the years immediately following.

One of the most notable examples of this was in the use of the Russo-Turkish War itself as a setting for the groundbreaking self-declared ‘novel’, *Fasana-e Azad* which was serialized to huge success in *Avadh Akhbar* from 1878-1883.[124] If *Fasana-e Azad*’s episodic format and many of its stylistic elements remained consistent with classic *dastan* epics, its deployment of contemporary political and geographical settings, as its eponymous hero Azad journeyed to Turkey to fight the Russians, represented a major shift.[125] The interpolation of the work with distant real-world events, meanwhile, both thematically and within the physical layout of *Avadh Akhbar*, illustrates how evolving narrative forms of news and novel were becoming swiftly linked within the space of the late nineteenth century periodical, and indeed in wider literary debates.[126] Authors and poets were called upon to adopt a similarly realist, enlightening approach, educating and provoking a critical self-reflection in the reader, while older, more fantastical kinds of imagined and literary geographies were increasingly vilified as antimodern symbols of cultural and political somnolence.[127] Altaf Hussain Hali wrote in his influential 1893 *Muqaddamah* that "it is absolutely unacceptable to narrate episodes in the story which are belied by experience and observation. It is not simply the bad taste of the story-writer that is thus proved, but his lack of knowledge, unacquaintedness with the facts of the world, and his indifferent attitude towards the gathering of necessary information."[128] New forms of visual knowledge and production, above all the apparently infallible truth of the camera were a similarly recurring touchstone in contemporary debates over literary ideals. Hali and Muhammad Azad both were deeply preoccupied with the creation of similarly 'living pictures' in words, while the author of *Fasana e Azad* and editor of *Avadh Akhbar* Rathan Nath Sarshar wrote while reflecting on *Fasana* that "the joy of a novel…[as opposed to a *dastan*] is that it draws a realistic picture of things which can make a person feel happy or sad." [129]

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[123] Qureshi, *Pan-Islam,* 41-5; Ozcan. *Pan-Islamism,* 114.
[124] Dubrow, *Dreams,* 35.
[125] Detailed analysis of *Fasana e Azad* is in Dubrow, *Dreams,* 35-61.
[126] Dubrow, *Dreams,* 42.

Beyond the realms of periodicals an expanding market for books on world affairs in general and on the Ottomans in particular is evident. The years and decades following the Russo-Turkish war saw a slew of books released on the history of Turkey and Egypt, their current affairs, recent wars and rulers, including both original works and translations of British titles.[130]

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[127] Khan, "The Broken Spell", 15.

[128] From Khan, "The Broken Spell", 13.

[129] Azad extolls Ghalib's letters explicitly for giving photographs of their subjects, while Hali's own praise of how "the special character of that amazing age can be seen pictured in [Azad's] tazkirah – of such pictures the pages of history are blank", Frances Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness: Urdu Poetry and Its Critics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 157-8; The idealization of photographic truth was also a recurring feature in contemporary critical literary debates in Europe. Jennifer Green-Lewis, *Framing the Victorians: Photography and the Culture of Realism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 6. *Avadh Akhbar*, September 6, 1879, 13.

[130] Some of the more notable among these, in addition to those discussed below, are Syed Imamuddin Ahmed, *Tarikh-e Rum-o-Sham* (Bombay: Matbaa Haydari, 1294 [1877]); Maulvi Jalil Ahmed, *Karnama-e Turk* (Delhi: Matbaa Mujtabayi, 1891); Mohammad Jalaluddin, *Tarikh Jung-e-Rum-o-Yunan 1897* (Moradabad: Shams ul Matbaa, 1900). Late 19th century Urdu library collections in Hyderabad and Delhi are also replete with late nineteenth century historical and geographical works on other parts of the world to a degree which further suggests significant commercial production during these years.

The *Sultannama*, for example, an Urdu translation of Abbas Rifat Shirwani's 1281 AH [1864-5 AD] Persian *Tarih-e Qaysar-e Rum* giving a biographically arranged overview of Ottoman history up to the contemporary sultan, went through three print runs over 1300-1307 AH [1882-1890 AD].[131] In difference to the earlier versions of the work, the *Sultannama* now carried portraits of each historical sultan, as well as selected scenes of Ottoman politics and the Russo-Turkish war taken from the news and was further updated with each edition to include the latest events (figs 19-20).[132] Each subsequent late nineteenth century conflict involving the Ottomans was again followed by a rash of publications, while widely read travelogues like those of Shibli Numani (1892) gave firsthand impressions of Istanbul, and a more human sense of its inhabitants and officials.[133] As with periodical coverage, many of these works were heavily illustrated, stressing the authenticity and accuracy of their pictures. The 1294 AH [1877 AD] *Feroznama-e Turk* went as far as to claim, somewhat implausibly, that all its portraits stretching back to the legendary thirteenth century Osman I were 'taken from the private picture gallery of the Ottoman sultan' (fig. 21). The Ottomans similarly formed a prominent part of many of the lithographed *muraqqa* books which began to appear around this time. Mostly taking the form of quite short, illustrated chapbooks, these titles represented a significant expansion and further evolution of the manuscript genre. Compiling together a typically single-authored series of images of figures, monuments or places of particular fame or interest, the majority of these works consist only of captioned images, with a few pages of text notes giving contextual information about each subject at the beginning or at the end.

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[131] They were also significantly expanded Sherwani's original work to include recent events including an account of the Russo-Turkish war and accession of Abdulhamit II and copious illustrations. See the bibliography of Sherwani's works included in the recent edition of his *Mahboob us Siyar* (Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh govt. Oriental manuscript Library and Research Institute, 2007 [1896]), p49.

[132] Abbas Rifaat Shirwani, *Sultannama*: *Tarih-e Rum*, (Bombay, 1300; 1304; 1307). The illustrations are redone for each edition and different news-pictures are included, reflecting the lithographic process and possibilities for illustration and presumably also to keep the work visually attractive and up to date.

[133] Numani, *Safarnama*; Munshi Mahboob Alam, *Qavaid-I Turki* (Lahore: Khadimul Talim Steam Press, 1904); Abdul Qadir, *Maqam-i Khilafat* (Dehli: Matbaa Makhzan, 1907).

The *Muraqqa-e Salatin*, for example, which went through at least two different editions around the early-mid 1880s is informally divided into two sections, the first of which depicts famous rulers of Mughal and other post-Timurid dynasties in a miniature-esque style (fig. 22), and the second portrait-style images of recent and contemporary European, Ottoman and a few Iranian rulers and figures of note (fig.23).[134] Although the quality of illustration is often not of the highest, such books' design is clearly oriented toward visual edification unencumbered by text and is, as with periodicals, indicative of a progressive 'democratization' of pictorial consumption in these years.[135] Perusal, enjoyment and private possession of commodified images was no longer the preserve of elite libraries and manuscript collections but evidently available to an increasingly wide urban population, including not only the school-educated emerging middle classes and 'service gentry', but even the partially or fully illiterate.[136] It is likely that those with limited text-literacy may have found heavily pictorial forms like these particularly appealing.

Examples of late nineteenth century studio photography additionally show how far expanded pictorial consumption and awareness was also reshaping the social uses of imagery. Consumption of news periodicals and Ottoman-oriented illustrated texts and accessories not only reflected interest in Turkey or Egypt and their affairs in themselves, but were also evidently critical expressions of personal temporal modernity, advertising one's political engagement and knowledge of the world. The second half of the nineteenth century in India was characterized by considerable social mobility and, as Orsini points out, emerging reading publics were often drawn from among aspiring seekers of administrative jobs and products of the new style schools and colleges.[137] As vocabularies of social prestige underwent rapid evolution, discerning display of transnational and/or visual knowledge in one's public appearance, behavior and home became a key means of signaling social difference, as well as different kinds of political or cultural-communal affiliation. The precipitous expansion in the availability of print and pictures in the second half of the nineteenth century, as with mass consumption in general, contributed to the considerable ongoing destabilization of established class markers. It was not so much that the boundaries of purchasing power disappeared – the top end of the market was well stocked with handcrafted, leatherbound, porcelain or otherwise luxuriantly expensive items – but that previously exclusive forms of knowledge and recreation were becoming available to the hoi-poloi. The grandest noble and the meanest clerk might now both spend their spare hours chewing over the latest news from the Caucasian or Afghan front, referring to the same illustrations, and adorn their desk or wall with a pleasing portrait culled from the newspapers, or the stock catalogue of the local photographic studio.[138] The act of public reading was in itself a key aspirational status symbol. It is telling that an ostentatiously-clutched newspaper is one of the staple props often seen in late nineteenth century collections of popular studio photography, clearly advertising the sitter's literate habits, but also their engagement with the print world of politics, news, debate and world affairs.[139] Popular pretensions to literate and worldly sophistication were, inevitably, a subject of particular snobbery and satire. As early as 1840, the educational reformer Syed Ahmed Khan and others were complaining of the presumption to culture and literateness by commoners who had read a few chapbooks, and caricatures of ostentatious consumers of newspapers and other new goods were a staple of the satirical press.[140] The degree to which this ridicule was located in the improper use or combination of items – a newspaper unwittingly held upside down, the incongruous combination of old and new kinds of dress – highlights the shifting emphasis of social demarcation away from the prestige of possession to the discernment of 'taste', use and knowledge. The chapbook-brandishing commoners who so vexed Sir Syed or "those idle politicians of native capitals who… speculate on the consequences of Russia's advance in Central Asia, and of England's embarrassment in Egypt" were in reality often doing little different than the esteemed occupants of colonial clubs and learned societies.[141] Rather, it was their assumed frivolity of purpose and shallowness of understanding which was now satirized.

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[134] I have seen at least one other edition which was printed, but which does not include, or retain in its re-bound form, a publication date.
[135] Pinney, *Coming of Photography*, 135.
[136] Francesca Orsini points to the particular commercial importance of this latter market, which included large numbers of women, for the development of popular literary print, *Print*, 26.

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[137] Orsini, *Print*, 7.

[138] M. J. Davasiga, *The Hyderabad Almanac and Directory* (Madras: G W Taylor, 1892), iv; Deepali Dewan and Deborah Hutton, *Raja Deen Dayal: Artist Photographer in 19th-Century India* (New Delhi: Mapin, 2013), 105.

[139] Many examples can be found among the collection of Deen Dayal's work held by Uma Jain and family in Hyderabad.

Similar and specifically visual practices of displaying one's personal intellectual engagements, affiliations and social reach was seen in the conspicuous display of personal and consumer images of all kinds in the public and intimate spaces of homes, shops, offices and elsewhere (figs. 23-4).[142] Popular photographic studios, replete with props, costumes and post-production tinting, painting and touching up, provided a grand theater for the curation and reimagination of the self, contributing to a deepening self-consciousness of what was communicated through one's appearance.[143] Meanwhile, decorative constellations of photographs and pictures could display a kind of visual biography of the social circle, taste and political and spiritual orientation of the owner or household. In figure 25, a photograph of a wedding ceremony taking place in a late nineteenth century Hyderabadi *deori* mansion, a large portrait of the Egyptian Khedive Tevfik Pasha is visible in pride of place on the wall in the background. Fig. 26 meanwhile, a reinterpretation of the Ottoman coat of arms in a Keralan glass-painting, illustrates how expanded circulation of imagery could also influence more traditional decorative forms.

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[140] Dubrow, *Dreams*, 71. Orsini, *Print*, 8.

[141] George Campbell, *The Armies of the Native States of India* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1884), 68.

[142] Ghosh, *Power*, 140.

[143] Popular photographic studios were already becoming ubiquitous in South Asian cities of the 1870s, as further refinements of the technology and cut-throat commercial competition made sittings increasingly affordable to a widening clientele. Gutman, *Indian Eyes*, 99; Christopher Pinney talks of studios providing "a visual record of an elevated and intensified identity", *Camera Indica* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 75.

This expanding visual print sphere further intersected influentially with the widening opportunities for popular self-fashioning in the nineteenth century's last quarter as mass produced cloth, clothing and accessories, along with changing habits of shopping, socialization and self-display rapidly proliferated across towns and cities. [144] The development of a widely familiar vocabulary of important figures, events and aesthetics provided a new field of reference, and of possible inspiration, in the everyday navigation of changing social structures, lifestyle, aesthetics and the cultural politics of imperialism – a connection is exemplified by the spread of Ottoman male dress in many Indian cities from around the late 1870s on. The distinctively Ottoman *efendi* style, centred around the fez with long, high-buttoned dark coat known as an *Istanbulin*, had (as has been seen in chapter 2) been a distinctive dress associated with Ottoman officialdom and the typically Istanbulite gentleman since the 1840s. The first instances of the style in India from are in the early 1870s, most notably by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and to a limited degree also in Bombay and Hyderabad (see next chapter).

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[144] Urbanization, imperialism and the widening array of cheap, mostly imported mass consumer goods all contributed to the particularly late 19th century insistency of what Emma Tarlo refers to as "the problem of what to wear", *Clothing,* 8.

Photographs and reports from this era though point to a widespread popularization across many regions through the late 1870s and 80s. Colonial gazetteers from this era, which sometimes included brief entries on local dress and lifestyle noted the widening popularity of the style. The 1893-4 Gazetteer for Lahore noted the dress now "affected principally by those classed as educated" as including "a long light coat above open on the chest and buttoned below, cut behind like an ordinary frock-coat: the head-covering is generally an ordinary *pagri* over a Turkish fez, Babu cap, or Afghan *kulla* (peaked cap)…socks are worn and 'English' shoes or boots."[145] The accompanying 1892 *Lahore: It's History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities* added that the male styles noted in earlier works "have now gone out of fashion. With young Lahorians (the Sikhs excepted) the Turkish cap, or the round Delhi cap, or the Babu cap, is coming into favour."[146] The volume of the Gujarat Gazeteer on Muslims and Parsis, meanwhile observed that since the early 1880s "Among the rich, the middle class, and others who have imbibed the Western taint the Indian turban and the *angarkha* or tunic are slowly giving place to the Turkish or Persian cap and to English under-clothing and the frock-coat. Men of this class whose tastes are not entirely vitiated by Western models adopt the flowing skirted coat called the *sherwani* or the *achkan*." It goes on to explicitly explain the rising inclination "to favour the European costume since it is the style of dress followed by the Turks."[147] Similar styles were also noted in Bombay.[148]

Such written reports are corroborated by early photographs and other portraiture from these years. The widespread early adoption of Turkish-style dress among those associated with the MAOC at Aligarh has been noted and can be seen in fig. 27-8. Other examples of the style can be seen in figures 29-31, an early 1880s studio photograph taken in Bombay, one of the many images of contemporary poets in Ottoman-style dress from an illustrated 1880 poetic anthology *Yadgar-e Zaigham* and a picture Ratan Nath Sarshar.[149] The spread of the 'Turkish frock coat'/*sherwani* and fez spread in these years, at a time when Ottoman affairs were particularly publicly prominent indicates a strong connection between the emergence of a transnational visual and print sphere of news and imagery and the development of widely popular and consciously cosmopolitan trends which were not necessarily European or colonial.

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[145] *Lahore District Gazetteer 1893-4* (Lahore: Government of Punjab), 67.

[146] Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities* (Lahore, 1892), 264.

[147] *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency: Vol 9 Pt 2 Gujarat population: Musalmans and Parsis* (Bombay, 1899), 100-101.

[148] Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency: City of Bombay Gazeteer Vol. 1: Musalmans and Parsis (Bombay, 1909), 170. The section on dress in this volume is acknowledged as dating from earlier in the late nineteenth century.

The heavy coverage of Ottoman Turkey and Egypt in the early illustrated Urdu press was routinely punctuated by grave portraits of Ottoman generals, officials and the sultan in exactly this style (for example figs. 10, 13), generating strong and quite novel visual associations both specifically with the Ottomans, and with the literate world of global news more generally. It became widely adopted among the Lucknavi circles of writers, editors and literati associated with *Avadh Akhbar* and *Avadh Punch* at an early stage (fig. 31), spreading even to the figure of Punch himself and the cherubs and other figures adorning the latter's pages (figs 32-33). The spread of this fashion was without doubt also reinforced by the further circulation of photographs of those who adopted the style, and their reproduction in turn in illustrations, caricatures and (from when they begin appearing in around the mid-1880s) book-sleeve portraits. The fact that the Turkish names of these garments did not accompany the style, with the *istanbulin* becoming known as a kind of frock coat or ultimately *sherwani* and the fez variously referred to as a 'Turkish cap', or *Turki, Rumi* or even *Misri topi,* is also suggestive of visual transmission.

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[149] See also Abdul Qadir, *Famous Urdu Poets and Writers*, (Lahore: New Book Society), 199-200 for detailed mention of Sarshar's adoption of Turkish-style dress.

The question remains, however, as to what was the attraction of Ottoman or Turkish-style dress in these years and what kinds of associations it held out to the various people who adopted it. On one side, uptake of the fashion was indeed particularly pronounced among Muslim reformists like those associated with Aligarh. However, leaving aside the many non-Sunni, non-Muslim people who are also seen adopting elements of Turkish-style dress, the distinctions and often contentious debates which arose around the style show that even here its attraction cannot be reduced to any simplistic spiritual or pan-Islamic impulse. For one thing, neither the fez nor the istanbulin /*sherwani* had any longer history or associations as an intrinsically 'Islamic' garment, as was evidently well-understood at the time. While the various strands of Islamic intellectualism and reform movement in late nineteenth century India were united in their vociferous support for the Ottoman cause during the Russo-Turkish War, this did not prevent many of the more strictly tradition-oriented leaders and voices, notably those associated with Deoband Seminary, remaining outspoken in their criticism of, as they saw it, Westernizing Aligarhite style.[150] Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, meanwhile, stridently argued against veneration of the Ottoman Caliph by Indian Muslims, even while insisting on the adoption of 'fez and Turkish frock coat' as the official uniform of the MAOC.[151] One of the very first to adopt the fez and *istnabulin/sherwani* style, he was widely mocked and caricatured for doing so, especially early on, not only among the ulema and recognized religious conservatives, but local writers, litterateurs and other prominent figures in Lucknow and elsewhere, from the caricatures of

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[150] Iftikhar Alam Khan, "Sir Syed, Turki Topi aur Aligarh," *Tahzib ul Akhlaq* (October, 2004), 16; Qureshi, *pan-Islam*, 29.

[151] David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), p273; Syed Tanvir Wasti, "Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the Turks" *Middle Eastern Studies* 46, no. 4 (2010): 536.

Avadh Punch (fig. 27), to the barely veiled barbs of Akbar Allahabadi's verses and Nazir Ahmad's didactic novel against Anglicization, *Ibn ul Vaqt*.[152]

More important than spirituality for the Aligarh-oriented reformists was the formulation of a respectably modern aesthetic of dress which could deflect European tropes of effeminate tastes and backwardness, and instead present Indian Muslims as elegantly modernized potential partners in administration and governance.[153] Ottoman Turkey was seen as having already begun its own independent experiments with social reform and modernization much earlier in the nineteenth century, achieving some notable success in its *tanzimat* reform program whilst also successfully staving off the vultures of imperialism, and was hence perceived as a worthy model. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan himself wrote widely and positively about Ottoman Turkey in his journal *Tahzeeb ul Akhlaq*, including several articles specifically considering the question of dress and the Turkish dress reforms.[154] In the very first issue in 1871 he wrote that the journal's primary object was to introduce reform into Indian Muslim society as was being done in Ottoman Turkey.[155] In an 1875 article he noted that

> "We are all aware that the Turks wear apparel similar to that of the Europeans, sit on chairs and dine at tables, using knives and forks. The Sultan of Roum, who is the Custodian of the Two Holy Places, and whose name is read out in the pulpits of Mecca and the pulpit of the

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[152] In time though both these authors would also begin to appear frequently dressed in this same style. Nazir Ahmad, *Son of the Moment*, trans. Mohammed Zakir; Mushirul Hasan, "Keynote" in *International Seminar on "Sir Syed Ahmad Khan: Vision and Mission"* ed. Shahabuddin Iraqi (Delhi: Manohar, 2008), 21-2. Hasan notes how Ahmad's objections to the style were more culturally oriented and focused particularly on their tightness, saying that 'it was the Englishman's dress which compelled him to slump about on chairs and couches morning noon and night. This was not one tenth as comfortable as sitting on the floor'.
[153] Wasti, "Sir Syed", 532.
[154] Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism*, 125; Khan, "Turki Topi aur Aligarh," 16-18; Wasti "Sir Syed", 532.
[155] Qureshi, *Pan-Islam*, 31

> Prophet's Mosque in Medina, wears trousers and a Turkish coat along with shoes and puts a fez cap with a tassel on his head."[156]

During his own experience and account of travelling in the Ottoman Mediterranean and in several other writings he is also notably impressed by the apparent respect and civil exchanges he sees between Turks and Europeans, as well as stressing the latter's grace and manners.[157] The prioritization of respectability in the early Aligarhite adoption of Ottoman dress was recognized by the Turkish nationalist and writer Halide Edip who later wrote on visiting the College that:

> Anyone addressing the eleven hundred odd students of Aligarh from the pulpit must admire Sir Saiyid Ahmad's taste in choosing their uniform. Tight black coats buttoned to the throat, white trousers, and red fezes or black caps. Why the fezes which are the Turkish headdress of Sir Saiyid Ahmad's time? As far as Sir Saiyid Ahmad was concerned, there was not much love lost between him and the Turks…Neither did Sir Saiyid Ahmad consider the Khalif-Sultan as the legitimate head of the Muslems throughout the world. Therefore the significance of the red fez in Sir Saiyid Ahmad's College means one thing. The Turk was, at that time, the only Muslem who held his own in face of the tremendous aggressive force of the West, which was colonizing the entire Muslem world. Though the Turk Westernized himself earlier and much more profoundly than the other Muslems, he did it of his own free will. So the Indian Muslem of Sir Saiyid Ahmad's type, while content with the British domination… had that internal and probably unconscious urge for freedom

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[156] Syed Ahmed Khan, "Time is a Great Reformer, Yani Zamana eik Barra Islah karnay wala haf" *Tahzib ul-Akhlaq*, Vol.6 (Ramazan 1292/Oct. 1875), translation is from Wasti, "Sir Syed", 532.

[157] Muhammad Shan, ed., *Writings and Speeches of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*. Bombay: Nachiketa Publications, 1973, 229-30. A similar, recurring strong emphasis on the graceful manners, politeness and hospitality of the Turks is also noted as a feature of many of the earliest Urdu travelogues to the Ottoman Empire by Adeeb Khalid, "Pan-Islamism in practice: The rhetoric of Muslim unity and its uses", in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*, ed. Elizabeth Özdalga (London, Taylor and Francis, 2005), 210-11.

> which is in the heart of all men...[But] Their Westernization was a thing produced in a hothouse, under an artificial light. The fez meant the fresh air, the natural light.[158]

Although the Ottoman antecedents of the ubiquitous 'tightly-buttoned black coats buttoned to the throat' – ie *sherwanis* - which Edip also observes throughout her Indian tour are less immediately recognizable to her than the fez, she is similarly approving of their dignified appearance. At the time she visited, in 1935, the style of fez and dark *sherwani*, if not the *sherwani* in itself, was becoming an increasingly explicit emblem of the Muslim nationalist movement across much of Imperial Indian and in the North in particular.[159] In the 1870s and 80s, however, when both the fez and *sherwani* first popularized, they appear to have held a much broader set of associations, centered on the projection of a suitably sober and serious masculine dignity which was nevertheless immediately distinctive from European styles of male dress. For while the fez and *sherwani* style did incorporate many aesthetic and material-technical elements of the latter, from its unadorned and slim, straight outline, tight fitting at the chest, sober colors to fine-stitched, pockets, cuffs etc., it simultaneously embodied a conscious sense of difference and association with broader Ottoman or trans-regional cosmopolitanism and community.

The deep interlinking of fashion and appearance with questions of civilizational, ideological and modernizing difference in the nineteenth century's last quarter increasingly meant that any sartorial innovation, including deliberate conservatism, could not but entail a political statement. However, as the popularization of the fez and *sherwani* following the Russo-Turkish war illustrates, it was a politics which was also deeply bound up with rapidly changing social structures and urbanization. At a time of dramatically rising textual production, class mobility, literacy and urbanization across most South Asian cities, the construction and projection of modernizing attitudes, and emerging-class prestige were becoming deeply bound up with literacy, world knowledge and political engagement in ways often which cut across communal lines.[160] For one thing adoption of Ottoman-influenced dress and the general excitement surrounding the war was deeply linked with the novelty of international news and imagery in itself, and their relation with shifting perceptions and markers of class identity and social prestige. The sensationalism of the war itself was clearly heightened by its timing and status as one of the first major illustrated news events too be covered in the Urdu South Asian press, as well as its appealing narrative of anti-imperialist defiance. While in the early 1870s detailed discussions of Ottoman Turkish or Egyptian affairs are still not much seen – or at least known of- outside publications like *Tahzib ul Akhlaq*, with the enormous publicity and interest of the Russo-Turkish War the appeal of the Ottomans as an alternate pole of possible modernizing inspiration evidently took on much wider knowledge and appeal. The heroic narrative of resistance to European imperial aggression which underlay the war's reporting further accentuated perceptions of anti-imperial and trans-Asian or 'eastern' affinity with the Ottomans, and their dress and image. It is likely no coincidence that the style of fez and *sherwani* appears to have found a particular early popularity among those involved with the worlds of newspaper publishing, writing and literary reform, and self-consciously progressive educational enterprise. Being able to follow, and picture, these distant events almost in real-time in 1877-8 was an exciting and distinctively modern experience and helped decisively reestablish the Ottomans as a key hub in the reconfigured imagined geographies being shaped by the new public visual sphere, and a key referent for assertions of worldly knowledge and cosmopolitanism. The self-evident importance of wars, high diplomacy and foreign affairs, reiterated by their prominent place in the news columns and urgent telegraphs of the newspapers, made them a suitably consequential recreation for the self-consciously serious late nineteenth century men who populated the *anjuman*, clubs, societies and social movements then springing up, as well as the growing ranks of aspirational students, clerks, administrators and social climbers in cities. Moreover, as observed by Halide Edip and others, the Ottomans derived a further appeal from being one of the few contemporary non-Western powers to remain independent and have attained some success in forging an alternate path of modernization on their own terms. Participation in Turkish fashions and consumption could thus also invoke a participation in an Ottoman-influenced vision of other possible aesthetics and attitudes of modernity and civilization than the hegemonic but exclusively white-Christian form embodied by imperial Europe.[161]

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[158] Edip, *Inside India*, 129.

[159] For the *sherwani*'s development into nationalist garment see Toolika Gupta, "The influence of British rule on elite Indian menswear: the birth of the Sherwani" (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2016), 234-41 ; Emma Tarlo, *Dress Matters: Dress and Identity in India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 106.

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[160] Pernau, *Ashraf*, 424.

The strong associations of the style with membership in an increasingly globalized vision of urban modernity style is corroborated by the degree to which it was commonly combined or associated with so many other affective accoutrements of urban civility, including watches, shoes, cigarettes, frequenting restaurants and trains, and of course the reading of novels and newspapers.[162] For many people the attraction of Ottoman dress styles thus embodied both a distinct aesthetic of civilized male urbanity from that of the European dress, and, within the context of South Asia, a cosmopolitan knowledge of the world.

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[161] Aydin, *Anti-Westernism*, 71.

[162] Exploration of these new possibilities of urban lifestyle and consumption and the tensions they generated formed one of the core themes of early episodes of Ratan Nath Sarshar's *Fasana-e Azad*, as in “Azad Goes to a Railway Restaurant”, trans. Frances W. Pritchett, http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00fwp/published/txt_sarshar.html , accessed 26/02/2021.

Conclusion

The commercial mass-production of lithographed print media, photographs and pictures transformed the ways in which many ordinary South Asians conceived and related to the wider world over the second half of the 19th century. Consumption of foreign news images, especially, created a common pool of imagery and understanding which ran across traditional class lines, integrating the aristocrat and illiterate alike into a transnational visual sphere of immediately recognizable faces, places and things. Not only did these objects change perceptions of geographical space and difference, rendering foreign subjects near and far with photographic clarity, but they also changed the ways in which these knowledges were physically and socially mediated, in the acquisition, exchange and display of visual objects. Francesca Orsini has argued that cheaply available new literary genres in this period gave rise to a kind of ‘sensual reading’, an intensity of experience partly derived from early Urdu novels’ shift towards social realism and the new expectations it created.[163]

This chapter has illustrated how just such an ‘intensity’ operating through visual experience played into the construction of deep identifications, empathies and visually-mediated ideas of commonality and difference which need not conform to established lingual, geographical or communal bounds. Excitement at the novel illustrated coverage of the Russo-Turkish war generated a pronounced interest and identification with Ottoman Turkey in much of late 19th century India, but the terms of identification were not preset, being inflected by various shades of religious sentiments, anti-imperial empathy, the underdog narrative of resistance to Russian aggression, or participation in the fashionable and exciting possibilities of the new transnational news and visual print spheres for its own sake. Popular interest in the war has traditionally been seen as one of the earliest and purest expressions of historical pan-Islam in South Asia, yet this perception has been exaggerated by the subsequent histories of Muslim nationalism and the Khilafat movement, into whose ante-narratives it was subsumed. Yet it could as easily be viewed as a precursor to events associated with the 1905 Russo-Japanese war, in which the anti-imperialist struggle of another, independent Asian nation prompted a similar surge of coverage, support and affirmations of pan-Asian or anti-imperialist sentiments, or even with the coordinated alignment of activism and politicized consumption of the *swadeshi* boycott movement in 1906.

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[163] Orsini, *Print*, 185.

Ultimately expanded availability of transnational visual media did not prefigure any particular kind of aesthetic or communal inclination but, like the contemporaneously expanding market for cheap mass-produced clothing and accessories, opened up an expanded array of possible options to be surveyed, selected, consumed and projected by each individual. A more specific instance of how these influences became integrated with the wider changes in social structure, lifestyle and ideas of class and masculinity, including around the particular style of fez and *sherwani* will now be explored further within the context of late 19th century Hyderabad in chapter 4.

Figures for Chapter 3

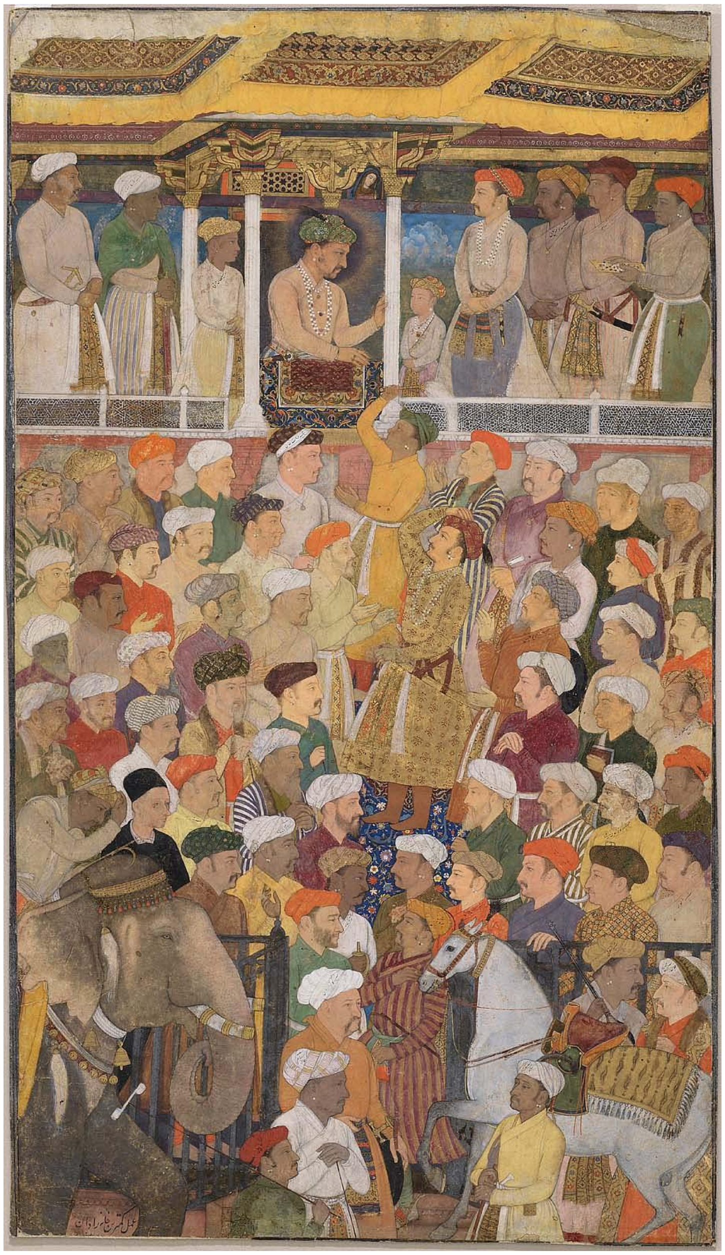


Figure 1: 'Darbar of Jahangir', illustration from the Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, attributed to Manohar, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

