

A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE TEXTILE BASED DIPLOMATIC
GIFTS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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AUGUST 2013

**A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE TEXTILE BASED DIPLOMATIC
GIFTS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE**

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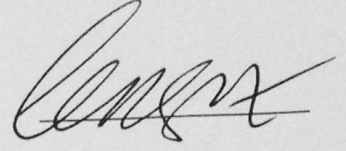
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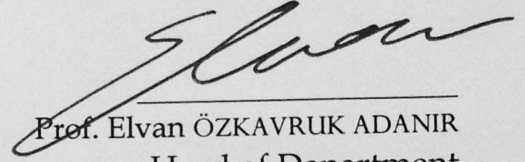
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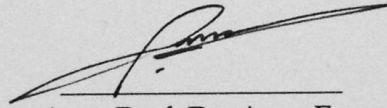
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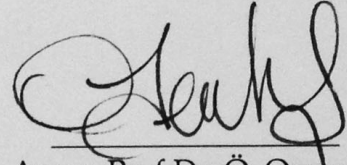


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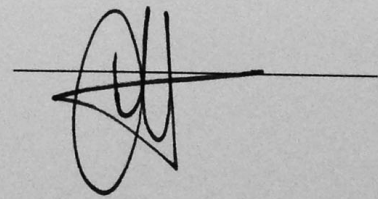
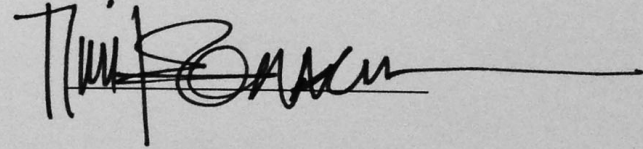
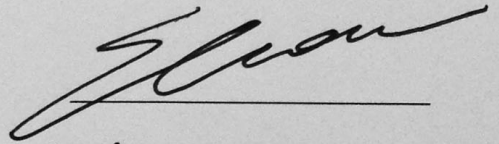
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ABSTRACT

A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE TEXTILE BASED DIPLOMATIC GIFTS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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The Ottoman Empire had reigned over centuries as a continental empire and had gradually become an important actor in the history. The empire's successes were based on conquest. The conquest were enhanced with diplomatic gift exchanges. This thesis has focused on the textile based diplomatic gifts of the Ottoman Empire, which were sent to European countries. The aim of this thesis is to understand the underlying reasons and the aims of the Ottoman Empire in gift giving by the help of the gift theories. For making a clear analysis five examples of bestowed diplomatic gifts will be chosen which were given to specific countries on specific time intervals. The specific time intervals are sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Throughout the research it is understood that the Ottoman Sultans were seeing themselves as the extensions of God and consequently owned the supreme power. By gifting the others the features of the Sultan passed to the receiver and also they became ottomanized. Diplomatic gifts were chosen according to the status of the recipient, which was understood from the type and quality of the bestowed gift. The gift giving of the Ottoman Empire was inherited from the lands it conquered but it cannot be denied that it influenced the European countries in reward giving rituals and in the means of dressing and fashion.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, textile, goods, diplomatic gifts, exchange, bestow, gifting, ottomanizing, representation, dressing.

OZET

OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĐUNUN TEKSTİLDEN ÜRETİLMİŐ DİPLOMATİK HEDİYELERİNİN TARİHSEL BİR ARAŐTIRMASI

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Osmanlı İmparatorluğu yüzyıllar boyunca bir kıta imparatorluğu olarak ve giderek tarih sahnesinde önemli bir aktör olarak hüküm sürmüŐtür. İmparatorluđun başarısı fetih politikalarına dayanmaktaydı. Fetihler ise diplomatik hediye deđiŐ-tokuŐu aracılıđı ile güçlendirilmekteydi. Bu araştırma, Osmanlı İmparatorluđunun tekstilden üretilmiŐ ve Avrupa ülkelerine gönderilen diplomatik hediyelerine odaklanmıŐtır. Bu alıŐmanın amacı, Osmanlı İmparatorluđunun hediye vermesinin altında yatan nedenleri ve amaçları hediye kuramları çerçevesinde anlamaktır. AnlaŐılır bir analiz yapabilmek için belirli ülkelere, belirli zaman aralıđında verilen beŐ adet bahŐedilmiŐ diplomatik hediye seilmiŐtır. Belirtilen zaman aralıđı on altıncı, on yedinci ve on sekizinci yüzyıllardır. alıŐma süresince Osmanlı padiŐahlarının kendilerini Allah'ın uzantısı olarak gördükleri ve en üstün güce sahip olduklarına inandıkları anlaŐılmıŐtır. Diđerlerine hediye bahŐetmeleri ise kendi özelliklerinin o kiŐiye(alıcı) aktarılması ve onların OsmanlılaŐtırılması ile sonuçlanmıŐtır. Diplomatik hediyeler alıcının statüsüne göre seilmiŐtır ve bu, hediyein eŐidi ile kalitesinden anlaŐılmıŐtır. Osmanlı imparatorluđunun hediye bahŐetme geleneđi fethettiđi topraklara dayanmaktadır. Fakat Avrupa ülkelerini, ödöl verme adetleri ile giyim ve moda açısından etkiledikleri ise yadsınamaz bir gerçektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, tekstil, ürünler, diplomatik hediye, deđiŐ-tokuŐ, bahŐetmek, hediye etmek, osmanlılaŐtırma, temsil, giyim.

To my beloved sister,

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Ottoman Empire was a magnificent empire of its era, which had ruled over territories as a continental dynasty over centuries. The first period of the great empire, which lasted from thirteenth century to fifteenth century was named as frontier principality by İnalçık (2000, p.5) and this principality was dedicated to a Holy War¹ policy against the Christian Byzantium. The Empire's turning point had started by the siege of Constantinople by the Mehmed the Conqueror. This event is defined by İnalçık as the "definitive establishment of the Ottoman Empire" (2000, p.23). The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the empire were its most powerful years. This was due to the expansion of the territories. Krody (2007,

¹ Holy War was made on behalf of Islam religion is called as *Gazâ* (İnalçık, 2000, p.220).

p.14) claims that "...by the second half of the seventeenth century the empire reached its greatest territorial extension". Thus the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries were concentrated on the expansion of the lands resulted in the revenue increases of the treasury. This thesis covered the time intervals which started with the first diplomatic gift record of Osman Gazi which was on the end of the late thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century (1299) and then extending towards to the early of nineteenth century when Tanzimat Reform² era (1839) took place that remarks the initiation of the permanent embassy missions³ in the foreign countries for longer periods of time (Solnon, 2013; İnalçık; 2000). In addition, for explaining the approach of the Ottoman Empire, the time period of early fourteenth and early nineteenth centuries are reviewed to give examples, and then the diplomatic gifts are selected from sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The state of being multinational was the Ottoman Empire's key source of cultural prosperity. The Ottoman Empire's territories were stretching to the Europe during the emergence of Renaissance. While European countries were enlightening with the Renaissance⁴ era's spirit of re-birth, they could not abstain from admiring the splendor of the Ottoman Empire (Paolucci, 2003, p.2).

² *Tanzimat* Reform Era- Imperial Edict of *Gülhane*: the political reforms made in the Ottoman Empire in 1839.

³ Embassy Missions was called as *Sefirlik*. Embassies had written Mission Reports (*Sefaretname*) to report the journey and their witnesses during their journey (Polatçı, 2011, pp.249-253).

⁴ The Renaissance era started in the 14th century in Florence, Italy and then spread all of the Europe as a cultural movement. It was another glorious period of finding new ways to look at things such as art, literature, paintings and even science.

The Ottoman Empire was very successful in war techniques and became richer and richer by the post war left-over treasures, taxes from the conquered lands and taxes from the citizens⁵. This growing wealth was reflected in extravagance daily life of the palace. Daily life actions were covering different ceremonies of funerals, accession of the Sultan, sword ceremony and dressing for war and diplomacy. Those ceremonies were described as epic stories in registered Ottoman archives or drawn miniatures which was an important technique for keeping records by framing the happening events and also external visitors had reported their observations in their memoirs. Conquering new territories was the Ottoman Empire's initial goal. In those times, political powers within and over the territories were visually emphasized through raiment. Textile goods played a fundamental role in the economy of the Ottoman Empire and in the development of its society. In addition Atasoy (2001, p.19) stated that "...they were the symbol of power and order...". The motifs of the textile goods were both building up and reflecting the major part of the social values of the Ottomans because the hands of the artisans and craftsmen in specialized ateliers crafted textile goods. Motifs of the textile goods were an expression of the social values and "...symbol of the indisputable power..." (Atasoy and Uluç, 2013). Artisans and craftsmen were an important part of the Ottoman Empire and also they were more privileged compared to general citizens (Taylor, 1993).

⁵ Citizen, people were called as 'tebaa' in Ottoman words (Yeğin, 1997, p.692).

The Ottoman Empire influenced European countries in many terms. For instance they were aroused by fear and also filled with curiosity. The reason of fear was due to the conquest policies of the Ottoman Empire. Both fear and curiosity of the Europeans were partly due to the dressing styles of the Ottoman Empire (Solnon, 2013, pp. 57-61).

Throughout history rulers have used dress as a form of legitimization and propaganda. While palaces, pictures and jewels might reflect the choice of a monarch's predecessors or advisers, clothes reflected the preferences of the monarch himself. Being both personal and visible, the right costume at the right time could transform and define a monarch's reputation. Many royal leaders have used dress as a weapon (Mansel, 2005, p.11).

As stated by Mansel (2005, p.13) dressing up were clearly a way of expression of the power and of the legitimacy and the creation of reputation. Like dresses jewellery had also great importance in the expression of the social values. The fabric types of the dressings or raiment and their features of being hand made with exaggerated ornamentations of silver and gold threads and precious stones which made them unique were adequate to convey wealth and power over the others. Even in wars, Ottoman Sultans were dressed to nines⁶ in order to impress their enemies in the battlefields. The greatness of the empire was always on display, no matter where, what or how it was displayed. Thus, dressing equipment had become a tool or mediator of an initiation of a diplomatic relation when given as diplomatic gifts to the exterior lands. By giving diplomatic gifts, social values of Ottoman Empire were bequeathed. Moreover,

⁶ Dressed to nines means being dressed up completely from top toe.

diplomatic gifts were tools of exchange for both external relations and inner relations. The gifts, which were addressed to the representatives of the other countries, were carrying diplomatic purposes whereas the inner exchanges of gifts were addressed to the court officials, statesmen, military commanders, craftsmen, poets etc. Although in some cases the distinction in between these two addressee's were intermingled such as the devshirmes⁷ or foreign ambassadors who were temporarily staying for a given period of time in Istanbul (Constantinople) and which were rewarded in the same manner with the internal gift receivers of the sultanate (Mert, 2007, p.112).

Gift exchange as a reward was aimed to honor and maintain the loyalty of the receiver to the sultanate. In a European Country the type of gift would be a medal, whereas, in the Ottoman Empire it was the Robes of *Hil'at*⁸, which is above all kinds of gifts. *Robes of Hil'at* was both gifted to the internal receivers and to the foreign ambassadors.

This thesis offers an assessment from the perspective of design studies to the textile-based goods as diplomatic gifts of the Ottoman Empire. Gifts exchange as diplomatic relations was for initiating a relation with a country and also was repeated for the sake of the continuity of that initiated contact. The research questions are;

⁷ Devshirme (*devşirme*) is the levy of Christian children to be trained for post in the Palace, the administration or *kapıkulu* military corps (İnalçık, 2000, p.219). Another meaning is adoptees.

⁸:Robes of *Hil'at* derives from an Arabic word that is *Khil'at*. It is a type of caftan, which is precious. In English words it is used as Robes of Honour .See also chapter 3.2.1 for further detail.

