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Pelin Başı

ADVERTISING "THE NEW WOMAN":
FASHION, BEAUTY, AND HEALTH
IN *WOMEN'S WORLD**

One of the major contributions of recent scholarship on women in the Middle East has been the retrieval of primary sources from historical obscurity, rendering women visible in the social sciences and humanities over the last three decades. Starting in the 1980s, a new wave of feminist scholarship on Turkey steadily engaged official history and Kemalist nationalism, directly or indirectly, by unearthing sources and forging arguments that complicated the neat picture of women's liberation drawn by previous accounts. Indeed, the new scholarship has proved a formidable challenge to what Elizabeth B. Frierson calls the "amnesia" of official historiography,¹ i.e. its glorification of the Kemalist regime's emancipation of women by erasing the late-Ottoman past from collective memory. Meanwhile, bibliographical studies, prepared individually or under the auspices of the Women's Library and Information Center, founded in Istanbul in 1991, have made recent works on the history of Muslim women more accessible to contemporary audiences.²

Through an exploration of the Ottoman popular press in Istanbul, research on the Ottoman women's movement has unearthed the kind of historical evidence that questions orientalist and nationalist perspectives along with the overemphasis on Kemalist reforms in the official history.³ In addition, comprehensive analytical studies on Ottoman Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon have enhanced understanding of

* The author is grateful to the Women's Library and Information Center in Istanbul and to the support of the Portland State University, Faculty Enhancement Grant.

¹ Elizabeth Brown Frierson, "Unimagined Communities: State, Press, and Gender in the Hamidian Era," (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1996), pp. 14-16.

² Bibliographical studies include those prepared by Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, *Istanbul Kütüphanelerindeki Kadın Dergileri Bibliyografyası (1869-1927)* (Istanbul, 1992); Aslı Davaz-Mardin, *Hanımlar Aleminden Roza'ya: Kadın Süreli Yayınları Bibliyografyası, 1928-1996* (Istanbul, 1998).

³ See Yaprak Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap. Nezihe Muhiddin, Kadınlar Halk Fırkası, Kadın Birliği*. (Istanbul, 2003); Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* (Istanbul, 1994); Aynur Demirdirek, *Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat Hakkı Arayışının bir Hikayesi* (Istanbul, 1983), reprinted as "In Pursuit of the Ottoman Women's Movement," trans. Zehra F. Arat, in Zehra F. Arat, ed. *Deconstructing Images of "The Turkish Woman"* (New York, 1998); Frierson, "Unimagined Communities."

women's movements and the popular press in regional contexts.⁴ As a result, much more is known about women's publications, such as *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World),⁵ issued between 1913 and 1921 by Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-u Nisvan Cemiyeti (Association for the Defense of Women's Rights), and about the active roles women played in late-Ottoman society.

With few exceptions,⁶ scholarship on the late-Ottoman women's journals of Istanbul has focused on the women's contributions to the debate over gender relations. Although this pioneering work has shed light on a relatively invisible portion of late-Ottoman history, it has been largely defined by the contemporary feminist movement in Turkey.⁷ Consequently reconstructing a history of the Turkish women's movement has taken priority over the investigation of women and gender in everyday life: changing attitudes regarding beauty, desirability, courtship, love, marriage, and child-rearing, and related topics have hardly been analyzed in depth.⁸ Now as Deniz Kandiyoti suggests at the end of her overview of "Contemporary Feminist Scholarship," it is time to work towards "the diffusion of gender-aware perspectives throughout the humanities and social sciences in the Middle East"⁹ and to move beyond the debate about whether or not women in Turkey have been emancipated.

This study, therefore, aims to re-examine *Women's World* from a gender-aware, but broadly constructed, interdisciplinary perspective that integrates women's studies with studies of advertising and consumption. A feminist journal with a relatively long publication life, *Women's World* contained a substantial number of advertisements encouraging the consumption of modern goods and services. Many of these notices promised to address the beauty, health and fashion needs of modern women, thus constructing in effect the public image of "the new woman." Study of that image, in turn, should facilitate our understanding of both the construction of the modern self in the emerging commercial culture and the

⁴ Examples of these include Beth Barton, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt* (New Haven, 1994); Mona L. Russell, "Creating the New Women: Consumerism, Education, and National Identity in Egypt, 1863-1922," (Ph.D. dissertation, Georgetown University, 1997); Elizabeth Thompson, *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon* (New York, 2000).

⁵ Serpil Çakır's valuable contribution to our understanding of *Women's World* is by far the most noticeable, Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadını*.

⁶ For example, see Frierson, "Unimagined Communities" and "Cheap and Easy: The Creation of Consumer Culture in Late Ottoman Society," in Donald Quataert, ed. *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922* (New York, 2000); Palmira Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908-1911* (New York, 2000).

⁷ Deniz Kandiyoti makes a compelling argument about why and how scholarship on women in the Middle East could not help but address local histories and specificities. See Kandiyoti, "Contemporary Feminist Scholarship," in Deniz Kandiyoti, ed. *Gendering the Middle East* (New York, 1996), pp. 7, 13, 15.

⁸ There are, of course, remarkable exceptions; including Alan Duben and Cem Bahar, *Istanbul Neighborhoods* (New York, 1991).

⁹ Kandiyoti, "Contemporary Feminist Scholarship," p. 18.

ambivalent relationship between gender and modernity in the late-Ottoman Middle East.

Advertising as a Field Map: Questions of Methodology

What can advertisements tell us about the women who read *Women's World*—their lifestyle and self-image, as well as conspicuous consumption in late-Ottoman society? According to Roland Marchand, advertisements can be seen as "distorting mirrors" that enhance certain images while reducing other parts of the reflection.¹⁰ Although in these limitations they are not dramatically different from conventional historical tools, as a basis for "plausible inference" advertisements actually can surmount the conventional tools because their sponsors had a vested interest in reaching key client groups and monitoring their patterns of consumption.¹¹ Advertisements, which are powerful tools of modern commercial culture, can inform us about the identity of advertisers and their customers, the marketing and reception of certain lifestyles, the nature of the shopping experience, the geography of consumption — the location of certain stores and shopping districts — in a cosmopolitan city such as Istanbul and the expectations and fantasies prevailing on matters of beauty and health.

The businesses that advertised in *Women's World* displayed an awareness that the journal was consumed predominantly, if not exclusively, by affluent Ottoman women of Muslim background. Many of the notices were addressed to "Respectable Ladies" (*muhterem hanımefendiler*) and differed in similar ways from advertisements in publications for affluent male audiences, such as *Indicateur Oriental* (1888).¹² They employed strategies based on common cultural assumptions of femininity. Clothing, cosmetics and health products and services dominated the notices in the journal, but advertisements for insurance companies, fez manufacturers, and producers of alcoholic beverages¹³ were confined to other publications targeting a well-to-do male audience and/or to local papers and catalogues published in a European language. Only a few clothing stores, a calpac [*kalpak*] shop and a business that sold French binoculars attempted to reach men by appealing to women's power of persuasion.¹⁴ Large stores with separate

¹⁰ Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream* (Berkeley, 1985), p. xvii.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. xix.