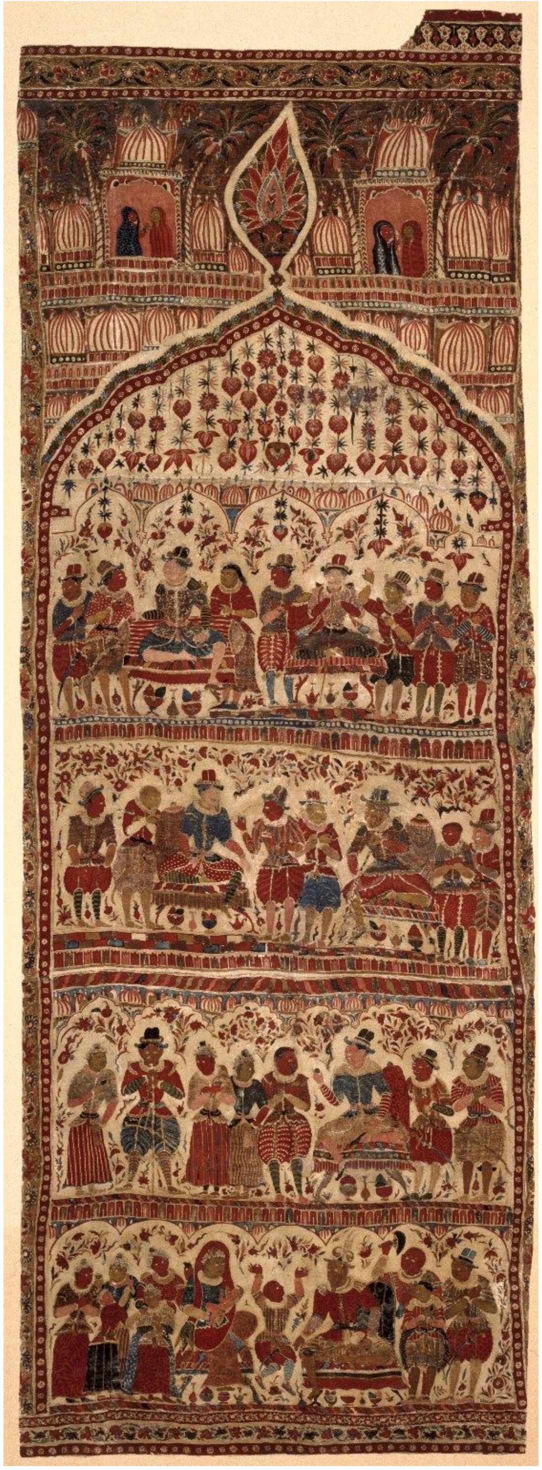
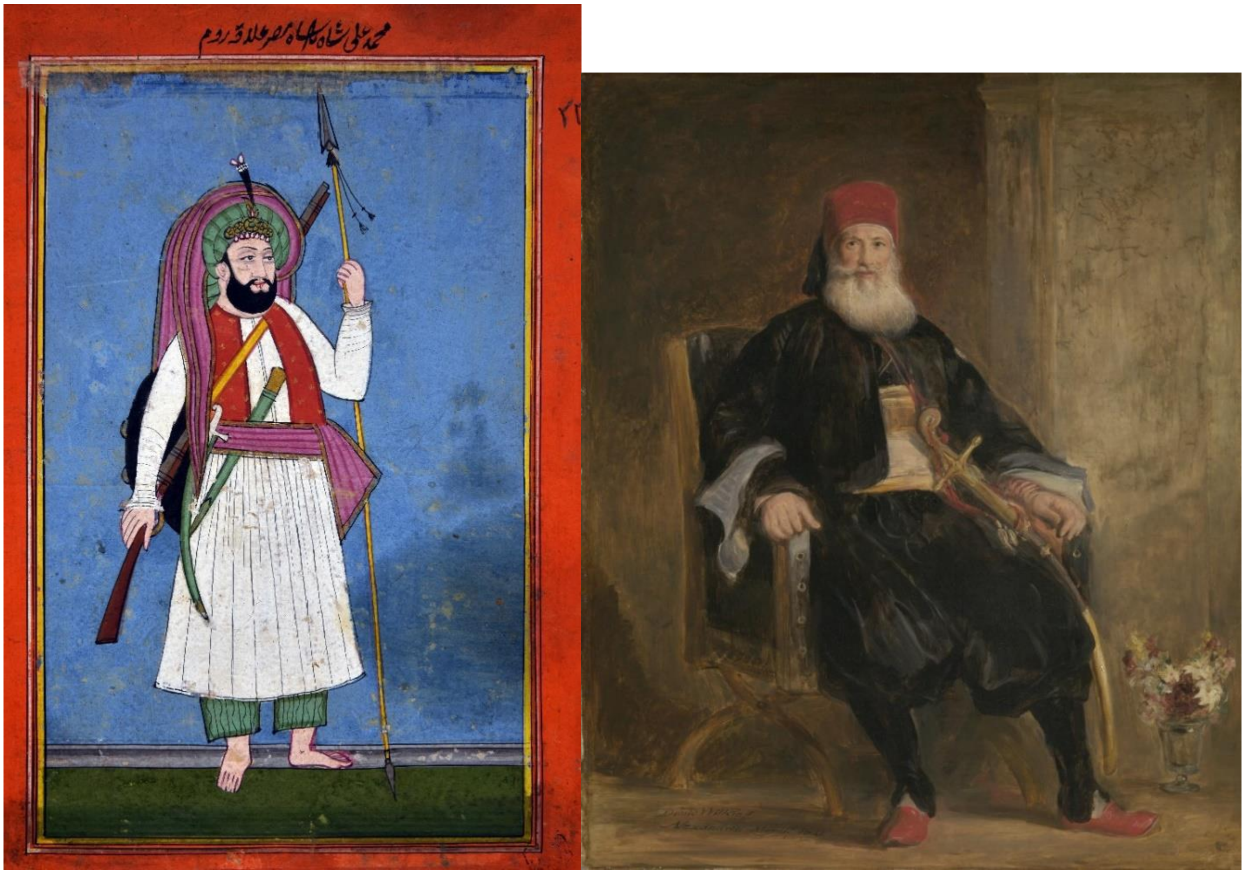
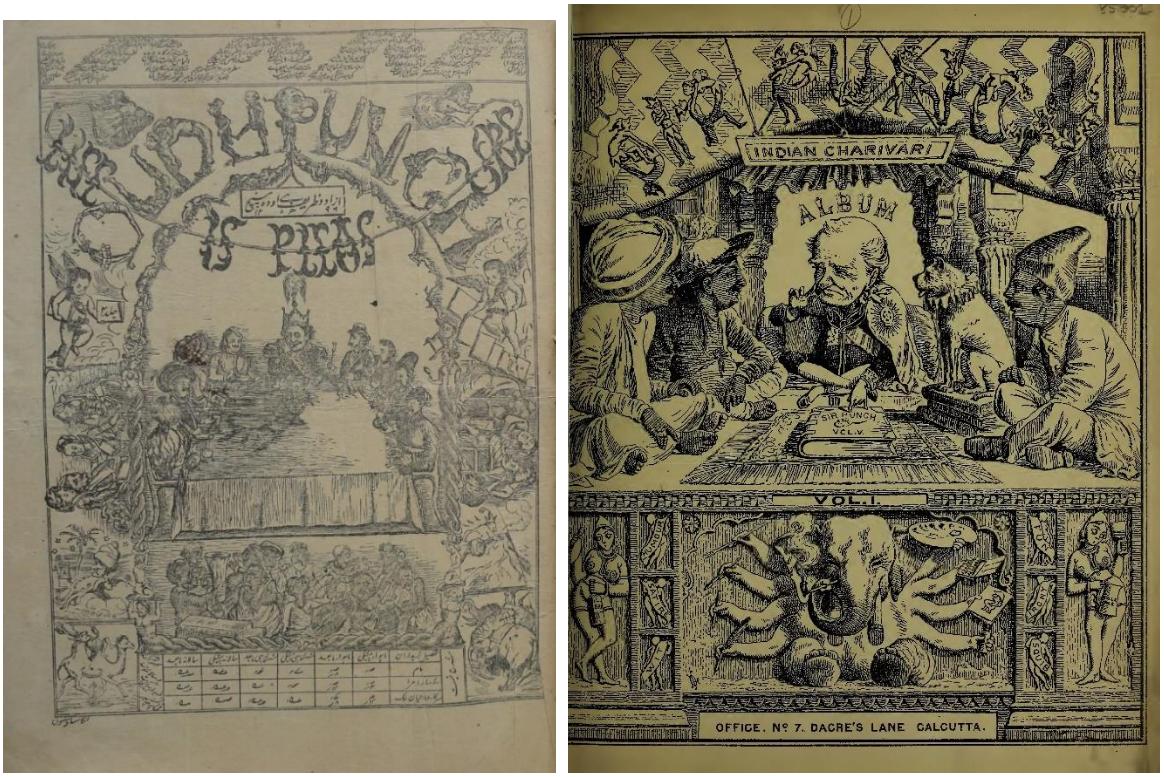


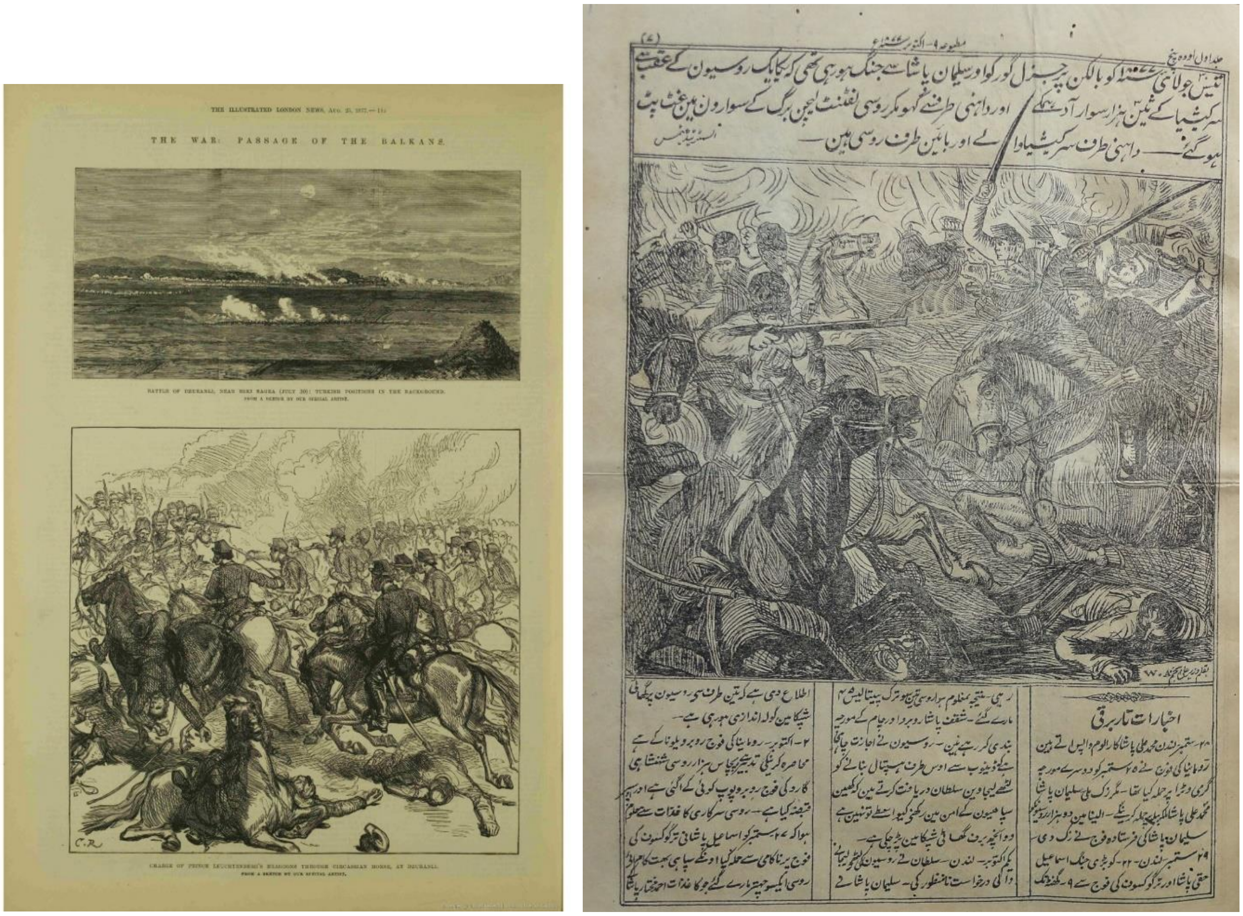
Figure 2: 'Hanging, 1 of 7 pieces', dyed and painted cotton kalamkari, c. 1620, Brooklyn Museum Collection.


محمد علی شاه بادشاه مصر علاقه روم

Figures 3-4. Left: Painting of Mehmed Ali of Egypt from a mid 19th century Hyderabadi muraqqa, Salar Jung Museum LIbrary Collection. Right: By contrast, an 1847 life portrait of Mehmed Ali by Sir David Wilkie, Tate Britain Collection.


INDIAN CHARIVARI
ALBUM
SIR PUNCH
VOL.V.
VOL.I.
OFFICE. Nº 7. DACRE'S LANE CALCUTTA.

Figures 5-6:Left: Cover of an 1296/1878 edition of Awadh Punch, *an Ottoman figure is represented at the bottom right of the table. Right: Title page to volume 1 of the* Indian Charivari, *1875.*



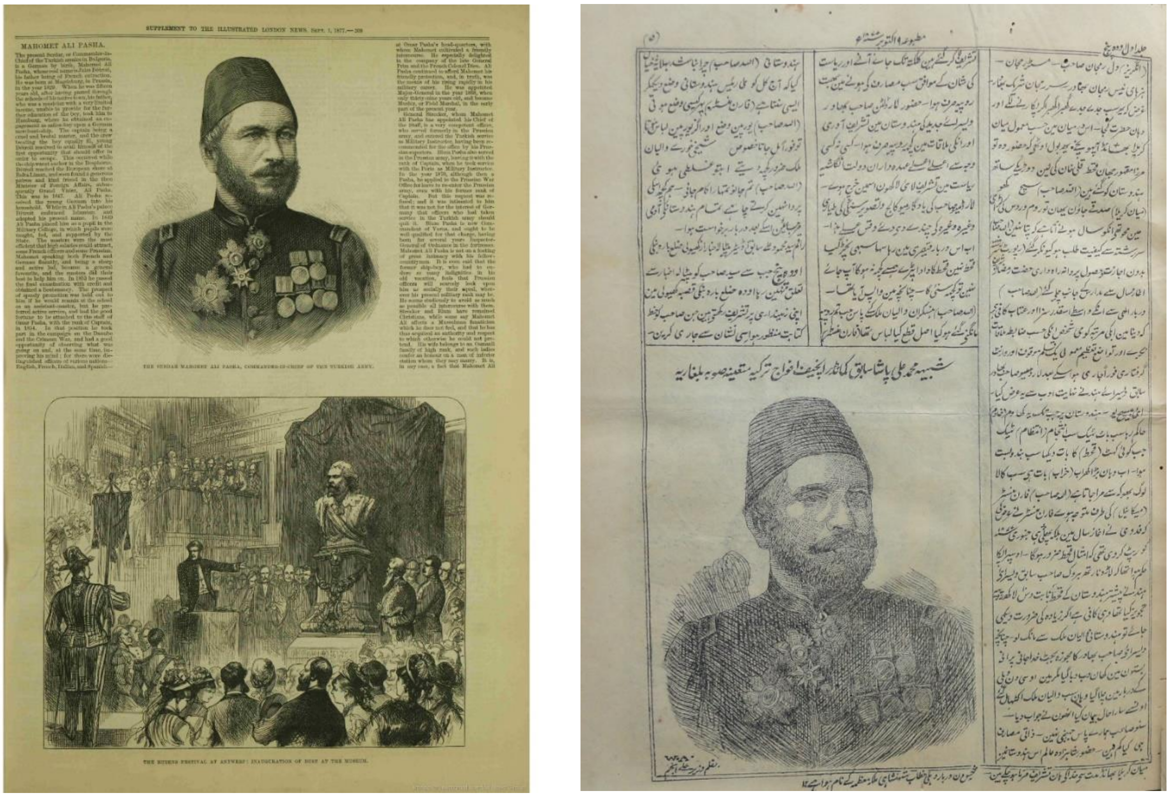
THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, AUG. 25, 1877.—1[illegible]

THE WAR: PASSAGE OF THE BALKANS.

BATTLE OF DZURANLI, NEAR ESKI ZAGRA (JULY 30): TURKISH POSITIONS IN THE BACKGROUND.
FROM A SKETCH BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST.

CHARGE OF PRINCE LEUCHTENBERG'S DRAGOONS THROUGH CIRCASSIAN HORSE, AT DZURANLI.
FROM A SKETCH BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST.

Figures 7-8: Illustrations of a battle between Russian dragoons and Ottoman Circassian horsemen in the ILN *of 25th August 1877 (left) and in* Avadh Punch *of 9 October 1877 (right).*



SUPPLEMENT TO THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, SEPT. 1, 1877.—209

MAHOMET ALI PASHA.

THE SERDAR MAHOMET ALI PASHA, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE TURKISH ARMY.

Figs. 9-10: Pictures and biography of Mahomet Ali Pasha in the ILN *of September 1 1877 and* Avadh Punch *of October 9.*

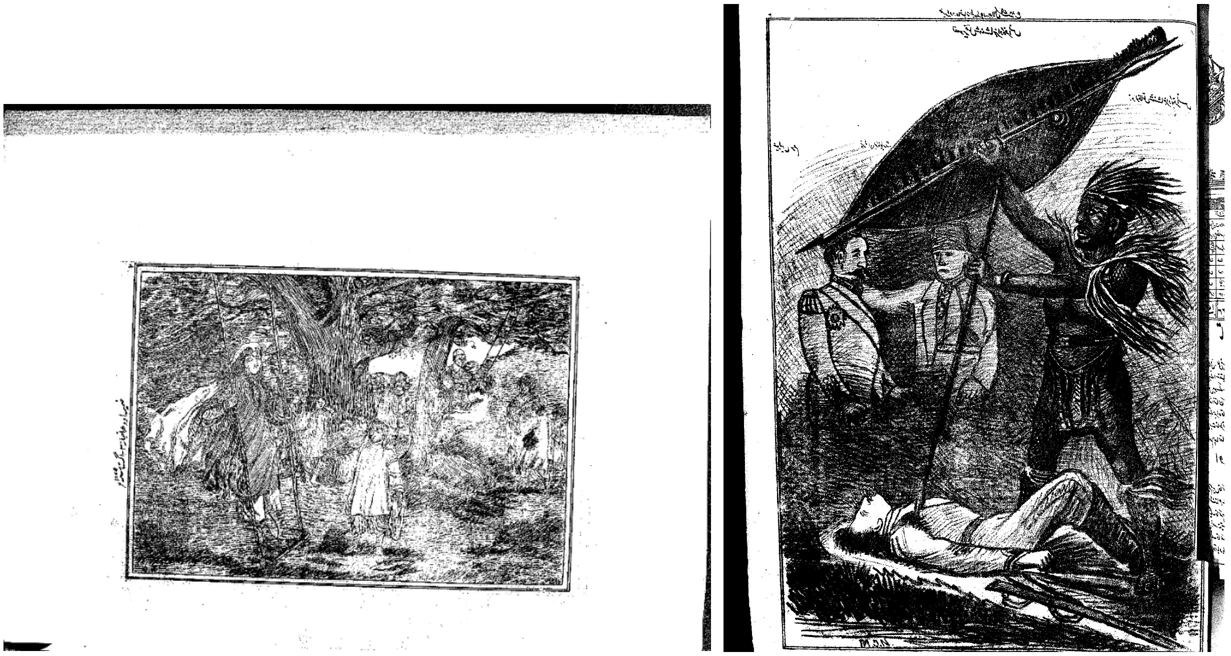


Figure 11-12: Left: Picture of an Afghan Village Scene, taken from a 'special artist's' eyewitness sketch, Avadh Akhbar, *30 August 1879. Right: 'Picture of the killing of the prince of france',* Avadh Akhbar, *19 July 1879.*

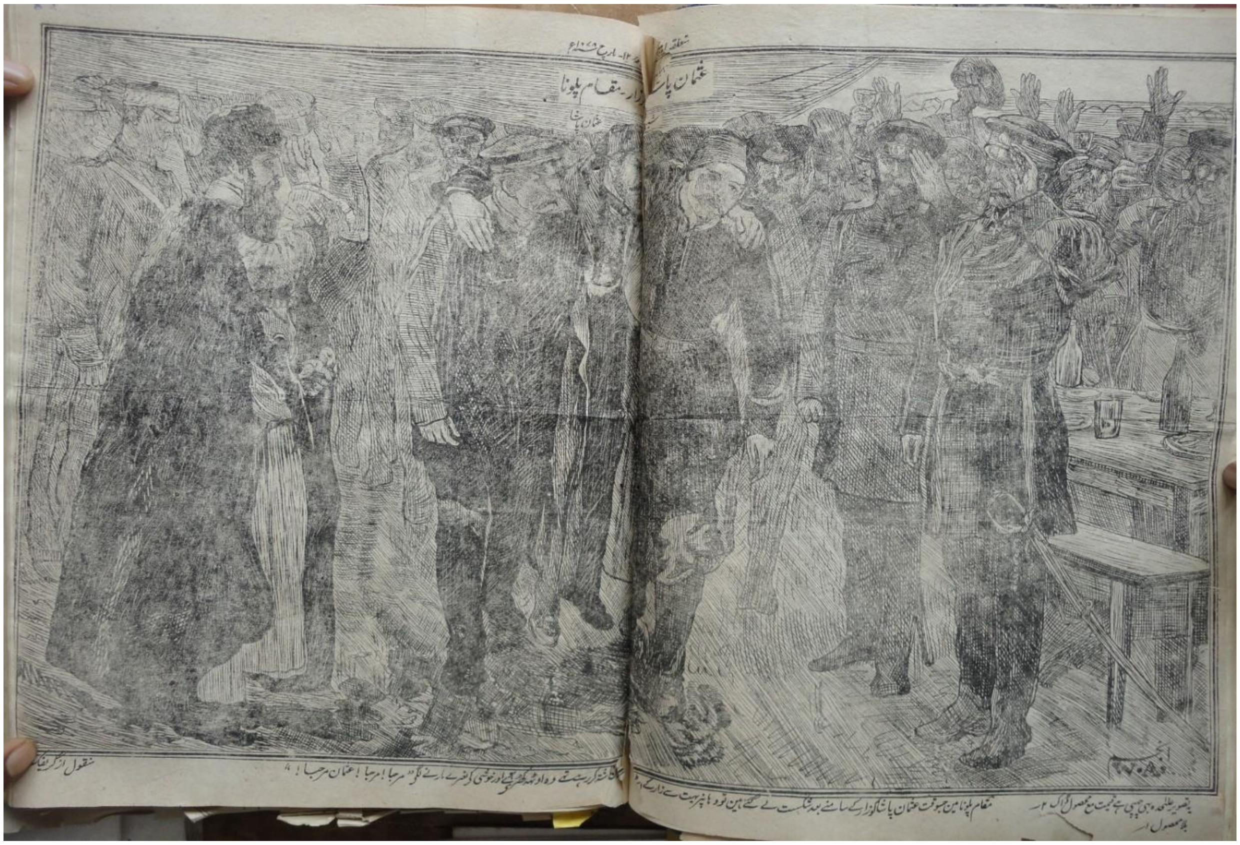
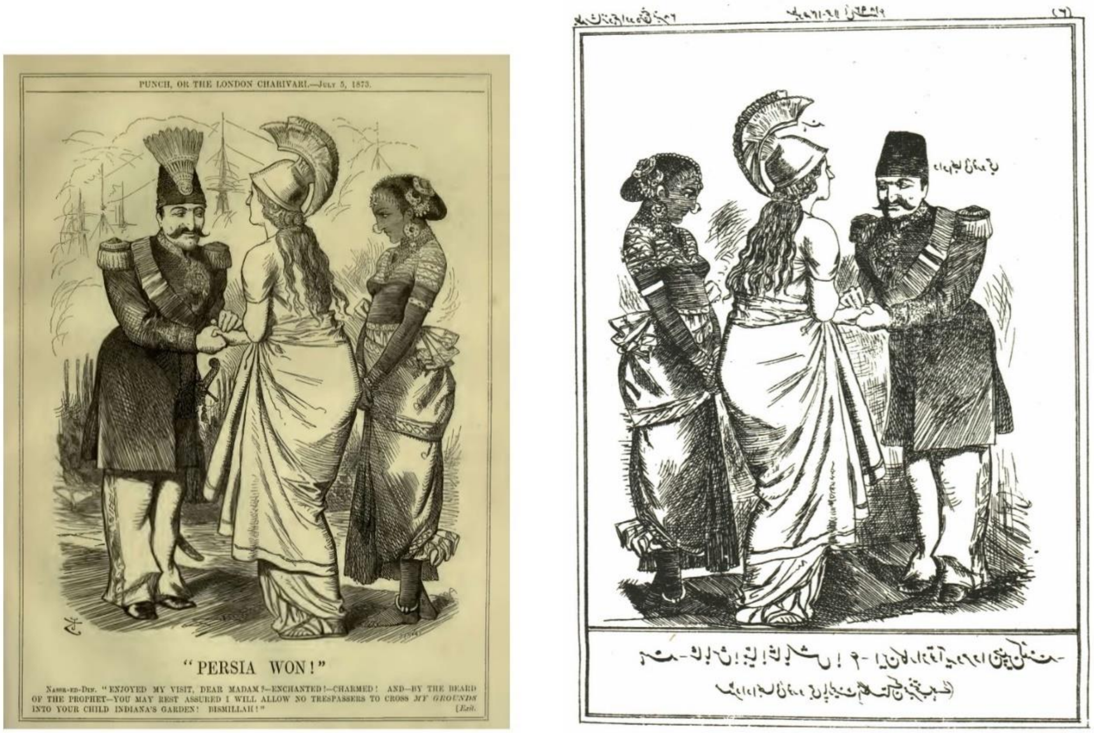
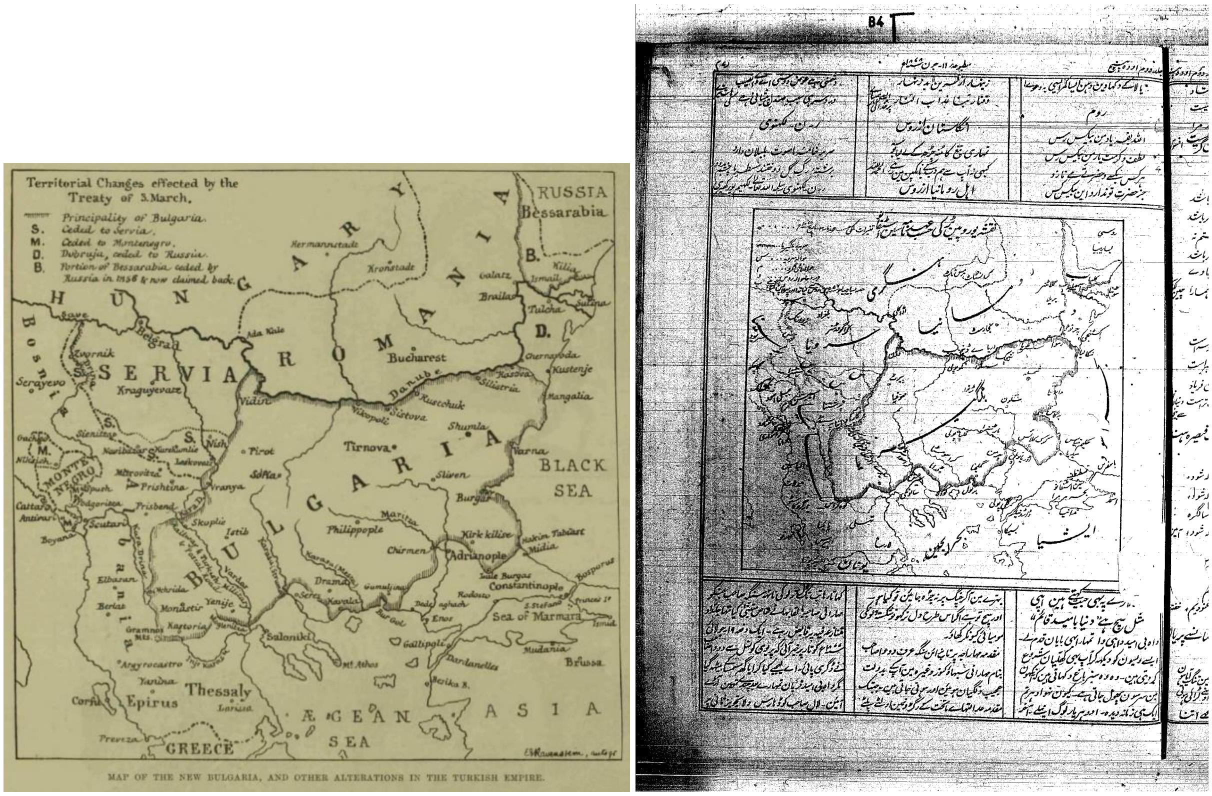

مقام پلونا
عثمان پاشا

Figure 13: Osman Pasha and the Czar at Plevna, Avadh Punch, 12 March 1878


PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—JULY 5, 1873.
"PERSIA WON!"
NASSR-ED-DIN. "ENJOYED MY VISIT, DEAR MADAM?—ENCHANTED!—CHARMED! AND—BY THE BEARD OF THE PROPHET—YOU MAY REST ASSURED I WILL ALLOW NO TRESPASSERS TO CROSS *MY GROUNDS* INTO YOUR CHILD INDIANA'S GARDEN! BISMILLAH!" [*Exit.*

Figures 14-15: Reuse of a cartoon from Punch, *5 July 1873 in* Avadh Punch, 14 July 1892. The figure of the Persian Shah is reimagined as Dadabhai Naroji.


Territorial Changes effected by the Treaty of 3. March.
Principality of Bulgaria.
S. Ceded to Servia.
M. Ceded to Montenegro.
D. Dobruja, ceded to Russia.
B. Portion of Bessarabia ceded by Russia in 1856 & now claimed back.
HUNGARY
RUSSIA
Bessarabia
ROUMANIA
Bucharest
SERVIA
BULGARIA
Tirnova
Sofia
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Constantinople
BLACK SEA
Sea of Marmara
ÆGEAN SEA
ASIA
Thessaly
Epirus
GREECE
MONTENEGRO
Bosnia
MAP OF THE NEW BULGARIA, AND OTHER ALTERATIONS IN THE TURKISH EMPIRE.
B4

Figures 16-17*: Map of the border changes proposed by the Treaty of San Stefano, left from the ILN of 16 March, 1878, right in Awadh Akhbar of 11 June 1878.*

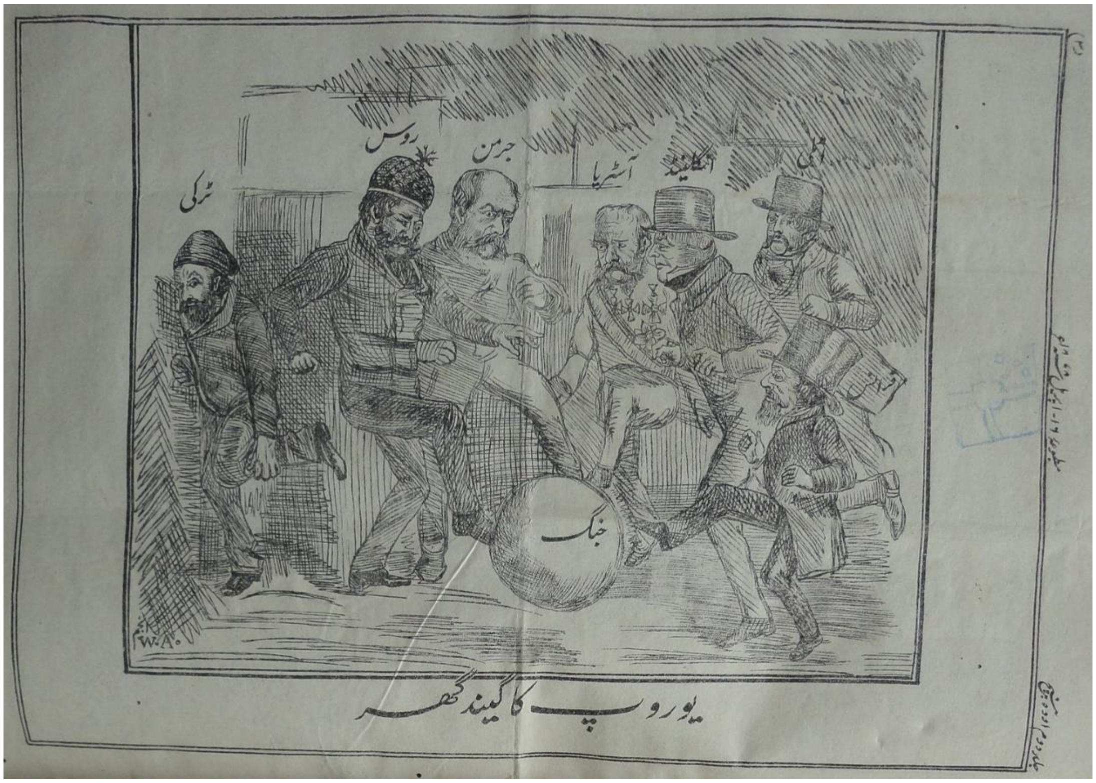
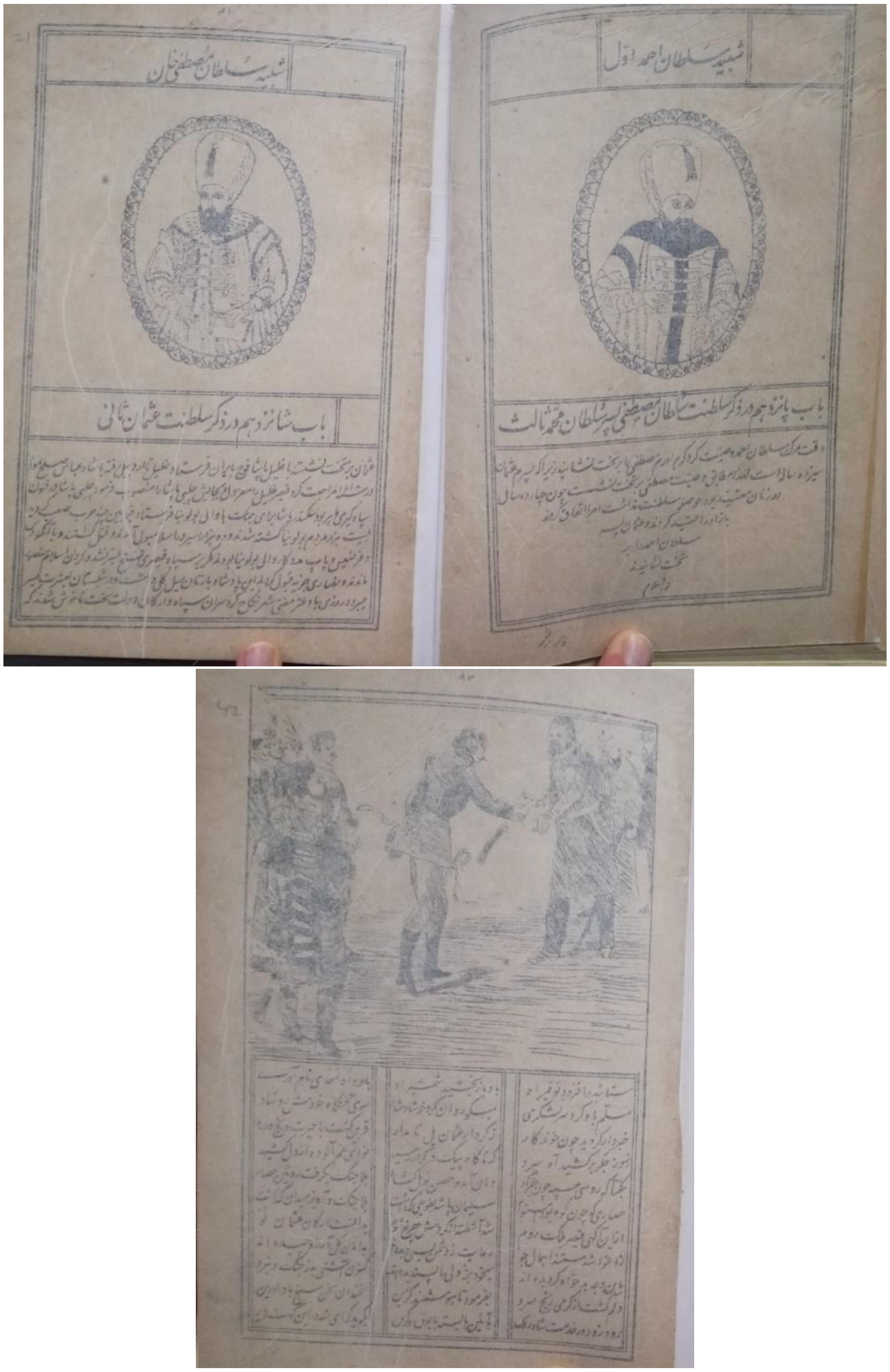

ترکی
روس
جرمن
آسٹریا
انگلینڈ
اٹلی
جنگ
یوروپ کا گیند گھر

Figure 18: Though satirical, many cartoons also incorporated lifelike portraits of rulers and politicians. 'Europe's ball court', Avadh Punch, *16 April 1878.*



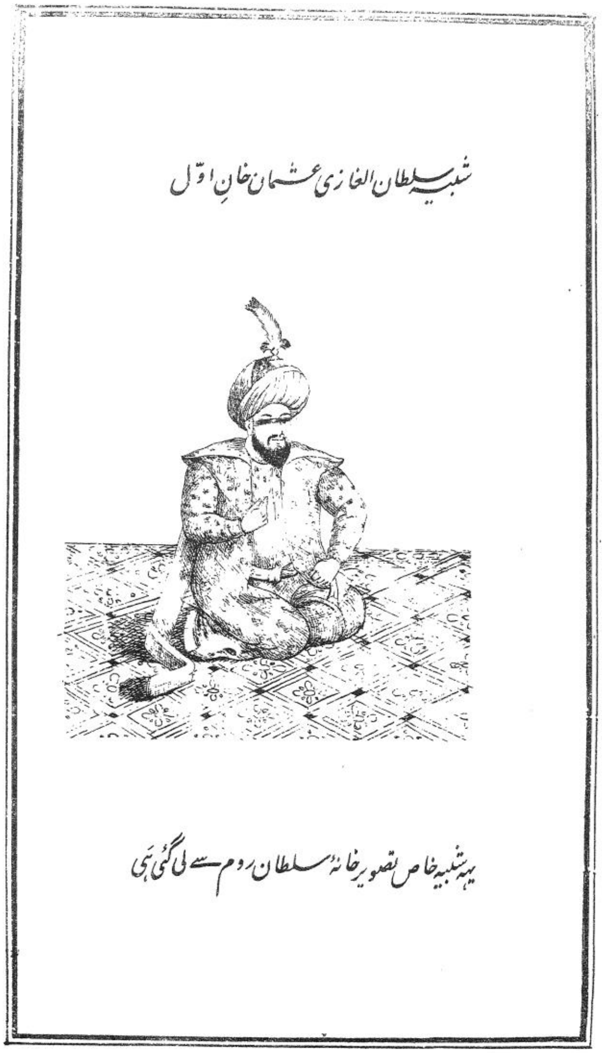
شبیه سلطان مصطفی خان

باب شانزدهم در ذکر سلطنت عثمان ثانی

شبیه سلطان احمد اول

باب پانزدهم در ذکر سلطنت سلطان مصطفی پسر سلطان محمد ثالث

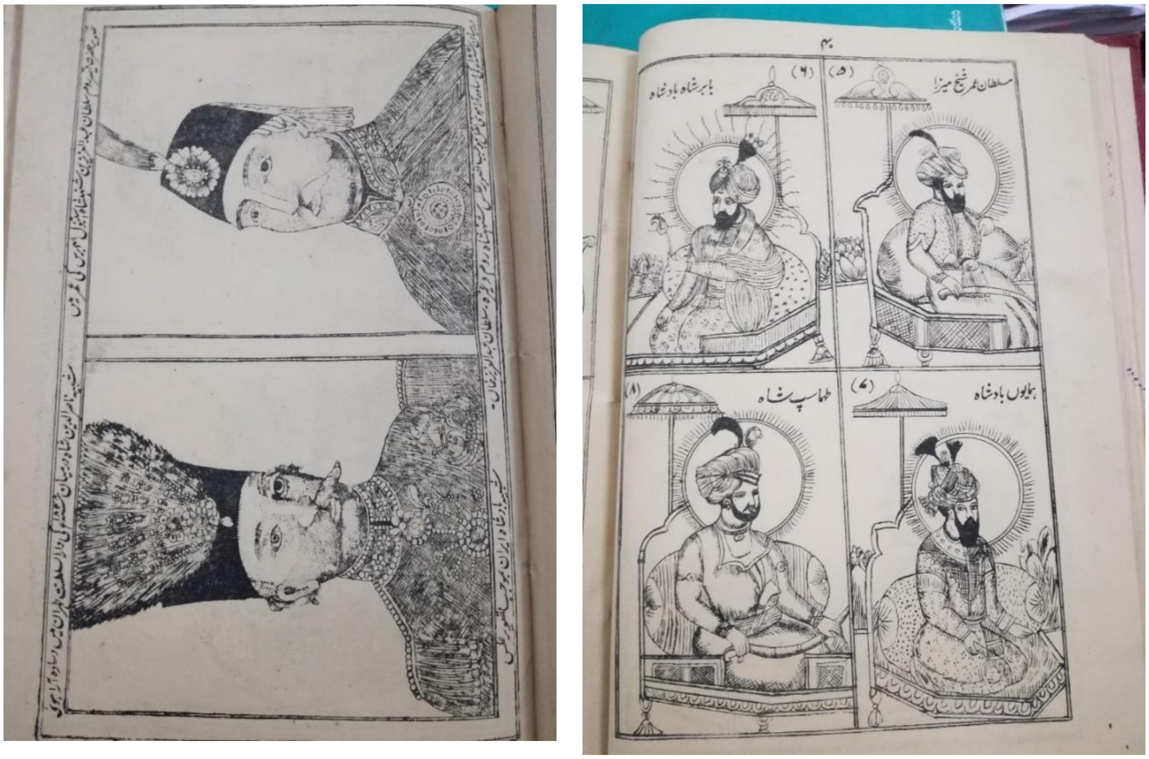
Figure 19-20: Pages from the Sultannama. Left: Sultans Mustafa and Ahmed I. Right, Osman Pasha greeting the Russian Czar.