- 1- What were the underlying reasons and purposes of gift exchange?
- 2- Why was the Ottoman Empire giving high importance to the gifting?
- 3- Did the gift exchange depend upon who the receiver was from the sides of type and quality of the bestowed gift?
- 4- What was the role of the Ottoman Empire in sending diplomatic gifts?

Considering the research questions, the textile based bestowed gifts that include any type of fabric and garment are analyzed under chapter 4 through five selected visual examples. Before the analysis of the selected bestowal gifts, a short inscription of defining the fabric types will also put in visual analysis figures, following the definitions of the fabric types in order to clarify the type of the fabric, names of the motifs and also to give references to the production time. The aim of these analyses is to exemplify the important types (See in chapter 4.1).

In the second chapter, by explaining the formation of the hierarchical order of the imperium, the stance of Ottoman Empire is determined. The social values were reflected on the settlements of ceremonies in where the empire was visually displayed through raiment. For explaining the hierarchical order around the social values, a comparison with the gift receiving countries will be made. This

comparison will be made from the aspects of influencing and being influenced by the contacts depending upon the memoirs and mission reports (*sefaretname*)⁹ of the travellers, envoys and ambassadors from both sides of actors in the historical respect.

The third chapter focuses on making explanations on gift theories to create a perception of how gifting exchanges had worked with the given examples and an evaluation of the expected outcomes of the given, sent or bestowed gifts based upon the gift theories. Gift receivers of the Ottoman Empire are classified in two that are: 1- Gift Exchanges as Rewards and 2- Gift Exchanges as Diplomatic Relations. Gift exchanges as reward explains inner gifting traditions and gift exchanges as diplomatic relations is focused on the gifts bestowed to the cross boundary receivers or to the foreign representatives.

In the fourth chapter the textile based goods that were considered as diplomatic gifts are classified. In order to make accurate classification, the most favorable types of fabrics of the Ottomans are defined with the given visual examples and also the inspirational sources of the motifs are explained. This information is followed by an analysis of the selected textile based diplomatic gifts which were given to different European countries (Italy, Russia and Sweden) on different times which will help to make a distinction of the quality change through time (16th century to 18th century). The reason why these countries will be limited with Italy, Russia and Sweden is due

⁹ See page 3, note 2.

to the selection of the textile based diplomatic gift bestowals, which are addressed to the European countries and are recorded on inventories both with date and the source and have reached until today through the reported memories of the travellers or ambassadors. Moreover, the changes in the economic, political and social state of the empire were reflected on the changes in the quality of the fabrics (Krody, 2000, p.91).

CHAPTER 2

THE STANCE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AS A DIPLOMATIC ACTOR

Ottoman Empire gradually became an important diplomatic actor on the stage of the history in its time. The Ottoman Empire passed through glorious days to decline. Although, it is not the main focus in this study to do a historic documentation of the Ottoman Empire, the transition from the powerful days of wealth to the recession days was reflected on the usages of the textile goods as bestowed gifts. Bilgi (2007,p.18) mentions “The art of Ottoman silk weaving developed parallel to the empire’s political and economic rise, reaching its highest level both in terms of technique and design in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries”. At the times of Ottoman reign, dressing styles were used to convey meanings, which is still an issue

of today's world. They were like the conveyors of the communication and representing of the society's social values, power, wealth and creation of the visual image. Ottomans having a prosperous background of different geographical features used the privileges of this opportunity in every respect. The usage of varying geographical sources, such as the productive soil made it possible to have the best qualities of fabrics such as silk; which was obtained from sericulture¹⁰, and cotton; which was provided by Anatolian principalities¹¹. Krody (2000, p.91) states that "...textile goods had become an art form produced by a large part of the population as the expression of the Ottoman society and opened a window to be seen by the world". Thus, dressing was the display of Ottoman Empire's visual image.

In past times, it was primarily through the visual sense that political power was projected and understood: while textiles played a fundamental role in the economy of the Ottoman empire and in the ordering of its society, at the Turkish court the paramount function of artistically important textiles was to project image of power and order, twin pillars of the Ottoman state (Atasoy, et al., 2001, p.19).

Atasoy et al., (2001) mentioned that textiles were the display of the Ottoman Empire's two important pillar, which were power and order. This issue is discussed in the next section in order to provide an understanding of the formation of the empire.

¹⁰ Sericulture is the production of the raw silk, which means raising and breeding silkworms.

¹¹ Principalities are called as beylik in Ottoman words.

2.1 Formation of the Empire- The General Structure of the Hierarchical Order

To begin with how the empire was settled around the display of the visual image a memoir of a Venetian ambassador Andrea Gritti (Mackie, cited in Faroqhi and Neumann, 2004, p.221) who described thousands of silent member of the court: "it is a beautiful thing to see such a handsome assembly so well ordered, some clad in gold cloth, other in patterned velvet, with great pomp and grace". Court officials were taken place and dressed in ceremonies according to their rank and this was described in Gritti's example. Thus, each occasion was the representation of the hierarchical order, which was expressed through the raiment. Furthermore, the Ottoman Empire was an empire of rituals. Daily life in Ottoman Empire were settled according to the Islamic calendar which was sporadically¹² and the natural events such as death and birth, accession of a sultan, circumcision feasts and wedding ceremonies were implemented and celebrated depending on the type of the ceremony. Moreover, a new war or to win a war was another type of festivity, which created a picturesque of the empire with its wealth representing materials. These materials were composed of precious textiles of any kind and decorated with valuable stones. Even, in battlefields Ottomans were known for their representation of Ottoman daily life by the settlements of huge decorated tents, and warfare clothing's of the

¹² Sporadically means occurring at irregular intervals or only in a few places (Oxford Dictionary of English, 2010).

Ottoman army, which is called as 'janissary'. The dressing style of the Sultan also impressed their rivalries. So, the aim to impress their rivalries was successfully fulfilled.

Fabrics constituted an indispensable element of Ottoman ceremonial: in the form of costumes, banners, wall-hangings, curtains, and ground coverings they lent visual magnificence to processions and receptions, and as robes of Hil'at bestowed on court servants and foreign diplomats they were unmistakable signifiers of the sultan's power and generosity (Atasoy, et al., 2001, p.21).

All ceremonies of the empire were settled meticulously around the hierarchical order, which was indicating status and rank. Bilgi's comment about this hierarchy is:

At large ceremonies attended by the public, the sultan dressed in gold and silver *Seraser*¹³ so stiff as to be uncomfortable, whereas on less ceremonial occasions and within the palace he and members of the royal family usually wore clothing made of *Kemha*¹⁴ or velvet (Bilgi, 2007, p.18).

According to Bilgi (2007), Sultan owned the highest status and was dressed accordingly, although, which sometimes meant this way of dressing was constraining his moves. Sultan's ulema¹⁵, who were high ranking religious men, were not dressed according to the rank implementation, whereas they dressed according to their notation of being religious men. This can be identified in the quality and types of the fabrics of their raiment. Religious men were not wearing silk or precious jewelries. Thus, they were mostly allowed to wear dresses

¹³ *Seraser* is a type of Ottoman fabric that is called as 'Cloth of Gold'. See also chapter 4.1 for further detail.

¹⁴ *Kemha* is an Ottoman brocaded silk type. See also chapter 4.1 for further detail.

¹⁵ *Ulema* were the doctors of Muslim canon law, tradition and theology (İnalçık, 2000, p.226).

made out of plain colored sof (mohair) or *çuha*¹⁶. This distinction can be seen on any miniature painting, "...to reflect the daily life of the Ottoman" as Bilgi (2007, p.18) stated. An example that reflects the order and placement of each rank is seen in Figure 2.1 in which the Sultan is above all and the hems of his caftan are kissed to emphasize his dignity. All court officials are dressed in well-drawn motifs of Ottoman identifications and stand in a line, holding their hands together which also is an implication of Sultan is the highest, supreme above all. His men have to stand in obeying position, otherwise it would have shown being disrespectful to the sultanate. Another type of ceremonial dressing was from the Islamic calendar, which was the Friday Prayers¹⁷ of Friday Ceremonies. Every Friday, the Sultan was going to the mosque for prayer and naturally dressed up in his best visual appearance. This was for supporting the expression of the Sultan as the powerful, magnificent, wealthiest and the "health intact" (Bilgi, 2007, p.19). The ceremony was ending when the Sultan arrived at the mosque and the demonstration was taking place through the rite to the mosque. The ground floors were covered with valuable fabrics for the Sultan to step on or to ride his horse on. In addition Bilgi (2007, p.19) stated that this custom was dating back to the ancient traditions, which were to express respect and loyalty to the Sultan, and was a display of the power and wealth of the state.

¹⁶ *Çuha* is a woolen type of fabric which was used by the Ottomans.

¹⁷ Friday Prayers: Islam religion's Holy day for prayer.

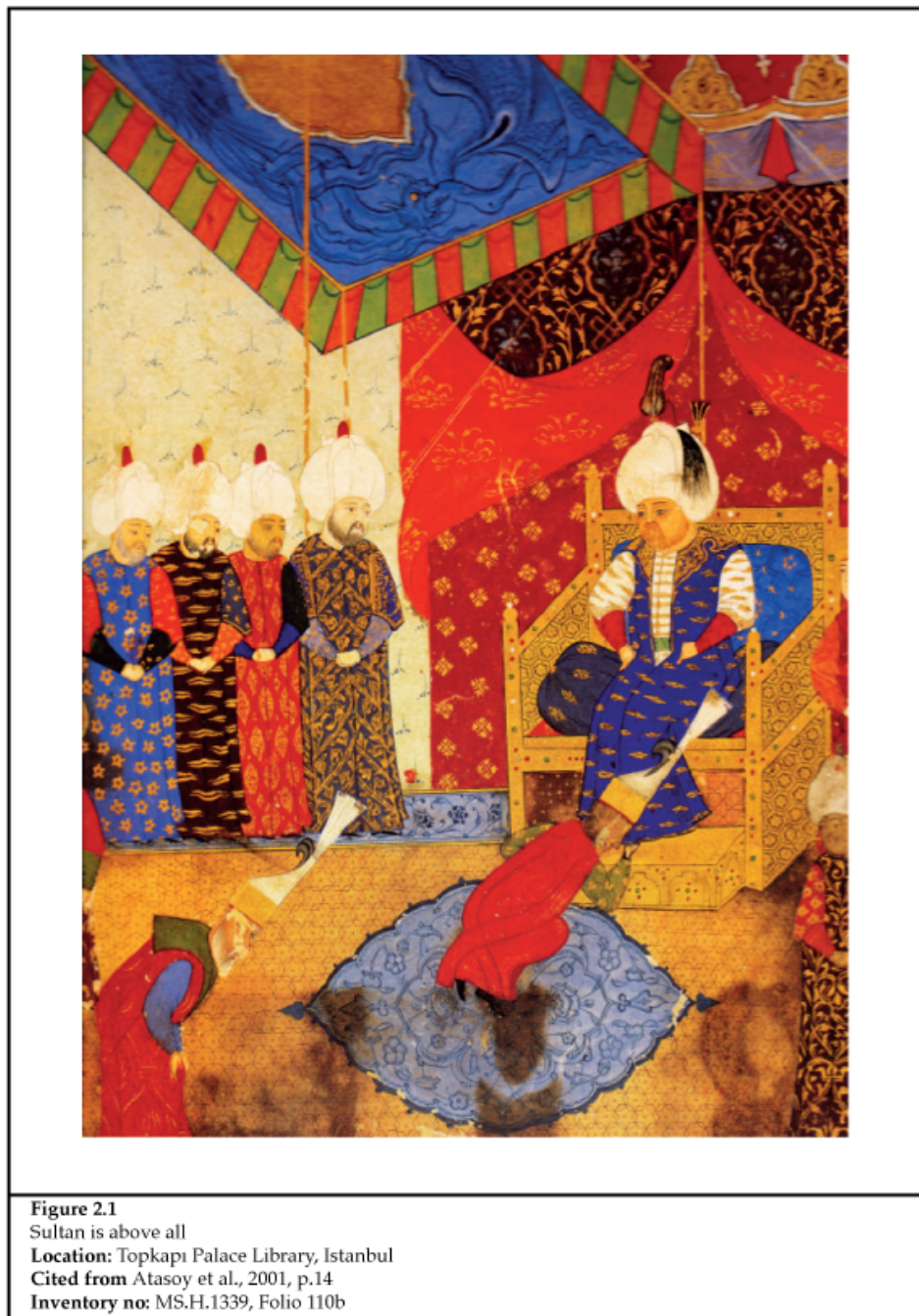


Figure 2.1 An Example of a Ceremony

Silk fabrics were creating the hierarchical order within the Ottoman Empire's borders and extending to the bestowed countries. Besides silk fabrics, furs were also important within the ranking order of the

Ottomans. Although furs are not the main intention of the study, they are discussed in some level as an auxiliary element of Ottoman clothing thus, the types of furs were also important to show the rank of the individuals in the royal system. This was also supported by Tezcan (2004, p.64) as he stated that "... furs was a sign of socio-political status in Ottoman society, people were not free to chose their furs according to their tastes and/or financial means".