¹² A catalogue of businesses published by Cervati brothers. Uygur Kocabaşoğlu briefly explores the 165-page advertisement section of *Indicateur Oriental* in Kocabaşoğlu, *İki Arada Bir Derede* (Ankara, 1997), pp. 120-21.

¹³ Orhan Koloğlu states that the advertisements of the Hamidian era included businesses marketing alcoholic drinks. Manifesting a fierce competition between local Greek merchants and those of mainland Greece for the same market, these notices appeared even in papers that were sold mainly to Muslim audiences. Orhan Koloğlu, *Reklamcılığımızın İlk Yüzyılı 1840-1940* (Istanbul, 1999), pp. 130-32.

¹⁴ The advertisements and announcements explored in this article come from copies of *Women's World* housed in the Women's Library and Information Center in Istanbul.

departments for men, women and children were a different matter. In their perception, women readers might have been the primary decision makers in the consumption of daily goods; families might have shopped together; or men might have been viewed as potential secondary readers of their announcements. But invocation of the throne, in the form of a *tugra*, adorned no more than a handful of the notices in *Women's World*, although verbal references to state institutions and visual allusions to the crescent and star appeared more regularly.

Unlike in the United States, advertising was not a major industry in the Ottoman Empire in the 1910s; at best, it was rudimentary.¹⁵ Like some of the services and industries it advocated, advertising itself was a part of what Ayhan Aktar calls "the new lifestyle."¹⁶ Occasional articles in the Ottoman press discussed the significance of advertising and held up American and European examples.¹⁷ As late as 1901, *İkdam's* Paris correspondent complained that the advertising industry was next to non-existent in the Ottoman Empire and that the notices in contemporary Ottoman papers violated grammar rules; tended to be illegible or unclear, and included scientific mistakes.¹⁸ Orhan Koloğlu's study on the first hundred years of advertising in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey found there were at

Advertising pages in *Women's World* contained no page numbers. Only notices that appeared next to articles came with page numbers. Henceforth, references to advertisements will include the type or name of the business and issue(s) in which the notice appeared. For an example of a notice that addressed men, see the advertisement of a calpac store, which targeted Ottoman army officers (*zabitanımız*) directly. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 95 (16 Şaban 1331): 4. A few clothing businesses addressed "respectable ladies and gentlemen," but evidence that advertisers might have been targeting men through women comes, more often than not, from the presence of some male clothing items and accessories listed in these notices. For example, one notions store (*tuhafiye mağazası*) included starched shirts, neckties, watch chains and pocket watches, umbrellas and canes for men and women (*kadın ve erkek şemsiye ve bastonları*) in its list of items, in addition to exclusively feminine supplies such as decorative ribbons, blouses, skirt materials, and women's supplies (*kadın levazımatı*). See *Kadınlar Dünyası* 142 (27 Cemaziyülahir 1331). However, the main target of the majority of the advertisement notices in *Women's World* were clearly women.

¹⁵ With the exception of Koloğlu's comprehensive study, *Reklamcılığımızın İlk Yüzyılı*, there are only sketchy studies of advertising in the late-Ottoman period. Evidence of a full-fledged industry at this time is scarce. There are some studies on the origins of advertising such as Edhem Eldem, "Venedik'ten İthal Altınbaş Tiryaki," *Toplumsal Tarih* 2 (1994) and the first advertisements in official, semi-official, and a few unofficial publications in the Ottoman press such as Hamza Çakır, *Osmanlı Basınında Reklam* (Ankara, 1997). But there is no direct evidence of a major advertising industry comparable to those in the United States and major European centers in the early twentieth century.

¹⁶ Ayhan Aktar, "The Analysis of 'yellow pages' in *Annuaire Oriental*, Commercial Guides to Istanbul: Changes in occupational structure and economic activities between 1868 and 1938," *Toplum ve Bilim* 76 (1998): 105-143.

¹⁷ Koloğlu, *Reklamcılığımızın İlk Yüzyılı*, pp. 119-127.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

least six advertising agencies by 1911, but announcements regarding their operations did not become visible in the press until the post-World War I period.¹⁹

As was typical for the time, in the 1910s *Women's World* included no references to an auxiliary advertising agency. Despite announcing rates per line of communiqué, many publications were imprecise about who handled their advertising and how a price for re-runs was negotiated. Often a single notice re-appeared over the course of many months in the same publication.²⁰

Because there is no indication that *Women's World* handled advertising at a location other than its own administrative office [*idarehane*], the majority of advertisements in *Women's World* probably were prepared by the retailers themselves and were designed at the journal's printing press. Lack of evidence for an intermediary also suggests that the women publishers dealt with businesses directly or through their personal connections. That the first advertisements were for girls' schools, school supplies and books indicates that publishers of the journal, who were educators or advocates of women's education, started their work with personal contacts. Moreover, *Women's World* made some use of the early strategy of merging an advertisement with a news or editorial piece, which was ideal for businesses that had personal ties to the publisher.

Overt references to advertisers and artisans in the journal's own pages are limited to the signature of the Armenian artisan Deukmedjian [Dökmeciyan] beneath the elegantly decorated cachet on the cover, a reference to Mr. Sancakçıyan's printing shop and a couple of notices for calligraphers and plate writers.²¹ Serpil Çakır mentions some female typesetters were employed by the journal, but that was probably not before World War I,²² when war conditions and women's determination to seek employment in a variety of sectors increased their occupational choices.

According to Koloğlu, the employment of calligraphers [*hattat*] became widespread after 1908,²³ and they often collaborated with painters to attract the eye of the reader to the caption. Otherwise, calligraphic legends were hardly clear and explicit pitches for sale. Local cliché or plate designers--those who produced illustrations and decorated notices--were hard to come by before the twentieth century so there was a dearth of illustrations for notices by local merchants and small retailers.²⁴ This shortage of cliché makers may explain the scarcity of visual

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ For Deukmedjian, see the cachet of the issue *Kadınlar Dünyası* 158 (22 Safer 1332); and for Sancakçıyan, see the cover of *Kadınlar Dünyası* 141 (20 Cemaziyülahir 1331). Sancakçıyan's printing shop is also advertised in the French edition of *Kadınlar Dünyası* 123 (21 Aralık 1913-3 Ocak 1914). For notices regarding calligraphers and plate writers, see *Kadınlar Dünyası* 128 (11 Rebayulevvel 1331). One of these notices was given by a "Mösyö Luici." Located as Bab-ı ali No. 10, Mr. Luici produced all kinds of brass plates and made decorations with paint. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 139 (5 Cemaziyülahir 1331).

²² Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın*, p. 297.

²³ Koloğlu, *Reklamcılığımızın İlk Yüzyılı*, p. 204.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

representations in general. The small number of illustrations looks as though they were lifted from European journals. Some wealthier businesses may have employed European clichés despite the higher cost, leading to the more frequent depicting of European women in the Ottoman press as late as World War I. In instances such as this one, scholars must be careful not to treat the topic of visual representation in the press as a function of cultural and religious constraints without regard to the conditions of the industry.

Nevertheless, cultural attitudes were changing. By 1913, and increasingly afterwards, a good number of women's representations adorned the advertising pages of *Women's World* and other, more mainstream, publications as long as there was no paper or space shortage. To some extents, these illustrations highlighted the ideals and fantasies of the advertisers who were mostly, though not exclusively, male. It is also clear that advertisements sometimes imported available models for a new lifestyle directly from Europe, blasting the audience with images of European life. Examples include notices for corsets, baby food, and photography studios as well as some of the cover pictures and illustrations for articles on childrearing and music. Although many of the images consequently promoted European models of femininity for the Ottoman audience, there were significant differences between the abilities of a full-fledged industry and that of early Ottoman advertising in their capacity to influence and shape consumers' expectations.

In that the majority of advertisements in *Women's World* flowed directly from the retailers and other businesses, rather than from carefully crafted professional campaigns, they have the potential to inform us more directly about women's ideals and consumption patterns. Or at least, they can inform us about the merchants' perceptions of their female customers. In other words, the notices in *Women's World* tell us about a relatively unmediated interaction between merchants and consumers and so about the shaping of expectations on both sides of the store counter.²⁵ In addition, the marketing claims of these advertisements reveal social trends and fashionable attitudes endorsed by businesses and consumers alike, and testify to an increasingly fierce competition for a market in which women played active roles.

Publisher, Subscriber, Consumer: Women's World and its Women

Women's World was only one of some forty different publications for women issued during the period prior to the founding of the Turkish Republic.²⁶ Some of these other publications belonged to women's associations that came into existence

²⁵ Some papers announced their advertising policy up front, asking the clientele to go through an agency with whom they worked, whereas others gave detailed pricing lists. The fact that announcements by advertising agencies increased dramatically in the press after 1919 also speaks to the industry's rudimentary nature before the war. Ibid., pp. 171, 224.

²⁶ Starting with *Muhaddarat* (1868) and ending with *Süs* (1923), these journals, magazines and gazettes included those published largely by men as well as those owned, edited and authored largely by women. See Demirdirek, "In Pursuit of," p. 66.

between 1908 and 1914, from the reinstatement of the Ottoman constitution to World War I. They dealt with a wide range of issues from charity work, discussion and book clubs, and the country's defense, to the consumption of domestic as opposed to imported goods.²⁷ But *Women's World* was unique, in its stated feminist agenda and representation of a collective feminist platform for Ottoman women.

The home of the journal, the Association for the Defense of Women's Rights, was founded in 1913, soon after the First Balkan War, by educated and affluent Muslim women who defined themselves as feminists.²⁸ Although Serpil Çakır's comprehensive study suggests that the majority of the subscribers and some of the contributors came from "all walks of life,"²⁹ most belonged to the rising middle class, and were hardly representative of the larger population throughout the country. Even Çakır acknowledges that despite their cultural significance, neither the platform of the journal nor its followers stood for a mass movement.³⁰

Elsewhere Elizabeth Frierson argues compellingly that the overall diversity and longevity of publications targeting women suggest scholars may have underestimated the literacy rate among women prior to the founding of the Republic.³¹ But even with an increased rate of literacy, the audience of *Women's World* would have stood in the minority. Despite the modernizing reforms of the Tanzimat and Hamidian periods, schooling for women was so scarce that expectations raised in a "feminist" journal would not have resonated with the majority of the population. From what we know of *Women's World's* internationalist stand³² and the lives of a few of its contributors,³³ its readers, like

²⁷ Serpil Çakır, "Bir Osmanlı Kadın Örgütü: Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-u Nisvan Cemiyeti," *Tarih ve Toplum* 51 (1988): 16.

²⁸ The founding of the association was declared in issue number 55. See Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın*, p. 131.

²⁹ "*Kadınlar Dünyası*, kadınların hak mücadelesini yürütecek bir araç olarak ele alınmış, her kesimden kadının kendilerini, kendi ifadelerini anlatması hedeflenmiştir. Dergiye *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*'de olduğu gibi dönemin entellektüel kadınlarından ziyade, toplumun her kesiminden kadın yazı yazmış, destek vermiştir." (*Women's World* was treated as a means to pursue women's struggle for their rights, and the voicing of the self-expression of women from all walks of life was defined as the goal. Unlike the elite women of *Ladies' Own Gazette*, support and contributions to *Women's World* came from women from all walks of life.) Ibid., p. 38.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 320.

³¹ Frierson, "Unimagined Communities," pp. 288-289.

³² It had contact with European publications and feminists, and some of its editions were in French. See Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın*, pp. 81-82, 94-95. Articles about the journal that appeared in European publications such as *Le Matin* and *Berliner Tageblatt* were duly announced within *Women's World's* own pages. The 117th issue included a photograph of a group of association members on its cover, reprinting the picture of seven Ottoman women taken outdoors for *Berliner Tageblatt* with the caption "Turkey becomes civilized." The choice of vocabulary reveals how the Ottoman feminist movement was viewed from a European perspective and how it might have viewed itself—as an agent of civilization. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 117 (22 Zilhicce 1331): cover.

their counterparts in Egypt or in Europe, probably were a relatively small number of educated women from cosmopolitan urban backgrounds, whose fathers or husbands were likely to be journalists, government employees and members of the rising middle-class.³⁴ Although the journal's average circulation of 3,000 is significant,³⁵ considering the literacy level of women at the time, it confirms a limited popularity among ordinary folk. The weekly cost of 60 *para* was about 10.6 percent of the average daily wage of an Istanbul laborer in 1913, the first year of publication.³⁶ Hence, *Women's World* was affordable for upper and middle-class women and not really exclusive for this group in terms of its price. At least a portion of the journal's costs were financed by announcements and advertisements given by local Christian, Jewish and Muslim entrepreneurs as well as a smaller number of foreign agencies in the country.