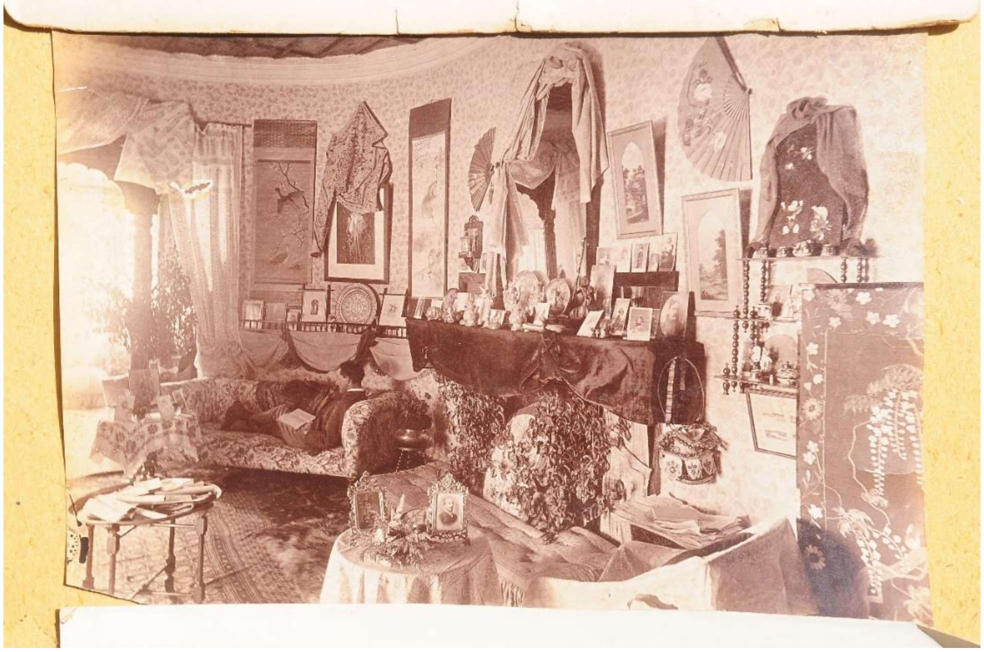
شبیہ سلطان الغازی عثمان خانِ اوّل

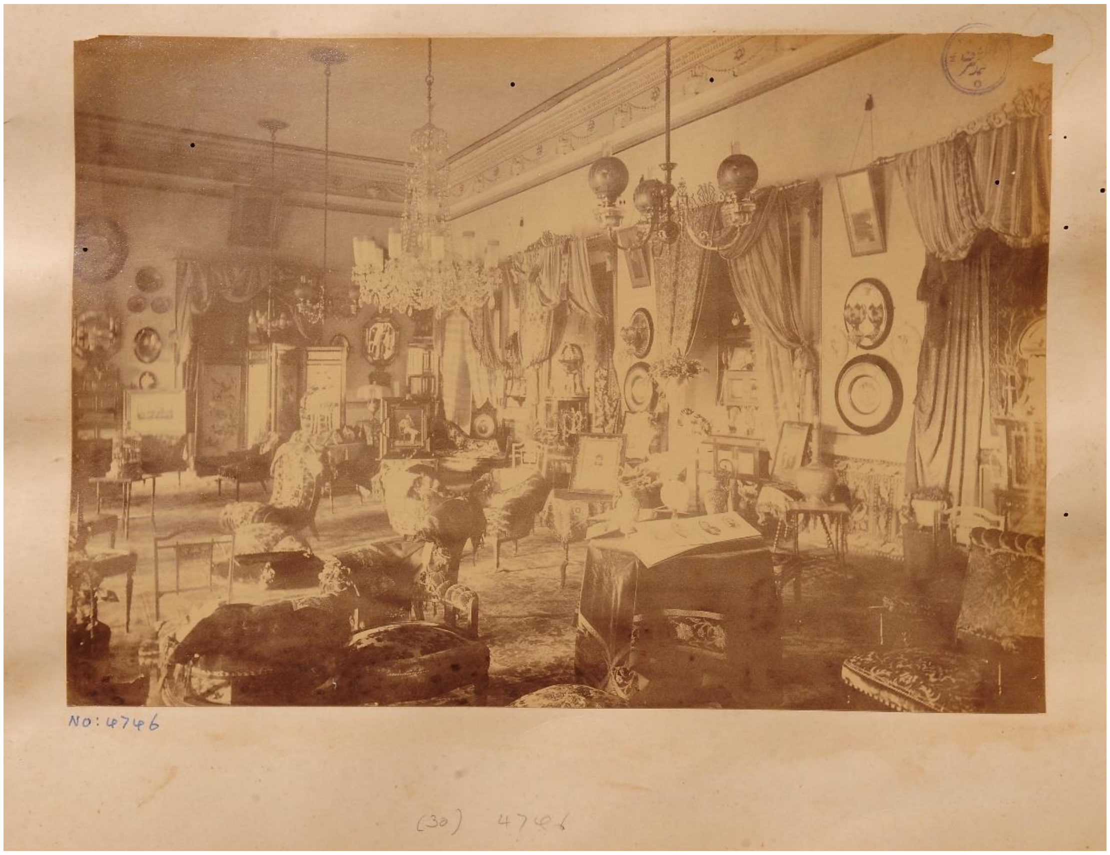
یہہ شبیہ خاص تصویرخانۂ سلطان روم سے لی گئی ہی

Figure 21: Illustration from the Feroznama-e Turk


سلطان عمر شیخ میرزا (۵)
(۶) بابر شاہ بادشاہ
ہمایوں بادشاہ (۷)
(۸) طہماسپ شاہ

Figures 22-23: Two pages from the Muraqqa-e Salatin





Figures 23-24: Two late 19th century drawing rooms, one of a British official of Secunderabad, the lower of a Hyderabadi noble's palace, possibly Asman Jah's Bashir Bagh. Both illustrate the decorative uses of photos on walls and tables of both acquaintances and revered figures. Both are from Telangana State Archives.

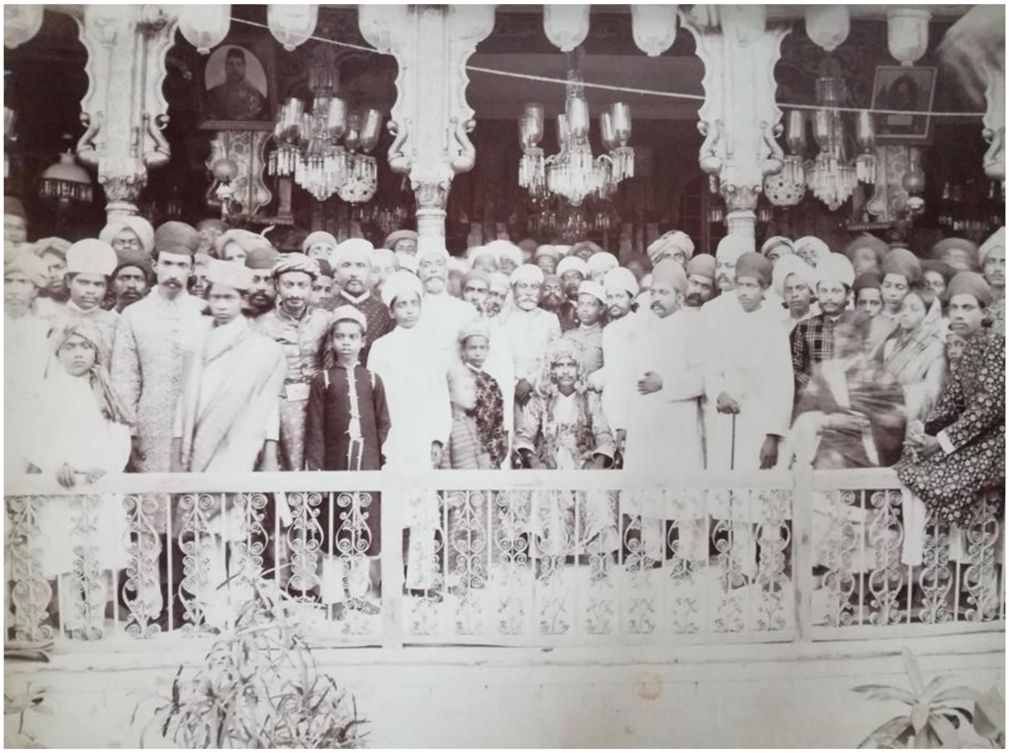


Figure 25: A Hyderabadi wedding scene, circa 1890. A portrait of Tevfik Pasha hangs prominently top left. From the Telangana State Archives.

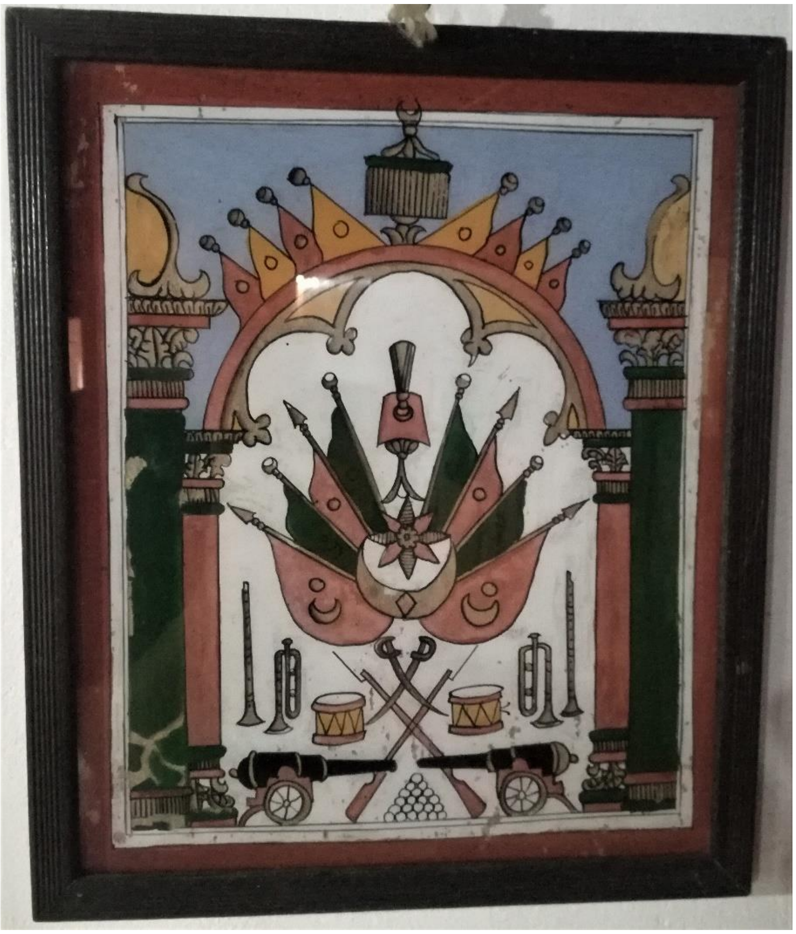


Figure 26. A Keralan glass painting after the Ottoman coat of arms, probably early twentieth century. From the Dakshini Chitra Museum collection.

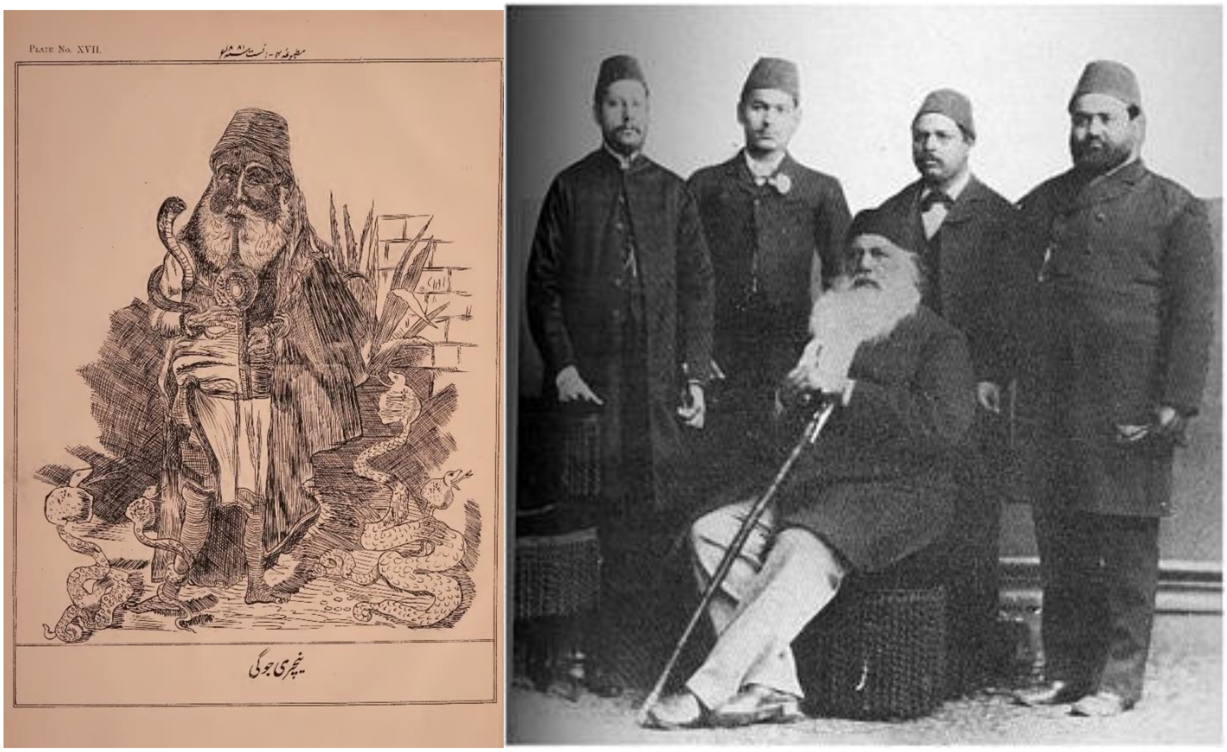
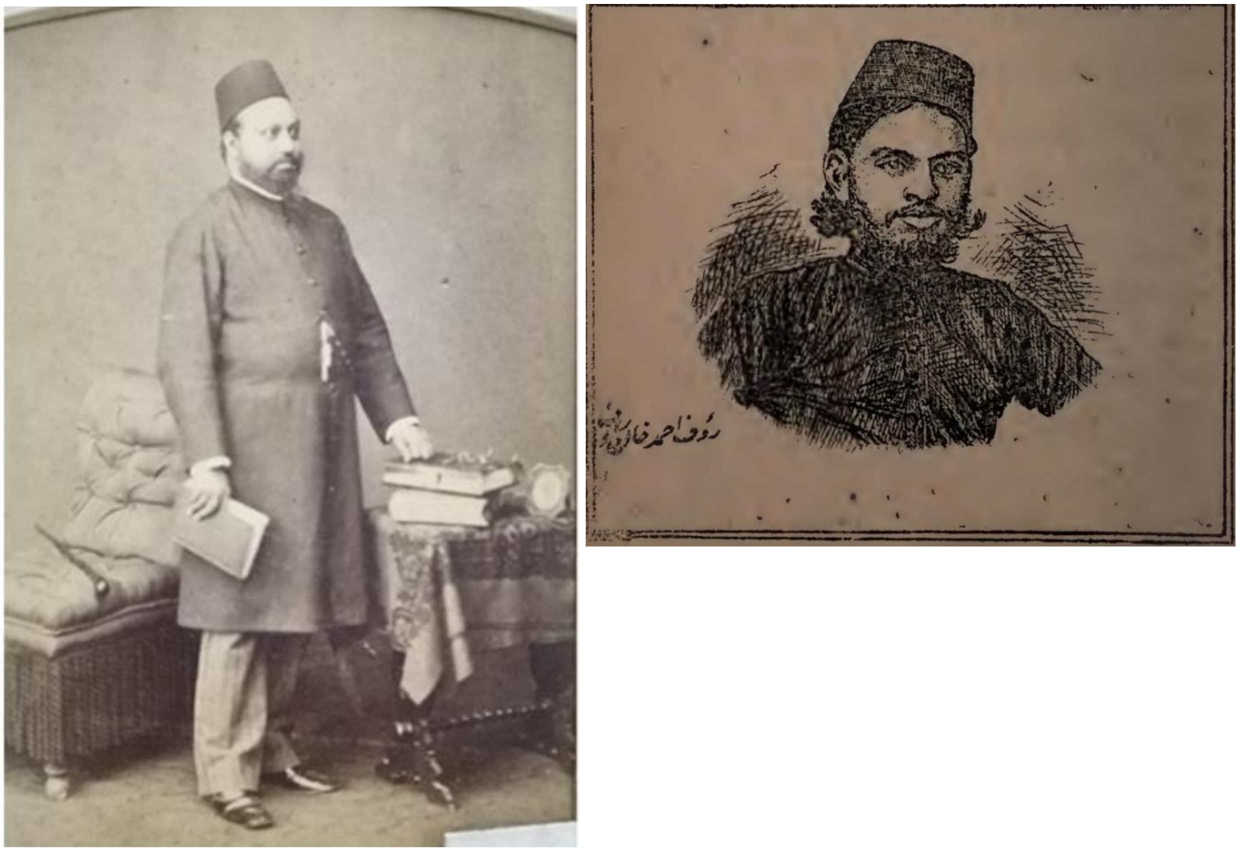


Plate No. XVII.
مطبوعہ ۲۴ - اگست ۱۸۸۱ء
نیچری جوگی

Figures 27-8: Left: A caricature of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan from Avadh Punch. *Right: Sir Syed Ahmed Khan with other Aligarhites.*



Figures 29-30: *Left: An early 1880s studio photograph taken in Bombay. Right: one of the many images of contemporary poets in Ottoman-style dress from an illustrated 1880 poetic anthology* Yadgar-e Zaigham.

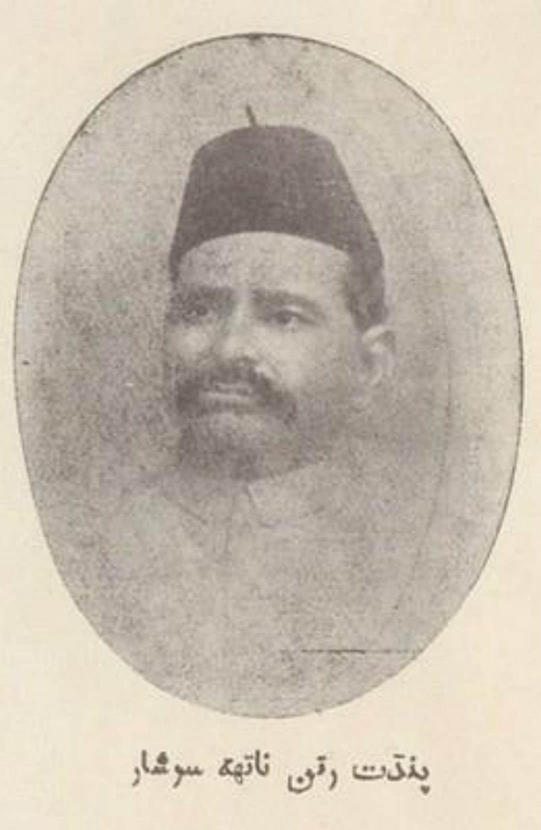
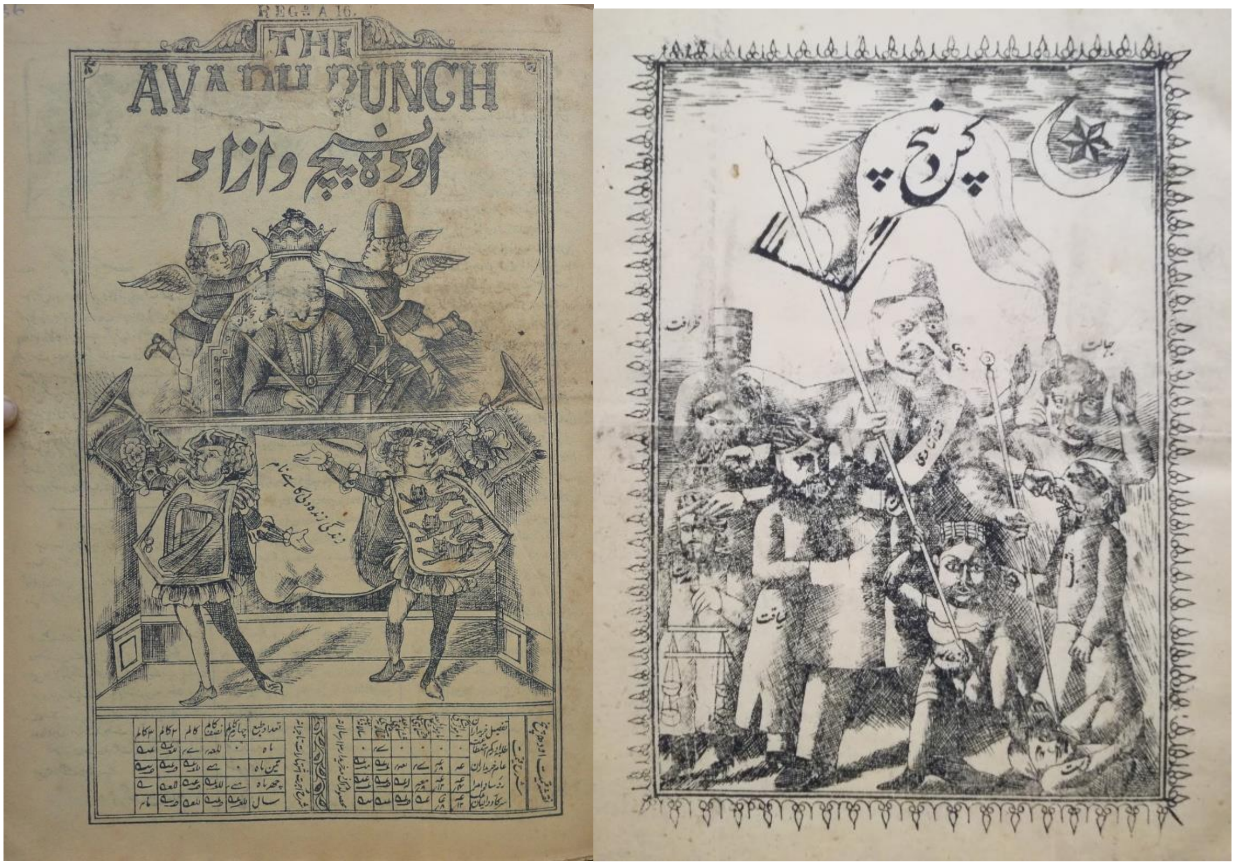

پنڈت رتن ناتھہ سرشار

Figure 31: Ratan Nath Sarshar, editor of Awadh Akhbar


REGd A 16.
THE
AVADH PUNCH
اودھ پنچ و آزاد
دکن پنچ

Figures 32-33: Ottoman dress on the covers of Awadh Punch (left) *and* Deccan Punch (right)

Chapter 4

Fashioning a Deccani Modernity: Male Dress and Masculinity in 19th century Hyderabad

It was with some relish that the Hyderabad correspondent of *The Hindu* launched into his comment of 22nd November 1891, concerning a recent travelogue to the city excerpted in the *San Francisco Chronicle* which "surprised us and amused us here not a little." Declaring the account to be "one tissue of inventions from beginning to end," he singled out for particular ridicule "the description of the Nizam's person and…of his dress".[1] "A Nizam in a 'robe of snow white silk' with buttons of 'immense pearls set in diamonds,' glistening with 'hundreds of jewels' with 'ropes of pearls' about his neck and arms & c." he declared "belongs to a period in the history of Hyderabad long gone by. And to speak of such 'a presence' is surely to take one back to semi-savage times in Hyderabad or 'the fabulous times of the Arabian Nights,' and not to speak of one who moves and has his being in the Hyderabad of to-day." To even suggest such an image was "to wrong the Nizam and as well to write oneself down as an ignoramus." [2]

Though short, the piece illustrates some critical points about how social change and modernity were being conceived in the late nineteenth century 'princely state' of Hyderabad.[3] The writer's engagement (via two English-language dailies of Madras and London) with the distant *San Fransisco Chronicle* indicates the extent of the city's integration into a global public sphere of print news and comment by this date, and a deep familiarity with the hackneyed colonial and orientalist tropes which often filled it. He displays, moreover, an acute consciousness of how the wider image of the city and its inhabitants – in the literal, visual sense of how it was pictured and imagined in the national and international press - was increasingly read as an index of its civilizational temporality.[4] It is no coincidence that the central point of dispute should be the Hyderabadi sovereign's dress and accessories. The Nizam's appearance here, as so often, stands in symbolically for the essential character of his state, and in particular for the acuity, virility and general fitness for autonomous rule of its male ruling class. By dismissing the image of effeminately bejeweled potentate as laughably antiquated in 'the Hyderabad of today', the writer implicitly asserts the Nizam, and his city, as that image's very counterpart - the vigorous, intellectual and urbane late-nineteenth century man. The elegantly modern Nizam is imagined here, however, not in contemporary Western dress, but in "typical Hyderabadi costume."[5] The writer does not find it necessary to specify further. By 1890 'Hyderabadi costume' could mean little else but a *sherwani* coat with *pajamas* and a *rumi topi* [fez] or *dastar* [turban] (figs.1-2).

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[1] The 'Nizam' was the shorthand title for the hereditary ruler of Hyderabad state, in this case the 6th Nizam Mahbub Ali Khan. *Hyderabad in 1890 and 1891. Comprising all the letters written to the Madras 'Hindu' by its Hyderabad Correspondent during 1890 and 1891* (Bangalore: Caxton, 1892), 168-9. While this chapter generally follows a somewhat simplified version of the system in John Platt's *Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi, and English* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1884) for transliterating Urdu terms, it follows contemporary usages for several names and words already widely Anglicized at the time, or which have since acquired widely-accepted English spellings.

[2] *Hyderabad in 1890 and 1891, 168-9.*

[3] Hyderabad, ruled by the Asaf Jah dynasty, was a successor state to the Mughals in the Deccan. By the 19th century it had been subordinated to British imperial rule but retained significant autonomy in managing its internal affairs. Detailed overviews of its legal status, administrative structure and relation to British India can be found in Eric Beverley, *Hyderabad, India and the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 54-70; Karen Leonard, '"The Hyderabad Political System and its Participants," in *Hyderabad and Hyderabadis* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2014), 25-45; Margrit Pernau, *The Passing of Patrimonialism: Politics and Political Culture in Hyderabad 1911-1948* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2000 [1992]), 29-50.

It is this specifically Hyderabadi style, its origins and influences, and the evolving material, political and aesthetic meanings which it came to hold for those who wore it, whose history this chapter seeks to trace. The *sherwani* itself - knee-length, high-buttoned and with a distinctive short collar – first appears in Hyderabad in the mid-1870s, but by the end of the century had become firmly established as a symbol of revitalized 'Deccani' regional identity and of a modernizing yet authentically local ideal of cultured masculinity.[6] The contingent, highly localized conditions which shaped the *sherwani*'s form and associations, moreover, illustrates the innovative, multi-relational nature of late nineteenth century identity formation and the paramount importance of dress as a field for its expression. The *sherwani* style incorporated diverse influences, from Ottoman and European fashions to North India and Hyderabad itself, and emerged at a time when large scale growth of migration, urbanization, social mobility, and economic and infrastructural linkages with British India and the wider world were rapidly reshaping the city's social politics. Its evolution shows how daily negotiations of dress interlinked the experience of Hyderabad's population with those of their rulers in the formation a collective style and identity, and how Hyderabad's unique circumstances shaped a quite different set of responses to imperialism than in Lucknow, Bombay or Calcutta.[7] Hyderabad's status as a semi-autonomous state provided a certain insulation from the day to day effects of colonialism and greater freedom in articulating an independent symbols, style and aesthetics, which became strongly conditioned by perception of local interests, identity and difference from the hegemonic cultural claims of not only Europe, but also North India. In particular, this chapter points to a double movement of influence, first by and then against, the 'non-*mulki'*, mostly north Indian administrators brought in to staff the reformed bureaucracy from the 1860s on. The restrained and sober norms of dress, morality and manliness they introduced challenged those of the existing *Mughlai* administration and nobility. However, rising resentment at the newcomers' high-handed influence, combined with royal and governmental efforts to reinvigorate local crafts and a post-mughal state aesthetic shaped a reincorporation of bright color and longer loose fit in the 1880s and 90s. The boldly-patterned, often local handloom *sherwanis* of late century invoked local manufactures, the historical tastes of the traditional nobility - now again actively celebrated as an embodiment of Hyderabadi culture - and the historical ideal of Deccani non-communalism which became enshrined in the sartorial priority of regional over religious identification.

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[4] For the integral relationship of dress to the construction of imperial teleologies see Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 121.

[5] *Hyderabad in 1890*, 1. The Nizam appears in a *sherwani* in almost all pictures from this era in the Chowmahalla Palace Collection. While he does begin to appear publicly in suits in his later years it was only as the 1890s progressed and his own regnal symbols like the tall yellow *dastar* turban became firmly established that he became gradually more comfortable with Western dress.

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[6] The only scholarly work to consider the sherwani is Toolika Gupta, "The influence of British rule on elite Indian menswear: the birth of the Sherwani" (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2016). Her study differs from this in placing much greater emphasis on British sources and influences in relation to this style, and on the sherwani's subsequent twentieth century evolution into a recognized 'national' and popular formal garment. The garment's longer history and certainly in its distinctive Hyderabadi roots and form, however, has rarely been considered. In this it bears some resemblance to the long historiographical neglect of Hyderabad state as a whole, which has tended to be folded away to the dusty sub-imperial genres of either 'princely states' or 'pan-Islam'. That Margrit Pernau's thorough historiographic analysis of 2000 remains so accurate indicates how little has appeared, particularly for the nineteenth century, in the interim. *Patrimonialism,* 15-23.

[7] For example, the visual chronology leaves little doubt that the 6th Nizam's wearing of the fez/*rumi topi* in informal contexts was derived from the already well-established popular fashion for it, doubtless informed by his conscious care to project himself as a locally-rooted man of the people.

At the same time, the *sherwani* style was also a product of the fast-globalizing new material and intellectual possibilities of later nineteenth century life. We have seen in the previous chapter how deepening incorporation into transnational circuits of trade, travel and illustrated news opened up fresh vistas of inter-regional interaction and imagination for consumers. The strong influence of the Ottoman fez and *istanbulin* on Hyderabadi style in the 1870s and 80s illustrates the ways in which foreign inspirations, and the evocation of cosmopolitan knowledge became actively incorporated into peoples' everyday self-fashioning, contributing to the shift from older sartorial vocabularies stressing lineal origin to dress as mirror of the individual man.[8] Amid a social world of proliferating material possibilities, visualized global knowledge and the deepening politicization of consumption along multiple social axes even the smallest acts of display became charged markers of one's politics and character, whether a certain newspaper, brand of cigarette, or the photograph hanging on the living room wall. Even if many such habits were ultimately enabled by imperial networks and technology, they were not necessarily conceived as such, and could be exploited (albeit highly unevenly) by Britishers and South Asians alike, especially in the case of 'everyday technologies' like the sewing machine, camera or lithographic press.[9] The *sherwani* and *rumi topi*, in their incorporation of new tailoring techniques, fabrics, machine stitching and diverse influences into a distinctively local style, exemplify how the idea of a new era could be aesthetically laid claim to regardless of its constitutive elements.

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[8] Examples of the former are amply - indeed excessively - represented in colonial ethnographies of the period. For instance *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency: Musalmans and Parsis* (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1899), 263-70; J. Forbes Watson & John William Kaye, *The People of India* (London: India Museum, 1868-75).

In tracing and analyzing these changes the chapter follows four rough phases of change in Hyderabadi male dress and manners. The first of these considers models of *Mughlai* dress and masculinity associated with Hyderabad and particularly its nobility in the first half of the nineteenth century. The second focuses on the transitional, experimental period following the 1857 uprising in which the *diwan* Salar Jung was a dominant figure in negotiating British influences and shaping the official character and symbols of the state. The third analyzes the first *sherwanis* which began to be popularized from the late 1870s, with particular reference firstly to the influence of the influx of non-*mulki* administrators and secondly to that of the Ottomans. The final section treats the fashion's further evolution into a distinctively Hyderabadi style through the 1880s and 90s.