Likewise furs, the robes of *Hil'at* were very valuable and it was an honor to receive them and then to get dressed in ceremonies. *Hil'at's* were valuable because they were robes of *Hil'at*, which were woven from high quality of silks, as to symbolize the hierarchical order of Ottoman court protocols. From this point of view, as the court officials and Sultans were dressing *Hil'at's* for ceremonies it comes to the matter of display again. By saying display, it is implied that they are signs or symbols of status. These robes of *Hil'at* were very similar to the western badge of honors of which are symbolizing and announcing the success of the commanders. Also Atasoy (2001, p.32) mentioned that, "... protocol of giving garments in means of expressing favor, may be regarded as a counterpart to the presentation of medals by Western rulers". According to Denny and Mackie (2001, p.15) the reason why silk cloth was not only preferred fabric for royal dress, but also was used for building the economic structure of salaries and rewards. The claim of Denny and Mackie is expressed in the example of:

Fine textiles were even used for the dispatch of official documents: the Chief Judge (*Şeyhülislam*¹⁸), for example, traditionally had his correspondence with the sultan borne to the Grand Vizier (*Sadrızam*) in a purse made of fine green silk (*canfes*), which the Vizier in turn would enclose in a bag of shiny satin cloth (*atlas*) for presentation to the sovereign (Atasoy, et al., p.21).

Ottoman empire based on conquest, increased the income state of the treasury, especially silk revenues and gold and silver and was attributed through gift exchanges as rewards and diplomatic relations.

2.2 Comparison of the Ottoman Empire's Diplomatic Gift Giving with European Countries

Gift giving was used as a medium and/or an instrument of policy for the civilizations. It was before the Ottomans, and had existed on the lands they conquered. Constantinople (Istanbul) was reigned by the Byzantine Empire before Mehmed the Conqueror conquered the city in 1453, in the mid of the fifteenth century, the incident which was named as "definitive establishment of the Ottoman Empire" by İnalçık (2000, p.23). Also, Bilgi (2007, p.17) emphasized that the history of textiles in Anatolia were dated back to the Byzantine period, when primarily the court circles and high-ranking clerics used silks and also to the Seljuk period when the high quality silks were sent as royal gifts to foreign rulers. Apparently, textiles were used for gifting and in the expression of the wealth and power before

¹⁸ *Şeyhülislam* is the head of hierarchy of *ulema* (the doctors of Muslim canon law, tradition and theology) (İnalçık, 2000, p.225-6).

the Ottomans. The tradition of gift giving was an inherited tradition and became an important instrument of Ottomans.

The first record of gift in the Ottoman Empire was at the time of Osman Gazi between 1299- 1326. Osman Gazi was entrusting some properties of his family and his clan's to Bilecik *prefects*¹⁹ while going to upland, and then taking entrusted back when returning back. For being an entrustee, Bilecik *prefects* were gifted by some kinds of gifts, which had varied from textile products of carpet to alimentary products. This relationship was a good type of neighbourliness, which was founded upon reciprocal trust and fellowship. But, unfortunately broken by the other *prefects* interference (Öztürk cited in Naskali and Koç, 2007, p.49).

In addition to this, Quataert (2000, p.90) claimed that “between the Ottomans and their neighbors, from early times, there existed quite permeable frontiers with habitual diplomatic, social, cultural, and economic exchanges across them”. Georges Duby (cited in Adanır, 2013, pp.40- 43) claimed that the mutual consensus based on gifting exchanges was also valid for the European societies, which is emphasized in “Kings had to own magnificently beautiful things according to their prosperity. Treasury meant, a compilation of precious materials in a place. Treasuries had to be shown in large ceremonies to everyone, the chiefs of the society had to stand in the midst of it because these objects were the source of proud”. For owning a treasury of such precious objects and for demonstration it required having craftsmen within the kingdom which will also led for gifting the others with the most beautiful gifts. The explanation is

¹⁹ *Prefects* were left from Byzantine culture; of who were guarding their city but not owning a crown and generally Christians. Ottoman Empire had good relationships with those *prefects* as seen in the example.

very similar to the traditions of the Ottoman, owning a craftsmen group of people whom make the beautiful fabrics and garments, which were ready made for dressings and bestowals.

Martin (2004, p.102) stated that "...in 1496, Ivan III had opened diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire, in which the Russian ambassadors, had presented gifts of luxury fur to the important officials of the Ottoman court". The gifting exchanges between Russia and the Ottoman Empire were carried out in equal measures. As, Ottoman diplomatic gifts were putting an emphasis on the visual image of the Russia; it was the other way around for the Ottoman Empire who strengthened its status conveyors by the use of Russian furs. As evidence to this statement, Russia was sending fur to the Ottoman Empire. The reason of Russia sending furs to Ottoman was due to the climate of Russia, which was enabling the habitat of furred animals, of which were in abundance and in a very good quality. The interactions between Russian Tsars and the Ottoman Sultans were led the Russians to use the Ottoman fabrics and garments in their churches and monasteries which were regarded as ecclesiastical use and also led to the implementation of the gifting their statesmen, military commanders and also foreign ambassadors by rewarding them similarly with the Ottomans. Although, there is no evident statement that they have adapted gift rewarding from Ottomans, it can be inferred that the interactions were resulted in

such influences. Atasoy et al., (2001, p.180) gives two instances one of which is a happened and recorded incident in the following quotations: first one states that "... textiles were used as part of the reward system, and robes of Hil'at were bestowed on courtiers and ambassadors from the East in a practice equivalent to robes of *Hil'at*". The second quotation is a documentation of an incident:

In 1618, Tsar Michael rewarded Prince Dimitri Michaelovich Pozarski for his role in the war against the Poles and the Swedish with a silver- gilt goblet and a coat of Turkish atlas, lined with sable, with silver- gilt buttons (Atasoy et al., 2001, p.180).

The relations between Italy and the Ottoman Empire were on a mutual basis of needs. The main demand was the silk fabric. Faroqhi (2004, p.45) asserts that, although there was no written document that can clarify the reason of the motivation for buying silks from Italy and added that some fabrics undoubtedly had not been purchased at all, but must have reached the palace as diplomatic gifts. Furthermore, the instance of Faroqhi made it more understandable:

There were permanent Venetian ambassadors in and occasional envoys to Istanbul, the latter being mandated, for instance, in order to congratulate Sultans at their accessions. At these the Venetians also handed over gifts, among, which there must have been quite a few precious textiles (Faroqhi, 2004, p.245).

The Ottoman Empire's Sultans were interestingly bounded to their customs of dressing. The recession of the incomes of the royal

treasury was not keeping them away from dressing in the same means and also bestowing diplomatic gifts in the same way. Mansel criticized this action by the following citation:

At a time when other European monarchies had abandoned sumptuary laws, Ottoman Sultans continued to enforce them in person. This was especially frequent from the mid eighteenth century, as if strict enforcement of dress rules could counteract economic and military decline (Mansel, 2005, p.42).

Moreover, Naskali and Koç showed an example of the Ottoman Empire of expenditures:

When the diplomatic gifts of Ottoman Empire of the late seventeenth century are investigated, there is constancy in the diplomatic gifting policy. The bestowed diplomatic gifts to Austria in between the years 1665 and 1699 are same in variety, quantity and supply, and determined accordingly to the previous gifting records, which prove the constant relationship in between the countries depending upon the diplomatic gifting traditions. Besides, the year 1699 is a mark of the Karlowitz treaty, which resulted in a great loss of Ottoman lands and also in an economic crisis in the Ottoman Empire (Naskali and Koç, 2007, p.78).

Although, the Sultanate was under bad conditions, they didn't make any shortages in diplomatic gifts. The reason why the Sultans did not any shortages can be evaluated as a protection of the empire's prestige and status and the supremacy of its power.

On the contrary to Mansel's criticism of Ottomans, European countries were also suffering from expenditures on luxury and feast. This was clear in Fernand Braudel's (cited in Adanır, 2013, p.88) statement:

In Christian world nobleman were keeping the first ranks and will not leave this place, similarly to the Islamic world. At first sight, in France, Spain, and in some other places it was

recognized. In each place they have monopolized the ostentation of priorities, luxury clothings, gold or silver threaded silks, satin and velvets, carpets, numerous servants, and etc. In reality these were the reasons of bankruptcy (Braudel, cited in Adanır, 2013, p.88).

The Ottomans used dazzling and ostentation as a tool of sovereignty in the same period which carried the same meanings with Europeans. Similarly to the regulations of gifting, the fund and fund rise were facilitated through the military in the Ottomans which would be replaced by trade and merchants for Venice, Italy, but this would not be as easy thing. (Adanır, 2013, p.90).

In this manner, gift giving was as a medium and/ or an instrument of policy both for the Ottomans and the others. The tradition of gifting was inherited from the conquered lands and also it was an ancient action which will be explained in the next chapter; Gift Exchange of an Empire. Gifts were acting as contributors to one's honor and as an addition to the royal treasuries. It is important to realize that the mentality of gift giving and receiving can be explained by the gift theories in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

GIFT EXCHANGE FOR AN EMPIRE

As the Ottoman Empire was a composition of cultures, religions and ethnicities it can be inferred that, it was a must to build mild and uniting policies both within and outside the borders. At that point, act of diplomatic gift exchanges, which was inherited by conquering the lands of Anatolia, had gained an upstanding role. Diplomatic gift exchanges were used as instruments for showing the generosity and the good-will of the giver within the court and with the outsiders. Whenever the Ottomans had conquered and annexed a land, they granted the people's life who live on that territories and let them to continue their own rituals of living, religion and social values. For them, being obedient and getting under the rule of the Ottomans was seen as sacrificing oneself and this was sacred (Adanır, 2013;

Solnon, 2013). After the annexation and forgiving the lives of the inhabitants of the conquered land, the policy of diplomatic gift giving exchange was implemented. It can be assumed that the Ottoman Sultans believed that their power and ruling was the most supreme of all. Most likely the origins of this belief and attitude had been depending on the supremacy of the gift giver, as an Anatolian proverb, "The gift giver is superior than the recipient"²⁰ (Adanır (2013, p.201).

So, for Ottoman Empire, gifts meant a representation of power, wealth, higher status and superiority to the others. The one's who received those diplomatic gifts were lucky to be able to become a part of that splendid power and wealth. In other words diplomatic gifts were both implication and a promise of an attachment to the Ottomans. The case of becoming attached to the Ottomans will be explained in the following section.