Over the course of its interrupted publication,³⁷ *Women's World* changed from a broadsheet that included numerous sections on social life, literature, child-rearing, public letters and miscellaneous women's notes to a weekly journal that featured two sections, on social life and literature. Illustrations, photographs and pictures began seeping into *Women's World* as its format evolved. Earlier issues contained

³³ Serpil Çakır aptly brings up the difficulty of finding more about these women's personal lives. She is nevertheless able to introduce some details of the lives of a few relatively famous contributors such as Ulviye Mevlan and Aziz Haydar, along with the names of a few others. Only one contributor, Yaşar Nezihe (b. 1880), was from a relatively poor background. Others seem to have enjoyed a certain degree of cosmopolitanism and relative wealth. See Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın*, pp. 83-86. We also know that many belonged to the same generation of women born in the 1880s as Halide Edip (Adıvar) and Nezihe Muhittin, and to the same social circle of cosmopolitan Istanbul elite as Fatma Aliye (b. 1862). For more, see İnci Enginün, *Halide Edip Adıvar'ın Eserlerinde Doğu ve Batı Meselesi* (Istanbul, 1978); Ayşe Baykan and Belma Ötüş-Baskett, *Nezihe Muhittin ve Türk Kadını* (Istanbul, 1999); Müge Galin and Lynda G. Blake, *Fatma Aliye Hanım yahut Bir Muharrir-i Osmaniyenin Neşeti* (Istanbul, 1998). Also, see Yaprak Zihnioglu, *Kadınsız İnkılap. Nezihe Muhiddin, Kadınlar Halk Furkasi, Kadın Birliği*.

³⁴ They shared these qualities with women active in the Egyptian press. See Baron, *The Women's Awakening*, p. 36.

³⁵ The 165th issue warned the subscribers that due to a paper shortage, only 3,000 copies would be published. "Açık Muhabere-İhtar," 165 (March 1918): 16, cited in Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın*, p. 81.

³⁶ Daily papers cost 10 *para*, but weekly issues were priced at 60 *para*. Annual and bi-annual subscriptions were encouraged. There were no fluctuations in the cost probably until publication was interrupted with the outbreak of war. The price changed to 10 *para* after the war with new issues in 1918, and to 5 *kuruş*, early in the summer of 1918. In 1921 each issue cost 25 *kuruş*. (100 *kuruş* equals one *lira*, and 40 *para* equals one *kuruş*). Therefore, weekly issues of the journal cost about 1.5 *kuruş*. The average daily wage of an Istanbul laborer was 14.1 *kuruş* in 1913. For daily wages, see Alan Duben and Cem Bahar, *Istanbul Households* (New York, 1991), p. 37.

³⁷ According to Çakır, between 1913 and 1921 the publication was interrupted three times: first, after the publication of the 153rd issue due to a paper shortage; secondly, during World War I, only to resume its publication in 1918 after the war. With 1921 it resumed publication with the final fifteen issues. Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın*, p. 80.

spaces set aside for future advertisements, showing that the publishers intended to increase their sponsorship during the switch to the weekly. After the hundredth issue, around 1914 when the frequency of the publication changed, a full page was designated for advertisements and announcements [*ilan*]³⁸ but was not always filled. Advertising in *Women's World* was cheaper than in its counterparts, selling for the same flat-rate regardless of the size, scope or place of the promotion.³⁹

In a brief period of time, *Women's World* was replete with advertising. Notices could be found on the back pages, on front and inside covers, in the company of illustrated texts and as single-frame or multiple-section full-page inserts. By the spring of 1914, within a year of *Women's World's* debut (April 1913), each sixteen-page weekly issue included an average of fifteen advertisements. Some re-appeared in consecutive issues, a few having evolved in style. Notices promoting the consumption of beauty and health products occupied the greatest space.

Changing Fashions and Attitudes: the Status of Goods and Services

The overwhelming majority of advertisers in *Women's World* were stores that sold clothing and accessories, tailors and fashion studios, hair salons, and outlets for beauty and cosmetic goods, including hand creams, hair lotions, colognes, and powders. Specialized health service providers such as dentists, physicians and pharmacists, along with products like syrups and pills, both competed with and complemented the focus on beauty, for as Mona Russell observes in her study on the

³⁸ It is no coincidence, of course, that the term *ilan* which denotes announcement is used rather than *reklam*, that is, advertisement. At this early stage of advertising much of the information about goods and services was probably perceived as a fusion of announcements and advertisements. *Reklam*, the standard term both in visual and print media in contemporary Turkish, is derived from *réclame* in French. İsmet Zeki Eyuboğlu, *Türk Dilinin Etimoloji Sözlüğü*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul, 1991), p. 565. *İlan*, a term that co-exists with *reklam* today, often denotes the classifieds in a daily or hand-distributed fliers, which is consistent with an earlier stage of advertising in Turkey. The special pages designated for advertisements and announcements in *Women's World* were generally located at the back or inside covers of an issue.

³⁹ The 104th issue of the journal announced that each line of advertisement would cost 40 *para*, which was two-thirds of the cost of a weekly issue. See "İlan: İlanatın beher satırından kırk para alınır," *Kadınlar Dünyası* 104 (20 Ramazan 1331). Around the same time, dailies such as *Stamboul* announced their cheapest rate for those advertisements appearing on their fourth page to be 4 *kuruş*. See Koloğlu, *Reklamcılığımızın İlk Yüzyılı*, p. 171. One could argue that there was an implied disadvantage to *Women's World's* otherwise attractive deal. From the perspective of the advertising businesses, the potential audience of a feminist women's journal could be viewed as limited compared to mainstream dailies. But the journal would consistently receive advertisements in increasing numbers, which proves that merchants and professionals viewed female consumers as a significant portion of their clientele.

Egyptian media, advertisements frequently "blurred the distinction between health and beauty."⁴⁰

Fashion and Beauty

In the middle-to-upper-class environment of cosmopolitan cities, beauty was articulated through a new lifestyle, which comprised health, fashion and access to an enormous variety of goods and services. Most stores selling clothing, accessories [*tuhafiyeye*], drapery and garments [*manifatura*]⁴¹ carried a tremendous variety of goods, listed in detail as on a restaurant menu. Many claimed to carry some or all of the following items: textiles; embroidered cloaks [*maşlah*];⁴² light cloaks [*yeldirme*]; jacket, skirt, dress and *çarşaf* fabrics; tailored two-piece costumes [*kostüm tayyör*]; blouses, undergarments, stockings and socks; slippers, shoes, handbags and purses; handkerchiefs, robes, washcloths, bath sets [*hamam takımı*]; bed sheets [*yatak çarşafı*]; bed decorations [*yatak müzeyyenatı*]; pillow covers [*yastık yüzü*]; tablecloths; silverware (forks and knives); lace; handicrafts; ribbons; gauzes; various kinds of colognes and perfumes; health powders; wigs; umbrellas; chains for pocket watches; pocket watches and clocks; gifts; breast harnesses [*göğüslük*] and corsets. Most fabrics came in a similarly overwhelming variety of muslin, velvet, corduroy, silk, wool and printed-material [*basma*] for winter or summer seasons. Some announcements boasted fairly specific qualities, such as *çarşafs* with branch motives imprinted on *crêpe de chine*, and undergarments decorated with scalloped ribbons or imported from Germany and Austria. Colognes in all conceivable flower scents were marketed with pledges that they would stay on one's skin for days. American "Vurkur" (worker) shoes were mentioned as well.