***Mughlai* idioms of male dress and manliness in Earlier 19th century Hyderabad**

Throughout the first half of the 19th century the official costumes, symbols and ceremonies of Asaf Jahi Hyderabad continued to be broadly defined by a narrative and aesthetics of Mughal sovereignty, referencing the state's early eighteenth century origins as a Mughal *suba* [administrative province]. Right up until the abolition of the Mughal dynasty in 1858, Hyderabadi coins continued to be minted, its royal seal formulated, and the Friday *khutba* read in the Mughal sultan's name and *Mughlai* forms of visual and ceremonial presentation were carefully maintained.[10] In Hyderabad '*Mughlai*' style did not though imply the blind or static maintenance of Mughal forms, but rather the continued, conscious invocation of the aesthetics and symbols of this heritage within a quite different and evolving political context.[11] The enduring role of *Mughlai* forms in the construction of Asaf Jahi historical identity and legitimacy can be seen in the evolution of formal *durbar* costume and ceremonial through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, depicted in numerous miniature paintings and written accounts.[12] In figure 3, a typical image from a c.1816 album of Hyderabadi portraits now in the British Library, the noble Bal Kishen is shown in a high-waisted, fine muslin *nima jama* with colorful, probably brocade pajamas or *shalwar* visible beneath. The image is suffused with time-honored Mughal visual tropes of noble status and court culture, from the red-velvet-sheathed sword, *pandan* and carefully calibrated jewelry and clothing to the refined posture and luxuriant, aromatic garden-setting of the miniature itself.[13] However, for all the instantly recognizable Mughal symbols and artistic conventions present here, they are only one element in what is overall a distinctively Hyderabadi composition. Just as the painting's own color and detailing are distinctively Deccani, the much smaller, white-banded form of *Mughlai* turban, thick, diagonally striped *kamarband* and long, double-crossed *jama* are specifically characteristic of early 19th century Hyderabadi court style.[14] Its subject and format are similarly particular. Figure 3 is just one leaf from a large, purpose-made *muraqqa* album portraying Hyderabad's rulers and nobles.[15] Artistic depictions of Hyderabad's nobility was one of the key modes of representing the state's unique character and sovereign legitimacy in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[16] Incorporating as they did Mughal, Deccani, Turani and other lineages and a variety of communal backgrounds they provided a symbolic microcosm of the state's diversity, inclusivity, historical links with both the Mughal court and Deccan, and its refined and generous court culture.[17]

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[9] David Arnold, *Everyday Technology: Machines and the Making of India's Modernity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 11; Nile Green, *Bombay Islam: The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean, 1840-1915* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 90-91.

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[10] Bawa, *The Nizam*, 36; Bharati Ray, *Hyderabad and British Paramountcy, 1858-1883* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988), 33. Mohamed Abdul Kader Imadi, "The Nobles of Hyderabad: A Study in Social Change" (PhD diss, Osmania University, 1977), 119.

[11] The term '*mughlai'* itself was in use in Hyderabad itself throughout this period to denote political and cultural forms and practices seen as derived from the state's Mughal heritage, rather than either British or localized influence. For example, in the differentiation of 'English' and 'Mughlai' durbars held by the Nizam through the later 19th century, separate libraries, or even the establishment of separate kitchens for Deccani, European and Mughlai cuisine in the households of certain nobility. Aḥmad Ali and Mir Moazam Husain, *The Salar Jungs of Hyderabad*. (Hyderabad: Huda, 2010), 109. Mahdi Ali, ed., *Hyderabad Affairs*, Vol. 3, (Bombay: Times of India Steam Press, 1882), XIX; Sheela Raj, *Portrait of an Era: Hyderabad in the Days of the Nizams,* (London: Minerva Press, 1992), 35.

[12] *The Chronology of Modern Hyderabad, 1720-1890* (Hyderabad: Andhra Pradesh State Archives, 1954). Munis Faruqui shows how early Hyderabad state in fact widely innovated and diverged from Mughal administrative practice even as it rhetorically proclaimed its continuity. "At Empire's End: The Nizam, Hyderabad and Eighteenth-Century India." *Modern Asian Studies* 43, no. 1 (2009): 32-35.

By the opening of the 19th century there was a well-established set of noble and senior administrative families who monopolized Hyderabad state's senior offices and who remained largely dominant in determining values of status, high culture and elite masculinity within the city until at least the 1850s. Demarcation of noble manliness was premised not only on prestigious lineages stretching back to the Mughal court or beyond, but also well-established codes of ethics [*akhlaq*], conduct [*adab*] and cultured refinement [*tahzib*], and philosophical conceptions of the social role and position of the nobility within an ideal state.[18] While real social expressions of manliness and status may often have varied, there is no doubt that the principles of loyalty, service, martiality and morality and philosophical traditions of ethics and statecraft associated with *Mughlai* cultural heritage continued to exercise a powerful hold among the Hyderabadi nobility throughout this period. An 1840s treatise on the proper education and ethics of sultans, nobles and servant-officials, Shah Ali's *Fazl ul Adab Asafia* places a heavy stress on the loyalty, unity and virtuous personal restraint of the ruler and senior officials.[19] Originally presented as a gift to the crown prince Afzal ud Daula, it essentially comprises a manual on the principles of proper rule and management of the different classes of official who make up the ideal state. Marked by a sustained classicism of reference and perspective, it draws on draws on time-honored frameworks of the ideal state as a garden comprising a virtuous, balanced social order of sultan, nobles, officials, *sipah* soldiery and *reaya* populace, illustrating the continued value seen in *Mughlai* genres and philosophy of rule even at this relatively late date.[20] Although it contains little direct engagement with the actual administrative arrangements of the Asaf Jahi state or the increasingly chaotic political situation, it appears to have circulated widely among Hyderabad's mid-century nobility, not only existing in multiple manuscript copies but becoming one of the very earliest texts to be printed in Hyderabad.[21] Within the text the nobility are seen as pillars of the state, key actors in the management and generation of land, wealth and general prosperity and dispensers of justice.[22] In addition to maintaining virtuous habits and disinterested subordination of their own interests to those of ruler and state, they are enjoined to scrupulously observe the symbolic hierarchies and appearances of state decreed by the sultan, including in dress, *durbar* and forms of housing and conveyance, to be restrained in their own household expenditures, yet generous and just in the performance of their duties.[23]

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[13] The typical repertoire of *Mughlai* symbols seen in such portraits also includes water pipes, peacock fan, fly swat and the distinctive round, bolted Mughal shield. Historical examples of many of these objects can be seen in the Salar Jung Museum, showing that *Mughlai* imagery was not limited to such idealized portraits but also formed a material part of actual ceremonial display.

[14] See Srinayani Lankala, "Imaging History, Mapping Culture: Visual Culture and Historical Representation in Asaf Jahi Hyderabad" (PhD diss., Jawaharlal Nehru University, 2016), 21 for aspects Hyderabadi miniature style. While the convention of displaying one's religion through the tying of jama to left or right often remains represented through the placement of hanging tassels, this appears increasingly rarely towards the mid-century and appears to have gone out of style, leaving only the ambiguous double cross-tie. It is possible that this also reflected changing political priorities and the diverse makeup of the Hyderabadi nobility described by Leonard, *Hyderabad*, 37-8.

[15] While such *muraqqa* albums of portraiture also had their roots in Mughal court production, their production, form and contents also underwent considerable evolution in eighteenth and early nineteenth century Hyderabad, becoming increasingly mass produced in lower quality formats, as with this example, as well as higher end ones for wealthy patrons.

[16] Janaki Nair points to similar emphasis in eighteenth century Mysore, "Tipu Sultan, History Painting and the Battle for 'Perspective'," *Studies in History* 22, no. 1 (2006): 113.

[17] Leonard, *Hyderabad*, 39.

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[18] Pernau, *Patrimonialism*, 64-9.

[19] Shah Ali, *Afzal ul Adab Asafia* (Hyderabad: Amir-e Kabir press, 1261 [1845]), 45, 51.

[20] For an example of the widespread currency of similar Persianate philosophical frameworks and literatures see the discussion of classical Ottoman conceptions of state and social organization in chapter 1.

[21] It was printed at the lithographic print house of the Paigah estate [*sirkar-e shams ul umera bahadur amir e kabir* (ie Nawab Muhammad Fakhr ud-Din Khan) *ke sangi chape khana*] in 1261 [1845]. Ali, *Afzal*, 1-2. Two copies of

While many of these principles drew on a broad historically Persianate philosophical tradition and literature, in Hyderabad they also held close association with the state's *Mughlai* heritage and were embodied and continually enacted in the dress, *durbar*s, gift-giving and other ceremonies of the royal and noble courts. This connection can be clearly seen in figure 4, a probably early 19th century *durbar* portrait of Nizam Ali Khan (r.1762-1803).[24] Mughal symbols of royalty are again unambiguously present in the red *masnad* and canopy, golden fan, peacock flywhisk [*morchad*] and the Nizam's aigrette and royal-yellow *patka* [waist-tie], also worn by the princes seated to his left. Spatial and sartorial hierarchies are demarcated in the positioning of figures in relation to the *masnad* and the submissive proper posture and attire of those attending. While the nobles are all individually detailed and recognizable, the simplicity and near-uniformity of their dress evokes a coherent group-identity premised on loyal service to the Nizam, and shared ethics of self-controlled behavior, lifestyle and attention to duty. Their hierarchic dependency on the Nizam is embodied in their pearl pendants [*har*] and headbands [*sarpatti*], markers of status bestowed by him as gifts in ceremonial *durbar* exchanges.[25] The

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the manuscript, which also somewhat unusually for this period is in Urdu rather than Persian, can be seen in Salar Jung Museum Library's manuscript section. This discussion in this section is based on the print version.

[22] Ali, *Afzal*, 54.

[23] Ali, *Afzal*, 91-2, 97.

[24] This dating is suggested by Lankala, "Imaging History," 110.

[25] Such bestowals form one of the key subjects of the Hyderabadi court diaries republished in *Chronology of Modern Hyderabad*, see particularly p118-19 for examples of the jewelry, fabric and other kinds of gifts typically

studied plainness of the nobles' white muslin *jama*, court turban [*dastar*] and *patka* and prominent *mughlai* weaponry, meanwhile, evoke an idealized martial simplicity of lifestyle and a disciplined prioritization of self-cultivation, learning and piety over worldly pleasure.

Rosalind O'Hanlon has highlighted how in the Mughal court of Akbar and Jahangir conceptions of bodily strength and physical prowess were closely tied to those of spiritual discipline and control of the *nafs* or lower nature in the construction of noble manliness.[26] An instance of how such literary and behavioral ideals informed actual material appearances at court is the use of *kamr-band* or *patka* [waist tie], which not only showed off strength of physique but invoked images of self-girding, striving and action.[27] The persistence of similar values of martial manliness is evident in patterns of dress and self-projection in Hyderabad. The later nineteenth century writer Abbas Rifat Sherwani, while lamenting the disappearance of traditional Deccani costume in a passage of his *Mahbub us-Sair*, specifically notes that formerly attendees at durbar "would wear a *nima jama*, a turban of the style of Aurangzeb [*dastar 'alemgiri*] and be armed with waist-gird [*kamr-basta musallah jaate the*].[28] Similarly, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century the male city population at large was notorious for a self-conscious fierceness of public appearance, vested in the ubiquitous use of *kamr-band*s stashed with assorted daggers, pistols and similar weaponry.[29] If the popular fashion may have lacked some of the more high-

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bestowed in the early nineteenth century. In addition to jewelry, precious fabrics and robes of honor were also frequently given. For the longer history and significance of ceremonial bestowal of robes and jewelry I particular see Finbarr Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 61.

[26] Rosalind O'Hanlon, "Manliness and Imperial Service in Mughal North India." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42, no. 1 (1999): 52-3. For a comparative discussion of corporeality, ritual and group identity in the Ottoman context see Ali Yaycioglu's discussion of janissary manliness in "Guarding Traditions and Laws—Disciplining Bodies and Souls: Tradition, Science, and Religion in the Age of Ottoman Reform." *Modern Asian Studies* 52, no. 5 (2018): 1559.

[27] O'Hanlon, 'Manliness,' 64.

[28] Abbas Rifat Shirwani, *Mahbub us Sair* (Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh Govt. Oriental Manuscript Library and Research Institute, 2007 [1896]), p133.

[29] Ben Cohen, *Kingship and Colonialism in India's Deccan* (New York: Palgrave, 2007), 75. The appearance of the city populace is widely noted by contemporary colonial writers and is also evident in pictures and early photos of

minded and courtly associations of nobles' waist-ties and military accessorizing, it nonetheless constituted an important sartorial link and unifying element in the imagination of the state's proud military origins and martial, *Mughlai* character. While the translucent fineness of fabric and bright jewels in figure 4 attests these nobles' refinement, their plainness and purity of appearance thus visually and materially connects the wearers with the heritage and historical memory of Aurangzeb and Nizam ul Mulk, with Persian literary canons on ethics [*akhlaq*] and statecraft, and Sufi-oriented forms of devotional practice.[30] Nizams and nobles of the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries were noted almost without exception for their patronage and association with a wide range of charismatic saints and *fakirs*, who often married spiritual roles with symbolic or even actual military ones.[31] Not only did these figures provide a guiding model of spiritual and bodily discipline, but their shrines and social networks were a key connector of courtly, religious and military social spheres, integrating the nobility with the ordinary soldiery and populace.[32] The very earliest photographs of the Hyderabadi nobility and surviving specimens of fine, white muslin *jama* and *angarkha* in the Salar Jung Museum and other private

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street scenes. The fashion was partly influenced by the high numbers of Arab, Siddi, Sikh, Afghan, Rohilla and other irregulars present in the city in this period, but was perhaps also influenced by the deep public antipathy and resentment towards rising British interference and political emasculation of the state in these decades. Ray, *British Paramountcy*, 37.

[30] Aurangzeb provided an enduring ideal of austere martial nobility, often in association with similar remembrances of Hyderabad's founder Nizam ul Mulk who was a leading figure at his court. Sylvia Houghteling has shown how use of fine white cotton muslin *jama* at the Mughal court, in addition to associations of domestic manufacture, were prized for their fine, sensual texture and "as a fabric of spiritual and ethical piety," consistent with both the injunctions of prominent sheikhs against silken fabrics, and older Indic ideas of the rulers body, now visible through the fine fabric, as reflecting inner qualities and virtue. "The Emperor's Humbler Clothes: Textures of Courtly Dress in Seventeenth-century South Asia." *Ars Orientalis* 47 (2017): 98-100.

[31] Indeed the Asaf Jahs proudly counted notable central Asian sufi sheikhs among their more recent ancestors. Simon Digby, *Sufis and Soldiers in Awrangzeb's Deccan: Malfuzat-i Naqshbandiyya* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 7. Many instances of Nizam ul Mulk's patronage and respect for such figures are detailed in Lal Mansaram's anecdotes of his reign reproduced in Setu Madhava Rao, *Eighteenth Century Deccan* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1963), 73-131. See also the many portraits of shaikhs in Salar Jung and Telangana State Museum collections, and in the building of shrines and patronage of *urs* celebrations and similar detailed in Alison Mackenzie Shah, "Constructing a Capital on the Edge of Empire: Urban Patronage and Politics in the Nizam's Hyderabad" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2005), 190-251.

[32] Digby, *Sufis and Soldiers, 33;* Nile Green, *Indian Sufism since the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2006), 87, 99-100.

collections in Hyderabad confirm the continued currency and use of such dress into the mid-nineteenth century. In Figure 5, an early photo of the Paigah noble Rasheed ud-Din Khan, the *Mughlai* elements are still immediately recognizable in the tight body and expansive skirts of the *jama*, visible underneath a loose, probably *jamewar* floral coat fastened with *kamr-band,* along with luxurious Kashmiri shawl and familial headgear.[33] His subsequent remembrance as "the last example of the nobles of the court of Alamgir [Aurangzeb], a man of plain tastes, lofty spirit, great courage, high-mind and soldierly disposition"[34] again illustrates the enduringly close association of this style with self-consciously *Mughlai* ideals of politics and manliness.

At the same time, the real lives many of the high officials were also often characterized by luxurious consumption, conspicuous displays of wealth and connoisseurship of material, literary and artistic production. Rich *angarkha* of silk brocade, velvet and *khimkab* and all manner of luxury accessories glitter alongside the plain muslins seen in Hyderabadi museum and other collections from this era, and are similarly well-represented in paintings and early photos of the nobility. Rai Venkatachellam's celebrated portrait of Ma'ali Mian Saif ul-Mulk, for example, exudes refined extravagance in its every stroke, from the rich fabrics, clothes, carpets and the delicately gilt-worked chair on which the Saif ul-Mulk sits to the elegant *deori* palace and verdant gardens which provide the setting (fig. 6). His elevated tastes and noble habits are further signified by the tray of jewels being presented to his inspection, the falcon seated beside him and his appreciation for the delicate flowers he smells.[35] The luxuriant lifestyles depicted in pictures of this kind stress a rather different aspect of elite Hyderabadi masculinity culture to figs. 3-5, emphasizing "man as sophisticated gentleman connoisseur, cosmopolitan in experience, refined in literary and poetic sensibility, elegant in person, fastidious in dress, and intent on his own bodily cultivation with a greater degree of individual self-concern."[36] As O'Hanlon also suggests within the Mughal context, such behavior could be perceived as contradictory to the ideals of disinterested imperial service just discussed – not least by the resentful Nizams whose personal wealth became comfortably eclipsed by the highest nobles in this era.[37] However, this was not always necessarily so. Elevated artistic appreciation, luxurious tastes and elaborate manners were also deeply-rooted elements of *Mughlai* courtly culture, and the pursuit of beauty for its own sake was central to the nobility's sense of exceptionalism, marking them off from the common populace.[38] It was also intimately bound up with ideas of nobles' social role as generous benefactors and patrons, and of courts and palaces not just as arenas of political ceremony, but hubs of economic life, employment and production.[39] Implicit in the luxury garments, gardens, jewels and supporting casts of retainers and entertainers seen in many miniatures is support of a large household of servants, tailors, craftsmen, gardeners and others, in addition to assorted poets, painters and other artists from further afield.[40] In figure 7 the noble Munir ul-Mulk (better known by his later title of Salar Jung) appears as the quintessentially cultured young noble, bedecked in a full set of pearl jewelry and *Mughlai*-Hyderabadi costume, a flower in one hand and an erudite text (the opening *bismillah* is visible) in the other. Seated in a probably recently constructed *deori* of decidedly contemporary style and wearing a *jama* of almost certainly local Nanded muslin, he appears as refined patron of the musicians and retainers who surround him.[41] Although, as we will see, Salar Jung is mostly remembered as a pioneering reformer, the appearance of this image in a private mid-century album from his own library collection illustrates how integral values of *Mughlai* refinement, dress and patrimonialism were to his own perceptions of self and social place.

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[33] Among the wider population communal headgears indicating geographical, sectarian or other ties was the norm. Rasheed ud-Din Khan and other nobles' wearing of *jamewar* and *himroo* is specifically noted in Abdul Hai, *Mamlekat-e Asafia*, vol. 2, (1978).

[34] Server ul-Mulk, *Karnama*, 193.

[35] Kavita Singh, "Scent upon a Southern Breeze: The Synaesthetic Arts of the Deccan," in *Scent upon a Southern Breeze: The Synaesthetic Arts of the Deccan,* ed. Kavita Singh (Mumbai: Marg, 2018), 22.

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[36] O'Hanlon, 'Manliness,' 68.

[37] See *Chronology*, 185. O'Hanlon sees these ideals of *mirzai* refinement emerging later, in the early seventeenth century and to some degree superseding more earlier, more martial ideals of manliness, "Manliness," 68.

[38] Pernau, *Patrimonialism*, 67.

[39] Leonard, *Hyderabad*, 32.

[40] As depicted in fig. 6, in this era merchants and traders would typically call on wealthier citizens at their residences to show and sell fabric, jewelry etc. Larger households had their own internal economies for the stitching and production of many clothes and other goods, which were also often passed on to servants, relations or children for reuse. Imadi, "Nobles of Hyderabad," 213.

While elements of British design are visible here in the architecture and chair, for many the perceived value of traditional *Mughlai* trappings and the socio-economic systems with which they were connected was increasing inflected by the looming existential challenge presented by British imperial domination and norms. The 4th and 5th Nizams, Nasir ud Daula and Afzal ud Daula both assiduously reinforced court protocols and opposed the spread of British dress, habits and imported goods, including the railway construction. One anecdote of the time of Nasir ud Daula relates that, on realizing that one of the nobles at *durbar* was wearing English muslin procured from Secunderabad, contrary to his explicit orders, the Nizam was so incensed that he immediately inflicted a heavy fine and placed the unfortunate man under indefinite house-arrest.[42] The story not only reiterates the cultured expertise of the Nizam, who immediately spotted the rogue fabric, but also existing understandings of the deep interconnection between clothing, sovereignty and economic interests.

Hyderabadi Dress in the Era of Salar Jung (1853-83)

In many respects the late 1850s and 60s mark a watershed in Hyderabadi history. From the political and fiscal nadir of the mid-century, Mir Turab Ali Khan Mukhtar ul-Mulk Salar

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[41] One might also note the depiction of locally produced bidriware hookah and other items which recur in Hyderabadi portraits of this era.

[42] Server ul-Mulk validates this account by saying he heard it directly from Salar Jung himself. *Karnama*, 191.

Jung, *diwan* [prime minister] from 1853-83 and the dominant figure of this period, oversaw a far-reaching program of administrative, fiscal and tax reform which transformed the Hyderabadi state's organization, successfully reasserting its sovereign autonomy in many fields.[43] At the same time, these decades were marked by accelerating urban expansion and commercialization to the north of the old city and in the separate cantonment town of Secunderabad, and the deepening incorporation of Hyderabad into pan-Indian and imperial networks of travel, trade and migration through the 1874 rail connection to Bombay.[44] The prevailing atmosphere of flux and renewal within the shadow of encroaching British hegemony was closely reflected within the realm of dress and aesthetics. The final dissolution of the Mughal Empire in 1857 left a vacuum in the symbols and legitimating narrative of the ruling Asaf Jahi dynasty, which would only gradually become reinvented and replaced through the 1870s-90s.[45] Meanwhile, changes in local economies of garment production, and the new spaces and social relations of work, study and pleasure introduced by the first schools, offices and clubs brought a fresh and contentious diversity into city dress. Debates in the newspapers, memoirs and diplomatic correspondence of these decades are often dense with rhetorical oppositions of old and new, tradition and change, and *firangi* [foreign] with Hyderabadi habits.[46] However, contemporary fashions illustrate the wide variance of form and interpretation which actually lay beneath these terms, and a widespread, innovative exploration of the new material possibilities for expressing them.

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[43] Vasant K. Bawa, *The Nizam between Mughals and British: Hyderabad under Salar Jang I* (Hyderabad: Centre for Deccan Studies, 2016 [1986]); Leonard, *Hyderabad and Hyderabadis*, 48-58. Technically, and traditionally within the *Mughlai* governmental system, *diwan* actually translates not as prime minister but treasurer. My use of the former here reflects both the ubiquitous contemporary reference to Salar Jung as 'prime minister' in British sources and also the wide-ranging power he acquired as de facto head of government during most of this period.

[44] Bawa, *The Nizam*, 93; Claude Campbell, *Glimpses of the Nizam's Dominions: Being an Exhaustive Photographic History of the Hyderabad State with Descriptive Text* (Bombay: C.B. Burrows, 1898), 256; M. J. Davasiga, *The Hyderabad Almanac and Directory (*Madras: G W Taylor, 1892), 33; Green, *Bombay Islam*, 181-2.

[45] Emma Tarlo discusses the similar problem for early nationalists of needing to define what actually is 'Indian dress', *Dress Matters: Dress and Identity in India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 58.

[46] The extensive press and book extracts collected over the first eight volumes of *Hyderabad Affairs* furnish innumerable examples. Moulvie Syed Mahdi Ali, *Hyderabad Affairs* (Bombay: Times of India Steam Press, 1883-86).

This experimentation, particularly prominent through the late 1860s-80s before a more coherent general vocabulary of Hyderabadi male dress again coalesces around the sherwani, is clearly visible in the earliest photographs of Hyderabad court and city. Figure 8, a group portrait of the young sixth Nizam with senior nobles and retainers from around 1875 gives a vivid sense of variety in design and decoration. The older members of the group, including the senior *Paigah* nobles still wear *angarkha* and *patka,* with other nobles and the Nizam himself appearing in loose hand-stitched *choga* (Fig. 9). Luxury fabrics of silk-velvet and brocade, precious-metal embroidery [*zari*], swords and daggers and rich hues of red, purple, green etc are still much in evidence among these figures.[47] Amongst the varied waist-ties and turbans are visible early examples of the large, ornamented belt buckles and extravagantly jeweled gold *bugloos,* which were already becoming standardized markers of service-office and nobility.[48] Less innovation is visible in the headgear of those present, which largely comprises a mixture of recognized familial turbans among the senior nobles (an enduring marker of their distinct privileges and prestige), along with different forms of *mughlai*-Hyderabadi service turban [*dastar*], sometimes referred to in British accounts as a 'mansabdari cap', from which the new official court *dastar* would be subsequently designed.[49] Among the standing officials and retainers we see a set of more indeterminate garments – long, front buttoned and flared from the waist but widely varied in cut, construction and decorative features. This variation is indicative both of the continued prevalence of household tailors with their own methods in the making of these garments (see fig. 9), and the freedom of design enabled by the lack of a clear stylistic model at this moment. It is here that we first see several of the formative elements which would develop into the sherwani. Stylistically, these standing figures suggest a clear shift away from the prominent patterning, use of jewelry, bulked fabric and visual asymmetry which characterized earlier nineteenth century Hyderabadi dress. The influence of British style and masculine aesthetics, particularly dress military uniforms, is also suggested by their relative plainness of fabric, high front-buttoned design and certain decorative elements, for example the imitation of gold military dress-frogging embroidered across the chest of the rightmost seated figure.[50]

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[47] The colors can be seen in a large, painted version of the photograph in the Chowmahalla Palace Collection.

[48] Unlike the service belts which were clearly influenced by British military style, *bugloos*-like ornamented gold waist-fastenings long preceded the British and are frequently visible in early modern Deccani portraiture.

[49] Cambell, *Glimpses*, 182; Shirwani, *Mahbub*, p133. A detailed discussion of the types and constructions of different nineteenth century Hyderabadi turbans can be found in Mir Dilawar Ali Danish, *Riyaz-e Mukhtaria, Saltanat-e Asafia* (Hyderabad, 1942), 164-69.

The sense of transitional diversity seen here is corroborated by contemporary text sources. The memoir of Server ul-Mulk, private tutor and later secretary to the 6th Nizam from around 1875 to 1897 provides probably the single richest written source for details of Hyderabadi dress in this period. In one passage shortly after his first arrival in the city in 1874 he describes attending the *durbar* of a senior *diwani* official, Maulvi Amin ud-Din Khan, who appears "wearing such dress as was neither an *angarkha*, nor an *achkan,* nor a *sherwani* [reaching] below the knees and buttoned from throat to navel and a cap [*topi*] of the same material".[51] While elements of the garment are evidently familiar, Server ul-Mulk is at a loss to describe it except in descriptive or negative terms. The specific mention of a *topi* of matching fabric suggests this was also a somewhat unusual innovation. In further descriptions of the dress encountered in his first years in the city he further emphasizes the variety and politicized distinctions already present. The ‘glint of Englishness’ seen among Salar Jung and *Diwani* officials is explicitly contrasted with the uniformly traditional long Deccani *angarkha,* swords, *dastar* turban and belt [*kamrbasta*] maintained at the *deorhi* [palace] of the foremost noble Amir u Kabir Imdat ul-Mulk, and to some degree also at Salar Jung’s own estate.[52] The latter’s private companions [*makhsus musahibin*] are described as wearing either Deccani *angarkha* or Madrasi *achkan* with *dastar* and *kamrbasta,* and all those who attend his *durbar* as wearing Deccani or Madrasi clothes except for the north Indian servants/officials [*Hindustani mulaazimin*] and Salar Jung himself who wear *sherwani*.[53] This latter constitutes the earliest mention I have found of the term *sherwani*, though pictorial evidence suggests the garment referred to was not yet recognizable in its later form, but referred to one among the varied proto-*sherwani* forms seen in figure 8.[54] It seems that the immediate origins of the term lie with an earlier-19th century form of Lucknawi coat, and probably came to Hyderabad with courtly and artisanal migration from the north in this period, following the decline in others centers of patronage.[55]

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[50] That the latter decorative form in fact originates in early modern Ottoman court and military costumes, from whence it was later adopted into early European uniforms, neatly illustrates the difficulties of assigning cultural ownership of historic sartorial forms. The immediate inspiration in this case though is undoubtedly British.
[51] Server ul-Mulk, *Karnama-e Serveri, Sawanih Khud-Nawast* (Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University Press, 1933 [1898]), 85.

As Server ul-Mulk’s descriptions and pictures like figure 8 suggest, this experimentation was not just fashion for its own sake, but a very active searching for an appropriately modern new aesthetics of identity. While Hyderabad, like anywhere, had its own prominent tastemakers (not least Salar Jung and the sixth Nizam) the individualized variety depicted in these sources speaks to a much wider process incorporating much of the city's consuming classes, framed by an increasingly globalized sense of Hyderabad's relation to the world, and to British imperialism in particular. Postcolonial theory and historiography has long highlighted the quandary posed in imperial contexts by Europe's claims to monopoly over the aesthetic and behavioral forms of civilized modernity.[56] In Hyderabad too, British dominance and everyday experiences of colonial condescension linked attempts at sartorial reinvention inescapably to the wider political context. These were decades in which British influences were steadily becoming more prominent in Hyderabad's daily life, via increases in foreign population and commercial development at the cantonment town of Secunderabad, colonial tourism, the availability of foreign commodities and new English-language educational institutions and materials.[57] Little surprise then that British-influenced elements are becoming visible in pictures like figure 8. However, none of these figures is, at this point, wearing anything like a recognizably British or European design, as the sharp contrast of the Nizam's English tutor Major Clark at the center of the portrait shows. This is in contrast to many contemporary photographs from Bombay or Calcutta and indicates the degree to which Hyderabad's political autonomy, and perhaps also its geographical position in south India, did provide a certain insulation in local experiences of imperialism, and indeed from the politics of the nascent Indian national movement, which remained inconsequential until well into the 20th century.[58] The legal relation of Hyderabad state to the imperial government was highly ambiguous throughout this period, with British power largely exerted through coercive diplomacy conducted via the Residency, indirectly influencing internal affairs by controlling the appointment of key officials, extracting economic concessions, and the effective vetoing of particularly unpopular policies.[59] The degree of independence left by this arrangement carried concrete social implications in the continued spatial and demographic separation of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, local ownership and control over urban and architectural development of the former, and the determination of rules and norms of employment, dress, procedure and etiquette within the administration, judiciary, new-educational and other professional spaces of the city.[60] The kind of 'imperial social formation' described by Mrinalini Sinha in Bengal hence remained far more limited in late nineteenth century Hyderabad, encompassing only those officials directly involved in official diplomatic and social relations with the Residency and visiting delegations and the more Anglophile nobles and other social elites who actively sought it out.[61] In 1887, a British visitor was able to observe that:

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[52] Server ul-Mulk’s own affinity for Mughal heritage is evident in his approving description that “stepping into the *deorhi* [of Imdat ul-Mulk] it was as though one was in the times of Alamgir [Aurangzeb]”. *Karnama*, 105-6.

[53] Server ul-Mulk, *Karnama,* 93.

[54] Server ul-Mulk, *Karnama,* 93.

[55] The Lucknow connection is mentioned by C. A. Bayly, “The Origins of Swadeshi (Home Industry): Cloth and Indian Society, 1700-1930,” in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 305. The appearance of the term in Lucknow in the first quarter of the 19th century strongly suggests it may derive in turn from Persian-speaking emigres to the Lucknawi court from the Khanate of Shirvan, which was conquered by Russia in 1820. Abbas Rifat Shirwani, for example, a prominent author and scholar who came to Hyderabad via Bhopal in the years after 1857, boasted just such a family heritage. Perhaps somewhat ironically, he appears to have resisted wearing the *sherwani* himself, criticizing it as an Anglicized departure from tradition. Shirwani, *Mahbub*, 133 and author picture on cover leaf.

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[56] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[57] Cambell, *Glimpses*, 256; *Hyderabad Affairs vol. 3,* 84; Server ul-Mulk, *Karnama*, 190; Y. Vaikuntham, *Oriental Culture in Transition: Hyderabad State (1853-1948)* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2018), 179-193.

[58] Pernau, *Patrimonialism,* 22. John Roosa's dissertation, which sets out to study Indian nationalism in Hyderabad, tells its own story in scarcely finding a single *mulki* voice with any affinity for the nationalist cause, "The quandary of the qaum: Indian nationalism in a Muslim state, Hyderabad, 1850-1948." (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1999).

> "a very few years back it was most dangerous for a European to enter the native city, and even now no one but natives can do so without an order from the Resident. But things have become much quieter… there is little or no danger in visiting the town. As we drove along, I could not help remarking how thoroughly Oriental the whole place had remained, much more so than most of the big Indian cities."[62]

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[59] One result of the Residency system was to make the efficacy of British influence contingent on the aptitudes and preoccupations of the individual Resident himself at any given time and the corresponding abilities of the *diwan* and other key officials. Leonard, *Hyderabad and Hyderabadis*, 90-96; Pernau. *Patrimonialism*, 33-37; Ray, *British Paramountcy*.

[60] Leonard, *Hyderabad*, 51; Shah, "Constructing a Capital", 80, 97.

[61] Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 9.

[62] Cuthbert Larking, *Bandobast and Khabar: Reminiscences of India* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1888), 48.

Another twenty years later, the city was still routinely noted for the striking visual contrast it presented as “an Oriental city but little affected as yet by Occidental fashion.”[63] If we look beyond these writers’ evident passion for oppositions of occident vs. orient, their descriptions point to a much greater continuity in forms of urban space, architecture and dress in Hyderabad than colonial Indian cities, even as the former text acknowledges its considerably changed appearance and ‘quieter’ and (to tourists) less threatening atmosphere.[64]

One effect of Hyderabad’s relative autonomy and ambiguous relation to imperial power was to place an even greater weight of significance on symbolic matters of image, protocol and appearance. The most trivial details of Hyderabadi and British durbar arrangements, procedural order, gifts, titles and access to the Nizam and senior officials were subject to relentless scrutiny and subtle (or sometimes not so subtle) contestation on both sides.[65] The very independence of prominent figures like Salar Jung or the Nizam made their every word and accessory a potentially political-charged statement, especially at a time when the booming visual print sphere was beginning to transmit their image to enormously expanded local and international audiences.[66] Even beyond Hyderabad imperial politics and diplomacy in the 1870s-80s was becoming increasingly bound up with the public projection of certain kinds and categories of manliness as a proxy for competence and capacity to rule. Colonial ideologies had long drawn on racist hierarchies of supposed 'natural' difference to justify domination, but the increasingly public-visual plane of imperial image management and Congress' nascent challenges to colonial legitimacy brought a redoubled emphasis on manliness and 'character,' most famously represented in the tropes of 'manly Englishman' and effeminate Bengali 'babu.' [67] Mrinalini Sinha's study of these categories in nineteenth century Bengal has highlighted how the threatening rise of an English-educated Indian middle class reshaped constructions of colonial racial difference around manliness, even as declining economic opportunities and class politics within Bengali society shaped self-perceptions of effeminacy.[68] While Sinha's study offers a useful framework, Hyderabad distinct situation and societal environment shaped a rather different trajectory. Its autonomy not only diluted imperatives of English manners and appearance for entering 'white-collar' employment and polite society, but provided a more coherent and centralized platform and socio-economic foundations for the legitimation of alternative [regional] aesthetics and ideals of manhood.