3.1 Gift Theory

A gift is a thing given willingly to someone without payment; it is a present²¹. But generally, the one who gives gifts is expecting something in return. Although, sometimes it is just for being kind and thoughtful it puts a thing: burden on the receiver. That is the reason why gifting was taking place in diplomatic relations. Thus,

²⁰ Translated from Turkish: "Veren el, alandan üstündür." Gift giver is the 'veren el', recipient is the 'alan'.

²¹ Dictionary meaning From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia [Accessed 17 October 2012]
Available at: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gift>

gifting is a reciprocal process in between the giver or sender and the recipient. From diplomatic perspective, the two actors of the gifting process are on stage for this action and have expectations from each other (Mauss, 1966; Davy, 1967).

The gifting action is an ancient phenomenon, as mentioned by Mauss (1966, p.15). Davy (1967, p.1) makes an interpretation of Mauss' s gift theory by questioning "the realm of contract and the system of economic present between the component sections or sub-groups of 'primitive' and 'archaic' societies" and also claims that, there was "nothing as usual as a natural economy". Gifts were creating an economy, moreover a connection in between the giver and the recipient. Mauss's theory of gift is telling that, gifting has a long history starting from ancient times and including primitive societies, which means gifting habitual, is possibly initiated with the sacrifices of men to God. Ülgener quotes from Rodinson's passage, which put another vision to the sacrifices of men to god: "The relations of *God*²² and men are based on commercial basis. *God* is the ideal merchant. Muslim makes an investment to *God* by selling his soul. This is a happy action" (cited in Adanır, 2013,p.254). Adanır underlines Ülgener's statement to emphasize the ideas of Mauss in which all lives in other words all relationships is determined by the souls of gods and souls of the ancestors in a symbolic relationships basis.

²² *God* is '*Allah*' in Turkish word. It is written in italic form to indicate the difference for Islam religion.

Islam religion is a dependent upon the structuring of the Ottoman societies social values and customary laws. At a point Ülgener's (cited in Adanır, 2013,p.114) approach to the Ottomans and to the European societies is in the same level by finding them similar in the aspects of prestige, reputation, competition, gift giver- receiver relations, and returning the received with a more valued compensation, in short the regulations of a gift community is valid for both mentioned geographies. Furthermore, the portrait of the Ottoman society drawn by Ülgener is defined as a non-estranged to the good, giving more importance to the change value of the good rather than the usage value, seeing himself as the superior by having the production of the valued goods in his hands (under his sovereign), who does not trust to foreigners and unfortunately lack the idea of the future (cited in Adanır, 2013,p.115). This explains how the Ottomans see their society and craftsmen. In addition Mauss's approach is:

The exchanges of gifts in these communities are for increasing the wealth... Again in these communities gifting is seen as a loan provider term (Mauss, cited in Adanır, 2013, p.204).

Adanır (2013, p.204) evaluates Mauss's theory depending upon the mutual liability and in summary depends on giving, receiving and mostly on returning back. The order of mutual liabilities are settled and implemented not with laws, whereas with traditions. This order is a product of mutual consensus (Adanır, 2013, p.29).

Moreover, gifts were the tools of exchange, which was a multi-

faceted subject from sides of giving, receiving, and returning back. Blanc inserts that, the history of costume is not a novelty, it has been a matter of concern since the sixteenth century, a well- liked practice of collecting in forms of paintings, fabrics, clothing's, miniatures, engravings or woodcuts of the represented costumes of the people, of the remote, unknown places or communities has been an ancient phenomenon (2004, p.49). Thus, gifts of textile based goods were forming the dressings, clothing's or wearing habits. And these habits were examined to understand the reasons and to build an image of the past, old times.

According to Mauss (1966, p.8), gifts are as a system, which is defined by him as 'moveable property' and to strengthen one's honor. Mauss's book: "*The Gift*" is called as "first systematic and comparative study of the widespread custom of gift exchange and the first understanding of its function in the articulation of the social order" (1966, p.9). Once a gift is received, the cycle of gift circulation is starting and then continuing by the receive of the reciprocal gift from received to sender. Thus, as Adanır stated, this circulation was happening on a mutual consensus.

Dressing at that times and also today convey meanings both for the wearer and the viewer. Any sent or received gifts are a medium of communication in between the actors. From this perspective, Barthes's approach is applicable as the dressing and gifting habits

are somehow creating a coded language to maintain a communication. Likewise, Blanc (2004, p.50) evaluates Barthes approach as *system of dress*, which shows normative connections, which determine the assemblage of individual pieces of clothing on a concrete person, and additionally, an occupation of a place in society that is involved in the historical process.

Moreover, Pierre Bourdieu's approach to the gift is a method to dominate others (Imber, 2005, p. 114). Imber (2005) has related Bourdieu's 'concept of honor as symbolic capital' with gifting. According to Bourdieu, symbolic capital is the perception, understanding and recognition of the value attributed to any of the other forms of capital (social, cultural and economic). Symbolic capital is embodied in prestige, renown, reputation and personal authority (Bourdieu, cited in Imber et al., 2005, p.114). For Bourdieu (cited in Imber et al., 2005, pp.114-5) gifts create social asymmetries, which means gifts, are for building social relations. The issue of dominating others by giving precious gifts is to ensure the loyalty of the one's who has received the gift.

Giving diplomatic gifts was an important tradition of the Ottoman Empire. Sultans were not only considering gifts for external relationships, but also for internal emphasis of the relations. For instance, the successful ambassadors, commanders and viziers were also rewarded by gifts. The purpose of this rewarding was same with

the externally sent gifts; which was to get loyalty and engagement and even the obedience of the receiver. And also those gifts of precious materials were to emphasize the superiority of the Sultan and the empire on the recipients. By accepting the received gift a contact of a relation became initiated. Thus, generally to have a balanced and successful diplomatic relation, the receiver had to send a diplomatic gift in return. Gifts were to keep peace, to last peace and thus to prevent the war; even the possibility of a war, but especially for Ottomans, gifting was a second step of an initiated contact, which was based on conquest and annexation. The conquest land was to pay tributes, if they did not it was a reason of war (Adanır, 2013). Furthermore, in the case of the Ottoman, “foreign rulers were treated for the most part as obedient vassals if relations were reasonably good, and as enemies about to chastised if they were not” (Faroqhi, 2007, p.16).

Lévy Bruhl explains the idea of foreigner:

In primitive societies, foreigner is automatically perceived as the enemy to give damage to the community. Thus, the only way a foreigner can enter in the lands of the community is only after the purification stages and becoming one of the habitants of the tribe or village. This can be possible through bringing luck or fertility to the land. The purification of the foreigner seems far away from today’s point of view. Whereas, the Ottoman Empire was familiar to this processes. Starting from the very first conquering movements, for the Ottomans all the foreigners had to become ‘ottomanized’. Furthermore, in a very long period of time, ottomanizing was implemented through dressing the foreigners by robes of *Hil’at* and caftans. This process was mostly aimed for ottomanizing the specific person or community but was not aimed for Islamizing (Bruhl, cited in Adanır, 2013, pp.48-9).

Bruhl's insertion of ottomanizing²³ the foreigners can be perceived as making the foreigner to be a part of the Ottomans, or be one of the Ottomans as an extension by dressing the caftans of the Ottomans.

Adanır (2013, p.49) stated that the ones who accepted to get under the sovereign of the Ottomans commandments (especially ambassador, seignior, prince, king, anybody who is a chief) were to be dressed with robes of *Hil'at* due to the two reasons. First reason was to make the representative of the power to subjugate to the sovereign in a symbolic manner. The second reason was depending upon a common belief in primitive communities of the extension of a person or depending upon the state of belonging. Moreover, Adanır explained this two reasons with more detail "As far as we know, hair, nail, sweat, and etc. are the extensions of the person and seen as parts of that person. With another saying, extensions are the self or embodiment of the person. By this mean, clothing, shoes, arrows, prayer beads, hand tools and etc. and besides the things, which are produced and used by the self of the person, is counted as the person's extensions (2013, p.49). In the case of Ottomans, the features of the Sultan such as courageousness, heroism, generosity etc. were passed to the gift receivers. This clarifies Ottoman's granting of lives in the conquest lands, due to the dressing of a representative with robes of *Hil'at*, who is dressed in the name of his community. By dressing as an extension of the Ottoman Empire, the sacrificed

²³ The term ottomanizing is created by Adanır in his book of *Osmanlı ve Avrupalılar* based on the theories of Lévy Bruhl and Lévi Strauss. The act of dressing the foreigners with caftans and robes of *Hil'at* which is a more precious caftan was due to the aim of making them a part of the Ottomans, for a short period of time or permanently.

person represents his community and his courage in sacrificing himself was gifted with the features of a Sultan that was believed to pass to the whole community (Adanır, 2013, p.50).

Solnon also emphasized the process of caftaning in his words of:

Diplomats of the foreign countries were only accepted to the presence of the Sultan only after the dressing ceremony of the robes of hil'at by ottomanizing. This process was natural as the Sultan was conceived as the 'God's shadow on earth' and 'the distributor of the crowns of earth'. The Ottoman Sultan do not need to have conversations with the visitors, whereas, he commanded (2013, p.245).

Ottoman Sultans were seeing themselves as the extension of God, and this could be the reason of their arrogance.

3.2 Gift Exchange Types of the Ottoman Empire

Gift giving of the Ottoman Empire is named as "gift exchanges" in this study. Gift exchanges of the sultanate were the conveyors of social values, wealth and also were acting as the indicators of the status. The cases of status indicating were valid both for the gift giver and the gift receiver. Atasoy (2001, p.34) was supporting this claim by saying that the Ottoman Empire's act of giving were examined in both East and West countries to carry meanings in the name of indicating status which was clearly understood. In other words, the gift recipients were aware of the value of the received gift, which was understood from the type of the given gift's fabric and decoration with gold and silver or precious stones. Recipients were stimulated

with expectations of getting high valued gifts. Another important point was that, this issue of carrying meanings was perceived in the same perception within all levels of Ottoman society (*tebaa*) (Atasoy, Denny, Mackie et al., 2001, p.34).

Gift exchanges are classified into two parts: Gift exchanges as reward and Gift exchanges as diplomatic relations, to express the differences, and similarities in between.

3.2.1 Gift Exchanges as Reward

The first classification of the gift exchange is reward. Ottoman Sultans were rewarding any action of success, which was for the sake of the Empire. While good manners were rewarded, negative manners were punished. Every happening or action were evaluated within the consideration of the sultanate.

Due to its own nature, gifts were creating a burden on the receiver. The gift receivers were bound to the power and were to act according to the giver. In the case of gift exchanges as reward, receivers were generally the laborers of the sultanate. Sultan's aim in gifting their service providers or statesmen was to keep them loyal to the sultanate and to encourage them to be more and more successful and also to make them act in good will. In return, Ottoman officials

such as ambassadors, commanders or viziers were gifting the empire by being loyal and obedient to the empire and not to be a traitor. Receiving precious gifts were a motivation for the empire's laborers. But this act of receiving precious gifts was not a stable thing. In the Ottoman lands, a successful laborer could any time lose his gained honor and also received precious gifts due to the sudden changes in the status ranks. Adanır (2013, p.30), made a simile of a chessboard for describing the structure of a gift society, where changes could happen any time, in the respect of status. These changes led to a rule to be obeyed, and according to this rule everybody has to experience 'gift giver' and the 'recipient' relation with or without an order (Adanır, 2013, pp.30-1).