Full- or half-page advertisements for major stores like Macid Karakaş's *Büyük Tuhafiye Mağazası*, with various branches and different departments for fabric, shoes, garments, dresses, stockings, and lavender (perfume and cologne), were increasingly common through the end of 1914. They, too, meticulously listed all the inventory in each department. Clearly, variety appealed to the upper-class female clientele and set the larger fashionable store apart from the small shop just as the extravagance of the shopping experience set the wealthier, stylish consumer apart from the regular crowd. In contrast to the traditional marketplace, the department store was a novelty, and shopping there, like most other novelties related to consumption, served as a register of the modern identity.

Elizabeth Frierson's study of the inexpensive, illustrated women's press in the Hamidian era shows that its advertisements changed from stressing Ottoman proprietorship to promoting specifically Muslim entrepreneurship with two rhetorical constants: "the cheapness of their [Muslim businesses'] products and the

ease with which they could be purchased either with cash or credit."⁴³ By contrast, notices in *Women's World* underscored the features of the diverse assortment of goods [*her nevi, envai cinsi, envai türlü*] rather than price, ease of purchase or proprietorship. One store, for example, embraced the motto "elegance, kindness and generosity, as well as inexpensiveness" [*zarafet, menanet, ehveniyet*];⁴⁴ another adopted "elegance is [my] guiding principle" [*düstur-u harekiyyât*];⁴⁵ yet another stressed that its goods were "truly the latest fashion" [*hakikaten son moda*].⁴⁶ Moreover, reference to prices could also include those that were "moderate," "appropriate," or "worthy of high quality," in addition to inexpensive pricing [*ehven*] for all kinds of budgets [*her keseye elverişli*], suggesting that certain businesses did not shy away from being known as expensive.

"The latest fashion" was a key phrase, indicating that beauty ideals closely followed the seasonal whims of certain industries. While Ismail Fuad and his partners added "truly" to the phrase "latest fashion,"⁴⁷ another store claimed that fashionable goods were delivered to it "in installments and continuously" [*peyderpey ve mütemadiyen*].⁴⁸ In tailoring shops, speed of production [*cüz'i müddet*] as well as quality mattered to the stylish and time-conscious modern customer.⁴⁹

Businesses and individual consumers were provided with a variety of purchasing options. Most of the clothing and tailoring stores and beauty salons offered both ready- and custom-made goods, and some accessory stores advertised wholesale and retail operations. Unlike those for stores that catered to a modest clientele, however, advertisements for stores that supplied dresses, corsets, accessories and beauty products replaced references to convenient payment plans and installments with promises of quality, reputation and diversity.⁵⁰ Only an agency that sold sewing machines--a relatively durable and costly good--advertised its easy payment plans and installments.⁵¹ The emphasis on servicing options (tailored or ready-made) and easy access to a diversity of goods suggests that class, rather than cost, was the primary issue for the shopper. It is likely that businesses

⁴³ Frierson, "Cheap and Easy," p. 247.

⁴⁴ Advertisement of a clothing and notions store located at 91 Kadıköy, Pazaryolu in *Kadınlar Dünyası* 142 (27 Cemaziyülahir 1331).

⁴⁵ Advertisement of a corset shop owned by a non-Muslim business woman in *Kadınlar Dünyası* 131 (2 Rebiyülahir 1331).

⁴⁶ A clothing and notions store owned by İsmail Fuad ve Şürekâsı in *Kadınlar Dünyası* 139 (5 Cemaziyülahir 1331) through 157 (15 Safer 1332).

⁴⁷ See "İsmail Fuad ve Şürekâsı," *Kadınlar Dünyası* 139 (5 Cemaziyülahir 1331).

⁴⁸ Advertisement for a tailoring shop (*Elbise imalat salonu*) in *Kadınlar Dünyası* 141 (20 Cemaziyülahir 1331).

⁴⁹ Advertisement for a tailoring shop in the French edition of *Kadınlar Dünyası* 128 (25 January-7 February 1914).

⁵⁰ Frierson, "Cheap and Easy," p. 247.

⁵¹ A sewing machine advertisement for "Nauman" announces zero down payment in *Kadınlar Dünyası* 157 (15 Safer 1332).

⁴⁰ Russell, "Creating the New Woman," p. 135.

⁴¹ Possibly modeled after the British use for drapery and haberdashery store.

⁴² A loose open-fronted cloak without sleeves.

which advertised for the journal catered to upper-class notions of taste, which were relatively sophisticated and cosmopolitan.

As in advertisements from the Hamidian era, the clientele was assured that a business had a good reputation, separate ladies' rooms, female employees who could pay home visits, serious professional management and service on site. These qualities attracted a different customer than did ease of purchase, and the focus on good reputation, separate ladies' sections and professional services indicates that a considerable number of women frequented these shops instead of shopping from home. A department store with branches in Istanbul, Galata and Beyoğlu that offered catalogues also publicized its delivery to the provinces, suggesting that its appeal was to a distant, as opposed to a secluded local, female clientele.⁵²

Notices for large stores, which often referred to their merchandise for men and children, did not speak to men directly but addressed the respectable ladies or the respectable inhabitants of a particular neighborhood. Although one advertiser mentioned the cheapness of his suits while stressing their elegance for even the choosiest of men,⁵³ the items most frequently advertised for men were secondary goods like shirts, flannel undershirts, socks, and various accessories such as ties, handkerchiefs, umbrellas, canes, chains and pocket watches. Apparently accessories, undergarments and socks fell into the shopping domain of the wife, daughter or mother. Whether for men's or for children's clothing, other listings were not as detailed as the inventories for women.

In an article on the daily life of the upper-class Istanbul family of Said Bey, Paul Dumont notes how the husband's purchases compared to those of the wife.⁵⁴ Although Said Bey "sometimes accompanied his wife on her shopping expeditions of the more important kind," she often frequented fashionable shops or strolled in front of shop windows in Beyoğlu with other women folk.⁵⁵

Most of the fashionable businesses were located around Cadde-i Kebir in Beyoğlu. Advertisements gave the location of the store in captions so that the women would recognize it instantly, and some added detailed directions or well-known reference points. Nearly half the stores had other branches around the city. Most stated that they had phones, and many gave the number, because modern amenities, along with a fashionable location, were important attractions for a business.