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[63] G.F. Abbott, *Through India with the Prince* (London: E. Arnold, 1906), 262.

[64] The allusion is to the large population of variously-attached irregular troops which had threatened the civil order of the state in the first half of the nineteenth century**.** Bawa, *The Nizam*, 64; J. D. B Gribble and M. *A.* Pendlebury, *History of the Deccan vol. II* (London: Luzac, 1924), 147. However, it appears that European fears of these figures were quite often actively provoked and exploited by Hyderabadi statesmen as a means of deterring Europeans, and particularly British officials from the Residency, from independently entering the old city.

[65] As David Cannadine, among others has shown, the British imperial administration was obsessively sensitive to details of rank and protocol. David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London: Penguin Press, 2001), 43. The Hyderabadi side was scarcely less attuned, see the descriptions of carefully calibrated gifts and exchanges in *The Chronology of Modern Hyderabad*; Cohen, 73-81. Pernau gives a good illustration through the politics of official titles, *Patrimonialism*, 39. That even everyday conventions regarding the footwear of Nizam’s private tutor Major Clark could the subject of lengthy and heated correspondence show the minute degree to which symbolic wrangling could go. Harriet Lynton, *My Dear Nawab Saheb* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1996), 114.

[66] See chapter 3. The 9 volumes of *Hyderabad Affairs*, in addition to the further compendious volumes of late nineteenth-century newspaper clippings from British Indian and local papers relating to the state held at the Telangana State Archives in themselves point to a keen awareness and no little effort in keeping tabs on the public image of the state and its foremost officials. The keen awareness of personal public image is seen not only by Salar Jung but also the 6th Nizam. The Chowmahallah Palace Collection still includes a whole room of boxes containing

A good illustration is offered by the case of Salar Jung himself, who stands out for his extreme sensitivity and considerable political success in the projection and management of his own public image. While maintaining a paternalistically old-fashioned appearance to Hyderabadi social and professional circles, he heavily patronized painters of European portraiture and acquiesced in the wide circulation of his own photographic image, including among the British and nascent international English press (Figure 10). From the early 1870s on he appears in a

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hundreds of copies of selected photo portraits of him, undoubtedly carefully chosen for widespread gifting and distribution.

[67] Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*, 63.

[68] Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*, 17.

series of distinctive costumes, almost certainly of his own design (Figures 11-12) taking the form of long, front-buttoned forms of plain silk or *jamewar* cashmere coat, quiet-colored, loosely fitted in the sleeves and skirt and with stand-up collar, restrained geometrical gold embroidery around the plancket and sometimes hems, typically worn with shoes, watch-chain, jeweled or gold buttons and belt or *bugloos*, and familial turban.[69]

Though unconventional in its elements, this style along with his grave personal demeanor was strikingly successful in gaining the high esteem of almost all British officials and audiences who encountered him. Sir Richard Temple, Hyderabad Resident from 1867-8, wrote of him that ““He was a gentleman in the highest sense of the term, the quality of his mind being indicated by his discreet manner and refined aspect.”[70] The British-Indian *Indian Daily News* similarly remarked approvingly on his 1875 appearance in Calcutta that “those who had not hitherto seen Sir Salar Jung were surprised at his gentleman-like appearance and quiet demeanor. He was neither covered with jewellery, bullion or lace, nor did he leave behind him the scent of “barbarous essences””.[71] The innumerable such descriptions which appeared in the English press over the course of Salar Jung’s career are striking for their almost ubiquitous praise of his appearance and manners in terms - ‘suave’, ‘unostentatious’, ‘gentlemanly’ etc. - normally reserved for exemplars of elite urban-English masculinity.[72] This rare degree of respect was shaped (like the Istanbulite gentlemen of slightly earlier in the century seen in chapter 2) by Salar

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[69] See his obituary of February 10th 1883 in the *Bombay Gazette* for a detailed contemporary description of his dress habits. In earlier photos these garments still appear to be of heavy plain silk or velvet fabric, have a bulking of fabric in the skirts and be worn over a long, white light-cotton kurta or *angarkha*. However, by the later 1870s they become discernably lighter and tighter in fabric and build.

[70] Sir Richard Temple, *Journals Kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim, and Nepal* (London: W.H. Allen, 1887), 44.

[71] *Indian Daily News*, January 6th, 1875. Reproduced in *Hyderabad Affairs* vol. III, 54-5.

[72] Many examples can be seen in *Hyderabad Affairs* vol. III. See also Syed Hossein Bilgrami, *A Memoir of Sir Salar Jung* (Bombay: Times of India Steam Press, 1882), 109. While Salar Jung was certainly not immune from criticism within Hyderabad, the only Britishers with a bad word to say seem to have been the ‘old India hands’ in the British Indian administration who saw his social and diplomatic successes as a danger to imperial interests.

Jung's ability to embody ideals of high imperial-British temperament through a self-confident but tasteful divergence from British dress styles.[73] Scholars of Victorian manliness and men's fashion have shown how over the nineteenth century preoccupation with dress in itself became portrayed as frivolous and feminine, with models of elite male style becoming idealized as an effortless, almost instinctive expression of refined inner character, self-control and 'taste.' [74] Contempt for the cravenly self-abnegating caricature of Anglophile 'babu,' or the opulent Indian princes 'with their chariots drawn by tigers and retinues of 2500' was heavily premised on the inner character weakness betrayed by their focus on superficial appearances and outward straining for approval.[75] Salar Jung's appearance concorded closely with late nineteenth century emphasis on sober, intellectual purpose and refined behavior, but manifested in an authentically distinct form. His ability to occupy this authenticity, however, beyond his own immaculate sense of self-curation, was also enabled by his position as an independent nobleman and representative of an autonomous state, possessed of considerable means for projection of self-image through diplomatic process and the international press, and the substantiation of a distinctive national history and character.[76]

At the same time, Salar Jung's careful management of his own and the state's image highlights the numerous other codes of cultural, social and political affiliation which co-existed and even cross-cut with imperial considerations in the design of dress and appearance. Partha Chatterjee has argued that in Bengal the quandary of cultural modernization was 'resolved' through the conceptual separation of material and spiritual realms, with the latter's embodiment in the virtuous, domestic 'new woman' enabling the 'innumerable surrenders which men were having to make to the pressures of the material world… in their dress, food habits, religious observances and social relations."[77] As we see with particular clarity in Hyderabad, however, even the kind of binary gendering of authenticity-modernity which Chatterjee suggests did not absolve men of the problem of how to appear actually 'modern,' especially when material and visual definition of modernity itself were subject to continued contestation and ambiguity. All the more so at a time when re-delineation of the still-overwhelmingly male public world into professional-social, imperial-local and formal-informal kinds of space, each with different conventions, further complicated the issue of how to command daily respect through one's appearance.[78]

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[73] He was additionally helped by the enduring goodwill created by his support to the British during the 1857 uprising and his aristocratic background. However, this does not detract from the overwhelming emphasis placed on his personal appearance and manner in journalistic portraits of him.

[74] John Harvey, *Men in Black* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 10; Brent Shannon, *The Cut of his Coat: Men, Dress and Consumer Culture in Britain 1860-1914*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006), 5.

[75] The quote is from the *Times of India, J*une 27, 1876, excerpted in *Hyderabad Affairs* vol. III, 85. The 6th Nizam Mahbub Ali Khan was also highly successful in managing his own public image, often marking himself out quite explicitly from such typical stereotypes of Indian princes. See for example the composite portrait of the princes produced for the 1903 Delhi *durbar* at which he appeared in deliberately understated dress, seen in Hyderabad even at the time as a visual coup. The legends of his behavior there are recorded in Harriet Lynton and Mohini Rajan, *The Days of the Beloved*, Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 1975), 47, 63.

[76] Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, 122-3 discusses the salience of perceptions of social equivalence across imperial lines.

Salar Jung's political and diplomatic successes were significantly enabled by a studied mastery of both *Mughlai* and English education, language and comportment, and maintenance of almost a dual establishment, including separate libraries and suites of reception and assembly rooms to accommodate different kinds of guests.[79] Introduction of British administrative methods in the *Diwani* administration was counterbalanced by strictly preserving formal elements of the old *Mughlai* symbols and ceremonial, including maintenance of Mughlai durbar and dress, the administrative use of Persian, hereditary offices like that of *peshkar*, and the exclusivity of membership of the royal court.[80] However, maintenance of traditional appearances and the courtly social sphere was also tied to very specific interests and practical purposes, establishing himself as the sole qualified interlocutor with the Residency, keeping the nizam, nobility and old city insulated from currents of both British influence and north Indian reformism, and protecting the privileges of a hereditary landed aristocracy of which he himself was a prominent member.[81] Even so, Salar Jung faced sustained criticism within Hyderabad both from the older guard, who derisively referred to him as a *firangi bachcha* [foreign boy] for selling out the state to Anglophile change and also from the younger generation of nobles and journalistic commentators and reformers as a hidebound opponent of progressive change.[82] We may also see, in intimate pictures like figure 6 and descriptions of his personal affairs by Server ul-Mulk, a pronounced private ambivalence towards social change and attachment to constitutive traditions of Hyderabadi identity, illustrating the degree to which navigating these different sphere and codes also carried a deeply personal weight of negotiation.

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[77] Partha Chatterjee, "The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question," in *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History* eds. Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 248.
[78] Tarlo, *Dress Matters*, 54.
[79] Apparently the English library contained "around 3,000 volumes, including some very elaborate albums fitted with photographs of celebrated oil paintings." *Bombay Gazette*, February 10th 1883. See also Server ul-Mulk, *Karnama*, 93 for his adjustments of costume to different spaces and purposes.

Emergence of the *sherwani-topi* style[83]

The earliest appearance of a recognizable sherwani jacket in pictures is in photographs of Salar Jung's trip to England in 1876 (figure 13). The jackets he and his attendants are pictured in, though still varied, display increasing convergence and mark a further evolution from the early-mid 1870s styles seen above in their uniform length (just at or below the knee), more suit-style tailoring around the chest and shoulders and use of woolen fabric. It is this form – made in plain, typically dark wool or cotton fabric with 6-7 visible buttons, both breast and side pockets, short collar (standup or sewn down), heavy belt and watch-chain - which very rapidly proliferates in Hyderabad in the years around 1880.[84] It might be tempting, especially in light of the foregoing, to place Salar Jung as the 'inventor' of the *sherwani*.[85] However, this impulse should be resisted. Salar Jung's style cannot be disassociated from the much wider context of contemporary sartorial experimentation and such a conclusion would obscure the wider structural changes which definitively shaped the evolution of this style. It is better to consider him as a more indirect political factor and a prominent public face of some of the deep demographic, social-technological and material transformations occurring in later nineteenth century Hyderabad society.

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[80] Bawa, *The Nizam*, 101-2. Leonard, *Hyderabad and Hyderabadis*, 52; These principles extended, for example, to refusing to allow the prominent intellectual and founder of the Anglo-Mohammedan College Sir Syed Ahmed Khan to meet the Nizam in 1877 as he refused to don traditional court dress of *dastar* and belt to do so, insisting instead on his own *turki topi* [fez] and coat. Server ul-Mulk, *Karnama*, 197.

[81] The maintenance of Persian until Salar Jung's death was both seen as critical to the expression of Hyderabad's political difference, and protected the employment of traditional Hyderabadi service groups, particularly Kayasth families. H. Fraser, *Memoir and Correspondence of General J.S Fraser of the Madras Army* (London, 1885), Appendix, xxvi; Leonard, *Hyderabad*, 51-6; Lynton and Rajan, *Days of the Beloved*, 39; Tariq Rahman, "Urdu in Hyderabad State," *The Annual of Urdu Studies*, 23 (2008), 41-2; Temple, *Journals*, 106.

[82] Vaikuntham, *Transition*, 113.

[83] While *topi* is typically understood and translated as a generic term for 'hat', the fez became so ubiquitous in Hyderabad by end of the nineteenth century it is becomes referred to as simply 'topi', in contrast to the official and court *dastar* or other more specific headgears.

For one thing, the *sherwani's* form was enormously shaped by the changing economies and material processes of garment production in Hyderabad during these years. The influx of foreign and manufactured goods facilitated by the 1864 lifting of import duties and 1874 rail connection accelerated the commercial development of Secunderabad and Chaderghat, in particular, and reshaping of Hyderabadi consumption and shopping patterns.[86] The late 1870s and 80s saw the establishment of a number of new-style department or general stores and tailors in Secunderabad, including an influential branch of Bombay tailors Badham, Pile & Co.[87] The foreignness and distance of Secunderabad from the main city meant shopping in such establishments was still largely restricted to nobles in the nineteenth century. However, many of the kinds of goods, tools and methods seen there also quickly appeared in the Residency and city bazaars. Although it is difficult to track the path of this process in any detail, contemporary references indicate sharply rising consumption of imported articles of dress, furnishing, print, medicine and similar within the city proper. The *Times of India's* Hyderabad correspondent observed in 1883 that:

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[84] Many examples of Hyderabadi studio photographs from these years can be seen in the collections of the Telangana State Archives Library and Indira Gandhi Cultural Center for the Arts in Delhi.

[85] As the principal of the Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College in Aligarh Theodore Beck, for one, does. *Essays on Indian Topics* (Allahabad: Pioneer Press, 1888), 4-5.

[86] Ray, *Hyderabad under British Paramountcy*, 46. For many people going out 'shopping' was in itself quite a novel practice, with the better element of society having previously largely bought from traders who came their home. We should also bear in mind that improved infrastructure rail not only facilitated the penetration of European goods but also Indian products and commercial enterprises as well. The prevalence of Parsi names and Bombay-affiliated companies in the earliest almanacs of 1889, 1892 points to the particular importance Bombay-based entrepreneurs, at least at the top end of the market. MT Davasiga, *The Hyderabad Almanaq and Directory* (Madras: Lawrence Asylum Press: 1889); M. Davasiga, *The Hyderabad Almanac and Directory for 1892*.

> "a change had come over these very Hyderabadis within the last three or four years… they have blossomed into a very extraordinary character, wearing as they do half European and half native clothes. Be they Hindu or Mahomaden, with few exceptions, they all wear English boots and shoes, while the highly fashionable Persian cloth cap is indispensable, sometimes the Turkish fez. Almost every second native you meet on the streets of the city and Chudderghat is dressed in this peculiarly mixed costume."[88]

This evolution in popular appearance did not just reflect rising purchase of finished goods, but also rapid changes in modes of local production, distribution and sales. The 1889 and 1892 almanacs of Hyderabad list few named 'firms' or 'stores' for Chaderghat or Begum Bazaar, where most of the growing city population indulged the new possibilities of consumption and recreation but nevertheless noted the former as one of the "great trading centres" of the city containing "branch houses and representatives of all the wealthy native banking forms in India" and “extensive buyers of country produce and importers of English merchandize.”[89] Enterprising *bazaris*, many of them recent immigrants, lost little time in adapting new technologies of production to their own profit in meeting the demands of changing fashion, including sowing machines and the incorporation of patterns and techniques drawn from suit and military tailoring by bazaar tailors.[90] Muhib Husain, editor of the reformist Hyderabadi journal *Muallim-e Shafiq*, specifically noted in an 1884 critique of the new consumption habits and shallow young men he saw around him specifically the “nice looking cloth [which] has just arrived from abroad and which new tailor is sewing with a nice machine”.[91] The new techniques and abundance of suitable fabrics were undoubtedly a major factor in the shift from simpler ‘two-dimensional’, handstitched garments like *angarkha* or *choga* to the significantly more complex and fitted design of the *sherwani*.[92]

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[87] Davasiga, *The Hyderabad Almanac;* Server ul-Mulk, *Karnama*, 190.

[88] *Times of India*, 21st May, 1883, excerpted in *Hyderabad Affairs* vol. III, supplementary volume, 474.

The formation of the first *sherwanis* and their common pairing with the fez/*Rumi topi* can similarly not be disassociated from the wider networks of migration, information and influence into which the city was rapidly becoming integrated. Reference has already been made to the role of both courtly, and artisanal and commercial migrants from other regions in these decades. There are though at least two further connections which were of particular importance in shaping the first formation of this style in Hyderabad – first, the influx of imperial India-educated men brought in to staff the reformed administration and new schools, and second, the rising public interest in Ottoman Turkey and Egypt as cultural interlocutors. The large-scale introduction of 'non-mulki' [or more properly *gayr-mulki*] outsiders into government employment by Salar Jung began in earnest with the death of the 5th Nizam Afzal ud Daula in 1869.[93] Mostly comprising 'Hindustani' [North Indian] graduates of the new educational institutions like Canning College and, after its founding in 1875, especially the MAOC in Aligarh, their prominent position and strong sense of collective difference from local Hyderabadis made them a key referent and voice in unfolding debates over cultural change.[94] Strong advocates of further governmental reform along British Indian lines and priding themselves on their (as they saw it) superior education, abilities and language, these men carried a clear sense of their own relative 'modernity' and in many respects provided a more immediate challenge to local conceptions of tradition, lifestyle and identity than the British themselves.[95] The city's literary circles, for example, became increasingly divided between a courtly sphere which continued to prize traditional genres like *ghazal*, and advocates of the more Romantic, socially conscious and prose-oriented Urdu forms being championed in the new societies and journals of the North-western Provinces and Oudh.[96] Division in literary tastes often corresponded with other differences, between the more private social spaces and patronage networks of the old city and the new neighborhoods, clubs and literary associations now springing up North of the river Musi, and competing modes and networks of public dissemination.[97] While they might have been decried as non-mulkis and 'naturees' [a widely used pejorative for Muslim reformists, implying love of nature and science over God], these new men introduced, and embodied, a quite different ideal and aesthetic of masculinity to the existing Hyderabadi elite, and to the nobility in particular.

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[89] There is a clear contrast with the Secunderabad, which dominates listings of formal shops and stores. M. Davasiga, *The Hyderabad Almanac*, 33.

[90] Sewing machines had been in use by Bombay tailors since the 1850s. By the early 1880s around 2000 Singer sewing machines a year were being sold in India, mostly to commercial ‘master tailors’. David Arnold, “Global goods and local usages: the small world of the Indian sewing machine, 1875–1952,” *Journal of Global History,* 6 (2011), 419-21, The growing adoption of sherwani-style jackets among the city population strongly point to these methods’ swift adoption in Hyderabad.

[91] *Muallim-e Shafiq*, January 1884, from Roosa, “Quandary of the Qaum,” 204-5, Roosa’s translation.

[92] Finishing of sherwani vs earlier garments also includes a great deal more fine stitch-work in cuffs, collar, pockets and often thicker fabric to allow the right movement and fall, all of which was much facilitated and accelerated by sewing-machine production, unlike more traditional hand-embroidered embroidered decoration. B.N. Goswami, *Indian Costumes in the Collection of the Calico Museum of Textiles*, (Ahmedabad: Calico Museum of Textiles, 1993), 71-4, 324-5; Gupta, “Birth of the Sherwani”, 143.

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[93] Leonard, *Hyderabad,* 47.

[94] Leonard, *Hyderabad*, 49; Server ul-Mulk provides many details of the principal figures, habits and tensions engendered by these new arrivals, albeit colored strongly in relation to his own position, reputation and affinity for the Nizam and Hyderabad's *Mughlai* heritage. *Karnama.*

[95] They not only tended to be far more proficient in English, but were also commonly dismissive of the local 'Dakhni' dialect of Urdu. This would grow into a significant bone of contention in early C20. Leonard, *Kayasths*, 128-9; *Hyderabad*, 68; Server, *Karnama*.

[96] The more traditional style in Hyderabad strongly associated with Dagh Dehlvi from 1888. Ralph Russell, *The Pursuit of Urdu Literature: A Select History* (London: Zed Books, 1992, 80.

Margrit Pernau in her study of nineteenth century Delhi has pointed to a gradual redefining of *ashrafi* [respectable] identity through the post 1857 years to increasingly emphasize personal attainment, self-discipline and moral rigor and over birth in the construction of social worth.[98] Shaped by both colonial-protestant ethics and the strong Naqshbandi sufi advocacy of restrained, pious habits, this 'new *ashraf'* now increasingly defined itself against the old *nawabi* nobility, now characterized as vain, wasteful and house-bound, frittering away their lives in idle amusements, military delusion and decadent and immoral love poetry.[99] The changing ideas of respectability which informed such critiques were also intimately bound up with reformist religious ideas which posited an active, intellectual and textually-oriented piety as an essential prerequisite of familial and social leadership.[100] To a great extent the non-mulki administrators who came to Hyderabad in the 1870s brought these new forms of expertise, lifestyle and moral-aesthetic vocabulary of social value with them.

While we should be wary of over-ascribing the clarity of social-class identity in a period of such complex change, there is no doubt that this breed of serious, capable late-19th century men posed a strong challenge to older courtly ideals of manhood and social status – a conflict which found one of its main public expressions in the differences of dress and lifestyle. Figure 14 shows a mid-1870s sketch of three of the very first members of the Aligarh movement to find employment in Hyderabad, all similarly attired in long, loose, probably cotton coats with small fabric buttons, pajamas, fez and leather shoes. While the cut and styling are still not those of the sherwani proper, the figures all express a similar simple and unfussy aesthetic. Within a few years the plain sherwani with fez/*topi*, pajamas and shoes had become the dominant mode of dress for officers in the new administration, whether mulki or non-mulki, reflecting the influence of these new breed of officials' values and style. In the typical photograph of Mohsin ul-Mulk below (figure 15), the dark, matt colors and clean, symmetrical, straight lines exude sober practicality of purpose and disinterest in ornamentation. The ubiquitous watch chain invokes the industriousness, punctuality, and efficient time management of a new professional and political class.[101] The centrality of dress and personal habits to non-*mulki* ideas of difference and moral superiority are again clearly evident in the journalistic invectives of Ahmed Muhib. John Roosa records that he "in each issue, attacked the customs of the Muslim gentry. They had to get to bed early, arise early, bathe regularly, keep a regular schedule, forswear alcohol, eat sufficiently, not excessively, and be punctual for appointments. One article explained the correct use of a pocket watch and detailed nineteen rules for its maintenance**...** A regular feature in the journal was on how to maintain one's health (*hifz-sehhat*). Another common feature, titled 'everyday useful matters,' was designed to encourage gentlemen to fill up their hours with hobbies that contributed towards a scientific sensibility."[102] Muhib was also highly critical of the association of Hyderabadis of all creeds and classes with saints, shrines and *hijras*.[103]

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[97] See the listing of societies and clubs and their locations in Davasiga, *The Hyderabad Almanaq and Directory*; *The Hyderabad Almanac and Directory for 1892*. Leonard, *Hyderabad*,63. Religious and literary reformists, particularly those associated with Aligarh, the Mohammedan Educational Conference etc. were able by the later 1870s to draw on an increasingly formidable trans-Indian print and social network.

[98] Margrit Pernau, *Ashraf into Middle Classes: Muslims in Nineteenth-Century Delhi* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 257-67.

[99] Pasha Mohamad Khan, "The Broken Spell: The Romance Genre in Late Mughal India" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2013), 30.

[100] Pernau highlights the emphasis placed on exactly these tropes in her analysis of Nazir Ahmed's *Taubat un Nasuh*, *Ashraf,* 259-62.

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[101] Server ul-Mulk records that watches and watch chains became common gifts of Salar Jung and others to administrative officials and others, *Karnama*, 139.

Perhaps somewhat in response to these critiques, it is around the same time of late 1870s and 1880s that a contrasting evolution in the style among many of the younger nobility becomes evident. Increasingly excluded from meaningful participation in the administration of the state and with the their traditional ideals of social prestige and lifestyle under attack, they increasingly begin to appear in photos either in fully British dress or elaborate modernized versions of dress military uniform (figures 16-17).[104] In both cases this can be seen reflecting claims to class commonality with the British imperial elite with whom they increasingly shared many social and educational spaces but within and outside of Hyderabad, with the uniforms evoking an evolution from earlier ideals of martial nobility to the a more British ideal of aristocratic gentleman officer.[105] In place of their former numerous retinues and symbols of Mughlai court status, they now began to exhibit their status and very considerable means through grand statements of conspicuous consumption, including imported European furniture and clothing, the latest gadgets and grand new palaces, mostly in an ostentatious neoclassical style.[106] And while those nobles who held government office are seen to conform to the style of plain sherwani, they still sought to differentiate themselves by either the use of silk or the most exclusive imported woolen suiting fabrics and tailoring.[107] In this respect, the senior noble of the day, the Amir-e Kabir

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[102] Roosa, "Quandary of the Qaum," 196.
[103] Roosa, "Quandary of the Qaum," 197.
[104] The *Bombay Gazette* of 9th June 1882 noted "the rising generation of the Hyderabad nobility… with a strong taste for English dress and various other English articles ... The old noble cannot move without a hookah at his elbow, the younger scions have discarded the waterpipe for cigars and cigarettes. Brocades and khinkobs no longer find favour with them. Coats and inexpressibles made by English tailors are the Hyderabad fashion," in *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, 147.
[105] Shah, "Constructing a Capital," 276-283;
[106] Shah, "Constructing a Capital," 257-262; Vaikuntham, *Transition*, 282-311.
[107] Conversation with Lakshmi Devi Raj, **Date ;** Lynton and Rajan, *Days of the Beloved*, 89.

Khurshid Jah Paigah is very much the exception which proves the rule. Unlike his Anglophile cousins Asman Jah and Vikar ul Umara who successively held the diwanship in the late 1880s and 90s, he consistently refused to accept any governmental office and largely eschewed the new style, preferring to maintain the traditional aristocratic use of heavy silk, brocade and fine muslin *angarkha*, *kamrband* and similar which were otherwise rapidly falling out of use. By shunning association with either the new administration or Anglicized conspicuous consumption of younger nobles he appears to have consciously sought to reassert his lineal status and the traditional prerogatives and culture of the state nobility, and indeed he remained nostalgically remembered for many decades after as a paragon of the last of the older generation of nobility.[108]

Ottoman Influences in 1870s-80s Hyderabadi Dress and Society

Another key influence on the form of the first sherwanis and their association with both the fez/*topi* and emerging forms of serious and urbane masculinity were the intensifying connections of Hyderabad with late nineteenth century Turkey and Egypt. It is also around the 1870s and especially with the 1876-8 Russo-Turkish war, whose coverage excited enormous interest, that a growing Ottoman influence becomes perceptible across several fields of Hyderabadi life.[109] It is apparent in the growing diplomatic correspondence between Hyderabadi and Ottoman governments, burgeoning local production and consumption of Persian and Urdu works on Ottoman history and affairs, the incorporation of Ottoman imperial symbols into the new iconography of the Nizamate and, above all, in official and popular forms of male dress and self-fashioning.[110] Figures 18-19 show typical examples of the *efendi* style typical of the mid-late nineteenth century Ottoman gentleman-official. As we have seen, within the Ottoman Empire this fashion emerges out of the sweeping reforms of sultan Mahmud II (r.1808-38) in the 1830s and 40s and by mid-century had become emblematic of a particularly Istanbulite ideal of refined and intellectual gentility.[111] There are immediate parallels visible with Hyderabad not only in the evident correspondence in style, but also its early appearance and adoption among a rapidly professionalizing bureaucratic-official cadre and graduates of the newly-founded educational institutions aimed at producing them. This correspondence, along with the myriad kinds of new connectivity which become apparent at just this time illustrates how the Ottomans provided a key model and reference in the negotiation of very similar challenges of aesthetic and administrative modernization a few short decades later in Hyderabad.

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[108] Zahir Ahmed, *Life's Yesterdays: Glimpses of Sir Nizamat Jung and His Times* (Bombay: Thacker, 1945), 170; Server ul-Mulk, *Karnama*, 190.

[109] See chapter three for the impact of journalistic and visual media and the Russo-Turkish War in particular.

The appearance of Ottoman styles in 1870s Hyderabad, however, appears to have been the product of a number of different contemporaneous processes rather than a single ‘path of transmission,’ and further illustrates how quickly and in how many myriad ways technology and imperial infrastructure were transforming Hyderabad’s relationships to India, Asia and the world beyond. The first of these are the intensified physical links of trade and migration with the Indian Ocean and Middle East in this period, via the city’s growing incorporation into Bombay-centric circuits of consumption, trade and migration.[112] While Hyderabad had long had strong connections with this geography, the speed and scale of rail and steamboat connectivity transformed and intensified these linkages, leading to enormous increases in Hajj traffic, labour migration and continued close association with Hadramati communities in the Gulf particularly.[113] The impact of this Bombay connection on Hyderabadi dress is most clearly illustrated by the steady popularization of the fez/*rumi topi* from the 1860s on. In difference to the *sherwani*, the fez seems to have spread along this route at least partly as a working-class garment, whose steady spread can be traced from late nineteenth century photographs of dockworkers in Ottoman and British-Arabian ports and in Bombay, whose mills, yards and factories were now employing thousands of Hyderabadi migrant laborers.[114] The popularization of cheap and uniform red fezzes among this 'new class of industrial Muslim workers,' typically in place of headgears denoting specific geographical, cultural or kin origin, speaks to the growing salience of urban laboring, and indeed of urban existence itself, as categories of identification, as well as to practical considerations of anonymity and fitting in in the big city.[115] In Hyderabad itself fezzes/*topi* first appear in early photographs of street scenes, and among Siddi and Hadramati soldiery of the Nizam in the 1870s in a clear reflection of this dynamic.[116] 1871 photographs of a recital held in Hyderabad by the celebrated Lucknawi poet Mir Baba Ali Anees shows how widespread they were already also becoming among more cultured strata of Hyderabadi society (fig. 20).

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[110] Diplomatic contacts are attested by numerous documents in the Başbakanlık Ottoman Archives, notably BOA, HR.SFR.3, 245, 41, 16.5.1877; BOA, HR.SFR.3, 269, 4, 26.4.1879; BOA, HR.SFR.3, 322, 2, 14.1.1886; BOA, HR.TO, 399, 73, 07.10.1893.

[111] See chapter two.

[112] Green, *Bombay Islam* wonderfully illustrates the extent of economic and labour migration through its detailing of sufi *pir* and shrine networks connecting Hyderabad and Bombay in these decades, 54-55, 178-185.

Secondly, the Ottomans were a key influence on the specific form of sober, intellectual dress and manners championed by leaders of the Aligarh movement who were in turn such a dominant presence among non-mulki administrators employed in Hyderabad.[117] That the adoption in Aligarh of the dress seen in fig. 13 was directly Ottoman-inspired is not in doubt. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was consciously dressing in Turkish style even before his famous journey to London in 1870 and was subsequently successful in introducing the ‘fez and Turkish frock coat’ as the official MAOC uniform (Fig. 21). [118] In the travelogue of his journey to England he records that on reaching Bombay to take the steamer he and his companions left their hotel to perform *namaz* at a nearby masjit. He records that “as we went into the masjit I thought people would be surprised, seeing the shape and style of our clothes, but I saw that lots of people there were wearing the same red Turkish cap as us and nobody gave us any attention.”[119] Having expected to be something of a fashion sensation, we find Sir Syed in fact considerably taken aback himself at encountering one of the other paths (and perhaps classes) by which the same fashion was simultaneously travelling.

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[113] Bawa, *The* Nizam, 182; Sir Richard Temple, *Journals,* 122-136; *Men and Events*, 291.

[114] Green, *Bombay Islam,* 181-4. See also the 1880 postcard reproduced on p54 in which the fashion for fez is clearly visible and the many pictures of late nineteenth century Bombay in the British Library collection.

[115] Green, *Bombay Islam,* 189. Donald Quataert similarly shows how early Ottoman industrial workers distinguished themselves as a class by tying fabric around their fezzes, 'Clothing Laws,' 417.

[116] The fez is actually incorporated into the new uniforms created for certain reformed troops like the Royal African Guards who attended the Nizam. Photos of these troops can be found in the British Library and Telangana State Archive Library collections.

Finally, there is no doubt that the dynamic expansion of a Hyderabadi public print sphere from the 1860s-70s on was a key ingredient in building wide public interest and awareness in Ottoman affairs. Among the new world of commodities and consumer items opened up to Hyderabadis by the Bombay rail connection were fresh periodicals and lithographed books on an unprecedented scale.[120] While the impact of new illustrated print especially has been covered in chapter 3, the recurring prominence of Ottoman Turkey and Egypt in surviving late 19th century

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[117] The Aligarh Old Boys Club in Hyderabad already numbered a good 50 members in 1891. Roosa, “Quandary of the Qaum,”162.

[118] Iftikhar Alam Khan, “Sir Syed, turki topi aur Aligarh,” *Tahzib ul Akhlaq* (October, 2004), 16-18.
Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Musafiran-e Landan* (Lahore: Majlis-i Taraqi-yi Adab, 1961), p43; David Lelyveld, *Aligarh’s First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), p273.

[119] Khan, *Musafiran-e Landan*, p43.

[120] Not only was Hyderabad integrated into rapidly expanding print economies of knowledge circulating from other major Indian cities and from Europe, but access to Bombay’s formidable printing industry appears to have been a major catalyst for the growth of Hyderabadi publishing itself .This is reflected in publication details of surviving late nineteenth library collections. Even the printing of Hyderabad government surveys, almanacs and other official publications was outsourced to Bombay throughout the 1880s and early 90s until the state press was established.

Hyderabadi periodicals and library collections, along with Ottoman documentation acknowledging significant Hyderabadi public donations to the war effort corroborates its importance in specifically introducing greater knowledge and interest in the Ottomans to Hyderabad.[121] The sixth Nizam's personal adoption of an Ottoman-style *tughra* monogram and the Ottoman star and crescent as new imperial symbols meanwhile, which he could only have realistically encountered in print, provides a neat example of how people could and did draw aesthetic and sartorial inspiration from their reading material.[122] Moreover, reading, especially of newspapers, and the display of worldly knowledge was in itself becoming a key public marker of urbane, modernizing identity/ membership of emerging middle class. The ostentatiously-clutched newspaper is one of the staple props in popular studio photography of the 1870s-80s and satirical papers of the day abound with caricatures of either the would-be literate sophisticate or "those idle politicians of native capitals who… speculate on the consequences of Russia's advance in Central Asia, and of England's embarrassment in Egypt."[123] The twin tropes of absurd social climber and rich, idle dilettante indicate as well how the deployment of new commodities and social markers immediately carried etiquettes of use and display that could differentiate the truly serious and knowledgeable man from the crass, tasteless imitator. One can imagine then how a knowing resemblance to the grave and dignified Ottoman *pashas* whose pictures amply decorated the periodicals of the day might easily carry a certain *cachet*.

It was of course not only the Ottomans whose world was brought into unprecedented focus by new forms of connectivity – late nineteenth century Hyderabadi libraries are replete with historical and geographical works on Europe, China, Afghanistan and elsewhere as well – but there is little doubt that the Ottomans exercised a particularly strong hold on the imagination. What was it then about the Ottomans in general and this style in particular which appears to have held such appeal? Many Western commentators, both at the time and in subsequent historiography have found a ready off-the-shelf answer to this question in the idea of 'pan-Islam' - that the allure of the Ottoman sultan's Caliphal status and dreams of a politicized global *umma* prompted a naturally obedient imitation.[124] G.F. Abbott, a member of the visiting Prince of Wales' entourage in 1906, noticed that:

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[121] BOA, HR.SFR.3., 245, 41, 16.5.1877; HR.SFR.3., 245, 54, 23.5.1877; HR.SFR.3., 269, 4, 4.26.1879.
[122] The Ottoman use of these as public emblems was itself relatively recent, being a measure of reforming sultan Selim III (r.1789-1807), but by the later 19th century they were omnipresent in the ceremonies and sultanic receptions which filled coverage of Ottoman affairs in the international press and doubtless offered a useful inspiration to a Hyderabadi ruler then deeply involved in reinventing his own public image and symbols.
[123] George Campbell, *The Armies of the Native States of India* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1884), 68; Dubrow, *Dreams*, 71.