Amongst the reward types, Robes of Hil'at (*Hil'at*) were the most honorable and the precious caftans to receive. Ottoman Robes of Hil'at were easily distinguished from the caftans of the other Islamic states, due to their high quality (Atasoy, Denny, Mackie et al., 2001, p.32). Besides, *Hil'at*'s were presented to mark specific events such as the visit of a prince or envoy, the start of a military campaign or a celebration within the empire family which can be a birth of a prince or princess, circumcision, a wedding, etc. and also as a part of the annual cycle of religious holidays. Atasoy (2001, pp.35-6) illustrated that "...on the following holiday of a month of fasting (*oruç*²⁴), as a tradition, imperial craftsmen present examples of their work to the

²⁴ *Oruç*: is the month of fasting in Islam religion called as *Ramadan*. At the end of the month there is a holiday called as *Bayram* for celebration as a festivity. Muslims are believed to redeem from their sins by fasting (Yeğin, 1997, p.573).

Sultan, and would be rewarded relative to their rank with robes of Hil'at and gifts of silver coins". From the given instance it is clear that, Ottoman Sultans not only gifted or rewarded their court officials of Grand Viziers (*Sadrizam*), the judges, military commanders but also the craftsmen of weavers, poets, and illuminators (Atasoy, 2001; Krody, 2000; Taylor, 1993). From the inventories, an example of gifting of the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II, in sixteenth century is addressed to court poets in the form of garments:

A document from the reign of Bayezid II (1481- 1512), a 'Draft Register of İnamat and Taasdduk and Teşrifat and other Robes of Hil'at', records the garments presented to court poets between June 1503 and February 1512 and names the Bursa silk fabrics used for such robes of Hil'at during this period (Atasoy, et al., 2001, p.35).

Rewards were shaped in balance with the merit of the recipient, which meant, the value of the given gift was depending on the status, on the loyalty and on the effort and success degree of the recipient. The differences in rewarding is apparent with an instance from seventeenth century by Fındıklılı (1962, p.31) that "On the new appointment of a new Chief Judge on 21 March 1695, that religious dignitary was presented with sable- lined white woolen robe, and the Grand Vizier was awarded a fur- lined robe and a ceremonial garment". While new Chief Judge was gifted by a woolen robe with sable lines which is a type of fur, the Grand Vizier was gifted by fur lined robe and a ceremonial garment. Types of furs were given according to the rank and status that is the reason why different

kinds of fur were given. Hedda Reindl- Kiel (2007, p.103) in the article of “*Gifts of the Ottoman (16th and 17th century)*”²⁵ states that if the addressees of the gifts were from the religious men, although the types fabrics of the chosen gifts were mainly from *sof* (mohair) and *çuha* (broadcloth) it was not a general rule or regulation. *Sof* (mohair) is a type of woolen fabric, and *çuha* (broadcloth) is a type of thin-layered cotton or a woolen type of fabric. The point is that, although it was not a written or stated rule, religious men were not wearing raiments made of silk. If they had worn, the clothing’s would have been for inner layers (Kiel, 2007; Mert, 2007). Consequently, the types of the fabrics which were given as rewards were determining the rank and status recipient as they were attributed according to who the recipient was and what mission he was doing within the sultanate.

3.2.2 Gift Exchanges as Diplomatic Relations

Gift exchanges as diplomatic relations were the sent, given and bestowed gifts, which were addressed to the outer borders of the Ottoman Empire. Bilgi (2007, p.18) emphasized, “Precious silk fabrics were among the valuables kept in the royal treasury, and caftans and fabrics were presented as gifts to high- ranking state officials, foreign rulers and ambassadors”. High- ranking state officials was

²⁵ Translated from Turkish. An article published in *Hediye Kitabı*. Reindl-Kiel, H. 2007. “*Osmanlıda Hediye (16.-17. Yüzyıl)*”. In: E.G. Naskali, ed.2007. *Hediye Kitabı*. Yayınevi: İstanbul. Ch.3. (pp.102-111). This book was compiled depending on a Symposium which was about Gift., which was held on 16-17 December 2005 by Marmara University’s Türkiyat Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi.

mentioned as court officials in the previous subtitle of the gift exchanges as rewards. Gift exchanges as diplomatic relations would be focusing on the gifts to the foreign rulers, ambassadors and travellers. The diplomatic gifts of the Ottoman were said to be ready made beforehand, as complete suits, seasonally and were stored in bundles according to the colour, ready at all times for bestowal (Mansel, 2005, p.41). Ottoman Empire's diplomatic gifts were either sent with Ottoman ambassadors or presented to the recipient on the arrival of any visit to the palace. The only reason of gifting the visitors; ambassadors were not to prove the supremacy of the Empire. There were other reasons of the empire too. For instance, Mansel clarified another reason of gifting in his following words:

Out of respect for their diplomatic functions, the ceremony of caftaning the ambassador before he entered Sultan's presence at the start of the mission incorporated him in the dress code of the empire and signaled that he and his suite were guests under the Sultan's protection (2005, p.40).

Mansel's reasoning of the making the visitors to be dressed like an Ottoman was asserted by Lévi- Strauss's as a habitual of primitive tribes. For the primitive tribes, a foreigner is not a man and can only be accepted in their lands by transforming him as one of habitants of the tribe. Thus, dressing the ambassadors with the Robes of *Hil'at* or caftans is for transforming them to make them seen as an Ottoman for a period of time (Adanır, 2013, pp.48-9). Adanır defined this action as "Ottomanizing" the foreigner. Although Ottomans were renown for their hospitality, this action was probably due to not

seeing the foreigners as a human and despising them by dressing them in their raiment just as a symbolic action through the Hil'at's and caftans (Adanır, 2013, p.49). Back to the Mansel's reasoning of the action of caftaning, the incomer avoided possible attacks caused by being a foreigner. In other words, dressing incomers was for disguise, which was for protection. In addition Lévy Bruhl's (Bruhl, cited in Adanır, 2013, p.48) statement of 'purifying the foreigner' by making the foreigner becoming one of the habitants of the land also explained the process of 'ottomanizing' and 'caftaning'. Furthermore, the visitors were exposed to these treatments and mostly they were aware of the quality and value relations of the bestowed gifts. The assertion of (Atasoy, et al., 2001, p.34) emphasized this claim by the words

The gift of a high quality robe (caftan) was a sign of goodwill; on the other, it demonstrated the ambassador's (and monarch's) suppliant status, for without it he was unworthy to be seen by the Sultan, and in wearing it and receiving the Sultan's patronage, he was reduced to the level of a household slave.

The gift receivers were in the will of getting the best robe, but also were admitting the ruling supremacy of the Sultan's, furthermore, became a part of the court laborers; a somebody in the empire. Ottoman was successfully implementing its gifting tradition by using very precious materials for the presented or bestowed gifts, which should have made those gifts attractive to the attendants. However, maybe this admittance was not seen as harsh as it is interpreted. Because they were gifted with the best equivalent of the currency of

that times and also, it should be an honor to be able to receive a kind of gift from an empire like that. From this approach, the reason of getting dressed like Ottomans can be explained as becoming a part of them. An example of a gift exchange stated by Atasoy and Uluç (2012, p.120):

One of the earlier recorded Ottoman silks reaching western Europe as royal gifts is in 1504, when Sultan Bayezid II included Bursa fabrics, among them patterned silks with gold thread (brocatello d'oro) and camlet, as part of the gifts he sent to the Venetian Signoria.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF THE SELECTED TEXTILE BASED GOODS AS BESTOWED DIPLOMATIC GIFTS

Textile based goods were much more preferred in the Ottoman Empire as gift exchanges as diplomatic gifts to be given, sent and bestowed. Imber, Kiyotaki and Murphey (2005, p.118) have stated that:

Textiles were in general favorite gifts of the pre- modern Ottoman Empire. They were not only easy to transport but also the preferred way to display the status. Furthermore, they were, compared with the income of the lower strata of society, extremely expensive. Embroidered handkerchiefs, napkins, towels, wrappers, barber's aprons, but also underwear, caftans and fabrics of all kinds and prices were considered to be

fashionable gifts in all circles of society.

One other reason of the preference of textiles as diplomatic gifts were easiness in transportation, efficient signifiers of the high value and status, and they were precious. A Turkish proverb states a similar saying in “Light in load, heavy in value”²⁶. This Turkish proverb indicates that, an object that is small and light, has more value than a loaded, heavy thing. Kiel (2007, cited in Naskali, 2007, p.103) also had emphasized that, gifts were mostly fabric or garment and added that this is introduced by Michael Rogers who is an English art historian as textiles are “the currency of the Ottoman honour’s system”²⁷.

4.1 Three Most Favored Fabric Types of the Empire

Silk fabrics of the Ottoman Empire were valued according to the “type of thread, color, pattern and the quantity of the addition of gold or silver threads that were increasing the value inevitably” (Bilgi, 2007, p.17). Colors were used in bold designs for a long period of time. The source of the colors was called as *rubia tinctorum*²⁸ in other words natural vegetable dyes. Usage of bright colors were said to impress the observers by the splendiddness of the wealth (Atasoy et al., 2001, p.21). Gold and silver threads were also used in the same

²⁶ A Turkish proverb “Yükte hafif, pahada ağır”.

²⁷ Michael Rogers, “Ottoman Luxury Trades and Their Regulations” cited by Kiel.

²⁸ *Rubia tinctorum* is the common madder or dyer's madder and “kök boya” in Turkish words.

purpose of catching the observer's eye and for enhancing the value of the fabric, garment or raiment. Whereas, dark colors of black and purple hues were used in funerals (Atasoy et al., 2001, p.22). Moreover, a memoir note of Ogier de Ghiselin de Busbecq, who was an ambassador of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V to the Sublime Porte in the 1550s, had recorded the Ottoman superstitions about dark colors such as black and purple, which were considered unlucky in his note:

No one in Turkey ever appears publicly in black raiment, unless he is the victim of serious financial loss or some other heavy calamity. Purple is held to confer distinction, but is regarded in time of war as a prophetic death... (Ghiselin, cited in Atasoy et al., 2001, p.22).

By some means, Ottoman had also put some codes to the colors. Although not too much information could be provided from the literature, it was interpreted that the dark colors were for the funerals and the mourning, and bright colors were for creating impressions. Through use of bold motifs and bright colors it was like an optical illusion served through the dresses. *Kemha*²⁹, *Seraser*³⁰ and *Zerbaft*³¹ were the most valuable types of Ottoman fabrics and were used for making Ottoman caftans. As these types were the most valued and consequently the most expensive ones, the production process of them were strictly controlled and put under laws. Special laws for the crafting those fabrics were taken as measurements for preventing overuse of the main materials such as precious metal

²⁹ Please See page 12.

³⁰ Please See page 12.

³¹ *Zerbaft* is a type of Ottoman Brocaded Silk.

threads. Afterwards, the palace experts for quality check controlled the woven fabrics (Atasoy, 2001,p.17). As the crafting of the fabrics was so vital, the crafting process was taken seriously. This is verified in Atasoy's utterance:

The production of figured silks was a collaborative effort by silk designers, technicians and artisans, all with specialized skills. Specialization contributed significantly to the efficient production of these very costly textiles. Archival documents indicate that some silk designers created specific fabric structures, just as some weavers specialized in particular weaves, and that draw looms were dressed to produce specific weave structures. For example, an imperial Palace register dated 1557 lists 71 kemha makers, 18 velvet makers, and 8 kemha designers (Atasoy, 2001, p.18).

4.1.1 Velvet (*Çatma*³², *Kadife*³³)

Atasoy (2001, p.16) described *velvet* as one of the most important of three weaves of the Ottoman Empire and she claims that although, it is not so distinguishable to the naked eye, Ottomans have developed a great advantage of patterned twill weaves. The first type of Ottoman velvet fabrics to be discussed is *çatma*.