Middle Eastern natives are familiar with women who peddle tablecloths, handkerchiefs, undergarments, socks, various types of family clothing and accessories to neighborhood homes [*bohçacı*], but larger stores expanded the opportunities for affluent women to make such purchases. At the same time, the social ritual of gathering around the peddler with the female folk of the household or

neighborhood for communal decision-making, neighborhood gossip and a morning coffee was being replaced by the ritual of dressing up to board trams, coaches or steamboats for an outing with friends or family. The "traveling store" need no longer visit and socialize with them; they visited the store. These stores reached out to their audience through the advertisements placed in a variety of papers.

Nora Şeni explains in her article on fashion and women's clothing at the turn of the twentieth century that the corset was "a novelty that radically altered the figure of the urban Muslim woman," replacing the soft curves of her body with "a firm, erect shape" and sharper corners.⁵⁶ The ultimate sign of status and the new lifestyle, corsets were sold both in specialized corset stores and in some tailoring shops, where elegance, new designs from Europe and diplomas from European tailoring schools were cited to reinforce an emphasis on fashion and status that was defined by the customer base itself. Madame Ferdinand proudly announced that her corset store catered to the "refined and tasteful women's circles in our city."⁵⁷ Nevertheless, corsets also were sold ready-made and often were advertised by illustrations depicting semi-naked European models for which a fashionable outlook began with the use of the corset. Beauty clearly was linked to status and to new fashions which promoted a distinct new way of carrying one's body, and extended

⁵⁶ Nora Şeni, "Fashion and Women's Clothing in the Satirical Press of Istanbul at the End of the 19th Century," in Şirin Tekeli, ed. *Women in Modern Turkish Society* (London, 1995), p. 29.

⁵⁷ For references to advertisements, see "Huri Corsets" owned by Madame Ferdinand in *Kadınlar Dünyası* 139 (5 Cemaziyülahir 1331). Madame Ferdinand's business advertised in issues 139 through 157; "Hair Dyeist David Keller," "Good News to Ladies," "Muslim Hair Shop," "Mösyö Marsel's Hair Decoration Salon," "Toilette Salon for Ladies," "Rusma Budu Powder," in *Kadınlar Dünyası* 139 (5 Cemaziyülahir 1331); Perteve advertisements appeared in various issues, for example, 157 (15 Safer 1332); dentist located in Kadıköy in 139 (5 Cemaziyülahir 1331); dentist located in Beyazıt and "Ottoman Medical Dentistry" located in Nur-u Osmaniye in the French edition of *Kadınlar Dünyası* 128 (25 January-7 February 1914); "Mösyö Garih, the dentist," "Ahmet Hamdi, the dentist," "Bedros Kasabyan, the dentist," a "colonel" (*miralay*) dentist who "served in the last war at Ottoman headquarters," "Dr. Corci Kollatidi," in 139 (5 Cemaziyülahir 1331); "You do not have to extract bad teeth," in 143 (4 Recep 1331); "Mehmet Hüdaverdi, the dentist," in 157 (15 Safer 1332); "Emil Huranyan, the dentist," 123 (6 Safer 1331); "Women's Ailments," in 139 (5 Cemaziyülahir 1331); Dr. Ahmed Vicdani's notice on "Family Medicine," in 104 (20 Ramazan 1331); a full-page syrup advertisement in 142 (27 Cemaziyülahir 1331); cough syrup by Dr. İhsan Sami in 141 (20 Cemaziyülahir 1331); syrup advertisement and "the Necati Syrup," in 139 (5 Cemaziyülahir 1331); advertisement for a book entitled *Her Kan Tüküren Veren Değildir* (Not Everyone Who Spits Blood Has Tuberculosis) by Atinalı Dr. Ahmed Şükrü and another advertisement by Atinalı Dr. Ahmed Şükrü for eczema medication in 104 (20 Ramazan 1331); "Let us cure our intestines," children's health food by Ziya Bey, "The Ottoman Pharmacy and Chemistry House," and a chemical industry firm in 139 (5 Cemaziyülahir 1331); "Çitlembik Dye," 108 (18 Şevval 1331); "Aram N. Selliyan. Women, men, children – all kinds of clothing factory and store," and "Turkish Cologne," in 139 (5 Cemaziyülahir 1331).

⁵² Department store advertisement in *Kadınlar Dünyası* 157 (15 Safer 1332).

⁵³ Ready-made men's suits in *Kadınlar Dünyası* 157 (15 Safer 1332).

⁵⁴ Paul Dumont, "Said Bey – The Everyday Life of an Istanbul Townsman at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century," in Albert Hourani, Philip S. Khoury and Mary C. Wilson, eds. *The Modern Middle East* (Berkeley, 1993), p. 282.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 282-283.

from outer garments to a variety of undergarments in the way of breast harnesses, underpants with scalloped ribbons and corsets.

While, apart from the illustrated advertisements, the corset remained undercover, the most pronounced beauty and fashion statements involved hair, skin, scent, and jewelry--the ultimate adornments of the female body. Beauty and hair salons promised ready- and custom-made wigs, wiglets, and hair attachments of all lengths and colors. Coiffeur Monsieur [Mösyö] David Keller brought "good news to women" and, by asking whether they would like the color of their hair back in five minutes, sold them the promise of youth. Treatment and protection of beautiful hair now required more than the customary application of henna; it involved the complicated procedures of shampooing, waving and dyeing. Mösyö Marsel advertised specifically for Muslim women who were willing to use dyes, wavy wigs, natural wiglets, hair pieces and other top-of-the-line products. One's appearance could also be enhanced by facial treatments such as steam cleansing, mask application and even electrical massaging.

Hand and face creams and various powders were sold separately in pharmacies and other outlets. Edhem Pertev, the indisputable leader in this field, boasted endorsements from the Ottoman medical establishment and medals from the European nerve centers of fashion, health and beauty. The Pertev line ranged from scented hand creams, facial creams, refreshment and cleansing powders to colognes, tooth powders, hair potions and Pertev syrup, the only visibly medical product made by the company. In long and repeated runs, Pertev advertisements represented the crossover between beauty and health in the cultural consciousness of upper-class Ottoman society. Hair potions helped grow hair and rid it of dandruff; tooth powders improved one's dental health and beauty; hand creams eradicated creases on hands while facial creams eliminated freckles and pimples on the face. Through mention of "pleasant softness" and "amazingly natural whiteness" Pertev products pledged to deliver a redefinition of beauty according to European standards.