> "At every corner I see shrines enclosing the tombs of holy Sheikhs, whom the Hindus also, ever hospitable to new gods, adore, and at every turn I am confronted with the red fez and the star and crescent of Turkey. Over one shop I even discern the imperial cipher of the Osmanli, and the Old Resident explains that His Highness the Nizam loves to take for his model the Sultan of Stamboul, to whom alone he is second as a ruler of true believers."

Within the context of the book this observation only confirms Mr Abbott's already-compulsive use of Turkey as a cipher for this other "stronghold of Islam", with its feudal "great nobles…like Turkish beys"; appearing "in many respects, what Turkey was 200 years ago" etc.[125] However, his own description already raises issues with the explanatory power of mere Islamic emulation. Neither the fez nor the 'imperial cipher' are intrinsically religious symbols, and the latter was almost certainly not the Ottoman *tughra* but the nizam or other local notable's own version (a brief examination of the local coinage would have furnished him with many more examples).[126] Mahbub Ali Khan certainly did admire the Ottoman sultan, but his selective incorporation of Ottoman (and indeed British and other) emblems primarily reflected the political process of developing his own distinctively modern-regal aesthetic.[127] Similarly, Abbott's reference to the shrines on every corner, frequented by 'Muslims' and 'Hindus' alike, in fact highlights the disparity between the homogeneity and cleanly Sunni creed often assumed by pan-Islamic paradigms and the heterogenous realities of street-level religious life in the late nineteenth century.[128] The continued importance of shrine and *pir*-oriented religiosity, social networks and enchantment even in rapidly urbanizing and industrial contexts should put us on our guard against projecting widely uniform understandings and expressions of spiritual attachment.[129] This is not to say that a deep sense of cultural-religious commonality and/or emotional attachment to the Ottoman Caliphate was an unimportant factor in the later nineteenth century. Far from it. But rather that this attachment could take multiple forms and was only one element in the wide range of interpretations, combinations and aspirations which Ottoman-influenced elements of dress could invoke to different people.

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[124] Azmi Özcan. *Pan-Islamism: Indian Muslims, the Ottomans and Britain, 1877-1924*. (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Naeem Qureshi. *Pan-Islam in British Indian Politics: A Study of the Khilafat Movement, 1918-1924* (Leiden: Brill, 1999). To some degree also Seema Alavi, *Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), x. Most of this literature focuses on the twentieth century, which presents a rather different context, but is still problematic in the specific context of Hyderabad at least.

[125] Abbott, *Through India,* quotations from pages 264,262 and 267 respectively.

For one thing, interest in Ottoman affairs was also shaped by a strong sense of the broader politics of global imperialism. For many Hyderabadis, from the Nizam on down, the mid-late nineteenth century was often characterized by intense concern and no little resentment over deepening British political-economic domination, social condescension and general high-handedness. Within this context the endeavors of the Ottoman Empire - one of few Asian states to remain uncolonized - to ward off the imperial depredations of Russia and other European states and reassert itself excited a natural identification and interest which was only deepened by the steady rolling coverage in the papers.[130] Furthermore, the Ottomans were widely seen as having begun their own course of modernizing reforms well in advance of other states and with some success, and so offered a salutary example of how it might be done. Shibli Numani was only the most famous of several intellectuals and officials of princely states who visited Istanbul in the 1880s and 90s specifically to study the new Ottoman school system.[131] For the aspiring officials, students and statesmen who adopted the fez and sherwani style, the Ottomans seem to have offered an alternative pole of inspiration to Europe, and an authentically different vision of what a possible globalized, social modernity could look like, which one could actively invoke and participate in through dress.[132] Ottoman style not only lacked the same effeminizing stigma of imperial emulation carried by fully Western dress, but could also evoke a cultural commonality founded in long historical ties, religious sentiments and existing social and sartorial habits.

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[126] Even the star and crescent was more ambiguous than appears, having been an Ottoman imperial symbol as much as an Islamic one for most of the 19th century. A similar point is also noted by Shah in the context of its use on Faluknama Palace, "Constructing a Capital," 315.

[127] The sixth Nizam was more notable for an acute sense of his own public image than any particular personal piety. He played a very personal process of reinventing state symbols and aesthetics through the 1880s and 90s, a process which can be mapped in his own portraits and in his hand-drawn and annotated designs for new flag, uniforms etc. of which there are also photographs in the Telangana State Library photograph collection.

[128] Nile Green, in particular shows that involvement with Sufi shrines and networks continued to transcend social class in the Deccan throughout the nineteenth century. *Indian Sufism since the Seventeenth Century: Saints, books and empires in the Muslim Deccan* (London: Routledge, 2006); *Bombay Islam*; See also Farina Mir, *The Social Space of Language: Vernacular culture in British colonial Punjab* (Univ of California Press, 2010); Teena Purohit, *The Aga Khan Case: Religion and Identity in Colonial India* (Harvard University Press, 2012).

[129] Green, *Bombay Islam*, 7-8.

In both Istanbul and Hyderabad, this style preserved the wearer from the most aesthetically and physically objectionable aspects of European menswear, while still appearing respectably modern. The long length of the *sherwani* and iron convention of wearing it fully buttoned from waist to neck negated the need for tight shirts, starched collars or neckties and allowed continued unseen use of loose cotton pajamas or *shalwar* underneath - pleasantly loose and appropriate to sitting on the floor or chairs as needed.[133] In addition the fez and sherwani style also quickly took on strong social, professional, class and even lineal connotations.[134] The combination of dark sherwani with *topi*, spectacles and watch, for example, remained the hallmark of seriously-minded writers and scholars in Hyderabad until well into the twentieth century, as evidenced by innumerable serious books' author portraits (fig.22-23). In many instances then, I would suggest that insofar as religious identification did find expression in the adoption of Ottoman dress, it was as part of presenting oneself as an globally-informed, newspaper-reading man about town, who actively participated in new forms of associational social life, politics and consumption.

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[130] See chapter 3.

[131] Shibli Numani, *Safar Nama*-i *Rum wa Misr wa Sham* (Lahore: M. Sana Allah Khan, 1964 [1894]), 8; Sever ul-Mulk mentions a Mirza Nasir Ali Beg being sent specifically to inspect the Turkish and Egyptian school systems at an even earlier date, *Karnama*, 168.

[132] One sees a very similar dynamic in relation to Japan following its 1905 defeat of Russia, albeit not quite so closely manifested in dress.

Emergence of a distinctly Hyderabadi 'Deccan' aesthetic

Around the mid-1880s to 1890s several further evolutions in the *sherwani* style become apparent, in which the fashion became more distinctively and symbolically Hyderabadi. From early in the 1880s a clear consensus begins to form around the elements of the specifically Hyderabadi *sherwani* (the style was also beginning to popularize in Lucknow and elsewhere in the north) including the seven front buttons, twin breast and hip pockets, short collar and flare from the waist, as well as specific variations appropriate for different occasions/uses. Hyderabadi wedding photos, for example, show the continued use of traditionally luxurious fabrics like precious-metal embroidered heavy silk *khimkhab*, but now also in the form of *sherwani* rather than *angarkha*.[135] The established pattern for the Hyderabadi *sherwani'*s construction similarly incorporated elements of earlier garments. While presenting a symmetrical, tailored appearance similar to the *istanbulin* or European coats to the viewer, its interior featured a cross-over of fabric and waist tie in its lower half after the fashion of the *jama* or *angarkha*, allowing for an evocative hint of flare from the waist and preservation of pajama-clad waist from view even when seated (fig. 24). The heavier, winter variety of *sherwani* meanwhile utilized quilted padding at the chest after the fashion of earlier coats like the *choga* (fig.25). In contrast to the subdued palette of the earliest generation of sherwanis there is also a tangible shift back towards the use of bright colors, bold patterning and even the judicious use of silk in everyday public and professional costumes (figs 26). These further changes in many ways reflected an incorporation of existing aesthetic and sartorial tastes in the city. More than this, though, the mature Hyderabadi *sherwani* style, by invoking local fabrics, forms and courtly heritage, was a quintessential statement of the city and state's distinctive regional identity, history and character.

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[133] To this end the *sherwani's* design incorporates an inner extension of cloth tied up under the armpit which would continue to shield the wearer's body above the knees from view even when sitting down.

[134] I have heard from several people in Hyderabad that in their family the '*Turki topi'* had no connection to the Ottomans but referenced their family's lineal *Turki* origins in Timurid Asia.

One formative influence in this further development of the *sherwani* and the more political resonances it began to take on was undoubtedly the growing social tensions around the foreign, non-*mulki* administrators. In addition to their perceived cliquey-ness and disdain for the aptitudes, traditions and language of local Hyderabadis, the non-*mulkis* were accused of taking advantage of the weak *diwans* who succeeded Salar Jung to establish an effective monopoly over administrative decision-making and, even more pertinently, employment.[136] Deep currents of resentment were already evident by the early 1880s and 'the *mulki* question' would go on to be a defining issue of Hyderabadi society throughout the 1890s, and even beyond.[137] These rising tensions are amply demonstrated in the press and memoirs of the period, but also find a clear expression in the contemporaneous divergence in styles between *mulkis* and non-*mulkis*, and between Hyderabad and more Northern Indian spaces and institutions.[138] The return to bolder, more colorful fabrics and designs among the former created a sharp contrast with the continuingly somber, serious appearance which continued to be favored by most prominent non-*mulkis* (Figs. 27-29). The judge and *tahsildars* [revenue collectors] in these photos nicely illustrate both the color and the creativity within the accepted form that came to fore at this time and speak to a very particular local iteration of the impeccably dressed official and man about town. Figure 30, a rare (and somewhat surprising, given his austere reputation and writings) picture of Mohsin ul-Mulk in a brightly patterned *sherwani* further highlights the degree to which this had, certainly by the 1890s, become a distinctively Hyderabadi aesthetic –he is not seen in anything even approaching this attire in the many photos of him in Aligarh or Bombay.[139] Along with the distinctive professional-spatial expectations of dress now established in Hyderabad, the photo perhaps also hints at the seductive allure, even to the most iron-willed man of intellect, of the new consumption opportunities and the great theater of self-projection provided by proliferating popular photographic studios'.[140]

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[135] This shift can be seen in contemporary photographs in the collections of the Telangana State Archives, Indira Gandhi Cultural Center for the Arts in Delhi, Uma Jain, Zahid Ali Khan and Chowmahalla Palace.
[136] Beck, *Essays*, 28; Leonard, *Hyderabad*, 55-6; *Kayasths*, 49-61.
[137] *Hyderabad in 1890 and 1891*, 75; Leonard, *Hyderabad*, 55-6; *Kayasths*, 49-61

If this decorative brightness and creativity in the emerging Hyderabadi style seemed to tend back somewhat towards the aesthetics of the traditional nobility it was no coincidence. In contrast to many regions of imperial India, and partly influenced by the backlash against the non-

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[138] While there was, as noted by Bawa, still considerably more diversity among the 'non-mulkis' than contemporary complaints might suggest, especially from Bombay and Madras, the common identification of them also as the 'Hindustanis', and contemporary sense of UP as India's Urdu intellectual and literary-cultural center of gravity indicates that this region was an widely important imagined 'other' for many Hyderabadis. *The Nizam, xxii.* There may well have been other resentment against incoming commercial and artisanal entrepreneurs from elsewhere in India, certainly there was a great deal of such migration, but this is much harder to pin down in the sources.

[139] No such photo is to be found in any collection of photos or other materials that I have seen in the various library and museum collections at Aligarh Muslim University.

[140] Judith Gutman. *Through Indian Eyes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 99.

mulkis, Hyderabadi nobles at the end of the nineteenth century became increasingly celebrated in many quarters as the essence and flower of local tradition and custom.[141] In addition to the print biographies and histories of particular nobles and their families which proliferate in this period, collectible *carte-de-visite* photographs and even albums of the nobility became popular items of consumption and display, as illustrated by their prominent position in Deen Dayal's local advertising (Fig. 31).[142] In contrast to the relative seclusion of the premier nobles from the common eye a few decades earlier, they were now decidedly public representational figures, whether personally in public ceremonies, receptions and excursions or in the new visual sphere of locally produced photography and print.[143] As many of the more patriotic contemporary publications and multiple later reminiscences make clear, it was the elegance, elaborately refined manners and grace of these men which was seen as particularly characteristic of the city's courtly heritage, marking it off from both the British and the serious and superior non-*mulkis*.[144] This association of Hyderabad's courtly culture and heritage with a recalibrated sense of regional identity was decisive in allowing a quite different aesthetics of masculinity to many other contexts.

In contrast to Ottoman cities, North India or Bengal where, as a rule, dandyism took the form of extravagantly fussy Western attire and was derided as such, the aura of authenticity afforded to the kinds of elegant young Hyderabadi men pictured above removed a good deal of the effeminizing stigma.[145] Whether consciously understood as such or not, to dress in such a style was an act of cultural self-affirmation. Beyond this general trend of fabric, aesthetic and manner, the noble-influenced ideal of traditional Hyderabad can also be seen manifested in the continued stylistic allure of weaponry into the twentieth century. Mughlai swords – that is the same kind seen in earlier miniatures and the Salar Jung Museum collection - continue to commonly appear as props in studio photographs and there also remained a noticeable vogue amongst Hyderabad-city's broader population for wearing daggers and other weaponry on their persons in public (fig. 32).[146] The continuing reputation for fierce martiality of appearance among Hyderabad's lower classes was certainly partly due to the large and diverse population of irregular Siddi, Arab, Rohilla, Sikh and other irregular troops and guards still living in the old city. Many of these groups continued to be employed, or identify with the kind of employment associated with, the noble *deori* households of the old city and an enduring ideal of (now illusory) military independence.

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[141] Pernau, *Patrimonialism*, 67.

[142] Several examples of such composite albums are in the Telangana State Archives library, though sadly in very poor condition.

[143] Again this is evident in photographs and picture albums from the period.

[144] Zahir Ahmed, *Life's Yesterdays*, 258; Campbell, *Glimpses*; Lynton and Rajan, *Days of the Beloved*; Pernau, *Patrimonialism*, 67.

[145] One hears many reminiscences of young men of Nizam College striding to school in their fine *sherwanis* and *topi*, twirling their canes as they went. Alison Shah makes a related point in comparing Hyderabadi architectural forms with those of princely Rajastan. "Constructing a Capital," 24.

The development of the *sherwani* into an emblem of modernizing Hyderabad was not only a product of popular movements of fashion and identification but was very actively encouraged by the government and Nizam. The reinvigoration of state textile and craft production in the face of British imports had been a growing preoccupation of the government since as early as the reign of Nasir ud Daula [r.1829-1857]. According to Server ul-Mulk the fourth Nizam mandated use of locally produced paper and fabric, specifically Nanded muslin *jama*, throughout the administration and court and strongly disapproved the use of any English products.[147] In the decades which followed, as well as founding mills and attempting to reorganize and invigorate craft production, successive diwans sought to encourage consumption of locally produced fabrics, perhaps most prominently in the case of the *sherwani*.[148] The typical styles the Hyderabadi *sherwani* developed in close connection with Aurangabadi *himroo* fabric in particular, which combined the necessary weight and flexibility required for tailoring with diverse possibilities of colour and distinctive patterning.[149] One of the most noted aspects of Mir Laik Ali Khan (Salar Jung II)'s short premiership was his public championing - and personal preference for - local handloom *sherwani*s, significantly contributing to its evolution into an object, and individual marker, of patriotic local consumption.[150] The public wearing of a resplendent *himroo* or other local fabric *sherwani* could evoke not just a support for local manufactures, but also showcased the richness and variety of the state's artistic heritage and crafts. These resonances became even more officially recognized with Mahbub Ali Khan's adoption of the *sherwani* as official court dress in the late 1880s, along with the distinctive new peaked *dastar* (itself carefully distinguished in colour and size according to the wearer's rank) and *bugloos*.[151] The common double photographs like figure 26 and anecdotes of the swift headgear-changes occasionally necessitated by the sudden appearance of the Nizam illustrate how this court dress had its more everyday and office counterpart in the *sherwani – topi* style.[152]

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[146] Noted by almost all observers, including Abbott, *Through India*, 267.
[147] *Karnama*, 191.

The coalescence and official recognition of a Hyderabadi aesthetic of male dress based around the *sherwani* was also tied in closely with the contemporaneous intellectual elaboration of the idea of ‘Dakhni’ [Deccani] historical and regional identity. The problem posed by the obsolescence of Mughal suzerainty as a legitimating framework after 1857 found its solution over the following decades in the gradual development of a new historical narrative which defined the Nizamate primarily in terms of regional identity. In place of a longer Mughal or Alamgir-oriented background, the wave of new printed histories of state, dynasty and region which began to appear in the 1880s increasingly began to position Hyderabad state as the true successor to the early modern Deccan Sultanates, especially Golconda.[153] Lacking direct royal or historical political links to the Qutb Shahi state as it did though, the positioning of the Asaf Jahis within this new historical framework tended to heavily emphasize ideas of geographical, architectural, aesthetic and above all cultural continuity.[154] Above all, Hyderabad was asserted to be heir to a particularly Deccani historical tradition of communal and social harmony which marked it out from the sectarian tendencies of North India’s past and present politics. This connection appears to have been very actively encouraged by the Nizam himself, who assiduously styled himself, in his speeches, conspicuous celebration of diverse festivals and lavish patronage of varied social, religious and cultural institutions, as a benevolent father to all his people irrespective of creed.[155] The diversity among the great nobles, who included Sunni, Shia and Hindu, and historically Mughal and Deccani families, was similarly invoked as a living proof of this historical harmony.[156] Even more emblematic though was the *sherwani* style of Hyderabadi male dress. The widespread adoption of the *sherwani* with *rumi topi* among Hyderabadi officials and professionals of all stripes, such that their communal/religious background could often not be read from their appearance, came to be seen as one of the defining proofs of the particularly Deccani culture of social harmony.[157] As the combination of dark, plain *sherwani* and fez steadily became more and more closely associated with reformist Muslim cultural politics and later nationalism in the postwar context of north India (fig. 33), the Hyderabadi *sherwani* and *topi* remained strongly associated with regional political identification.

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[148] Anonymous, *Speeches of his Excellency Nawab Salar Jung* (Secunderabad: 'Notice Sheet' Press, 1907); [Mir Laik Ali Khan] Salar Jung, *Confidential Memorandum*, 18th September 1886, Salar Jung Museum Library Collection; M.A. Nayeem; *Splendour*, 372; M.A. Nayeem and Dharmendra Prasad, *The Salar Jungs* (Hyderabad: Salar Jung Museum, 1986), 36; Ray, *Paramountcy, 170;* Raj, *Portrait*, 28.

[149] Himroo became almost exclusively used for sherwanis in the late nizamate period. Comprising a cotton or occasionally woolen warp with recurring silk patterning from the woof, its hanging loop-threads on the reverse side hidden by the garment's inner lining. The similar but lighter and more luxurious *mashroo* was also popular among those who could afford it. Moin Qazi, *Woven Wonders of the Deccan*(Chennai: Motion Press, 2014), 43-64.

[150] Handloom sherwanis became established as a specifically desirable category, for example prices referenced at Abids often specify handloom. M. A. Nayeem, *The Splendour of Hyderabad: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture, 1591-1948* (Hyderabad: Hyderabad Publishers, 2002), 397; Qazi, *Woven*, 57.

[151] Sadly I was unable to procure the original documentation relating to this change at the Telangana State Archives.

[152] Lynton and Rajan, *Days of the Beloved,* 60.

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[153] This trend is already discernable in mid-century works like Khwaja Gulam Husain Khan’s *Tarikh-e Gulzar-e Asafia,* which the 4th nizam Nasir ud-Din Khan apparently specifically demanded include a full background of Qutb Shahi history, architecture and presence in Hyderabad (Hyderabad: Nizam’s Trust Library, 2008), 7. One might also point to the strong continuities in early nineteenth century Asaf Jahi artistic production and symbols with the earlier Deccan sultanates, for example in large processional and hunting portraits. By the late century an even greater emphasis on this approach can be seen, such as in Shirwani, *Mahboob,* which explicitly places much of the Asaf Jahi culture and customs within a ‘Dakhni’ heritage, and in the renewed emphasis on traditional regional customs like the annual *Langar* procession and in neo-Deccani architecture.

[154] Nayeem, *Splendour*; Shah, “Urban Patronage,” 50.

[155] Lynton and Rajan, *Days of the Beloved,* 77, 94; Raj, *Portrait,* 31.

Conclusion

Figure 34, the last illustration of this paper, shows a young, probably newly-married couple standing in front of their modest suburban bungalow, and in ways many nicely illustrates the social place attained by the *sherwani* by the early twentieth century. It is no longer an elite garment, but a staple of the city's expanding middle classes, providing, in combination with the *topi*, loose trousers and umbrella or stick, a definitively respectable male costume appropriate to a whole range of respectable occupations, college uniforms and, in its more luxurious variations, any formal occasion. While one cannot read this man's communal background from the photograph, his dress leaves almost no doubt as to his geographical and cultural ties. He is certainly Hyderabadi.

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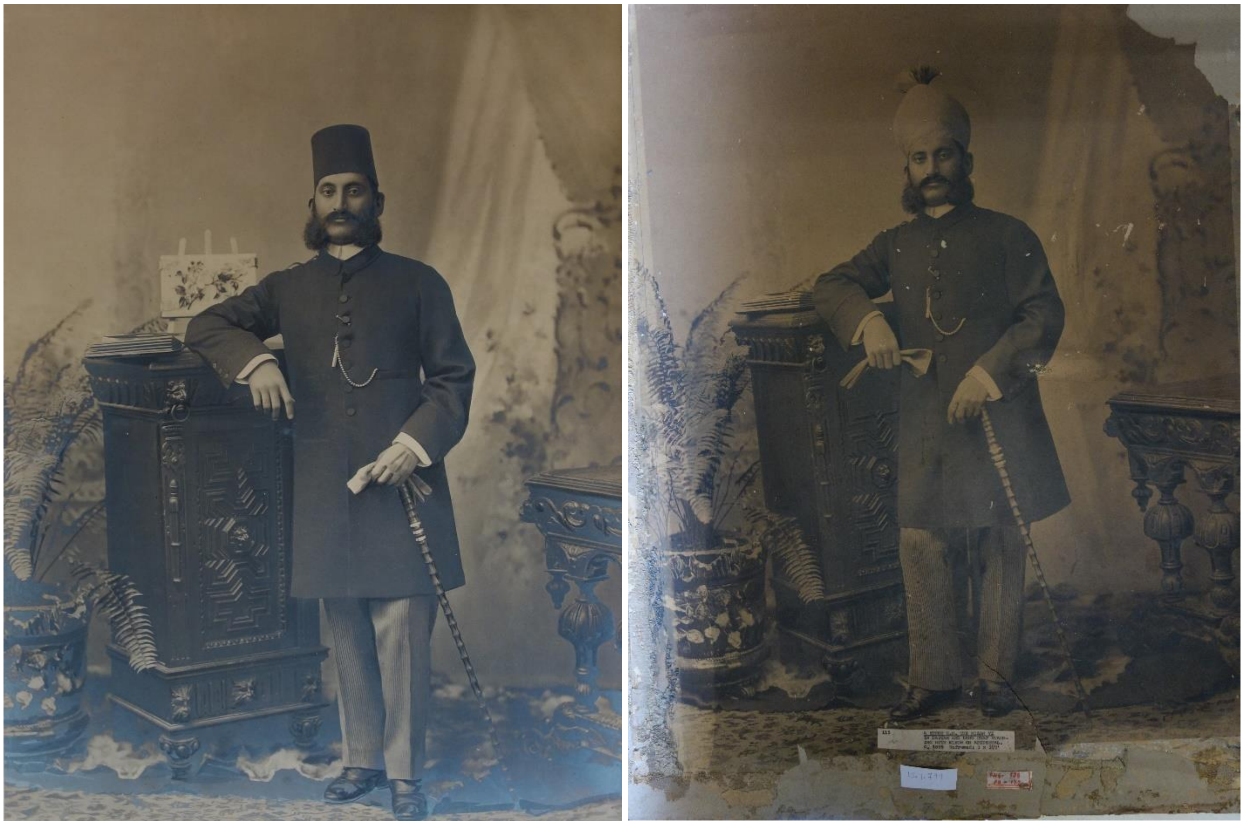
[156] It became very popular to point to symbolism represented by the harmonious combination of Mahbub Ali Khan and Kishen Pershad during the latter's *diwanship*.

[157] This communal harmony is still the one thing that most old Hyderabadis stress above all others when talking about the city and its history, and this commonality of dress remains perhaps the favorite anecdotal proof. Narendra Luther, *Hyderabad: A Biography* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press. 2006), 293.

As the chapter has hopefully illustrated, the *sherwani* was the product of a quite specific set of needs and circumstances particular to the context of late 19th century Hyderabad city, and a whole range of different actors and influences from within and without. I have perhaps to some extent downplayed the role of British/European fashions here in order to emphasize the *sherwani* style's Ottoman and other elements, though they were also a continuously important interlocutor. The *sherwani*, however, and the particular articulation of modernizing manhood it came to embody, cannot be reduced to an imitative adaptation of either British or Ottoman styles, and to some degree this is the point. There remains a tendency in studies of non-Western costume in this era to treat developments as a dialectic between a hegemonic European cultural model and local examples of either 'indigenous' or newly-invented 'national' dress. The sherwani shows, however, how this was not a unidirectional world of outward imperial diffusion from Europe, but one characterized by a multiplicity of paths, processes and agencies. Moreover, amid a widening array of consumer goods and sources of aesthetic inspiration, the defining of an appropriately modern style was increasingly no longer the sole preserve of rulers and intellectuals, but the multifarious self-fashioning choices of the expanding urban population. If anyone could ultimately lay claim to the design of this garment, it was the city of Hyderabad itself.

Figures for Chapter Four



Figures 1-2: Two photographs of the 6th Nizam of Hyderabad Mahbub Ali Khan in 1889. He wears a shortish, plain sherwani*, with a* rumi topi *on the left, and on the right the newly created royal* yellow dastar*. Both are from the Chowmahalla Palace Collection.*

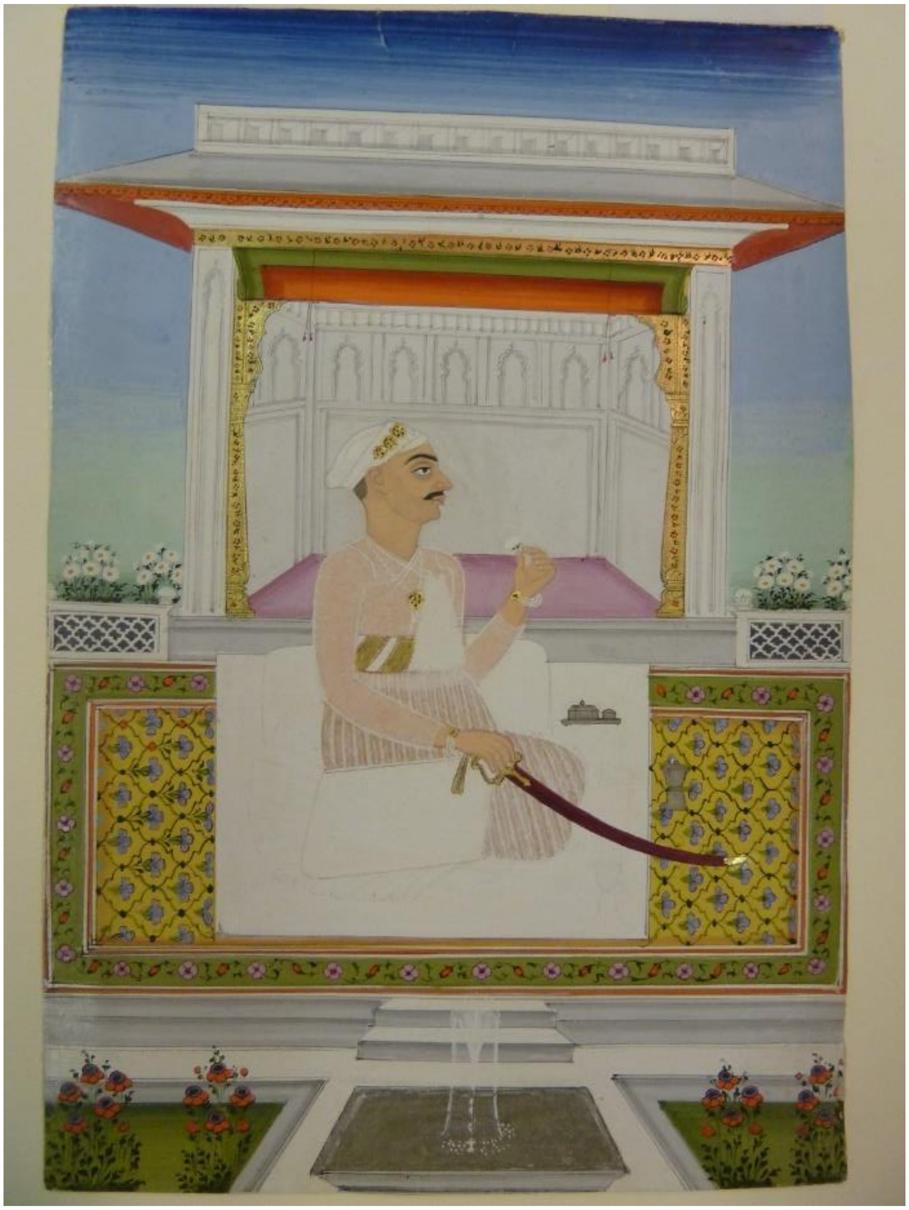


Figure 3: Portrait of Bal Kishen, early 19th century, British Library Collection.

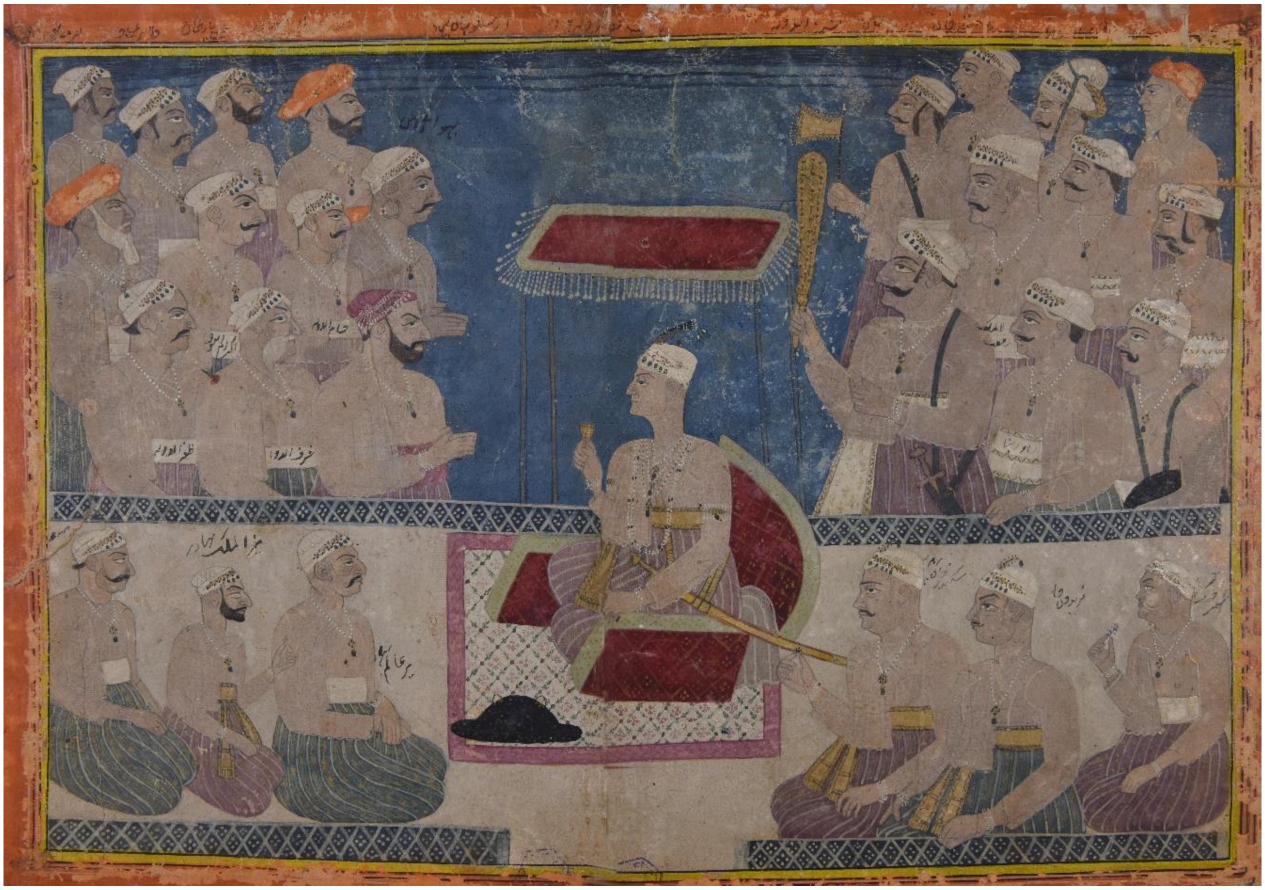


Figure 4: Durbar portrait of Nizam Ali Khan, probably early 19th century, Salar Jung Museum Manuscript Library Collection.

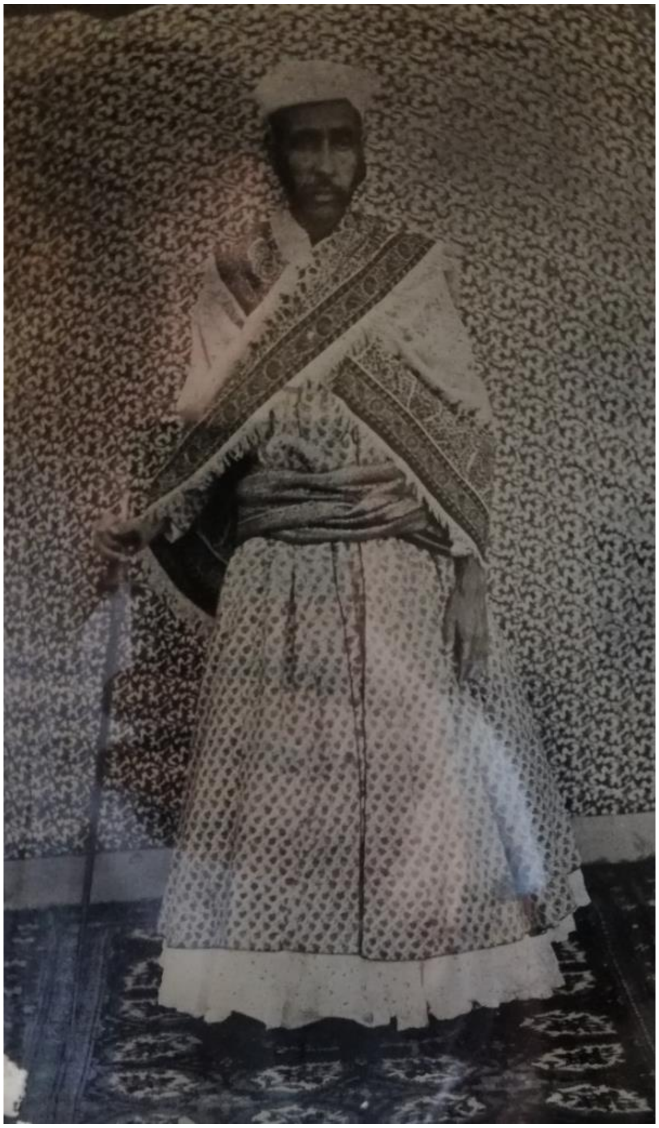


Figure 5: Paigah noble Rashid ud-Din Khan, Amer e Kabir, c.1860. Collection of Mohammed Qutub Yar Jung.