Çatma is a kind of Ottoman Velvet. Ottoman velvets were similar to the Italian Velvets, which were also known, for their high quality. Due to the reciprocal contacts between the Ottoman Empire and Italy, some researchers assert that it was hard to identify one from the other, due to their similarities and also the case of Ottoman Sultan's preferring Italian velvets quality. Returning back to the

³² *Çatma* is a kind of Ottoman Velvet fabric.

³³ *Kadife* is a kind of Ottoman Velvet fabric. And also *kadife* is the Turkish meaning of the Velvet.

subject, depending upon Bilgi's (2007, p.17) description; *çatma* was a brocaded velvet, in which the ground was generally composed of a woven velvet and additional motifs were in silver *klaptan*³⁴, or occasionally the other way around, figure 4.1 represents an example of a *çatma* is given as a visual analysis to define the type, motif, color, approximate year or decade, and the place where it is preserved today and also includes its original inventory number.

³⁴ *Klaptan* is composition of thread formed by a gilt metal or gold metal thread which is mixed by cotton thread (Altay, 1979).



Figure 4.1 An Example of *Çatma*

Altay (1979, p.29) described *Kadife* as; "...a piled material in which both warp and weft are made of silk and came into existence in mid fifteenth century". Also, Atasoy (2001, p.16) defined velvet as; "... is composed of a three-dimensional surface, with areas covered in projecting pile and other voided areas without pile which often covered with metal thread".

4.1.2 Brocaded Silk (*Kemha, Zerbaft, Serenk*)

Kemha was woven in warp and weft in silk, and then completed with the supplemental weft threads which formed the motifs were made out of silk and *klaptan* which was a thread consisting silver and gold filament wound around a silk core (Atasoy, 2001, p.17). Atasoy described *kemha*, as '*lampas weave*' and had a weaving of a vertically orientated satin weave, which contrasted with a horizontally orientated twill weave.

Kemha and *Seraser* fabrics were similar, but differed due to the use of material. *Klaptan* was used through the weaving process for creating a *kemha* (Figure 4.2), but in *seraser* metal threads, which are more colourful and vary in design (Altay, 1979, p.29). *Seraser* was expressing more value and luxury and was called as 'Cloth of Gold'.

“The oldest kemha is dating back to the fifteenth century, which were made for Sultan Mehmed the conqueror”³⁵.



Figure 4.2 An Example of *Kemha*

³⁵ Altay, 1979, p.29

Next type of Ottoman Brocaded Silk fabric is *Zerbaft*. *Zerbaft* is called as one of the richest of the Ottoman fabrics, which is type brocade with some motifs, which are woven with gold thread (Atasoy et al., 2001, p.17). Brocaded silk type; *Zerbaft* were renown as high quality textiles which had a structure consistent with *Seraser* but with a different warp order (Atasoy et al., 2001, p.219). *Zerbaft* was also exemplified in the figure 4.3, in the table, which takes place in the end of this section.



Figure 4.3 An Example of *Zerbaft*

The last type of the brocaded silk is *Serenk*. *Serenk* came into existence in the second half of the fifteenth century. *Serenk's* most apparent feature was that, instead of using gold and silver threads, it was woven on a yellow colored silk (Figure 4.4). Despite, the outstanding use of the color crimson; red, and blue lines of the motif, the yellow basement can be distinguished to the naked eye. Altay (1979, p.30) stated, "Oldest example of *Serenk* in the Ottoman Empire was belonging to the Sultan Bayezid II.



Figure 4.4 An Example of *Serenk*

4.1.3 *Seraser* (Cloth of Gold)

Figure 4.5, was stated as one of the best example of *Seraser* caftan, due to the use of gilt-metal ground. *Seraser* was literally defined as from top to toe, completely in Ottoman dictionary (Yegin, 1997,

p.622). Atasoy claimed that *seraser* fabrics were specifically intended for use in large ceremonial garments, providing the powerful visual effect. Englishman Thomas Dallam (cited in Atasoy et al., 2001, p.36) was dazzled when he saw the Sultan and his court attired in cloth of gold (*Seraser*). Cloth of gold and silver or in other words *Seraser* was determined and discussed as the most expensive and luxurious weaving type were similar to the French taquete's of the time (Atasoy et al., 2001, p.16). *Seraser* fabrics were the most preferred fabric for the making of the raiments to give the splendiddness visually. Atasoy, et al. (2001, pp.221-223) explained the definition of *Seraser* that: "Seraser was woven as warp made out of silk, and the weft was made of either silk wounds with silver or gold threads or silver gilt wire".



Figure 4.5 An Example of *Seraser*






In addition Altay inserts valuable information on *Seraser*:

Seraser fabrics were supervised during the embroidering process by head of *Seraser* (*Seraser Başı*). *Seraser* fabrics were the most preferred one's for the diplomatic gifts to be bestowed. Thus, their production phase was strictly controlled; great

measurements were taken to prevent imitations. Furthermore, the number of *seraser* making ateliers was also limited in number. However, despite the taken precautions, due to the economic decline of the emperor, the quality of the *seraser*'s were diminished through the end of the seventeenth century and the ruling Sultan had forbidden the production of the *seraser* (1979, pp.16-7).

Throughout the decades and centuries, above all preciousness, Ottoman Empire's preferences changed and this was reflected to their choices of the weaving types. The economic state of the Sultanate, cross cultural relations or even the gained or lost wars were the reasons of the changes of the preferences. Hence, weaving types were depending on the materials that were used, and motifs had gone under changes due to the changes of the *nakkaş*'s; the draftsmen of the royal workshop ateliers. These changes could only be interfered from the styles and motifs of the garments.

Table 4.1 Examples of Three Most Favored Fabric Types of the Empire

<p>Fabric Type : Velvet (Çatma)</p> <p>Motif : Chintamani (çintamani), tulips, carnations, rosebuds, hyacinths</p> <p>Colour : Crimson and ivory (metal thread)</p> <p>Year : 16th century</p> <p>Location : Sadberk Hanım Museum, Istanbul</p> <p>Explanation : Flower depictions are to narrate heaven and they are put in the cage of Chintamani roundels looking like an eye.</p> 	<p>Fabric Type : Brocade Silk (Kemba)</p> <p>Motif : Artichoke, pomegranate, undulating vines</p> <p>Colour : Gilt- metal and silver thread, Crimson, Lapis blue touches</p> <p>Year : Second half of the 16th century</p> <p>Location : Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul</p> <p>Explanation : Vegetal motifs of artichokes and pomegranate are used in big scales for the composition. Undulating vines are surrounding vegetal motifs.</p> 	<p>Fabric Type : Zorbaft</p> <p>Motif : Chintamani (çintamani), Split palmettes</p> <p>Colour : Gilt- metal thread</p> <p>Year : circa 1520</p> <p>Location : Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul</p> <p>Explanation : Zorbafts were successful imitators of Seraser (Cloth of Gold) fabrics.</p> 	<p>Fabric Type : Brocade Silk (Serask)</p> <p>Motif : Ogival medallions, tulips, carnations</p> <p>Colour : Yellow base colour of silk, crimson, Lapis blue, green</p> <p>Year : Late 17th century</p> <p>Location : Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul</p> <p>Explanation : Large scale of ogival medallions depict the supremacy of the Sultanate, which is strengthened by tulip depictions and leaves. Bright colour usage are eye-catching. It is believed that the design scheme comes from Italian origins, but melted in the Ottoman narration pot.</p> 	<p>Fabric Type : Cloth of Gold (Seraser)</p> <p>Motif : Pomegranate</p> <p>Colour : Gilt metal ground, Crimson</p> <p>Year : Second half of the 16th century</p> <p>Location : Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul</p> <p>Explanation : Pomegranate motifs were used in large scale as covering the whole garment with repetitions to emphasize the richness.</p> 
<p>Cited from Bilgi, 2007, p.61</p> <p>inventory no: - Ömer M. Koç</p>	<p>Cited from Atasoy et al., 2001, p.65</p> <p>inventory no: 13/1458</p>	<p>Cited from Atasoy et al., 2001, p.218</p> <p>inventory no: 13/1902</p>	<p>Cited from Atasoy et al., 2001, p.79</p> <p>inventory no: 13/932</p>	<p>Cited from Atasoy et al., 2001, p.36</p> <p>inventory no: 13/9</p>

4.2 Inspirational Sources of the Motifs

Ottoman Empire was transferring its multi- ethnic structure to its every branch. Although, it was composed of a multi- religious society, Islam was having the highest and the most powerful impact on its arts and crafts. Ottoman Sultans wanted a reflection of the ornamented heaven images all around them. This ornamentation was reflected in the best type of materials such as silk, gold, silver and precious stones (Denny, 2004, p.27). The emphasis on the wealth was so important that, it was not abnormal to wear, to step on and to cover every spot with the precious valued and crafted fabrics. The Sultans somehow felt better and secure in their overly worn caftans and with all that layers of dresses.

As Atasoy stated, for Ottoman Sultans the production of the precious fabrics were highly important and organization of the production was meticulously settled, which was also controlled and confirmed by supervisors. The quality of the craftwork was never left to chance. The weaving types of Ottoman Empire were distinguished by their layout and motif designs. At the times of the Ottoman Empire, there were other Islamic powers too. Whereas, their styles were close but quite easily left behind the Ottoman motifs. For instance, Atasoy (2001, p.18) pointed out a difference between Ottomans and Safavids

by inserting that “Safavids were using humans and animals in their designs, which is almost never encountered in the Ottoman weaving tradition”.

Moreover, Ottoman motifs had two inspirational sources for designs. One was the result of the cross- cultural relations, which were newly contacted, and coming from its roots and the other inspirational source was the religious representations. The background of the designers was also reflected in the motifs through their abilities of handcrafting. The first designer or draftsmen (*nakkaş*) to be exemplified is Shah Kulu was a well- known master, who received from the Sultan the extraordinary salary of one hundred silver coins (*akça*) a day (Mustafa Ali: an Ottoman historian written on a treatise called the *Virtues of Artists* in 1587, cited in Denny, 2004, p.25). Shah Kulu was primarily identified in the history of Ottoman court art with a highly distinctive style known variously today as the *saz* or the *hatayi* style. The exact meaning of the term *saz* is defined as a kind of mythic Turkic enchanted forest by Denny (2004, p.33). Moreover, according to Denny (2004, p.35), with the *saz* pattern or design, thin- stemmed plants with complex floral palmettes were made. And also drawings were sometimes including as subjects *peri* (winged angelic or fairylike creatures) often associated both with the divine angels mentioned in Qur’an (2004, p.35).

Furthermore, Taylor claims that the inspirational sources of the Ottoman embroidery were deriving from the natural world of

flowers, leave and trees (1993, p.175). Flower world was evaluated as the core inspirational source and also, which roots were lying in the Ottoman Empire's passion for the flowers, in real sense. Sultanate had owned gardens of different flowers and water was also already running in between the created gardens. The usage of flowers were emphasized by Atasoy and Uluç:

Although, Ottomans cultivated flowers before the time of Süleyman I, the artistic blossoming that took place during this Sultan's reign was also felt in the horticulture. Suffused with flower motifs that lent animation to fabric designs, book covers, miniature paintings, illuminations, tiles, textiles, utensils and ornaments (2012, p.152).

This reflection of flowers were depicted in a more naturalistic way by the court illuminator; Kara Memi who was another important draftsmen (*nakkaş*). Every *nakkaş* has had his personal style and were to be identified by their designs. While Shah Kulu was identified with *saz* or *hatayi* motif designs, Kara Memi was identified with floral designs of roses, carnations, tulips and hyacinths. The times mentioned for Shah Kulu to be registered in the Ottoman records were around the early sixteenth century; 1520's. Kara Memi was a pupil of Shah Kulu following him, but differing in style with his floral depictions.