Health

Notices for dentists which promoted a booming new profession, promised beauty and health all at once. Gold, platinum, aluminum--all kinds of crowns, bridges and false teeth were produced in most dental clinics. Dentists straightened crooked teeth, used unnoticeable fillings and screwed in false teeth without having to make a new plate. Tooth removal, root extraction and filling often were described as entirely painless, a dentist in Kadıköy even pledging not to charge if the patient felt any pain. There were occasional assurances of durability and cost effectiveness, but many focused on other qualities and innovations in their service. For dentists, "the latest fashion" used in clothing advertisements was replaced by "latest science/technique" [*fen-i cedid*], "the latest system," "serious style" [*usul-u ciddiyet*], and new treatments [*tedavi-i cedide*]. There were those who promised the application of scientific principles in treatment (Ottoman Medical Dentistry), seriousness in technique and approach (Mösyö Garih), and perfection in the service and organization of the clinic (Ahmed Hamdi). Two methods seemed to compete

particularly for public approval: the European method of fixing teeth without a screw was advocated by dentists such as Bedros Kasabyan, and the American method of using a screw without a plate was advertised by others. The use of electricity in the treatment of dental problems also was part and parcel of the new science.

Some dentists listed the schools where they had taught as instructors. Others indicated that they had been educated in Paris or Vienna after earning diplomas from the Ottoman University, where Bedros Kasabyan claimed to have graduated with honors. While one dentist bragged of having worked for the army, Mehmet Hüdaverdi boasted experience in two major cosmopolitan hospitals. Service for the army was not a frequent marker of one's scientific skills, though it was used occasionally. Physicians, too, emphasized their credentials and used catch phrases regarding scientific innovation. One doctor even listed his work for the hospitals founded by the refugee commission and his work for prison hospitals, obviously believing in the attraction of patriotism and good citizenship. Such references in the case of dentistry were an obvious attempt to sell patriotism, though one wonders whether references to treating soldiers, who are presumed "tough," was a profitable strategy for a dentist. Meanwhile if a similar patriotic service was evoked by a doctor who worked on cases of tuberculosis in prisons and the army, the context of the reference changed from the selling of pure patriotism to the marketing of experience: as Dr. Corci Kollatidi implied, a serious struggle with disease could only take place where it was most seen. But neither patriotism nor good service ranked as high in the social ladder as diplomas from European schools, particularly from Paris. The frequency of such references suggests that educational credentials and the connection to Europe may have helped physicians more than dentists, coiffeurs and designers.

Physicians, dentists, and the smaller number of lawyers who advertised in *Women's World* further publicized their practices by reporting the completion of a trip or the relocation of an office. Dentist Emil Huranyan, a graduate of the University of Vienna, routinely announced his return from Europe to his clinic in the fashionable district of Grand Rue Pera. The services of the fashion and beauty industry often were found in that same district, as were some other dental and medical offices, but new locations for dentists and physicians ranged from Nur-u Osmaniye, Bab-ı Ali, Sirkeci, and Çemberlitaş, to Cağaloğlu, Divanyolu, Bahçekapı, and Pera and even to outlying neighborhoods, such as Kadıköy and Üsküdar, with no discernable pattern.

Physicians came with a repertoire of specialties, but what formerly was called general family practice seemed to dominate. Thus a Dr. Vicdani informed the readers of *Women's World* that he was available to visit and "inspect the health situation, and treat illnesses of the entire family a few times a week." Even so, the transition from what Oktay calls "the art of midwifery" to the "science of birth" alone represented a major change in the incorporation of modern attitudes towards

health.⁵⁸ Moreover, despite all the references to science and education, the line between scientific and patent, or folk, medicine seemed as indistinct as that between dentistry and cosmetics, especially in the ubiquitous advertisements for syrups concocted by doctors, pharmacies, or companies such as Pertev.

One full-page advertisement that appeared consistently in *Women's World* touted a syrup that simultaneously healed general debility, anemia, rheumatism, bone sickness, nervousness, men's impotence, and women's menstrual irregularity difficulties.⁵⁹ Dr. Ihsan Sami's syrup claimed to heal all kinds of acute and chronic cough. Yet another syrup, endorsed by doctors, had been successfully used in Parisian municipal hospitals to treat the bone ailments of both "scrawny and pale" children who walked late and old people who had lost their strength.⁶⁰ A syrup concocted by the Salih Necati Pharmacy boasted to be a remedy for a wide variety of afflictions from nervousness and rheumatism to tuberculosis. Various doctors claimed to have invented cures for skin diseases, such as eczema, or sexually transmitted diseases, such as syphilis [*frengi*].⁶¹

Found in a women's journal, the recurring references by overwhelmingly male Muslim and non-Muslim doctors to gynecology, women's ailments, men's impotence, and sexually transmitted diseases challenge assumptions concerning segregation of the sexes in the upper-class circles of late-Ottoman Istanbul. Were these notices breaking certain sexual taboos? Did the feminist politics of the journal stand for a true rift with the customs that regulated relations between the sexes? Or were the notices in question meant for non-Muslim women, who might have constituted a part of the journal's readership? This brings up further questions about late-Ottoman elite society: did it fail to absorb Victorian coyness about sex into its daily life, while incorporating many of the other European fashions, innovations, and ideologies? Did increasing professionalization and specialization in sciences require the re-fashioning of cultural attitudes, calling on women of all creeds to concern themselves explicitly with sexuality and sexual health? Unfortunately, evidence from the journal fails to provide answers for these crucial questions.

The tone of advertisements for health services differed from that of notices on beauty and fashion. Most of the latter were propositional, asking the customers to try a product or a service just once, but announcements for health services and products were imperative, employing a language of authority in the propagation of "modern" science and treatment methods. One notice of a health book by Atinalı Dr. Ahmed Şükrü informed the unenlightened with a caption that "[N]ot all those

who spit blood suffer[ed] from tuberculosis," while another notice by the same physician cautioned that eczema was an affliction that disturbed the neighbors and family as well as the sufferer. Unattended health problems could cause not only deterioration of health, but also failure in social relations. Another advertisement for a French laxative pastille against "auto-intoxication and constipation" assumed all consumers were in need of treatment, and advised everyone to minister to their digestive tract: "Let Us Cure Our Intestines." Pediatrician Ziya Bey, known as "Precise Ziya" [*dakik Ziya*], declared that "as children [grew], they [did] not want frequent breast-feeding." In order to create "a revolutionary generation," Ziya Bey had invented a formula that ultimately nurtured thousands upon thousands of children. Promoted by a combination of the medical imperative with the discourse of patriotism, feeding this formula to a baby was made a national duty for the future of a healthy, revolutionary and numerous (therefore powerful) population. As late as World War I, the treatment of children's health issues by pediatricians was in itself a novelty.⁶² Consequently Dakik Ziya's patriotic promotion of his formula food represents a sharp break in social attitudes towards the health of the family and the nation.

"The new woman," as caretaker of family and nation, also was addressed by the growing chemical industry. Atinalı Dr. Ahmed Şükrü had co-produced a black dye for use in the manufacture of school blackboards. This dye was marketed as "*çitlembik*" (literally berry of the nettle tree), suggesting the small, dark, and winsome girls--daughters or students of *Women's World* readers--who would be attending modern schools in increasing numbers.