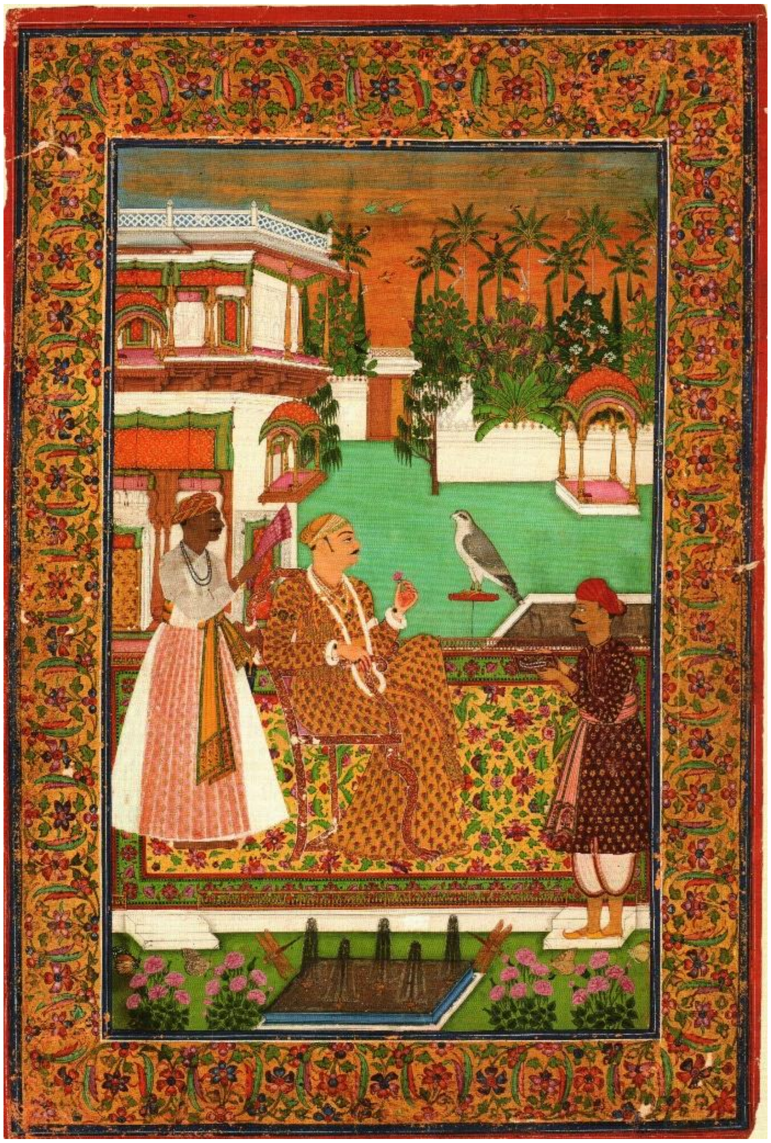


Figure 6: 'Ma'ali Mian Saif ul-Mulk,' Rai Venkatachellam, c.1795, the David Collection, Copenhagen.

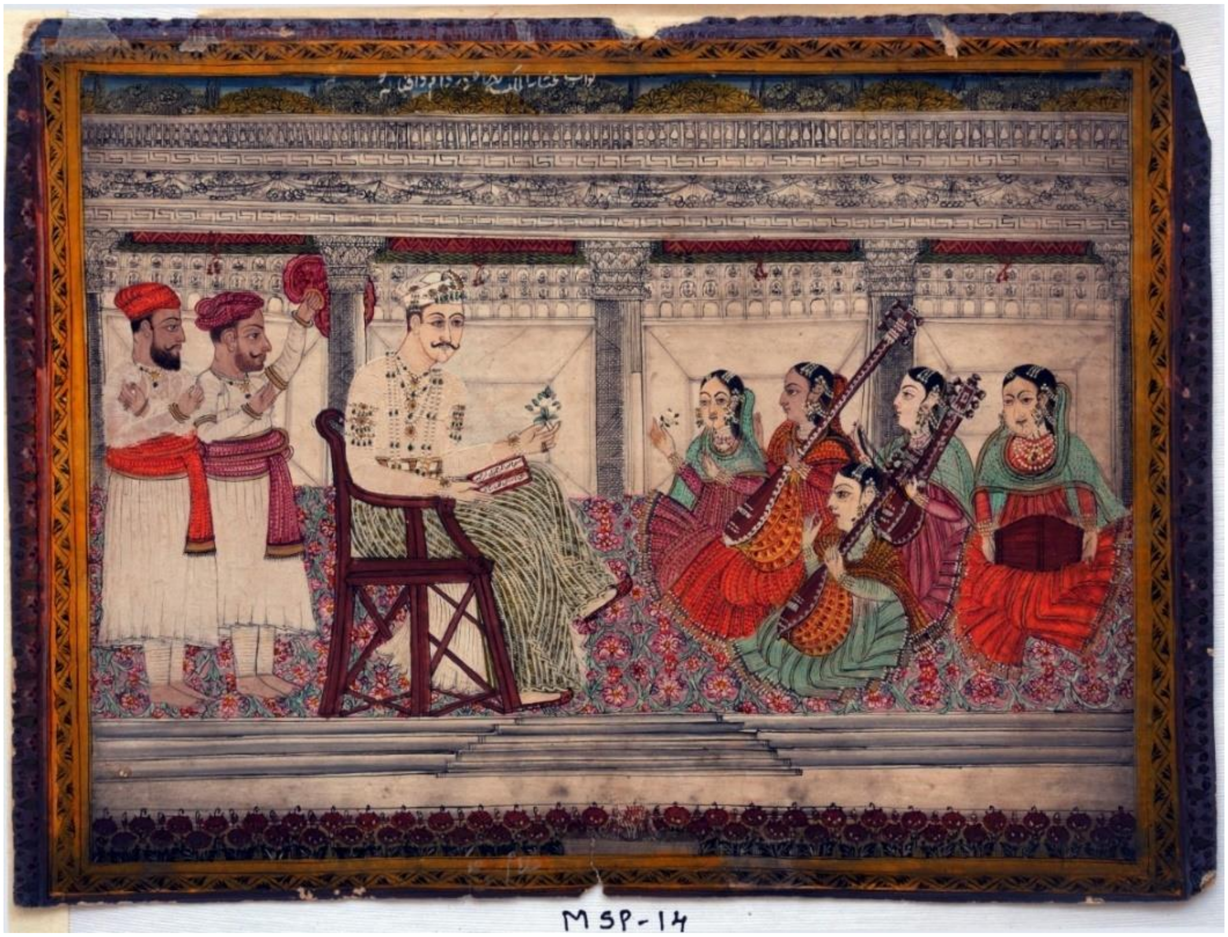


Figure 7: A portrait of Mukhtar ul-Mulk (Salar Jung) from a mid-nineteenth century muraqqa *album. He appears as a young man and image of a typical Hyderabadi nobleman signifies refinement, culture, private sphere of sociality and artistic enjoyment and patronage and support of retainers and artists. Innovation is apparent in the mid-C19 architecture, chair and artistic composition. Salar Jung Museum Manuscript Library Collection.*

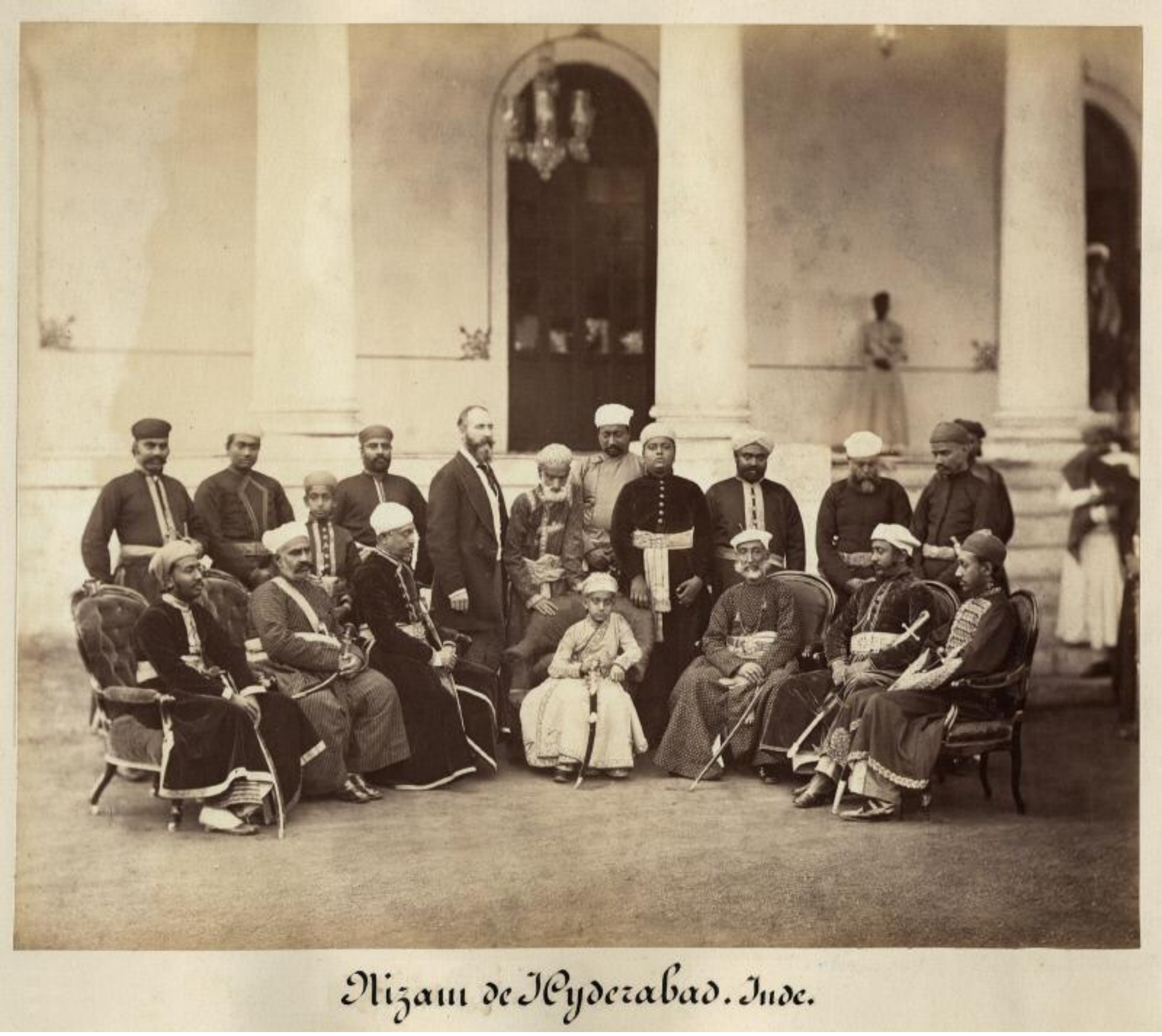

Nizam de Hyderabad. Inde.

Figure 8: Early group photo of the young Nizam Mahbub Ali Khan and close associates/court. The seated figures are all senior nobles, in the back row are senior retinue and noble scions, including the Nizam's personal tutors, Major Clark (Center left) and Server ul-Mulk (second from right standing figure).

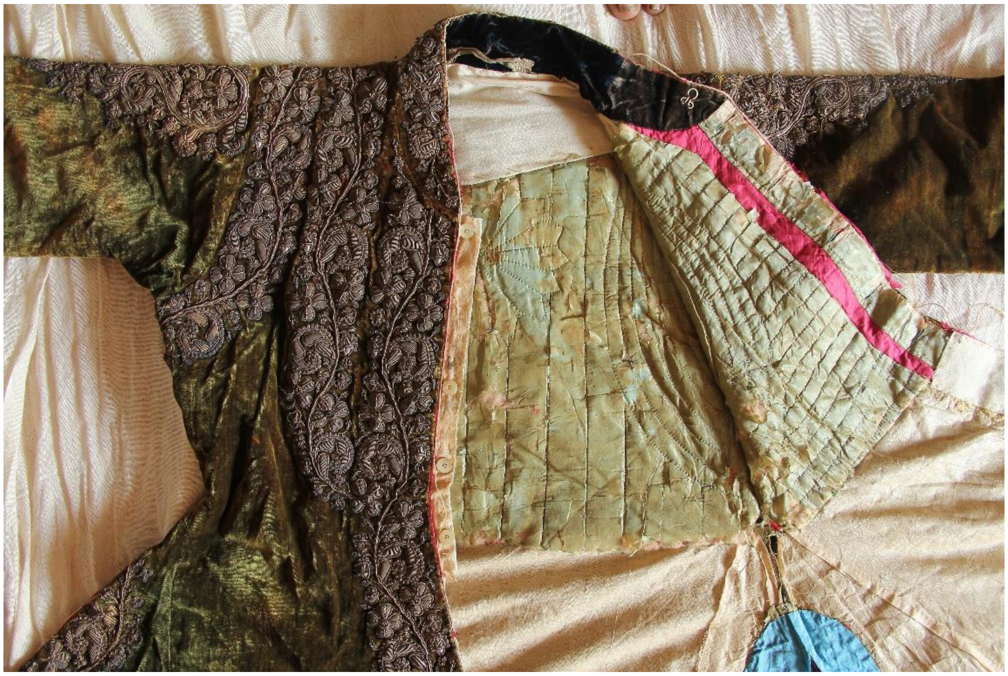
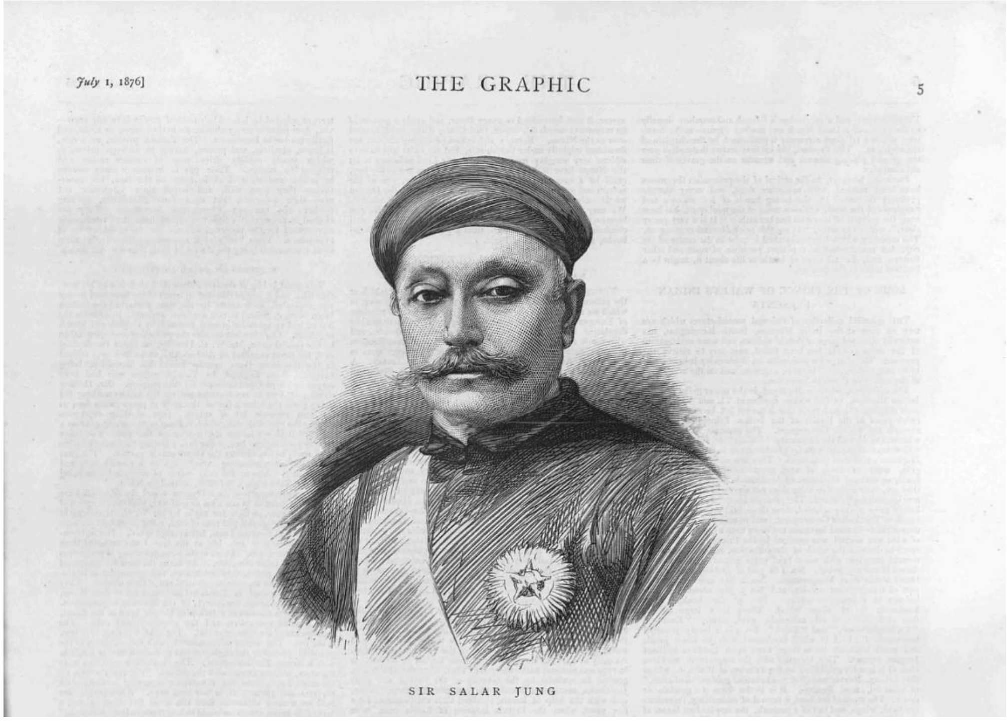


Figure 9: detail of an 1870s silver zari-*embroidered silk velvet* choga *worn by the young 6th Nizam. Chowmahalla Palace Collection.*



July 1, 1876]

THE GRAPHIC

5

SIR SALAR JUNG

Figure 10: Illustration of Salar Jung in The Graphic of July 1st 1876.

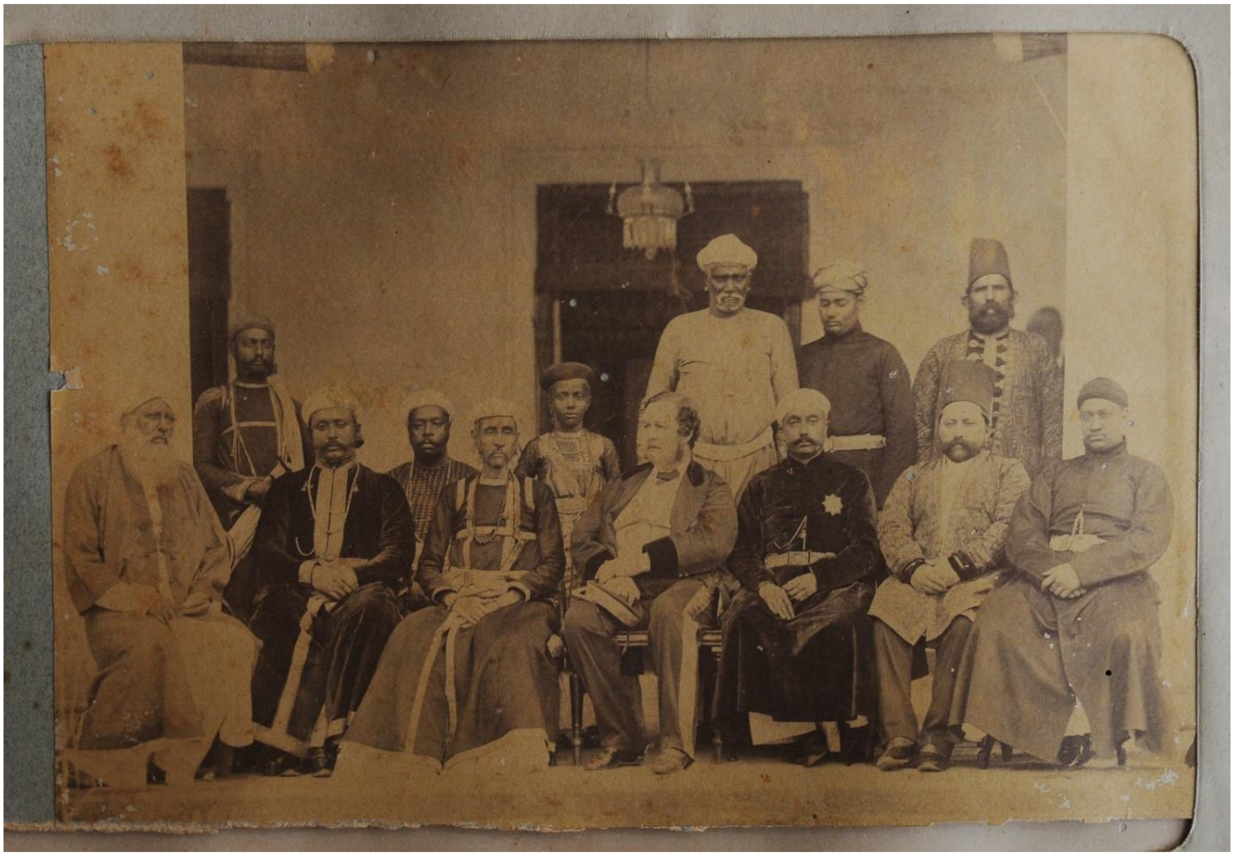


Figure 11: Early 1870s portrait of Salar Jung with senior nobles and officials and the British Resident C.B.Saunders. Chowmahalla Palace Collection.

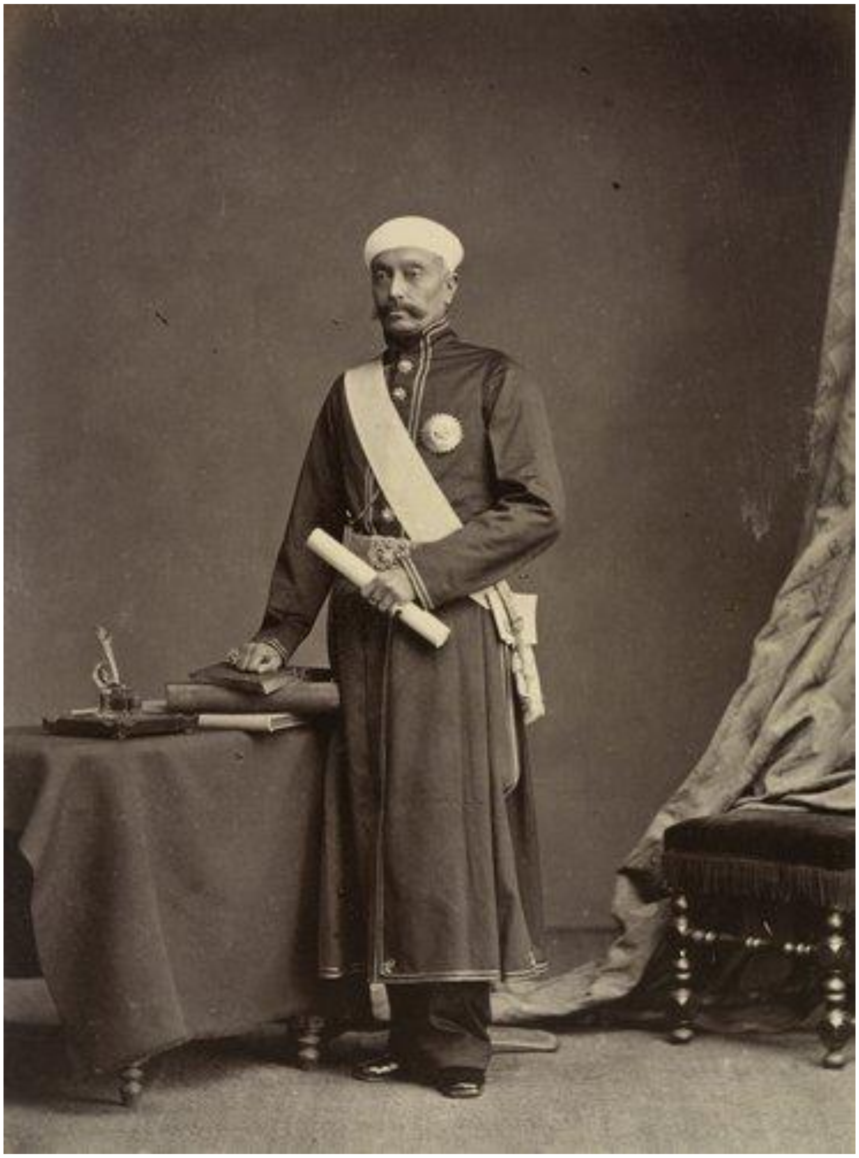


Figure 12: 1870s portrait of Salar Jung, Telangana State Archives Library (TSA) Collection.

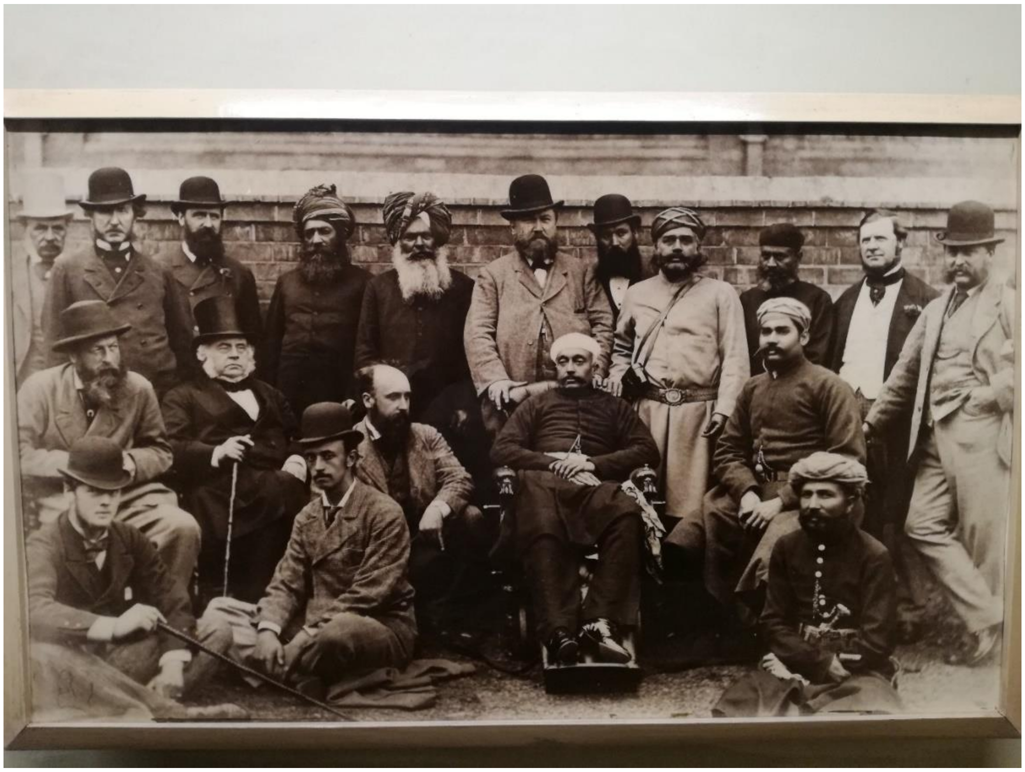


Figure 13: Salar Jung with entourage in London. Salar Jung Museum Collection.

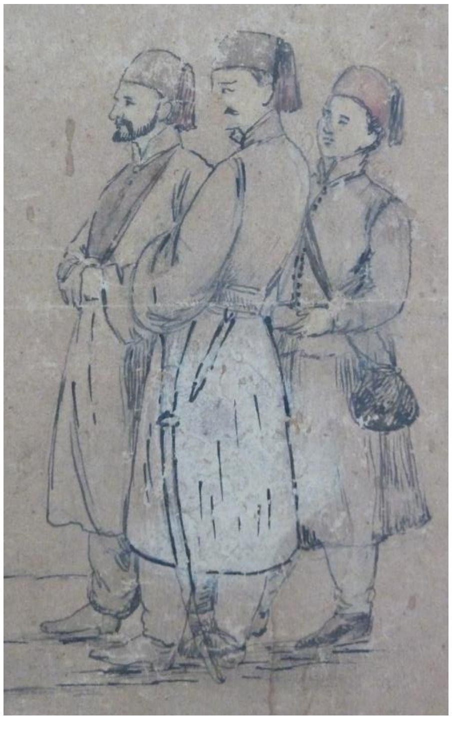


Figure 14: Detail from a sketch for a portrait of Salar Jung and Syed Ahmed Khan showing three prominent early non-Mulki administrators in Hyderabad. From the Collection of the Maulana Azad Library at Aligarh Muslim University.

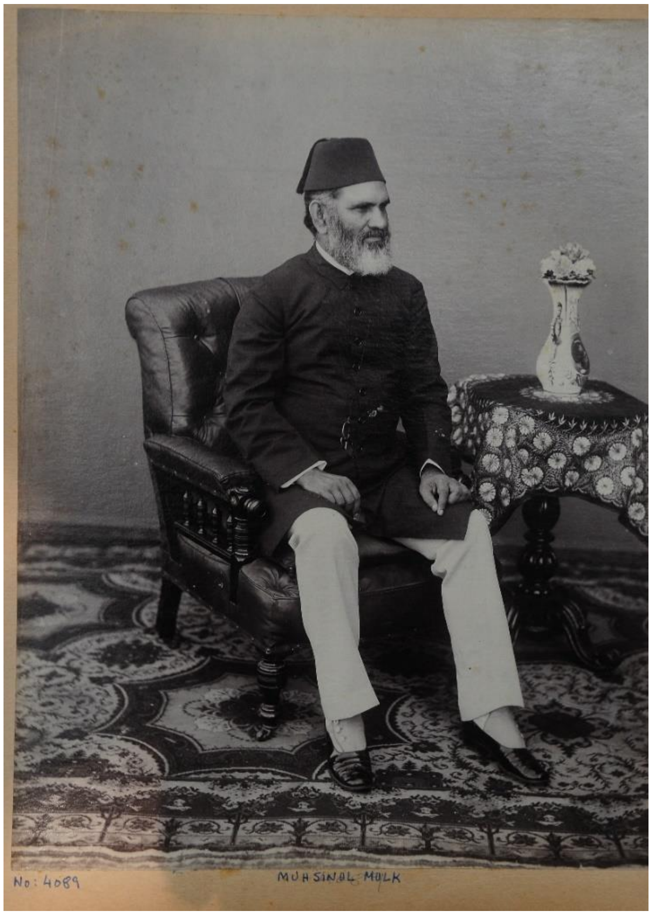
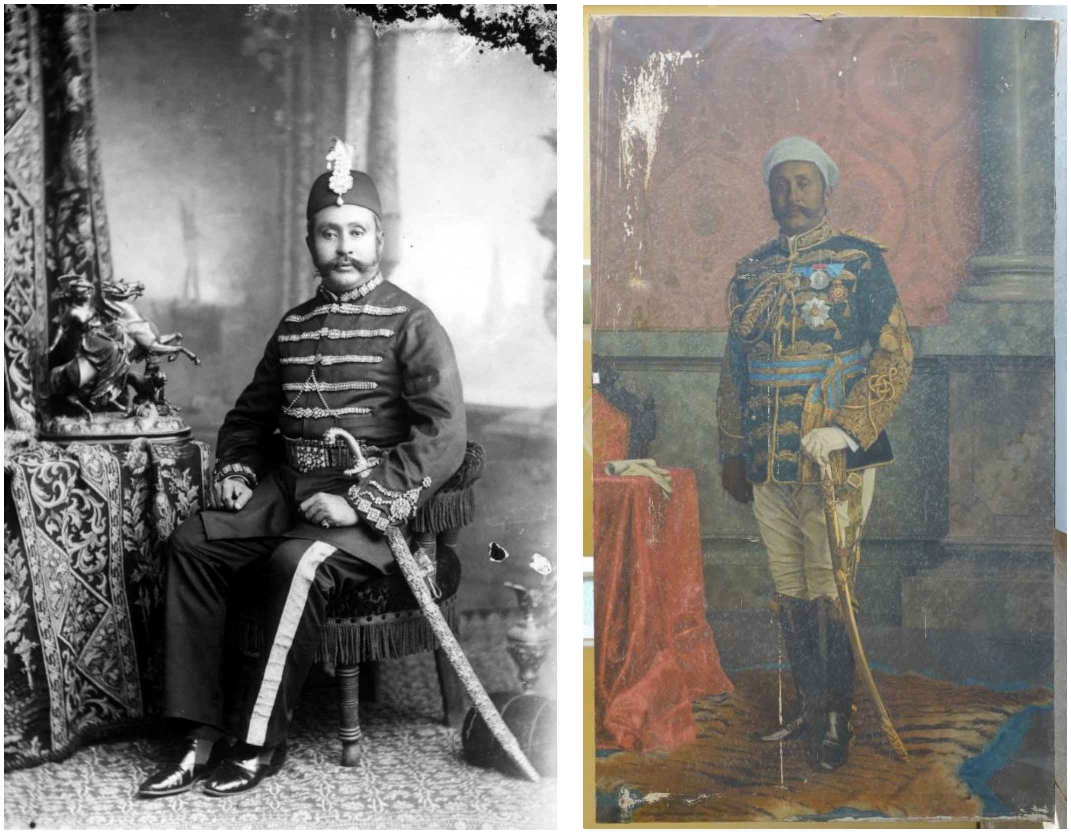
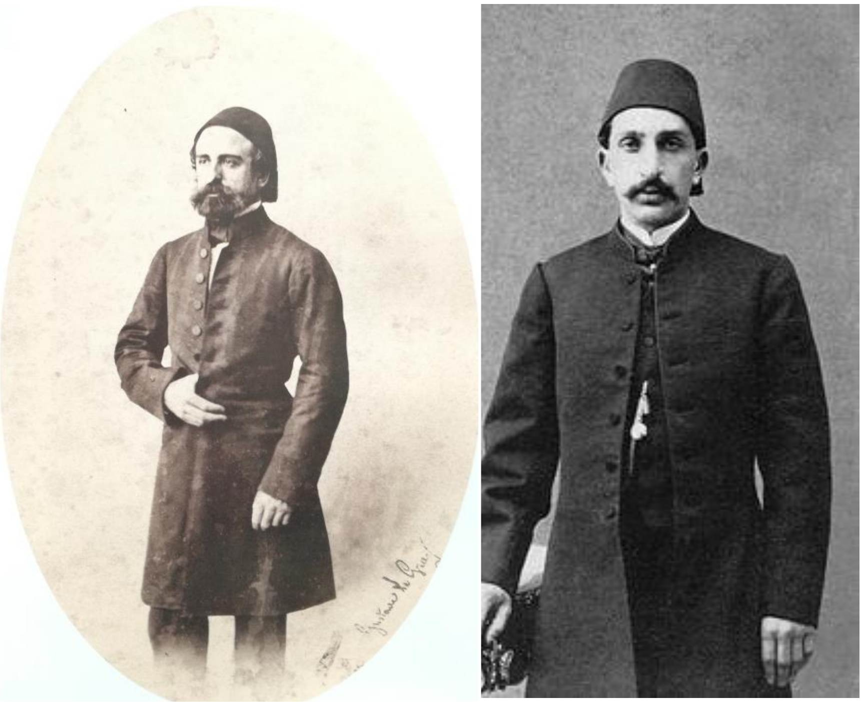

No: 4089
MUHSINUL MULK

Figure 15: Portrait of Mohsin ul Mulk. TSA Collection.



Figures 16-17: Two photos of Sir Asman Jah (Diwan 1887-1894) in military-style dress. In the earlier, probably c.1880 photo on the left traditional markers of noble status including diamond sarpech, jewelry, velvet-sheathed Mughlai sword and bugloos are also incorporated, indicating a transitional, personal experimentation with these different elements. Left: Indira Gandhi National Center for the Arts Collection; Right Chowmahalla Palace Collection.