4.3 Analysis of the Selected Textile Based Diplomatic Gifts

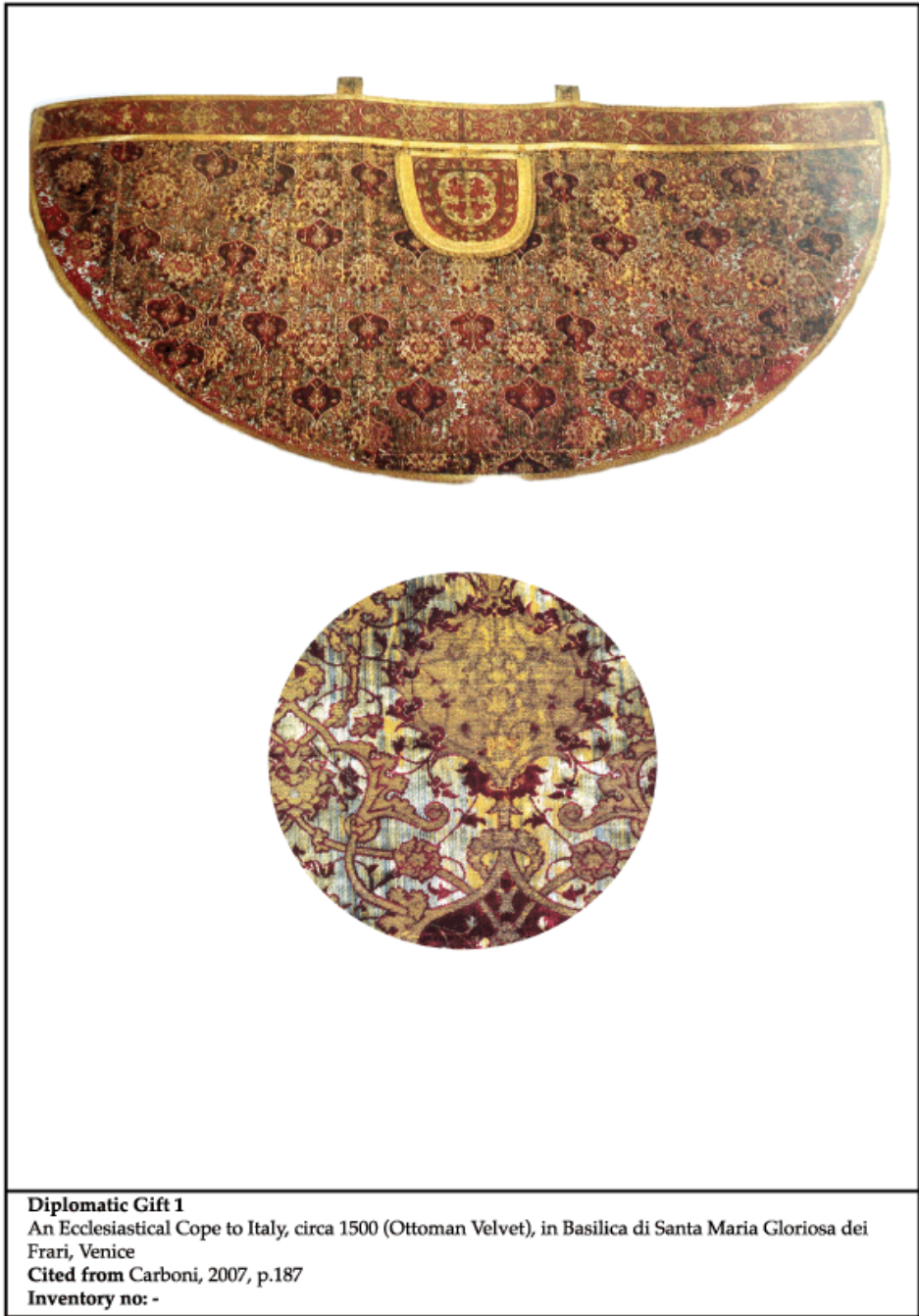
In the light of the literature review, a limited number of textile-based diplomatic gifts were selected to be analyzed within the scope of the thesis. All the other examples, which were not selected for this analysis, can be found in the appendix section. The elimination was due to the missing information about the gifts which resulted in doubts if they were given as gifts as they were not categorized in the inventory documentations. Thus, the reasons of the selection of a limited number of examples were as follows: .

- First reason was referencing the sources of the bestowed gifts as diplomatic gifts either on the inventories or categorized as diplomatic gifts in catalogues of the collections. Although there were different examples of diplomatic gifts which are mentioned in the books, but which were not recorded as diplomatic gifts on records were eliminated.
- Second reason was due their high quality which endured to the passing time and reached today by the preserving's of the museums, churches and monasteries. Some diplomatic gifts were either lost or damaged in time.
- Third reason was that they were bestowed to the European countries. In order to make a comparison between the Ottomans and the European world, from the viewpoint of

social values both of which shared the same period of time was made.

- Moreover, the state of being dateable had become the fourth and the last reason. For making a precise analysis, having a concrete time interval was highly important which also lead to get an idea of the Ottoman Empire, what incidents they had passed through time and if these were reflected on the production and the usage of the textile based goods.

To initiate with, the first selected bestowed diplomatic gift of the Ottoman Empire (Figure 4.6), which was bestowed to Italy as a fabric, was stated by Carboni to be “cut, assembled and embroidered in Venice” (2007, p.187) (Table 2). The type of fabric type was ‘Ottoman Velvet’. This fabric was transformed into an ecclesiastical cope used as a clerical vestment. The fabric dates back approximately to the sixteenth century. Atasoy et al. (2001, p.122) defined this piece as; “A complex mélange of mainly Islamic vocabulary with an Italianate syntax, the design of this fabric is formed by two colours of velvet pile and very rich brocading in gold thread”. In addition Atasoy and Uluç (2012, p.117) mentioned that the embroidery was made by the Barberini coat of arms.



Diplomatic Gift 1

An Ecclesiastical Cope to Italy, circa 1500 (Ottoman Velvet), in Basilica di Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice

Cited from Carboni, 2007, p.187

Inventory no: -

Figure 4.6

Second selected bestowed diplomatic gift of the Ottoman Empire, which was selected was given to Russia as a fabric especially given to the Tsar Ivan IV in 1551, mid of sixteenth century (Table 2). The bestowal of the Ottoman was transformed into lining or cover of a prayer box, which was used by Ivan IV. This information is also clear in Atasoy and Uluç's (2012, pp.101-2) words "An Ottoman brocaded silk cloth (*kemha*) was used to line the Tsar Ivan IV's (1547-1584) prayer box, which has an inscription on its wooden door recording that it was made in 1551, in the Cathedral of the Dormition in the Kremlin". The type of fabric is Ottoman Brocaded Silk (*Kemha*) (Figure 4.7).



Diplomatic Gift 2

Fabric(Ottoman Brocaded Silk- Kemha) for the Tsar Ivan used as the cover of Prayer Box, 1551, in Cathedral of Dormition, Kremlin, Moscow

Cited from Atasoy and Uluç, 2012, p.101

Inventory no: 122sob

Figure 4.7

Third bestowed diplomatic gift of the Ottoman Empire was bestowed again to the same Russian Tsar IV in 1558. The type of the fabric is Ottoman Brocaded Silk (*Kemha*) (Table2). The gift was presented as a fabric but used as a horse cover. The time interval is following the previous bestowal of the Ottomans, sixteenth century. Atasoy and Uluç (2012, pp.77-8) give a reference to this bestowal:

In 1558 the imperial merchant Mustafa Çelebi was received several times by Tsar Ivan IV, and presented the tsar and his sons with textiles, a fact acknowledged in a letter from Ivan IV to Süleyman I, in which he says 'your servant and merchant Mustafa was brought into my presence and delivered to me your letter. From it I learned that you had given him gold and garments from your treasury'. A fabric with a pattern of huge tulips used to make a royal robe and later a horsecloth was among the items brought by Mustafa Çelebi.

It was also reported by Atasoy and Uluç (2012, p.78), the bestowed Ottoman brocaded silk (*kemha*) was considered as an extremely valuable fabric and no piece of it was left unused, whereas, it was used completely.



Figure 4.8

Fourth selected bestowed diplomatic gift of the Ottoman Empire was the last example addressed to Russia (Table 2). The type of the fabric was same with the previous bestowed fabrics, ottoman brocaded silk (*kemha*). The bestowal year dates back to the early seventeenth century, 1632. The addressee was Tsar Mikhail Fyodorovich. Atasoy and Uluç (2012, p.92) stated that the gift was bestowed by Archimandrite Amphilohii, a representative of Patriarch Constantinople who had traveled to Moscow with an Ottoman embassy. The first usage of the caftan was altered into a ceremonial overcoat in 1645 for tsar's sons. Later in 1687, as the overcoat was worn, the parts of it were used for making a shroud for the Kremlin Cathedral of Dormition (Atasoy and Uluç, 2012, p.92) (Figure 4.9).



Diplomatic Gift 4
Ottoman Brocaded Silk- Kemha used as shroud presented to Tsar, 1632, Kremlin Armoury Museum, Moscow
Cited from Atasoy et al., 2001, p.113
Inventory no: TK-2179






Figure 4.9

The last selected bestowed diplomatic gift (Figure 4.10) of the Ottoman Empire was bestowed to the Swedish ambassador of Gustaf Celsing in 1711, early eighteenth century (Table 2). The type of the fabric is *Seraser* the cloth of gold with motifs of large pomegranates surrounded by serrated leaves. Atasoy et al., (2001,p.252) records this caftan “this caftan is documented having been given to Swedish ambassador Gustaf Celsing by Ahmed III, during an audience Gustaf complained about the behavior of Baltacı Mehmed Paşa at the Peace of Prutz”. The Celsing collection was said to be well-documented. The quality of this seraser is rated rather as a low quality, which is indicators of the eighteenth century, has similarities with the ambassadorial gifts made in the same century.



Figure 4.10

Table 2 Analysis of the Selected Textile Based Diplomatic Gifts

Analysis Matrix of the Selected Textile Based Diplomatic Gifts								
	From	To	Year	Type	Style	Kind	Usage	Location
	Ottoman Empire	Italy	circa 1500	Ottoman Velvet	Palmette motif	Fabric	Cope	Basilica di Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice
	Ottoman Empire	Russia	1551	Ottoman Brocaded Silk-Kemha	Pomegranate Palmettes	Fabric	Cover of Prayer box	Cathedral of Dormition, Kremlin, Moscow
	Ottoman Empire	Russia	1558	Ottoman Brocaded Silk-Kemha	Large Tulips	Fabric	Horse cover	Kremlin Armoury Museum, Moscow
	Ottoman Empire	Russia	1632	Ottoman Brocaded Silk-Kemha	Split and whole Palmettes	Fabric	Shroud	Kremlin Armoury Museum, Moscow
	Ottoman Empire	Sweden	1711	Seraser (Cloth of Gold)	Large Pomegranates	Cafan	Cafan	Celsing Collection, Bibi Castle, Sweden

4.4 Outcomes of the Diplomatic Gifts

The outcomes of the gift exchanges are evaluated by Louis Mackie, who has an article about '*Ottoman Caftans with an Italian Identity*' (Mackie, in Faroqhi and Neumann, 2004, pp. 223-4) and stating that, the indirect result of the diplomatic gift exchanges are the mimicry of the Ottoman textiles made by Italian weavers and manufacturers and Sultans are not aware of this and is clothed in authentic Ottoman silks. While Ottomans aimed to ottomanize the foreigners in their own dressing codes, they were wearing Italian woven Ottoman designs and may become as an extension of the Italian hands.