Conclusion: Social Tensions and Modernity

As women became more visible actors in matters of consumption, their loyalties were sought by merchants and professionals. Advertisements emphasized the latest in trend, fashion and technique over the tested, classic and conventional. They focused on the cosmopolitan, not the local, stressing imported goods and invoking foreign capitals as buzzwords.

Domestic consumption, however, eventually became a matter of some interest. Aram Selliyan announced that the products of his clothing and drapery shop were "more elegant, resilient, and cheaper" than foreign products. The same business informed respectable ladies in another notice that "work is a sacred duty for everyone" and those who value national industry should frequent its store. Likewise, the owner of another clothing and drapery shop, "Musa from Damascus," advertised his business as the only one that sold "truly" domestic goods.⁶³ One Turkish cologne even announced that the design of its container was of the "Turkish style."

⁵⁸ Cüneyt Oktay, *Osmanlı Çocuk Hayatında Yenileşmeler 1850-1900* (Istanbul, 1998), pp. 58-59.

⁵⁹ The advertisement declared that the syrup was two times more powerful than cod liver oil.

⁶⁰ See syrup advertisement in *Kadınlar Dünyası* 139 (5 Cemaziyülahir 1331).

⁶¹ The word used for syphilis, *frengi* (*frenk*: French, European), is suggestive of cultural assumptions regarding the source of the disease, which may have been seen as one that was brought to the region by Europeans, and viewed as more common among non-Muslims. In this context, it is interesting that a sexually transmitted disease, particularly one regarded as a non-Muslim or foreign ailment, would become the subject of an advertisement published in a feminist journal targeting Muslim Ottoman women as its primary audience.

⁶² Oktay, *Osmanlı Çocuk*, p. 62.

⁶³ The term used in the advertisement was patriotic in its connotations. "*Vatan malı*" (homeland/ fatherland) was used, rather than "*yerli malı*" (domestic/local), "*Türk malı*," (Turkish) or "*oryantal*" (oriental). *Kadınlar Dünyası* 117 (9 Teşrin-i sani 1329, Rumi).

In *Women's World*, occasional articles underscored the importance of domestic consumption. Starting from the boycott on Austrian goods in response to Austria-Hungary's formal annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, women had been active in domestic consumption campaigns, encouraged by the Unionist leadership. According to Donald Quataert, the Austrian boycott highlighted the tensions between Muslim and non-Muslim Ottoman merchants, since Christian merchants "were more closely involved with the European economy than the Muslims and as a result, were vulnerable to disruptions in the Western economic system."⁶⁴

In support of domestic consumption *Women's World* featured the "National Consumption Store" both in advertisements and in an article.⁶⁵ Repeated notices invited subscribers to visit the "Oriental-Turkish Company" in Galata to acquire a card listing businesses that sold domestic products. Customers would receive a ten-percent discount on each purchase by presenting the card at listed businesses.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, advertising notices for fashion, beauty, and health products generally revealed little ethnic or religious tension. Most businesses using the buzzword "Paris" referred to local entities such as the Ottoman Medical School [*Darülfünun*], as a balancing act. Because non-Muslims advertised to Muslims and vice versa, "Ottoman" served as a mutual source of identity. Those who clearly advertised themselves as Muslim or Turkish were exceptions rather than the rule. Instead, the usual goal was to attract as broad a base of customers as possible. It was possible for non-Muslim Ottoman businesses to call on women's patriotism by emphasizing their inventory of domestic goods as opposed to foreign imports. The "real" world was thus separated from the "business world" of the advertisements, despite the evident tensions in late-Ottoman society, which resulted in horrific atrocities against Christian minorities, most notably the Armenian Ottomans.

Advertising notices for fashion, beauty and health products promoted images of a new self for upper- and middle-class women. They appealed to expectations of elevating one's status, through acquisition of goods and services, and of increased control over one's physical appearance, through the sculpting of the body and re-fashioning of looks. In their attempt to fulfill the consumer's expectations, these notices highlighted professionalism, convenience, the availability of diverse products and connection to international markets. All of these advertisements were meant for fashionable women. They reflected images of women who wanted to be seen in the "latest style," which for fashionable Muslim women of means still could be a cloak and veil as long as they were trendy. Modernity in fashion, beauty and health could involve the incorporation or transformation of traditional symbols of

⁶⁴ Donald Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1881-1908* (New York, 1983), p. 145.

⁶⁵ Nezire Rasim discussed the importance of the consumption of domestic goods in her article entitled "İstihlak-ı Milli Ticarethanesini Ziyaret," which was based on her visit to this business. She insisted in her article that this was not an advertisement for a single business, but a general discussion about local business. Advertisements for this store also appeared in consecutive issues of the journal.

⁶⁶ This advertisement appeared in different issues. One earliest example appeared in *Kadınlar Dünyası* 95 (7 July 1329, Rumi): 4.

humility, attraction and status as henna gave way to hair dye and rose water to perfumes. The image of "the new woman" in the advertisements, however, suggested that the modern was unique as well as ordinary. "The new woman" and her lifestyle were part of a transformed world. Products that enhanced style and appearance separated the modern individual from her traditional counterparts and united her in the most ordinary ways to the dwellers of a mythical new realm.

"The new woman" trope, deliberately promoted by the contents of *Women's World* conflicted with the image that emerged from its advertisements. The journal, for example, had the stated goal of reforming women's dress, but clothing and tailoring businesses consistently featured fashionable *çarşafs*. While articles and letters of complaint published in the journal frequently criticized mistreatment of women in public places and segregation practices, most businesses advertised their "special salons" for female customers as an attraction. Similarly talk about providing daughters with a trousseau of spiritual goods was juxtaposed with advertisements that accentuated the material over the spiritual. In short, the women's association advocated transforming women into "producers" instead of "consumers" as one of its fundamental principles, but the advertisements in its journal consistently and abundantly carried a message quite to the contrary.

Discrepancies between the messages advocated by the journal's woman publishers and those advocated by its male advertisers do not mean, however, that readers were merely passive recipients of either set of messages. Advertising propagated a modern lifestyle to women who sought to participate in it. The community created by the journal held tastes that were not just upper-class Ottoman but, in many respects, international and cosmopolitan. The women of the journal were neither radical Muslim feminists nor conformists who took comfort in their unchanging status. In the pages of *Women's World* both modernity and its clientele were ambivalent agents, defining the new within the parameters of the old.

Between the constitutional revolution in 1908 and World War I, new journals, such as *Women's World*, provided women with increased agency and greater visibility, furnishing them with a collective platform for social commentary, material consumption and new avenues of public participation. But "the new woman" trope disseminated by the journals re-articulated old habits and hierarchies within the context of modernity. The advertisements in *Women's World* clearly indicate that transforming the old self into the new required a financial transaction—one that was affordable to some, but largely inaccessible to the majority.

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