Figures 18-19: An 1850s photo of an Ottoman Pasha and right, a portrait of a young Abdulhamit II, both in fez and istanbulin *jacket.*

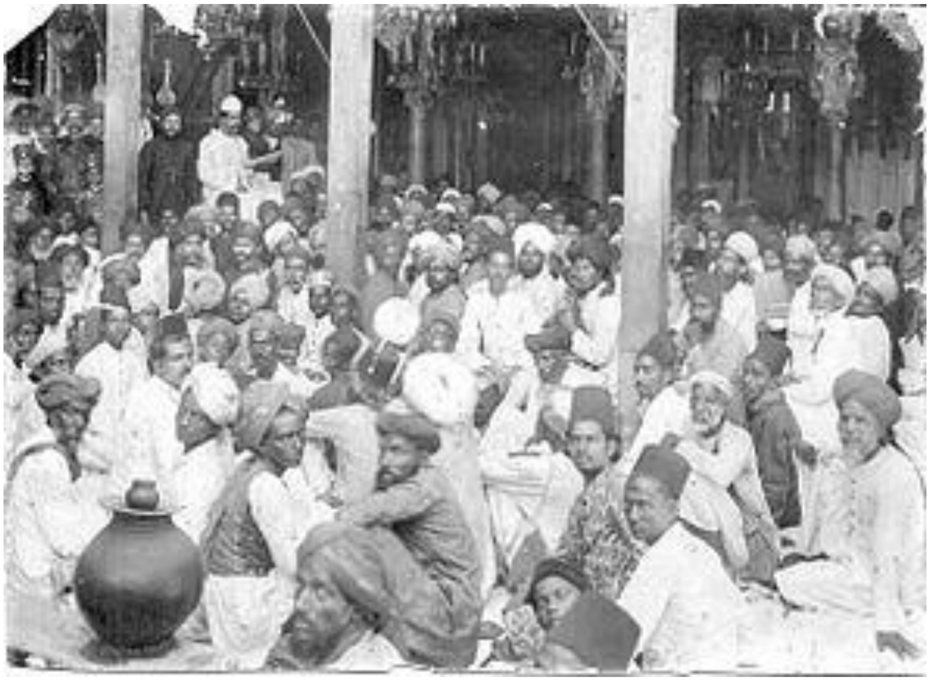


Figure 20: An 1871 mushaira *of Mir Baba Ali Anees in Hyderabad.*

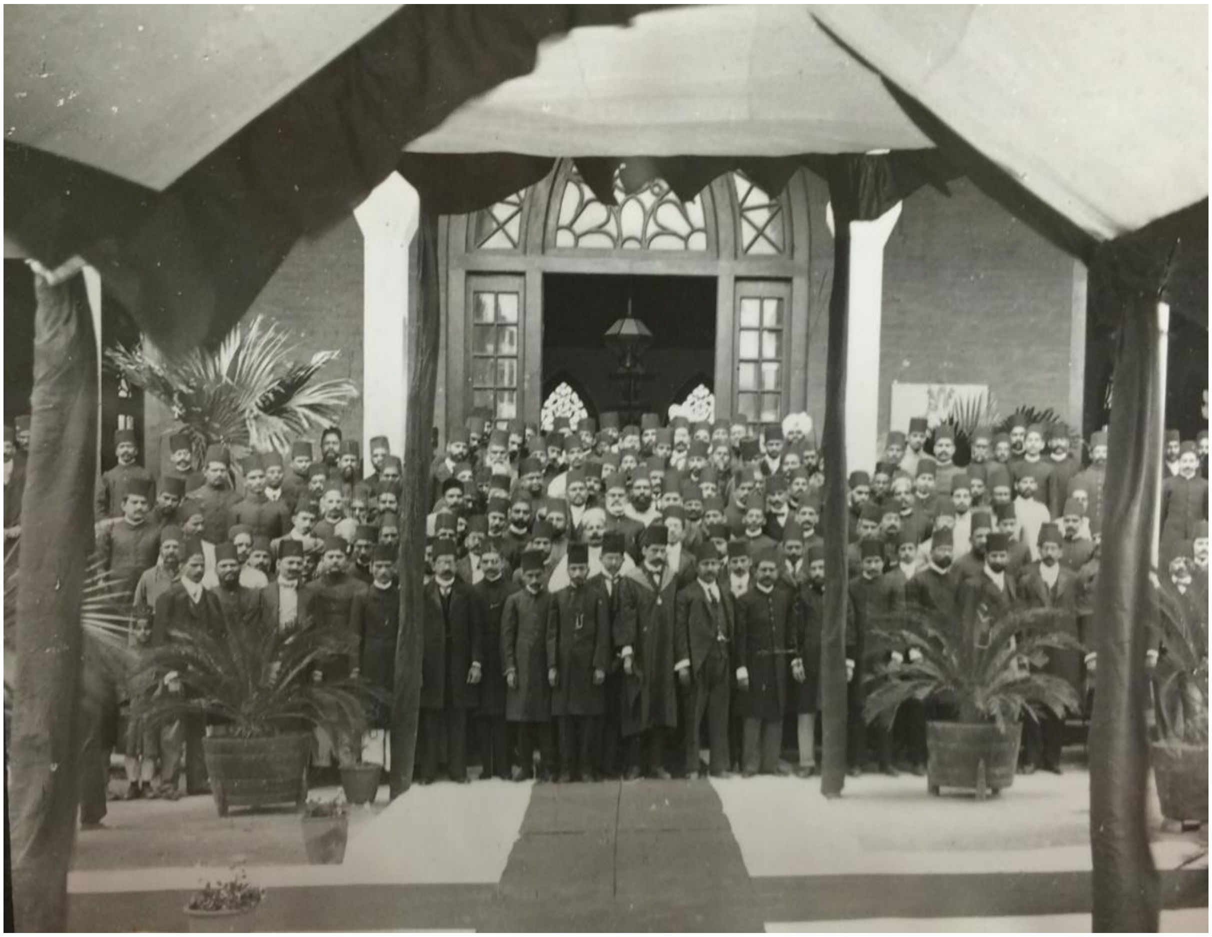
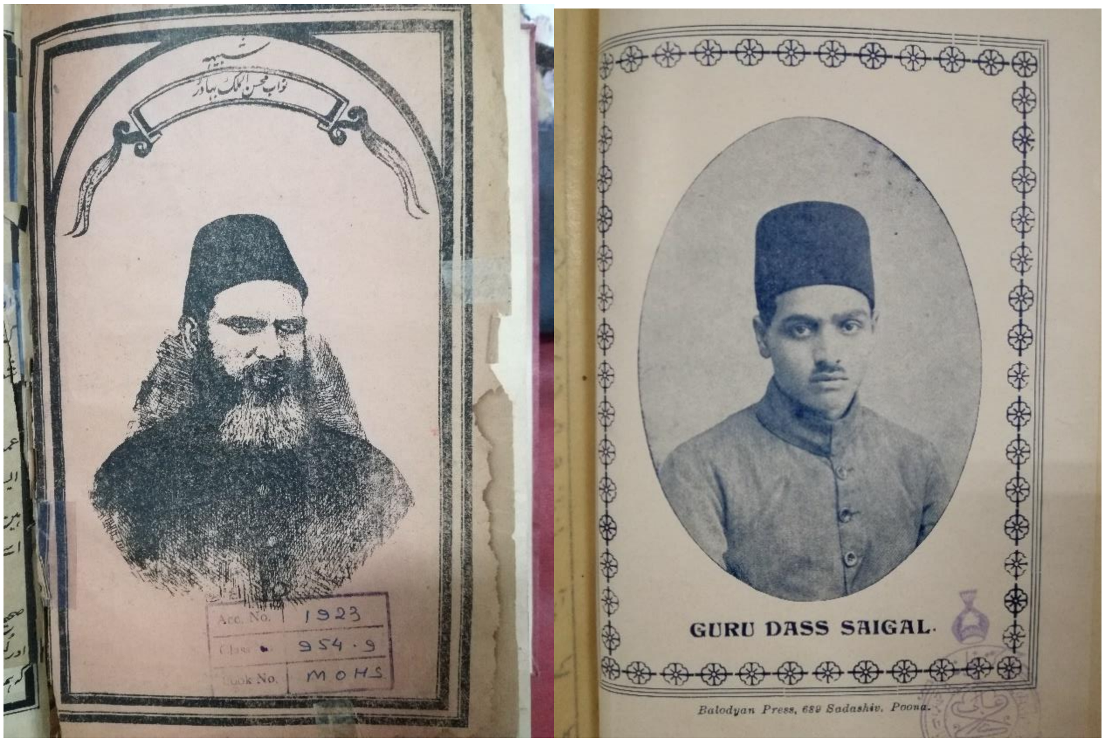


Figure 21: Staff and Students of Aligarh MAO College in 1905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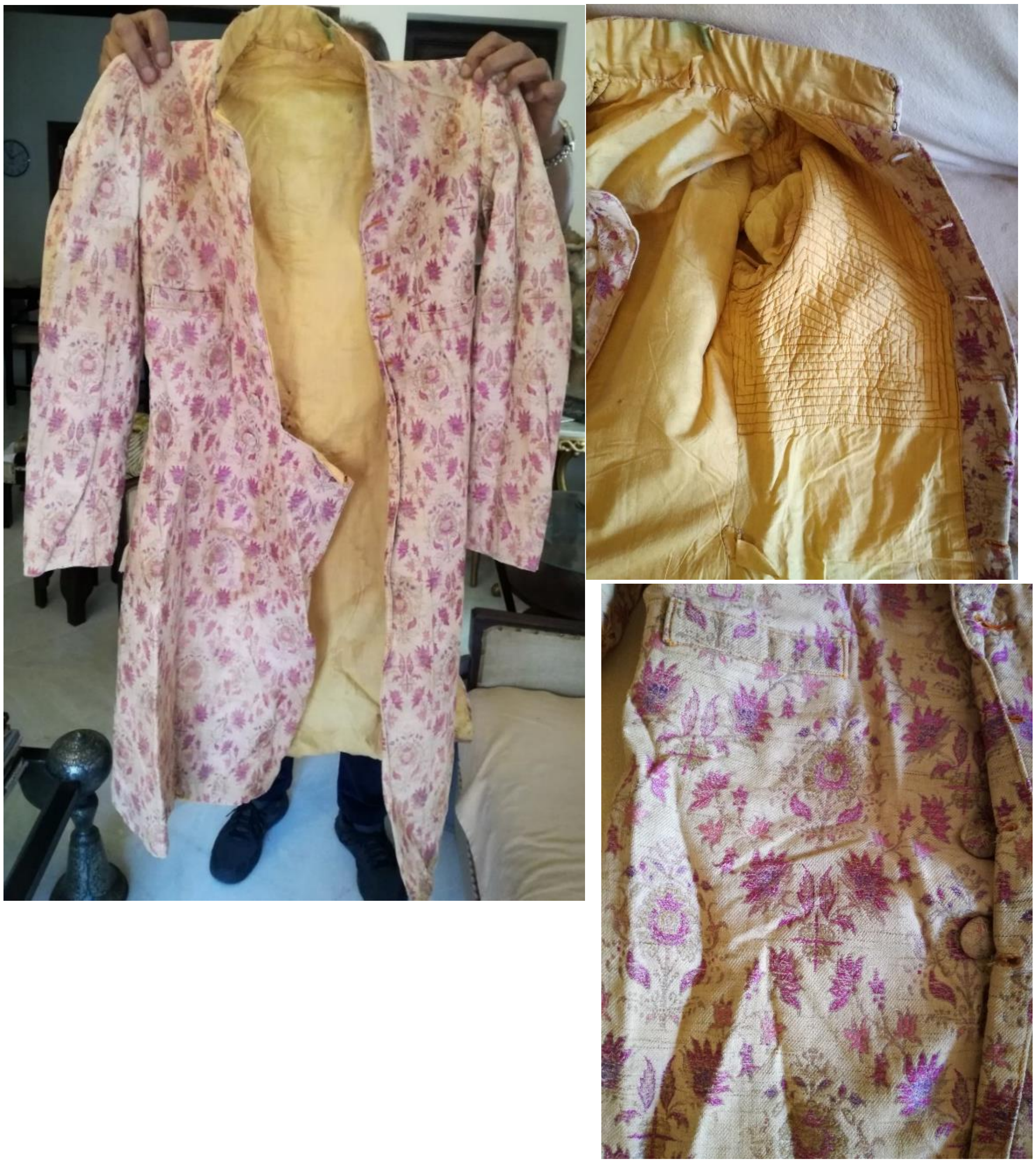
نواب محسن الملک بہادر
Acc. No. 1923
Class 954.9
Book No. MOHS
GURU DASS SAIGAL.
Balodyan Press, 689 Sadashiv, Poona.

Figures 22-23: Two book-portraits of authors. Left in a late 19th century collection of the letters of Mohsin ul Mulk; Right a 1930s one of Guru Dass Saigal.



Figures 24-26: Pattern and interior construction of a late nineteenth century sherwani. Collection of Mohammed Qutub Yar Jung.

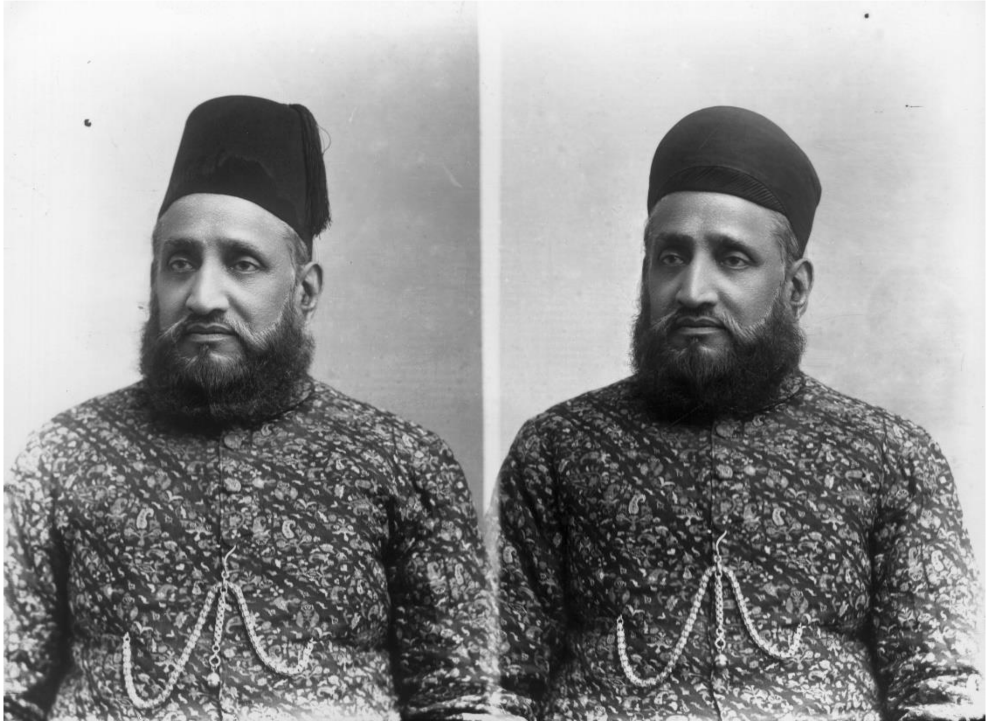
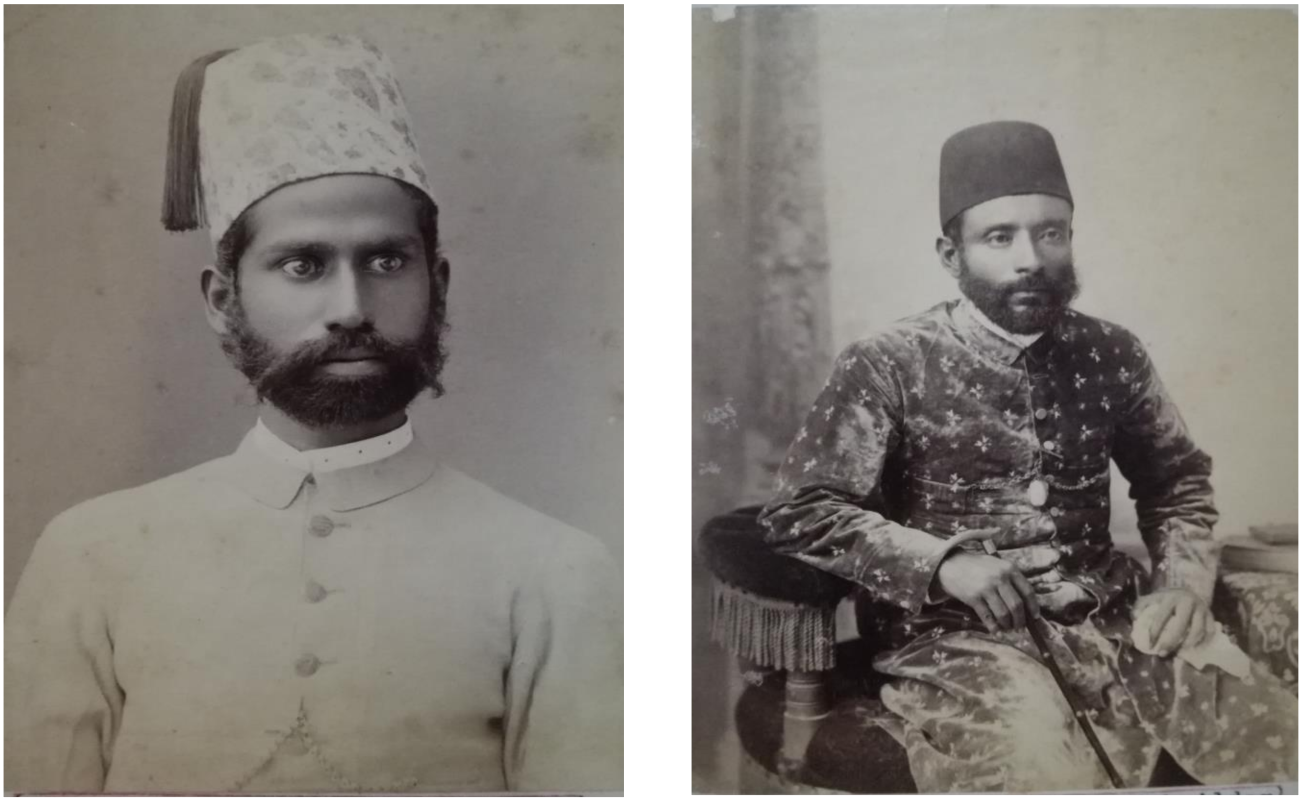


Figure 27: A Hyderabadi High Court Judge of the mid-1890s. IGNCA Collection



Figures 28-9: Early 1890s studio portraits of two tahsildar *[revenue collectors], TSA Library Collection.*

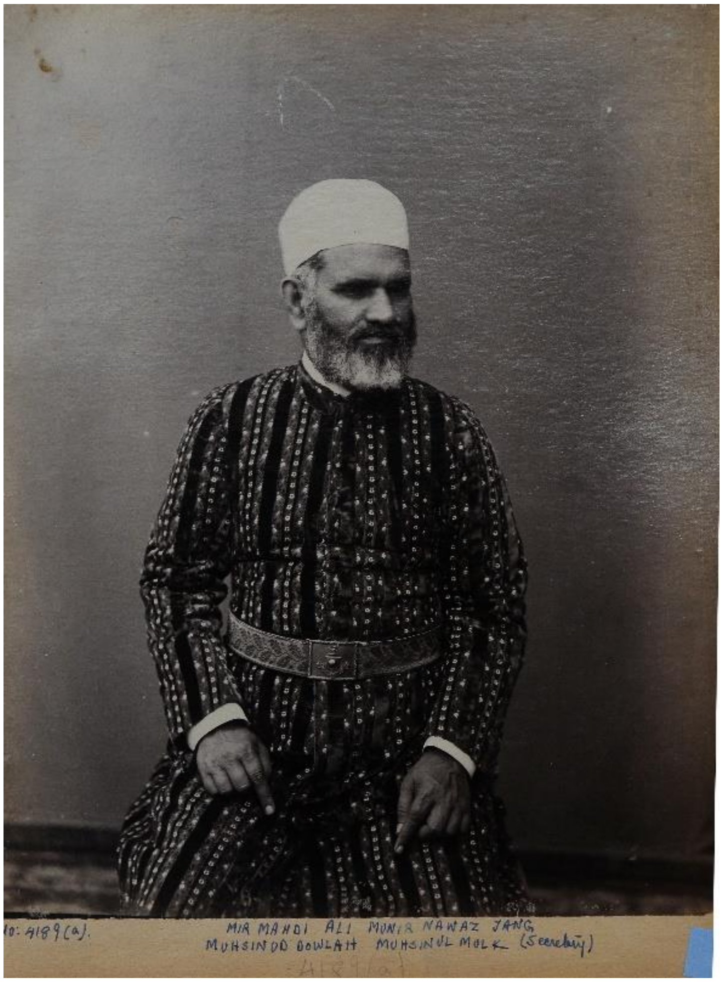
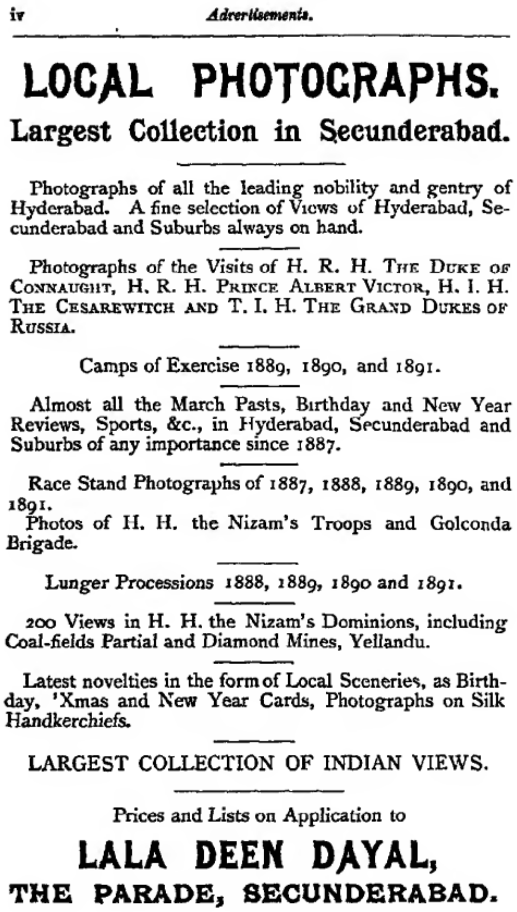

o: 4189(a).
MIR MAHDI ALI MUNIR NAWAZ JANG
MUHSINOD DOWLAH MUHSINUL MULK (Secretary)
4189(a)

Figure 30: An 1890s photo of Mohsin ul Mulk wearing a distinctively patterned Hyderabadi sherwani and service belt bearing the new royal coat of arms.



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LALA DEEN DAYAL,
THE PARADE, SECUNDERABAD.

Figure 31: An advertisement for Lala Deen Dayal's studio services and collectible photographic collections from the 1892 Hyderabad Almanac.

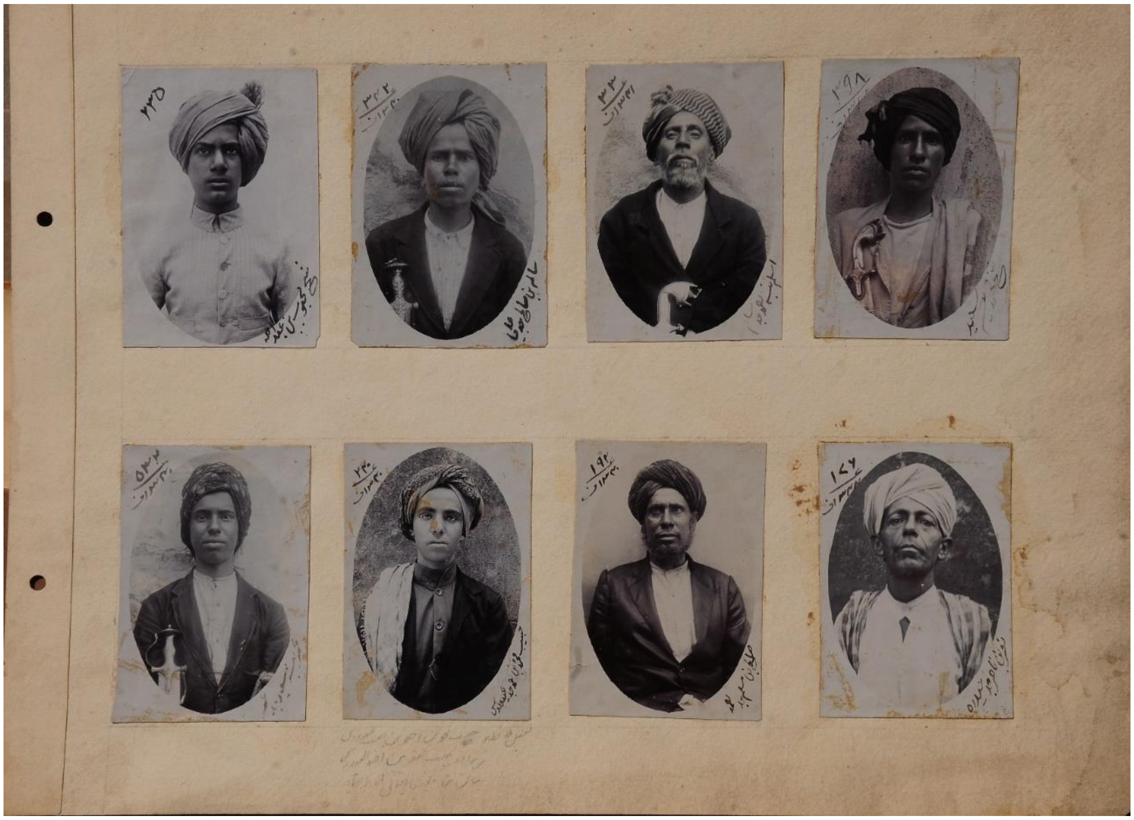

Figure 32: TSA Library Collection

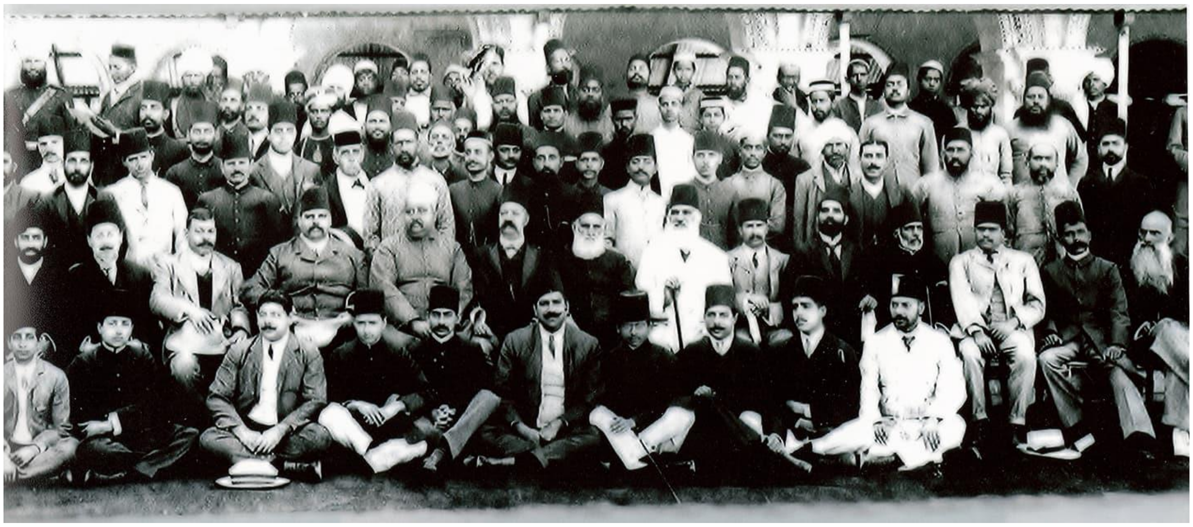

Figure 33: 1906 photo of the founding members of the All India Muslim League. Wikipedia Commons.

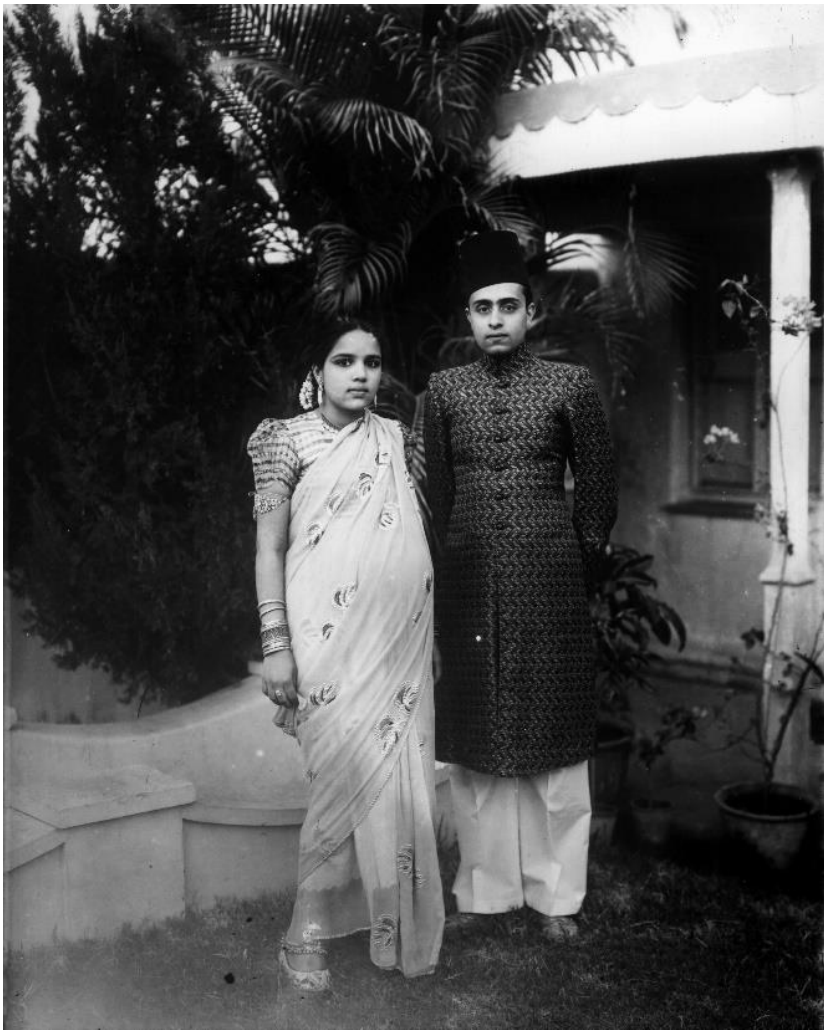

Figure 34: A young couple, early twentieth century, IGNCA Collection.

Conclusion

The history of the fez and *istanbulin*/*sherwani* style does not end with the nineteenth century but continued further along divergent regional courses in the twentieth. The rising tides of nationalism and renewed conflict that the new century brought with it though significantly reshaped the tenor of sartorial self-identification and politics. In the Ottoman Empire, the Committee for Union and Progress' seizure of power in 1908, and deposition of Abdulhamit II, saw the empowerment of new forms of populism and republican-nationalist ideas, while in Hyderabad the passing of the sixth Nizam, Mahbub Ali Khan, in 1911 was widely interpreted as marking the end of an era.[1] The First World War years brought an even more drastic period of rupture, catalyzing mass participation in the idea of national struggle.[2] In imperial India, beginning with the Khilafat Movement in solidarity with Ottoman Turkey's Independence struggle in the early 1920s, the combination of fez and *sherwani* began to become increasingly linked with the emergent Muslim nationalist movement.[3] With the intensification of communalist politics and rise of the Pakistan movement of the 1940s, this association became even more deeply established, with the fez and *sherwani* becoming the de facto uniform of the resurgent Muslim League. In Ottoman Anatolia and Rumelia, meanwhile, the waning influence of 'Ottomanist' ideas of collective imperial identity paved the way for the popularization of new, more overtly nationalist styles. The use of wool *kalpak* cap rather than fez, for example, rapidly gathered pace, particularly among CUP adherents sympathetic to emerging ideas of ethnic-Turkic nationalism, including the future leader of the Turkish independence struggle, Mustafa

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[1] Makarand Paranjape ed., *Sarojini Naidu, Selected Letters, 1890s to 1940s* (New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1996), 64-5; Zurcher, *Turkey*, 93-95.

[2] In Ottoman Turkey's case, it was at almost continuous war from 1912, when the Balkan Wars broke out, until the conclusion of the Turkish Independence War in 1922.

[3] Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (Columbia University Press, 1982), 164; Qureshi, *Pan-Islam*, 52.

Kemal Atatürk.[4] *Istanbulin*-style jackets fell into growing disuse from the end of the nineteenth century, while the fez would be famously, and controversially, banned by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1925.[5]

At the same time, however, even an accessory whose appeal was avowedly ethnic-nationalist, like the *kalpak*, still shows how varied forms of transnational identification continued to pervade dress politics even in the age of high nationalism. Among many of its early twentieth century Ottoman adherents, it evoked an affinity with the idea of ethno-cultural origin in a rugged, all-conquering Turkic or Turanian past. Moreover, by the 1920s and 30s, use of similar sheepskin *kalpak* or *karakul* hats also began to appear across South Asia. In many cases it was adopted as a mark of conscious admiration for the Turkish leader Atatürk, irrespective of his summary curtailment of the Caliphate, or as a more independent contemporary expression of identification with *mughlai*-turkic Central Asian lineage.[6] It is probable that the headgear's subsequent adoption and further popularization by Mohammad Ali Jinnah, 'the father of Pakistan', in the 1940s also partly drew on Kemalist associations of dynamic secular nation-building in the leadup to partition.

Elsewhere, elements of the fez and *istanbulin/sherwani* aesthetic persisted and retained earlier intimations of urbane cosmopolitanism. In Wafd Party-era Egypt and other parts of the post-Ottoman Arab world, the fez, in common combination with the casual suit, held strong associations of refined liberalism throughout the 1920s and 30s.[7] Julia Phillips Cohen has shown how ex-Ottoman Jews across Europe and the US retained use of the fez long after its Turkish abolition as a mark of "lingering identification with their erstwhile empire."[8] Meanwhile, in Hyderabad, the *sherwani-topi* style remained popular well into the mid-twentieth century, when it took on increasingly explicit politically regionalist associations amid the controversies of looming independence and, ultimately, forcible incorporation into the new Republic of India.[9] As we have seen in chapter four, the ideas of Hyderabadi distinctiveness constructed around the *himroo* or local handloom *sherwani* and *topi* invoked an ideal of Deccani historical social harmony that became expressed in increasingly explicit opposition to the communalist politics seen in imperial India.

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[4] Mehmet Emin Elmacı, "Fes-Kalpak Mücadelesi", *Toplumsal Tarih* 42 (June 1997); Hale Yilmaz, *Becoming Turkish: Nationalist Reforms and Cultural Negotiations in Early Republican Turkey 1923-1945* (Syracuse University Press, 2013), 26.

[5] Lewis, *Emergence*, 268-9.

[6] Ismat Chaghatai, *A Life in Words: Memoirs* (Gurgaon: Penguin, 2013), 85.

[7] Eppel, "the Effendiyya"; Ryzova, *Efendiyya.*

Even then, the *sherwani* itself retained wide use amongst different social groups across South Asia, ultimately adopted by both Indian independence leader Jawaharlal Nehru and Jinnah as a fittingly unifying and dignified garment for establishing independent government.[10] While contemporary fashion analysis lies far beyond the purview of this particular dissertation, we might note that the *sherwani* remains today one of the few non-Western male garments whose use transcends regional and communal differences across South Asia, particularly as a wedding garment. The popularity of bright, luxurious styles and local fabrics in wedding *sherwanis,* and their wide advertisement and celebration as an 'ethnic' style choice, underlines how far it has retained a distinct air of cultural authenticity and color-confident manliness. Perhaps ironically, such associations are much more in line with early twentieth century Hyderabadi approaches to the *sherwani* than those of the Indian National Congress.

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[8] Cohen, "Oriental," 393.

[9] William Bamber, "Anti-Imperialism, Ambiguity and the Emergence of the Sherwani-topi Style in Hyderabad State 1860-1900," *International Journal of Fashion Studies*, forthcoming.

[10] The eponymous 'Nehru jacket' effectively just a hip-length version of the *sherwani*. Gupta, "Birth of the Sherwani," 241.

Across almost all these contexts, one common theme which emerges in the early twentieth century, whether the fez and *istanbulin/sherwani* retained active use or not, is a strain of nostalgia for the men and manners of the earlier period. It is most clearly evident in novels and memoirs of the postwar years lamenting the disappearance of the Istanbulite or Hyderabadi 'true gentleman' of yesteryear.[11] But it is also discernable in the more overtly political meanings vested in the fez or *sherwani* among those, especially of an older generation, who resented the new political order or simply felt themselves a little out of place and time. The mass resistance to the fez's outlawing seen in Turkey in 1925, for instance, illustrates the visceral sense of selfhood which had become vested in the garment, and its oppositional positioning to Western forms like the hat which were now being forcibly imposed.[12] What links this resistance with forms of more refined nostalgia around the style is perhaps the idea of authenticity which was central to its attraction, and a more variable, open approach to the definition of social modernity than the implacable state-dominated, secular, industrial ideal of it advancing in those years. A reminder of how far the shades of meaning attached to particular modes of dress were simultaneously constructed in relation to multiple formations and understandings of gender, power and aesthetics, as well as the multifarious ways and material possibilities through which different individuals chose to outwardly express their relation to them.

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[11] Ahmed, *Life's Yesterdays*, 170; Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak*; Naidu, *Letters*, 64-5.

[12] Such was the resistance to the law and political stakes constructed around it that fifty seven people were actually executed for refusing to adopt the new headgear. Nereid, "Kemalism", 707.

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- Hatt-ı Hümayun
- Muhimme Defterleri

Salt Araştırma Merkezi (Istanbul)

2) United Kingdom

The British Library (London)

- India Office Records and Private Papers
- India Office Prints, Drawings and Paintings

The National Archives (London)

- Foreign Office

Victoria and Albert Museum (London)

- Costume Collection
- Prints and Drawings
- Searight Collection

3) India

Chowmahalla Palace (Hyderabad)

- Costume Collection
- Picture Collection

National Museum (Delhi)

- Costume Collection

Salar Jung Museum (Hyderabad)

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- Picture Collection

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