Furthermore, the aim of ottomanizing the foreigners was neutralized also by the Russians. After the receive of an Ottoman fabric or garment, Russian reign was generally re-use them. This was clear from the examples of the recorded Ottoman diplomatic gifts. Atasoy and Uluç (2012, p.92) emphasized this claim on an inventory report of an ambassador "an Ottoman length of cloth was made into a caftan that was presented in 1632 to Tsar Mikhail Fyodorovich by Archimandrite Amphilohii. In 1645, the caftan was altered into a ceremonial overcoat (*platno*³⁶)". The underlying reason of re-use of the received Ottoman gifts may be to the same reason of the Ottomans, which was clarified by Bruhl by purifying the foreigner that was discussed under the section of the gift theory. Russian's re-using, cutting, modeling and also embroidering the Ottoman

³⁶ *Platno* was a type of Russian ceremonial overcoat. Russian court was using their own terms to indicate the garments.

diplomatic gifts was to purify the received item from being Ottoman, and by adding Russian elements they become a part of Russia and not any more an extension of the Ottomans, as well as Sultans.

On contrary to the concepts of ottomanizing or purifying, Ottoman styles were influential, especially in European countries, which was stated by Taylor in:

The Ottoman Turkish style also influenced a far larger area of Western Europe when it was taken up as high fashion and influenced the arts, even appearing in the theatre and the opera house; it also appeared on the streets as adaptations of high fashion, which became a parody and caricature in popular culture (Taylor, 1993, p.161).

Taylor's statement showed that Ottoman Empire had an unexpected influence on Europe surprisingly not based on conquest but on aesthetics of fashion.

Generally, the aim of purifying the received gift was done again and again by the recipient and the gift givers. The reason of this continuous change was due to the transforming the other. In other words, was transformed by the receivers for appropriating to the recipient's own customs, traditions and social values by the re-use. Apart from the transformation of the received gifts, it was clear that the Ottoman Empire had an impact on the shaping of the dressing and fashion tastes of the Europe as being influential. This is inferred from the re-uses of the received gifts especially which are used in ecclesiastical usages.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The Ottoman Empire obviously had used the diplomatic gifts to achieve some expectations or policies over the world. This thesis was focused on the textile based goods as bestowals of diplomatic gifts addressed to the European countries. The reason of choosing textile based goods were their motifs, which were used as expressions of the social values that have been reflected on the fabrics and garments. Silk fabrics, gold and silver threads were for enhancing the visual appearance. Sultans as the extension of God were dressed in impressive caftans, which were extended to their ankles, made them look as the greatest. The inherited of gifting tradition was used both structuring inner hierarchical order and shaping the external relations in means of diplomacy. Their use of gifting tradition is

named an extension of *ad hoc*³⁷ diplomacy, which was implemented by the Ottomans even in eighteenth century whereas European countries had left this method and passed to the permanent methods of diplomacy in fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The reason of Ottomans insistence on the use of *ad hoc* policies were due their idea of seeing their selves as the most superior of all and consequently being represented by the lower level ranged countries was counted as being humiliated by them (Tuncer, 2010, p.13). This could be stated as the main reason of insisting on not having permanent envoys in the other countries. This insistence continued until the late eighteenth century, and changed in the early nineteenth century before the Tanzimat (Reforms era) era, in 1835 (Unat, 2008, pp.221-240). The basis of this change lied in the defeat of Vienna, in 1683 and was signed with the Karlowity Treaty, in 1699 (Renda, 2009, p.1107). Moreover, Renda (2009, p.1107) stated that “The Ottomans, after the Vienna defeat, consciously opened up to the West for the first time, accepted the technical superiority of the West and sent ambassadors to the Euroepan countries for longer periods of time, not only for political dialogue, but also to provide information in the fields of technology, science and culture”. As stated previously, Ottoman ambassadors were writing documents of their witnesses abroad as mission reports (*sefaretname*³⁸) for describing what they saw.

³⁷ Ad hoc: a method of temporary diplomacy.

³⁸ See page 3, note 2.

To conclude, the answers of the main research questions stated at the beginning are addressed and answered in the scope of the gathered information:

1. Throughout the research, it was clear that the Ottomans were considering themselves as the envoys of the Gods and consequently the most superior of all. Their giving of gifts was creating their extensions to pass to the communities which were in the same mentality with seeing themselves as the extensions of God (See also the quotation from Solnon on page 29). Gifts were acting as the carriers of their characteristic features, which were transmitted, to the recipients. In the case of conquest and annexation of a land, Ottomans were forgiving the lives of the people and the representative of the community, which was gifted with Ottoman caftans, were accepted as sacred and believed to become an extension of the Empire (Adanır, 2013, p.50). The gifting of the caftan can be seen as a symbolic extension; the unseen transmittance is having or owning a Sultan's features, which could be evaluated as another gift. The process of dressing the foreigner was clearly explained in Lévy Bruhl's theory of purification of the foreigner, by making him to become one of the tribe or community, was possible for Ottomans through dressing the foreigners as one of the sultanate with robes of Hil'at or caftans in other words by ottomanizing them. In

addition to Bruhl's theory, Lévi Strauss's theory of transforming a foreigner for being one of the tribe in order to be accepted in the tribe. Thus, both Bruhl and Strauss's theories are explaining the logic of the Ottomans, which were ottomanizing their visitors, ambassador, travellers, kings and etc. In other words, ottomanizing the incomers or gift receivers was an underlying reason of sending, giving and bestowing gifts. But, the aim of ottomanizing was somehow prevented by the gift receivers which is evident in the selected textile based diplomatic gifts bestowals which can be identified in the analysis matrix which is above, four of five gifts were used differently from their origin of production. For instance the diplomatic gift number 1 (Figure 4.6) was made originally as an Ottoman velvet fabric, and was used as an ecclesiastical cope in the church. Moreover, it was cut, assembled and embroidered in Venice (see p.58). Second example is the Ottoman brocaded silk (*kemha*) which was again given as a fabric in origin and was used as a lining of a prayer box in the end (Figure 4.7). Third example (Figure 4.8) and fourth example (Figure 4.9) were addressed to Russia both as Ottoman brocaded silk (*kemha*) similarly to the second instance were given as fabrics then transformed into a horsecloth and into a shroud. With the given instances above, the gift receivers or in other words recipients were neutralizing the aim of the Ottomans in ottomanizing by re-

using, modeling, cutting, assembling and embroidering the Ottoman's bestowals. In acting like this, the main reason may be the purification of the foreigner from the side of the European countries. But another interesting point was that the bestowals of the Ottoman were generally used in cleric or ecclesiastical usages, may be this was either due to the high quality of the fabrics or garments or to the acceptance of the superiority of the Ottoman Empire without recognizing it.

2. Gift giving was a type of diplomatic relation for the Ottomans as an enhancer and continuator implemented after the conquest of a land. This was the reason why it was an important ritual for the Ottomans. The gifts were not only given for enhancing or for continuing the diplomatic relations in a good manner but also were given as rewards which created the hierarchical order in internal relations of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, by the textile based goods as bestowed diplomatic gifts of the Ottoman Empire which still exist in the collections of the receiver countries, the connotation of the Turkish proverb was emphasized: "The horse dies, the field remains. The hero dies, his legacy remains"³⁹.

3. According to the question, if the gift exchanges were chosen depending upon whom the receiver from the sides of quality, it was concluded that the recipient's status, title or rank was

³⁹ A Turkish proverb "At ölür, meydan kalır. Yiğit ölür, şan kalır."

affecting the type of garment's fabric and also its quality. Solnon (2013, p.115) expressed this idea by stating that "Ottomans, like other eastern countries, were creating bounds between the recipient's status and the value of gift. A gift of low value was perceived as decreasing the recipient's status and also a humiliation. Thus, gifts were seen as a part of honor and had the degree of the hierarchic order had to be considered". The last example of the bestowed diplomatic gifts (Figure 4.10) was a type of *seraser*; cloth of gold, which was considered to be the most luxurious type of fabric of the Ottomans, was given in 1711 to Swedish ambassador Gustaf Celsing was a low quality *seraser*. This was due to the economic state of the Ottoman empire, towards the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of eighteenth century, the income state of the royal treasury was decreased, and consequently, gold thread requirement for making *seraser's* were become hard. But in meaning or connotation, *seraser* was seen as the best quality and the most precious of the Ottoman fabrics. The bestowal to the Swedish ambassador was given as a caftan, and was used as a caftan. The only bestowed gift, which was used and preserved, as its main function was this one.

4. According to the last question of the role of Ottoman Empire in sending gifts, it was concluded that the Ottoman Empire was seeing itself as the most superior. The Empire's role in

sending gifts cannot be considered as being a complete pioneer, because, the Ottoman Empire inherited this tradition from the lands it had conquered and also gift giving was an ancient tribe as described by Marcel Mauss. It can be said that, the Ottoman Empire had inspired the recipient countries in means of rewarding their courtsmen which could be clearly seen in the chapter 3.2.2 in the instances of Russia, which had used this tradition or implementation as a tool. The European countries according to the Ottoman rituals carried the tradition of the gift giving. This claim is exemplified in Solnon (2013, pp.115-6), “ In 1517, Venetian envoys that were aware of the settlements of the Ottomans, brought diplomatic gifts of fabrics and caftans to the Sultan Selim I, had organized them meticulously, according to the orders of the Ottomans”.

The Ottoman Empire had led an important role in bestowing diplomatic gifts. Furthermore, for the Ottomans “The gift giver is superior than the recipient.”⁴⁰

In conclusion, the Ottoman Empire was clearly influential on its contacted countries which had either occurred through conquest or gift giving. Ottomans were in the belief of that they were the shadows of God on earth and had used this belief to implement their

⁴⁰ Please see page 22, note: 32

power and supremacy. Diplomatic gifts were tools of exchange which distributed dressing elements and fabrics and reflected daily life of the Ottomans composed of ceremonies. Moreover, diplomatic gifts served as mediums of communication, for building diplomatic relations as the carriers of the social values of the Ottoman Empire. The sent, given or bestowed gifts were indicators of geographic feature of the land and were representing the social status of the sender. The underlying reason of gift giving was to ottomanize the foreigners and make them to be an Ottoman both temporarily and permanently. The reason why textile based diplomatic gifts were chosen to be analyzed in this study was mainly due to the reason that textile goods were the best representations of visual displays of the Ottomans which were proving the wealth, power and the status. In addition, it was adding more value to the receiver and his treasury.

Throughout the research, the sources, which are used, were an indirect type, which is called as secondary sources. In further studies primary sources could be used through learning the local language of the Ottomans and then be able to make interpretations on the findings of diplomatic gifts which are preserved in the monasteries, churches and the museums of the European countries.

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APPENDICES



Robes of Hil'at, Ottoman Brocaded Silk (Kemha), in 1541, to Siegmund von Herberstein as the ambassador of Austria, given by the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, oilpainting, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (cited from Atasoy and Uluç, 2012, p.359)



Russian Orthodox Dalmatic (Sakkos) of Ottoman Brocaded Silk, First half of Seventeenth Century, Sergiev-Posad Museum Preserve (Zagorsk), Russia (cited from Atasoy and Uluç, 2012, p.153).



Russian Orthodox Cope (Phelonion), First half of the 17th century, Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (Cited from Atasoy et al., 2001, p.149).



Dalmatic (Sakkos) of Ottoman Cloth of Gold (Seraser), before 1634, Kremlin Armory Museum, Moscow (Cited from Atasoy et al., 2001, pp.48-9).



Quivers, Leather, Velvet, Silver and Gold Thread, Ottoman, 17th century, Museo Nazionale del Bargello (Cited from De Luca, 2003-2004, p.132).



Two harnesses, Ottoman, 17th century, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (Cited from Scalini, 2003-2004, pp.156-7).